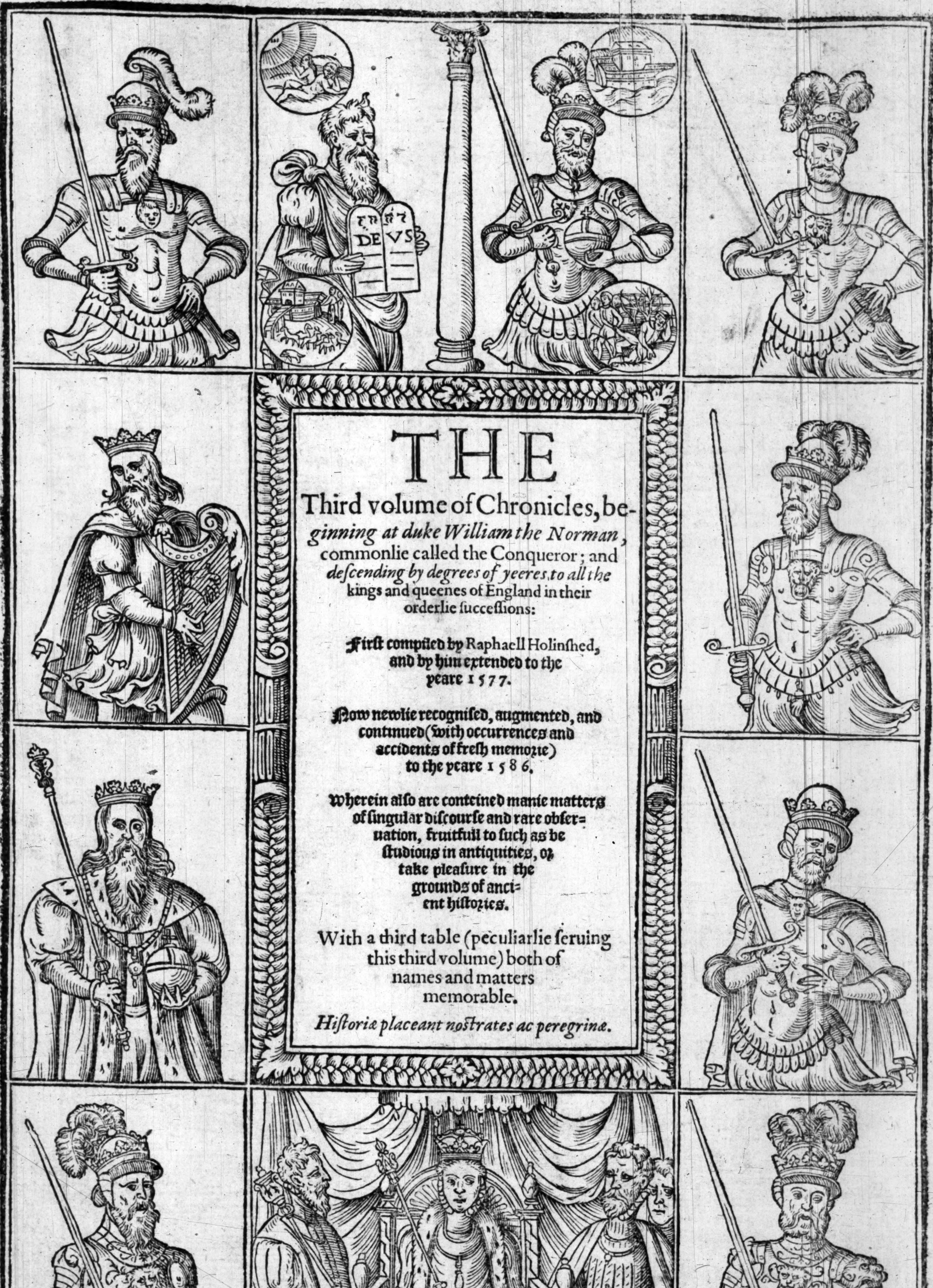

THE

Third volume of Chronicles, beginning at *duke William the Norman*, commonlie called the Conqueror; and *deſcending by degrees of yeeres to all the* kings and queenes of England in their orderlie ſucceſſions:

Firſt compiled by Raphaell Holinſhed,
and by him extended to the
yeare 1577.

Now newlie recogniſed, augmented, and
continued (with occurrences and
accidents of freſh memorie)
to the yeare 1586.

Wherein alſo are conteined manie matters
of ſingular diſcourſe and rare obſeruation, fruitfull to ſuch as be
ſtudious in antiquities, or
take pleaſure in the
grounds of ancient hiſtories.

With a third table (peculiarlie ſeruing
this third volume) both of
names and matters
memorable.

Hiſtoriæ placeant noſtrates ac peregrinæ.

TO THE

Right Honorable and his ſingular good Lord,

Sir William Cecill, Baron of Burghleygh, Knight of
the moſt noble order of the Garter, Lord high Treaſu-
rer of England, Maiſter of the Courts of Wards and
Liueries, and one of the Queenes Maieſties
priuie Councell.

COnſidering with my ſelfe, right Honorable *and my ſingular good Lord, how redie (no doubt) manie will be to accuſe me of vaine preſumption, for enterpriſing to deale in this ſo weightie a worke, and ſo far aboue my reach to accompliſh: I haue thought good to aduertiſe your Honour, by what occaſion I was firſt induced to vndertake the ſame, although the cauſe that moued me thereto hath (in part) yer this beene ſignified vnto your good Lordſhip.*

Whereas therefore, that worthie Citizen Reginald Wolfe *late Printer to the Queenes Maieſtie, a man well knowne and beholden to your Honour, meant in his life time to publiſh an vniuerſall Coſmographie of the whole world, and therwith alſo certaine particular hiſtories of euery knowne nation, amongſt other whom he purpoſed to vſe for performance of his intent in that behalfe, he procured me to take in hand the collection of thoſe hiſtories, and hauing proceeded ſo far in the ſame, as little wanted to the accompliſhment of that long promiſed worke, it pleaſed God to call him to his mercie, after fiue and twentie yeares trauell ſpent therein; ſo that by his vntimelie deceaſſe, no hope remained to ſee that performed, which we had ſo long trauelled about. Neuertheleſſe, thoſe whom he put in truſt to diſpoſe his things after his departure hence, wiſhing to the benefit of others, that ſome fruit might follow of that whereabout he had imployed ſo long time, willed me to continue mine endeuour for their furtherance in the ſame. Which although I was redie to doo, ſo far as mine abilitie would reach, and the rather to anſwere that truſt which the deceaſſed repoſed in me, to ſee it brought to ſome perfection: yet when the volume grew ſo great, as they that were to defraie the charges for the impreſſion, were not willing to go* *through with the whole, they reſolued firſt to publiſh the hiſtories of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with their deſcriptions; which deſcriptions, bicauſe they were not in ſuch readineſſe, as thoſe of forren countries, they were inforced to vſe the helpe of other better able to doo it than my ſelfe.*

Moreouer, the Charts, wherein Maiſter Wolfe *ſpent a great part of his time, were not found ſo complet as we wiſhed: and againe, vnderſtanding of the great charges and notable enterpriſe of that worthie Gentleman maiſter* Thomas Sackford, *in procuring the Charts of the ſeuerall prouinces of this realme to be ſet foorth, we are in hope that in time he will delineate this whole land ſo perfectlie, as ſhall be comparable or beyond anie delineation heretofore made of anie other region; and therefore leaue that to his well deſerued praiſe. If any well willer will imitate him in ſo praiſeworthie a worke for the two other regions, we will be glad to further his endeuour with all the helpes we may.*

The hiſtories I haue gathered according to my skill, and conferred the greateſt part with Maiſter Wolfe *in his life time, to his liking, who procured me ſo manie helpes to the furtherance thereof, that I was loth to omit anie thing that might increaſe the readers knowledge, which cauſeth the booke to grow ſo great. But receiuing them by parts, and at ſeuerall times (as I might get them) it may be, that hauing had more regard to the matter than the apt penning, I haue not ſo orderlie diſpoſed them, as otherwiſe I ought; chooſing rather to want order, than to defraud the reader of that which for his further vnderſtanding might ſeeme to ſatisfie his expectation.*

I therefore moſt humblie beſeech your Honour to accept theſe Chronicles of England vnder your protection, and according to your wiſedome and accuſtomed benignitie to beare with my faults; the rather, bicauſe you were euer ſo eſpeciall good Lord to Maiſter Wolfe, *to whom I was ſingularlie beholden; and in whoſe name I humblie preſent this rude worke vnto you, beſeeching God, that as he hath made you an inſtrument to aduance his truth, ſo it may pleaſe him to increaſe his good gifts in you, to his glorie, the furtherance of the Queenes Maieſties ſeruice, and the comfort of all hir faithfull and louing ſubiects.*

Your Honours moſt humble to be commanded,

RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

THE PREFACE

to the reader.

IT is dangerous (gentle reader) to range in ſo large a field as I haue here vndertaken, while ſo manie ſundrie men in diuers things may be able to controll me, and manie excellent wits of our countrie (as well or better occupied I hope) are able herein to ſurpaſſe me; but ſeeing the beſt able doo ſeeme to neglect it, let me (though leaſt able) craue pardon to put them in mind not to forget their natiue countries praiſe (which is their dutie) the incouragement of their woorthie countriemen, by elders aduancements; and the daunting of the vicious, by foure penall examples, to which end (as I take it) chronicles and hiſtories ought cheefelie to be written. My labour may ſhew mine vttermoſt good will, of the more learned I require their further enlargement, and of fault-finders diſpenſation till they be more fullie informed. It is too common that the leaſt able are readieſt to find fault in matters of leaſt weight, and therefore I eſteeme the leſſe of their carping, but humblie beſeech the ſkilfull to ſupplie my want, and to haue care of their dutie; and either to amend that wherein I haue failed, or be content with this mine endeuour. For it may pleaſe them to conſider, that no one can be eie-witneſſe to all that is written within our time; much leſſe to thoſe things which happened in former times, and therefore muſt be content with reports of others. Therein I haue beene ſo carefull, that I haue ſpared no paines or helpe of freends to ſearch out either written or printed ancient authors, or to inquire of moderne eie-witneſſes for the true ſetting downe of that which I haue here deliuered: but I find ſuch want in writers for the neceſſarie knowledge of things doone in times paſt, and lacke of meanes to obteine ſufficient inſtructions by reporters of the time preſent; and herewith the worthie exploits of our countriemen ſo manie, that it greeueth me I could not leaue the ſame to poſteritie (as I wiſhed) to their well deſerued praiſe. But I haue here imparted what I could learne, and craue that it may be taken in good part. My ſpeech is plaine, without any rhetoricall ſhew of eloquence, hauing rather a regard to ſimple truth, than to decking words. I wiſh I had beene furniſhed with ſo perfect inſtructions, and ſo many good gifts, that I might haue pleaſed all kinds of men, but that ſame being ſo rare a thing in any one of the beſt, I beſeech thee (gentle reader) not to looke for it in me the meaneſt.

But now for thy further inſtruction, to vnderſtand the courſe of theſe my labours. Firſt concerning the hiſtorie of England, as I haue collected the ſame out of manie and ſundrie authors, in whome what contrarietie, negligence, and raſhneſſe ſometime is found in their reports; I leaue to the diſcretion of thoſe that haue peruſed their works: for my part, I haue in things doubtfull rather choſen to ſhew the diuerſitie of their writings, than by ouer-ruling them, and vſing a peremptorie cenſure, to frame them to agree to my liking: leauing it neuertheleſſe to each mans iudgement, to controll them as he ſeeth cauſe. If ſome-where I ſhew my fanſie what I thinke, and that the ſame diſlike them; I craue pardon, ſpeciallie if by probable reaſons or plainer matter to be produced, they can ſhew mine errour; vpon knowledge whereof I ſhall be readie to reforme it accordinglie. Where I doo begin the hiſtorie from the firſt inhabitation of this Ile, I looke not to content ech mans opinion concerning the originall of them that firſt peopled it, and no maruell: for in matters ſo vncerteine, if I cannot ſufficientlie content my ſelfe (as in deed I cannot) I know not how I ſhould ſatiſfie others. That which ſeemeth to me moſt likelie, I haue noted, beſeeching the learned (as I truſt they will) in ſuch points of doubtfull antiquities to beare with my ſkill: ſith for ought I know, the matter is not yet decided among the learned, but ſtill they are in controuerſie about it, and as yet *Sub iudice lis eſt*. Well, howſoeuer it came firſt to be inhabited, likelie it is, that at the firſt the whole Ile was vnder one prince and gouernour, though afterwards (and long peraduenture before the Romans ſet any foot within it) the monarchie thereof was broken, euen when the multitude of the inhabitants grew to be great, and ambition entred amongſt them: which hath brought ſo manie good policies and ſtates to ruine and decaie.

The Romans hauing once got poſſeſſion of the continent that faceth this Ile, could not reſt (as it appeareth) till they had brought the ſame alſo vnder their ſubiection: and the ſooner doubtleſſe, by reaſon of the factions amongſt the princes of the land, which the Romans (through their accuſtomed ſkill) could turne verie well to their moſt aduantage. They poſſeſſed it almoſt fiue hundreth yeares, and longer might haue doone, if either their inſufferable tyrannie had not taken awaie from them the loue of the people, as well here as elſe-where; either that their ciuill diſcord about the chopping and changing of their emperours had not ſo weakened the forces of their empire, that they were not able to defend the ſame againſt the irruption of barbarous nations. But as we may coniecture by that which is found in hiſtories, about that time, in which the Romane empire began to decline, this land ſtood in verie weake ſtate: being ſpoiled of the moſt part of all hir able men, which were led awaie into forren regions, to ſupplie the Romane armies; and likewiſe (perhaps) of all neceſſarie armour, weapon, and treaſure: which being perceiued of the Saxons, after they were receiued into the Ile, to aid the Britons againſt the Scots and Picts then inuading the ſame, miniſtred to them occaſion to attempt the ſecond conqueſt, which at length they brought to paſſe, to the ouerthrow not onelie of the Britiſh dominion, but alſo to the ſubuerſion of the Chriſtian religion here in this land: which chanced (as appeareth by *Gildas*) for the wicked ſins and vnthankefulneſſe of the inhabitants towards God, the cheefe occaſions and cauſes of the tranſmutations of kingdoms, *Nam propter peccata, regna tranſmutantur à gente in gentem.*

The Saxons obteining poſſeſſion of the land, gouerned the ſame, being diuided into ſundrie kingdoms, and hauing once ſubdued the Britons, or at the leaſt-wiſe remooued them out of the moſt part of the Ile into od corners and mountaines, fell at diuiſion among themſelues, and oftentimes with warre purſued ech other, ſo as no perfect order of gouernement could be framed, nor the kings grow to any great puiſſance, either to mooue warres abroad, or ſufficientlie to defend themſelues againſt forren forces at home: as manifeſtlie was perceiued, when the Danes and other the Northeaſterne people, being then of great puiſſance by ſea, began miſerablie to afflict this land: at the firſt inuading as it were but onelie the coaſts and countries lieng neere to the ſea, but afterwards with maine armies they entred into the midle parts of the land. And although the Engliſh people at length came vnder one king, and by that meanes were the better able to reſiſt the enimies; yet at length thoſe Danes ſubdued the whole, and had poſſeſſion thereof for a time, although not long, but that the crowne returned againe to thoſe of the Saxon line: till ſhortlie after, by the inſolent dealings of the gouernours, a diuiſion was made betwixt the king and his people, through iuſt puniſhment decreed by the prouidence of the Almightie, determining for their ſinnes and contempt of his lawes, to deliuer them into the hands of a ſtranger; and therevpon when ſpite and enuie had brought the title in doubt, to whom the right in ſucceſſion apperteined, the Conquerour entred, and they remained a prey to him and his: who plucked all the heads and cheefe in authoritie ſo cleerelie vp by the roots, as few or none of them in the end was left to ſtand vp againſt him. And herewith altering the whole ſtate, he planted ſuch lawes and ordinances as ſtood moſt for his auaile and ſecuritie, which being after qualified with more milde and gentle lawes, tooke ſuch effect, that the ſtate hath euer ſithens continued whole and vnbroken by wiſe and politike gouernement, although diſquieted ſometime by ciuill diſſention, to the ruine commonlie of the firſt moouers, as by the ſequele of the hiſtorie you may ſee.

For the hiſtorie of Scotland, I haue for the more part followed *Hector Boece, Iohannes Maior*, and *Iouan Ferreri Piemonteſe*, ſo far as they haue continued it, interlaced ſomtimes with other authours as *Houeden, Fourdon*, and ſuch like; although not often, bicauſe I meant rather to deliuer what I found in their owne hiſtories extant, than to correct them by others, leauing that enterpriſe to their owne countrimen: ſo that whatſoeuer ye read in the ſame, conſider that a Scotiſhman writ it, and an Engliſhman hath but onelie tranſlated it into our language, referring the reader to the Engliſh hiſtorie, in all matters betwixt vs and them, to be confronted therewith as he ſeeth cauſe. For the continuation thereof I vſed the like order, in ſuch copies and notes as Maiſter Wolfe in his life time procured me; ſauing that in theſe laſt yeares I haue inſerted ſome ſuch notes as concerned matters of warre betwixt vs and the Scots, bicauſe I got them not till that part of the Engliſh hiſtorie was paſt the preſſe.

For Ireland, I haue ſhewed in mine epiſtle dedicatorie in what ſort, and by what helps I haue proceeded therein; onelie this I forgot to ſignifie, that I had not *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, and *Flatſburie*, vntill that part of the booke was vnder the preſſe, and ſo being conſtreined to make poſt haſt, I could not exemplifie what I would out of them all, neither yet diſpoſe it ſo orderlie as had beene conuenient, nor pen it with ſo apt words as might ſatisfie either my ſelfe, or thoſe to whoſe view it is now like to come. And by reaſon of the like haſte made in the impreſſion, where I was determined to haue tranſpoſed the moſt part of that which in the Engliſh hiſtorie I had noted, concerning the conqueſt of Ireland by Hen. the ſecond, out of *Houeden* & others, I had not time thereto; and ſo haue left it there remaining where I firſt noted it, before I determined to make any particular collection of the Iriſh hiſtories, bicauſe the ſame commeth there well inough in place, as to thoſe that ſhall vouchſafe to turne the booke it may appeare.

For the computation of the yeares of the world, I had by Maiſter *Wolfes* aduiſe followed *Functius*; but after his deceaſſe, M. W. H. made me partaker of a Chronologie, which he had gathered and compiled with moſt exquiſit diligence, following *Gerardus Mercator*, and other late Chronologers, and his owne obſeruations, according to the which I haue reformed the ſame. As for the yeares of our Lord, and the kings, I haue ſet them downe according to ſuch authors as ſeeme to be of beſt credit in that behalfe, as I doubt not but to the learned and ſkilfull in hiſtories it ſhall appeare. Moreouer, this the reader hath to conſider, that I doo begin the yeare at the natiuitie of our Lord, which is the ſureſt order (in my fanſie) that can be followed.

For the names of perſons, townes, and places, as I haue beene diligent to reforme the errours of other (which are to be aſcribed more to the vnperfect copies than to the authors) ſo may it be that I haue ſome-where committed the like faults, either by negligence or want of skill to reſtore them to their full integritie as I wiſhed. But what I haue performed, aſwell in that behalfe as others, the ſkilfull reader ſhall eaſily perceiue, and withall conſider (I truſt) what trauell I haue beſtowed to his behoofe in this huge volume; crauing onelie, that in recompenſe thereof he will iudge the beſt, and to make a freendlie conſtruction of my meaning, where ought may ſeeme to haue eſcaped my pen or the printers preſſe, otherwiſe than we could haue wiſhed for his better ſatiſfaction. Manie things being taken out as they lie in authors, may be thought to giue offenſe in time preſent, which referred to the time paſt when the author writ, are not onelie tollerable, but alſo allowable. Therefore (good reader) I beſeech thee to weigh the cauſes and circumſtances of ſuch faults and imperfections, and conſider that the like may creepe into a far leſſe volume than this, and ſhew me ſo much fauour as hath beene ſhewed to others in like cauſes. And ſithens I haue doone my good will, accept the ſame, as I with a free and thankefull mind doo offer it thee; ſo ſhall I thinke my labour well beſtowed. For the other hiſtories, which are alreadie collected, if it pleaſe God to giue abilitie, ſhall in time come to light, with ſome ſuch breefe deſcriptions of the forren regions whereof they treat, as may the better ſuffice to the readers contentation, and vnderſtanding of the matters conteined in the ſame hiſtories, reduced into abridgements out of their great volumes. And thus I ceaſſe further to trouble thy patience, wiſhing to thee (gentle reader) ſo much profit, as by reading may be had, and as great comfort as Gods holie ſpirit may endue thee with.

FINIS.

The politike Conqueſt of William the firſt.

Anno. 1.

1066

THis William Duke of Normandie, baſe ſon of Robert the firſt Duke of Normandie, and nephew vnto Edward King of England, ſurnamed the Confeſſor, hauing vanquiſhed the Engliſh power, and ſlaine Harold in the field (as you may read at large towards the end of the hiſtorie of England) began his reigne ouer England the xv. daie of October being ſundaie, in the yeare after the creation of the world 5033. (as W. Hariſon gathereth) and after the birth of our Sauiour 1066. which was in the tenth yeare of the emperour Henrie the fourth, in the firſt of pope Alexander the ſecond, in the firſt of Philip king of France, and about the tenth of Malcolme the third, ſurnamed Camoir, king of Scotland.

Sim. Dun.

Immediatlie after he had thus got the victorie in a pight field (as before ye haue heard) he firſt returned to Haſtings, and after ſet forward towards London, waſted the countries of Suſſex, Kent, Hamſhire, Southerie, Middleſex, and Herefordſhire, burning the townes, and ſleaing the people, till he came to Beorcham. In the meane time, immediatlie after the diſcomfiture in Suſſex, the two earles of Northumberland and Mercia, Edwin and Marchar, who had withdrawne themſelues from the battell togither with their people, came to London, and with all ſpeed ſent their ſiſter quéene Aldgitha vnto the citie of Cheſter, and herewith ſought to perſuade the Londoners to aduance one of them to the kingdome: as Wil. Mal. writeth. But Simon of Durham ſaith, that Aldred archbiſhop of Yorke, and the ſaid earles with others would haue made Edgar Etheling king. Howbeit, whileſt manie of the Nobilitie and others prepared to make themſelues redie to giue a new battell to the Normans (how or whatſoeuer was the cauſe) the ſaid earles drew homewards with their powers, to the great diſcomfort of their fréends. Wil. Malm. ſéemeth to put blame in the biſhops, for that the lords went not forward with their purpoſe in aduancing Edgar Etheling to the crowne. For the biſhops (ſaith he) refuſed to ioine with the lords in that behalfe, and ſo through enuie and ſpite which one part bare to another, when they could not agrée vpon an Engliſhman, they receiued a ſtranger, inſomuch that vpon king William his comming vnto Beorcham, Aldred archbiſhop of Yorke, Wolſtane biſhop of Worceſter, and Walter biſhop of Hereford, Edgar Etheling, and the foreſaid earles Edwin and Marchar came and ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, whom he gentlie receiued, and incontinentlie made an agréement with them, taking their oth and hoſtages (as ſome write) and yet neuertheleſſe he permitted his people to ſpoile and burne the countrie.

Edwin and Marchar.

Quéene Aldgitha ſent to Cheſter.

Wil. Mal. Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm. The biſhops blamed.

The archbiſhop of yorke & other ſubmit themſelues to king William.

But now, when the feaſt of Chriſts natiuitie (commonlie called Chriſtmas) was at hand, he approched to the citie of London, and comming thither, cauſed his vauntgard firſt to enter into the ſtréets, where finding ſome reſiſtance, he eaſilie ſubdued the citizens that thus tooke vpon them to withſtand him, though not without ſome bloudſhed (as Gemeticen. writeth) but as by others it ſhould appéere, he was receiued into the citie without anie reſiſtance at all; and ſo being in poſſeſſion thereof, he ſpake manie fréendlie words to the citizens, and promiſed that he would vſe them in moſt liberall & courteous maner. Not long after, when things were brought in order (as was thought requiſite) he was crowned king vpon Chriſtmas daie following, by Aldred archbiſhop of Yorke. For he would not receiue the crowne at the hands of Stigand archbiſhop of Canturburie, bicauſe he was hated, and furthermore iudged to be a verie lewd perſon and a naughtie liuer.

Gemeticenſis.

William Conquerour crowned 1067. according to their account which begin the yeare on the daie of Chriſt his natiuitie.

At his coronation he cauſed the biſhops and barons of the realme to take their oth, that they ſhould be his true and loiall ſubiects (according to the maner in that caſe accuſtomed.) And being required thereto by the archbiſhop of Yorke, he tooke his perſonall oth before the altar of S. Peter at Weſtmiſter, to defend the holie church, and rulers of the ſame, to gouerne the people in iuſtice as became a king to doo, to ordeine righteous lawes ⁊ kéepe the ſame, ſo that all maner of bribing, rapine, and wrongfull iudgements ſhould for euer after be aboliſhed.

Polydor.

1067

After this, he tooke order how to kéepe the realme in good and quiet gouernment, fortifieng the neceſſarie places, and furniſhing them with gariſons. He alſo appointed officers and councellers, ſuch as he thought to be wiſe and diſcréet men, and appointed ſhips to be in the hauens by the coaſt for the defenſe of the land, as he thought moſt expedient. After his coronation, or rather before (as by ſome authours it ſhould ſéeme) euen preſentlie vpon obteining of the citie of London, he tooke his iourney towards the caſtell of Douer, to ſubdue that and the reſt of Kent alſo: which when the archbiſhop Stigand and Egelſin the abbat of S. Auguſtines (being as it were the chiefeſt lords and gouernours of all Kent) did perceiue, and conſidered that the whole realme was in an euill ſtate; ⁊ that whereas in this realme of England, before the comming in of the forſaid duke William, there were no bondmen: now all, as well the Nobilitie as the Commonaltie were without reſpect made ſubiect to the intollerable bondage of the Normans, taking an occaſion by the perill and danger that their neighbours were in, to prouide for the ſafegard of them-

Iohn Stow.

Tho. Spot.

Seruitude & bondage of the Nobilitie and Commonaltie to the Normans.

ſelues and their countrie. They cauſed all the people of the countie of Kent to aſſemble at Canturburie, and declared to them the perils and dangers imminent, the miſerie that their neighbours were come into, the pride and inſolencie of the Normans, and the hardneſſe and griefe of bondage and ſeruile eſtate. Whereupon all the people rather chooſing to end their vnfortunate life, than to ſubmit themſelues to an vnaccuſtomed yoke of ſeruitude and bondage, with a common conſent determined to méet duke William, and to fight with him for the lawes of their countrie. Alſo, the foreſaid Stigand the archbiſhop, and the abbat Egelſin, chooſing rather to die in battell, than to ſée their nation in ſo euill an eſtate, being encouraged by the examples of the holie Machabées, became capteins of the armie. And at a daie appointed, all the people met at Swaneſcombe, and being hidden in the woods, laie priuilie in wait for the comming of the foreſaid duke William.

Now, bicauſe it cannot hurt to take great héed, and to be verie warie in ſuch caſes, they agréed before hand, that when the duke was come, and the paſſages on euerie ſide ſtopped, to the end he ſhould no waie be able to eſcape, euerie one of them, as well horſſemen as footmen ſhould beare boughes in their hands. The next daie after, when the duke was come into the fields and territories néere vnto Swaneſcombe, and ſaw all the countrie ſet and placed about him, as it had béene a ſtirring and mouing wood, and that with a meane pace they approched and drew neare vnto him, with great diſcomfort of mind he woondered at that ſight. And aſſoone as the capteins of the Kentiſhmen ſawe that duke William was incloſed in the middeſt of their armie, they cauſed their trumpets to be ſounded, their banners to be diſplaied, and threw downe their boughes, & with their bowes bent, their ſwords drawne, and their ſpeares and other kind of weapons ſtretched forth, they ſhewed themſelues readie to fight. Duke William and they that were with him ſtood (as no maruell it was) ſore aſtonied, and amazed: ſo that he which thought he had alreadie all England faſt in his fiſt, did now deſpaire of his owne life. Therefore on the behalfe of the Kentiſhmen, were ſent vnto duke William the archbiſhop Stigand, and Egelſin abbat of S. Auguſtines, who told him their meſſage in this ſort.

> My lord duke, behold the people of Kent come forth to méet you, and to receiue you as their liege lord, requiring at your hands the things which perteine to peace, and that vnder this condition; that all the people of Kent enioy for euer their ancient liberties, and may for euermore vſe the lawes and cuſtomes of the countrie: otherwiſe they are readie preſentlie to bid battell to you, and them that be with you, and are minded rather to die here altogither, than to depart from the lawes and cuſtomes of their countrie, and to ſubmit themſelues to bondage, whereof as yet they neuer had experience.

The duke ſéeing himſelfe to be driuen to ſuch an exigent & narrow pinch, conſulted a while with them that came with him, prudentlie conſidering, that if he ſhould take anie repulſe or diſpleaſure at the hands of this people, which be the key of England, all that he had done before ſhould be diſanulled and made of none effect, and all his hope and ſafetie ſhould ſtand in danger and ieopardie: not ſo willinglie as wiſelie he granted the people of Kent their requeſt. Now when the couenant was eſtabliſhed, and pledges giuen on both ſides: the Kentiſhmen being ioyfull, conducted the Normans (who alſo were glad) vnto Rocheſter, and yéelded vp to the duke the earledome of Kent, and the noble caſtell of Douer. Thus the ancient liberties of England, and the lawes and cuſtomes of the countrie, which before the comming of duke William out of Normandie, were equallie kept throughout all England, doo (through this induſtrie and earneſt trauell of the archbiſhop Stigand and Egelſin abbat of S. Auguſtines) remaine inuiolablie obſerued vntill this daie within that countie of Kent. ¶ Thus far Thomas Spot, and after him William Thorne writeth the ſame. Of the which the former (that is Spot) liued in the daies of king Edward the firſt, and William Thorne in the daies of king Richard the ſecond.

The ancient liberties and lawes of England remaine in Kent onlie.

Wil. Thorne.

But now, before we procéed anie further in recitall of the Conquerours doings, we haue here in a table noted all the noble capteins and gentlemen of name, aſwell Normans as other ſtrangers, which aſſiſted duke William in the conqueſt of this land: and firſt, as we find them written in the chronicles of Normandie by one William Tailleur.

The Catalog of ſuch Noble men, Lords, and Gentlemen *of name, as came into this land with* William the Conquerour.

ODo biſhop of Bayeulx.
Robert erle of Mortaing.
Roger erle of Beaumont ſurnamed *A la Barbe*.
Guillaume Mallet ſeigneur de Montfort.
Henrie ſeig. de Ferrers.
Guillaume d'Aubellemare ſeign. de Fougieres.
Guillaume de Roumare ſeig. de Lithare.
Le ſeig. de Touque.
Le ſeig. de la Mare.
Neel le Viconte.
Guillaume de Vepont.
Le ſeig. de Magneuille.
Le ſeig. de Groſmenil.
Le ſeig. de S. Martin.
Le ſeig. de Puis.
Guillaume Creſpin.
Guillaume de Moyenne
Guillaume Deſmoullins.
Guillaume Deſgarennes.
Hue de Gourney, *aliàs* Geneuay.
Le ſeig. de Bray.
Le ſeig. de Gouy.
Le ſeig. de Laigle.
Le ſeig. de Touarts.
Le ſeig. de Aurenchin.
Le ſeig. de Vitrey.
Le ſeig. de Traſſy, *aliàs* Tracy.
Le ſeig. de Picquigny.
Le ſeig. d Eſpinay.
Oſmond ſeig. du Pont.
Le ſeig. de Eſtouteuile.
Le ſeig. de Torchy.
Le ſeig. de Barnaboſt.
Le ſeig. de Breual.
Le ſeig. de Seeulme.
Le ſeig. de Houme.
Le ſeig. de Souchoy.
Le ſeig. de Cally.
Le ſeig. de la Riuere.
Euldes de Beanieu.
Le ſeig. de Roumilly.
Le ſeig. de Glotz.
Le ſeig. du Sap.
Le ſeig. de Vanuille.
Le ſeig. Branchou.
Le ſeig. Balleul.
Le ſeig. de Beauſault.
Le ſeig. de Telleres.
Le ſeig. de Senlys.
Le ſeig. de Bacqueuille.
Le ſeig. de Preaulx.
Le ſeig. de Iouy.
Le ſeig. de Longueuille.
Le ſeig. d'Aquigny.
Le ſeig. de Paſſy.
Le ſeig. de Tournay.
Le ſeig. de Colombieres
Le ſeig. de Bolleber.
Le ſeig. de Garenſieres.
Le ſeig. de Longueile.
Le ſeig. de Houdetot.
Le ſeig. de Malletot.
Le ſeig. de la Haie Malerbe.
Le ſei. de Porch Pinche.
Le ſeig. de Iuetot.
The erle of Tanqueruile
The erle d'Eu.
The erle d'Arques.

The erle of Aniou.
The erle of Neuers.
Le ſeig. de Rouuile.
Le prince de Alemaigne.
Le ſeig. de Pauilly.
Le ſeig. de S. Cler.
Le ſeig. d'Eſpinay.
Le ſeig. de Bremetot.
Alain Fergant erle of Britaigne.
Le ſeig. de la Ferte.
Robert fils Heruays duc de Orleans.
Le ſeig. de la Lande.
Le ſeig. de Mortimer.
Le ſeig. de Clare.
Le ſeig. de Magny.
Le ſeig. de Fontnay.
Roger de Montgomery.
Amaury de Touars.
Le ſeig. de Hacqueuile.
Le ſeig. de Neanſhou.
Le ſeig. de Perou.
Robert de Beaufou.
Le ſeig. Meauuon.
Le ſeig. de Soteuile.
Euſtace de Hambleuile.
Geoffray Bournom.
Le ſeig. de Blainuile.
Le ſeig. de Mauneuile.
Geoffrey de Moienne.
Auffray and Mauger de Carteny.
Le ſeig. de Freanuile.
Le ſeig de Moubray.
Le ſeig. de Iaſitay.
Guillaume Patais ſeig. de la Lande.
Eulde de Mortimer.
Hue erle of Gournay.
Egremont de Laigle.
Richard d'Aurinchin.
Le ſeig. de Bearts.
Le ſeig. de Soulligny.
Bouteclier d'Aubigny.
Le ſeig. de Marcey.
Le ſeig. de Lachy.
Le ſeig. de Valdere.
Eulde de Montfort.
Henoyn de Cahieu.
Le ſeig. de Vimers.
Guillaume de Mouion.
Raoul Teſſon de Tignolles.
Anguerand erle of Hercourt.
Roger Marmion.
Raoul de Gaiel.
Auenel de Viers.
Pauuel du Montier Hubert.
Robert Bertraule Tort.
Le ſeig. de Seulle.
Le ſeig. Doriual.
Le ſeig. de la Hay.
Le ſeig. de S. Iohn.
Le ſeig de Sauſſy.
Le ſeig. de Brye.
Richard Dollebec.
Le ſeig. du Monfiquet.
Le ſeig. de Breſey.
Le ſeig. de Semilly.
Le ſeig. de Tilly.
Le ſeig. de Preaux.
Le ſeig. de S. Denis.
Le ſeig. de Meuley.
Le ſeig. de Monceaux.
The archers of Bretuile.
The archers of Vaudreuile.
Le ſeig. de S. Sain.
Le ſeig. de Breanſou.
Le ſeig. de Saſſy.
Le ſeig. de Naſſy.
Le vidam de Chartres.
Le ſeig. de Ieanuile.
Le vidam du Paſſais.
Pierre du Bailleul ſeig. de Feſcampe.
Le ſeneſchal de Torchy.
Le ſeig. de Griſſey.
Le ſeig. de Baſſey.
Le ſeig. de Tourneur.
Guillaume de Colombieres.
Le ſeig. de Bonnebault.
Le ſeig. de Ennebault.
Le ſeig. de Danuillers.
Le ſeig. de Beruile.
Le ſeig. de Creueceur.
Le ſeig. de Breate.
Le ſeig. de Coutray.
The erle of Eureux.
Le ſeig. de ſeint Valery.
Thomas erle d'Aumale.
The erle de Hieſmes.

With other lords and men of account in great numbers, whoſe names the author of the chronicles of Normandie could not come by (as he himſelfe confeſſeth.) In conſideration whereof, and bicauſe diuers of theſe are ſet foorth onlie by their titles of eſtate, and not by their ſurnames; we haue thought it conuenient to make you partakers of the roll which ſometime belonged to Battell abbeie, conteining alſo (as the title thereof importeth) the names of ſuch Nobles and Gentlemen of Marque, as came at this time with the Conqueror, whereof diuerſe maie be the ſame perſons which in the catalog aboue written are conteined, bearing the names of the places whereof they were poſſeſſours and owners, as by the ſame catalog maie appeare.

The roll of Battell abbeie.

A

AVmarle
Aincourt
Audeley
Adgillam
Argentoune
Arundell
Auenant
Abell
Auuerne
Aunwers
Angers
Angenoun
Archere
Anuay
Aſperuile
Albeuile
Andeuile
Amouerduile
Arcy and Akeny
Albeny
Aybeuare
Amay
Aſpermound
Amerenges

B

BErtram
Buttecourt
Brebus and Byſeg
Bardolfe
Baſſet and Bigot
Bohun
Bailif
Bondeuile
Brabaſon
Baskeruile
Bures
Bounilaine
Bois
Botelere
Bourcher
Brabaion
Berners
Braibuf
Brande & Bronce
Burgh
Buſhy
Banet
Blondell
Breton
Bluat and Baious
Browne
Beke
Bickard
Banaſtre
Baloun
Beauchampe
Bray and Bandy
Bracy
Boundes
Baſcoun
Broilem
Broleuy
Burnell
Bellet
Baudewin
Beaumont
Burdon
Berteuilay
Barre
Buſſeuile
Blunt
Beaupere
Beuill
Barduedor
Brette
Barrett
Bonret
Bainard
Barniuale
Bonett
Barry
Bryan
Bodin
Beteruile
Bertin
Bereneuile
Bellewe
Beuery
Busſhell
Boranuile
Browe
Beleuers
Buffard
Botelere
Bonueier
Boteuile
Bellire
Baſtard
Bainard
Braſard
Beelhelme
Braine
Brent
Braunch
Beleſuz
Blundell
Burdet
Bagot
Beauuiſe
Belemis
Beiſin
Bernon
Boels
Belefroun
Brutz
Barchampe

C

CAmois
Camuile
Chawent
Chauncy
Conderay
Coluile
Chamberlaine
Chamburnoun
Comin
Columber
Cribett
Creuquere
Corbine
Corbett
Chaundos
Chaworth
Cleremaus
Clarell
Chopis
Chaunduit
Chantelow
Chamberay

Creſſy
Curtenay
Coneſtable
Cholmeley
Champney
Chawnos
Comiuile
Champaine
Careuile
Carbonelle
Charles
Chereberge
Chawnes
Chaumont
Caperoun
Cheine
Curſon
Couille
Chaiters
Cheines
Cateray
Cherecourt
Cammile
Clerenay
Curly
Cuily
Clinels
Chaundos
Courteney
Clifford

D

DEnauille
Dercy
Diue
Diſpencere
Daubeny
Daniell
Deniſe and Druell
Deuans
Dauers
Dodingſels
Darell
Delaber
Delapole
Delalinde
Delahill
Delaware
Delauache
Dakeny
Dauntre
Deſny
Dabernoune
Damry
Daueros
Dauonge
Duilby
Delauere
Delahoid
Durange
Delee
Delaund
Delaward
Delaplanch
Damnot
Danway
Dehenſe
Deuile
Diſard
Doiuille
Durant
Drury
Dabitot
Dunſteruile
Dunchampe
Dambelton

E

EStrange
Eſtuteuile
Engaine
Eſtriels
Eſturney

F

FErrerers
Foluille
Fitz Water
Fitz Marmaduke
Fleuez
Filberd
Fitz Roger
Fauecourt
Ferrers
Fitz Philip
Filiot
Furniueus
Furniuaus
Fitz Otes
Fitz William
Fitz Roand
Fitz Pain
Fitz Auger
Fitz Aleyn
Fitz Rauff
Fitz Browne
Fouke
Freuil
Front de Boef
Facunberge
Fort
Friſell
Fitz Simon
Fitz Fouk
Filioll
Fitz Thomas
Fitz Morice
Fitz Hugh
Fitz Henrie
Fitz Waren
Fitz Rainold
Flamuile
Formay
Fitz Euſtach
Fitz Laurence
Formibaud
Friſound
Finere and Fitz
Robert
Furniuale
Fitz Geffrey
Fitz Herbert
Fitz Peres
Fichet
Fitz Rewes
Fitz Fitz
Fitz Iohn
Fleſchampe

G

GVrnay
Greſſy
Graunſon
Gracy
Georges
Gower
Gaugy
Goband
Gray
Gaunſon
Golofre
Gobion
Grenſy
Graunt
Greile
Greuet
Gurry
Gurley
Grammori
Gernoun
Grendon
Gurdon
Gines
Griuil
Greneuile
Glateuile
Gurney
Giffard
Gouerges
Gamages

H

HAunteney
Haunſard
Haſtings
Hanlay
Haurell
Huſee
Hercy
Herioun
Herne
Harecourt
Henoure
Houell
Hamelin
Harewell
Hardell
Haket
Hamound
Harcord

I

IArden
Iay
Ieniels
Ierconuiſe
Ianuile
Iaſperuile

K

KAunt
Karre
Karrowe
Koine
Kimaronne
Kiriell
Kancey
Kenelre.

L

LOueny
Lacy
Linneby
Latomer
Loueday
Louell
Lemare
Leuetot
Lucy
Luny
Logeuile
Longeſpes
Louerace
Longechampe
Laſcales
Lacy
Louan
Leded
Luſe
Loterell
Loruge
Longeuale
Loy
Lorancourt
Loions
Limers
Longepay
Laumale
Lane
Louetot

M

MOhant
Mowne
Maundeuile
Marmilon
Moribray
Moruile
Miriell
Manlay
Malebraunch
Malemaine
Mortimere
Mortimaine
Muſe
Marteine
Mountbother
Mountſoler
Maleuile
Malet
Mounteney
Monfichet
Maleherbe
Mare
Muſegros
Muſard
Moine
Montrauers
Merke
Murres
Mortiuale
Moncheneſy
Mallory
Marny
Mountagu
Mountford
Maule
Monhermon
Muſett
Meneuile
Manteuenant and
Manſe
Menpincoy
Maine
Mainard
Morell
Mainell
Maleluſe
Memorous
Morreis
Morleian Maine
Maleuere
Mandut
Mountmarten
Mantelet
Miners
Mauclerke
Maunchenell
Mouet
Meintenore
Meletak
Manuile
Mangiſere
Maumaſin
Mountlouel
Mawreward
Monhaut
Meller
Mountgomerie
Manlay
Maulard
Mainard
Menere
Martinaſt
Mare
Mainwaring
Matelay
Malemis
Maleheire
Moren
Melun
Marceans
Maiell
Morton

N

NOers
Neuile
Newmarch
Norbet
Norice
Newborough
Neiremet
Neile
Normauile
Neoſmarch
Nermitz
Nembrutz

O

OTeuell
Olibef
Olifant
Oſenel
Oiſell
Olifard
Orinall
Orioll

P

PIgot
Pery
Perepount
Perſhale
Power
Painell
Perche and Pauey
Peurell

Peurell
Perot
Picard
Pinkenie
Pomeray
Pounce
Pauely
Paifrere
Plukenet
Phuars
Punchardoun
Pinchard
Placy
Pugoy
Pateſinc
Place
Pampilioun
Percelay
Perere & Pekeny
Poterell
Peukeny
Peccell
Pinell
Putrill
Petiuoll
Preaus
Pantolf
Peito
Penecord
Preudirlegaſt
Perciuale

Q

QVinci
Quintiny

R

ROs
Ridell
Riuers
Riuell
Rous
Ruſhell
Raband
Ronde
Rie
Rokell
Riſers
Randuile
Roſelin
Raſtoke
Rinuill
Rougere
Rait
Ripere
Rigny
Richemound
Rochford
Raimond

S

SOuch
Sheuile
Seucheus
Senclere
Sent Quintin
Sent Omere
Sent Amond
Sent Legere
Someruile
Siward
Saunſouere
Sanford
Sanctes
Sauay
Saulay
Sules
Sorell
Somerey
Sent Iohn
Sent George
Sent Les
Seſſe
Saluin
Say
Solers
Saulay
Sent Albin
Sent Martin
Sourdemale
Seguin
Sent Barbe
Sent Vile
Souremount
Soregliſe
Sanduile
Sauncey
Sirewaſt
Sent Cheueroll
Sent More
Sent Scudemore

T

TOget
Tercy
Tuchet
Tracy
Trousbut
Trainell
Taket
Truſſel and Triſon
Talbot
Touny
Traies
Tollemach
Tolous
Tanny
Touke
Tibtote
Turbeuile
Turuile
Tomy and Tauerner
Trencheuile
Trenchelion
Tankeruile
Tirell
Triuet
Tolet
Trauers
Tardeuile
Turburuile
Tineuile
Torell
Tortechappell
Trusbote
Treuerell
Tenwis
Totelles

V

VEre
Vernoun
Veſcy
Verdoune
Valence
Verdeire
Vauaſour
Vendore
Verlay
Valenger
Venables
Venoure
Vilan
Verland
Valers
Veirny
Vauuruile
Veniels
Verrere
Vſchere
Veſſay
Vanay
Vian
Vernoys
Vrnall
Vnket
Vrnafull
Vaſderoll
Vaberon
Valingford
Venicorde
Valiue
Viuille
Vancorde and Valenges

W

WArdebois
Ward
Wafre
Wake
Wareine
Wate
Watelin
Wateuil
Wely
Werdonell
Weſpaile
Wiuell.

Sim.Dunel.

When king William had ſet all things in order through the moſt part of the realme, he deliuered the guiding thereof vnto his brother Odo, the biſhop of Bayeux, and his coſine William Fits Oſborne, whom he had made erle of Hereford.

King william goeth ouer into Normandy
Hen. Hunt.
Polychron.
Sim.Dun.

In Lent following he ſailed into Normandie, leading with him the pledges, and other of the chéefeſt lords of the Engliſh nation: among whom, the two earles Edwine and Marchar, Stigand the archbiſhop, Edgar Etheling, Walteof ſonne to Siward ſometime duke of Northumberland, and Agelnothus the abbat of Glaſtenburie were the moſt famous.

Edricke Syluaticus.

Soone after his departing, Edricke ſurnamed Syluaticus, ſonne to Alfricke that was brother to Edricke de Streona, refuſing to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the king, rebelled and roſe againſt ſuch as he had left in his abſence to gouerne the land.

Richard Fits Scrope.

Wherevpon thoſe that laie in the caſtell of Hereford, as Richard Fitz Scrope and others, did oftentimes inuade his lands, and waſted the goods of his farmors and tenants: but yet ſo often as they attempted to inuade him, they loſt manie of their owne ſouldiers and men of war. Moreouer, the ſaid Edricke calling to his aid the kings of the Welſhmen, Bleothgent and Rithwall, about the feaſt of the aſſumption of our Ladie, waſted the countrie of Hereford, euen to the bridge of the riuer of Wye, and obteined out of thoſe quarters a maruellous great ſpoile.

The riuer of wye.
King william returneth into England.

In the winter alſo following, and after king William had diſpoſed his buſines in Normandie, he returned into England, and euen then began to handle the Engliſhmen ſomewhat ſharpelie, ſuppoſing thereby to kéepe them the more eaſilie vnder his obedience. He alſo tooke awaie from diuerſe of the Nobilitie, and others of the better ſort, all their liuings, and gaue the ſame to his Normans.

H. Hunt.

Moreouer, he raiſed great taxes and ſubſidies through the realme: nor any thing regarded th'Engliſh Nobilitie, ſo that they who before thought themſelues to be made for euer by bringing a ſtranger into the realme, doo now ſée themſelues troden vnder foot, to be deſpiſed, and to be mocked on all ſides, inſomuch that many of them were conſtreined (as it were for a further teſtimonie of ſeruitude and bondage) to ſhaue their beards, to round their heare, and to frame themſelues as well in apparell as in ſeruice and diet at their tables after the Norman manner, verie ſtrange and farre differing from the ancient cuſtomes and old vſages of their countrie.

Matth. Paris.

Others vtterlie refuſing to ſuſteine ſuch an intollerable yoke of thraldome as was dailie laid vpon them by the Normans, choſe rather to leaue all both goods and lands, & after the maner of outlawes got them to the woods, with their wiues, children, and ſeruants, meaning from thenceforth wholie to liue vpon the ſpoile of the countries adioining, and to take whatſoeuer came next to hand.

Engliſhmen withdraw them to the woods as outlawes.

Wherevpon it came to paſſe within a while, that no man might trauell in ſafetie from his owne houſe or towne to his next neighbors, and euery quiet and honeſt mans houſe became as it were an hold or fortreſſe furniſhed for defenſe with bowes and arrowes, bils, polaxes, ſwords, clubs and ſtaues, and other weapons; the doores kept locked and ſtronglie boulted in the night ſeaſon, for feare to be ſurpriſed as it had béene in time of open warre, and amongſt publike enimies. Praiers were ſaid alſo by the maiſter of the houſe, as though they had beene in the middeſt of the ſeas in ſome ſtormie tempeſt, and when the windowes or doores ſhould be ſhut in and cloſed, they vſed to ſaie *Benedicite*, and others to anſwer, *Dominus*, in like ſort as the preeſt and his penitent were woont to doo at confeſſion in the church.

Notwithſtanding all this, K. William ſought to tame & vanquiſh thoſe of the Engliſh Nobilitie, who would not be at his becke. They againe on the other ſide made themſelues ſtrong, the better to reſiſt him, chooſing for their cheefe capteines and leaders, the earles Edwine & Edgar Etheling, who valiantlie reſiſted the Normans, and ſlue many of them with great rage and crueltie. And as they thus proceeded in their matters, king William being a politike prince, forward and painefull in his buſineſſe, ſuffered them not altogither to eſcape cleere awaie, but did ſore annoy and put them oft to remediles loſſes, though he abode in the meane time many laborious iournies, ſlaughters of his people, and damages of his perſon. Herevpon the Engliſh Nobilitie euer after, yea in time of peace, were hated of the king and his Normans, and at length were kept ſo ſhort, that being mooued partlie with diſdaine, and partlie with dread, they got them out of the realme, ſome into Scotland, ſome into Denmarke, others into Norway; and among theſe, the two earles Edwine and Marchar, with certeine biſhops & others of the cleargie, beſides manie alſo of the temporaltie, eſcaped into Scotland. Marleſwine & Goſpatricke, with a great number of other the Nobles of Northumberland, Edgar Ethling with his mother Agatha, and his ſiſters Chriſtine and Margaret, chanced alſo to be driuen into Scotland by tempeſt, as they ſailed towards the coaſts of Germanie, purpoſing to haue returned into Hungarie, where the ſaid Edgar was borne: howbeit being arriued in Scotland, he found ſo friendlie entertainment there, that finallie Malcolme the third then king of that realme, tooke his ſiſter Margaret to wife, and Chriſtine became a nunne, as in the Scotiſh chronicles more plainelie dooth appeere. King William heereby perceiuing daily how vnwilling the Engliſhmen were to be vnder his obeiſance, was in feare of rebellious commotions; and therfore to ſubdue them the better, he builded foure caſtels, one at Notingham, another at Lincolne, the third at Yorke, and the fourth neere vnto Haſtings, where he landed at his firſt comming into England.

Polydor.
Anno Reg. 2.
Matth. Paris.
Math. Weſt.
Diuers of the Engliſh Nobilitie forſake their natiue countrie.

Polydor.

Two at Yorke, wherein he left fiue hundred men in garriſon.
Simon Dun.

Moreouer, to reduce the Engliſh people the ſooner vnto obedience and awe, he tooke from them all their armour and weapons. He ordeined alſo that the maiſter of euerie houſhold about eight of the clocke in the euening, ſhould cauſe his fire to be raked vp in aſhes, his lights to be put out, and then go to bed. Beſides this, to the end that euerie man might haue knowledge of the houre to go to reſt, he gaue order, that in all cities, townes, and villages, where anie church was, there ſhould a bell be roong at the ſaid houre, which cuſtome is ſtill vſed euen vnto this daie, and commonlie called by the French word, *Couer few*, that is, Rake vp the fier.

The Conqueror taketh frō the Engliſhmen their armour.

Couer few firſt inſtituted.

1068

Math. Weſt.

This yeare on Whitſunday, Maud the wife of king William was crowned Queene by Aeldred archbiſhop of Yorke. The ſame yeare alſo was Henrie his ſonne borne here in England: for his other two ſonnes Robert and William were borne in Normandie, before he had conquered this land. About the ſame time alſo, Goodwine and Edmund ſurnamed the great, the ſonnes of K. Harold, came from Ireland, and landing in Somerſetſhire, fought with Adnothus that had beene maiſter of their fathers horſſes, whom they ſlue, with a great number of others; and ſo hauing gotten this victorie, returned into Ireland, from whence they came with a great bootie which they tooke in their returne out of Cornewall, Deuonſhire, and other places thereabouts. In like maner, Exceſter did as then rebell, and likewiſe the countrie of Northumberland, wherevpon the king appointed one of his capteines named Robert Cumin, a right noble perſonage (but more valiant than circumſpect) to go againſt the northerne people with a part of his armie, whileſt he himſelfe and the other part went to ſubdue them of Exceſter: where, at his comming before the citie, the citizens prepared themſelues to defend their gates and wals: but after he began to make his approch to aſſaile them, part of the citizens repenting their fooliſh attempts, opened the gates, and ſuffered him to enter. Thus hauing ſubdued them of Exceſter, he greeuouſlie puniſhed the cheefe offendors. But the counteſſe Gita, the ſiſter of Sweine K. of Denmarke, and ſometime wife to earle Goodwine, and mother to the laſt K. Harold, with diuers other that were got into that citie, found meanes to flie, and ſo eſcaped ouer into Flanders. King William hauing paſſed his buſineſſe in ſuch wiſe in Deuonſhire, haſted backe towards Yorke, being aduertiſed in the waie, that the Northumbers hauing knowledge by their ſpials, that Robert generall of the Normans being come to Durham, did not ſo diligentlie cauſe watch and ward to be kept about the towne in the night ſeaſon as was requiſite, did ſet vpon him about midnight, & ſlue the ſame Robert with all his companie, ſo that of ſeauen hundred which he brought with him, there was but one that eſcaped to bring tidings to the king their ſoueraigne.

Edmund the great.

Wil. Malm.
Simon Dun.

This chaunced the 28. of Ianuarie on a wedneſday.
Polydor.

He heard alſo, how Edgar Etheling at the ſame time, being in the countrie, riding abroad with a troope of horſemen, and hearing of the diſcomfiture of thoſe Normans, purſued them egerlie, and ſlue great numbers of them, as they were about to ſaue themſelues by flight, with which newes being in no ſmall furie, he made ſpeed forward, and comming at the laſt into Northumberland, he eaſilie vanquiſhed the foreſaid rebels, and putting the cheefe authors of this mutinie to death, he reſerued ſome of the reſt as captiues, and of other ſome he cauſed the hands to be chopped off in token of their inconſtancie and rebellious dealing. After this, he came to Yorke, and there in like ſort puniſhed thoſe that had aided Edgar, which doone, he returned to London.

Polydor.

In the meane time, thoſe Engliſhmen that were fled (as you haue heard) into Denmarke, by continuall ſute made to Sueine then king of that realme, to procure him to make a iournie into England for recouerie of the right deſcended to him from his anceſtors, at length obteined their purpoſe, in ſo much that king Sueine ſent his ſonnes Harold and Canutus toward England, who with a nauie of two hundred ſaile, in the companie of Oſborne their vncle, arriued in the mouth of Humber betweene the two later ladie daies, and there landing their people with the Engliſh outlawes, whom they had brought with them, they ſtraightwaies marched towards Yorke, waſting and ſpoiling the countrie with great crueltie as they paſſed. Soone after alſo came Edgar, and ſuch other Engliſh exiles as had before fled into Scotland, and ioined their forces with them. When the newes of theſe things were brought to Yorke, the people there were ſtriken with a maruellous feare, inſomuch that Aeldred the archbiſhop (through verie greefe and anguiſh of mind) departed this life. The Normans alſo which laie there in garriſon, after they vnderſtood by their ſpies that the enimies were come within two daies iournie of them, began not a little to miſtruſt the faith of the citizens, and bicauſe the ſuburbes ſhould not be any aid

1069

Sweine and Oſborne hath Matth. Paris.

Three hundred ſailes ſaith M.W. but Sim. Dun. hath 240.

vnto

Yorke burnt.

vnto them, they ſet fire on the ſame, which by the hugeneſſe of the wind that ſuddenlie aroſe, the flame became ſo big, and mounted ſuch a height, that it caught the citie alſo, and conſumed a great part thereof to aſhes, togither with the minſter of S. Peter, and a famous librarie belonging to the ſame. Hereupon the Normans and citizens in like maner were conſtreined to iſſue forth at the ſame time, and being vpon the enimies before they had any knowledge of their approch, were forced to trie the matter by diſordered battell: whoſe number though it was far inferiour vnto theirs, yet they valiantlie defended themſelues for a time, till being oppreſſed with multitudes, they were ouercome and ſlaine, ſo that there periſhed in this conflict, to the number of thrée thouſand of them.

Normans ſlaine.

Simon Dun.

Manie of the Engliſhmen alſo that came with them to the field, were ſaued by the enimies, to the end they might gaine ſomewhat by their ranſomes, as William Mallet ſhirife of the ſhire, with his wife, and two of their children, Gilbert de Gaunt, and diuers other. This ſlaughter chanced on a ſaturdaie, being the ninetéenth day of September; a diſmall daie to the Normans.

A ſharpe winter, an enimie to warlike enterpriſes.

The two brethren hauing thus obteined this victorie, went on further into the countrie of Northumberland, and brought the ſame wholie to their ſubiection, insomuch that all the north parts were at their cōmandement. Upon this they meant to haue gone towards London with the like attempt in the ſouth parts, if the extreame and hard winter which chanced that yeare, had not ſtaied their enterpriſe, as it did king William from aſſailing them; who hearing of all their dooings in the north countrie, would elſe full gladlie haue ſet vpon them.

The Danes where they wintered.

Hen. Hunt.

Polydor.

In the meane time, the Danes wintered in Yorkeſhire, betwixt the two riuers Ouſe and Trent; but ſo ſoone as the ſnow began to melt, and the yce to thaw and waſte away, king William ſped him with great haſt toward his enimies into Yorkeſhire, and comming to the riuer of Trent, where it falleth into Humber, he pitched his tents there, to refreſh his people, for his enimies were at hand. The daie following he brought his armie into the field to fight with the Daniſh princes, who likewiſe in battell araie met them. Then began a right ſore and terrible battell, continuing a long ſpace in equall balance, till at length in one of the Daniſh wings the Norman horſemen had put their enimies to flight. Which when the reſidue of the Danes perceiued, and therewith put in a ſudden feare, they likewiſe fled. Harold and Canutus with a band of hardie ſouldiers that tarried about them, retired backe (though with much a doo and great danger) vnto their ſhips. Edgar alſo, by helpe of good horſes, eſcaped into Scotland with a few in his companie.

Matth. Paris.

Hen. Hunt.

Wil. Malm.

Earle Walteof, who had fought moſt manfullie in that battell, & ſlaine manie Normans with his owne hands, was reconciled into the kings fauour: but the reſidue were for the moſt part taken priſoners, and killed. William of Malmeſburie writeth, that king William comming at that time into the north parts, beſieged the citie of Yorke, and putting to flight a great armie of his enimies that came to the ſuccour of them within, not without great loſſe of his owne ſouldiers, at length the citie was deliuered into his hands; the citizens and other that kept it, as Scots, Danes, and Engliſhmen, being conſtreined thereto through lacke of vittels.

Sim. Dunel.

Other write, how the Danes, being loden with riches and ſpoiles gotten in the countrie, departed to their ſhips before the comming of king William.

Earle Edwines lands giuen vnto Alane earle of Britaine.

Here is not to be forgotten, that (as Iohn Leland hath noted) whileſt the Conquerour held ſiege before Yorke, at the earneſt requeſt of his wife Quéene Maud, he aduanced his nephew Alane earle of Britaine, with the gift of all thoſe lands that ſometime belonged vnto earle Edwine, the tenor of which gift inſueth:

Ego Gulihelmus cognomine Baſtardus, do & concedo tibi nepoti meo Alano Britanniæ comiti, & hæredibus tuis in perpetuum, omnes illas villas & terras, quæ nuper fuerunt comitis Eadwini in Eboraſhira, cum feodis militum & alijs libertatibus & conſuetudinibus, ita liberè & honorificè ſicut idem Eadwinus ea tenuit. Dat. in obſidione coram ciuitate Eboraci: that is, I William ſurnamed Baſtard, doo giue and grant to thee my nephue Alane earle of Britaine, and to thine heires for euer, all thoſe townes & lands that latelie were earle Eadwines in Yorkeſhire, with the knights fees and other liberties and cuſtomes, ſo freelie and honourablie as the ſaid Eadwine held the ſame. Giuen in our ſeege before the citie of Yorke.

Caſtell of Richmont.

The earle of Britaine, being a man of a ſtout ſtomach, and meaning to defend that which was thus giuen to him, built a ſtrong caſtell néere to his manor of Gillingham, and named it Richmont. The firſt originall line of the earles of Richmont (that bare their title of honor of this caſtell and towne of Richmont (as Leland hath ſet downe the ſame) is this: Eudo earle of Britaine, the ſonne of Geffrey, begat thrée ſonnes, Alane le Rous, otherwiſe Fregaunte, Alane the blacke, and Stephan. Theſe thrée brethren after their fathers deceaſe, ſuccéeded one another in the earledome of Britaine; the two elder, Alane the red and Alane the blacke died without iſſue.

Earle of Britaine.

Stephan begat a ſonne named Alane, who left a ſonne, which was his heire named Conan, which Conan married Margaret the daughter of William king of Scotland, who bare him a daughter named Conſtantia, which Conſtantia was coupled in marriage with Geffrey ſonne to king Henrie the ſecond, who had by hir Arthur, whom his vncle king Iohn, for feare to be depriued by him of the crowne, cauſed to be made awaie; as ſome haue written.

Simon Dun.

Matth. Paris maketh mention but of Sweine and Oſborne whom he calleth brethren.

But now to returne where we left touching the Danes. Simon Dunel. affirmeth, that Harold and Canute or Cnute the ſonnes of Sweine king of Denmarke, with their vncle earle Oſborne, and one Chriſtianus a biſhop of the Danes, and earle Turketillus were guiders of this Daniſh armie, & that afterwards, when king William came into Northumberland, he ſent vnto earle Oſborne, promiſing him that he would permit him to take vp vittels for his armie about the ſea coaſtes; and further, to giue him a portion of monie, ſo that he ſhould depart and returne home as ſoone as the winter was paſſed.

Wil. Malmſ.

But howſoeuer the matter went with the Danes, certeine it is by the whole conſent of writers, that king William hauing thus ſubdued his enimies in the north, he tooke ſo great diſpleaſure with the inhabitants of the countrie of Yorkeſhire and Northumberland, that he waſted all the land betwixt Yorke and Durham, ſo that for the ſpace of thréeſcore miles, there was left in maner no habitation for the people, by reaſon whereof it laie waſt and deſert for the ſpace of nine or ten yeares. ¶ The goodlie cities with their towers and ſtéeples ſet vp on a ſtatelie height, and reaching as it were into the aire: the beautifull fields and paſtures, watered with the courſe of ſwéet and pleaſant riuers, if a ſtranger ſhould then haue beheld, and alſo knowne before they were thus defaced, he would ſurelie haue lamented: or if any old inhabitant had béene long abſent, & newly returned thither, had ſéene this pitifull face of the countrie, he would not haue knowne it, ſuch deſtruction was made through out all thoſe quarters, whereof Yorke it ſelfe felt not the ſmalleſt portion.

Simon Dun.

The biſhop of Durham Egelwinus with his cleargie fled into holie Iland with S. Cutberts bodie, and other iewels of the church of Durham, where they tarried thrée moneths and od daies, before they returned to Durham againe. The kings armie comming into the countrie that lieth betwixt the riuers Theiſe and Tine. found nothing but void feelds and bare walles; the people with their goods and cattell being fled and withdrawne into the woods and mountaines, if any thing were forgotten behind, theſe new geſts were diligent inough to find it out.

Anno.4.
1070.
Polydor.

In the beginning of the ſpring, king William returned to London, and now after all theſe troubles, began to conceiue greater hatred againſt the Engliſhmen than euer before; ſo as doubting that hee ſhould neuer by gentleneſſe win their good willes, he now determined by a harder meaſure to meete with them; inſomuch that he baniſhed a great number, other ſome alſo (not a few) he ſpoiled of their goods, thoſe eſpeciallie of whom he was in hope to gaine any great portion of ſubſtance.

Priuileges and freedoms renoked.

Matth.Paris

Thus were the Engliſhmen generallie in danger to loſe life, lands and goods, without knowledge, or orderlie proceeding in iudgement, ſo that no greater miſerie in the earth could be imagined, than that where into our nation was now fallen. He tooke from the townes and cities, from the biſhops ſées and abbeies all their ancient priuileges and freedoms, to the end they ſhould not onelie be cut ſhort and made weaker, but alſo that they (for the obteinment of their quietneſſe) might redeeme the ſame of him for ſuch ſummes of monie as pleaſed him to exact. Among other things, he ordeined that in time of warre they ſhould aide him with armor, horſſe and monie, according to that order which he ſhould then preſcribe: all which he cauſed to be regiſtred, inrolled, and laid vp in his treaſurie. But diuerſe of the ſpirituall perſons would not obey this ordinance, whom he baniſhed without remorſe.

Stigand. Alexander biſhop of Lincolne.

Polydor.
The hard dealing of K. William againſt the Engliſhmen.

About this time the archbiſhop Stigand, and Alexander biſhop of Lincolne fled to Scotland, where they kept themſelues cloſe for a ſeaſon. But the king ſtill continued in his hard procéeding againſt the Engliſhmen, inſomuch that now proteſting how he came to the gouernance of the realme only by plaine conqueſt, he ſeized into his hands moſt part of euerie mans poſſeſſions, cauſing them to redeeme the ſame at his hands againe, and yet reteined a propertie in the moſt part of them; ſo that thoſe that ſhould afterwards enioy them, ſhould acknowledge themſelues to hold them of him, in yeelding a yeerlie rent to him and his ſucceſſors for euer, with certeine other prouiſions, whereby in caſes of forfeiture the ſame lands ſhould returne to him, and his ſaid ſucceſſors againe. The like order he appointed to be vſed by other poſſeſſors of lands, in letting them forth to their tenants. He ordeined alſo, that the Termes ſhould be kept foure times in the yeere, in ſuch places as he ſhould nominate, and that the iudges ſhuld ſit in their ſeuerall places to iudge and decide cauſes and matters in controuerſie betwixt partie and partie, in manner as is vſed vnto this day. He decreed moreouer, that there ſhould be ſhiriffes in euerie ſhire, and iuſtices of the peace to keepe the countries in quiet, and to ſée offendors puniſhed. Furthermore, he inſtituted the court of the Excheker, and the officers belonging to the ſame, as the barons, the clearks, and ſuch other, and alſo the high court of Chancerie.

The inſtitution of the foure Termes.

The Excheker.
The Chancerie.

After he had in this ſort ordeined his magiſtrates and miniſters of the lawes, he laſtlie tooke order what ordinances he would haue obſerued: whervpon abrogating in maner all the ancient lawes vſed in times paſt, and inſtituted by the former kings for the good order and quietnes of the people, he made new, nothing ſo equall or eaſie to be kept; which neuertheleſſe thoſe that came after (not without their great harme) were conſtreined to obſerue: as though it had béene an high offenſe againſt GOD to aboliſh thoſe euill lawes, which king William (a prince nothing friendlie to the Engliſh nation) had firſt ordeined, and to bring in other more eaſie and tollerable.

New lawes.

¶ Here by the waie I giue you to note a great abſurditie; namelie, that thoſe lawes which touched all, and ought to be knowne of all, were notwithſtanding written in the Norman toong, which the Engliſhmen vnderſtood not; ſo that euen at the beginning you ſhould haue great numbers, partlie by the iniquitie of the lawes, and partlie by ignorance in miſconſtruing the ſame, to be wrongfullie condemned: ſome to death, and ſome in the forfeitures of their goods; others were ſo intangled in ſutes and cauſes, that by no means they knew how to get out, but continuallie were toſſed from poſt to piller; in ſuch wiſe that in their minds they curſſed the time that euer theſe vnequall lawes were made.

The lawes were written in the Norman toong.

The maner for the triall of cauſes in controuerſie, was deuiſed in ſuch ſort as is yet vſed. Twelue ancient men (but moſt commonlie vnlearned in the lawes) being of the ſame countie where the ſute laie, were appointed by the iudges to go togither into ſome cloſe chamber, where they ſhould be ſhut vp, till vpon diligent examination of the matter they ſhould agrée vpon the condemnation or acquiting of the priſoner, if it were in criminall cauſes; or vpon deciding in whom the right remained, if it were vpon triall of things in controuerſie. Now when they were all agréed, they came in before the iudges, declaring to what agréement they were growne: which doone, the iudges opened it to the offendors or ſutors, and withall gaue ſentence as the qualitie of the caſe did inforce and require. There may happilie be (as Polydor Virgil ſaith) that will mainteine this maner of procéeding in the adminiſtration of iuſtice by the voices of a iurie, to haue béene in vſe before the conquerors daies, but they are not able to proue it by any ancient records of writers, as he thinketh: albeit by ſome of our hiſtories they ſhould ſéeme to be firſt ordeined by Ethelred or Egelred. Howbeit this is moſt true, that the Norman kings themſelues would confeſſe, that the lawes deuiſed and made by the Conqueror were not verie equall; inſomuch that William Rufus and Henrie the ſonnes of the Conqueror would at all times, when they ſought to purchaſe the peoples fauor, promiſe to aboliſh the lawes ordeined by their father, eſtabliſh other more equall, and reſtore thoſe which were vſed in S. Edwards daies. The like kind of purchaſing fauor was vſed by king Steephen, and other kings that followed him. But now to the matter, king William hauing made theſe ordinances to keepe the people in order, ſet his mind to inrich his cofers, and thervpon cauſed firſt a tribute to be leuied of the commons, then the abbeies to be ſearched, and all ſuch monie as any of the Engliſhmen had laid vp in the ſame, to be kept. Beſides all this, he ſeized into his hands their charters of priuileges made to them by the Saxon kings of the land, and ſpared not ſo much as the iewels and plate dedicated to ſacred vſes. All this did he (as ſome write) by the counſell of the earle of Hertford.

Matters to be tried by a iurie of 12. men.

Matth.Paris.
Matth.Weſt.
Wil. Mal.
Wil.Thorne.
Abbeis ſearched.
Polydor.
Simon Dun.

Shortlie after betwixt Eaſter and Whitſuntide, a great ſynod was holden at Wincheſter by the biſhops and cleargie, where Ermenfred the biſhop of Sion or Sitten, with two cardinals Iohn and Peter ſent thither from pope Alexander the ſecond, did ſit as chéefe commiſſioners. In this ſynod was Stigand the archbiſhop of Canturburie depriued of his biſhoprike, for thrée ſpeciall cauſes.

Wil.Thorne.

Polydor.
Sim.Duncl.

Stigand archbiſhop of Canturburie depriued.

1 Firſt, for that he had wrongfullie holden that biſhoprike, whileſt the archbiſhop Robert was liuing.

2 Secondlie, for that he kept the ſee of Wincheſter in his hands, after his inueſtiture vnto Canturburie, which he ought not to haue doone.

3 Thirdlie, for that he had receiued the pall at the hands of pope Benedict the tenth, whom the cardinals, as one not lawfullie elected, had depoſed.

Howbeit, manie writers burthen king William (who was preſent at this ſynod) for the procuring of Stigand his depriuation, to the end he might place a ſtranger in his roome. For as he had rooted out the Engliſh Nobilitie, and giuen awaie their lands & liuings to his Normans; ſo meant he to turne out the Engliſh cleargie from bearing any office of honor within the realme, which meaning of his did well appeare at his councell, wherin diuers biſhops, abbats, and priors were depoſed, and Normans preferred to their places. Stigand after his depriuation was kept in perpetuall priſon at Wincheſter, till he died, and yet (as ſome write) the ſame Stigand was an helper vnder hand for king William to atteine the crowne.

Agelmarus biſhop of Thetford was one that was depoſed. Simon Dun. Matt. Paris.

Thomas a canon of Bayeux made archbiſhop of Yorke. Lanfranke conſecrated archbiſhop of Canturburie. Matth. Weſtm. hath the eight Kal. of Maie, but Wil. Mal. and Eadmerus the fourth Kal. of September.

1071

Anno Reg. 5. Wil. Mal, Eadmerus.

In the feaſt of Pentecoſt next inſuing, the king being at Windſor, gaue the archbiſhoprike of Yorke vnto one Thomas, a canon of Bayeux, and to Walkelme one of his chaplins he gaue the biſhoprike of Wincheſter. After this, calling one Lanfranke an Italian from Caen where he was abbat, he made him archbiſhop of Canturburie, who was conſecrated there in the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt, in the yeare folowing, which was after the birth of our Sauiour 1071. The foreſaid Thomas was the fiue and twentith biſhop that had gouerned in that ſee of Yorke, & Lanfranke the three & thirtith in the ſee of Canturburie. But yer long, betwixt theſe two archbiſhops there roſe great contention for the primaſie of their churches, in ſo much that the archbiſhop of Yorke appealed to Rome, where they both appeared perſonallie before pope Alexander, in whoſe preſence Lanfranks cauſe was ſo much fauoured, that not onelie the foreſaid Thomas, but alſo Remigius the biſhop of Dorcheſter were for reaſonable cauſes depriued of their croſiers and rings: and Lanfranke at their humble requeſt was a meane to the pope for them in the end, that they might be reſtored to their ſtaues, which was accordinglie obteined. For when the pope heard Lanfranke declare in their fauour, how neceſſarie their ſeruice might be to the king, in the eſtabliſhment of his new gotten kingdome, he ſaid to Lanfranke; Well, looke you then to the matter, you are the father of that countrie, and therefore conſider what is expedient to be done therein: their ſtaues which they haue ſurrendered, there they be, take them, and diſpoſe them as you ſhall thinke moſt profitable for the aduancement of the chriſtian religion in that countrie. Wherevpon, Lanfranke tooke the ſtaues, and deliuered them to the former poſſeſſours, and ſo were they in the popes preſence reſtored to their former dignities. One cauſe why Thomas was depriued (as ſome writers ſaie) was, for that he had holpen duke William toward his iournie into England when he came to conquer it, for the which pleaſure to him then ſhewed, the duke promiſed him a biſhoprike, if euer he obteined victorie ouer the Engliſh: an other cauſe, for that he was a prieſts ſonne. Now, when the pope vnderſtood the full ground of their contention to be for the primaſie of the two ſees, Canturburie and Yorke, and had heard what could be alledged on both ſides, he remitted the determination thereof to the king and biſhops of England, that by the hiſtories and records of the land, the matter might be tried, iudged and ordered.

Wil. Malm.

Anno Reg. 6.

1072

Matth. Weſt.

The ſubiection of the archbiſhoprike of Yorke, to the archbiſhoprike of Canturburie.

Wherefore at their comming home, and after long debating and diſcuſſing of the cauſe (as in William Marleburgh it appeareth more at large) at a ſynod holden at Windſor, in the yeare 1072. ſentence was giuen on Lanfranks ſide, ſo that in all things concerning religion and the faith of holie church, the archbiſhop of Yorke ſhould be euer ſubiect to the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and come with all the biſhops of his prouince to what place ſoeuer the archbiſhop of Canturburie ſhould ſummon any councell within the realme of England. Moreouer, when anie elected biſhop of Canturburie was to be conſecrated, the archbiſhop of Yorke (for the time being) ſhould come to Canturburie, and conſecrate him there. And if the archbiſhop of Yorke was to be inſtalled and conſecrated, then ſhould he come to Canturburie, or to what place it ſhould pleaſe the archbiſhop of Canturburie to aſſigne, and there to be confirmed of him, taking an oth with profeſſion of due obedience vnto the higher ſee. Now, as the ſaid Thomas of Yorke did yeeld obedience to Lanfranke of Canturburie, ſo likewiſe the elect biſhop of Glaſcow in Scotland named Michaell, was ſoone after conſecrated of the foreſaid Thomas archbiſhop of Yorke, and made an oth of obedience vnto the ſaid archbiſhop, as to the primate of all Scotland: and after him Tothade the biſhop of S. Andrewes did the like, by commandement of Malcolme the third of that name king of Scotland, and Margaret his wife, who thought good by this recogniſance of obedience and dutie, ſo to prouide againſt further inconuenience to come, that hereafter, one of the biſhops of their realme ſhould not take vpon them to conſecrate an other: or doo any thing contrarie to the ancient decrees of the old fathers, that might be preiudiciall to the authoritie of the archbiſhop of Yorke, at whoſe appointment thoſe and the like things were accuſtomed to be doone. In this controuerſie (or the like) it is left written, that in a court held at Rome (the time is not mentioned) the pope perceiuing the ſtrife betweene theſe two prelats to be but for the higheſt place or primaſie in the church; he ſolemnelie gaue ſentence by decree, that the ſee of Yorke ſhould haue in title *Primas Angliæ*, & Canturburie *Primas totius Angliæ*, which titles doo yet remain to them both.

Polydor.

The archbiſhop of Yorke, acknowleged primate of all Scotland.

Ranulph. Ceſtren. *lib. 1. cap. 57. & lib. 7. cap. 2.*

But to leaue this, and to ſpeake of other things which chanced in the meane time that this controuerſie depended betwixt the two archbiſhops, I find that Edwin and Marchar earles of Mertia and Northumberland, hauing of late obteined pardon for their former miſdemeanor, & reconciled to the king, began now ſo much to miſlike the ſtate of the world againe, as euer they did before. For perceiuing how the Engliſhmen were ſtill oppreſſed with thraldome & miſerie on ech hand, they conſpired, & began a new rebellion, but with verie ill ſucceſſe, as ſhall heraſter appeare. The king vnderſtanding of their dealings, and being not onelie armed throughlie with temporall force, but alſo endued with the ſpirituall power of his archbiſhop Lanfranke (who aided him in all that he might, for the ſuppreſſing of thoſe rebels) waſted the countries exceedinglie, where he vnderſtood that they had gotten anie releefe, minding vtterlie to vanquiſh them with ſword, fire, and hunger, or by extreame penurie to bring them vnder. They on the other part make as ſtout reſiſtance; and perceiuing that it ſtood them vpon, either to vanquiſh or to fall into vtter ruine, they raiſe a mightie ſtrong hoſt, and make Edgar Etheling their capteine, a comelie gentleman and a valiant, in whome alſo the whole hope of the Engliſh nation was repoſed, as appeareth by this his accuſtomed by-word, Edgar Etheling Englands dearling. Amongſt other noble men that were chiefe dooers in the aſſembling of this armie, Frederike abbat of S. Albons, a prelate of great wealth and no leſſe puiſſance, was a principall.

Matt. Paris.

The king perceiuing his eſtate to be now in no ſmall danger, is in a great perplexitie what to doo, in the end, he counſelleth with the ſaid Lanfranke archbiſhop of Canturburie, how he might remedie the matter; who told him that in ſuch a deſperate caſe, the beſt waie for him ſhould be to ſéeke by faire words and friendly offers to pacifie the Engliſh Nobilitie, which by all meanes poſſible would neuer ceaſſe to moleſt him in the recouerie of their liberties. Wherevpon he made meanes to come to ſome agréement with them, and ſo well the matter procéeded on his ſide, that the Engliſhmen being deceiued through his faire promiſes, were contented to common of peace, for which purpoſe they came alſo vnder the conduct of the abbat Frederike vnto Berkamſted, where (after much reaſoning and debating of the matter for the concluſion of amitie betwixt them) king William in the preſence of the archbiſhop Lanfranke and other of his lords, tooke a perſonall oth vpon all the relikes of the church of S. Albons, and the holie euangeliſts (the abbat Frederike miniſtring the ſame vnto him) that he would from thenceforth obſerue and kéepe the good and ancient approued lawes of the realme, which the noble kings of England his predeceſſors had made and ordeined heretofore; but namelie thoſe of S. Edward, which were ſuppoſed to be moſt equall and indifferent.

The peace being thus concluded, and the Engliſhmen growne thereby to ſome hope of further quietneſſe, they began to forſake their alies, and returned each one, either to his owne poſſeſſions, or to giue attendance vpon the king. But he warilie cloking his inward purpoſe, notwithſtanding the vnity latelie made, determineth particularlie to aſſaile his enimies (whoſe power without doubt ſo long as it was vnited, could not poſſiblie be ouercome, as he thought) and being now by reaſon of this peace diſſeuered and diſperſed, he thought it high time to put his ſecret purpoſes in execution: wherevpon taking them at vnwares and thinking of nothing leſſe than warres and ſudden inuaſion, he impriſoneth manie, killeth diuers, and purſueth the reſidue with fire and ſword, taking awaie their goods, poſſeſſions, lands, and inheritances, and baniſhing them out of the realme. In the meane time, thoſe of the Engliſh Nobilitie, which could eſcape this his outragious tyrannie, got awaie, and amongſt other, Edgar Etheling fled againe into Scotland: but Edwin was ſlaine of his owne ſouldiers, as he rode toward Scotland. Earle Marchar, and one Hereward, with the biſhop of Durham named Egelwinus, got into the Ile of Elie, in purpoſe there to defend themſelues from the iniurie of the Normans, for they tooke the place (by reaſon of the ſituation) to be of no ſmall ſtrength. Howbeit king William endeuouring to cut them ſhort, raiſed a power, and ſtopped all the paſſages on the eaſt ſide, and on the weſt part he made a cauſie through the fennes, of two miles in length, whereby he got vnto them, and conſtreined them to yeeld. But Marchar, or (as others haue) Hereward, foreſéeing the imminent danger likelie to take effect, made ſhift to get out of the Ile by bote, and ſo by ſpéedie flight eſcaped into Scotland. The biſhop of Durham being taken, was ſent to the abbey of Abingdon, to be kept as priſoner, where he was ſo ſparinglie fed, that within a ſhort ſpace he died for hunger.

Ran. Higd.
H. Hunt.
Matth. Paris.

Polydor.
Hen. Hunt.
Matth. Paris.

Simon Dun.

Some write that he was ſo ſtubborne-harted, that after he knew he ſhould remaine in perpetuall priſon, he refuſed his meate, and ſo pined him ſelfe to death.

In this meane time, and whileſt king William was thus occupied in rooting out the Engliſh, Malcolme king of Scotland had waſted the countries of Theiſedale, Cleueland, and the lands of S. Cutbert, with ſundrie other places in the north parts. Wherevpon Goſpatrike being latelie reconciled to the king & made earle of Northumberland, was ſent againſt him, who ſacked and deſtroied that part of Cumberland which the ſaid Malcolme by violence had brought vnder his ſubiection. At the ſame time Malcolme was at Weremouth, beholding the fire which his people had kindled in the church of Saint Peter to burne vp the ſame, and there hearing what Goſpatrike had doone, he tooke ſuch diſpleaſure thereat, that he commanded his men they ſhould leaue none of the Engliſh nation aliue, but put them all to the ſword without pitie or compaſſion, ſo oft as they came to hand. The bloudie ſlaughter which was made at this time by the Scots, through that cruell commandement of Malcolme, was pitifull to conſider, for women, children, old and yong, went all one way: howbeit, manie of thoſe that were ſtrong and able to ſerue for drudges and ſlaues, were reſerued, and carried into Scotland as priſoners, where they remained manie yeares after; in ſo much that there were few houſes in that realme, but had one or mo Engliſh ſlaues and captiues, whom they gat at this vnhappie voiage. Miſerable was the ſtate of the Engliſh at that time, one being conſumed of another ſo vnnaturallie, manie of them deſtroied by the Scots ſo cruellie, and the reſidue kept vnder by the king ſo tyrannicallie.

A bloudie cōmandement executed vpon the Engliſh by the Scots.

But to returne to the purpoſe in hand, king William hearing of all theſe things, was not a little mooued at the ſame, but chéefelie with Malcolme king of Scots, for that his countrie was the onelie place wherein all the mal-contents of his realme had their refuge. Wherfore, thinking to reuenge the loſſe of his ſubiects, and to bring that realme alſo vnto his ſubiection, he went thither with an huge armie, about the middle of Auguſt, where he firſt inuaded the bounds of Galloway, bicauſe he heard how the Engliſh were latelie fled thither. But after he had wearied his ſouldiers in vaine purſuit of them (who kept themſelues in the mountaines and marres grounds) he gaue ouer the enterpriſe, and drew towards Lothiam, where king Malcolme laie with all his power, & ſundrie Engliſh fugitiues, with whome he determined by battell either to end his trouble, or elſe to looſe his life. Now as both the kings with their armies were readie to encounter, Malcolme began to doubt ſomewhat of the fierſeneſſe of the battell, bicauſe he ſaw the great puiſſance and readie willes of the Engliſh and Normans to fight, wherevpon he ſent an harrold to king William to treat of peace, wherewith he was content at the laſt (though with much adoo) and ſo a vnitie inſued betwixt them, vpon theſe conditions; namelie, that king Malcolme ſhould doo homage to king William for the realme of Scotland, and therevpon deliuer ſufficient hoſtages: and that on the other ſide, king William ſhould pardon all the Engliſh outlawes in Scotland which then rebelled againſt him. The place where this peace was concluded, was called Abirnethi. After this, king William returned into England, where he yer long tooke the earledome of Northumberland from Goſpatrike, and gaue it to Waltheof the ſonne of Siward; bicauſe of right it ſéemed to deſcend vnto him from his father, but chéefelie from his mother Alfreda, who was the daughter of Aldred ſometime earle of that countrie.

Polydor.

Matth. Paris.

H. Hunt.

The king of Scots did homage to king William for Scotland.

Simon Dun.

The kings iuſtice.

At the ſame time alſo the king cauſed a caſtell to be built at Durham, and returned to London, where he receiued aduertiſement that his ſubiects in Normandie toward the parties of Angiew had begun a rebellion againſt him. Heere vpon with all ſpéed he leuied an armie, whereof the moſt part conſiſted of Engliſh (whoſe ſeruice he liked rather in a forren countrie than in their owne) and ſailed ouer into Normandie, where he eaſilie ſubdued his enimies by the valiancie of the Engliſh, whom from thenceforth he began ſomewhat to fauour and better thinke of than before. Yoong Edgar alſo grew in verie good credit with him, for though he had twiſe broken his oth of allegiance, and run to the Scots as a rebell, yet now of his owne motion, returning to the king and crauing pardon, he was not onelie receiued, but alſo highlie honoured and preferred in his court.

Mount caſter now Newcaſtell.

The yeare 1074. thrée moonks of the prouince of Mercia, purpoſing to reſtore religion after their maner within the prouince of Northumberland, came into Yorke, and required of Hugh Fitz Baldricke (then ſhirife of the ſhire) to haue ſafe conduct vnto Monkaſter, which afterwards hight Newcaſtell, and ſo is called to this day. Theſe moonks, whoſe names were Aldwin, Alſwin, and Remfred, comming vnto the foreſaid place, found no token or remanent of any religious perſons, which ſometime had habitation there (for all was defaced and gone:) wherevpon, after they had remained there a while, they remooued to Iarrowe, where finding the ruines of old decaied buildings and churches, perteining in times paſt to the moonks that there inhabited, they had ſuch aſſiſtance at the hands of Walkher biſhop of Durham, that at length, by the diligent trauell and ſute of theſe moonks, thrée monaſteries were newlie founded and erected in the north parts, one at Durham, an other at Yorke, and the third at Whitby. For you muſt conſider, that by the inuaſion of the Danes, the churches and monaſteries throughout Northumberland were ſo waſted and ruinated, that a man could ſcarſelie find a church ſtanding in all that countrie, as for thoſe that remained, they were couered with broome or thatch: but as for any abbey or monaſterie, not one was left in all the countrie, neither did any man (for the ſpace of two hundred yeares) take care for the repairing or building vp of any thing in decaie, ſo that the people of that countrie wiſt not what a moonke ment, and if they ſaw any, they wondered at the ſtrangeneſſe of the ſight.

Anno Reg. 9.
1075

Rafe Earle of Cambridge.
Matth. Weſt.
Matth. Paris.
Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.
A rebellion raiſed againſt K. William.

Whileſt the king remained thus in Normandie, Roger earle of Hereford (contrarie to the kings mind and pleaſure) married his ſiſter vnto Rafe earle of Cambridge, or (as other haue) Northfolke, and withall began a new conſpiracie againſt him. Amongſt other alſo of the aſſociats, earle Walteof the ſonne of earle Siward was one, who afterward miſtruſting the ſucceſſe of this deuiſe, firſt vttered it to archbiſhop Lanfranke, and by his aduice ſailed ouer into Normandie, and there diſcloſed the whole matter to king William: but in the meane time, the other two earles; namelie, Hereford and Cambridge had ſo farre procéeded in the matter, that they were vp in armour. Howbeit, Wolſtan biſhop of Worceſter, and Egelwine abbat of Eueſham, with the ſhirife of Worceſter & Walter Lacie, ſo reſiſted the earle of Hereford, that he could not paſſe the Seuerne to ioine with the earle of Cambridge. On the other ſide, Odo the biſhop of Bayeux, and Geffrey the biſhop of Conſtances purſued the earle of Cambridge ſo narrowlie with an other armie, which they had gathered of the Engliſh and Normans, that they conſtreined him to flée into Britaine, whereby the rebellion was verie much appeaſed.

Iohn Pike.

Anno Reg. 10.
1076

In the meane time, the king vnderſtanding by earle Walteof how the matter went in England, came ouer with all ſpéed out of Normandie, & within a ſhort ſpace brought the reſidue of the conſpirators into ſuch a feare, that they were ſcattered and put to flight, without attempting anie further exploit or conſpiracie againſt him. Manie of them alſo were apprehended and put to death, among whom Roger and Walteof were moſt famous. And though Walteof (as yée haue heard before) diſcloſed the treaſon, yet to the end he ſhould offend no more hereafter, he was beheaded at Wincheſter by the kings commandement, and his bodie hauing béene firſt buried in the ſame place where he ſuffered, was after conueied vnto Crowland, and there more honorablie interred.

H. Hunt.
Earle Walteof beheaded.

This earle Walteof or Waldeue was ſonne (as ye haue heard) to Siward the noble earle of Northumberland, of whoſe valure in the time of K. Edward the confeſſor ye haue heard. His ſon the foreſaid Walteof in ſtrength of bodie and hardineſſe did not degenerate from his father, for he was tall of perſonage, in ſinews and muſculs verie ſtrong and mighty. In the ſlaughter of the Normans at Yorke, he ſhewed proofe of his proweſſe, in ſtriking off the heads of manie of them with his owne hands, as they came forth of the gates ſinglie one by one: yet afterwards, when the king had pardoned him of all former offenſes, and receiued him into fauour, hée gaue to him in mariage his néece Iudith the daughter of Lambert earle of Lens, ſiſter to Stephen erle of Albermare, and with hir he had of the kings gift, all the lands and liberties belonging to the honor of Huntingdon: in conſideration whereof, he aſſigned to hir in name of hir dower, all the lands that he held from Trent ſouthward. Shée bare by him two daughters, Mand and Alice. We find, that he was not onlie earle of Northumberland, but alſo of Northampton and Huntingdon..

Earledome of Huntingdon.

Matth. Paris.

The counteſſe of Cambridge or Northfolke (as other haue) wife of earle Rafe, being fled into the citie of Norwich, was beſieged in the ſame by the kings power, which preſſed the citie ſo ſore, as it was forced for verie famine to yéeld; but yet by compoſition; namelie, that ſuch as were beſieged within, ſhould depart the realme, as perſons abiured and baniſhed the land for euer. This was the end of the foreſaid conſpiracie. At this verie time the Danes being confederate with theſe rebels, and by them ſolicited, ſet forth towards England vnder the leading of Cnuto, ſonne to Sueno, and earle Haco, and (vnlooked for) arriue here in England with two hundred ſailes. But hearing that the ciuill tumult was ended, and ſéeing no man readie either to countenance or encourage them in their enterpriſe, they ſailed firſt into Flanders, which they ſpoiled, and after into their owne countrie, with little deſire or will to come againe into England. King William alſo vnderſtanding that they were thus departed, paſſed ouer into Britaine, and there beſieged the caſtell of Doll that belonged to Ralfe earle of Cambridge or Northfolke: but by the comming of Philip the French king, king William being vnprouided of ſufficient vittels for his armie, was conſtreined to raiſe his ſiege, although with great loſſe both of men and horſſes.

Polydor.
Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.
Matth. Paris.

Anno Reg. 11.
1077

Matth. Paris.
An earthquake, a long froſt, a comet.

On the 27. daie of March was a generall earthquake in England, and in the winter following a froſt that continued from the firſt of Nouember vntill the middle of Aprill. A blaſing ſtarre appéered on palme ſundaie, béeing the ſixtéenth daie of Aprill, about ſix of the clocke, when the aire was faire and cléere.

Married préeſts.

About the ſame ſeaſon, pope Gregorie perceiuing that married préeſts did chooſe rather to run into the danger of his curſſe, than to forſake their wiues, meaning to bridle them by an other prouiſo, gaue commandment by his bull publiſhed abroad, that none ſhould heare the maſſe of a married préeſt.

Anno Reg. 12.
1078

Polydor.
A ſynod holden at London.
Biſhops ſées remooued.

King William after his comming from the ſiege of Doll, remained a certeine time in quiet, during which ſeaſon, Lanfranke the archbiſhop called a ſynod or councell of the cleargie at London, wherein amongſt other things it was ordeined, that certeine biſhops ſées ſhould be remooued from ſmall townes to cities of more fame, whereby it came to paſſe that Chicheſter, Exceter, Bath, Saliſburie, Lincolne &

Cheſter were honored with new ſees and palaces of biſhops, whereas before they kept their reſidence at Sellewey, Kirton, Welles, Shireborne, Dorcheſter and Lichfield.

Woolſtan.

At this ſynod alſo Woolſtan biſhop of Worceſter was preſent, whom Lanſranke would haue depoſed for his inſufficiencie of learning; as he colourablie pretended, but indeed to pleaſure the king, who faine would haue placed a Norman in his roome: but (as they ſaie) by a miracle which he preſentlie wrought, in cauſing his croſier ſtaffe to ſticke faſt in the toome of ſaint Edward (to whom he proteſted and ſaid he would reſigne it, for that he obteined the ſame by his gift) he did put the king and the archbiſhop into ſuch feare, that they ſuffered him ſtill to enioy his biſhoprike without any further vexation. Theſe things with other (touching a reformation in the church and cleargie) being handled in this councell, it was ſoone after diſſolued.

Anno Reg. 13.
1079
Matth. Paris.
Matth. Weſt.

In the yeare following, king William led a mightie armie into Wales, and ſubdued it; receiuing of the rulers and princes there their homages and hoſtages. About the ſame time, Robert the kings eldeſt ſonne, a right worthie perſonage, but yet as one of nature ſomewhat vnſtable, entred into Normandie as a rebell to his father, and by force tooke diuers places into his hands. Which he did by the practiſe of Philip the French king, who now began to doubt of the great puiſſance of king William, as foreſeeing how much it might preiudice him, and the whole realme of France in time to come. Wherefore to ſtop the courſe of his proſperous ſucceſſe, he deuiſed a meane to ſet the ſonne againſt the father. True it is that king William had promiſed long afore to reſigne the gouernment of Normandie vnto the ſaid Robert his ſonne. Wherevpon the yoong man, being of an ambitious nature, and now pricked forward by the ſiniſter counſell of his adherents, ſeeketh to obteine that by violence, which he thought would be verie long yer he ſhould atteine by curteſie. King William hereof aduertiſed, was not a little mooued againſt his diſobedient ſonne, and curſſed both him and the time that euer he begat him. Finallie, raiſing an armie, he marched towards him, ſo that they met in the field. Aſſoone as the one came in ſight of the other, they encountred at a place called Archenbraie, and whileſt the battell was at the hotteſt, and the footmen moſt buſied in fight, Robert appointed a power of horſſemen to breake in vpon the reereward of his enimies; & he himſelfe following after with all his might, chanced among other to haue a conflict with his owne father, ſo that thruſting him through the arme with his lance, he bare him beſide his horſſe, and ouerthrew him to the ground. The king being falne, called to his men to remount him. Robert perceiuing by his voice that it was his father, whom he had vnhorſſed, ſpeedilie alighted, and tooke him vp, asking him forgiueneſſe for that fact, and ſetting him vp on his owne horſſe, brought him out of the preaſe, and ſuffered him to depart in ſafetie. King William being thus eſcaped out of that preſent danger, and ſeeing himſelfe not able to reſiſt the puiſſance of his enimies, left the field to his ſon, hauing loſt many of his men which were ſlaine in battell and chace, beſides a great number that were hurt and wounded, among whom his ſecond ſonne William ſurnamed Rufus or Red, was one; and therefore (as ſome write) he bitterlie curſſed his ſon Robert, by whom he had ſuſteined ſuch iniurie, loſſe, and diſhonor. Howbeit, other write, that for the curteſie which his ſonne ſhewed, in releeuing and helping him out of danger, when he was caſt off his horſſe, he was mooued with ſuch a fatherlie affection, that preſentlie after they were made friends, the father pardoned his ſonne all his former offenſes, and therevpon found him euer after more tractable and obedient than before.

The French king ſetteth the ſonne againſt the father.

Simon Dun.
Matth. Paris.

The ſonne ouerthroweth the father.

Simon Dun.

Matth. Paris.

The father and the ſonne made friends.

Anno Reg. 14.
1080

Simon Dunel.

After this battell, king William being thus accorded with his ſonne, returned with him into England, and immediatlie ſent him againſt Malcolme king of Scotland, who hauing broken the truce in time of the trouble betwixt king William and his ſonne, had doone much hurt by forraies vpon the Engliſh borders, waſting all Northumberland euen to the riuer of Tine. Howbeit, when he heard that Robert approched with his armie towards him, he retired into Scotland. Robert Curthuze then lodged with his armie vpon the banks of the riuer of Tine, where he began the foundation of a caſtell, whereof the towne of Newcaſtell did after take both beginning and name, for before this ſeaſon it was called Moncaſter.

The foundation of Newcaſtell vpon Tine, which before that ſeaſon was called Moncaſter.

About the ſame time, Odo the biſhop of Bayeux was ſent to Northumberland, to reuenge the death of Walkher biſhop of Durham, whom not long before the people of Northumberland had ſlaine in a tumult. The occaſion of his death grew by the death of one Liulfus, a noble man of thoſe quarters, and deerelie beloued of the people, bicauſe he was deſcended of honorable parentage, and had married the ladie Algitha daughter vnto earle Alered, and ſiſter to Alfleda the mother of earle Walteof.

Simon Dun.

This Liulfus, a man of great poſſeſſions through England, now that the Normans ruled in all places, quietlie withdrew himſelfe vnto Durham, and grew into ſuch familiaritie and credit with the biſhop, that touching the order of temporall matters, he would doo nothing without his aduice. Whereat Leofwin the biſhops chapline conceiued ſuch enuie (for that he was not ſo often called to counſell as before) that in the end he procured by his malicious meanes one Gilbert (to whom the biſhop had committed the rule of the earledome) to murther the ſaid Liulfus by night in his manor place not farre from Durham. Whereof the biſhop hauing vnderſtanding, and knowing that the matter would be greeuouſlie taken of the people, ſent out letters and meſſengers into the countrie, offering to purge himſelfe of the ſlaughter of this man, according to the order of the canon lawes: howbeit he did nothing leſſe. Among other things concerning his purgation, he ſaid that he had baniſhed Gilbert and others, (who had committed the murther) out of Northumberland. Herevpon the malice of the people was kindled againſt him. For when it was knowne that he had receiued the murtherers into his houſe, and fauoured them as before, they ſtomached the matter highlie: inſomuch that when by the trauell of thoſe that went to and fro betwixt the biſhop and the kinſfolks of Liulfus, a daie was appointed, on the which the biſhop ſhould come to farther communication with them at Gateshead, he repaired thither according to his promiſe, but refuſing to talke with them abroad, he kept himſelfe ſtill within the church, and ſent forth ſuch of his counſell as ſhould commune with them. But when the people that were there gathered in great numbers, had ſignified in plaine words that he ſhould either come forth and ſhew himſelfe amongſt them, or elſe that they ſhould fire the place where he ſat: he cauſed Gilbert to go forth vnto them firſt, whom they ſlue, and his partakers alſo that iſſued out of the church with him for his defenſe. But when the peoples furie was not ſo quenched, the biſhop himſelfe caſting the ſkirts of his gowne ouer his face, came likewiſe forth, and was immediatlie ſlaine of the people. After this, they ſet the church on fire, bicauſe Leofwine the biſhops chapline and others were yet within, and refuſed to come foorth: howbeit in the end, being compelled by the rage of the fire to come out, the ſaid Leofwine was alſo ſlaine and hackt in peeces (as he had well deſerued) being the ringleader of all the miſcheefe.

Note the ſequele of the neglect of iuſtice in the former ſtorie.

¶ Thus maie we ſee what followed of the neglecting of iuſtice in the biſhop: for if he had either baniſhed Gilbert and other his complices (accordinglie as he pretended to doo) or otherwiſe had ſeene due puniſhment executed againſt them, the peoples rage had neuer proceeded ſo far as it did: for they could not perſuade themſelues, but that the biſhop was guiltie and priuie to Liulfus death, ſith he had receiued the murtherers into his houſe, the verie ſame night in which the fact was doone, and kept them ſtill about him, which his bearing with them coſt him his owne life. But now to the hiſtorie.

When biſhop Odo was come into thoſe parties to reuenge the biſhops death with an armie (as we haue ſaid) he ſore afflicted the countrie, by ſpoiling it on euerie ſide with great crueltie. Here king William placed and diſplaced diuerſe rulers ouer the Northumbers: for firſt he appointed one Copſi to haue the rule of that countrie, in place of Marchar who before had held the ſame. This Copſi expelled Oſulfe the ſonne of earle Edulfe brother to earle Aldred, which Oſulfe was ſubſtitute vnto the earles Edwine and Marchar, who although he was driuen out of his gouernement by Copſi, yet recouering his forces againe, he ſlue the ſame Copſi as he entred into the church of Newburne. But within a few moneths after, the ſame Oſulfe (as he ran with his horſſe againſt a theefe) was thruſt through the bodie with a ſpeare, which the theefe held in his hand, and ſo died. Then Goſpatrike was aſſigned by king William to haue the gouernement there: whoſe mother Aldgitha was daughter to Vthred ſometime earle of Northumberland begotten vpon Elfgiua the daughter of king Egelred.

Sim.Dunel.

Copſi.

Goſpatrike.

Some write, that Goſpatrike purchaſed the earledome of king William, and ſo held it, till the king tooke it from him againe, and then gaue it vnto earle Walteof or Waldeue. Next after him Walkher the foreſaid biſhop of Durham had the whole adminiſtration cõmitted to him, but (after he was ſlaine as yee haue heard) one Alberike ruled that countrie, and laſtlie, Robert Mulbray a right noble perſonage (for his wiſedome and valiancie highlie renowmed with all men) was created earle of Northumberland, and gouerned the people of thoſe parties in ſuch politike and wiſe order, that during his time, it is hard to ſaie, whether his quietneſſe or the obedience of the people was greater.

Robert Mulbray earle of Northumberland.

In like manner, after the foreſaid Walkher; one William was created biſhop of Durham, who was the originall founder of vniuerſitie colledge in Oxford, and by whoſe aſſiſtance, the moonkes gaping both for riches, eaſe, and poſſeſſions, found the means to diſplace the ſecular prieſts of the colledge of Durham, that they might get into their roomes, as they did indeed ſoone after, to their great gaine and aduantage. But to returne againe to the courſe of the hiſtorie. Shortlie after the reuenge of the death of Walkher biſhop of Durham, the fornamed biſhop Odo the kings brother was ſuſpected of ſome vntruth and ſiniſter dealing, wher vpon he was ſent as a baniſhed man into Normandie, or rather (as other write) committed to priſon, where he remained, not as a clerke, but as a baron of the realme; for he was both biſhop and earle of Kent.

The foundation of vniuerſitie colledge in Oxford.

Anno Reg. 15.
1081

Anno Reg. 16.
1082

Odo ſuſpected and baniſhed.

Anno Reg. 17.
1083

The king hauing at length obteined ſome reſt from wars, practiſed by ſundrie meanes to inrich his cofers, and therefore raiſed a tribute through out the whole kingdome; for the better leuieng whereof, he appointed all the ſubiects of his realme to be numbred, all the cities, townes, villages, and hamlets to be regiſtred, all the abbies, monaſteries and priories to be recorded. Moreouer, he cauſed a certificat to be taken of euerie mans ſubſtance, and what he might diſpend by the yeare; he alſo cauſed their names to be written which held knights fees, & were bound therby to ſerue him in the wars. Likewiſe he tooke a note of euerie yoke of oxen, & what number of plow lands, and how manie bondmen were within the realme. This certificat being made & brought vnto him, gaue him full vnderſtanding what wealth remained among the Engliſh people. Herevpon he raiſed his tribute, taking ſix ſhillings for euerie hide of land through out this realme, which amounted to a great maſſe of monie when it was all brought togither into his Excheker. ¶ Here note by the waie, that an hide of land conteineth an hundred acres, and an acre conteineth fortie perches in length, and foure in bredth, the length of a perch is ſixteene foot and an halfe: ſo that the common acre ſhould make 240. perches; & eight hides or 800. acres is a knights fee, after the beſt approued writers and plaine demonſtration. Thoſe therefore are deceiued, that take an hide of land to conteine twentie acres (as William Lambert hath well noted in his *De priſcis Anglorum legibus*) where he expoundeth the meaning of the old Saxon termes perteining to the lawes.

Plow land.

Geruaſius Tilberienſis.

The true definition of a hide of land.

But to proceed & come, a little after the temporals dealing, to ſome of the ſpirituall affaires. It hapned about the ſame time, that when king William had finiſhed the rating of his ſubiects, that there roſe a ſtrife betwixt Thurſtane abbat of Glaſtenburie a Norman, and the moonkes of that houſe. One cauſe thereof was, for that the abbat would haue compelled them to haue left the plaine ſong or note for the ſeruice which pope Gregorie had ſet foorth, and to haue vſed an other kind of tune deuiſed by one William of Feſcampe: beſide this, the ſaid abbat ſpent and waſted the goods that belonged to the houſe, in riot, leacherie, and by ſuch other inſolent meanes (withdrawing alſo from the moonkes their old accuſtomed allowance of diet) for the which they firſt fell at altercation in words, and afterwards to fighting. The abbat got armed men about him, and falling vpon the moonkes, ſlue three of them at the high altar, and wounded xviij. Howbeit the moonkes for their parts plaied the pretie men with formes and candelſticks, defending themſelues as well as they might, ſo that they hurt diuers of the abbats adherents, and droue them out of the quier.

Anno Reg. 18.
1084

Wil. Malm.
Simon Dun.

Thurſtan abbat of Glaſtenburie.

William of Feſcampe.

Hen. Hunt.
Wil. Malm. haue two ſlaine & xiiij. hurt.

Matt. Weſtm.

In the end, complaint hereof was brought to the king, by whoſe iudgement the matter was ſo ordered, that Thurſtane loſt his roome, and returned vnto Caen in Normandie from whence he came, and the moonkes were ſpred abroad into diuerſe houſes of religion through the realme, Glaſtenburie being repleniſhed with more quiet perſons, and ſuch as were ſuppoſed readier to praie than to quarell, as the other did: yet is it ſaid, that in the time of William Rufus this Thurſtane obteined the rule of that abbeie againe for fiue hundred pounds.

There be which write, that the numbring of men and of places, the valuation of goods and ſubſtance, as well in cattell as readie monie, was not taken till about the xix. yeere of this kings reigne (although the ſubſidie afore mentioned was gathered about two yeares before of euerie hide of land as yee haue heard) and that the certificat hereof being inrolled, was put into the kings treaſurie at Wincheſter, in the xix. yeare of his reigne, and not in the xvj. But in what yeare ſoeuer it was, and howſoeuer the writers agree or diſagree herein; certaine it is, that the ſame was exacted, to the great greefe and impoueriſhment of the people, who ſore lamented the miſe-

Sim.Dunel.
Hen. Marle.
Math.Paris.

Hen.Marle.
Anno Reg. 19.
Simon Dun.

rable

Polydor.
Matth. Paris.

The Conquerour ſeeketh to keepe the Engliſh men low.

Polydor.

The forreſts ſeized into the kings hands.
Matth. Paris.

New forreſt.

Matth. Paris.
An earthquake.

Polydor.

rable eſtate wherinto they were brought, and hated the Normans in their harts to the verie death. Howbeit, the more they grudged at ſuch tolles, tallages, cuſtomes, and other impoſitions wherewith they were preſſed; the more they were charged and ouerpreſſed. The Normans on the other ſide with their king perceiuing the hatred which the Engliſh bare them, were ſore offended, and therefore ſought by all meanes to keepe them vnder. Such as were called to be iuſtices, were enimies to all iuſtice; wherupon greater burdens were laid vpon the Engliſh, inſomuch that after they had beene robbed and ſpoiled of their goods, they were alſo debarred of their accuſtomed games and paſtimes. For where naturallie (as they doo vnto this daie) they tooke great pleaſure in hunting of deere, both red and fallow, in the woods and forreſts about without reſtraint, king William ſeizing the moſt part of the ſame forreſts into his owne hands, appointed a puniſhment to be executed vpon all ſuch offendors; namelie, to haue their eies put out. And to bring the greater number of men in danger of thoſe his penall lawes (a peſtilent policie of a ſpitefull mind, and ſauoring altogither of his French ſlauerie) he deuiſed meanes how to breed, nouriſh, and increaſe the multitude of deere, and alſo to make roome for them in that part of the realme which lieth betwixt Saliſburie and the ſea ſouthward: he pulled downe townes, villages, churches, & other buildings for the ſpace of 30. miles, to make thereof a forreſt, which at this daie is called New forreſt. The people as then ſore bewailed their diſtres, & greatlie lamented that they muſt thus leaue houſe & home to the vſe of ſauage beaſts. Which crueltie, not onelie mortall men liuing here on earth, but alſo the earth it ſelfe might ſeeme to deteſt, as by a woonderfull ſignification it ſeemed to declare, by the ſhaking and roaring of the ſame, which chanced about the 14. yeare of his reigne (as writers haue recorded.) There be that ſuppoſe how the king made that part of the realme waſte and barren vpon a policie, to the intent that if his chance were to be expelled by ciuill wars, & he compelled to leaue the land, there ſhould be no inhabitants in that part of the Ile to reſiſt his arriuall vpon his new returne.

Simon Dun.
1085
A rumor ſpred of the cōming of the Danes.

Anno 20.

But to go forth with our purpoſe. About the ſame time, a rumor was ſpred in England that Sueine king of Denmarke meant to inuade England with a puiſſant armie, hauing the aſſiſtance of the earle of Flanders, whoſe daughter he had maried. Wherupon king William being then in Normandie, reteined a great power of French ſouldiers, both archers and footmen, which togither with his Normans he brought ouer into England in harueſt ſeaſon, & meaning to diſburthen himſelfe of the charge of their keeping, he cauſed their finding and wages to be borne by the lords and peeres of the realme, by the ſhirifs of ſhires, and other officers. Howbeit, when he vnderſtood that the Danes changed their purpoſe, and would not hold on their iournie, he diſmiſſed part of his power, and ſent them home againe, keeping the reſidue all the winter with him in England, readie for his defenſe, if anie rebellion or other neceſſitie ſhould befall.

1086
Matth. West.
1087
An oth taken to be true to the king.

The ſame yeare, he kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Gloceſter, and made his ſonne Henrie knight at Weſtminſter in Whitſunweeke inſuing. Shortlie after, calling togither aſwell lords ſpirituall as temporall, he cauſed them all to ſweare fealtie to him and his heires after him in the poſſeſſion of this kingdome.

Great ſickenes reigning.
Murren of cattell.
Matth. West.

Paules church burned.
Simon Dun.

About this ſeaſon, the people in all places were pitifullie plaged with burning feuers, which brought manie to their end: a murren alſo came to their cattell, whereof a woonderfull number died. At the ſame time (which is more maruellous) tame foules, as hens, geeſe, & peacocks, forſaking their owners houſes, fled to the woods and became wild. Great hurt was doone in manie places of the realme by fire, and ſpeciallie in London, where vpon the 7. daie of Iulie a ſudden flame began, which burnt Paules church, and a great part of the citie downe to the verie ground.

Ran. Higd.
Simon Dun.

Anno Reg. 21.

Wil. Malm.
Matth. Paris.

Wil. Malm.
Ran. Higd.

He inuadeth France.

Gemeticenſis.
The citie of Maunt burnt by K. william.
Matth. West.

Matth. Paris.

King william departed this life.
Simon Dun.
Matth. West.
The lix. of his age hath Wil. Malm.

Now when K. William had taken the oth of fealtie and loialtie of all his lords, Edgar Etheling, who was reconciled vnto his fauour (as you haue heard) obteining licence of him to depart the realme for a ſeaſon, ſailed into Puglia with two hundred ſouldiers: of whoſe acts there and returne into England I ſpare to ſpeake, bicauſe I find litle or nothing of moment recorded. And now king William, who hauing brought the Engliſhmen ſo lowe and bare, that little more was to be got out of their hands, went once againe ouer into Normandie with an huge maſſe of mony, where ſoone after he fell ſicke, ſo that he was conſtrained to keepe his bed longer than he had beene accuſtomed to doo, whereat Philip the French king in ieſting maner ſaid, that king William his couſine laie now in childbed (alluding belike to his big bellie, for he was verie corpulent) and withall added; Oh what a number of candels muſt I prouide to offer vp at his going to church! certeinelie I thinke that 100000. will not ſuffice, &c. This frumping ſpeech ſo moued the king, that he made this anſwere: Well, I truſt when I ſhall be churched, that our couſine ſhall be at no ſuch coſt, but I will helpe to find him a thouſand candels my ſelfe, and light them too, to ſome of their paines, if God grant me life. Which promiſe he bound with an oth, and in deed performed. For in Iulie next inſuing, when their corne, fruit, and grapes were moſt floriſhing, and readie for the ſickle, he entred France with a great armie, ſet fire on manie of their cities and townes in the weſtſide of that countrie, & came at laſt to the citie of Maunt, which he burnt with the church of our ladie, and an ankreſſe incloſed in the wall thereof as an holie cloſet, for the force of the fire was ſuch as all went to wrecke. In this heat king William tooke ſuch a ſickneſſe (which was likewiſe aggrauated by the fall of an horſſe as he rode to and fro, bicauſe he was not able to trauell on foot about his palace by reaſon of his diſeaſe) that coſt him his life; ſo that when he had ordeined his laſt will, and taken order for the ſtaie of things after his deceaſe, he departed this life on the 9. day of September, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1087. and 74. (as Polydor ſaith) of his age, hauing gouerned Normandie about 51. yeres, and reigned ouer England 20. yeares, ten moneths, and 28. daies (as all writers doo report.)

He ſet all priſoners at libertie ſaith Wil. Malm.
Polydor.

Not long before his death, he releaſed his brother Odo biſhop of Bayeux out of priſon, Marchar earle of Northumberland, and Wilnotus the ſonne of king Harold, or (as ſome ſay) his brother. Moreouer he repented him (as ſome ſay) when he lay on his deathbed, his of cruell dealing with the Engliſh, conſidering that by them he had atteined to ſuch honour and dignitie, as to weare the crowne and ſcepter of a kingdome: but whether he did ſo or not, or that ſome monke deuiſed the excuſe in fauour of the prince: ſurelie he was a puiſſant prince, and though his time was troubleſome, yet he was right fortunate in all his attempts. Againe, if a man ſhall conſider that in a ſtrange realme he could make ſuch a conqueſt, and ſo exactlie and readilie aſſure the ſame to his heires, with new lawes, orders, and conſtitutions (which are like for euer to endure) he would thinke it a thing altogither void of credit. Yet ſo it was, & ſo honourable were his doings in the ſight of the world, that thoſe kings, which ſucceeded ſithens his death, begin their account at him, as from one that had by his prudence renewed the ſtate of the realme, and inſtituted an other forme of regiment, in atchiuing whereof he did not ſo much pretend a rightfull challenge by the grant of his coſine king Edward the Confeſſor, as by the law of armes and plaine conqueſt, than the which (as he ſuppoſed) there could be no better title.

Herevpon alſo thoſe that haue ſithens ſucceeded him, vſe the ſame armes as peculiar to the crowne of England, which he vſed in his time; namelie, thrée lions paſſant gold in a field gewels (as Polydor writeth) the thrée floure delices were ſince that time annexed thereto by Edward the third, by reaſon of his claime to the crowne of France, whereof hereafter ye ſhall heare. Among other gréeuances which the Engliſh ſuſteined by the hard deling of the Conquerour, this is to be remembred, that he brought Iewes into this land from Rouen, and appointed them a place to inhabit and occupie.

He bare but two lions or rather leopards as ſome thinke.

Polydor.

There be that write, how the inconſtancie of the Engliſh people by their oft rebellions occaſioned the king to be ſo rough and rigorous againſt them; wheras (of his naturall diſpoſition and proper inclination) he was rather gentle and courteous than ſharpe and cruell. But ſith he continued his extremitie euen to his laſt daies, we may rather beléeue, that although from his childhood he ſhewed ſome tokens of clemencie, bountie, and liberalitie; yet by following the wars, and practiſing to reigne with ſterneneſſe, he became ſo inured therewith, that thoſe peaceable vertues were quite altered in him, and in maner clearelie quenched. He was indued with a certeine ſtoutneſſe of courage and ſkill in feats of warre, which good hap euer followed: he was frée from lecherous luſts, without ſuſpicion of bodilie vices, quicke of wit, deſirous of honor, painefull, watchfull, and able to tolerate heat and cold, though he were tall of ſtature, and verie groſſe of bodie.

Toward the end of his daies he waxed verie deuout, and became deſirous to aduance the ſtate of the church, inſomuch that he builded thrée abbeies in thrée ſeuerall places, endowing them with faire lands and large poſſeſſions, one at the place where he vanquiſhed king Harold, fiue miles from Haſtings, which he named Battell, of the field there fought: the other at Celby in Yorkeſhire: and the third in Normandie at Caen, where his wife Quéene Maud had builded a nunnerie, which Maud died in the yéere 1084. before the deceaſe of the king hir huſband.

After his death, his bodie was buried in Caen, in S. Stephans church; but before it could be committed to the ground, the executors were conſtreined to agrée with the lord of the ſoile where the church ſtood, which (as he ſaid) the king in his life time had iniuriouſlie taken from him, and gaue him a great ſumme of monie to releaſe his title.

They gaue him an hundred pound, ſaith Hen. Marle.

¶ By this we may conſider the great miſerie of mans eſtate, in that ſo mightie a prince could not haue ſo much ground after his death as to couer his dead corps, without dooing iniurie to another. This alſo may be a ſpeciall leſſon for all men, and namelie for princes, noblemen, and gentlemen, who oftentimes to enlarge their owne commodities, doo not regard what wrong they offer to the inferiour ſort.

Hen. Marle.

The ſaid king William had by Maud his wife the daughter of Baldwine earle of Flanders, foure ſonnes, Robert ſurnamed Curthoſe (vnto whome he bequeathed the duchie of Normandie) Richard who died in his youth, William ſurnamed Rufus, to whom he gaue by teſtament the realme of England, and Henrie ſurnamed Beauclerke for his cunning, knowledge and learning, vnto whom he bequethed all his treaſure and moueable goods, with the poſſeſſions that belonged to his mother. Beſides theſe foure ſonnes, he had alſo by his ſaid wife fiue daughters, Cecilie, who became a nunne; Conſtance, who was married to Alane duke of Britaine: Adela, who was giuen in mariage to Stephan earle of Blois (of whom that Stephan was borne which reigned after Henrie the firſt) Adeliza, who was promiſed in mariage to Harold king of England (as before you haue heard) but ſhe died yer ſhe was maried either to him, or to any other, and ſo likewiſe did the fift, whoſe name I cannot reherſe.

John Rous.

But to conclude, though king William held the Engliſh ſo vnder foot, that in his daies almoſt no Engliſhman bare any office of honor or rule in his time, yet he ſomewhat fauoured the citie of London, and at the earneſt ſute of William a Norman then biſhop of that ſée, he granted vnto the citizens the firſt charter, which is written in the Saxon tong, ſealed with gréene wax, and expreſſed in viij. or ix. lines at the moſt, exemplified according to the copie, and ſo printed, as followeth.

Williem king grets Williem Biſceop & Godfred Porterefan, & ealle ya Burghwarn binnen London Frenciſce, & Engliſe frendlice, & Ic kiden coy, yeet ic wille yeet git ben ealra weera lagayweord, ye get weeran on Eadwerds daege kings. And ic will yeet aelc child by his fader yrfnume, aefter his faders daege. And ic nelle ge wolian, yeet aenig man coy aenis wrang beode. God coy heald.

Wilhelmus rex ſalutat Wilhelmum Epiſcopum, & Goffridum Portegreſium, & omnem Burghware infra London Franſ. & Angl. amicabiliter. Et vobis notum facio, quòd ego volo quòd vos ſitis omni lege illa digni qua fuiſtis Edwardi diebus regis. Et volo quòd omnis puer ſit patris ſui hæres poſt diem patris ſui. Et ego nolo pati quòd aliquis homo aliquam iniuriam vobis inferat. Deus vos ſaluet.

Matth. Paris.
Hen. Hunt.

But howſoeuer he vſed the reſt of the Engliſh, this is recorded of ſome writers, that by his rigorous procéedings againſt them, he brought to paſſe that the countrie was ſo rid of théeues and robbers, as that at length a maid might haue paſſed through the land with a bag full of gold, and not haue met with any miſdooer to haue bereft hir of the ſame: a thing right ſtrange to conſider, ſith in the beginning of his reigne there were ſuch routs of outlawes and robbers, that the peaceabler people could not be ſafelie poſſeſſed of their owne houſes, were the ſame neuer ſo well fortified and defended.

John Rous.
Hen. Marle.

Among manie lawes made by the ſaid William, this one is to be remembred, that ſuch as forced any woman, ſhould loſe their genitals.

Saliſburie vſe.

In this kings daies alſo liued Oſmond the ſecond biſhop of Saliſburie, who compiled the church ſeruice, which in times paſt they commonlie called after Saliſburie vſe.

Shooting.

The vſe of the long bowe (as John Rous teſtifieth) came firſt into England with this king William the Conquerour: for the Engliſh (before that time) vſed to fight with axes and ſuch hand weapons: and therefore in the oration made by the Conquerour before he gaue battell to king Harold, the better to encourage his men, he told them they ſhould encounter with enimies that wanted ſhot.

In the yeare of our Lord 1542. Monſieur de Caſtres biſhop of Baieulx and abbat of Saint Eſtienne in Caen, cauſed the ſepulchre of this William to be opened, wherein his bodie was found whole, faire and perfect; of lims, large and big; of ſtature and perſonage, longer than the ordinarie ſort of men: with a copper plate fairlie gilt, and this epitaph therevpon ingrauen:

Qui rexit rigidos Normannos, atque Britannos
Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,
Et Cœnomenſes virtute contudit enſes,
Imperijq́; ſui legibus applicuit,

Rex magnus parua iacet hac Guilhelmus in vrna:
Sufficit & magno parua domus domino,
Ter ſeptem gradibus ſe voluerat atq; duobus
Virginis in gremio Phœbus, & hic obijt: that is;
Who ouer Normans rough did rule,
and ouer Britons bold
Did conqueſt ſtoutlie win, and conqueſt woone did ſtronglie hold:
Who by his valure great the fatall vprores calmd in maine,
And to obeie his powers and lawes,
the Manceaux did conſtraine:
This mightie king within this little vault intoomed lies,
So great a lord ſometime, ſo ſmall
a roome dooth now ſuffice.
When three times ſeuen and two by iuſt
degrees the ſunne had tooke
His woonted courſe in Virgos lap,
then he the world forſooke.

W. Patten collecteth this to be the 23. after the ſun was in Virgo: which is the 6. of Septẽber

Thus far William Conquerour.

VVilliam Rufus or
VVilliam the Red.

1087
Anno Reg. 1.

Polydor.
Sim. Dunel.
Matth. Paris.

Sim. Dunel.
Marchar and wilnot.

WIlliam, ſurnamed Rufus or William the Red, ſecond ſonne to William Conqueror, began his reigne ouer England the ninth of September, in the yeare 1087. about the 31. yeare of the emperour Henrie the fourth, and the 37. of Philip the firſt, king of France, Vrbane the ſecond then gouerning the ſée of Rome, and Malcolme Cammoir reigning in Scotland. Immediatlie after his fathers deceaſſe, and before the ſolemnitie of the funerals were executed, he came ouer into England with no leſſe ſpéed than was poſſible, and following the counſell of Lanfranke archbiſhop of Canturburie (in whome he repoſed all his truſt) he ſought to win the fauour of the Péers and Nobilitie of the realme by great and liberall gifts. For although there were but few of the homeborne States that bare rule in the land at this ſeaſon; yet thoſe that remained, and whome his father in extreme ſort had wronged, he verie gentlie enterteined, promiſing them not onlie to continue their good lord and ſoueraigne, but alſo to make more fauourable ordinances than his father had left behind him; and furthermore to reſtore the former lawes and liberties of the realme, which his ſaid father had aboliſhed. Thus by faire words and policie he obtained his purpoſe. Howbeit ſoone after he forgat himſelfe, and impriſoned Marchar and Wilnot, whom he had brought ouer with him from Normandie, being ſet at libertie by his father.

Lanfranke had fauoured him euen of a child.
Matth. Paris.
William Rufus is crowned the 26. of September.
Polydor.
His bountifull munificence.

The Nobles at the firſt wiſhed rather to haue had the elder brother duke Robert to haue gouerned them: howbeit by the aide onelie of the ſaid Lanfranke, whoſe authoritie was of no ſmall force amongſt all the lords of the land, this William (according to his fathers aſſignation) was proclaimed and crowned at Weſtminſter on the 26. of September (being ſundaie, the 6. kalends of October) and the 11. indiction, as the beſt writers doo report. After his coronation, to gratifie the people, he went to Wincheſter, where he found great treaſure which his father had laid vp there for his owne vſe: this he fréelie ſpent in large gifts, and all kind of princelie largeſſe. He ſet verie manie priſoners at libertie, & did many other things to benefit the people, wherein the diligence and good aduice of Lanfranke did not a little preuaile. For he perceiued that there was in the king a variable mind, an vnſtable nature, and a diſpoſition to lightneſſe and follie. Wherefore hée tooke oftentimes the more paines in perſuading him not onelie to liberalitie (which is none of the leaſt vertues in a prince) but alſo to vſe a diſcréet and orderlie behauiour in all his doings. Moreouer, he ſticked not to put him in feare of an euill end, and troubleſome regiment likelie to inſue, if he did giue himſelfe to vice and wilfulneſſe, & neglect the charge thus by the prouidence of GOD committed to his hands. After this maner did the ſaid prelat trauell with the king, whom we will leaue at this time as it were hearkening to his admonitions, and ſet forth by the waie what his brother Robert did, whileſt William Rufus his brother was occupied in ſuch wiſe as you haue heard.

It happened that this Robert was abroad in Germanie, when king William his father died (whither he went to raiſe a power, to the intent he might therby obteine the poſſeſſion of Normandie, which he truſted to enioy in his fathers life time) where hearing newes of his death, he haſted ſtraightwaies into Normandie, and there being ioyfullie receiued, was peaceablie proclaimed duke of that countrie, with great gladneſſe and ſhouting of the people.

1088

After this, conſidering with himſelfe how diſhonorable a thing it was for him, that his yoonger brother ſhould poſſeſſe the crowne of England, which of right (as he ſaid) belonged vnto him, by reaſon of his age; he determined with all expedition to paſſe the ſeas with an armie, and recouer that into his hands, which his father had giuen from him, partlie (as it is thought) for his wilfulneſſe and diſobedience towards him, and partly alſo bicauſe he doubted that if he ſhould leaue it vnto him, he would through his too much gentleneſſe and facilitie, giue occaſion to the Engliſh to reſume ſtrength, and therby to reuolt. Wherefore he iudged his yoonger brother the ſaied William (a man of a rougher nature) the méeter of the twaine for the gouernement.

As duke Robert was thus moued by his owne deſire to bereue his brother of the dominion of England,

land, ſo he was not a little incenſed therunto by ſuch of the Engliſh Nobilitie and Normans, as came dailie ouer vnto him out of the realme, complaining of the preſent ſtate of the world, as thoſe that miſliked of the whole maner of regiment vſed in the beginning of the reigne of his brother William. His vncle Odo alſo (then biſhop of Baieux) furthered the matter all that he might. This Odo was at firſt in great eſtimation with his brother the Conqueror, and bare great rule vnder him, till at length for enuie that the archbiſhop Lanfranke was preferred before him, he conſpired againſt him, who vnderſtanding thereof, committed him forthwith to priſon, where he remained, till the ſaid prince then lieng on his death-bed, releaſed and reſtored him to his former libertie. When the king was dead, William Rufus tooke him backe into England, ſuppoſing no leſſe but to haue had a ſpeciall freend and a truſtie counceller of him in all his affaires. But yer long after his comming thither, he fell againe into the ſame offenſe of ingratitude, wherof he became culpable in the Conquerors daies: for perceiuing that Lanfranke was ſo highlie eſteemed with the king, that he could beare no rule, and partlie ſuſpecting that Lanfranke had beene cheefe cauſer of his former impriſonment, he conſpired with the reſt againſt his nephue, and therevpon wrote ſundrie letters ouer vnto duke Robert, counſelling him to come ouer with an armie in all haſt, to take the rule vpon him, which by his practiſe ſhould eaſilie be compaſſed.

Odo the biſhop of Baieux conſpireth againſt his nephue William Rufus.

Duke Robert being thus animated on all ſides, and yet wanting ſufficient monie to the furniture of this iournie, engaged a portion of his duchie of Normandie, as the countie of Conſtantine to his yoongeſt brother Henrie, for a great ſum of gold, and therwith returned anſwer to the foreſaid biſhop, that he ſhould prouide and looke for him vpon the ſouth coaſt of England, at a certeine time appointed. Herevpon Odo fortified the caſtell of Rocheſter, & began to make ſore wars againſt the kings friends in Kent: he procured others of the complices alſo to do the like in other parts of the realme; and firſt on the weſt part of England, where Geffrey biſhop of Conſtans with his nephue Robert de Mowbray earle of Northumberland ſetting forth from Briſtow, came toward Bath, which towne they tooke and ſacked, and likewiſe Berkley, with a great part of Wiltſhire, and brought the ſpoile and booties backe to Briſtow, where they had a caſtell ſtronglie fortified for their more ſafetie. In like maner Roger de Bygod, departing from Norwich, with great forraies ouerrode and robbed all the countries about, and conueied ſuch riches as he had gotten into the ſaid citie. In like ſort did Hugh de Grandmeſnill at Leiceiſter, ſpoiling and waſting all the countries about him.

The caſtell of Rocheſter.

Simon Dun.
Wil. Malm.
The biſhop of Conſtance taketh the town of Bath.

Hugh Grandmeſnill.
Hen. Hunt.
Wil. Mal.

The earle of Shrewſburie called Roger de Mountgomerie, with a power of Welſhmen ſet forth from Shrewſburie, and with him were William biſhop of Durham the kings houſhold chapline, Barnard of Newmerch, Roger Lacie, and Raſe Mortimer, (all Normans or Frenchmen) who ioyning their powers togither, inuaded the countrie, and with fire and ſword did much hurt where they came, killing and taking a great number of people. Afterwards comming to Worceſter, they aſſaulted the citie, ouerran the ſuburbs, & ſet the ſame on fire. But the citizens ſhutting faſt the gates of their citie (though with the ſudden comming of the enimies they were ſomewhat afraid) made valiant reſiſtance: and conueieng their goods, their wiues, and their children into the caſtell, got them to the walles and places of defenſe, to repell & beat backe the enimies. Among them in the towne was biſhop Woolſtan, whom the citizens would haue compelled to go into the caſtell for his ſurer ſafegard, but he refuſed it.

The earle of Shrewſburie

Worceſter aſſaulted.

Biſhop Woolſtan.

At length it chanced that the enimies (continuing the ſaid ſiege) began to wax negligent, and ranged abroad in the countrie, little regarding watch and ward about their campe, wherevpon the Engliſh within the citie tooke this oportunitie, being mooued thereto with the comfortable exhortation of biſhop Woolſtan, and ſailing forth of the towne did ſet on their enimies with great fiercenes, whome they got at ſuch aduantage, that they ſlue and tooke that daie aboue fiue M. men (as Henrie of Huntingdon recordeth.) For the Engliſh bearing a continuall malice in their hearts againſt the French and Normans, did now their beſt to be fullie reuenged of them, vpon ſo conuenient an occaſion offered. Thoſe that eſcaped by flight, hid themſelues in the next townes, making ſuch ſhifts for their liues as the preſent neceſſitie could miniſter.

They ſlue fiue hundred, and chaſed the reſidue as ſaith Simon Dunel.

Whileſt the realme was thus troubled on ech ſide, archbiſhop Lanfranke ſendeth, writeth, and admoniſheth all the kings freends to make themſelues readie to defend their prince. And after he vnderſtood that they were aſſembled togither for that purpoſe, he counſelleth the king to march into the field with them ſpeedilie, to repreſſe his enimies. The king following his counſell, firſt appointed his nauie to ſcowre and keepe the ſeas, and to withſtand (if it were poſſible) the arriuall of his brother by faire words. Alſo he reconcileth Roger de Mountgomerie earle of Shrewſburie vnto him, and therewith maketh large promiſes to the Engliſh, that he would out of hand giue and reſtore vnto them ſuch fauourable lawes as they would wiſh or deſire. Moreouer he commanded all vniuſt impoſts, tolles and tallages to be laid downe, and granted free hunting in the woods, chaſes and forreſts. All which grants and promiſes he kept not long, though for the time he greatlie contented the people with ſuch a ſhew of good meaning towards them. This doone, he goeth with a mightie armie into Kent, where the ſedition began, and firſt comming to the caſtell of Tunbridge, he compelled capteine Gilbert to yeeld vp the fortreſſe into his hands. Then went he to Horne caſtell, where he heard ſaie Odo was (but the report was vntrue, for he had betaken himſelfe to the caſtell of Pemſey) which when he had ouerthrowne, he haſted forth vnto Pemſey, and beſieged the caſtell there a long ſeaſon, which the biſhop had ſtronglie fortified.

The diligence of the archbiſhop Lanfranke.

The great curteſie ſhewed to the Engliſhmen by Wil. Rufus.
Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm.

During this time, and about the fiftieth daie after the beginning of the ſiege, word was brought to the king, that his brother duke Robert was landed at Southampton, and minded with all poſſible ſpeed to come to the ſuccour of the biſhop, and of other his freends, whom he and his power had not a little afflicted. ¶ Here authors varie: for ſome report that duke Robert came not ouer himſelfe at the firſt at all, but ſent a part of his armie, with a certeine number of ſhips, which encountring with the kings fleet, were diſcomfited. Others write that duke Robert hearing of the loſſe of his men, came after himſelfe, and landed with a mightie armie as before, which is moſt likelie. And certeinlie (as Gemeticen. affirmeth) he might eaſilie as then haue recouered England from his brother, if he had not lingred the time, conſidering that Euſtace earle of Bullongne, Odo biſhop of Baieux, and the earle of Mortaigne, with other lords of Normandie that were paſſed to England, had alreadie taken Rocheſter, and diuers other caſtels in the prouince of Canturburie, keeping the ſame a certeine time, ſtill looking that he ſhould haue come ouer to their aid, which he deferred to doo, till they were conſtreined by ſiege and lacke of neceſſarie ſuccor to returne into Normandie, leauing thoſe places which they had won vnto the king, and that to

H. Hunt.
Simon Dun.

Gemeticenſis.
Euſtace earle of Bullongne.

their great diſhonor. But howſoeuer it was, the king ſtill continued the ſiege before Pemſey caſtell, till Odo (through want of victuals) was glad to ſubmit himſelfe, and promiſed to cauſe the caſtell of Rocheſter to be deliuered: but at his comming thither, they within the citie ſuffered him to enter, and ſtreightwaies laid him faſt in priſon. Some iudge that it was doone vnder a colour by his owne conſent.

Simon Dun.

There were in Rocheſter a ſort of valiant gentlemen (the flower in maner of all Normandie) with Euſtace earle of Bolongne, and manie gentlemen of Flanders, which were in mind to defend the place againſt the king: who hearing what was doone, came with his armie and beſieged the citie of Rocheſter on ech ſide ſo ſharpelie, that they within were glad to deliuer it vp into his hands. Thus loſt biſhop Odo all his liuings and dignities in England, and ſo returned into Normandie, where vnder duke Robert he had the chéefe gouernement of the countrie committed vnto him.

Rocheſter beſieged by the king.
Anno Reg. 2.
Polydor.
1089

After this he ouercame diuers of his enimies ſome by faire and ſome by fowle meanes. Notwithſtanding this, there yet remained the biſhop of Durham, one of the chéefe conſpirators, who withdrew himſelfe into the citie of Durham, there to lie in ſafetie, till he ſaw how the world would go: but being therein beſieged by the king, who came thither perſonallie, he was at length forced to ſurrender the citie, and yéeld himſelfe: wherevpon alſo he was exiled the land, with diuerſe of his complices. But within two yeares after, he was called home againe, and reſtored to his church, wherein he liued not long, but died for ſorrow, bicauſe he could not cléere himſelfe of offenſe in the ſaid rebellion, albeit that he laboured moſt earneſtlie ſo to doo, that he might thereby haue atteined to the kings fauor againe.

The biſhop of Durham exiled.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in hand, the archbiſhop Lanfranke falleth ſicke and dieth, in the 19. yeare after his firſt entring into the gouernment of the ſea of Canturburie. This Lanfranke (as ſhould ſéeme) was a wiſe, politike, and learned prelate, who whileſt he liued, mollified the furious and cruell nature of king William Rufus, inſtructing him to forbeare ſuch wild and outragious behauiours as his youthfulneſſe was inclined vnto: and moreouer perſuaded the Engliſh to obey the ſame king as their loiall prince, whereby they ſhould occaſion him to be their good lord and king, not vſing them rigorouſlie as his father had doon. So that Lanfranke could not well haue béene ſpared in the time of the rebellion, without great danger of ſubuerting the ſtate of the commonwealth. He builded two hoſpitals without the citie of Canturburie, for the reléefe of poore people and ſtrangers, the one of S. Iohn, the other at Harbaldowne. He aduanced the church of Rocheſter from foure ſecular clerkes, to the number of fiftie monkes: he repaired Chriſtes church in Canturburie, and the abbey of S. Albons, whereof he made one Paule that was his nephue abbat, which Paule gouerned that houſe by his vncles aſſiſtance greatlie to the aduancement thereof, as well in temporall as ſpirituall preferments, as it was then iudged. Likewiſe the ſaid Lanfranke was verie fortunate in the gouernement of his church and ſée of Canturburie, recouering ſundrie portions of lands and rents alienated from the ſame before his daies, inſomuch that he reſtored to that ſée 25. manors. For amongſt other, whereas Odo the Biſhop of Baieux, who alſo was Earle of Kent, bearing great rule in England vnder his nephue king William the Conquerour, had vſurped diuerſe poſſeſſions which belonged to the ſée of Canturburie, and had ſeized the franchiſes apperteining to the ſame Lanfranke, into his owne hands, by ſute and earneſt trauell he recouered the ſame, and being impleaded about that matter by the ſaid Odo, he ſo defended his cauſe, that in the end (though with much adoo) he had his will, and ſo remained in quiet poſſeſſion of his right after that ſo long as he liued, without any trouble or vexation concerning the ſaid poſſeſſions and liberties.

Lanfranke archbiſhop of Canturburie departeth this life.

Matth. Weſtm.
Paule abbat of S. Albons.

Eadmerus.

Whereas alſo not onelie Walkhem the biſhop of Wincheſter, but diuerſe other biſhops in England were in mind to haue diſplaced monks out of their cathedrall churches, and to haue brought canons into their roomes, Lanfranke withſtood them, and would tollerate no ſuch diſlocation: an act at that time ſo well liked, that he was highlie commended for the ſame. After Lanfrankes death, the king began greatlie to forget himſelfe in all his dealings, inſomuch that he kept many concubines, and waxed verie cruell and inconſtant in all his doings, ſo that he became an heauie burthen vnto his people. For he was ſo much addicted to gather goods, that he conſidered not what perteined to the maieſtie of a king, inſomuch that nothing tending to his gaine, and the ſatiſfieng of his appetite, was eſtéemed of him vnlawfull, ſith he meaſured all things by the vncontrolled rule of his roialtie, and conſidered nothing what ſo high an office required. He kept the ſée of Canturburie foure yeares in his hands, to ſée who would giue moſt for it, in the meane time taking the profits thereof, and making the vttermoſt of the ſame that by any meanes could be deuiſed.

Lanfranke praiſed for holding with the monks.

The king giuen to ſenſuall luſt and couetouſneſſe.

The like he vſed when other benefices and abbeies were vacant, and furthermore that little which the prince ſpared, his officers and farmers, no leſſe couetous than he, conuerted to their aduantage: ſo that what by the king, and what by his procurators, the church of England was now ſore charged and fléeced of hir wealth. Diuerſe of hir prelates in like maner were not a little offended, to ſée their mother ſo ſpoiled of hir treaſure and liuelihood, inſomuch that they practiſed a redreſſe: and to begin withall, complained of the king to pope Vrban: but he was ſo buſied with other troubles of his owne néerer home, that he could haue no time to ſéeke meanes how to redreſſe enormities a far off, whereby the lands and goods belonging to the church here in England were ſtill waſtfullie ſpent and conſumed by the king and others, to whome he gaue or let them forth to farme at his owne pleaſure, and to his moſt commoditie.

Matth. Paris.

Wil. Malm.
Matt. Paris.

But albeit the prince was of ſuch a diſpoſition by nature, yet there is one thing written of him which ought not to be forgotten, to admoniſh vs that there is no man of ſo euill an affection, but that ſometime he dealeth vprightlie, though it be by hap or other extraordinarie motion. It chanced that an abbeie was void of an abbat, wherein were two monkes verie couetous perſons aboue the reſt, and ſuch as by ſcraping and gathering togither, were become verie rich, for ſuch (ſaith Polydor) in thoſe daies mounted to preferment. Theſe two appointed to go togither to the court, ech hoping at their comming thither to find ſome meanes that he might be made abbat of that houſe. Being thus agréed, to the court they come, and there offer verie largelie to the king to obteine their ſute: who perceiuing their gréedie deſires, and caſting his eies about the chamber, eſpied by chance an other monke (that came to beare them companie, being a more ſober man, and ſimple after his outward appearance) whom he called vnto him, and aſked what he would giue him to be made abbat of the foreſaid abbeie. The monke after a little pauſe, made anſwere, that he would giue nothing at all for anie ſuch purpoſe, ſince he entred into that profeſſion of méere zeale to deſpiſe riches & all worldlie pompe, to the end he might the more quietlie ſerue God in holineſſe & puritie of conuerſation. Saieſt thou ſo, quoth the king, then art thou euen he that art worthie to gouerne this houſe: and ſtreightwaie he beſtowed the houſe vpon him, iuſtlie refuſing the other two, to their open infamie and reproch.

Matt. Paris.
Anno Reg. 3.
1090

Simon Dun. warres betwixt the king and his brother Robert.

But to returne to our hiſtorie. After the expulſion of the biſhop of Durham, and other of his adherents, the king paſſed ouer into Normandie, purpoſing to depriue his brother of that dukedome, and being arriued there, he beſieged and tooke S. Valerie, Albemarle, and diuerſe other townes and caſtels, wherein he placed a number of his beſt ſouldiers, the better to mainteine warre againſt his foreſaid brother. Herevpon alſo the ſaid Robert ſent vnto the French king for aid, who came downe at his requeſt with a noble armie, and beſieged one of thoſe caſtels which king William had latelie woone; howbeit by ſuch meanes as king William made, in ſending to the French king an huge ſumme of monie, he raiſed his ſiege ſhortlie & returned home againe. At length a peace was concluded betwixt king William and the duke his brother, but yet verie diſhonorable to the ſaid Robert: for it was accorded, that king William ſhould reteine & ſtill inioy the countie of Ewe, with Feſcampe, the abbaſie of mount S. Michell, Chereburg, and all thoſe other places which he had woone & gotten out of his hands in this his late voiage. On the other ſide it was agreed, that king William ſhould aid the duke to recouer all other places beyond the ſeas, which belonged to their father. Alſo, that ſuch Normans as had loſt anie of their lands & liuings in England, for taking part with the duke in the late rebellion, ſhould be reſtored to the ſame. And furthermore, that whether ſoeuer of both ſhould die firſt, the ſuruiuer ſhould be his heire, and ſucceed in his dominions.

Anno Reg. 4.
1091

Gemeticenſis.
A peace concluded.
Simon Dun.
Matth. Weſt.
Matt. Paris.

Gemeticenſis.

This peace was concluded at Caen, and that by procurement of the French king, at what time king William was verie ſtrong in the field neare vnto Ewe. After which concluſion, they vnited their powers, and beſieged their yoongeſt brother Henrie in the caſtell of mount S. Michell, which (being ſituat in the confines of Normandie and Britaine) he had ſtronglie fortified not long before for feare of afterclaps. But when they had lien about it by the ſpace of all the Lent ſeaſon, and had made manie bickerings with his men, more to their loſſe than lucre, they raiſed their ſiege, and voluntarilie departed. Not long after this, king William depriued Edgar Etheling of his honor, which duke Robert had aſſigned vnto him, baniſhing him out of Normandie for euer.

Sim. Duncl.

Shortlie after alſo the aforeſaid Henrie wan a ſtrong towne called Damfront, and furniſhing it at all points, he kept the ſame in his poſſeſſion as long as he liued, mauger both his brethren. Thus the war wared hot betweene thoſe three, howbeit ſuddenlie (I wot not vpon what occaſion) this Henrie was reconciled with king William and his brother Robert, ſo that all debates being quieted on euerie ſide, they were made friends and welwillers. King William alſo returned into England, hauing his brother Robert in his companie, all men reioiſing at their pacification and amitie, which happened in the yeare 1091. and fourth of the reigne of the king.

Toward the end whereof, and vpon the fift daie of October, a maruellous ſore tempeſt fell in ſundrie parts of England, but eſpeciallie in the towne of Winchcombe, where (by force of thunder and lightning) a part of the ſteeple of the church was throwne downe, and the crucifix with the image of Marie ſtanding vnder the rood-loft, was likewiſe ouerthrowne, broken, and ſhattered in peeces; then followed a foule, a noiſome, and a moſt horrible ſtinke in the church. On the 17. daie of the ſame moneth much harme was doone in London with an outragious wind, the violence whereof ouerturned and rent in peeces aboue fiue hundred houſes, at which time and tempeſt the roofe of S. Marie bowe church in cheape was alſo ouerthrowne, wherewith two men were ſlaine. Moreouer, at Saliſburie much hurt was doone with the like wind and thunder, for the top of the ſteeple and manie buildings beſides were ſore ſhaken and caſt downe. But now we will ſpeake ſomewhat of the doings of Scotland, as occaſion moueth. Whileſt (as yee haue heard) variance depended betweene king William and his brother duke Robert, the Scotiſh king Malcolme made ſore wars vpon the inhabitants of Northumberland, carrieng great booties and preies out of that countrie, which he inuaded euen to Cheſter in the ſtreet. Wherefore king William, ſoone after his returne, gathered his power togither, and ſped him northwards. But king Malcolme hearing of his puiſſance & great ſtrength ſent to him for peace, which was granted in the end.

A mightie wind.

Anno Reg. 5.
1092

The Scots inuade England.

Wil. Malm.
Sim. Dun.

Some writers affirme, that king William prepared a great armie both by ſea and land againſt Malcolme; and that his nauie being abroad on the ſeas, was loſt by tempeſt, and the moſt part of his ſhips drowned; that the armie by land entring into Scotland, ſuffered manie damages through want of vittels, and ſo recoiled: finallie, that duke Robert lieng on the borders with an armie in his brothers name (wherby it ſhould appeare that the king himſelfe was not there) by the helpe and furtherance of Edgar Etheling, who then ſerued K. Malcolme in his wars, concluded a peace betwixt his brother and the ſaid Malcolme, vpon certeine articles, by vertue wherof certeine places in Northumberland were reſtored vnto Malcolme, which he had held in William Conquerours daies. Some other write in like maner, that king Malcolme did homage to king William and duke Robert that brought the ſaid Edgar Etheling into the fauour of the king.

Howſoeuer the truth of the ſtorie dooth ſtand in this behalfe, certeine it is, that the king returned out of Northumberland into the weſt parts of the realme, reteining ſtill with him duke Robert, who looked dailie when he ſhould performe ſuch couenants as were concluded vpon betwixt them in their late reconciliation. But when he ſaw that the king meant nothing leſſe than to ſtand to thoſe articles, and how he did onlie protract and delaie the time for ſome other ſecret purpoſe, he returned into Normandie in great diſpleaſure, and tooke with him the ſaid Edgar Etheling, of whom he alwaies made verie great account. Soone after king William returned into the north parts, and (as it chanced) he ſtaied a few daies about Carleil, where being delited with the ſituation of the towne (which had beene deſtroied by the Danes two hundred yeares before) he ſet workemen to repaire the ſame (meaning to vſe it in ſteed of a bulworke againſt the Scots on thoſe weſt borders) which when he had fenſed with walles, and builded a caſtell in the moſt conuenient place thereof, he cauſed churches and houſes to be erected for the benefit of ſuch people as he had determined to bring vnto the ſame. This being doone, he placed a colonie of ſouthren men there with their wiues and children, and gaue large priuileges vnto the towne, which they inioy at this daie.

The repairing and new peopling of Carleil.

Matth. Weſt.

¶ Here haue I thought good to aduertiſe you of an error in Matth. Weſt. crept in either through miſplacing the matter by means of ſome exemplifier, either elſe by the authors miſtaking his account of yeares, as 1072. for 1092. referring the repairing of Carleil vnto William Conquerour, at what time he made a iournie againſt the Scots in the ſaid yeare 1072. And yet not thus contented; to bewraie the error more manifeſtlie, he affirmeth, that the king exchanged the earledome of Cheſter with Raſe or Ranulfe de Micenis, *alias* Meſchines, for the earledome of Carleil, which the ſaid Meſchines held before, and had begunne there to build and fortifie that towne: whereas it is certeine that Ranulfe de Meſchines came to enioy the earledome of Cheſter by way of inheritance, as after ſhall appeare. For better profe whereof ye ſhall vnderſtand, that we find by ancient records, how one Hugh Lou or Lupus enioied the earledome of Cheſter all the daies of the Conqueror, and long after, which Hugh was ſonne to Richard earle of Auranges and the counteſſe Emma daughter of a noble man in Normandie named Herlowin, who maried Arlet the daughter of a burgeſſe in Falois, and mother to William Conquerour. So that the ſaid Hugh, being ſiſters ſonne to the Conqueror, receiued by gift at his hands the earldome of Cheſter, to hold of him as frélie by right of the ſword, as he held the realme of England in title of his crowne. For theſe be the words: *Tenendum ſibi & hæredibus ita liberè ad gladium, ſicut ipſe (Rex) totam tenebat Angliam ad coronam.*

Foure barons, Nigell or Neal, Piers Malbanke, * Euſtace whoſe ſurname we find not. Warren Vernon.

The Lacies.

Iohn Bohun.

Earle Hugh then eſtabliſhed in poſſeſſion of this earledome, with moſt large priuileges and fréedoms, for the better gouernement thereof, ordeined vnder him foure barons; namelie, his couſine Nigell or Neal baron of Halton, ſir Piers Malbanke baron of Nauntwich, ſir Euſtace * * baron of Malpaſſe, and ſir Warren Vernon baron of Shipbroke. Nigell held his baronie of Halton by ſeruice, to lead the Vauntgard of the earles armie when he ſhould make any iournie into Wales; ſo as he ſhould be the foremoſt in marching into the enimies countrie, and the laſt in comming backe: he was alſo coneſtable and marſhall of Cheſter. From this Nigell or Neal, the Lacies that were earles of Lincolne had their originall. When earle Hugh had gouerned the earledome of Cheſter the terme of 40. yeares, he departed this life, in the yeare 1107. He had iſſue by his wife Armetrida, Richard the ſecond earle of Cheſter after the conqueſt; Robert, abbat of Saint Edmundſburie: and Otwell, tutor to the children of king Henrie the firſt. Moreouer, the ſaid earle Hugh had a ſiſter named Margaret, that was maried to Iohn Bohun, who had iſſue by hir, Ranulfe Bohun, otherwiſe called Meſchines, which Ranulfe by that meanes came to enioy the earledome of Cheſter in right of his mother (after that earle Richard was drowned in the ſea) and not by exchange for the earledome of Carleil, as by this which we haue alreadie recited may ſufficientlie be proued.

Anno Reg. 6.

1093
Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.
Matth. Paris.
The king being ſicke promiſeth amendment of life.
Polydor.
Eadmerus.

Now to returne where we left. After that king William Rufus had giuen order for the building, fortifieng, and peopling of Carleil, he returned ſouthwards, and came to Gloceſter, where he fell into a gréeuous and dangerous ſickneſſe; ſo that he was in deſpaire and doubt of his life: wherefore he repented him of his former miſdéeds, and promiſed (if he eſcaped that dangerous ſickneſſe) to amend and become a new man. But when he had his health, that promiſe was quickelie broken, for his doings which were ſo bad and wicked before his ſickneſſe, being compared with thoſe which followed after his recouerie, might haue béene reputed good and ſufferable.

Anſelme elected archbiſhop of Canturburie.

Moreouer, whereas he reteined and kept in his hands the biſhoprike of Canturburie the ſpace of foure yeares, he now beſtowed it vpon Anſelme, who was before abbat of Bechellouin in Normandie; and for certeine abbeis which he had held long time in his poſſeſſion, he ordeined abbats: by meane whereof all men (but eſpeciallie the ſpiritualtie) began to conceiue a verie good opinion of him. The yere wherein Anſelme was thus elected, was from the birth of our Sauiour 1093. on the firſt of March, being the firſt ſundaie in Lent (as Eadmerus recordeth.) Furthermore he gaue the ſée of Lincolne (being void by the death of biſhop Remigius) to his councellour Robert Bluet; but afterward repenting himſelfe of ſuch liberalitie, in that he had not kept it longer in his hands towards the inriching of his coffers, he deuiſed a ſhift how to wipe the biſhops noſe of ſome of his gold, which he performed after this maner. He cauſed the biſhop to be ſued, quarelinglie charging him that he had wrongfullie vſurped certeine poſſeſſions, togither with the citie of Lincolne, which apperteined to the ſée of Yorke. Which although it was but a forged cauillation, and a ſhamefull vntruth; yet could not the biſhop be deliuered out of that trouble, till he had paid to the king fiue thouſand pounds. And as he dealt with the ſpiritualtie, ſo he cauſed diuerſe of the Nobilitie to be put to gréeuous fines, for tranſgreſſing of his lawes, though the fault were neuer ſo little. He alſo cauſed the archbiſhop Anſelme to paie him a great ſumme of monie, vnder colour of a contribution which was due in Lanfrankes daies, though it was certeinlie knowne that Lanfranke had paied it. Thus grew king William from time to time more ſharpe and rigorous to his ſubiects, ſo that whoſoeuer came within the danger of the laws, was ſure to be condemned; and ſuch as would plaie the promoters and giue informations againſt any man for tranſgreſſing the lawes, were highlie rewarded.

Eadmerus.

Matth. Paris.
Polydor.
Robert Bluet L. Chancelor elected biſhop of Lincolne.

Hen. Hunt.

In this firſt yeare there chanced ſuch an exceſſiue raine, and ſuch high floods, the riuers ouerflowing the low grounds that lay néere vnto them, as the like had not béene ſéene of many yeares before; and afterwards inſued a ſudden froſt, whereby the great ſtreames were congeled in ſuch ſort, that at their diſſoluing or thawing, manie bridges both of wood and ſtone were borne downe, and diuerſe water-milles rent vp and caried awaie.

Polydor.

A proclamation that none ſhould depart the realme.

Furthermore, king William perceiuing that by his cruell and couetous gouernment, ſundrie of his ſubiects did dailie ſteale out of the realme, to liue in foreine countries, he publiſhed a proclamation, charging that no man ſhould depart the realme without his licence and ſafe-conduct. Hereof it is thought, that the cuſtome roſe of forbidding paſſage out of the realme, which oftentimes is vſed as a law, when occaſion ſerueth. Soone after, he went againſt the Welſhmen, whom he vanquiſhed in battell néere to Brecknocke, and ſlue Rees their king, who had doone much hurt within the Engliſh borders, when he was their incamped. This Riſe or Rées was the laſt king that reigned ouer the Welſhmen, as authors affirme: for afterwards, though they oftentimes rebelled, yet the kings of England were reputed and taken as ſupreme gouernors of that part of the Iland. Moreouer, to haue the countrie the better in quiet, he did cut downe their woods, and builded manie caſtels and piles in places conuenient, by meanes whereof they were ſomewhat tamed, and trained in due time to obedience, though not at the firſt, nor in the daies of ſundrie of his ſucceſſors.

Ran. Higd.
Rées king of Wales ſlaine.

Wil. Thorne.

Malcolme king of Scots commeth to Gloceſter.
Wil. Malm.
Polydor.

K. Malcolme inuadeth England.

Hauing thus finiſhed his iournie into Wales, Malcolme king of Scotland came vnto Gloceſter to ſée the king, and to common with him of ſundrie matters touching the peace betwixt both the realms, as he returned homewards: but bicauſe king William diſdained to enterteine him in ſuch pompous maner as he expected and made account of; and forſomuch as he did not at the verie firſt admit him to his preſence, the ſaid Malcolme returned into Scotland in great diſpleaſure, and immediatlie raiſing a power, entred into England, deſtroieng the countrie vnto Alnewike caſtell, where he was ſo enuironed with an ambuſhment laid by Robert earle of Nor-

thum-

Simon Dun.

thumberland, that he and his eldeſt ſonne Edward were ſlaine. At which miſhap his whole hoſt being vtterlie diſcomfited, fled out of the field, with the loſſe of manie, whereof ſome were ſlaine, and ſome taken by purſute. Thus came king Malcolme to his end (by the iuſt prouidence of God) in that prouince which he had waſted and ſpoiled at fiue ſeuerall times, as firſt in the daies of king Edward, when earle Toſtie was gone to Rome; the ſecond time, in the daies of William Conquerour, when he ſpoiled Cleueland; thirdlie, in the ſame Conquerours daies, whileſt biſhop Walkher poſſeſſed the ſee of Durham, at what time all the countrie was ſpoiled and forraied, euen to the riuer of Tine; fourthlie, about the fourth or fift yeare of the reigne of this William Rufus, at which time he entered the land as farre as Cheſter in the ſtreet, whileſt king William was in Normandie; the fift time was now, when he loſt his life on ſaint Brices day, by the hands of a verie valiant knight named Morkell. King Malcolme being thus ſurpriſed by death, his bodie was buried at Tinmouth (as in the Scotiſh hiſtories more plainelie appeareth) where alſo ye may find, how the ſonnes of king Malcolme were aided by king William Rufus to obteine the crowne of Scotland, whereunto they were intereſſed; whereas otherwiſe by the force and practiſe of their vncle Donald they had beene kept from the ſcepter and crowne of the kingdome.

Ran.Higd.
Anno Reg. 7.
1094

Ran. Higd.
Wil.Malm.
Simon Dun.

Death ⁊ murren of cattell.

Strange wonders.

Matth. Paris.
Polydor.

Simon Dun.

This yeare England and Normandie were ſore vexed with mortalitie both of men and beaſts, inſomuch that tillage of the ground was laid aſide in manie places, by reaſon wherof there folowed great dearth ⁊ famine. Manie grizelie and hideous ſights were ſeene alſo in England, as hoſts of men fighting in the aire, flaſhes of fier, ſtars falling from heauen, and ſuch like ſtrange wonders. About this time new occaſions of breach of amitie grew betwixt the king and his brother Robert, who accuſed him of periurie, for not obſeruing the articles of the laſt peace concluded betwixt them: wherefore he purpoſed to ſaile ouer into Normandie, and ſo came vnto Haſtings, about the firſt of Februarie, where he ſoiourned for a time, and cauſed the church of Battell abbeie to be dedicated in the honour of S. Martin. He depriued Herbert biſhop of Thetford of his biſhops ſtaffe, bicauſe he meant to haue ſtolne awaie ſecretlie to Rome, and there to haue purchaſed abſolution of pope Vrban for his biſhoprike, which he had bought of the king for himſelfe; and likewiſe for the abbaſie of Wincheſter, which he had purchaſed for his father, paieng for them both a thouſand pounds.

King william paſſeth ouer into Normandie.

wars betwixt the king and his brother.

Matth. West.

Polydor.

A peace concluded betwixt the king and his brother Robert.

After this, about midlent he paſſed ouer into Normandie with an armie, purpoſing to trie the matter with his brother in plaine battell, that thereby he might rather grow to ſome certeine point of loſſe or lucre, than to ſtand euer vpon vncerteinties, whether to haue peace or war, that he muſt be conſtreined to be at all times in a readineſſe to defend himſelfe. But after he was come into Normandie, ⁊ had forraied part of the countrie once or twice, he fell to a parle with his brother duke Robert, ⁊ in the end condeſcended to put the matter in compromiſe to the arbitrement of certeine graue perſons, whoſe iudgement the king reiected, bicauſe they gaue not ſentence on his ſide. Herevpon both parts prepared for war afreſh, inſomuch that the king perceiuing how his brother was aided by the French king, and that his power was too weake to withſtand them both, he ſent his commiſſion into England for the leuieng of 20. thouſand men, commanding that they ſhould be ſent ouer vnto him into Normandie by a daie, which was diligentlie performed. But as they were come togither abont Haſtings, readie to enter a ſhipboord, immediatlie commeth the kings lieutenant with a countermand, and ſignifieth to them, that the king minding to fauour and ſpare them for that iournie, would that euerie of them ſhould giue him 10. ſhillings (as Matt. Paris hath, or 20. ſhillings as others haue) towards the charges of the war, and therevpon depart home with a ſufficient ſafeconduct; which the moſt part were better content to doo, than to commit themſelues to the fortune of the ſea, and bloudie ſucceſſe of the wars in Normandie. In deed king William changing his mind, was now determined to end the matter with monie, and not with the ſword, as it afterward appeered: for by bribing of king Philip, in whome duke Robert had repoſed his whole truſt, he concluded peace vpon ſuch articles and conditions as he himſelfe required.

Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.

The welſhmen inuade England.

The caſtell of Mountgomerie won by the welſhmen.

Anno Reg. 8.
1095

Robert earle of Northumberland refuſeth to come to the king.

Matth. Paris.

Hauing diſpatched his buſineſſe in Normandie, he returned into England, where he happened to meet with new and more dangerous wars: for the Welſhmen hearing of the variance betwixt the brethren, after their accuſtomed maner begin to inuade the Engliſh marſhes, taking booties of cattell, deſtroieng the countries, killing and ſpoiling many of the kings ſubiects, both Engliſh and Normans. After this (waxing proud of their good ſucceſſe) they beſieged the caſtell of Mountgomerie, where though the gariſon made ſtout reſiſtance for a time, yet in the end the enimie finding ſhift to ouerthrow the walles, entred perforce, and ſlue all that they found within. Wherewith though king William was offended when he heard of it, yet could he not remedie the matter as then, being troubled with a conſpiracie newlie kindled againſt him by Robert earle of Northumberland, who vpon diſpleaſure conceiued againſt him (bicauſe he was not rewarded nor thanked at his hands for his good ſeruice ſhewed in the killing of Malcolme king of Scotland) refuſed to come vnto him being ſent for by letters, and herewith began to practiſe with certeine other Noble men of that countrie, how to depoſe king William. But yer he could bring anie peece of his purpoſe to paſſe, the king hauing aduertiſement of his attempts, firſt appointed his brother the lord Henrie to go thither with an armie, and forthwith foloweth himſelfe; and comming to Newcaſtell, where the moſt part of his complices were aſſembled, he ſurpriſed them yer they could haue time to prouide for their ſafetie. That doone, he went to Tinmouth, and in the caſtell tooke the earles brother there, and after came to Banbourgh caſtell, which the ſaid earle with his wife and children did hold for their better ſafegard and defenſe.

Hen. Hunt.

Maluoiſin a fortreſſe built againſt Banbourgh.

Polydor.

Banbourgh yeelded to the king.

Some authors write, that when the king perceiued it would be hard for him to win Banbourgh caſtell (by reaſon of the great ſtrength thereof) without famine, he builded vp an other caſtell or baſtilion faſt by it, calling the ſame Maluoiſin, wherein he placed a great power of men, by whoſe meanes at length the earle was ſo narrowlie driuen, that when he ſought to haue eſcaped by night, he was eſpied, and therewith purſued ſo cloſelie by the kings ſouldiers, that he was forced to take ſanctuarie within the church of S. Oſwins at Tinmouth, from whence he was quicklie taken, and brought as priſoner to the kings preſence. Notwithſtanding, thoſe that remained within the caſtell, vpon truſt of the ſtrength of that place, would not yeeld by anie meanes; but ſtood ſtill to their tackling: wherevpon the king cauſed the earle their maiſter to be brought foorth before the gates, and threatned that he ſhould haue his eies put out, if they within did not ſtreightwaies giue vp the hold into his hands. Herevpon it came to paſſe, that the caſtell was yeelded, and thoſe that kept it were diuerſlie puniſhed, ſome by baniſhment, ſome by loſing their eares, ⁊ diuerſe by the loſſe of their hands, in example to others. The earle himſelfe was conueied to Windſor caſtell, and there committed to priſon.

Simon Dun.
The earle of Ewe.

Some write that the meaning of the earle and his complices (amongſt whom was William earle of Ewe, who renouncing his allegiance to Robert duke of Normandie, was become the kings man) was to haue diſplaced the king from his roiall throne, and to haue ſet vp his ſonne William de Albemarle, whome he had begotten of his concubine. But whatſoeuer their purpoſe was, after that the king had quieted his countrie in the north parts, he bent all his force againſt the Welſhmen, who the yeare before had deſtroied and ouerthrowne the caſtell of Moungomerie, and ſlaine the Normans that laie there in gariſon to defend it, whereat he was verie much offended, & therefore entering into Wales, he began to ſpoile and waſt the countrie. For he ſaw that the Welſhmen would not ioine in battell with him in the plaine field, but kept themſelues ſtill aloofe within the woods and mariſhes, and aloft vpon mountaines: albeit oftentimes when they ſaw aduantage, they would come forth, and taking the Engliſhmen and Normans at vnawares, kill manie, and wound no ſmall numbers, he ſtill purſued them by hils and dales, though more to the loſſe of his owne people than the hurt of the Welſhmen, who eaſilie eſchewed the danger of battell, and ſtill at the ſtraites and comberſome paſſages diſtreſſed manie of their enimies: whereby the king at length perceiuing that he could not preuaile againſt them, ceaſſed further to follow on with his purpoſed voiage, and therewith returned home, not without ſome note of diſhonor.

Math. Paris.

King william inuadeth Wales.

The king returneth out of wales with diſhonour.
Eadmerus.
Murcherdach king of Ireland.

About the ſame time Murcherdach king of Ireland, with the clergie and people of the citie of Dublin, elected one Samuell a monke of S. Albons, an Iriſh man borne, to the gouernement of the church and biſhops ſée of Dublin, and (according to the ancient cuſtome) preſented him by ſufficient letters of teſtimonie vnto Anſelme archbiſhop of Canturburie, to be conſecrated of him, who (according to their requeſt) did ſo, and receiued from him a promiſe of his canonicall ſubiection, after the old vſuall maner, hauing foure biſhops (ſuffragans to the ſée of Canturburie) miniſtring to him at that conſecration.

The councell of Clermount.

In like maner, pope Urban calling a councell at Clermount in Auergne, exhorted the chriſtian princes ſo earneſtlie to make a iourneie into the holieland, for the recouerie thereof out of the Saracens hands, that the ſaid great and generall iournie was concluded vpon to be taken in hand; wherein manie Noble men of chriſtendome went vnder the leading of Godfray of Bullion, and others, as in the chronicles of France, of Germanie, and of the holie land dooth more plainlie appeare. There went alſo among other diuers Noble men forth of this relme of England, ſpeciallie that worthilie bare the ſurname of Beauchampe. Robert duke of Normandie minding alſo to go the ſame iournie, and wanting monie to furniſh and ſet forth himſelfe, morgaged his duchie of Normandie to his brother king William, for the ſumme of ten thouſand pounds. About this time another occaſion was offered vnto king William, to laie a new paiment vpon his ſubiects, ſo gréeuous and intollerable, as well to the ſpiritualtie as the temporaltie, that diuerſe biſhops and abbats, who had alreadie made away ſome of their chalices and church iewels to paie the king, made now plaine anſwer that they were not able to helpe him with any more. Unto whom on the other ſide (as the report „ went) the king ſaid againe; Haue you not (I beſéech „ you) coffins of gold and ſiluer full of dead mens „ bones? Meaning the ſhrines wherein the relikes of ſaints were incloſed. Which (as his words ſéemed to import) he would haue had them conuert into monie, therewith to helpe him in that néed, iudging it no ſacrilege, though manie did otherwiſe eſtéeme it, conſidering (as he pretended) that it was gathered for ſo godlie an vſe, as to mainteine warres againſt Infidels and enimies of Chriſt.

The iournie into the holie land.
Godfray de Bullion.

Anno Reg. 9.
1096.
Hen. Hunt.
Wil. Thorne.
Simon Dun.
A ſubſidie.

Eadmerus.

The archbiſhop Anſelme tooke the worth of two hundred markes of ſiluer of the iewels that belonged to the church of Canturburie (the greater part of the couent of monks winking thereat) towards the making vp of ſuch paiment as he was conſtreined to make vnto the king towards his aid at that time. But bicauſe he would not leaue this for an example to be followed of his ſucceſſours, he granted to the church of Canturburie the profits and reuenues of his manour of Petteham, vnto the vſe of the ſame church for the terme of ſeauen yeares, which amounted to the ſumme of thirtie pounds yearelie in thoſe daies.

Polydor.

Thus king William ſéeking rather to ſpoile the realme of England, than to preſerue the roiall ſtate thereof, after he had gotten togither a great maſſe of monie, ſailed ouer into Normandie, and there deliuering vnto the duke the ten thouſand pounds aforeſaid, was put in poſſeſſion of the duchie, to enioy the ſame, and the profits riſing thereof, till the ſaid ten thouſand pounds were paid him againe: or (as ſome write) it was couenanted that in recompenſe thereof, the king ſhould enioy the profits for terme onelie of thrée yeares, and then to reſtore it without any further intereſt or commoditie. This doone, he returned againe into England.

The duchie of Normandie morgaged to king william.

Eadmerus.

Polydor.

Now duke Robert ſetteth forward on his iornie, in companie of other Noble men, towards the holie land. In which voiage his valorous hart at all aſſaies (when any ſeruice ſhould be ſhewed) was moſt manifeſtlie perceiued, to his high fame and renowme among the princes and nobilitie there and then aſſembled.

Anno Reg. 10.
1097.
Eadmerus.
Waterford in Ireland made a biſhoprike.

About the ſame time, the citizens of Waterford in Ireland, perceiuing that by reaſon of the great multitude of people in that citie, it was neceſſarie for them to haue a biſhop, obteined licence of their king and rulers to erect in their citie a biſhops ſée, and beſought them that it might pleaſe them to write vnto Anſelme the archbiſhop of Canturburie their primate, to haue his conſent therein, ſo as it might ſtand with his pleaſure to inſtitute and ordeine ſuch a one biſhop, to haue gouernement of their church, as they ſhould name, knowing him to be a man of ſuch learning, knowledge, diſcretion, and worthines, as were fit for the roome. Herevpon were letters ſent by meſſengers from Murcherdach king of Ireland vnto Anſelme, informing him of the whole matter: wherein one Malchus was commended and preſented vnto him to be admitted and conſecrated, if he thought good. Theſe letters were ſubſcribed with the hands, not onelie of king Murcherdach, but alſo of his brother duke Dermeth, biſhop Duſnald, Idiman biſhop of Methe, Samuell biſhop of Dublin, Ferdomnachus biſhop of Laginia or Leiniſter, and many others both of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie primate of Ireland.

Murcherdach K. of Ireland.

Anſelme conſidering their requeſt to be iuſt and neceſſarie, granted to fulfill their deſires, and ſo vpon examination had of the man, and taking of him his oth of obedience, according to the maner, he conſecrated the ſame Malchus, and ſo ordeined him to rule the church of Waterford as biſhop. This was doone at Canturburie the 28. day of October, Rafe biſhop of Chicheſter, and Gundulfe biſhop of Rocheſter helping Anſelme in the conſecration as miniſters vnto him in that behalfe. The ſaid Malchus was a monke,

Malchus conſecrated biſhop of Waterford.

and

The king eftſoones inuadeth the welſhmen.
Polydor.

The welſhmen withdraw into the woods.
H. Hunt.

Simon Dun.
R. Houed.

Anno Reg. 11.
1098

Math. Paris.

Gyral. Cam.

Hugh earle of Shrewſburie ſlaine.

Fab. ex Guido. de Columna.

Anno Reg. 12.
1099

and ſometime vnder Walkhelme biſhop of Wincheſter.

The king eftſoones inuadeth the welſhmen.
Polydor.

The welſhmen withdraw into the woods.
H. Hunt.

But to the purpoſe, king William after his returne into England, remembring what damage he had ſuſteined two yéeres before at the hands of the Welſhmen, determined eftſoones to inuade their countrie, and therefore doubling his power, commeth into the marſhes, pitcheth his field, and conſulteth with his capteines what order he were beſt to vſe in that his enterpriſe, for the taming of his enimies. The Welſhmen hearing of the kings approch, and that his armie was farre greater than the laſt which he brought into their countrie, fell to their wonted policie, and got them into the woods, there to lie in wait, truſting more to the aduantage of ſtarting holes, than to their owne force & puiſſance.

Simon Dun.
R. Houed.

When the king vnderſtood their practiſe, he ſet armed men in diuers places, and builded towers and fortifications to defend him and his, bicauſe he durſt not aſſaie to enter into wild and waſt grounds where he had béene hindred and damnified before that time, hoping by this meanes in ſtopping vp the waies and paſſages of the countrie, to bring the rebels to more ſubiection. But when this policie was found by proofe to wearie the kings ſouldiors rather than to hurt the enimies, which ſtraieng vp and downe in the woods intrapped oftentimes the Normans and Engliſh, in taking them at aduantage, the king without bringing his purpoſe to any good effect, departed home into England. After this, he ſent Edgar Etheling with an armie into Scotland, that he might place his coſine Edgar the ſonne of king Malcolme in the gouernement of that kingdome, and expell his vncle Duffnald, who had vſurped the ſame.

Anno Reg. 11.
1098

Matth. Paris.

Gyral. Cam.

Hugh earle of Shrewſburie ſlaine.

King William, being ſtill inflamed with ire, for that he could not haue his will, determined with continuall warres to wearie the rebellious ſtomachs of the Welſhmen: and therefore was fired firſt to ſet vpon them of Angleſey, which being an Ile enuironed with the ſea, was euer a refuge for them when they were ſharpelie purſued. This enterpriſe was chéeflie committed vnto Hugh earle of Shrewſburie and Arundell, and to Hugh earle of Cheſter, who at their firſt comming wan the Ile, and tempered the victorie with great crueltie and bloudſhed, putting out the eies of ſome, cutting off the noſes, the armes, or hands of others, and ſome alſo they gelded. Moreouer (as authors write) the ſaid earle of Shreweſburie made a kenell of the church of Saint Fridancus, laieng his hounds within it for the night time, but in the morning he found them all raging wood. How true ſo euer this report is I wote not, but ſhortlie after they had executed (in maner as before is ſaid) ſuch ſtrange kinds of crueltie in that Ile, it chanced that a nauie of rouers came thither from the Iles of Orkney, whoſe chéefe admirall was named Magnus, who incountring with the ſaid earle of Shreweſburie, ſhot him into the eie with an arrow, which part of his body remained bare and vnarmed, ſo that by & by he fell downe dead out of his ſhip into the ſea. When Magnus beheld this, he ſaid ſcornefullie in the Daniſh toong, *Leit loupe*, that is; Let him leape now: the Engliſh neuertheleſſe had the victorie at that time (as ſome write) and ouercame their enimies with great ſlaughter and bloudſhed. Not long after, the earle of Cheſter going ouer to Wales, with long and continuall warres tired and tamed the wild Welſhmen, who for a good while after durſt not ſhew their faces.

Fab. ex Guido. de Colwna.

Anno Reg. 12.
1099

Fabian.
Ran. Higd.
Matth. Paris.

Polydor.

The king goeth ouer into Normandie.

The king being thus at quiet and without warre in all places, began now to ſet his mind on building, and firſt cauſed new walles to be made about the tower of London, and alſo laid the foundation of Weſtminſter hall, which though it be a verie large and roomthie place, yet after it was finiſhed at his returne out of Normandie, he came to view it, and held his court therein with great pompe and honor. He repented that he had made it no larger, ſaieng; it was too little by the halfe, and therefore determined to haue made a new, and that this other ſhould haue ſerued but for a dining chamber. A diligent ſearcher (ſaith Matthew Paris) might yet find out the foundation of the hall, which he had purpoſed to build, ſtretching from the Thames ſide vnto the common ſtréet. But though thoſe his buildings were great ornaments to the realme, yet bicauſe he tooke vp monie by extortion of his ſubiects towards the charges of the ſame, he was euill ſpoken of; the report being ſpred, that he ſhould take them in hand but onelie vnder a colour to ſpoile his ſubiects, in gathering a far greater ſumme than the expenſes of them did amount vnto. About the ſame time that king William beganne theſe buildings, he went ouer into Normandie, to vnderſtand in what ſtate that countrie ſtood.

Finchamſtéed
Ran. Higd.
Hen. Hunt.
Matth. Weſt.
Wil. Malm.

About the ſame time alſo, or rather two yéere before; to wit 1097. néere to Abington, at a towne called Finchamſtéed in Barkſhire, a well or fountaine flowed with bloud, in maner as before it vſed to flow with water, and this continued for the ſpace of thrée daies, or (as William Malm. ſaith) fiftéene daies togither.

Hen. Hunt.
Matth. Paris.

Wil. Malm.

The ſaieng of king William Rufus.

After the king had diſpatched his buſineſſe in Normandie, & was returned into England (as he was making prouiſion to ride forth on hunting) a meſſenger came ſuddenlie vnto him, bringing word, that the citie of Mans was beſieged, and like to be ſurpriſed. The king was then at dinner, meaning firſt to make an end thereof, and after to take aduice in that matter: but being reprooued by the meſſenger, for that to the great danger of his ſubiects which were beſieged he paſſed not to make delaies, rather than to go and ſuccour them with all ſpéed, he taketh the mans blunt ſpéech in ſo good part, that he called ſtraightwaie for maſons to breake downe the wall, to the end he might paſſe through the next way, and not be driuen to ſtep ſo farre out of his path, as to go forth by the doores; and ſo without any long aduiſement taken in the cauſe, he rode ſtraightwaie to the ſea, ſending his lords a commandement to follow; who when they came in his preſence, counſelled him to ſtaie till his people were aſſembled. Howbeit he would not giue eare to their aduice in that point, but ſaid; Such as loue me, I know well will follow me, and ſo went a ſhipboord, ſetting apart all doubts of perils; and yet was the weather verie darke, rough and cloudie, inſomuch that the maiſter of the ſhip was afraid, and willed him to tarrie till the wind did ſettle in ſome quiet quarter: but hée commanded to hoiſe vp ſailes, and to make all ſpéed that could be for life, incouraging the ſhipmaiſter with theſe words, that he neuer heard as yet of anie king that was drowned.

Mans deliuered from an aſſéege.

Helias.

Thus paſſing the ſeas, he landed in Normandie, where he gathered his power, and made towards Mans. When thoſe which held the ſiege before the citie, heard of his approch, they brake vp their campe and departed thence: howbeit, the capteine named Helias, that pretended by title and right to be earle of Mans, was taken by a traine, and brought before the king, who ieſted at him, as though he had béene but a foole and a coward. Wherevpon, the ſaid Helias kindled in wrath, boldlie ſaid vnto him; Whereas „
thou haſt taken me priſoner, it was by méere chance, „
and not by thy manhood: but if I were at libertie a- „
gaine, I would ſo vſe the matter with thée, that thou „
ſhouldeſt not thinke I were a man ſo lightlie to be „
laughed at. No ſhould (ſaith the king?) Well then I „
giue

“ giue thée thy libertie, and go thy waies, doo euen the “ worſt that lieth in thy power againſt me, for I care “ not a button for thée. Helias being thus ſet at libertie, did nothing after (to make anie account of) againſt the king, but rather kept himſelfe quiet.

Hen. Hunt.
Polydor.

Howbeit ſome write, that he was not taken at all, but eſcaped by flight. To procéed, king William being returned into England, and puffed vp with pride of his victories, and now ſéeing himſelfe fullie deliuered from all troubles of warre, began after his old manner to ſpoile and waſt the countrie by vnreaſonable exactions, tributes and paiments.

Variance betwixt the king and the archbiſhop Anſelme.

Herevpon fell a great controuerſie betwéene Anſelme and the king, who pretended a reproch of cruell ſurcharging of his commons with ſubſidies, lones, and vnreaſonable fines: but the chéefe cauſe was, for that he might not call his ſynods, nor correct the biſhops, but all to be doone as the king would. The king alſo chalenged the inueſtiture of prelates, and indéed ſore taxed both the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie, ſpending the monie vpon the reparations and buildings of the Tower, & Weſtminſter hall, as is before remembred. Beſides this, his ſeruants ſpoiled the Engliſh of their goods by indirect meanes: but eſpeciallie one Rafe ſometime chaplaine vnto William the Conquerour, & at this time the kings proctor and collector of his taſkes and ſubſidies was ſo malicious & couetous, that in ſtéed of two taſkes, he would leuie thrée, pilling the rich, and powling the poore, ſo that manie through his cruell dealing were oftentimes made to forfeit their lands for ſmall offenſes: and by his meanes alſo diuerſe biſhoprikes were bought and ſold as other kinds of merchandizes, whereby he was in ſingular fauour with the king.

The clergie out of order.

The clergie alſo were vſed verie ſtreightlie, and (as I ſuppoſe) not without good cauſe; for ſuerlie in thoſe daies it was far out of order, not onelie in couetous practiſes, but in all kinds of worldlie pompe and vanitie: for they had vp buſhed and braided perukes, long ſide garments verie gorgeous, gilt girdels, gilt ſpurs, with manie other vnſéemelie diſorders in attire.

Math. Paris.

To be ſhort, the contention grew ſo hot betwixt the king and Anſelme, who would alſo haue corrected ſuch vices in the clergie (as ſome write) that in the end the archbiſhop was quite caſt out of fauour.

A thouſand markes demanded of Anſelme.

Eadmerus.

There are which alledge the verie firſt and originall occaſion of their falling out to be, for that the archbiſhop denied to paie a thouſand marks of ſiluer at his requeſt: in conſideration of the kings great beneuolence ſhewed in preferring him to his ſée, whereas the archbiſhop iudged the offenſe of ſimonie, to reſt as well in giuing after his promotion receiued, as if he had bribed him aforehand, and therefore refuſed to make anie ſuch paiment: but yet (as Eadmerus writeth) he offered him fiue hundred pounds of ſiluer, which would not be receiued, for the king was informed by ſome of his councell, that the archbiſhop (in conſideration of his bountious liberalitie extended towards him) ought rather to giue him two thouſand pounds, than fiue hundred, adding, that if he would but change his countenance, and giue him no fréendlie lookes for a while, he ſhould perceiue that Anſelme would ad to the firſt offer, other fiue hundred pounds. But Anſelme was ſo far from being brought to the kings lure with ſuch fetches, that openlie to the kings face he told him, that better it ſhould be for his maieſtie to receiue of him a ſmall ſumme granted of him with a frée and franke hart, ſo as he might helpe him eftſoones with more, than to take from him a great deale at once, without his good will, in ſuch ſort as if he were his bondman. For your grace (ſaith he) may haue me, and all that is mine, to ſerue your turne with fréendlie beneuolence: but in the waie of ſeruitude and bondage you ſhall neither haue me nor mine. With which words the king was in maruellous choler, and therewith ſaid in anger: Well then, „ get thée home, take that which is thine to thy ſelfe, „ that which I haue of mine owne I truſt will ſuffice „ me. The archbiſhop béeing on his knées, roſe herewith „ and departed, reioiſing in his mind that the king had refuſed his offer, whereby he was deliuered out of ſuſpicion to haue bribed the king, and giuen him that monie in waie of reward for his preferment to the miter, as of malicious men would happilie haue béene conſtrued.

Math. Paris.

Wherevpon béeing after laboured to double the ſumme, he vtterlie refuſed, and determining rather to forſake the realme than to commit ſuch an offenſe, made ſuit to the king for licence to go to Rome to fetch his pall of the pope.

The king could not abide to heare the pope named.

The king hearing the pope named, waxed maruellous angrie: for they of Rome began alreadie to demand donations and contributions, more impudentlie than they were hitherto accuſtomed. And as it chanced, there was a ſchiſme at that time in the church, by reaſon the emperour Henrie had placed a pope of his owne aduancing (namely Wibteth archbiſhop of Rauenna) againſt pope Vrban: for the emperour mainteined that it belonged to his office onlie to elect and aſſigne what pope it pleaſed him.

King William therefore conceiued diſpleaſure againſt Vrban, who withſtood the emperours pretenſe, and alledged by the like, that no archbiſhop or biſhop within his realme ſhould haue reſpect to the church of Rome, nor to anie pope, with whome they had nothing to doo, either by waie of ſubiection, or otherwiſe; ſith the popes wandered out of the ſteps which Peter trode, ſéeking after bribes, lucre, and worldlie honor. He ſaid alſo that they could not reteine the power to loſe and bind, which they ſometime had, ſince they ſhewed themſelues nothing at all to follow his moſt vertuous life and holie conuerſation. He added furthermore, that for himſelfe, ſithens the conuerſion of the realme to the chriſtian faith, he had as great authoritie, franchiſes and liberties within the ſame, as the emperour had in his empire. And what hath the pope then to doo (quoth he) in the empire, or in my kingdome touching temporall liberties, whoſe dutie it is to be carefull for the ſoule of man, and to ſée that hereſies ſpring not vp, which if the prelates of the prouince be not able to reforme, then might the pope doo it, either by himſelfe or his legats.

Eadmerus.
The kings demand to Anſelme.

Againe, by reaſon of the ſchiſme, & for the diſpleaſure that he bare pope Vrban, he aſked Anſelme of which pope he would require his pall, ſith he was ſo haſtie to go to Rome for it: Wherto Anſelme anſwered, that he would require it of pope Vrban. Which words when the king had heard, he ſaid, I haue not as yet admitted him pope: adding further that it was againſt the cuſtome vſed either in his or his fathers time, that anie man within the realme of England ſhould name or obeie anie man for pope, without the kings licence and conſent, ſaieng moreouer, that if the ſaid Anſelme would ſéeke to take that prerogatiue and dignitie from him, it ſhould be all one, as if he ſhould go about to take awaie from him his crowne, and all other rotall dignitie. Wherevnto Anſelme anſwered, that at Rocheſter (before he was conſecrated biſhop) he had declared his mind therein, and that béeing abbat of Bechellouin in Normandie, he had receiued Vrban for pope; ſo that whatſoeuer chanced, he might reuolt from his obedience and ſubiection.

The king béeing the more kindled herewith, proteſted in plaine words, that Anſelme could not kéepe his faith and allegiance towards him, and his obedience alſo to the ſée of Rome, againſt his will and pleaſure. But (to conclude) this matter went ſo far

in

A councell at Rockingham in Rutlandſhire.

in controuerſie betwixt the king and the biſhop, that a councell was called at Rockingham in Rutlandſhire, and there in the church within the caſtell, the matter was earneſtlie decided, and much adoo on euerie ſide, to haue conſtreined Anſelme to renounce his opinion, but he would not. Wherfore it was then deuiſed, that if he would not agrée to the kings pleaſure, they would by and by ſée if they might by any meanes depriue him: but Anſelme ſtill held hard, and could not be feared by all theſe threats; and in like maner to iudge of an archbiſhops cauſe, the other biſhops concluded that they had no authoritie.

Moreouer, while the matter was in conſultation among the biſhops, another of the kings councell that was a knight, came before Anſelme in place where he ſat almoſt alone, to looke for an anſwer by them from the king, which knight knéeling downe before the archbiſhop, ſpake theſe words vnto him: Reuerend father, your humble children beſéech your Grace not to haue your heart troubled with theſe things which you heare; but call to remembrance that bleſſed man Iob, vanquiſhing the diuell on the dunghill, and reuenging Adam whome he had ouercome in paradiſe. Which words the archbiſhop conſidering with a fréendlie countenance, perceiued that the minds of the people remained on his ſide, whereof both he and ſuch as were about him, were right ioifull and greatlie comforted, hauing hope (according to the ſcripture) that the * voice of the people was the voice of God. When the king vnderſtood all theſe things, he was marueilouſlie diſquieted in mind, and therefore perceiuing that the biſhops and other of his councell had promiſed more than they could performe, he blamed them for it: vnto whom the biſhop of Durham that was the chéefe dooer in this matter, framed this anſwer: He ſpake ſo faintlie (quoth he) and ſo coldlie at the firſt, that he ſéemed not to haue any ſtore of wit or wiſdome.

* If they be Gods people.

Finallie, the matter was deferred vntill the next morning, and then the ſaid biſhop of Durham, alledging that they could not well ouercome him by arguments, ſo long as he grounded his opinion in ſuch ſort vpon the ſcripture, and the authoritie of Saint Peter; The beſt way therefore (ſaid he) ſhall be, to compell him by force, either to agrée to the kings mind, or elſe to depriue him of his ring and ſtaffe, and after baniſh him the realme. But the lords of the councell allowed not the biſhops words herein. Well (ſaith the king) and what other way will you thinke good, if this like you not: ſo long as I may liue, I will not ſurelie ſuffer any to be my péere within my realme: and if you knew his cauſe to be ſo good, why did you ſuffer me to commenſe this action againſt him: go your waies therefore, and take aduice togither, for by Gods face (for that was his oth) if you condemne him not at my will, I will reuenge my ſelfe vpon you. Neuertheleſſe, when he was informed, that bicauſe he was an archbiſhop, they had no power to iudge or condemne him, though his cauſe prooued neuer ſo euill, which they could not perceiue ſo to be; he told them yet they might at the leaſtwiſe renounce their obedience to him, and forſake his companie, which they ſaid they might doo. Then doo it (ſaith the king) with ſpéed, that he may (when he ſhall ſée himſelfe abandoned, and deſpiſed of all men) repent that he hath followed Vrban, and neglected me his ſoueraigne lord and maiſter. And that ye may doo it the more ſafelie, firſt of all I depriue him of the ſuertie and allegiance which he may pretend to haue of me within all my dominions, and from henceforth I will haue no affiance in him, nor take him for an archbiſhop.

The king renounceth the archbiſhop for his ſubiect.

The biſhops would faine haue perſuaded Anſelme to haue ſhewed himſelfe conformable to the kings pleaſure, and therefore tooke paines with him earneſtlie in that behalfe, but all would not ſerue. He anſwered indéed verie curteouſlie, but his benefice he would not renounce, as touching the name and office, though in exterior things he were neuer ſo much diſquieted. The king perceiuing him to ſtand ſtiffe in his opinion, ſaid vnto his lords; His words are euer contrarie to my mind, and I will not take him for my freend, whoſoeuer dooth fauour him. I ſhall therefore require you that be péeres of my realme, to renounce all the faith and fréendſhip which you beare him, that he may ſée what he hath gained by that allegiance, which (to the offending of my perſon) he obſerueth to the apoſtolike ſée. Whereto the lords anſwered; As for vs, we were neuer his men, and therefore we cannot abiure any fealtie which we neuer acknowledged. He is our archbiſhop, and hath rule in matters perteining to chriſtian religion within this land, for which cauſe we that are chriſtians may not refuſe his authoritie whileſt we remaine here on earth, bicauſe he is attainted with no blemiſh of any heinous crime, which may conſtreine vs otherwiſe to doo. The king refrained and diſſembled his wrath, leaſt he ſhould prouoke them to further diſpleaſure by ſpeaking againſt their reaſon.

The biſhops driuen to their ſhifts how to ſhape an anſwer.

The biſhops were ſore abaſhed hereat, and driuen to a ſhrewd pinch. Now when, not long after, the king required to know of euerie of them apart, whether they vtterlie renounced all maner of ſubiection and obedience vnto Anſelme without any condition intermitted, or elſe that onelie which he did pretend by authoritie of the pope: the biſhops making anſwer diuerſlie herevnto, the king appointed thoſe to ſit downe by him as faithfull ſubiects, who acknowledged, that their renuntiation was abſolutelie made, without intermitting of any condition: as for the other, who proteſted that they renounced their ſubiection and obedience vnto him onelie in that which he preſumed vpon in the behalfe of the pope, he commanded them to go aſide, and to remaine in a corner of the houſe to heare the ſentence of their condemnation pronounced.

The meane to pacifie ẏ king.

Wherefore being put in a maruellous feare, they withdrew themſelues aſide, but yet ſtraightwaies they deuiſed a ſhift wherewith they had béene well acquainted before, as followeth. They preſented to the king a great maſſe of monie to appeaſe his wrath, and ſo thereby were reſtored to his fauour. Anſelme notwithſtanding was obſtinate in his opinion, ſo that in the end, the ſentence touching this controuerſie betwixt him and the king, was reſpited till the octaues of Pentecoſt next inſuing. All this was notified well inough to the pope, who vſed the matter with ſuch moderation, that by ſecret aduertiſements giuen, he tooke awaie from his brethren all rigorous waies of procéedings, saieng;

The ſtiffenes of Anſelme in withſtanding the kings pleaſure.

Math. Paris.

Dum furor in curſu eſt, currenti cede furori.

But yet the kings enmitie towards Anſelme was openlie declared, and that chéefelie for the deniall of the monie which he demanded; but at length he got it, though not with any frée hart or goodwill of the archbiſhop: inſomuch that the king reputed him giltie of treaſon. Within a few daies after, Walter biſhop of Alba, bringing to him his pall, verie wiſelie reconciled the pope and the king. Notwithſtanding all this, Anſelme could not purchaſe the kings goodwill to his contentment, though he wiſelie diſſembled for the time: ſo that when the biſhop of Alba ſhould returne to Rome, he made ſute for licence to go with him. Neuertheleſſe, the king offered him, that if he would deſiſt from his purpoſe, and ſweare vpon the euangeliſts neither to go to Rome, nor to appeale in any cauſe to the popes court, he might and ſhould liue in quietneſſe frée from all danger: but if he would not be ſo contented, he might and ſhould depart at his perill, without hope to returne hither againe. For ſurelie (ſaith he) if he go, I will ſeize the archbiſhoprike into mine owne hands, and receiue him no more for archbiſhop.

Anſelme herewith departing from the court, came to Canturburie, declaring openlie what had bin ſaid vnto him, and immediatlie ſought to flee out of the realme in the night, prouiding for himſelfe a ſhip at Douer. But his purpoſe being reuealed to the king, one William Warlewaſt the kings ſeruant was ſent after him, and finding him readie to depart, tooke from him all that he had, & gaue him a free paſport out of the land. Anſelme repairing to Rome, made vnto pope Vrban a greeuous information againſt the king, declaring into what miſerable ſtate he had brought the Realme, and that for want of aſſiſtance in his ſuffragans it laie not in him to reforme the matter.

Indeed we find not that any of the biſhops held with Anſelme in the controuerſie betwixt him and the king, Ranulph biſhop of Chicheſter excepted, who both blamed the king, and rebuked all ſuch biſhops as had refuſed to ſtand with Anſelme, and fauoured the king in caſes concerning the foreſaid variance. Moreouer, the ſame biſhop of Chicheſter withſtood the king and his officers in taking fines of preeſts for the crime of fornication; by reaſon of which preſumption, the king became ſore offended with him, & found meanes to ſuſpend many churches of his dioceſſe. Howbeit in the end, the biſhop demeaned himſelfe in ſuch wiſe, that he had his owne will, and his church doores were opened againe, which had beene ſtopped vp before with thornes. Beſides this, the king was contented, that the ſaid biſhop ſhould haue the fines of preeſts in crimes of fornication within his dioceſſe, and enioy many other priuileges in right of his church. But how beneficiall ſo euer he was vnto the ſee of Chicheſter, true it is (as Polydor writeth) that he let out diuers abbeies, and the biſhoprike of Wincheſter and Saliſburie, with the archbiſhoprike of Canturburie vnto certeine perſons that farmed the ſame at his hands for great ſummes of monie, in ſo much that (beſide the ſaid ſees of Canturburie, Wincheſter, and Saliſburie, which at the time of his death he kept in his hands) he alſo receiued the profits of eleuen abbeies which he had let out, or otherwiſe turned to his moſt aduantage.

Robert Loſaunge, of ſome called Herbert, that ſometime had bin abbat of Ramſey, and then biſhop of Thetford by gift of a thouſand pounds to the king (as before ye haue heard) repented him, for that he was inueſted by the king, who after he had bewailed his offenſe, went to Rome, and did penance for the ſame in all points as the pope enioined him. Which being doone, he returned into England, remoouing yer long his ſee from Thetford to Norwich, where he founded a faire monaſterie of his owne charges, and not of the churches goods (as ſome ſay) wherein is a doubt, conſidering he was firſt an abbat, and after a biſhop.

About this time, by the meanes of Stephan Harding a Monke of Shireborne, an Engliſhman, the order of Ciſteaux or white moonkes had his beginning within the countrie of Burgongne, as witneſſeth Ranulph the moonke of Cheſter: but other writers (as Iacob. Philippus) ſay that this Stephan was the ſecond abbat of that place, and that it was founded by one Robert abbat of Molmenſe, in the yeare of Grace 1098. This order was after brought into England by one called Walter Eſpeke, who founded the firſt abbeie of that religion within this relme at Riuall, about the yeare of Grace 1131.

But to returne againe to the king, who ſtill continued in his wilfull couetouſneſſe, pulling from the rich and welthie, to waſte and ſpend it out in all exceſſe, vaine riot, and gifts beſtowed on ſuch as had leaſt deſerued the ſame. And yet he was warned by manie ſtrange woonders (as the common people did deſcant) to reſtraine from theſe euill doings: for the Thames did riſe with ſuch high ſprings and tides, that manie townes were drowned, and much hurt doone in places about London, and elſewhere. Diuerſe rare things happened alſo at the ſame time, which I paſſe ouer. But the king hearing hereof, did nothing regard thoſe which were ſo bold as to tell him that they were euident ſignifications of ſome vengeance to follow therevpon. The king alſo himſelfe on a night as he ſlept & dreamed, thought that the veines of his armes were broken, and that the bloud iſſued out in great abundance. Likewiſe, he was told by Robert Fitz Hammon, that a monke ſhould dreame in his ſleepe, how he ſaw the king gnaw the image of Chriſt crucified with his teeth, and that as he was about to bite awaie the legs of the ſame image, Chriſt with his feet ſhould ſpurne him downe to the ground, inſomuch that as he lay on the earth, there came out of his mouth a flame of fire, and ſuch abundance of ſmoke, that the aire was darkened therewith. But the king made a ieſt of theſe and the like tales; He is a right moonke (ſaith he) and to haue a peece of monie, he dreameth ſuch things, giue him therefore an hundred ſhillings, and bid him dreame of better fortune to our perſon. Neuertheleſſe, the king was ſomewhat mooued herewith in the end, and doubted whether he ſhould go into the New forreſt to hunt on Lammas day (as he had purpoſed) or no, bicauſe his freends councelled him not to trie the truth of dreames to his owne loſſe and hinderance. Wherevpon he forbare to go foorth before dinner, but when he had dined and made himſelfe merrie with receiuing more drinke than commonlie he vſed to doo, abroad he got him into the forreſt with a ſmall traine: amongſt whom was one ſir Walter Tirell a French knight, whom he had reteined in ſeruice with a large ſtipend.

The kings lauiſh prodigalitie.

Strange woonders. Wil. Malm.

A dreame. Matth. Weſt. Wil. Malm.

Sir walter Tirell.

This ſir Walter chanced to remaine with the king, when all the reſt of the companie was diſperſed here and there, as the maner in hunting is. Now as the ſunne began to draw lowe, the king perceiuing an hart to come alongſt by him, ſhot at the ſame, and with his arrow ſtroke him; but not greatlie hurting him, the beaſt ran awaie. The king, to marke which way the hart tooke, and the maner of his hurt, held vp his hand betweene the ſunne and his eies; who ſtanding in that ſort, out came another hart, at whom as ſir Walter Tirell let driue an arrow, the ſame by glanſing ſtroke the king into the breſt; ſo that he neuer ſpake word, but breaking off ſo much of the arrow as appeared out of his bodie, he fell downe, and giuing onelie one grone, immediatlie died, without more noiſe or mouing. Sir Walter running to him, and perceiuing no ſpeech nor ſenſe to remaine in him, ſtraitwaies got to his horſſe, and riding awaie, eſcaped and ſaued himſelfe: for few there were that purſued him, euerie man being amazed at the chance, ſome departing one waie, and ſome another, euerie one for his owne aduantage and commoditie, as the time then ſerued. The dead bodie of the king was ſtraight conueied to Wincheſter, and there buried the morrow after, which was the ſecond day of Auguſt, the yere of our Lord 1100. To this end came king William, after he had reigned almoſt 13. yeares, and liued 43. and ſomewhat more.

The king ſlaine.

Wil. Malm.

This prince, although euill reported of by writers for the couetous taſking of his ſubiects, and reteining of eccleſiaſticall liuings in his hands; yet was he endued with manie noble and princelie qualities. He had good knowledge in feats of warre, and could well awaie with bodilie labour. In all his affaires he was circumſpect; of his promiſe, truſtie; of his word, ſtedfaſt; and in his wars no leſſe diligent than fortunate. He gaue to the moonkes called *Monachi de charitate* in Southwarke, the great new church of S. Sauiour of Bermondſay, and alſo Bermondſeie it ſelfe. He founded a goodlie hoſpitall in the citie of Yorke, called S. Leonards, for the ſuſtentation and finding of the poore as well brethren as ſiſters. Towards ſouldiers and men of warre he was verie liberall, and to enrich them, he paſſed not for taking from farmers and huſbandmen what ſoeuer could be gotten. He was indeed of a prodigall nature, and therefore when in the begining of his reigne, doubting ſome troubles, he had aſſembled manie men of warre for his defenſe, there was nothing that they could aſke which he would denie them, in ſomuch that his fathers treaſures were ſoone conſumed, by reaſon whereof he was put to his ſhifts to prouide more. For though ſubſtance wanted to ſhew his liberalitie, yet there failed not in him a mind ſtill to be bountifull, ſith continuall vſe of giuing rewards, was in manner turned in him to a nature, ſo that to furniſh himſelfe with monie and neceſſaries, he was put to extremities vnbeſeeming a king; and to beſtow his beneuolence vpon ſome, he ſpared not to impouriſh others. For in ſuch ſort he was liberall, that therewith he was prodigall; and in ſuch wiſe ſtout of courage, as proud withall; and in ſuch maner ſeuere, as he ſeemed cruell and inexorable. But what meanes he vſed to make his beſt of benefices and ſpirituall liuings, partlie appeereth before.

The liberall hart of king William.

In deed ſuch was his condition, that who ſoeuer would giue, might haue, & that oftentimes without reſpect, whether their ſute was reaſonable and allowable or not, in ſomuch that it is ſaid of him, that being in Roan on a time, there came to him diuerſe Iewes who inhabited that citie, complaining to him, that diuerſe of their nation had renounced their Iewiſh religion, and were become chriſtians: wherefore they beſought him, that for a certeine ſumme of monie which they offered to giue, it might pleaſe him to conſtreine them to abiure chriſtianitie, and turne to the Iewiſh law againe. He was contented to ſatiſfie their deſires, and ſo receiuing the monie, called them before him, & what with threats, and putting them otherwiſe in feare, he compelled diuerſe of them to forſake Chriſt, and returne to their old errors.

Iewes.

There was about the ſame time a yoong man a Iew, who by a viſion appearing vnto him (as is ſaid) was conuerted to the chriſtian faith, and being baptiſed, was named Stephan, bicauſe S. Stephan was the man that had appeared to him in the viſion, as by the ſame he was informed. The father of the yoongman being ſore troubled, for that his ſonne was become a chriſtian, and hearing what the king had doone in ſuch like matters, preſented to him 60. marks of ſiluer, conditionally that he ſhould inforce his ſonne to returne to his Iewiſh religion. Herevpon was the yoong man brought before the king, vnto whom he ſaid; Sirra, thy father here complaineth that without his licence thou art become a chriſtian: if this be true, I command thee to returne againe to the religion of thy nation, without anie more adoo. To whom the yoongman anſwered, Your grace (as I geſſe) dooth but ieſt. Wherwith the king being mooued ſaid, What thou dunghill knaue, ſhuld I ieſt with thee? Get thee hence quicklie, and fulfill my commandement, or by S. Lukes face I ſhall cauſe thine eies to be plucked out of thine head. The yoongman nothing abaſhed hereat, with a conſtant voice anſwered, Trulie I will not doo it, but know for certeine, that if you were a good chriſtian, you would neuer haue vttered anie ſuch words, for it is the part of a chriſtian to reduce them againe to Chriſt which be departed from him; & not to ſeparate them from him, which are ioined to him by faith. The king herwith confounded, commanded the Iew to auant & get him out of his ſight. But his father perceiuing that the king could not perſuade his ſonne to forſake the chriſtian faith, required to haue his monie againe. To whom the king ſaid, he had doone ſo much as he promiſed to doo, that was, to perſuade him ſo far as he might. At length, when he would haue had the king to haue dealt further in the matter, the king (to ſtop his mouth) tendered backe to him the one halfe of his monie, & reteined the other to himſelfe.

An anſwer of a good Iew.

A pretie deuiſion.

Moreouer, to increaſe the ſuſpicion which men had of his infidelitie, it is written, that he cauſed a diſputation to be kept betwixt the Iewes & the chriſtians, promiſing that if the Iewes ouercame the chriſtians in argument, he would be a Iew: but the Iewes being ouercome, and receiuing the foile, would not confeſſe their errors, but alledged, that by factions (and not by reaſon) they were put to the worſe. Howbeit, what opinion ſoeuer he had of the Iewes faith, it appeereth by writers that he doubted in manie points of the religion then in credit. For he ſticked not to proteſt openlie, that he beleeued no ſaint could profit anie man in the Lords ſight, and therefore neither would he nor anie other that was wiſe (as he affirmed) make interceſſion, either to Peter, or to anie other for helpe.

King William ſuſpected of infidelitie.

Eadmerus.

Praieng to ſaincts.

He was of ſtature not ſo tall as the common ſort of men, red of haire, whereof he tooke his ſurname Rufus, ſomwhat big of bellie, and not readie of toong, ſpeciallie in his anger, for then his vtterance was ſo hindered, that he could ſcarſelie ſhew the conceits of his mind: he died without iſſue, and vſed concubines all the daies of his life. I find that in apparell he loued to be gaie and gorgeous, & could not abide to haue anie thing (for his wearing) eſteemed at a ſmall valure. Wherevpon it came to paſſe on a morning, when he ſhould pull on a new paire of hoſe, he aſked the groome of his chamber that brought them to him what they coſt? Three ſhillings ſaith he; Why thou horeſon (ſaid the king) dooth a paire of hoſe of three ſhillings price become a king to weare? Go thy waies, and fetch me a paire that ſhall coſt a marke of ſiluer. The groome went, and brought him another paire, for the which he paid ſcarſelie ſo much as for the firſt. But when the king aſked what they ſtood him in, he told him they coſt a marke: and then was he well ſatiſfied, and ſaid; Yea marie, theſe are more fit for a king to weare, and ſo drew them vpon his legs.

His ſtature. Whereof he tooke his ſurname Rufus.

Wil. Malm.

In this kings daies Iohn biſhop of Welles ioined the monaſterie of Bath vnto his ſee, and repairing the ſame monaſterie, began to inhabit there in the yeere 1094. The church of Couentrie was in like ſort ioined vnto the ſee of Cheſter by Robert biſhop of that dioceſſe. Wolſtan biſhop of Worceſter died about the ſame time, and Anſelme hauing purchaſed bulles of pope Paſchall, wherein was conteined an admonition vnto king William to deſiſt from his greeuous oppreſſing of the church, and to amend his former doings, was now on his returne towards England, and by the waie heard of the kings death. Hugh earle of Cheſter in this kings daies builded the abbeie of Cheſter, and procured Anſelme (afterwards archbiſhop of Canturburie) to come ouer from Normandie, that he might direct the ſame abbeie, and place ſuch religious perſons as were neceſſarie and conuenient for ſo good a foundation.

Couentrie church ioined to the ſee of Cheſter.

Long it was yer Anſelme would come ouer, bicauſe he doubted to be had in ſuſpicion of an ambitious deſire in ſéeking to be made archbiſhop of Canturburie. For it was talked that if he went ouer into England, he ſhould ſurelie be elected before he returned into Normandie. But at length ſo it chanced, that the foreſaid Hugh earle of Cheſter fell ſicke, and deſpairing of life, ſent with all ſpéed to Anſelme, requiring him moſt inſtantlie to come ouer to him lieng in extremitie of ſickeneſſe; adding, that if he haſted not the ſooner, it would be too late, whereof he would after repent him. Then Anſelme, for that he might not faile his fréend in ſuch neceſſitie, came ouer, and gaue order to the abbeie, according as it ſéemed beſt to him for the eſtabliſhment of religion there.

Thus farre William Rufus.

Henrie the firſt, yoongeſt ſonne to VVilliam the Conquerour.

Anno Reg. 1.
1100.

HEnrie the yoongeſt ſonne to William the firſt, brother to Rufus latelie departed, the firſt of that name that ruled héere in England, & for his knowledge in good literature ſurnamed Beauclerke, was admitted king by the whole aſſent of the lords and commons, and began his reigne ouer England the firſt of Auguſt, in the yeare after the creation of the world 1067. after the birth of our Sauiour 1100. and 44. of the emperour Henrie the fourth, Paſchall the ſecond then gouerning the ſée of Rome, which was about the 51. yeare of Philip the firſt of that name king of France, and in the beginning of the reigne of Edgar king of Scotland. This king was conſecrated and crowned at Weſtminſter, the fift daie of Auguſt, by Thomas archbiſhop of Yorke, and Maurice biſhop of London, bicauſe at that time Anſelme archbiſhop of Canturburie was exiled. This prince had aforehand trained the people to his humor and veine, in bringing them to thinke well of him, and to conceiue a maruellous euill opinion of his brother duke Robert, perſuading them moreouer, that the ſaid duke was likelie to proue a ſharpe and rigorous gouernour, if he once obteined the crowne and dominion of the land. Moreouer, he cauſed to be reported for a certeine truth, that the ſame Robert was alreadie created king of Ieruſalem. And therfore conſidering that the kingdome of Paleſtine (as the rumor ran) was of greater reuenues than that of England, there was no cauſe why they ſhuld ſtaie for him, who would not willinglie leaue the greater for the leſſer. By which meanes the Nobilitie and Commons were the ſooner perſuaded to decline from the election of the ſaid Robert, and to receiue his brother Henrie for their lawfull king, who on the other ſide ceaſed not to promiſe mountaines, till his enterpriſe tooke effect; and then at leiſure paied ſome of them with molhils: as by the ſequele of the ſtorie ſhall more at large appéere.

Wil.Thorne.
Geruaſius Dorobernenſis.

Math.Paris.

This Henrie therefore comming thus to the crowne, conſidered furthermore with himſelfe, that hereafter, when his eldeſt brother Robert ſhould returne, and vnderſtand how the matter was brought about, he would thinke himſelfe to haue had much wrong, and béene verie euill dealt withall, ſith that as well by birthright, as alſo by agréement made with his brother William Rufus, he ought of right to be preferred, and therevpon would not faile but make earneſt claime againſt him. Wherefore yer he ſhould come home out of the holie land (where he then remained) the king ſtudied by all poſſible meanes how to gratifie all the ſtates of his realme, & to plant in their harts ſome good opinion of him. And firſt of all he reformed ſuch things as his brother had left verie preiudiciall to the eſtate of the church, ſetting the ſame frée which before was ſore oppreſſed. And furthermore, ſomwhat to reléeue the cõmon-wealth, he promiſed to reſtore the lawes of good king Edward, and to aboliſh or amend thoſe which by his father and brother were alreadie ordeined to the hurt & preiudice of the old ancient liberties of the realme of England. He reuoked Anſelme the archbiſhop of Canturburie out of exile, who fled (as yée haue heard) to auoid the wrath of king William. Moreouer, he placed in the ſée of Wincheſter, one William Gifford, a graue and diſcréet perſon, and alſo ordeined monkes of honeſt reputation to be abbats in certeine abbeis which had béene long void, and in the hands of William his brother: in like maner he remitted certeine paiments which his brother and predeceſſour had cauſed to be raiſed by waie of taxes and cuſtomes. Beſides this, on the 8. daie of September, he committed Rafe biſhop of Durham to the Tower of London, by whoſe lewd counſell his ſaid brother being ſeduced, had in his life time doone manie oppreſſions to his people. He ordeined alſo that one length of meaſuring ſhould be vſed through this realme, which was a yard, appointing it to be cut after the length of his owne arme. Manie other things he redreſſed, to the contentation and commoditie of his ſubiects, who gaue God thanks that he had in ſuch wiſe deliuered them out of the hands of cruell extortioners.

The king ſéeketh to win the peoples fauour.

Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.
Matth.Paris.

Anſelme called home.

Wil.Malm.
William Gifford biſhop of Wincheſter.
Hen.Hunt.

Rafe biſhop of Durham committed to the Tower.
Simon Dun.

The firſt ordeining of the yard meaſure.
Wil.Malm.

After he had thus brought the common-wealth in ſo good eſtate, he conſulted with his Nobilitie, where he might beſt get him a wife, and thereby leaue vn-

Wil.Malm.
Polydor.

lawfull companie keeping with concubines: which demand was not miſliked at all. Herevpon they conſidered that Edgar king of Scotland had a ſiſter named Maud, a beautifull ladie, and of vertuous conditions, who was a profeſſed nunne in a religious houſe, to the end ſhe might auoid the ſtormes of the world, and lead hir life in more ſecuritie after hir fathers deceaſſe. This gentlewoman, notwithſtanding hir vow, was thought to be a meet bedfellow for the king: wherefore he ſent ambaſſadors to hir brother Edgar, requeſting that he might haue hir in mariage. But ſhe refuſing ſuperſtitiouſlie at the firſt to breake hir profeſſed vow, would not heare of the offer: wherewithall king Henrie being the more inflamed, ſent new ambaſſadors to moue the caſe in more earneſt ſort than before, in ſo much that Edgar, vpon the declaration of their ambaſſage, ſet the abbeſſe of the houſe (where then ſhe abode) in hand to perſuade hir, who ſo effectuallie and diuerſlie telling hir how neceſſarie, profitable, & honorable the ſame ſhould be both to hir countrie and kinred, did ſo preuaile at the laſt, that the yoong ladie granted willinglie to the mariage. Herevpon ſhe was tranſported into England, and wedded to the king, who cauſed the archbiſhop Anſelme to crowne hir queene on S. Martins daie, which fell vpon a ſundaie, being the eleuenth of Nouember.

¶It ſhould ſeeme by Eadmerus, that ſhe was neuer nunne, but onelie veiled by hir mother, and placed amongſt nunnes againſt hir will (as ſhe proteſted to the whole world) at ſuch time as archbiſhop Anſelme refuſed to ſolemnize the mariage betwixt them, till that doubt were cleared, and the occaſion remoued, wherevpon euill diſpoſed men would haue ſurmiſed ilfauoredlie, and reported the worſt. Howbeit whether ſhe were profeſſed, or veiled onelie, loth ſhe was to conſent at the firſt (as partlie ye haue heard) but after that ſhe was coupled with the king in mariage, ſhe prooued a right obedient wife.

The archbiſhop of Vienna the popes legat.

He is not receiued for legat.

About this ſeaſon the archbiſhop of Vienna came ouer into England with the popes authoritie (as he pretended) to be legat ouer all Briteine, which was ſtrange newes vnto England, and greatlie woondered at (as Eadmerus ſaith) of all men. For it had not beene heard of in England before that time, that any perſon ſhould ſupplie the popes roome, except the archbiſhop of Canturburie. And ſo he departed as he came, for no man receiued him as legat, neither did he exerciſe anie legantine authoritie. Not long after, the king ſent ambaſſadours to Rome, about a ſuit which he had againſt the archbiſhop Anſelme, for that he denied not onelie to doo him homage, but alſo would not conſecrate ſuch biſhops and eccleſiaſticall gouernours as he vndertooke to inueſt. Touching which matter no ſmall trouble aroſe, as hereafter ſhall appeere.

1011

In the meane time, Robert the kings elder brother, returning out of the holie land, came into Normandie: for after he had aduertiſement of the death of his brother Rufus, and that his yoonger brother was crowned king of England, he was greatlie diſpleaſed in his mind, and meant with all ſpeed to aſſaie if he might recouer it out of his hands.

Ran. Higd.
Duke Robert choſen king of Hieruſalem.

¶ We read, that when chriſtian princes had woone Hieruſalem, they met togither in the temple to chuſe a king for the gouernement of that citie and countrie, in which conuent duke Robert was choſen before all the reſidue to be king there, by reaſon of a miracle (as ſome haue left recorded) wrought by quenching of a taper, and the ſudden kindling thereof againe, as he held the ſame in his hand, ſtanding in the church before the altar amongſt other on Eaſter euen: ſo as thereby it ſhould be thought he was appointed among all the reſidue to be king, and ſo was nominated. But he hauing his mind more inclined to England, refuſed to take the charge vpon him: wherevpon after that daie he neuer greatlie proſpered in anie buſineſſe which he tooke in hand: as ſome doo gather. Other authors of good credit, which haue written that voiage into the holie land, make no mention of anie ſuch matter, but declare, that Godfraie of Bolongne was by the generall conſent of all the princes and capiteins there elected king, as in the deſcription of that voiage more plainelie appeereth. But now to returne from whence I haue digreſſed.

Polydor.

Anno Reg. 2.

When the fame was blowne into England, that duke Robert was returned into Normandie, and that the people had receiued him for their duke with great triumph and ioy: there were diuerſe which deſiring innouations, deliting in alterations, and being wearie of the quiet gouernement of king Henrie, wrote letters into England to the duke, ſignifieng to him, that if he would make haſt, and come to recouer the realme out of his brothers hands (who vſurped it by an vniuſt title) they would be readie to aid him with all their power. Herewithall the duke being readie of his owne accord to this enterpriſe, was not a little inflamed, and grew more earneſt to make haſt about this buſineſſe: in ſomuch as, where he would not ſeeme at the firſt to eſteeme greatlie of the offer made to him by the Engliſhmen, who had thus written ouer vnto him (blaming generallie all the Engliſh Nobilitie, for that while he was abroad in the ſeruice of the chriſtian common-wealth againſt the infidels, they would ſuffer him to be in ſuch wiſe defrauded of his fathers inheritance, by his brother, through their vntruth and negligence) yet although he meant to delaie the matter, and thought it rather better to diſſemble with them for a time, than to commit the ſucceſſe of his affaires and perſon to their inconſtancie; ſhortlie after being ſet on fire, and ſtill incouraged by the perſuaſion of Rafe biſhop of Durham (who by a woonderfull wilie ſhift, about the firſt of Februarie had broken out of priſon) with all ſpeed poſſible he gathered an armie, purpoſing out of hand to paſſe ouer with the ſame into England, and to hazard his right by dent of ſword, which was thus by plaine iniurie moſt wickedlie deteined from him.

Duke Robert is ſolicited to come into England to claim the crowne.

Wil. Malm.
Simon Dun.

In the Kal. of Februarie.
R. Houe.
Hen. Hunt.
Polydor.

King Henrie in the meane time vnderſtanding his meaning, aſſembled likewiſe his power, and rigged forth a great number of ſhips, appointing them to lie in a readineſſe to ſtop his brothers comming to land if it might be. He himſelfe alſo lodged with his maine armie neere the towne of Haſtings, to giue him battell if he landed thereabouts.

Duke Robert alſo meaning to ſet foreward, ſent certeine of his ſhips before, to chooſe ſome conuenient place where he might land with his armie: which ſhips by chance fell into the danger of the kings nauie, but yet abſteining from battell, they recouered the wind, and returned backe to the duke, ſignifieng from point to point how they had ſped in this voiage. The duke as he was of a bold courage, and of ſo gentle a nature that he beleeued he ſhould win their good wils, with whom he ſhould haue any thing to doo, paſſed forward, and approching to the kings nauie, vſed ſuch mild perſuaſions, that a great part of the ſouldiours which were aboord in the kings ſhips, ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, by whoſe conduct he arriued in Portſmouth hauen, and there landed with his hoſt, about the begining of Auguſt. Now when he had reſted a few daies & refreſhed his men, he tooke the way towards Wincheſter, a great number of people flocking vnto him by the way.

Duke Robert arriued at Portſmouth.
Simon Dun.
Wil. Malm.
Hen. Hunt.
Polydor.

The king hauing knowledge as well of the arriuall of his enimies, as alſo of the reuolting of his

Wil.Malm.
Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.

Hen: Hunt.
Wil.Thorne.
Matth.Weſt.
Geruaſius Dorober.

ſubiects, raiſed his campe, and came to lodge néere vnto his enimies, the better to perceiue what he attempted and purpoſed to doo. They were alſo in maner readie to haue ioined battell, when diuers Noble men that owght good will to both the brethren, and abhorred in their minds ſo vnnaturall diſcord, began to entreat for peace, which in the end they concluded vpon, conditionallie that Henrie (who was borne after his father had conquered the realme of England) ſhould now enioy the ſame, yéelding and paieng yéerelie vnto duke Robert the ſumme of iij. M. marks. Prouided, that whoſe hap of the two it ſhuld be to ſuruiue or outliue, he ſhould be the others right and lawfull heire, by mutuall agréement. Conditionallie alſo, that thoſe Engliſh or Normans, which had taken part either with the king or the duke, ſhould be pardoned of all offenſes that could be laid vnto them for the ſame by either of the princes. There were twelue Noble men on either part that receiued corporall othes for performance of this agréement, which being concluded vpon in this ſort, duke Robert, who in his affaires ſhewed himſelfe more credulous than ſuſpicious, remained with his brother here in England till the feaſt of S. Michaell, and then ſhewing himſelfe well contented with the compoſition, returned into Normandie. In the ſecond yeare of this kings reigne, the Quéene was deliuered of hir daughter Maud or Mathild, ſo called after hir owne name, who afterward was empreſſe, of whom yée ſhall heare by Gods grace anon in this hiſtorie.

1102

Simon Dun.
Robert de Beleſme earle of Shrewſburie.

Stafford waſted.

The king being now rid of forren trouble, was ſhortlie after diſquieted with the ſeditious attempts of Robert de Beleſme earle of Shrewſburie, ſonne to Hugh before named, who fortified the caſtell of Bridgenorth, and an other caſtell in Wales at a place called Caircoue, and furniſhed the towne of Shrewſburie, with the caſtels of Arundell & Tickehill (which belonged to him) in moſt ſubſtantiall maner. Moreouer he ſought to win the fauour of the Welſhmen, by whoſe aid he purpoſed to defend himſelfe againſt the king in ſuch vnlawfull enterpriſes as he ment to take in hand. But the king hauing an inkeling whereabout he went, ſtraitwaies proclaimed him a traitor, whervpon he got ſuch Welſhmen and Normans together as he could conuenientlie come by, with whom and his brother Arnold, he entred into Staffordſhire, which they forraied and waſted excéedinglie, bringing from thence a great bootie of beaſts and cattell, with ſome priſoners, whom they led foorthwith into Wales, where they kept themſelues as in a place of greateſt ſafetie.

Arundell caſtell beſieged.

Bridgenorth beſieged.

Anno Reg.3.

The earle of Shrewſburie baniſhed the realme.

The king in the meane time with all conuenient ſpéed raiſed a power, firſt beſieging the caſtell of Arundell, and then planting diuerſe baſtillions before it, he departed from thence, and ſending the biſhop of Lincolne with part of his armie to beſiege Tickehill, he himſelfe went to Bridgenorth, which he enuironed about with a mightie armie made out of all parts of his realme: ſo that what with gifts, large promiſes, and fearefull threatnings, at the laſt he allured to his ſide the fickle Welſhmen, and in ſuch wiſe wan them, that they abandoned the earle, and tooke part againſt him. Wherevpon the king within 30. daies ſubdued all the townes and caſtels (which he held) out of his hands, and baniſhed him the relme, and ſhortlie after confined his brother Arnold for his traitorous demeanour vſed againſt him, whereby their attempts were brought vnto an end.

A ſynod of biſhops.
Eadmerus.

After this, at the feaſt of ſaint Michaell, Anſelme archbiſhop of Canturburie held a councell at Weſtminſter, whereat were preſent the archbiſhop of Yorke, the biſhops of London, Winchester, Lincolne, Worceſter, Cheſter, Bath, Norwich, Rocheſter, and two other biſhops latlie elected by the king, namelie, Saliſburie and Hereford: the biſhop of Exceſter was abſent by reaſon of ſickneſſe.

Abbats & priors depriued.

Matth. Paris.

The cauſe why they wer depriued.

At this councell or ſynod, diuers abbats and priors, both French and Engliſh, were depriued of their promotions and benefices by Anſelme, bicauſe they had come vnto them otherwiſe than he pretended to ſtand with the decrées of the church; as the abbats of Perſor, Ramſey, Taueſtocke, Peterborow, Middleton, Burie, and Stoke, the prior of Elie, and others. The chéefeſt cauſe of their depoſing, was, for that they had receiued their inueſtitures at the kings hands.

Hen.Hunt.
Sim.Dun.

Diuers conſtitutions were made by authoritie of this councell, but namelie this one.

Eadmerus.
Mariage of préeſts forbidden.

Hen. Hunt.

1 That préeſts ſhould no more be ſuffered to haue wiues, which decrée (as ſaith Henrie of Huntingdon) ſéemed to ſome verie pure, but to ſome againe verie dangerous, leaſt whileſt diuers of thoſe that coueted to profeſſe ſuch cleanneſſe and puritie of life as paſſed their powers to obſerue, might happilie fall into moſt horrible vncleanneſſe, to the high diſhonour of chriſtianitie, and offenſe of the Almightie.

Decrées inſtituted in this councell.

2 That no ſpirituall perſon ſhould haue the adminiſtration of any temporall office or function, nor ſit in iudgement of life and death.

Againſt préeſts that were alehouſe hunters.

3 That préeſts ſhould not haunt alehouſes, and further, that they ſhould weare apparell of one maner of colour, and ſhooes after a comelie faſhion: for a little before that time, préeſts vſed to go verie vnſéemelie.

Archdeaconries.

4 That no archdeaconries ſhould be let to farme.

5 That euerie archdeacon ſhould at the leaſt receiue the orders of a deacon.

Subdeacons.

6 That none ſhould be admitted to the orders of a ſubdeacon, without profeſſion of chaſtitie.

Préeſts ſons.

7 That no préeſts ſonnes ſhould ſuccéed their fathers in their benefices.

8 That moonks and préeſts which had forſaken their orders (for the loue of their wiues) ſhould be excommunicated, if they would not returne to their profeſſion againe.

Préeſts to wear crowns.

9 That préeſts ſhould weare broad crownes.

Tithes.

10 That no tithes ſhould be giuen but to the church.

Benefices.

11 That no benefices ſhould be bought or ſold.

New chapels

12 That no new chappels ſhould be builded without conſent of the biſhop.

Conſecration of churches.

13 That no church ſhould be conſecrated except prouiſion were firſt had to the maintenance of it and the miniſter.

Abbats.

14 That abbats ſhould not be made knights or men of war, but ſhould ſléepe & eat within the precinct of their owne houſes, except ſome neceſſitie mooued them to the contrarie.

Moonks.

15 That no moonks ſhould inioyne penance to any man without licence of their abbat, and that abbats might not grant licence, but for thoſe of whoſe ſoules they had cure.

16 That no moonks ſhould be godfathers, nor nuns godmothers to any mans child.

Farmes.

17 That moonks ſhould not hold and occupie any farmes in their hands.

Parſonages.

18 That no moonks ſhould receiue any parſonages, but at the biſhops hands, nor ſhould ſpoile thoſe which they did receiue in ſuch wiſe of the profits and reuenues, that curats which ſhould ſerue the cures might thereby want neceſſarie prouiſion for themſelues and the ſame churches.

Contracts.

19 That contracts made betwéene man and woman without witneſſes concerning mariage ſhould be void, if either of them denied it.

Wearing of haire.

20 That ſuch as did weare their heare long ſhould be neuertheleſſe ſo rounded, that part of their eares might appéere.

21 That kinſfolks might not contract matrimo-

nie within the ſeuenth degrée of conſanguinitie.

Buriall.

22 That the bodies of the dead ſhould not be buried but within their pariſhes, leaſt the prieſt might loſe his dutie.

Fond worſhipping of men.

23 That no man ſhould vpon ſome new raſh deuotion giue reuerence or honour to any dead bodies, fountaines of water, or other things, without the biſhops authoritie, which hath béene well knowne to haue chanced heretofore.

24 That there ſhould be no more buieng and ſelling of men vſed in England, which was hitherto accuſtomed, as if they had béene kine or oxen.

25 That all ſuch as committed the filthie ſinne of Sodomitrie ſhould be accurſſed by the decrée of this councell, till by penance & confeſſion they ſhould obteine abſolution. Prouided that if he were a prieſt or any religious perſon, he ſhould loſe his benefice, and be made vncapeable of any other eccleſiaſticall preferment if: he were a laie man, he ſhould loſe the prerogatiue of his eſtate. Prouided alſo that no religious man might be abſolued of this crime, but at the biſhops hands.

The curſſe to be read euerie ſundaie.

26 That euerie ſundaie this curſſe ſhould be read in euerie church.

The king alſo cauſed ſome neceſſarie ordinances to be deuiſed at this councell, to mooue men to the leading of a good and vpright life.

S. Bartholomewes by Smithfield founded. Smithfield ſometimes a common laieſtall & a place of execution.

About the third yeare of K. Henries reigne, the foundation of ſaint Bartholomews by Smithfield was begun by Raier one of the kings muſicians (as ſome write) who alſo became the firſt prior thereof. In thoſe daies Smithfield was a place where they laid all the ordure and filth of the citie. It was alſo the appointed place of execution, where felons and other malefactors of the lawes did ſuffer for their miſdeeds.

Anno Reg. 3.

In this third yeare of king Henries reigne the quéene was deliuered of a ſonne called William.

Polydor. The king beſtoweth biſhopriks. Matth. Paris.

Sim. Dunel.

When the earle of Shrewesburie was baniſhed (as ye haue heard) the ſtate of the realme ſéemed to be reduced into verie good order and quietneſſe: ſo that king Henrie being aduanced with good ſucceſſe in his affaires, was now in no feare of danger any maner of waie. Howbeit herein he ſomewhat diſpleaſed the cleargie: for leaning vnto his princelie authoritie, he tooke vpon him both to nominate biſhops, and to inueſt them into the poſſeſſion of their ſées: amongſt whom was one Remclid, biſhop of Hereford by the kings ordinance. This Remclid or Remeline did afterwards reſigne that biſhoprike to the king, bicauſe he was perſuaded he had greatlie offended in receiuing the ſame at a temporall mans hands.

Trulie not onelie king Henrie here in England, but alſo other princes and high potentates of the temporaltie about the ſame ſeaſon, challenged this right of inueſting biſhops and other cleargie men, as a thing due vnto them and their predeceſſors, without all preſcription of time, as they alledged, which cauſed no ſmall debate betwixt them and the ſpiritualtie, as in that which is written thereof at large by others may more eaſilie appeere.

Anſelme refuſeth to conſecrate the biſhops inueſted by the king.

Howbeit Anſelme the archbiſhop of Canturburie more earneſt in this caſe than any other, would not admit nor conſecrate ſuch biſhops as were nominated and inueſted by the king, making no account of their inueſtiture: and further he tooke vpon him to admoniſh the K. not to violate the ſacred lawes, rites and ceremonies of chriſtian religion ſo latelie decréed concerning thoſe matters. But ſo far was the king from giuing any eare to his admonitions, that he ſtood the more ſtiffelie in his chalenge. And where Thomas the archbiſhop of Yorke was not long before departed out of this tranſitorie life, he gaue that benefice then void to one Gerard, a man of great wit, but (as ſome writers report) more deſirous of honor than was requiſite for his calling, and willed him in deſpite of Anſelme to conſecrate thoſe biſhops whom he had of late inueſted. This Gerard therfore obeieng his commandement, did conſecrate them all, William Gifford biſhop of Wincheſter excepted; who refuſed to be conſecrated at his hands, wherevpon he was depriued and baniſhed the relme. The archbiſhop Anſelme alſo was quite out of fauour, for that he ceaſed not to ſpeake againſt the K. in reproouing him in this behalfe, till time that the king was contented to referre the matter to pope Paſchall, and to ſtand to his decrée and determination: alſo, that ſuch as he had placed in any biſhoprike, ſhould haue licence to go to Rome to plead their cauſes, whither he promiſed ſhortlie to ſend his ambaſſadours, and ſo he did: appointing for the purpoſe, Herbert biſhop of Norwich, and Robert biſhop of Lichfield, being both of his priuie councell, and William Warlewaſt, of whom mention is made before, who went on their waie and came to Rome, according to their commiſſion.

Gerard inueſted archbiſhop of Yorke.

W. Gifford biſhop of wincheſter. Matth. Paris. Wil. Thorne. Polydor.

Polydor.

1103

Anno Reg. 4. Ambaſſadors ſent to Rome.

Anſelme goeth alſo to Rome.

After them alſo folowed Anſelme archbiſhop of Canturburie, Gerard archbiſhop of Yorke, & William the elect of Wincheſter, whom the pope receiued with a courteous kind of interteinement. But Anſelme was highlie honored aboue all the reſidue, whoſe diligence and zeale in defenſe of the ordinances of the ſée of Rome, he well inough vnderſtood. The ambaſſadours in like maner declaring the effect of their meſſage, opened vnto the pope the ground of the controuerſie begun betwéene the king and Anſelme, & with good arguments went about to prooue the kings cauſe to be lawfull. Vpon the otherſide, Anſelme and his partakers with contrarie reaſons ſought to confute the ſame. Wherupon the pope declared, that ſith by the lawes of the church it was decréed, that the poſſeſſion of any ſpirituall benefice, obteined otherwiſe than by meanes of a ſpirituall perſon, could not be good or allowable; from thenceforth, neither the king nor any other for him, ſhould challenge any ſuch right to apperteine vnto them.

Eadmerus. The ſaieng of Wil. Warleſwaſt to the pope.

The popes anſwer to him

The kings ambaſſadours hearing this, were ſomwhat troubled in their minds: wherevpon Willam Warlewaſt burſt out and ſaid with great vehemencie euen to the popes face: Whatſoeuer is or may be ſpoken in this maner to or fro, I would all that be preſent ſhould well vnderſtand, that the king my maiſter will not loſe the inueſtitures of churches for the loſſe of his whole realme. Vnto which words Paſchall himſelfe replieng, ſaid vnto him againe: If (as thou ſaieſt) the king thy maiſter will not forgo the inueſtiture of churches for the loſſe of his realme, know thou for certeine, and marke my words well, I ſpeake it before God, that for the ranſome of his head, pope Paſchall will not at any time permit that he ſhall enioie them in quiet. At length by the aduiſe of his councell, the pope granted the king certeine priuileges and cuſtomes, which his predeceſſours had vſed and enioied: but as for the inueſtitures of biſhops, he would not haue him in any wiſe to meddle withall: yet did he confirme thoſe biſhops whom the king had alreadie created, leaſt the refuſall ſhould be occaſion to ſowe any further diſcord.

Polydor,

This buſineſſe being in this maner ordered, the ambaſſadours were licenced to depart, who receiuing at the popes hands great rewards, and Gerard the archbiſhop of Yorke his pall, they ſhortlie after returned into England, declaring vnto the king the popes decrée and ſentence. The king being ſtill otherwiſe perſuaded, and looking for other newes, was nothing pleaſed with this matter. Long it was yer he would giue ouer his claime, or yéeld to the popes iudgement, till that in proceſſe of time, ouercome with the earneſt ſute of Anſelme, he granted to obeie the popes order herein, though (as it ſhould appeare) right ſore againſt his will.

Wil.Malm.

In this meane time, the king had ſeized into his hands the poſſeſſions of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and baniſhed Anſelme, ſo that he ſtaied at Lions in France for the ſpace of one yeare and foure moneths, during which time there paſſed manie letters and meſſages to and fro. The pope alſo wrote to king Henrie in verie courteous maner, exhorting him to call Anſelme home againe, and to releaſe his claime to the inueſtitures of biſhops, wherevnto he could haue no right, ſith it apperteined not to the office of any temporall magiſtrate: adding furthermore, if the king would giue ouer that vngodlie and vſurped cuſtome, that he would ſhew ſuch fréendlie fauour in all things, as by the ſufferance of God in any wiſe he might be able to performe, and further would receiue not onelie him, but alſo his yoong ſonne William (whom latelie it had pleaſed God to ſend him by his vertuous wife quéene Maud) into his protection, ſo that who ſo euer did hurt either of them, ſhould be thought to hurt the holie church of Rome.

The pope writeth courteouſlie to the king.

In one of the letters which the ſaid pope wrote vnto Anſelme (after that the king was contented to renounce the inueſtitures aforeſaid) he willed Anſelme, according to the promiſe which he had made, to aſſoile as well from ſinne as from penance due for the ſame, both the king and his wife quéene Maud, with all ſuch perſons of honour as in this behalfe had trauelled with the king to induce him to be agréeable to his purpoſe.

1104

The earle of Mellent.

Anno Reg. 4.

Moreouer, the earle of Mellent, and Richard de Riuers (who had counſelled the king to ſtand ſtoutlie in the matter, and not to giue ouer his title of ſuch inueſtitures, ſith his anceſtors had vſed them ſo long a time before his daies, by reaſon whereof, in renouncing his right to the ſame, he ſhould doo a thing greatlie preiudiciall to his roiall eſtate and princelie maieſtie) were now earneſt labourers to agrée the king and the pope, in ſo much that in the end the king was perſuaded by Anſelme and them to let go his hold, reſigning the inueſtitures with ſtaffe and ring; notwithſtanding that, he reſerued the right of elections, and ſuch other roialties as otherwiſe apperteined to to his maieſtie, ſo that ſuch biſhops as had doone homage to the king, were not diſabled thereby, but quietlie permitted to receiue their iuriſdictions.

The K. perſuaded to renounce his title to the inueſtiture of prelats.
Eadmerus.

Duke Robert commeth into England to viſit his brother.

About this time Robert duke of Normandie came into England to ſée his brother: who through the ſugred words and ſwéet enterteinment of the king, releaſed the yéerelie tribute of 3000. markes, which he ſhould haue had out of the realme vpon agréement (as before ye haue heard) but chéefelie indéed at the requeſt of the quéene, being inſtructed by hir huſband how ſhe ſhould deale with him that was knowne to be frée and liberall, without any great conſideration what he preſentlie granted.

Now hauing béene here a certeine time, and ſolaced himſelfe with his brother and ſiſter, he returned into Normandie, where ſhortlie after he began to repent him of his follie, in being ſo liberall as to releaſe the foreſaid tribute: wherevpon he menaced the king, and openlie in his reproch ſaid that he was craftilie circumuented by him, and flatlie couzened. Diuerſe in Normandie deſired nothing more than to ſet the two brethren at ſquare, and namelie Robert de Beleſme earle of Shrewſburie, with William earle of Mortaigne: theſe two were baniſhed the realme of England. The earle of Shreweſburie for his rebellious attempts (as before you haue heard) and the earle of Mortaigne left the land of his owne willfull and ſtubborne mind, exiling himſelfe onelie vpon hatred which he bare to the king: For being not contented with the earledome of Mortaigne in Normandie, and the earledome of Cornewall in England, he made ſute alſo for the earledome of Kent, which his vncle Odo ſometime held. Now bicauſe he was not onelie denied of that ſute, but alſo by order of lawe had certeine parcels of land taken from him, which he wrongfullie deteined, he got him into Normandie, and there made war both againſt thoſe places which the king held, and alſo againſt other that belonged to Richard earle of Cheſter, who was then vnder the kings tuition and gouernement by reaſon of his minoritie.

Wil.Malm.
Factious perſons practiſe to ſet the two brethren at variance.

The earle of Mortaigne.

Richard earle of Cheſter.

The threatning words of duke Robert comming at the laſt to king Henries eares, cauſed him forthwith to conceiue verie ſore diſpleaſure againſt the duke, in ſo much that he ſent ouer a power into Normandie, which finding no great reſiſtance, did much hurt in the countrie, by fetching and carieng ſpoiles and preies. Againe, the Normans rather fauoured than ſought to hinder the enterpriſe of king Henrie, bicauſe they ſaw how duke Robert with his fooliſh prodigalitie and vndiſcréet liberalitie had made awaie all that belonged to his eſtate; ſo that of the whole duchie of Normandie, he had not any citie or towne of name left in his owne poſſeſſion, Roan onelie excepted, which he alſo would haue alienated, if the citizens would haue conſented to his fond motion.

A power of men ſent into Normandie.

Gemeticenſis.

1105

The k. paſſeth ouer to Normandie.
Anno Reg. 6.
Simon Dun.
Gemeticenſis.
Polydor.

Now king Henrie hearing of the good ſucceſſe of his men, paſſed ouer himſelfe ſoone after with a mightie armie, and with little adoo tooke Eureux or (as others haue) Baieux and Caen, which cities when he had furniſhed with ſufficient gariſons of men, he repaſſed the ſea into England, bicauſe the winter approched, and the wether waxed troubleſome for ſuch as laie in the field. Herevpon duke Robert conſidering how vnable he was (by reaſon that his people failed him at néed) to reſiſt king Henrie, ſith the Britans alſo, and they of Aniou, tooke part with the ſaid king, he thought good to laie armour aſide, and to paſſe ouer into England, to entreat with him by way of brotherlie amitie, in full hope by that meanes to auoid this preſent danger. But at his arriuall here, he learned how the king his brother as then was at Northampton: wherefore he haſted thither, and comming to him, made earneſt ſute for peace, beſéeching the king in reſpect of brotherlie loue to grant the ſame; or if it were that he regarded not the goodwill of his naturall brother, to conſider at leaſt wiſe what apperteined to his accuſtomed gentleneſſe, and to thinke with himſelfe that warre betwixt brethren could not be mainteined without reproch, nor that victorie be honorable which was obteined againſt his owne fleſh. Wherefore he required him not to refuſe peace, fréendſhip, and voluntarie beneuolence, ſith he was now readie to render all that euer he had into his hands.

1106

Anno Reg. 7.

The king nothing mooued herewith, but as one that diſdained to make a direct anſwer, murmured certeine things with himſelfe, and turned away from the duke, as one that either by experience knew his brothers light and vnſtable mind, or as one that determined to be reuenged of him euen to the vttermoſt. Duke Robert alſo, abhorring and vtterlie deteſting this his brothers pride, ſtreightwaies returned home, purpoſing with himſelfe to trie the hazard of warre, ſith he ſawe no hope to be had in brotherlie loue and amitie. Wherevpon he prouided for wars with all his power, ſéeking aid from all places where he might get any, though the king his brother gaue him ſmall leiſure thereto, who followed him incontinentlie with a new ſupplie of ſouldiours, deſiring nothing more than to get him within his danger.

The brethren depart in diſpleaſure.

K. Henrie paſſeth into Normandie to purſue his brother.

Soone

They ioine in battell.

Soone after, both the brethren approching néere togither, ech of them pitched their campe within the ſight of other, preparing themſelues to giue battell with princelie ſtomachs. The king ſurmounting the duke his brother in number, firſt bringeth foorth his men in order of battell, and ſtreightwaies the duke likewiſe, both being readie to trie the matter by dint of ſword. Then the one prouoking the other, and the trumpets ſounding aloft, the conflict began. The kings ſouldiers truſting too much in their owne force, by reaſon of their great multitude, brake their arraie, and aſſailed their enimies on ech ſide verie diſorderlie: but the Normans being wiſelie ordered and inſtructed by their duke, kept themſelues cloſe togither: ſo that the kings battell, which had without order ſtept foorth to aſſaile them, finding ſturdie reſiſtance, began now to reſult or giue backe: for not onelie duke Robert but alſo William earle of Mortaigne preaſed foreward amongſt their men, and fought valiantlie with their owne hands. Wherupon the king, when he perceiued how his men began to ſhrinke, cried vpon them to ſtaie, and withall commanded his horſſemen to breake vpon the flanks of his enimies battell: which they did, with ſuch violence that they diſparkled the ſame, and cauſed the enimies to ſcatter. Herewith alſo the kings footmen, togither with the horſſemen inuaded the Normans afreſh, who neuertheleſſe reſiſted a while, till being compaſſed about in maner on euerie ſide, they began to flee: as oftentimes it chanceth, when a few driuen in ſunder by a multitude, are aſſailed on all ſides. The king then hauing vanquiſhed his aduerſaries, followeth the chaſe, and maketh great ſlaughter of them, though not without ſome loſſe of his owne: for the Normans deſpairing of ſafetie, turned oftentimes againe vpon their purſuers.

The Normans vanquiſhed.

The earle of Mortaigne.

Eadmerus.
W. Criſpine.
W. Ferreis.
Robert de Eſtoutuille.
The number ſlaine.

Duke Robert and the earle of Mortaigne fighting moſt manfullie in the verie preaſe of their enimies, were taken, or (as other ſaie) betraied, and deliuered into their enimies hands: beſide which twaine, William Criſpine, William Ferreis, Robert Eſtoutuille the elder, with foure hundreth men of armes, and to the number of 10. thouſand footmen were taken. As for the number that were ſlaine in this battell, there is none that declareth the certeintie: but yet it is reported by diuers writers, that no one battell in thoſe daies was ſorer fought, nor with greater bloudſhed either in Normandie, or elſewhere.

Gemeticenſis.

Gemeticenſis ſheweth bréeflie, that king Henrie was offended with his brother duke Robert, for alienating the duchie of Normandie his inheritance, & for waſting his reuenues with ſuch riotous demeanour as he vſed, ſo that he left himſelfe nothing but the citie of Roan, which he had not paſſed to haue giuen awaie alſo, if the citizens would thereto haue granted their conſent. The king (I ſaie) taking diſpleaſure herewith, went ouer into Normandie, and aſſuming a mightie power, firſt beſieged Baieur, & then halfe deſtroieng it, he tooke it by force. After this he tooke Caen alſo, and then beſieged a caſtell called Tenerchbray perteining to the earle of Mortaigne, during which ſiege his brother Robert, and the ſaid earle of Mortaigne came with a great multitude of people in hope to be reuenged of the king, and to chaſe him out of the countrie. But the puniſhment of God fell ſo vpon them, that they were both taken, and manie of their fréends with them, as Robert de Eſtoutuille, William de Criſpine, and others, who were brought before king Henrie as priſoners. ¶ Thus did almightie God grant vnto the king a notable victorie without bloodſhed, for he loſt not a man: as for his aduerſaries, there died in the field not paſt thrée ſcore perſons.

Wil. Malm.

This ſeemeth alſo to agrée with that which Wil. Malmesburie writeth: for he ſaith, that king Henrie with ſmall adoo brought into his hands duke Robert, who with a great troope of men came againſt him then lodging néere the ſaid caſtell of Tenerchbray. The earle of Mortaigne was alſo taken, but the erle of Shrewsburie eſcaped by flight, notwithſtanding he was apprehended, as he went about to practiſe ſome priuie conſpiracie againſt the king. ¶ This battell was fought (as the ſame Wil. Malme. affirmeth) vpon a ſaturdaie, being the daie of S. Michaell *In gloria*, and (as may be thought) by the prouident iudgement of God, to the end that Normandie ſhould be ſubdued vnto England on that daie, in the which 40. yeares paſſed, king William the Conquerour firſt ſet foot on land at Haſtings, when he came out of Normandie to ſubdue England. Neither dooth Simon Dunelmenſis varie in any thing from Gemeticenſis touching the concluſion of this buſineſſe, and the taking of duke Robert.

Robert de Beleſme.

The 27. of September chro. de Nor.

Simon Dun.

Theſe wars being thus finiſhed, and the countrie ſet in quiet, which through the méere folie of duke Robert was woonderfullie impoueriſhed, the king receiued the keies of all the townes and caſtels that belonged either to the duke or the earle of Mortaigne, and furniſhed the ſame with gariſons to be kept for his behoofe. Hauing thus pacified the countrie of Normandie, he came to Bec or Bechellouin, where archbiſhop Anſelme then remained, whome by mediation of fréends he receiued to fauour againe, and ſending him ouer into England, immediatlie after followed himſelfe.

Math. Weſt.
1107
Anſelme returneth home.

Duke Robert being alſo ſpoiled of his dominions, lands and liberties, was ſhortlie committed to priſon within the caſtell of Cardiff in Wales, where he remained about the ſpace of 26. yeares, and then died. He gouerned the duchie of Normandie 19. yeares, he was a perfect and expert warrior, & comparable with the beſt capiteines that then liued, had he béene ſomwhat more warie and circumſpect in his affaires, and therewithall conſtant in his opinion. His woorthie acts valiantlie and fortunatlie atchiued againſt the infidels, are notified to the world by manie and ſundrie writers, to his high commendation and long laſting praiſe. It is ſaid alſo, that he was after his taking once ſet at libertie by king Henrie, and bound to forſweare the realme of England and Normandie, being appointed to auoid within the ſpace of 40. daies, and twelue houres. But bicauſe he was perceiued to practiſe ſomewhat againſt the king, he was eftſoones taken againe, and hauing his eies put out, committed to priſon, where finallie worne through age and gréefe of mind, he ended his miſerable life. ¶ The forme of baniſhing men out of the realme, was ordeined by Edward the Confeſſor, and remained as a law in vſe till theſe our daies, for the benefit of them which fled to any church or other priuiledged place, thereby to eſcape the puniſhment of death due for their offenſes. By a latter cuſtome it was alſo deuiſed, that they ſhould beare a croſſe in their hand, as a ſigne that they were pardoned of life, for the holie place ſake where they ſought for ſuccour.

Duke Robert priſoner in the caſtell of Cardiff.

Gemeticenſis.

Polydor.

Math. Weſt.

But duke Robert (as it ſhould appéere by that which others write) found no ſuch fauour, ſaue onlie libertie to walke abroad in the kings forreſts, parks, and chaſes néere the place where he was appointed to remaine; ſo that vpon a daie, as he was walking abroad, he got a horſſe, and with all poſt haſt rode his waie, in hope to haue eſcaped: howbeit his kéepers being aduiſed thereof, followed him with hue and crie, and at length ouertooke him in a medow, where he had laid his horſſe vp to the bellie in a quauemire. Then being brought backe, his kéepers kept him in cloſe priſon, aduertiſing the king of his demeanour:

whereupon he commanded that the ſight of his eies ſhould be put out, but ſo, as the balles of them ſhould remaine vnbroken, for the auoiding of a noiſome deformitie that otherwiſe would enſue, if the glaſſie tunicles ſhould take hurt.

John Pike.

In his returne out of the holie land, he maried one Sibell, the earle of Conuerſans ſiſter in Puglia, hir father hight Roger or Geffrey (as ſome bookes haue) and was nephue to Robert Guyſhard duke of Puglia, and by hir had iſſue one ſonne named William afterward earle of Flanders, whereof (God willing) more ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

Here muſt I leaue duke Robert, and ſpeake ſomwhat of Anſelme the archbiſhop, who ſhortlie after his returne into England, receiued letters from pope Paſchall, wherein Anſelme was authoriſed to diſpoſe and order things as ſhould ſéeme to him moſt expedient. Now, whereas the greater and better part of the Engliſh clergie conſiſted of préeſts ſonnes, he committed to his diſcretion the order to diſpenſe with them; namelie, that ſuch as were of commendable life and ſufficient learning, might be admitted to the miniſterie, as the neceſſitie of time and ſtate of the church ſhould require. The pope alſo by the ſame letters gaue Anſelme authoritie to abſolue Richard the prior of Elie, vpon his ſatiſfaction pretermitted, and to reſtore him to the gouernement of the priorie of Elie, if the king thought it conuenient.

Richard prior of Elie.

1107

About the calends of Auguſt, in this yeare 1107. the king held a councell of biſhops, abbats, and other lords of his realme in his pallace at London, where in the abſence of Anſelme, the matter touching the inueſtitures of churches, was argued vpon for the ſpace of thrée daies togither, and in the end bicauſe the pope had granted the homages of biſhops and other prelats to the king, which his predeceſſor Urban had forbidden, togither with the inueſtitures; the king was contented to conſent to the popes will in forbearing the ſame. So that when Anſelme was come, the king in preſence of him and a great multitude of his people, granted and ordeined, that from thenceforth no biſhop nor abbat ſhould be inueſted within the realme of England, by the hand either of the king or any laie man: on the other ſide it was granted againe by Anſelme, that no perſon elected into the prelacie, ſhould be depriued of his conſecration for doing his homage to the king.

These things thus ordred, the churches which through England had bin long vacant, were prouided of gouernors, which were placed without any inueſtiture of ſtaffe or ring. About this time, Anſelme conſecrated fiue biſhops at Canturburie in one day, archbiſhop William to the ſée of Wincheſter, Roger that was the kings chancellor to Saliſburie, William Warlewaſt to Exceſter, Remaline the quéenes chancellor to Hereford, and one Urban to Glamorgan in Wales.

Polydor.
Ran. Higd.

About this ſeaſon a great part of Flanders being drowned by an exundation or breaking in of the ſea, a great number of Flemings came into England, beſéeching the king to haue ſome void place aſſigned them, wherein they might inhabit. At the firſt they were appointed to the countrie lieng on the eaſt part of the riuer of Twéed: but within foure yeres after, they were remoued into a corner by the ſea ſide in Wales, called Penbrokeſhire, to the end they might be a defenſe there to the Engliſh againſt the vnquiet Welſhmen.

Flemings cōming ouer into England, haue places appointed them to inhabit.

Wil. Malm.

¶ It ſhould appeare by ſome writers, that this multitude of Flemings conſiſted not of ſuch onelie as came ouer about that time by reaſon their countrie was ouerflowne with the ſea (as ye haue heard) but of other alſo that arriued here long before, euen in the daies of William the Conquerour, through the fréendſhip of the quéene their countriewoman, ſithens which time their number ſo increaſed, that the realme of England was ſore peſtered with them: whereupon king Henrie deuiſed to place them in Penbrokeſhire, as well to auoid them out of the other parts of England, as alſo by their helpe to tame the bold and preſumptuous fierceneſſe of the Welſhmen. Which thing in thoſe parties they brought verie well to paſſe: for after they were ſetled there, they valiantlie reſiſted their enimies, and made verie ſharpe warres vpon them, ſometimes with gaine, and ſometimes with loſſe.

1108

A councell.
Sim. Dunel.
Eadmerus.
Anno Reg. 9.

In the yeare 1108. Anſelme held an other ſynod or councell, whereat in preſence of the king, and by the aſſent of the earles and barons of the realme it was ordeined.

1 That préeſts, deacons, and ſubdeacons ſhould liue chaſtlie, and kéepe no women in their houſes, except ſuch as were néere of kin to them.

Préeſts are ſequeſtred frō their wiues.

2 That ſuch préeſts, deacons, and ſubdeacons, as contrarie to the inhibition of the councell holden at London, had either kept their wiues, or married other (of whom as Eadmerus ſaith, there was no ſmall number) they ſhould put them quite away, if they would continue ſtill in their préeſthood.

3 That neither the ſame wiues ſhould come to their houſes, nor they to the houſes where their wiues dwelled: but if they had any thing to ſay to them, they ſhould take two or thrée witneſſes, and talke with them abroad in the ſtréet.

4 That if any of them chanced to be accuſed of breaking this ordinance, he ſhould be driuen to purge himſelfe with ſix ſufficient witneſſes of his owne order, if he were a préeſt: if a deacon, with foure: and if a ſubdeacon, with two.

5 That ſuch préeſts as would forgo ſeruing at the altar, and holie order (to remaine with their wiues) ſhould be depriued of their benefices, and not ſuffered to come within the quire.

Archdeacons and canons.

6 That ſuch as contemptuouſlie kept ſtill their wiues, and preſumed to ſay maſſe, if being called to ſatiſfaction, they ſhould neglect it, they ſhould then be excommunicated. Within compaſſe of which ſentence all archdeacons and prebendarie canons were compriſed, both touching the forgoing of their women, and auoiding of their companie, and alſo the puniſhment by the cenſures of the church, if they tranſgreſſed the ordinance.

Archdeacons to be ſworne.

7 That euerie archdeacon ſhould be ſworne, not to take any monie for fauouring any perſon tranſgreſſing theſe ſtatutes: and that they ſhould not ſuffer any préeſts, whome they knew to haue wiues, either to ſay maſſe, or to haue any vicars. The like oth ſhould a deane receiue. Prouided that ſuch archdeacons or deanes as refuſed this oth, ſhould be depriued of their roomes.

Penance.

8 That préeſts, who leauing their wiues, would be content to ſerue God & the altar, ſhould be ſuſpended from that office, by the ſpace of fortie daies, and be allowed to haue vicars in the meane time to ſerue for them: and after, vpon performance of their inioined penance by the biſhop, they might returne to their function.

Polydor.

Philip king of Fran. dead.

Lewis le gros K. of France.

In this meane time king Henrie being aduertiſed of the death of Philip king of France, and not knowing what his ſonne Lewes, ſurnamed Craſſus might happilie attempt in his new preferment to the crowne, ſailed ouer into Normandie, to ſée the countrie in good order, and the townes, caſtels, and fortreſſes furniſhed accordinglie as the doubtfull time required. Now after he had finiſhed his buſineſſe on that ſide, he returned into England, where he met with ambaſſadours ſent to him from the emperour Henrie. The effect of whoſe meſſage was, to require

his

Ambaſſadors from the emperour.

Maud the kings daughter fianced vnto the emperour.

his daughter Maud in mariage vnto the ſaid emperour, wherevnto (though ſhe was not then paſt fiue yeares of age) he willinglie conſented, and ſhewing to the ambaſſadours great ſignes of loue, he cauſed the eſpouſals by waie of procuration to be ſolemnized with great feaſts and triumphs. This being ended, he ſuffered the ambaſſadors honored with great gifts and princelie rewards to depart.

Eadmerus. The death of Gerard archbiſh. of Yorke. Thomas the kings chapleine ſucceeded in that ſee.

The doubt of Anſelme.

Anſelme writeth to the Pope.

About this time Gerard archbiſhop of Yorke died, whom one Thomas the kings chapleine ſucceeded, who for lacke of monie to furniſh his iournie, and for other cauſes (as in his letters of excuſe, which he wrot to Anſelme it dooth appeere) could not come to Canturburie for to be conſecrated of him in ſo ſhort a time as was conuenient. But Anſelme at length admoniſhed him by letters, that without delaie he ſhould diſpatch and come to be conſecrated. And wheras Anſelme vnderſtood that the ſame Thomas was purpoſed to ſend vnto Rome for his pall, he doubted, leaſt if the pope ſhould confirme him in his ſee by ſending to him his pall, he would happilie refuſe to make vnto him profeſſion of his due obedience. Wherefore to preuent that matter, Anſelme wrote to pope Paſchall, requiring him in no wiſe to ſend vnto the nominated archbiſhop of Yorke his pall, till he had (according to the ancient cuſtomes) made profeſſion to him of ſubiection, leaſt ſome troubleſome contentions might thereof ariſe, to the no ſmall diſquieting of the Engliſh church. He alſo aduertiſed pope Paſchall, that bicauſe he permitted the emperour to inueſt biſhops, and did not therefore excommunicate him, king Henrie threatened, that without doubt he would reſume the inueſtitures into his hands, thinking to hold them in quiet as well as he; and therefore beſought him to conſider what his wiſedome had to doo therein with ſpeed, leaſt that building which he had well erected, ſhould vtterlie decaie, & fall againe into irrecouerable ruine. For K. Henrie maketh diligentlie inquirie (ſaith he) what order you take with the emperour.

The popes anſwer to Anſelme.

The pope receiuing and peruſing theſe letters, wrote againe vnto Anſelme a verie freendlie anſwer concerning the archbiſhop of Yorke. And as for ſuffering of the emperour to haue the inueſtitures, he ſignified to him that he neither did nor would ſuffer him to haue them: but that hauing borne with him for a time, he now ment verie ſhortlie to cauſe him to feele the weight of the ſpirituall ſword of S. Peter, which alreadie he had drawen out of the ſcaberd, therewith to ſtrike if he did not the ſooner forſake his horrible errour & naughtie opinion.

The archbiſhop of Yorke refuſeth to come vnto Canturburie to be conſecrated.

Looke in the 9. page, and the firſt columne, of the debate betweene Thomas of Yorke & Lanfranke of Canturburie.

1019

There was another cauſe alſo that moued Anſelme to doubt of the archbiſhop of Yorke his meaning, as after it appeered. For being ſummoned to come and receiue his conſecration at Canturburie (as alreadie yee haue heard) through counſell of the canons of Yorke he refuſed ſo to doo: bicauſe they informed him that if he ſo did, it ſhould be greatlie preiudiciall to the liberties of that ſee, whoſe archbiſhop was of like authoritie in all things vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie, ſo that he was bound onelie to fetch his conſecration and benediction at Canturburie, but in no wiſe to acknowledge anie ſubiection vnto that ſee. ¶ For ye muſt vnderſtand, that there was great ſtomaching betwixt the clergie of the two prouinces, Canturburie and Yorke, about the metropolitane prerogatiue: and euer as occaſion ſerued, and as they thought the fauor of the prince, or opportunitie of time might aduance their quarels, they of Yorke ſticked not to vtter their greeſes, in that (as they tooke it) ſome iniurie was offered them therein.

The archbiſhop of Yorke being thus inſtructed by the canons of his church, ſignified to archbiſhop Anſelme the cauſe why he came not at his ſummons. The copie of a parcell whereof is here exemplified. *Cauſam, qua differtur ſacratio mea, quam nemo ſtudioſius quàm ego vellet accellerare, qui protulerunt, non deſiſtunt corroborare. Quamobrem, quàm periculoſum & quàm turpe ſit, contra conſenſum eccleſiæ, cui præfici debeo, regimen ipſius inuadere, veſtra diſcretio nouerit. Sed & quàm formidabile & quàm ſit euitandum, ſub ſpecie benedictionis maledictionem induere, &c:* that is;

> The cauſe why my conſecration is deferred, which no man liuing would wiſh to be doone with more ſpeed than I my ſelfe: thoſe that haue prolonged it, ceaſſe not to confirme. Wherefore how dangerous and how diſhoneſt it ſhould be for me to inuade the gouernment of that church, which I ought to rule, without cõſent of the ſame, your diſcretion right well vnderſtandeth. Yea and how dreadfull a thing it is, and how much to be auoided to receiue a curſſe, vnder colour of a bleſſing, &c.

The biſhop of London deane to the archbiſhop of Canturburie. The biſhop of Rocheſter his chapleine.

Anſelme hauing alreadie written twice vnto the ſaid Thomas archbiſhop of Yorke about this matter, and now receiuing this anſwer, could not be quiet in mind, and therevpon taking aduice with certeine biſhops whom he called vnto him, determined to ſend two biſhops vnto the ſaid Thomas of Yorke: and ſo the biſhop of London (as deane to the archbiſhop of Canturburie) & the biſhop of Rocheſter (as his houſehold chapleine) were ſent to commune with him, who met them at his manour of Southwell, where they declared to him the effect of their meſſage: but he deferred his anſwer, till a meſſenger which he had ſent to the king (as then being in Normandie) was returned, and ſo without any full anſwer the biſhops came backe againe.

A ſtout prelat.

Anſelme ſendeth to the king.

Howbeit ſhortlie after, there came to Canturburie a meſſenger on the behalfe of the archbiſhop of Yorke, with letters incloſed vnder the kings ſeale, by the tenour whereof the king commanded Anſelme, that the conſecration of the archbiſhop of Yorke might ſtaie till the feaſt of Eaſter; and if he might returne into England by that daie, he promiſed (by the aduice had therein of the biſhops and barons of his realme) that he would ſet a direction betwixt them in all matters, whereof anie controuerſie had beene moued heretofore: or if he could not returne ſo ſoone, he would yet take ſuch order, that brotherlie loue & concord might remaine betwixt them. When he that brought theſe letters required an anſwer, Anſelme anſwered, that he would ſignifie his mind to the king, and not to his maiſter. Immediatlie therefore was the deane of Chicheſter ſent ouer from Anſelme, with a monke of Becheſlouin to the king, to informe him of all the matter, and to beſeech his maieſtie, by his authoritie to prouide, that no diſcord ſhould riſe to the diuiding of the preſent ſtate of the church of England. Furthermore, whereas he had commanded him to grant vnto Thomas the archbiſhop of Yorke, a time of reſpit; he ſhould take for certeine anſwer, that he would rather ſuffer himſelfe to be cut in peeces, than to grant ſo much as one houres ſpace on the ſaid Thomas of Yorke, whome he knew alreadie to haue ſet himſelfe vniuſtlie againſt the ancient conſtitutions of holie fathers, and againſt the Lord himſelfe. The meſſengers declared theſe things to the king, and brought word backe againe at their returne, that the king had heard their meſſage with fauourable mind, and promiſed by the power of God, to declare to the world that he coueted vnitie, and not any diuiſion in the church of England.

Anſelme ſicke.

All this while Anſelme was deteined with long and greeuous ſickneſſe, and yet not forgetfull of the obſtinate dealing of Thomas of Yorke, he wrote letters vnto him, by vertue whereof he ſuſpended him from exerciſing all paſtorall function, till he had reformed his errour, ſubmitted himſelfe to receiue his bleſſing, and acknowledged his ſubiection to the church of Canturburie, as his predeceſſours Thomas and Gerard had doone, and before them other ancients, as cuſtome had preſcribed. Thus he charged him, vpon paine of curſing, except he would renounce his archbiſhops dignitie: for in ſo dooing he did grant him licence to vſe the office and miniſterie of a preeſt (which before time he had taken vpon him) or elſe not.

Letters from Anſelme.

In the ſame letters he prohibited all the biſhops within the precinct of the Ile of Britaine, that in no wiſe they ſhould conſecrate him, vpon paine of curſing: and if he ſhould chance to be conſecrated by any ſtranger, that in no wiſe they ſhould (vnder the like paine) receiue him for archbiſhop, or communicate with him in any condition. Euerie biſhop alſo within the whole Ile of Britaine had a copie of theſe leters directed to him from Anſelme vnder his ſeale, commanding them to behaue themſelues therein according to the contents, and as they were bound by the ſubiection which they owght to the church of Canturburie. The letters were dated alike in March.

1109

Anno Reg. 10.

Auguſta Prætoriana.

Notwithſtanding all this, vpon the 21. of Aprill inſuing, Anſelme ended his life in the ſixteenth yeere after his firſt preferment to that ſee, being threeſcore and ſixteene yeeres of age. He was an Italian, borne in Piemont, neere to the Alpes, in a citie called Aoſta, he was brought vp by Lanfranke, and before he was made archbiſhop, was abbat of the monaſterie of Bechellouin in Normandie.

Matth. Weſt.

The firſt erection of the biſhoprike of Elie.

Eadmerus.

Richard prior of Elie.

About the ſame time was the biſhops ſee of Elie erected by the king, who appointed one Haruie to be the firſt biſhop there, who before had beene biſhop of Bangor. Cambridgeſhire was annexed to that ſee, which bicauſe it had of former time belonged to the ſee of Lincolne, the king gaue vnto the biſhop of Lincolne (as it were in recompenſe) the towne of Spalding which was his owne. The prior of Elie, named Richard, deſirous to honour himſelfe and his houſe with the title of a biſhops dignitie, procured the erection of that biſhoprike, firſt mouing the king therein, and after perſuading with the biſhop of Lincolne to grant his good will: but yet yer the matter was brought to perfection, this prior died, and ſo the ſaid Haruie enioied the roome: wherein the prouerbe tooke place, that One ſoweth, but an other reapeth (as Polydor alledgeth it.) But to proceed.

Polydor.

Eadmerus.

A legate from Rome.

Shortlie after the deceaſſe of Anſelme, a Legat came from Rome, bringing with him the pall for the archbiſhop of Yorke. Howbeit now that Anſelme was dead, the ſaid Legat wiſt not what to doo in the matter, bicauſe he was appointed to deliuer the pall firſt and immediatlie vnto Anſelme, and further therein to deale (concerning the beſtowing thereof) as ſhould ſeeme good vnto him.

The earle of Mellent.

Samſon biſhop of worceſter.

In the feaſt of Pentecoſt next inſuing, the king returned from Normandie, and held his court at London, where after the ſolemnitie of that feaſt, he called an aſſemblie of the biſhops, to vnderſtand what was to be doone in the matter, for the conſecration of the archbiſhop of Yorke. Here were the letters ſhewed which the archbiſhop Anſelme had (a little before his death) directed vnto euerie of the biſhops as before yee haue heard. Which when the earle of Mellent had read, and vnderſtood the effect, he aſked what he was that durſt receiue any ſuch letters without the kings aſſent and commandement? At length the biſhops aduiſing themſelues what they had to doo, required Samſon biſhop of Worceſter to declare his opinion, who boldlie ſpake theſe words; Although this man, who is elected archbiſhop, is my ſonne, whome in times paſt I begot of my wife, and therfore ought to ſeeke his aduancement as nature and worldlie reſpects might moue me: yet am I more bound vnto the church of Canturburie, my mother, which hath preferred me to this honor that I doo beare, and by the miniſterie of a biſhoplike office hath made me partaker of that grace, which it hath deſerued to enioy of the Lord. Wherefore I would it ſhould be notified vnto you all, that I meane to obeie in euerie condition the commandement conteined in the letters of our father Anſelme concerning the matter which you haue now in hand. For I will neuer giue mine aſſent, that Thomas nominated archbiſhop of Yorke ſhall be conſecrated, till he haue profeſſed his due and canonicall obedience touching his ſubiection to the church of Canturburie. For I my ſelfe was preſent when my brother Thomas archbiſhop of Yorke, conſtreined both by ancient cuſtomes and inuincible reaſons, did profeſſe the like ſubiection vnto archbiſhop Lanfranke, and all his ſucceſſours the archbiſhops of Canturburie.

Looke in pag. 9. in both columns, where you ſhall ſee this matter determined.

The proteſtation of the biſhops to the king.

Theſe words thus vttered by the biſhop of Worceſter, all the biſhops returned togither, and comming before the kings preſence, boldlie confeſſed that they had receiued Anſelmes letters, and would not doo any thing contrarie to the tenour of the ſame. Whereat the earle of Mellent ſhooke the head, as though he ment to accuſe them of contempt towards the king. But the king himſelfe vttered his mind, and ſaid, that whatſoeuer other men thought of the matter, he ſuerlie was of the like mind with the biſhops, & would be loth to run in danger of Anſelms curſſe. Wherefore it was determined, that the elect of Yorke ſhould either acknowledge his ſubiection to the church of Canturburie, or elſe forgo his dignitie of archbiſhop: whervpon in the end he came to London, and there vpon the 28. daie of Maie was conſecrated by Richard biſhop of London, as deane to the ſee of Canturburie. Then hauing the profeſſion or proteſtation of his ſubiection to the ſee of Canturburie deliuered him vnder ſeale, he brake vp the ſame, and read the writing in maner and forme following:

The tenour of the profeſſion which the archbiſhop of Yorke made vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie.

Ego Thomas Eboracenſis eccleſiæ conſecrandus metropolitanus, profiteor ſubiectionem & canonicam obedientiam ſanctæ Dorobernenſi eccleſiæ, & eiuſdem eccleſiæ primati canonicè electo & conſecrato, & ſucceſſoribus ſuis canonicè inthronizatis, ſalua fidelitate domini mei Henrici regis Anglorum, & ſalua obedientia ex parte mea tenenda, quam Thomas anteceſſor meus ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ ex parte ſua profeſſus eſt: that is;

I Thomas to be conſecrated metropolitane archbiſhop of Yorke, profeſſe my ſubiection and canonicall obedience vnto the holie church of Canturburie, and to the primate of the ſame church canonicallie elected and conſecrated, and to his ſucceſſours canonicallie inthronized, ſauing the faith which I owe vnto my ſoueraigne lord Henrie king of the Engliſh, and ſauing the obedience to be holden of my part, which Thomas my predeceſſour profeſſed on his behalfe vnto the holie church of Rome.

When this writing was read, the biſhop of London tooke it, and deliuered it vnto the prior of Canturburie, appointing him to keepe the ſame as a teſtimoniall for the time to come. Thus was Thomas the archbiſhop of Yorke conſecrated, being the 27. in number that had gouerned that ſee, who when he was conſecrated, the popes Legate went vnto Yorke, and there deliuered to the ſame archbiſhop the pall, wherewith when he was inueſted, he departed and returned to Rome, as he was appointed.

1110

At the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe next inſuing, the king held his court at London with great ſolemnitie. The archbiſhop of Yorke prepared to haue ſet the crowne on the kings head, and to haue ſoong maſſe afore him, bicauſe the archbiſhops ſee at Canturburie was void. But the biſhop of London would not ſuffer it, claiming as high deane to the ſee of Canturburie to execute that office, and ſo did, leading the king to the church after the maner. Howbeit when they ſhould come to ſit downe at dinner, there kindled a ſtrife betwixt the ſaid two biſhops about their places, bicauſe the biſhop of London, for that he had beene ordeined long before the archbiſhop, and therefore not onelie as deane to the ſee of Canturburie, but alſo by reaſon of prioritie, pretended to haue the vpper ſeat. But the king perceiuing their maner, would not heare them, but commanded them out of his houſe, and get them to dinner at their innes.

Strife betwixt biſhops.

Anno Reg. 11.

Preeſts prohibited to marie or keepe women,

About the ſame time the cauſe of the mariage of preeſts and their keeping of women came againe into queſtion, ſo that by the kings commandement, they were more ſtreightlie forbidden the companie of women than before in Anſelmes time. For after his deceaſſe, diuerſe of them (as it were promiſing to themſelues a new libertie to doo that which in his life time they were conſtreined ſore againſt their willes to forbeare) deceiued themſelues by their haſtie dealing. For the king being informed thereof, by the force of the eccleſiaſticall lawes compelled them to ſtand to and obeie the decree of the councell holden at London by Anſelme (as before ye haue heard) at leaſt wiſe in the ſight of men. But if ſo it be (ſaieth Eadmerus) that the preeſts attempt to doo worſſe, as it were to the condemnation and reproofe of Anſelmes doings, let the charge light on their heads, ſith euerie man ſhall beare his owne burthen: for I know (ſaith he) that if fornicatours and adulterers God will iudge, the abuſers of their one couſins (I will not ſay their owne ſiſters and daughters) ſhall not ſuerlie eſcape his iudgement.

The riuer of Trent dried vp.

About the ſame time manie woonders were ſeene and heard of. The riuer of Trent neere to Notingham, for the ſpace of a mile ceaſſed to run the woonted courſe during the time of foure & twentie houres, ſo that the chanell being dried vp, men might paſſe ouer to and fro drie ſhod.

Monſters.

A comet.
Wil. Thorne.
Matth. Weſt.

Alſo a ſow brought forth a pig with a face like a man, & a chicken was hatched with foure feet. Moreouer a comet or blaſing ſtar appeered in a ſtrange ſort: for riſing in the eaſt, when it once came aloft in the firmament, it kept not the courſe forward, but ſeemed to go backeward, as if it had bin retrograde.

Iohn Stow.
Robert the kings baſe ſon created earle of Gloceſter.

About this ſeaſon the king maried Robert his baſe ſonne to the ladie Maud, daughter and heire to Robert Fitzham, and withall made his ſaid ſonne earle of Gloceſter, who afterwards builded the caſtels of Briſtow and Cardiff, with the priorie of S. Iames in Briſtow, where his bodie was buried.

1111

Anno Reg. 12.
Fabian.
The citie of Conſtances taken.
The king paſſeth into Normandie.

In the yeare following, Foulke earle of Aniou, enuieng the proſperous eſtate of king Henrie, and lamenting the caſe of duke Robert, wan the citie of Conſtances, by corrupting certeine of the kings ſubiects the inhabitants of the ſame. Whereof king Henrie being aduertiſed, paſſed ouer into Normandie, recouered the ſaid citie, puniſhed the offendors, reuenged himſelfe of the earle, and returned into England.

1112

The archbiſhops ſee of Canturburie in the kings hand foure yeares.

Now, as alſo before, the king continued his inordinate deſire of inriching himſelfe, for the fulfilling of which hungrie appetite (called *Sacra* of the poets *Per antiphraſin*) he pinched manie ſo ſore, that they ceaſſed not to ſpeake verie ill of his doings. He did alſo incurre the miſliking of verie manie people, bicauſe he kept ſtill the ſee of Canturburie in his hands, and would not beſtow it, for that he found ſweetneſſe in receiuing all the profits and reuenues belonging therevnto, during the time that it remained vacant, which was the ſpace of foure yeares, or thereabouts.

1113

Anno Reg. 13.

In like maner, when he was admoniſhed to place ſome meet man in the roome, he would ſaie, that he was willing to beſtow it, but he tooke the longer time, for that he meant to find ſuch a one to prefer therto as ſhould not be too far behind Lanfranke and Anſelme in doctrine, vertue and wiſedome. And ſith there was none ſuch yet to be found, he ſuffered that ſee to be void till ſuch could be prouided. This excuſe he pretended, as though he were more carefull for the placing of a worthie man, than of the gaine that followed during the time of the vacation. Howbeit not long after, he tranſlated one Richard biſhop of London to that archbiſhoprike, who enioieng it but a while, he gaue the ſame to one Raſe then biſhop of Rocheſter, and made him archbiſhop of Canturburie, being the 35. in order that ruled that ſee. He was elected at Windſor the 26. of Aprill, and on the 16. daie of Maie inſtalled at Canturburie, great preparation being made for the feaſt which was holden at the ſame. Soone after likewiſe he ſent for his pall to Rome, which was brought from Paſchall by one Anſelme nephue vnto the late archbiſhop Anſelme. About this time alſo the pope found himſelfe greeued, for that his authoritie was but little eſteemed in England, & for that no perſons were permitted to appeale to Rome in caſes of controuerſie, and for that (without ſeeking to obteine his licence and conſent) they did keepe their ſynods & councels about eccleſiaſticall affaires, neither would obeie ſuch Legats as he did ſend, nor come to the conuocations which they held. In ſo much that one Cono the popes Legat in France had excommunicated all the preeſts of Normandie, bicauſe they would not come to a ſynod which they had ſummoned. Wherevpon the king being ſomewhat troubled, by aduice of his councell, ſent the biſhop of Exceſter to Rome, (though he were then blind) to talke with the pope concerning that matter.

The kings excuſe.

1114

Anno Reg. 14.

Eadmerus.

The popes authoritie not regarded in England.

The biſhop of Exceſter ſent to Rome.

Not long after this Thomas the archbiſhop of Yorke died: after whom ſucceeded Thurſtane, a man of a loftie ſtomach, but yet of notable learning, who euen at the verie firſt began to contend with Raſe the archbiſhop of Canturburie about the title and right of the primaſie. And though the king aduiſed him to ſtand to the order which the late archbiſhops of Yorke had obſerued, yet he would not ſtaie the matter, ſith he ſaw that archbiſhop Raſe being ſicke and diſeaſed, could not attend to preuent his doings. Thurſtane therfore conſecrated certeine biſhops of Scotland, and firſt of all Giles Aldane the elect biſhop of S. Ninian, who promiſed and tooke his oth (as the manner is) to obeie him in all things as his primate.

Thurſtane archbiſhop of Yorke.

Giles Aldane biſhop of S. Ninian.

The citie of Worceſter about this ſeaſon was by a caſuall fire almoſt wholie burnt vp and conſumed. Which miſhap, bicauſe that citie ioineth neere vnto Wales, was thought to be a ſignification of troubles to folow by the inſurrection of the Welſhmen: who conceiuing hope of good ſpeed by their good ſucceſſe in the wars held with William Rufus, began now to inuade & waſte the Engliſh marſhes. Wherevpon king Henrie deſirous to tame their hautie ſtomachs (bicauſe it was a greefe to him ſtill to be vexed with ſuch tumults and vpriſings as they dailie procured) aſſembled a mightie armie, and went into Wales. Now bicauſe he knew the Welſhmen truſted more to the woods and mountains, than to their owne ſtrength, he beſet all the places of their refuge with armed men, and ſent into the woods certeine bands to laie them waſte, & to hunt the Welſh out of their holes. The ſoldiours (for their parts) needed no exhortation: for remembring the loſſes ſuſteined afore time at the Welſhmens hands, they ſhewed well by their freſh purſute, how much they deſired to

Floriacenſis Wigornienſis.
Worceſter burnt.
Polydor.
The welſhmē inuade the engliſh marſhes.
K. Henrie entreth into wales with an armie.

be reuenged, ſo that the Welſh were ſlaine on each hand, and that in great numbers, till the king perceiued the huge ſlaughter, & ſaw that hauing throwne away their armour and weapons, they ſought to ſaue themſelues by flight, he commanded the ſouldiours to ceaſſe from killing, and to take the reſidue that were left priſoners, if they would yéeld themſelues: which they did, and beſought the king of his mercie and grace to pardon and forgiue them.

Gariſons placed in wales by K. Henrie.
Floriacenſis
Wigornienſis.

The king thus hauing vanquiſhed and ouercome the Welſhmen, placed gariſons in ſundrie townes & caſtels, where he thought moſt neceſſarie, and then returned to London with great triumph. Thither ſhortlie after came ambaſſadours from the emperour, requiring the kings daughter affianced (as before you haue heard) vnto him, and (being now viripotent or mariable) deſired that ſhe might be deliuered vnto them. King Henrie hauing heard their ſute and willing with ſpéed to performe the ſame, raiſed a great tax among his ſubiects, rated after euerie hide of land which they held, & taking of ech one thrée ſhillings towards the paiment of the monie which was couenanted to be giuen with hir at the time of the contract. Which when the king had leuied, with much more, towards the charges to be emploied in ſending hir forth, he appointed certeine of his greateſt péeres to ſafe conduct hir vnto hir huſband, who with all conuenient ſpéed conueied hir into Germanie, and in verie honorable maner there deliuered hir vnto the foreſaid emperour. After this, the king went into Normandie, and there created his ſonne William duke of that countrie, cauſing the people to ſweare fealtie and obedience to him, whereof roſe a cuſtome, that the kings of England from thenceforth (ſo long as Normandie remained in their hands) made euer their eldeſt ſonnes dukes of that countrie. When he had doone this with other his buſineſſe in Normandie, he returned into England.

A ſubſidie raiſed by the king to beſtowe with his daughter.
Hen. Hunt.
Polydor.

The king goeth ouer into Normandie.

1114

The ſea decreaſeth.
woonders.
Wil. Thorne.

In this yeare about the fiftéenth daie of October, the ſea ſo decreaſed and ſhranke from the old accuſtomed water-markes and coaſts of the land here in this realme, that a man might haue paſſed on foot ouer the ſands and waſhes, for the ſpace of a whole daie togither, ſo that it was taken for a great woonder. It was alſo noted, that the maine riuers (which by the tides of the ſea vſed to ebbe and flow twice in 24. houres) became ſo ſhallow, that in many places men might go ouer them without danger, and namlie the riuer of Thames was ſo lowe for the ſpace of a day and a night, that horſſes, men, and children paſſed ouer it betwixt London bridge and the tower, and alſo vnder the bridge, the water not reaching aboue their knées. Moreouer, in the moneth of December, the aire appeared red, as though it had burned. In like maner, the Winter was verie extreame cold with froſts, by reaſon whereof at the thawing and breaking of the yce, the moſt part of all the bridges in England were broken and borne downe.

Simon Dun.
Ran. Higd.
Matth. Weſtm.

1115
Anno Reg. 16.

1116
Anno. Reg. 17.

Griffin ap Rice dooth much hurt on the marſhes.
Polydor.

Not long after this, Griffin ap Rées tooke a great preie and bootie out of the countries ſubiect to the king within the limits of Wales, and burned the kings caſtels, bicauſe he would not reſtore ſuch lands and poſſeſſions vnto him as apperteined to his father Rées or Rice. Howbeit, the king (notwithſtanding this buſineſſe) being not otherwiſe troubled with any other warres or weightie affaires, deferred his voiage into thoſe quarters, and firſt called a councell of his lords both ſpirituall and temporall at Saliſburie on the nintéenth daie of March, wherein manie things were ordeined for the wealth and quiet ſtate of the land. And firſt he ſware the Nobilitie of the realme, that they ſhould be true to him and his ſonne William after his deceaſſe. Secondlie, he appeaſed ſundrie matters then in controuerſie betwixt the Nobles and great Péers, cauſing the ſame to be brought to an end, and the parties made fréends: the diuiſion betwixt the archbiſhops of Yorke and Canturburie (which had long depended in triall, and could not as yet haue end) excepted. For ambitious Thurſtane would not ſtand to any decrée or order therin, except he might haue had his whole will, ſo that the king taking diſpleaſure with him for his obſtinate demeanor, commanded him either to be conformable to the decrée made in Lanfranks time, or elſe to renounce his miter, which to doo (rather than to acknowledge any ſubiection to the archbiſhop of Canturburie) he ſéemed to be verie willing at the firſt, but afterwards repented him of his ſpéech paſſed in that behalfe. Now when the councell was ended, and the king went ouer into Normandie, he followed, truſting by ſome meanes to perſuade the king, that he might haue his furtherance to be conſecrated, without recognizing any obedience to the ſée of Canturburie: but the king would not heare him, whereby the matter reſted long in ſute, as héereafter ſhall appeare.

Thurſtane refuſeth to obey the kings pleaſure.
Eadmerus.

¶ Hereby it is plaine (as Polydor ſaith) how the biſhops in thoſe daies were blinded with couetouſneſſe and ambition, not conſidering that it was their duties to deſpiſe ſuch worldlie pompe, as the people regard, and that their calling required a ſtudious endeuour for the health of ſuch ſoules as fell to their charge. Neither yet remembred they the ſimplicitie of Chriſt, and his contempt of worldlie dignitie, when he refuſed to ſatiſfie the humor of the people, who verie deſirouſlie would haue made him a king, but withdrew himſelfe, and departed to a mountaine himſelfe alone. They were rather infected with the ambition of the apoſtles, contending one with another for the primaſie, forgetting the vocation whereto Chriſt had ſeparated them, not to rule as kings ouer the gentiles; but to ſubmit their necks to the yokes of obedience, as they had Chriſt their maiſter an example and preſident.

The firſt vſe of parlements in England.

¶ Here is to be noted, that before this time, the kings of England vſed but ſeldome to call togither the ſtates of the realme after any certeine maner or generall kind of proceſſe, to haue their conſents in matters to be decréed. But as the lords of the priuie councell in our time doo ſit onlie when neceſſitie requireth, ſo did they whenſoeuer it pleaſed the king to haue any conference with them. So that from this Henrie it may be thought the firſt vſe of the parlement to haue procéeded, which ſith that time hath remained in force, and is continued vnto our times, inſomuch that whatſoeuer is to be decréed touching the ſtate of the commonwealth and conſeruation thereof, is now referred to that councell. And furthermore, if any thing be appointed by the king or any other perſon to be vſed for the wealth of the realme, it ſhall not yet be receiued as law, till by authoritie of this aſſemblie it be eſtabliſhed.

Now bicauſe the houſe ſhould not be troubled with multitude of vnlearned cõmoners, whoſe propertie is to vnderſtand little reaſon, and yet to conceiue well of their owne dooings: there was a certeine order taken, what maner of eccleſiaſticall perſons, and what number and ſort of temporall men ſhould be called vnto the ſame, and how they ſhould be choſen by voices of

frée

free holders, that being as atturnies for their countries, that which they confeſſed or denied, ſhould bind the reſidue of the realme to receiue it as a law. This counſell is called a parlement, by the French word, for ſo the Frenchmen call their publike aſſemblies.

The maner of the parlement in England.

The maner of their conſulting heere in England in their ſaid aſſemblies of parlement is on this wiſe. Whereas they haue to intreat of matters touching the commoditie both of the prince and of the people, that euerie man may haue free libertie to vtter what he thinketh, they are appointed to ſit in ſeuerall chambers, the king, the biſhops, and lords of the realme ſit in one chamber to conferre togither by themſelues; and the commoners called knights for the ſhires, citizens of cities, and burgeſſes of good townes in another. Theſe chooſe ſome wiſe, eloquent, and learned man to be their prolocutor or ſpeaker (as they terme him) who propoundeth thoſe things vnto them that are to be talked of, and aſketh euerie mans opinion concerning the concluſion thereof. In like ſort, when any thing is agreed vpon, and decreed by them in this place (which they call the lower houſe in reſpect of their eſtate) he declareth it againe to the lords that ſit in the other chamber called the higher houſe, demanding likewiſe their iudgements touching the ſame. For nothing is ratified there, except it be agreed vpon by the conſent of the more part of both thoſe houſes. Now when they haue ſaid their minds, and yeelded their confirmation therevnto, the finall ratification is referred to the prince; ſo that if he thinke good that it ſhall paſſe for a law, he confirmeth alſo by the mouth of the lord Chancelor of the realme, who is prolocutor to the lords alwaies by the cuſtome of that houſe.

The ſame order is vſed alſo by the biſhops and ſpiritualtie in their conuocation houſes. For the biſhops ſit in one place by themſelues as in the higher houſe, and the deanes, archdeacons, and other procurators of the ſpiritualtie in an other, as in the lower houſe, whoſe prolocutor declareth to the biſhops what is agreed vpon by them. Then the archbiſhop (by conſent of the more part of them that are aſſembled in both thoſe conuocation houſes) ratifieth and pronounceth their decrees for lawes, remitting (notwithſtanding) the finall ratification of them to the temporall houſes.

This is the order of the lawgiuing of England; and in ſuch decrees (eſtabliſhed by authoritie of the prince, the lords ſpirituall and temporall, and the commons of this realme thus aſſembled in parlement) conſiſteth the whole force of our Engliſh lawes. Which decrees are called ſtatutes, meaning by that name, that the ſame ſhould ſtand firme and ſtable, and not be repealed without the conſent of an other parlement, and that vpon good and great conſideration.

Simon Dun.

About this ſeaſon, one Owin (whome ſome name prince of Wales) was ſlaine, as Simon Dunelmen. writeth, but by whom, or in what ſort, he ſheweth not. In this eighteenth yeare of king Henries reigne, on All hallowes daie, or firſt of Nouember, great lightning, thunder, and ſuch a ſtorme of haile fell, that the people were maruelloüſlie amazed therwith. Alſo on the thirteenth of December, there happened a great earthquake, and the moone was turned into a bloodie colour: which ſtrange accidents fell about the middeſt of the night. At the ſame time, queene Maud, wife to king Henrie departed this life. But now to returne to other doings.

Theobald erle of Champaigne.
Polydor.
Hen. Hunt.
Foulke earle of Aniou.

It chanced vpon a ſmall occaſion, that verie ſore and dangerous warres followed out of hand, betwixt king Henrie and Lewes ſurnamed the groſſe king of France: the beginning whereof grew herevpon. Theobald earle of Champaigne, deſcended of the earles of Blois, was linked in amitie with king Henrie, by reaſon of affinitie that was betwixt them (for Stephan the earle of Blois married ladie Adila the ſiſter of king Henrie.) Now it happened, that the foreſaid Theobald had by chance offended the ſaid Lewes, who in reuenge made ſharpe warres vpon him. But earle Theobald hoping for aid to be ſent from his freends in the meane time valiantlie reſiſted him, and at length (by reaſon of a power of men which came to him from king Henrie) in ſuch ſort vexed and annoied the French king, that he conſulted with Baldwine earle of Flanders, and Foulke earle of Aniou, by what means he might beſt depriue king Henrie of his duchie of Normandie, and reſtore the ſame vnto William the ſonne of duke Robert, vnto whom of right he ſaid it did belong.

King Henrie paſſeth ouer into Normandie to aſſiſt the erle of Champaigne.
The French K. inuadeth Normandie.

Now king Henrie hauing intelligence of his whole purpoſe, endeuoured on the otherſide to reſiſt his attempts, and after he had leuied a ſore tribute of his ſubiects, paſſed ouer into Normandie with a great power, and no ſmall maſſe of monie, where ioining with earle Theobald, they began to prepare for warre, purpoſing to follow the ſame euen to the vttermoſt. K. Lewes in the meane time, ſuppoſing that all hope of victorie reſted in ſpeedie diſpatch of preſent affaires, determined likewiſe to haue inuaded Normandie vpon the ſudden. But after he perceiued that his enimies were all in a redineſſe, and verie well prouided to reſiſt him: he ſtaied and drew backe a little while. Neuertheleſſe in the end he became ſo deſirous to be dooing with king Henrie, that approching neere vnto the confines of Normandie, he made manie ſkirmiſhes with the Engliſh, yet no notable exploit paſſed betwixt them in that yeare.

¶ Here will I leaue the kings of England and France ſkirmiſhing and encountring one another, and ſhew ſomething more of the contention that was betweene the archbiſhops of Canturburie and Yorke, to the end that their ambitious deſire of worldlie honor may in ſome reſpect appeere.

1117
Anno. Reg. 18.
Anſelme the popes Legat.
The biſhop of Canturburie goth to Rome.

About this verie time, Anſelme the nephue to archbiſhop Anſelme came againe from Rome, with free authoritie to execute the office of the popes legat in England: which ſeemed a thing right ſtrange to the Engliſh clergie. Wherefore the biſhop of Canturburie, to preuent other inconueniences likelie to inſue, tooke vpon him to go vnto Rome, to vnderſtand the popes pleaſure concerning the truth and certeintie of this matter, and to require him in no wiſe to diminiſh the authoritie or to extenuat the prerogatiue of his ſee of Canturburie, which hitherto vſed to determine all cauſes riſing in his prouince.

This ſaid archbiſhop came to Rome, but finding not the pope there, he ſent meſſengers with letters vnto him, then lieng ſicke at Beneuento, and obteined a fauourable anſwer, wherewith returning towards England, he came to the king at Roan (where he had left him at his ſetting forth forward) certifieng him how he had ſped in this voiage. The forſaid Anſelme was alſo ſtaied by the king at Roan, and could not be ſuffered to paſſe ouer into England all that time, till it might be vnderſtood by the returne of the archbiſhop, what the popes pleaſure ſhould be further in that matter. Shortlie after whoſe repaire to the king, word was brought that pope Paſchall was departed this life, and that Gelaſius the ſecond was elected in his place. This Gelaſius (to auoid the dangers that might inſue to him by reaſon of the ſchiſme and controuerſie betwixt the ſée of Rome, and the emperour Henrie the fift) came into France, where he liued not long, but died in the abbeie of Clugnie, after whoſe deceaſe Calixtus the ſecond was called to the papaſie.

Pope Gelaſius ſucceeded pope Paſchall

1118
Anno.Reg.19.

Carlixtus the ſecond of that name pope.

Thus by the chance and change of popes, the legatſhip of Anſelme could take no place, although his bulles permitted him without limitation of time, not onelie to call and celebrate ſynods for reformation of diſorders in the church, but alſo for the receiuing of Peter pence to be leuied in England (in the which point pope Paſchall in his life time thought them in England verie ſlacke) as by the ſame bulles more largelie dooth appéere. The archbiſhop of Canturburie had alreadie ſtaied foure or fiue yeares in the parties beyond the ſées, about the matter in controuerſie betwixt him and Thurſtane archbiſhop of Yorke, who was likewiſe gone ouer to ſolicit his cauſe. But where as at the firſt he could not find the king in anie wiſe agréeable to his mind, yet when the councell ſhould be holden at Rhemes by pope Calixt, he ſued at the leaſtwiſe for licence to go thither: but he could neither haue any grant ſo to doo, till he had promiſed (vpon his allegiance which he ought to the king) not to attempt anie thing there that might be preiudiciall to the church of Canturburie in anie maner of wiſe. Neuertheleſſe, at his comming thither, he ſo wrought with bribes and large gifts, that the popes court (a thing eaſilie doone in Rome) fauoured his cauſe; yea, ſuch was his ſucceſſe, that the pope conſecrated him with his owne hands, although king Henrie had giuen notice to him of the controuerſie depending betwixt Thurſtane and Rafe the archbiſhop of Canturburie, requiring him in no wiſe either to conſecrate Thurſtane himſelfe, or grant licence to anie other perſon to conſecrate him: for if he did, ſurelie (for his part) he would baniſh him quite out of his dominion, which ſhould not be long vndoone. But now to the purpoſe.

1119
Anno Reg. 20.
The two
ings of Eng
and & France
ne battell.
ing Henrie
urt in the
atteil.

In this meane time, the warres were buſilie purſued betwixt the two kings of England & France, and a battell was fought betwéene them, with great ſlaughter on both ſides for the ſpace of nine houres. The forewards on both parties were beaten downe and ouerthrowne; and king Henrie receiued ſundrie ſtripes on his head at the hands of one William Criſpine countie de Eureux, ſo as (though his helmet were verie ſtrong and ſure) the bloud burſt out of his mouth: wherewith he was nothing afraid, but like a fierce lion laid more luſtilie about him, and ſtroke downe diuerſe of his enimies, namelie the ſaid Criſpine, who was there taken priſoner at the kings féet. Now were the kings people incouraged at the valiancie and proweſſe of their king and chieftaine, ſo that at length they opened and ouercame the maine battell, and ſetting vpon the rereward, ouerthrew the whole armie of France, which neuer recoiled, but fought it out euen to the vttermoſt. There died and were taken priſoners in this conflict manie thouſands of men. The French king leauing the field, got him vnto a place called Andelie: and the king of England, recouering a towne by the waie called Nicaſium, which the French king had latelie woone, returned vnto Rouen, where he was with great triumph receiued, and highlie commended for his noble victorie thus atchiued.

he earle of
ureux taken
ſoner.

Andelei.

Nicaſium.

The earle of Flanders (as ſome write) was ſo wounded in this battell, that he died thereof. But others affirme, that cōming into Normandie in the yeare laſt paſt, to make warre againſt king Henrie in fauour of king Lewes, he wan the towne of Andelie, and an other which they name *Aqua Nicaſij*. But as he was come before the towne of Augen in the moneth of September, and aſſailed the ſame, he receiued his deaths wound in the head, wherevpon returning home in the ninth moneth after, when he could not be cured of his hurt, he departed this life at Roſlare the 17. daie of Iune.

Matth. Paris.
Ia. Mair.

The earle of Flanders wounded. He departed this life.

Shortlie after Foulke earle of Aniou (who before had aided the French king againſt king Henrie) became now kings Henries fréend by aliance, marieng his daughter to William king Henries eldeſt ſonne. But the French king (as their hiſtories make mention) minding ſtill to be reuenged of the earle Theobald, inuaded his countrie againe with a puiſſant armie, and had deſtroied the citie of Chartres, which belonged vnto the ſame earle, had not the citizens humbled themſelues to his mercie: and ſo likewiſe did the earle, as may be thought. For in the warres which immediatlie followed betwixt Lewes and the emperour Henrie, the erle aided the French king againſt the ſame emperour to the vttermoſt of his power. Soone after this, the king came to an enterview with pope Calixtus at Giſors, where manie matters were talked of betwixt them: and amongſt other, the king required of the pope a grant of all ſuch liberties as his father enioied within the limits of England and Normandie, and chéefelie, that no legat ſhould haue any thing to doo within England, except he required to haue one ſent him for ſome vrgent cauſe.

Foulke earle of Aniou became the king of Englands man.

The king and the pope come to an enterview at Giſors

All which matters being determined (as the ſtate of the time preſent required) the pope beſought the king to be good vnto archbiſhop Thurſtane, and to reſtore him to his ſée: but the king proteſted that he had vowed neuer ſo to doo whileſt he liued. Wherevnto the pope anſwered, that he was pope, and by his apoſtolike power he would diſcharge him of that vow, if he would ſatisfie his requeſt. The king to ſhift the matter off, promiſed the pope that he would take aduice of his councell, and giue him further knowledge, as the cauſe required, wherevpon departing from thenſe, he did afterwards (vpon farther deliberation) ſend him this meſſage, in effect as followeth.

The pope is a ſuiter for Thurſtane.

The pope offereth to diſcharge the k. of his vow.

Eadmerus.
The kings anſwer ſent to the pope.

Whereas he ſaith he is pope, and will (as he ſaid) aſſoile me of the vow which I haue made, if contrarie thereto I will reſtore Thurſtane to the ſée of Yorke: I thinke it not to ſtand with the honor of a king, to conſent in any wiſe vnto ſuch an abſolution. For who ſhall beléeue an others promiſe hereafter, if by mine example he ſée the ſame ſo eaſilie by an abſolution to be made void? But ſith he hath ſo great a deſire to haue Thurſtane reſtored, I ſhall be contented at his requeſt, to receiue him to his ſée, with this condition, that he ſhall acknowledge his church to be ſubiect vnto the ſée of Canturburie, as his predeceſſours haue doone before him; although in fine this offer would not ſerue the turne.

Simon Dun.
Eadmerus.

But now to returne againe to the two princes. Not long after the departure of the pope from Giſors, Foulke earle of Aniou found meanes to make an agréement betwixt king Henrie & king Lewes,

1120
Simon Dun.
Anno Reg. 21.

ſo

The kings of England and France are accorded. Wil. Malm.

ſo that William ſonne to king Henrie did homage vnto king Lewes for the duchie of Normandie. And further it was accorded betwéene them, that all thoſe that had borne armour either on the one ſide or the other, ſhould be pardoned, whoſe ſubiects ſoeuer they were. In like maner, Raſe archbiſhop of Canturburie returned into England, after he had remained long in Normandie, bicauſe of the controuerſie betwixt him and Thurſtan archbiſhop of Yorke, as is aforeſaid.

Eadmerus.

Now ſhortlie after his returne to Canturburie, meſſengers came with letters from Alexander king of Scotland vnto him, ſignifieng, that where the ſée of S. Andrews was void, the ſame king did inſtantlie require him to ſend ouer Eadmer a monke of Canturburie (of whome he had heard great commendation for his ſufficiencie of vertue and learning) to be ſeated there. ¶ This Eadmer is the ſame which wrote the hiſtorie intituled *Hiſtoria nouorum in Anglia,* out of which (as may appeare) we haue gathered the moſt part of our matters concerning Anſelme and Raſe archbiſhops of Canturburie, in whoſe daies he liued, and was Anſelmes diſciple.

Alexander K. of Scots.

Eadmer Anſelmes diſciple.

Archbiſhop Raſe was contented to ſatiſfie the requeſt of king Alexander in that behalfe, and obteining the conſent of king Henrie, he ſent the ſaid Eadmer into Scotland with letters of commendation vnto the ſaid king Alexander, who receiued him right ioifullie, and vpon the third daie after his comming thither (being the feaſt of the apoſtles Peter & Paule) he was elected archbiſhop of S. Andrews by the clergie and people of the land, to the great reioicing of Alexander, and the reſt of the Nobilitie. The next daie after the king talked with him ſecretlie of his conſecration, and vttered to him how he had no mind to haue him conſecrated at the hands of Thurſtan archbiſhop of Yorke. In which caſe when he was informed by the ſaid Eadmer, that no ſuch thing néeded to trouble his mind, ſince the archbiſhop of Canturburie, being primate of all Britaine, might conſecrate him as reaſon was; the king could not away with that anſwer, bicauſe he would not heare that the church of Canturburie ſhould be preferred before the church of S. Andrews. Herevpon he departed from Eadmer in diſpleaſure, and calling one William (ſometime monke of S. Edmundſbury) vnto him, a man alſo that had gouerned (or rather ſpoiled) the church of S. Andrews in the vacation: this William was commanded to take vpon him the charge thereof againe, at the kings pleaſure, whoſe meaning was vtterlie to remooue Eadmer, as not worthie of that roome. Howbeit, within a moneth after (to ſatiſfie the minds of his Nobles) he called for the ſaid Eadmer, and with much adoo got him to receiue the ſtaffe of that biſhoprike, taking it from an altar whereon it laie (as if he ſhuld haue that dignitie at the Lords hands) whereby he was inueſted, & went ſtreight to S. Andrews church, where he was receiued by the quier, the ſchollers, and all the people, for true and lawfull biſhop.

Eadmer receiueth his ſtaffe from an altar.

In this meane while Thurſtan nothing ſlacking his ſute in the popes court, obteined ſuch fauour (wherein the king of England alſo was greatlie laboured vnto) that he wrote letters thrice vnto the king of Scotland, and once vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie, that neither the king ſhould permit Eadmer to be conſecrated, nor the archbiſhop of Canturburie in any wiſe conſecrate him if he were therevnto required. Herevpon it came to paſſe, that finallie Eadmer, after he had remained in Scotland twelue moneths or thereabouts, and perceiued that things went not as he would haue wiſhed (for that he could not get the kings conſent that he ſhuld be conſecrated of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, as it was firſt meant both by the archbiſhop and Eadmer) he departed out of Scotland, and returned againe to Canturburie, there to take further aduice in all things as cauſe ſhould mooue him. In like maner king Henrie, hauing quieted his buſineſſe in France, returned into England, where he was receiued and welcomed home with great ioy and triumph; but ſuch publike reioiſing laſted not long with him. For indéed, this pleaſantneſſe and mirth was changed into mourning, by aduertiſement giuen of the death of the kings ſons, William duke of Normandie, and Richard his brother, who togither with their ſiſter the ladie Marie counteſſe of Perch, Richard earle of Cheſter, with his brother Otwell gouernour to duke William, and the ſaid earle of Cheſter his wife the kings néece, the archdeacon of Hereford, Geffrey Riddle, Robert Manduit, William Bigot, and diuerſe other, to the number of an hundreth and fourtie perſons, beſides fiftie mariners, tooke ſhip at Harflew, thinking to follow the king, and ſailing forth with a ſouth wind, their ſhip thorough negligence of the mariners (who had drunke out their wits & reaſon) were throwne vpon a rocke, and vtterlie periſhed on the coaſt of England, vpon the 25. of Nouember, ſo that of all the companie none eſcaped but one butcher, who catching hold of the maſt, was driuen with the ſame to the ſhore which was at hand, and ſo ſaued from that dangerous ſhipwracke. Duke William might alſo haue eſcaped verie well, if pitie had not mooued him more than the regard of his owne preſeruation. For being gotten into the ſhipboat, and lanching toward the land, he heard the ſkréeking of his ſiſter in dreadfull danger of drowning, and crieng out for ſuccour; wherevpon he commanded them that rowed the boat to turne backe to the ſhip, and to take hir in. But ſuch was the preaſe of the companie that ſtroue to leape in with hir, that it ſtreightwaies ſanke, ſo that all thoſe which were alreadie in the boat were caſt awaie.

King Henrie returneth into England.

Ran. Higd. wil. Malm. Polydor. Matth. Paris.

The kings ſonnes and his daughter with other Nobles are drowned by ſhipwracke.

Wil. Malm.

Wil. Malm. Matth. Paris.

Looke in page 23. columne 2. againſt the number 60.

¶ Here (by the way) would be noted the vnaduiſed ſpeech of William Rufus to the ſhipmaiſter, whome he emboldened with a vaine and deſperat perſuaſion in tempeſtuous weather and high ſeas to hoiſe vp ſailes; adding (for further encouragement) that he neuer heard of any king that was drowned. In which words (no doubt) he ſinned preſumptuouſlie againſt God, who in due time puniſhed that offenſe of his in his poſteritie and kinred, euen by the ſame element, whoſe fearſenes he himſelfe ſéemed ſo little to regard, as if he would haue commanded the ſtormes to ceaſe; as we read Chriſt did in the goſpell by the vertue and power of his word. Here is alſo to be noted the variablenes of fortune (as we commonlie call it) or rather the vncerteine and changeable euent of things, which oftentimes doth raiſe vp (euen in the minds of princes) trobleſome thoughts, and gréeuous paſſions, to the great empairing of their quietneſſe: as here we ſée exemplified in king Henrie, whoſe mirth was turned into mone, and his pleaſures relliſhed with pangs of penſifenes, contrarie to his expectation when he was in the midſt of his triumph at his returne out of France into England. So that we ſée the old adage verified, *Miſcentur triſtia lætis;* and that ſaieng of an old poet iuſtified;

Sæua nouerca dies nunc eſt, nunc mater amica.

Heſiod. in lib. cui tit. opera & dies,

But to returne to the hiſtorie. King Henrie being thus depriued of iſſue to ſucceed him, did not a little lament that infortunate chance: but yet to reſtore that loſſe, ſhortlie after, euen the 10. of Aprill next enſuing, he maried his ſecond wife named Adelicia, a ladie of excellent beautie, and noble conditions, daughter to the duke of Louaine, and deſcended of the noble dukes of Loraine, howbeit he could

1121 Anno Reg. 22. Eadmerus. Hen. Hunt.

The king marieth againe.

d:r erus.

he pope wri-
h to King
enrie, in fa-
ur of the
chbiſhop
hurſtan,
accurſeth
n with the
chbiſhop of
anturburie.

neuer haue any iſſue by hir. The archbiſhop Thurſtan (after the manner of obteining ſuites in the court of Rome) found ſuch fauour at the hands of pope Calixt, that he directed his letters as well to king Henrie, as to Raſe archbiſhop of Canturburie, by vertue whereof he accurſed them both, and interdicted as well the prouince of Yorke as Canturburie from the vſe of all maner of ſacraments; from baptiſme of infants, the penance of them that died onelie excepted: if archbiſhop Thurſtan were not ſuffered (within one moneth next after the receipt of thoſe letters) to inioy his ſee, without compelling him to make any promiſe of ſubiection at all. The king to be out of trouble, permitted Thurſtan to returne into the realme, and ſo repaire vnto Yorke; but with condition, that he ſhould not exerciſe any iuriſdiction out of his owne dioceſſe as metropolitane, till he had confeſſed his obſtinat errour, and acknowleged his obedience to the church of Canturburie.

The welſh-
en make
urres.
admerus.

The king rai-
th an armie
go againſt
e welſhmen.

The welſh-
en ſue for
eace.

More doubt
loſſe than
ope of gaine,
the warres
gainſt the
elſhmen.

Whileſt theſe things were thus a dooing, king Henrie was aduertiſed, that the Welſhmen breaking the peace, did much hurt on the marſhes, & ſpeciallie in Cheſhire where they had burned two caſtels. Meaning therefore to be reuenged on them to the vttermoſt, he aſſembled an armie out of all parts of his realme, and entred with the ſame into Wales. The Welſhmen, hearing that the king was come with ſuch puiſſance to inuade them, were afraid, and forthwith ſent ambaſſadours, beſeeching him to grant them pardon and peace. The king mooued with their humble petitions, tooke hoſtages of them, & remitted them for that time, conſidering that in mainteining of warre againſt ſuch maner of people, there was more feare of loſſe than hope of gaine. But yet to prouide for the quietnes of his ſubiects which inhabited neere the marſhes, that they ſhuld not be ouerrun and harried dailie by them (as oftentimes before they had beene) he appointed Warren earle of Shreweſburie to haue the charge of the marſhes, that peace might be the better kept and mainteined in the countrie.

mon.Dun.
chanell caſt
om Torkſey
Lincolne.

Norham ca-
ell built.
.Hunt.

Soone after king Henrie cauſed a chanell to be caſt along the countrie in Lincolnſhire, from Torkſey to the citie of Lincolne, that veſſels might haue paſſage out of the riuer of Trent vnto the ſame. Moreouer, Raſe biſhop of Durham began to build the caſtell of Norham, vpon the banke of the riuer of Tweed.

At this time likewiſe Foulke Earle of Aniou being now come out of the holie land (whither he went after the peace was made betwixt king Henrie and the French king) began to picke a quarrell againſt king Henrie, for withholding the iointure of his daughter, who (as before you haue heard) was married vnto William the kings ſonne that was drowned. He alſo gaue hir ſiſter in mariage vnto William the ſonne of duke Robert, aſſigning vnto him the earledome of Maine to enioy in the right of his wife.

olydor.

In the meane time, king Henrie viſited the north parts of his realme, to vnderſtand the ſtate of the countrie, and to prouide for the ſuertie and good gouernement thereof, as was thought requiſite.

1122

Kalends of
Nouember.
nno Reg. 23.

In the yeare next enſuing, the twentith of October, Raſe archbiſhop of Canturburie departed this life, after he had ruled that ſee the ſpace of 8. yeares, in whoſe roome ſucceeded one William archbiſhop, who was in number the eight and twentith from Auguſtine. Moreouer, Henrie the ſonne of earle Blois, who before was abbat of Glaſtenburie, was now made biſhop of Wincheſter, a man for his ſingular bountie, gentleneſſe and modeſtie greatlie beloued of the Engliſh.

But to returne to the affaires of the king. It chanced about this time, that the parts beyond the ſea (being now void of a gouernour (as they ſuppoſe) by meanes of the death of the kings ſonne) began to make commotions. Soone after it came alſo to paſſe that Robert earle of Mellent rebelled againſt the king, who being ſpeedilie aduertiſed thereof, ſailed forthwith into thoſe quarters, and beſieged the caſtell of Ponteaudemer perteining to the ſaid earle, and tooke it. About the ſame time alſo the king fortified the caſtell of Roan, cauſing a mightie thick wall with turrets therabout as a fortification to be made. Likewiſe, he repaired the caſtell of Caen, the caſtels of Arches, Giſors, Falaiſe, Argentone, Damfront, Vernon, Ambres, with others, & made them ſtrong. In the meane ſeaſon, the earle of Mellent (deſirous to be reuenged of king Henrie) procured aid where he could, and ſo with Hugh earle of Mountfert entred into Normandie, waſting and deſtroieng the countrie with fire and ſword, thinking per long to bring the ſame to obedience. But the kings chamberlaine and lieutenant in thoſe parts, named William de Tankeruile, being thereof aduertiſed, laid an ambuſh for them, and training them within the danger thereof, ſet vpon them, and after long fight, tooke them twaine priſoners, with diuers other, and preſented them both vnto the king, whereby the warres ceaſſed in that countrie for a time.

1123

Anno.Reg. 24.
Robert earle
of Mellent
rebelleth.

Hen.Hunt.
The caſtle of
Roan fortified
Matth.Paris.

1124

Anno. Reg.25.
Polydor.
H.Hunt.
Matth.Paris.

The king hauing in this maner purchaſed quietneſſe by the ſword, gaue himſelfe ſomewhat to the reformation of his houſe, and among other things which he redreſſed, he cauſed all his knights and men of warre to cut their haire ſhort, after the maner of the Frenchmen, whereas before they ware the ſame long after the vſage of women.

Long haire
redreſſed in
the court.
Matth. Weſt.

After this alſo, in the yeare 1125. a cardinall named Iohannes Cremenſis was ſent into England from pope Honorius the ſecond, to ſee reformation in certeine points touching the church: but his cheefe errand was to correct preeſts that ſtill kept their wiues with them. At his firſt comming ouer, he ſoiourned in colledges of cathedrall churches, and in abbeies, addicting himſelfe to lucre & wantonneſſe, reaping where he had not ſowen. At length, about the feaſt of the natiuitie of our ladie, he called a conuocation of the cleargie at London, where making an oration, he inueihed ſore againſt thoſe of the ſpiritualtie that were ſpotted with any note of incontinencie. Manie thought themſelues touched with his words, who hauing ſmelled ſomewhat of his ſecret tricks, that whereas he was a moſt licentious liuer, and an vnchaſt perſon of bodie and mind, yet he was ſo blinded, that he could not perceiue the beame in his own eies, whileſt he eſpied a mote in another mans. Herevpon they grudged, that he ſhould in ſuch wiſe call other men to accompts for their honeſt demeanor of life, which could not render any good reckoning of his owne: inſomuch that they watched him ſo narrowlie, that in the euening (after he had blown his horne ſo lowd againſt other men; in declaring that it was a ſhamefull vice to riſe from the ſide of a ſtrumpet, and preſume to ſacrifice the bodie of Chriſt) he was taken in bed with a ſtrumpet, to his owne ſhame and reproch. But being reproued thereof, he alledged this excuſe (as ſome write) that he was no preeſt, but a reformer of preeſts. Howbeit to conclude, being thus defamed, he got him backe to Rome againe from whence he came, without any performance of that whereabout he was ſent.

1125

Anno.Reg. 26.
Iohannes
Cremenſis a
legat ſent
into England

But this
ſhuld not ſeem
to be any iuſt
excuſe, for M.
P. ſaith that yͤ
ſame day he
conſecrated
the Lords bo-
die, & therefore
he muſt needs
be a preeſt.

But to returne to king Henrie, who whileſt he remained in Normandie (which was a long time after the apprehenſion of the two foreſaid earles) vnderſtood that his ſonne in lawe Henrie the emperour was departed this life at Utregt, the 23. of Maie laſt paſt. Whervpon he ſent for his daughter the

1126

Anno. Reg. 27.

empreſſe to come ouer vnto him into Normandie, and hauing ſet his buſineſſe in order on that ſide the ſea, and taken hir with him, he returned into England before the feaſt of S. Michaell, where calling a parlement, he cauſed hir by authoritie of the ſame to be eſtabliſhed as his lawfull heire and ſucceſſor, with an article of intaile vpon hir iſſue, if it ſhould pleaſe God to ſend hir any at all. At this parlement was Dauid K. of Scotland, who ſuccéeded Alexander the fierce. Stephan earle of Morton and Bullongne, and ſon of Stephan earle of Blois, nephue to K. Henrie by his ſiſter Adela; theſe two princes chéefelie tooke their oth amongſt other, to obey the foreſaid empreſſe, as touching hir right and lawfull claime to the crowne of England. But although Stephan was now the firſt that was to ſweare, he became ſhortlie after the firſt that brake that oth for his owne preferment. ¶ Thus it commeth often to paſſe, that thoſe which receiue the greateſt benefits, doo oftentimes ſooneſt forget to be thankefull.

Polydor. An oth taken by the lords touching the ſucceſſion of the crowne.

Stephan erle of Bullongne the firſt that offered to receiue the oth.

This Stephan latelie before by his vncle K. Henries meanes, had purchaſed & got in marriage the onelie daughter and heire of Euſtace earle of Bullongne, and ſo after the deceaſe of his father in lawe, became earle there: and further, had goodlie poſſeſſions in England giuen him by the king, and yet (as farther ſhall appeare) he kept not his oth made with K. Henrie. Some write that there roſe no ſmall ſtrife betwixt this earle Stephan, & Robert erle of Glouceſter, in contending which of them ſhould firſt receiue this oth: the one alledging that he was a kings ſon, the other affirming that he was a kings nephue.

Wil. Malm.

Shortlie after this parlement was ended, K. Henrie held his Chriſtmas at Windſor, where Thurſtan archbiſhop of Yorke (in preiudice of the right of William archbiſhop of Canturburie) would haue ſet the crowne vpon the kings head, at his going to the church: but he was put backe with no ſmall reproch; and his chapleine (whom he appointed to beare his croſſe before him at his entrance into the kings chappell) was contemptuouſlie and violentlie thruſt out of the doores with croſſe and all by the fréends of the archbiſhop of Canturburie. In ſhort time, this vnſéemlie contention betwixt Thurſtan and William the two archbiſhops grew ſo hot, that not onelie both of them, but alſo the biſhop of Lincolne went to Rome about the deciding of their ſtrife.

1127

Math. Paris.

Strife betwixt the prelates for preheminence.

In this yeare Charles earle of Flanders, the ſucceſſor of earle Baldwin, was traitorouſlie murthered of his owne people: & bicauſe he left no iſſue behind him to ſucceed as his heire, Lewes the French king made William the ſonne of duke Robert Curthoſe earle of Flanders, as the next couſine in bloud to the ſame Charles. ¶ Truth it is, that by his fathers ſide, this William was deſcended from erle Baldwin ſurnamed *Pius*, whoſe daughter Maud being maried vnto William Conqueror, bare by him the foreſaid Robert Curthoſe, father to this William, now aduanced to the gouernment of Flanders, but he wanted not aduerſaries that were competitors and malignant ſutors for that earledome, who ſought to preferre themſelues, and to diſplace him.

Polydor.

William ſonne to Robert Curthoſe made erle of Flanders.

King Henrie miſliking the promotion of the ſaid William, although he was his nephue, for that he ſuppoſed he would ſéeke to reuenge old diſpleaſures if he might compaſſe to haue the French kings aſſiſtance, thought good with the aduice of his councell to withſtand the worſt. Wherevpon he tooke order for the maintenance of the warre abroad, and the ſupplie of ſouldiers, and other things neceſſarie to be conſidered of for the ſuertie of his realme.

After this, bicauſe he was in deſpaire to haue iſſue by his ſecond wife, about Whitſuntide he ſent ouer his daughter Maud the empreſſe into Normandie, that ſhe might be married vnto Geffrey Plantagenet earle of Aniou, and in Auguſt after he followed himſelfe. Now the matter went ſo forward, that the mariage was celebrated betwixt the ſaid earle and empreſſe vpon the firſt ſundaie in Aprill, which fell vpon the third of the moneth, and in the 27. of his reigne.

The empreſſe Maud maried to the earle of Aniou. Ger. Dor.

In the yeare enſuing, king Henrie meaning to cauſe the French king to withdrawe his helping hand from his nephue William earle of Flanders, paſſed forth of Normandie with an armie, and inuading France, remained for the ſpace of eight daies at Hipard, in as good quiet as if he had béene within his owne dominions, and finallie obteined that of the French king which he ſought for; namelie, his refuſall to aid his nephue the ſaid earle of Flanders. Who at length contending with other that claimed the earledome, chanced this yeare to be wounded, as he purſued his enimies vnto the walles of a towne called Aluſt, and ſoone after died of the hurt the 16. of Auguſt.

Anno Reg. 28. Matth. Paris.

1128

Anno Reg. 29. Ia. Meir.

¶ It was thought that the great felicitie of king Henrie was the chiefe occaſion of this earles death, who meant (if he might haue brought his purpoſe to paſſe, and be once quietlie ſet in the dominion of Flanders) to haue attempted ſome great enterpriſe againſt king Henrie for the recouerie of Normandie, and deliuerie of his father out of priſon. Which was knowen well inough to king Henrie, who mainteined thoſe that made him warre at home, both with men and monie; namelie, William of Ypres, who tooke vpon him as regent in the name of Stephan earle of Bullongne, whome king Henrie procured to make claime to Flanders alſo, in the title of his grandmother quéene Maud, wife to William Conqueror. But to procéed with our hiſtorie.

William earle of Flanders deceaſeth of a wound.

The fortunat & good hap of K. Henrie.

William de Yppres.

When king Henrie had ſped his buſineſſe in Normandie, where he had remained a certeine ſpace, both about the concluſion and ſolemnizing of the mariage made betwixt his daughter Maud the empreſſe and the earle of Aniou, and alſo to ſee the end of the wars in Flanders, he now returned into England, where he called a great councell or parlement at London, in Auguſt: wherein (amongſt other things) it was decreed, that préeſts, which liued vnchaſtlie, ſhould be puniſhed, and that by the kings permiſſion, who hereby tooke occaſion to ſerue his owne turne: for he regarded not the reformation which the biſhops truſted (by his plaine dealing) would haue followed, but put thoſe préeſts to their fines that were accuſed, and ſuffered them to kéepe their wiues ſtill in houſe with them, which offended the biſhops greatlie, who would haue had them ſequeſtred aſunder.

1129

Anno Reg. 30.

1130

Anno Reg. 31. Matth. Paris. Polydor. An act againſt vnchaſt préeſts.

After this parlement ended, the king kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Worceſter, and his Eaſtermaſſe following at Woodſtocke, where a certeine Noble man named Geffrey Clinton was accuſed to him of high treaſon. In this 31. yeare of king Henries reigne, great death and murren of cattell began in this land ſo vniuerſallie in all places, that no towne nor village eſcaped frée: and long it was before the ſame diſcontinued or ceaſed. King Henrie paſſing ouer into Normandie, was troubled with certeine ſtrange dréames or viſions in his ſléepe. For as he thought, he ſaw a multitude of ploughmen with ſuch tooles as belong to their trade and occupation; after whom came a ſort of ſouldiers with warlike weapons: and laſt of all, biſhops approching towards him with their croſier ſtaues readie to fall vpon him, as if they meant to kill him. Now when he awaked, he lept forth of his bed, got his ſword in his hand, & called his ſeruants to come & helpe him. Neuertheleſſe, repreſſing thoſe perturbations, and ſomewhat better aduiſing himſelfe, partlie by his

Wil. Malm. *In nouella hiſtoria.* Polydor.

owne reaſon, and partlie by the counſell of learned gentlemen, was perſuaded to put ſuch fantaſies awaie, and was admoniſhed withall, that whileſt he had time and ſpace here on earth, he ſhould redeeme his paſſed offenſes and ſinnes committed againſt God, with repentance, almeſdeeds, and abſtinence. Wherefore being moued herewith, he began to practiſe an amendment of his former lewd life.

¶ Here it ſhall not be amiſſe to compare the two ſonnes of William the Conquerour; namelie William Rufus, and Henrie Beauclerke togither; and to conſider among other euents the ſupernaturall dreames wherewith they were admoniſhed, to excellent good purpoſe (no doubt) if they could haue applied them to the end whereto they were directed. For William Rufus (as you ſhall read in pag. 26. col. 2.) neglecting to be admoniſhed by a dreadfull dreame wherewith he was troubled, ſhortlie after receiued his deaths wound by caſualtie or chancemedlie, euen in the prime of his paſtime and diſport. This other brother H. Beauclerke had the like warnings by the ſame meanes, and (to a good effect) as the learned doo gather. Their raſh opinion therefore is much to be checked, which contemne dreames as meere deluſorie, alledging by waie of diſprofe an old erronious verſe:

Somnia ne cures, nam fallunt plurima plures,

Speaking indefinitelie of dreames without diſtinction: whereas in truth great valure is in them in reſpect of their kind and nature. For though ſome ſort of dreames (as thoſe that be phyſicall) are not greatlie to be relied vpon; yet thoſe of the metaphyſicall ſort, hauing a ſpeciall influence from aboue natures reach, are not lightlie to be ouerſlipped. To determine this matter I remit the ſtudious readers to that excellent chapter of Peter Martyr, in the firſt part of his common places, pag. 32. columne 2. where dreames *In genere* are copiouſlie handled.

Polydor.

About the ſame time, Maud daughter of this Henrie, being forſaken of hir huſband Geffrey earle of Aniou, came to hir father then being in Normandie. What the cauſe was why hir huſband put hir from him, is not certeinlie knowen: but the matter (belike) was not verie great, ſith ſhortlie after he receiued hir againe, and that of his owne accord. During the time alſo that king Henrie remained in Normandie, pope Innocent the 2. came into France, to auoid the danger of his enimies: and holding a councell at Cleremont, he accurſed one Peter Fitz Leo, who had vſurped as pope, and named himſelfe Anacletus. Afterward at breaking vp of the ſame counſell at Cleremont, he came to Orleance, and then to Charters, meeting king Henrie by the waie, who offered vnto the pope to mainteine his cauſe againſt his enimies to the vttermoſt of his power, for the which the pope gaue the king great thankes: and ſeeming as though he had beene more carefull for the defenſe of the common cauſe of the chriſtian common-wealth than for his owne, he exhorted king Henrie to make a iournie into the holie land, againſt the Saracens and enimies of the chriſtian religion.

1131
Anno Reg. 32.
King Henrie and pope Innocent meet at Charters.

Wil. Malm.

The ſons of Robert erle of Melent praiſed for their learning.

In this enteruiew betwixt the pope and the king, the Romans were mooued to maruell greatlie at the wiſedome and ſharpneſſe of wit which they perceiued in the Normans. For king Henrie, to ſhew what learning remained amongſt the people of the weſt parts of Europe, cauſed the ſonnes of Robert earle of Melent to argue and diſpute in the points and ſubtill ſophiſmes of Logike, with the cardinals and other learned chapleins of the pope there preſent, who were not aſhamed to confeſſe, that there was more learning amongſt them here in the weſt parts, than euer they heard or knew of in their owne countrie of Italie.

King Henrie returneth into England.

King Henrie after this returned into England, and vpon the ſea was in danger to haue beene drowned by tempeſt: ſo that iudging the ſame to be as a warning for him to amend his life, he made manie vowes, and after his landing went to S. Edmundſburie in Suffolke to doo his deuotions vnto the ſepulchre of that king. Now at his comming from thence, being well diſpoſed, towards the reliefe of his people, he leſſened the tributes and impoſitions, and did iuſtice aſwell in reſpect and fauour of the poore as of the rich.

1132
Anno. Reg. 33.

Not long after, Geffrey earle of Aniou had a ſon named Henrie by his wife the empreſſe, who (as before is ſaid) was after king of England: for his grandfather king Henrie hauing no iſſue male to ſucceed him, cauſed the empreſſe and this Henrie hir ſonne to be eſtabliſhed heires of the realme: all the Nobles and other eſtates taking an oth to be their true and loiall ſubiects. After this king Henrie kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Dunſtable, and his Eaſter at Woodſtocke. In the ſame yeare, or (as ſome haue) in the beginning of the yeare precedent, or (as other haue) in the yeare following, king Henrie erected a biſhops ſee at Carleil, in which one Arnulfe or rather Athelwolfe, who before was abbat of S. Bothoulfs, and the kings confeſſor, was the firſt biſhop that was inſtituted there. This man immediatlie after his conſecration placed regular canons in that church.

1133
Anno Reg. 34.
Matth. Paris.
Prior of L. Oſwald as Wil. Thorne hath, and likewiſe Matth. Paris.
Matt. Weſtm.

Not long after, or rather before (as by Wil. Malmeſ. it ſhould ſeeme) king Henrie paſſed ouer into Normandie, from whence (this being the laſt time of his going thither) he neuer returned aliue. And as it came to paſſe, he tooke ſhip to ſaile this laſt iournie thither, euen the ſame daie in which he had afore time receiued the crowne. On which daie (falling vpon the wedneſdaie and being the ſecond of Auguſt) a wonderfull and extraordinarie eclipſe of the ſunne and moone appeared, in ſomuch that Wil. Malmeſ. who then liued, writeth that he ſaw the ſtarres plainlie about the ſunne at the verie time of that eclipſe. On the fridaie after ſuch an earthquake alſo happened in this realme, that manie houſes and buildings were ouerthrowne. This earthquake was ſo ſenſible, or rather ſo viſible, that the wall of the houſe wherein the king then ſat, was lift vp with a double remoue, & at the third it ſetled it ſelfe againe in his due place. Moreouer at the verie ſame time alſo fire burſt out of certeine riffes of the earth, in ſo huge flames, that neither by water nor otherwiſe it could be quenched.

An eclipſe.

An earthquake.

Matth. Paris.
Matth. Weſt.
Anno Reg. 35.

In the 34. yeare of his reigne, his brother Robert Curthoſe departed this life in the caſtell of Cardiff. It is ſaid that on a feſtiuall daie king Henrie put on a robe of ſcarlet, the cape wherof being ſtreict, he rent it in ſtriuing to put it ouer his head: and perceiuing it would not ſerue him, he laid it aſide, and ſaid; Let my brother Robert haue this robe, who hath a ſharper head than I haue. Which when it was brought to duke Robert, and the rent place not ſowed vp, he perceiued it, and aſked whether any man had worne it before. The meſſenger told the whole matter, how it happened. Wherewith duke Robert tooke ſuch a greefe for the ſcornefull mocke of his brother, that he wared wearie of his life, and ſaid; Now I perceiue I haue liued too long, that my brother ſhall cloth me like his almes man with his caſt and rent garments. Thus curſing the time of his natiuitie, he refuſed from thenceforth to eat or drinke, and ſo pined awaie, and was buried at Glocester.

The deceaſſe of Robert Curthoſe.

King Henrie remaining ſtill in Normandie, rode round about a great part of the countrie, ſhewing no ſmall loue and curteſie to the people, ſtudieng by all meanes poſſible to win their fauours, and being merie amongſt them. Howbeit nothing reioiſed him more, than that his daughter Maud the empreſſe at the ſame time was deliuered of hir ſecond ſonne named Geffrey, ſo that he ſaw himſelfe prouided of an aſſured ſucceſſour.

Polydor.
1125
Anno.Reg.35.

But whileſt he thus paſſed the time in mirth and ſolace, he began ſoone after to be ſomewhat diſeaſed, and neuer could perceiue any euident cauſe thereof. Wherefore to driue his greefe away, he went abrode to hunt, and being ſomewhat amended thereby (as he thought) at his comming home he would néeds eat of a lamprey, though his phyſician counſelled him to the contrarie: but he delighting moſt in that meat (though it be in qualitie verie hurtfull to health) would not be diſſuaded from it, ſo that his ſtomach being annoied therewith, he fell immediatlie into an ague, and ſo died ſhortlie after, on the firſt day of December, being as then about 67. yeares of age, after he had reigned 35. yeres, & foure moneths lacking foure daies. His bodie was conueied into England, and buried at Reading within the abbey church which he had founded, and endowed in his life time with great and large poſſeſſions. It is written, that his bodie, to auoid the ſtench which had infected manie men, was cloſed in a buls hide, and how he that clenſed the head died of the ſauour which iſſued out of the braine.

Matth. Weſt.
Sim.Duncl.

King Henrie departeth this life.

Matth.Weſt.
Ran.Higd.
Sim.Duncl.

¶ Thus we ſée that euen princes come to the like end by as baſe meanes as other inferiour perſons; according to that of the poet:

Dant alios furiæ toruo ſpectacula Marti,
Exitio eſt auidis mare nautis:
Miſta ſenum ac iuuenum denſantur funera, nullum
Sæua caput Proſerpina fugit.

Horat.lib.car. 1.ode 28.

And here we haue to note the neglect of the phyſicians counſell, and that ſame ill diſpoſition in diet which the king choſe rather to ſatiſfie, than by reſtraining it to auoid the danger whereinto he fell. But this is the prepoſterous election of vntoward patients, according to that:

Nitimur in vetitum ſemper, cupimúſq; negata.

The iſſue of king Henrie the firſt.

Touching his iſſue, he had by his firſt wife a ſonne named William, drowned (as ye haue heard) in the ſea; alſo a daughter named Maud, whome with hir ſonnes he appointed to inherit his crowne and other dominions. He had iſſue alſo by one of his concubins, euen a ſonne named Richard, and a daughter named Marie, who were both drowned with their brother William. By an other concubine he had a ſonne named Robert, who was created duke of Gloceſter.

His ſtature.

He was ſtrong of bodie, fleſhie, and of an indifferent ſtature, blacke of haire, and in maner bald before, with great and large eies, of face comelie, well countenanced, and pleaſant to the beholders, ſpeciallie when he was diſpoſed to mirth.

His vertues.

His vices.

He excelled in thrée vertues, wiſedome, eloquence, and valiancie, which notwithſtanding were ſomewhat blemiſhed with the like number of vices that reigned in him; as couetouſneſſe, crueltie, and fleſhlie luſt of bodie. His couetouſneſſe appeared, in that he ſore oppreſſed his ſubiects with tributes and impoſitions. His crueltie, in that he kept his brother Robert Curtehoſe in perpetuall priſon, and likewiſe in the hard vſing of his coſine Robert earle of Mortaigne, whome he not onelie deteined in priſon, but alſo cauſed his eies to be put out; which act was kept ſecret till the kings death reuealed it. And his fleſhlie luſt was manifeſt, by kéeping of ſundrie women.

His wiſdome.

But in his other affaires he was circumſpect, in defending his owne verie earneſt and diligent. Such wars as might be auoided, with honourable peace he euer ſought to appeaſe; but when ſuch iniuries were offered as he thought not méet to ſuffer, he was an impatient reuenger of the ſame, ouercomming all perils with the force of vertue and manlie courage, ſhewing himſelfe either a moſt louing fréend, or an extreame enimie: for he would ſubdue his foes to the vttermoſt, and aduance his fréends aboue meaſure.

His manlie courage.

His zeale to iuſtice.

With iuſtice he ruled the commons quietlie, and enterteined the nobles honorablie. Théeues, counterfeiters of monie, and other tranſgreſſors he cauſed to be ſought out with great diligence, and when they were found, to be puniſhed with great ſeueritie. Neither did he neglect reformations of certeine naughtie abuſes. And (as one author hath written) he ordeined that théeues ſhould ſuffer death by hanging. When he heard that ſuch péeces of monie as were cracked would not be receiued amongeſt the people, although the ſame were good and fine ſiluer, he cauſed all the coine in the realme to be either broken or ſlit. He was ſober of diet, vſing to eat rather for the quailing of hunger, than to pamper himſelfe with manie daintie ſorts of banketting diſhes. He neuer dranke but when thirſt moued him, he would ſléepe ſoundlie and ſnore oftentimes till he awaked therewith. He purſued his warres rather by policie than by the ſword, and ouercame his enimies ſo néere as he could without bloudſhed, which if it might not be, yet with as little ſlaughter as was poſſible. To conclude, he was not inferiour to any of the kings that reigned in thoſe daies, in wiſedome and policie, and ſo behaued himſelfe, that he was honoured of the Nobles, and beloued of the commons. He builded diuerſe abbeies both in England and Normandie, but Reading was the chéefe. He builded the manour of Woodſtocke, with the parke there, wherein (beſide the great ſtore of déere) he appointed diuerſe ſtrange beaſts to be kept and nouriſhed, which were brought and ſent vnto him from forren countries, farre diſtant, as lions, leopards, lynxes, and porcupines. His eſtimation was ſuch among outlandiſh princes, that few would willinglie offend him.

Simon Dun.
Théeues appointed to be hanged.

His policie.

His praiſe for his princelie gouernment.

Reading abbey builded.

Murcherdach K. of Ireland.

Murcherdach king of Ireland & his ſucceſſors had him in ſuch reuerence, that they durſt doo nothing but what he commanded, nor write any thing but what might ſtand with his pleaſure, though at the firſt the ſame Morchad attempted ſomething againſt the Engliſhmen more than held with reaſon, but afterward (vpon reſtraint of the entercourſe of merchandize) he was glad to ſhew himſelfe more fréendlie.

The earle of Orkney.

Moreouer the earle of Orkney, although he was the king of Norwaies ſubiect, yet did he what he could to procure king Henries fréendſhip, ſending ſuch ſtrange beaſts and other things to him oftentimes as preſents, wherein he knew the king tooke great delight and pleaſure. He had in ſingular fauour aboue all other of his councell, Roger the biſhop of Saliſburie, a politike prelate, and one that knew how to order matters of great importance, vnto whome he committed the gouernement of the realme moſt commonlie whileſt he remained in Normandie.

Roger biſhop of Saliſburie.

The abuſe of wearing long haire.

As well in this kings daies, as in the time of his brother William Rufus, men forgetting their owne ſex and ſtate, transformed themſelues into the habit and forme of women, by ſuffering their haire to grow in length, the which they curled and trimmed verie curiouſlie, after the maner of damoſels and yong gentlewomen: inſomuch that they made ſuch account of their long buſhing perukes, that thoſe which would be taken for courtiers, contended with women who ſhould haue the longeſt treſſes, and ſuch as wanted, ſought to amend it with art, and by knitting wreathes about their heads of thoſe their long and ſide locks for a brauerie. Yet we read that king Henrie gaue commandement to all his people to cut their haire, about the 28. yeare of his reigne. Prea-

1127
Match. Weſt.

chers indeed inueied againſt ſuch vnſeemlie maners in men, as a thing more agreeable and ſeemelie for the contrarie ſex.

Wil. Malm. reciteth a tale of a knight in thoſe daies that tooke no ſmall liking of himſelfe for his faire and long haire, who chanced to haue a verie terrible dreame. For it ſeemed to him in his ſleepe that one was about to ſtrangle him with his owne haire, which he wrapped about his throte and necke) the impreſſion whereof ſanke ſo deepelie into his mind, that when he awaked out of his ſleepe, he ſtreightwaies cauſed ſo much of his haire to be cut as might ſeeme ſuperfluous. A great number of other in the realme followed his commendable example, but the remorſe of conſcience herein that thus cauſed them to cut their haire, continued not long, for they fell to the like abuſe againe, ſo as within a twelue moneths ſpace they exceeded therein as farre beyond all the bounds of ſeemelie order as before.

¶ In this Henrie ended the line of the Normans as touching the heires male, and then came in the Frenchmen by the title of the heires generall, after that the Normans had reigned about 69. yeares: for ſo manie are accounted from the comming of William Conquerour, vnto the beginning of the reigne of king Stephan, who ſucceeded the ſaid Henrie.

Thus farre the ſucceſſion and regiment of the Normans; namelie,
William Conquerour the father, William Rufus,
and Henrie Beauclerke the ſonnes.

Stephan earle of Bullongne.

1135
Anno Reg. 1.

STephan earle of Bullongne, the ſonne of Stephan erle of Blois, by his wife Adela, daughter to William Conquerour, came ouer with all ſpeed after the death of his vncle, and tooke vpon him the gouernement of the realme of England, partlie through confidence which he had in the puiſſance and ſtrength of his brother Theobald earle of Blois, and partlie by the aid of his brother Henrie biſhop of Wincheſter and abbat of Glaſtenburie, although that he with other of the Nobles had ſworne afore to be true vnto the empreſſe and hir iſſue as lawfull heires of king Henrie latelie deceaſſed.

A tempeſt.
Matth. Weſt.

The ſame day that he arriued in England, there chanced a mightie great tempeſt of thunder horrible to heare, and lightning dreadfull to behold. Now bicauſe this happened in the winter time, it ſeemed againſt nature, and therefore it was the more noted as a foreſhewing of ſome trouble and calamitie to come.

This Stephan began his reigne ouer the realme of England the ſecond day of December, in the yere of our Lord 1135. in the eleuenth yeare of the emperour Lothair, the ſixt of pope Innocentius the ſecond, and about the xxvij. of Lewes the ſeuenth, ſurnamed Craſſus king of France, Dauid the firſt of that name then reigning in Scotland, & entring into the twelfe of his regiment. He was crowned at Weſtminſter vpon S. Stephans day, by William archbiſhop of Canturburie, the moſt part of the Nobles of the realme being preſent, and ſwearing fealtie vnto him, as to their true and lawfull ſoueraigne.

Matth. Paris
Wil. Mal.
Simon Dun.

Howbeit, there were diuerſe of the wiſer ſort of all eſtates, which regarding their former oth, could haue beene contented that the empreſſe ſhould haue gouerned till hir ſonne had come to lawfull age; notwithſtanding they held their peace as yet, and conſented vnto Stephan. But this breach of their othes was worthilie puniſhed afterward, inſomuch that as well the biſhops as the other Nobles either died an euill death, or were afflicted with diuerſe kinds of calamities and miſchances, and that euen here in this life, of which ſome of them as occaſion ſerueth ſhall be remembred hereafter. Yet there were of them (and namelie the biſhop of Saliſburie) which proteſted that they were free from their oth of allegiance made to the ſaid empreſſe, bicauſe that without the conſent of the lords of the land ſhe was maried out of the realme, whereas they tooke their oth to receiue hir for queene, vpon that condition, that without their aſſent ſhe ſhould not marrie with any perſon out of the realme.

Periurie puniſhed.

Wil. Malm.
The biſhop of Saliſburies proteſtation.

Moreouer (as ſome writers thinke) the biſhops tooke it, that they ſhould doo God good ſeruice in prouiding for the wealth of the realme, and the aduancement of the church by their periurie. For whereas the late deceaſſed king vſed himſelfe not altogither for their purpoſe, they thought that if they might ſet vp and creat a king cheeflie by their eſpeciall meanes and authoritie, he would follow their counſell better, and reforme ſuch things as they iudged to be amiſſe. But a great cauſe that mooued manie of the lords vnto the violating thus of their oth, was (as ſome authors rehearſe) for that Hugh Bigot, ſometime ſteward to king Henrie the firſt, immediatlie after the deceaſe of king Henrie, came into England, and as well before the archbiſhop of Canturburie, as diuers other lords of the land, tooke a voluntarie oth (although moſt men thinke that he was hired ſo to doo bicauſe of great promotion) declaring vpon the ſame that he was preſent a little before king Henries death, when the ſame king adopted and choſe his nephue Stephan to be his heire and ſucceſſour, bicauſe his daughter the empreſſe had greeuouſlie diſpleaſed him. But vnto this mans oth the archbiſhop and the other

The biſhops think to pleaſe God in breaking their oth

Matth. Paris.

Hugh Bigot.

other lords were ſo haſtie in giuing of credit. Now the ſaid Hugh for his periurie, by the iuſt iudgement of God, came ſhortlie after to a miſerable end.

Simon Dun.
1126

But to our purpoſe. King Stephan (by what title ſoeuer he obteined the crowne) immediatlie after his coronation, went firſt to Reading to the buriall of the bodie of his vncle Henrie, the ſame being now brought ouer from Normandie, from whence after the buriall he repaired to Oxenford, and there calling a councell of the lords & other eſtates of his realme; amongſt other things he promiſed before the whole aſſemblie (to win the harts of the people) that he would put downe and quite aboliſh that tribute which oftentimes was accuſtomed to be gathered after the rate of their acres of hides of land, commonlie called Danegilt, which was two ſhillings of euerie hide of land. Alſo, that he would ſo prouide, that no biſhops ſees nor other benefices ſhould remaine void, but immediatlie after vpon their firſt vacation, they ſhould be againe beſtowed vpon ſome conuenient perſon meet to ſupplie the roome. Further he promiſed not to ſeize vpon any mans woods as forfeit, though any priuate man had hunted and killed his deere in the ſame woods, as the maner of his predeceſſour was. ¶ For a kind of forfeiture was deuiſed by king Henrie, that thoſe ſhould loſe their right inheritance in their woods, that chanced to kill any of the kings deere within the ſame.

Polydor.
Simon Dun.
Matth. Paris.

The faire promiſes of king Stephan.

Polydor.
Ran. Higd.
Licence to build caſtels.

Moreouer, he granted licence to all men, to build either caſtell, tower, or other hold for defenſe of themſelues vpon their owne grounds. All this did he chieflie in hope that the ſame might be a ſafegard for him in time to come, if the empreſſe ſhould inuade the land, as he doubted ſhe ſhortlie would. Moreouer he aduanced manie yoong & luſtie gentlemen to great liuings. For ſuch as were of any noble familie, and thereto through a certeine ſtoutneſſe of ſtomach ſought preferment, eaſilie obteined of him the poſſeſſion of caſtels and great lordſhips, diuerſe of whom he honored with titles of dignitie, creating ſome of them earles and ſome lords. Now, ſuch was their importunate ſute in demanding, that when he had little more to beſtow amongſt them, hauing alreadie giuen ſundrie portions that belonged to the crowne, they ceaſſed not to be in hand with him for more, and being denied with reaſonable excuſes on his behalfe, they thought themſelues ill dealt withall, and ſo turning from him, fortified their caſtels and holds, making open warre againſt him: as hereafter ſhall appeare.

Wil. Malm.
In nouella hiſtoria.

The reſort of ſtrangers to ſerue king Stephan.

There came ouer vnto him alſo a great number of Flemings and Britons to ſerue him as ſouldiers, whom he reteined, to be the ſtronger and better able to defend himſelfe againſt the malice of the empreſſe, by whom he looked to be moleſted he wiſt not how ſoone. Wherefore he ſhewed himſelfe verie liberall, courteous, and gentle towards all maner of perſons at the firſt, and (to ſaie truth) more liberall, familiar, and free harted than ſtood with the maieſtie of a king: which was afterward a cauſe that he grew into contempt. ¶ But to ſuch meanes are princes driuen, that atteine to their eſtates more through fauour and ſupport of others, than by any good right or title which they may pretend of themſelues. Thus the gouernement of this prince at the beginning was nothing bitter or heauie to his ſubiects, but full of gentleneſſe, lenitie, courteſie, and mildnes.

Polydor.

Howbeit whileſt theſe things were a dooing, certeine of the Engliſh Nobilitie, abhorring both the king and the preſent ſtate of his gouernment, went priuilie out of the realme into Scotland to king Dauid, declaring vnto him what a deteſtable act was committed by the lords of England, in that (contrarie to their oth made vnto the empreſſe Maud, and hir iſſue) they had now crowned Stephan. Wherefore they beſought the ſaid king to take in hand to reuenge ſuch a vile iniurie practiſed againſt hir, and to reſtore the kingdome vnto the ſaid empreſſe, which if he did, it ſhould be a thing moſt acceptable both to God and man.

The king of Scots inuadeth the Engliſh marſhes.
Sim. Dunel.
Matt. Paris.
Polydor.

King Dauid hauing heard and well weied the effect of their requeſt, forthwith was ſo moued at their words, that in all poſſible haſt he aſſembled an armie, and entring into England, firſt tooke the citie and caſtell of Carleil: afterward comming into Northumberland, he tooke Newcaſtell, and manie other places vpon the borders there. Whereof king Stephan being aduertiſed, ſtreightwaies aſſembled a power, and forthwith haſted into Cumberland, meaning to recouer that againe by force of armes, which the enimie had ſtolen from him by craft and ſubtiltie. At his approch neere to Carleil, he pitched downe his field in the euening, thinking there to ſtaie till the morning, that he might vnderſtand of what power the enimie was, whome he knew to be at hand.

K. Stephan encamped neere to his enimie the K. of Scots.

King Dauid alſo was of a fierce courage, and redie inough to haue giuen him battell, but yet when he beheld the Engliſh ſtandards in the field, and diligentlie viewed their order and behauiour, he was at the laſt contented to giue eare to ſuch as intreated for peace on both ſides. Wherevpon comming to king Stephan, he entred a freendlie peace with him, wherein he made a ſurrender of Newcaſtell, with condition that he ſhould reteine Cumberland by the free grant of king Stephan, who hoped thereby to find king Dauid the more faithfull vnto him in time of need: but yet he was deceiued, as afterwards manifeſtlie appeered. For when king Stephan required of him an oth of allegiance, he anſwered that he was once ſworne alreadie vnto Maud the empreſſe. Howbeit to gratifie him, he commanded his ſon Henrie to receiue that oth, for the which the king gaue him the earledome of Huntington to hold of him for euer.

An accord made betwixt the two kings Stephan and Dauid.

Hec. Boetius.

¶ The Scottiſh chronicles ſet out the matter in other order, but yet all agree that Henrie ſware fealtie to king Stephan, as in the ſaid hiſtorie of Scotland you may ſee more at large. Now after that king Stephan had concluded a peace with king Dauid, he returned to London, and there kept his Eaſter with great ioy and triumphes: who whileſt he was yet in the middeſt of all his paſtime, about Rogation weeke, he chanced to fall ſicke of a litargie, by reaſon whereof a rumor was ſpred ouer all the realme that he was dead. Which though it was but a vaine tale, and of no importance at the firſt, yet was it after the occaſion of much euill. For vpon that report great ſedition was raiſed by the kings enimies amongſt the people, the minds of his freends were alienated from him, & manie of the Normans (which were well practiſed in periuries & treaſons) thought they might boldlie attempt all miſcheefes that came to hand, and herevpon ſome of them vndertooke to defend one place, and ſome another. Hugh Bigot erle of Norfolke a valiant chieftein entred into Norwich, Baldwin Reduers tooke Exceſter, & Robert Muiſquere got certeine caſtels alſo into his hands.

Simon Dun.
Matth. Paris.

Simon Dun.
King Stephan ſicke.

Falſe rumors what hurt they oftentimes doo.

Hugh Bigot.
Baldwin Reduers.
Robert Muiſquere.

King Stephan hearing what his enimies had doone, though he was ſomewhat moued with this alteration of things, yet as one nothing afraid of the matter, he ſaid merilie to thoſe that ſtood about him: „ We are aliue yet God be thanked, and that ſhall be „ knowne to our enimies yer it be long. Neither doubted he any thing but ſome ſecret practiſe of treaſon, and therefore vſing all diligence, he made the more haſt to go againſt his enimies, whoſe attempts though ſtreightwaies for the more part he repreſſed,

yet

Polydor.

Geffrey earle of Aniou.

Simon Dunel.
Wil.Paruus.
Polydor.

yet could he not recouer the places (without much adoo) that they had gotten, as Exceſter, and others: which when he had obteined, he contented himſelfe for a time, and followed not the victorie any further in purſuing of his enimies. Wherevpon they became more, bold afterward than before; in ſomuch that ſoone after they practiſed diuerſe things againſt him, whereof (God willing) ſome in places conuenient ſhall appeare: howbeit they permitted him to remaine in quiet for a time. But whileſt he ſtudied to take order in things at home (perceiuing how no ſmall number of his ſubiects did dailie ſhew themſelues to beare him no hartie good will) he began by little and little to take awaie thoſe liberties from the people, which in the beginning of his reigne he had granted vnto them, and to denie thoſe promiſes which he had made, according to the ſaieng, That which I haue giuen, I would I had not giuen, and that which remaineth I will kéepe ſtill. This ſudden alteration and new kind of rough dealing purchaſed him great enuie amongſt all men in the end. About the ſame time great commotions were raiſed in Normandie by meanes of the lord Geffrey earle of Aniou, husband to Maud the empreſſe, ſetting the whole countrie in trouble: but yer any newes thereof came into England, king Stephan went againſt Baldwin Reduers, who being latelie (though not without great and long ſiege expelled out of Exceſter) got him into the Ile of Wight, and there began to deuiſe a new conſpiracie. Howbeit the king comming ſuddenlie into the Ile, tooke it at the firſt aſſault, and exiled Baldwin out of the realme.

Anno Reg.2.
1137

K. Stephan paſſeth into Normandie.

The earle of Aniou put to flight.

Lewes king of France.
Euſtace ſon to king Stephan.

Hauing thus with good ſucceſſe finiſhed this enterpriſe, and being now aduertiſed of the buſineſſe in Normandie, he ſailed thither with a great armie: and being come within two daies iournie of his enimie the earle of Aniou, he ſent forth his whole power of horſſemen, diuided into thrée parts, which were not gone paſt a daies iournie forward, but they encountred the earle, finding him with no great force about him. Wherevpon giuing the charge vpon him, they put him to flight, and ſlue manie of his people. Which enterpriſe in this maner valiantlie atchiued, euen according to the mind of king Stephan, he ioined in fréendſhip with Lewes the ſeuenth king of France: and hauing latelie created his ſonne Euſtace duke of Normandie, he preſentlie appointed him to doo his homage vnto the ſaid Lewes for the ſame.

Matth.Paris.
Theobald erle of Blois.

K. Stephan agréeth with the earle of Aniou.

Now whereas his elder brother Theobald earle of Blois at that time in Normandie, found himſelfe gréeued, that Stephan the yoonger brother had vſurped the lands that belonged to their vncle king Henrie, rather than himſelfe, Stephan to ſtop this iuſt complaint of his brother, and to allaie his mood, agréed with him, couenanting to paie him yearelie two thouſand marks of ſuch currant monie as was then in vſe. Furthermore, wheras Geffrey the earle of Aniou demanded in right of his wife the empreſſe the whole kingdome of England, to be at an end with him, king Stephan was contented to ſatiſfie him with a yearelie penſion of fiue thouſand marks, which compoſition he willinglie receiued.

Polydor,

The Scots inuade the Engliſh borders.

Thus when he had prouided for the ſuertie of Normandie, he returned againe into England, where he was no ſooner arriued, but aduertiſement was giuen him of a warre newlie begon with the Scots, whoſe king vnder a colour of obſeruing the oth to the empreſſe, made dailie inſurrections and inuaſions into England, to the great diſturbance of king Stephan and the annoiance of his people. Therwith being ſomewhat moued, he went ſtreightwaies toward the north parts, and determined firſt to beſiege Bedford by the waie, which apperteined to the earledome of Huntington, by gift made vnto Henrie the ſonne of king Dauid, and therevpon at that preſent kept with a gariſon of Scotiſh men.

Simon Dun.

Anno Reg.3.
1138

King Dauid inuaded Northumberland.
Matth.Weſt.
Polydor.
Matt. Paris.
Simon Dun.

This place did the king beſiege by the ſpace of 30. daies togither, giuing thereto euerie daie an aſſault or alarme, in ſomuch that cōming thither on Chriſtmaſſe daie, he ſpared not on the morow to aſſaile them, and ſo at length wan the towne from them by méere force and ſtrength. King Dauid hearing thoſe newes, and being alreadie in armour in the field, entred into Northumberland, and licenſed his men of warre to ſpoile and rob the countrie thereabout at their pleaſure. Herevpon followed ſuch crueltie, that their rage ſtretched vnto old and yoong, vnto préeſt and clearke, yea women with child eſcaped not their hands, they hanged, headed, and ſlue all that came in their waie: houſes were burnt, cattell driuen awaie, and all put to fire and ſword that ſerued to any vſe for reléefe, either of man or beaſt.

M.Pal. in ſuo Capric.

¶ Here we ſée what a band of calamities doo accompanie and waite vpon warre, wherein alſo we haue to conſider what a traine of felicities doo attend vpon peace, by an equall comparing of which twaine togither, we may eaſilie perceiue in how heauenlie an eſtate thoſe people be that liue vnder the ſcepter of tranquillitie, and contrariwiſe what a helliſh courſe of life they lead that haue ſworne their ſeruice to the ſword. We may conſider alſo the inordinat outrages of princes, & their frantike fierſenes, who eſtéeme not the loſſe of their ſubiects liues, the effuſion of innocent bloud, the population of countries, the ruinating of ample regions, &c: ſo their will may be ſatiſfied, there deſire ſerued. And therefore it was aptlie ſpoken by a late poet, not beſide this purpoſe:

Reges atque duces dira impelluntur in arma,
Imperiúmque ſibi miſerorum cæde lucrantur.
O cæci, ô miſeri, quid? bellum pace putatis
Dignius aut melius? nempe hoc nil turpius, & nil
Quod magis humana procul à ratione recedat.
Candida pax homines, trux decet ira feras.

Ouid.

K. Stephan maketh haſt to reſcue the north parts.

The Scots retire.

K. Stephan burnt the ſouth parts of Scotland.

Robert earle of Gloceſter.

But to our ſtorie. King Stephan hearing of this pitifull ſpoile, haſted forward with great iournies to the reſcue of the countrie. The Scots put in feare of ſpéedie comming to encounter them, drew backe into Scotland: but he purſued them, and entring into their countrie, burned and deſtroied the ſouth parts of that realme in moſt miſerable maner. Whileſt king Stephan was thus about to beat backe the forren enimies, and reuenge himſelfe on them, he was aſſailed by other at home, & not without the iuſt vengeance of almightie God, who meant to puniſh him for his periurie committed in taking vpon him the crowne, contrarie to his oth made vnto the empreſſe and hir children. For Robert earle of Gloceſter, baſe brother vnto the empreſſe, and of hir priuie councell, ſought by all meanes how to bring king Stephan into hatred, both of the Nobles and commons, that by their helpe he might be expelled the realme, and the gouernment reſtored to the empreſſe and hir ſonne.

Briſtow taken.

Simon Dun.
Talbot.
Matt. Paris.
Louell.
Painell.

Such earneſt trauell was made by this earle of Gloceſter, that manie of his fréends which fauoured his cauſe, now that king Stephan was occupied in the north parts, ioined with him in conſpiracie againſt their ſoueraigne. Firſt the ſaid earle himſelfe tooke Briſtowe: and after this diuerſe other townes and caſtels there in that countrie were taken by him and others, with full purpoſe to kéepe the ſame to the behoofe of the empreſſe and hir ſonne. Amongſt other William Talbot tooke vpon him to defend Hereford in Wales: William Louell held the caſtell of Cary: Paganell or Painell kept the caſtell of Ludlow: William de Moun the caſtell of

Fitz-John.
Fitz-Alain.

Duneſtor: Robert de Nicholl, the caſtle of Warram: Euſtace Fitz-John, the caſtle of Walton; and William Fitz-Alain, the caſtle of Shreweſburie.

When word hereof came to king Stephan, he was maruellouſlie vexed: for being determined to haue purſued the Scots euen to the vttermoſt limits of their countrie, he was now driuen to change his mind, and thought it good at the firſt to ſtop the proceedings of his enimies at home, leaſt in giuing them ſpace to increaſe their force, they might in proceſſe of time growe ſo ſtrong, that it would be an hard matter to reſiſt them at the laſt. Herevpon therfore he returned ſouthward, and comming vpon his enimies, recouered out of their hands diuers of thoſe places which they held, as Hereford, and the caſtle of Shreweſourie. About the ſame time one Walkeline yeelded the caſtle of Douer vnto the queene, who had beſieged him within the ſame.

Simon Dun.
Matth. Paris.
The caſtle of Douer deliuered to the queene.
Polydor.

Now king Stephan knowing that the Scots were not like long to continue in quiet, returned northwards againe; and comming to Thurſtan the archbiſhop of Yorke, he committed the keeping of the countrie vnto his charge, commanding him to be in a redineſſe to defend the borders vpon any ſudden inuaſion. Which thing the couragious archbiſhop willinglie vndertooke. By this meanes king Stephan being eaſed of a great part of his care, fell in hand to beſiege the reſidue of thoſe places which the rebels kept: but they fearing to abide the danger of an aſſault, fled away, ſome into one part, and ſome into an other; whom the kings power of horſſemen ſtill purſuing and ouertaking by the way, ſlue, and tooke no ſmall number of them priſoners in the chaſe. Thus was the victorie in maner wholie atchiued, and all thoſe places recouered, which the enimies had fortified.

Thurſtan archbiſhop of Yorke made lieutenant of ẏ north parts.

In like maner when king Dauid heard that the king was thus vexed with ciuill warre at home, he entred England againe in moſt forceable wiſe: and ſending his horſſemen abroad into the countrie, commanded them to waſte and ſpoile the ſame after their accuſtomed maner. But in the meane time he purpoſed with himſelfe to beſiege Yorke: which citie if he might haue wonne, he determined to haue made it the frontier hold againſt king Stephan, and the reſt that tooke part with him. Herevpon calling in his horſſemen from ſtraieng further abroad, he marched thitherwards, and comming neere to the citie, pitched downe his tents.

The Scots eftſoones inuade Northumberland.

In this meane while the archbiſhop Thurſtan, to whom the charge of defending the countrie cheefelie in the kings abſence apperteined, called togither the Nobles and gentlemen of the ſhire and parties adioining, whom with ſo pithie and effectuall words he exhorted to reſiſt the attempts of the Scots (whoſe cruell doings could keepe no meaſure) that incontinentlie all the power of the northparts was raiſed, and (vnder the leading of William earle of Albemarle, Walter Eſpeke, William Peuerell of Notingham, and two of the Lacies, Walter and Gilbert) offered euen with perill of life and limme to trie the matter againſt the Scots in a pight field, and either to driue them out of the countrie, or elſe to looſe their liues in the quarell of their prince.

Archbiſhop Thurſtan raiſeth a power to fight with the Scots.

Simon Dun.
Capteines of the armie.

It chanced at this time, that archbiſhop Thurſtan was ſicke, and therefore could not come into the field himſelfe, but yet he ſent Rafe biſhop of Durham to ſupplie his roome, who though he ſaw and perceiued that euerie man was readie enough to encounter with their enimies; yet he thought good to vſe ſome exhortation vnto them, the better to encourage them, in maner as here enſueth.

Rafe biſh. of Durham ſupplieth the roome of the archbiſhop.

Matth. Paris.
Sim. Dun.

Moſt noble Engliſhmen, and ye right valiant Normans, of whoſe courage the Frenchman is afraid, by you England is kept vnder, by you Apulia dooth floriſh, and vnto you Ieruſalem and Antioch haue yeelded their ſubiection. We haue at this preſent the rebellious nation of Scotland (which of right ought to be ſubiect to the crowne of England) come into the field againſt vs, thinking for euermore to rid themſelues of their ſubmiſſion, and to bring both vs and our countrie into their bondage and thraldome. Now albeit I ſee in you courage ſufficient, to beat them backe from any further attempt; yet leaſt when you ſhall come to the triall, by any manner of chance, you ſhould looſe any peece thereof, I lamenting the ſtate of my countrie (whoſe greeuances I wiſh you ſhould redreſſe) doo meane to vſe a few words vnto you, not for that I would exhort you to doo any man wrong, but rather to beat them backe which offer to doo you iniurie. Conſider therefore that you ſhall here fight with that enimie, whom you haue oftentimes vanquiſhed, and oftentimes offending in periurie, haue oftentimes moſt worthilie puniſhed: whome alſo (to be breefe) raging after the maner of cruell robbers, wickedlie ſpoiling churches, and taking away our goods, you did latelie conſtreine to lurke in deſert places and corners out of ſight. Againſt this enimie (I ſay) therefore worthie of reuengement for his ſo manifold outrages, ſhew your ſelues valiant, and with manlie ſtomaches driue him out of our confines. For as far as I can perceiue, the victorie is yours, God ſurelie will aid you, who cannot longer abide the ſinnes of this people. Therefore he that loſeth his life in ſo iuſt a quarell (according to the ſaieng of our ſauiour) ſhall find it. Let not their raſh and preſumptuous boldneſſe make you afraid, ſith ſo manie tokens of your approoued valiancie cannot cauſe them to ſtand in doubt of you. You are clad in armour, and ſo appointed with helmet, curaſe, greiues, and target, that the enimie knoweth not where to ſtrike and hurt you. Then ſith you ſhall haue to doo with naked men, and ſuch as vſe not to weare any armour at all, but more meet for brablers and ale-houſe quarrellers than men of war vſed to the field: what ſhould you ſtand in doubt of? Their huge number is not able to ſtand againſt your ſkilfull order and practiſed knowledge in all warlike feats and martiall diſcipline. A rude multitude is but a let, rather than a furtherance to atchiue the victorie. A ſmall number of your worthie elders haue oftentimes vanquiſhed great multitudes of enimies. As the biſhop was thus ſpeaking to the Engliſh armie, and before he grew to an end of his exhortation, the Scots approched with their battels, & firſt certeine of their bands of horſſemen were ſent afore, to take the higher ground: which when the Engliſhmen perceiued, they ſtaied not till the enimies ſhould begin the battell, but ſtraightwaies cauſed their trumpets to ſound, and ſo gaue the onſet.

The Engliſhmen ſet vpon the Scots.

The Scots were as readie to encounter with them, ſo that the battell began to be verie hot, and euen at the firſt out flew the arrowes, and then the footmen ioined, who fought moſt fiercelie on both ſides. Herewith a wing of them of Lodian, which were in the Scotiſh vauntgard, brake in vpon the vauntgard of the Engliſh: but yet cloſing togither againe, they kept out the enimies, and caſting about with a wing, compaſſed the Scotiſh horſſemen round about, and panching their horſſes, they ſlue a great number, and conſtreined the reſidue to retire. Which thing when their felowes in the other wing ſaw, their hearts began to faint, and by and by betooke them to their heeles.

The Scots of Lodian diſorder the Engliſhmen.
Simon Dun.
Matth. Paris.

The rumor of this flight being notified to the maine battell of the Scotiſh men, where king Dauid himſelfe was fighting with his enimies, diſcomfited them alſo, in ſuch wiſe, that they in like ſort began to

The Scots put to flight.

yet could he not recouer the places (without much adoo) that they had gotten, as Exceſter, and others: which when he had obteined, he contented himſelfe for a time, and allowed not the victorie any further in purſuing of his enimies. Wherevpon they became more bold afterward than before; in ſomuch that ſoone after they practiſed diuerſe things againſt him, whereof (God willing) ſome in places conuenient ſhall appeare: howbeit they permitted him to remaine in quiet for a time. But whileſt he ſtudied to take order in things at home (perceiuing how no ſmall number of his ſubiects did dailie ſhew themſelues to beare him no hartie good will) he began by little and little to take awaie thoſe liberties from the people, which in the beginning of his reigne he had granted vnto them, and to denie thoſe promiſes which he had made, according to the ſaieng, That which I haue giuen, I would I had not giuen, and that which remaineth I will keepe ſtill. This ſudden alteration and new kind of rough dealing purchaſed him great enuie amongſt all men in the end. About the ſame time great commotions were raiſed in Normandie by meanes of the lord Geffrey earle of Aniou, husband to Maud the empreſſe, ſetting the whole countrie in trouble: but yer any newes thereof came into England, king Stephan went againſt Baldwin Reduers, who being latelie (though not without great and long ſiege expelled out of Exceſter) got him into the Ile of Wight, and there began to deuiſe a new conſpiracie. Howbeit the king comming ſuddenlie into the Ile, tooke it at the firſt aſſault, and exiled Baldwin out of the realme.

Polydor.

Geffrey earle of Aniou.

Simon Dunel.
Wil. Paruus.
Polydor.

Anno Reg. 2.
1137
K. Stephan paſſeth into Normandie.

Hauing thus with good ſucceſſe finiſhed this enterpriſe, and being now aduertiſed of the buſineſſe in Normandie, he ſailed thither with a great armie: and being come within two daies iournie of his enimie the earle of Aniou, he ſent foorth his whole power of horſſemen, diuided into three parts, which were not gone paſt a daies iournie forward, but they encountred the earle, finding him with no great force about him. Wherevpon giuing the charge vpon him, they put him to flight, and ſlue manie of his people. Which enterpriſe in this maner valiantlie atchiued, euen according to the mind of king Stephan, he ioined in freendſhip with Lewes the ſeuenth king of France: and hauing latelie created his ſonne Euſtace duke of Normandie, he preſentlie appointed him to doo his homage vnto the ſaid Lewes for the ſame.

The earle of Aniou put to flight.

Lewes king of France.
Euſtace ſon to king Stephan.

Now whereas his elder brother Theobald earle of Blois at that time in Normandie, found himſelfe greeued, that Stephan the yoonger brother had vſurped the lands that belonged to their vncle king Henrie, rather than himſelfe, Stephan to ſtop this iuſt complaint of his brother, and to allaie his mood, agreed with him, couenanting to paie him yearelie two thouſand marks of ſuch currant monie as was then in vſe. Furthermore, wheras Geffrey the earle of Aniou demanded in right of his wife the empreſſe the whole kingdome of England, to be at an end with him, king Stephan was contented to ſatiſfie him with a yearelie penſion of fiue thouſand marks, which compoſition he willinglie receiued.

Matth. Paris.
Theobald erle of Blois.

K. Stephan agreeth with the earle of Aniou.

Thus when he had prouided for the ſuertie of Normandie, he returned againe into England, where he was no ſooner arriued, but aduertiſement was giuen him of a warre newlie begon with the Scots, whoſe king vnder a colour of obſeruing the oth to the empreſſe, made dailie inſurrections and inuaſions into England, to the great diſturbance of king Stephan and the annoiance of his people. Wherwith being ſomewhat mooued, he went ſtreightwaies toward the north parts, and determined firſt to beſiege Bedford by the waie, which apperteined to the earledome of Huntington, by gift made vnto Henrie the ſonne of king Dauid, and therevpon at that preſent kept with a gariſon of Scotiſh men.

Polydor.

The Scots inuade the Engliſh borders.

This place did the king beſiege by the ſpace of 30. daies togither, giuing thereto euerie daie an aſſault or alarme, in ſomuch that comming thither on Chriſtmaſſe daie, he ſpared not on the morow to aſſaile them, and ſo at length wan the towne from them by meere force and ſtrength. King Dauid hearing thoſe newes, and being alreadie in armour in the field, entred into Northumberland, and licenſed his men of warre to ſpoile and rob the countrie thereabout at their pleaſure. Herevpon followed ſuch crueltie, that their rage ſtretched vnto old and yoong, vnto preeſt and clearke, yea women with child eſcaped not their hands, they hanged, headed, and ſlue all that came in their waie: houſes were burnt, cattell driuen awaie, and all put to fire and ſword that ſerued to any vſe for releefe, either of man or beaſt.

Simon Dun.

Anno Reg. 3.
1138
King Dauid inuaded Northumberland.
Matth. Weſt.
Polydor.
Matt. Paris.
Simon Dun.

¶ Here we ſee what a band of calamities doo accompanie and waite vpon warre, wherein alſo we haue to conſider what a traine of felicities doo attend vpon peace, by an equall comparing of which twaine togither, we may eaſilie perceiue in how heauenlie an eſtate thoſe people be that liue vnder the ſcepter of tranquillitie, and contrariwiſe what a helliſh courſe of life they lead that haue ſworne their ſeruice to the ſword. We may conſider alſo the inordinat outrages of princes, & their frantike fierſenes, who eſteeme not the loſſe of their ſubiects liues, the effuſion of innocent bloud, the population of countries, the ruinating of ample regions, &c: ſo their will may be ſatiſfied, there deſire ſerued. And therefore it was aptlie ſpoken by a late poet, not beſide this purpoſe:

M. Pal. in ſuo Capric.

Reges atque duces dira impelluntur in arma,
Imperiumque ſibi miſerorum cæde lucrantur.
O cæci, ô miſeri, quid? bellum pace putatis
Dignius aut melius? nempe hoc nil turpius, & nil
Quod magis humana procul à ratione recedat.
Candida pax homines, trux decet ira feras.

Ouid.

But to our ſtorie. King Stephan hearing of this pitifull ſpoile, haſted forward with great iournies to the reſcue of the countrie. The Scots put in feare of ſpeedie comming to encounter them, drew backe into Scotland: but he purſued them, and entring into their countrie, burned and deſtroied the ſouth parts of that realme in moſt miſerable maner. Whileſt king Stephan was thus about to beat backe the forren enimies, and reuenge himſelfe on them, he was aſſailed by other at home, & not without the iuſt vengeance of almightie God, who meant to puniſh him for his periurie committed in taking vpon him the crowne, contrarie to his oth made vnto the empreſſe and hir children. For Robert earle of Gloceſter, baſe brother vnto the empreſſe, and of hir priuie councell, ſought by all meanes how to bring king Stephan into hatred, both of the Nobles and commons, that by their helpe he might be expelled the realme, and the gouernment reſtored to the empreſſe and hir ſonne.

K. Stephan maketh haſt to reſcue the north parts.
The Scots retire.
K. Stephan burnt the ſouth parts of Scotland.

Robert earle of Gloceſter.

Such earneſt trauell was made by this earle of Gloceſter, that manie of his freends which fauoured his cauſe, now that king Stephan was occupied in the north parts, ioined with him in conſpiracie againſt their ſoueraigne. Firſt the ſaid earle himſelfe tooke Briſtowe: and after this diuerſe other townes and caſtels there in that countrie were taken by him and others, with full purpoſe to keepe the ſame to the behoofe of the empreſſe and hir ſonne. Amongſt other William Talbot tooke vpon him to defend Hereford in Wales: William Louell held the caſtell of Cary: Paganell or Painell kept the caſtell of Ludlow: William de Moun the caſtell of

Briſtow taken.

Simon Dun.
Talbot.
Matt. Paris.
Louell.
Painell.

ſhrinke backe: firſt by parts, and after by heaps togither. The king did what he could to ſtaie them: but the Engliſh preſſed ſo vpon them, that there was no recouerie. Wherefore he himſelfe was glad in the end to beare his men companie, in ſéeking to ſaue himſelfe by flight, and make ſuch ſhift as he could amongſt the reſidue.

Henrie earle of Huntington his valiancie.

His ſonne Henrie the earle of Huntington more regarding his honour, than the danger of life, neither moued with the flight of his father, nor the ouerthrow of the other, came in amongſt his men, being readie to turne their backes, and with bold countenance ſpake theſe or the like words vnto them, as the ſhortneſſe of the time would permit. Whither go you good fellowes? Here ſhall you find armour and force, neither ſhall you, whileſt life remaineth in your capteine (whom ye ought to follow) depart without the victorie. Therefore chooſe whether yée had rather trie the matter with the enimies by battell, or to be put to a ſhamefull death at home after your returne thither. The Scots moued with theſe vehement words of their valiant capteine, recoiled vpon their enimies, and began to make hauocke of them: but being no great number, and beſet with the Engliſh footmen before, and the horſſemen behind, they were ſhortlie brought to diſtreſſe, and for the more part either taken or ſlaine.

Polydor.
Hen.Hunt.
The number.

At length earle Henrie perceiuing how the matter went, and that there was no hope left of recouerie, fled alſo with thoſe that could eſcape, bitterlie curſing the frowardneſſe of fortune, and miſhap of that daies chance. The number of them that were killed at this battell was aboue ten thouſand. In which number there were not manie of the Engliſh: but yet among other, Walter Lacie the brother of Gilbert Lacie, one of their chéefe capteines is remembred to be one. This battell was fought in the moneth of Auguſt, in the fourth of king Stephan, who hearing of this victorie, greatlie reioiſed, and gaue infinite commendations to his ſubiects (the Engliſhmen and the Normans) but principallie praiſed archbiſhop Thurſtan and the biſhop of Durham for their faithfull and diligent ſeruice ſhewed in this behalfe.

Simon Dun.
Matth. Paris.
Wil. Paru.
Polydor.

Ran.Higd.
Caſtels recouered by king Stephan.

On the other ſide he himſelfe vſing the like good ſucceſſe amongſt the rebels at home, ouercame them, and chaſed them out of the land. For in this meane time he had taken the caſtels of Hereford, Gloceſter, Webbeley, Briſtowe, Dudley, and Shreweſburie. Likewiſe Robert earle of Gloceſter not being able to reſiſt the king thus preuailing againſt his aduerſaries on ech hand, fled into France vnto his ſiſter the empreſſe. After this, about Aduent, the popes legat one Alberike biſhop of Hoſtia, held a ſynod at London, within Paules church, where by the kings conſent, Theobald abbat of Bechellouin was conſecrated archbiſhop of Canturburie, being the 37. archbiſhop which had ruled that ſee, after Auguſtine the moonke.

N. Triuet.
Simon Dun.
Matth. Paris.
Theobald archbiſhop of Canturburie.

Anno Reg. 5.
1140

Polydor.
Matth.Paris.

K. Stephan inuadeth Scotland.

A peace concluded betwéene the two kings of England and Scotland.

The king hauing now accompliſhed his purpoſe, taken the caſtell of Leides, and brought the ſtate of the realme to a méetlie good ſtaie, thought it expedient after the late ouerthrow giuen to the Scots, to purſue the victorie, and vtterlie to ſubdue them with all expedition. He brought his armie therefore into Scotland, firſt waſting and ſpoiling the countrie, and afterward preparing to fight with ſuch Scots as came forth to defend their goods and houſes. K. Dauid perceiuing himſelfe to be too weake, made ſute to the king for peace, which with much difficultie he obteined at length, by deliuering his ſonne Henrie vnto king Stephan in pledge for the ſure performance of couenants concluded vpon betwixt them. Herevpon king Stephan hauing thus ended his buſineſſe in Scotland, returned into England: and after directing his iornie towards Wales, he came to Ludlow: which towne (being held by his aduerſaries) he wan yer long out of their hands.

Ludlow wun.

After this he went to Oxenford, where whileſt he remained, a great brute was ſpred abroad, that the empreſſe was comming with hir brother the earle of Gloceſter: which cauſed him to put the leſſe truſt in his people from thenceforth, in ſo much that he began to repent himſelfe (although too late) for that he had granted licence to ſo manie of his ſubiects to build caſtels within their owne grounds. For he had them all in ſuſpicion: and amongſt other, he vehementlie ſuſpected Roger biſhop of Saliſburie (who had doone verie much for him) and Alexander biſhop of Lincolne nephue to the ſaid biſhop of Saliſburie, or (as ſome thought) more néere to him in kindred than his nephue, I meane, his ſonne. For the ſaid Roger had builded diuerſe caſtels, as at Shierborne, at the Vies, and at Malmeſburie. The ſaid Alexander likewiſe following his vncles example, beſtowed his monie that way verie fréelie, hauing builded one caſtell at Newarke, and an other at Sléeford.

Roger biſhop of Saliſburie.
Alexander B. of Lincolne.
Wil.Malm.

Caſtels built by the biſhop of Saliſburie.

Simon Dun.
Newarke caſtel built by the biſhop of Lincolne.
The B. of Elie baniſhed.

The king therefore hauing committed both theſe biſhops to priſon, and furthermore ſent Nigell or Neill the biſhop of Elie into exile (which Nigell was nephue alſo to the foreſaid biſhop of Saliſburie) he threatened to kéepe them without either meate or drinke, if they would not cauſe theſe caſtels to be deliuered into his hands, whereby he obteined them, and moreouer found in the biſhop of Saliſburies coffers 40. thouſand marks, which he tooke to his owne vſe, by way of confiſcation for his diſloiall demeanor. This ingratitude of the king wounded the biſhops hart, inſomuch that taking thought for the loſſe of his houſes and monie, he pined awaie, and died within a while after.

The biſhop of Saliſburie dieth of thought.
Wil.Malm.
In nouella hiſtoria.

The quarrell which was firſt picked at theſe biſhops, roſe by occaſion of a fraie betwixt the biſhops men and the ſeruants of Alaine duke of Britaine, about the taking vp of Innes at their comming to Oxenford. In which fraie one of the dukes men was killed, his nephue almoſt ſlaine, and the reſidue of his folkes ſore beaten and chaſed. Herevpon were the biſhops firſt committed to ward, and afterward handled at the kings pleaſure, as partlie ye haue heard.

¶ Héere by the way, good reader, thou haſt one example worthie to be marked of fickle fortunes inconſtancie, whereof the poet ſpeaketh verie excellentlie;

Fortunes inconſtancie.
Wil. Paru.

M. Pal. in ſuo ſcor.

——variat ſemper fortuna tenorem,
Diuerſo gaudens mortalia voluere caſu.
Nam qui ſcire velit, cur hunc fortuna vel illum
Aut premat aut ſurſum tollat, nimis ardua quærit:
Terrarum ſiquidem eſt illi conceſſa poteſtas
Maxima, & huic illam præfecit Iuppiter orbi.

For this Roger biſhop of Saliſburie, was in the daies of William Rufus a poore préeſt, ſeruing a cure in a village néere the citie of Caen in Normandie. Now it chanced, that the lord Henrie the kings brother came thither on a time, and called for a préeſt to ſay maſſe before him. Wher vpon this Roger comming to the altar, was by and by readie and quicke at it, and therewithall had ſo ſpéedilie made an end thereof, that the men of warre then attendant on the ſaid lord Henrie, affirmed that this préeſt aboue all other, was a chapleine méet to ſay maſſe before men of warre, bicauſe he had made an end when manie thought he had but newlie begun. Herevpon the kings brother commanded the préeſt to follow him, inſomuch that when oportunitie ſerued, for his diligent ſeruice, and readie diſpatch of matters, when Henrie had atteined the crowne, he was by him

aduanced

The biſhop of Saliſburie made lord Chancelour.

aduance
lour of C
ing ſtill
with the
But t
thus imp
caſtles v
diers, in
he had t
ter with
ming he
cruell t
that had
of the cr
paſſe by
ſhould
law and
In d
he ſtood
ſed by cr
on all ſ
Englan
cure the
he broug
twéene h
ſiſter to
after, th
maried t
In th
Septem
wherein
eloquen
impriſon
charge b
ſter, bei
the archb
called th
got noth
ſes of a
therwiſe
vtterlie
In th
ded here
to Arun
of Suſſe
ſecond w
right of a
with the
got, of w
Som
great ar
nulph ear
erle of G
his daug
and trie t
came to G
power (a
we may
ſeldome
and agai
benefits
die to go
brother e
of Arund
rough hi
paſt 12.
horſſeback
leuie an a
Now wh
was kept
king Ste
that thei
droue out
where he

K. Stephan doubts whom to truſt.

He cõtracteth affinitie with the French king.

Wil. Malm.
Polydor.
Matt.Paris.
Alberike de Véer pleadeth the kings cauſe.

The empreſſe landed here in England.

What power ſhe brought with hir.

Wil. Malm.

Polydor.

Earle Robert commeth to Gloceſter.

The biſhop of Saliſburie made lord Chancelour.

aduanced to great promotions: as firſt to be Chancelour of England, & after biſhop of Saliſburie, growing ſtill into ſuch eſtimation, that he might doo more with the king than any other of the councell.

But to returne to king Stephan, who after he had thus impriſoned the aforeſaid biſhops, manned thoſe caſtles which he tooke from them with his owne ſoldiers, in like maner as he had doone all the reſt which he had taken from the rebels, that he might the better withſtand the empreſſe and hir ſonne, whoſe comming he euer feared. He began alſo to ſhew himſelfe cruell towards all men, and namelie againſt thoſe that had chieflie furthered his title to the obteining of the crowne. ¶ This (as manie tooke it) came to paſſe by the prouidence of almightie God, that thoſe ſhould ſuffer for their periuries, which contrarie to law and right had conſented to crowne him king.

K. Stephan doubts whom to truſt.

He cōtracteth affinitie with the French king.

In deed he wiſt not well whom he might truſt, for he ſtood in doubt of all men, bicauſe he was aduertiſed by credible report, that the empreſſe ſought for aid on all ſides, meaning verie ſhortlie to come into England. For this cauſe alſo he thought good to procure the freendſhip of Lewes king of France, which he brought to paſſe, by concluding a mariage betweene his ſonne Euſtace and the ladie Conſtance ſiſter to the ſaid Lewes. But within a few yeares after, this Euſtace died, and then was Conſtance maried to Raimond earle of Tholouſe.

Wil. Malm.
Polydor.
Matt. Paris.
Alberike de Veer pleadeth the kings cauſe.

In the meane time, namelie on the firſt daie of September, a councell was holden at Wincheſter, wherein earle Alberike de Veer pleaded with great eloquence the kings caſe, in excuſe of his fault for impriſoning the biſhops, which was ſore laid to his charge by his owne brother the biſhop of Wincheſter, being alſo the popes legat: who (togither with the archbiſhop of Canturburie and other biſhops) had called this councell for that purpoſe. Howbeit they got nothing of the king but faire words, and promiſes of amendment in that which had beene doone otherwiſe than equitie required, which promiſes were vtterlie vnperformed, and ſo the councell brake vp.

The empreſſe landed here in England.

In the moneth of Iulie the empreſſe Maud landed here in England at Porteſmouth, & went ſtrait to Arundell, which towne (togither with the countie of Suſſex) hir mother in law Adelicia king Henries ſecond wife, wedded to William de Albenay, held in right of aſſignation for hir dower. There came in with the empreſſe hir brother Robert and Hugh Bigot, of whom ye haue heard before.

What power ſhe brought with hir.

Wil. Malm.

Polydor.

Earle Robert commeth to Gloceſter.

Some write that the empreſſe brought with hir a great armie, to the intent that ioining with Ranulph earle of Cheſter (who tooke part with Robert erle of Gloceſter, bicauſe the ſame Rob. had maried his daughter) ſhe might fight with king Stephan, and trie the battell with him. Other declare that ſhe came to England now at the firſt, but with a ſmall power (as ſeuen ſcore horſſemen or men of armes as we may call them) in hope of Gods aſſurance (who ſeldome faileth thoſe that fight in a rightfull cauſe) and againe vpon truſt of aid of freends, who for the benefits receiued at hir fathers hands, would be readie to go againſt king Stephan. Wherevpon hir brother earle Robert leauing his ſiſter in the caſtle of Arundell, rode with all ſpeed vnto Gloceſter thorough his enimies countrie, not taking with him paſt 12. men of armes, and as manie archers on horſſebacke, that vpon his comming thither he might leuie an armie with ſo much ſpeed as was poſſible. Now when he came to Gloceſter, though the citie was kept with a gariſon of ſoldiours placed there by king Stephan, yet the towneſmen, after they heard that their earle was approched to the gates, they droue out the gariſon, & receiued him into the towne, where he remained a time, partlie to aſſemble an armie, and partlie to practiſe with other townes and caſtels thereabouts, to reuolt vnto his ſiſter. Amongſt all other, the earles ſonne Brian, and Miles of Gloceſter were right ioifull of the news of the empreſſes arriuall, and gladlie prepared themſelues to fight in defenſe of hir cauſe.

Matt. Paris.
Brian the earle of Gloceſters ſonne.
Miles earle of Hereford.

Polydor.
The empreſſe beſieged in Arundell caſtel.

The king raiſeth his ſiege.

The empreſſe goeth to Briſtow.

In the meane time king Stephan, hauing knowledge of the landing of the empreſſe, and other his enimies, came ſtrait to Arundell, where he beſieged hir in the caſtle, and ſpent his labour certeine daies in vaine about the winning of it. Howbeit at that preſent he did not preuaile, for there were certeine with him, who in fauour of the empreſſe bare him in hand, that it was not poſſible to win that fortreſſe, and therefore aduiſed him to raiſe his ſiege, and ſuffer the empreſſe to be at libertie to go to ſome other place, where he might with more eaſe and leſſe damage get hir into his hands. The king not perceiuing the drift of thoſe ſecret practiſers, followed their counſell. Wherevpon the empreſſe being now at libertie, went from place to place to trie and ſolicit hir freends: and as a riuer increaſeth in the paſſage, ſo the further the ladie went, the more hir power increaſed. About the midſt of the next night after the ſiege was raiſed, ſhe departed out of the caſtle, and with great iournies ſped hir towards Briſtow, which was alreadie reuolted to hir ſide.

K. Stephan beſiegeth Wallingford.

Anno Reg. 6.
1141

Sim. Dunel.
R. Houe.
K. Stephan winneth Lincolne.
Ran. Higd.
Simon Dun.

Polydor.
N. Triuet.

Theſe things being thus bruted abroad, the Peeres of the realme reſorted to hir, as they that well remembred how in time paſt by oth of allegiance they were ſuerlie bound to hir and hir iſſue. The king in the meane time beſieged the caſtle of Wallingford, but after he vnderſtood that the empreſſe was gotten to Briſtow, repenting himſelfe for his light credit giuen to euill counſell, he left off the ſiege of Wallingford, and drew towards Briſtow, that he might (if it were poſſible) incloſe his aduerſaries within that walled citie. But the empreſſe, being aduertiſed of his determination (by ſuch of hir freends as were reſident about him) firſt went to Gloceſter, and after to Lincolne, where ſhe prouided vittailes and all other things neceſſarie for hir armie and defenſe: purpoſing to remaine in that citie, till the matter were either tried by chance of warre betwixt hir and king Stephan, or that by the peoples helpe reuolting to hir ſide, he might be driuen out of the realme, and ſhe reſtored to the whole gouernement. The king followed hir verie earneſtlie, and comming vnto Lincolne beſieged it, aſſaieng on euerie ſide which waie he might beſt find meanes to win it, & enter into the ſame. At length the empreſſe found ſhift to eſcape from thence, and within a little while the king got poſſeſſion of the citie. But ſhortlie after, Robert earle of Gloceſter, and Ranulph earle of Cheſter, Hugh Bigot, and Robert of Morley aſſembling their power, aſwell of Welſhmen as others, to come to the ſuccour of thoſe that were thus beſieged, came to Lincolne, & pitching downe their tents neere to the enimies, they reſted the firſt night without making any great attempt.

The ordering of the kings armie readie to giue battell.
Simon Dun.
Matt. Paris.

The earles of Norfolke, Hampton, Mellent, & Waren.

In the morning being the ſecond daie of Februarie, ſo ſoone as it was daie, they ſet their men in order of battell, and brought them foorth in ſight of the king and his hoſt: who on the other ſide, not meaning to refuſe the conflict, ordered his men readie to encounter them, whome he diuided into 3. ſeuerall battels. The chiefeſt part of his armed men he appointed to remaine on foot, amongſt whom he placed himſelfe, with certeine noble men, as earle Baldwin, and others. The reſidue being horſſemen, he diſpoſed into two ſeuerall wings, in one of which were Alaine duke of Britaine, Hugh Bigot earle of Norfolke, Simon earle of Hampton, and two other earles, Mellent and Waren: howbeit they were not furniſhed with ſuch number of men as had béene requiſit; for as it fell out, they brought no great retinues with them. The other wing was gouerned by the earle of Albemarle, and William de Ypres.

The earle of Albemarle. William de Ypres.

The ordering of the battels on the kings aduerſaries part.

Now on the aduerſaries ſide, the earle of Cheſter led the fore ward, and thoſe whome king Stephan had diſherited, were placed in the middle ward. In the rere ward the earle of Gloceſter with his companie had the rule. And beſides thoſe thrée battels, the Welſhmen were ſet as a wing at one of the ſides.

The oration of the earle of Cheſter. Ran. Higd.

Here the earle of Cheſter (to vtter the good will which he had to fight) appointed in faire armour as he was, ſpake theſe words in effect as followeth, directing the ſame to the earle of Gloceſter, and other the capteines, ſaieng: I giue you hartie thanks, moſt inuincible chiefteine, and you my fellow ſoldiers, which declare your hartie good wils towards me, euen to the ieoparding of your liues at this my requeſt and inſtance. Sith then I am the occaſion of your perill, it is conuenient that I make the firſt entrance, and giue the onſet of the battell vpon that moſt diſloiall king, who granting a truce, hath broken the peace; and ſwearing to be a ſubiect, is now proued a moſt wicked vſurper: I therefore truſting both vpon reuenge of the vniuſt dealings of this king, and alſo vpon mine owne force and courage, ſhall ſtraitwaies breake in ſunder the arraie of his armie, and make waie through the middeſt of the enimies with ſword in hand. It ſhall be your parts then to follow me, who will lead you the waie: for euen now my mind giueth me, that I ſhall paſſe thorough the battels, tread the capteines vnder foot, and run the king through with this my ſharpe ſword.

The earle of Gloceſters anſwer to the earle of Cheſters oration.

When he had thus ended, the earle of Gloceſter anſwered in this wiſe: It is not againſt reaſon that you ſhould require the honor of the firſt onſet, both for the nobilitie of your houſe, and alſo in reſpect of the proweſſe wherein you excell: but yet if you ſtand vpon nobilitie, for my part, being the ſonne and nephue of a king, ought not I to be preferred? If vpon valiancie, here are manie verie worthie men, afore whom there is not one aliue that may chalenge any prerogatiue. But another reaſon moueth me moſt chieflie to be the formoſt. The king, who contrarie to his oth made to my ſiſter, hath cruellie vſurped the kingdome, and ſetting all in trouble, hath béene the cauſe of manie thouſand mens deaths, and diſtributed lands and liuings to ſuch as haue no right to the ſame, which he hath violentlie taken from the rightfull owners, who are quite diſherited. This king (I ſaie) is firſt to be aſſailed with the aſſiſtance of the righteous iudge, who prepareth puniſhment for wicked dooers. For almightie God, who iudgeth his people with equitie, will looke downe from his heauenlie habitation, and will not leaue vs comfortleſſe in this ſo great a neceſſitie. One thing there is, moſt valiant capteines, and all you right hardie ſouldiers, which I would haue you to conſider, that through the fennes, which with much adoo you haue paſſed, there is no waie to eſcape by flight. Here muſt we either vanquiſh the enimies, or elſe die in the field: for no hope of ſafegard remaineth in fléeing awaie. This onelie reſteth (I ſaie) that you make waie for you to enter the citie with force of your weapons. If I be not deceiued in that which my mind giueth me to coniecture, the lacke of meanes to eſcape, otherwiſe than by ſhewing your ſelues valiant men, by Gods helpe will bring vs the victorie. For he muſt néeds plaie the man, who hath not other ſuccor to auoid the danger of deſtruction. The citizens of Lincolne, who ſhall fight ſo néere their houſes as you ſhall ſée, will not ſtaie long to get them thither for their refuge. And herewith conſider and weie (I beſéech you) againſt whom you ſhall match in this battell. There is Alane duke of Britaine, who commeth armed againſt you, yea rather againſt God, a wicked perſon, and ſpotted with all kind of filthineſſe; who in malice hath no péere, as one that neuer wanted deſire to doo miſchéefe: and who to be comparable in crueltie, would iudge it a great reproch. There commeth alſo the earle of Mellent, a man full of all guile and deceit, in whoſe hart iniquitie is rooted, and nothing ſounding in his mouth but vnthankfulneſſe; beſides this, he is ſlothfull in déeds, preſumptuous in words, not haſtie to fight, but ſwift to run awaie. Then commeth earle Hugh, who hath not thought it ſufficient to breake his oth to my ſiſter the empreſſe, but he muſt commit periurie the ſecond time, in auouching (vpon a new oth) that king Henrie granted the kingdome to Stephan, and diſabled his daughter. After him marcheth the earle of Albemarle, a man of ſingular conſtancie in euill, verie readie to attempt and loth to giue ouer a miſchéefe: whoſe wife, through irkeſomnes of his filthie behauiour is gone from him; & he that kéepeth hir, cõmeth with him alſo againſt vs, an open adulterer, & one well eſtéemed of Bacchus, but nothing acquainted with Mars. Then ſetteth foorth Simon earle of Hampton, whoſe déeds conſiſt in words, & whoſe gifts reſt in promiſes. For when he hath ſaid, he hath doone; & when he hath promiſed, ye get no more. Finallie there come togither a knot of Péeres & Noble men, like to their king and maiſter, accuſtomed to robberies, enriched with rapines, embrued with manſlaughters, & defamed with periurie. You therefore (moſt valiant capteins & hardie ſouldiers) whom king Henrie hath aduanced, and this man hath brought vnder foot; whom he made wealthie, and this man hath impoueriſhed; vpon truſt of your worthy valiancie, yea rather vpon truſt of Gods iuſtice ſéeke your reuenge thus offered by God vpon theſe wicked wretches, & with manlie ſtomachs vow to go forward, & forſwere ſtepping back. When the earle had made an end, all the armie (lifting vp their hands to God) abiured all intention to flée, and ſo made themſelues readie to ſet forward.

The neceſſitie to fight valiantlie.

Alane duke of Britaine.

The earle of Mellent.

Earle Hugh.

The earle of Albemarle.

The earle of Albemarles wife.

Simon earle of Hampton.

Like maiſter, like ſeruants.

King Stephan hauing no pleaſant voice of himſelfe, appointed earle Baldwin to giue an exhortation to his armie, wherevpon getting himſelfe to an high place where he might be ſéene & heard of them, he thus began. All ſuch as ſhall giue battell, ought to foreſée thrée things: firſt, that their cauſe be righteous: ſecondlie, the number of their men to be equall at the leaſt: and thirdlie, the goodneſſe and ſufficiencie of them. The righteouſnes of their cauſe ought to be regarded, leaſt men runne in danger of the ſoule; the number of men is to be reſpected, leaſt they ſhould be oppreſſed with multitude of enimies; and the goodneſſe of the ſoldiers is to be conſidered, leaſt truſting in the multitude, they ſhould preſume vpon the aid of féeble perſons, & ſuch as are of ſmall valure. In all theſe points we ſée our ſelues ſufficientlie furniſhed. The iuſtice of our cauſe is this: that obſeruing the thing which we vowed to our king before God, we ſtand to the ſame againſt thoſe that haue falſified their faith, euen to the perill of death. Our number is not much leſſe in horſſemen, and in footmen we excéed them. As for the goodneſſe or ſufficiencie of our men, who is able to expreſſe the noble proweſſe of ſo manie earles, of ſo manie lords and ſoldiers, trained vp euer in warres? The paſſing valiancie of our king may ſtand in place of innumerable ſouldiers. Sith then he being the lords annointed, is here amongſt you, vnto whom ye haue vowed allegiance, performe your vow. For the more earneſtly and faithfully ye ſerue your prince in this battell, which you are readie to fight againſt periured perſons, the more ſhall your reward be at the hands of God and him. Therefore be of good comfort, & haue

Earle Baldwin his oration in the behalfe of king Stephan.

Thrée things to be foreſéene by them that ſhall giue battell.

in

Erle Robert.

The earle of Cheſter.

in remembrance againſt whom you doo darraine the battell. The force of erle Robert is well knowne, his maner is to threaten much, & to worke little, furious in words, eloquent of ſpeach, but cold or rather dead harted in déeds. The earle of Cheſter what is he? A man of vnreaſonable boldneſſe, bent to conſpiracie, inconſtant to performe that which he raſhlie taketh in hand, readie to run into batell, vncircumſpect in danger, practiſing things of great importance, séeking after things vnpoſſible, bringing with him few good ſoldiers, but gathering a vagarant rout of raſcals. There is nothing in him that we ought to be afraid of, for looke whatſoeuer he attempteth manfullie, the ſame he giueth ouer womanlie, in all his doings vnfortunate, in all encounters either he is ouercome and fléeth awaie, or if he get the vpper hand (which ſeldome times chanceth) he ſuſteineth greater loſſe than they whom he dooth vanquiſh.

Continuall ood ſucceſſe prouocation f boldneſſe.

The Welſhmen, whom he bringeth with him are little eſtéemed of vs, who pretend a naked raſhneſſe without any vſe of armor, ſo that as men without any knowledge of martiall policie, they fall as brute beaſts vpon the hunters iaueline. The other, as well the nobles as the common ſouldiers are but runnagates and vagabounds; of whom I would wiſh the number greater than it is: for the more they be, the worſſe in effect their ſeruice ſhall prooue in time of néed. You therefore (moſt worthie chéefetaines) you men of honor, it ſtandeth you vpon to haue in regard your vertue and dignities. This day aduance your renowme, and follow the foreſteps of your famous anceſtors, leaue to your ſonnes an euerlaſting commendation. The continuall ſucceſſe of victorie ought to be a prouocation vnto you to doo manfullie: the continuance of euill ſpéed may be to yonder ſide an occaſion to run away. For euen alreadie (I dare ſay) they repent them of their comming hither, and could be contented to be gone, if the nature of the place would ſuffer them to depart. Then ſith it is not poſſible for them either to fight or to flée, what other thing can they doo, but (as appointed by Gods ordinance) offer themſelues and all they haue about them preſentlie vnto vs. Yée ſée then their horſſes, their armour, and their bodies readie here at your pleaſure, lift vp your hearts therefore, and reach your hands to take that with great chearefulneſſe of mind, which the Lord hath thus offered and fréelie preſented vnto you.

Match. Paris. Hen. Hunt.

W. Paru. Hen. Hunt.

Polydor.

Now yer he had all made an end of his words, the batels were readie to ioine, they met with great noiſe of trumpets and other inſtruments, and the fight began with a verie ſore and cruell ſlaughter. Hard it was in the beginning to geſſe who ſhould haue the better. The wing of the diſherited men ouerthrew and bare downe their aduerſaries, which were led by the duke of Britaine, and the forenamed earles. On the contrarie part, the earle of Albemarle and William de Ypres put the Welſhmen to flight, but by the earle of Cheſter and his retinue, the ſame earle and William de Ypres were fiercelie aſſailed afreſh, and put out of order. Thus was the kings ſide put to the worſe, namelie his horſſemen, who being placed in the forefront, and there ouermatched, fell to galoping. Which thing when the king beheld, he was not yet any whit therewith abaſhed, but like an hardie captein (as he was no leſſe indéed) comforted his footmen whom he had about him, and ruſhing vpon his enimies, bare them downe, and ouerthrew ſo manie as ſtood before him, ſo that with the point of his weapon he made himſelfe waie. His footmen, who were but a few in number to the multitude of his enimies, counteruailed in all points the prowes and manlike doings of their king and capteine, inſomuch that few battels had béene better fought, nor with greater ſlaughter on both ſides, if the kings foreward (which in maner at the firſt ſhranke backe and was diſordered, not without ſome ſupicion of treaſon) had ſtaied the brunt of the enimies a while, as it had béene requiſite. At length the king encountring with the earle of Cheſter, being ouercharged with multitude, was taken priſoner by one William de Cahames.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

Match. Paris.

W. Paru.

Earle Baldwine, who had made the oration in the kings behalfe, was alſo taken, after he had fought valiantlie and receiued manie ſore wounds: likewiſe Richard Fitzvrſe, who on that daie had ſhewed good proofe of his manhood, and had giuen and receiued manie a ſore ſtripe. To conclude, all thoſe that abode with the king, and namelie all the footmen were taken priſoners, thoſe which were ſlaine in the place excepted. This battell was fought in the ſixt yeare of king Stephans reigne, vpon Candlemas daie, being ſundaie, as Niger ſaith.

Polydor.

The king led to Briſtow.

W. Paru.

The king being apprehended and brought to the empreſſe lieng at Glocester, was commanded by hir to be conueied in ſafetie vnto Briſtow, where he was kept as priſoner from that time of his taking, vntill the feaſt of All ſaints next enſuing. Not long after this field fought, as ye haue heard, Geffrey earle of Aniou huſband to the empreſſe, receiuing aduertiſement of this victorie atchiued in England, forthwith inuaded Normandie, inducing all the Nobles of the countrie to incline vnto him: for by publiſhing the captiuitie of king Stephan, it was eaſie for him to come by the poſſeſſion of the ſame.

The king of Scots taketh Northumberland into his poſſeſſion.

Polydor.

The empreſſe foloweth the victorie.

Moreouer, Dauid king of Scotland entred into Northumberland, and by commandement of the empreſſe tooke the countrie into his hands, whileſt ſhe (like a woman of great wiſedome, as ſhe was no leſſe indéed) iudging that it ſtood hir vpon to vſe the victorie which fell to hir lot, ſlept not hir buſineſſe, but went forward, and ſetting from Glocester, ſhe came to Winchester, where ſhe was honorablie receiued of biſhop Henrie, though he was king Stephans brother, and inwardlie lamented the miſfortune of the king. Then came ſhe backe againe to Wilton, and ſo to Oxenford, from thence to Reading, and then to S. Albons, into all which cities and townes ſhe was receiued with great triumph and honour.

Shée commeth to London.

The quéene ſueth to the empreſſe for the deliuerie of hir huſband

Hauing thus paſſed through all the ſouth parts of the realme on that ſide, ſhe finallie came to London, where the citizens welcomed hir in moſt ioifull and hartie maner. Now being come to London, and conſulting with thoſe of hir councell for the quieting of the whole ſtate of the realme, quéene Maud wife to king Stephan (for ſo ſhe was alſo called) made humble ſuit vnto hir to haue hir huſband ſet at libertie, promiſing that he ſhould reſigne his whole claime and title into hir hands, and content himſelfe with a priuate life. But hir ſuit was ſo farre off from being granted, that ſhe was reiected and caſt off with reprochfull words. Whereupon ſhe conceiued a moſt high diſpleaſure, and vnderſtood well inough; that peace was to be purchaſed by force of armes onelie, and not by any other meanes: inſomuch that with all diligence ſhe ſent to hir ſonne Euſtace (then being in Kent) & willed him to prepare an armie, which he did moſt ſpéedilie.

The Londoners conſpire to take the empreſſe.

It chanced at the ſame time that the citizens of London made great and laborious ſuit vnto the ſaid empreſſe, that they might haue the lawes of king Edward the Confeſſour reſtored, and the ſtraight lawes of hir father king Henrie aboliſhed. But for ſo much as they could get no grant of their petition, and perceiued the empreſſe to be diſpleaſed with them about that importunat requeſt, wherein onelie ſhe ouerſhot hir ſelfe, they deuiſed how and by what meanes they might take hir priſoner, knowing that all the Kentiſhmen would helpe to ſtrengthen them in their enterpriſe. But reckoning with hir ſelfe that

Nil poterit propera tutius eſſe fuga,

e fled in
ght time
f the citie.

And being warned thereof, ſhe fled by night out of the citie, and went to Oxenford, determining to be reuenged vpon hir aduerſaries when time ſhould ſerue hir turne. Herewith ſhe began to war more diſpleaſed both againſt thoſe Nobles whom ſhe kept in priſon, & other alſo whom ſhe troubled, but namelie king Stephan, whom ſhe commanded to be loden with yrons, and ſerued with verie ſlender diet.

riuet.

frey de
ndeuile.

e biſhop of
dō taken.

Now when ſhe had thus fled out of London, which was about the feaſt of the natiuitie of S. John Baptiſt, the tower of London was beſieged, which Geffrey de Mandeuile held, and valiantlie defended. The ſame Geffrey ruſhing out on a time, came to Fulham, where he tooke the biſhop of London then lodging in his manor place, being one of the contrarie faction.

ydor.

tels forti-
by the bi-
of win-
ter.

Henrie biſhop of Wincheſter perceiuing the wrath of the empreſſe more and more to increaſe dailie againſt hir people, thinking it wiſedome to ſerue the time, manned all the caſtels which he had builded within his dioces; as at Waltham, Farnham, and other places, and withdrew himſelfe into the caſtell of Wincheſter, there to remaine, till he might ſee to what end the furie of the woman would grow. This being knowne, the empreſſe tooke vnto hir Dauid king of Scotland that was hir vncle, who immediatlie ioining their armies togither, went to Wincheſter and beſieged the caſtell. In the meane time the queene and hir ſonne Euſtace, with the helpe of their freends, as the Kentiſhmen, the Londoners and other had aſſembled a great armie, and appointed the gouernement and generall conduct thereof vnto one William of Ypres a Fleming, who for his valiancie was by king Stephan created earle of Kent: he was ſonne to Philip of Flanders, begotten of a concubine, his father alſo was ſonne to Robert earle of Flanders, ſurnamed Friſius. This William was baniſhed out of his countrie by Theodorike Elſas earle of Flanders, bicauſe he attempted to bereaue him of his earledome.

liam de
eſſe.

Meir.

l.Malm.
nouella hi-
a.

Triuet.

.Dun.

ydor.

he empreſſe
nie put to
ht.

l.Malm.

bert earle
Gloceſter
en priſo-
.

The queenes armie thus committed to his guiding, came neere vnto Wincheſter, and kept the empreſſe and hir people in maner beſieged: at length perceiuing the aduantage after the comming of a great ſupplie of Londoners to their aid, they ſet vpon hir armie as the ſame was departing, with ſuch violence, that ſtraightwaies hir hoſt was put to flight and diſcomfited. The empreſſe was glad to faine hir ſelfe dead, and ſo to be conueied in a coch as a dead corps vnto Gloceſter. Hir brother Robert with manie other of the Nobles that ſtaied behind, till ſhe and other might get out of danger, were taken priſoners. And bicauſe the king was kept at Briſtow vnder the cuſtodie of the ſaid Robert, the queene cauſed him to be hardlie handled, that he might proue the words of the goſpell true: With what meaſure yee meat vnto other, with the ſame by other ſhall it be remeaſured vnto you. He had deſerued verie euill of the king heretofore, and therefore it was now remembred. He was taken (in maner abouesaid) on the feaſt day of the exaltation of the croſſe.

tt. Paris.

l.Paruus.

Triuet.

uid king
Scots re-
home.

on Dun.

Houe.

erike de
r ſlaine.

Dauid king of Scotland was not at the battell himſelfe, but hearing of the diſcomfiture, got him out of the countrie, and by helpe of truſtie guides returned into Scotland, whileſt Alberike de Veer was ſlaine at London in a ſeditious tumult raiſed by the citizens. The kingdome being thus diuided into two ſeuerall factions, was by all ſimilitudes like to come to vtter ruine: for the people kindled in hatred one againſt another, ſought nothing elſe but reuenge on both ſides, and ſtill the land was ſpoiled and waſted by the men of warre which lodged within the caſtels and fortreſſes, and would often iſſue out to harrie and ſpoile the countries. But now that the two cheefeſt heads were priſoners, there was good hope conceiued that God had ſo wrought it, whereby might grow ſome ouerture of talke, to quiet ſuch troubles by freendlie peace and agreement.

Malm.

Polydor.

Hereupon thoſe lords that wiſhed well to the common-wealth, began to intreate betwixt them, and articles were propounded for a concord to be had, and an exchange of priſoners on both ſides. But the empreſſe and hir brother would not hearken to any agreement, except that the realme might wholie remaine to the ſaid empreſſe. Whereby the enimies were rather increaſed than decreaſed by this treatie, ſo that at length the king and the earle (weried with tedious irkſomneſſe of yrons and hard impriſonment, and putting all their hope in the chance of war) about the feaſt of All ſaints made exchange by deliuering of the one for the other, without making mention of any peace at all: and ſo kindled with new diſpleaſures, they renewed the warre.

Geruaſius
Dorober.

The king and
the earle of
Gloceſter de-
liuered by ex-
change.

Anno Reg. 7.

1142

Geruaſius Do-
robernenſis.

A parlement
called.

King Stephan being deliuered in ſuch wiſe as you haue heard, comming to London, and there being accompanied with his brother Henrie biſhop of Wincheſter (then the popes legat) Theobald archbiſhop of Canturburie, and others, he called a parlement, wherein the king declared the preſent ſtate, how the enimie was brought to this point, that if it would pleaſe the Nobles of the realme to mainteine him with men & monie, he truſted now ſo to worke, as they ſhould not need to feare ſubmiſſion to the yoke of a womans gouernment: which at the firſt they ſeemed much to miſlike, and now ſithens (to their great greefe) had prooued to be intollerable. The ſumme of his talke tended to this end, that thoſe which were able of themſelues to aid him with their owne perſons, ſhould prepare them out of hand ſo to doo; and the reſidue that were not meet (as biſhops, and ſuch like maner of men) ſhould be contributors to aid him with hired ſouldiers, armour, and monie.

A ſtatute eſta-
bliſhed in fa-
uour of preeſts

This was gladlie agreed vpon, with the generall conſent of all the aſſemblie. And bicauſe the biſhops ſhewed themſelues verie liberall towards the aduancing of the kings purpoſe, there was a ſtatute made at the ſame parlement, that who ſo euer did laie any violent hands on a ſacred perſon, or elſe tooke vpon him to apprehend any of them, for what fault ſoeuer, without the biſhops licence, he ſhould be accurſed, and not be aſſoiled of any maner of perſon, except of the pope, as by a canon it was alreadie decreed, but not obeied among the Engliſhmen till that daie. ¶ The cauſe of making this ſtatute was cheeflie, for that preeſts during the time of the ciuill wars, were dailie either ſlaine, or taken priſoners, and ſo put to their ranſoms, or charged with great penalties and greeuous fines.

The biſhop of Wincheſter at this councell alſo began an other brall among the cleargie, for being brother to king Stephan, & armed with the popes authoritie as his legat in England, by reaſon of exerciſing his authoritie, fell at variance with the biſhop of Canturburie, who tooke himſelfe for his ſuperior, bicauſe he was his primat. This quarell grew ſo far in queſtion, that they went both to Rome to haue the controuerſie decided, and ſo bringing their ſutes thither, contented well the eares of them that had the hearing of the ſame; for the more weightie the cauſe ſeemed, the better it liked them.

Paul. Lang. in Chron. citizen. pag. 760.

¶ A late writer, noting in clergiemen of his age & countrie not onelie the aſpiring vice of ambition, but other diſorders alſo, and monſtrous outrages, after a complaint made that gold (by which title he calleth thoſe of the eccleſiaſticall order) is turned into to droſſe, and ſwéet wine become tart vineger, concludeth with the illation of the cauſe hereof compriſed in this metricall accouplement, ſaieng:

Dum factor rerum priuaret flamine clerum,
Ad ſatanæ votum ſucceſsit turba nepotum.

Which he inferred vpon occaſion againſt the prepoſterous elections of vnméet men into epiſcopall ſées, for that they were not ſo qualified as the dignitie of the place required; otherwiſe peraduenture enabled with competent knowledge and learning. And ſuerlie, we may note theſe inordinate affections from the beginning of this our chronicle in the beſt (I meane in reſpect of their eſtates) of this liuerie, and may iuſtlie impute it to the defection of Gods ſpirit in them, whoſe nature is to plant peace and méekeneſſe in the harts of his tenants, not diſcord, not ambition, not the works of darkneſſe, which beſéeme not the children of light. But to the purpoſe.

tth. Paris.
rle Robert
ſeth ouer
o Nor=
ndie.

ormandie
one by the
le of An=

As the king began (after his libertie obteined) to prouide for warres, ſo earle Robert (after he was diſcharged) ſailed ouer into Normandie, taking with him the ſonnes of diuerſe Noble men who fauored the empreſſe, whome hs deliuered to hir huſband the earle of Aniou to be kept as pledges, & earneſtlie beſought him to paſſe ouer into England with an armie to aid the empreſſe. Howbeit bicauſe he was newlie intred into the conqueſt of Normandie, and had alreadie won the moſt part thereof, he thought good to make firſt an end of his warres there, hauing ſomewhat to doo againſt certeine rebels of his owne countie of Aniou, which did not a little moleſt him. But he recouered (whileſt the earle of Gloceſter was there with him) Alney, Mortaigne, Tenerchbray, and diuerſe other places perteining chieflie to the earle of Mortaigne: about the ſame time alſo they of Conſtances ſubmitted themſelues vnto him. Thus the earle of Aniou being occupied in thoſe parties, could not well come into England.

l.Malm.
rle of Glo=
ter retur=
h.

r.Dor.

l. Malm.

Wherevpon the earle of Gloceſter came backe againe himſelfe, and bringing with him ſomewhat leſſe than foure hundred men of armes (imbarked in 52. ſhips) landed with the ſame at Warrham, and beſieged the caſtell there, which his enimies had won out of his hands whileſt he was abſent in Normandie. In the end they that were within it (vnder the gouernment of Herebert de Lucy) fell to agréement by compoſition, that if they were not ſuccoured by a certeine time, they ſhould deliuer the caſtell vnto the earle. King Stephan himſelfe the ſame time held a ſiege before Oxford, within the which he had incloſed the empreſſe, as hereafter ſhalbe ſhewed: ſo that they within the caſtell of Warrham had no ſuccour ſent vnto them, and therefore (according to the articles of their compoſition) they yéelded vp the hold, after erle Robert had lien thrée wéekes before it.

he Ile of
ortland.
rceſter.

he empreſſe
ieged in
xford.

This caſtell being thus woone, earle Robert ſubdued alſo ſuch as kept the Ile of Portland, and had fenſed it after the maner of a fortreſſe: afterwards he came to Circeſter, and there aſſembled all thoſe that fauoured the part of the empreſſe, meaning with all conuenient ſpéed to go to Oxford, & there to giue battell to king Stephan, if he would abide it. Who after his deliuerance from captiuitie, had aſſembled a great hoſt of men, and comming to Oxford, where the empreſſe then laie, ſuddenlie beſieged hir, before ſhe looked for him. And to the end alſo that he might compell the townſmen to yéeld, or elſe kéepe them from entring which would come to their ſuccors, he ranged abroad into the countrie with part of his armie, waſting all afore him by fire & ſword. This ſiege continued almoſt two moneths, in maner from his deliuerie in the beginning of Nouember, vntill Chriſtmaſſe immediatlie following: in ſomuch that through lacke of vittels they within the towne began to raiſe mutinies. The empreſſe therefore doubting the ſequele, and ſéeing hir prouiſion to decaie, deuiſed a ſhift how to eſcape that preſent danger, which by force ſhe was vnlikelie to performe.

N.Triuet.
Simon Dun.
Wil.Paru.
Ran.Higd.
Matth.Paris.
The empreſſe eſcapeth out of Oxford.
Polydor.
Wil. Malm.
Simon Dun.
Matth.Paris.
Brian ſonne to the earle of Gloceſter.

It was a verie hard winter that yeare, the Thames and other riuers thereabouts were froſen, ſo that both man and horſſe might ſafelie paſſe ouer vpon the yce, the fields were alſo couered with a thicke and déepe ſnow. Herevpon taking occaſion, ſhe clad hir ſelfe and all hir companie in white apparell, that a far off they might not be diſcerned from the ſnow; and ſo by negligence of the watch that kept ward but ſlenderlie, by reaſon of the excéeding cold weather, ſhe and hir partakers ſecretlie in the night iſſued out of the towne, and paſſing ouer the Thames, came to Walingford, where ſhe was receiued into the caſtell by thoſe that had the ſame in kéeping to hir vſe: of whom Brian the ſonne to the erle of Gloceſter was the chiefe.

Aeneas Syluius.

¶ Here we may ſée the ſubtiltie of the empreſſe, whereby ſhe obteined frée and ſafe paſſage out of hir enimies hands, who otherwiſe had taken hir in their net. So that it will be true, that hath neuer béene falſe, which Æneas Syluius (and before him many more driuing vpon the like argument) dooth ſaie in this diſtichon:

Non audet ſtygius Pluto tentare, quod audent
Effrænis monachus plenáque fraudis illa,

Meaning *Mulier*, a woman. And therefore looke what they want in magnanimitie, in ſtrength, in courage, the ſame is ſupplied by deceit, by circumuention, by craft, by fraud, by colluſion; ſometimes applied to a good intent, but moſt commonlie directed to an euill meaning and purpoſe, as the euents themſelues doo manie times declare. But let vs ſée what followed vpon this eſcape of the empreſſe.

Polydor.
Simon Dun.
N.Triuet.

Anno Reg.8.
1143

The empreſſe hir ſonne lord Henrie.

After hir departure from Oxford, the towneſmen yéelded vnto the king, who hauing taken order for the kéeping of them in obedience, marched toward Walingford, minding to beſiege the caſtell there: but being encountred in the way by his enimies, he was driuen backe, and ſo conſtreined to turne another waie. Earle Robert hearing that his ſiſter was eſcaped and gotten to Wallingford, haſted thither with all ſpéed to viſit hir: & (as ſome write) brought with him hir ſonne the lord Henrie that was come with him from beyond the ſeas, to ſée his mother: ſo that the empreſſe now beholding both hir ſonne and brother, receiued them with all the ioy and honour that ſhe could or might preſentlie make them. Hir ſon remaining vnder the gouernement of earle Robert, was then appointed by him to abide within the citie of Briſtow, & there continued for the ſpace of 4. yéeres, being committed to one Matthew his ſchoolemaiſter, to be inſtructed in knowledge, and trained vp in ciuill behauiour.

The king commeth to wilton.

King Stephan (after the ſpoiling of ſundrie churches, the robbing and burning of manie townes and villages by the hands of his hired ſouldiers, who for the more part were Flemings) came at length with his brother the biſhop of Wincheſter ſtronglie armed vnto Wilton, where he tooke in hand to fortifie the nunrie in ſtéed of a caſtell, to reſiſt the incurſions and inrodes of them of Saliſburie, who in the behalfe of the empreſſe had doone manie diſpleaſures vnto his fréends: but earle Robert vnderſtanding of his doings, got a power togither with all ſpéed, and the firſt daie of Iulie about ſunne ſetting came to Wilton, and ſuddenlie ſet the towne on fire.

The king being lodged within the nunrie, and fearing no ſuch matter, after he heard of the ſudden aſſemblie of his enimies, was put in ſuch feare, that he tooke himſelfe diſhonourablie to flight, leauing his men, his plate, and other riches altogither behind

Wil. Paru.
Sim. Dun.
M. Triuet.
Matt. Paris.

Miles earle of Hereford deceaſed.

Ger. Dor.
The earle of Eſſex taken.

The earle of Arundell.

N. Triuet.
Wil. Paru.

Anno Reg. 9.
1144

Hen. Hunt.

Sim. Dunel.
Iohn Pike.
Matth. Weſt.
N. Triuet.

him. The earles ſouldiers egerlie aſſailed the kings people, killed and ſpoiled them at their pleaſure, rifled the kings treaſurie without reſiſtance, and ſatiſfied themſelues with greedines. In this broile was William Marcell or Martell taken priſoner by earle Roberts men, & led to the caſtell of Wallingford, where Brian the earle of Gloceſters ſonne hauing charge of that caſtell, kept him in cloſe priſon, and vſed him hardlie, who by reaſon of the opinion which men had conceiued of his valiancie, could not be deliuered, till he had paid 300. marks for his ranſome, and deliuered the caſtell of Shirborne into the earles hands. Within a few daies after, Miles earle of Hereford departed this life, whoſe death was verie greeuouſlie taken of the empreſſe, for he was one of hir cheefe freends and councellers. His eldeſt ſonne Roger ſucceeded him, a gentleman though yoong in yeares, yet valiant and forward in feats of armes. William Mandeuile earle of Eſſex, an ancient capteine, & an expert warriour (who had ſerued the empreſſe, was taken alſo at S. Albons) but not without great ſlaughter of the kings ſouldiers: in ſo much that among other, the erle of Arundell mounted on a couragious palfrie & a verie valiant man was ouerthrowen in the middeſt of a water called Haliwell, by a knight named Walkeline de Oxcaie, ſo that the ſame earle was ſore bruiſed in his bodie, and almoſt drowned. The king was preſent himſelfe at the taking of the ſaid Mandeuile, whom he ſpoiled of all his goods, and conſtreined by way of redemption of his libertie, to deliuer into the kings hands the Tower of London, the caſtell of Walden, and Pleſhey. Herevpon the ſame earle being releaſed was driuen through pouertie to ſeeke ſome recouerie of his loſſes by ſundrie ſpoiles and roberies. Firſt of all therefore he ſpoiled the abbeie of S. Albons, and then the abbeie of Ramſey, which he fortified and defended as a fortreſſe, caſting the moonks out of doores, and in euerie place where ſoeuer he came, he robbed the countrie before him, till at length in the midſt of his reuenge and malicious dooings, he was ſhot thorough with an arrow amongſt his men by a ſillie footman, and ſo ended his life with confuſion, receiuing worthie puniſhment for his vngodlie behauiour. For he was a man of high ſtomach & loftie courage, but verie obſtinate againſt God, of great induſtrie in worldlie buſineſſe, but paſſing negligent towards his maker, as writers report of him.

Wil. Malm.
Wil. Paru.

Likewiſe Robert Marmion, who had attempted the ſemblable robberie & ſpoile in the abbeie church of Couentrie, was ſlaine before the ſame abbeie by a like miſchance. For going foorth to encounter with the earle of Cheſter (his mortall enimie, and being approched as then towards the citie) he fell with his horſſe into a ditch, which he cauſed to be couertlie made for the deſtruction of his enimies: and before he could be relieued, a ſouldier of the earles part ſtept to him, and ſtroke his head from his ſhoulders in ſight of both armies. Ernulfus the ſonne of earle Geffrey Mandeuile that kept the church of Ramſey as a fortreſſe, after his fathers death, was taken at length and baniſhed.

¶ Thus we ſee how Gods iudgement hunteth and purſueth the wicked, in ſomuch that they be ouertaken in their owne imaginations: according to that of the ſcripture, The wicked and bloudthirſtie man ſhall not liue halfe his daies. And true it is, that as men liue, ſo commonlie they die: for, as one ſaith verie well;

M. Pal. in ſuo ſcor.

——— *bona nulla ſceleſtis*
Et iuſtis mala nulla quidem contingere poſſunt.

Lincolne beſieged.

About the ſame time aduertiſement was giuen, that the citie of Lincolne, which the earle of Cheſter had in keeping, was but ſlenderlie manned. Wherevpon the king conceiuing ſome hope to win the ſame, haſted forward: and comming thither in the night, laid ſiege therevnto, and began to caſt a trench to ſtop them within frõ making any ſalies without.

The ſiege raiſed.

N. Triuet.

The earle at the firſt being ſomewhat amazed with the ſudden approch of the enimie, yet beholding from the walles the maner of them without, he perceiued the rankes to be verie thin: and thereby geſſing their number to be but ſmall, ſuddenlie iſſued foorth at the gates to encounter with them. The king abode not the giuing of the charge, bicauſe he was but weake and therefore fled; neither could the earle follow the chace conuenientlie, for the like cauſe; but ſetting vpon thoſe that were about to make the trench, he ſlue 80. of the workemen, and then retired into the caſtell.

A child crucified by the Iewes.

This yeare was an heinous act committed by the Iewes at Norwich, where they put a child to death, in crucifieng him vpon a croſſe to the reproch of chriſtian religion.

Matth. Paris.
Simon Dun.
Anno Reg. 10.
1145

A caſtell built at Faringdon.
Hen. Hunt.

The king winneth it by force.

Anno Reg. 11.
1146

In the yeare following; namelie, in the 10. yeare of king Stephans reigne, Robert earle of Gloceſter and other capteins tooke in hand to build a caſtell at Faringdon. But king Stephan aſſembling an armie of Londoners and other, came thither, and beſieged them within. Now whileſt earle Robert and others of the empreſſes capteins remaining not far off, taried for a greater power to come to their aid, the king with ſharpe aſſaults (but not without loſſe of his men) wan the fortreſſe: whereby his ſide began to wax the ſtronger, and to be more highlie aduanced. After this he came with a mightie armie vnto Wallingford, and there builded a ſtrong caſtell ouer againſt the other caſtell which his aduerſaries held againſt him.

Ran. Higd.
Matth. Paris.
N. Triuet.
Simon Dun.

Ran. Higd.
The welſhmen waſte Cheſhire.
Ger. Dor.

The earle of Gloceſter departeth this life.

Thither alſo came the earle of Cheſter with a great traine of knights and gentlemen vnto the king, and ſo at length they were not vnfeignedlie accorded and made freends, but in apperance on the kings behalfe. For ſhortlie after, the earle was craftilie taken at a parlement holden at Northampton, by the practiſe of K. Stephan, and could not be deliuered, till he had ſurrendred the citie and caſtell of Lincolne, with other fortreſſes perteining to the crowne into the kings hands. About that time did the Welſhmen deſtroie the prouince of Cheſter, but at laſt they were diſtreſſed. This yeare alſo the lord Geffrey earle of Aniou ſent three Noble men into England, accompanied with certeine men of warre, vnto earle Robert, requeſting him to ſend ouer his ſonne Henrie into France, that he might ſee him, and if need required, he promiſed to ſend him backe againe with all conuenient ſpeed. Earle Robert was contented to ſatiſfie his requeſt: and ſo with a good power of armed men brought the lord Henrie vnto Warham, where he tooke leaue of him, neuer after to ſee him in this world. For when the child was tranſported, earle Robert returned ſpeedilie to the parties from whence he came, and there falling into an ague, departed this life about the beginning of Nouember, and was buried at Briſtow. The lord Henrie comming to his father, was ioifully receiued, and remained in thoſe parties for the ſpace of two yeares and foure moneths.

Anno Reg. 12.
1147

Simon Dun.
K. Stephan entreth into Lincolne with his crowne on his head.

In the meane ſeaſon, the vniuſt proceedings of K. Stephan againſt the earle of Cheſter, purchaſed him new hatred of his old aduerſaries, and like ſupicion of ſuch as were his freends, for it ſounded not a little to his diſhonor. Euerie man therefore was in doubt of his dealing, and iudged that it ſtood them vpon to take heed to themſelues. But he (as one that thought he had atchiued ſome high exploit) in triumphant wiſe ſhortlie after entred into Lincolne in his roiall robes, and his crowne on his head, whereas it had not beene heard that any king had doone the like manie yeares before.

¶ It is reported by ſome writers, that he did this, to root out of mens minds a fooliſh ſuperſtitious conceit, which beleeued that no king with his crowne vpon his head might enter that citie, but ſome miſchance ſhould light vpon him: wherevpon he ſeemed by this meanes to mocke their ſuperſtitious imagination.

About the ſame time manie of the Nobles of the realme (perceiuing the kings authoritie to repreſſe violent wrongs committed by euill dooers to be defectiue) builded ſundrie ſtrong caſtels and fortreſſes vpon their owne grounds, either to defend themſelues, or to make force vpon their enimies neere adioining. After the departing of the king from Lincolne, the earle of Cheſter came thither with an armie, to aſſaie if he might recouer that citie. But his lieutenant that had the leading of his men, was ſlaine at the entring of the northgate, and ſo the erle was beaten backe with the loſſe of manie of his men: and the citizens hauing got the vpper hand, reioiſed not a little for the victorie.

Simon Dun.

But here (to ſtay a litle with temporall affaires) it ſhall not be amiſſe to rehearſe the effect of a contention, which fell about this time betweene that king and the archbiſhop of Canturburie. For ſo it happened (as Geruaſius Dorobernenſis writeth) that pope Eugenius came this yeare into France, about the middeſt of Lent, and afterward held a ſynod or councell at Rhemes: wherevnto Theobald archbiſhop of Canturburie, with others of the Engliſh biſhops were ſummoned. The archbiſhop therevpon aſking licence of the king, & not obteining it, found meanes to ſteale awaie in a ſmall bote, not without danger of his perſon.

Ger.Dor.

Now therefore the caſe of this Theobald ſtood verie hard: for Henrie biſhop of Wincheſter the kings brother through enuie had ſo wrought, that if the archbiſhop paſſed ouer without licence, he ſhould be confined of the king. Againe, he was ſure, if he came not to the councell, that he ſhould be ſuſpended by the pope. Herevpon the archbiſhop meaning rather to offend the king than the pope, got ouer, as it were ſwimming, rather than ſailing; the veſſell wherein he paſſed ouer being ſtarke naught: for all the ports were kept by the kings ſeruants, ſo that he was glad to take ſuch a bote as came next to hand. In conſideration whereof he was highlie commended by the pope.

In this councell the prebendaries of Yorke, togither with Henrie Mordach then abbat of Fountney, preſented themſelues, exhibiting their complaint againſt William archbiſhop of Yorke, for that (as they alledged) he was neither canonicallie choſen, nor lawfullie conſecrated, but intruded by the kings authoritie. At length archbiſhop William was conuicted and depoſed, Albert biſhop of Hoſtia
“ pronouncing ſentence in this wiſe: We doo decree
“ by the apoſtolike authoritie, that William archbiſhop
“ of Yorke is to be depoſed from his ſee, bicauſe
“ Stephan king of England, before any canonicall election,
“ named him.

Then, for that pope Eugenius had thus depoſed archbiſhop William, although not with the conſent of the more part of the cardinals, the chapiter of the church of Yorke, by his commandement comming togither, part of them choſe Hilarie biſhop of Chicheſter, and the other part elected Henrie Mordach abbat of Fountney. Now pope Eugenius, when both elections were ſhewed him at Auxerre, confirmed the election of Henrie Mordach, and diſanulled the other, and then conſecrated the foreſaid Henrie with his owne hands. The late nominated archbiſhop William being thus depoſed, returned into England, and remained at Wincheſter with king Henrie till the death of pope Eugenius, following the counſell of the ſame biſhop in all things.

Now when the councell at Rhemes was ended, archbiſhop Theobald returned into England, and comming to Canturburie, was receiued with great honor of the couent and citizens there. But the king remaining then at London, when he heard of it, was ſore diſpleaſed, and came with great ſpeed vnto Canturburie, where much conference being had betwixt him and the archbiſhop (although to ſmall purpoſe) for the bringing of them to an agreement, at length the king compelled the archbiſhop to depart the realme. Wherevpon, after a few daies reſpit, he went to Douer, where he tooke ſhip and ſailed into France. But within a while he was called backe by the queene and William of Ypres, vnto S. Omers, that they might the ſooner aduertiſe him of the kings mind and pleaſure. Here he conſecrated Gilbert the elect biſhop of Hereford, the fift daie of September, Theodoric biſhop of Amiens and Nicholas biſhop of Cambre aſſiſting him.

After this, when by ſending of meſſengers to and fro, aſwell biſhops, abbats, and other, both ſpirituall perſons and temporall, there could no agreement be made, he directed his letter to certeine churches here in England, pronouncing by a certeine day, namelie the twelfe day of September, a ſentence of interdiction to be obſerued through the relme. The monks of Canturburie ſore offended herewith, before the prefixed day of this ſentence to be put in vre, ſent two moonkes of their owne houſe, Nigell and Abſolon, vnto the pope: whoſe errand when the pope had vnderſtood, he commanded them to returne home, and to obeie their archbiſhops ſentence in all things.

In the meane time the archbiſhops men and tenants were ſore oppreſſed, and his rents and reuenues ſeized to the kings vſe, yea euen before the daies of paiment. Which maner of proceeding ſore greeued the archbiſhop: in ſo much that departing from S. Omers, he came to Graueling, and there taking the ſea, croſſed ouer to a towne called Goſeford that belonged vnto Hugh Bigot erle of Northfolke: which earle receiued him with great honour, and ſent him all neceſſarie prouiſion, ſo long as he remained in his countrie. At the terme appointed, he interdicted all the kings dominions, and would not reuoke the ſentence, till Robert biſhop of London, Hilarie biſhop of Chicheſter, and William biſhop of Norwich, with manie other Noblemen, came to him vnto Franclingham in Northfolke, a caſtell apperteining to the ſaid earle, where at length an attonement was concluded betwixt him and the king: wherevpon he was brought home vnto Canturburie with great ioy and honor.

He accuſed the moonks of Canturburie, for diſobeieng the interdiction, truſting that the pope would not heare thoſe two moonkes whom they had ſent, as he did not indeed. He excommunicated alſo all thoſe that had receiued the ſacraments amongſt them, during the time of the interdiction. Now theſe moonkes being at their wits end, diſpatched with all ſpeed other two moonkes to the pope, to obteine an abſolution, before the archbiſhop ſhould vnderſtand it: but they were ſent backe againe with checks, and commanded to obeie their archbiſhop in all things, as the other were, which had beene there with him before.

Geruaſius.
Anno Reg. 13.
1148

The moonks of Canturburie that were ſent to Rome, returning, came from thence to Bullongne, where they found thoſe that were firſt ſent thither: and ſo they all foure came to Canturburie. The pope alſo had ſent a priuie commandement to the archbiſhop, that he ſhould duelie puniſh as well them as the other. Wherevpon the archbiſhop taking counſell with his freends, depoſed Sylueſter the prior, and ſuſpended William the ſecretarie of the houſe from entring the queere. It was decreed alſo, that the reſidue ſhould ceaſe ſo long a time from ſaieng ſeruice, as they had ſaid it before vnlawfullie, againſt the archbiſhops commandement. For it was thought reaſon, that whileſt other ſang and were merrie, they ſhould keepe ſilence, which wilfullie tooke vpon them to ſing, whileſt other held their peace and were ſtill. They began therefore to ceaſe from ſaieng diuine ſeruice, and from ringing their bels in the ſecond weeke of Lent: & ſo kept ſilence from the twelfe day of March, vntill the firſt day of Auguſt.

The queene wife to king Stephan in this meane while lay much at S. Auguſtines in Canturburie, bicauſe of haſtening forward the building of Feuerſham abbeie, which ſhe and hir huſband had begonne from the verie foundation. And bicauſe the monkes of S. Auguſtine might not celebrate diuine ſeruice, ſhe called thither commonlie the monks of Chriſtes church to ſay ſeruice before hir. Thus much for that purpoſe: and now to other matters.

The L. Henrie returneth into England
Anno Reg. 14.
1149

The lord Henrie Fitzempreſſe after all theſe buſineſſes returned into England, in the moneth of May, with a great companie of men of warre both horſſemen and footmen: by reaſon whereof many reuolted from king Stephan to take part with him: whereas before they ſat ſtill, and would not attempt any exploit againſt him. But now incouraged with the preſence of the lord Henrie, they declared themſelues freends to him, and enimies to the king. Immediatlie after his arriuall, he tooke with him the earles of Cheſter and Hereford, Ranulfe and Roger, and diuers other Noble men and knights of great fame, beſide thoſe whom he had brought with him out of Normandie, and went vnto Carleil, where he found his coſin Dauid king of Scotland, of whome he was moſt ioifullie receiued: and vpon Whitſunday with great ſolemnitie, being not paſt ſixteene yeares of age, was by the ſame king made knight, with diuerſe other yoong gentlemen that were much about the ſame age.

He is made knight.
R. Houed.

¶Some write, that the king of Scots receiued an oth of him before he gaue him the honor of knighthood, that if he chanced to atteine vnto the poſſeſſion of the realme of England, he ſhould reſtore to the Scots the towne of Newcaſtle, with the countrie of Northumberland, from the riuer of Tweed, to the riuer of Tine. But whether it were ſo or not, I am not able to make warrantize.

K. Stephan with an armie commeth to Yorke.

Now king Stephan hearing that the king of Scots, and his aduerſarie the lord Henrie with the cheefeſt lords of the weſt parts of England lay thus in Carleil, he raiſed an armie, and came to the citie of Yorke, where he remained for the moſt part of the moneth of Auguſt, fearing leaſt his enimies ſhould attempt the winning of that citie. But after the one part had remained a time in Carleil, and the other in Yorke, they departed from both thoſe places without any further exploit for that ſeaſon, ſauing that Euſtachius king Stephans ſonne (hauing alſo latelie receiued the order of knighthood) did much hurt in the countries which belonged to thoſe Noble men that were with the lord Henrie.

Math. Paris.
Great raine.

The great raine that fell in the ſummer ſeaſon this yeare did much hurt vnto corne ſtanding on the ground, ſo that a great dearth followed. In the winter alſo after, about the tenth day of December, it began to freeſe extreamelie, and ſo continued till the nineteenth of Februarie: wherby the riuer of Thames was ſo froſen, that men might paſſe ouer it both on foot and horſſebacke.

A ſore froſt.

Anno Reg. 15.
1150

In the meane while Henrie Duke of Normandie, after he had returned from the king of the Scots, ſailed backe into Normandie, about the beginning of Auguſt, leauing England full of all thoſe calamities, which ciuill warre is accuſtomed to bring with it, as burning of houſes, killing, robbing, and ſpoiling of people, ſo that the land was in danger of vtter deſtruction, by reaſon of that peſtilent diſcord.

This yeare the 23. of Februarie, Galfridus Monumetenſis, otherwiſe called Galfridus Arthurius, who turned the Britiſh hiſtorie into Latine, was conſecrated biſhop of S. Aſaph, by Theobald archbiſhop of Canturburie, at Lambeth, William biſhop of Norwich and Walter biſhop of Rocheſter aſſiſting him.

Ger. Dor.
The earle of Aniou father to Henry Fitz empreſſe departeth this life.

Moreouer, this yeare (as ſome writers haue recorded) Geffrey earle of Aniou, huſband to the empreſſe Maud, departed this life, on the ſeuenth day of September, leauing his ſonne Henrie onelie heire and ſucceſſor in the eſtates of the duchie of Normandie and countie of Aniou. The bodie of the ſaid earle was buried at Mans, with a great funerall pompe: his three ſonnes Henrie, Geffrey, and William being preſent.

Worceſter aſſaulted.

But king Stephan aſſaulting the faire citie of Worceſter with a great power of men of warre, tooke it, and conſumed it with fire, but the caſtell he could not win. This citie belonged to earle Walcran de Mellent, at that ſeaſon: for king Stephan to his owne hinderance had giuen it vnto him. Now after the men of warre had diuided the ſpoile amongſt them, they came backe, and paſſing through the lands of their enimies, got great booties, which they alſo tooke away with them, finding none to reſiſt them in their iournie.

Anno Reg. 16.
1151
Ger. Dorober.
A ſynod at London.

In the yeare following Theobald archbiſhop of Canturburie, and legat to the ſee apoſtolike, held a generall ſynod or councell at London in the Lent ſeaſon, where king Stephan himſelfe with his ſonne Euſtachius, and other the peeres of the realme were preſent. This councell was full of appeales, contrarie to that had beene vſed in this land, till the time that Henrie biſhop of Wincheſter vnto his owne harme (whileſt he was likewiſe the popes legat) had by vniuſt intruſion brought them in, and now at this councell he was himſelfe thriſe appealed to the hearing of the popes owne conſiſtorie. After this king Stephan in the ſame yeare brake into the citie of Worceſter, and whereas he could not the laſt time win the caſtell, he now endeuoured with all his force to take it. But when thoſe within made valiant reſiſtance, he raiſed two caſtels againſt it, and leauing in the ſame certeine of his Nobles to continue the ſiege, he himſelfe returned home. ¶ Thus (as yee ſee) the kings propertie was to attempt manie things valiantlie, but he proceeded in them oftentimes verie ſlowlie: howbeit, now by the policie of the earle of Leiceſter, thoſe two caſtels which the king had raiſed to beſiege the other caſtell, were ſhortlie after deſtroied: and ſo the beſieged were deliuered from danger. This earle of Leiceſter was brother to the earle of Mellent. Thus the kings purpoſed intention and painefull trauell on that behalfe came to none effect.

The earle of Leiceſter brother to the erle of Mellent.

Anno Reg. 17.
1152
The duke of Normandie Fitzempreſſe marieth the ducheſſe of Aquitaine.

In the meane while Henrie duke of Normandie maried Elianor duches of Guien or Aquitaine, latelie diuorſed from the French king, and ſo in right of hir he became duke of Aquitaine, and earle of Poictou; for ſhe was the onelie daughter to William duke of Guien, and earle of Poictou, and by hir father created his ſole and lawfull heire.

The French king maketh warre againſt the duke of Normandie.

The French king was nothing pleaſed with this mariage, inſomuch that he made ſore warre vpon duke Henrie, ioining himſelfe in league with king Stephan, with his ſonne Euſtace, and with the lord

Geffrey brother to duke Henrie, ſo that the ſaid Henrie was conſtreined to defer his iournie into England, and applie his power to defend his countries and ſubiects on that ſide of the ſea. For whereas he was readie at the mouth of the riuer of Barbe to paſſe ouer into England, not long after midſummer, the French king, with Euſtace king Stephans ſonne, Robert earle of Perch, Henrie erle of Champaigne, and Geffrey brother to duke Henrie, hauing aſſembled a mightie armie, came and beſieged the caſtell of Newmarch, and ſent forth the lord Geffrey with a ſtrong power to win the caſtell of Angers. Duke Henrie aduertiſed hereof, departing from the place where he ſoiourned, haſted forth to ſuccour his people that were beſieged, but the caſtell of Newmarch was deliuered to the French king, through treaſon of thoſe that had it in keeping, before the duke could come to their reſcue.

he caſtell of
ewmarch
liuered to
e French
ng.

Wherevpon the ſaid duke hauing knowledge by the waie that he ſhould come too late thither, he encamped firſt vpon the ſide of the riuer of Andell, and waſted a great part of the countrie of Veuxin or Veulqueſine, ſurnamed Le Normant, which lieth betwixt the riuer of Epte and Andell. This countrie belonged ſomtime to Normandie, but Geffrey earle of Aniou the dukes father had reſigned it to the French king, to the end he ſhould not aid king Stephan. The duke alſo burned the caſtels of Baſcheruille, Chitrey, Stirpiney, and the caſtell of Fort, that belonged to Hugh de Gourney, with diuerſe other. About the end of Auguſt he left his townes in Normandie ſufficientlie furniſhed with gariſons of ſouldiers, and went into Aniou, where he beſieged the caſtell de mount Sotelli, till he had taken it, and all thoſe that were within it, amongſt whome was the lord thereof named William. The French king on the other ſide entring into Normandie, burnt part of the borough of Rieule, and either then or ſhortlie after that duke Henrie was gone ouer into England, he tooke the towne and caſtell of Vernon.

eulqueſine.
Veuxin.

he caſtell of
rnon.
non Dun.

Whileſt theſe things were thus a dooing in France, K. Stephan would haue cauſed the archbiſhop of Canturburie & diuerſe other biſhops, whom for that purpoſe he had aſſembled, to crowne, anoint, and confirme his ſonne Euſtace king ouer the realme of England. But the archbiſhops and biſhops refuſed ſo to doo, bicauſe the pope by his letters ſent to the archbiſhop, had commanded to the contrarie; namelie, that he ſhould in no wiſe crowne the kings ſon, bicauſe his father king Stephan had got the poſſeſſion of the land againſt his oth receiued in behalfe of the empreſſe. The father and ſonne being not a litle offended herewith, committed moſt of his biſhops to ward, ſeeking by threats and menacings to bring them to his purpoſe. The biſhops alſo were in no ſmall perplexitie: for according to the truth, the king neuer ſeemed greatlie to fauor churchmen, bicauſe of their ſtrength (as in former times by his rigor vſed againſt the biſhops of Saliſburie and Lincolne it plainelie appeared) and yet would not theſe men yeeld to his pleaſure: wherevpon although they were ſet at libertie, they were neuertheleſſe depriued of their temporall poſſeſſions, which notwithſtanding afterwards vpon the kings owne motion were reſtored vnto them.

he pope is
ainſt it.

he biſhops
threatned.

Howbeit the archbiſhop of Canturburie perſiſting ſtill in his opinion, was forſaken of diuerſe of the biſhops, who through feare durſt not ſtand againſt their princes pleaſure. But the archbiſhop, when he perceiued how the matter went, & that all the blame was like to light and reſt on his ſhoulders, he got himſelfe by a maruellous hap ouer the Thames, and with ſpeed riding to Douer, paſſed the ſea, to auoid both the fathers and ſonnes reuengefull diſpleaſure. Herevpon the king ſeized into his hands all the lands & poſſeſſions that belonged to the archbiſhop.

er.Dor.

he archbi-
op of Can-
rburie flieth
t of the
alme,

This yeare queene Maud wife to king Stephan departed this life at Hangey caſtell, that belonged to earle Alberike de Veer, about the third daie of Maie, and was buried in the abbeie of Feuerſham, which ſhe with hir husband king Stephan had latelie founded.

Matth.Paris.
Ger.Dor.

This yeare through great and immoderate raine that fell in the ſummer, the growing of corne was ſo hindred, that a great death of people inſued.

This yeare alſo was the battell of Monadmore fought in Ireland, where the flower and chiefeſt perſonages of Mounſter and Leyniſter were ſlaine. Moreouer one John, a moonke of Sagium, was made the ſecond biſhop of the Ile of Man: the firſt biſhop that was there inſtituted hight Wimond a moonke of Sauinie, who for his importunate miſdemenour in ſome reſpects, had his eies put out, and was diſplaced.

The battell of
Monadmore.

Matth. Paris.
The ſecond &
alſo the firſt
biſhops of
Man.

John Papirio a cardinall, being ſent from the pope as legat into Ireland, ordeined foure archbiſhops there, one at Dublin, an other at Ardmach, the third at Caſſels, and the fourth at Connach. The ſee of Dublin he changed into an archbiſhops ſee, one Gregorie at that time poſſeſſing the ſame: to whom he gaue the firſt and chiefe pall, and appointed the church of the bleſſed Trinitie to be church metropolitane. As this cardinall paſſed through England, he receiued an oth of fealtie vnto king Stephan.

Hen. Marle.

The biſhop of
Dublin made
archbiſhop.

The ſame yeare alſo king Stephan by ſiege and force of aſſault did win the caſtell of Newberie not far from Winchester. This doone he went to Wallingford, and beſieging the caſtell, he builded at the entring of the bridge a fortreſſe to ſtop them within from iſſuing out, and likewiſe from receiuing any reliefe or ſuccour by their freends abroad. The defendants perceiuing themſelues ſo hardlie laid at, ſent to the duke of Normandie (in whoſe name they kept that caſtell) deſiring him either to ſuccour them, or elſe giue them licence to yeeld vp the caſtell to the king. Herevpon duke Henrie hauing diſpatched his buſineſſe on the further ſide of the ſea, began to be kindled with a feruent deſire once againe to attempt his fortune here in England for recouerie of that kingdome, and ſo with three thouſand footmen, & 7. ſcore horſſemen, with all ſpeed poſſible ſailed ouer into England, where he landed about the 12. daie in Chriſtmaſſe. He was no ſooner arriued, but a great number of ſuch as tooke part with his mother came flocking in vnto him: wherevpon being now furniſhed with a great and puiſſant armie, he marched forth to Malmeſburie, where in the caſtell was a great gariſon of ſoldiers placed by king Stephan. Duke Henrie planted his ſiege about this caſtell the thirteenth daie of Ianuarie, and enforced himſelfe to the vttermoſt of his power to win it.

The caſtell of
Newberie
won.

Duke Henrie
Fitzempreſſe
returneth into
England.

Ger.Dor.

He beſiegeth
the caſtell of
Malmeſbury.
Matth.Paris.
Polydor.

Now king Stephan hearing of his enimies arriuall, with all haſt poſſible got his armie on foot, and comming ſuddenlie towards the place where his enimies were pitched, he cauſed duke Henrie to raiſe his ſiege, and following after, offered him battell. But duke Henrie, knowing that his enimies were far more in number than he was at that preſent, and alſo conceiuing with himſelfe that by prolonging of time his owne power would increaſe, abſteined from fighting, and kept him within the cloſure of his campe. ¶ Thus haue ſome written, but other authors write, that Henrie kept himſelfe indeed within his campe, and refuſed to giue battell, but yet remoued not his ſiege, till the king departed from thence, after he ſaw he could not haue his purpoſe, and then did duke Henrie win the caſtell of Malmeſburie, or rather the maiſter tower or cheefe dungeon

K. Stephan
conſtreineth
him to raiſe
his ſiege.

Wil.Parn.

Simon Dun.
Ger.Dor.

of that caſtell. For as (Simon of Durham writeth) he had won by aſſault the other parts and lims of the caſtell before king Stephan came to remoue him.

A ſore ſtorme.

This tower that thus held out, was in the keeping of one capteine Iordan, who eſcaping forth came to the king, informing him in what ſtate he had left his men within the tower: wherevpon the king (making all the power that he was able) ſet forward, and comming to Circiter, lodged there one night, and in the morning purpoſing to raiſe the ſiege, or to fight with his enimies (if they would abide battell) marched forth towards Malmeſburie. But vpon his approch to the dukes campe, the daie following his comming thither, there roſe ſuch a hideous tempeſt of wind and raine, beating full in the faces of king Stephans people, that God ſeemed to fight for the duke, who in reſpect of the number of people was thought too weake to deale with the ſtrong and puiſſant armie of the king: howbeit the ſtorme being on his backe, and beating extremelie in king Stephans mens faces, they were not able to hold their weapons in their hands, inſomuch that he perceiued he could not paſſe the riuer that ran betwixt the armies: wherevpon conſtreined in that ſort through the violent rage of that cold and wet weather, he returned to London full euill appaied, in that he could not ſatiſfie his expectation at that preſent.

The caſtell of Wallingford.

The tower that duke Henrie had hardlie beſieged immediatlie herewith was ſurrendred vnto him, & then making prouiſion for vittels and other things, to the reliefe of them that kept the caſtell of Wallingford, he haſted thither, and finding no reſiſtance by the way, eaſily accompliſhed his enterpriſe. There were diuerſe caſtels thereabouts in the countrie furniſhed with gariſons of the kings ſouldiers, but they kept themſelues cloſe, and durſt not come abroad to ſtop his paſſage. Shortlie after he beſieged the caſtell of Cranemers, and caſt a trench about it, ſo as his people within Wallingford caſtell might haue free libertie to come forth at their pleaſure: but as for thoſe within the caſtell of Cranemers, they were ſo hardlie holden in, that there was no waie for them to ſtart out.

The caſtell of Cranemers.

The king aduertiſed hereof, got all his hoſt togither, and marched forward verie terriblie toward duke Henries campe. But ſhewing no token of feare, he cauſed the trench wherewith he had incloſed his campe forthwith to be caſt downe, and leauing the ſiege, came into the fields with his armie ſet in order of battell, meaning to trie the matter by dint of ſword, although he had not the like number of men as the king had: whoſe armie perceiuing their enimies to come in the face of them, were ſtricken with a ſudden feare: neuertheleſſe, he himſelfe being of a good courage, commanded his people to march forward. But herewith certeine Noble men, that loued not the aduancement of either part, vnder a colour of good meaning ſought to treat an agréement betwixt them, ſo that an intermiſſion or ceſing from war was granted, and by compoſition the caſtell which the king had built, and the duke beſieged, was razed to the ground. The king and the duke alſo came to an enterview and communication togither, a riuer running betwixt them. Some write that they fell to agreement, king Stephan vndertaking to raze the caſtell of Cranemers himſelfe, and ſo laieng armour aſide for that time, they parted aſunder.

Matth. Paris.
Ger.Dor.
Euſtace king Stephans ſonne.

But Euſtace K. Stephans ſon was ſore offended herewith, and reprouing his father for concluding ſuch an agréement, in a great rage departed from the court, & taking his waie toward Cambridgeſhire (which countrie he meant to ouerrun) he came to the abbeie of Burie, and vpon S. Laurence daie cauſed all the corne in the countrie about, and namelie that which belonged to the ſaid abbeie, to be ſpoiled and brought into a caſtell which he had in keeping not far from thence. But as he ſat downe to meat the ſame daie vpon receiuing the firſt morſell he fell mad (as writers haue reported) and miſerablie ended his life. The ſame weeke Simon earle of Northampton departed this world of a like diſeaſe, and ſo two of the chiefeſt aduerſaries which duke Henrie had, were rid out of the waie. Euſtace was buried at Feuerſham in Kent, and earle Simon at Northampton.

Euſtace king Stephans ſon and Simon earle of Northãpton depart this life both in one weeke.

The earle of Cheſter deceaſſeth.

About the ſame time alſo that noble and valiant earle of Cheſter called Ranulfe departed this life, a man of ſuch ſtoutneſſe of ſtomach, that death could ſcarſelie make him to yeeld, or ſhew any token of feare: he was poiſoned (as was thought) by William Peuerell. After him ſucceeded his ſonne Hugh, a man likewiſe of paſſing ſtrength and vertue. Now although earle Ranulfe fauoured the part of duke Henrie, yet in theſe later yeares he did but little for him: wherefore it was thought that the death of this earle was not ſo great a loſſe to the duke, as the deaths of Euſtace, earle Simon, and other the kings freends deceaſing about the ſame time ſeemed to further him: ſo that his part became dailie ſtronger, and the kings weaker.

Matth. Paris.
Rob.Mont.

About the ſame time the caſtels of Reading and Beertwell were deliuered to duke Henrie, and the ladie Gundreda counteſſe of Warwike draue out the ſouldiers that held it for king Stephan, and deliuered the towne to duke Henrie. In this yeare duches Elenor, wife to Henrie Fitzempreſſe, was brought to bed of hir firſt borne ſon, whom they named William, after the maner of the ancient dukes of Aquitaine.

Stamford was taken.
Simon Dun.
Ger.Dor.

Thus came things to paſſe in ſundrie places with ſo good ſucceſſe as duke Henrie could wiſh, wherevpon meaning to follow the ſteps of proſperous fortune, he marched forth to Stamford, and taking the towne at his firſt comming laid ſiege to the caſtell. Now they that had it in keeping ſent meſſengers to king Stephan, requiring reſcue, but the ſame time he had laid ſiege to the caſtell of Gipſwich, which Hugh Bigot kept againſt him: and bicauſe he wold not depart from that ſiege till he had the caſtell giuen vp into his hands (which came at laſt to paſſe) in the meane time the caſtell of Stamford was yeelded vp to duke Henrie, who immediatlie therevpon departed from Stamford eaſtward, meaning to come to the ſuccour of his freends beſieged at Gipſwich or Ipſwich (as it is commonlie called) not vnderſtanding as yet that they had ſurrendred the hold: but hauing knowledge by the way what was happened, he returned and marched ſtreight to Notingham, and got the towne eaſilie; for they within the caſtell had ſet it on fire, therfore he beſieged the caſtell ſtanding vpon the point of a ſteepe craggie rocke, and was furniſhed with a ſtrong gariſon of men, and all things neceſſarie for defenſe, ſo that it could not eaſilie be woone.

Gipſwich or Ipſwich beſieged.

N.Triuet.

Notingham.

Duke Henrie raiſeth his ſiege from Notingham.
Polydor.

When duke Henrie had aſſaied all the waies how to take it, and ſaw that he could not preuaile, he minded to looſe no more time: but raiſing his ſiege from thence, he ranged abroad to get other places into his poſſeſſion, and finallie came to his mother, and laie at Wallingford. King Stephan in the meane time being ſtrong in the field, ſought time and place to haue Henrie at ſome aduantage, who in his yoong yeares (as yet not hauing taſted any miſfortune) he thought would raſhlie attempt ſome vnaduiſed enterpriſe. ¶ But whereas the realme of England had béene now manie yeares miſerablie turmoiled with ciuill warre (which the verie heathen haue ſo deteſted, that they haue exclaimed againſt it with a kind of irkſomneſſe; as:

The miſerie of this land in time of the ciuill warre.

Eheu

Hor.lib.car.1. 35.

Eheu cicatricum & ſceleris pudet,
Fratrúmque: quid nos dura refugimus
Aetas? quid intactum nefaſti
Linquimus? vnde manus iuuentus

Idem lib.car.2. ode.1.

Metu deorum continuit? quibus
Pepercit aris? iam litui ſtrepunt,
Iam fulgor armorum fugaces
Terret equos equitúmque vultus)

Wherein (beſides millians of extremities) honeſt matrones and mens wiues were violated, maids and virgins rauiſhed, churches ſpoiled, townes and villages robbed, whole flocks and heards of ſheepe and beaſts deſtroied (wherein the ſubſtance of the realme cheeflie conſiſted) and men without number ſlaine and murthered, it pleaſed the goodneſſe of almightie God at length to deliuer the land of theſe miſeries, which were notified to all countries round about that ſore lamented the ſame.

Now whereas king Stephan was the cauſe of all the troubles, in hauing vſurped an other mans rightfull inheritance, it pleaſed God to moue his hart at length to deſire peace which he had euer before abhorred. The cauſe that moued him cheefelie to change his former purpoſe, was for that his ſonne Euſtace by ſpeedie death was taken out of this world (as before you haue heard) which loſſe ſeemed great not onelie to the father, but alſo to all thoſe lords and others which had alwaies taken his part, bicauſe he was a yoong man ſo well liked of all men, that he was iudged to be borne to much honour. But his wife Conſtance tooke his death verie ſorowfullie, and the more indeed, for that ſhe had no iſſue by him, wherevpon ſhortlie after ſhe was ſent honourablie home to hir father king Lewes with hir dower, and other rich and princelie gifts.

The ladie Conſtance wife to Euſtace ſent home.

King Stephan ſeeing himſelfe thus depriued of his onlie ſonne, vnto whom he minded to leaue the kingdome which he ſo earneſtlie ſought to confirme and aſſure vnto him by warlike endeuor, and that againe the French kings aid would not be ſo readie as heretofore it had beene (wherevpon he much ſtaied, now that the bonds of affinitie were aboliſhed) he began at length (though not immediatlie vpon his ſonnes deceaſſe) to withdraw his mind from war, and bequeathed it wholie to peace. Which alteration being perceiued, thoſe Nobles that were glad to ſee the ſtate of their countrie quieted, did their beſt to further it; & cheeflie Theobald archbiſhop of Canturburie trauelled earneſtlie to bring the princes to ſome agreement, now talking with the king, now ſending to the duke, and vſing all means poſſible to ſet them at vnitie. The biſhop of Wincheſter alſo, who had cauſed all the trouble, vpon conſideration of the great calamities wherewith the land was moſt miſerablie afflicted, began to wiſh an end thereof. Wherevpon the lords ſpirituall and temporall were called togither at Wincheſter about the latter end of Nouember, that they with their conſents alſo might confirme whatſoeuer the king and the duke ſhould conclude vpon.

K. Stephan began to incline his mind to peace. Matth. Paris.

Ger. Dor.

An aſſemblie of lords at Wincheſter.

Thus was a publike aſſemblie made in the citie of Wincheſter, whither alſo duke Henrie came, who being ioifullie receiued of the king in the biſhops palace, they were made freends, the king admitting the duke for his ſonne, and the duke the king for his father, inſomuch that the agreement, which (through the carefull ſute of the archbiſhop of Canturburie) had beene laboured with ſuch diligence to good effect, was now confirmed: the cheefe articles whereof were theſe.

A peace concluded betwixt the king and the duke.

Some writers haue recorded that duke Henrie ſhould preſentlie by this agreement enioy halfe the realme of England.

1 That king Stephan, during his naturall life, ſhould remaine king of England, and Henrie the empreſſes ſonne ſhould enioy the dukedome of Normandie, and be proclaimed heire apparant to ſucceed in and haue the regiment of England, after the deceaſſe of Stephan.

2 That ſuch noble men, and other, which had held either with the one partie or the other, during the time of the ciuill warres, ſhould be in no danger for the ſame, but enioy their lands, poſſeſſions and liuings, according to their ancient rights and titles.

3 That the king ſhould reſume and take into his hands againe, all ſuch portions and parcels of inheritance belonging to the crowne, as he had giuen away, or were otherwiſe vſurped by any maner of perſon, and that all thoſe poſſeſſions which by any intruſion had beene violentlie taken from the right owners, ſince the daies of king Henrie, ſhould be reſtored to them that were rightlie poſſeſſed in the ſame by the daies of the ſaid king.

Matth. Paris. Caſtels to be razed in number. 1115.

4 That all thoſe caſtels, which contrarie to all reaſon and good order had beene made and builded by any maner of perſon in the daies of king Stephan, ſhould be ouerthrowne and caſt downe, which were found to be eleuen hundred and fifteene.

5 That the king ſhould reforme all ſuch diſorders as warre had brought in; to reſtore farmers to their holdings, to repaire decaied buildings, to ſtore paſtures and leaſſues with cattell, hils with ſheepe, &c.

6 That by his meanes the cleargie might enioy their due quietneſſe, and not be oppreſſed with any vniuſt exactions.

7 That he ſhould place ſhirifes where they had beene accuſtomed to beare rule, with inſtructions giuen them to deale vprightlie in cauſes, ſo as offenders might not eſcape through bribes, or any other reſpect of freendſhip; but that euerie man might receiue according to right and equitie.

8 That ſoldiours ſhould conuert their ſwords (as Eſaie ſaith) into culters & plough ſhares, their ſpeares into mattocks, and ſo returne from the campe to the plough: and that ſuch as were woont to keepe watch in the night ſeaſon, might now ſleepe and take their reſt without any danger.

9 That the huſbandman might be ſet free from all trouble and vexation, by meanes wherof he might follow his tilth, and plie his culture.

10 That merchant men and occupiers might enioy their trades and occupations to their aduancement.

11 That one kind and manner of ſiluer coine ſhould run through the land, &c.

12 There was alſo conſideration had of a ſonne which king Stephan had, named William, who though he were verie yoong, was yet appointed to ſweare fealtie vnto duke Henrie as lawfull heire to the crowne. The ſame William had the citie of Norwich, and diuerſe other lands aſſigned him for the maintenance of his eſtate, and that by the conſent and agreement of duke Henrie his adopted brother.

Theſe things being thus concluded at Wincheſter, and the warre that had continued for the ſpace of 17. yeares now ended and fullie pacified: the king tooke the duke with him to London, dooing to him all the honour he could deuiſe. The newes whereof being ſpred abrode, euerie good man reioiſed thereat. Thus through the great mercie of God, peace was reſtored vnto the decaied ſtate of this relme of England. Which things being thus accompliſhed with great ioy and tokens of loue, king Stephan and his new adopted ſonne duke Henrie tooke leaue either of other, appointing ſhortlie after to meet againe at Oxenford, there to perfect euerie article of their agreement, which was thus accorded a little before Chriſtmas.

¶ But by the way, for the better vnderſtanding of the ſaid agreement, I haue thought good to ſet downe the verie tenor of the charter made by king Stephan, as I haue copied it out, and tranſlated it into Engliſh out of an autentike booke conteining the old lawes of the Saxon and Daniſh kings, in the end whereof the ſame charter is exemplified, which booke is remaining with the right worſhipfull William Fleetwood eſquire, now recorder of London, and ſargeant at law.

The charter of king Stephan, of the *pacification of the troubles betwixt him and* Henrie duke of Normandie.

STephan king of England, to all archbiſhops, biſhops, abbats, earles, iuſticers, ſherifes, barons and all his faithfull ſubiects of England ſendeth greeting. Know yee that I king Stephan, haue ordeined Henrie duke of Normandie after me by right of inheritance to be my ſucceſſour, and heire of the kingdome of England, and ſo haue I giuen and granted to him and his heires the kingdome of England. For the which honour, gift, and confirmation to him by me made, he hath doone homage to me, and with a corporall oth hath aſſured me, that he ſhall be faithfull and loiall to me, and ſhall to his power preſerue my life and honour: and I on the other ſide ſhall maineteine and preſerue him as my ſonne and heire in all things to my power, and ſo far as by any waies or meanes I may.

william ſonne to king Stephan.

Earle warren.

And William my ſonne hath doone his lawfull homage, and aſſured his fealtie vnto the ſaid duke of Normandie, and the duke hath granted to him to hold of him all thoſe tenements and holdings which I held before I atteined to the poſſeſſion of the realme of England, whereſoeuer the ſame be in England, Normandie, or elſewhere, and whatſoeuer he receiued with the daughter of earle Warren, either in England or Normandie, & likewiſe whatſoeuer apperteineth to thoſe honoures. And the duke ſhall put my ſonne William and his men that are of that honour in full poſſeſſion and ſeizine of all the lands, boroughs and rents, which the duke thereof now hath in his demaine, and namelie of thoſe that belong to the honour of the earle Warren, and namelie of the caſtels of Bellencumber and Mortimer, ſo that Reginald de Warren ſhall haue the keeping of the ſame caſtels of Bellencumber, and of Mortimer, if he will; and therevpon ſhall giue pledges to the duke: and if he will not haue the keeping of thoſe caſtels, then other liege men of the ſaid erle Warren, whome it ſhall pleaſe the duke to appoint, ſhall by ſure pledges and good ſuertie keepe the ſaid caſtels.

The caſtels of Bellencumber and Mortimer.

The earldome of Mortaigne.

Moreouer, the duke ſhall deliuer vnto him according to my will and pleaſure the other caſtels, which belong vnto the earledome of Mortaigne by ſafe cuſtodie and pledges, ſo ſoone as he conuenientlie may, ſo as all the pledges are to be reſtored vnto my ſonne free, ſo ſoone as the duke ſhall haue the realme of England in poſſeſſion. The augmentation alſo which I haue giuen vnto my ſonne William, he hath likewiſe granted the ſame to him; to wit, the caſtell and towne of Norwich, with ſeauen hundred pounds in lands, ſo as the rents of Norwich be accounted as parcell of the ſame ſeauen hundred pounds in lands, and all the countie of Norfolke; the profits and rents which belong to churches, biſhops, abbats & earles excepted; and the third pennie whereof Hugh Bigot is earle, alſo excepted: ſauing alſo and reſeruing the kings roiall iuriſdiction for adminiſtration of iuſtice. Alſo the more to ſtrengthen my fauour and loue to himwards, the duke hath giuen and granted vnto my ſaid ſonne whatſoeuer Richer de Aquila hath of the honour of Peuenſey. And moreouer the caſtell and towne of Peuenſey, and the ſeruice of Faremouth, beſide the caſtell and towne of Douer, and whatſoeuer apperteineth to the honour of Douer.

Norwich.

Hugh Bigot.

Richer de Egle.

The church of Feuerſham.

The duke hath alſo confirmed the church of Feuerſham with the appurtenances; and all other things giuen or reſtored by me vnto other churches, he ſhall confirme by the counſell and aduice of holie church and of me. The earles and barons that belong to the duke, which were neuer my leeges, for the honour which I haue doone to their maiſter, they haue now doone homage and ſworne fealtie to me, the couenants betwixt me & the ſaid duke alwaies ſaued. The other which had before doone homage to me, haue ſworne fealtie to me as to their ſoureigne lord. And if the duke ſhould breake and go from the premiſſes, then are they altogither to ceaſſe from dooing him any ſeruice, till he reforme his miſdooings. And my ſonne alſo is to conſtreine him thereto, according to the aduice of holie church, if the duke ſhall chance to go from the couenants afore mentioned. My earles and barons alſo haue doone their leege and homage vnto the duke, ſauing their faith to me ſo long as I liue, and ſhall hold the kingdome with like condition, that if I doo breake and go from the premitted couenants, that then they may ceaſſe from dooing me any ſeruice, till the time I haue reformed that which I haue doone amiſſe.

The citizens alſo of cities, and thoſe perſons that dwell in caſtels, which I haue in my demaine, by my commandement haue doone homage, and made aſſurance to the duke, ſauing the fealtie which they owe to me during my life time, and ſo long as I ſhall hold the kingdome. They which keep the caſtle of Wallingford haue doone their homage to me, and haue giuen to me pledges for the obſeruing of their fealtie. And I haue made vnto the duke ſuch aſſurance of the caſtels and ſtrengths which I hold by the counſell and aduice of holie church, that when I ſhall depart this life, the duke thereby may not run into any loſſe or impeachment, wherby to be debarred from the kingdome. The tower of London, and the fortreſſe of Windſor, by the counſell and aduice of holie church

wallingford caſtell.

The tower of London.

Nota de windſor.

are

Richard de Lucie.

Nota de Oxford.

The biſhop of winchester.

are deliuered vnto the lord Richard de Lucie, ſafelie to be kept, which Richard hath taken an oth, and hath deliuered his ſonne in pledge to remaine in the hands and cuſtodie of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, that after my deceaſe he ſhall deliuer the ſame caſtels vnto the duke. Likewiſe by the counſell and aduiſe of holie church, Roger de Buſſey keepeth the caſtell of Oxford, and Iordaine de Buſſey the caſtell of Lincolne, which Roger & Iordaine haue ſworne, and thereof haue deliuered pledges into the hands of the archbiſhop, that if I ſhall chance to leaue this life, they ſhal render the ſame caſtels to the duke without impeachment. The biſhop of Wincheſter hath alſo giuen his faith in the hands of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, that if I chance to depart this life, he ſhall render vp vnto the duke the caſtels of Wincheſter, and the fortreſſe of Hampton.

And if any of them, vnto whom the cuſtodie of theſe fortreſſes ſhall be committed, fortune to die, or otherwiſe to depart from his charge, an other ſhall be appointed to the keeping of the ſame fortreſſe, before he ſhall depart foorth thereof, by the counſell and aduice of holie church. And if any of thoſe perſons that haue any caſtels or fortreſſes belonging to me in their cuſtodie ſhall be found diſobedient and rebell, I and the duke ſhall conſtreine him to ſatiſfie our will & pleaſure, not leauing him in reſt till he be ſo conſtreined. The archbiſhops and biſhops of the realme of England, and the abbats alſo, haue by my commandement ſworne fealtie vnto the duke; and the biſhops and abbats that hereafter ſhall be made and aduanced here within the realme of England ſhall likewiſe ſweare fealtie to him. The archbiſhops alſo and biſhops on either part, haue vndertaken, that if either of vs ſhall go from the foreſaid couenants, they ſhall ſo long chaſtiſe the partie offending with the eccleſiaſticall cenſures, till he reforme his fault, and returne to fulfill and obſerue the ſaid couenants. The mother alſo of the duke, and his wife, and his brethren, & ſubiects whom he may procure, ſhall likewiſe aſſure the premiſſes.

In matters belonging to the ſtate of the realme, I ſhall worke by the dukes aduice. And through all the realme of England, as well in that part which belongeth to the duke, as in that which belongeth to me, I ſhall ſee that roiall iuſtice be executed. Theſe beeing witneſſes, Theobald archbiſhop of Canturburie, Hen. of Wincheſter, Robert of Exceſter, Rob. of Bath, Goceline of Saliſburie, Robert of Lincolne, Hilarie of Ciceſter, William of Norwich, Richard of London, Nigell of Elie, Gilbert of Hereford, Iohn of Worceſter, Walter of Cheſter, Walter of Rocheſter, Geffrey of S. Aſaph, Biſhops: Robert prior of Bermondſey, Othon knight of the temple, William earle of Ciceſter, Robert earle of Leiceſter, William earle of Glouceſter, Renold of Cornewall, Baldwin de Toning, Roger de Hereford, Hugh Bigot, Patrike de Saliſburie, William de Albemarle, Earle Alberike, Roger Clare, Richard erle of Pembroke, Richard de Lucie, William Martell, Richard de Humer, Reginald de Warren, Mahaſer Biſet, Iohn de Port, Richard de Cameuille, Henrie de Eſſex. Yeuen at Weſtminſter.

1154
Ger.Dor.
Anno Reg.19.

Thus far the Charter: and now to proceed with the hiſtorie. Immediatlie after Chriſtmaſſe, euen in the Octaues of the Epiphanie, the king and duke Henrie met againe at Oxenford, where all the earls and barons of the land being aſſembled, ſware fealtie vnto duke Henrie, their allegiance due vnto king Stephan, as to their ſoueraigne lord and ſupreme gouernour ſo long as he liued, alwaies reſerued. The forme of the peace was now alſo ingroſſed and regiſtred for a perpetuall witneſſe of the thing, in this yeare 1154. after their account that begin the yeare at Chriſtmaſſe, as about the feaſt of S. Hilarie in Ianuarie commonlie called the twentith daie. Thus was Henrie the ſonne of the empreſſe made the adopted ſonne of king Stephan, and therevpon the ſaid Henrie ſaluted him as king, and named him father. After concluſion of this peace, by the power of almightie God, all debate ceaſſed, in ſuch wiſe, that the ſtate of the realme of England did maruelouſlie for a time flouriſh, concord being mainteined on ech hand. ¶ There be which affirme, that an other cauſe bound king Stephan to agree to this attonement chiefelie, namelie for that the empreſſe (as they ſaie) was rather king Stephans paramour than his enimie: and therefore (when ſhe ſaw the matter growne to this point, that they were readie to trie battell with their armies readie ranged on a plaine in the weſterne parts called Egelaw heath) ſhe came ſecretlie vnto king Stephan, & ſpake vnto him on this wiſe: What a miſchieuous and vnnaturall thing go ye about? Is it meet that the father ſhould deſtroie the ſonne? Is it lawfull for the ſonne to kill the father? For the loue of God (man) refraine thy diſpleaſure, and caſt thy weapons out of thy hand, ſith that (as thou thy ſelfe knoweſt full well) Henrie is thine owne ſonne. With theſe and the like words ſhe put him in mind, and couertlie told him, that he had to doo with hir a little before ſhe was maried vnto earle Geffrey.

Polydor.

Math.Paris.
Egelaw heath.

The words of the empreſſe to king Stephan.

The empreſſe confeſſeth hir ſelfe to be naught of hir bodie.

The king by ſuch tokens as the empreſſe gaue him, tooke hir words to be true, and therevpon all his malice was ſtreightwaies quenched: ſo that calling foorth the archbiſhop of Canturburie, he vttered to him the whole matter, and tooke therewith ſuch direction, in ſending to his aduerſaries for auoiding battell at that preſent, that immediatlie the armies on both ſides wrapped vp their enſignes, and euery man was commanded to keepe the peace, that a communication might be had about the concluſion of ſome pacification, which afterwards enſued in maner aboue mentioned.

Slanders deuiſed by malicious heads.

¶ But whether this or ſome other cauſe moued the king to this peace, it is to be thought that God was the worker of it. And ſurelie a man may thinke it good reaſon, that the report of ſuch ſecret companie-keeping betwixt the king and the empreſſe, was but a tale made among the common people vpon no ground of truth, but vpon ſome ſlanderous deuice of a malicious head. And admit that king Stephan had to doo with hir; yet is it like that both of them would doo for beſt to keepe it ſecret, that no ſuch reproch might be imputed either to Henrie, who was taken to be legitimate; or to his mother, whoſe honour therby ſhould not a little be ſtained.

xenforđ.
er.Dōr.
he king and
ike meet at
unſtable.

But now to the purpoſe. Shortlie after that the king and duke Henrie had béene togither at Oxenford, where they ended all things touching the peace & concord betwixt them concluded, they met againe at Dunſtable, where ſome cloud of diſpleaſure ſéemed to darken the bright ſunſhine of the late begun loue and amitie betwixt thoſe two mightie princes the king and the duke. For where it was accorded (among other articles) that all the caſtels which had béene built ſince the daies of the late king Henrie for euill intents and purpoſes, ſhould be razed and throwne downe: contrarie therevnto (notwithſtanding manie of them were ouerthrowne and deſtroied to the accompliſhment of that article) diuers through the kings permiſſion were ſuffered to ſtand. And when the duke complained to the king thereof, he could not get at that time any redreſſe, which ſomewhat troubled him: but yet bicauſe he would not giue occaſion of any new trouble, nor offend the king, to whom (as to his reputed father) he would ſéeme to yéeld all honour and due reuerence, he paſſed it ouer.

rticles not
rformed.

he king and
ike come to
anturburie.

Within a while after, the king and he came to Canturburie, where they were ſolemnlie receiued of the couent of Chriſtes church with proceſſion. After this, in the Lent ſeaſon they went to Douer, where they talked with Theodorike earle of Flanders, and with the counteſſe his wife who was aunt to duke Henrie. At their comming towards Canturburie (as it was bruted) the duke ſhould haue béene murthered, through treaſon of the Flemings that enuied both the dukes perſon, and alſo that peace which he had concluded with the king. But ſée the hap. As this feat ſhould haue béene wrought on Berhamdowne, William earle of Northfolke king Stephan his ſonne, who was one of the chéefe conſpirators, fell beſide his horſſe, and brake his leg, ſo that euerie man by that ſudden chance was in a maze, & came wondering about him. ¶ This no doubt came to paſſe by the prouidence of God, though ſuch accidents are commonlie imputed to caſualtie or chance medlie. For it is the worke of God either to preuent, or to intercept, or to recompenſe the vnnaturall conſpiracies of traitors and rebels with ſome notable plague: according to that of the poet;

he enuie of
e Flemings

eſiod.in lib.cui
ſ. op. & di.

Οἱ αὐτῷ κακὰ τεύχει ἀνὴρ ἄλλῳ κακὰ τεύχων,
Ἡ δ᾽ κακὴ βȣλὴ τῷ βȣλεύσαντι κακίϛη,

Noxius ipſe ſibi eſt alij qui quærit obeſſe,
Conſiliúmq; malum danti fert maxima damna.

Duke Henrie herewith getting knowledge of the treaſon intended againſt him, or at the leaſt ſuſpecting ſomewhat, got him backe againe to Canturburie, and ſo auoided the danger. After this, taking his way to Rocheſter, and ſo to London, he got him a ſhipbord, and ſailed by long ſeas into Normandie, where he arriued in ſafetie.

uke Henrie
aſſeth ouer
to Nor=
andie.

After his departure, king Stephan ſpent the ſummer ſeaſon of this yeare, in going about the moſt part of the realme, ſhewing all the courteſie he could deuiſe to the people in all places where he came; except where he found any rebellious perſons, as in Yorkeſhire, where Philip de Coleuille (in truſt of his caſtell which he had ſtronglie fortified at a certeine place called Drax) ſhewed himſelfe diſobedient to the king, who aſſembling a power in the countrie, beſieged that caſtell, and ſhortlie wanne it, without any great adoo.

Vil.Paru.
hilip de Co=
uille.
he caſtell
Drax.

When duke Henrie was departed (as ye haue heard) and gone ouer into Normandie, now that he had concluded a peace with king Stephan, his puiſſance was thought to be ſuch, that he was able to mainteine warres with the mightieſt prince that then reigned. For in right of his wife, he had gotten poſſeſſion of the duchie of Aquitaine, and the earledome of Poictou; and further by his mother, he enioied the duchie of Normandie, and looked to ſuccéed in the kingdome of England: and in right of his father he was earle of Aniou, Thouraigne, and Maine. He alſo reuoked into his hands certeine parcels of his demeane lands, which his father had giuen awaie, and paſſing from thence into Aquitaine, mightilie ſubdued certeine lords and barons there, that had rebelled againſt him.

he puiſſance
duke Hĕrie.

A peace concluded betwixt the French king and duke Henrie.
Math. Weſt.

About the ſame time a peace was concluded betwixt the French king, and this duke Henrie: the king reſtoring vnto the duke the townes of Newmarch and Vernon, which he had before taken from him, and the duke giuing to the king 20000. markes of ſiluer, for the harmes doone by him, within the realme of France.

But now to returne vnto king Stephan. Ye ſhall vnderſtand, that within a while after he had made his foreſaid progreſſe almoſt about the whole realme, he returned vnto London, where he called a parlement as well to conſult of matters touching the ſtate of the commonwealth, as to furniſh the ſée of Yorke with a ſufficient archbiſhop. Wherevpon one Roger that was before archdeacon of Canturburie, was choſen to that dignitie, and conſecrated the tenth day of October, by archbiſhop Theobald, as legat to the pope, and not as archbiſhop of Canturburie. Then alſo was Thomas Becket made archdeacon of Canturburie by the ſaid Theobald. The new archbiſhop Roger firſt went to his ſée at Yorke, where after he had receiued his inthronization, and ſet his buſineſſe there in order, he tooke his iournie towards Rome to fetch his pall in his owne perſon.

Wil. Paru.
Roger Archdecon of Canturburie made archbiſhop of Yorke.

Thomas Becket archdeacon of Canturburie.

The earle of Flanders.

King Stephan alſo after the end of the parlement went to Douer, there to méet the earle of Flanders, who came thither to talke with him of certeine buſineſſe. The earle was no ſooner returned backe, but the king fell ſicke, and was ſo gréeuouſlie tormented with a paine in his bellie, and with an old diſeaſe alſo, therewith (as ſhould appeare) he had béene often troubled, namelie, the emrods, that finallie he died in the abbey on the fiue and twentith day of October, in the nine and fortith yeare of his age, and after he had reigned eightéene yeares, ten moneths, and od daies, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1154. His bodie was interred in the abbeie of Feuerſham in Kent, which he had builded, where his wife alſo, and his ſonne Euſtace were buried before. ¶ Thus farre of the acts and déeds of Stephan; now a little of other bréefe remembrances, and firſt touching the proſopographie or deſcription of his perſon.

King Stephan departed this life.

Math. Paris.
N. Triuet.
1154

His ſtature.

He was comelie of ſtature, of a verie good complexion and diſpoſition, of great ſtrength, in qualities of mind verie excellent, expert in warre, gentle, curteous, and verie liberall. For though he continued all his time in a maner in the maintenance of wars, yet he leuied but few tributs, or almoſt none at all. Indéed he put diuers biſhops to gréeuous fines, and that not without the iuſt iudgement of Almightie God, that they might ſo be puniſhed duelie for their periurie committed in helping him to the crowne. Vices wherewith he ſhould be noted I find none, but that vpon an ambitious deſire to reigne, he brake his oth which he made vnto the empreſſe Maud.

Abbeies founded. Coggeſhall he founded himſelfe, and Fontneis in Lancaſhire, & Feuerſham in Kent.

In his daies, the abbeies of Tiltey, Fontneis, Rieualle, Coggeſhall in Eſſex, Newbourgh and Béeland, Meriuale in Warwikeſhire, Garedon in Leiceſterſhire, Kirkſtéed in Yorkeſhire, with diuerſe other in other parts of the realme, were founded, in ſo much that more abbeis were erected in his daies, than had béene within the ſpace of an hundred yeares before, as William Paruus writeth.

A great number of caſtels alſo were builded in his daies (as before ye haue heard) by the Nobles of the realme, either to defend the confines of their countries from inuaſions of forrenners, and violence of homelings; or as fortifications to themſelues when they ment or intended any inrode or breaking vpon their neighbours.

Diuerſe learned men namelie hiſtoriographers liued in theſe daies, as William Malmesburie, Henrie Huntington, Simon Dunelmenſis, Galfridus Arturius, otherwiſe called Monumetenſis, Caradoc Lancarnauenſis, William Reuellenſis, among whom Thurſtan archbiſhop of Yorke is not to be forgotten, beſides many more, who in diuerſe ſciences were verie expert and ſkilfull, as by treatiſes of their ſetting forth to the world hath ſufficientlie appeared.

Thus far Stephan of Bullongne.

Henrie the ſecond, the ſecond ſonne of Geffrey Plantagenet.

HEnrie the ſecond of that name, a French man borne, the ſecond ſonne of Geffrey Plantagenet earle of Anіou, begotten of Maud the empreſſe, daughter to Henrie the firſt, began his reigne ouer England the fiue and twentith of October, in the yeare after the creation of the world 5121. and in the yeare after the incarnation of our ſauiour 1154. about the beginning of the third yeare of the emperour Frederike the firſt, the ſecond of pope Anaſtaſius the fourth, the ſeuenteenth yeare of Lewes the ſeuenth king of France, and ſecond of Malcolme then king of Scotland. Immediatlie after he was aduertiſed of the death of king Stephan, he came ouer into England, landing at Oſtreham about the ſeuenth day of December. After he had got his companies togither, which by tempeſt were ſcattered in his paſſage, he came firſt to Winchester, where he receiued homage and fealtie of the Nobles of the realme reſorting vnto him. This doone he ſet forth towards London, where he was crowned king by Theobald archbiſhop of Canturburie the twentith daie of December.

The archbiſhop of Rouen, with thrée of his ſuffragans, the archbiſhop of Yorke, and manie other biſhops of England: Theodorus the earle of Flanders, with a great number of other earles, lords and barons were preſent there at his coronation. He was at that time about the age of thrée and twentie yeares, and to win the peoples loue, he ſpake manie comfortable words vnto them, to put them in hope (as the manner is) that they ſhould find him a louing prince. He vſed the lords alſo verie courteouſlie. And firſt of all, after his atteining to the crowne, he choſe to him councellers of the graueſt perſonages, and beſt learned in the lawes of the realme, with whoſe prudent aduice he peruſed thoſe lawes, and amended them where he thought neceſſarie, commanding chieflie, that the lawes eſtabliſhed by his grandfather Henrie the firſt ſhould be obſerued: and in manie things he relied vpon the aduice of Theobald archbiſhop of Canturburie, at whoſe ſute he admitted Thomas Becket to be his chancellour, which Becket the ſaid archbiſhop had made archdeacon of Canturburie the yeare before.

Anno Reg.2.
1155

Nic.Triuet.
Polydor.
Wil.Paruus.

Strangers appointed to depart the realme.

Aliens auoid the land.

Moreouer, by the ſentence and doome of his councellers, to the intent that peace and quiet order might take place, and be the better mainteined, he commanded by waie of publiſhing a proclamation, that all ſtrangers (which to get ſomwhat by the wars had flocked into the realme, during the time of the ciuill diſcord betwéene him and king Stephan) ſhuld depart home without further delaie: wherefore he appointed them a daie, before the which they ſhould auoid vpon perill that might inſue. It was a worlds wonder to ſée and marke how ſuddenlie theſe aliens were quite vaniſhed, as though they had béene phantaſmes. Their abiding here was nothing profitable to the ſubiects of the realme, as they that were accuſtomed to attempt one ſhrewd turne vpon an others necke, and thought it lawfull for them ſo to doo. Amongſt them was a great number of Flemings, whom the king hated more than the reſidue.

William de Ypres.

Caſtels ouerthrowne.
Polydor.
Matth.Paris.

Wil.Paruus.
Matth.Paris.

By vertue alſo of this edict, William of Ypres, whom king Stephan (as ye haue heard) had made earle of Kent, was conſtreined with others to depart the realme, king Henrie ſeizing all his poſſeſſions into his owne hands. Diuerſe caſtels were throwne downe and made plaine with the ground at the kings commandement, which priuate men by king Stephans permiſſion had builded, or elſe for that they ſtood not in ſuch places as was thought méet and expedient; yet ſome he cauſed to be fortified: and furthermore, tooke into his hands againe ſuch lands and poſſeſſions as apperteined to the crowne, and were alienated vnto any manner of perſon, of what degrée ſo euer he was. This wounded the minds of many with an inward grudge, as well enough perceiuing that the king would looke ſo néere to his owne commoditie, that nothing ſhould be left for them that might any way be recouered and gotten to his vſe.

N.Triuet.
Matth.Paris.
Matth.Weſt.

William Peuerell diſherited.

In this yere quéene Elianor being then in the citie of London, on the laſt of Februarie was deliuered of hir ſecond ſonne named Henrie. About the ſame time alſo, William Peuerell of Notingham a noble man and of great poſſeſſions was diſherited by the king for ſorcerie and witchcraft, which he had practiſed to kill Ranulfe earle of Cheſter, as it was reuealed openlie, and brought to light. In accompliſhing of which hainous crime and deteſtable act, many others were of counſell, and found giltie with him, which eſcaped not vnpuniſhed.

On the tenth of Aprill, king Henrie aſſembled the ic.Treuet.

Matth. Paris.
Nic.Treuet.
Hugh de Mortimer.
The caſtell
f Cleberie.

péeres ⁊ great lords of his realme togither at Wallingford, and cauſed them to ſweare allegiance vnto his eldeſt ſonne William: prouiding, that if he chanced to die, then they ſhould doo the like vnto his brother Henrie. Alſo whereas Hugh de Mortimer had fenſed his caſtels againſt king Henrie, he beſieged the ſame, and taking the caſtell of Cleberie, he deſtroied it. Wherevpon, the foreſaid Hugh ſhortlie after was at peace with the king, and ſurrendred to him the two caſtels of Wigmore and Bridgenorth, which hitherto he had holden. Moreouer, whereas there was variance kindled betwixt the king, and Roger Fitz Miles of Gloceſter (who was earle of Hereford) for the lands of Gloceſter, that variance was alſo quenched: for after the ſame Roger was dead, his brother Walter ſucceeding him in the earldome of Hereford, was conſtreined to depart with the citie of Gloceſter, which the king held and reteined in his owne hands.

Roger Fitz Miles.

Anno Reg. 2.
The king goeth into the north.
The caſtell of Scarborough
Wil.Paruus.
Nic.Treuet.
The death of the kings ſon william.
Geffrey the kings brother rebelleth.
Wil.Paruus.

In the ſecond yeare of his reigne, king Henrie went to Yorke, and in that countrie tooke into his hands diuers caſtels which had béene long in poſſeſſion of priuate men; namelie, the caſtell of Scarborough, which William earle of Albemarle held, and now was conſtreined to reſigne it vp, full ſore againſt his will. This yeare William the kings eldeſt ſonne departed this life, and was buried at Reading. The realme of England was brought on all ſides into verie good quiet; but yer long, word came to K. Henrie, that his brother Geffrey had begun a rebellion on the other ſide of the ſea. For their father Geffrey (when he died) left thrée ſonnes behind him, Henrie, Geffrey, and William, ordeining by his teſtament, when Henrie ſhould haue gotten poſſeſſion of England and Normandie, that then the countrie of Anion ſhould remaine vnto Geffrey, and in the meane time, he to haue theſe thrée townes, Chinon, Lodun, and Mirabell, to mainteine his eſtate; and when the time came that the whole heritage ſhould fall vnto him, he might by poſſeſſion of theſe thrée haue a readier meane to come by all the reſt. Furthermore, fearing leaſt his eldeſt ſonne Henrie (who as then was abſent) would not conſent to the performance of this his will, he cauſed certeine biſhops and other of the Nobles to ſweare, that they ſhould not ſuffer his bodie to be committed to buriall, till his ſonnes had ſworne to fulfill his laſt will and teſtament in all other things, but eſpeciallie in this behalfe, wherin he iudged not amiſſe. For though Henrie was loth to take his oth, yet bicauſe his fathers bodie ſhould not remaine vnburied, he was contented to ſweare.

Pope Adrian an Engliſhman borne.
A diſpenſatiō for an oth.
Nic.Treuet.

But after he had obteined the kingdome of England, his couetous deſire, increaſing ſtill with abundance alreadie obteined, found meanes to procure of pope Adrian the fourth (who was an Engliſhman borne) a diſpenſation for that oth: wherevpon (hauing got licence to depart from the office both of right, law and equitie) neglecting his fathers ordinance, he paſſed ouer into Normandie, and making war againſt his brother the ſaid Geffrey, eaſilie expelled him out of thoſe places, which were aſſigned him by bequeſt in his fathers teſtament, and ſo tooke the earledome of Anion into his owne poſſeſſion. Howbeit, he gaue vnto his ſaid brother a penſion of a thouſand pounds Engliſh, ⁊ two thouſand pounds of the monie of Anion, with the towne of Lodun, and certeine other lands to liue vpon; who neuertheleſſe thinking himſelfe euill vſed at the kings hands, rebelled and died.

¶ Here we haue to note the lacke of conſcience and religion, not onlie in the pretended ſucceſſor of Peter in giuing a diſpenſation for an oth, but alſo in his good ghoſtlie ſonne, who was no leſſe forward in reuolting from his oth, than the other was willing to acquite him from the force thereof. But if theſe men had beene profiting ſcholers in the vniuerſitie of the pagans, as they were arrand truants and ranke dullards in the ſchoole of chriſtians, they might haue learned by profane examples, that as oths are not to be raſhlie taken, ſo they are not to be vnaduiſedlie broken. Herevnto alludeth Ariſtotle in his Metaphyſikes, ſhewing the cauſe why poetrie hath feigned that the gods in old time vſed to ſweare by water, as Iupiter is reported to haue doone in this manner;

Ouid. Met. lib. 1. fab. 6.

———per flumina iuro
Infera ſub terra Stygio labentia luco.

Ouid. Met. lib. 3. fab. 8, 9, 10.

To ſignifie vnto vs, that as water is a verie ancient and excellent element, and ſo neceſſarie that without it the life of man cannot conſiſt; euen ſo we ought to eſtéeme of an oth, than the which we ſhould thinke nothing more religious, nothing more holie, nothing more chriſtian. Herevnto alſo tendeth the fable of the tranſmutation of mariners into dolphins for periurie: importing thus much for our inſtruction, that the breaking of an oth, in a caſe that may preiudice, procureth gréeuous puniſhments from God againſt them that ſo lewdlie doo offend. But ſuch is the impudencie of the pope, that he will not grant diſpenſations onlie for oths, but for inceſt, for treaſon, and for any other ſinne: which he may doo (as he boaſteth) by vertue of his abſolute and vniuerſall iuriſdiction: as we haue latelie in moſt lamentable ſort ſéene exemplified. But to the courſe of our ſtorie.

1156

King Henrie goeth againſt the Scots.

He wan Carleil and Newcaſtell and others.

Shortlie after, when king Henrie had diſpatched his buſineſſe in Normandie, and made an end of troubles there betwixt him and his brother Geffrey, he returned into England, bicauſe he receiued aduertiſement, that Malcolme king of Scotland began to make war againſt his ſubiects that bordered next vnto him, wherevpon he haſted northwards: and comming firſt into Cumberland, he tooke the citie of Carleil, ſeizing all that countrie into his hands; and going after into Northumberland, he wan the towne of Newcaſtell, with the caſtell of Bamburg, and tooke into his poſſeſſion all that countrie which his mother the empreſſe had ſometimes granted vnto king Dauid, as before ye haue heard: howbeit, bicauſe he would not ſéeme to offer too much wrong, and be eſtéemed vnmindfull of former benefites receiued, he ſuffered king Malcolme to enioy the earledome of Huntington, which king Stephan had giuen vnto his father earle Henrie, ſonne to king Dauid, as before is partlie touched.

The earldome of Huntingtō.

William earle of Mortaigne.
Matth. Paris.
Nic.Treuet.

William alſo the earle of Mortaigne, and Warren ſonne of king Stephan, were compelled to ſurrender to king Henrie, the caſtell of Pemſey, the citie of Norwich, and other townes and caſtels which he held, apperteining to the demeane of the crowne: to whom the king in recompenſe reſtored thoſe lands which his father king Stephan held in the daies of king Henrie the firſt.

Anno Reg. 3.
1157
Theoderike earle of Flanders.

About this time Theodorike earle of Flanders (going with his wife vnto Ieruſalem) committed his ſonne Philip with all his lands, to the cuſtodie of the king of England. Hugh Bigot alſo reſigned his caſtels into the kings hands.

Rebellion of welſhmen.

The king inuadeth them.

But whileſt king Henrie was about (as before ye haue heard) to recouer and get backe the portions of his kingdome made away and diſmembred by his predeceſſors, he was informed that the Welſhmen raiſed a rebellion againſt him; to repreſſe whoſe attempts, he haſted forth with all diligence. Now at his firſt approch to their countrie, his ſouldiers being ſet vpon in the ſtraits, were verie fiercelie put back by the enimies, in ſomuch that a rumor ran how king Henrie was ſlaine, which puffed vp the Welſhmen

men with no ſmall hope, and dawnted the Engliſhmen with great feare. In déed, diuerſe of the Engliſh nobilitie were ſlaine, and (amongſt others) Euſtace Fitz John, and Robert de Curcy, men of great honor and reputation.

Euſtace Fitz John, & Robert de Curcy ſlaine.

Thoſe which eſcaped in returning backe, not knowing that the king paſſed through the ſtraits without danger, declared to their fellowes that followed and were approching to the ſaid ſtraits, that (ſo farre as they knew) the king and all the reſidue were loſt. Theſe newes ſo diſcomforted the companies, that Henrie of Eſſex, which bare the kings ſtandard by right of inheritance, threw downe the ſame, and fled: which diſhonorable déed was afterward laid to his charge by one Robert de Mountfort, with whom (by order taken of the king) he fought a combat in triall of the quarrell, and was ouercome: but yet the king qualifieng the rigor of the iudgement by mercie pardoned his life, and appointed him to be a ſhorne moonke, and put into the abbey of Reading, taking his lands and poſſeſſions into his hands as forfeited: howbeit this combat was not tried till about the 9. yeare of this kings reigne.

Henrie of Eſſex. Matth. Weſt. Wil. Paruus. A combat betwixt Henrie de Eſſex, and Robert de Mountfort. Matth. Weſt.

Now the king, hearing that his armie was diſcomfited, came to his men, and ſhewing himſelfe to them with open viſage, greatlie reuiued the whole multitude, and then procéeding againſt the enimies, his people were afterwards more warie in looking to themſelues, inſomuch that at length (when the K. prepared to inuade the Welſhmen both by water & land) they ſought to him for peace, and wholie ſubmitted themſelues vnto his grace and mercie.

The welſhmen ſubmit themſelues.

About the ſame time, king Henrie builded the caſtell of Rutland, the caſtell of Baſingwerke, and one houſe alſo of Templers. In the moneth of September alſo this yeare, the kings third ſonne was borne at Oxenford, & named Richard. This yeare was Thomas Becket preferred to be the kings Chancellor. The king holding his Chriſtmas at Worceſter in great royaltie, ſat in the church at ſeruice, with his crowne on his head, as the kings vſed in thoſe daies to doo on ſolemne feaſts: but as ſoone as maſſe was ended, he tooke his crowne from his head, and ſet it downe vpon the altar in ſigne of humblenes, ſo that he neuer after paſſed for the wearing of a crowne. The ſame yeare alſo the king altered his coine, abrogating certeine péeces called baſels.

The caſtell of Rutland and Baſingwerke built. Matth. Paris. Anno Reg. 4. Thomas Becket lord Chancelor.

1158

Matth. Paris. The king laieth his crown on the altar. Coine altered.

In the moneth of Auguſt he went ouer into Normandie, and came to an enteruiew with the French king néere to the riuer of Eata, where they intreated of a league, and of a marriage, which was after agréed vpon, betwixt Henrie the ſonne of king Henrie; and the ladie Margaret, daughter to the French king: at which time Thomas Becket (then being the kings chancellor) was ſent to Paris in great araie to fetch hir: who among other furnitures had nine long charrets (as Matthew Paris writeth.) Now when this ladie was deliuered to Thomas Becket the lord chancellor, and brought from Paris, ſhe was appointed from thenceforth to remaine in the houſe of Robert de Newburge, a Noble man of great honor, vntill ſuch time as the mariage ſhould be ſolemnized.

Additions to John Pike. The lord chancellor Becket ſent into France. Matth. Weſt.

After the two kings were departed in ſunder, K. Henrie prepared an armie againſt Conan duke of Britaine, who had ſeized the citie of Naunts into his hands, after the deceaſe of Geffrey the kings brother, who was earle of Naunts. At length, the ſame Conan perceiuing himſelfe not able to reſiſt the king of England, vpon the daie of the feaſt of ſaint Michaell the archangell came to king Henrie, and ſurrendred the citie of Naunts into his hands, with all the whole countrie therevnto belonging. Soone after which reſignation, and vpon the 24. of Auguſt, Geffrey the kings fourth ſonne was borne of his wife quéene Elianor.

Geffrey the kings fourth ſonne borne.

In December following, Theobald earle of Blois was accorded with king Henrie, to deliuer to him two of his caſtels. Likewiſe Petroke earle of Perch ſurrendred two caſtels vnto king Henrie, which he had vſurped of the demeanes of Normandie in the daies of king Stephan: one of which caſtels the king gaue him againe, receiuing homage of him for the ſame.

Petroke earle of Perch.

Moreouer king Henrie and Raimond earle of Barzelone met togither at Blaime, where they concluded a league by waie of allegiance, ſo that Richard the ſonne of king Henrie ſhould take to wife the daughter of the ſaid Raimond in time conuenient; and that the king of England ſhould giue vnto the ſaid Richard the duchie of Aquitane, & the countie of Poictow. This earle Raimond had married the daughter and heire of the king of Aragon.

Raimond erle of Barzelone. Richard the kings ſonne offered to erle Raimonds daughter.

In the meane time, a ſecret grudge that had long depended betwéene king Henrie and king Lewes of France did ſtill continue, and though there was a friendſhip agréed betwéene them (as ye haue heard) to haue extinguiſhed the ſame; yet was it but a fained friendſhip: for vpon euerie new occaſion they were readie to breake againe, as it came to paſſe ſhortlie after.

A fained friendſhip. William duke of Aquitane.

William duke of Aquitane, grandfather to quéene Elianor, married the daughter and heire of the earle of Tholouze, and going vnto the warres of the holie land, he engaged that earledome vnto Raimond the earle of ſaint Giles, and died before he could returne. His ſonne William, father to quéene Elianor, ſuffered his earledome to remaine ſtill vnredéemed, either for want of ſufficiencie, or through negligence and careleſneſſe: ſo that the earle of ſaint Giles kéeping poſſeſſion thereof vnto his dieng daie, left it to his ſonne Raimond, who inioyed it likewiſe. Now when king Lewes (hauing married the foreſaid Elianor) demanded reſtitution as in the right of his wife, earle Raimond flatlie at the firſt denied to reſtore it, but after conſidering his lacke of power to reſiſt the kings puiſſance, he plied the K. with humble petitions, and ſo preuailed by faire words, that in the end king Lewes granted him his ſiſter Conſtance in marriage (which Conſtance, as ye haue heard, was married before vnto Euſtace the ſonne of king Stephan) & with hir granted him libertie to reteine the earldome of Tholouze as it were by waie of endowment: whereto the other accorded. Howbeit king Henrie hauing maried the foreſaid quéene Elianor, after the diuorſe had betwixt hir and king Lewes, made claime to the ſaid countie of Tholouze in the right of his wife. Herevpon earle Raimond, truſting now to the aid of his brother in law king Lewes, denied to reſtore it; ſo that king Henrie determined to recouer it by force, and entring by and by into Gaſcoine with an armie, he drew towards the countrie of Tholouze, & began to inuade the ſame with great force and courage.

Earle of ſaint Giles otherwiſe Tholouze.

Anno. Reg. 5.

1159

Matth. Paris. Matt. Weſtm.

Wil. Paruus,

Diuers great lords of thoſe parties ioyned with king Henrie in his war which he attempted againſt the earle of ſaint Giles, as the earle of Barzelone, and the lord William Trencheuile, a man of great power in thoſe quarters, hauing vnder his rule manie cities, caſtels and townes, notwithſtanding that he had of late loſt many of them by violence of the foreſaid earle of Tholouze, but now by the aide of king Henrie he recouered them all. Malcolme alſo king of Scotland came vnto king Henrie, whileſt he was forth in this iournie, to aſſociate him in this buſineſſe.

William Trencheuile,

N. Triuet.

The earle hearing of king Henries comming with an armie, was put in great feare, and therevpon wrote letters to his brother in law king Lewes, requiring him with all ſpéed poſſible to come vnto his aid. King Lewes vpon receipt of the letters, & vnderſtanding the preſent danger of the earle, made ſuch haſt in continuing his iournie both daie and night, that he came to Tholouze, before king Henrie could arriue there. Which when king Henrie vnderſtood, and perceiued how he was preuented, he changed his purpoſe of beſieging the citie, and fell to ſpoiling of the countrie thereabouts: at which time he recouered certaine places that latelie before had reuolted from his gouernment, & (amongſt the reſt) the citie of Cahors, which he furniſhed with men, munition and vittels, appointing his chancellor Thomas Becket to the cuſtodie and kéeping thereof: he fortified other places alſo which he had gotten, placing capteines and men of warre to looke vnto the defenſe of the ſame. Whileſt the king was thus abrode on his iournie in the parties of Aquitaine, William earle of Bullongne and Mortaine the ſonne of king Stephan, and Haimon earle of Gloceſter departed this life, which two earles went thither with him.

citie of
rs.
iuet.
lord
cellor
ct.

Houed.
am earle
ullongne.

Finallie, when he had ſet things at a ſtaie in thoſe parties, he returned towards Normandie, and comming to the citie of Toures, he gáue the order of knighthood vnto Malcolme king of Scotland, and ſo in the moneth of October he came backe into Normandie, and there augmenting his armie with new ſupplies, entred into the countie of Beauuoiſin, burned manie villages in the ſame, and deſtroied the ſtrong caſtell of Gerberie, except one turret, which his ſouldiers could not take, by reaſon of the fire and ſmoke which ſtaied and kept them from it. Moreouer, Simon earle of Auranches deliuered vnto king Henrie ſuch fortreſſes as he held in France, as Rochfort, Montfort, and ſuch like, which was no ſmall diſcommoditie and inconuenience to the French king, bicauſe the gariſons placed in thoſe fortreſſes impeached the paſſage betwixt Paris and Orleance. But ſhortlie after, a truce was taken to laſt from the moneth of December, vnto the feaſt of the holie Trinitie in the yeare next following.

countie
eaunoiſin

uce taken
o Reg. 6.

1160

In the moneth of Maie alſo inſuing, a peace was concluded vpon the former articles and conditions: for further confirmation whereof, the mariage was ſolemnized betwixt Henrie the kings ſonne being ſeuen yeares of age, and the ladie Margaret daughter to the French king, being not paſt thrée yeares old: as writers doo report. The marriage was celebrated at Newborough on the ſecond daie of Nouember, by the authoritie of two legats of the apoſtolike ſée, Henrie biſhop of Piſa, and William biſhop of Pauia, both préeſts and cardinals.

eace con-
ed.
arriage
luded.

h.Paris.

ats.

About the ſame time came certeine Dutchmen of the ſort called Valdoies ouer into this realme, to the number of thirtie or more, who held opinions in religion contrarie to the faith of the Romane church, for (as one author affirmeth) they which firſt ſpred the opinions which theſe men held, came from Gaſcoigne, and preuailed ſo greatlie in ſetting foorth their doctrine, that they mightilie increaſed through the large regions of Spaine, France, Italie, and Germanie: ſimple men (God wote) they were for the moſt part, as is written of them, and of no quicke capacitie. Howbeit, thoſe which at this time came ouer into England, were indifferentlie well learned, and their principall or ringleader was named Gerard. Now alſo was a councell aſſembled at Oxford, whereat theſe dogmatiſts were examined vpon certeine points of their profeſſion. The forſaid Gerard vndertaking to anſwere for them all, proteſted that they were good chriſtians, and had the doctrine of the apoſtles in all reuerence. Moreouer, being examined what they thought of the ſubſtance of the godhead and the merits of Chriſt, they anſwered rightlie, and to the point; but being further examined vpon other articles of the religion then receiued, they ſwarued from the church, and namelie, in the vſe of the diuine ſacraments, derogating ſuch grace from the ſame, as the church by hir authoritie had then aſcribed thereto. To conclude, they would in no wiſe renounce their opinions, in ſomuch that they were condemned, burned in the forhead with an hot iron, and in the cold ſeaſon of winter ſtripped naked from the girdle ſtéed vpward, and ſo whipped out of the towne; with proclamation made, that no man ſhould be ſo hardie as to receiue them into any houſe, relieue them with meat, drinke, or any other kind of meanes: wherevpon it fell out in fine that they were ſtarued to death through cold and hunger: howbeit in this their affliction they ſéemed to reioiſe, in that they ſuffered for Gods cauſe, as they made account.

Paruus.
eine of
aldoies
into
land be-
Dutchmē.

uncell at
ord.

profeſ-
of the
oies.

Their examination & proteſtation.

The Valdois condemned.

They are forbidden meat and drinke.

They are ſtarued to death.

The ſame yeare, Matthew ſonne to the earle of Flanders married the ladie Marie the abbeſſe of Ramſie, daughter to king Stephan, and with hir had the countie of Bullongne. About this mariage grew the firſt falling out betwixt the king and his chancellor Thomas Becket (as ſome haue written) but none more than the ſaid Matthew was offended with the ſaid chancellor, bicauſe he was ſo ſore againſt the ſaid contract.

N.Triuet.

The firſt falling out betwixt the K. & Thomas Becket.

Anno Reg.7.
Matth.Paris.
Matth. Weſt.

1161

King Henrie, ſhortlie after the marriage was conſummate betwixt his ſonne & the French kings daughter, got into his hands the caſtell of Giſors, with two other caſtels, ſituate vpon the riuer of Eata in the confines of Normandie and France. For it was accorded betwixt the two kings, that when the marriage ſhould be finiſhed, king Henrie ſhould haue thoſe thrée caſtels, bicauſe they apperteined to Normandie; in the meane time, the ſame caſtels were deliuered into the hands of Robert de Poiron, Toſtes de Saint Omer, and Robert Haſtings, thrée knights templers, who vpon the conſummation of the marriages before ſaid, and according to the truſt committed to them, ſurrendred the poſſeſſion of the ſaid caſtels into the hands of king Henrie.

Rog.Houed.

But the French king was not a little moued, for that king Henrie had ſeized vpon them without his licence, in ſo much that he raiſed a power of armed men, and ſent them into Normandie, where they had one cruell conflict aboue the reſt with the Normans, till the night parted them in ſunder, by meane whereof the Frenchmen withdrew to Chaumount, and the Romans to Giſors. The next daie, as the Frenchmen came foorth againe, purpoſing to haue won Giſors, they were beaten backe by the Normans, who iſſued out of the towne to ſkirmiſh with them. Thus was the warre renewed betwixt theſe two princes; and by ſetting on of Theobald earle of Blois, the matter grew to that point, that the Engliſh and French powers comming foorthwith into the field, and marching one againſt an other, they approched ſo néere togither, that battell was preſentlie looked for, firſt in Veulgeſſine, and after in the territorie of Dune; but yet in the end ſuch order was taken betwixt them, that their armies brake vp.

Gaguinus.

The French & Normans fight.

Nic.Triuet.

The thrée Templers alſo ran in diſpleaſure of the French king, for the deliuerie of the caſtels before they knew his mind, ſo that he baniſhed them the realme of France for euermore: but king Henrie receiued them, and gaue them honorable enterteinement. Some write that there were but two caſtels, Giſors and Meall, which were thus put into their hands, and by them deliuered as before is mentioned.

Thrée knights templers.
Rog.Houed.

About this time Theobald archbiſhop of Canturburie departed this life, after he had gouerned that

ſée

Math. Paris.

The death of Theobald archbiſhop of Cāturburie.

ſee the ſpace of 22. yeares, who at his going to Rome, and receipt of the pall of pope Innocent the ſecond, was alſo created legat of the ſee apoſtolike, which office he exerciſed ſo diligentlie, and ſo much to the auaile of the church, that the dignitie of legatſhip remained euer after to the archbiſhop of Canturburie by a ſpeciall decree, ſo that they were intituled *Legati nati*, that is to ſay Legats borne (as mine author doth report.) This Theobald greatlie fauoured Thomas Becket.

The power legantine annexed to Cant.
Wil. Paru.

This Becket was borne in London, his father hight Gilbert, but his mother was a Syrian borne, and by religion a Saracen: howbeit (no regard had of his parents) he grew ſo highlie in fauour with the king, and might doo ſo much in England, that he ſeemed to reigne as if he had beene aſſociat with him alſo in the kingdome, and being Lord chancellor, the king ſent him ouer into England (Richard Lucie being in his companie) with ſundrie letters in his fauour, thereby to procure his election to that ſee: which was brought to paſſe according to the kings deſire at Weſtminſter. Afterward he was ordeined at Canturburie on ſaturdaie in Whitſunweeke, by Henrie biſhop of Wincheſter (although there be that write how Walter biſhop of Rocheſter did conſecrate him) which conſecration was in the 44. yeare of his age, and in the fift yere after his firſt aduancement to the office of Lord chancellor, ſo that he was the eight and thirtith archbiſhop which gouerned in that ſee.

The authoritie of Becket.
Anno Reg. 6.

He is conſecrated archb.
Wil. Paru.
1162
Quadrilogium ex vita eiuſdem Thomæ.

Toward the end of the ſame yeare, Henrie the kings ſonne receiued homage of the barons, firſt in Normandie, and after in England. In the yeare enſuing, the king his father committed him to archbiſhop Becket, that he might ſee him brought vp and trained in maners and courtlie behauiour, as apperteined to his eſtate: whervpon the archbiſhop in ieſt called him his ſonne.

The archbiſh. a better courtier than a preacher.

This yeare Queene Elianor was brought to bed at Rohan of a daughter named Elianor.

The queene brought to bed of a daughter.

In like maner the kings of England and France receiued pope Alexander the third at Cocie vpon Loire with all honor and reuerence, inſomuch that they attended vpon his ſtirrup on foot like pages or lackies, the one vpon his right ſide, and the other on his left.

An enteruew.
Anno Reg. 9.
1163
N. Triuet.

¶ Note here the intollerable pride of this antichriſtian pope in aſſuming, and the baſemindedneſſe of theſe two kings in aſcribing vnto that man of ſinne ſuch dignitie as is vtterlie vnfit for his indignitie. But what will this monſter of men, this *Stupor mundi*, this *Diaboli primogenitus & hæres* not arrogate for his owne aduancement; like yuie climing aloft, & choking the tree by whoſe helpe it creepeth vp from the root to the top. But the end of this ſeauen horned beaſt ſo extolling and lifting it ſelfe vp to heauen, is

—— Erebo miſerè claudetur in imo
Atque illic miris cruciatibus afficietur.

In Ianuarie enſuing, the king returned into England, and the ſame yeare the king of Scots did homage vnto Henrie the yonger, and deliuered his yonger brother Dauid to the king his father, with diuerſe other the ſonnes of his lords and barons in pledge, for aſſurance of a perpetuall peace to be kept betweene them, with ſome ſuch caſtels as he required.

Homage of the K. of Scots.

In the meane time archbiſhop Thomas went to the councell holden by pope Alexander at Tours in the Octaues of Pentecoſt, where he reſigned his biſhoprike into the popes hands (as the fame went) being troubled in conſcience for that he had receiued it by the kings preferment. The pope allowing his purpoſe, committed the ſame paſtorlike dignitie to him againe by his eccleſiaſticall power, whereby the archbiſhop was eaſed verie well of his greefe, and ſhortlie after his returne from his councell, ſeemed deſirous to reduce & cauſe to be reſtored ſuch rights as he pretended to belong vnto the church of Canturburie, whereby he ran into the diſpleaſure of manie, and namelie of the mightieſt.

A councell at Tours.

Moreouer he required of the king the keeping of Rocheſter caſtell, & the cuſtodie of the tower of London. He alledged alſo that Saltwood & Hith belonged peculiarlie to the ſeigniorie of his ſee. He called Roger earle of Clare vnto Weſtminſter, to doo his homage vnto him for the caſtell of Tunbridge: but the earle denied it through the ſetting on of the king, alledging all the fee thereof to apperteine rather to the king than to the archbiſhop. Thus was the archbiſhop troubled, and he grew dailie more and more out of the kings fauour. For yee muſt vnderſtand, that this was not the firſt nor the ſecond, but the eight time that the king had ſhewed tokens of his diſpleaſure againſt him.

The archbiſh. practiſeth treſon ſecretlie.

Homage for the caſtell of Tunbridge.

After this, vpon the firſt day of Iulie, Rice prince of Southwales, with diuerſe other lords and nobles of Wales, did homage both to the king and to his ſonne Henrie at Woodſtocke. Hamline the kings baſtard brother married the counteſſe of Warren, the widow of William earle of Mortaigne baſtard ſonne to king Stephan. This counteſſe was the ſole daughter and heire of William the third earle of Warren, which went with Lewes king of France into the holie land, and there died. Soone after, the Welſhmen rebelling with their prince Rice and his vncle Owen, did many miſcheefes on the marſhes: and by the death of Walter Gifford earle of Buckingham (who deceaſed this yeare without heire) that earledome came to the kings hands.

Matth. Paris.
Matth. Weſt.

Anno Reg. 10
Homage of the Welſhmen.
1164
N. Triuet.

On the 20. daie of September were three circles ſeene to compaſſe the ſun, and ſo continued the ſpace of three houres togither: which when they vaniſhed awaie, two ſunnes appeared and ſprang forth after a maruellous maner. Which ſtrange ſight the common people imagined to be a ſigne or token of the controuerſie then kindling betwixt the king and the archbiſhop.

Matth. Paris.

About this time the king called a parlement at Weſtminſter, to treat of matters concerning the commonwealth, wherein great diſcord aroſe betwixt the king & archbiſhop Becket, about certeine points touching the liberties of the church. For the king hauing an earneſt zeale vnto iuſtice, and commanding the iudges to puniſh offenders without reſpect, vnderſtood by their information, that manie things by them of the ſpiritualtie (againſt whome their authoritie might not be extended) were committed contrarie to common order: as theft, rapine, murther, and manſlaughter; in ſo much that in his preſence it was made notorious, that ſith the beginning of his reigne, aboue an hundred manſlaughters had beene committed within his realme of England by preeſts and men of religious orders. Herevpon being moued in mind, he ſet forth lawes againſt the ſpiritualtie, wherein he ſhewed his zeale of iuſtice. For as the cauſe proceeded from the biſhops of that age, ſo did the fault alſo, ſith contrarie to their owne canons they permitted preeſts to liue ouer licentiouſlie without due correction, ſtudieng onelie to mainteine the liberties and immunities of the church, and not to reforme the irregularitie of the regulars. Of this crew was one Philip de Broc, a canon of Bedford, who being arreigned before the kings iuſticer for a murther, vttered diſdainefull words againſt the ſame iuſticer: which when he could not denie before the archbiſhop, he was depriued of his prebend, and baniſhed the land for two yeares ſpace.

Diſcord ſtill kindleth betwixt the king and the archb.

Murthers committed by preeſts.

W. Paruus.

Matth. Paris.

Theſe things troubled the king, who therefore ha-

The king meaneth to bridle the ſpiritualtie frõ preſumptuous dealing.

The prelats againſt the king.

Ger.Dor.

ning alreadie ſet downe ſuch orders as ſhould bridle the ſpiritualtie from their wicked doings, thought that if he might get them confirmed in parlement by conſent of the biſhops and clergie, then the ſame ſhould take place and be receiued for lawes. Wherefore he earneſtlie required at this parlement, that it might be enacted againſt all ſuch of the ſpiritualtie, as ſhould be taken and conuicted for any heinous offenſe, they ſhould looſe the priuiledge of the church, and be deliuered vnto the ciuill magiſtrate, who ſhould ſee them ſuffer execution for their offenſes, in like maner as he might any of the kings ſubiects being laie men. For otherwiſe the king alledged, that they would boldlie preſume to doo much more miſchiefe, if after eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, no ſecular correction ſhould follow. And likelie it was that they would paſſe but little for their diſgrading and loſſe of their order, who in contempt of their calling would not abſteine from committing moſt miſchieuous abhominations and hainous enormities.

Their order ſaued.

The king offended with the biſhops.

Unto theſe reaſons thus proponed by the king (to haue his purpoſe take effect) the archbiſhop and his ſuffragans, with the reſt of the biſhops, anſwered verie pithilie, labouring to proue that it was more againſt the liberties of the church, than that they might with reaſon well allow. Whervpon the king being moued exceedinglie againſt them, demanded whether they would obſerue his roiall lawes and cuſtomes, which the archbiſhops and biſhops in the time of his grandfather did hold and obeie or not? Whervnto they made anſwere, that they would obſerue them, *Saluo ordine ſuo*, Their order in all things ſaued. But the king being highlie offended with ſuch exceptions, vrged the matter ſo, that he would haue them to take their oth abſolutely, & without all exceptions, but they would none of that. At length he departed from London in verie great diſpleaſure with the biſhops, hauing firſt taken from the archbiſhop Thomas all the offices and dignities which he enioied ſince his firſt being created chancellor.

R.Houed.

R.Houed.

Howbeit, after this, manie of the biſhops ſeeing wherevnto this broile would grow, began to ſhrinke from the archbiſhop, and inclined to the king. But the archbiſhop ſtood ſtiflie in his opinion, and would not bend at all, till at length not onelie his ſuffragans the biſhops, but alſo the biſhop of Liſeux (who came ouer to doo ſome good in the matter) and the abbat of Elemoſina (who was ſent from the pope) perſuaded him to agree to the kings will, in ſo much that being ouercome at laſt with the earneſt ſuit of his freends, he came firſt to Woodſtocke, and there promiſed the king to obſerue his lawes, *Bona fide*, Faithfullie, and without all colluſion or deceit.

1164

Ger.Dor.

A councell at Clarendon.

Ger.Dor.

Shortlie after, in the feaſt of S. Hilarie, a councell was holden at Clarendon, whereto the archbiſhop, and in manner all the lords ſpirituall and temporall of the land made their repaire. Here the archbiſhop would haue willinglie ſtarted from his promiſe, if firſt the biſhops, and after the earles of Leiceſter and Cornewall, Robert and Reignald (which Reignald was vncle to the king) and laſtlie two knights templers, had not moued him to yeeld to the kings will. But (among the reſt) theſe two knights, namelie Richard de Haſtings, and Hoſteus de Bologne were verie earneſt with him, & at length preuailed, though not for conſcience of dutie, wherewith he ſhould haue beene touched; yet with feare of danger, which (by refuſing to ſatiſfie the kings will) he ſhould haue brought not onelie vpon himſelfe, but alſo vpon the the other biſhops there preſent.

These knights ſeemed to lament his caſe, as if alreadie they had ſeene naked ſwords ſhaken about his eares. And indeed, certeine of the kings ſeruants that attended vpon his perſon after the manner of a gard, went to and fro, ruſhing vp and downe the chambers, ſhaking their bright battell axes readie appointed, and looking as if they would forthwith run vpon the biſhops. Whervpon the archbiſhop being touched with remorſe, and ſeeming to ſtriue againſt his determinat purpoſe, conſented to obey the kings pleaſure, and ſo promiſed in the word of a preeſt, ſwering furthermore, that he would obſerue the kings lawes and cuſtomes, without expreſſing theſe words, *Saluo ordine meo*, Mine order ſaued, which he had vſed before. The like oth did all the biſhops take. But the archbiſhop refuſed at that time to ſeale to the writing that conteined the articles of the oth which he ſhould haue obſerued, requiring as it were a time to conſider of them, ſith in ſo weightie a matter nothing ought to be doone without good and deliberate aduice, wherefore he tooke with him a copie thereof, and ſo did the archbiſhop of Yorke an other, and the third remained with the king.

Matt. Paris.

The archbiſhop Becket receiueth an oth.

He repenteth him in that he had receiued an oth.

Matth. Paris.

Shortlie after, the archbiſhop conſidering further of this oth which he had taken, repented himſelfe greeuouſlie therof, in ſo much that he abſteined from ſaieng of maſſe, till he had by confeſſion and fruits of penance (as ſaith Matth. Paris) obteined abſolution of the pope. For addreſſing and ſending out meſſengers with all ſpeed vnto the pope, with a certificat of the whole matter as it laie, he required to be aſſoiled of the bond which he had vnaduiſedlie entred into. This ſuit was ſoone granted, in ſo much that the pope directed his eſpeciall letters vnto him, conteining the ſame abſolution in verie ample and large manner, as Matth. Paris dooth report it. And thus began a new broile.

The archbiſhop Becket would haue fled out of the realme.

The archbiſhop in the meane time, perceiuing that the liberties of the church were now not onelie embezelled, but in maner extinguiſhed, and being loth to make any further attempt againſt his former dealings, would now (without the kings knowledge) haue departed the realme, wherevpon comming to Romnie, he tooke ſhipping, to haue paſſed ouer into France, and ſo to haue gone to the popes court. But by a contrarie wind he was brought backe into England, and thereby fell further into the kings diſpleaſure than before, in ſo much that, whereas an action was commenſed againſt him of late for a manor, which the archbiſhops of Canturburie had of long time held: now the matter was ſo vſed, that the archbiſhop loſt the manor, and was moreouer condemned to paie the arrerages, and thus his troubles increaſed euen through his owne malapertneſſe and braineſickneſſe; whereas all theſe tumults might haue beene compoſed and laid aſleepe, if he had beene wiſe, peaceable, patient, and obedient. For,

M. Pal. in ſu ſag.

Vir bonus & ſapiens quærit ſuper omnia pacem,
Vúltque minora pati, metuens grauiora, cauétque
Ne paruo ex igni ſcelerata incendia ſurgant.

The archbiſhop cited to appeare at Northampton.

R Houed.

Sentence giuen againſt the archbiſhop.

In the end, the archbiſhop was cited to appeere before the king at Northampton, where the king vſed him ſomewhat roughlie, placing his horſſes at his Inne, and laid diſobedience to his charge, for that he did not perſonallie appeare at a certeine place before his highneſſe, vpon ſummons giuen vnto him for the ſame purpoſe. Wherevnto though the archbiſhop alledged that he had ſent thither a ſufficient deputie to make anſwere for him; yet could he not be ſo excuſed, but was found giltie, and his goods confiſcat to the kings pleaſure.

Now when the archbiſhop heard that ſentence was
in ſuch wiſe pronounced againſt him; What maner ,,
of iudgement (ſaith he) is this? Though I hold my ,,
peace, yet the age that ſhall hereafter follow, will not ,,
hide it in ſilence; for ſithens the world began, it hath ,,
not beene heard, that any archbiſhop of Canturburie ,,
hath beene iudged in any of the king of Englands ,,

courts for any maner of cauſe; partlie in regard of the dignitie and authoritie of his office, and partlie bicauſe he is ſpiritualllie the father of the king and all his people. This is therefore a new forme and order of iudgement, that the archbiſhop ſhould be iudged by his ſuffragans, or the father by his ſons.

The archbiſh. condemned in fiue hundred markes.

The next daie the king required of him the repaiment of fiue hundred marks, which he had lent him when he was chancellor. Now although he affirmed that he receiued the ſame by waie of gift, and not by waie of lone; yet bicauſe he confeſſed the receit, he was condemned in that debt, forſomuch as he could not proue the title of the gift.

An aſſemblie of biſhops.

The archbiſh. called to an account.

☛ On the morrow after, the archbiſhop with his fellow biſhops being ſet in councell, by commandement of the king (& the dores faſt locked that they ſhould not get out) this was proponed againſt the archbiſhop, that whereas he held certeine biſhops ſées as then vacant, with abbeies, and other reuenues of his ſouereigne lord the king in his hands, and had made none account to him for the ſame of long time; the king required now to be anſwered at his hands, and that with all ſpéed, for he would haue no delaie. The ſumme amounted to thirtie thouſand markes.

When the archbiſhop had heard the variable ſentences of the biſhops in this caſe, he anſwered after this maner: I would (ſaid he) ſpeake with two earles which are about the king, and named them. Who being called, and the dores ſet open, he ſaid vnto them; We haue not héere at this preſent to ſhew whereby the thing may be more manifeſt: therefore we aſke reſpit for anſwer till to morrow. The councell therefore brake vp, and the multitude of people, which came with the archbiſhop thither, being afraid of the kings diſpleaſure, fell from him. Wherefore he cauſed his ſeruants to fetch a great number of poore and impotent people to his lodging, ſaieng that by the ſeruice of ſuch men of warre, a more ſpéedie victorie in ſhort ſpace might be gotten, than by them which in time of temptation ſhamefullie drew backe. Herevpon his houſe was filled full, and the tables ſet with ſuch as his ſeruants had brought in, out of the lanes and ſtreats abroad.

The biſhops perſuade the archbiſhop to ſubmit himſelfe to yͤ kings pleaſure.

Vpon the tueſdaie, the biſhops all amazed and full of care, came vnto him; and bicauſe of the diſpleaſure which the king had conceiued againſt him, counſelled him to ſubmit himſelfe to the kings will, or elſe in fine, they told him plainelie, that he would be iudged a periured perſon; bicauſe he had ſworne vnto the king as to his earthlie ſouereigne, touching all temporall honor in life, lim, and member; and namelie to obſerue all his roiall lawes and cuſtomes, which of late he had eſtabliſhed.

The archbiſh. anſwer to his brethren.

He appealeth to the church of Rome.

Wherevnto he anſwered: My brethren, ye ſée how the world roreth againſt me, and the enimie riſeth vp, but I more lament that the ſonnes of my mother fight againſt me. If I ſhould hold my peace, yet would the world come to declare how ye leaue me alone in the battell, and haue iudged againſt me now theſe two daies paſt, I being your father, though neuer ſo much a ſinner. But I command you by vertue of your obedience, and vpon perill of your order, that you be not preſent in any place of iudgement, where my perſon may fortune to be adiudged: in teſtimonie whereof I appeale to our mother the church of Rome. Furthermore, if it chance that temporall men laie their hands vpon me, I charge you likewiſe by vertue of your obedience, that ye exerciſe the cenſures of the church in the behalfe of your father the archbiſhop as it becommeth you. This one thing know ye well, that the world roreth, the fleſh trembleth and is weake, but I (by Gods grace) will not ſhrinke, nor leaue the flocke committed vnto me.

He goeth to the court.

After this he entred into the church, and celebrated the maſſe of ſaint Stephan (otherwiſe than he was accuſtomed to doo) with his pall: which being ended, he put on his ſacrificing veſtures, with a cope vpon them all, and ſo went to the court. Furthermore, bicauſe he was afraid, he receiued the ſacrament ſecretlie with him, and bearing the croſſe in his right hand, and the reine of his bridell in his left, he came in that order to the court, where he alighted, and entred the place, ſtill bearing the croſſe himſelfe, till he came to the kings chamber doore, the other biſhops following him with great feare and trembling. Now being come thither, the biſhop of Hereford would gladlie haue taken the croſſe, and haue borne it before him, but he would not ſuffer him, ſaieng: It is moſt reaſon that I ſhould beare it my ſelfe, vnder the defenſe whereof I may remaine in ſafetie: and beholding this enſigne, I néed not doubt vnder what prince I ſerue.

He is reputed a traitour.

The biſhops diſallow their archbiſhop.

At length, when the king had exhibited great complaints vnto them all generallie againſt him, they cried that he was a traitor, ſith he had receiued ſo manie benefits at the kings hands, and now refuſed to doo him all earthlie honor as he had ſworne to doo. To be ſhort, when the biſhops came to ſit vpon the matter in councell, they appealed to the ſée of Rome againſt the archbiſhop, accuſing him of periurie: and in the word of truth bound themſelues by promiſe, to doo what they might to depoſe him, if the king would pardon them of that iudgement which now hanged ouer the archbiſhops head. Then comming to the archbiſhop they ſaid: Thou waſt ſometime our archbiſhop, and we were bound to obeie thée: but ſith thou haſt ſworne fealtie to the king, that is, life, member, and earthlie honour, & to obſerue his lawes and cuſtomes, and now goeſt about to deſtroie the ſame, we ſay that thou art guiltie of periurie, and we will not from henceforth obey a periured archbiſhop. Therefore we cite thée by appellation to appeare before the pope, there to anſwer thine accuſors. Then they appointed him a day, in which they ment to proſecute their appeale. I heare you well (ſaid the archbiſhop.)

The princes and péeres of the realme did alſo iudge him a periured perſon and a traitour. Among whome (manie then being preſent) the earle of Leiceſter accompanied with Reignald earle of Cornewall, came vnto him and ſaid; The king commanded thée to come and render an accompt of that which is obiected againſt thée, or elſe heare thy iudgement. Iudgement? ſaid the archbiſhop, [and therewith riſing vp ſaid,] Naie ſonne earle, firſt heare thou: It is not vnknowne to thée how faithfull I haue béene to the king, in conſideration whereof he aduanced me to the archbiſhops ſée againſt my will (as God can be my iudge:) for I knew mine owne infirmitie, and I was contented to take it vpon me rather for his pleaſure, than for Gods cauſe, and therfore doth God both withdraw himſelfe and the king from me. In the time of mine election he made me frée, and diſcharged me of all courtlie bondage. Wherefore as touching thoſe things from which I am frée and deliuered, I am not bound to anſwer, neither will I. So much as the ſoule is more worth than the bodie, ſo much the more art thou bound to obeie God and me, rather than any earthlie creature. Neither will law nor reaſon permit, that the ſonnes ſhould iudge or condemne the father: and therefore I refuſe to ſtand to the iudgement either of the king, or of any other, and appeale to the pope, by whome (vnder God) I ought to be iudged, referring all that I haue vnto Gods protection and his, and vnder the defenſe of his authoritie I depart out of this place. Hauing thus ſpoken, went incontinent to take horſſe.

Now as he paſſed on his waie, the kings ſeruants and others of the court did caſt out manie reprochfull words againſt him, calling him traitor and falſe forſworne caitife. At which words turning himſelfe, and looking backe with a ſterne countenance he ſaid; That if it were not for his order of prieſthood, and that it were lawfull for him, he would ſuerlie cleere himſelfe of periurie and treaſon, in defending and mainteining his cauſe againſt them with weapon in hand.

When he was come to the vtter gate, he found the ſame faſt locked, whereat they began all to be amazed: but one of his ſeruants eſpieng where a bunch of keies tied to a clubs end were hanging on a pin, he tooke them down, ⁊ tried which was the right key, by proofe whereof he found it at the laſt, opened the gate, and let the archbiſhop out, the porters ſtanding ſtill as men amazed, and ſpeaking not one word againſt it.

Now when he was got out, a great number of poore, weake and impotent people met him, ſaieng: Bleſſed be God, which hath deliuered his ſeruant from the face of his enimie. Thus with a great rout or companie, and with the clergie, he was honorablie conueied to the abbeie of S. Andrews: and looking behind and before him, as he paſſed thitherward, he ſaid vnto thoſe that went with him; How glorious a proceſſion doth bring me from the face of the enimie? Suffer all the poore people to come into the place, that we may make merie togither in the Lord. Hauing thus ſpoken the people had entrance, ſo that all the hall, parlours, and chambers being furniſhed with tables and ſtooles, they were conuenientlie placed, and ſerued with vittels to the full.

The verie ſame night before the cockcrowing he iſſued forth by a little poſterne gate, and taking with him onelie two monks of the Ciſteaux order, the one named Robert Canne, and the other S. Cayman, with one of his owne ſeruants called Roger de Broc, he fled awaie diſguiſed in a white veſture and a monks coule, and changing his name, cauſed himſelfe to be called Dereman, ⁊ iourneied ſtill all the night, and by daie laie cloſe in one freends houſe or other; till at laſt he got to Sandwich, and there taking ſhip, he ſailed ouer into Flanders, and ſo went to France, where at the citie of Sens he found pope Alexander, into whoſe boſome he emptied whole cart lodes of complaints and greeuances.

The king vpon knowledge that the archbiſhop was fled the realme, ſent Gilbert Follioth biſhop of London, and William earle of Arundell in ſpeedie ambaſſage to the king of France, to ſignifie vnto him the whole matter and circumſtance of the falling out betwixt him and the archbiſhop, requiring him not to receiue the archbiſhop into his realme, but this requeſt was little regarded of the French king, as appeared: for the archbiſhops cauſe was fauoured of manie, and the blame imputed to king Henrie, ſo that the archbiſhop found great grace with the French king, and no ſmall fauour at the hands of the pope.

Now when king Henrie heard that he was accuſed by the archbiſhop vnto the pope, he appointed Roger archbiſhop of Yorke, the foreſaid Gilbert biſhop of London, Hilarius biſhop of Chicheſter, Roger biſhop of Worceſter, Bartholomew biſhop of Exceſter, with diuerſe biſhops, deanes, archdeacons, ⁊ other learned men of good accompt, to the number of 15. to paſſe in ambaſſage vnto the pope, that they might excuſe his doings, and burden the archbiſhop with the note of rebellion, whereof he had good proofe.

Being admitted to declare their meſſage in the conſiſtorie before the pope, they opened the whole circumſtance of the matter, from the beginning to the end, declaring that betwixt Thomas the archbiſhop of Canturburie and the king there was a controuerſie moued, and by both their conſents a daie appointed for the hearing and determining thereof, as iuſtice ſhould require. At the which daie (by the kings commandement) all the cheefeſt lords of the realme both ſpirituall and temporall were aſſembled, to the end that the more generall the meeting ſhould be, the more manifeſt might the diſcouerie of the fraud and malice of the archbiſhop appeere.

with others, are ſent to the pope.

At the daie appointed (ſaie they) there came before the catholike prince his preſence, the Nobles of his realme: and amongſt other, the archbiſhop the diſquieter both of the kingdome ⁊ church, who (as one not well aſſured of the qualitie of his owne deſeruings) bleſſed himſelfe with the ſigne of the croſſe at his comming into the court, as though he ſhould haue come before ſome tyrant or ſchiſmaticall perſon. Notwithſtanding all which contemptuous and ambitious behauiour, the kings maieſtie was nothing offended, but committed the iudgement of his cauſe to the faithfull order of the biſhops, meaning ſo to deliuer himſelfe of all ſuſpicion of wrong dealing. Then it reſted in the biſhops hands to make an end of the controuerſie, and to ſet a finall vnion and agreement betwixt them. But the archbiſhop would none of that, alleging how it ſhould be a derogation to the ſee apoſtolike and his metropoliticall dignitie, to ſtand before the king in iudgement, or anie other temporall magiſtrate. And albeit (ſaie they) ſome diminution or eclipſe might haue chanced to the dignitie of the church by that iudgement, yet it had beene his part to haue diſſembled the matter for the time, to the end that peace might haue beene reſtored to the church. He further obiected (aſcribing to himſelfe the name of father, which ſeemed to ſauour ſomewhat of arrogancie) that the children ought not to come togither to iudge the fathers cauſe, but it had beene far more neceſſarie that the humbleneſſe of the ſons ſhould mitigate the pride and temper the ambition of the father.

To conclude, the kings ambaſſadors made earneſt ſuit, that two legats might be ſent from the pope, to haue the hearing ⁊ diſcuſſing of all the matter betwixt the king and the archbiſhop without any other appealing. But the kings tale could not be heard in that court, the archbiſhop hauing alreadie perſuaded the pope to the contrarie. For comming to the pope, he vttered his complaint as followeth:

The kings tale could not be heard.

The archbiſhop Becket. Matt.Paris.

Moſt holie father, I doo here come for ſuccour to your audience, lamenting that the ſtate of the church, and the liberties thereof are brought to ruine by the couetous dealing of kings and princes. Wherfore when I thought to reſiſt the diſeaſe approching, I was ſuddenlie called before the king, to render accompts as a laie man about certeine wards, for whom (while I was the kings chancellor) I had notwithſtanding giuen accounts; and alſo, when I was made biſhop, and entred into the dignitie of ruling the archbiſhops ſee, I was releaſed and diſcharged of all reckonings and bonds by the kings eldeſt ſonne, and by the cheefe iuſticer of the realme: ſo that now, where I looked to haue found aid, I was deſtitute thereof, to my great hinderance and vexation. Conſider furthermore (I praie you) how my lords and brethren the biſhops are readie at the pleaſure of the Noble men of the court to giue ſentence againſt me, ſo that all men being about to run vpon me, I was almoſt oppreſſed: and therfore am now come as it were to take breath in the audience of your clemencie, which doth not forſake your children in their extreme neceſſitie, before whom I here ſtand, readie to declare and teſtifie that I am not to be iudged there,

nor

---

nor yet at all by them .
that be, but to plucke a
What elſe then to ſubm
rall? This example the
giue an occaſion to ma
biſhops doo ſay, Thoſe
to be reſtored to Ceſar
things the king is to b
obeied in things wher
belong not to Ceſar, b
my ſake they would n
their owne ſakes to h
ſhould be the cauſe of ſ
tred, that to deſtroie n
ſelues? Therefore wh
neglect ſpirituall, the
moſt holie father, my
tion, and how for you
with iniuries, vſe yo
amendement, throug
ced; let them not be b
ther the obſtinate m
this practiſe.

The popes anſwer to the archbiſhop.

The pope hauing h
tion in the matter, w
and thereupon anſwe
followeth: That the l
higher, and cheefelie h
all the lawes both of
the ordinances of the
declare: Hereupon
reforme diſorders)
void the iudgement
barons and biſhops,
der of law, as agai
your goods were adi
goods were not your
rie, ouer which you h
But if thoſe that hau
ſeſſions and goods o
wronged either you
tion giuen to them,
amends, then may
ent) exerciſe eccleſia
ſhall allow of that
that behalfe. Howb
we will not giue yo
neither yet doo we t
ing to your biſhopli
your conſecration.
and exempt from y
ſures. After theſe an
paſſed, the archbiſho
but the pope gaue i
to remaine at Pou
ſteaux in the dioceſ
were brought to ſo
him . This was
1164.

The archbiſh. reſigneth his pall.

The king hauing
that anſwer the po
offended in his mi
the goods that bel
complices, and ſeiz
appointing one Ra
of all that belonged
thing freendlie to th
enimie of old, but
not ſuffer that the
at any hand.

Ger.Dor.

1165

Matth.Weſt.
Matth.Paris.

In the yeare 1 1
red of a daughter
the 26. day of Ian
earthquake in No

nor yet at all by them. For what other thing ſhould that be, but to plucke awaie the right of the church? What elſe then to ſubmit ſpirituall things to temporall? This example therefore once ſprong vp, might giue an occaſion to manie enormities to follow. The biſhops doo ſay, Thoſe things that are Ceſars, ought to be reſtored to Ceſar. But admit that in manie things the king is to be obeied, is he therefore to be obeied in things wherein he is no king? For thoſe belong not to Ceſar, but to a tyrant. Wherein if for my ſake they would not, yet ought the biſhops for their owne ſakes to haue reſiſted him. For what ſhould be the cauſe of ſuch deadlie and vnnaturall hatred, that to deſtroie me, they ſhould deſtroie themſelues? Therefore whileſt for temporall things they neglect ſpirituall, they faile in both. Weigh then moſt holie father, my fléeing awaie, and my perſecution, and how for your ſake I haue béene prouoked with iniuries, vſe your rigour, conſtraine them to amendement, through whoſe motion this hath chanced; let them not be borne out by the king, who is rather the obſtinate miniſter, than the finder out of this practiſe.

The popes anſwer to the archbiſhop.

The pope hauing heard his words, tooke deliberation in the matter, with the aduice of his cardinals, and therevpon anſwered the archbiſhop in effect as followeth: That the lower power may not iudge the higher, and chéefelie him whome he is bound to obeie, all the lawes both of God and man doo witneſſe, and the ordinances of the ancient fathers doo manifeſtlie declare: Herevpon we (to whome it apperteineth to reforme diſorders) doo clearelie reuerſe and make void the iudgement pronounced againſt you by the barons and biſhops, whereby as well againſt the order of law, as againſt the cuſtomes of the church, your goods were adiudged forfeit, whereas the ſame goods were not yours, but the churches of Canturburie, ouer which you haue the onelie cure and charge. But if thoſe that haue violentlie entred vpon the poſſeſſions and goods of your church, and haue thereby wronged either you or yours, will not vpon admonition giuen to them, make reſtitution with ſufficient amends, then may you (if you ſhall thinke conuenient) exerciſe eccleſiaſticall iuſtice vpon them, and we ſhall allow of that which you ſhall reaſonablie doo in that behalfe. Howbeit as touching the king himſelfe we will not giue you any ſpeciall commandement, neither yet doo we take from you any right belonging to your biſhoplike office, which you receiued at your conſecration. But the king onlie we will ſpare, and exempt from your excommunications and cenſures. After theſe and manie by-matters were ouerpaſſed, the archbiſhop reſigned his pall vnto the pope, but the pope gaue it him againe, and appointed him to remaine at Pountney an abbeie of monks Ciſteaux in the dioceſſe of Auxerre, till the variance were brought to ſome good end betwixt the king and him. This was done in the yeare of our Lord 1164.

The archbiſh. reſigneth his pall.

The king hauing knowledge by his ambaſſadors what anſwer the pope had made, became gréeuouſlie offended in his mind, and therevpon confiſcated all the goods that belonged to the archbiſhop and his complices, and ſeized their reuenues into his hands, appointing one Randall de Broc to haue the cuſtodie of all that belonged to the ſée, which Broc was nothing fréendlie to the archbiſhop, being his knowne enimie of old, but fauoured the monkes, and would not ſuffer that they ſhould take wrong or diſpleaſure at any hand.

Ger. Dor.

1165

Matth. Weſt.
Matth. Paris.

In the yeare 1165. quéene Elianor was deliuered of a daughter which was named Ioane. Alſo on the 26. day of Ianuarie, there chanced a maruellous earthquake in Northfolke, in the Ile of Elie, and in Suffolke, ſo that men as they ſtood on the ground were ouerthrowne therewith, and buildings ſo ſhaken, that the belles in ſtéeples knolled: the like had alſo chanced in the Aduent ſeaſon then laſt before paſſed.

The welſhmen make war on the Engliſh marſhes.

The Welſhmen this yeare ſpoiled a great part of thoſe countries that bordered vpon them: wherewith the king being ſore moued, leuied an armie with all ſpéed as well of Engliſhmen as ſtrangers, and (without regard of difficulties and dangers) did go againſt the rebels, and finding them withdrawne into their ſtarting holes (I meane the woods and ſtrait paſſages) he compaſſed the ſame about in verie forceable maner. The Welſhmen perceiuing themſelues now to be brought into ſuch ieopardie, as that they could not well deuiſe how to eſcape the ſame, conſulted what was beſt to be doone. After conſultation, caſting awaie their weapons, they came foorth to the king, aſking mercie; which ſomewhat hardlie they obteined. Few of them were executed in compariſon of the numbers that offended: but yet the capteines and chéefe authors of this rebellion were ſo puniſhed, that it was thought they would neuer haue preſumed ſo raſhlie to offend him in like ſort againe. For (as ſome writers affirme) he did iuſtice on the ſonnes of Rice or Rées, & alſo on the ſonnes and daughters of other noble men that were his complices verie rigorouſlie: cauſing the eies of the yoong ſtriplings to be pecked out of their heads, and their noſes to be cut off or ſlit: and the eares of the yoong gentlewomen to be ſtuffed.

Wil. Paruus.
Polydor.
The king inuadeth wales.

Rog. Houed.
The ſeuere puniſhment vſed by king Henry againſt the welſhmen.

But yet I find in other authors, that in this iournie king Henrie did not greatlie preuaile againſt his enimies, but rather loſt manie of his men of warre, both horſſemen and footmen: for by his ſeuere procéeding againſt them, he rather made them more eger to ſéeke reuenge, than quieted them in any tumult. They tooke the caſtell of Cardigan, and in beſieging of Briges, the king was in no ſmall danger of his life: for one of the enimies ſhooting directlie at him, had perſed him through the bodie, if Hubert de Saint Clere coneſtable of Colcheſter, perceiuing the arrow comming, had not thruſt himſelfe betwixt the king and the ſame arrow, and ſo preſeruing his maiſter, receiued the ſtripe himſelfe, whereof he died preſentlie after, beſéeching the king to be good lord to one onelie daughter which he had, whome the king beſtowed in mariage vpon William de Langualée, togither with hir fathers inheritance, which William begat of hir a ſonne that bare both his name and ſurname. ¶ A preſident of gratitude & thankfulnes is here committed to memorie. And ſurelie the king could doo no leſſe, than ſome way requite the venturous courage and hartie zeale of the gentleman, who with the loſſe of his owne life preſerued the king, if not from death, yet from ſome dangerous wound that might haue put him to extreame anguiſh and paine. This may incite men to be mindfull of benefits receiued, a vertue no leſſe rare than the contrarie is common, and as one ſaith,

Ger. Dor.
Ran. Cogge.
Cardigan caſtell wonne by the welſhmen.
Hubert de S. Clere coneſtable of Colcheſter.
William de Langualée.

——— *inueniuntur*
Quidam ſed rari, acceptorum qui meritorum
Aſsiduè memores, &c.

W. Paruus.

But to conclude with this iourneie which king Henrie made at this time againſt the Welſhmen, although by reaſon of the cumberſome difficulties of the places, he could not enter within the countrie ſo farre as he wiſhed, yet he ſo impounded and conſtreined them to kéepe within the woods and mountains, that they durſt not come abroad, inſomuch that at the length they were glad to ſue for peace.

William king of Scots doth his homage to king Henrie.

William king of Scots, ſucceſſor of Malcolme (who departed this life in the yeare laſt paſt) after he had receiued the crowne of Scotland, came about this preſent time into England, and finding king Henrie at London, did his homage to him as his predeceſſour Malcolme had doone before. He made ſuit alſo to haue Northumberland reſtored vnto him, which the king of Englands mother the empreſſe had in times paſt giuen vnto king Dauid. But king Henrie gaue diuerſe reaſons to excuſe himſelfe whie he might not deliuer that countrie to him at that preſent, namelie, without conſent of a parlement: wherevpon king William perceiuing how the matter went, gaue ouer his ſuit for that preſent, meaning (when occaſion ſerued) to attempt the getting thereof by force, ſith that by praier and ſuit he ſawe well inough he ſhould not obteine it.

N.Triuet. Matth.Paris. Ger.Dor. **An edict againſt the archbiſhop Becket.**

Moreouer, the Scottiſh king being required by king Henrie to go ouer with him into Normandie, granted ſo to doo: inſomuch that king Henrie, hauing ſet all things in order within his realme of England, in the Lent following paſſed ouer into Normandie. But before he tooke his iourneie, he ſet foorth a decree conſiſting of theſe points in effect as followeth.

1 That no man ſhould bring any letters or commandement from pope Alexander, or Thomas archbiſhop of Canturburie into England, conteining an interdiction of the realme: vpon perill to be apprehended and puniſhed as a traitour to the king, and an enimie to the realme.

2 That no religious perſon or préeſt ſhould be permitted to paſſe the ſeas, or to come into the relme of England, except he had letters of ſafe conduct from the iuſticers for paſſage ouer, and of the king for his returne from thence.

Appeales forbidden.

3 That no man ſhould appeale to the ſaid pope or archbiſhop, nor by their appointment hold any plée: and if any perſon were found dooing the contrarie herevnto, he ſhould be taken and committed to priſon.

4 That if any maner of perſon, either ſpirituall or temporall, were obedient to the ſentence of the interdiction, the ſame perſon ſhould be baniſhed the realme without delaie, and all his linage with him, ſo as they ſhould not conueie with them any of their goods, the which togither with their poſſeſſions ſhould be ſeized into the kings hands.

5 That all ſpirituall perſons, which had any benefices within England, ſhould haue warning giuen to returne into England within foure moneths after the ſame ſummons pronounced, and that if they failed hereof, then ſhould the king ſeize vpon their goods and poſſeſſions.

6 That the biſhops of London and Norwich, ſhould be (and by vertue hereof were) ſummoned to appeare before the kings iuſticers, to make anſwer for that they had interdicted the lands of erle Hugh, and excommunicated him.

7 That the Peter pence ſhould be gathered and kept.

The kings of England and France enterview.

In the octaues of Eaſter king Henrie came to an enterview with the French king at Giſors, where they had conference togither of ſundrie matters.

Chro.Sigeb. Matth.Paris. **King Iohn borne.**

This yeare the quéene was deliuered of a ſonne named Iohn, who afterward was king of this realme.

Ger.Dor. **A contribution.**

Moreouer, king Henrie calling a councell of his biſhops and barons in Normandie, cauſed and ordeined a collection (by their aduiſe) to be made through all his countries and dominions, of two pence in the pound of euerie mans lands and goods, iewels and apparell onelie excepted: to be paid this yeare 1166. and for the ſpace of foure yeares next enſuing, one penie of euerie pound to be paid yearelie: and thoſe that were not worth twentie ſhillings in goods or lands (being houſholders notwithſtanding) or bare any office, ſhould paie a penie to this contribution, which was onelie granted for the releefe of the chriſtians in the eaſt parts, and thoſe that warred againſt the miſcreants there. The paiment thereof was appointed to be made in the feaſt daie of ſaint Remigius, or within fiftéene daies after. It was alſo ordeined, that all ſuch as departed this life, within the terme that this collection was in force (their debts being paid) ſhould giue the tenth part of the reſidue of all their goods vnto this ſo neceſſarie a contribution.

The caſtell of Foulgiers.

King Henrie remaining now in Normandie, and vnderſtanding that diuerſe lords and barons of Maine, and the marſhes of Britaine, would not in his abſence ſhew themſelues obedient vnto his wife quéene Elianor, but were about to practiſe a rebellion, raiſed an armie, and went againſt them, eaſilie ſubduing them whom he found obſtinate: and beſieging the caſtell of Foulgiers, tooke and vtterlie deſtroied it.

Matth.Paris. Vizeley. The archbiſhop Becket accurſed thoſe in England that mainteined the cuſtoms of their elders.

Soone after the archbiſhop of Canturburie came from Pountney to Vizeley, and there (on Aſcenſion daie) when the church was moſt full of people, got him into the pulpit, and with booke, bell, and candell ſolemnelie accurſed all the obſeruers, defenders, and mainteiners, with the promoters of ſuch cuſtoms, as within the realme of England they terme the cuſtome of their elders: amongſt others that were accurſed, was Richard de Lucie, Richard the archdeacon of Poictiers, Iocelin de Bailleuille, Alane de Neuille, and manie other. But they being abſent, & neither called nor conuinced (as they alleged notwithſtanding they were thus excommunicated) ſent their meſſengers vnto the archbiſhop, and appealed from him, and ſo feared not to enter into their churches.

R.Houe.

He had before this alſo written certeine letters vnto his ſuffragans, denouncing ſome of theſe and other perſons by expreſſe name accurſed, not onelie for mainteining the matter againſt him, touching the ancient cuſtome of the realme: but alſo for the ſchiſme raiſed in Almaine by Reignald archbiſhop of Colein, for the which he accurſed one Iohn of Oxford. Moreouer, he accurſed Ranulfe de Broc, Hugh de S.Clere, & Thomas Fitz Bernard, for violentlie ſeizing vpon and deteining the goods and poſſeſſions belonging to his archbiſhoprike, without his conſent or agréement therevnto.

The king on the other part baniſhed out of England, and all parts of his other dominions, all thoſe perſons that were knowen to be of kin vnto the archbiſhop, both yoong and old: and furthermore ſent aduertiſement to the abbat of Pountney and to his monks, with whom the archbiſhop by the popes appointment remained, that if they kept him ſtill in their houſe, he would not faile to baniſh all the monks of their order out of England. Now the archbiſhop, after he had remained there ſcarſe two yeares, departed from thence of his owne accord, and came to the king of France, who courteouſlie receiued him, and ſent him to the abbeie of ſaint Columbes néere to the citie of Sens, where he remained a certeine ſeaſon, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

Matth.Paris. Legats from the pope.

Shortlie after this, two legats named William of Pauia, and Iohn of Naples both cardinals, came from the pope to Montmiriall, whom the archbiſhop ſuſpected rather to fauour the kings cauſe than his: yet he was contented that they ſhould haue the iudgement thereof committed vnto them: ſo that firſt (according to the rules of the church) reſtitution might be made both to him and his, of ſuch goods as had béene taken from them. For being ſpoiled, as he was, he would not ſtand to any iudgement, nor could not be compelled therevnto by any reaſon (as he ſaid.)

Now when the two legats ſaw that they could not bring any thing to paſſe, they departed without any thing concluded.

Sa-

About this time William Caluan earle of Sagium (by the conſent of his ſons and nephues) deliuered into the hands of king Henrie the caſtels of Alerium, and Roch Laberie, with all the appurtenances to the caſtels belonging.

et.
n.
duke
taine
eth.
aris.

About this ſeaſon alſo Conan the duke of Britaine departed this life, leauing behind him no iſſue, but one onelie daughter begot of his wife the dutcheſſe Conſtance, the daughter of the king of Scotland, which ſuccéeded him in the eſtate. Wherevpon king Henrie made earneſt ſuit to procure a marriage betwixt hir and his ſonne Geffrey, which at length he brought to paſſe, to the great comfort and contentation of his mind, in that his ſonne had by ſuch good fortune atteined to the dukedome of Britaine.

riage
ded be-
Geffrey
gs ſon
Du-
of Bri-
aruus.

At that ſeaſon in Britaine were certeine Noblemen of ſuch ſtrength and power, that they diſdained to acknowledge themſelues ſubiect to any ſuperior, in ſomuch that through ambitious deſire of rule and preheminence, they warred continuallie one againſt an other, to the great deſtruction and vtter vndoing of their miſerable countrie, ſo that the land ſometime fruitfull by nature, was as it were a wildernes. Wherevpon, thoſe that were the weaker, perceiuing themſelues too much oppreſſed by the ſtronger, ſubmitted themſelues vnto king Henrie, and required his aid and ſuccour. King Henrie reioiſing to haue ſo good an occaſion and opportunitie to reduce them to reaſon, with all ſpeed aided theſe ſupplicants and ſubdued the reſiſtants, notwithſtanding their great puiſſance, & the ſtrength of the places which they kept.

Reg. 13.
167
uct.
Henrie
eth the
Aluer-
lands.

In the meane while Henrie came ouer to his father, and found him at Poictiers, from whence (ſhortlie after Eaſter) he remoued, and with an armie entred into the lands of the earle of Aluergnes, which he waſted and ſpoiled, bicauſe the ſaid earle had renounced his allegiance to king Henrie, and made his reſort to the French king, ſéeking to ſow diſcord betwixt the foreſaid two kings: which was kindled the more by a challenge pretended about the ſending of the monie ouer into the holie land, which was gathered within the countie of Tours: for the French king claimed to ſend it, by reaſon that the church there apperteined to his dominion: and the king of England would haue ſent it, bicauſe it was gathered within the countrie that belonged to his gouernement.

Dor.
earle of
ngne
reth
hips to
de Eng-

This yeare a great preparation of ſhips was made by the earle of Bullongne, to haue inuaded England, but by the warlike prouiſion of Richard Lucie, lord gouernour of the realme, the ſea-coaſts were ſo prouided of ſufficient defenſe, that the earles attempts came to nothing. The cauſe why he made this brag, was for that the king withheld from him certeine reuenues which he claimed to haue here in England, and therefore he ment to recouer them by force. The empreſſe Maud mother to the king of England (a woman in ſtoutneſſe of ſtomach and warlike attempts more famous than commonlie any of that ſex) deceaſſed this yere the 10. of Septem.

deceaſſe
empreſſe
d.
n. Weſt.
ſée of
olne void
ares.
Reg. 14.
baſſage
he em-

Alſo Robert biſhop of Lincolne departed this life, after whoſe deceaſſe the ſée of Lincolne was vacant by the ſpace of ſeuentéene yeares, the king in all that meane time receiuing the profits. The elect of Colein came ambaſſadour from the emperour vnto the king of England, requiring to haue one of his daughters giuen in marriage vnto the emperours ſonne, and an other of them vnto Henrie duke of Saxonie: which requeſt the K. did willinglie grant, and therevpon was the queene ſent for to come ouer into Normandie, and to bring hir ſonne the lord Richard and hir daughter the ladie Maud with hir: which ladie was married vnto the duke of Saxonie, in the beginning of the yeare next inſuing; and had iſſue by him thrée ſons, Henrie, Otho, and William, of which the middlemoſt came to be emperour.

1168

Matth. Weſt.

Debate betwixt the pope and the emperour.

K. Henrie offereth to aid the emperour.

The variance ſtill depending betwixt the king and the archbiſhop of Canturburie: there was alſo about the ſame time a great debate betwixt the emperour Frederike the firſt and pope Alexander the third: wherevpon king Henrie wrote to the emperor, and ſignified vnto him, that he would aid him if néed ſhould require againſt the pope, who mainteined ſuch a runnagate traitor as the archbiſhop Becket was. Moreouer at the ſame time the king cauſed all his ſubiects within the realme of England, from the child of twelue yeares old vnto the aged perſon, to forſweare all obedience that might be pretended as due to the ſame pope Alexander. The king for the ſpace of two yeares togither, remaining ſtill in Normandie, and in other places beyond the ſeas, ſubdued diuerſe rebels, as the earle of Angouleſme, Aimerike de Lucignie, and his ſonnes Robert and Hugh.

An enterview betwixt the king of England and king of France.

The kings met againe to commen of peace.

Alſo he came to an enterview with the king of France betwixt Pacie and Maunt, where they communed of ſuch iniuries as were thought to be attempted on either part. For the Poictouins had made their reſort to the French king, and were confederate with him againſt their ſupreme lord king Henrie, and had deliuered pledges for aſſurance thereof, which pledges the French king would not reſtore. But yet there was a truce concluded betwixt them, to endure till the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt.

A truce.

Patrike earle of Saliſburie ſlaine.

About the feaſt of Eaſter Patrike the earle of Saliſburie was ſlaine by treaſon of the Poictouins, and was buried at Saint Hilaries: after whome his ſonne William ſuccéeded in the earledome.

The Britons practiſed rebellions dailie: but king Henrie entring their countrie, wan diuerſe ſtrong townes and caſtels, and brought them at length vnder his ſubiection. Moreouer in this ſummer ſeaſon the two kings met againe at Fert Bernard to treat of peace, but they departed without concluding any agréement at all. For there were manie of the Poictouins and Britons, which tooke part with the king of France, and hauing deliuered vnto him hoſtages, had a promiſe made them, that the French king ſhould not conclude an agréement with the king of England without their conſent. Hervpon they made warres either vpon other, till finallie (about the feaſt of the Epiphanie) a peace was accorded betwixt them: and then Henrie the king of Englands ſonne made his homage vnto the French king for the countie of Aniou: and the French king granted him the office of the Seneſchalcie of France, which ancientlie belonged vnto the earles of Aniou. Alſo Geffrey duke of Britaine did homage to his elder brother the aforeſaid Henrie, by commandement of his father, for the duchie of Britaine. And afterwards the ſame Geffrey went into Britaine, and at Rheines receiued the homage and fealtie of the lords and barons of that countrie.

Anno. Reg. 15.
1169
Ger. Dor.
N. Triuet.

Geffrey duke of Britaine.

King Henrie in the meane while ſubdued certeine rebels in Gaſcoine, and returning into Normandie, built a goodlie towne and fortreſſe néere to Paie de Malafrey, ycleped Beauver.

Haruey de Yuon.

About the ſame time one Haruey de Yuon, who had married the daughter of one William Goleth, (that died in his iournie which he tooke into the holie land) deliuered certeine caſtels into the hands of king Henrie, bicauſe he was in deſpaire to kéepe them againſt Theobald earle of Chartres, who through the French kings aid, ſought to diſpoſſeſſe him of the ſame caſtels: wherevpon the war was renewed betwixt the king of England and the ſaid earle of Chartres.

tres. Neuertheleſſe king Henrie making no great accompt of thoſe wars, went into Britaine with his ſonne Geffrey, where going about the countrie to viſit the cities and townes, he reformed many diſorders, laieng as it were a maner of a new foundation of things there, fortifieng the caſtels, cities and townes, and communing in courteous manner with the lords and péeres of the countrie, ſought to win their good wils: and ſo in ſuch exerciſes he ſpent a great part of the time.

He kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Nauntes, whither all the great lords and barons of Britaine reſorted to him. The ſolemnitie of which feaſt being paſt, he entred into the lands of earle Eudo, and waſted the ſame, till the ſaid earle ſubmitted himſelf. At length, after the king had taken order for the good gouernement of Normandie, and his other countries on that ſide the ſea, he returned into England in the firſt wéeke of March, but not without great danger, by reaſon of a tempeſt that tooke him on the ſeas, beginning about midnight, and not ceaſſing till 9. of the clocke in the morning, about which houre he came on land at Portesmouth, not with many of his ſhips, the reſt being toſſed and driuen to ſéeke ſuccour in ſundrie créeks and hauens of the land, and one of them which was the chéefeſt and neweſt, was loſt in the middle of the flouds, togither with 400. perſons, men & women: among whome was Henrie de Aguell with two of his ſons, Gilbert Sullemuy, and Raſe Beumount the kings phyſician & houſhold ſeruant.

After this the king held his Eaſter at Windſor, whither William the Scottiſh king came with his brother Dauid, to welcome him home, and to congratulat his happie ſucceſſe in his buſineſſe on the further ſide the ſeas. They were honorablie enterteined, and at their departure princelie rewarded. The king thus returned into England, puniſhed the ſhiriffes of the land very gréeuouſlie for their extortion, briberie, and rapine. After this, ſtudieng how to aſſure the eſtate of the realme vnto his ſons, vpon good conſideration remembring that no liuing creature was more ſubiect to the vncerteintie of death than Adams heires, and that there is ingraffed ſuch a feruent deſire in the ambitious nature of man to gouerne, that ſo oft as they once come in hope of a kingdome, they haue no regard either of right or wrong, God or the diuell, till they be in poſſeſſion of their deſired prey: he thought it not the worſt point of wiſedome to foreſée that which might happen. For if he ſhould chance to depart this life, and leaue his ſons yong, and not able to mainteine wars through lacke of knowledge, it might fortune them through the ambition of ſome to be defrauded and diſappointed of their lawfull inheritance. Therefore to preuent the chances of fortune, he determined whileſt he was aliue to crowne his eldeſt ſonne Henrie, being now of the age of 17. yeares, and ſo to inueſt him in the kingdome by his owne act in his life time: which déed turned him to much trouble, as after ſhall appeare.

Being vpon this point reſolued, he called togither a parlement of the lords both ſpirituall and temporall at London, and there (on S. Bartholomews daie) proclaimed his ſaid ſonne Henrie fellow with him in the kingdome, whom after this on the ſundaie following, being the fouretéenth daie of Iune 1170. Roger archbiſhop of Yorke did crowne according to the manner, being commanded ſo to doo by the king. This office aperteined vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie, but bicauſe he was baniſhed the realme, the king appointed the archbiſhop of Yorke to doo it, which he ought not to haue doone without licence of the archbiſhop of Canturburie within the precinct of his prouince (as was alledged by archbiſhop Becket) who complained thereof vnto pope Alexander, and ſo incenſed the pope, that he being highlie moued by his letters, forbad not onelie the archbiſhop of Yorke, but alſo Gilbert biſhop of London, and Jocelin biſhop of Saliſburie (who were preſent at the coronation) the vſe of the ſacraments, which made king Henrie far more diſpleaſed with the archbiſhop Thomas than he was before.

The archb. of Yorke is forbidden the vſe of the ſacraments.

Matt. Paris. Polydor.

The king became ſeruitor to his ſonne.

Vpon the daie of coronation, king Henrie the father ſerued his ſonne at the table as ſewer, bringing vp the bores head with trumpets before it, according to the maner. Wher vpon (according to the old adage,

(Immutant mores homines cùm dantur honores)

the yong man conceiuing a pride in his heart, beheld the ſtanders-by with a more ſtatly countenance than he had béen woont. The archbiſhop of Yorke, who ſat by him, marking his behauior, turned vnto him, & ſaid; Be glad my good ſonne, there is not an other prince in the world that hath ſuch a ſewer at his table. To this the new king anſwered, as it were diſdainefullie, thus: Why doſt thou maruell at that? My father in dooing it, thinketh it not more than becommeth him, he being borne of princelie bloud onlie on the mothers ſide, ſerueth me that am a king borne hauing both a king to my father, and a quéene to my mother. Thus the yong man of an euill and peruerſe nature, was puffed vp in pride by his fathers vnſéemelie doings.

Honours change maners.

Yong men ſet vp in dignitie eaſilie forget themſelues.

But the king his father hearing his talke, was verie ſorrowfull in his mind, and ſaid to the archbiſhop ſoftlie in his eare: It repenteth me, it repenteth me my lord, that I haue thus aduanced the boy. For he geſſed hereby what a one he would prooue afterward, that ſhewed himſelfe ſo diſobedient and froward alreadie. But although he was diſpleaſed with himſelfe in that he had doone vndiſcréetlie, yet now when that which was doone could not be vndoone, he cauſed all the Nobles and lords of the realme, togither with the king of Scots and his brother Dauid, to doo homage vnto his ſaid ſonne thus made fellow with him in the kingdome: but he would not releaſe them of their oth of allegiance, wherein they ſtood bound to obeie him the father, ſo long as he liued.

¶ Howbeit ſome write that he renounced his eſtate, firſt before all the lords of the land, and after cauſed his ſonne to be crowned: but in ſuch vncerteine points ſet forth by parciall writers, that is to be receiued as a truth, which is confirmed by the order and ſequele of things after doone and put in practiſe. For true it is, that king Henrie the father (ſo long as his ſonne liued) did ſhew himſelfe ſometime as fellow with his ſonne in gouernment, and ſometime as abſolute king: and after his ſons deceaſe, he continued in the entier gouernment, ſo long as he liued. But to procéed.

The French king offended.

The French king hearing that his ſonne in law was thus crowned, and not his daughter the wife of Henrie the ſonne, was highlie offended therewith, and threatned to make war againſt king Henrie the father, except his daughter Margaret might receiue the crowne alſo as quéene immediatlie.

The cauſe why ſhe was not crowned, was by reaſon of hir yong yeares, and for that ſhe had not as yet accompanied with hir husband. But K. Henrie the father vnderſtanding the French kings threats, ſailed ouer into Normandie, where whileſt they prepared for war on both ſides, by the earneſt diligence of Theobald earle of Blois, both the kings came to an enteruiew at Vendoſme, where at length they were accorded, vpon promiſe made by king Henrie, that he would cauſe his ſonne to be crowned againe, and with him his wife the ſaid Magaret the French kings daughter as quéene.

An enterview of the kings. R. Houed.

The French king contented therewith, departed homewards, and king Henrie returning came to Vernon, where he fell into ſo great a ſickneſſe, that anon it was noiſed ouer all the countrie. Inſomuch that he was in ſuch deſpaire of life, that he made his teſtament: wherein he aſſigned his ſonne Richard the dutchie of Aquitaine, and all thoſe lands which came by quéene Elianor the mother of the ſame Richard. And to his ſonne Geffrey he bequeathed Britaine (with the daughter of earle Conan) which he had purchaſed to his vſe of the French king. And to his ſonne king Henrie he gaue the dutchie of Normandie, and all thoſe lands which came by his father Geffrey earle of Aniou. And to his yongeſt ſonne Iohn he bequeathed the earledome of Mortaine. And finallie appointed where he would haue his bodie to be buried.

He made his teſtament. Rog. Houed.

Polydor. King Henrie the ſonne his miſorder.

In the meane time Henrie the ſonne remaining at home in England, fell from all good order of meaſure kéeping, and gaue himſelfe to all exceſſiue riot, ſpending and waſting his reuenues inordinatelie. Of which behauiour his father being aduertiſed, returned into England, where he taried not long, but paſſed ouer againe into Normandie, hauing his ſaid ſonne in his companie, meaning thereby to remoue him from the companie of thoſe that were verie like to corrupt his nature, and frame the ſame to all lewdneſſe: for he knew that

Anno Reg. 16 1170

———commercia turpia ſanctos
Corrumpunt mores: multi hoc periere veneno,
Labimur in vitium & facilè ad peiora mouemur.

In this meane while Thomas the archbiſhop of Canturburie remained in exile almoſt ſix yeares, and could not be reſtored, till partlie by ſwelling threats of the pope, and partlie at the earneſt ſuit of Lewes the French king, Theobald earle of Blois, and others, king Henrie began ſomewhat to ſhew himſelfe conformable towards an agréement.

Ex Quadrilogio. The king and the arch. Becket met togither in preſence of the French king.

Wherevpon the two kings met diuerſe times, and the archbiſhop Thomas comming with the French king, at one time humbled himſelfe ſo to the king of England, that knéeling downe at his féet, he ſaid: My ſoueraigne liege lord, I commit the whole cauſe of the controuerſie betwixt your grace and me, vnto your maieſties order, Gods honour onelie reſerued.

The king offended with that ambiguous exception, ſaid to the king of France: Whatſoeuer diſpleaſeth this man, is taken (as he interpreteth it) contrarie to Gods honour, and ſo by that ſhift will he challenge to himſelfe all that belongeth vnto me. But bicauſe you ſhall not thinke that I go about to reſiſt Gods honour, or him, in any reaſonable order, looke what the greateſt and moſt holie of all his anceſtors haue doone vnto the meaneſt of mine anceſtours, let him do the ſame vnto me, and I am contented therewith.

All the companie preſent cried, that the king humbled himſelfe enough. My lord archbiſhop (ſaid the French king) will you be greater than ſaints, and better than ſaint Peter? Wherof ſtand you in doubt? Behold, your peace is at hand. The archbiſhop made anſwer in commendation of the preſent ſtate of holie church, as thus: My holie predeceſſours in their time, although they cut not all things away that extolled it ſelfe againſt God, yet did they cut off diuers: but if they had plucked vp all by the hard roots, which might offend, who ſhould now haue raiſed the fire of temptation againſt vs? We are in much better caſe (thanks be to God) and as we haue laboured in their lot and number, ſo are we partakers of their labour and reward. What if any of them had béene defectiue or exceſſiue in any point, are we bound to follow the example of their defection or exceſſe? We blame Peter for his denieng of Chriſt, but we praiſe him in reprouing of Neros violence with danger of his life. The church hath riſen and increaſed out of manie dangerous oppreſſions, our fathers haue ſuffered manie things, bicauſe they would not forſake the name of Chriſt; and ought I to ſuppreſſe his honour, to be reconciled vnto any mans fauour? God forbid, God forbid.

The preſent ſtate of the church in Beckets daies.

When the Noble men preſent heard this anſwer of a ſubiect againſt his ſouereigne, they all held againſt him, imputing the fault to the archbiſhops arrogancie, that the peace was not made betwéene the king and him, inſomuch that there was an erle which openlie ſaid; Sith he reſiſteth the will of both the realmes, he is not worthie to be ſuccoured by either of them from henceforth: and therefore being caſt out of England, let not France receiue him.

The archb. Becket blamed of arrogancie.

The councell then being broken vp, the kings departed without bidding the archbiſhop farewell, and ſuch as were mediatours for peace, in departing from this méeting, ſpake manie reprochfull words to him, alledging that he had béene euer ſtout and wiſe in his owne conceit, and a folower of his owne will and opinion: adding that it was a great hinderance to the church, that he was ordeined archbiſhop, and that by him the church was alreadie in part deſtroied, and would ſhortlie be altogither brought to vtter ruine.

Archb. Becket wilfull in his owne opinion.

But the archbiſhop ſetting a watch before his mouth, kept ſilence (as though he had not heard) and folowed the French king with his people. Manie ſaid by the waie as they iourneied, Behold the archbiſhop yonder, which in talke the laſt night would not for the pleaſure of the king denie God, nor kéepe his honor in ſilence.

After this, when the archbiſhop was come to Sens, and aduiſed with himſelfe whether it ſhould be beſt for him to go, at length he ſaid, God is able in the laſt point of miſerie and diſtreſſe, to helpe thoſe that be his. Herewith came a meſſenger from the French king to bring him to the court, for the French king (as one that had béene better inſtructed in the matter) repented himſelfe that he had iudged euill of his anſwers at the laſt méeting, and herevpon receiued him againe into his fauour, and reſted not to trauell ſo much in his cauſe, that at length another méeting was aſſigned at a certeine place néere the confines of Normandie, whither king Henrie came, and there found king Lewes, the archbiſhop of Rouen, and diuerſe other biſhops together, with the foreſaid archbiſhop, who after they had reaſoned of the matter throughlie as they ſaw cauſe, king Henrie receiued the archbiſhop into his fauour againe, and promiſed to redreſſe all that had béene doone amiſſe, and pardon all thoſe that had followed him out of the realme. Wherevpon the king and the archbiſhop being reconciled, the archbiſhop the ſame day came before the king, and talked with him.

The French K. receiueth the archbiſhop Becket againe into fauour.

The archb. is reconciled to the king.

Now among other things he required of the K. that it might be lawfull for him (without offending of his maieſtie) to puniſh (according to the cenſures of the church) the iniurie doone vnto him by the archbiſhop of Yorke, and other biſhops in the coronation of his ſonne. The king granted this, and ſhewed himſelfe ſo courteous at that time, that (as it is ſaid) he held his ſtirrup whiles he mounted on horſſebacke.

¶ Notwithſtanding which obſequiouſnes of the king, it is to be preſumed that all inward repining could not be ſo aboliſhed, as that no fragments remained; but that the archbiſhop for his part, for the maintenance of his great title, & the K. for the ſupportation of his ſoureigntie, when opportunitie ſerued, ſought to get aduantage one of another, & acquit their harts with a new reuenge of an old grudge: for

Immortale odium & nunquam ſanabile vulnus.

Iuuen. ſat. 15.

he king
uld not
e the pax
h the arch-
ep.

But whereas twiſe within a few daies after, the king and the ſaid archbiſhop met at maſſe, the king refuſed to kiſſe the pax with him. This was marked as a ſigne of a fained reconciliation, though in déed he afterwards interteined him verie courteouſlie, and at his departure ouer into England, tooke leaue of him in fréendlie manner, and directed letters vnder his ſeale to his ſonne the new king in forme as followeth.

t. Paris.

A letter of the king touching the pacification betweene him and Thomas Becket.

KNow ye that Thomas the archbiſhop of Canturburie hath made his peace with me at my will and pleaſure; and therefore I command you, that both he and his may remaine in peace; and that he and al thoſe which for his cauſe departed out of the realme, may haue all their goods reſtored, and in ſuch quiet eſtate be now poſſeſſed of them as at any time within three moneths before their departure from thence. And further, cauſe to come before vs of the beſt and moſt ancient knights of the honor of Saltwood, that vpon their oths they may find what fee the archbiſhop ought to haue within that honor, & that which ſhall appeare to apperteine vnto him, as in fee, let him inioy the ſame. And thus farewell.

he honor of
altwood.

he French
ngs aduice
the arch-
h. Becket.

The archbiſhop (before he tooke his iournie into England) went to viſit the French king, and to giue him thanks for his great paines and trauell ſuſteined in his cauſe, who aduiſed him in no wiſe as yet to commit himſelfe to preſent danger amongſt his new reconciled enimies, but rather to ſtaie till their malice were ſomewhat aſſwaged. For he perceiued by king Henries words & countenance ſuch a déepe rooted diſpleaſure in his hart, that he agréed to receiue him into fauour rather by compulſion and againſt his will than otherwiſe.

uth. Paris.
he archbi-
p Becket
turneth into
ngland.

But when the archbiſhop would néeds depart & go ouer into England, the French K. ſuffered him ſo to doo, dooing him all the honor he could at his leaue taking. Then the archbiſhop departing out of France, came into England, and landed at Sandwich about the firſt of December, in the ſeuenth yeare after his firſt departure out of the realme. Shortlie after his arriuall, Roger the archbiſhop of Yorke, Gilbert biſhop of London, and Iocelin biſhop of Saliſburie, with diuerſe other, came vnto him as to the popes legat, and required that it might pleaſe him to reſtore them to the miniſtration of their offices againe: whoſe requeſt he granted, but yet vpon condition, that they ſhould vndertake to ſtand to his iudgement and order in all things, which (by the counſell of the archbiſhop of Yorke) they vtterlie refuſed.

¶ Here authors agrée not (as Polydor trulie ſaith) for ſome write that archbiſhop Thomas (immediatlie vpon his returne into England) denounced the archbiſhop of Yorke with the biſhops of Saliſburie and London accurſſed, whereas before they were depriued of the vſe and adminiſtration of the ſacraments. Some others write, that now at his comming ouer into England from his exile, he depriued them onlie of the miniſtration of the ſacraments, togither with the biſhops of Exceſter, Cheſter, Rocheſter, S. Aſaph, & Landaff, which had perſonallie béene preſent at the coronation of king Henrie the ſonne, to the derogation of the dignitie of their primat the archbiſhop of Canturburie (as before you haue heard.) It ſhuld ſéeme yet by Ger. Dorober. that the archbiſhop of Yorke, and the biſhop of Durham were ſuſpended, and the biſhops of London, Saliſburie, and diuerſe other excommunicated.

The archbiſh. of Yorke and other go ouer to the king to complaine of the archbiſhop Becket.
Ger. Dor.

But how ſoeuer he vſed them, the archbiſhop of Yorke, the two biſhops London and Saliſburie, being offended with his dooings, ſailed ouer into Normandie, and there complained to king Henrie of iniuries doone to them by archbiſhop Thomas, gréeuouſlie accuſing him that he went about to take awaie their libertie of prieſthood, to deſtroie, corrupt, and finallie to aboliſh both the lawes of God and man, togither with the ancient decrées and ſtatutes of their elders; in ſomuch that he tooke vpon him to exclude biſhops at his pleaſure from the companie of chriſtian men, and ſo being excluded, to baniſh them for euer: to derogat things méerelie preiudiciall to the kings roiall prerogatiue; and finallie to take awaie from all men the equitie of lawes and ciuill orders.

The occaſion of the kings words that coſt biſh. Becket his life.

The king giuing eare to their complaint, was ſo diſpleaſed in his mind againſt archbiſhop Thomas, that in open audience of his lords, knights, and gentlemen, he ſaid theſe or the like words: In what miſerable ſtate am I, that can not be in reſt within mine owne realme, by reaſon of one onelie préeſt? Neither is there any of my folkes that will helpe to deliuer me out of ſuch troubles.

There were ſome that ſtood about the king, which geſſed by theſe words, that his mind was to ſignifie how he would haue ſome man to diſpatch the archbiſhop out of the waie. The kings diſpleaſure againſt the archbiſhop was knowne well inough, which cauſed men to haue him in no reuerence at all, ſo that (as it was ſaid) it chanced on a time, that he came to Strowd in Kent, where the inhabitants meaning to doo ſomewhat to his infamie, being thus out of the kings fauour, and deſpiſed of the world, cut off his horſſes taile.

The knights that ſlue the archbiſhop Becket.

There were ſome alſo of the kings ſeruants, that thought after an other maner of ſort to reuenge the diſpleaſure doone to the kings maieſtie, as ſir Hugh Moreuile, ſir William Tracie, ſir Richard Britaine, and ſir Reignold Fitz Vrſe, knights, who taking aduice togither, and agréeing in one mind and will, tooke ſhipping, & ſailed ouer into England, landing at a place called Dogs hauen, néere Douer.

Now the firſt night they lodged in the caſtell of Saltwood, which Randulfe de Broc had in kéeping. The next morning (being the 29. of December, and fift daie of Chriſtmaſſe, which as that yeare came about fell vpon a tueſdaie) hauing gotten togither certeine ſouldiers in the countrie thereabouts, came to Canturburie, and firſt entring into the court of the abbeie of S. Auguſtine, they talked with Clarenbald the elect abbat of that place: and after conference had with him, they procéeded in their buſineſſe as followeth.

Reignold Fitz Vrſe.
That is betwéene 4. and 5. in the euening.

The firſt knight ſir Reignold Fitz Vrſe came to him about the eleuenth houre of the daie, as the archbiſhop ſat in his chamber, and ſitting downe at his feet vpon the ground without any manner of gréeting or ſalutation, at length began with him thus: Being ſent of our ſouereigne lord the king from beyond the ſeas, we doo here preſent vnto you his Graces commandements, to wit, that you ſhould go to his ſonne the king, to doo vnto him that which apperteineth vnto you to doo vnto your ſouereigne lord, and to doo your fealtie vnto him in taking an oth, and further to amend that wherein you haue offended his maieſtie. Whervnto the archbiſhop anſwered: For what cauſe ought I to confirme my fealtie vnto him by oth? or wherin am I giltie in offen-

An oth required of him for his baronie.

ding the kings Maieſtie? Sir Reignold ſaid: For your baronie, fealtie is demanded of you with an oth, and an other oth is required of thoſe clerkes, which you haue brought with you, if they meane to continue within the land. The archbiſhop anſwered: For my baronie I am readie to do to the king whatſoeuer law or reaſon ſhall allow: but let him for certeine hold, that he ſhall not get any oth either of me or of my clerks. We knew that (ſaid the knight) that you would not doo any of theſe things which we proponed vnto you. Moreouer the king commandeth you to abſolue thoſe biſhops that are excommunicated by you without his licence. Wherevnto he ſaid: The biſhops are excommunicated not by me, but by the pope, who hath therto authoritie from the Lord. If in deed he hath reuenged the iniurie doone to my church, I confeſſe that I am not diſpleaſed therwith. Then ſaid the knight: Sith that ſuch things in deſpite of the king doo pleaſe you, it is to be thought that you would take from him his crowne, and be called and taken for king your ſelfe, but you ſhall miſſe of your purpoſe ſurelie therein. The archbiſhop anſwered: I doo not aſpire to the name of a king, rather would I knit three crownes vnto his crowne if it lay in my power.

The knights command the moonks to ſee the archbiſhop kept ſafe.

At length after theſe and ſuch words, the knights turning them to the moonks, ſaid: In the behalfe of our ſouereigne lord the king, we command you, that in any wiſe ye keepe this man ſafe, and preſent him to the king when it ſhall pleaſe his grace to ſend for him. The archbiſhop ſaid: Doo ye thinke that I will run away? I came not to run away, but looke for the outrage and malice of wicked men. Truelie (ſaid they) you ſhall not runne away, and herewith went out with noiſe and threatnings. Then maiſter Iohn of Saliſburie his chancellor ſaid vnto him: My lord, this is a woonderfull matter that you will take no mans counſell: had it not beene meet to haue giuen them a more meeke and gentle anſwer? But the archbiſhop ſaid: Surelie I haue alreadie taken all the counſell that I will take, I know what I ought to doo. Then ſaid Saliſburie, I pray God it may be good. Now the knights departing out of the place, and going about to put on their armour, certeine came to the archbiſhop, & ſaid; My lord, they arme themſelues. What forceth it? ſaid he, let them arme themſelues.

Iohn de Saliſburie the archb. Beckets chancellor.

The archbiſhops reſolution.

The knights put on their armor.

Now when they were armed, and manie other about them, they entred into the archbiſhops palace. Thoſe that were about the archbiſhop cried vpon him to flee, but he ſat ſtill and would not once remooue, till the moonks brought him euen by force & againſt his will into the church. The comming of the armed men being knowne, ſome of the moonks continued ſinging of euenſong, and ſome ſought places where to hide themſelues, other came to the archbiſhop, who was loth to haue entred into the church, and when he was within, he would not yet ſuffer them to make faſt the doores, ſo that there was a great ſtur among them, but cheeflie when they perceiued that the armed men went about to ſeeke for the archbiſhop, by meane whereof their euenſong was left vnfiniſhed.

The moonks with force bring the archbiſhop into the church.

The knights enter the church.

As though archbiſhops can be no traitors.

At length the knights with their ſeruants hauing ſought the palace, came ruſhing into the church by the cloiſter doore with their ſwords drawne, ſome of them aſking for the traitor, and ſome of them for the archbiſhop, who came and met them, ſaieng; Here am I, no traitor, but the archbiſhop. The formoſt of the knights ſaid vnto him: Flee, thou art but dead. To whome the archbiſhop ſaid, I will not flee. The knight ſtept to him taking him by the ſleeue, and with his ſword caſt his cap beſides his head, and ſaid, Come hither, for thou art a priſoner. I will not (ſaid the archbiſhop) doo with me here what thou wilt: and plucked his ſleeue with a mightie ſtrength out of the knights hand. Wherewith the knight ſtepped backe two or three paces. Then the archbiſhop turning to one of the knights, ſaid to him, What meaneth this, Reignold? I haue doone vnto thee manie great pleaſures, and commeſt thou now vnto me into the church armed? Vnto whome the knight preſentlie anſwered and ſaid; Thou ſhalt know anon what is ment, thou art but dead: it is not poſſible for thee any longer to liue. Vnto whom the archbiſhop anſwered: I am readie to die for my God, and for the defenſe of his iuſtice and the libertie of the church; gladlie doo I imbrace death, ſo that the church may purchaſe peace and libertie by the ſhedding of my blood. And herewith taking on other of the knights by the habergeon, he flong him from him with ſuch violence, that he had almoſt throwne him downe to the ground. This was ſir Will. Tracie, as he after confeſſed.

The courage of the archb.

Then the archbiſhop inclined his head after the maner of one that would praie, pronouncing theſe his laſt words: To God, to ſaint Marie, and to the ſaints that are patrones of this church, and to ſaint Deniſe, I commend my ſelfe and the churches cauſe. Therewith ſir Reignold Fitz Vrſe ſtriking a full blow at his head, chanced to light vpon the arme of a clerke named Edward of Cambridge, who caſt vp his arme to ſaue the archbiſhop: but when he was not able to beare the weight of the blow, he plucked his arme backe, and ſo the ſtroke ſtaied vpon the archbiſhops head, in ſuch wiſe that the bloud ran downe by his face. Then they ſtroke at him one after an other, and though he fell to the ground at the ſecond blow, yet they left him not till they had cut and paſhed out his braines, and daſhed them about vpon the church pauement. All this being doone, they rifled his houſe, ſpoiled his goods, and tooke them to their owne vſes, ſuppoſing it lawfull for them being the kings ſeruants ſo to doo.

Edward of Cambridge.

The archbiſh. is ſlaine.

But doubting how the matter would be taken, after they had wrought their feat, they got them into the biſhoprike of Dureſme, there to remaine till they might heare how the king would take this their vnlawfull enterpriſe: though (as they alledged) they had luſtilie defended his cauſe, and reuenged his quarell as faithfull ſeruants ought to doo. Howbeit, it chanced otherwiſe than they looked it ſhould haue doone: for king Henrie gaue them ſo litle thankes for their preſumptuous act, ſounding to the euill example of other in breach of his lawes, that they deſpairing vtterlie of pardon, fled one into one place, and another into another, ſo that within foure yeares they all died an euill death (as it hath beene reported.) Some write, that they went to Rome by the kings commandement, and there preſented themſelues before the pope, to receiue ſuch penance for their wicked act as he ſhould enioine them. Herevpon the pope appointed them to go vnto Ieruſalem, there to doo their penance, where they remained certeine yeares, applieng themſelues verie diligentlie to performe the ſatiſfaction of their offenſe, according to the maner preſcribed to them by the pope, and ſo at length died.

The murtherers come to an euill end. Match. Paris. W. Paruus.

This was the end of Thomas Becket archbiſhop of Canturburie, which was after he had entred into that ſee eight yeares and ſix moneths, in the yeare after the birth of our Lord 1171. On Chriſtmas day before his death, which fell that yeare on the fridaie, he preached a ſermon to the people, and when he had made an end thereof, he accurſſed Nigell de Sackeuille, the violent incumbent of the church of Berges, and Robert de Broc, both which had (vpon ſpite) curtailed the horſſe of the ſaid archbiſhop: and as the ſame day whileſt he was at the altar, according to his cuſtome, altogither in teares and lamentation; ſo at dinner he ſhewed himſelfe verie pleaſant & merrie, inſomuch that when thoſe that were at the

Anno Reg. 17.

1171

After their account that begin the yere on Chriſtmas day.

Robert de Broc.

table ſeemed ſomewhat doubtfull to eat of the fleſh that was ſet before them, bicauſe it was friday; Why doo ye abhorre (ſaith he) to eat fleſh? This day fleſh hath a great priuilege, for this ſame day the word was made fleſh, and came into light, and appeared vnto vs. Theſe his words greatlie contented all the companie.

¶ Thus you haue heard the tragicall diſcourſe of ambitious Becket, a man of meane parentage, and yet through the princes fauour verie fortunate, if he had not abuſed the beneuolence of ſo gratious a ſoueraigne by his inſolencie and preſumption. Wherein we haue to note, how vnſeemelie a thing it was for him, being called to ſo ſacred a function, to lead ſo ſecular and prophane a life, as if he had profeſſed open hoſtilitie to the vocation which he pretended to honour and reuerence. We are alſo taught, that promotions atchiued by ambition are not permanent, and are ſo farre from procuring fame and renowme to the obteiners, that they turne them in the end to ſhame, infamie and reproch, after loſſe of life and effuſion of bloud. The iſſue of all which tragedie is to be imputed to the prouidence and counſell of almightie God, as one writeth verie agreeablie to this purpoſe, ſaieng,

Heſi. in lib. cui tit. op. & dies.

Nam facilè extollit facilè elatúmq; refrænat,
Et clarum obſcurans, obſcuri nomen adauget.
Erigit & miſerum facilè extinguítque ſuperbum
Iuppiter altifremus, cui celſum regia cœlum.

King Henrie ſorie for the archb. Beckets death.

Polydor.

But to let this matter paſſe. King Henrie doubtleſſe was right penſiue for his death, bicauſe he wiſt well inough that it would be iudged, that he himſelfe was priuie to the thing: and euen ſo came it to paſſe, for immediatlie vpon notice giuen into France of the archbiſhops death, king Lewes, and Theobald the earle of Blois, as they that loued him moſt deerelie were moſt ſorowfull for it, and iudging ſtraightwaie that king Henrie was the procurer, they wrote their letters vnto pope Alexander, giuing him to vnderſtand both of the ſlaughter, and how king Henrie had cauſed it to be put in execution, requiring moſt inſtantlie, that ſuch an iniurie doone to the Chriſtian religion, might ſpeedilie be puniſhed. The pope was much offended, and determined to haue the matter throughlie conſidered and ordered, ſo as might ſtand with his dignitie, and accordinglie as the hainous ſtate of the caſe required. King Henrie whileſt theſe things were a dooing, lay certein daies at Argenton, ſo much diſpleaſed in his mind, that he would ſuffer no man once to ſpeake to him about any maner of buſineſſe.

King Henrie ſendeth ambaſſadours to the pope.

At length, he ſent his ambaſſadors to Rome, partlie to purge himſelfe of the archbiſhops death, partlie to excuſe his fault, for that in his furie he had vttered words againſt the archbiſhop, which had giuen occaſion to naughtie men to contriue his death, & partlie to require the pope to ſend his legats into England, to make inquirie both for the death of the archbiſhop, and alſo of the ſtate of the clergie. The kings ambaſſadors found the pope at Tiuoli, and there were heard to declare their meſſage: but little credit was giuen to their words, in ſo much that the pope plainelie told them, that he vnderſtood the matter to be much otherwiſe than they had declared. Yet according to the kings requeſt, he ſent two of his cardinals into England, which vpon due examination, might vnderſtand the truth of the matter thoroughlie as apperteined.

Matth. Paris.

There be that write, that the king ſent ambaſſadours twice vnto the pope, for the firſt that went, could not come to his preſence, nor be ſuffered to declare their meſſage: thoſe that were ſent the ſecond time, were receiued of ſome of the cardinals, but yet onelie with words without anie other way of freendlie interteinement. At length, when the feaſt of Eaſter drew neere, on the which either abſolution or excommunication was to be denounced againſt euerie man, there were certeine of the cardinals which gaue intelligence to the Engliſh ambaſſadours, that the pope by aduice of the colledge, meant on the thurſdaie before Eaſter daie to declare the ſentence of interdiction againſt the king of England, and againſt all his dominions, and to confirme that which had beene alreadie pronounced againſt Richard the archbiſhop of Yorke, and the other biſhops his complices.

The ambaſſadours being brought to a ſtreict iſſue herewith, by helpe of ſome of the cardinals found meanes to haue it put into the popes head, how the Engliſh ambaſſadours had commiſſion to vndertake, that the king of England ſhould obeie in all things what order ſoeuer it pleaſed the pope and his court to award him. Herevpon they tooke their oth, that it ſhould ſo be, and by that meanes they auoided the interdiction. The meſſengers of the archbiſhop of Yorke & the other biſhops vſed the like ſhift, but yet the ſame daie the pope did excommunicate the knights that had murthered the archbiſhop Thomas, and all thoſe that had procured, aided, ſuccoured, or abetted them therein. Some write, that thoſe ambaſſadours which the king ſent to the court of Rome, could not be ſuffered to come to the popes preſence, till according to the faſhion, they had giuen 500. marks in reward, and ſo at length were admitted to his preſence.

Ger. Dor.

The ambaſſadours were glad to vſe a ſhift by briberie.

Howſoeuer that matter paſſed, the king ſtood in great feare leaſt his land ſhould be interdicted, in ſo much that he commanded the wardens of the ports both on this ſide the ſea and beyond, to take good heed, leaſt any cõming with letters of interdiction ſhould paſſe into England; but if any ſuch came, that the bringer ſhould be arreſted and committed to priſon. Alſo he commanded, that no clearke were ſuffered to come ouer into England, except he firſt tooke an oth that he came about no buſineſſe that might turne to the preiudice of the king or his realme. This commandement he ſet forth, at what time he tranſported ouer into England himſelfe, where he landed this yeare at Porteſmouth the third daie of Auguſt. About which time it came into the kings mind, to make a conqueſt of Ireland vpon this occaſion.

Sundrie rulers in Ireland.

It chanced, whereas diuerſe rulers or (as we may call them) petie kings reigned the ſame ſeſon in that Iland (which was diuided into ſeuerall eſtates or kingdomes) that continuall ſtrife and diſſention remained amongſt them, ſo that oftentimes they made ſore war after the manner of their countrie one againſt an other, (for

Nulla fides regni ſocijs, omniſque poteſtas
Impatiens conſortis erit.)

Luc. lib. 1.

Herevpon it fortuned, that one of thoſe kings or rulers, about the 14. yeare of this kings reigne, was ſore afflicted and oppreſſed by his neighbours, wherevpon taking aduice what he might beſt doo for remedie in that caſe, at length he ſent his ſon into England to reteine ſouldiours and men of warre, and to bring them ouer vnto his aid in hope of gaine, & ſuch commodities as he aſſured them of.

Matth. Paris.
W. Paruus.
See more hereof in Ireland.

Now it came to paſſe, that by the aſſiſtance of ſuch Engliſhmen as then came ouer, the foreſaid Iriſh king began to recouer his loſſes, and in the end wared ſo ſtrong, that he ſubdued all his enimies. When he had thus obteined the victorie, he did not onelie not ſend backe his aiders, but ſo liberallie reteined them ſtill with him, that they had no haſt to returne home, but ſetled themſelues in that countrie, where they liued a pleaſant and verie licentious life. For this cauſe alſo the ſtouteſt lords and rulers of the and Iriſh nation began ſore to ſtomach the matter againſt him that had thus brought the Engliſh nation into their countrie, in ſo much that the Engliſhmen perceiuing their malice, and therewithall hauing ſome feare of themſelues, bicauſe of their ſmall number, they ſent ouer into England for ſuch as wanted liuing, and were willing to ſéeke for it in other countries, of which ſort, great numbers went ouer thither within a ſhort ſpace, whereby the multitude of the Engliſh greatlie increaſed: but for as much as they had no ruler to gouerne them, they procured Richard Strangbow earle of Struguille, *alias* Chepſtow in Wales to come ouer thither, and to receiue the ſouereigne gouernement, with ſuch honorable prouiſion for maintenance of his eſtate, as ſhould ſéeme requiſit.

Erle Strangbow.
N.Triuet.

N.Triuet.
Wil. Paruus.

¶ Some write, that this earle Richard (being alſo earle Marſhall of England) for a rebellion moued againſt king Henrie, had before this time forfeited all his lands; but others affirme that through riot and more ſumptuous port than his abilitie might beare, he had made awaie and conſumed the moſt part of his liuing, and was run ſo far in debt, that he knew not how to ſatiſfie his creditors, and therefore was he the readier to incline to their requeſt, which made labour vnto him to come ouer into Ireland to haue the gouernance of ſuch Engliſh people, as had alreadie planted themſelues there to inhabit & remaine. Herevpon he prepared a nauie, and aſſembled togither a great number of ſuch as lacked liuing, and ſhortlie determined to paſſe ouer into Ireland. But euen as he was readie to ſet forward, there came vnto him meſſengers from king Henrie, commanding him to ſtaie, and not to take that iournie in hand. Howbeit the earle hauing nothing in England whereof to make anie great accompt, notwithſtanding the kings commandement, tooke the ſea, and paſſed ouer into that countrie, where he greatlie delited ſuch Engliſhmen as dailie had looked for his repaire and comming thither.

Strangbow contermanded

Dublin won.
Additions to John Pike.

Strangbow marrieth Dermutius his daughter.

Shortlie after, ioining thoſe which he brought ouer with him, with the other that were there before his comming, he thought to worke ſome feat, whereby he might make his name famous, & cauſe the Iriſhmen to haue him in feare. Wherevpon he firſt aſſailed the citie of Dublin, and by force wan it. He likewiſe wan Waterford, & diuerſe other townes neere vnto the ſea ſide. Alſo to haue ſome fréendſhip amongſt theſe barbarous people, he maried the daughter of the confederate king, and ſo grew into verie great eſtimation in that countrie and region.

Strangbow confined.

He ſéeketh to procure the kings fauour.

The king pardoneth him.
N. Triuet.

Howbeit, with theſe and the like doings of the earle, king Henrie tooke ſuch diſpleaſure (but chéeflie for diſobeieng his commandement) that he confined him the realme, ſeized his lands as forfeited, and by proclamation reſtreined all his ſubiects from paſſing into Ireland with any kind of merchandize, prouiſion of vittels, or other commodities whatſoeuer. By reaſon whereof, earle Strangbow, partlie by conſtreint, and partlie in hope to returne into fauour with king Henrie, and for other reſpects as may be coniectured, aduertiſed him of the whole ſtate of the countrie of Ireland, promiſing him, that if it would pleaſe his grace to come ouer thither, he would ſo worke that he ſhould be admitted ſouereigne lord of all the land. Héerevpon king Henrie pardoned him of all former treſpaſſes, and reſtored vnto him all his lands and inheritances within England and Normandie: and further, confirmed to him ſuch liuings abroad in Ireland out of the walled townes, as he held alreadie in right of his wife: and furthermore ordeined, that he ſhould be high ſteward of Ireland vnder him.

Rog.Houed.

Milford hauen.
King Henrie landeth in Ireland.
Crowch.

King Henrie then returning out of Normandie into England about the firſt day of Auguſt (as is aforeſaid) cauſed a nauie of 400. ſhips to be made readie, and to aſſemble at Milford hauen in Pembrokſhire, with all ſuch prouiſion and furniture as was thought neceſſarie for ſuch a iournie. Herewith alſo he leuied a great armie both of horſſemen and footmen, and came forward with the ſame vnto Pembroke, and ſo when all his prouiſion and ſhips were readie, he entred the ſea at Milford hauen aforeſaid the ſixtéenth daie of October, and landed in Ireland, at a place called Crowch, not paſt ſeauen miles from Waterford the day next folowing, about nine of the clocke: and on the morrow after being S. Luke the euangeliſts day, he with all his armie marched forth to Waterford, where he found William Fitz Aldelme his ſewer, and Robert Fitz Bernard, with other whome he had ſent thither before him for ſuch purpoſes as he thought moſt conuenient. He remained at Waterford fiftéene daies, during which time, there came in vnto him the king of Corke, the king of Limerike, the king of Oſſorie, the king of Méeth, Reignald de Waterford, and diuerſe other great princes of Ireland. At his firſt arriuall, the foreſaid earle Richard ſurrendred into his hands all thoſe townes and places which he had ſubdued in that countrie.

The ſurrender made by erle Strangbow.

Sundrie rulers in a land what weakenes it cauſeth.

Herewithall the whole land began to tremble, ſo that the rulers of townes and countries ſent vnto him meſſengers; offering to become tributaries, and to deliuer hoſtages: for whileſt euerie of thoſe rulers which had the gouernment of Ireland in their hands, feared their owne eſtate, and miſtruſted their owne powers, they all in maner ſubmitted themſelues, ſo that this victorie chanced to king Henrie, without the drawing forth of his ſword, and in ſuch wiſe, that he could not haue wiſhed for better or more ſpéedie ſucceſſe therein. For whereas the whole Iland was diuided into ſundrie dominions, and ruled by ſundrie gouernours, not drawing all one waie, but through factions and contrarie ſtudies one enuieng an others wealth (for

Non bene cum ſocijs regna venúſque manent,
—— Socijsq; comes diſcordia regnis)

Ouid.li.3.de art.
Stat.1.Th.

nothing more hindred the fierce and vnquiet nation from making reſiſtance, than in that they could not agrée to take councell togither for defending of their liberties, and entier ſtate of the commonwelth. Wherevpon, whileſt euerie of them apart by himſelfe was in doubt to attempt the hazard of war againſt ſo mightie a king, they were all ouercome, as were the Britons likewiſe in the time of Ceſar and the Saxons. King Henrie therefore gladlie receiued their humble ſubmiſſion, and they doing homage vnto him, ſware to be his liege and faithfull ſubiects. Onelie Roderike gouernour of Connagh refuſed to ſubmit himſelfe.

Roderike K. of Connagh.

Math. Paris.
Polydor.
The nature of the countrie of Connagh.

This Roderike pretended to be the chéefe king of Ireland, and therefore kept continuall war with the other rulers, which was partlie the cauſe wherefore they ſubmitted themſelues ſo ſoone vnto king Henrie. The ſaid Roderike held that part of Ireland which lieth toward the weſt, being full of great and thicke woods, and defended with verie high & great mountaines, cloſed alſo with waters and mariſhes, ſo that it ſhould be verie hard, and ſpeciallie in the winter ſeaſon, to bring an armie vnto it: which was the onelie cauſe whie king Henrie attempted nothing againſt Roderike at that time, but tooke in hand to plant gariſons of ſouldiers in places conuenient to kéepe the land in quiet, which he had wonne alreadie, and to giue order for the gouernement of the whole eſtate of the countrie to his behoofe and commoditie. Herevpon going to Dublin, which is the chéefeſt citie of all Ireland, he aſſembled all the rulers

lers and lords as well ſpirituall as temporall togither in councell, conſulting with them for the aſſurance of the dominion of the land to him and his heires for euermore.

The allegation of the Iriſhmen.

The Iriſh men alleged for themſelues, that his deuiſe therin could not be compaſſed, vnles the popes authoritie were therein firſt obteined: for they affirmed, that immediatlie vpon receiuing the chriſtian faith, they did ſubmit themſelues, & all that they had, vnto the ſee of Rome, ſo that they could not acknowledge any for their ſoueraigne lord, but onelie the pope. Which opinion ſome of them (although vainelie) haue holden vnto theſe our daies. King Henrie then vnderſtanding this matter, diſpatched ambaſſadours to Rome, requiring of pope Alexander, that he would by his authoritie grant him licence to ioine the countrie of Ireland vnto the realme of England, who went thither with all expedition according to their charge.

And certeinelie, theſe ambaſſadors whom the king ſent now out of Ireland to Rome in this behalfe, returned with better ſpeed in their meſſage, than did the other whom he had ſent to him out of Normandie, to excuſe him of the death of the archbiſhop Thomas. For the pope vpon good aduice taken in this matter (conſidering that he had now no profit growing to him by that Ile, and that the Iriſh people being wild and rude, were far off from all good order of chriſtianitie in diuerſe points) thought it would be a meane to bring ſome gaine to his cofers, and the people more eaſilie from their naughtie cuſtomes, if they were once made ſubiect vnto ſome chriſtian prince of puiſſance able to tame them, and conſtreine them by force to be more meeke and tractable. In conſideration whereof, he was content to grant vnto the king all that herein he required.

A councell at Caſſil.

Herevpon, king Henrie conſidering in what reſpect the pope was ſo readie to accompliſh his requeſt, called a councell of the biſhops to aſſemble at Caſſil, where manie things were decreed and ordeined for the reforming of diuerſe cuſtomes vſed before amongſt the Iriſh men, and meerelie repugnant to the lawes of the chriſtian religion. There were alſo appointed as ſolicitors in theſe matters, and to ſit as aſſiſtants with the Iriſh biſhops, one of the kings chaplaines named Nicholas, and one Raſe the archdeacon of Landaf.

R.Houed.

The archdeacon of Landaf.

1 Amongſt other things there concluded, it was ordeined, that children ſhuld be brought to the church, there to receiue baptiſme in faire water, with three dippings into the ſame, in the name of the father, the ſonne, and the Holie-ghoſt, and that by the prieſts hands, except in caſe where danger of death was feared, which then might be doone by any other perſon, and in any other place.

2 Alſo it was ordeined, that tithes ſhould be paid to churches, and that ſuch laie men as would keepe wiues, ſhould keepe them according to the lawes of holie church, and not otherwiſe.

3 The Peter pence alſo that Adrian reſerued in his buls, ſent to the king touching the ſame matter in the beginning of his reigne (with diuerſe other things) were in like maner appointed to be paid, ſo that nothing was omitted that might pleaſure the pope, or recouer his gratious fauour alreadie loſt in the matters of Thomas Becket, whereof you haue alreadie heard. Thus you heare what ſucceſſe our ambaſſadours had in this voiage. ¶ Now will I tell you (yer I proceed any further) what ſtrange things did happen in England whileſt the king was thus occupied in Ireland, and within the compaſſe of that yeare, and firſt of all, in the night before Chriſtmas day laſt paſſed, there chanced ſuch a tempeſt of lightning and thunder, that the like had not bin heard of, which tempeſt was not onelie generallie throughout all England, but alſo in other forreine parts neere adioining, namelie in Ireland, where it continued all that night, and Chriſtmas daie following, to ſo great terror of the people, that they looked for preſent death.

Anno Reg. 18.
Matth.Paris.
Matth.Weſt.
A ſore tempeſt

1172

The ſame night at Andeuer in Hamſhire, a prieſt being in his praiers before the altar, was ſtriken with the tempeſt, ſo that he died yer it was nine of the clocke in the morning. Alſo, a temporall man that was there the ſame time, was burned with the lightning, and whereas his brother being preſent, ran to him to haue ſuccoured him, he likewiſe was caught with the fire, and in like maner conſumed. In Ireland alſo, euill diet in eating of freſh fleſh and drinking of water, contrarie to the cuſtome of the Engliſhmen, brought the flix and other diſeaſes in the kings armie, ſo that manie died thereof, for

Grauiſſimum eſt imperium conſuetudinis.

Lightning.

Polydor.

Pub.Mim.

Wherfore, about the beginning of Lent, the king remoued from Dublin, & went vnto the citie of Wexford, where he remained till toward Eaſter, and then prepared to returne into England: but before he tooke the ſea, he gaue and by his charter confirmed to Hugh Lacie, all the lands of Meeth, with the appurtenances, to hold of him & his heires in fee by knights ſeruice, as to find him an hundred knights or men of armes (as we may terme them) for euermore. He gaue alſo vnto the ſame Hugh, the keeping of the citie of Dublin, and made him cheefe iuſticer of Ireland. Vnto Robert Fitz Bernard he committed the cities of Waterford, and Weſſeford, that he ſhould keepe the ſame to his vſe, and build in them caſtels, for a more ſure defenſe againſt the enimies.

Rog.Houed.

The kings gift vnto Hugh Lacie.

Thus when the king had planted gariſons of ſouldiers in thoſe & other places alſo where was thought needfull; and further had giuen order for the politike gouernement of the whole countrie, ſo far as he had conquered; he firſt ſent ouer his houſhold ſeruants, which tooke the water on Eaſter daie, and landed at Milleford, but he himſelfe and other of the Nobles ſtaid there all that daie, by reaſon of the high ſolemnitie of that feaſt: howbeit the daie next after they tooke the ſea togither, and landed neere to S. Dauids in ſouth Wales, from whence (without delaie) he haſted forth to Douer, and hauing his ſonne the yong king with him, he ſailed ouer into Normandie in the croſſe weeke to meet the popes legats, whom he vnderſtood to be alreadie come thither. At his meeting with them there, he gaue them verie good countenance, and right honorable enterteinment, omitting nothing that might doo them pleaſure.

The king returneth into England.

Ger.Dor.
The popes legats.

Here when the matter came to be diſcuſſed touching the death of archbiſhop Thomas, bicauſe it could not be certeinelie tried out in whom the fault reſted, much reaſoning to and fro paſſed, about obiections and excuſes laid (as in doubtfull caſes it often happeneth) ſo that welneere the ſpace of foure moneths was ſpent in debating of that matter. In which meane time, the king to auoid all contention and ſtrife betwixt him and king Lewes, ſent his ſon Henrie togither with his wife ouer into England, there eftſoones to receiue the crowne, and with them came Rotrod the archbiſhop of Rouen, Giles biſhop of Eureux, Roger biſhop of Worceſter, and diuerſe others.

Ger.Dor.
R.Houed.

Herevpon the yong king being arriued in England, called an aſſemblie of the lords ſpirituall and temporall at Wincheſter, where both he and his ſaid wife Margaret daughter to the French king was crowned with all ſolemnitie, by the hands of the ſaid Rotrod archbiſhop of Rouen vpon the twentie one of Auguſt.

Rog.Houed.

In the meane time (ſaith one writer) his father king Henrie might haue foreſéene and found means to haue auoided the diſcord, which euen now began to ſpring vp betwixt him and his children, cauſing a ſore and ciuill warre, if he had not béene a man that vtterlie did deteſt all ſuperſtitious admonitions. For being told (I wot not by whome) that if he did not repent, and take more regard to miniſter iuſtice, which is a vertue that conteineth in it ſelfe all other vertues; it would come to paſſe, that within ſhort time he ſhould fall into great and manifold calamities.

A ſtrange apparition.

In his returne alſo out of Ireland (ſaith an other) vpon the ſundaie next after the feaſt of Eaſter, commonlie called Lowſundaie, as he ſhould take his horſſe at Cardiffe in Wales, there appeared vnto him a man of pale and wanne colour, barefooted, and in a white kirtell, who boldlie in the Dutch language ſpake vnto him, and admoniſhed him of amendment of life, and to haue regard that the ſabboth daie (commonlie called the ſundaie) might be more duelie kept and obſerued, ſo that no markets nor bodilie workes be holden, vſed, or donne vpon that daie within the bounds of his dominions, except that which apperteineth to dreſſing of meats. And if thou doo (ſaith he) after this commandement, I aſſure thée that all things which thou dooeſt enterpriſe of good intent and purpoſe, ſhall ſort to good effect and verie luckie end.

But the king was not greatlie pleaſed with theſe words, and in French ſaid to the knight that held his bridle; Aſke of this churle, whether he hath dreamed all this that he telleth or not. When the knight had expounded it in Engliſh, the man anſwered, Whether I haue dreamed it in my ſléepe or not, take thou héed to my words, & marke what day this is: for if thou amend not thy life, and doo as I haue aduertiſed thée, before a twelue moneth come to an end, thou ſhalt heare ſuch tidings as will make thée ſorowfull all the daies of thy life after. The man hauing thus ſpoken, vaniſhed awaie ſuddenlie, and the king tooke his words but in ſport: howbeit he wondered that he was ſo ſuddenlie gone, as he did likewiſe at his ſudden appearing. Manie other warnings the king had (ſaith mine author) but he ſet little thereby.

The ſecond warning he receiued of an Iriſhman, that told him of tokens verie priuie. The third time a knight of Lindſey called Philip de Cheſterby, paſſing the ſea, came to the king into Normandie, and there declared vnto him ſeauen articles, which he ſhould amend, which if he did, then he ſhould reigne ſeauen yeares in great honor, and ſubdue Gods enimies. If he did not amend and redreſſe thoſe points, then ſhould he come to death with diſhonour in the fourth yeare.

1 The firſt article or point was, that he ſhould ſéeke to mainteine holie church.

2 The ſecond, that he ſhould cauſe rightfull lawes to be executed.

3 The third, that he ſhould condemne no man without lawfull proceſſe.

4 The fourth, that he ſhould reſtore the lands, goods and heritages to thoſe rightfull owners from whome he had taken them by any wrong or vnlawfull meanes.

5 The fift, that he ſhould cauſe euerie man to haue right, without bribing and giuing of méed.

6 The ſixt, that he ſhould paie his debts as well due to any of his ſubiects, for any ſtuffe taken vp of them to his vſe, as to his ſeruants and ſouldiers, who bicauſe they could not haue their wages truelie paid them, fell to robbing and ſpoiling of true labouring men.

7 The ſeauenth and laſt article was, that he ſhould cauſe the Iewes to be auoided out of the land, by whom the people were ſore impoueriſhed with ſuch vnmercifull vſurie as they exerciſed.

The king (notwithſtanding theſe and other like warnings) tooke no regard to the amendment of his ſinfull life, wherevpon (as is thought) the troubles which enſued did light vpon him by Gods iuſt appointment.

¶ Howſoeuer this may ſéeme a fable, but no written veritie, & therefore eſtéemed as the chaffe of ſummer flowers; yet as in the tales of Aeſop many good morals are compriſed, ſo the ſcope whereto this apparition tendeth being neceſſarie, maketh the argument it ſelfe of the more authoritie. The end therefore being (as you ſée) to reuoke the king from worſſe to better, from the ſwines-ſtie of vice to the ſtatelie throne of vertue, from the kennell of ſinne to the riuers of ſanctitie, prooueth that euen verie fictions of poets (though of light credit) haue their drift manie times to honeſt purpoſe, and therefore bring with them a competent weight of profit to the readers. So the ſcope of this tale being the ſame that Dauid pointeth at in the ſecond pſalme, when he ſaith,

Ex. G. Buch. paraph. in pſal. 2.

(At vos in populos quibus eſt permiſſa poteſtas,
Et ius ab alta ſede plebi dicitis,
Errorum tenebras depellite, diſcite verum, &c.)

maketh the narration it ſelfe (though otherwiſe ſéeming méere fabulous) to be ſomewhat authenticall. But to returne to the courſe of our ſtorie, and now to ſaie ſomewhat of this Henrie the ſeconds ſonne the yoong king, by whom the troubles were moued, (note you this) that after he had receiued the crowne togither with his ſaid wife, they both paſſed the ſeas incontinentlie backe againe into Normandie, where on the ſeauen and twentith of September, at a generall aſſemblie holden within the city of Auranches in the church of the apoſtle S. Andrew, king Henrie the father, before the cardinals the popes legats, and a great number of biſhops and other people, made his purgation, in receiuing an oth vpon the holie relikes of the ſaints, and vpon the ſacred euangeliſts, that he neither willed, nor commanded the archbiſhop Thomas to be murthered, and that when he heard of it, he was ſorie for it. But bicauſe he could not apprehend them that ſlue the archbiſhop, and for that he feared in his conſcience leaſt they had executed that vnlawfull act vpon a preſumptuous boldneſſe, bicauſe they had perceiued him to be offended with the archbiſhop, he ſware to make ſatiſfaction (for giuing ſuch occaſion) in this maner.

R. Houed. Ger. Dor.

King Henrie purgeth himſelfe of the archbiſhop Beckets death.

1 In primis, that he would not depart from pope Alexander, nor from his catholike ſucceſſours, ſo long as they ſhould repute him for a catholike king.

O vile ſubiection vnbeſéeming a king!

2 Item, that he would neither impeach appeales, nor ſuffer them to be impeached, but that they might fréelie be made within the realme vnto the pope, in cauſes eccleſiaſticall; yet ſo, that if the king haue the parties ſuſpected, they ſhall find him ſuerties that they ſhall not procure harme or hinderance whatſoeuer to him or to his realme.

3 Item, that within thrée yeares after the natiuitie of our lord next enſuing, he ſhould take vpon him the croſſe, and perſonallie paſſe to the holie land, except pope Alexander or his ſucceſſours tooke other order with him.

4 Prouided, that if vpon any vrgent neceſſitie he chanced to go into Spaine to warre againſt the Saracens there, then ſo long ſpace of time as he ſpent in that iournie, he might deferre his going into the eaſt parts.

5 Item, he bound himſelfe in the meane time by his oth, to emploie ſo much monie as the templers ſhould thinke ſufficient for the finding of two hundred knights or men of armes, for one yeares terme in the defenſe of the holie land.

6 Item, he remitted his wrath conceiued againſt

thoſe which were in exile for the archbiſhop Thomas his cauſe, ſo that they might returne againe into the realme.

7 Item, to reſtore all the lands and poſſeſſions which had béene taken awaie from the ſée of Canturburie, as they were belonging thereto in the yere before the departure of the archbiſhop Thomas out of England.

8 Item, he ſware to take awaie and aboliſh all thoſe cuſtomes, which in his time had béene brought in againſt the church, as preiudiciall thereto.

All theſe articles faithfullie, and without malengine to performe and fulfill in euerie degrée, he receiued a ſolemne oth, and cauſed his ſonne the yong king being there preſent, to receiue the ſame for performance of all thoſe articles, ſuch as touched his owne perſon onelie excepted. And to the intent the ſame ſhould remaine in the popes conſiſtorie as matter of record, he put his ſeale vnto the writing wherein the ſame articles were ingroſſed, togither with the ſeales of the aboue mentioned cardinals.

Shortlie after king Henrie the father ſuffered the yong king his ſon to go into France, togither with his wife, to viſit his father king Lewes, according as their deputies required, which iournie verelie bred the cauſe of the diſſention that followed betwixt him and his father. King Lewes moſt louinglie receiued them (as reaſon was) and cauſed diuers kinds of triumphant plaies and paſtimes to be ſhewed for the honour and delectation of his ſonne in law and daughter.

he French
ng ſeeketh
ſow ſediti=
betwixt the
ther and the
nne.

Neuertheleſſe, whileſt this yong prince ſoiourned in France, king Lewes not hartilie fauouring the king of England, and therewithall perceiuing the raſh and headſtrong diſpoſition of the yong king did firſt of all inuegle him to conſider of his eſtate, and to remember that he was now a king equall vnto his father, and therefore aduiſed him ſo ſhortlie as he could, to get the entire gouernment out of his fathers hands: whereunto he furthermore promiſed all the aid that laie in him to performe.

The yong king being readie inough not onelie to worke vnquietneſſe, but alſo to follow his father in lawes counſell (as he that was apt of nature to aſpire to the ſole gouernement, and loth to haue any partener in authoritie (according to that of the tragedie-writer,

. in Agam.

Nec regna ſocium ferre nec tedæ ſciunt)

and namelie ſuch one as might controll him) was the more encouraged thereto by a number of prodigall currie fauours, who by flatterie ſet him aloft, declaring vnto him that he was borne to rule, and not to obeie, and therefore it became not his highneſſe to reigne by the appointment of an other, but rather to haue the gouernement fréelie in his owne hands, that he might not be counted prince by permiſſion. Herevpon the youthfull courage of the yong king being tickled, began to war of a contrarie mind to his father: who ſuſpecting indéed that which chanced; to wit (leaſt his ſonnes yong yeares not able yet to diſcerne good and wholeſome counſell from euill, might eaſilie be infected with ſome ſiniſter practiſe) thought it not good to ſuffer him to be long abſent from him, and therefore ſent for him: who taking leaue of his father in law king Lewes in courteous maner, returned and came to his father king Henrie into Normandie, who when the feaſt of Chriſtmas drew néere, repaired towards Aniou, where in the towne of Chinon, he ſolemnized that feaſt, hauing left his ſonne the yong king and his wife all that while in Normandie: but ſending for him after the feaſt was ended, they went both into Auergne, where being at mount Ferrat, Hubert earle of Morienne came vnto them, bringing with him his eldeſt daughter Alice, whom king Henrie the father bought of him for the ſumme of fiue thouſand markes, that he might beſtow hir in mariage vpon his yongeſt ſonne John with the heritage of the countie of Morienne, if hir father died without other iſſue, or at the leaſtwiſe the ſaid Hubert chanced to haue any ſonne lawfullie begotten, that then he ſhould leaue vnto them and to their heires the countie of Ruſſellon, the countie of Belle, as he then had and held the ſame, Pierre caſtell with the appurtenances, the ballie of Noualeiſe, alſo Chambrie with the appurtenances, Aiz, Aſpermont, Rochet, mont Magor, and Chambres, with Burg, all which lieng on this ſide the mountaines with their appurtenances, the ſaid Hubert granted to them immediatlie for euer. And beyond the mountaines he couenanted to giue vnto them Turine with the appurtenances, the colledge of Gauoreth with the appurtenances, and all the fées which the earles of Canaues held of him, togither with the fealties and ſeruices. And alſo, the fées, fealties, and ſeruices which belonged to him in the countie of Amund, and in the ballie called Vale Doſta; and in like maner, the towne of Caſtellone.

Houed.
o Reg. 19.
173

ert earle
ozienne.

A marriage
contracted.

Comitatus
bellenſis.

All the forenamed places the ſaid earle gaue and granted to the ſaid John, ſonne to the king of England for euermore, with his daughter, ſo fréelie, wholie and quietlie (in men and cities, caſtels, fortreſſes, or other places of defenſe, in medowes, leaſſewes, milnes, woods, plaines, waters, vallies and mountaines, in cuſtomes and all other things) as euer he or his father had held or enioied the ſame. And furthermore, the ſaid earle would, that immediatlie (when it pleaſed the king of England) his people ſhould doo homage and fealtie to the king of Englands ſonne, reſeruing the fealtie due to him ſo long as he liued. Moreouer, the ſaid earle Hubert granted to the ſaid John and his wife all the right that he had in the countie of Granople, and whatſoeuer might be got and enioied in the ſame countie. It was alſo couenanted, if the elder daughter died, that then the ſaid John ſhould marrie the yonger daughter, and enioy all the like portions and parts of inheritance as he ſhould haue enioied with the firſt.

The countie
of Granople.

Finallie, that theſe couenants, grants and agréements ſhould be performed on the part and behalfe of the ſaid earle Hubert, both he, the ſaid earle, and the erle of Geneua, and in maner all the great lords and barons of thoſe countries receiued an oth, and vndertooke to come and offer themſelues as hoſtages to remaine with the king of England, in caſe the ſaid earle Hubert failed in performance of any of the aforeſaid articles, till he [illegible] himſelfe to ſatiſfie the kings pleaſure in ſuch [illegible]

Furthermore, [illegible] biſhop of Tarenſ[illegible] a, and alſo [illegible] abbat of S[illegible] die at the a[illegible] it vnder th[illegible] his lands [illegible] and ſo [illegible] had ſa[illegible]

W[illegible] of Aru[illegible] he ſhou[illegible] ments [illegible] diatlie [illegible] and alſo [illegible] ſhould p[illegible] leaſt, and [illegible] of fiue tho[illegible] riage was [illegible]

It was [illegible] might ma[illegible]

es of
tie
del.

thoſe which were in exile for the archbiſhop Thomas his cauſe, ſo that they might returne againe into the realme.

7 Item, to reſtore all the lands and poſſeſſions which had béene taken awaie from the ſée of Canturburie, as they were belonging thereto in the yere before the departure of the archbiſhop Thomas out of England.

8 Item, he ſware to take awaie and aboliſh all thoſe cuſtomes, which in his time had béene brought in againſt the church, as preiudiciall thereto.

All theſe articles faithfullie, and without male-ingene to performe and fulfill in euerie degrée, he receiued a ſolemne oth, and cauſed his ſonne the yoong king being there preſent, to receiue the ſame for performance of all thoſe articles, ſuch as touched his owne perſon onelie excepted. And to the intent the ſame ſhould remaine in the popes conſiſtorie as matter of record, he put his ſeale vnto the writing wherein the ſame articles were ingroſſed, togither with the ſeales of the aboue mentioned cardinals.

Shortlie after king Henrie the father ſuffered the yoong king his ſon to go into France, togither with his wife, to viſit his father king Lewes, according as their deputies required, which iournie verelie bred the cauſe of the diſſention that followed betwixt him and his father. King Lewes moſt louinglie receiued them (as reaſon was) and cauſed diuers kinds of triumphant plaies and paſtimes to be ſhewed for the honour and delectation of his ſonne in law and daughter.

The French king ſéeketh to ſow ſedition betwixt the father and the ſonne.

Neuertheleſſe, whileſt this yoong prince ſoiourned in France, king Lewes not hartilie fauouring the king of England, and therewithall perceiuing the raſh and headſtrong diſpoſition of the yong king did firſt of all inuegle him to conſider of his eſtate, and to remember that he was now a king equall vnto his father, and therefore aduiſed him ſo ſhortlie as he could, to get the entire gouernment out of his fathers hands: wherevnto he furthermore promiſed all the aid that laie in him to performe.

The yong king being readie inough not onelie to worke vnquietneſſe, but alſo to follow his father in lawes counſell (as he that was apt of nature to aſpire to the ſole gouernement, and loth to haue any partener in authoritie (according to that of the tragedie-writer,

Nec regna ſocium ferre nec tedæ ſciunt)

and namelie ſuch one as might controll him) was the more encouraged thereto by a number of prodigall currie fauours, who by flatterie ſet him aloft, declaring vnto him that he was borne to rule, and not to obeie, and therefore it became not his highneſſe to reigne by the appointment of an other, but rather to haue the gouernement fréelie in his owne hands, that he might not be counted prince by permiſſion. Herevpon the youthfull courage of the yong king being tickled, began to wax of a contrarie mind to his father: who ſuſpecting indéed that which chanced; to wit (leaſt his ſonnes yoong yeares not able yet to diſcerne good and wholeſome counſell from euill, might eaſilie be infected with ſome ſiniſter practiſe) thought it not good to ſuffer him to be long abſent from him, and therefore ſent for him: who taking leaue of his father in law king Lewes in courteous maner, returned and came to his father king Henrie into Normandie, who when the feaſt of Chriſtmas drew néere, repaired towards Aniou, where in the towne of Chinon, he ſolemnized that feaſt, hauing left his ſonne the yong king and his wife all that while in Normandie: but ſending for him after the feaſt was ended, they went both into Auvergne, where being at mount Ferrat, Hubert earle of Morienne came vnto them, bringing with him his eldeſt daughter Alice, whom king Henrie the father bought of him for the ſumme of fiue thouſand markes, that he might beſtow hir in mariage vpon his yongeſt ſonne John with the heritage of the countie of Morienne, if hir father died without other iſſue, or at the leaſtwiſe the ſaid Hubert chanced to haue any ſonne lawfullie begotten, that then he ſhould leaue vnto them and to their heires the countie of Ruſſellon, the countie of Belle, as he then had and held the ſame, Pierre caſtell with the appurtenances, the vallie of Noualleiſe, alſo Chambrie with the appurtenances, Aiz, Aſpermont, Rochet, mont Magor, and Chambres, with Burg, all which lieng on this ſide the mountaines with their appurtenances, the ſaid Hubert granted to them immediatlie for euer. And beyond the mountaines he couenanted to giue vnto them Turine with the appurtenances, the colledge of Gauoreth with the appurtenances, and all the fées which the earles of Canaues held of him, togither with the fealties and ſeruices. And alſo, the fées, fealties, and ſeruices which belonged to him in the countie of Amund, and in the vallie called Vale Doſta; and in like maner, the towne of Caſtellone.

Sen. in Agam.

Rog. Houed.
Anno Reg. 19.
1173

Hubert earle of Morienne.

A marriage contracted.

Comitatus bellenſis.

All the forenamed places the ſaid earle gaue and granted to the ſaid John, ſonne to the king of England for euermore, with his daughter, ſo fréelie, wholie and quietlie (in men and cities, caſtels, fortreſſes, or other places of defenſe, in medowes, leaſſewes, milnes, woods, plaines, waters, vallies and mountaines, in cuſtomes and all other things) as euer he or his father had held or enioied the ſame. And furthermore, the ſaid earle would, that immediatlie (when it pleaſed the king of England) his people ſhould doo homage and fealtie to the king of Englands ſonne, reſeruing the fealtie due to him ſo long as he liued. Moreouer, the ſaid earle Hubert granted to the ſaid John and his wife all the right that he had in the countie of Granople, and whatſoeuer might be got and euicted in the ſame countie. It was alſo couenanted, if the elder daughter died, that then the ſaid John ſhould marrie the yoonger daughter, and enioy all the like portions and parts of inheritance as he ſhould haue enioied with the firſt.

The countie of Granople.

Finallie, that theſe couenants, grants and agréements ſhould be performed on the part and behalfe of the ſaid earle Hubert, both he, the ſaid earle, and the erle of Geneua, and in maner all the great lords and barons of thoſe countries receiued an oth, and vndertooke to come and offer themſelues as hoſtages to remaine with the king of England, in caſe the ſaid earle Hubert failed in performance of any of the aforeſaid articles, till he framed himſelfe to ſatiſfie the kings pleaſure in ſuch behalfe.

Furthermore, Peter the reuerend archbiſhop of Tarenſaſia, and Ardune the biſhop of Geneua, and alſo William the biſhop of Morienne, with the abbat of S. Michell promiſed vpon their oth to be readie at the appointment of the king of England, to put vnder the cenſures of the church the ſaid earle and his lands, refuſing to performe the foreſaid couenants, and ſo to kéepe him and the ſame lands bound, till he had ſatiſfied the king of England therein.

The earles of Mandeuille and Arundell.

William earle of Mandeuill, and William earle of Arundell ſware on the part of king Henrie, that he ſhould performe the articles, couenants and agréements on his part, as firſt to make paiment immediatlie vnto the ſaid Hubert of one thouſand marks, and aſſoone as he ſhould receiue his daughter, he ſhould pay him an other thouſand markes at the leaſt, and the reſidue then remaining of the ſaid ſum of fiue thouſand markes, ſhould be paid when the mariage was conſummate.

It was prouided alſo, that the ſaid earle Hubert might marrie his yoonger daughter where he would, without any great diminiſhing of the earledome after the firſt marriage conſummate with the lord John, the king of Englands ſonne. And that if either the ſaid lord John, or his affianced wife chanced to die before the conſummation of the marriage; then ſhould the monie which the earle had receiued, be repaied to the king, or beſtowed as the king ſhould appoint.

Shortlie after that the parties were agreed vpon the couenants afore cited, the marques of Montferrat & one Geffrey de Plorac with his ſonne Miles and other Noble men came to the king as ambaſſadors from the earle of Morienne, and receiued an oth, that they ſhould ſee and procure the ſaid earle to performe the couenants and agreements concluded betwixt the king and him. When theſe things were thus ordered, as ſeemed good to both parties, for the eſtabliſhment of the foreſaid marriage, the king the father, and the king the ſonne remoued to Limoges, whither the earle of S. Giles came, and was there accorded with king Henrie and his ſonne Richard duke of Guien, concerning the controuerſie that had beene moued for the countie of Tholouze, dooing his homage as well vnto the father as to the ſonne for the ſame countie, and further couenanted to ſerue them with an hundred knights or men of armes (as we may call them) for the terme of fourtie daies at all times, vpon lawfull ſummons. And if the king or his ſonne duke Richard would haue his ſeruice longer time after the fourtie daies were expired, they ſhould paie wages both to him and his men in reaſonable maner. Moreouer, the ſaid earle condeſcended & agreed to giue yearelie for Tholouze an hundred marks, or elſe 10. horſſes with 10. marks a peece. Now alſo, whileſt the king ſoiourned at Limoges, the earle of Morienne came thither to him, and required to vnderſtand what parcels of land he would aſſigne vnto his ſonne John. Wherevpon the king reſolued to allot vnto him the chappell of Chinon, Lodun and Mirabell, whereby he offended his eldeſt ſonne the yoong king (as after may appeare) who was glad to haue occaſion (whome the poets faine to be bald behind and hairie before, as this monaſtich inſinuateth,

The earle of S. Giles.

Nic. Triuet.

Tribute for Tholouze.

Ger. Dor.

Fronte capillata eſt poſt eſt occaſio calua)

offered to broch his conceiued purpoſe of rebellion which of late he had imagined, and now began to put in practiſe, vſing the opportunitie of the time and the ſtate or qualitie of the quarell then taken for his beſt aduantage, and meaning to make it an ingredience or entrance to the malicious conceit which he had kept ſecret in his hart.

This yeere the moonks of Canturburie (by the kings aſſent) choſe for their archbiſhop one Richard, who before was prior of Douer, this man was the 39. in number that had ruled the church of Canturburie, being of an euill life, as he well ſhewed, in that he waſted the goods of the church inordinatlie. Roger the abbat of Bechellouin was firſt choſen, but he refuſed that dignitie rather for ſlothfulnes and idlenes (as ſome take it) than for modeſtie or wiſedome: ſo hard a thing it is to pleaſe the people, which meaſure all things to be honeſt or diſhoneſt, as they eb or flow in profit and gaine.

Matth. Weſt. N. Triuet.

Matth. Paris.

The ſaid Richard, after that he was elected, did homage vnto king Henrie, and ſware fealtie vnto him (*Saluo ſemper ordine ſuo*, His order alwaies ſaued) without making mention of the cuſtomes of the kingdome. This was doone at Weſtminſter in the chappel of S. Katharine, the kings iuſticer giuing his aſſent therevnto, where a councell was held the ſame time, and a letter of the popes read there before the biſhops and barons of the realme, conteining amongſt other things this that followeth.

A councell holden at Weſtminſter.

A breefe extract or clauſe of a letter which the pope ſent to the clergie of *England, &c: for the making of a* new holie daie.

WE admoniſh you all, & by the authoritie which we reteine, doo ſtreightlie charge you, that you celebrat the daie of the ſuffering of the bleſſed man Thomas the glorious martyr, ſometime archbiſhop of Canturburie, euerie yere in moſt ſolemne ſort, & that with deuout praiers ye endeuour your ſelues to purchaſe forgiuenes of ſins; that he which for Chriſtes ſake ſuffered baniſhment in this life, and martyrdome in death by conſtancie of vertue, through continuall ſupplication of faithful people, may make interceſſion for you vnto God.

The tenor of theſe letters were ſcarſlie read, but euerie man with a lowd voice began to recite this pſalme or hymne, *Te Deum laudamus.* Furthermore bicauſe his ſuffragans had not exhibited due reuerence to him their father, either in time of his baniſhment, or at his returne from the ſame, but rather perſecuted him; that they might openlie confeſſe their errour and wickedneſſe to all men, they made this collect: Be fauourable good Lord to our ſupplication and praier, that we which acknowledge our ſelues guiltie of iniquitie, may be deliuered by the interceſſion of Thomas thy bleſſed martyr and biſhop, Amen.

A collect deuiſed in honor of the archbiſhop Becket.

This praier was vſed by the couent of S. Albons on the daie of his martyrdome. Thus

—— cæca ſuperſtitionis
Eſt faciliſque via & cunctis iam cognita ſæclis.

¶ Notwithſtanding all which honour of the pope then exhibited to his ſaint, as his canonization, with other ſolemnities procured for the maintenance of his memoriall in all ages ſucceeding; what remembrance is there now of Thomas Becket? Where be the ſhrines that were erected in this church and that chappell for perpetuities of his name and fame? Are they not all defaced? are they not all ruinated? are they not all conuerted to powder and duſt? And although the pope ment by cauſing ſuch ikons to be erected, to prefer Thomas as a perpetuall ſaint to all poſterities, and thought as he that ſaid of his poems,

Exegi monumentum ære perennius,
Regalique ſitu pyramidum altius,
Quod non imber edax non aquilo impotens
Poſsit diruere aut innumerabilis
Annorum ſeries & fuga temporum,

Yet is he growne not into renowme, but infamie and ſhame in England, as our chronicles declare, which haue publiſhed that Romiſh rakehels ambitious and traitorous heart to all ſucceſſions. Naie, whereas in times paſt he was reckoned in the popes rubricke for a ſaint and a martyr, now it is come to paſſe (by the meanes belike of other ſaints whoſe merits haue ſurpaſſed Beckets) that he is growne in obliuion euen at Rome, and his name raced out of the popes calendar (as a learned man preached in a ſolemne audience at a high feſtiuall time) by whom he was ſo magnified. In which kind of diſcontinuing his fauour to his ſworne children, he ſheweth himſelfe verie ingratefull, and not worthie of the dutifulneſſe wherewith (like buzzards as they be) they ouercharge their helliſh (holie I would ſaie) father.

M. Vaghan at Spitle the tueſdaie in Eaſter weeke 1585.

This yeare the ſiſter of the ſaid archbiſhop Richard was made abbeſſe of Berking. But now touching the new elected archbiſhop Richard, we find, that comming to Canturburie on the ſaturdaie after his election, in hope to be there conſecrated, he

Ger. Dor.

The archbiſhops conſecratiõ diſturbed by the yoong king.

was diſappointed by letters that came from king Henrie the ſonne, in forme as followeth.

A letter of yoong king Henrie touching the diſappointment of archbiſhop *Richards conſecration.*

Henrie by the grace of God king of England, duke of Normandie, and earle of Aniou, ſonne of king Henrie; to our deere and faithfull freend Odo, prior of the church of Canturburie, and to all the conuent there, ſendeth greeting. By the aſſured report of ſome we vnderſtand, that in your church and in other churches alſo, my father goeth about to inſtitute certein perſons not verie meet for ſuch calling: and bicauſe (without our conſent) it ought not ſo to be doone, who by reaſon of our kinglie annointing haue taken vpon vs the kingdome and charge of the whole realme: hervpon we haue in the preſence of many perſons appealed to the ſee of Rome, and haue ſignified our appeale in that behalfe, made vnto our reuerend fathers and freends Albert and Theodorike, cardinals and legats of the apoſtolike ſee, by our writing and meſſenger, who likewiſe and diſcreet perſonages haue aſſented therevnto. We haue likewiſe ſignified the ſame our appeale to our faithfull freends the biſhops of London, Exceſter, and Worceſter, and as we haue appealed, ſo likewiſe we doo appeale vnder your teſtimonie.

After the peruſall of this letter, and the due conſideration of the ſubſtance and ſumme of the ſame, (albeit no ſuch afterclaps were ſuſpected before) the biſhops were altogither driuen to their ſhifts, ſome of them deſiring to go forward with the conſecration, and ſome ſuppoſing it better to yéeld vnto the appeale. The elect archbiſhop therefore firſt ſent meſſengers to Rome with letters, not written onelie by himſelfe, but alſo by all the biſhops and conuent of Canturburie. After this he followed himſelfe in perſon, and comming to the popes court, found there diuers aduerſaries to his cauſe. For ſome were there that tooke part with the king the father, and ſome with the king the ſonne, and ſo his buſineſſe could haue no ſpéedie diſpatch. In the meane time the rancor which king Henrie the ſonne had conceiued againſt his father was ſo ripened, that it could not but burſt out, and ſhew it ſelfe to the breach of all dutifull obedience which nature requireth of a ſonne towards his father.

You haue heard how king Henrie promiſed the earle of Morienne, when the marriage was concluded betwixt his ſon Iohn and the ſaid earles daughter, to giue vnto the ſaid Iohn certeine townes in Normandie, for the better mainteining of his eſtate and his wiues. This gift of the fathers cauſed his eldeſt ſonne the yong king Henrie, the ſooner to powre out his poiſon which he had ſucked before at his being with his father in law king Lewes. For conceiuing an offenſe, that his father ſhould giue away any portion of his inheritance, he would not condeſcend to any ſuch gifts, but alledged that ſithens he was king of England, and that all belonged to him, his father could not now haue any title to giue awaie that which did in no wiſe apperteine vnto him.

Wil.Paruus.

There was another cauſe that troubled his mind alſo, and mooued him to grudge at his father, which was; for that the proportion of his allowance for maintenance of his houſhold and port was verie ſlender, and yet more ſlenderlie paied. Alſo his father remooued from him certeine of his ſeruants, as Aſtulfe de S. Hilarie, and other whome he ſuſpected to giue him euill counſell. Wherefore thoſe that were procurers of him to attempt the ſeizing of the gouernement into his hands, vpon this occaſion ſlept not, but put into his head ſuch matter, that at length he openlie demanded to haue the whole rule committed to him: which when he ſaw would not be obteined of his father by quiet meanes, he fled ſecretlie awaie vnto his father in law king Lewes, requiring aid of him to recouer his right, which king Henrie the elder vniuſtlie deteined from him.

Aſtulfe de S. Hilarie a counſellor or rather corrupter of king Henrie the ſonne.
Polydor.

King Henrie the ſonne fled to the French king.

The French king comforted him, and bad him be of good cheare, for he ment to doo for him all that in him laie. Herewith he proclaimed him duke of Normandie, and receiued homage of him for the ſame. King Henrie the father vnderſtanding that his ſonne was thus fled to the French king, ſent ambaſſadours forthwith to the ſame king, requiring him to giue his ſon ſome good & wholeſome counſell, that he might repent, and not follow ſuch wilfulneſſe of mind in ſwaruing from his fathers fréendſhip, but rather with ſpéed to returne home againe; & to promiſe in his name, that if any thing were otherwiſe than well, he would be contented the ſame ſhould be reformed by his order and correction. But ſo farre was king Lewes from meaning to ſet a quietneſſe betwixt the father and the ſonne, that he would not heare the ambaſſadors declare their meſſage, bicauſe they named the father, king, to the derogation of the ſonnes right, to whome he ſaid he offered manifeſt wrong in vſurping the gouernement, which he had alreadie giuen ouer and reſigned. Inſomuch that when the ambaſſadours had declared ſome part of their meſſage, he aſked them what he was that willed ſuch things of him: and when they anſwered that the king of England had ſent them with that meſſage, That is a falſe lie (ſaith he) for behold here is the king of England, who hath giuen you no commiſſion to declare any meſſage from him vnto me at all.

W.Paruus.

¶ Here we ſée philautie or ſelfe-loue, which rageth in men ſo prepoſterouſlie, that euen naturall dutie and affection quite forgotten, they vndertake what miſchéefe ſoeuer commeth next to hand, without exception of place or perſon; and all for the maintenance of ſtatelie titles, of loftie ſtiles, of honorable names, and ſuch like vanities more light than thiſtle-downs that flieth in the aire. A vice that hath béene noted to reigne in all ages, among all péeres and people of all nations, both at home and abroad, as one verie well noteth and giueth his verdict thereupon, ſaieng,

M.Pal. in virg. & ſag.

——— proh dij, nunc nomina tantùm
Magnifica, & claros titulos ſibi quilibet optat,
Arrogat, affectat, ſequitur, rapit; vt meritò iam
Et ſe aſinus pardum vocet & formica leonem.
Quid tituli illuſtres præclaráq; nomina proſunt?
Quæ citò mors rapit, & lethæas mergit in vndas.

King Henrie the father perceiuing hereby that warres would follow, prepared the beſt he could for his owne defenſe: but he was in great doubt on euerie ſide, not knowing whome he might truſt. And to increaſe this miſchéefe, his wife quéene Elianor ſtudied to mainteine the ſtrife betwixt hir ſonnes. The yoong king then getting an armie togither entred into Guian.

King Henrie the father knoweth not whome he may truſt.
Polydor.

King Henrie was not haſtie to go againſt him, but ſought rather with gentleneſſe and all courteous meanes to reconcile him: inſomuch that whereas diuerſe graue perſonages being of the yoong kings counſell, and doubting to runne into the diſpleaſure of his father, reuolted from the ſonne to the father, and brought with them the ſonnes ſeale, which he vſed in

Richard Bart chancellor to the yoong king, alſo his chaplaine, ſir Walter Ailward with others.
Rog.Houed.

in ſealing of letters. Howbeit, the father receiued them not, but ſent them backe againe to his ſonne, commanding them to continue faithfull in ſeruing him as he ſhould appoint them, and herewith he ſent ambaſſadours vnto his ſonne to entreate with him of peace and concord.

Now whileſt the father went about to aſſwage the ſonnes diſpleaſure, the mother quéene Elianor did what ſhe could to pricke him forward in his diſobedient attempts. For ſhe being enraged againſt hir huſband bicauſe he kept ſundrie concubines, and therefore delited the leſſe in hir companie, cared not what miſchéefe ſhe procured againſt him. Herevpon ſhe made hir complaint ſo gréeuouſlie vnto hir ſons Richard and Geffrey, that they ioined with their brother againſt their father, & came to him into Guien, to aid him to the vttermoſt of their powers.

¶ This may well séeme to be brought vpon the king as a plague of his incontinent, vnchaſt and libidinous life; who hauing *Chara coniugij pignora*, a notable motiue to kindle and continue honeſt loue in wedlocke, did notwithſtanding moſt inordinatlie abandon his bodie to beaſtlie and vnlawfull companie kéeping with ſtrange fleſh. Note héere how God ſtirreth vp the wife of his owne boſome, & the ſonnes deſcending of his owne loines to be thornes in his eies and godes in his ſides for profaning ſo diuine and holie an ordinance; which the verie pagans did ſo honour and reuerence, that they did not onlie giue precepts touching the due obſeruation thereof, but denounced vndoubted vengeance for the violation of the ſame, as appeareth in this old teſtimonie,

Heſiod.in lib.cuius. op. & di.

Patrat & ingreditur quicunq; cubilia fratris
Vxorem maculans, & ſancta cubilia ſtupro,
Hunc pater ipſe deûm Saturnius odit, & ipſi
Hunc malè dij vexant, &c.

But we will remit this to the readers conſideration, and note the iſſue of this miſchéefe now broched. The yong king reioiſing that he had his brethren thus on his ſide, readie to take his part, became more ſtout than before, and for anſwere vnto the meſſengers that came to him from his father, he declared that if his father would deliuer vp the whole gouernment into his hands, he would be content to breake vp his armie. As for ſuch ſouldiers as would willinglie take his part in this quarell, he cauſed them to ſweare that they ſhould faithfullie ſerue him againſt his aduerſaries: and thoſe that had rather ſerue on the other ſide, he licenced them fréelie to depart and go to his father.

Twẽtie thouſand Brabanders were reteined by king Henrie the father as ſaith R.Houed.

King Henrie the father receiuing ſuch a rebellious anſwer from his ſonne, much lamented the matter, and ſo much the more, for that he ſaw there was no remedie, but to haue the controuerſie decided by the ſword. Therefore leaſt he ſhould be taken vnprouided, he kept his armie in a readineſſe about him, hauing reteined certeine bands of Brabanders called the Rowts.

Wil.Paruus.
N.Triuet.
Polydor.

N.Triuet.
Polydor.

The lords that tooke part with his ſonne, being aduertiſed by eſpials of the doings of the father, and hearing that he was readie (if he were conſtreined) to defend himſelfe by battell, and yet willing to receiue his ſons into his fauour againe, if they would be reformed, they tooke great care how to cauſe his ſons to perſiſt in their enterpriſe, till the father were compelled by force to reſigne the gouernment vnto them. But none more than the French king coueted to mainteine the diſcord, till it might be ended by force of armes: and therfore ſent vnto king Henrie the ſonne, willing him to come to Paris, where he cauſed a councell to be called, & there made a league betwixt the ſaid Henrie and himſelfe, with William king of Scotland, Hugh earle of Cheſter, William Patrike the elder, the thrée ſons of Robert earle of Mellent, whoſe caſtels king Henrie the elder had in poſſeſſion, Roger Moumbray, Hugh Bigot, and diuerſe other complices of the conſpiracie, *Flabella ſeditionum*, that tooke part with Henrie the ſonne.

The French king taketh an oth to aid king Henrie the ſonne.
Rog.Houed.
Ger. Dor.

Philip earle of Flanders.
Matthew erle of Bullongne.

Chateau Reignold.

Earle Dauid.

Hugh Bigot.

Polydor.

Here after they had conſulted of the maner how to mainteine warre, bicauſe they would aſſure the yong king that they ment not to forſake him, firſt king Lewes, and after all the reſidue tooke an oth to aid him with men and monie, till his father ſhould either be driuen out of his kingdome, or brought to agrée with him at his will and pleaſure. On the other part, he ſware neuer to conclude any peace with his father without their conſent and good will. He alſo promiſed vpon his oth to giue, & by his charter vnder his ſeale he confirmed vnto Philip earle of Flanders (for his homage) a thouſand pounds of yearelie reuenues in England, and the countie of Kent, with the caſtels of Douer and Rocheſter. And to Matthew earle of Bullongne (for his homage) he likewiſe promiſed and confirmed the Soke of Kirketon in Lindſey, and the earldome of Morton, with the honour of Hey. Alſo to Theobald earle of Blois (for his homage) he gaue and granted fiue hundred marks of yearelie reuenue in Aniou with the caſtell of Ambois, and all that which he claimed as his right within the countrie of Touraine, and ſurrendred to him all the right which he and his father claimed and demanded to haue in Chateau Reignold. To the K. of Scots (for his aſſiſtance) he gaue and granted all Northumberland as far as the riuer of Tine. And to his brother Dauid (to haue his ſeruice) he granted the counties of Huntington and Cambridge. To Hugh Bigot (for his ſeruice) he gaue the caſtell of Norwich. All theſe gifts and grants (with diuerſe other to other perſons) promiſed & granted, he confirmed with his new ſeale, which the king of France had cauſed him to make. Theſe things being thus ordered at Paris, euerie man reſorted to his charge, that he might prouide for the warre with all ſpéed conuenient.

King Henrie the father aduertiſed of this new league of the conſpirators againſt him, was in great perplexitie of mind, for that he ſaw himſelfe in danger, not onelie of outward enimies, but alſo of his owne ſubiects at home. Yet bicauſe the winter ſeaſon was alreadie at hand, taking awaie all conuenient occaſions of attempting any great exploit by war for that time, he was in hope to compaſſe ſome agréement with his ſons yer the ſpring of the yeare ſhould returne, and therefore he made not ſo great prouiſion for his defenſe, as had béene neceſſarie in ſo dangerous a caſe. But the Frenchmen, who were bent to ſet forward this war with all diligence, were readie in the field immediatlie vpon the comming of the ſpring with king Henrie the ſonne, and euen at one inſtant made their inuaſions vpon the lands of king Henrie the father in thrée ſeuerall parties; namelie, in Normandie, Guien, and Britaine, which (againſt the will of his ſonne Geffrey duke thereof) king Henrie the father did hold and reteine in his owne hands. The Frenchmen thus inuading the forſaid countries, did much hurt with robbing and ſpoiling, and alſo tooke diuerſe caſtels and townes.

The confederats inuade yͤ dominions of king Henrie the father.

The king of Scots inuadeth Cumberland.

Moreouer, about the ſame time, William king of Scotland entred with a great power, firſt into Cumberland, and beſieged Carleil: but hearing that an armie was prepared againſt him in the ſouth parties of the realme, and readie to ſet forward, he raiſed his ſiege, and entred into Northumberland (which prouince king Henrie the ſonne had giuen him in the laſt aſſemblie holden at Paris) endeuouring to bring it into his poſſeſſion. But the more earneſtlie he went about to inforce the people to his will, the more ſtiflie did they withſtand his purpoſe, hating him ſo much, that in no condition they were willing to come vnder his rule, whereby the Scots were put backe and repelled, and that to their great loſſe. The kings power alſo comming into the countrie followed them, and paſſing ouer the water of Twéed, which diuided then (as it doth at this daie) the two realmes, made the like ſpoile in the land of the enimies, as they had made in the countries of Northumberland and Cumberland.

Wil.Paruus.

Vernueil beſieged.

R.Houed.

Hugh Beauchampe.

But in Normandie, whileſt others in other places, made their hand in fetching preies and booties out of the enimies countrie, king Lewes beſieged Vernueil, which towne being ſtrong of it ſelfe, Hugh Beauchampe and others that had charge thereof valiantlie defended, ſo that the French king was a moneth before it, yer he could win anie part thereof. This towne of Vernueil was in thoſe daies diuided into thrée portions, beſide the caſtell, euerie of them apart from other with mightie wals and déepe ditches full of water. One of theſe parts was called the great Burrow without the wals, where the French king had pitcht his field & planted his engins. About a moneth after thoſe cõming thither, vittels began to faile them within, ſo that at length they required a truce onlie for thrée daies, & if no ſuccour came within thoſe thrée daies, they promiſed to yéeld that part of the towne called the great Burrow, & the peremptorie daie was the vigill or éeue of S. Laurence. Hereupon were hoſtages deliuered by the burgeſſes vnto the French king. Now it was agréed that if they yéelded the towne at the daie appointed for want of ſuccor, king Henrie the ſon, and Robert the French kings brother, with the earls of Trois & Blois, Henrie and Theobald, and William archbiſh. of Sens, vndertooke vpon their othes that the hoſtages ſhould then be reſtored frée & without any hurt or damage.

King Henrie being certified from them within of the compoſition thus made, was driuen to a verie hard ſhift: for he doubted nothing leſſe than that any ſuch thing ſhould haue chanced. Yet conſidering with himſelfe, that the ſauing of the towne ſtood in his ſpéedie comming to the reſcue, he haſted thither without any ſtaie, and came to the place the daie before the third and laſt daie of the truce. King Lewes perceiuing him to be come, doubting leaſt he ſhould loſe the preie which he looked for, ſent vnto the king, and required that he might common with him on the next daie, touching ſome means of agréement to be had betwixt him and his ſons. This did he of policie, to féed him with hope of ſome end to be made in the troubles betwixt him and his ſons, till he had gotten poſſeſſion of the towne.

The French king requireth to talke.

Now as he forecaſt that matter, euen ſo it came to paſſe, for whileſt a great péece of the next daie was ſpent in feined talke about an agréement; K. Lewes appointed a great part of his hoſt to cloſe the towne about, and to declare vnto them within, that king Henrie was put to flight; which talke they within Vernueil beléeuing, yéelded the towne & themſelues to the Frenchmen. Soone after, king Lewes miſtruſting leaſt he ſhould not be able to kéepe it, ſet it on fire, and ſo burnt it, contrarie to the compoſition betwixt him and them agréed and concluded vpon. He kept alſo the ſouldiers that had yéelded it into his hands, togither with the hoſtages as priſoners, and doubting to cope with his enimie, went awaie in the night with as ſtill noiſe as was poſſible. Which euill dealing had not inuaded his hart, but that euill meaning had poſſeſſed it before, euen at the compoſition making: but he neuer learned that,

Rog.Houed.

The ninth of Auguſt being thurſdaie ſaith R. Houed. king Lewes fléeth awaie in the night.

Pub.Mim.

Fidem qui perdit nihil poteſt vltra perdere.

King Henrie at length perceiuing the fraud, ſent certeine bands of his horſſemen after to purſue the enimie: but for that king Lewes was alreadie gotten into the inner parts of his owne countrie, thoſe which were ſent, turned vpon thoſe that were left in the hindermoſt ward, of whome they ſlue a great number both horſſemen and footmen.

K. Henrie following his men, came to Vernueil, and ſtaieng there that night, tooke order for the repairing and new fortifieng of the towne. On the morrow after he went to the caſtell of Danuille, and wan it, taking diuerſe knights and yeomen within it: this caſtell belonged to one Gilbert de Tileres. And thus it came to paſſe touching the attempt of the French king for the winning of Vernueil, as in ſome authors we find reported. ¶ Other write otherwiſe of the mater, as thus, the French K. being ſummoned by K. Henrie the father, either to depart from the ſiege of Vernueil, or to looke for battell, & hearing alſo that in performance of the meſſage K. Henrie approched with his power, he ſent a biſhop & an abbat vnto him to vnderſtand if he meant to giue battell in déed. The meſſengers met king Henrie as he was aduanced before his hoſt vpon ſome occaſion, with a ſmall companie about him, vnto whome they declared that their maiſter the French king required to be aſſured whether he ſhould haue battell or no. King Henrie armed as he was, with fierce countenance and dreadfull voice made this ſhort anſwere; Get you hence, and tell your king that I am here at hand. The meſſengers returning to their maiſter, declared what they had ſéene and heard. Whereupon (without longer ſtaie) he raiſed his field, and with a gallant and mightie armie departed home to his great diſhonour, not winning the towne at all, as by the ſame author it ſhould appéere.

Danuille.

Gilbert de Tileres.

Wil.Paruus.

K.Henrie h ſhort anſw to the Fre kings meſſ gers.

Albemarle woon by the earle of Flanders.

About the ſame time the earle of Flanders, one of the confederats beſieged the towne of Albemarle, and the earle thereof within it, which earle was thought to betraie the towne, bicauſe it was ſo eaſilie woone, and both he himſelfe, and thoſe which king Henrie the father had ſent thither to defend the towne were taken priſoners. Diuerſe other places which belonged to the ſame earle were alſo immediatlie deliuered into the enimies hands, which increaſed the ſuſpicion.

R.Houed.
Ia.Meir.
Ger.Dor.

The earle o Bullongne wounded, and dieth.

After this towne of Newcaſtell (otherwiſe called Drincourt) in thoſe frontiers was beſieged, and finallie woone by ſurrender, by the ſaid earle of Flanders, who reioiſed nothing at the gaine of that towne: for his brother Matthew the earle of Bullongne who ſhould haue béene his heire, was ſhot into the knée with an arrow, as he approched to the wals, and died of the hurt within a few daies after. The earle of Flanders was ſo penſiſe for his brothers death, that he brake vp his iournie and returned, blaming his euill hap and follie in that he had attempted war againſt his coſen germane king Henrie, who neuer had harmed him, but rather had doone him manie great and ſingular pleaſures from time to time.

¶ Good cauſe had the earle to giue ouer the proſequuting of violence againſt his ſoueraigne, being dawnted with ſo heauie a chance, & griped alſo with the grudge of conſcience, in ſo vnkindlie rewarding his welwiller, at whoſe hands he confeſſed himſelfe to haue receiued manie a benefit. Wherein we are to note, that ingratitude neuer hurteth anie ſo much as him or them in whom it is neſtled. And hereto alludeth the comedie-writer, when he ſaith verie neatlie,

———morem hunc homines habent, quod ſibi volunt
Dum id impetrãt, boni ſunt: ſed id vbi iam penes ſe habẽt,
Ex bonis peſſimi & fraudulentiſſimi ſunt.

Plaut. in Ca

Moreouer Henrie the elder (after the iournie of Vernueil ended) came backe to Rouen, and there vnderſtanding that Hugh earle of Cheſter, and Raſe de Foulgiers, men of ſingular proweſſe (who long before were reuolted to his ſonne Henrie) had taken

the

8

the caſtell of Dole in Britaine, and there making warre, brought all the countrie into trouble, he ſent forth ſtreightwaies certeine of his capteines with the Brabanders to aid his people in thoſe parts who on the twentith day of Auguſt (being monday) encountring with the enimies, diſcomfited them in battell, tooke ſeauenteene knights, beſides diuerſe others both horſſemen and footmen, ſlue aboue fifteene hundred of the enimies being Britaines, and purſuing the reſidue, entred the towne which they wan, and droue their aduerſaries into the caſtell, where they beſieged them, and with all ſpeed aduertiſed the king of that enterpriſe, who immediatlie with all poſſible haſt came thither, applieng his whole diligence to win the place, that he might haue them which were within the ſame at his commandement.

Rog. Houed.

To be ſhort, it was not long yer he had his deſire, for being ſuch a multitude, that they were not able long to continue within ſo ſtreict a roome, for want of vittell they fell to a compoſition, yeelding the caſtell vnto the king, their bodies liues and lims ſaued, on the 25. day of Auguſt. There were taken within this caſtell 80. knights, beſides yeomen and other common ſouldiers. In like maner, and with the ſemblable good fortune, about the ſame time, his capteins in England ouercame his enimies: for whereas Robert earle of Leiceſter that tooke part with king Henrie the ſonne, had aſſembled at the towne of Leiceſter a great hoſt of men, in purpoſe to ſet vpon Reignold earle of Cornewall and Richard Lucie capteines on the ſide of king Henrie the father: they vnderſtanding his meaning, marched ſtreight towards Leiceſter, and by the way met with their enimie earle Robert, whome they ſo fiercelie aſſailed, that they put him to flight, and after approching the towne, had it ſurrendered vnto them, permitting the inhabitants to depart with bag and baggage, and then burned the towne: but the caſtell (which in thoſe daies was of great ſtrength by reaſon of the ſituation) they could not win.

The earle of Leiceſter put to flight.

Howbeit ſome write, that by vndermining, the walles of the towne were ſubuerted and throwne downe, ſo that the towne was entred by force, although they within withdrew themſelues into the caſtell and other ſtrong houſes, which they defended for a time, till at length they ſurrendered all, one parcell of the caſtell excepted, for the which by compoſition they paied by way of a fine the ſum of three hundred pounds to the vſe of K. Henrie the father. The ſiege began the ſeauenth day of Iulie, and on the 28. day of the ſame moneth the armie departed from thence, a truce being granted to thoſe that ſtill defended a certeine tower of the caſtell into the which they were withdrawne.

Matth. Paris. Leiceſter wun by force.

William alſo the Scotiſh king, with an armie of Scots and Gallowaimen inuaded Northumberland, and paſſing by the confines of the biſhoprike of Durham, did much hurt by ſlaughter, burning and ſpoiling the countrie. Neuertheleſſe, hearing of a power raiſed by the Engliſh lords in thoſe parts to reſiſt him, he withdrew into his countrie. The Engliſh armie folowing him, waſted the countrie of Louthian, till at length by mediation of certeine religious men, a truce was granted to the Scots to indure till the feaſt of S. Hilarie. For the which truce happilie ſome rewards went betwixt, and ſo the Engliſh lords with ſpoiles and gaines returned homewards.

The king of Scots inuadeth Northumberland.

He retireth.

The Engliſh ſpoile Louthian.

A truce.

A few daies after theſe luckie chances thus happening to king Henrie, king Lewes perceiuing fortune to be on that ſide, determined to aſſaie whether he could obteine his purpoſe by ſome means of treatie, or at the leaſt put king Henrie in hope of a peace for a time, knowing that he would rather ſuffer all diſcommodities whatſoeuer, than once to trie the matter by battell with his ſonnes: wherefore he offered to come to a communication with him betwixt Giſors and Trie, ſhewing bread in the one hand (as they ſay) and hiding a ſtone in the other.

Rog. Houed. A treatie of peace.

King Henrie was eaſilie intreated to heare of anie talke for peace, and therefore comming to the place on tueſdaie the fifteenth daie of September, made ſo large offers, that he had almoſt conuerted the yoong mens minds vnto concord. Firſt he offered to his ſonne Henrie the yoong king, the moitie or one halfe of all the reuenues belonging to the demaines of the crowne within England, and foure conuenient caſtels within the ſame. Or if his ſonne had rather remaine in Normandie, he offered the halfe of all the reuenues of that dutchie, with all the rents and profits that were his fathers perteining to the earledome of Aniou, with certeine caſtels in Normandie, one caſtell in Aniou, one in Maine, and one in Towraine. To his ſonne Richard, he offered halfe the reuenues of Guien, and foure conuenient caſtels in the ſame. And to his ſonne Geffrey he offered all thoſe lands that belonged by right of inheritance vnto the daughter of Conan erle of Britaine, if he might by the popes good licence marrie hir. And further king Henrie the father yeelded himſelfe to ſtand to the order of the archbiſhop of Tharent and other the popes legats, not refuſing to giue his ſonnes what rents and reuenues ſoeuer they ſhould ſay were reaſonable, reſeruing onelie to himſelfe the adminiſtration of iuſtice, and the power roiall.

Rog. Houed. The offer of K. Henrie the father to his ſonnes.

Theſe ſeemed to be large offers, but yet they could not be accepted. For certeine ſonnes of Beliall, ſet vpon nothing but miſcheefe, troublers of common peace and quietneſſe, wrought ſo with them, that no conditions of peace (were the ſame neuer ſo reaſonable) could content them, ſo that without effect this communication brake vp, but not without contumelious words paſſed betwixt the parties, inſomuch that the earle of Leiceſter (who being put from all his aid in England, was come ouer to the French king to purchaſe aid at his hands) could not reſtraine but giuing credit to the old adage,

Homo extra corpus ſuum eſt cùm iraſcitur,

Pub. Mim.

after many opprobrious words vttered againſt king Henrie the father, laid hand on his ſword to haue ſtriken him, but the ſtanders by would not ſuffer him and ſo they departed; which raſh attempt or rather diſloiall enterpriſe,

Non ſani eſſe hominis non ſanus iuret Oreſtes.

The earle of Leiceſter offred to ſtrike the king.

On the morrow after, the French and Engliſh ſkirmiſhed togither betwixt Curſeils and Giſors, in which conflict Enguerane Chaſtillone de Trie was taken priſoner by earle William de Mandéuille, who preſented him to the king of England. King Lewes though he iudged it his part to preſerue his ſonne in law from danger, yet he ment nothing leſſe than to ioine battell with the Engliſh at that preſent. But within a few daies after, he ſent Robert earle of Leiceſter into England with an armie of Flemings and others, there to ioine with Hugh Bigot, that both of them might as well by force as faire promiſes and gentle perſuaſions bring the whole realme vnto the obedience of king Henrie the ſonne.

The earle of Leiceſter therefore landing at Walton the 21. of September, paſſed through the countrie vnto Fremingham, where he was receiued of Hugh Bigot earle of Northfolke; and after that an other fleet of Flemings were arriued for their aid, they went vnto Gipſwich, where when they had remained a few daies, and augmented their forces by certeine bands of men of warre that belonged vnto earle Bigot, they went to the caſtell of Haghenet

Additions to Iohn Pike.

Rog. Houed.

(that belonged vnto Ranulph Broc) which they tooke, ſpoiled ⁊ burned, ⁊ then returned to Fremingham.

After this, hearing that the counteſſe of Leiceſter was arriued at Orceford with an other power of Flemings, they went to méet hir: and ſo the earle of Leiceſter, hauing now a ſtrong armie about him, tooke leaue of earle Bigot, and ment to paſſe through the countrie into Leiceſterſhire, there to ſuccour his freends, and to worke ſome feat for the behoofe and furtherance of their quarell.

Rog.Houed.

In the meane time the arriuall of the earle of Leiceſter being knowne, the people of the countrie were aſſembled togither. Alſo Richard Lucie lord chéefe iuſtice, and Humfrey de Boun high coneſtable of England, with the kings power of horſſemen which latelie before had béene in Scotland and made inrodes there (as before is mentioned) came with all ſpéed to ſaue the countrie from ſpoile, hauing firſt taken a truce (as before is ſaid) with the king of Scots, till the feaſt of Saint Hilarie next enſuing (or rather Eſter) hoſtages being deliuered on both ſides. Upon knowledge then had where the enimies were lodged, and what they intended to doo, the ſaid Richard Lucie ⁊ Humfrey de Boun came to Saint Edmundſburie, whither Reignold earle of Cornewall the kings vncle, Robert earle of Gloceſter, and William erle of Arundell reſorted.

Rog.Houed.

In the meane while, the earle of Leiceſter paſſed forward on his waie ſo farre as Fornham a little village beſide S. Edmundſburie. The lord chéefe iuſtice ⁊ the earls before mentioned with a great armie, and amongſt others the ſaid Humfrey de Boun, who had the leading of 300. knights, or men of armes at the kings wages, came out of S. Edmundſburie, hauing the baner of S. Edmund borne before them, ⁊ in a mariſh ground betwixt Fornham ⁊ Edmundſburie, they encountred with the ſaid earle of Leiceſter, and after long and cruell fight diſcomfited his people, and tooke him priſoner, togither with his wife the counteſſe Petronill, after he had doone all that belonged to a valiant capteine.

The earle of Leiceſter taken priſoner.

Rog.Houed. Polydor.

Some write that there were killed on that day of his people to the number of ten thouſand [and almoſt as manie taken] verelie [all the footmen of the Flemings being in number foure or fiue thouſand were either taken or ſlaine:] the reſidue that eſcaped fled towards Leiceſter, that they might both defend the towne ⁊ themſelues from the danger of their foes.

Wil.Paruus.

¶ But here is to be noted, that it ſéemeth by the report of ſome writers, how the earle of Leiceſter had not ſo great an armie there at that battell, as by others account of the number ſlaine and taken it ſhould appeare he had. For at his departure from his companion in armes Hugh Bigot, he tooke vpon him to paſſe through the countrie (as ſome write) partlie vpon truſt that he had of the force and number of his ſouldiers, being about foure or fiue thouſand ſtout and valiant footmen, beſides 80 choſen and well appointed horſſemen; and partlie in hope that manie of thoſe which were in his aduerſaries campe, would rather turne to him than fight againſt him.

He had a great confidence in the Flemings, who indéed preſumed much vpon their owne ſtrength, ſo that they made account of ſome great conqueſt, in ſuch wiſe, that when they came into any large plaine where they might reſt, they would take ech others by the hand, and leading a danſe, ſing in their countrie language,

Matth. Paris.

Hop hop Wilkine, hop Wilkine,
England is mine and thine.

King Henrie receiuing aduertiſement of the victorie which his capteines had thus gotten in England, was maruellous ioifull, and commanded that the priſoners ſhould be brought ouer vnto him into Normandie: which being doone, he went into Aniou, and there fortified the towns and caſtels of the countrie with ſure garriſons of men, to reſiſt all ſudden inuaſions, ſecret practiſes, and other attempts of the enimies. On the feaſt of S. Andrew the apoſtle, he tooke the towne of Uandoſme by force, which Buchard de Lauerdin held againſt him, hauing firſt expelled his father the earle of Uandoſme.

R.Houed.
The towne of Uandoſme woone.

About this ſeaſon, or rather ſomewhat before, king Henrie the father (contrarie to the prohibition of the king his ſonne) and after the appeale made vnto the pope) gaue not onelie vnto Richard prior of Douer, the archbiſhoprike of Canturburie; but alſo to Reignold Fitz Joceline the biſhoprike of Bath; to Richard de Worceſter archdeacon of Poictiers the biſhoprike of Wincheſter; to Robert Foliot the biſhoprike of Hereford; to Geffrey Ridell archdeacon of Canturburie he gaue the biſhoprike of Elie, and to John de Orenford the biſhoprike of Chicheſter.

Sée his letter before in page 86.

But now to our purpoſe. The nobles of the realme of England (after the * battell of S. Edmundſburie) with an infinit number of men went againſt Hugh Bigot in purpoſe to abate his pride. But whereas they might eaſilie haue had him at their pleaſure, by meanes of ſuch ſummes of monie as he gaue in bribes, a peace was granted to him till Whitſuntide, within which time hauing gotten togither fourtéene thouſand Flemings, he paſſed through Eſſex, and ſo getting ouer into Kent, came to Douer, where he tooke ſhip and tranſported ouer into France.

Matt.Paris.
* which was fought on the 17. of October.

Anno. Reg. 20.
1174

King Henrie the father held his Chriſtmaſſe this yeare at Caen in Normandie, about which time a truce was made betwixt him and king Lewes to endure till Eaſter, or (as others write) for the terme of ſix moneths. For ye haue to vnderſtand, that the fame of the victorie gotten by the capteines of king Henrie the father againſt the earle of Leiceſter (being not onlie ſpred through England, but alſo blown ouer into France) put thoſe that tooke part with him in great feare; but ſpeciallie king Lewes miſtruſting the matter began to war wearie that he had attempted ſo far, and ſuſteined ſo great trauell and expenſes in another mans cauſe.

Ger.Dor.

Whileſt this truce indured, the archbiſhop of Canturburie being readie to returne home in deſpaire of his buſineſſe, vpon a feigned rumor ſpred that there was a peace concluded betwixt the two kings, the father and ſonne, he was called backe and conſecrated by the pope the ſundaie after Eaſter: and then furniſhed with the dignities of primat and legat of England, and other priuileges according, he tooke his waie homewards towards England, after he had laid forth great ſummes of monie to diſappoint the purpoſes of his aduerſaries.

This yeare in June, the lord Geffrey the elect of Lincolne the kings ſonne beſieged the caſtell which Roger de Mowbray had repaired at Kinard Ferie, within the Ile of Oxholme, and compelling the ſouldiers within to yéeld, he beat downe and raced the ſame caſtell vnto the verie ground. Robert Mowbray coneſtable of that caſtell, as he paſſed thorough the countrie towards Leiceſter, there to procure ſome aid, was taken by the men of Claie, and kept as priſoner. Moreouer, the ſaid elect of Lincolne tooke the caſtell of Maleſert that belonged to the ſaid Roger Mowbray, which being now taken, was deliuered vnto the kéeping of the archbiſhop of Yorke. The ſaid elect alſo fortified a caſtell at Topclife, and tooke it to the kéeping of William Stuteuille. In this meane while the king tooke the ſtrengths and fortreſſes which his ſonne Richard had fortified at Xanctes, and in the ſame forts and church (which was alſo fortified againſt him) 60. knights or men of armes, and 400. archbaliſters, that is, the beſt of them that bare croſſebowes.

The oth of the earle of Flanders.

Philip earle of Flanders in the preſence of the French king and other the peeres of France, laieng his hand vpon the holie relikes, ſware that within 15. daies next inſuing the feaſt of S. Iohn then inſtant to enter England with an armie, and to doo his beſt to ſubdue the ſame to king Henrie the ſon. Vpon truſt whereof the yong king the more preſuming came downe to Whitſand, the 14. daie of Iulie, that he might from thence ſend ouer into England Rafe de la Haie with certeine bands of ſouldiers. Before this the earle of Flanders had ſent ouer 318. knights or men of armes, as we may call them. But after their arriuall at Orwell, which chanced the 14. of Iune, by reaſon that their aſſociats were diſperſed, and for the more part ſubdued, they tooke with them earle Hugh Bigot, and marching to Norwich, aſſaulted the citie and wan it, gaining there great riches, and ſpeciallie in readie monie, and led awaie a great ſort of priſoners whome they ranſomed at their pleaſure. This chanced the 18. of Iune.

Additions to Iohn Pike.

Math. Paris. Ger. Dor.

¶ I remember that William Paruus writeth, that the citie of Norwich was taken by the Flemings that came ouer with the earle of Leiceſter in the yeare laſt paſt, by the conduct of the ſaid earle before he was taken, and that after he had taken that citie, being accompanied with earle Bigot, he led thoſe Flemings alſo vnto Dunwich, purpoſing to win and ſacke that towne alſo: but the inhabitants being better prouided againſt the comming of their enimies than they of Norwich were, ſhewed ſuch countenance of defenſe, that they preſerued their towne from that danger, ſo that the two earles with Flemings were conſtreined to depart without atchiuing their purpoſe. But whether that this attempt againſt Dunwich was made by the earle of Leiceſter (before his taking) in companie of earle Bigot, I haue not to auouch. But verelie for the winning of Norwich, I ſuppoſe that William Paruus miſtaketh the time, except we ſhall ſaie that it was twiſe taken, as firſt by the earle of Leiceſter in the yeare 1173. For it is certeine by conſent of moſt writers, and eſpeciallie thoſe that haue recorded particularlie the incidents that chanced here in this land during theſe troubles betwixt the king and his ſons, that it was taken now this yeare 1174. by earle Bigot (as before we haue ſhewed.)

But now to procéed. The lords that had the rule of the land for king Henrie the father, perceiuing earle Bigots procéedings, ſent knowledge thereof with all expedition to the king, as yet remaining in the parties beyond the ſeas. Whileſt theſe things were a dooing, although the minds of manie of the conſpirators againſt king Henrie the father were inclined to peace, yet Roger Mowbray, and Hugh Bigot (by reaſon of this new ſupplie of men got out of Flanders) ceaſſed not to attempt freſh exploits: and chéeflie they ſolicited the matter in ſuch wiſe with William king of Scotland, that whileſt they in other quarters of the realme plaied their parts, he entred into the confines of Cumberland, and firſt beſieged the citie of Carleil, but perceiuing he could not win it in any ſhort time, he left one part of his armie to keepe ſiege before it, and with the reſidue marched into the countrie alongſt by the riuer of Eden, taking by force the caſtels of Bourgh and Aplebie, with diuerſe other. This doone, he paſſed ouer the riuer, and came through Northumberland (waſting the countrie as he went) vnto Alnewike, which place he attempted to win, though his labour therein proued but in vaine.

Additions to Iohn Pike.

The king of Scots inuadeth England.

Caſtels won by the Scots.

This enterpriſe which he made into Northumberland, he tooke in hand chéefelie at the ſuit and requeſt of Roger Mowbray, from whome Geffrey (who after was biſhop of Lincolne) K. Henries eldeſt baſe ſon had taken two of his caſtels, ſo that he kept the third with much adoo. He had giuen his eldeſt ſonne in hoſtage vnto the ſaid king of Scots for aſſurance of ſuch couenants to be kept on his behalfe as were paſſed betwixt them. In the meane time one Duncane or Rothland, with an other part of the Scotiſh armie entered into Kendall, and waſted that countrie in moſt cruell wiſe, neither ſparing age nor ſex, inſomuch that he brake into the churches, ſlue thoſe that were fled into the ſame for ſafegard of their liues as well préeſts as other. The Engliſh power of horſſemen which paſſed not the number of 400. was aſſembled at Newcaſtell, vnder the leading of Robert de Stouteuille, Rafe Glanuille, William Vrſie, Bernard Balliolle [and Odonet de Vmfreiuille.]

Polydor.

Duncane a Scotiſh capteine waſteth Kendall.

Wil. Paruus. R. Houed.

Theſe capteines hauing knowledge that Duncane was in one ſide of the countrie, and king William in another, determined to iſſue foorth and trie the chance of warre (which is doubtfull and vncerteine, according to the old ſaieng,

Fortuna belli ſemper ancipiti in loco eſt)

Sen. in The.

againſt the enimies, ſith it ſhould be a great rebuke to them to ſuffer the countrie to be waſted after that ſort without reuengement. Hereupon riding foorth one morning, there aroſe ſuch a thicke fog and miſt that they could not diſcerne any waie about them, ſo that doubting to fall within the laps of their enimies at vnwares, they ſtaied a while to take aduiſe what ſhould be beſt for them to doo. Now when they were almoſt fullie reſolued to haue turned backe againe, by the comfortable words and bold exhortation of Bernard Balliolle, they changed their purpoſe, and rode forward, till at length the northerne wind began to waken, and droue awaie the miſt, ſo that the countrie was diſcouered vnto them, and perceiuing where Alnewike ſtood, not knowing as yet whether the Scots had wone it or not, they ſtaied their pace, and riding ſoftlie, at length learning by the inhabitants of the countrie, that the Scotiſh king deſpairing to win Alnewike, had raiſed his ſiege from thence the ſame day, they turned ſtreight thither, and lodging there all night, in the morning got to their horſſes verie earelie, riding foorth towards the enimies that were ſpred abroad in the countrie to forrey the ſame. They had anon eſpied where the king was, and incontinentlie compaſſed him about on euerie ſide, who perceiuing the Engliſh horſſemen readie thus to aſſaile him, with all diligence called backe his men from the ſpoile; but the more part of them being ſtraied far off through the ſwéetnes they found in getting of preies, could not heare the ſound of the trumpets, yet notwithſtanding with thoſe his horſſemen which he could get togither, he encountred the Engliſh men which came vpon him verie haſtilie.

Bernard de Balliolle.

The battell was begun verie fiercelie at the firſt, and well fought for a time, but the Scotiſh horſſemen being toiled before in forreieng the countrie, could not long continue againſt the fierce aſſault of the Engliſh, but were either beaten downe, or elſe conſtreined to ſaue themſelues by flight. The king with a few other (who at the firſt had begun the battell) was taken. Alſo manie of the Scots who being far off, and yet hearing of the ſkirmiſh, came running toward the place, & were taken yer they could vnderſtand how the matter had paſſed. This taking of the king of Scots was on a ſaturdaie, being the ſeuenth of Iulie.

The king of Scots taken.

Ger. Dor.

The Engliſh capteines hauing thus taken the Scotiſh king in the midſt of his armie, conteining the number of 80000 men, returned to Newcaſtell, greatlie reioiſing of their good ſucceſſe, aduertiſing

Wil. Paruus.

Matt.Paris.
Matth. Weſt.
Wil. Paruus.
Ger.Dor.

king Henrie the father hereof with all ſpéed, who as then was come ouer from Normandie, and was (the ſame day that the Scotiſh king was taken) at Canturburie, making his praiers there before the ſepulture of the archbiſhop Becket (as after it ſhall appéere.)

Polydor.

This chanced a little after whitſuntide.

In the meane while and ſomewhat before this time, the earle of Leiceſters men, which laie at Leiceſter vnder the conduct of Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie (as ſome write) or rather of Anketille Malorie conſtable or gouernour (if we ſhall ſo call him, as Roger Houeden ſaith) came to Northampton, where they fought with them of that towne, and getting the victorie, tooke two hundred priſoners, and ſlue or wounded néere hand as manie more, and ſo with this good ſucceſſe in that enterpriſe returned againe to Leiceſter, from whence they firſt ſet forth. The kings horſſemen hereupon came ſtreightwaies to Northampton, and following the enimies, could not ouertake them.

Rob. Ferreis.

Polydor.
Rog.Houed.
Notingham taken.

Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie being now come vnto Leiceſter in aid of them that laie there, ſtaied not paſt ten daies: but finding meanes to increaſe his number of horſſemen, ſuddenlie made to Notingham, which Reignold de Lucie had in kéeping, and comming thither earelie in the morning tooke it, droue out the kings ſouldiers that laie there in gariſon, burned the towne, ſlue the inhabitants, and diuided their goods amongſt his ſouldiers: which thing put the countrie about in ſuch feare, that manie of the inhabitants ſubmitted themſelues vnto him.

Wil.Paruus.

King Henrie the ſonne being hereof aduertiſed by letters oftentimes ſent vnto him by this Robert Ferreis, and other his fréends here in England, eftſoones conceiued ſome good hope to obteine his purpoſe: and therefore determined to prepare for the warre. Hereupon he purchaſed aid of king Lewes, who (bicauſe the truce which he had taken with king Henrie the father was now expired) thought it was reaſon to further his ſonne in lawes enterpriſe ſo farre as in him laie. Wherfore he made his prouiſion at Graueling, and there incamping with his people, ſtaied till his ſhips were readie to tranſport him and his armie, which conſiſted of certeine horſſemen, and of a number of Brabanders.

Polydor.

Wil. Paruus.

King Henrie the father being informed both of his ſonnes purpoſe, and of the doings in England, with all poſſible ſpéed determined to paſſe ouer into England, and therefore got his ſouldiers a ſhipboord, among whom were certeine bands of his Brabanders: and ſo ſoone as the wind blew to his mind, he cauſed the ſailes to be hoiſed vp, and the nauie to ſet forward. Being landed, he repaired firſt vnto Canturburie, there to make his praiers, doubting leaſt the bloud of the archbiſhop Thomas Becket being ſhed through his occaſion, did yet require vengeance againſt him for that fact. From Canturburie he came to London, and tooke order for the placing of capteins with their bands in certeine townes about the coaſt, to defend the landing places, where he thought his ſonne was like to arriue. Then went he to Huntington, and ſubdued the caſtell there the 19. of Iulie: for the knights and other ſouldiers that were within it yéelded themſelues to the kings mercie, their liues and lims ſaued.

Huntington caſtell woone.

R.Houed.

Matth.Paris.
Earle Bigot is accorded with the K.

After this, aſſembling his people on all ſides, he made his generall muſters at S. Edmundſburie, and determined to beſiege the caſtels of Bunghey and Fremingham, which the earle Hugh Bigot held againſt him, who miſtruſting that he was not able to defend himſelfe and thoſe places againſt the king, agréed with the king to haue peace, paieng him the ſumme of a thouſand markes by compoſition. This agréement was concluded the 25. of Iulie. Hereupon a multitude of the Flemings which Philip earle of Flanders had ſent into England (as before is mentioned) vpon their oth receiued, not afterwards to come as enimies into England, had licence to returne into their countrie. Alſo the bands of ſouldiers that came into the realme with Raſe de la Haie departed without impechment by the kings ſufferance.

The Flemings ſent home.

R.Houed.

The king of Scots preſented to the king of England.

The earle of Glocester.
The earle Richard of Clar

The king hauing thus accompliſhed that which ſtood with his pleaſure in thoſe parties, remoued from thence and drew towards Northampton. To which towne after his comming thither, the king of Scots was brought with his féet bound vnder the horſſes bellie. Thither alſo came the biſhop of Durham, and deliuered to the king the caſtels of Durham, Norham, and Allerton. Thither alſo came to the king Roger Mowbraie, and ſurrendred to him the caſtell of Treſke, and Robert earle Ferreis deliuered vp into his hands the caſtels of Tutburie and Duffield, and Anketill Mallorie, and William de Diue conſtables to the earle of Leiceſter yéelded to the king the caſtels of Ciceſter, Grobie, and Mountſorell, to the intent that he ſhould deale more courteouſlie with the earle their maiſter. Alſo William earle of Gloceſter, and earle Richard of Clare ſubmitted themſelues to the king, and ſo he brought all his aduerſaries within the realme of England vnto ſuch ſubiection as he himſelfe wiſhed; ſo that the king hauing atchiued the vpper hand of his enimies returned to London.

¶ All this hurlie burlie and bloudie tumult, was partlie to be aſcribed to the king himſelfe, who ouer tenderlie fauouring his ſonne, did deiect and abaſe himſelfe to aduance the other; partlie to the ambitious diſpoſition of the youth, who was charged with roialtie, before he had learned ſufficient loialtie, elſe would he not haue made inſurrections againſt his father, that himſelf might obteine the monarchie, and the old king doo him homage: and partlie to the quéenes diſcontented or rather malicious mind, whoſe dutie it had béene (notwithſtanding ſuch diſhonour doone hir by the king in abuſing his bodie vnlawfullie) ſo little to haue thought of ſtirring commotions betwixt the father and the ſonnes, that ſhe ſhould rather haue lulled the contention aſléepe, and doone what ſhe poſſiblie could to quench the feruent fier of ſtrife with the water of pacification. But true it is that hath béene ſaid long ago,

Pub.Mim.

Mulier nihil nouit niſi quod vult,
Et plenum malorum eſt onus.

Quéene Elianor is committed to cloſe priſon.

But what inſued hereupon euen by waie of chaſtiſement, but that which commonlie lighteth vpon tumult-raiſers; namelie, either loſſe of life, or at leaſt reſtraint of libertie: For the king after this happie atchiuement of his warlike affaires, being ruled by reaſon and aduiſe (as it is likelie) would not that ſo ſmoking a fierbrand (as quéene Elianor had proued hirſelfe to be) ſhould ſtill annoie his eies, and therefore (whether in angrie or quiet mood, that is doubtfull) he committed hir to cloſe priſon, bicauſe ſhe had procured his ſons Richard and Geffrey to ioine with their elder brother againſt him their father (as before ye haue partlie heard.)

Polydor.

Rouen beſieged by the Frēch king.
Wil.Paruus.

But to procéed, king Lewes being aduertiſed that there was no great number of men of war left in Normandie to defend the countrie, raiſed a power, and comming to Rouen, beſieged it verie ſtreitlie. Shortlie after alſo king Henrie the ſonne and Philip earle of Flanders came thither, meaning to obteine the poſſeſſion of Normandie firſt, and after to go into England. The citizens of Rouen perceiuing in what danger they ſtood, without faint harts prepared all things neceſſarie for defenſe, and did euerie thing in order, purpoſing not to giue ouer their citie for anie threats or menaces of their enimies. Now whileſt they within were buſie in deuiſing how to repell the aſſault, and to defend themſelues, the aduerſaries about midnight came forth of their campe, and approching the walles with their ladders, raiſed them vp, and began to ſcale the citie. But the citizens being aduiſed thereof, boldlie got them to the loops and towers, ouerthrew the ladders of the enimies that were comming vp, and with arrowes, ſtones and darts beat them backe, to their great loſſe and ouerthrow. Howbeit though the enimies could not preuaile thus to get the citie by this aſſault, yet they continued the ſiege, and ſuffered not them within to be in quiet, but daie and night aſſailed them by one meanes or other.

Rog.Houed.
King Henrie returneth into Normandie.

King Henrie the father being aduertiſed héereof, after he had ſet his buſineſſe in order, touching the ſuertie and ſafe defenſe of the Engliſh eſtate, he returned into Normandie, and landed at Harfleet on a thurſdaie being the eight daie of Auguſt, bringing backe againe with him his Brabanders, and a thouſand Welſhmen. In this meane while, king Lewes continued ſtill his ſiege before Rouen, conſtreining them within by all meanes he could deuiſe to yeeld vp their citie. At length came the feaſt of Saint Laurence, on which daie the French king commanded that no man ſhould attempt any enterpriſe againſt the citizens, granting them truce for that day, in worſhip of that ſaint. This truce was ſo acceptable a thing to them within, that they forgetting themſelues, without all reſpect to the danger wherein the citie ſtood, threw off their armour, and gaue themſelues to ſléepe and reſt. Some alſo fell to banketting and other paſtimes in verie diſſolute maner.

¶ But through this their remiſſe vſage and loſe behauiour, and forgetting that a temporarie truce is no ſafe warrant of ſecuritie and peace, they deriued danger and deſtruction to themſelues; which it had béene their parts prouidentlie to haue preuented, and not through their careleſneſſe to ſet open a gap of aduantage to their enimies, who purſued them with profeſſed hoſtilitie, notwithſtanding they repoſed confidence in the truce that was granted. Héerein they are to be reſembled to the cooks of whome Plautus ſpeaketh verie neatlie, ſaieng,

——— *coquos equidem nimis*
Demiror, qui tot vtuntur condimentis, eos eo
Condimento non vtier quod præſtat omnibus,

Meaning ſobrietie: ſo theſe delighting more in their diſhes, than miſtruſting their enimies, remembred to take the vſe of any pleaſure that the conuenientneſſe of this preſent time might proffer; onelie as cookes among all their ſawces do mind nothing leſſe than ſoberneſſe: ſo theſe in the abundance of their ioies, thought nothing of afterclaps, which afterwards made them (like fooles) to ſing an vnhappie had I wiſt. For the Frenchmen, perceiuing this their negligence, required licence of the French king to giue aſſault to the citie, declaring in what ſtate the matter preſentlie ſtood; who not meaning to violate the reuerence of that day, and his promiſed faith, with any ſuch vnlawfull attempt, commanded his men of warre that made the requeſt in no wiſe to ſtirre. Howbeit the ſouldiers vpon couetouſneſſe of the ſpoile, raiſed the ladders to that part of the wall which they iudged to be moſt without warders, ſo that ſome of them mounting aloft, got vp, and were about to helpe vp their fellowes.

The Frenchmen aſſault the citie, without commandement of their king.
Two préeſts.

Now it happened (as God would haue it) that two préeſts being gone vp into the ſteeple of the chéefe church, to looke about them for their pleaſures, fortuned to ſée where the French men were about to enter the citie, and ſtreightwaies gaue knowledge to the citizens beneath. Wherevpon the alarum roſe, inſomuch that with all ſpéed the people ran to the place, and with ſuch violence came vpon their enimies which were entred vpon the walles, that ſtreightwaies they ſlue manie of them, and chaſed the reſidue out of the ditches, ſo that they returned with bléeding wounds to their campe, repenting them of their vnhappie enterpriſe, that turned them to ſuch wo and gréeuance.

The Frenchmen are repelled.

Polydor.

The ſame day a little before night, king Henrie the father came vnto Rouen, and was receiued into the citie with great ioy and gladneſſe: for he came thither by chance, euen about the time that the citie had thus like to haue bin ſurpriſed & taken at vnwares.

Matt.Paris.

¶ There be that write, how the French king (immediatlie vpon the arriuall of king Henrie) left his field and departed, greatlie to his diſhonor, burning vp his engines of warre, and not ſtaieng till his men might haue leiſure to charge their wagons with their armor and other ſtuffe, which they were glad to leaue behind for a prey to the Engliſh men iſſuing forth vpon them. But other declare, that the French king being nothing abaſhed of king Henries comming, continued the ſiege, in hope to win the citie.

R.Houed.
The Welſhmens good ſeruice.
Nic.Triuet.
Rog.Houed.

The next day earlie in the morning (or as other ſay in the night ſeaſon) the king did ſend forth a certeine number of Welſhmen to paſſe ouer the riuer of Saine, which they did, and by force made themſelues waie through the French campe, getting without loſſe or danger vnto a great wood, and ſlue that day of their aduerſaries aboue an hundred men. After this, lieng abroad in the countrie, they ſkirmiſhed dailie with the French horſſemen, and oft times cut off ſuch prouiſion of vittels as came to nouriſh the campe. The king himſelfe on the other ſide remaining within the citie, cauſed his people to iſſue out at the gates, and to kéepe the enimies occupied with ſkirmiſhes afore the citie. And moreouer, where there was a great trench caſt betwixt the French campe and the walles of the citie, he cauſed the ſame to be filled vp with fagots, ſtones, and earth. But although the French men ſawe this the kings déed well enough, yet none of them iſſued forth of their tents to hinder the Engliſh of their purpoſe.

The French king maketh an ouerture for peace.
N.Triuet.
A truce.

Now king Lewes being ſore vexed with his enimies on ech ſide, and perceiuing the citie would not be woone within any ſhort time, began to wax wearie, and to repent himſelfe (as afore) for taking in hand ſo chargeable and great a warre for another mans quarell. Wherevpon he cauſed William biſhop of Sens, and Theobald earle of Blois to go to king Henrie, and to promiſe vpon forbearance from warre for a time, to find means to reconcile him and his ſonnes, betwéene whome vnnaturall variance reſted. Whereof K. Henrie being moſt deſirous, and taking a truce, appointed to come to Giſors [in the feaſt of the natiuitie of our ladie] there to meet king Lewes, that they might talke of the matter and bring it to ſome good end.

The French king leaueth his ſiege.

The French king, ſo ſoone as he knew that truce was taken, raiſed his ſiege, and returning home, within a few daies after (according to the appointment) came to Giſors, and there communed with king Henrie: but bicauſe he could not make any agréement betwixt him and his ſonnes at that time, he appointed another time to meet about it. King Henrie the father (whileſt the truce continued with the French king) and his ſonne Henrie went to Poictou, where his ſonne Richard (whileſt his father had béene occupied in other places) had gotten the moſt part of the countrie into his poſſeſſion. But now hearing of his fathers comming, and that a truce was taken with the French king and with his brother, he conſidered with himſelfe, that without their aſſiſtance he was not able to withſtand his fa-

Richard the kings ſonne prepareth to reſiſt his father.

thers power. Howbeit at length chooſing rather to trie the matter with force of armes, than cowardlie to yéeld, he prepared for defenſe, furniſhing diuerſe townes and caſtels with gariſons of men: and aſſembling togither all the other power that he was able to make, came into the field, & pitched his tents not far off from his father. In the meane while, which way ſoeuer his father paſſed, the townes and caſtels ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, ſo that Richard began to deſpaire of the matter, inſomuch that he durſt not approch néere his father, but kept alooſe, doubting to be entrapped.

He beginneth to deſpaire of good ſucceſſe.

Polydor.

At length when he had conſidered his owne ſtate, and weied how vnthankefullie the French king and his brother had dealt with him, in hauing no conſideration of him at ſuch time as they tooke truce, he determined to alter his purpoſe, and hauing ſome good hope in his fathers clemencie, thought beſt to trie it, which he found to be the beſt waie that he could haue taken. For oftentimes it chanceth, that latter thoughts are better aduiſed than the firſt, as the old ſaieng is,

Δεύτεραι φρόντιδες σοφότεραι.

The ſon ſubmitteth himſelfe to the father.

Herevpon Richard laieng armour aſide, came of his owne accord vnto his father on the 21. of September, and aſked pardon. His father moſt courteouſly receiuing him, made ſo much of him as though he had not offended at all. Which example of courteſie preuailed much to the alluring of his other ſons to come to a reconciliation. For the bringing whereof to ſpéedie effect, he ſent this Richard vnto king Lewes, and to his other ſonne Henrie, to commen with them of peace, at which time earle Richard did ſo effectuallie his meſſage, that he brought them both in good forwardneſſe to agrée to his fathers purpoſe, ſo that there was a daie appointed for them to méet with their father, betwixt Towres in Touraine and Ambois.

Ger. Dor.

The father & ſonnes are accorded.

The conditions of the agréement.

King Henrie reioiſing hereat, kept his daie (being the morrow after the feaſt of S. Michaell) and there met him both king Lewes, and his two ſonnes Henrie and Geffrey, where finallie the father and the ſonnes were accorded; he promiſing to receiue them into fauour vpon theſe conditions.

1 Firſt the priſoners to be releaſed fréelie without ranſome on both ſides, and their offenſes, which had taken either the one part or the other, to be likewiſe pardoned.

R. Houed.

2 Out of this article were excepted all thoſe which before the concluding of this peace had alreadie compounded for their raunſomes, as the king of Scots, the earles of Leiceſter and Cheſter, and Rafe Fulgiers, with their pledges.

3 It was alſo agréed, that all thoſe caſtels which had béene builded in time of this warre, ſhould be raced and throwne downe; and all ſuch cities, townes, caſtels, countries and places, as had béene wonne by either part during theſe wars, ſhould be reſtored vnto thoſe perſons that held the ſame, and were in poſſeſſion of them 15. daies before the departure of the ſonnes from king Henrie the father.

4 That king Henrie the father ſhould aſſigne to his ſons more large reuenues for maintenance of their eſtates, with a caution included, that they ſhould not ſpend the ſame riotouſlie in any prodigall ſort or maner.

R. Houed.

5 To the king his ſonne, he gaue two caſtels in Normandie, with an increaſe of yearelie reuenues, to the ſumme of 15. thouſand pounds Aniouin.

Richard.

6 To his ſonne Richard he gaue two houſes in Poictou, with the one halfe of all the reuenues of the countie of Poictou to be receiued and taken in readie monie.

Geffrey.

7 And to his ſonne Geffrey he granted in monie, the moitie of that which he ſhould haue by the mariage of earle Conans daughter, and after he had maried hir by licence purchaſed of the pope, he ſhould enioy all the whole liuings and reuenues that deſcended to hir, as in hir fathers writing therof more at large was conteined.

8 On the other part, king Henrie the ſon couenanted to & with the king his father, that he would performe and confirme all thoſe gifts, which his father ſhould grant out of his lands, & alſo all thoſe gifts of lands which he either had made and aſſured, or hereafter ſhould make and aſſure vnto any of his men for any of their ſeruices: & likewiſe thoſe gifts which he had made vnto his ſonne Iohn the brother of king Henrie the ſonne; namelie, a thouſand pounds in lands by yeare in England of his demaine and eſcheats with the appurtenances, and the caſtell and countie of Notingham, with the caſtell of Marlebrough, & the appurtenances. Alſo a thouſand pounds Aniouin of yearelie reuenues in Normandie, and two caſtels there. And in Aniou a thouſand pounds Aniouin, of ſuch lands as belonged to the earle of Aniou, with one caſtell in Aniou, and one in Touraine, and another in Maine.

Iohn.

Thus were the father and ſons agréed and made fréends, the ſonnes couenanting neuer to withdraw their ſeruices and bounden dueties from their father, but to obeie him in all things from that day forward. Herewith alſo the peace was renewed betwixt king Henrie and king Lewes, and for the further confirmation, a new aliance was accorded betwixt them, which was, that the ladie Adela the daughter of king Lewes ſhould be giuen in mariage vnto earle Richard the ſonne of king Henrie, who bicauſe ſhe was not yet of age able to marie, ſhe was conueied into England to be vnder the guiding of king Henrie, till ſhe came to lawfull yeares.

A marriage concluded.

Thus the peace being concluded, king Henrie forgetting all iniuries paſſed, brought home his ſons in maner aforeſaid, who being well pleaſed with the agréement, attended their father into Normandie, where Richard and Geffrey did homage to him, receiuing their othes of allegiance according to the maner in that caſe required. But king Henrie the ſonne did no homage, for his father (in reſpect that he was a king) would not ſuffer him, and therefore tooke onelie ſureties of him for performance of the couenants on his part, as was thought expedient.

Wil. Paruus.

R. Houed. Wil. Paruus ſaieth that he did homage alſo.

¶ All this diſſention and ſtrife was kindled (no doubt) by the meanes of certeine ſowers of diſcord, ſycophants, paraſits, flatterers, clawbacks, & pickethanks, who had learned their leſſon, that

Principibus placuiſſe viris non vltima laus eſt,

and thinking by their emboſſed ſpéech to tickle the eares and harts of the yong princes, who by reaſon of their yong yeares and nakedneſſe of experience in the courſe of worldlie maters, ſought their owne aduancement, euen by flinging firie faggots of diſſention betwéene them, whoſe harts naturall affection had vnited. For by the tenor of the ſtorie (marke it who will) we ſhall ſée that no attempt of the ſons againſt the father but had originall from the ſuggeſtions of euill diſpoſed perſons, who (like eeles that fatten not in faire running water, but in muddie motes and ponds) ſought honour in hurlie burlies, & reached out long armes to riches by manie a ones impoueriſhment. This to be true, the finall euent and iſſue prooueth; namelie, the mutuall attonement and reconciliation wouen betwéene the father and the ſonnes; their remorſe for their vndutifulnes, his louing fauour and gratiouſneſſe; their promptneſſe to yéeld to conditions of agréement, his forwardnes to giue conſent to couenants required; their readineſſe to doo the old king homage, his acceptable admiſſion

miſſion of their proferred ſeruice; with other circumſtances to be collected out of the ſtorie, all which doo proue that this their diſloiall reſiſtance ſprang rather by others incitement, than of their owne ſeeking. Thus we ſee what alterations happen in the actions of men, and that euill things manie times (though naturallie bad) doo inferre their contraries, as one aptlie ſaith,

Diſcordia fit charior concordia.

Willi. king of Scots deliuered out of priſon with other

At length king Henrie went to Faleiſe, and there deliuered out of captiuitie William king of Scotland, Robert earle of Leiceſter, Hugh earle of Cheſter, with diuerſe other Noble men which were kept there as priſoners, putting them to their ranſomes, and receiuing of them pledges with an oth of allegiance. This king Henrie the father releaſed for his part the number of nine hundred 69. knights or men of armes (if yee liſt ſo to terme them) which had beene taken ſince the beginning of theſe paſſed warres.

Math. Paris. Priſoners releaſed.

As for king Henrie the ſonne he alſo ſet at libertie aboue an hundred, and that without ranſome paieng, according to the articles of the peace (as before you haue heard.) But yet ſome (as is alreadie ſpecified) were excepted out of the benefit of that article, as William king of Scotland, who being not able to paie his ranſome in preſent monie, deliuered vp in gage foure of the ſtrongeſt caſtels within his realme into king Henries hands; namelie, Barwike, Edenbourgh, Rorbourgh, and Sterling, with condition, that if he brake the peace, and paied not the monie behind due for his raunſome, king Henrie and his ſucceſſours ſhould enioy for euer the ſame caſtels. He alſo couenanted, not to receiue any Engliſh rebels into his realme. Other write that the king of Scots did not onelie become the king of Englands liegeman at this time, and couenanted to doo homage vnto him for the realme of Scotland, and all other his lands, but alſo deliuered the caſtels of Barwike, and Rorbourgh to be poſſeſſed of the ſame king of England and his heires for euer, without any couenant mentioned of morgage.

Caſtels deliuered by the K. of Scots.

N. Triuet. Math. Paris.

Things being ſetled thus in good order, king Henrie leauing his ſonne Henrie at Rouen, went to Argenton, and there held his Chriſtmaſſe, and afterwards, namelie in the feaſt of the purification of our ladie, both the kings (as well the father as the ſonne) were at Mauns, and vpon their returne from thence into Normandie, came to a communication with the French king at Giſors, and then being come backe into Normandie at Bure, the ſonne (to put the father out of all doubt and miſtruſt of any euill meaning in him) ſware fealtie to him againſt all perſons; and ſo became his liegeman in the preſence of Rothrod archbiſhop of Rouen, Henrie biſhop of Baieux William earle of Mandeuille, Richard de Humez his coneſtable, and manie other.

Rog. Houed.
1175

The kings of England and France meet at Giſors.

After this they kept their eaſter at Chirebourgh, from whence they came to Caen; where they met with Philip earle of Flanders, who had latelie before taken on him the croſſe, to go to the holie land: where king Henrie the father required him to releaſe all ſuch couenants as king Henrie the ſonne had made vnto him in time of his laſt warres, which he freelie did, and deliuered vp the writing that he had of the ſame king concerning thoſe couenants, and ſo they confirmed vnto him the yearelie rent which he was wont to receiue out of England, before the ſaid warres.

Philip earle of Flanders.

Finallie, when king Henrie had viſited the moſt part of the countrie, he came to Harflew, and cauſed his nauie to be decked and rigged, that he might saile ouer into England. Whileſt he tarried heere till his ſhips were readie, he ſent letters to his ſonne king Henrie, willing him to repaire vnto him, and meaning that he ſhould accompanie him into England. Who at the firſt was loth to obeie his fathers will and pleaſure herein, bicauſe ſome enuious perſons about him had put in his head a doubt, leaſt his father had not altogither forgot his former grudge, and that he ment at his comming into England to commit him to priſon. Which was a ſurmize altogither void of likelihood, conſidering that the father, in the whole proceſſe of his actions betweene himſelfe and his ſonnes, was ſo farre from the deſire of inflicting any corporall puniſhment, or leuieng anie fine vpon them for their miſdemenour, that he alwaies ſought meanes of reconcilement and pacification. And though this Henrie the ſonne for his part deſerued to be roughlie dealt withall; yet the father handled him ſo gentlie with courteous letters & meſſages, that ſhortlie after he came of his owne accord vnto Harflew, from whence ſhortlie after they ſailed both togither ouer into England, landing at Portſmouth on a fridaie being the ninth of Maie, from thence they tooke their iournie ſtreight to London, all the waies being full of people that came to ſee them, and to ſhew themſelues glad and ioifull of their concord and happie arriuall. At their comming to the citie they were receiued with great reioiſing of the people, beſeeching God long to preſerue them both in health and honour.

Polydor.

Enuious perſons readie to forge matters of ſuſpicion.

The two kings the father and the ſonne returne into England.

The ſame yeare William de Breauſe hauing got a great number of Welſhmen into the caſtell of Abergauennie, vnder a colourable pretext of communication, proponed this ordinance to be receiued of them with a corporall oth; That no traueller by the waie amongſt them ſhould beare any bow, or other vnlawfull weapon. Which oth when they refuſed to take, bicauſe they would not ſtand to that ordinance he condemned them all to death. This deceit he vſed towards them in reuenge of the death of his vncle Henrie of Hereford, whom vpon eaſter euen before, they had through treaſon murthered, and were now acquited with the like againe.

William de Breauſe.

The Welſhmē not well dealt withall.

The ſame yeare died Reignold earle of Cornwall, baſtard ſonne to king Henrie the firſt without heirs male, by reaſon whereof the king tooke into his hands all the inheritance of lands and liuings which he held within England, Normandie and Wales, except corteine portions which the daughters of the ſame earle had by aſſignement allotted to them. Alſo Richard earle of Gloceſter deceaſſed this yeare, and his ſonne Philip ſucceeded him.

N. Triuet. Reignold erle of Cornewall departed this life.

The ſame yeare was a ſynod of the cleargie kept at Weſtminſter, wherein many things were decreed for the conſeruation of religion. Amongſt other things it was prouided, that thoſe abbeies and churches which were void of gouernours, and could haue none placed in them by the time of the late ciuill warres, ſhould now be committed vnto men worthie to enioy the ſame, for the reformation of diſorders growne and plentifullie ſprong vp in time of the vacations.

Matth. Weſt. A ſynod held at London.

The realme now brought into good order and deliuered from the troubles of warre, as well at home as abroad, the king being at good leiſure determined to ride about a great part of the realme, and comming to Yorke, ſent for the king of Scots to come and doo his homage. Now the king of Scots (according to couenants before concluded) came vnto Yorke in the moneth of Auguſt, where dooing his homage about the twentith day of the ſame moneth in S. Peters church, the king granted further by his letters patents, that he and his ſucceſſours kings of Scotland, ſhould doo homage and fealtie to the kings of England, ſo often as they ſhould be neceſſarilie required thereunto. In ſigne and token of which ſubiection, the king of Scots offered his hat and his ſad-

W. Paruus. The king of Scots dooth homage to the king of England.

dle vpon the altar of S. Peter in Yorke, which for a remembrance herof was kept there many yeares after that day.

The charter conteining the articles of *the peace and agreement concluded* betwixt the two kings, which was *read in S. Peters church at the ſame time,* exemplified as followeth.

Wilhelmus rex Scotiæ deuenit homo ligius domini regis Angliæ contra omnes homines, de Scotia & de alijs terris ſuis, & fidelitatem ei fecit vt ligio domino ſuo ſicut alij homines ſui ipſi facere ſolent. Similiter fecit homagium Henrico filio regis ſalua fide domini regis patris ſui.

2 *Omnes vero epiſc. abbates & clerus terræ Scotiæ & ſucceſſores ſui facient domino regi ſicut ligio domino fidelitatem, de quibus habere voluerit, ſicut alij epiſcopi ſui ipſi facere ſolent, & Henrico filio ſuo & Dauid & hæredibus eorum.*

3 *Conceſsit autem rex Scotiæ, & frater eius, & barones, & alij homines ſui domino regi, quòd eccleſia Scotiæ talem ſubiectionem amodò faciet eccleſiæ Angliæ, qualem facere debet, & ſolebat tempore regum Angliæ prædeceſſorum ſuorum.*

4 *Similiter Richardus epiſcopus Sancti Andreæ, & Richardus epiſcopus Dunkelden. & Gaufridus abbas de Dunfermlin. & Herbertus prior de Coldingham conceſſerunt, vt eccleſia Anglicana illud habeat ius in eccleſia Scotiæ, quod de iure debet habere: & quod ipſi non erunt contra ius Anglicanæ eccleſiæ. Et de hac conceſsione ſicut quando ligiam fidelitatem domino regi & domino Henrico filio ſuo fecerint, ita eos inde aſſecurauerint.*

5 *Hoc idem facient alij epiſcopi & clerus Scotiæ, per conuentionem inter dominum regem Scotiæ & Dauid fratrem ſuum & barones ſuos factam, comites & barones & alij homines de terra regis Scotiæ (de quibus dominus rex habere voluerit) facient ei homagium contra omnem hominem, & fidelitatem vt ligio domino ſuo ſicut alij homines ſui facere ei ſolent, & Henrico filio ſuo & hæredibus ſuis ſalua fide domini regis patris ſui. Similiter hæredes regis Scotiæ & baronum & hominum ſuorum homagium & ligiantiam facient hæredibus domini regis contra omnem hominem.*

6 *Præterea rex Scotiæ & homines ſui nullũ amodò fugitiuum de terra domini regis pro felonia receptabunt, vel in alia terra ſua niſi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia domini regis & ſtare iudicio curiæ. Sed rex Scotiæ & homines ſui quàm citius poterunt eum capient, & domino regi reddent, vel iuſticiarijs ſuis aut balliuis ſuis in Anglia.*

7 *Si autem de terra regis Scotiæ aliquis fugitiuus fuerit pro felonia in Anglia, niſi voluerit venire ad rectũ in curia domini regis Scotiæ, & ſtare iudicio curiæ, non receptabitur in terra regis, ſed liberabitur hominibus regis Scotiæ, per balliuos domini regis vbi inuentus fuerit.*

8 *Præterea homines domini regis habebunt terras ſuas quas habebant, & habere debent de domino rege, & hominibus ſuis, & de rege Scotiæ & de hominibus ſuis. Et homines regis Scotiæ habebunt terras ſuas, quas habebant, & habere debent de domino rege & hominibus ſuis. Pro iſta vero conuentione & fine firmiter obſeruando domino regi & Henrico filio ſuo & hæredibus ſuis à rege Scotiæ & hæredibus ſuis, liberauit rex Scotiæ domino regi caſtellum de Roxburgh, & caſtellum Puellarum, & caſtellum de Strtueling, in manu domini regis, & ad cuſtodienda caſtella aſsignabit rex Scotiæ de redditu ſuo meſurabiliter ad voluntatem domini regis.*

9 *Præterea pro prædicta conuentione & fine exequendo, liberauit rex Scotiæ domino regi Dauid fratrem ſuum in obſidem & comitem Duncanum, & comitem Waldenum, ſimiliter alios comites & barones cum alijs viris potentibus quorum numerus 18. Et quando caſtella reddita fuerint illis, rex Scotiæ & Dauid frater ſuus liberabuntur. Comites quidem & barones prænominati vnuſquiſq; poſtquam liberauerit obſidem ſuum, ſcilicet filium legitimum, qui habuerit, & alij nepotes ſuos vel propinquiores ſibi hæredes, & caſtellis vt dictum eſt redditis liberabuntur.*

10 *Præterea rex Scotiæ & barones ſui prænominati aſſecurauerunt, quòd ipſi bona fide, & ſine malo ingenio, & ſine occaſione facient vt epiſcopi & barones & cæteri homines terræ ſuæ, qui non affuerunt quando rex Scotiæ cum domino rege finiuit: eandem ligiantiam & fidelitatem domino regi & Henrico filio ſuo quam ipſi fecerunt, & vt barones, & homines qui affuerunt obſides, liberabunt domino regi de quibus habere voluerit.*

11 *Præterea epiſc. comites & barones conuentionauerunt domino regi & Henrico filio ſuo, quòd ſi rex Scotiæ aliquo caſu à fidelitate domini regis & filij, & à conuentione prædicta recederet, ipſi cum domino rege tenebunt ſicut cum ligio domino ſuo contra regem Scotiæ, & contra omnes homines ei inimicantes. Et epiſcopi ſub interdicto ponent terram regis Scotiæ donec ipſe ad fidelitatem domini regis redeat.*

12 *Prædictam itaq; conuentionem firmiter obſeruandam bona fide, & ſine malo ingenio domino regi & Henrico filio ſuo & hæredibus ſuis à Wilhelmo rege Scotiæ & Dauid fratre ſuo & baronibus ſuis prædictis, & hæredibus eorum aſſecurauit ipſe rex Scotiæ, & Dauid frater eius, & omnes barones ſui prænominati ſicut ligij homines domino regis contra omnem hominem, & Henrici filij ſui (ſalua fidelitate patris ſui) hijs teſtibus, Richardo epiſcopo Abrincenſi, & Iohanne Saliſburiæ decano, & Roberto abbate Malmesburiæ, & Radulpho abbate Mundesburg, nec non alijs abbatibus, comitibus & baronibus, & duobus filijs ſuis ſcilicet Richardo & Galfrido.*

These things being recited in the church of S. Peters in Yorke, in the preſence of the ſaid kings, & of Dauid the king of Scots brother, and before an innumerable number of other people, the biſhops, earles, barons and knights of Scotland ſware fealtie to the king of England and to Henrie his ſonne, and to their heires againſt all men, as to their liege and ſouereigne lords.

King Henrie hauing ended his buſineſſe at Yorke with the king of Scots and others, which likewiſe did homage to him there, returned to London, in the octaues of S. Michaell, and he called a parlement at Windſor, whereat were preſent king Henrie the ſonne, Richard archbiſhop of Canturburie, and other biſhops of England, Laurence archbiſhop of Dublin with a great number of earles and barons of this realme. About the ſame time the archbiſhop of Tuamon, and the abbat of S. Brandon, with Laurence the chancellor of Roderike king of Connagh in Ireland were come as ambaſſadours from the ſaid Roderike, vnto king Henrie, who willinglie heard them, as he that was more deſirous to grow to ſome accord with thoſe ſauage people by ſome freendlie order, than to war with them that had nothing to loſe: ſo that he might in purſuing of them ſeeme to fiſh with an hooke of gold. Therefore in this parlement the matter was debated, and in the end a peace concluded at the requeſt of the ſaid ambaſſadours, the king appointing Roderike to paie vnto him in token of ſubiection, a tribute of ox hides.

A parlement at Windſor.

Ambaſſadors from K. Connagh.

A tribute of ox hides.

The charter of the agreement was *written and ſubſcribed in forme* as followeth.

The tenor of the charter of the agreement.

Hæc eſt finis & concordia quæ facta fuit apud Windſhore in octauis ſancti Michaelis an. Gratiæ 1175. inter dominum regem Angliæ Henr. ſecundum, & Rodericum regem Conaciæ, per catholicum Tuamenſem archiep. & abbatem C. ſancti Brandani, & magiſtrum L. cancellarium regis Conaciæ.

1 *Scilicet quòd rex Angliæ concedit prædicto Roderico ligio homini ſuo regnum Conaciæ, quamdiu ei fideliter ſeruiet, vt ſit rex ſub eo, paratus ad ſeruicium ſuum ſicut homo ſuus, & vt teneat terram ſuam ita bene & in pace, ſicut tenuit antequam dominus rex Angliæ intraret Hiberniam, reddendo ei tributum*

tum

---

tum & totam alia
ſe, & iuſticiet vt
& per manum eiu
tenent, teneant in
Angliæ, & fidel
alia iura ſua quæ e
omnibus iure & ho
2 Et ſi qui
& tributum &
ſoluere noluerint,
eos iuſticiet & am
conſtabularius reg
bunt eum ad hoc f
ipſi viderint quod
prædictus rex Con
annis, ſcilicet d
placabile mercator
liena.
3 Excepto qu
retinuit in domin
hil ſe intromittet,
Midia cum omni
Wamailethlachlin
qui eam de eo ten
pertinentijs ſuis, ſc
fordia cum tota te
carnam, ita vt Du
infra terram illam
4 Et ſi Hiber
terram baronum r
butum prædictum
nicia quæ facere ſ
dominorum ſuoru
ni eorum & rex
commiſit dominus
& ſuam. Et ipſe
Angliæ illos vel
auibus ſuis ſinguli
de quacunque ter
domini regis & m
Wintoniæ, Gaufri
archiepiſcopo, Gau
Guilhelmo comite

Moreouer,
Iriſhman nam
terford, which ſe
Ireland with L
be conſecrated
The ſame yeare
ioining were
people, and innu
and famine.
King Hen
and about the f
he came to Nor
well ceaſſed, he
ſent a deacon ca
ſent into Engla
order in the co
ſhops of Cant
whoſe name wa
the ſame place a
and cleargie, as
which conuocat
ſtrifes and dec
ſtate of comm
out of mans li
ding as by the
ned) all maner
of the cleargie
grounds and ki
ted and puniſhe
bertie granted

A great derth.

Anno Reg. 22.
1176

A parlement at Northhampton.

Matth. Paris.

An act againſt preeſts that were hunters.

tum & totam aliam terram, & habitatores terræ habeat ſub ſe, & iuſticiet vt tributum regi Angliæ integrè perſoluant, & per manum eius ſua iura ſibi conſeruent. Et illi qui modò tenent, teneant in pace quamdiu manſerint in fidelitate regis Angliæ, & fideliter & integrè perſoluerint tributum & alia iura ſua quæ ei debent per manum regis Conaciæ, ſaluo in omnibus iure & honore domini regis Angliæ & ſuo.

2 Et ſi qui ex eis regi Angliæ & ei rebelles fuerint, & tributum & alia iura regis Angliæ per manum eius ſoluere noluerint, & à fidelitate regis Angliæ receſſerint, ipſe eos iuſticiet & amoueat. Et ſi eos per ſe inſticiare non poterit, conſtabularius regis Angliæ, & familia ſua de terra illa iuuabunt eum ad hoc faciendum, cùm ab ipſo fuerint requiſiti, & ipſi viderint quòd neceſſe fuerit. Et propter hunc finem reddet prædictus rex Conaciæ domino regi Angliæ tributum ſingulis annis, ſcilicet de ſingulis decem animalibus vnum corium placabile mercatoribus, tam de tota terra ſua, quàm de aliena.

3 Excepto quòd de terris illis quas dominus rex Angliæ retinuit in dominio ſuo, & in dominio baronum ſuorum, nihil ſe intromittet, ſcilicet Duuelina cum pertinentijs ſuis, & Midia cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis, ſicut vnquam Marchat Wamailethlachlin eam meliùs & pleniùs tenuit, aut aliqui qui eam de eo tenuerint. Et excepta Weſefordia, cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis, ſcilicet cum tota lagenia. Et excepta Waterfordia cum tota terra illa, quæ eſt à Waterford vſq; ad Duncarnam, ita vt Duncarnam ſit cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis infra terram illam.

4 Et ſi Hibernenſes qui aufugerint, redire voluerint ad terram baronum regis Angliæ, redeant in pace, reddendo tributum prædictum quod alij reddunt, vel faciendo antiqua ſeruicia quæ facere ſolebant pro terris ſuis. Et hoc ſit in arbitrio dominorum ſuorum. Et ſi aliqui eorum redire noluerint, domini eorum & rex Conaciæ accipiat obſides ab omnibus quos ei commiſit dominus rex Angliæ ad voluntatem domini regis & ſuam. Et ipſe dabit obſides ad voluntatem domini regis Angliæ illos vel alios, & ipſi ſeruient domino de canibus & auibus ſuis ſingulis annis de præſentis ſuis. Et nullum omninò de quacunque terra regis ſit, retinebunt contra voluntatem domini regis & mandatum. Hijs teſtibus, Richardo epiſcopo Wintoniæ, Gaufrido epiſcopo Elienſi, Laurentio Duuelinenſi archiepiſcopo, Gaufrido, Nicholao, & Rogero capellanis regis, Guilhelmo comite de Eſſex, & alijs multis.

A great derth.

Moreouer, at this parlement the king gaue an Iriſhman named Auguſtine, the biſhoprike of Waterford, which ſee was then void, and ſent him into Ireland with Laurence the archbiſhop of Dubline to be conſecrated of Donat the archbiſhop of Caſſels. The ſame yeare, both England and the countries adioining were ſore vexed with a great mortalitie of people, and immediatlie after followed a ſore dearth and famine.

Anno Reg. 22.
1176

A parlement at Northhampton.

Matth. Paris.

An act againſt preeſts that were hunters.

King Henrie held his Chriſtmas at Windſor, and about the feaſt of the conuerſion of ſaint Paule he came to Northampton, & after the mortalitie was well ceaſſed, he called a parlement, whereat was preſent a deacon cardinall intituled of S. Angelo, being ſent into England as a legat from the pope, to take order in the controuerſies betwixt the two archbiſhops of Canturburie and Yorke. This cardinall whoſe name was Hugh Petro Lion, aſſembled in the ſame place a conuocation or ſynod of the biſhops and cleargie, as well of England as Scotland: in which conuocation, after the ceaſſing of certeine ſtrifes and decrees made as well concerning the ſtate of common-wealth, as for the honeſt behauiour of mans life, the cardinall conſented that (according as by the kings lawes it was alreadie ordeined) all maner of perſons within the ſacred orders of the cleargie, which ſhould hunt within the kings grounds and kill any of his deare, ſhould be conuented and puniſhed before a temporall iudge. Which libertie granted to the king, did ſo infringe the immunitie which the cleargie pretended to haue within this realme, that afterwards in manie points, preeſts were called before temporall iudges, and puniſhed for their offenſes as well as the laitie, though they haue grudged indeed and mainteined that they had wrong therein, as they that would be exempted and iudged by none, except by thoſe of their owne order.

Polydor.

Obedience of the church of Scotland to the church of England.

Moreouer, in this councell the matter came in queſtion touching the obedience which the biſhops of Scotland did owe by right vnto the archbiſhop of Yorke, whom from the beginning the popes of Rome had conſtituted and ordeined to be primat of all Scotland, and of the Iles belonging to that realme, as well of the Orkeneis as all the other. Which conſtitution was obſerued by the biſhops of thoſe parts manie yeares togither, though after they renounced their obedience. Whervpon the archbiſhops of Yorke (for the time being) continuallie complained, ſo that theſe popes, Paſchall the ſecond, Calixt the ſecond, Honorius, Innocentius, Eugenius the third, and Adrian the fourth, had the hearing of the matter, and with often ſending their letters, went about to reduce them to the prouince of Yorke. But the Scots ſtill withſtanding this ordinance, at length the matter thus in controuerſie was referred to pope Alexander, who ſent the foreſaid cardinall Hugh as well to make an end of that contention, as of diuerſe other: but yet he left it vndecided.

Rog. Houed.

The king of Scots commeth to the parlement.

William king of Scotland came perſonallie vnto this parlement at Northhampton, by commandement of king Henrie, and brought with him Richard biſhop of S. Andrew, and Ioſſeline biſhop of Glaſcow, with other biſhops and abbats of Scotland, the which being commanded by king Henrie to ſhew ſuch ſubiection to the church of England as they were bound to doo by the faith which they owght to him, and by the oth of fealtie which they had made to him, they made this anſwer, that they had neuer ſhewed any ſubiection to the church of England, nor ought. Againſt which deniall, the archbiſhop of Yorke replied, and brought foorth ſufficient priuileges granted by the forenamed popes, to prooue the ſubiection of the Scotiſh biſhops, and namelie Glaſcow and Whiterne vnto the ſee of Yorke. But bicauſe the archbiſhop of Canturburie meant to bring the Scotiſh biſhops vnder ſubiection to his ſee, he wrought ſo for that time with the king, that he ſuffered them to depart home, without yeelding any ſubiection to the church of England. The letters which the foreſaid popes did ſend touching this matter, were remaining ſafe and ſound amongſt other writings in the colledge at Yorke, when Polydor Virgil wrote the hiſtories of England, the copies whereof in an old ancient booke he confeſſeth to haue ſeene and read.

R. Houed.

Diuiſion of circuits for iuſtices itinerants.

But to ſpeake further of things ordered and doone at this parlement holden at Northampton, the king by common conſent of his Nobles and other ſtates, diuided his realme into ſix parts, appointing three iuſtices itinerants in euerie of them, as here followeth, Hugh de Creſſie, Walter Fitz Robert, and Robert Mantell, were deputed vnto Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeſhire, Huntingtonſhire, Bedfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Eſſex and Hertfordſhire; Hugh de Gundeuille, William Fitz Rafe, and William Baſſet were appointed to Lincolnſhire, Notinghamſhire, Derbiſhire, Staffordſhire, Warwikeſhire, Northamptonſhire, and Leiceſterſhire; Robert Fitz Bernard, Richard Gifford, Roger Fitz Remfrey, were aſſigned to Kent, Surrey, Hampſhire, Suſſex, Berkſhire and Oxfordſhire: William Fitz Stephan, Bertram de Verdon, Thurſtan Fitz Simon were ordeined to Herefordſhire, Gloceſterſhire, Worceſterſhire, and Salopſhire; Rafe Fitz

Stephan, William Ruffe, and Gilbert Pipard were put in charge with Wilſhire, Dorſetſhire, Summerſetſhire, Deuonſhire & Cornwall: Robert de Wals, Ranulf de Glanuile, and Robert Pikenet were appointed to Yorkeſhire, Richmondſhire, Lancaſhire, Copeland, Weſtmerland, Northumberland, and Cumberland.

The oth of the iuſtices.

The king cauſed theſe iuſtices to ſweare vpon the holie euangeliſts, that they ſhould kéepe his aſſiſes which he firſt had ordeined at Clarendon, and after had renewed here at Northampton, & alſo cauſed all his ſubiects within the relme of England to kéepe and obſerue the ſame.

Ger. Dor.

Moreouer at this councell, king Henrie reſtored vnto Robert earle of Leiceſter all his lands, both on this ſide the ſea, and beyond, in maner as he held the ſame fiftéene daies before the warre. To William de Albenie earle of Arundell, he gaue the earledome of Suſſex. About midlent, the king with his ſonne and the legat came to London, where at Weſtminſter a conuocation of the cleargie was called, but when the legat was ſet, and the archbiſhop of Canturburie on his right hand as primat of the realme, the archbiſhop of Yorke comming in, and diſdaining to ſit on the left, where he might ſéeme to giue preheminence vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie (vnmanerlie inough indéed) ſwaſht him downe, meaning to thruſt himſelfe in betwixt the legat, and the archbiſhop of Canturburie. And where belike the ſaid archbiſhop of Canturburie was loth to remoue, he ſet his buttocks iuſt in his lap, but he ſcarſlie touched the archbiſhops ſkirt with his bum, when the biſhops and other chapleins with their ſeruants ſtept to him, pulled him away, and threw him to the ground, and beginning to lay on him with bats and fiſts, the archbiſhop of Canturburie yéelding góod for euill, ſought to ſaue him from their hands. Thus was verified in him that ſage ſentence,

The preſumptuous demeanor of yͤ archbiſhop of Yorke.

Pub. Mim.

Nunquam periculum ſine periculo vincitur.

The archbiſhop of Yorke with his rent rochet got vp, and awaie he went to the king with a great complaint againſt the archbiſhop of Canturburie: but when vpon examination of the matter the truth was knowne, he was well laught at for his labour, and that was all the remedie he got. As he departed ſo bebuffeted forth of the conuocation houſe towards the king, they cried out vpon him; Go traitor that diddeſt betray that holy man Thomas, go get thée hence, thy hands yet ſtinke of bloud. The aſſemblie was by this meanes diſperſed, and the legat fled and got him out of the waie, as he might with ſhame enough, which is the common panion and waiting-woman of pride, as one verie well ſaid,

Pub. Mim.

Citò ignominia fit ſuperbi gloria.

Appeales made.

After this, followed appealings, the archbiſhop of Yorke appealed to Rome, and the legat alſo for his owne ſafegard appealed the archbiſhop of Canturburie vnto Rome, which archbiſhop ſubmitting himſelfe and his cauſe vnder the popes protection, made a like ſolemne appeale from the legat to the pope. The legat perceiuing that the matter went otherwiſe than he wiſhed, and ſéeing little remedie to be had at that preſent, gaue ouer his legatſhip as it had béene of his owne accord, though greatlie againſt his will, and prepared himſelfe to depart. Neuertheleſſe, through mediation of fréends that tóoke paines betwixt them, they gaue ouer their appeales on either ſide, and diſſembled the diſpleaſures which they had conceiued either againſt other, but yet the conuocation was diſſolued for that time, and the two archbiſhops preſented their complaints to the king, who kept his Eaſter this yeare at Wincheſter, and about the ſame time or ſhortlie after, licenced his ſonne Henrie to ſaile ouer into Normandie, meaning ſhortlie after to go vnto Compoſtella in Spaine, to viſit the bodie of ſaint Iames the apoſtle, but béeing otherwiſe aduiſed by his fathers letters, he diſcontinued his purpoſe and ſtaied at home.

The conuocation diſſolued.

The ſame yeare, the ladie Iohan the kings daughter was giuen in marriage vnto William king of Sicill. Alſo the ſame yeare died the lord chéefe iuſtice of Ireland, Robert earle of Striguill otherwiſe Chepſtow, then was William Fitzaldelme ordeined lord chéefe iuſtice in his place, who ſeized into the kings hands all thoſe fortreſſes which the ſaid earle of Striguill held within the realme of Ireland. The Iriſhmen alſo paied to the king a tribute of twelue pence yearelie for euerie houſe, or elſe for euerie yoke of oxen which they had of their owne. William earle of Arundell died alſo this yeare at Wauerley, and was buried at Wimondham.

N. Triuet.

R. Houed.

N. Triuet.

A tribut granted by the Iriſh.

R. Houed.

This yeare, when it might haue béene thought that all things were forgotten touching the rebellious attempts made againſt king Henrie the father by his ſons, and other (as before ye haue heard) he cauſed the wals both of the towne and caſtell of Leiceſter to be raced, and all ſuch caſtels and places of ſtrength as had béene kept againſt him during the time of that rebellion, to be likewiſe ouerthrowne and made plaine with the ground, as the caſtels of Huntington, Waleton, Growby, Hey, Stuteſbirrie or Sterdeſbirrie, Malaſert, the new caſtell of Allerton, the caſtels of Fremingham and Bungey, with diuers other both in England and Normandie. But the caſtels of Paſcie, and Mountſorell he reteined in his owne hands as his of right, being ſo found by a iurie of fréeholders impanelled there in the countrie; further, he ſeized into his hands all the other caſtels of biſhops, earles and barons, both in England and Normandie, appointing kéepers in them at his pleaſure. This yeare alſo he married his daughter Elianor vnto Alfonſe king of Caſtile.

The wals of the towne and caſtell of Leceſter raced.

Elianor the kings daughter married to the king of Caſtile.

Moreouer, Gilbert the ſonne of Fergus lord of Galloway, who had ſlaine his brother Uthred coſen to king Henrie, came this yeare into England, vnder conduct of William king of Scotland, and became king Henrie the fathers man, ſwearing fealtie to him againſt all men: and to haue his loue and fauour gaue him a thouſand marks of ſiluer, and deliuered into his hands his ſon Duncane as a pledge. It is to be remembred alſo, that in this yeare, Richard earle of Poictow ſonne to king Henrie, fought with certeine Brabanders his enimies betwixt S. Megrine and Buteuille, where he ouercame them.

Gilbert Fitz Fergus.

Richard earle of Poictow.

¶ Here I haue thought góod to aduertiſe the reader, that theſe men of war, whom we haue generallie in this part of our bóoke named Brabanders, we find them written in old copies diuerſlie, as Brebazones, Brebanceni, and Brebationes, the which for ſo much as I haue found them by the learned tranſlated Brabanders, and that the French word ſomewhat yéeldeth thereto, I haue likewiſe ſo named them: wherein whether I haue erred or not, I muſt ſubmit mine opinion to the learned & ſkilfull ſearchers of ſuch points of antiquities. For to confeſſe in plaine truth mine ignorance, or rather vnreſolued doubt herein, I can not ſatiſfie my ſelfe with any thing that I haue read, whereby to aſſure my coniecture what to make of them, although verelie it may be, and the likelihóod is great, that the Brabanders in thoſe daies for their trained ſkill and vſuall practiſe in warlike feats, wan themſelues a name, whereby not onelie thoſe that were naturallie borne in Brabant, but ſuch alſo as ſerued amongſt them, or elſe vſed the ſame warlike furniture, order, trade and diſcipline, which was in vſe among them, paſſed in that age vnder the name of Brabanders. Or elſe I muſt thinke, that by reaſon of ſome od kind of habit

---

bit or other
ers purchaſ
name, ſo to b
ther ye will
and Reiſter
mons Armi
forefathers,
ned amongſ
theſe Braba
men to mak
that was a
knowne by
ported by ſo

It ſhould
names, as t
whether it ca
ſome vnrul
Dutch wor
not ſay. Bu
rie to vnde
diers, in tho
red, in ſo m
was an arti
Laterane c
1179, whe
curſed, whic
thoſe Breba
and Coterel
an world in

Wil. Paruus, lib. 3. cap. 3.

But to
beſide the
Brabander
quiſhed Ha
am earle of
tadore and
gainſt him,
priſoners, w
they had fo

The departure of the legat forth of the Realme.

Liberties obteined for churchmen.

About th
parted out
granted to
leges which
vnto; ſo he
fauour of th

1 Firſt,
any ſpiritua
porall iudg
ſome laie fe
was due to
ther that w

2 Secon
ſée, nor any
more than o
or neceſſitie

3 Third
ſon, and we
dence or co
in preſence
temporall l

4 Four
compelled t
or cauſe wh

N. Triuet.

It ſho
archbiſhop
Wincheſte
lie at that
theſe grant
ſpirituall p
fore, there
gainſt ſuch
But now t
matters.

In this
maining in

bit or other ſpeciall cauſe, a certeine ſort of ſouldiers purchaſed to themſelues the priuilege of that name, ſo to be called Brabanceni or Brebationes (whether ye will) as hath chanced to the Lanſquenetz and Reiſters in our time, and likewiſe to the companions Arminaes and Eſcorchers in the daies of our forefathers, and as in all ages likewiſe it hath fortuned amongſt men of warre. Which if it ſo chanced to theſe Brabanceni, I know not then what countriemen to make them: for as I remember, Marchades that was a chiefe leader of ſuch ſouldiers as were knowne by that name (as after ye ſhall heare) is reported by ſome authors to be a Prouancois.

It ſhould ſéeme alſo that they were called by other names, as the Routs (in Latine *Ruptarij*) which name whether it came of a French word, as ye would ſay ſome vnrulie and headſtrong companie, or of the Dutch word Rutters, that ſignifieth a rider, I cannot ſay. But it may ſuffice for the courſe of the hiſtorie to vnderſtand that they were a kind of hired ſouldiers, in thoſe daies highlie eſtéemed, and no leſſe feared, in ſo much that againſt them and others there was an article conteined among the decrées of the Laterane councell holden at Rome, in the yeare 1179, whereby all thoſe were to be denounced accurſed, which did hire, mainteine or any way nouriſh thoſe Brebationes, Aragonois, Nauarrois, Baſques and Coterelles, which did ſo much hurt in the chriſtian world in thoſe daies.

Wil. Paruus, lib.3.cap.3.

But to returne where we left to earle Richard, beſide the aboue mentioned victorie againſt thoſe Brabanders, if we ſhall ſo take them; he alſo vanquiſhed Hamerike vicount of Limoges, and William earle of Angoleſme, with the vicounts of Ventadore and Cambanais, who attempted rebellion againſt him, whome earle Richard ſubdued, and tooke priſoners, with diuerſe caſtels and ſtrong holds which they had fortified.

The departure of the legat foorth of the Realme.

Liberties obteined for churchmen.

About the feaſt of Peter and Paule, the legat departed out of the realme, of whom we find, that as he granted to the king ſome liberties againſt the priuileges which the cleargie pretended to haue a right vnto; ſo he obteined of the king certeine grants in fauour of them and their order, as thus.

1 Firſt, that for no offenſe, crime or tranſgreſſion any ſpirituall perſon ſhould be brought before a temporall iudge perſonallie, except for hunting, or for ſome laie fée, or that for which ſome temporall ſeruice was due to be yéelded, either to the king, or ſome other that was chéefe lord thereof.

2 Secondlie, that no archbiſhops ſée, nor biſhops ſée, nor any abbaie ſhould be kept in the kings hands more than one yeare, except vpon ſome euident cauſe or neceſſitie conſtreining.

3 Thirdlie, that ſuch as ſlue any ſpirituall perſon, and were of ſuch offenſe conuicted, either by euidence or confeſſion before the iuſtice of the realme in preſence of the biſhop, ſhould be puniſhed as the temporall law in ſuch caſes required.

4 Fourthlie, that ſpirituall men ſhould not be compelled to fight in liſts for the triall of any matter or cauſe whatſoeuer.

N. Triuet.

It ſhould appeare by Nicholas Triuet, that the archbiſhop of Canturburie procured the biſhops of Wincheſter, Elie, and Norwich, thrée prelats highlie at that preſent in the kings fauour, to further theſe grants; namelie, that ſuch as ſlue any préeſt or ſpirituall perſon might haue the law for it: where before, there was no puniſhment for a ſeaſon vſed againſt ſuch offendors but onelie excommunication. But now to leaue préeſts, we will paſſe to other matters.

The yoong K. beginneth new practiſes againſt his father.

In this meane time, king Henrie the ſonne remaining in Normandie, began to deuiſe new practiſes how to remoue his father from the gouernment and to take it to himſelfe: but one of his ſeruants named Adam de Cherehedune being of his ſecret counſell, aduertiſed king Henrie the father thereof, for the which his maiſter king Henrie the ſonne

(*Cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus aſper*)

put him to great ſhame and rebuke, cauſing him to be ſtripped naked, and whipped round about the ſtréets of the citie of Poictiers, where he then was vpon his returne from his brother earle Richard, with whome he had béene to aid him againſt his enimies. King Henrie the father perceiuing the naughtie mind of his ſonne, and that he ceaſſed not from his wilfull maliciouſneſſe, thought to diſſemble all things, ſith he ſaw no hope of amendment in him; but yet to be prouided againſt his wicked attempts, he furniſhed all his fortreſſes both in England & in Normandie with ſtrong gariſons of men, and all neceſſarie munition.

R. Houed.

About this time, the ſea roſe on ſuch a heigth, that manie men were drowned thereby. Alſo a great ſnow fell this yeare, which by reaſon of the hard froſt that chanced therewith, continued long without waſting away, ſo that fiſhes both in the ſea and freſh water died through ſharpeneſſe and vehemencie of that froſt, neither could huſbandmen till the ground. A ſore eclipſe of the ſunne chanced alſo the ſixt ides of Ianuarie. The monaſterie of Weſtwood or Leſnos was begun to be founded by Richard de Lucie Lord chéefe iuſtice. The ſame yeare alſo at Woodſtocke the king made his ſonne the lord Geffrey knight.

Rog. Houed.

1177

In the yeare 1177. king Henrie held his Chriſtmas at Northampton, with his two ſonnes Geffrey and Iohn, his other two ſonnes the yoong king Henrie, and Richard earle of Poictou, were in the parts beyond the ſeas, as the king in Normandie, and the earle in Gaſcoigne, where he beſieged the citie of Aques, which the vicount of Aques and the earle of Bigorre had fortified againſt him, but he wan it within ten daies after his comming thither. Within the like terme alſo he wan the citie of Baion, which Arnold Berthram had fortified againſt him, and cõming to the vttermoſt frontiers of that countrie adioining to Spaine, he tooke a caſtell called ſaint Piero which he deſtroied, and conſtreined the Baſques and Nauarrois to receiue an oth, that from thenceforth they ſhould ſuffer paſſengers quietlie to come and go through their countrie, and that they ſhould liue in quiet and kéepe peace one with an other, and ſo he reformed the ſtate of that countrie, and cauſed them to renounce manie euill cuſtomes which they before that time had vnlawfullie vſed.

The citie of Aques or Aigues.

Anno Reg. 23.

Polydor.

Geffrey the kings baſe ſonne made biſhop of Lincolne.

Moreouer, king Henrie, to auoid further ſlander, placed for biſhop in the ſée of Lincolne a baſtard ſon which he had named Geffrey, after he had kept that biſhoprike in his hands ſo long till he had almoſt cléerelie deſtroied it. And his ſonne that was now made biſhop to helpe the matter for his part, made hauocke in waſting and ſpending in riotous manner the goods of that church, and in the end forſooke his miter, and left the ſée againe in the kings hands to make his beſt of it.

Furthermore, the king in times paſt made a vow to build a new monaſterie in ſatiſfaction of his offenſes committed againſt Thomas the archbiſhop of Canturburie: wherefore he required of the biſhops and other ſpirituall fathers, to haue ſome place by them aſſigned, where he might begin that foundation. But whileſt they ſhould haue taken aduiſe herein, he ſecretlie practiſed with the cardinals, and with diuerſe other biſhops, that he might remoue the ſecular canons out of the colledge at Waltham, and place therein regular canons, ſo to ſaue monie in his

Preeſts diſplaced, & canons regular put in their roomes.

coſters, planting in another mans vineyard. Howbeit, bicauſe it ſhould not be thought he did this of ſuch a couetous meaning, he promiſed to giue great poſſeſſions to that houſe, which he after but ſlenderlie performed, though vpon licence obteined at the biſhops hands, he diſplaced the preeſts, and brought in to their roomes the canons as it were by waie of exchange.

R.Houed.

Nunnes of Ameſburie.

The ſame yeare alſo he thruſt the nunnes of Ameſburie out of their houſe, bicauſe of their incontinent liuing, in abuſing their bodies greatlie to their reproch, and beſtowed them in other monaſteries to be kept in more ſtreightlie. And their houſe was committed vnto the abbeſſe and couent of Founteuered, who ſent ouer certeine of their number to furniſh the houſe of Ameſburie, wherein they were placed by the archbiſhop of Canturburie, in the preſence of the king and a great number of others.

Philip earle of Flanders.

Philip earle of Flanders by ſending ouer ambaſſadours to king Henrie, promiſed that he would not beſtow his two neeces, daughters to his brother Matthew earle of Bullongne, without conſent of the ſame king: but ſhortlie after he forgot his promiſe, & married the elder of them to the duke of Zaringes, & the yonger to Henrie duke of Louaine.

Iohn de Curcie lord cheefe iuſtice of Ireland diſcomfiting a power of Iriſhmen, wan the citie of Dun in Vlneſtre, where the bodies of S. Patrike and S. Colme confeſſors, and S. Brigit the virgin are buried, for the taking of which citie, Roderike king of Vlneſtre being ſore offended, raiſed a mightie hoſt, and comming into the field, fought with the lord cheefe iuſtice, and in the end receiued & tooke the ouerthrow at his hands, although the lord cheefe iuſtice at that encounter loſt no ſmall number of his men. Amongſt priſoners that were taken, the biſhop of Dun was one, whom yet the lord cheefe iuſtice releaſed and ſet at libertie, in reſpect of a requeſt and ſuit made to him by a cardinall the popes legat that was there in Ireland at that time.

Iohn de Curcie.

The citie of Dun taken.

Roderike K. of Vlneſtre vanquiſhed.

Viuiano a cardinall.

This cardinals name was Viuiano, intituled the cardinall of S. Stephan in Mount Celio; he was ſent from the pope the yeare before, and comming into England, though without licence, was pardoned vpon knowledging his fault for his entring without the kings leaue firſt obteined, and ſo permitted to go into Scotland, whither (as alſo into other the northweſt regions) he was ſent as legat, authoriſed from the pope. Now when he had ended his buſineſſe in Scotland, he paſſed ouer into Man, and there held his Chriſtmaſſe with Euthred king of Man, and after the feaſt of the Epiphanie, ſailed from thence into Ireland, and chanced (the ſame time that the Engliſhmen inuaded that countrie) to be in the citie of Dun, where he was receiued of the king & biſhops of that land with great reuerence.

Wil. Paruus.

The inuaſion then of the Engliſhmen being ſignified to them of the countrie aforehand, they aſked counſell of the legat what he thought beſt to be doone in that matter; who ſtreightwaies told them, that they ought to fight in defenſe of their countrie, and at their ſetting forward, he gaue them his benediction in waie of their good ſpeed. But they comming (as ye haue heard) to encounter with the Engliſhmen, were put to flight, and beaten backe into the citie, which was herewith alſo woone by the Engliſhmen, ſo that the Romane legat was glad to get him into the church for his more ſafegard, and like a wiſe fellow had prouided afore hand for ſuch haps if they chanced, hauing there with him the king of Englands letters directed to the capteins in Ireland in the legats fauour, ſo that by the aſſiſtance and authoritie of the ſame, he went to Dublin, and there (in the name of the pope and the king of England) held a councell.

The legat holdeth a councell at Dublin.

But when he began to practiſe, after the manner of legats in thoſe daies, ſomewhat largelie for his owne aduantage, in the churches of that ſimple rude countrie, the Engliſh capteins commanded him either to depart, or elſe to go forth to the wars with them: wherevpon he returned into Scotland, hauing his bags well ſtuffed with Iriſh gold, for the which it ſeemed he greatlie thirſted.

¶ Where we haue to note the drift of the pope and all popelings to be far otherwiſe than they pretend. For who (vnleſſe he will be wilfullie ignorant) knoweth not, that he and his neuer attempt any thing, but the ſame beareth the hew and colour of holineſſe and honeſtie? Hereto tend the ſendings out of his legats and cardinals to make pacifications, to redreſſe diſorders, to appeaſe tumults, & I wot not what infinit enormities (for he muſt haue his ore in euerie mans bote, his ſpoone in euerie mans diſh, and his fingers in euerie mans purſſe) but the end and ſcope of all his doings conſiſteth in this; namelie, to ſet himſelfe aboue all ſoueraigntie, to purchaſe and aſſure to himſelfe an abſolute and ſupereminent iuriſdiction, to rob chriſtian kingdomes, to impoueriſh churches, chapels, and religious places. Our chronicles are full of theſe his pranks, and here we haue one practiſed by a lim of his, who (as you ſee) verie impudentlie and licentiouſlie preied vpon the church-goods, and conuerted the ſame to his owne profit and commoditie: which he had if not trembled, yet bluſhed to doo, conſidering that the goods of the church are the treaſurie of Chriſt (or at leaſtwiſe ought to be) and that none ought to alienate or change the propertie of ſuch goods, as the canon law hath prouided. Beſides, the wretch ought to haue remembred that which euen the verie pagans did not forget; namelie,

Haud vllas portabis opes Acherontis ad vndas,
Nudus ad infernas ſtulte vehere rates.

Prop. lib. 3.

But now to the doings of Iohn de Curcie, and of thoſe Engliſhmen that were with him, who did not onelie defend ſuch places as they had woone out of the Iriſhmens hands againſt thoſe kings and their powers, but alſo inlarged dailie more and more their frontiers, and wan the towne of Armach (wherein is the metropolitane ſee of all that land) with the whole prouince thereto belonging.

Matth. Paris.
Polydor.

About the ſame time came ambaſſadours vnto king Henrie from Alfonſe king of Caſtile and Garſias king of Nauarre, to aduertiſe him, that in a controuerſie riſen betwixt the ſaid two kings touching the poſſeſſion of certeine grounds neere vnto the confines of their realms, they had choſen him for iudge by compromiſe, promiſing vpon their oths to ſtand vnto & abide his order and decree therein. Therfore they required him to end the matter by his authoritie, ſith they had wholie put it to his iudgement. Furthermore, either king had ſent a moſt able and valiant knight furniſhed with horſſe and armour readie in their princes cauſe to fight the combat, if king Henrie ſhould happilie commit the triall of their quarrell vnto the iudgement of battell. King Henrie gladlie accepted their requeſt, ſo that therevpon calling his councellors togither, he conſulted with them of the thing, and hearing euerie mans opinion, at length he gaue iudgement ſo with the one, that the other was contented to be agreeable therevnto.

R.Houed.

Polydor.

Within a while after, Philip earle of Flanders came ouer into England to doo his deuotions at the toome of Thomas archbiſhop of Canturburie, of whome the moſt part of men then had conceiued an opinion of ſuch holineſſe, that they reputed him for a ſaint. The king met him there, and verie freendlie enterteined him, and bicauſe he was appointed ſhortlie after to go ouer into the holie land to war againſt

Gods enimies, the king gaue him fiue hundred marks in reward, and licenced William Mandeuile earle of Eſſex to go in that iournie with other lords, knights and men of warre of ſundrie nations that were of his dominions.

R.Houed.

The king then returning vnto London, tooke order for the eſtabliſhing of things touching the ſuertie of the realme, and his owne eſtate. And firſt he appointed the cuſtodie of ſuch caſtels as were of moſt importance by their ſituation, vnto the keeping of certeine worthie capteins. To ſir William de Stuteuille he aſſigned the cuſtodie of Rockeſburgh caſtell, to ſir Roger de Stuteuille the caſtell of Edenburgh, to ſir William Neuille the caſtell of Norham, to ſir Geffrie Neuille the caſtell of Berwike, and to the archbiſhop of Yorke he deliuered the caſtell of Scarborough, and ſir Roger Coniers he made capteine of the tower of Durham, which he had taken from the biſhop, bicauſe he had ſhewed himſelfe an vnſtedfaſt man in the time of the ciuill warre, and therfore to haue the kings fauour againe, he gaue to him two thouſand marks, with condition that his caſtels might ſtand, and that his ſonne Henrie de Putſey *aliàs* Pudſey, might enioy one of the kings manor places called Wighton.

Durham tower.

Henrie de Pudſey.

A parlement at Oxford.

After this, the king went to Oxenford, and there held a parlement, at the which he created his ſonne Iohn king of Ireland, hauing a grant and confirmation thereto from pope Alexander. About the ſame time it rained bloud in the Ile of Wight, by the ſpace of two daies togither, ſo that linen clothes that hong on the hedges were coloured therewith: which vnvſed wonder cauſed the people, as the manner is, to ſuſpect ſome euill of the ſaid Iohns gouernement.

Iohn the kings ſonne created king of Ireland.

Polydor.

It rained bloud.

R, Houed.

Moreouer, to this parlement holden at Oxenford, all the cheefe rulers and gouernours of Southwales and Northwales repaired, and became the king of Englands liege men, ſwearing fealtie to him againſt all men. Heerevpon he gaue vnto Rice ap Griffin prince of Southwales the land of Merionith, and to Dauid ap Owen he gaue the lands of Elleſmare. Alſo at the ſame time he gaue and confirmed vnto Hugh Lacie (as before is ſaid) the land of Meth in Ireland with the appurtenances, for the ſeruice of an hundred knights or men of armes, to hold of him and of his ſonne Iohn by a charter which he made thereof. Alſo he diuided there the lands and poſſeſſions of Ireland with the ſeruices to his ſubiects, as well of England as Ireland, appointing ſome to hold by ſeruice to find fortie knights or men of armes, and ſome thirtie, and ſo forth.

Vnto two Iriſh lords he granted the kingdome of Corke for the ſeruice of fortie knights, and to other three lords he gaue the kingdome of Limerike for the ſeruice of the like number of knights to be held of him & his ſonne Iohn, reſeruing to himſelfe & to his heires the citie of Limerike with one cantred. To William Fitz Adelme his ſewer, he gaue the citie of Weſſeford with the appurtenances and ſeruices: and to Robert de Poer his marſhall, he gaue the citie of Waterford, and to Hugh Lacie, he committed the ſafe keeping of the citie of Diueline. And theſe perſons, to whome ſuch gifts and aſſignations were made, receiued othes of fealtie to beare their allegiance vnto him and to his ſonne for thoſe lands and poſſeſſions in Ireland, in maner and forme as was requiſite.

William Fitz Adelme.

Robert de Poer.

Hugh Lacie.

The cardinall Viuian hauing diſpatched his buſineſſe in Ireland, came backe into England, and by the kings ſafe conduct returned againe into Scotland, where in a councell holden at Edenburgh, he ſuſpended the biſhop of Whiterne, bicauſe he did refuſe to come to that councell: but the biſhop made no account of that ſuſpenſion, hauing a defenſe good inough by the biſhop of Yorke, whoſe ſuffragane he was.

After the king had diſſolued and broken vp his parlement at Oxenford, he came to Marleborough, and there granted vnto Philip de Breauſe all the kingdome of Limerike for the ſeruice of fortie knights: for Hubert and William the brethren of Reignold earle of Cornewall, and Iohn de la Pumeray their nephue, refuſed the gift thereof, bicauſe it was not as yet conquered. For the king thereof, ſurnamed Monoculus, that is, with one eie, who had held that kingdome of the king of England, being latelie ſlaine, one of his kinſemen got poſſeſſion of that kingdome, and held it without acknowledging any ſubiection to king Henrie, nor would obeie his officers, bicauſe of the loſſes and damages which they did practiſe againſt the Iriſh people, without occaſion (as they alleadged) by reaſon whereof the king of Corke alſo rebelled againſt the king of England and his people, and ſo that realme was full of trouble.

Philip de Breauſe.

Matth.Paris.

Polychr.

Iewes in England.

The ſame ſeaſon, queene Margaret the wife of king Henrie the ſonne was deliuered of a man child which liued not paſt three daies. In that time there was alſo through all England a great multitude of Iewes, and bicauſe they had no place appointed them where to burie thoſe that died, but onelie at London, they were conſtreined to bring all their dead corpſes thither from all parts of the realme. To eaſe them therfore of that inconuenience, they obteined of king Henrie a grant, to haue a place aſſigned them in euerie quarter where they dwelled, to burie their dead bodies. The ſame yeare was the bodie of S. Amphibulus the martyr, who was inſtructor to ſaint Albone found, not farre from the towne of S. Albones, and there in the monaſterie of that towne buried with great and ſolemne ceremonies.

In the meane time, king Henrie paſſed ouer into Normandie, hearing that the old grudge betwixt him & king Lewes began to be renewed vpon this occaſion, that whereas king Henrie had receiued the French kings daughter Alice, promiſed in mariage vnto his ſonne Richard, to remaine in England with him, till ſhe were able to companie with hir husband, king Henrie being of a diſſolute life, and giuen much to the pleaſure of the bodie (a vice which was graffed in the bone and therefore like to ſticke faſt in the fleſh, for as it is ſaid,

Quod noua teſta capit inueterata ſapit)

at leaſtwiſe (as the French king ſuſpected) began to fantaſie the yoong ladie, and by ſuch wanton talke and companie-keeping as he vſed with hir, he was thought to haue brought hir to conſent to his fleſhlie luſt, which was the cauſe wherefore he would not ſuffer his ſonne to marrie hir, being not of ripe yeares nor viripotent or mariable. Wherefore the French king imagining (vpon conſideration of the other kings former looſe life) that an inconuenieuce & infamie might redound to him and his, bethought himſelfe that

Turpe ſenex miles turpe ſenilis amor,

R.Houed.

and therefore deemed iuſtlie that ſuch a vile reproch wrought againſt him in his bloud, was in no wiſe to be ſuffered, but rather preuented, reſiſted & withſtood. Herevpon he complained to the pope, who for redreſſe thereof, ſent one Peter a preeſt, & cardinall intituled of ſaint Griſogone as legat from him into France, with commiſſion to put Normandie and all the lands that belonged to king Henrie vnder interdiction, if he would not ſuffer the mariage to be ſolemnized without delaie betwixt his ſonne Richard and Alice the French kings daughter. The king aduertiſed hereof, came to a communication with the French king at Yurie, vpon the 21. of September, and

The kings meet at Yurie.

and there offered to cauſe the mariage to be ſolemnized out of hand, if the French king would giue in marriage with his daughter the citie of Burges, with all the appurtenances as it was accorded, and alſo vnto his ſonne king Henrie the countrie of Veulgeſine, that is to ſay, all the land betwixt Giſors and Puſſie, as he had likewiſe couenanted.

But bicauſe the French king refuſed ſo to doo, king Henrie would not ſuffer his ſonne Richard to marrie his daughter Alice: howbeit at this enteruew of the two princes, by the helpe of the cardinall, and other Noble men of both ſides, they agreed to be freends, and that if they could not take order betwixt them, to end all matters touching the controuerſies depending betwixt them for the lands in Auuergne and Berrie, and for the fee of Chateau Raoul; then ſhould the matter be put to twelue perſons, ſix on the one ſide, and ſix on the other, authoriſing them to compound and finiſh that controuerſie and all other which might riſe betwixt them. For the French king theſe were named, the biſhops of Claremount, Neuers, and Trois; and three barons, erle Theobald, Robert, and Peter de Courtneie, the kings brethren. For the king of England were named the biſhops of Mauns, Peregort, and Naunts; with three barons alſo, Maurice de Croume, William Maigot and Peter de Mountrabell.

At the ſame time alſo, both theſe kings promiſed and vndertooke to ioine their powers togither, and to go into the holie land to aid Guido king of Jeruſalem, whome the Saracen Saladine king of Aegypt did ſore oppreſſe with continuall and moſt cruell war. This doone, the French king returned home, and king Henrie came to Vernueil, where he made this ordinance, that no man ſhould trouble the vaſſall or tenant, as we may call them, for his lords debt.

R.Houed.
A law.

After this, king Henrie went into Berrie, and tooke Chatean Roux or Raoul, and marching towards Caſtre, the lord of that towne came and met him on the waie, ſurrendring into his hands the daughter of Rafe de Dolis latelie before deceaſſed, whome the king gaue vnto Baldwine de Riuers, with the honour of Chatean Roux or Raoul. Then went he vnto Graundemont, where Audebert earle of March came vnto him, and ſold to him the whole countrie of March for the ſumme of fifteene thouſand pounds Aniouin, twentie mules, and twentie palfreis. The charters of this grant and ſale made and giuen vnder the ſeale of the ſaid earle of March, bare date in the moneth of September Anno Chriſti 1177. Then did the king receiue the fealtie and homages of all the barons and knights of the countrie of March, after he had ſatiſfied, contented, and paid the monie vnto the earle according to the couenants.

The purchaſe of the erldome of March.

Anno Reg. 24.

1178

The king this yeare held his Chriſtmas at Angiers, and meaning ſhortlie after to returne into England, he ſent to the French king for letters of protection, which were granted, and ſent to him in forme as followeth.

The tenour of the French kings *letters of protection.*

Ludouicus rex Francorum, omnibus ad quos præſentes literæ peruenerint ſalutem. Nouerit vniuerſitas veſtra quod nos recipimus in protectione & cuſtodia noſtra totam terram Henrici regis Angliæ chariſſimi fratris noſtri, in ciſmarinis partibus ſitam, ſi contigerit eum in Angliam transfretare vel peregrè proficiſci. Ita planè, vt quãdo balliui ſui de terra tranſmarina nos requiſierint, bona fide & ſine malo ingenio eis conſilium & auxilium præſtabimus, ad eiuſdem terræ defenſionem & protectionem. Actum apud Nicenas. The Engliſh whereof is thus.

Lewes king of France, to all thoſe to whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come greeting. Know all ye that we haue receiued into our protection & cuſtodie all the lands of Henrie king of England our deare brother, lieng and being in the parts of this ſide the ſea, if it chance him to paſſe ouer into England, or to go any waie foorth from home, ſo that when the bailiues of his lands on this hither ſide the ſea ſhall require vs, we ſhall helpe them and counſell them faithfullie and without male-engine for defenſe and protection of the ſame lands. Giuen at Nicens.

Shortlie after, king Henrie returned into England from Normandie, and at Woodſtocke made his ſonne Geffrey knight. This yeare pope Alexander ſent into all parts legats to ſummon the biſhops and prelates to a generall councell to be holden at Rome in the beginning of the Lent in the yere next following. Whereabout two legats came into England, the one named Albert de Suma, who had in commiſſion to ſummon them of England and Normandie: and the other called Petro de Santa Agatha, who was appointed to ſummon them of Scotland, Ireland, and the Iles about the ſame: whervpon obteining licence to paſſe through the king of Englands dominions, he was conſtreined to ſweare vpon the holie euangeliſts, that he ſhould not attempt any thing in his legatſhip that might be hurtfull to the king or his realme, and that he ſhould come and viſit the king againe as he returned homewards.

A generall councell ſummoned at Rome.

This yeare on the ſundaie before the natiuitie of S. John Baptiſt, being the 18 of June, after the ſetting of the ſunne, there appeared a maruellous ſight in the aire vnto certeine perſons that beheld the ſame. For whereas the new moone ſhone foorth verie faire with his hornes towards the eaſt, ſtreightwais the vpper horne was diuided into two, out of the mids of which diuiſion a burning brand ſprang vp, caſting from it a farre off coles and ſparks, as it had beene of fire. The bodie of the moone in the meane time that was beneath, ſeemed to wreſt and writh in reſemblance like to an adder or ſnake that had beene beaten, and anon after it came to the old ſtate againe. This chanced aboue a dozzen times, and at length from horne to horne it became blacke.

Ger.Dor.

A ſtrange ſight about the moone.

In September following, the moone being about 27. daies old, at ſix of the clocke, a partile eclipſe of the ſunne happened, for the bodie thereof appeared as it were horned, ſhooting the horns towards the weſt as the moone dooth; being twentie daies old. The reſidue of the compaſſe of it was couered with a blacke roundell, which comming downe by little and little, threw about the horned brightneſſe that remained, till both the hornes came to hang downe on either ſide to the earthwards; and as the blacke roundell went by little & little forwards, the hornes at length were turned towards the weſt, and ſo the blackneſſe paſſing awaie, the ſunne receiued his brightneſſe againe. In the meane time, the aire being full of clouds of diuerſe colours, as red, yellow, greene, and pale, holpe the peoples ſight with more eaſe to diſcerne the maner of it.

A ſtrange eclipſe of the ſunne.

The king this yeare held his Chriſtmaſſe at Wincheſter, at which time newes came abroad of a great wonder that had chanced at a place called Oxenhale, within the lordſhip of Derlington, in which place a part of the earth lifted it ſelfe vp on high in appearance like to a mightie tower, and ſo it remained from nine of the clocke in the morning, till the euentide, and then it fell downe with an horrible noiſe, ſo that as ſuch as were thereabout, were put in great feare. That peece of earth with the fall was ſwallowed

Anno.Reg. 25.
R.Houed.

1179

A ſtrange wonder of the earth.

ed vp, leauing a great déepe pit in the place, as was to be ſéene many yeares after.

¶ Touching theſe celeſtiall apparitions, the common doctrine of philoſophie is, that they be méere naturall, and therefore of no great admiration. For of eclipſes, as well ſuch as are proper to the ſunne, as alſo thoſe that are peculiar to the moone, the poſition is not ſo generallie deliuered, as it is conſtantlie beléeued. For the philoſophers giue this reaſon of eclipſes.

M. Pal. in Aquar.

———radios Phœbi luna interiecta repellit,
Nec ſinit in terras claram deſcendere lucem.
Quippe aliud non eſt quàm terræ atque æquoris vmbra,
Quæ ſi fortè ferit nocturnæ corpora lunæ,
Eclipſin facit.

Luc. lib. 1.

In ſomuch as obſeruing them to be ordinarie accidents, they are ouerpaſſed and nothing regarded. Howbeit Lucane maketh a great matter of eclipſes, and of other ſtrange ſights préceding the bloudie battels betwéene Pompeie and Ceſar; intimating thereby, that prodigious woonders, and other rare and vnaccuſtomed accidents are ſignifications of ſome notable euent inſuing, either to ſome great perſonage, to the common-wealth, or to the ſtate of the church. And therefore it is a matter worth the marking, to compare effects following with ſignes and woonders before going; ſince they haue a doctrine in them of no ſmall importance. For not manie yeares after, the kings glorie was darkened on earth, nay his pompe and roiall ſtate tooke end; a prediction whereof might be imported by the extraordinarie eclipſe of the ſunne, a beautifull creature, and the ornament of the ſkie.

Laurence archbiſhop of Dublin, and Catholicus the archbiſhop of Tuamon, with fiue or ſix other Iriſh biſhops, and diuerſe both biſhops and abbats of Scotland, paſſed through England towards the generall councell, and withall tooke their oth, that they ſhuld not procure any damage to the king or realme of England. There went but onelie foure biſhops ont of England, to wit, Hugh Putſey or Pudſey biſhop of Durham, Iohn biſhop of Norwich, Reignold biſhop of Bath, and Robert biſhop of Hereford, beſide abbats: for the Engliſh biſhops firmelie ſtood in it, that there ought but foure biſh. onlie to go forth of England to any generall councell called by the pope. This yeare Richard de Lucie lord chéefe iuſtice of England gaue ouer his office, and became a canon in the abbeie of Weſtwood or Leſnos, which he had founded, and built vpon his owne ground, endowing it with great reuenewes, and in Iulie after he died there.

Richard de Lucie lord chéefe iuſtice of England deceaſſeth.

A parlement at Windſore.

King Henrie the father called a parlement at Windſore, at the which was preſent king Henrie the ſonne, and a great number of lords, earles and barons. At this parlement, order was taken for partition of the realme, ſo that it was diuided into foure parts, certeine ſage perſonages being allotted vnto euerie part to gouerne the ſame, but not by the name of iuſtices, albeit that Ranulfe de Glanuille was made ruler of Yorkeſhire, & authoriſed iuſtice there, as he that beſt vnderſtood in thoſe daies the ancient lawes and cuſtomes of the realme. The ſame yeare, Geffrey earle of Britaine by his fathers commandement leuied an armie, and paſſing ouer into Britaine, waſted the lands of Guidomer de Leons, and conſtreined him to ſubmit himſelfe vnto him.

Ranulfe de Glanuille.

Geffrey earle of Britaine ſon to king Henrie. Guidomer de Leons.

The moone eclipſed. The French K. commeth a madding to viſit the archbiſhop Beckets toome.

The 18. day of Auguſt, the moone was eclipſed, which was ſéene of king Henrie and his companie as he rode all that night towards Douer there to méet the French king, who was comming towards England to viſit the toome of archbiſhop Thomas Becket, as he had before time vowed. He landed at Douer the 22. day of Auguſt. There came ouer with him Henrie duke of Louaine, Philip earle of Flanders, Baldwin earle of Guines, earle William de Mandeuille, and diuerſe other earles, lords, barons and knights; whome king Henrie was readie to receiue at the water ſide, and the morow after brought them with great honor to Canturburie, where they were with due reuerence and vnſpeakeable ioy receiued of archbiſhop Richard, and diuerſe other biſhops there aſſembled togither with the couent of Chriſtes-church, and an infinit multitude of Nobles and gentlemen. The French king offered vpon the toome of the ſaid archbiſhop Thomas, a rich cup of gold; and gaue to the moonks there an hundred tuns of wine to be receiued yearelie of his gift for euer at Poiſſie in France. Further he granted to the ſame moonks, that whatſoeuer was bought in his dominions of France to their vſe, ſhould be frée from toll, tallage, and paieng any maner of excise for the ſame. Theſe grants he confirmed with his charter thereof, made & deliuered to them by the hands of Hugh Putſey, ſon to the biſhop of Dureſme that was his chancellor. King Lewes hauing performed his vow, and receiued manie rich gifts of king Henrie, returned home into France, and ſhortlie after cauſing his ſonne to be crowned king, reſigned the gouernment to him (as by ſome writers appeareth.) About the ſame time, Cadwallon prince of Wales, being brought before the king to make his anſwer to diuerſe accuſations exhibited againſt him, as he returned toward his countrie vnder the kings ſafe conduct, was laid for by his enimies, and ſlaine, to the kings great ſlander, though he were not giltie in the matter. After this, king Henrie the father held his Chriſtmaſſe at Notingham, and William king of Scotland with him.

The French word is Muis.

Polydor.

Matth. Paris. **Cadwallon prince of Wales.**

Anno Reg. 26.
R. Houed.
1180

Diſcord betwixt the French K. and his nobles.

The ſame yeare fell diſcord betwixt the yoong king of France, and his mother and vncles, hir brethren, earle Theobald and earle Stephan, who thinking themſelues not well vſed, procured king Henrie the ſonne to ioine with them in fréendſhip, and to go ouer into England to purchaſe his fathers aſſiſtance in their behalfe againſt their nephue. Who being come ouer to his father, informed him of the whole mater, and did ſo much by his earneſt ſuit therin, that before the feaſt of Eaſter, his father went ouer with him into Normandie, and immediatlie vpon their arriuall in thoſe parts, the old French quéene, mother to the yoong king Philip, with their brethren the ſaid earles, and manie other Noble men of France, came vnto him, and concluding a league with him, deliuered hoſtages into his hands, and receiued an oth to follow his counſell and aduice in all things.

R. Houed.

Herevpon king Henrie aſſembled a great armie, in purpoſe after Eaſter to inuade the French kings dominions: but before any great exploit was made, he came to an enteruew with the new king of France, betwixt Giſors and Treodſunt, where partlie by gentle words, and partlie by threatnings which king Henrie vſed for perſuaſion, the French king releaſed all his indignation conceiued againſt his mother and vncles, and receiued them againe into his fauour, couenanting to allow his mother for euerie day towards hir expenſes ſeuen pounds of Paris monie, during his father king Lewes his life time; and after his death, ſhe ſhould inioy all hir dower, except the caſtels which king Philip might reteine ſtill in his hands. Alſo at this aſſemblie, king Henrie the father in the preſence of the French king, receiued homage of Philip earle of Flanders, and granted to him for the ſame a thouſand markes of ſiluer, to be receiued yearelie out of the checker at London, ſo that in conſideration thereof he ſhould find fiue hundred knights or men of armes, to ſerue the king of England for the ſpace of 40. daies, when

The earle of Flanders doth homage to the king of England.

ſoeuer he ſhould haue warning giuen vnto him.

Moreouer, the two kings at this aſſemblie concluded a league togither, and whereas certeine lands were in controuerſie betwixt them, as the fée of Chateau, Raoul, and other ſmall fées, if they could not agrée among themſelues concerning the ſame, either of them was contented to commit the order thereof, and of all other controuerſies betwixt them vnto ſix biſhops, to be choſen indifferentlie betwixt them, the one to chooſe thrée, and the other thrée.

Matth. Paris.
Tailbourg wonne.

In this yeare, or (as the annales of Aquitaine ſay) in the yeare laſt paſſed, Richard earle of Poictou ſubdued the ſtrong fortreſſe of Tailbourg, which was iudged before that time inexpugnable: but earle Richard oppreſſed them that kept it ſo ſore with ſtreight ſiege, that firſt in a deſperate mood they iſſued forth, and aſſailed his people verie valiantlie, but yet neuertheleſſe they were beaten backe, and forced to retire into their fortreſſe, which finallie they ſurrendred into the hands of earle Richard, who cauſed the wals thereof to be raced. The like fortune chanced to diuers other caſtels and fortreſſes that ſtood in rebellion againſt him within a moneth ſpace.

Matth. Paris.

Tailbourg belonged vnto one Geffrey de Rancin, who of a proud and loftie ſtomach practiſing rebellion againſt duke Richard, tooke this enterpriſe in hand, and when he had atchiued the ſame to his owne contentation, he paſſed ouer into England, and was receiued with great triumph, pompe & magnificence.

W. Paruus.
The forme of the kings coine changed.

About the ſame time, the forme of the kings coine was altered and changed, bicauſe manie naughtie and wicked perſons had deuiſed waies to counterfeit the ſame, ſo that the alteration thereof was verie neceſſarie, but yet gréeuous and chargeable to the poore inhabitants of the realme.

Anno Reg. 27.
R. Houed.
1181

King Henrie the father, whileſt he was at Mauns after Chriſtmaſſe made this ordinance, that euerie man being worth in goods to the value of an hundred pounds Aniouin, ſhould keepe one horſſe able for ſeruice in the wars, and complet armour for a knight or man of armes, as we may rather call them. Alſo that ſuch as had goods worth in value from 40. pounds to 25. of the ſame monie, ſhould at the leaſt haue in his houſe for his furniture an habergeon, a cap of ſtéele, a ſpeare, and a ſword, or bowe and arrowes. Furthermore he ordeined, that no man might ſell or laie to gage his armour and weapon, but ſhould be bound to leaue it to his next heire. When the French king and the earle of Flanders were aduertiſed that king Henrie had made this ordinance amongſt his ſubiects, they gaue commandement that their people ſhould be armed after the like manner.

Matth. Paris.

This yeare after Candlemaſſe, Laurence archbiſhop of Dublin came ouer to the king into Normandie, and brought with him the ſon of Roderike king of Conagh, to remaine with him as a pledge, for performance of couenants paſſed betwixt them, as the paiment of tribute and ſuch like. The ſaid archbiſhop died there in Normandie, wherevpon the king ſent Geffrey de Haie one of his chapleins, and chapleine alſo to Alexius the popes legat into Ireland, to ſeize that archbiſhops ſée into his hands. He alſo ſent Iohn Lacie coneſtable of Cheſter, and Richard de Peake, to haue the citie of Dublin in kéeping, which Hugh Lacie had in charge before, and now was diſcharged, bicauſe the king tooke diſpleaſure with him, for that without his licence he had maried a daughter of the king of Conagh, according to the manner of that countrie.

This yeare alſo, Geffrey the kings baſtard ſonne, who was the elect of Lincolne, and had receiued the profits of that biſhoprike by the ſpace of ſeuen years, and had his election confirmed by the pope in the feaſt of the Epiphanie at Marlebridge, in preſence of the king and biſhops renounced that preferment, of his owne frée will. Within a while after the pope ſent a ſtreit commandement vnto Richard archbiſhop of Canturburie, either to cauſe the ſame Geffrey by the cenſure of the church to renounce his miter, or elſe to take vpon him the order of préeſthood. Wherefore vpon good aduice taken in the matter with his father and other of his eſpeciall fréends, iudging himſelfe inſufficient for the one, he was contented to part with the other; and therevpon wrote letters vnto the ſaid archbiſhop of Canturburie, in forme as followeth.

R. Houed.

A letter of Geffrey the kings baſe ſonne elect of Lincolne to Richard archbiſhop of Canturburie.

Venerabili patri Richardo Dei gratia Cantuarienſi archiepiſcopo apoſtolicæ ſedis legato, Galfridus domini regis Angliæ filius & cancellarius ſalutem & reuerentiam debitam ac deuotam. Placuit maieſtati apoſtolicæ veſtræ iniungere ſanctitati, vt me certo tempore vocaretis ad ſuſcipiendum ordinem ſacerdotis, & pontificalis officij dignitatem. Ego verò conſiderans quamplures epiſcopos maturiores ac prouectiores prudentia & ætate vix tantæ adminiſtrationi ſufficere, nec ſine periculo animarum ſuarum ſui officium pontificatus ad perfectum explere, veritus ſum onus importabile ſenioribus mihi imponere iuniori: faciens hæc nō ex leuitate animi, ſed ob reuerentiam ſacramenti. Habito itaque tractatu ſuper eo cum domino rege patre meo, dominis fratribus meiſque rege & Pictauenſi & Britannorum comitibus: epiſcopis etiam Henrico Baiocenſi, Frogerio Sagienſi, Reginaldo Batonienſi, Sefrido Ciceſtrenſi, qui præſentes aderant, aliter de vita & ſtatu meo diſpoſui, volens patris mei obſequijs militare ad tempus, & ab epiſcopalibus abſtinere: omne itaque ius electionis inde & Lincolnenſem epiſcopatum ſpontaneè, liberè, quietè, & integrè, in manu veſtra pater ſancte reſigno, tam electionem quàm epiſcopatus abſolutionem poſtulans à vobis, tanquam à metropolitano meo, & ad hoc ab apoſtolica ſede ſpecialiter delegato. Bene vale.

The king for his maintenance, now after he had reſigned his biſhoprike, gaue him 500. markes of yearelie rent in England, and as much in Normandie, and made him moreouer lord chancellor.

This yeare alſo after Eaſter, the kings of England and France came to an enterview togither, at a place in the confines of their countries called by ſome writers Vadum Sancti Remigij, on a mondaie being the 17. of April, in which aſſemblie of thoſe two princes, the knights templers and hoſpitallers preſented to them letters directed from pope Alexander vnto all chriſtian princes, aduertiſing them of the danger wherein the holie land ſtood at that preſent, if ſpéedie remedie were not the ſooner prouided. Wherefore he exhorted them to addreſſe their helping hand towards the reléefe thereof, granting vnto all ſuch as would enterpriſe to go thither in perſon (to remaine there vpon defenſe of the countrie againſt the infidels) great pardon, as to thoſe that did continue there the ſpace of two yéeres, pardon of penance for all their ſins, except theft, extortion, roberie, and vſurie; in which caſes reſtitution was to be made, if the partie were able to doo it; if not, then he ſhould be abſolued as well for thoſe things as for other. And thoſe that remained one yeare in thoſe parties were pardoned of halfe their whole penance due for all their ſinnes. And to thoſe that went to viſit the holie ſepulchre, he alſo granted great pardon, as remiſſion of their ſinnes, whether they came thither or peraduenture died by the waie. He alſo granted his frée indulgence vnto thoſe that went to warre againſt the common, the profeſſed and open enimies of our religion

The danger of the holie land.

religion in the holie land, as his predeceſſors the popes Vrbanus and Eugenius had granted in time paſt: and he receiued likewiſe their wiues, their children, their goods and poſſeſſions vnder the protection of S. Peter and the church of Rome.

The two kings hauing heard the popes letters read, and taken good aduice thereof, promiſed by Gods fauour ſhortlie to prouide conuenient aid for reléefe of the holie land, and of the chriſtians as yet remaining in the ſame. This was the end of their communication for that time, and ſo they departed, the French king into France, and the king of England into Normandie.

In the meane time, by the king of Englands appointment, William king of Scotland went ouer into Normandie, and by the aduice and good admonition of king Henrie, he granted licence vnto two biſhops of his realme of Scotland, to wit, Aberdene and ſaint Andrewes, to returne into Scotland, whom he had latelie before baniſhed, and driuen out of his realme. Moreouer, as king Henrie laie at Harfléet readie to ſaile ouer into England, diſcord fell betwixt the king of France and the erle of Flanders, ſo that the king of England at deſire of the French king returned backe, and came vnto Giſors, where the French king met him, and ſo did the earle of Flanders, betwixt whom vpon talke had in the matter depending in controuerſie, he made a concord, and then comming downe to Chirburge, he and the king of Scots in his companie paſſed ouer into England, landing at Porteſmouth the 26. of Iulie.

An ordinance for armour.

The king now being returned into England, ordeined a ſtatute for armour and weapon to be had amongſt his ſubiects héere in this realme, which was thus. Euerie man that held a knights fée ſhould be bound to haue a paire of curaſſes, an helmet, with ſhield and ſpeare; and euerie knight or man of arms ſhould haue as manie curaſſes, helmets, ſhields and ſpeares as he held knights fées in demaine. Euerie man of the laitie hauing goods or reuenues to the value of ſixtéene marks, ſhould haue one paire of curaſſes, an helmet, a ſpeare, and a ſhield. And euerie frée man of the laitie hauing goods in value worth ten marks, ſhould haue an habergeon, a ſtéele cap, & a ſpeare; and all burgeſſes, and the whole communaltie of frée men ſhould haue a wambais, a cap of ſtéele, and a ſpeare.

Further it was ordeined, that euerie man thus bound to haue armour, ſhould be ſworne to haue the ſame before the feaſt of S. Hilarie, and to be true vnto king Henrie Fitz empres, in defenſe of whome and of his realme they ſhould kéepe with them ſuch armour and weapon, according to his precept and commandement thereof had and made. And no man being furniſhed with ſuch armour, ſhould ſell, pledge, lend, or otherwiſe alien the ſame, neither may his lord by any means take the ſame from him, either by waie of forfeiture, by diſtreſſe or pledge, nor by any other means: and when any man died, hauing ſuch armour, he ſhall leaue it to his heire, and if his heire be not of lawfull age to weare it into the field, then he that hath the cuſtodie of his bodie ſhall haue the armour, and find an able man to weare it for him, till he come to age.

Iewes might haue no armour.

If any burgeſſe of any good towne haue more armour than he ought to haue by this ſtatute, he ſhall ſell it or giue it to ſome man that may weare it in the kings ſeruice. No Iew might haue armour by this ſtatute: but thoſe that had anie, were appointed to ſell the ſame to ſuch as were inhabitants within the realme, for no man might ſell or tranſport anie armour ouer the ſea, without the kings licence. For the better execution of which ordinance, it was ordeined, that inqueſts ſhould be taken by ſufficient iurors, what they were that were able to haue armour by their abilitie in lands and goods. Alſo the K. would, that none ſhould be ſworne to haue armour, except he were a frée man of birth and bloud.

Matt. Paris.

The ſame yeare, the king being at Waltham, aſſigned an aid to the maintenance of the chriſtian ſouldiers in the holie land, that is to wit, 42. thouſand marks of ſiluer, and fiue hundred marks of gold. Hugh Boſum otherwiſe called Reuelocke the ſonne of Ranulfe the ſecond of that name earle of Cheſter, died this yeare, and was buried at Léeke. He left behind him iſſue by his wife the counteſſe Beatrice daughter of Richard Lacie lord iuſtice of England, a ſonne named Ranulfe, who ſuccéeded him, being the firſt erle of Cheſter, & third of that name after the conqueſt. Beſides this Ranulfe he had foure daughters by his ſaid wife; to wit, Maud married to Dauid earle of Angus, Huntington and Galloway; Mabell coupled with William Daubignie earle of Arundell, Agnes married to William Ferrers earle of Derbie, and Hauiſe ioined with Robert Quincie earle of Lincolne.

The deceſſe of Hugh earle of Cheſter.
Ran. Higd.

The archbiſh. of Yorke deceaſſeth.

The 21. of Nouember, Roger archbiſhop of Yorke died, who (when he perceiued himſelfe in danger of death by force of that his laſt ſickneſſe) deliuered great ſummes of monie vnto certeine biſhops and other graue perſonages to be diſtributed amongſt poore people: but after his death, the king called for the monie, and ſeized it to his vſe, alleadging a ſentence giuen by the ſame archbiſhop in his life time, that no eccleſiaſticall perſon might giue any thing by will, except he deuiſed the ſame whileſt he was in perfect health: yet the biſhop of Durham would not depart with foure hundred marks which he had receiued to diſtribute amongſt the poore, alledging that he dealt the ſame awaie before the archbiſhops death, and therefore he that would haue it againe, muſt go gather it vp of them to whom he had diſtributed it, which he himſelfe would in no wiſe doo. But the king tooke no ſmall diſpleaſure with this vndiſcréet anſwer, inſomuch that he ſeized the caſtell of Durham into his hands, and ſought means to diſquiet the ſaid biſhop by diuerſe maner of waies.

1182

The K. paſſeth ouer into Normandie.

The king held his Chriſtmaſſe this yeare at Wincheſter, and afterwards ſailed ouer into Normandie, bicauſe he heard that the king his ſonne was gone to his brother in law king Philip, and began to practiſe eftſoones new trouble, which was true indéed: but yet at length he came backe, and was reconciled to his father, and tooke an oth, that from thenceforth he would neuer ſwarue from him, nor demand more for his maintenance but an hundred pounds Aniouin by the daie, and ten pounds a day of the ſame monie for his wife. His father granted this, and alſo couenanted, that within the tearme of one yeare he would giue him the ſeruices of an hundred knights. Neuertheleſſe all this did little amend the matter, for though he ſet a new copie of countenance therevpon, yet he reteined his old peruerſe purpoſe in his diſcontented mind, hauing learned that

The K. & his ſonne eftſoons reconciled.

Qui neſcit fingere neſcit regere.

After this, king Henrie the father as a mediator betwixt the king of France, and the earle of Flanders touching controuerſies betwixt them did ſo much in the matter, that he ſet them at one for that time.

Rog. Houed.

About the ſame ſeaſon, king Henrie the father ſent William de Mandeuille earle of Albemarle, and other ambaſſadors vnto the emperour Frederike, to intreat for his ſonne in law the duke of Saxonie, that he might be againe reſtored into his fauor, which could not be obteined: for he was alreadie condemned to exile, but yet thus much to pleaſure the king of England the emperour granted, that ſo manie as went with him out of their countrie, might re-

The duke of Saxonie.

turne againe at their pleaſure, and that his wiſe the dutches Maud the K. of Englands daughter, ſhould inioy hir dowrie, and be at libertie, whether ſhe would remaine vpon it, or follow hir huſband into exile, therefore when the daie came that he muſt depart out of his countrie, he ſet forward with his wiſe and children, and a great number of the Nobles of his countrie, and finallie came into Normandie, where he was right ioifullie receiued of his father in law king Henrie.

The ducheſſe of Saxonie deliuered of a ſonne.

Ranulfe Poer ſlaine.

Anno Reg. 29.
1183

Shortlie after his comming thither, he gaue licence to the Noble men that were come thither with him, to returne home, and then he himſelfe went into Spaine to viſit the bodie of S. Iames the apoſtle. His wiſe being great with child, remained with hir father in Normandie, and at Argenton ſhe was deliuered of a ſonne. This yeare the Welſhmen ſlue Ranulfe Poer ſhirife of Gloceſterſhire. King Henrie held his Chriſtmaſſe at Caen, with his thrée ſons, Henrie the king, Richard earle of Poictow, and Geffrey earle of Britaine. There was alſo Henrie duke of Saxonie, with his wiſe and their children, beſides the archbiſhops of Canturburie and Dublin, with other biſhops earles and barons in great number.

Wil.Paruus.

Polydor.

Ger.Dor.

Rog.Houed.

War betwixt the brethren.

Here would king Henrie the father, that his ſon the king ſhould receiue homage of his brethren Richard earle of Poictow, and Geffrey earle of Britaine. The earle of Britaine did not ſtaie at the matter, but the earle of Poictow refuſed, alledging that it was not conuenient ſo long as their father liued, to acknowledge any ſuperioritie to their brother: for as the fathers inheritance was due to the eldeſt ſonne, ſo he claimed the lands which he held due to him in right of his mother. This deniall ſo much offended his brother the king, that afterwards when Richard would haue doone homage, he would not receiue it, wherevpon Richard departed from the court in great diſpleaſure, & comming into Poictow, began to fortifie his caſtels & townes, that he might be in a readineſſe to ſtand vpon his ſafegard, if his father or brethren ſhould come to purſue him. King Henrie the ſonne followed him, ſet on by the earles and barons of Poictow, which for the ſharpe and cruell gouernement of earle Richard, hated him mortallie. Againe on the other ſide, the fauourable courteſie, ſéemelie perſonage, and other noble qualities which they ſaw in the yoong king, moued them to take part with him againſt Richard, and ſhortlie after their brother Geffrey came with a great armie in aid of his brother the king, in ſo much that earle Richard not knowing how to ſhift off the preſent danger, ſent to his father for aid, who being verie ſorie in his mind to ſée ſuch vnnaturall dealing among his ſonnes, gathered an armie and ſet forward.

The father ſéeketh to appeaſe the quarell betwixt his ſonnes.

Earle Geffrey dealeth vnfaithfullie.

He had a little before trauelled to ſet them at one, in ſomuch that where earle Richard held a caſtell named Clareualx, which after the fathers deceaſſe ought to remaine vnto king Henrie the ſon, vpon his complaint thereof made, the father did ſo much with the earle, that he ſurrendered it into his fathers hands. Immediatlie after all the thrée ſonnes came to Angers, and there ſware to be obedient vnto their fathers will, and to ſerue him againſt all men: wherevpon he appointed them a daie to méet at Mirabell, where the barons of Guien ſhould alſo be, vnto whom king Henrie the ſonne had ſworne to aid them againſt earle Richard. Herewith was earle Geffrey ſent vnto them to perſuade them to peace and quietneſſe, and to come vnto Mirabell according to king Henrie the fathers appointment: but in ſtéed of perſuading them to peace (contrarie to his oth ſo oftentimes receiued) he procured them to purſue the warre both againſt his father and his brother earle Richard: and no maruell, for

Malè ſarta gratia nunquam benè coaleſcit.

King Henrie the ſonne remaining with his father, ſhewed outwardlie that he wiſhed for peace, but his meaning was all contrarie, and ſo obteined licence of his father to go vnto Limoges, that he might labour to reduce both his brother Geffrey, and the barons of Guien vnto quietneſſe. But ſuch diſſembling was put in practiſe by king Henrie, that when the father followed with an armie, and came vnto Limoges, in ſtéed of receiuing him with honor, as it had béene their duties to haue doone, they ſhot at him, and pearſed through his vppermoſt armor, ſo that both he and his ſonne Richard were conſtreined to depart. Howbeit afterwards he entered that citie, and comming forth of it againe to talke with his ſonnes, thoſe within Limoges eftſoones rebelled, ſo that certeine of them within, ſhot the horſſe whereon king Henrie the father rode into the head. And if it had ſo chanced, that the horſſe in caſting vp his head had not receiued the blow, the arrow had light in the kings breſt, to the great danger & perill of his perſon. Neither did his ſonnes the king and his brother Geffrey go about to ſée ſuch an heinous attempt puniſhed, but rather ſéemed to like well of it, and to mainteine thoſe moſt malicious enimies of their ſoueraigne lord and father, for they ioined with them againſt him, although king Henrie the ſonne made countenance to be willing to reconcile his brother and the barons of Guien to his father by waie of ſome agréement: but his double dealing was too manifeſt, although indéed he abuſed his fathers patience for a while, who was deſirous of nothing more than to win his ſonnes by ſome courteous meanes, and therfore diuerſe times offered to pardon all offenſes committed by his enimies, at the ſuit of his ſonne the king, who in déed offered himſelfe now and then as an intreatour, but that was onelie to win time that his brother with ſuch Brabanders and other ſouldiers as he had with him in aid, beſide the forces of the barons of Guien, might worke the more miſchéefe againſt their father and their brother earle Richard, in waſting and deſtroieng their countries that ſtood ſtedfaſt on their ſide.

The diſloiall diſſembling of the yoong king.

In the meane time Richard the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and diuerſe other biſhops and abbats both of England and Normandie aſſembled togither at Caen, and in the abbeie church of S. Stephan pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt all thoſe that did hinder and impeach their purpoſe, which was to haue peace and concord concluded betwixt the king and his ſonnes, the ſame ſonnes onlie out of the ſaid ſentence excepted.

Diuerſe ſhiftes were made by king Henrie the ſonne, and his brother earle Geffrey alſo to get monie for the paiment of their ſouldiers, as ſpoiling of ſhrines, and ſuch like. But at length when things framed not to their purpoſe, and that the harme which they could doo againſt their father was much leſſe than they wiſhed, if power had béene anſwerable to their willes, king Henrie the ſonne through indignation and diſpleaſure (as ſome write) fell into a gréeuous ſickneſſe in a village called Mertell, not farre from Limoges, where his father laie at ſiege.

King Henrie the ſonne falleth ſicke.

At the firſt he was taken with an extreame feuer, and after followed a ſore flixe. Now perceiuing himſelfe in danger of death, and that the phyſicians had giuen him ouer, he ſent to his father (better late than neuer) confeſſing his treſpaſſe committed againſt him, and required of all fatherlie loue to come & ſée him once before he died. But for that the father thought not good to commit himſelfe into the hands of ſuch vngratious perſons as were about his ſonne, he ſent his ring vnto him in token of his bleſſing,

He ſendeth to his father.

and as it were a pledge to ſignifie that he had forgiuen him his vnnaturall doings againſt him. The ſon receiuing it with great humilitie, kiſſed it, and ſo ended his life in the preſence of the archbiſhop of Burdeaux and others, on the day of ſaint Barnabie the apoſtle. He died (as ſome write) verie penitent and ſorowfull.

His repentance before his death.

And whereas in his life time he had vowed to make a iournie into the holie land againſt Gods enimies, and taken vpon him the croſſe for that intent, he deliuered it vnto his familiar fréend William Marſhall to go thither with it in his ſtead. Moreouer when he perceiued preſent death at hand, he firſt confeſſed his ſinnes ſecretlie, and after openly before ſundrie biſhops and men of religion, and receiued abſolution in moſt humble wiſe. After this, he cauſed his fine clothes to be taken from him, and therewith a heare cloth to be put vpon him, and after tieng a cord about his necke, he ſaid vnto the biſhops and other that ſtood by him; I deliuer my ſelfe an vnworthie and gréeuous ſinner vnto you the miniſters of God by this cord, beſéeching our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, which pardoned the théefe confeſſing his faults on the croſſe, that through your praiers and for his great mercies ſake it may pleaſe him to be mercifull vnto my ſoule; wherevnto they all anſwered, Amen. Then he ſaid vnto them, Draw me out of this bed with this cord, and laie me on that bed ſtrawed with aſhes (which he had of purpoſe prepared) and as he commanded ſo they did: and they laid at his féet and at his head two great ſquare ſtones. Thus being prepared to die, he willed his bodie after his deceaſſe to be conueied into Normandie, and buried at Rouen. And ſo after he had receiued the ſacrament of the bodie and bloud of our Lord, he departed this life as afore is ſaid, about the 28. yeare of his age.

A ſtrange kind of ſuperſtitious deuotion, if this report of our author be true

He is drawne out of his bed, a thing vnlike to be true.

His death.

His bodie after his death was conueied towards Rouen, there to be buried accordinglie as he had willed: but when thoſe that had charge to conueie it thither were come vnto the citie of Mauns, the biſhop there and the cleargie would not ſuffer them to go any further with it, but committed it to buriall in honourable wiſe within the church of ſaint Iulian. Whereof when the citizens of Rouen were aduertiſed, they were ſore offended with that dooing, and ſtreightwaies ſent vnto them of Mauns, requiring to haue the corps deliuered, threatening otherwiſe with manie earneſt oths to fetch it from them by force. Wherefore king Henrie, to ſet order in this matter, commanded that the corps of his ſonne the king ſhould be deliuered vnto them of Rouen to be buried in their citie, as he himſelfe had willed before his death. And ſo it was taken vp and conueied to Rouen, where it was eftſoones buried in the church of our ladie.

N. Triuet.

The bodie of the yong king laſtlie buried at Rouen.

¶ Thus ended this yoong king in his floriſhing youth, to whome through his owne iuſt deſerts long life was iuſtlie denied, ſith he delighted to begin his gouernement with vnlawfull attempts, as an other Abſolon againſt his owne naturall father, ſéeking by wrongfull violence to pull the ſcepter out of his hand. He is not put in the number of kings, bicauſe he remained for the more part vnder the gouernance of his father, ſo that he rather bare the name of king as appointed to reigne, than that he may be ſaid to haue reigned in déed. So that héere by the waie a notable obſeruation dooth occurre and offer it ſelfe to be noted of vs; namelie, that euen princes children, though borne to great excellencie, and in high degrée of dignitie, are to conſider with themſelues, that notwithſtanding their ſtatelie titles of ſouereigntie, they haue a dutie to diſcharge vnto their parents, which if it be neglected, and that in place thereof diſobedience is ſubſtituted, God himſelfe (when politike lawes prouide not to puniſh ſuch offenſes) will take the cauſe in hand, & will powre vengeance vpon ſuch vngratious children. For he will be true of his word both in bleſſing and curſſing, in bleſſing the dutifull child with long life and happie daies, and in curſſing the obſtinate and froward with ſhort life and vnfortunate daies, according to the tenure of his law. If this man had liued in the old Romans time, when aged perſons were ſo reuerenced and honoured (much more parents) he had béene cut off in the prime of his diſobedience, and preſent death had béene inflicted vpon him as a due and deſerued reward; which Iuuenal noteth excellentlie well in theſe words,

Credebant hoc grande nefas, & morte piandum,
Si iuuenis vetulo non aſſurrexerat, & ſi
Barbato cuicunq; puer, licèt ipſe videret
Plura domi farra, & maioris glandis aceruos,
Tam venerabile erat præcedere quattuor annis,
Primáq; par adeò ſacræ lanugo ſenectæ.

Iuuen. ſat. 13.

King Henrie (after his ſonne the king was thus dead) inforced his power more earneſtlie than before to winne the citie and caſtell of Limoges which he had beſieged, and at length had them both ſurrendered into his hands, with all other caſtels and places of ſtrength kept by his enimies in thoſe parts, of the which ſome he furniſhed with gariſons, and ſome he cauſed to be laied flat with the ground.

Limoges rendred to king Henrie.

There roſe about the ſame time occaſion of ſtrife and variance betwixt king Henrie and the French king, about the enioieng of the countrie lieng vpon Giſors, called Veulqueſine, on this ſide the riuer of Hept, which was giuen vnto king Henrie the ſonne, in conſideration of the marriage betwixt him and quéene Margaret the French kings ſiſter. For the French king now after the death of his brother in law king Henrie the ſonne, required to haue the ſame reſtored vnto the crowne of France: but king Henrie was not willing to part with it. At length they met betwixt Trie and Giſors to talke of the matter, where they agréed that quéene Margaret the widow of the late deceaſed king Henrie the ſon, ſhould receiue yearelie during hir life 1750 pounds of Antouin monie at Paris, of king Henrie the father and his heires; in conſideration whereof ſhe ſhould releaſe and quit claime all hir right to thoſe lands that were demanded, as Veulqueſine and others. Shortlie after, Geffrey erle of Britaine came to his father, and ſubmitting himſelfe, was reconciled to him, and alſo to his brother Richard earle of Poictow. Alſo I find that king Henrie at an enterview had betwixt him and the French king at their accuſtomed place of méeting betwixt Trie and Giſors on ſaint Nicholas day, did his homage to the ſame French king for the lands which he held of him on that ſide the ſea, which to doo till then he had refuſed. The ſame yeare king Henrie held his Chriſtmas at the citie of Mauns.

Veulqueſine.

The kings of England and France talke togither.

Anno Reg. 30.

When the king had ſet the French king and the earle of Flanders at agréement for the controuerſie that chanced betwixt them about the lands of Vermendois, he paſſed through the earle of Flanders countrie, and comming to Wiſand, tooke ſhip and ſailed ouer into England, landing at Douer the tenth day of Iune, with his daughter the dutches of Saxonie, who was afterwards deliuered of a ſonne at Wincheſter, and hir huſband the duke of Saxonie came alſo this yeare into England, and was ioifullie receiued and honourablie interteined of the king his father in law.

1584

The ducheſſe of Saxonie deliuered of a ſonne.

And whereas the archbiſhop of Colen came ouer into England this yeare to viſit the toome of Thomas late archbiſhop of Canturburie, the king trauelled to make an agréement betwixt him and the Saxoniſh duke touching a certeine variance depen-

The archbiſh. of Colen.

ding betwixt them, wherin the king did ſo much, that the archbiſhop forgaue all iniuries paſt, and ſo they were made fréends. Alſo by the counſell of the ſame archbiſhop the king ſent Hugh Nouant archdeacon of Liſeux and others, ambaſſadours from him vnto pope Lucius, that by his helpe there might be made ſome waie to obteine a pardon for the ſaid duke, and licence for him to returne into his countrie. Thoſe that were ſent demeaned themſelues ſo diſcréetly in dooing their meſſage, that the emperour comming where the pope then was, that is to ſay, at Verona in Italie, at the earneſt ſuit of the ſaid pope was contented to releaſe all his euill will which he bare towards the duke, pardoned him for all things paſt, and licenced him now at length to returne home into his countrie, his condemnation of exile being cléerlie reuoked.

gh No- nt.

he duke of axonie par- ed and re- oked out of ile,

There died this yeare ſundrie honorable perſonages, as Simon earle of Huntington ſon to Simon earle of Northampton, after whoſe deceaſe the king gaue his earledome vnto his brother Dauid, or (as Radulfus de Diceto ſaith) bicauſe the ſaid Simon died without iſſue, the king gaue the earledome of Huntington vnto William king of Scots ſonne to earle Henrie that was ſonne to king Dauid. Alſo the earle of Warwike died this yeare, and Thomas Fitz Bernard lord chéefe iuſtice of the foreſts, which roome Alaine de Neuill had inioied before him. Now after the death of this Thomas Fitz Bernard, the king diuided his foreſts into ſundrie quarters, and to euerie quarter he appointed foure iuſtices, two of the ſpiritualtie, and two knights of the temporaltie, beſide two generall wardens that were of his owne ſeruants, to be as ſuruеiers aboue all other foreſters of vert and veniſon, whoſe office was to ſée that no diſorder nor ſpoile were committed within any grounds of warren contrarie to the aſſiſes of foreſts. Diuerſe prelates died this yeare alſo, as foure biſhops, to wit, Gerald ſurnamed la Pucelle biſhop of Cheſter, Walran biſhop of Rocheſter, Joceline of Saliſburie, and Bartholomew of Exceſter.

death of No- e men.

he gouerne- ent of the fo- eſts diuided.

Beſides theſe, diuerſe abbats, & on the 16. of Februarie died Richard archbiſhop of Canturburie in the 11. yeare after his firſt entring into the gouernment of that ſée. His bodie was buried at Canturburie. He was noted to be a man of euill life, and waſted the goods of that church inordinatlie. It was reported that before his death there appeared to him a viſion, which ſaid; Thou haſt waſted the goods of the church, and I ſhall root thée out of the earth. Wherevpon he tooke ſuch a feare, that he died within eight daies after. Then Baldwin who before was biſhop of Worceſter ſucceeded him, he was the 40. archbiſhop that had ruled the church of Canturburie. The king and biſhops procured his election not without much adoo: for the moonks pretending a right thereto, were ſore againſt it. It is reported of him, that after he was made a white moonke, he neuer eat fleſh to his liues end. On a time an old woman met him, and aſked him if it were true that he neuer eat any maner of fleſh; It is true ſaid he. It is falſe quoth ſhe, for I had but one cow to find me with, and thy ſeruants haue taken hir from me. Whervnto he anſwered, that if it ſo were, ſhe ſhould haue as good a cow reſtored to hir by Gods grace as hir owne was. The ſame time alſo Margaret the wife of the late deceaſed king Henrie the ſon, returned into France to hir brother king Philip, and was after ioined in mariage with Bela king of Hungarie.

But after long digreſſion to returne againe to our purpoſe. The king being aduertiſed of the deſtruction and ſpoile which the Welſhmen dailie did practiſe againſt his ſubiects, both in their perſons and ſubſtance, aſſembled a mightie armie, and came with the ſame vnto Worceſter, meaning to inuade the enimies countries. But Rées ap Griffin fearing his puiſſance thus bent againſt him and other the leaders of the Welſhmen, came by ſafeconduct vnto Worceſter, and there ſubmitting himſelfe, ſware fealtie to the king, and became his liegeman, promiſing to bring his ſonne and nephues vnto him as pledges. But when (according to his promiſe) he would haue brought them, they refuſed to go with him, and ſo the matter reſted for a time.

After this, king Henrie held his Chriſtmaſſe at Windſore, and the ſame yeare Heraclius the patriarch of Jeruſalem, and Roger maſter of the houſe of S. Johns of Jeruſalem came into England, to make ſuit vnto king Henrie for aid againſt the Saracens that dailie wan from the chriſtians, townes and holds in the holie land, taking and killing the people moſt miſerablie, as in the deſcription of the holie land may more plainelie appeare, where the dooings of Saladine the Saracen are touched. The patriarch made earneſt requeſt vnto the king, proffering him the keies of the citie of Jeruſalem, and of the holie ſepulchre (with the letters of Lucius the third then pope of Rome) charging him to take vpon him the iournie, and to haue mind of the oth which before time he had made.

Heraclius patriarch of Jeruſalem.

The king deferred his anſwer for a time, and calling a councell of his lords togither at Clerkenwell, on the 15. of Aprill, aſked their aduice in this matter: who declared to him, that as they tooke it, he might not well depart ſo far out of his realme and other dominions, leauing the ſame as a prey to his enimies. And wheras it was thought by ſome, that he might apoint one of his ſonnes to take vpon him that iournie, yet bicauſe they were not as then within the realme, it was iudged that in their abſence there was no reaſon why it ſhould be ſo decréed.

A councell at Clerkenwell.

Howbeit in the meane time vpon licence granted by the king, that ſo manie might go as would, Baldwin the archbiſhop of Canturburie preached, and exhorted men to take vpon them the croſſe ſo effectuallie, that a great number receiuing it, fullie purpoſed to go on in that iournie. At length the king gaue anſwer to the patriarch, excuſing himſelfe in that he could go, for he declared that he might not leaue his land without kéeping, being in danger to remaine as a prey to the robberie and ſpoile of the French men: but he offered to giue large ſummes of gold and ſiluer to ſuch as would take vpon them that voiage. With this anſwer the cardinall was nothing pleaſed, and therefore ſaid; We ſéeke a man and not monie: euerie chriſtian region well néere ſendeth vs monie, but no countrie ſendeth vs a prince; and therfore we require a prince that néedeth monie, and not monie that néedeth a prince. But the king ſtill alledged matter for his excuſe, ſo that the patriarch departed from him comfortleſſe, and greatlie diſcontented in his mind: whereof the king hauing knowledge, and intending ſomewhat to recomfort him with ſwéet and pleaſant words, followed him to the ſea ſide. But the more the king thought to ſatiſfie the patriarch with words, the more wroth and diſcontented he ſhewed himſelfe to be; in ſo much that at the laſt he ſaid vnto him, Hitherto haſt thou reigned gloriouſlie, but hereafter ſhalt thou be forſaken of him, whom thou at this time forſakeſt. Conſider of him, and remember what he hath giuen thée, and what thou haſt yéelded to him againe, how firſt thou waſt falſe to the king of France, and after ſluedſt archbiſhop Becket, and now laſtlie thou forſakeſt the protection of Chriſtes faith.

Baldwin archbiſhop of Canturburie exhorteth men to go to warre againſt the Saracens.

Fiue thouſand marks ſaieth Gerv. Dor.

Ran. Higd.

The words of the patriarch to the king.

The king was ſtirred with theſe words, and ſaid vnto the patriarch, Though all the men of the land were one bodie, and ſpake with one mouth, they durſt not vtter ſuch words againſt me. No woonder (ſaid the patriarch) for they loue thine and not thee; that is to ſay, they loue thy temporall goods, and ſtand in feare of thee for loſſe of promotion, but thy ſoule they loue not. And when he had ſo ſaid, he offered his head to the king; ſaieng, Doo by me euen as thou diddeſt by archbiſhop Becket, for all is one to me, either to be ſlaine heere in Europe of a wicked chriſtian, or in the holie land by a Saracen, for thou art woorſe than a Saracen, and thy people follow the prey and ſpoile and not a man. The king kept his patience, and ſaid, I may not go out of my land, for if I ſhould, mine owne ſonnes would riſe and rebell againſt me. No maruell (ſaid the patriarch) for of the diuell they came, and to the diuell they ſhall. And thus he departed from the king in great diſpleaſure. ¶ Thus haue ſome written: but by others it appeareth that the patriarch remained here till the king went ouer into Normandie himſelfe, in companie of whom the patriarch went alſo (as after ſhall appeare.)

Raſh iudgement in an holie father.

R.Houed.
John the kings ſonne made king of Ireland.
Ger.Dor.

This yeare the laſt of March, king Henrie made his ſonne John knight, and ſhortlie after ſent him ouer into Ireland, of which countrie he had made him king. At his comming into Ireland, he was honourablie receiued of the archbiſhop of Diueline, and other noble men that had beene ſent thither before him. The king allowed him great abundance of treaſure, but he hauing learned that

Non minor eſt virtus quàm quærere parta tueri,

keeping it in his coffers (as one now come into a ſtrange place, and not knowing what he ſhuld want) would not depart with it ſo freelie amongſt his ſouldiers and men of warre as they looked for: by reaſon whereof their ſeruice was ſuch, that in diuerſe conflicts he loſt manie of his men, and at length was driuen through want of conuenient aid, to returne againe into England, hauing appointed his capteins and ſouldiers to remaine in places moſt expedient for the defenſe of that countrie. ¶ But heereof yee may read more at large in the hiſtorie of Ireland.

An earthquake.

On the mondaie in the weeke before Eaſter, chanced a ſore earthquake thorough all the parts of this land, ſuch a one as the like had not beene heard of in England ſithens the beginning of the world. For ſtones that laie couched faſt in the earth, were remooued out of their places, ſtone houſes were ouerthrowne, and the great church of Lincolne was rent from the top downwards.

The king and the patriarch paſſe ouer into France.

The kings meſſage to his ſonne earle Richard.

Erle Richard obeieth his father.

The day next after this terrible woonder, the king and the patriarch with the biſhop of Durham and a great ſort of other Noble men of this realme, paſſed the ſeas from Douer to Willand, and ſo rode forth towards Normandie, where immediatlie vpon his comming thither he raiſed a power, and ſent word to his ſonne Richard earle of Poictou (which had fortified the townes and caſtels of Poictou againſt him, and taken his brother Geffrey priſoner) that except he deliuered vp into his mothers hands the whole countrie of Poictou, he would ſurelie come to chaſtiſe him with an iron rod, and bring him vnder obedience ſmallie to his eaſe. Vpon this meſſage earle Richard being ſomewhat better aduiſed, obeied his fathers commandements in all points, rendring vp into his mothers hands the earldome of Poictou, and comming to his father as an obedient ſonne, ſhewed himſelfe readie to ſerue him at commandement with a glad and willing mind. Soone after this, and about the ſeauenth houre of the day, the ſunne ſuffered a generall eclipſe, ſo that no part of it appeared, and therwith followed great thunder with lightning and ſore tempeſt, with the violence whereof both men and beaſts were deſtroied, and manie houſes burned.

Rog. Houed.
Particular and not generall, ſaith Ger.Dor.

Shortlie after this, the kings of England and France met and communed togither for the aiding of them in the holie land, and they promiſed indeed to ſend thither both men and monie: but the patriarch made ſmall account thereof, for he was much deceiued of that which he hoped to haue brought to paſſe, which was, either to haue got the king of England, or one of his ſonnes, or ſome other man of great authoritie with him into the holie land: but bicauſe that would not be, he departed from the court verie ſorrowfull and ſore diſpleaſed, ſo that it may be thought, that then (and not before his departure out of England) he ſpake his mind ſo plainlie vnto the king (as before yee haue heard.)

Anno Reg. 42.

Moreouer, about this time king Henrie obteined of pope Vrbane the third, that he might crowne which of his ſonnes it ſhould pleaſe him king of Ireland, in token of which grant and confirmation, the ſaid pope ſent vnto him a crowne of peacocks feathers, after a feat maner wouen in with gold.

1186

This yeare the king held his Chriſtmaſſe at Danfrount, and ſhortlie after came to a communication with the French king, at the which he tooke a ſolemne oth that he would deliuer the ladie Alice the French kings ſiſter (whome he had as yet in his cuſtodie) vnto his ſonne Richard erle of Poictou in mariage. For the which mariage to be had and ſolemnized, the French king granted to deliuer vnto the ſaid Richard the towne of Giſors, with all that which his father king Lewes promiſed vnto king Henrie the ſonne (latelie deceaſſed) in marriage with queene Margaret the wife of the ſame Henrie, receiuing an oth thereto, neuer to make anie claime or chalenge to the ſame towne and lands.

King Henrie returneth into England.
Ger.Dor.
Hugh prior of Witham made biſhop of Lincolne.

King Henrie (after he had thus concluded and finiſhed his affaires with the French king) returned backe into England in Maie, and then was Hugh prior of Witham inſtituted biſhop of Lincolne after that the ſee there had beene void and without any lawfull gouernour almoſt the ſpace of ſeauenteene yeares. This Hugh was reputed a verie godlie and vertuous man. Before him Walter Conſtance was nominated to that ſee, but bicauſe he was made archbiſhop of Rouen before he was inueſted in the church of Lincolne, he is not accounted in number of the biſhops of Lincolne.

Moreouer king Henrie ſhortlie after his returne at this time into England, aſſembled a great armie, and went with the ſame to Caerleill, in purpoſe to haue entred Galloway, and there to haue chaſtiſed Rouland lord of that countrie, who was ſonne to Vthred the ſonne of Fergus, for the iniuries doone to his cooſine germains, namelie to Duncane ſonne to Gilbert, who was ſonne to the ſame Fergus, in ſpoiling him and the reſidue (after the deceaſſe of the ſaid Gilbert) of their parts of inheritance, vſurping the whole to himſelfe. But as the king was now readie to inuade his countrie, Rouland came to him, and vſed ſuch meanes vnder pretenſe of ſatiſfaction, that he made his peace with the king, who therevpon brought backe his armie, and did no more at that time.

Hugh Lacie ſlaine.

About the ſame time came newes to the king, that Hugh Lacie was ſlaine in Ireland by an Iriſh gentleman that was his confederate (or rather by a labourer, as in the Iriſh hiſtorie you may read) whereof the king was nothing ſorie, bicauſe the ſame Hugh was growne to ſo high degree of puiſſance in that countrie, that he refuſed to obeie the kings commandement when he ſent for him.

¶ It is to be noted, that when king Henrie had conquered the moſt part of Ireland, and ſet the countrie in ſome good order, after his comming from thence, ſuch capteines as he left there behind him, were not idle, but ſtill did what they could to inlarge the confines which were committed to their gouernance: but amongſt them all this Hugh Lacie was the chéefeſt, in ſomuch that after the death of Richard earle of Striguile, the king made him gouernour of the countrie in place of the ſaid earle, by reaſon whereof he ſo inlarged his poſſeſſions, that within a while he became dreadfull, not onelie to the enimies, but alſo to his aſſociats, as to ſuch Engliſh capteins as were abiding in Ireland vpon gard of the Engliſh frontiers. For if any of them diſobeied his commandement, he would not ſticke to chaſtiſe them at his pleaſure, ſo that by ſuch meanes he ſéemed rather to conquer the countrie to his owne vſe, than to the kings. Wherein he dealt not ſo directlie or diſcréetlie as he might; for,

Hugh Lacies diligence to inlarge his poſſeſſions in Ireland.

Homines volunt allici non impelli.

He had alſo ioined himſelfe in mariage with a daughter of the king of Vlneſter, not making king Henrie priuie to the ſame. Wherevpon the king hauing ſundrie informations preſented to him of ſuch his preſumptuous demeanour, commanded him by his letters to returne home, and come before his preſence, which to doo (as before I haue ſaid) he refuſed, by reaſon whereof he confirmed the ſuſpicion which was conceiued of him, to riſe vpon no vaine coniectures, and therefore the euill that came to him was nothing lamented of king Henrie, who with good cauſe was highlie offended towards him for the contempts and conſiderations aforeſaid.

King Henrie not ſorie for the death of Lacie.

This yeare Geffrey the kings ſon who was earle of Britaine died at Paris, and was buried in the ſame citie, leauing behind him (beſides two daughters) one onlie ſonne as then in his mothers wombe, of whom ſhe was deliuered in the night of the feaſt of Eaſter next inſuing hir huſbands death: he was named Arthur, and ſucceeded his father in the earledome of Britaine. His fathers death was occaſioned (as men iudge) by a fall which he caught at a tourneie, for he was ſore bruiſed therewith, and neuer had his health, but finallie fell into a ſir and ſo died.

The death of Geffrey the kings ſonne.

About this ſeaſon pope Vrbane wrote vnto Baldwin archbiſhop of Canterburie, granting him licence to build a church at Akinton, in honour of S. Stephan and Thomas Becket now reputed a martyr, and that the fourth part of the offerings which came to the box of Thomas the martyr ſhould be aſſigned to the vſe of the monks, & an other fourth part to the buildings of that church, and an other fourth part to be giuen to the pope, and the other fourth part remaining he might reſerue to himſelfe to beſtow at his pleaſure. But within a while after, at the ſuit and ſupplication of the prior and couent of Canturburie (who liked nothing of the former partition) the pope ſent letters of prohibition to the ſaid archbiſhop, that he ſhould ceaſſe from building of the forementioned church, bicauſe the building therof would be preiudiciall to the church of Canturburie.

About the ſame time alſo king Henrie gaue his coſen the ladie Ermengard (who was daughter to Richard Vicount Beaumount) in marriage vnto Willam king of Scotland, cauſing the archbiſhop of Canturburie to ioine them togither in the bond of matrimonie within the chappell at Woodſtocke, where he kept great chéere in honour of that marriage for the ſpace of foure daies togither. And further he gaue at the ſame time vnto the king of Scots the caſtell of Edenbourgh: and the king of Scots ſtreitwaies gaue it vnto his wife the forſaid Ermingard, as a portion of hir dower, augmented with an hundred pounds of lands by the yeare, and 40. knights fées.

The ladie Ermengard the vicount Beaumonts daughter, maried to William king of Scots.

Caſtell of Edenbourgh.

The French king required to haue the cuſtodie of the infant Arthur, heire to Geffrey earle of Britaine: but king Henrie would in no wiſe grant therevnto. Wherefore he ſent Walter archbiſhop of Rouen, William de Mandeuille earle of Albemarle, and Ranulfe de Glanduille lord chéefe iuſtice of England to the French court, to talke with king Philip about that matter, ſo that king Philip hauing heard them, was contented to ſtaie from attempting force till the feaſt of S. Hilarie. But in the meane time it chanced, that one ſir Richard de Walles a knight of the realme of France went about to fortifie a caſtell in a village that belonged to him called Walles, ſituated betwixt Trie & Giſors. Wherevpon Henrie Vere (conſtable of Giſors vnder William earle of Albemarle) was nothing content therewith, and therefore got a companie togither, & went forth to diſturbe the worke. Vpon this occaſion the ſeruants of the ſaid ſir Richard de Walles came forth, and encountred with him in the field, in ſomuch that Rafe the ſonne of ſir Richard de Walles was ſlaine, and the reſidue that were with him fled, many of them being ſore beaten and wounded.

Ambaſſadours ſent to the French king.

Sir william de walles.

When the French king was informed hereof, he cauſed all the kings of England his ſubiects, that could be found within his countries and dominion of France to be apprehended, and their goods ſeized. The ſtewards, bailiffes, & officers then of king Henrie, did the like by the French kings ſubiects that chanced to be at that preſent within the king of Englands countries, on that further ſide of the ſea. But within a little while after, the French king ſet the Engliſh ſubiects at libertie, and ſo likewiſe did the K. of Englands officers releaſe the French ſubiects.

The king of Englands ſubiects arreſted in France.

The French ſubiects arreſted in Normandie.

At this time king Henrie held his Chriſtmaſſe at Gilford, and ſhortlie after came one Octauianus a ſubdeacon cardinall, and Hugh de Nonant from the court of Rome, ſent as legats from pope Vrbane into Ireland, that they might crowne earle Iohn the kings ſonne king of that land. But king Henrie made a delaie therein, taking the legats with him into Normandie, whither he ſailed at the ſame time, and landing at Whitſand, he went from thence into Normandie, and ſhortlie after came to a communication with the French king, at a place called Vadum Sancti Remigij, where after much talke they could not agrée, by reaſon the French king demanded things vnreaſonable, and ſo they departed without any thing concluded [ſauing a truce] till after Whitſuntide.

Anno Reg. 33.
1187.

Octauianus a cardinall.

King Henrie paſſeth ouer into Normandie.

Ger. Dor.

About the ſame time, the citie of Ieruſalem was taken by Saladine the chéefe prince of the Saracens. Wherevpon much conference was had among the chriſtian princes for the ſuccoring of thoſe chriſtians, which as yet held and defended other péeces in the holie land, ſo that by publiſhing of the popes buls, manie toke on them the croſſe: and amongſt other Richard the ſonne of king Henrie (without anie licence obteined of his father) receiued the ſame, vowing to go thither out of hand, and to fight againſt Gods enimies to the vttermoſt of his power.

Ieruſalem taken.

In the meane time the grudge ſtill increaſed betwixt king Henrie and Philip the French king, partlie for one cauſe, and partlie for an other, but ſpeciallie one chéefe occaſion was for that earle Richard deferred the doings of his homage vnto king Philip for the dutchie of Poictou, which by his fathers appointment he now inioied and held. The French king to preuent his enimies, immediatlie vpon the expiring of the truce raiſed a power, and entring into the dominions belonging to king Henrie, waſted the countrie till he came vnto Chateu Raoul: about which caſtell alſo he forthwith planted his ſiege.

Out of the annales of France written by Nicoll Gillis.

When king Henrie was aduertiſed hereof, he raiſed his power alſo, and togither with his ſonne earle Richard came with all ſpéed to ſuccour his people, Ger.Dor.

A truce granted.

ple, and to ſaue his caſtell from the hands of his enimies. Now when he approched néere vnto the place, he pitcht downe his tents ouer againſt the one ſide of the French campe, and earle Richard on the other, ſo that they were readie to aſſaile the French king on both ſides at once, but before they came to ioine battell, by the mediation of a cardinall (as ſome write) or (as other ſaie) through meanes made by the earle of Flanders, the matter was taken vp. For earle Richard through perſuaſion of the ſaid earle of Flanders came to the French king, and agréed with him, before that his father king Henrie was reſolued of any ſuch matter for his part, ſo that he was now in a maruellous perplexitie, & almoſt to ſéeke what was beſt to doo, as a man fearing his owne ſuertie, by reaſon of miſtruſt which he had in his ſonne Richard: but yet at the length through humble ſuit made by his ſaid ſonne vnto the French king, a truce was granted by the ſpace of two yeares.

Earle Richard, after the matter was thus taken vp, went into France with the French king, of whom he was ſo honoured whileſt he was there, that they kept one table at dinner and ſupper in the daie time, and (as was ſaid) one bed ſerued them both to ſléepe on in the night.

Erle Richard giueth his father faire words.

He ſetzeth vpon his fathers treaſure.

In the meane time king Henrie hearing of all this, fell into great ſuſpicion whereto this great familiaritie betwixt the French king and his ſonne would tend, and doubting the likelieſt, ſent for him to returne vnto him. But earle Richard perceiuing his father to miſtruſt his loialtie, gaue faire words, and promiſed to returne with all conuenient ſpéed. Howbeit he ment an other matter, and ſo departing from the French court, came to Chinon, where he got into his hands a great portion of his fathers treaſure that was kept there, againſt the will of him that had the cuſtodie of it, and taking it thus awaie with him, he began to fortifie his caſtels and townes within his countrie of Poictou, and clearlie refuſed to come backe to his father for a time, although at length forſaking the counſell of naughtie men, he turned home vnto him, and humblie ſubmitted himſelfe, in ſuch wiſe as to his dutie apperteined. And for the more aſſurance therof, he renewed his fealtie, in receiuing an oth vpon the holie euangeliſts. Which doone, king Henrie went into Britaine with an armie, and wone the caſtell of Mountreleis by ſiege, which one Henrie de Lions, and one Odinemer his brother had gotten into their hands, after the deceaſſe of Geffrey earle of Britaine.

This yeare the twentie of October, the citie of Chicheſter was almoſt wholie conſumed to aſhes by miſchance of fire. The head church with the biſhops palace, and the houſes of the canons were burnt euen downe to the ground. After this king Henrie held his Chriſtmaſſe at Caen, from whence he went to Harflet, and there taking the ſea paſſed ouer into England. The French king hearing by and by of his departure, aſſembled a great armie, and threatned to deſtroie the countrie of Normandie, and other lands on that ſide the ſea, except king Henrie would deliuer into his hands the towne of Giſors, with the appurtenances, or cauſe his ſonne Richard earle of Poictou to take to wife his ſiſter Alice, according to his promiſe.

Anno Reg. 34.
1188

King Henrie returneth into England.

King Henrie paſſeth againe into Normandie.

Polydor.

Heauie newes from the eaſt parts.

An enterview betwixt the two kings.

The two kings receiue the croſſe.

The French ware red croſſes, The Engliſh white, The Flemings gréene.

When king Henrie was aduertiſed hereof, he turned with all ſpeed into Normandie, that he might prouide for timelie reſiſtance, if the French king came forward to inuade his dominions. About the ſelfe ſame time came newes out of the holie land, that Saladine after the winning of Ieruſalem, purſued his victorie with ſuch ſucceſſe, that he had taken from the chriſtians the more part of all other towns and ſtrengths within the land. Theſe newes were nothing pleaſant to the chriſtian princes, and namelie the two kings Henrie and Philip ſéemed ſorowfull for the ſame, and therefore came to an enterview togither on the 21. day of Ianuarie betwixt Trie and Giſors, where the archbiſhop of Tire was preſent, through whoſe earneſt exhortation the two kings were made fréends, and the ſame day receiued the croſſe at his hands in purpoſe to make a iournie togither againſt thoſe Saracens that had doone ſuch iniuries to the chriſtian name. And for a difference that one nation might be knowne from an other, the French king and his people tooke vpon them to weare read croſſes, the king of England and his ſubiects white croſſes: but the earle of Flanders and his men ware gréene.

An aid granted to them in the holie land.
Wil. Paruus.

Herewith they departed aſunder, each one repairing to their countries to prouide their armies, and make them in a readineſſe to ſet forward by a day towards this neceſſarie iournie. King Henrie comming to Chinon, by aduiſe of his councell, ordeined that euerie one of his ſubiects ſhould yéeld a tenth part of his reuenues and moueable goods for that yeare towards the aid of them in the holie land (corne of that yeares growth excepted, and alſo all armour, horſſes, bookes, apparell, ornaments of chappels, and pretious ſtones, which ſhould not come in the rate of goods now taxed, nor be charged with this paiment.) Moreouer thoſe knights and men of warre that were appointed to go in this iournie paied nothing, but had that monie alſo towards their furniture, which were gathered of their tenants and farmers, howbeit burgeſſes and others that tooke vpon them the croſſe without licence of their lords, paied his tenth, ſo that none of them went frée.

Good orders and diſcipline inſtituted.

The king returneth into England.

A councell holden at Gaitington.
Ger.Dor.

There were alſo good orders deuiſed, both for the aduancement of Gods glorie, and the releefe of the common-wealth, as that no man ſhould ſweare in any outragious maner, that no man ſhould plaie at cards, dice or tables, and that no maner of perſon after Eaſter ſhould weare any coſtlie furs or cloth of ſcarlet, nor that men ſhould vſe to haue their tables ſerued with more than two diſhes of meat at one meale, nor ſhould haue their apparell cut, iagged, or laced: and further, that none of them ſhould take any women forth with them in this iournie, except ſuch a landreſſe, of whome there might not growe anie ſuſpicion of wanton life. It was alſo ordeined, that the monie of ſuch as died in this iournie, ſhould go towards the finding and maintenance of their ſeruants and of poore people, and towards the aid of the chriſtians in the holie land. Moreouer, the pope granted that all thoſe that went forth in this iournie, repenting and confeſſing their ſinnes, ſhould be abſolued and pardoned of the ſame. The king hauing thus taken order for his buſineſſe in the parts on the further ſide the ſea, came now ouer into England againe, landing at Winchelſey on a ſaturday the thirtith day of Ianuarie, and calling a councell togither at Gaitington, which is eight or nine miles from Northampton, he there declared what orders he had taken for his iournie into the holie land. Wherevpon the biſhops of Norwich and Lincolne, and a great number of other people tooke vpon them the croſſe at the preaching of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the biſhop of Rocheſter.

A tenth leuied.

The king of Scots.

This doone, king Henrie tooke order alſo for the leuieng of the tenth, as well here in England, as he had doone in the parts ſubiect to him on the further ſide the ſea. He alſo ſent Hugh biſhop of Durham, and other both ſpirituall and temporall perſons, vnto William king of Scots, to gather the tenth likewiſe within his countrie, but he met them betwixt Wark and Brightham, and would not ſuffer them to enter into Scotland, but he offered to giue vnto the king of

England in recompenſe of the tenths, and for to haue againe his caſtels, the ſumme of 5000. marks of ſiluer, which could not be accepted. The French king likewiſe gathered the tenths in his countrie towards this intended iournie. But by the working of ſome wicked ſpirit (as we may well thinke) which enuied the aduancement of the chriſtian commonwealth, that good meaning of the two kings was broken and diſappointed: for the peace latelie concluded betwixt them continued not long vnuiolated.

The good meaning of the two kings diſappointed. Polydor.

The French writers impute the fault thereof vnto Engliſh men, and the Engliſh writers laie it to French men. The French writers ſay, that earle Richard the ſon of king Henrie in breach of the league, made warre vpon Reimond earle of Tholouze. The Engliſh writers reproue the French king as a wicked man, in that he ſhould of purpoſe breake the peace and moue warre againſt king Henrie, to withdraw him from going to make warre againſt the Saracens, to the which enterpriſe he was wholie bent and inclined. Such is the maner of manie writers, who more affectionat to the loue of their countrie than to the truth, doo not obſerue the law of hiſtories in their writings, but rather inueie one againſt another in a bralling and reprouing maner.

Reimond erle of Tholouze.

¶ Examples hereof are more than by any poſſibilitie may be remembred, and namelie for breuitie ſake George Bucchanan in the 8. booke of his Scotiſh hiſtorie verie reprochfullie ſpeaketh of Richard Grafton (a right reuerend man whiles he liued and of entier name alſo being dead) charging him with ignorance, and the report of a ſhameleſſe lier. Whoſe caſe, bicauſe it is not ſo conuenient to be handled in this place as els where, we will remit to the reigne of * Edward the third, in whoſe time John Balioll was king of Scots, and cleere him (as well as we can) from a Scotiſh ſlander. Another example alſo we haue, and that moſt notorious, of Gabriel Prateolus the Jeſuit, who hauing neuer beene in England, nor yet vnderſtanding the Engliſh tong, bluſheth not to ſay that the tranſlation of the Engliſh bible hath in it a thouſand faults. O ſingular and inſufferable impudencie, when men paſſe not what they vomit and caſt vp out of a full gorge ſurfetting with malice and rancour! But what ſhall we ſay,

* where he ſhall be fullie & ſufficientlie anſwered.

Omne ſuperuacuum pleno de pectore manat.

Horat. in art. poet.

In deed (as Roger Houeden and other doo witnes) the foreſaid earle Reimond, and alſo Aimer earle of Angoleſme, Geffrey de Racon, and Geffrey de Luſignan, with the moſt part of all the Nobles of Poictou, made warre againſt earle Richard, and he held tacke againſt them all, and in the end ouercame them. Amongſt other of earle Reimonds part whom he tooke, was one Peter Seille, by whoſe counſell earle Reimond had taken diuerſe merchants of Poictou that were ſubiects to earle Richard, & doone manie other diſpleaſures to him and to his countrie, wherefore earle Richard kept this Peter in verie cloſe priſon, and would not put him to his ranſome: inſomuch that earle Reimond tooke two of the king of Englands knights, ſir Robert Poer, and ſir Richard Fraſer, as they were returning from Compoſtella, where they had beene to viſit the bodie of S. James, but they were quicklie ſet at libertie by the French kings commandement, for the reuerence of S. James whoſe pilgrims they were.

Rog. Houed. The nobles of Poictou rebell againſt earle Richard.

Peter Seille.

After this, earle Richard entred with a great armie into the lands of earle Reimond, waſted the ſame, and tooke by ſiege a caſtell of his ſituate neere vnto Tholouze, called Moiſac: whereof the French king hearing, ſent out of hand to the king of England, requiring to know if the damages doone by his ſonne earle Richard vnto him & his people in Tholouze, were doone by his commandement, for the which he demanded reſtitution. Herevnto the king of England anſwered, that his ſonne earle Richard did nothing in that behalfe, either by his knowledge or commandement: but that as he had ſignified to him by the archbiſhop of Dublin, what ſoeuer he did therin, was doone by the counſell of the French king himſelfe.

Erle Richard inuadeth the earle Tholouze lands.

Howſoeuer this matter went, certeine it is, that king Philip taking weapon in hand, vpon a ſudden entred into Berrie, and tooke from king Henrie Chaſteau Raoull, Brezancois, Argenton, Mountrichard, Mountreſor, Vandoſme, Leproſe, Blanc en Berrie, Culan and Molignon. Wherfore king Henrie (who was at this time in England about to prepare an armie to go therewith into the holie land) when he heard thereof, with all ſpeed poſſible he ſent Baldwin archbiſhop of Canturburie, and Hugh biſhop of Durham ouer into France, to appeaſe the French kings diſpleaſure with courteous words and reaſonable perſuaſions if it might be: but when that could not be brought to paſſe, he ſailed ouer into Normandie himſelfe, with an armie of Engliſhmen and Welſhmen, landing with the ſame at Herflue the 10. daie of Julie, after he had beene ſore toſſed by a cruell tempeſt that roſe as he was on the ſea, to the great danger of his perſon, & all that were with him.

Annales de France.

Rog. Houed. The archbiſhop of Canturburie with the biſhops of Cheſter, ſaith Ger. Dor.

Ger. Dor.

Now after his comming to land, he repaired vnto Alencon, increaſing his power by gathering vp ſouldiers and men of warre out of Normandie and other his countries on that ſide the ſea. In the meane time his ſonne Richard earle of Poictou entred into Berrie with a mightie armie, and the French king deliuering Chateau Raoull vnto the keeping of ſir William de Berres returned into France, ſo that earle Richard ſpoiled and waſted the lands of thoſe earls and barons which tooke the French part exceedinglie. The French king kept him as yet within France, and durſt not come forth now after the arriuall of king Henrie, but manie enterpriſes were atchiued by the capteines on both ſides. Philip biſhop of Beauuois inuading the frontiers of Normandie, burned Blangeuille, belonging to the earle of Augi, and the caſtell Albemarle (that belonged to William de Mandeuille, whereof he bare the title of earle) and waſted the countrie round about. The French king alſe came to the towne of Trow, and burned it, and tooke 40. men of armes there, but the caſtell he could not win. On the other part, Richard earle of Poictou tooke a ſtrong place called Les Roches, beyond Trow towards Vandoſme, with 25. men of armes, and 60. yeomen.

Chateau Roux it is called in the French annales: but ẏ chronicles of Aniou name it Chaſteau Raoul, and rightlie as I thinke.

Sergeants.

About this time king Henrie ſent ambaſſadours vnto the French king, as Walter the archbiſhop of Rouen, John biſhop of Eureux, and William Marſhall, to require reſtitution for the damages doone to him and his people. And furthermore, that if the French king refuſed to make reſtitution, then had they in commandement to declare defiance againſt him. Wherevnto the French king anſwered, that he would not giue ouer to make warre till he had Berrie, and the countrie of Veuxin or Veulgeſine wholie in his poſſeſſion. Wherefore king Henrie with a mightie armie (on the tueſdaie after the feaſt of the decollation of S. John) entred into the realme of France, and burned manie townes and villages, approching the ſame day neere to the towne of Maunt, where the French king was thought to be. Now as it chanced, William de Berres and Drogo de Merlo encountred with Richard earle of Poictou and William de Mandeuille earle of Albemarle, ſo that William de Berres was taken by earle Richard, but by negligence of them that ſhould haue taken heed to him, he eſcaped awaie vpon his pages horſſe. The morrow after alſo, earle Richard departed from his father towards Berrie, and vpon the thurſdaie the Welſhmen burned manie villages, with the caſtell of Danuille that belonged to Simon Daneth, and tooke manie rich preies and booties. Alſo William Mandeuille earle of Albemarle burned a place called ſaint Clare, that was belonging vnto the demaine of the French king.

The welſhmen.

But ſée, when the Engliſh were fullie bent to proſecute the warres (with all extremitie) now in hand, there came meſſengers vnto king Henrie from the French king, requiring him that he would grant a peace to be had betwixt them, with promiſe that if he would condeſcend therevnto, that he ſhould receiue by way of reſtitution all that the French king had now taken from him in Berrie. Herevpon they came to a communication betwixt Trie & Giſors, and when they could not agrée, the French king cauſed a great elme ſtanding betwixt thoſe two places to be cut downe, at which the kings of England and France were accuſtomed to méet when they treated of matters in controuerſie betwixt them, ſwearing that from thenceforth there ſhould neuer be anie more méetings holden at that place.

The two kings come to a treatie.

An elme cut downe.

Afterward, when the earle of Flanders and the earle of Blois with diuerſe other earles and barons of the Realme of France, laid their armor aſide, proteſting openlie that they would not put on the ſame againe to make warre againſt any chriſtian, till they ſhould returne from their iournie which they had vowed into the holie land, the French king deſtitute of men to ſerue him, made ſute once againe to king Henrie, that they might méet and talke of peace, which was hardlie granted, and ſo they met on the morrow after ſaint Faithes daie, or the ſeauenth of October, at Chatellon, where they entreated of a forme of peace, ſo that the French king ſhould haue reſtored all that he had taken within the countries belonging to king Henrie, and likewiſe Richard earle of Poictou ſhould deliuer vp vnto the earle of ſaint Giles (otherwiſe called earle of Tholouſe) all that he had taken from him ſince the breach of the laſt truce. But when king Henrie would not deliuer the caſtell of Paſcie in pledge to the French king, they departed in ſunder (as before) without any thing concluded. The king of France after this tooke the caſtell of Paluell.

A commendable proteſtation and worthie to be noted.

Caſtellium.

Vpon the eightéenth day of Auguſt the two kings came againe togither about a new treatie of peace betwixt Bonſemblance and Sukennie, where the French king offered king Henrie, to reſtore to him all that he had taken by his laſt warres, if his ſiſter Alice might be ioined in marriage with Richard erle of Poictou, now eldeſt ſonne aliue to king Henrie, and that all king Henries ſubiects might doo homage and ſweare fealtie to the ſame Richard. But king Henrie after the old prouerbe, *Ictus piſcator ſapit*, hauing bought his experience with the féeling of ſmart, & bearing in memorie the iniuries done to him by his ſonne Henrie, after ſuch his aduancement to kinglie degrée, would not grant the French kings requeſt herein. Wherevpon a further miſchéefe happened, for his ſonne earle Richard (taking diſpleaſure that his father ſhould denie him that honour, which made altogither for his more aſſurance to ſucceed him as king) fell from his ſaid father manifeſtlie, and became the French kings man, dooing homage to him alſo without conſent of king Henrie, for all thoſe lands that belonged to his ſaid father on that further ſide the ſea. The French king for his homage and fealtie gaue him Chateau Raoull and Yſoldun, with all the honour thereto belonging.

An other treatie betwixt the two kings

Erle Richard reuolteth from his father to ſerue the French king.

¶ Some write, that the chéefeſt cauſe which mooued king Henrie to refuſe to ioine his ſonne earle Richard and the ladie Alice, daughter vnto the French king in marriage togither, was, for that he was linked in the comberſome chaine of hot burning loue with the ſame ladie, and therefore he ſought all the ſhifts of excuſes & delaies that might be imagined; ſo that it appeared he had no mind to part with hir. The truth was (as writers affirme) he had alreadie perſuaded hir to ſatiſfie his luſt, inſomuch that he liked hir ſo well, that he ment to be diuorſed from his wife quéene Elianor, and to marrie this yoong ladie, which if he might bring to paſſe, and haue children by hir, he purpoſed to diſherit thoſe which he had by Elianor, and to make the other which he ſhould haue by Adela his legitimat and lawfull heires. Yet before they departed from this communication, a truce was taken to endure till the feaſt of S. Hilarie. And Henrie biſhop of Alba a cardinall that was ſent from the pope to end this controuerſie betwixt theſe two mightie princes, accurſed Richard earle of Poictou, for that by his meanes the troubles roſe and were continued betwixt them.

Polydor.

Rog. Houed.

The towne of Beuerley, with the church of ſaint Iohn the archbiſhop, was in maner wholie conſumed with fire, on the 20. of September. Alſo the ſame yeare died William of Sempringham, the author and firſt founder of the religious order of Sempringham. Moreouer Gilbert de Ogerſtan a knight templer put in truſt by king Henrie, with others, to gather the tenths towards the reléefe of the holie land, was prooued to vſe falſhood in the receipt, and ſo was deliuered vnto the maiſter of the temple at London to be puniſhed according to the ſtatutes of his order. Alſo this yere in the vigill of S. Laurence, there was ſéene at Dunſtable by diuerſe perſons a figure of the croſſe verie long and large in the aire, with the ſhape of a crucifix thereon, and ſtreames of blood to their ſight ſéemed to run out of the wounds of the féet, hands and ſides. This ſtrange appearance continued in ſight from noone till almoſt night.

Beuerley burnt.

William de Sempringham deceſſeth.

Gilbert de Ogerſtan.

A ſtrange apperance in the aire.

¶ Some will déeme this a méere fable, and ſaie it ſauoureth of groſſe ſuperſtition and idolatrie, wherevpon they will conclude that no ſuch fragments powdered with papiſtrie ſhould be inſerted into a chronicle. But (to auoid all ſuſpicion of iuſtifieng the fanſies of men) note you this, that in the eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie, no ſmall number of things no leſſe ſtrange and true than this ſéemeth vaine and falſe, are recorded; yea euen touching the verie croſſe. But conſidering that this our age is verie nice and deintie in making choiſe of matter pleaſing their owne humor we will not wade too farre in this kind of argument, which we know may as ſoone offend as it is taken, as a thorne may pricke, or a netle ſting when it is touched. Neuertheleſſe, we would not wiſh that the forme of a thing ſhould be quite condemned for ſome ſcandalous peoples pleaſures, whome nothing will pleaſe, vnleſſe it come out of their owne drienat or caſket of conceits.

King Henrie held his Chriſtmas at Saumur in Aniou, but manie of his earles and barons were gon from him, and tooke part with the French king, and with his ſonne Richard earle of Poictou. Now when the day was come, in which the truce expired, the Britains (which had a charter of couenants of the French king and earle Richard, that if they concluded any peace with king Henrie, the Britains ſhould be partakers in the ſame) entred into the confines of thoſe countries, which ſtill continued their due obedience towards king Henrie, ſpoiling and waſting the ſame on each ſide with barbarous crueltie. At which time alſo a legat came from the pope named Iohn de Anagnia, who aſſaied both by courteous meanes and alſo by threats and menacings to reduce the parties vnto peace and concord: inſomuch that by his procurement they met this yeare after Eaſter néere

Anno. Reg. 35.
1189.

A legat.

vnto Fiert Bernard, twiſe within a few daies togither, to trie if by talke they might ſort to ſome reaſonable conditions of agréement.

Math. Paris.

The laſt time of thoſe their méetings was in the Whitſunwéeke, at what time the French king required not onelie to haue his ſiſter Alice deliuered vnto earle Richard for wife, according to the former couenants, but alſo ſome aſſurance giuen vnto the ſame earle Richard, that he ſhould inherit his fathers lands after his deceaſſe. Alſo he required that earle Iohn might take vpon him the croſſe to paſſe ouer into the holie land alſo, for otherwiſe earle Richard would not go. Howbeit king Henrie would in no wiſe conſent to any of theſe demands: but yet as ſome write, he offered thus much vnto king Philip, that if he could be ſo content, his ſonne Iohn ſhould marrie his ſiſter Alice, and inioy with hir all ſuch things as he demanded in preferment of his ſonne Richard, and that in more large maner than he had requeſted the ſame. But king Philip would none of that.

R. Houed.

Thus how ſoeuer it was, whileſt the one demanded that which the other thought no reaſon to grant, they departed without concluding any agréement, ſo that king Philip hauing got by this meanes a good occaſion to further his enterpriſes, with all his whole puiſſance entred into Maine, where he deſtroied a great part of that countrie, and approched to the citie of Mauns, where king Henrie as then laie, in purpoſe to beſiege it. But king Henrie being warned of his comming ſet the ſuburbs on fire, bicauſe his enimies ſhould haue no ſuccour in them. Howbeit the flame of the fire was by force of the wind driuen ſo directlie into the citie, that what with heat and aſſault of the enimie, the king being without any ſtore of ſouldiers to defend it longer, was conſtreined to forſake it. Herewith he was ſo moued, that in departing from the citie, he ſaid theſe words of his ſonne Richard to himſelfe: Sith thou haſt taken from me this daie the thing that I moſt loued in this world, I will requite thée, for after this daie, I ſhall depriue thée of that thing which in me ſhould moſt pleaſe thée, euen mine owne hart.

King Philip entereth the countrie of Maine.

The words of king Henrie in his diſpleaſure towards earle Richard.

Being thus driuen to leaue the defaced citie of Mauns, he repaired vnto Chinon, the citizens whereof being left deſtitute of aid, yéelded themſelues to the French king, who taking a great pride in his doings for that victorie, paſſed ouer Loire, and wan the citie of Towrs, wherein he placed a gariſon, and ſo hauing ſped his buſineſſe with good ſucceſſe, brought home his armie laden with preies & booties. King Henrie being thus put to the worſſe, and not perceiuing anie readie meane how to recouer his loſſes, began to deſpaire in himſelfe, and therefore of neceſſitie thought it beſt to ſéeke for peace, but his ſuit was in vaine: for the enimie hauing now the aduantage, would not grant to agrée vpon any reaſonable conditions.

Mauns yéelded to the French king. Wil. Paruus.

Polydor.

The earle of Flanders ſéeketh to agrée the parties. Math. Paris.

At the laſt Philip the earle of Flanders and William archbiſhop of Reimes, with Hugh duke of Burgoine, came to king Henrie to moue waies of agréement, and to conclude the ſame betwixt him on the one partie, and the French king and earle Richard on the other partie. Earle Richard had the Britaines and them of Poictou confederate with him, vnder ſuch conditions, as he might not agrée with his father, vnleſſe they might be compriſed in the agréement. At length they agréed vpon conditions, not altogither aduantageable to the king of England, yet in the end, Chateau Raoul was reſtored to king Henrie with all that had béene taken from him ſince the time that the French king & he tooke vpon them the croſſe: on the other part king Henrie did homage to the French king, which in the beginning of this warre he had ſurrendred and renounced. He was bound alſo to paie to the French king 20. thouſand markes for the aid which earle Richard had receiued of him: moreouer to reſigne and acquite vnto the French king, all that which either he or his predeceſſours held or poſſeſſed within Aluergne. Other articles there were which king Henrie agréed vnto ſore againſt his will, as the deliuerie of the ladie Alice or Adela, and ſuch other, which (as not much materiall) we paſſe ouer.

A peace concluded.

Thirtie thouſand to the K. and twentie to the barons of France, ſaith Ger. Dor.

This peace was concluded not farre from Towrs, in a place appointed conuenient for both the kings to méet in, about the feaſt of the apoſtles Peter and Paule. And (as writers record) there chanced great thunder and lightening at the verie time when the two kings came to enteruiew and talke togither, ſo that the thunderbolt did light betwixt them two: & yet (notwithſtanding ſuch thunder & lightening) the aire was cleare and nothing troubled. The two kings parted a ſunder through feare thereof for that day, and on the next day the like chance happened, greatlie to the terrour of them both. Which moued king Henrie the ſooner to condeſcend to the agréement.

Rog. Houed. At Giſors ſaith Ger. Dor.

Strange thunder & lightning.

Moreouer this is not to be forgotten, that when all matters were quieted and accorded amongſt them, king Henrie required to haue all their names deliuered vnto him in writing, which had promiſed to take part (and were ioined as confederates) with the French king and earle Richard. This was granted, and when the roll was preſented vnto him, he found his ſonne Iohn the firſt perſon that was named in that regiſter, wherewith he was ſo troubled and diſquieted in his mind, that comming to Chinon he felt ſuch gréefe hereof, that he curſſed euen the verie daie in which he was borne, and as was ſaid, gaue to his ſonnes Gods curſſe and his, the which he would neuer releaſe, although he was admoniſhed to doo it both of ſundrie biſhops and other religious and godlie men. Thus ſaith Houeden.

Howbeit, it is not like that earle Richard at this time had procured his brother Iohn to be confederate with him in his rebellious dealings, but rather bicauſe earle Richard had ſome ſuſpicion, leaſt his father would make Iohn his heire and ſucceſſour in the kingdome, it might be a policie wrought by the French king and earle Richard, to alienate his fathers mind from the ſaid Iohn.

¶ Theſe euils were eſtéemed to fall vnto king Henrie by the iuſt iudgement of God, for that being admoniſhed diuerſe waies, as well by diuine reuelation, as by the wholeſome aduiſe of graue men, as Hugh biſhop of Lincolne and others, he would not reforme his licentious appetite of heaping vp ſinne vpon ſinne, but ſtill wallowed therein to his owne deſtruction. Wherevpon being brought to ſuch an extremitie as ye haue heard, he was taken with a gréeuous ſickneſſe, which bringing him to vtter deſperation of recouering of health, he finallie departed this life, though more through verie anguiſh and gréefe of his late loſſe and troubles ſuſteined, than by the force of his bodilie diſeaſe (as writers haue affirmed.) But howſoeuer it was, he ended his life the ſixt of Iulie in the 61. yeare of his age, and after he had reigned 34. yeares, nine moneths, and two daies, which was in the yeare after the birth of our ſauiour 1189. and of the creation of the world 5155. His bodie was buried at Founteuerard, which is an abbeie ſituate not farre from the towne of the eagle within the dutchie of Alanſon.

King Henrie departeth this life.

1189

Immediatlie vpon his death, thoſe that were about him, applied their market ſo buſilie in catching and filching awaie things that laie readie for them, that the kings corps laie naked a long time, till a child couered

couered

His ſurname whereof it came.

A ſtrange maner of fight betwixt fiſhes.

uered the nether parts of his body with a ſhort cloke, and then it ſeemed that his ſurname was fulfilled that he had from his childhood, which was Shortmantell, being ſo called, bicauſe he was the firſt that brought ſhort clokes out of Aniou into England. As his ſonne Richard met the corps going towards the buriall, ſuddenlie there iſſued bloud out of the dead bodies noſthrilles, which was taken for a ſignification that it abhorred the preſence of ſo wicked a ſon, which in his life time had ſo perſecuted the father. His death was ſignified by a maruellous ſtrange wonder, for a few daies before he died, all the fiſhes in a certeine meere or poole in Normandie, leapt forth on land in the night ſeaſon, and fought togither with ſuch a noiſe, that a great multitude of men came running thither to behold the wonder, and could not find on fiſh aliue in the meere.

The iſſue of Henrie the ſecond. His ſonnes.

His daughters.

His baſe ſons.

The conſtitution of his bodie.

His ſtature.

His qualities and conditions of mind.

He had iſſue by his wife queene Elianor (as may appeare by that which alreadie is rehearſed) foure ſonnes, Henrie, Richard, Geffrey, and Iohn, beſides two other that died yoong, as ſome authors haue recorded: alſo three daughters, Maud, married vnto Henrie the duke of Saxonie; Elianor the wife of Alfonſe the eight of that name king of Caſtile, and Ioane giuen in marriage vnto William king of Sicill. He had alſo two baſtard ſonnes by a concubine, the one named William, & the other Geffrey. He was of bodie fleſhie and ſtrong, and could abide verie patientlie the diſpleſures both of cold and heat, he had a large head, a broad breaſt, a broken voice, and was furthermore verie ſpare of diet, cheefelie bicauſe he would not be too fat; and therefore when he was at quiet without any trouble of warres, he would exerciſe himſelfe in hunting or trauelling abroad. He was of a good ſtature and verie well formed, of a comelie countenance, partlie red heared, with graie eies, of wit quicke, and of a perfect good memorie, ſo that he would long remember thoſe things which he had either read, heard, or ſeene. He was ſtout of ſtomach, and more conſtant in time of aduerſitie than in time of proſperitie, except at the time of his death, when being deſtitute in maner of all his freends, he ſhewed himſelfe almoſt in deſpaire. He was liberall towards all men, oftentimes giuing rewards to his ſouldiers ouer and beſides their wages.

Radulphus de Diceto.

Moreouer, of nature he was pitifull towards the poore, as it well appeared by diuerſe his charitable deeds; as for example. When in the yeare 1176. there was a great dearth & ſcarſitie of bread in the parts of Aniou & Maine, he fed euerie daie with ſufficient ſuſtenance ten thouſand perſons, from the begining of Aprill, till the time that new corne was inned: and what prouiſion ſoeuer was laid vp in garners, cellers and ſtorehouſes, for the kings neceſſarie vſes, he cauſed the ſame to be imploied towards the releefe of religious houſes, and poore people. He tooke of his ſubiects but ſildome times any great tributes. He was verie expert in feats of warre, and right fortunate therein. He praiſed his capteins and men of warre when they were dead, and lamented their loſſe more than he ſhewed to loue them when they were aliue. And this did he of policie, that they might vnderſtand that they ſhould be honoured after death, and therefore feare it the leſſe. He was ſomwhat learned, and alſo knowne to be wiſe.

Radulphus de Diceto,

His care to haue iuſtice dulie miniſtred in his realme was exceeding great, inſomuch that finding how the ſhirifes were rather inclined to ſeeke their owne gaine, than to deale vprightlie with his ſubiects, he appointed other officers to haue a regard to their doings, as if they had beene controllers, that they knowing how there were ſuch appointed to haue a ſound ouerſight in their dealings, might be the more circumſpect in their duties. He ordeined alſo puniſhments for hunters in forreſts and grounds of warren, either by fining them, or by impriſonment.

Moreouer, he ordeined that murtherers ſhould ſuffer death by hanging: and ſo for other tranſgreſſours he appointed other kinds of puniſhments, as ſome to be condemned to exile, and other to loſſe of lims, &c: according to the qualitie of the offenſe committed. And to haue the lawes dulie executed, and iuſtice vprightlie miniſtred on all hands, he was ſo carefull that he tried all orders of men, in placing them in roomes of iuſtice. And laſtlie, truſting to find among the cleargie ſuch as would not be corrupted with bribes, nor for reſpect of feare or freendſhip decline from right iudgement, he choſe forth the biſhops of Wincheſter, Elie, and Norwich to be principall iuſtices of the relme, ſo as they might end and determine all matters, except in certeine caſes reſerued to the hearing of the prince himſelfe.

Biſhops choſen principall iuſtices.

The vices of K. Henrie.

His vices were theſe, as they are remembred. In time of aduerſe fortune no man could ſhew himſelfe more courteous, gentle, meeke, and promiſing more largelie than he would. But when fortune once began to ſmile, no man was more ſharpe, hard to deale with, nor more redie to breake his promiſe and faith. He was alſo partlie noted of couetouſneſſe: for although he was liberall towards ſouldiers and ſtrangers, yet was he ſtreict inough towards his owne people, and namelie towards his ſonnes, which cauſed them to eſtrange themſelues and their good wils from him. He was not ſo zealous toward the execution of right and equitie as to the furtherance of his owne priuat commoditie.

His incontinencie.

Roſamund his concubine.

He was out of meaſure giuen to fleſhlie luſt, and ſatiſfieng of his inordinate concupiſcence. For not contented with the vſe of his wife, he kept manie concubines, but namelie he delited moſt in the companie of a pleaſant damſell, whom he called the Roſe of the world (the common people named hir Roſamund) for hir paſſing beautie, properneſſe of perſon, and pleaſant wit, with other amiable qualities, being verelie a rare and peereleſſe peece in thoſe daies. He made for hir an houſe at Woodſtocke in Oxfordſhire, like a labyrinth, with ſuch turnings and windings in & out as a knot in a garden called a maze, that no creature might find hir nor come to hir, except he were inſtructed by the king, or ſuch as were ſecret with him in that matter. But the common rereport of the people is, that the queene in the end found hir out by a ſilken thread, which the king had drawne after him out of hir chamber with his foot, and dealt with hir in ſuch ſharpe and cruell wiſe, that ſhe liued not long after. She was buried in the nunrie of Godſtow beſide Oxford, with theſe verſes vpon hir toome:

Hîc iacet in tumulo, Roſa mundi non Roſa munda,
Non redolet ſed olet, quæ redolere ſolet.

The meaning whereof may be found in Graftons large chronicle, page 77. in an Engliſh ſeptenarie.

Ran. Higd.

Long time after the death of this damſell, in the ſaid abbeie was ſhewed a cofer, that ſometimes was hirs, of the length of two foot, in the which appeared giants fighting, ſtartling of beaſts, ſwimming of fiſhes, and flieng of foules, ſo liuelie, that a man might wonder at the fine deuiſe thereof.

Moreouer, king Henrie was noted not to be ſo fauourable to the liberties & freedoms of the church as he might haue beene. For beſides the perſecuting of the foreſaid Thomas archbiſhop of Canturburie, he would not ſuffer the legats ſent from the pope, to enter within the bounds of his dominion, till they had ſworne that they ſhould doo nothing preiudiciall to the cuſtoms of his kingdome, neither by preſcribing orders, nor any other maner of act or meanes. He was thought to be negligent in aiding the chriſtian common-wealth in the holie land. For though he had appointed twice or thrice to go thither in perſon, yet being letted by light occaſions, he ſtaied at home, and ſent ſmall reléefe thither, though he was earneſtlie called vpon for the ſame. His eſtimation was ſuch amongſt forren princes, that Philip king of France being newlie entred into the gouernement of that realme after his fathers deceaſſe, committed himſelfe and his kingdome to the diſpoſition and order of king Henrie, as if he had béene regent of his realme, and gouernour of his perſon.

His negligẽce in aiding the Christians againſt the Saracens.

There liued in the daies of this king Henrie the ſecond, diuerſe honourable perſonages and capteins of great fame, for their approued valiancie and experience in warlike enterpriſes, as Robert earle of Leiceſter, Hugh Bigot earle of Northfolke, Reignold earle of Cornewall, Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie, Richard Lacie, Roger Mowbray, Raſe de Fulgiers, Humfrey Bohun coneſtable of England, Ranulfe Glandeuille, William Veſey, & Bernard de Ballioll. Alſo there flouriſhed in his time here in this land, men of ſingular learning in arts and ſciences, as Nicholas Breakeſpeare, Serlo ſurnamed Grammaticus, William Rheualenſis, Adam de Eueſham, Thomas of Munmouth, Adelbertus Leuita, Geruaſius Ciceſtrenſis, Odo Cantianus, Ealred Rhieuellenſis, Johannes Sariſburienſis, Clemens Lanthonienſis, Walter Daniell, Robert Knought *aliàs* Camtus, Robert Folioth, William Ramſey, Senatus Brauonus, Robert the Scribe, Odo Miremuth, Hugh of Reading, Richard of Douer, William of Peterburough, Cicercienſis, Bartholomew Iſcanus, and Gilbert de Sempringham, with others.

Bale.

¶ And here to make an end with this high and mightie prince Henrie the ſecond, I haue thought good to make you partaker of an epitaph, which we find in Matthew Paris and others written of him as followeth.

Epitaphium in Henricum ſecundum regem mortuum & hîc ſepultum.

Rex Henricus eram, mihi plurima regna ſubegi,
Multiplicíq; modo dúxq; coméſq; fui,
Cui ſatis ad votum non eſſent omnia terræ
Climata, terra modò ſufficit octo pedum.
Qui legis hæc, penſa diſcrimina mortis, & indè
Humanæ ſpecula conditionis habe.
Quod potes inſtanter operare bonum, quia mundus
Tranſit, & incautos mors inopina rapit.

Aliud.

Tumuli regis ſuperſcriptio breuis exornat,
Sufficit hic tumulus, cui non ſuffecerat orbis,
Res breuis eſt ampla, cui fuit ampla breuis.

An epitaph vpon king Henrie the ſecond dead and heere intoomed.

Of late king Henrie was my name,
which conquerd manie a land,
And diuerſe dukedoms did poſſeſſe,
and earledoms held in hand,
And yet while all the earth could ſcarſe
my greedie mind ſuffice,
Eight foot within the ground now ſerues,
wherein my carcaſe lies.
Now thou that readeſt this, note well
my force with force of death,
And let that ſerue to ſhew the ſtate
of all that yeeldeth breath.
Doo good then here, foreſlowe no time,
caſt off all worldlie cares,
For brittle world full ſoone dooth faile,
and death dooth ſtrike vnwares.

An other.

Small epitaph now ſerues, to decke
this toome of ſtatelie king:
And he who whilome thought whole earth
could ſcarſe his mind content,
In little roome hath roome at large,
that ſerues now life is ſpent,

¶ Here may be thought that the reigne of the Normans and French men ouer the realme of England tooke end, a hundred twentie two yeares after the comming in of the Conquerour; for thoſe that reigned after this Henrie the ſecond, we may rightlie eſtéeme to be Engliſhmen, bicauſe they were borne in England, and vſed the Engliſh toong, cuſtomes, and maners, according to the nature and qualitie of the countrie.

Thus farre the ſucceſſion and regiment of the Frenchmen
ouer this Iland; namelie, Stephan of Bullongne and Henrie the ſecond.

Richard the firſt, ſecond ſonne to Henrie the ſecond.

Anno Reg. 1.

1189

Wil. Paruus.

RIchard the firſt of that name, and ſecond ſonne of Henrie the ſecond, began his reigne ouer England the ſixt day of Julie, in the yere of our Lord 1189. in the ſeauen and thirtéeth yeare of the emperour Frederike the firſt, in the eleuenth yere of the reigne of Philip the ſecond king of France, and king William ſurnamed the Lion as yet liuing in the gouernement of Scotland.

Matt. Paris.

This Richard, immediatlie after the ſolemnities of his fathers funerals were ended, made haſt to Rouen, where he was ioifullie receiued, and proclamed duke of Normandie, receiuing the inueſture according to the cuſtome, on the twentith day of Julie. Then ſtudieng to ſet all things in good order on that ſide the ſea, he made ſearch where his fathers treaſure was preſerued, and therevpon attached Stephan de Turnham, who was ſeneſchall or gouernour (as we may call him) of Aniou, and committing him to priſon, compelled him to make deliuerie of all ſuch ſummes of monie as he had hid and laid vp in certeine caſtels by the commandement of the late king his father.

Stephan de Turnham committed to priſon.

Matth. Paris. Polydor.

Whileſt he was thus occupied, his brother John came to him, to whom he ioifullie gaue the welcome, and beſides all other things which his father had bequeathed vnto him by his teſtament in England, amounting to the value of foure thouſand pounds of yearelie rent, with the earledome of Mortaigne, he procured a marriage for him (being now a widower) for his further aduancement with the ladie Iſabell, daughter to Robert earle of Gloceſter, which earle had appointed the ſaid John to be his heire as before is mentioned, although Baldwine the archbiſhop of Canturburie forbad the mariage, bicauſe they were coſens in the third degrée of conſanguinitie. To Robert earle of Leiceſter alſo he reſtored all his lands which had béene taken from him, and ſuch perſons as his father had diſherited, he reſtored likewiſe to their former rights and poſſeſſions, howbeit thoſe had forſaken his father, and taken part with him againſt his ſaid father, he ſéemed now ſo much to miſlike, that he remoued them vtterlie from his preſence, and contrariwiſe preferred ſuch as had continued faithfull vnto his father in time of the troubles.

Iſabell daughter to the earle of Gloceſter married to John ẏ kings brother.

She is named by diuerſe authors Hauiſia. Matth. Paris. R. Houed.

Matt. Paris.

The kings mother ſet at libertie.

At length, king Richard remembring himſelfe of his mother quéene Elianor, who had béene ſeparated from the bed of hir huſband for the ſpace of ſixtéene yeares, and was as yet deteined in priſon in England, wrote his letters vnto the rulers of the realme, commanding them to ſet hir againe at libertie, and withall appointed hir by his letters patents, to take vpon hir the whole gouernment of the kingdome in his abſence. The quéene being thus deliuered, and hauing now the chéefe authoritie & rule in hir hands, rode in progreſſe about the realme, to ſée the eſtate thereof; and as ſhe paſſed from place to place, ſhe ſhewed gladſome countenance to the people whereſoeuer ſhe came, dooing alſo what ſhe could to pleaſure them, that ſhe might thereby win their good willes to hir, and to hir ſonne: but ſpeciallie remembring by hir late experience and taſt thereof, what an irkſome & moſt gréeuous thing impriſonment was, ſhe cauſed the gailes to be opened, and forthwith ſet no ſmall number of priſoners at libertie by the way as ſhe paſſed through the countries, according to the verſe of Virgil,

> *Non ignara mali miſeris ſuccurrere diſco.*

In the meane time, king Richard concluding a league with Philip king of France, receiued all thoſe places againe which were taken from his father by the ſame Philip, togither with his wife Adela, whom vpon ſuſpicion that ſhe had béene diſhoneſted in hir perſon before, without anie ſufficient proofe thereof had, he forſooke, & ſent hir home with hir dowrie, and otherwiſe with great and princelie gifts, moſt bountifullie inriched, hauing alreadie concluded a marriage with the ladie Berengaria, daughter to Garſias king of Nauarre, who was ſent into Sicill vnto hir ſiſter Joane, that he might marrie hir there, as he paſſed that waie towards the holie land.

The 2. kings of England & France determine to go into the holie land.

Whileſt theſe things paſſed thus in theſe parties, the chriſtians in the holie land dailie ſent hither for aid, wherevpon the two kings of France and England tooke counſell togither, and determined with all conuenient ſpéed to ioine their powers, & with ſhips prepared for that purpoſe to ſaile into Syria. Hauing thus concluded, they went about to prepare themſelues of neceſſarie prouiſion for ſo long a iournie. Now when king Richard had ſet in order his affaires in Normandie and France, he came ouer into England, landing at Porteſmouth the 13. of Auguſt. With him alſo came his brother John, vnto whom he aſſigned the caſtels of Marlebridge, Luteгareſhall, Peake, Bolleſour, the honor of Wallingford, Tikehill and Eie, with the earledoms of Mortaigne, Dorſet, Sumerſet, Notingham, Derbie, Deuonſhire, and Cornewall, with the earledome of Lancaſter, intituling him earle of the ſame, whereby he was ſo exalted in ſtate and degrée, that he ſéemed in manner of a tetrarch, hauing as it were a fourth part of the realme in gouernance: but yet the king held ſome of the caſtels (in thoſe counties and honors thus giuen to his brother) in his owne hands. Moreouer, vnto William Marſhall he gaue in marriage the daughter of Richard earle of Chepſtow, togither with the earledome which hir father poſſeſſed; and to Gilbert Fitz Roger the ſonne of Rainfrey he gaue the daughter of William de Lancaſter. After he was landed (as before ye haue heard) he haſted to Wincheſter, where his mother quéene Elianor with the moſt part of the Engliſh nobilitie had laine a good ſpace to attend his comming, and there on the euen of the aſſumption of our ladie, the king was by them receiued with great ioy and triumph.

At Southhampton the 21 of Auguſt ſaith Ger. Dor.

Rog. Houed. Matth. Paris.

¶ Here is to be noted, that whileſt the quéene and lords laie in Wincheſter waiting for the kings arriuall, Geffrey Riddle the biſhop of Elie departed this life. He is named by Geruaſius Dorobernenſis the proud biſhop of Elie: but he might rather haue named him the rich biſhop, for he left in his cofers no ſmall quantitie of treaſure, of the which thrée thouſand and two hundred marks came to the kings part towards the charges of his coronation. No maruell though Geruaſius ſpake ſomewhat in his diſpraiſe, for (as he himſelfe confeſſeth) he was no fréend but an enimie to moonks.

...s fathers
...ſure.

But to let this paſſe, ſoone after the kings comming into England, he was informed that the Welſhmen had broken into the Engliſh marſhes, and deſtroied certeine townes; to repreſſe whoſe preſumptuous attempts he made towards them, but was yet ſtaied for that time, & reuoked by his mother. At Saliſburie he found his fathers treaſure, highlie reioiſing, for that the ſumme was far greater than he thought it would haue prooued, for beſides the pretious ſtones, apparell, and iewels, it was reported he had there the ſum of nine hundred thouſand pounds in readie coine. With this good hap king Richard not a little aduanced, came to London on the firſt of September, where he had appointed prouiſion to be made for his coronation, and ſo calling a councell of the Nobles of the realme, he receiued the crowne with all due and accuſtomed ſolemnitie, at the hands of Baldwin the archbiſhop of Canturburie, the third daie of September.

...oued.
...Vinſaf.
...Triuet.
...e ſecond of
...ptember
...h Ger.Dor.

...e order of
...coronatiõ.
...th.Paris.

At his coronation, firſt the archbiſhops of Canturburie, Roan, Trier, and Dublin, which were preſent, with all the other biſhops, abbats and cleargie, apparelled in rich copes, and hauing the croſſe, holie water and cenſures carried afore them, came to fetch him vnto the doore of his priuie chamber, and there receiuing him, they led him vnto the church at Weſtminſter, till he came before the high altar with a ſolemne proceſſion. In the middle of the biſhops and cleargie went foure barons, bearing candleſticks with tapers, after whom came Geffrey de Lucie bearing the cap of maintenance, and Iohn Marſhall next to him, bearing a great and maſſiue paire of ſpurs of gold: then followed William Marſhall earle of Striguill *alias* Pembroke, who bare the roiall ſcepter, in the top wherof was ſet a croſſe of gold: and William de Patrike earle of Saliſburie going next him, bare the warder or rod, hauing on the top thereof a doue. Then came thrée other earles, Dauid brother to the king of Scots, the earle of Huntington, Iohn the kings brother earle of Mortaigne, and Robert earle of Leiceſter, ech of them bearing a ſword vpright in his hand with the ſcabberds richlie trimmed and adorned with gold.

...g,Houed.

...g.Houed.

The earle of Mortaigne went in the midſt betwixt the other two. After them followed ſix earles and barons, bearing a checker table, vpon the which was ſet the kings ſcochens of armes, and then followed William Mandeuill earle of Albemarle, bearing a crowne of gold a great heigth before the king, who followed the ſame, hauing Hugh biſhop of Durham on the right hand, and Reignold biſhop of Bath on the left, ouer whom a canapie was borne: and in this order he came into the church at Weſtminſter, where before the high altar in the preſence of the cleargie & the people, laieng his hand vpon the holie euangeliſts and the relikes of certeine ſaincts, he tooke a ſolemne oth, that he ſhould obſerue peace, honour, and reuerence to almightie God, to his church, and to the miniſters of the ſame all the daies of his life. Alſo that he ſhould exerciſe vpright iuſtice to the people committed to his charge, and that he ſhould abrogate and diſanull all euill lawes and wrongfull cuſtomes, if anie were to be found within the precinct of his realme, and mainteine thoſe that were good and laudable.

...e king
...oth.

This doone, he put off all his garments from the middle vpwards, his ſhirt excepted, which was open on the ſhoulders, that he might be annointed. The archbiſhop of Canturburie annointed him then in thrée places, to wit, on the head, on the ſhoulders, and on the right arme, with praiers in ſuch caſe accuſtomed. After this, he couered his head with a linnen cloth hallowed, and ſet his cap aloft thereon; and then when he had put on his roiall garments and vppermoſt robe, the archbiſhop tooke vnto him the ſword wherewith he ſhould beat downe the enimies of the church; which doone, two earles put his ſhooes vpon his féet, and hauing his mantell put on him, the archbiſhop forbad him on the behalfe of almightie God, not to preſume to take vpon him this dignitie, except he faithfullie meant to performe thoſe things which he had there ſworne to performe. Wherevnto the king made anſwer, that by Gods grace he would performe them. Then the king tooke the crowne beſide the altar, and deliuered it to the archbiſhop, which he ſet vpon the kings head, deliuering to him the ſcepter to hold in his right hand, and the rod roiall in his left hand, & thus being crowned he was brought backe by the biſhops and barons, with the croſſe and candleſticks, and thrée ſwords paſſing forth before him vnto his ſeat. When the biſhop that ſang the maſſe came to the offertorie, the two biſhops that brought him to the church, led him to the altar, and brought him backe againe.

Finallie when maſſe was doone, and all things ended in order as was requiſit, he was brought with ſolemne proceſſion into his chamber, where he put off his heauie rich apparell, and put on a crowne and other garments more light and eaſie, and ſo went to dinner, whereat wanted no ſtore of meats & drinks, which were ſerued out in moſt princelie and bountifull wiſe.

Wil.Paruus.

The Iewes meant to preſent him with a rich gift.

Vpon this daie of king Richards coronation, the Iewes that dwelt in London and in other parts of the realme, being there aſſembled, had but ſorie hap, as it chanced. For they meaning to honour the ſame coronation with their preſence, and to preſent to the king ſome honorable gift, wherby they might declare themſelues glad for his aduancement, and procure his fréendſhip towards them, for the confirming of their priueleges & liberties, according to the grants and charters made to them by the former kings: he of a zealous mind to Chriſtes religion, abhorring their nation (and doubting ſome ſorcerie by them to be practiſed) commanded that they ſhould not come within the church when he ſhould receiue the crowne, nor within the palace whileſt he was at dinner.

Matt.Paris.

A Iew ſtriken.

The people fall vpon the Iewes and beat them.

Their houſes are ſet on fire.

But at dinner time, among other that preſſed in at the palace gate, diuerſe of the Iewes were about to thruſt in, till one of them was ſtriken by a chriſtian, who alledging the kings commandement, kept them backe from comming within the palace. Which ſome of the vnrulie people perceiuing, and ſuppoſing it had béene doone by the kings commandement, tooke lightlie occaſion thereof, and falling vpon the Iewes with ſtaues, bats and ſtones, beat them and chaſed them home to their houſes and lodgings. Héerewith roſe a rumor through the citie, that the king had commanded the Iewes to be deſtroied, and therevpon came running togither, to aſſault them in their houſes, which when they could not eaſilie breake vp nor enter, by reaſon the ſame were ſtrongly builded, they ſet fire on them, ſo that diuers houſes were conſumed, not onelie of the Iewes, but alſo of their neighbours, ſo hideous was the rage of the fire. Here we ſee that

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.

The king being aduertiſed of this riotous attempt of the outragious people, ſent ſome of his councellours, as Ranulfe de Glanuille lord iuſtice, and other officers to appeaſe the tumult: but their authoritie was nothing regarded, nor their perſuaſions any whit reuerenced, but their thretnings rather brought themſelues in danger of life among the rude ſort of thoſe that were about to ſpoile, rob, and ſacke the houſes and ſhops of the Iewes: to the better accompliſhment of which their vnlawfull act, the light that the fire of thoſe houſes which burned, gaue after it was once night, did miniſter no ſmall helpe and occaſion of furtherance. The Iewes that were in thoſe houſes which were ſet on fire, were either ſmoldred and burned to death within, or elſe at their comming foorth moſt cruellie receiued vpon the points of ſpeares, billes, ſwords and gleaues of their aduerſaries that watched for them verie diligentlie.

Iewes burnt to death.

This outrage of the furious and diſordered people continued from the middeſt of the one day, till two of the clocke on the other; the commons all that while neuer ceaſſing their furie againſt that nation, but ſtill killing them as they met with any of them, in moſt horrible, raſh and vnreaſonable maner. At length, rather wearied with their cruell dooings, than ſatiſfied with ſpoile, or mooued with reſpect of reaſon or reuerence of their prince, they withdrew themſelues from their riotons enterpriſe, after they had executed manie vnlawfull and horrible enormities. This great riot well deſerued ſore and gréeuous puniſhment, but yet it paſſed ouer without correction, in reſpect of the great number of the tranſgreſſors, and for that the moſt part of men for the hatred generallie conceiued againſt the obſtinate frowardneſſe of the Iewes, liked the dooings hereof well inough, interpreting it to be a good token, that the ioifull daie of the kings aduancement to the crowne ſhould be dolefull vnto the Iewes, in bringing them to ſuch ſlaughter and deſtruction. Finallie, after that the tumult was ceaſſed, the king commanded that no man ſhould hurt or harme any of the Iewes, and ſo they were reſtored to peace, after they had ſuſteined infinit damage.

¶ The occaſion of this tragedie and bloudie tumult (redounding to the Iewes great vexation and pitifull diſtreſſe, but to the ſatiſfieng of the peoples furious and vnbridled proneſſe to crueltie) ſprang principallie from the king, who if he had not ſo lightlie eſtéemed of the Iewes when they repaired vnto him with their preſent, in ſigne of ſubmiſſion and hope of obteining their ſute then purpoſed to be exhibited; this hurlie burlie had not inſued. For it was a violent example & a mightie motiue to the people to maligne the Iewes; as alſo a hart-gréefe to them in reſpect of their reiection, when the prince gaue them ſo diſcourteous a repulſe. Here therefore is to be obſerued, that the people is the princes ape, as one verie well ſaith. For looke whereto he is inclined, note wherein he delighteth; the ſame is the practiſe of the people: in conſideration whereof the mightie ones of the world haue ſpeciall cauſe to haue an eie to their courſe of life, & to ſet caueats before their actions, that the people may in them ſée none but good ſignes of commendable & vertuous imitation. For

Pal. in ſuo ſag.

——— regis imago
Vulgus, & ad mores accedere principis optat.
Qualis enim rex eſt talis quoque ſubditus ille
Eſſe ſolet populus, ſtudijſque tenetur ijſdem.

A councell at Pipewell.

Shortlie after, to wit, the 15. day of September, a councell was holden at Pipewell, where the biſhops and abbats being aſſembled, there were in preſence of the king and of the archbiſhop of Canturburie elected certeine biſhops and abbats to ſuch places as then were vacant: and amongſt other, William de Longchampe the kings chancellor was elected to the ſée of Elie, Geffrey the kings baſtard brother vnto the archbiſhoprike of Yorke, who was the 32. in number that had gouerned the ſame, Geffrey de Lucie to Wincheſter, one Hubert Walter to Saliſburie, and Richard archdeacon of Elie, and the kings treaſurer to the ſée of London. The abbeies that were prouided of abbats were theſe, Glaſtenburie, Shirborne, Perſore and Feuerſham. In like maner, Iohn the elect of Whitherne was conſecrated biſhop of that ſée, by the hands of the archbiſhop of Dublin. Alſo in this councell the king ordeined Hugh biſhop of Durham, and William Mandeuille earle of Albemarle, lord chéefe iuſtices of England, hauing depoſed Ranulfe de Glanuille from that roome.

Wil. Paruus.

The biſhop of Whitherne conſecrated.
Rog. Houed.

Moreouer, the king being thus eſtabliſhed in the eſtate of the kingdome, did not forget his iournie which he had promiſed into the holie land, but with all diligence made his prouiſion, and namelie he ſought to gather monie to furniſh his charges, and ſo therevpon leuied a tax, engaged, ſold, and let to farme his lands, tols, cuſtoms, and other his reuenewes, with certeine counties and offices, ſo that he made an excéeding ſumme of monie. He alſo found, that Ranulfe de Glanuille lord chéefe iuſtice, and other of the head magiſtrates had not behaued themſelues vprightlie in the adminiſtration of their offices; ſo that he both depoſed the ſaid lord chéefe iuſtice as is aforeſaid, and almoſt all the ſhiriffes and their deputies within the realme of England, putting them to gréeuous fines for their offenſes and tranſgreſſions, and ſo by that meanes he got no ſmall deale of monie.

Matt. Par.

¶ Here note by the waie, how William Paruus affirmeth, that where this Ranulfe Glanuille, being a man of high wiſedome and ſtept into age, ſaw that manie things were doone by the new king, not ſo aduiſedlie, nor with ſuch foreſight as they ought to be, ſought of his owne accord to be diſcharged of his office, that he might the better prepare himſelfe to go in that iournie to the holie land, as by taking vpon him the croſſe he had vowed in the daies of king Henrie, and ſo he ſolemnelie renounced his office, which other (nothing ſo worthie of it) did afterwards inioy.

Wil. Paruus.

Moreouer, the king vnderſtanding that Hugh Putſey or Pudſey biſhop of Durham, being a verie aged man, had much monie, he ſold to him the manour of Seggeſfield or Sadberge, with the wapentake belonging to the ſame, and alſo found meanes to perſuade him to buy his owne prouince, which he did, giuing to the king an ineſtimable ſumme of monie, and was therevpon created an earle by the king for the ſame: wherevpon he was intituled both biſhop and earle of Durham, whereat the king would ieſt afterwards and ſaie; What a cunning craftesman am I, that haue made a new earle of an old biſhop?

The biſhop of Durham.
Sadberge.
The biſhop of Durham made an earle.

Furthermore, the ſame biſhop gaue to the king a thouſand markes to be made chéefe iuſtice of England, and that he might tarrie at home, and not go into the holie land. And bicauſe he would not be reprooued of any perſon, he obteined of the apoſtolike ſée (which faileth no man that is ſurcharged with white or red mettall, and would be eaſed) a licence for a ſumme of monie to be diſpenſed with for that iournie. The king thus being earneſtlie bent to make commoditie of thoſe things, for the which he might get any monie at all, the citizens of London preſented vnto him a great ſumme towards the furniſhing foorth of his enterpriſe. Wherevpon to acquite their courteſie, he granted them large priuileges, and ordeined that the citie ſhould be ruled by two head officers, which they ſhould chooſe amongſt themſelues remoueable from yeare to yeare by the name of bailiffes. The names of the two firſt bailiffes choſen

The citizens of London preſent monie to the king.
Polydor.
Liberties granted to London.

Two bailiffes.

by force of that ordinance, were Henrie Cornehill, and Richard Fitz Reiner.

Port Greues.

The citie before thoſe daies euer ſince the comming in of William Conquerour, and a good while before his time, was gouerned by certeine officers or rulers named Port Greues (which word is deriued of two Saxon words, as Port and Greue. By Port is meant a towne, and by Greue a gardian or ruler, as who ſhould ſaie, A kéeper or ruler of a towne.) Theſe rulers with the lawes & cuſtomes then vſed within this citie, were regiſtred in a booke called (as ſome haue ſaid) Doomeſdaie, but through negligence after theſe lawes and cuſtomes were changed and altered, the booke was loſt, ſo that the remembrance of ſuch rulers as were before the daies of this Richard the firſt, are not to be had. Theſe bailiffes euer entred at Michaelmaſſe, and ſo continued forth their yeare.

Apprentiſes.

Fréemen.

Wards.

The Maior.

Thus began the citie firſt to receiue the forme and ſtate of a common-wealth, and to be diuided into fellowſhips, which they call crafts or corporations. Such alſo are admitted to the fellowſhips of theſe companies, as haue truelie ſerued as apprentiſes a certeine number of yeares, as ſeuen at the leaſt, vnder which time of ſeruice expired, there is none made frée, nor ſuffered to inioy the liberties of that citie, ſauing ſuch as are borne frée, that is to ſaie, of fréemen within the citie, of whome at this time, it is not much materiall to make any further report. The citie thus conſiſting of the ſaid craftes or occupations, chooſeth out of the ſame a ſenat or companie of graue councellours, whom they name Aldermen (E) changed into (A) according to the old Saxon pronuntiation. It is alſo diuided into 26. tribes or wards, of the which euerie one hath his ſeuerall Alderman, or ouerſéer, who haue both authoritie ſufficient, and large priuileges to mainteine the good gouernement of their portions withall. Out of the number of theſe, there is another officer yearelie choſen and appointed, called the Maior, who ruleth all the reſt.

K. Richard ſetteth things on ſale.
Ran. Higd.
Wil. Paruus.

But now to returne vnto the further doings of king Richard before his departure out of England towards his iournie into the land of Paleſtine, commonlie called Holie land, it is ſaid, he made ſuch ſale of things apperteining to him, as well in right of the crowne, as otherwiſe, that it ſéemed to diuerſe he made his reckoning neuer to returne againe, in ſo much that ſome of his councellours told him plainelie, that he did not well in making things alwaie ſo fréelie, to the diſhonoring of his maieſtie, and preiudice of his ſucceſſour; vnto whom he anſwered, that in time of néed it was no euill policie for a man to helpe himſelfe with his owne, and further ioined hereto theſe words, that if London at that time of néed would be bought, he would ſurelie ſell it, if he might méet with a conuenient merchant that were able to giue him monie inough for it.

Another way he had alſo to gather riches, and that was this. He had a licence of pope Innocent the third, to diſpenſe with ſuch as pleaſed him within his realme, for their vowes made to go into the holie land, although they had taken on them the croſſe for that purpoſe, namelie ſuch as he ſhould appoint to remaine behind him for the defenſe of his countrie: and of theſe alſo he tooke abundantlie, and diuerſe other he compelled to fine, namelie, to the end that he might get their monie likewiſe, that hereby he obteined no ſmall ſumme toward the furniture of his iournie. But both pope & prince forgat in the meane while, that

Boni paſtoris eſt tondere pecus non excoriare.

This yeare alſo in the moneth of Nouember, as Matthew Paris ſaith, Johannes de Anagnia a cardinall and legat from the pope arriued here in England, comming on land at Douer, and bicauſe the king was as then in the north parts, the ſame cardinall was prohibited on the behalfe of the kings mother queene Elianor, to paſſe any further without the kings commandement. And ſo he staied there thirtéene daies at the charges of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, till the king came to thoſe parties, by whoſe wiſedome a direction was taken for the quieting of the controuerſie betwixt the archbiſhop, and the moonkes of Canturburie, for the chappell church of Hakinton now called S. Stephans.

R. Houed.

William king of Scots.

A councell called at Canturburie.
Polydor.
An oth.
Matth. Paris.

In the ſame moneth of Nouember, by the kings appointment, Geffrey the elect of Yorke, who was the kings brother, with other barons and lords of Yorkeſhire, receiued William king of Scotland at the water of Tweed, and from thence with all due reuerence and honour they brought him vnto Canturburie, where the king had called a councell of the lords of his realme both ſpirituall and temporall, in the which euerie of them tooke an oth to be true to the king, and to continue in due obedience vnder him and his lawes, which oth alſo the king of Scots receiued, being there preſent, and likewiſe king Richards brethren earle John and Geffrey the archbiſhop of Yorke.

Matth. Paris.
Polydor.

Reſtitution made to the K. of Scots.
Wil. Paruus.

Rog. Houed.

N. Triuet.

The king of Scots therefore hauing receiued this oth, and thinking the time to ſerue his purpoſe for redéeming of thoſe caſtels, which were deliuered to king Henrie as gages for his ranſome, paid now vnto king Richard ten thouſand markes, and had reſtitution of the ſame, that is of Berwike, Roxburgh, Sterling, and Edenburgh. But William Paruus ſaieth, that Edenburgh was reſtored to him in the daies of king Henrie, by reaſon of his wife which he tooke in the parties beyond the ſeas: and herewith agréeth the Scotiſh chronicle. King Richard alſo aſſigned to queene Elianor his mother, the accuſtomed dower, with manie lordſhips and honours beſide, as an augmentation thereof. About which time died William de Mandeuille earle of Albemarle at Rouen, and Hugh de Putſey the nephue of the biſhop of Durham died at Aclet, and was buried at Durham. Alſo Formalis archbiſhop of Trier died at Northampton, and was there buried in the church of S. Andrews.

Matth. Paris.

In the meane time, king Richard ſtill deſirous to furniſh himſelfe with monie, deuiſed yet another ſhift, and feigned that he had loſt his ſeale; wherefore he commanded a new to be made, which being doone, he cauſed it to be proclaimed and publiſhed in euerie countrie, that thoſe to whome he had granted any thing by his déed or charter, meaning to inioy the ſame in ſuertie, ſhould not thinke it much to come and haue it confirmed by his new ſeale, leaſt afterward the other being loſt, their lawfull titles might be called into queſtion. Whervpon manie that could not come to him whileſt he was in England, were glad to follow him, and ſaile ouer into Normandie, and there to fine at his pleaſure for the new ſeale, to the end that their writings might be confirmed thereby, and made ſo much the more ſure to them and their ſucceſſours. For the ſame buſineſſe alſo Remigius the prior of S. Albons, and manie other went ouer to their great coſts, charges, and trauell, after he was tranſported into France.

I find moreouer about the ſame time, that the kings brother earle John exhibited a ſore complaint againſt the Romane legat and other biſhops, for that the archbiſhop of Canturburie, after the appeale made vnto the apoſtolike ſea, had put his lands vnder interdiction for his mariage made with the earle of Glocesters daughter: which when the legat heard, he forthwith confirmed the appeale, and releaſed the earles lands of the aforeſaid interdiction. The ſame time alſo, the tenth part of all the moueable goods through the realme of England was leuied to the aid of the warres in the holie land. And this collection, paſſing vnder the name of an almes, was extended vpon the goods as well of the ſpirituall men as temporall.

Hugh biſhop of Durham gouerneth the north parts.
Matth. Paris.
William Lōgchampe biſhop of Elie.

After all this, K. Richard deſirous to ſet order in the gouernment of his realme, appointed Hugh biſhop of Durham to haue the rule of the north parts as cheefe iuſtice from Humber northwards toward Scotland, deliuering vnto him alſo the keeping of Wincheſter caſtell: the reſidue of the kingdome (with the cuſtodie of the towre) he aſſigned to the gouernance of William Longchampe biſhop of Elie, whome he had made cheefe iuſtice of that part, and chancellour of the realme, a man of great diligence and knowledge in the adminiſtration of things, but verie factious and deſirous of rule, honour and riches farre aboue all meaſure. And with theſe two he ioined in commiſſion Hugh Bardulfe, William Marſhall earle of Chepſtow, or rather Penbroke, Geffrey Fitz Peter, & William Brewer, men of great honour, wiſedome, and diſcretion.

R. Houed.
King Richard paſſeth ouer into Normandie

On the fift day of December, he departed from Canturburie, and went to Douer, there to take water, and ſo on the eleuenth day of December he paſſed ouer vnto Calice, where he found Philip earle of Flanders readie to receiue him, who attended vpon him till he came into Normandie, where the king held his Chriſtmas at Burun, and immediatlie he came to an enterview with the French king at Gue S. Remige, where they concluded peace togither, to be kept betwixt them & their countries on ech part: the which was put in writing, and confirmed with their oths and ſeales in the feaſt of ſaint Hilarie.

1190
Vadum ſancti Remigij.
A league betwixt ẏ kings of England and France.
R. Houed.

Furthermore, about the purification of our ladie, Elianor the quéene mother, and the ladie Alice ſiſter to the French king, Baldwine archbiſhop of Canturburie, Iohn biſhop of Norwich, Hugh biſhop of Durham, Geffrey biſhop of Wincheſter, Reignold biſhop of Bath, William Biſhop of Elie, Hubert biſhop of Saliſburie, and Hugh biſhop of Cheſter, with Geffrey the elect of Yorke and Iohn earle of Mortaigne the kings two brethren, by commandement of the king paſſed ouer into Normandie, to commen with him before his ſetting forward.

Contention betwixt two ambitious biſhops.

¶ Some write, that now at this preſent, the king ſhould ordeine or rather confirme the biſhop of Elie his chancellour to be lord chéefe iuſtice ouer all England, and the biſhop of Durham to be lord iuſtice from Trent northwards. But whenſoeuer they were thus aduanced to ſuch dignities, howſoeuer they came by them, directlie or indirectlie, true it is, that immediatlie therevpon, ſtrife and diſcord did ariſe betwixt them: for waxing proud and inſolent, they diſdained ech other, contending which of them ſhould beare moſt rule and authoritie, inſomuch that whatſoeuer ſéemed good to the one, the other miſliked, as in caſes where parteners in authoritie are equall, it often happeneth. The like hereof is noted before betwéene the archbiſhops of Canturburie and Yorke in diuerſe kings reignes. For the nature of ambition is to delight in ſingularitie, to admit no péere, to giue place to no ſuperior, to acknowledge no equall. Hereto alludeth the poet verie neatlie, and exemplifieth it in the old Romans, the order of whoſe actions is continued at this day, as by the words inſuing may be gathered, and ordinarilie obſerued, both here and elſewhere;

M. Pal. in ſuo virg.

——olim
Romulidæ orabant, iacto poſt terga pudore,
Plebeios, quoties ſuffragia venabantur,
Cerdonúmq; animos precibus ſeruilibus atq;
Turpibus obſequijs captabant, muneribúſq;
Vt proprijs rebus curarent publica omiſsis:
Pérq; forum medium multis comitantibus irent,
Inflati vt vento folles, ac fronte ſuperba, &c.

Moreouer, at the ſame time he cauſed his two brethren, earle Iohn, and Geffrey the elect archbiſhop of Yorke to take an oth not to returne into England during the terme of thrée yeares next inſuing, without his conſent and licence firſt had. This he did, foreſéeing what might happen, prouiding as it were againſt ſuch practiſes as his brethren might happilie attempt againſt him. But yet his mother quéene Elianor procured him to reuoke that decrée immediatlie, leaſt it might ſeeme to the world, that hir ſonnes ſhould ſtand in feare one of another. And ſo the earle of Mortaigne was licenced to returne into England at his pleaſure, ſwearing an oth at his departure to obeie the kings beheaſt, and truelie to ſerue him, according to the dutie of a good and loiall ſubiect. The biſhop of Elie lord chancellour and chéefe iuſtice of England was alſo ſent backe hither into this realme, to ſet forward things behouefull for the kings iournie.

Earle Iohn licenced to returne into England.

The biſhop of Elie returneth.

In like maner the king ſent to Rome to obteine that the ſaid biſhop of Elie might be conſtituted the popes legat through both the prouinces of Canturburie and Yorke, and likewiſe through Wales and Ireland. Which was ſoone granted by the bulles of pope Clement the third, bearing date the 5. of Iune. For the which office the biſhops gaue him 1500. marks, to the great offenſe of the king, as he ſhewed afterward to cardinall Octauian that came to viſit him when he arriued in the riuer of Tiber, being vpon his iourneie towards Meſſina, as after may appeare. But in the meane time, calling togither the lords and peeres of thoſe his dominions on that ſide the ſea, to wit, Normandie, Britaine, Aniou, Poitou, and Guien, he conſulted with them what number of ſoldiors and how manie ſhips it ſhould be conuenient for him to take with him and furniſh into Aſia: and herewith he did command them alſo to obeie Robert earle of Leiceſter, whome he appointed to remaine amongſt them as his lieutenant or vicegerent of thoſe parts during his abſence.

Polydor.

W. Paruus.
The hatred borne to the Iewes.

¶ But here to leaue king Richard in conſultation for matters apperteining to his iournie, and ſhew brieflie what happened (by the waie) to the Iewes, which as then dwelt héere in England, after that king Richard was paſſed ouer into Normandie: ye haue heard how after the riot againſt them at London, when the king was crowned, he tooke order that they ſhould remaine in peace vnder his protection, and commanded that no perſon ſhould in anie wiſe moleſt them. But now after that he was gone ouer, and that the ſouldiers (which prepared themſelues to follow him) began to aſſemble in routs, the heads of the common people began to wax wild, and faine would they haue had ſome occaſion of raiſing a new tumult againſt the Iewes, whome (for their vnmercifull vſurie practiſed to the vndooing of manie an honeſt man) they moſt deadlie hated, wiſhing moſt earneſtlie their expulſion out of England. Hervpon by reaſon of a riot committed latelie againſt them, at the towne of Lin in Norfolke, where manie of them were ſlaine, other people in other parts of the realme, taking occaſion hereat, as if they had béene called vp by the ſound of a bell or trumpet, aroſe againſt them in thoſe townes where they had any habitations, and robbed and bet them after a diſordered and moſt riotous maner.

Iohn Textor.
Fiue hundred ſaith Houeden and Textor.

As at Stamford (on the faire day in Lent) at Lincolne, and at Yorke, in which citie after a number of them had béene beſieged certeine daies within a towre of the kings (whither they fled for ſuccour) one of their learned gouernours cauſed foure hundred of their companie to conſent to haue their throts cut one at an others hands, he himſelfe cutting his wiues throte firſt, whoſe name was Anna, then his childrens, one after another, and laſt of all ſlue himſelfe, onlie rather than he would fall into the hands of the chriſtians, that had thus long beſieged them. The reſt perceiuing what their great Rabbi had doone, ſet fire vpon all their goods and ſubſtance, which they had gotten into the tower with them, and ſo conſuming the ſame, would haue burnt alſo the reſidue of their fellowes which would not agree to the Rabbies counſell, in the cruell murthering of themſelues, if they had not taken a ſtrong turret hard by within that tower, and defended themſelues both from the fire and crueltie of their brethren, who had made awaie themſelues in ſuch manner as I haue ſaid: and that to the number of foure hundred, or (as ſome write) fiue hundred at the leaſt.

On the morow, thoſe that were ſaued, called out to the people, and not onelie ſhewed how and after what ſort their fellowes were diſpatched, but alſo offered to be baptiſed, and forſake their Iudaiſme, if they might haue their liues ſaued from the imminent & preſent danger wherein they ſaw themſelues to be wrapped, through the furie of the people. To be ſhort, this thing was granted, and they came forth, howbeit they were no ſooner entred into the preaſe, but they were all ſlaine, and not one man of them preſerued.

After this alſo, the people ran to the cathedrall church, and broke into thoſe places where their bonds and obligations laie, by the which they had diuerſe of the kings ſubiects bound vnto them in moſt vnconſcionable ſort, and for ſuch deteſtable vſurie as (if the authors that write thereof were not of credit) would hardlie be beleeued. All which euidences or bonds they ſolemnelie burned in the middeſt of the church. After which, ech went his waie, the ſouldiers to the king, and the commons to their houſes, and ſo was the citie quieted. This happened at Yorke on Palmeſundaie eue, being the 17. of March: and vpon the 15. of that moneth, thoſe that inhabited in the towne of S. Edmundſburie in Suffolke, were ſet vpon, and manie of them ſlaine. The reſidue that eſcaped, through the procurement of the abbat then named Samſon, were expelled, ſo that they neuer had anie dwellings there ſince that time.

Thus were the Iewes vnmercifullie dealt with in all places in maner through this realme, the firſt beginning whereof chanced at London (as before ye haue heard) and the next at Lin, of which I thinke it good to note ſome part of the maner therof, although breeflie, and ſo to returne to my purpoſe. The occaſion therefore of the tumult at Lin chanced by this meanes: it fortuned that one of the Iewes there was become a chriſtian, wherewith thoſe of his nation were ſo mooued, that they determined to kill him where ſoeuer they might find him. And herevpon they ſet vpon him one daie as he came by, through the ſtreets: he to eſcape their hands fled to the next church; but his countriemen were ſo deſirous to execute their malicious purpoſe, that they followed him ſtill, and inforced themſelues to breake into the church vpon him. Herewith the noiſe being raiſed by the chriſtians that ſought to ſaue the conuerted Iew, a number of mariners being forreners, that were arriued there with their veſſels out of ſundrie parts, and diuerſe alſo of the towneſmen came to the reſcue, and ſetting vpon the Iewes, cauſed them to flee into their houſes.

The ſlaughter made of the Jewes at Lin.

The towneſmen were not verie earneſt in purſuing of them, bicauſe of the kings proclamation and ordinance before time made in fauour of the Iewes: but the mariners followed them to their houſes, ſlue diuerſe of them, robbed and ſacked their goods, and finallie ſet their dwellings on fire, and ſo burnt them vp altogither. Theſe mariners being inriched with the ſpoile of the Iewes goods, and fearing to be called to accompt for their vnlawfull act by the kings officers, got them forthwith to ſhipbord, and hoiſing vp ſailes, departed with their ſhips to the ſea, and ſo eſcaped the danger of that which might haue beene otherwiſe laid to their charge. The towneſmen being called to an accompt excuſed themſelues by the mariners, burdening them with all the fault. But although they of Lin were thus excuſed, yet they of Yorke eſcaped not ſo eaſilie. For the king being aduertiſed of ſuch outrage, done contrarie to the order of his lawes and expreſſe commandement, wrote ouer to the biſhop of Elie his chancellour, charging him to take cruell puniſhment of the offendors.

The biſhop with an armie went to Yorke, but the cheefe authors of the riot hearing of his comming, fled into Scotland: yet the biſhop at his comming to the citie, cauſed earneſt inquirie to be made of the whole matter. The citizens excuſed themſelues, & offered to proue that they were not of counſel with them that had committed the riot, neither had they aided nor comforted them therein in anie maner of wiſe. And in deed the moſt part of them that were the offendors, were of the countries and townes neere to the citie, with ſuch as were croſſed into the holie land, and now gone ouer to the king, ſo that verie few or none of the ſubſtantiall men of the citie were found to haue ioined with them. Howbeit this would not excuſe the citizens, but that they were put to their fine by the ſtout biſhop, euerie of them paieng his portion according to his power and abilitie in ſubſtance, the common ſort of the poore people being pardoned, and not called into iudgement, ſith the ringleaders were fled and gone out of the waie: and thus much by waie of digreſſion touching the Iews.

The citizens of Yorke put to their fine for ſlaughter of the Jewes.

Now to returne vnto the king, who in this meane time was verie buſie to prouide all things neceſſarie to ſet forward on his iournie; his ſhips which laie in the mouth of the riuer of Saine, being readie to put off, he tooke order in manie points concerning the ſtate of the common-wealth on that ſide, and cheefelie he called to mind, that it ſhould be a thing neceſſarie for him, to name who ſhould ſucceed him in the kingdome of England, if his chance ſhould not be to returne againe from ſo long and dangerous a iournie. He therefore named (as ſome ſuppoſe) his nephue Arthur, the ſonne of his brother Geffrey duke of Britaine, to be his ſucceſſour in the kingdome, a yoong man of a likelie proofe and princelie towardneſſe, but not ordeined by God to ſucceed ouer this kingdome.

Matt. Weſt.

About the ſame time the biſhop of Elie, lord chancellour and cheefe iuſtice of England, tooke vp to the kings vſe, of euerie citie in England two palfries and two ſumpter horſſes, & of euerie abbeie one palfrie and one ſumpter horſſe, & euerie manour within the realme found alſo one palfrie and one ſumpter horſſe. Moreouer, the ſaid biſhop of Elie deliuered the gouernement of Yorkeſhire to his brother Oſbert de Longchampe: and all thoſe knights of the ſaid ſhire, the which would not come to make anſwer to the law vpon ſummons giuen them, he commanded to be apprehended and by and by caſt in priſon. Alſo when the biſhop of Durham was returned from the king and come ouer into England to go vnto his charge, at his meeting with the lord chancellour at Elie (notwithſtanding that he ſhewed him his letters patents of the grant made to him to be iuſtice from Trent northward) the ſaid lord chancellour taking his iournie to Southwell with him, there deteined him as priſoner, till he had made ſurrender to him of the caſtell of Windſor, & further had deliue-

The biſhop of Durham reſtreined of libertie.

red

---

red to him his ſo
bert de la Ley, a
peace againſt th
ſaid prince ſhoul
he was deliuered
and whileſt he re
him Oſbert de
brother, and Wil
the ſaid biſhop to
not thence depar
lord chancellor
ſent. Herevpo
ledge to the kin
handled by the a

In the mean
coigne, where h
one William d
the owner, wh
ſpoiles and rob
pilgrims that
ſtella, to viſit th
king came ba
tooke order for
ouer which he a
archbiſhop of
bert de Sabli
am de Forz de
ſhould paſſe f
ent vnto theſ
nants. Here
victuals to ſe
the ſpace of 6

The king
dinances to b
which tended

1 Firſt, th
on the ſhipbo
and ſo throwe

2 Secon
yet be boun
togither.

3 Third
lawfull with
any other,
draw bloud
his hand.

4 Foun
without blo
ſeuerall tim

5 Fiftl
for euerie ti
of ſiluer.

6 Sixtl
or pickerie,
head polled
vpon that
ſhaken alo
theefe, and
land, be put
ture, witho

Theſe w
did enact a
time haue
time John
gane to the
biſhop of
lection of
Clement,
the chapit
« addeth the
« all, and by
« you exhib
« vnto your
« mendabl

William de Chiſi.

The kings nauie is ſet forth.

Baion. Sablius, or Sabuille.

Polydor.

Sleiers of men.

Brallers.

Puniſhment for blouddrawers.

Reuilers.

Theft and pickerie.

Wil. Paruus.

red to him his ſonnes, Henrie de Putſey, and Gilbert de la Ley, as pledges that he ſhould kéepe the peace againſt the king and all his ſubiects, vntill the ſaid prince ſhould returne from the holie land. And ſo he was deliuered for that time, though ſhortlie after, and whileſt he remained at Houeden, there came to him Oſbert de Longchampe the lord chancellors brother, and William de Stuteuille, the which cauſed the ſaid biſhop to find ſufficient ſuertie that he ſhould not thence depart without the kings licence, or the lord chancellors, ſo long as the king ſhould be abſent. Herevpon the biſhop of Durham ſent knowledge to the king how and in what ſort he had béene handled by the chancellor.

William de Chiſi.

In the meane time the king was gone into Gaſcoigne, where he beſieged a caſtell that belonged to one William de Chiſi, and tooke both the caſtell and the owner, whome he cauſed to be hanged for the ſpoiles and robberies which he had committed vpon pilgrims that paſſed by thoſe parts toward Compoſtella, to viſit the bodie of ſaint James. After this, the king came backe vnto Chinon in Aniou, and there tooke order for the ſetting forth of his nauie by ſea, ouer which he appointed chéefe gouernours Gerard archbiſhop of Aux, Bernard biſhop of Baieux, Robert de Sablius, Richard de Camuille, and William de Forz de Vlerun, commanding all thoſe that ſhould paſſe forth with his ſaid nauie, to be obedient vnto theſe perſons as his deputies and lieutenants. Herewith they were appointed to prouide victuals to ſerue all thoſe that ſhould go by ſea for the ſpace of 60. daies.

The kings nauie is ſet forth.

Baion.

Sablius, or Sabuille.

Polydor.

The king alſo made the ſame time certeine ordinances to be obſerued among the ſeafaring men which tended to this effect:

Sleiers of men.

1 Firſt, that if any man chanced to ſlea an other on the ſhipbord, he ſhould be bound to the dead bodie and ſo throwne into the ſea.

2 Secondlie, if he killed him on land, he ſhould yet be bound to him as before, and ſo buried quicke togither.

Bralers.

Puniſhment for blouddrawers.

3 Thirdlie, if any man ſhould be conuicted by lawfull witneſſe, that he drew any weapon to ſtrike any other, or chanced by ſtriking at any man to draw bloud of him that was ſmitten, he ſhould loſe his hand.

4 Fourthlie, if he gaue but a blowe with his fiſt without bloudſhedding, he ſhould be plunged thrée ſeuerall times ouer head and eares in the water.

Reuilers.

5 Fiftlie, if any man reuiled another, he ſhould for euerie time ſo miſuſing himſelfe, forfeit an ounce of ſiluer.

Theft and pickerie.

6 Sixtlie, that if any man were taken with theft or pickerie, and thereof conuicted, he ſhould haue his head polled, and hot pitch powred vpon his pate, and vpon that, the feathers of ſome pillow or cuſhion ſhaken aloft, that he might thereby be knowne for a théefe, and at the next arriuall of the ſhips to any land, be put forth of the companie to ſéeke his aduenture, without all hope of returne vnto his fellowes.

Wil. Paruus.

Theſe were the ſtatutes which this famous prince did enact at the firſt for his nauie, which ſithens that time haue béen verie much inlarged. About the ſame time John Biſhop of Whiterne in Scotland, ſuffragane to the church of Yorke, ordeined Geffrey archbiſhop of Yorke, préeſt. At the ſame ſeaſon alſo the election of the ſame Geffrey was confirmed by pope Clement, who among other things that he wrote to the chapiter of Yorke on his behalfe, at the end he addeth theſe words: “We doo therefore admoniſh you all, and by the apoſtolicall bulles command you, that you exhibit both reuerence and honour vnto him as vnto your prelat, that thereby you may appeare commendable both before God and man. Giuen at Lateran in the nones of March and third yeare of our gouernment.”

Whileſt theſe things were in dooing, there came into France legats from the ſaid Clement, to mooue the two kings to make all the ſpéed poſſible towards their iourneie, bicauſe of the great danger wherein things ſtood in Paleſtine, requiring preſent helpe. Herevpon king Richard (his men and prouiſion being readie) commanded that his ſhips ſhould ſet forward, & to coaſt about by the ſtreicts of Giberalterre to come vnto Marſeilles, where he appointed to méet them, and ſo with a choſen companie of men he alſo ſet forth thitherwards by land, and comming to Towrs, receiued the ſcrip and ſtaffe as a pilgrime ſhould, at the hands of the archbiſhop there.

Polydor.

King Richard ſet forward on his iourneie.

Rog. Houed.

After this, both the kings of England and France met at Vizeley in the octaues of the natiuitie of S. John Baptiſt, and when they had remained there two daies they paſſed forth to the citie of Lion; where the two kings departed in ſunder, and each one kept his iournie, the one toward Guenes, where his nauie was appointed to come to him, and the other to Marſeilles, there to méet with his fléet, according to his appointment. But the Engliſh ſhips being let and ſtaied by the way by contrarie winds and rigorous tempeſts, which toſſed them to and fro vpon the coaſts of Spaine, could not come in any conuenient time vnto Marſeilles, ſo that king Richard thinking long to tarrie for them, & perceiuing they could not kéepe their appointed time, he hired ſhips from all places thereabouts, and embarking himſelfe and his men in the ſame, vpon ſaint Laurence euen, ſailed forth towards Sicile, where he was appointed to méet with king Philip.

Anno Reg. 2.

The Engliſh fléet ſtaied by contrarie winds.

Twentie gallies & twelue other veſſels ſaith Houed.

Vpon the ſeauenth day of Auguſt ſaith Houeden.

Rog. Houed.

Here is to be noted, that king Richard made not all that iourneie from Marſeilles to Meſſina by ſea, but ſundrie times comming on land, hired horſſes, and rode forth alongſt the coaſt, appointing with his ſhips and gallies where to méet him, and ſometimes he reſted certeine daies togither in one place or other as at Portdelphin, at Naples, and at Salerne, from whence there departed from him Baldwine archbiſhop of Canturburie, Hubert biſhop of Saliſburie, and the lord Ranulfe de Glanuille, the which taking vpon them to go before, with proſperous wind and weather in ſhort ſpace landed at Acon, which was then beſieged, as you ſhall heare hereafter.

At Rome the king came not, but being within the ſtreame of the riuer of Tiber, there came to him a cardinall named Octauianus, biſhop of Hoſtia, to whome he ſpake manie reprochfull words of the couetouſneſſe vſed in the court of Rome (a vice reputed the common nurſſe of all miſchéefes, as one verie well noteth,

King Richard blameth the court of Rome for couetouſneſſe.

Vbi auaritia eſt, habitant fermè omnia ibidem
Flagitia, impietas, periuria, furta, rapinæ,
Fraudes atq; doli, inſidiæq; & proditiones,
Iurgia & infandæ cædes, &c.)

Bicauſe they had receiued ſeauen hundred marks for the conſecration of the biſhop of Mauns, and 1500. marks for the confirming of the biſhop of Elie the popes legat. And againe no ſmall ſumme of monie they had receiued of the archbiſhop of Burdeaux, when vpon an accuſation brought againſt him by the cleargie of his prouince he ſhould haue béene depoſed. In the meane time whiles king Richard thus paſſed forward towards Meſſina, the nauie that was appointed to coaſt about Spaine and to méet him at Marſeilles, was toſſed (as before is ſaid) with wind and tempeſts, and a part thereof, that is to wit, ten ſhips driuen here and there on the coaſts of Spaine, of which number nine arriued at Liſbone and the tenth being a ſhip of London arriued at the citie of Sylua, which was then the vttermoſt citie of

Spaine, that was inhabited with chriſtians.

The Saracens at that time made warres againſt the king of Portingale, ſo that the Portingales ſtood in néed of aid, in ſo much that they of Sylua did not onelie intreat the Engliſhmen to ſtaie with them for a time, but alſo got grant of them to breake their ſhip, with the timber whereof they might the better fortifie their towne, promiſing that their king ſhould recompenſe them with an other as good as theirs, and alſo further ſatiſfie them for their ſeruice, during the time of their abode there in defenſe of that citie. Likewiſe of thoſe that arriued at Liſbone there went to the number of fiue hundred vnto ſaint Iranes, where the king of Portingale then was, looking to be aſſaulted by his enimies: but by the counterfet death of the great K. of the Saracens named Bolac Almiramumoli (who feared theſe new ſuccours, and doubted the ſequele of his dooings, to the end he might depart with honour, he fained himſelfe dead) the king of Portingale was for that time preſentlie deliuered out of danger.

The king of Portingale.

Almiramumoli king of the Saracens.

Herevpon he returned to Liſbone, where he found three ſcore and three other ſhips of king Richards nauie there newlie arriued, ouer the which were chéefe capteins Robert de Sabuuille, and Richard de Camuille: which at their comming to land could not ſo gouerne their people, but that ſome naughtie fellowes amongſt them fell to breaking and robbing of orchards: ſome alſo entring into the citie, behaued themſelues verie diſorderlie. But yet by the comming of the king, their lewdneſſe was ſtaied, ſo that he ſeemed not to ſéeke reuenge of the pilgrims, but rather with courteous meanes to bridle their vnlawfull attempts: wherevnto the diligence of the Engliſh capteins not a little preuailed for a while, but yet for all that could be done on both ſides, within three daies after, a new tumult was raiſed betwixt the Engliſh pilgrims and the towneſmen, and diuerſe hurt and killed on either part.

Robert de Sabuuille. Richard de Camuille.

A mutinie betwixt the Engliſhmen and the townſmen of Liſbone. Engliſhmen committed to priſon.

Wherevpon the king cauſed the gates of the citie to be ſhut, and all thoſe that were come from the ſhips into the citie to eat and drinke (being in number about ſeauen hundred) were apprehended and committed to ward: and before they could be releaſed, ſir Robert Sabuuille and ſir Richard Camuille were glad to agree with the king, ſo as all former offenſes being remitted, and things taken by either part reſtored, the Engliſhmen promiſed to obſerue the peace againſt the king of Portingale and his people; and he likewiſe couenanted for him and his ſubiects, that they ſhould kéepe the peace againſt all pilgrims that went forth in this voiage, and vſe them like his fréends, and thus the quarell ceaſed.

Soone after, the Engliſh nauie departed from Liſbone, and came vnto the mouth of the riuer of Taie, betwéene Caperico and Belem, where the ſame daie on ſaint Iames éeue the lord William de Forzdulerun arriued alſo with thrée and thirtie other ſhips, and ſo then they were in all about an hundred and ſix ſailes verie well furniſhed and manned; and ſo from thence taking their courſe towards Marſciles, finallie they arriued there in the octaues of the aſſumption of our ladie; and ſtaieng there an eight daies (till they had repaired ſuch things about their ſhips as were néedfull) they ſet forward againe, and came to Meſſina in Sicile in the feaſt of the exaltation of the croſſe. On the ſunday following alſo came the French king thither, hauing loſt no ſmall part of his nauie by tempeſts of weather.

The Engliſh ſhips méet togither.

King Richard as then remained at Salern, and hearing that his nauie was gone towards Meſſina, he departed thence on the thirteenth day of September, and haſted forth towards Meſſina, paſſing by Melphi and Cocenza, and ſo at length comming to Faro de Meſſina, he paſſed the ſame, and on the 23. day of September arriued at Meſſina with great noiſe of trumpets and other inſtruments, to the woonder of the French king and others that beheld his great puiſſance and roiall behauiour now at his comming. The ſame time he went vnto the French kings lodging, to commen with him of their buſineſſe: and immediatlie the French king tooke the ſea, in purpoſe to haue paſſed forward on his iournie but by contrarie wind he was ſtaied and kept backe within the hauen, wherevpon both the kings determined to winter there, and in the meane time to prouide themſelues of all things neceſſarie for their iornie, againſt the beginning of the next ſpring. On the 30 of September he receiued his ſiſter the quéene of Sicile, the widow of William late king of that Ile, whome he placed in a ſtrong fortreſſe, which he tooke the ſame day, and left therein a conuenient gariſon of men of armes and demilances for the ſafegard of the place and of his ſaid ſiſter.

They arriue at Meſſina.

K. Richard arriueth at Meſſina.

¶ But now for the better vnderſtanding of the cauſe of ſuch quarelling as fell out betwixt the Engliſhmen and the Sicilians, yée ſhall vnderſtand that a little before the arriuall of the kings of England and France in thoſe parts, king William of Sicile was departed this life, leauing no iſſue behind him. Wherevpon the lords of the Ile elected one Tancred to their king, a baſtard ſonne of Roger ſometime king of that land, and grandfather to this laſt deceaſed king William. This Tancred though he receiued king Richard verie courteouſlie: yet he greatlie truſted him not, bicauſe he demanded the dowrie of his ſiſter quéene Ioane, wife to the late king William to be reſtored, whereas he had not readie monie to diſcharge it.

Furthermore to depart with the citie of Mount ſaint Angelo, with all the countrie therevnto belonging, which was indéed aſſigned to hir for hir dowrie, he thought in no wiſe profitable: but king Richard did not onelie require that citie and countie with a chaire of gold, according to the cuſtome of that kingdome in right of his ſiſter, as due to hir by way of hir dowrie, but alſo he required to his owne vſe a table of gold conteining twelue foot in length, and one foot and an halfe in breadth, & two treſſels of gold to beare vp the ſame table, with 24. ſiluer cups, and as manie diſhes of ſiluer, with a tent of ſilke of ſuch largeneſſe that two hundred knights might ſit at meat within it: alſo fortie thouſand meaſures of wheat, with as manie of barlie, and as manie of wine, beſide one hundred armed gallies, with all furniture and vittels ſufficient to ſerue the gallie-men in the ſame for the terme of two yeares. Theſe things he demanded as due to him being heire to his father king Henrie, accordinglie as was deuiſed by king William in his laſt will and teſtament, which demands ſeemed intollerable to the ſaid Tancred: ſo that if he could haue ſhifted the matter, he was loth to haue heard thereof.

A chaire of gold.

K. Richards demands for the dowrie of his ſiſter wife to K. William

Moreouer, bicauſe pope Clement in right of the church pretended a title to the realme of Sicile, now that king William was dead without heires, he doubted of ſome practiſe that might be made againſt him betwixt king Richard and the pope. Wherevpon he thought to prouide againſt all attempts that might be made, fortifieng his townes & caſtels with ſtrong gariſons, and tooke counſell with the citizens of Meſſina, by what meanes he might ſooneſt diſpatch his countrie of that preſent danger, and procure K. Richard to get him forward on his iournie.

Whileſt theſe things were in hand, there was miniſtred to the Engliſh men occaſion of diſpleaſure: for as it oftentimes chanceth (where an armie is) certeine of the vnrulie ſouldiers within Meſſina vſed themſelues ſomewhat riotouſlie, wherevpon the citizens offended therewith, got them to armour, and chaſed all the ſouldiers out of the citie. King Richard who laie in campe without the walles neere to the citie, was ſo highlie diſpleaſed herewith, that he cauſed his men to arme themſelues, and to prepare ladders and other neceſſarie things to aſſault the citie: but by the mediation of the French king & curteous excuſe of king Tancred (alledging the fault to reſt onelie in a ſort of rude citizens, whom he promiſed to puniſh) the matter was taken vp, and ſtaied for a time, till at length it was perceiued, that the Sicilians ſubtilie went about to feed king Richard with faire words, till he ſhould be readie to ſet forwards on his iournie, and ſo ſhould the matter paſſe without further puniſhment.

K. Richard aſſalteth and entreth the citie by force.

Herevpon king Richard, not minding to be ſo mocked at their hands, approched one daie to the wals and gates with his armie in good araie of battell to giue the aſſault, which was doone ſo earneſtlie, and ſo well mainteined, that finallie the citie was entred by force, and manie of the citizens ſlaine, but the ſlaughter had beene much greater, if king Richard had not commanded his men to ſpare the ſword, moued with the lamentable noiſe of poore people crieng to him for mercie and grace. The Engliſhmen hauing got poſſeſſion of the citie pight vp the banners with the armes of the king of England round about the wals, wherewith the French king was ſore diſpleaſed, and required that the ſame might be taken downe, and his ſet vp: but the king of England would not ſo agrée. Neuertheleſſe to pacifie the French kings mood, he deliuered the citie of Meſſina into the cuſtodie of the knights Templers and Hoſpitalers, till he might be ſatiſfied of ſuch things as he demanded of king Tancred.

The two kings of England and France receiue a ſolemne oth.

After this on the 8. daie of October, the two kings of England and France, before a great number of earles, barons, and others, both of the cleargie and temporaltie, tooke their ſolemne othes, that the one ſhould defend the other, and alſo either others armie in this iournie, both comming and going, without fraud or deceipt: and the like oth was receiued by the earles and barons on both parties. Then the two kings by aduiſe and conſent of both their armies deuiſed theſe ordinances.

Ordinances deuiſed.

1 That all pilgrims which chanced to die in this iournie might diſpoſe at their pleaſure all their armour, horſſes, and apparell, and halfe of thoſe things which they had with them, ſo that they ſent nothing home into their countries, and the other halfe ſhould be at the diſcretion of Walter archbiſhop of Rouen, Manſer biſhop of Langres, of the maiſter of the temple, and of the maiſter of the Hoſpitall, of Hugh duke of Burgoigne, of Rafe de Coucie, of Drogo de Marlow, of Robert Sabuill, Andrew de Chauennie, and of Gilbert Waſcoile, which ſhould imploie the ſame towards the ſupport of the wars in the holie land againſt the infidels as they thought moſt expedient.

Plaie forbidden.

2 That no man ſhould plaie at anie game within the armie for monie, except knights and chapleins, the which ſhould not looſe in one daie and night aboue 20 ſhillings, they to forfeit an 100 ſhillings ſo oft as they loſt aboue that ſumme: the perſons aforenamed to haue the ſame to be diſtributed as afore is ſaid. The two kings might plaie, and command their ſeruants in their preſence likewiſe to plaie, ſo that they exceeded not the ſumme of 20 ſhillings. And alſo the ſeruants of archbiſhops, biſhops, earles and barons, by their maiſters commandement might play, not exceeding that ſumme: but if anie ſeruants or mariners, or other of like degrée, were found to play without licence, the ſeruants ſhould be whipped naked three daies round about the campe, except they ranſomed forth themſelues, at the pleaſure of the perſons aboue named: and the mariners ſhould be plunged ouer head and eares in the ſea three mornings togither, after the vſe of ſeamen, except they redeemed that puniſhment, at the diſcretion likewiſe of the ſaid perſons: and thoſe of other like méane degrées being neither knights nor chapleins ſhould be puniſhed as ſeruants.

Borrowing.

3 That if anie pilgrime borrowed anie thing of an other whileſt he was on his iournie, he ſhould be bound to paie it: but if he borrowed it before his ſetting forth, he was not bound to anſwer it till his returne home.

Souldiers or mariners departing from their maſters.

4 That if anie mariner or ſeruant, reteined in wages with anie man in this iournie, departed from his maſter without licence, no other perſon might receiue him, and if he did, he ſhould be puniſhed at the diſcretion of the forenamed perſons.

Vittelers.

5 That no vitteler or other ſhould buy any bread to ſell againe, nor any meale within the compaſſe of the campe, except the ſame were brought by a ſtranger, neither might they buy any paaſt or other thing to ſell againe in the campe, or within a league of it.

6 That if anie man bought corne wherof to make bread, it was appointed how much he ſhould gaine in one meaſure beſide the bran.

7 That other occupiers, which vſed buieng and ſelling of wares, ſhould gaine one penie in 10 pence, neither ſhould anie man refuſe anie of the kings coine, except it were broken within the circle.

8 That no man ſhould buy anie fleſh to ſell it againe, except a liuing beaſt, which he ſhould kill within the campe.

9 That no man ſhould make bread to ſell, but after the rate of penie loaues. Wherin the penie Engliſh was appointed to go for foure pence Antouine. All theſe ordinances with other were decreed and ordeined to be obſerued and kept by the counſell, conſent, and agreement of the kings of England, France, and Sicile.

Polydor.

But to returne now to the diſſention betwixt the Engliſhmen and them of Meſſina: ye ſhall vnderſtand that the tumult being once ceaſſed, and diuerſe of the chéefe offendors in the late commotion put to death, king Tancred ſhortlie after came thither, and ſought to auoid all ſuſpicion out of king Richards head, that he might conceiue of him for béeing in anie wiſe culpable in that which his ſubiects of Meſſina had attempted againſt him, and therefore hauing recouered monie of his freends, he reſtored vnto king Richard the dowrie of his ſiſter quéene Ioane, and further offered vnto him to ioine in new alliance with him, offering his daughter in mariage vnto Arthur duke of Britaine, the kings nephue, with a great ſumme of monie for hir dowrie, if it ſo ſhould pleaſe him.

King Richard accepted the offer, and ſo ioined in peace and affinitie with the king of Sicile, receiuing of him twentie thouſand ounces of gold for the ſame mariage to be had, and an honorable dowrie aſſigned forth of the lands that belonged to the ſaid Arthur for the ſaid ladie to inioy during hir life, in caſe ſhe ſuruiued hir huſband. And if it ſo chanced, that by the death of either of them the mariage could not take place, then ſhould king Richard reſtore the ſame twentie thouſand ounces of gold againe. But beſide theſe twentie thouſand ounces of gold thus giuen by king Tancred for the mariage of his daughter, he gaue other twentie thouſand ounces to king Richard for an acquitance and quite claime of all manner of duties, rights, and demands, which either he or his ſiſter might pretend, either by reaſon of anie bequeſt, dowrie, or anie other manner of waie.

Here is to be noted, that before this concluſion of peace was had, king Richard prouided for his owne defenſe, in caſe that king Tancred and his people would haue attempted force againſt him, in ſomuch that he fortified certeine places, and built a ſtrong caſtell aloft vpon the top of an hill faſt by Meſſina, which caſtell he called Mategriffon. Alſo whereas the admirall of Sicile called Margaret, and one Iordane del Poine, men of great authoritie vnder king Tancred, fled out of Meſſina with all their families and riches, which they had either in gold or ſiluer, king Richard ſeized vpon their houſes, their gallies, and poſſeſſions, ſo that he made himſelfe as ſtrong as he could, to reſiſt all attempts that might be made againſt him by his enimies. But now to procéed.

The variance being thus appeaſed betwixt them, great diſcord chanced to ariſe betwixt king Richard and king Philip, who was much offended with king Richard, for that he had thus vſed violence againſt them of Meſſina, and compelled king Tancred to agrée with him for monie, to the great offenſe and breach of the lawes of Herberrough, ſith the Sicilians verie liberallie aided and furniſhed the chriſtians armie with vittels and neceſſarie prouiſions. The Frenchmen alſo had much enuie thereat, that ſhortlie after vpon a ſmall occaſion they picked a quarell againſt the Engliſhmen, and from words fell to ſtrokes on both ſides, ſo that there had béene much hurt & ſlaughter committed, if the two kings had not doone their beſt to appeaſe the fraie begun.

The lawes of Herberrough.

Engliſhmen and Frenchmen fought.

Diſcord in an armie the hinderer of all profitable enterpriſes.

But this buſineſſe though it was quietlie as then taken vp and ſtaied, yet bred it ſuch diſpleaſure betwixt the princes and their people, that it turned to the great hurt and hinderance of their good procéedings in their whole enterpriſe, ſo that the occaſion of a full and perfect victorie eaſilie ſlipped out of their hands, as you ſhall heare hereafter.

An other alſo of the chéefeſt cauſes of grudge betwixt the two kings was, for that king Richard in familiar talke confeſſed vnto king Philip, that he would marrie the king of Nauarres daughter, and cléerelie forſake his ſiſter Adela: which gréeued king Philip not a little, though he diſſembled the matter for a time, and rather alledged other cauſes of diſpleaſure, wherewith to defame king Richard to the world, as one that ſought his owne commoditie in ſpoiling thoſe whom he ought rather to haue defended. But to procéed.

Whileſt the Engliſh and French armies thus ſoiourned all the winter time in Sicile, notwithſtanding the troubles aforeſaid, to the hinderance of king Richards purpoſes, for the making of his prouiſions readie for his iournie, he yet cauſed engins to be framed, his ſhips to be newlie calked, rigged and repaired of ſuch hurts as they had receiued both in their long voiage which they had made, and alſo by certeine wormes, the which during the time of their lieng there, had in diuerſe places gnawne and eaten them through to the great danger of their loſſe, and vtter decaie. Moreouer at the ſame time he pardoned all wrecks by ſea through all his dominions, releaſing for euer all his right to the ſame, in ſuch wiſe that euerie perſon making wrecke by ſea, and comming aliue to land, ſhould haue all his goods frée and cleare to himſelfe. Furthermore he decréed, that if he chanced to periſh in the ſhip, then his ſons and daughters, brethren or ſiſters, that could proue themſelues to be next heires to him, ſhould haue the ſame goods; but if he had neither ſonne nor daughter, brother nor ſiſter, then ſhould the king haue thoſe goods by waie of his prerogatiue.

Wreckes pardoned.

This reſignation made by king Richard, was confirmed by his charter giuen at Meſſina in the moneth of October and ſecond yeare of his reigne. Alſo vpon a godlie repentance wherewith it did pleaſe the mercifull God to touch his hart, he called all thoſe prelates togither which were then with him at Meſſina into the chappell of Reginald de Moiac, & there in preſence of them all falling downe vpon his knées he confeſſed the filthie life which he had in lecherous luſt before that time led, and humblie receiued penance inioined him by the ſame biſhops, and ſo became a new man, fearing God, and delighting to liue after his lawes.

K. Richards confeſſion.

Furthermore hearing of the great fame of abbat Ioachim, he ſent for him ouer into Calabria, who came to Meſſina, and being aſked ſundrie queſtions by king Richard, he made woonderfull anſwer thereto: as in Houeden and other writers it may appéere, which for bréefeneſſe I paſſe ouer. About the ſame time he gaue vnto his nephue Otho, the ſonne of his ſiſter Maud, ſometime ducheſſe of Saxonie, the countie of Yorke. But although ſome were contented to receiue him as their lord, and to doo homage to him, yet other refuſed him, alledging that they would not renounce their fealties due to the king, till they might ſée him againe, & talke with him face to face. Wherevpon the king changing his purpoſe, gaue vnto the ſaid Otho the countie of Poictou in ſtéed of the ſaid countie of Yorke, as after ſhall appéere.

Abbat Ioachim.

1191

The two kings of England and France held their Chriſtmaſſe this yeare at Meſſina, and ſtill the king of England vſed great liberalitie in beſtowing his treaſure fréelie amongſt knights and other men of warre, ſo that it was thought he ſpent more in a moneth than anie of his predeceſſours euer ſpent in a whole yeare. In the moneth of Februarie he ſent his gallies to Naples, there to receiue his mother and his wife that ſhould be, to wit the ladie Berengaria daughter to the king of Nauarre, and Philip earle of Flanders that came with them. But his mother quéene Elianor and the ladie Berengaria went to Brindize in Puglia, where they were honorablie receiued of Margaret king Tancreds admirall. Moreouer the earle of Flanders comming to Naples, and finding there the gallies of king Richard, went aboord the ſame, and ſo came to Meſſina, at the firſt following the king of England in all things, till the French king hauing enuie thereat, allured him awaie, and then he hoong altogither on his ſléeue. The firſt daie of March the king of England departed from Meſſina, to go to the citie of Cathina, there to common with king Tancred, who came thither to méet him.

The large expenſes of king Richard.

The earle of Flanders.

Here king Richard vnderſtood, that the French king had ſollicited king Tancred to ſet vpon the king of England and his armie, to chaſe them out of his realme: and for the more eaſie accompliſhment thereof, he had promiſed him his aid, whenſoeuer he would giue the aduenture. King Tancred deliuered alſo to king Richard ſuch letters as the French king had written to him concerning this matter. Wherevpon at his returne to Meſſina, king Richard ſhewed by his frowning countenance, that he was nothing pleaſed with the French king, but ſought occaſions to get him out of his companie.

K. Richard talketh with king Tancred.

The French king perceiuing it, required to vnderſtand the cauſe of this his ſudden mutation: wherevpon king Richard nothing fearing his power, declared the truth plainelie vnto him by the mouth of the earle of Flanders: and when the other denied the practiſe, he for proofe of the thing, ſhewed him the ſame letters which king Tancred had deliuered vnto him. The French king was not a little abaſhed hereat, and wiſt not well what to ſaie, nor what excuſe to make, the matter was ſo plaine. But yet at length he ſaid: ,, Well now I perceiue the king of

England ſeeketh to haue ſome quarell whie he may refuſe to marrie with my ſiſter. For theſe are but forged matters, and no truth reſteth in them.

When the king of England vnderſtood this maner of anſwer, he replied in this wiſe; That as for the French kings ſiſter, he might not marrie, for as much as he was able to produce good witneſſe to proue that his father had lien with hir and got a child of hir. And as for his priuie procéeding and practiſe with Tancred, he néeded no further teſtimonie than his owne hand and his ſeale, the partie himſelfe being preſent who receiued them, the meſſenger alſo being not far off that carried them betwéene both the parties.

When the French king was throughlie informed of the firſt point, through counſell of the earle of Flanders and others, he pacified himſelfe, and was contented to releaſe the king of England of his faith giuen by oth for the contract made with his ſiſter Alice: in conſideration of which releaſement and deliuerance, the king of England couenanted to giue yearelie to the French king two thouſand marks of ſtarling coine for the terme of fiue yeares togither: and at his returne home, it was agreed, that he ſhuld alſo deliuer vnto the French king his ſiſter the ſaid ladie Alice, with the towne of Giſors, and all other things which the French king had granted to him with his ſaid ſiſter. On the other part, the French king granted, that the dutchie of Britaine ſhould apperteine to the dominion of the dutchie of Normandie, ſo as the duke of Britaine ſhould be accompted the liege man of the duke of Normandie, and that the duke of Normandie ſhould anſwer the French king for both the dutchies, as well of Britaine as Normandie. Theſe agréements were ratified and confirmed with ſolemne oths receiued, and charters giuen vnder their hands and ſeales, vpon the 30. of March.

The French king ſetteth forth from Meſſina towards the holie land.

About this time the French king (now that the ſeaſon of the yeare was come) ſet forward toward the holie land, leauing king Richard behind him in Sicile: and the two and twentith day after his ſetting forth from Meſſina, he arriued at the ſiege of Acres or Acon. The ſame day alſo that the French king departed from Meſſina, quéene Elianor the mother of king Richard arriued there, bringing with hir the ladie Berengaria the daughter of Sanctius the king of Nauarre, and the fourth day after quéene Elianor tooke leaue of hir ſonne king Richard, and departed homeward towards England, taking hir iournie by Rome about the buſineſſe of Geffrey the elect of Yorke, as to intreat the pope that he would confirme and conſecrate him archbiſhop, or to authoriſe ſome other to doo it in his name. The ladie Berengaria remained behind with the kings ſiſter Ioane quéene of Sicile.

Quéene Elianor returneth by Rome.

After this in the moneth of Aprill, on the wedneſday in the paſſion weeke, king Richard (after he had finiſhed and made an end of all concluſions with king Tancred) did alſo ſet forward with his ſiſter Ioane, who tooke with hir the ladie Berengaria daughter to the king of Nauarre, affianced to him long before, as aboue is partlie mentioned. His nauie conſiſted in thirteene mightie great ſhips with triple ſailes, an hundred carikes or rather hulkes, and fiftie gallies. He was no ſooner abroad in the maine ſea, but a great tempeſt aroſe, wherewith his whole nauie was ſore toſſed and turmoiled vp and downe the ſeas, and at length driuen on the coaſt of Cypres, where ſéeking to take harbour, & to come on land, the Cypriots would not ſuffer him, but ſhewed countenance to driue him backe, and to reſiſt his landing. Alſo whereas ſix of his ſhips were ſo driuen by force of tempeſt from the reſidue, that thrée of them periſhed, and thrée being caſt vpon the ſhoare of Cypres before the kings arriuall there, the ſouldiers and other people in the ſame were compelled to come on land for ſauing their liues, where otherwiſe they ſtood in danger of drowning, the people of the Ile aſſailing them in right cruell ſort, ſlue diuerſe, and tooke the reſidue priſoners, and ſo deteined them for a certeine ſeaſon.

Matth. Paris. 150. ſhips and 53. galies ſaith Rog. Houed.

King Richard then vnderſtanding this iniurie to him doone by the Cypriots, & perceiuing they would reſiſt his landing, prepared himſelfe and his people to enter vpon them by force. The king of Cypres Iſakius or Curſach (whome Houeden nameth emperour of Cypres) had aſſembled the moſt part of all the power of men that he might make (though few of them were armed, or had any great ſkill in feats of warre) and cauſed them to ſet boords, logs of wood, benches, formes, and great cheſts afore them, as a defenſe, and as it were in ſteed of a wall, that by ſuccour thereof they might the better kéepe off their enimie from landing.

But K. Richard ſo incouraged his men by his preſence, & hartened them with ſuch comfortable words as he vttered vnto them, that rowing to the ſhoare with their galies and ſmall botes, hauing the archers afore them, they eaſilie got to land, droue their enimies backe, and ſo farre purſued them (being but footmen, weatherbeaten, wearie, and weat) as conuenientlie they might, for the ſhortnes of time. King Richard hauing thus got foot on land, approched the towne of Limezun, which he with his ſouldiers entred, and finding it emptie of people (which were fled awaie) but full of riches and great plentie of victuals, as corne, wine, oile, and fleſh, he ſeized thervpon.

The Engliſhmen take land & chaſe their enimies.

The ſame day alſo the kings ſiſters and the ladie Berengaria with the reſidue of the kings nauie entred the hauen of Limezun. In the meane time the king of Cypres (hauing eſcaped from the battell) got togither his men which were fled and diſperſed ſundrie waies, and incamped within ſix miles of king Richard, threatning that the next day he would effſoones giue battell: which when king Richard vnderſtood, he cauſed his people to be armed the next morning long before day, and ſo comming by guides vnto the place where the Cypriots with their king were lodged, ſuddenlie they aſſailed them yer they had anie warning of his marching towards them, by reaſon whereof they were ſlaine like beaſts in great numbers. Howbeit, their king and a few other eſcaped and fled away naked, hauing no time to put on their apparell, his treaſure, horſſe, armour and ſtandard were taken, which ſtandard king Richard ſtraitwaies determined to ſend vnto ſaint Edmunds ſhrine, and ſo did.

King Richard with a camiſado vanquiſheth the Cypriots, & chaſeth them out of their campe. Iohn Textor.

Hauing thus vanquiſhed his aduerſaries, he came backe to Limezun: and the third day after, Guie king of Ieruſalem and his brother Geffrey de Lucignan with the prince of Antioch Raimond and his ſonne named alſo Raimond earle of Tripoli, with other noble men, arriued at Limezun aforeſaid, to viſit king Richard, and to offer him their ſeruices, and ſo became his men, in ſwearing fealtie to him againſt all other perſons whatſoeuer.

The K. of Ieruſalem and other noble men doo fealtie vnto king Richard.

The ſame day the king of Cypres perceiuing himſelfe vnable to reſiſt the great puiſſance of king Richards armie, ſent ambaſſadours, and offered to king Richard the ſumme of twentie thouſand marks of gold, in recompenſe of the monie which his men that were drowned had about them, and alſo to reſtore thoſe to libertie which he had taken priſoners, and to make deliuerie to their hands of all their goods. Furthermore, he offered to go with him into the holie land perſonallie, and to ſerue him with an hundred

The offers of the king of Cypres.

The king of Cypres ſubmitteth himſelfe.

knights, 400 light horſſemen, and 500 well armed footmen, & alſo to deliuer to king Richard his daughter and heire in hoſtage, and to acknowledge him his ſouereigne lord, by ſwearing to him fealtie for his kingdome, as for that which he ſhould confeſſe to hold of him.

King Richard accepted theſe offers, and ſo the king of Cypres came in and ſware fealtie to king Richard, in preſence of the king of Ieruſalem, the prince of Antioch, and other barons, and promiſed vpon his oth then receiued, not to depart till all things couenanted on his part were performed. Then king Richard aſſigned tents for him and his to lodge in, and appointed certeine knights and other men of warre to haue the cuſtodie of him. But the ſame day after dinner vpon repentance of that which he had doone, he deceiued his keepers and ſtale awaie, ſending knowledge backe to the king that he would not ſtand to the couenants, which were concluded vpon betwixt them.

King Richard ſeemed to like the matter well inough, and forthwith deliuered a part of his armie vnto the king of Ieruſalem and to the prince of Antioch, appointing them to purſue the king of Cypres by land, whileſt he with one part of his gallies and Robert de Turneham with the other might ſearch about the coaſt by ſea, to prohibit his paſſage by water. In euerie place where they came, ſuch ſhips and gallies as they found they ſeized into their hands, and no reſiſtance was made againſt them, by reaſon the people fled to the woods and mountains, leauing the cities, townes and caſtels void in all ſteeds, where the king or the ſaid ſir Robert de Turneham with their veſſels began to appeere. When they had taken their pleaſure thus alongſt the coaſts, they returned againe vnto Limezun. The king of Ieruſalem and the other that went forth by land, when they could not ſpeed of their purpoſe, returned alſo, in which meane time a great number of Cypriots came in, and ſubmitting themſelues to king Richard, were receiued as his ſubiects.

Robert de Turneham.

The king of England marieth the ladie Berengaria. She is crowned queene.

On the 12. daie of Maie, the ladie Berengaria daughter to the king of Nauarre was maried according to a precontract vnto king Richard at Limezun aforeſaid in the Ile of Cypres, one of the kings chaplins executing the order of the marriage. The ſame daie alſo ſhe was crowned by the biſhop of Eureux, the archbiſhops of Apamea and Aux, with the biſhop of Baion miniſtring vnto him. After the ſolemnitie of this marriage and coronation ended, king Richard ſet forward with his armie into the countrie of Cypres, and firſt wan (by ſurrender) the citie of Nichoſia, and after the ſtrong caſtell of Cherin, within the which was the daughter of the king of Cypres, which ladie humblie yeelded hir ſelfe vnto K. Richard, who (counting it reproch to be extreame with ſuch as ſubmit themſelues, and ſpeciallie the female ſex, according to the old ſaieng,

Parcere ſubiectis nobilis ſcit ira leonis)

had pitie of hir caſe, and ſent hir to his wife the new queene, willing that ſhe might be honorablie vſed. From thence paſſing forward, theſe caſtels were deliuered into his hands, Baffes and Buffeuent, Den, Amur, Candace, and afterwards all the other caſtels and cities, townes and places of ſtrength within that Ile one after an other. Finallie, hearing that the king of Cypres was incloſed in an abbeie called Cap S. Andrew, he marched thitherwards: but when the king of Cypres heard of his approch, he came forth and ſubmitted himſelfe wholie into his hands. The king firſt appointed him to the keeping of his chamberlaine Rafe Fitz Geffrey, and after ſent him vnto the citie of Tripoli, there to be kept in cloſe priſon. Who when he heard he ſhould be committed to cloſe priſon, and remaine in fetters, ſaid, that if he laie in irons, he ſhould ſhortlie end his life. Whereunto king Richard when he heard of it, anſwered: He ſaith well, and therefore bicauſe he is a noble man, and our mind is not to haue him dead, but onelie to be kept ſafe from ſtarting anie more awaie, and dooing new hurt, let him be chained in giues and fetters made of ſiluer, and ſo he was.

Caſtels deliuered to the king of England.

The king of Cypres againe ſubmitteth himſelfe to the king of England. Rafe Fitz Geffrey.

But to proceed. After the king had ſet the countrie of Cypres in good ſtaie, he deliuered the keeping thereof vnto Richard de Camuille and Robert de Turneham. This doone, vpon the wedneſdaie in the Whitſunweeke he tooke the ſea againe, and paſſed ouer to the citie of Acres, which as then was beſieged by the chriſtian armie, as ye may read in the deſcription of the holie land, onelie giuing you to vnderſtand, that ſuch was the valiancie of king Richard ſhewed in manfull conſtreining of the citie, that his praiſe was greatlie bruted both amongſt the chriſtians and alſo the Saracens.

He arriued there on the ſaturdaie in Whitſunweeke, being the ſaturdaie alſo next before the feaſt of S. Barnabie.

Galfridus Vinſant.

Howbeit the ſecret enimitie betwixt him and the French king eftſoones reuiued, by occaſion of ſuch diſcord as chanced betwixt Guido king of Ieruſalem, and Conrade the marques of Tire, ſo that parties were taken, and whereas both the Piſans and Geneuois did offer their ſeruice vnto king Richard, yet bicauſe the Geneuois were confederat with the French king, who tooke part with the marques, he refuſed them, and receiued the Piſans, ioining himſelfe with king Guido to ſupport him againſt his enimies.

Piſans and Geneuois.

Here is to be remembred, that before king Richard arriued at the ſiege, he incountred on the ſea a mightie great ſhip called a Drommond, which one Saphaldine the brother of Saladine a prince of the Saracens had ſent, to refreſh them with vittels. This ſhip king Richard cauſed feercelie to be aſſailed with his gallies, and at length bowged hir with all the vittels and prouiſion within the ſame, as wildfire, barels of firie ſerpents, armour and weapons of ſundrie ſorts, beſides all the mariners and men of warre, except ſuch as were taken to mercie and ſaued aliue, being about 200 in the whole, whereas there were aboord the ſame ſhip 500 men of warre, as ſome write, though other haue but 800.

Matt. Paris. Nic. Triuet.

Saphaldine, the brother of Saladine.

Matth. Paris. N. Triuet.

¶ But now to other accidents that chanced this yere. On Midſummer eeue there was ſuch an eclipſe of the ſunne, the moone being the ſame time 27. daies old, that for the ſpace of three houres (for ſo long it laſted) ſuch darkneſſe came ouer the face of the earth, that euen in the daie time (for this eclipſe began about nine of the clocke in the morning) the ſtars appeared plainelie in the element.

An eclipſe of the ſunne.

The ſeuenth houre of the daie ſaith Matth. Paris.

In the ſame moneth of Iune, Richard de Camville, whome the king had left (as ye haue heard) gouernour in Cypres, chanced to fall ſicke, and comming without licence to the ſiege of Acres, there died. After whoſe death the Cypriots and thoſe called Griffones and Ermians reuolted from the Engliſh obedience, and choſe to them a king, one that was a monke of the familie of Iſachus their former king: but Robert de Turneham, who after the deceaſſe of Richard Camuille remained ſole gouernour of the Ile, gathered a power of men togither, and giuing battell to the new king (whom Houeden nameth alſo emperour) vanquiſhed him with his complices, tooke him priſoner, and hanged him on a paire of gallowes. The ſame moneth alſo died Rafe Fitz Geffrey, who had the other king Iſac in cuſtodie, and then king Richard deliuered him to the knights of the hoſpitall, who ſent him to the caſtell of Margant, there ſafelie to be kept as priſoner to the vſe of the king of England.

Richard de Camuille deceaſſeth.

Now will we returne vnto the affaires of England

land and make ſome mention of the dooings there. Yee ſhall vnderſtand, that after king Richard was ſet forward on his iournie, William Longchampe lord chancellour and biſhop of Elie, appointed (as ye haue heard) gouernour of the realme, began to exerciſe his authoritie to the vttermoſt, taking vpon him the ſtate of a prince, rather than of a ſubiect. He had of late (as before ye haue heard) procured ſuch fauor at the hands of pope Clement, that he was inſtituted by him legat of the apoſtolike ſee here in England, ſo that pretending a rule both ouer the clergie and temporaltie, and by reaſon that he had both the authoritie of pope and king in his hands, he vſed the ſame to his moſt aduantage, as well in cauſes eccleſiaſticall as temporall, whereby he wrought manie oppreſſions both againſt them of the clergie and temporaltie. He mainteined ſuch a port and countenance in his dooings, that he would ride with a thouſand horſſes, by meanes whereof when he came to lie at abbeis and other places (bringing with him ſuch a traine) he was verie burdenous vnto them, ſpeciallie when he laie at their houſes any ſpace of time.

Polydor.

The Lord chancellor called the popes legat in England.

The ſtatelie port of the lord chancellor.

Ran.Higd.

This man called a conuocation at Weſtminſter, wherein at the ſuit of Hugh Nouant biſhop of Cheſter, it was decreed, that the moonks of Couentrie ſhould be diſplaced, and ſecular canons brought into that houſe to ſupplie their roomes. Which was doone by the authoritie of the ſaid lord chancellour, being bribed by the foreſaid biſhop of Cheſter (as ſome writers haue recorded) for diſpleaſure which he bare to the moonks, by reaſon of a fraie which they had made vpon the ſaid biſhop in their church at Couentrie, and drawne blood of him before the altar there, as he alledged.

A conuocation.

Moonks of Couentrie diſplaced.

Polydor.

Ran. Higd.

Wil. Paruus.

The occaſion.

Ran.Higd.

But ſome haue written, that the biſhop of Cheſter procured a licence of the pope, to alter the ſtate of that church in ſort aboue mentioned, which is moſt likelie, ſurmiſing againſt the moonks, that they were moſt manifeſt and ſtubborne diſturbers of that peace and quietneſſe which ought to remaine amongſt churchmen: and yet he himſelfe ſowed the ſtrife and diſſention amongſt them, and namelie betweene the prior and his couent. Moreouer, the ſaid lord chancellour depriued ſuch rulers of their adminiſtrations and gouernements, as the king had appointed to beare any high authoritie within the realme, pretending not onelie the kings commandement, but alſo alleadging a reaſon which mooued him ſo to doo, as thus, that he might thereby take awaie all occaſions of grudges from the people, which otherwiſe might thinke, and would not ſticke to ſaie, that they were oppreſſed by the rule of manie kings in ſteed of one king. He did alſo depriue Hugh the biſhop of Durham of all his honour and dignitie, and put the biſhop of Wincheſter to great trouble. Moreouer, doubting leaſt the Nobles of the realme would riſe againſt him, and put him out of his place; he ſought to keepe them lowe, and ſpoiled them of their monie and ſubſtance. Likewiſe pretending a colour of doubt, leaſt earle Iohn the kings brother ſhould attempt any thing againſt his brother the king now in his abſence, he ſought alſo to keepe him vnder. To be breefe, he plaied in all points the right part of a tyrant, and ſhewed himſelfe ſuch a one in all reſpects as mainteined his title,

Wil.Paruus.

Ran.Higd.

Polydor.

The L. chancellors reaſon.

The biſhop of Durham.

The biſhop of Wincheſter.

The lord chencellors meaning to keepe earle Iohn lowe.

Non diſceptando aut ſubtilibus argumentis
Vincere, ſed ferro mauult ſua iura tueri,
Pontifices nunc bella iuuant, ſunt cætera nuga,
Nec præcepta patrum nec Chriſti dogmata curant,
Iactant ſe dominos rerum & ſibi cuncta licere.

Pal. in ſuo cap.

At length the king receiued aduertiſement from his mother queene Elianor of his demeanor, and that there was great likelihood of ſome commotion to inſue, if ſpeedie remedie were not in time prouided. Wherevpon being then in Sicile, he ſent Walter the archbiſhop of Rouen into England with commiſſion, to ioine in adminiſtration of the kingdome with his chancellor the ſaid biſhop of Elie. But the archbiſhop comming into England was ſo ſlenderlie interteined of the chancellour, and in effect ſo litle regarded, that notwithſtanding his commiſſion and inſtructions brought from the king, he could not be permitted to beare any rule. But the chancellour deteining the ſame wholie in his hands, ordered all things at his pleaſure, without making the arch-biſh. of Rouen, or any other of counſell with him, except ſuch as it pleaſed him to admit for the ſeruing of his owne turne.

Walter the archbiſhop of Rouen ſent into England

He is little regarded of the lord chancellor.

¶ He certeinlie beleeued (as manie other did) that king Richard would neuer returne with life into England againe, which cauſed him to attempt ſo manie vnlawfull enterpriſes, and therefore he got into his hands all the caſtels and fortreſſes belonging to the crowne, and furniſhed them with gariſons of ſouldiers, as he thought neceſſarie, depriuing ſuch capteins of their roomes as he ſuſpected not to fauour his proceedings.

One Gerard de Camuille had bought of the king the keeping of the caſtell of Lincolne, vnto whom alſo the ſhiriffewike of the ſhire was committed for a time, but the lord chancellour, perceiuing that he bare more good will vnto earle Iohn the kings brother than to him (which Iohn he moſt ſuſpected) he tooke from him the ſhiriffewike, & demanded alſo to haue the caſtell of Lincolne deliuered into his hands, which Gerard refuſed to deliuer, and perceiuing that the chancellor would practiſe to haue it by force, he fled vnto earle Iohn, requiring him of competent aid and ſuccour.

The chancellor on the other part, perceiuing what hatred diuerſe of the Nobles bare him, thought good to prouide for his owne ſuertie the beſt that he could, and therefore ſent for a power of men from beyond the ſea: but bicauſe he thought it too long to ſtaie till they arriued, he came to Lincolne with ſuch power as he could make, and beſieged the caſtell. Erle Iohn the kings brother aduertiſed hereof, raiſed ſuch numbers of men as he might make of his freends, ſeruants and tenants, and with ſmall a doo wan the caſtels of Notingham and Tickhill within two daies ſpace. This doone, he ſent to the lord chancellour, commanding him either to breake vp his ſiege, or elſe to prepare for battell. The chancellour conſidering with himſelfe that there was ſmall truſt to be put in diuerſe of thoſe lords that were with him, bearing good will to earle Iohn, and but hollow harts towards him, raiſed his ſiege and departed with diſhonour.

The lord chancellor beſiegeth the caſtell of Lincolne.

Earle Iohn winneth the caſtels of Notingham and Tickhill.

Not long after, one of his hornes was broken off by the death of pope Clement, whereby his power legantine ceaſed: wherewith being ſomewhat abaſhed, he came to a communication with earle Iohn, and vpon certeine conditions made peace with him. Shortlie after the ſouldiers which he had ſent for, arriued in England, and then he began to go from the agreement made with earle Iohn, affirming that he would either driue the ſame earle out of England, or elſe ſhould earle Iohn doo the like to him: for it was not of ſufficient largeneſſe to hold them both. Howbeit ſhortlie after, a peace was effſoones concluded betwixt them with condition, that if it chanced king Richard to depart this life before his returne into England, not leauing any iſſue of his bodie begotten, that then the chancellour renouncing the ordinance made by king Richard (who had inſtituted his nephue Arthur duke of Britaine to be his heire and ſucceſſour) ſhould conſent to admit earle Iohn for king of England, contrarie to the ſaid ordinance.

The chancellor raiſeth his ſiege with diſhonor.

The lord chancellor and earle Iohn are agreed.

The chancellor breaketh the agreement.

The lord chencellor and earle Iohn make another agreement.

But in the meane time it was agreed, that earle

John ſhould deliuer vp the caſtels of Notingham and Tickhill, Notingham to the hands of William Marſhall, and Tickhill to the hands of William Wendenall, they to kéepe the ſame vnto the vſe and behoofe of king Richard, that vpon his returne he might doo with them as ſhould pleaſe him: prouided that if it ſo chanced, that he ſhould die before he could returne from his voiage, or that the chancellour went from the agréement now taken, then immediatlie ſhould the foreſaid caſtels of Notingham and Tickhill be reſtored vnto earle John.

Moreouer, the other caſtels of ſuch honours as were aſſigned to earle John by the king his brother, were committed vnto the cuſtodie of certeine perſons of great truſt and loialtie, as the caſtell of Wallingford to the archbiſhop of Rouen, the caſtell of Briſtow to the biſhop of Lincolne, the caſtell of the Peake to the biſhop of Couentrie, the caſtell of Boleſofres vnto Richard de Peake (or if he refuſed, then ſhould the biſhop of Couentrie haue it in keeping) the caſtell of Eie was committed to Walter Fitz Robert, the caſtell of Herford to Roger Bigot, and to Richard Reuell the caſtell of Exceſter and Launſton. Theſe perſons to whom theſe caſtels were thus committed to be kept, receiued alſo an oth, that they ſhould faithfullie kéepe them to the kings behoofe, and if he chanced to die, before he ſhould returne, then the ſame ſhould be deliuered vnto earle Johns hands. Alſo there were thrée caſtels that perteined to the crowne, deliuered likewiſe in truſt, as the caſtell of Windſor vnto the earle of Arundell, the caſtell of Wincheſter vnto Gilbert de Lacie, and the caſtell of Northampton vnto Simon de Pateſhull.

Caſtels deliuered in truſt to the keeping of certeine perſons.

It was alſo agréed, that biſhops, abbats, earles, and barons, valuaſors, and fréeholders ſhould not be diſſeized of their lands, goods or cattels, otherwiſe than by order of the iuſtices or officers of the king, ſo that they ſhould be iudged in the kings courts according to the lawfull cuſtomes and ordinances of the realme: and likewiſe that earle John ſhould cauſe the ſame orders to be obſerued through all his lands. Prouided that if any man attempted to doo otherwiſe vpon ſupport or maintenance of earle John, he ſhould ſtand to be reformed by the archbiſhop of Rouen if he chanced then to be in England, and by the kings iuſtices, and by thoſe that had ſworne to obſerue this peace: and alſo earle John himſelfe at their requeſt ſhould ſée ſuch reformation to be had.

Moreouer, it was agréed that all thoſe caſtels that had bin built or begun to be builded ſince the kings paſſage ouer towards his iournie, ſhould be razed, and no new made or fortified till his returne, except in manours perteining to the kings demaine, if néed required, or by his ſpeciall commandement, either by letters, or ſufficient meſſengerrs. That the ſhiriffewike of Lincolne, which the lord chancellour had aſſigned vnto William de Stuteuille ſhould be reſtored to Gerard de Camuille, who had a daie appointed him to appéere in the kings court, to heare what might be laid againſt him: and if ſuch matter could be prooued, for the which he ought to looſe the ſaid ſhiriffewike and the caſtell of Lincolne, then he ſhould depart from them by the iudgement of the court, or elſe not. Neither ſhould earle John mainteine him againſt the iudgement of that court, nor ſhould receiue any outlawes, or ſuch as were notoriouſlie knowen for enimies to the king, and ſo named, nor ſhould ſuffer them to be receiued within the precinct of his liberties.

To hold, mainteine and obſerue this peace, the ſaid earle and chancellour ſware in the hand of the archbiſhop of Rouen with ſeuen barons on either part. On the part of earle John theſe were the names of them that receiued the oth: Stephan Ridell his chancellour; William de la Mare, Robert de la Mare, Philip de Turecheſter, William de Kahennes, Gilbert Baſſet & William de Montacute. On the chancellours part, the earles of Arundell and Saliſburie, earle Roger Bigot, and the earle of Clare, with Walter Fitz Robert, William de Breuſe, and Roger Fitz Ramfrey. Theſe things were concluded in this ſort, the authoritie and commandement of the king yet in all things ſaued and reſerued: but ſo, that if before his returne he ſhould ſignifie his pleaſure to the contrarie of the ordinances aboue mentioned, then ſhould the caſtels of Notingham and Tickhill be reſtored vnto earle John, notwithſtanding what ſoeuer the king ſhould command touching the ſame. Thus was the peace concluded eftſoones betwixt earle John and the chancellour.

Anno Reg. 3.
Matth. Weſt.
Polydor.

Geffrey the archbiſhop of Yorke.
Rog. Houed.

In this meane while, Geffrey the elect archbiſhop of Yorke, after long ſuit and manie delaies contriued, ſpeciallie by the chancellour, obteined his pall, being conſecrated by the archbiſhop of Tours, by vertue of his buls obteined from pope Celeſtine. The chancellour aduertiſed herof, and vnderſtanding that he meant to come ſhortlie into England to be inſtalled, was in a great chafe, bicauſe that during the time of the vacation, he had vſed the reuenues of that ſée at his pleaſure, and therefore now to forgo them he was nothing contented. Herevpon he wrote his letters vnto Matthew de Clere ſhiriffe of Kent in this forme.

Matth. Paris.

The lord chancellours letters to *the ſhiriffe of Kent.*

PRæcipimus tibi quòd ſi Eboracen. electus ad aliquem portum in balliua tua applicuerit, aut aliquis nunciorum eius, eum retineri facias, donec mandatum noſtrum indè receperis. Et ſimiliter præcipimus, quòd omnes literas papæ aut magni alicuius viri quæ illic venerint, facias retineri. The Engliſh whereof is thus.

We command you that if the elect of Yorke ſhall arriue at any port or hauen within your bailiwicke, or any meſſenger of his, that you cauſe them to be areſted and kept, till you haue commandement from vs therein. And we command you likewiſe, to ſtay, attach, and keepe all letters that come from the pope, or any other great man.

Polydor.

The death of the archbiſhop of Canturburie.
Io. Textor.

Likewiſe, whereas Baldwine archbiſhop of Canturburie, hauing taken his iournie into the holie land, and arriuing there before the king, chanced to depart this life at Tyrus, the laſt yéere, vpon the feaſt daie of S. Edmund, the chancellour found meanes to kéepe that ſée alſo vacant, that he might receiue the profits thereof, during the vacation, and find meanes to be prepared to it in the end. But as touching the ſée of Yorke, although he had (as before is ſaid) made his hand of the reuenues belonging to the ſame from time to time at his pleaſure, yet now after that he heard how Geffrey had receiued the pall, he made hauocke, waſting & ſpoiling all that would yéeld him anie monie, without reſpect of right or wrong. Moreouer, he cauſed the hauens to be watched, with commandement giuen to the townes on the ſea coaſt, that they ſhould not ſuffer the archbiſhop Geffrey to take land. At length yet he arriued at Douer, where he was by the foreſaid Matthew de Clere firſt ſtaied, and after taken out of the abbeie by the chancellours commandement, and committed to priſon within the caſtell, where a Noble man

The archbiſhop arriued and is committed to ward.

that had maried the chancellors ſiſter was capteine.

The newes of whoſe impriſonment was anon bruted thorough the realme, wherewith the Nobles fretted, and the commons curſſed: finallie all men deteſted ſuch tyrannie in the chancellour. But namelie the kings brother earle John ſtormed at the matter, and with all ſpéed aſſembled an armie out of thoſe places where he bare rule, increaſing the number with a power of Welſhmen. There came to him the biſhop of Wincheſter, with manie earles and barons, alſo the biſhop of Bath and Cheſter, which latelie before had béene chéefe fauourers of the chancellour in all his dooings: but now that the world was changed, they ſhewed themſelues the moſt earneſt enimies he had, as well in words as déeds.

In an aſſemblie of all the biſhops of England, all thoſe were excommunicate in ſolemne wiſe, with candels light, and other ſuch ceremonies, which had either giuen commandement, or were preſent as partakers, to pull out of the church the archbiſhop of Yorke, or his people by violence, and had impriſoned them in maner (as before yée haue heard:) but this was after the archbiſhop was ſet at libertie, as ſhuld appeare by Matthew Paris, for the chancellour repenting himſelfe (though now too late) of his cruell dealing againſt the archbiſhop of Yorke, wherewith he had kindled ſuch a brand againſt him, commanded the ſaid archbiſhop (namelie at the inſtant ſute of the biſhop of London, or rather at the commandement of earle John, as Houeden ſaith) to be ſet at libertie. But the diſpleaſure once kindled in the hearts of the Nobles, could not ſo eaſilie be quenched with his deliuerie, as it was ſpéedilie ſet on fire by his impriſonment, ſo that they being now in armour, purpoſed to abate the pride of the chancellour, and to deliuer the common-wealth of ſuch an vglie tyrant. And to begin, they ſummoned and aſſigned him a peremptorie day to appeare at Reading, to make anſwer vnto ſuch iniuries as he had doone againſt the archbiſhop of Yorke, and the biſhop of Durham, ſithens the departure of his ſoucreigne lord the king.

R.Houed.
The chancellour ſummoned to appeare

At which day there came to Reading earle John, and the archbiſhop of Rouen, with manie other biſhops, earles, and barons, abiding there all that day, to ſée if the chancellour would appeare or no; but he came not: wherevpon they prepared to march forth towards London, and therewithall ſet forward in like maner. He on the other ſide being a man of a great courage, had gathered an armie of ſuch ſtrangers and other his fréends as he could make, and therewith went forth, and encamped néere to Windſor, there to abide his aduerſaries, and to giue them battell, if they came forward and would abide it. But when they approched, and he perceiued alſo how diuerſe of his fréends ſhranke from him, and went to his enimies, he durſt not attempt the hazard of a field, but fled backe to London, and there withdrew into the tower, with all his hoſt, bicauſe he durſt not commit himſelfe to the doubtfull fellowſhip of the citizens. Through his great pride and ſtatelie port which he mainteined, as partlie yée haue heard, he had procured to himſelfe no ſmall hatred amongſt all degrées of men, and namelie ſuch as by the kings appointment ought to haue béeneparteners with him in gouernement of the realme ſore repined at his preſumptuous procéedings, for that he diſdained (as it ſéemed) to vſe their aduiſe, or to ioine them with him in the adminiſtration of things, ſo that now in time of his trouble he wiſt not in whome he might put his truſt.

The chancellour retireth to London.

After he was thus retired into the tower of London, earle John the archbiſhop of Rouen, and the other biſhops, earles, and barons aſſociated togither againſt him, followed him at the héeles, entered the citie, and beſieged the tower on ech ſide. On the morrow after, being the fourth day after the octaues of ſaint Michaell, they came togither into Paules churchyard, where they publikelie declared the iniurious wrongs doone and practiſed by the chancellour; namelie againſt the archbiſhop of Yorke, and the biſhop of Durham. Thoſe alſo that had béene appointed as aſſociats with him, accuſed him, in that he had taken vpon him to rule and gouerne all things after his owne will, not vouchſafing to haue their aduiſe or councell in ſuch ſort as had béene conuenient.

A declaration made againſt the lord chancellour.

The archbiſhop of Rouen and William Marſhall earle of Pembroke ſhewed there before all the people the kings letters which he had ſent from Meſſina, appointing that they ſhould be aſſociats with him in gouernment of the kingdome; and that without the counſell and aduice of them and others aſſigned therto, he ſhould not meddle with the rule of the land, and that if he ſhould doo any thing to the hinderance of the common-wealth, or ſéeke to meddle with the affaires of the realme, without their good aduiſe, that then he ſhould be depoſed. Hérevpon it ſéemed good to earle John, and to all the biſhops, earles and barons of the realme, and to the citizens of London there aſſembled, that the ſaid chancellour ſhould be depoſed, and ſo they procéeded, and depoſed him indéed, appointing the archbiſhop of Rouen in his place, who would not take vpon him to doo anie thing touching the rule of the land, without conſent of his aſſociats aſſigned to him, and the barons of the eſchecker.

The tenor of this leter ſhall héereafter appeare.

The ſame day, earle John, and the archbiſhop of Rouen, and other of the kings iuſtices, granted to the citizens of London the priuilege of their communaltie; and the ſaid earle and archbiſhop, and in maner all the biſhops, erls and barons of the realme ſware to mainteine the ſaid priuilege firme and ſtable, ſo long as ſhould pleaſe their ſoueraigne lord. And the citizens of London ſware to be true, and to doo their faithfull ſeruice vnto king Richard and his heirs, and if he chanced to die without iſſue, then to receiue earle John the brother of king Richard for their king and ſoueraigne lord, and therevpon ſware fealtie to him againſt all men, ſauing that which they owed vnto his brother king Richard.

The citizens of London.

The chancellour perceiuing the multitude to be ſuch which he had with him in the tower, as the place was not able to hold them any long time, after he had remained within it one night, he came forth vnto earle John, and to the other that were thus entred the citie, and now readie to beſiege him, of whome he got licence for them that were incloſed within the tower, to depart without damage, and therewith deliuered vp the tower vnto the hands of the archbiſhop of Rouen, with the caſtell of Windſor, and certeine other caſtels, which he held within the realme, but not all: notwithſtanding he couenanted to make deliuerie of the reſidue, which yet remained in the hands of them whome he had appointed to the kéeping of the ſame. And for aſſurance of that couenant to be performed before he departed the realme, he deliuered his brethren, and one that was his chamberleine, to remaine with the lords as hoſtages.

The chancellour yéeldeth vp the tower.

This doone, he haſted to Canturburie, where he promiſed to receiue the croſſe of a pilgrime to go into the holie land, and to render vp the croſſe of his legatſhip, which he had vſurped a yeare and a halfe after the death of pope Clement, to the preiudice of the church of Rome, and to the detriment and great hinderance of the Engliſh church. For there was not any church within the realme, which had not béene put to fine and ranſome by that croſſe, nor any eccleſiaſticall perſon went frée, but the print of the croſſe appeared in him and his purſe. From Canturburie he

The print of the legats croſſe.

got

The biſhop of Elie late lord chancellour diſguiſeth himſelfe in womans apparell.

He is bewraied.

got him to Douer to his brother in law, and finallie ſéeking means to paſſe ouer into France, and doubting to be diſcouered, he apparelled himſelfe in womans raiment, & got a web of cloth on his arme, as though he had béene ſome houſewifelie woman of the countrie: but by the vntowardlie folding and vncunning handling of his cloth (or rather by a lewd fiſherman that tooke him for an harlot) he was ſuſpected and ſearched ſo narrowlie, that by his priuie members he was prooued to be a man, and at length knowne, attached, and committed to priſon, after he had béene reprochfullie handled by them that found him, and by the wiues of the towne, in ſuch vnſéemelie apparell.

Earle Iohn not þ biſhops fréend.

Earle Iohn would haue had him puniſhed, and put to ſome open reproofe for his paſſed tyrannicall dooings; but the biſhops, and other of the barons, for reuerence of his order, procured his deliuerance, with licence to paſſe ouer into Normandie where he was borne. Thus was the biſhop of Elie a man full of pride and couetouſneſſe ouerthrowne with ſhame, and receiued for his hie climing a reprochfull downefall: for none are more ſubiect to ruine and rebuke, than ſuch as be aloft and ſupereminent ouer others, as the poet noteth well, ſaieng:

Ouid.lib.1. de rem. am.

Summa petit liuor, perflant altiſsima venti,
Summa petunt dextra fulmina miſſa Iouis.

Matth.Paris.

In time he was depoſed from his office of being chancellour, and not without warrant, for in verie déed, king Richard hauing receiued aduertiſements from the lords and péeres of the realme, of the chancellours preſumptuous and hautie demeanour, with wrongs offered to diuerſe perſons, wrote to them againe as followeth.

A letter of king Richard directed to *the States of the land for the depoſing of* the biſhop of Elie from his office of lord chancellour.

Richard king of England ſendeth greeting to William Marſhall, to Gilbert Fitz Peter, and Henrie Berdulfe, and to William Brewer, peeres. If it ſo chance that our chancellour hath not faithfullie handled the affaires and buſineſſe of our realme (committed vnto him) by the aduiſe and counſell of you, and others to whom we haue alſo aſsigned the charge of gouernement of the ſame realme: we command you, that according to your diſpoſition in all things to be doone concerning the gouernement thereof, you order and diſpoſe as well for eſchetes, as all other things, &c.

The biſhop of Elie complaineth of his wrongs receiued.

The popes letters vnto the archbiſhop and biſhops of England.

By force of this commiſſion, the lords were the bolder to procéed againſt him as ye haue heard. Now after his comming into the parties beyond the ſeas, he ceaſſed not with letters and meſſengers to preſent his complaint to the pope of Rome, and to king Richard of the iniuries receiued at the hands of earle Iohn and his complices. Herevpon pope Celeſtine wrote in déed to all the archbiſhops and biſhops that were within the realme of England, in behalfe of the ſaid biſhop of Elie, declaring, that forſomuch as the king of England was gone into the holie land to warre againſt the enimies of our faith, leauing his kingdome vnder the protection of the apoſtolike ſée, he could not but haue ſpeciall regard to ſée that the ſtate, rights and honour thereof were preſerued from all danger of decaie.

Note how the pope defendeth his chaplins.

Wherefore, vnderſtanding that there had béene certeine attempts made by Iohn erle of Mortaigne and others, both againſt the king and the biſhop of Elie, that was not onelie legat of the apoſtolike ſée, but alſo gouernour of the land appointed by the king, which attempt ſounded greatlie to the reproch of the church of Rome, and danger of damage to inſue to king Richard, if remedie were not the ſooner found: therefore he commanded them by the vertue of their obedience, to excommunicat the earle of Mortaigne, or any other that was knowne to haue laid any violent hands vpon the ſaid biſhop of Elie, or deteined him as captiue, or inforced him to any oth, or elſe had changed the ſtate of rule in the kingdome of England to other forme, than king Richard had ordeined at his ſetting forward towards the holie land: and that not onelie all the councellours, authors, aiders and complices of thoſe that had committed ſuch outrage, but alſo their lands ſhould ſtand interdicted, ſo that no diuine ſeruice ſhould be vſed within the precinct of the ſame, except penance and chriſtning of infants. This to remaine till the ſaid biſhop & kingdome were reſtored into the former eſtate: and that the parties excommunicated ſhould preſent themſelues with letters from the biſhops vnto the apoſtolike ſée to be abſolued, &c.

Herevpon alſo the biſhop of Elie himſelfe wrote vnto the biſhop of Lincolne and other, touching this matter: but the biſhops did neither any thing in accompliſhment of the effect of the popes letters, nor at his owne ſupplication. And therefore perceiuing ſmall helpe to come that waie, he ſought to obteine the fauour and fréendſhip of earle Iohn, and of his mother quéene Elianor. In the meane time, the lords, barons and prelates of the realme, after they had depriued him of all authoritie, and baniſhed him out of the land, ordeined the archbiſhop of Rouen in fauour of the kings commiſſion, to haue the chéefe rule and adminiſtration of things touching all the affaires of the common-wealth; but yet ſo as earle Iohn had the dooings in manie points, ſo that he might ſéeme in manner an aſſociat with him, whereof ſprang much inconuenience. For this Iohn being a man (as he is noted by ſome writers) of an ambitious nature, was ſuſpected to aſpire vnto the kingdome: in ſomuch that he had ioined with the French king, after the ſame king was returned forth of the holie land, againſt his brother king Richard, if his mother quéene Elianor had not perſuaded him to the contrarie.

The archbiſhop of Rouen chéefe gouernour of England.

R. Houed. Wil. Paruus. Fifteene ſaith Functius, but others agrée with Houed. as Gerardus Mercator, citing Albericus a monke.

Whileſt theſe things were a dooing, on the twelfth daie of Iulie, the citie of Acres was ſurrendred into the chriſtian mens hands, for the Soldan Saladine (being approched néere to the ſiege of the chriſtians with a puiſſant armie, in hope to haue raiſed their ſiege) when he perceiued it laie not in his power to worke any feat to the ſuccour of his people within the citie, and that they were ſo conſtreined that they muſt néeds yéeld, he holpe to make their compoſition, and promiſed to performe certeine couenants on their behalfe. Herevpon, the Saracens within Acres couenanted not onelie to deliuer the citie vnto the chriſtians with fiue hundred priſoners of chriſtians which they had within the ſame, but alſo to procure that the holie croſſe ſhould be to them deliuered, with a thouſand other chriſtian priſoners, ſuch as the chriſtian princes ſhould appoint out of thoſe numbers which Saladine had in his cuſtodie, and further, to giue them two hundred thouſand Beſans. And till theſe couenants were performed, it was agréed, that the Saracens, which were at that preſent left within the citie, ſhould remaine as pledges, vnder condition, that if the ſame couenants were not performed within fortie daies, then ſhould they ſtand at the mercie of the chriſtian princes as touching life and lim.

The citie of Acres.

Theſe things thus concluded, and the citie yéelded vp into the chriſtian mens hands, the French king

vpon

The French k. returneth home.

vpon enuie and malice conceiued againſt king Richard(although he pretended ſickneſſe for excuſe) departed homewards, ſetting from Acres the laſt day of Iulie. Now then, after the departure of king Philip, when the day approched, in the which the Saracens ſhould performe the couenants; or elſe ſtand to the iudgement of life and death at the pleaſure of the chriſtian princes: it was perceiued that the couenants would not be fulfilled according to the agreement. For Saladine, as it well appeared, ment not to performe that which for the ſafegard of his men he had vndertaken, and did but dallie with the chriſtians to prolong the time: wherevpon ſentence was giuen forth, that for default in ſuch behalfe, the Saracens remaining as pledges ſhould loſe their heads.

Saladine cauſeth the chriſtian priſoners to be beheaded.

R.Houed.

Saladine hauing knowledge thereof, ſent word to king Richard and to the whole chriſtian armie, that if his people that were in the chriſtian mens hands loſt their heads, he would not faile but cauſe the heads of all thoſe chriſtians which he had in captiuitie to be cut off alſo. Notwithſtanding which anſwer, on the fourteenth day of Auguſt king Richard iſſued forth of the citie, paſſing the vttermoſt ditches, and incamped himſelfe neere the armie of Saladine, who the ſame daie ſent rich preſents vnto king Richard, requiring of him a longer day for performance of the couenants, but that would not be granted. Wherefore vpon the ſaid deniall, Saladine cauſed all thoſe chriſtian priſoners which he had in his hands to be beheaded on the eighteenth day of Auguſt, on which day king Richard aduanced forth towards the lodgings of the Saracens, and ſkirmiſhed with them verie hotlie, ſo that manie were wounded and ſlaine on both parts: and amongſt other one of king Richards companions at all exerciſes named Peter Mignot loſt his life there. Furthermore, although king Richard knew that Saladine had put the chriſtian priſoners to death in ſuch wiſe as you haue heard, yet would not he preuent his terme appointed for the execution of the Saracens that were in his cuſtodie, but abiding vnto the twentith day of Auguſt, he then cauſed thoſe Saracens which fell to his lot, at the time of the ſurrender of Acres, being in number about 2600. to be brought forth of the citie, and néere to the walles in the ſight of Saladine and all his hoſt they had their heads chopped off. The duke of Burgoigne cauſed execution to be doone within the citie vpon thoſe which fell to the French kings ſhare, the number of the which roſe to two thouſand and foure hundred, or thereabouts: for the whole number was reckoned to be about fiue thouſand that thus loſt their liues through the inconſtancie of their prince: yet diuerſe of the principall had their liues ſaued. The Saracens themſelues alſo ſpake much euill of Saladine for this matter, bicauſe that refuſing to performe the articles of couenants, he had occaſioned the enimie to ſlea thoſe that had ſo valiantlie ſerued in defenſe of the citie, to the vttermoſt ieopardie of their liues. And heere is verified that knowne verſe,

Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achiui.

Ger.Dor.

Strife betwixt ẏ archbiſhop of York and the biſhop of Durham.

But now to leaue forren matters, and to returne home into England: we find, that on the ſecond of December, the monks of Canturburie choſe to their archbiſhop Reignold biſhop of Bath, who within fifteene daies after his election, departed this life, and lieth buried at Bath. Alſo this yeare, or (as Ger.Dor. ſaith)in the yeare following, the biſhop of Durham ſought meanes to withdraw his ſubiection from the archbiſhop of Yorke, for which attempt the archbiſhop of Yorke, vpon truſt of the popes grant, did not excommunicate the ſaid biſhop, notwithſtanding that he appealed to the popes conſiſtorie thrée ſeuerall times, putting his owne matter and his churches to be examined and tried by the pope, wherevpon he obeied not the excommunication: and ſignifieng the cauſe vnto Rome, obteined ſuch fauour, that the pope and his cardinals reuerſed the ſentence, and iudged the excommunication to be of none effect. And further they decreed, that if the archbiſhop of Yorke had broken the altars and chalices, as information was giuen, in which the biſhop of Durham had celebrated after his appeale made to the court of Rome, that then ſhould the ſaid biſhop of Durham be acquited from owing any ſubiection to the ſaid archbiſhop for ſo long as they two ſhould liue togither.

True it is, that the archbiſhop had not onelie broken the altars and chalices which the biſhop had vſed in déed for the celebration of maſſe, but alſo held his owne brother Iohn earle of Mortaigne for excommunicate, bicauſe he had eat and dronke in companie of the ſaid biſhop, and would not communicate with him, till he came to receiue abſolution, and to make ſatiſfaction for his fault. In the end the biſhops of Lincolne and Rocheſter, with the abbat of Peterburrow, were appointed by the pope to haue the hearing of this matter, as iudges authoriſed by his buls, who ſat therevpon at Northampton, vpon S. Calixt his day, where after they had heard both parties argue what they could in either of their caſes, they gaue a longer day, to wit, vntill the feaſt of the natiuitie of ſaint Iohn Baptiſt next after, to ſee if by anie good means there might ſome agréement haue béene had betwixt them, or (if that could not be) that then the popes leters ſhould ſtand in force as before, & the helpes of either part ſaued, as though no delaie had béene vſed. And to this, both parties were agréeable, ſpeciallie at the motion of the biſhop of Lincolne.

Roger Lacie coneſtable of Cheſter.

This yeare alſo, Roger de Lacie coneſtable of Cheſter tooke Alan de Lec and Peter de Bouencort, and vpon deſpite hanged them, for that being put in truſt amongſt other with the kéeping of the caſtels of Notingham and Tickhill, which he had receiued into his cuſtodie of the biſhop of Elie quondam lord chancellour, they had conſented to the treaſon of Robert de Crokeſton, & Eudo de Duuille, which deliuered the ſame caſtels vnto Iohn earle of Mortaigne. The ſame earle of Mortaigne was highlie offended for the death of thoſe two perſons, and therefore waſted the lands of the ſaid Roger which lay within the compaſſe of his iuriſdiction.

But now touching the departure of the French king from Acres, diuerſe occaſions are remembred by writers of the emulation and ſecret ſpite which he ſhould beare towards king Richard, and beſide other alreadie touched, one was for enterteining and reléeuing the earle of Champaigne in ſuch bountifull wiſe in his neceſſitie, that he was readie to forſake the French kings ſeruice, and cleaue to king Richard. But howſoeuer it came to paſſe, partlie through enuie (as hath béene thought) conceiued at the great déeds of king Richard, whoſe mightie power and valiantneſſe he could not well abide, and partlie for other reſpects him mouing, he tooke the ſea with thrée gallies of the Geneuois, and returned into Italie, and ſo home into France, hauing promiſed firſt vnto king Richard at his departure out of the holie land, and after to pope Celeſtine at Rome, that he would not attempt any hurtfull enterpriſe againſt the Engliſh dominions, till king Richard ſhould be returned forth of the holie land. But this promiſe was not kept, for after that he was returned into France, he firſt ſought to procure the foreſaid erle Iohn, king Richards brother, to rebell againſt him, promiſing him not onelie aid to reduce all his brothers domini-

The euill dealing & breach of promiſe of the French king.

ons into his hands, but alſo to giue his ſiſter Adela in marriage, whom king Richard vpon ſuſpicion of vnchaſt liuing, had forſaken, as before ye haue heard. But when earle Iohn was diſſuaded by his mother, from accepting this offer (which otherwiſe as it is ſaid he would willinglie haue receiued) king Philip ſtill reteined a malicious rancor in his hart, and in reuenge of old diſpleaſures, would haue attempted the warre againſt the ſubiects of king Richard, if his lords would haue ioined with him: but they conſidering what ſlander would redound hereby both to him and them for the iniurie doone to the chriſtian common-welth, in making warre againſt him that was occupied in defenſe of the faith againſt the common enimies of chriſtendome, would not giue their conſent thereto, and ſo the matter reſted, till king Richard was taken priſoner in Almaigne, and then what followed, it ſhall after appeare.

Wil.Paruus.
Enuious diſcord among the chriſtians.

In the meane while, the chriſtian armie atchiued ſome worthie enterpriſes in the holie land, though not manie, by reaſon of ſuch enuious diſcord as reigned amongſt the chéefe gouernours. It chanced yet on the éeue of the Natiuitie of our ladie next after the departure of king Philip, as king Richard marched forth towards Iaph ancientlie called Ioppa, that the Soldan Saladine taking aduantage of the place, did ſet vpon the rereward of the chriſtians: but his Saracens (after they had fought right fiercelie from noone till ſunne ſetting) were ſo beaten backe at length, and repelled with ſuch loſſe and diſaduantage, that in 40. yeares before they had not ſuſteined at one time greater damage. Amongſt other of the chriſtians ſlaine at that encounter, was one Iames Dauenes, a man of high proweſſe and valiancie.

K. Richard diſcomfiteth the Saracens néere to Port Iaph.

Rog.Houed.

Moreouer, king Richard wan diuerſe townes and caſtels out of the enimies hands, as Aſcalon, Darus, and diuerſe other, and ſome he fortified, as Aſcalon aforeſaid, and Port Iaph, otherwiſe called Ioppa. There were ſundrie encounters alſo betwixt the Saracens and chriſtians, wherein king Richard and his people bare themſelues ſo manfullie, that the victorie for the moſt part continuallie reſted on their ſide. At one time alſo, hearing of a great conueie of vittels, munitions, and other things which came from Babylon towards Ieruſalem to furniſh Saladine and his armie (which conueis they call carauannes) king Richard with a competent power of men met them on the waie, and diſtreſſed thoſe that were attendant vpon the ſafegard of that carriage, being in number about two thouſand horſſemen, beſides a great multitude of footmen, and therewith tooke the carriages with foure thouſand and ſix hundred camels and dromedaries, beſides an innumerable ſort of mules, aſſes, and other beaſts of burthen.

1192

¶ But to ſpeake of all the worthie exploits atchiued by king Richard and his valiant capteins there in the holie land againſt the infidels, it would require a long treatiſe, and therefore here we paſſe them ouer. This is to be noted, that amongſt other of whom we find honorable mention made by writers for their high valiancie ſhewed in thoſe exploits, theſe are named as chéefe, Robert earle of Leiceſter, Hubert biſhop of Saliſburie, with the earles of S. Paule and Dreux, beſide diuerſe other, as Hugh de Gourney, William de Borrez, Walcline de Ferrers, Roger de Toonie, Iames de Auenes, the biſhop of Beauuois, William de Barres, William de Carland, Drogo de Merlo, Robert de Nealle, Henrie Fitz Nicholas, Robert de Newburg, Raſe de S. Marie, Arnold de Bois, Henrie de Mailoc, William & Saule de Bruil, Andrew de Chauignie, Henrie de Graie, Peter de Pratellis, Stephan de Turneham, Baldwin Carron, Clarenbald de Mount Chablon, Manſer de Liſle, Richard de Orques and Theodorike Philip, Ferrike de Vienne, Gilbert Malemaine, Alexander d' Arſie, Stephan de Longchamp, Seguin de Barret, Roger de Glanuille, Raimond Fitz Prince, Bartholomew de Mortimer, Gerard Furniuall, Raſe de Malleon, Roger de Sacie, William de Poole, Hugh de Neuill, Henrie Teutch or (if ye will) Teutonicus the kings ſtandardbearer, with diuerſe others, as well Engliſhmen, Frenchmen, Normans, Poictouins, Aniouines, Britans, Gaſcoignes, as other nations, of whome partlie mention is alreadie made before in this booke, and partlie for bréefeneſſe diuerſe are omitted.

The names of ſuch noble men as were famous for their valiant doings in this voiage.

De Poole a de Stagno,

But now to returne, ſure it is, that king Richard meant to haue recouered the citie of Ieruſalem, and all the holie land out of the Saracens hands, by the aſſiſtance of almightie God: if the doubt which he had of his brother the earle of Mortaigns practiſes, & the French kings doings, which were brought to him with a gréeuous report, had not reuoked him home. For diuerſe meſſengers were ſent dailie into the holie land, to aduertiſe him of ſuch dangers as were like to inſue, if by his ſpéedie returne the ſame were not preuented. And firſt after Eaſter, there came to him the prior of Hereford with letters from the biſhop of Elie, conteining a ſore information againſt his brother earle Iohn, for hauing expelled thoſe whom he had appointed rulers ouer the realme of England, and altered the ſtate of things there contrarie to the ordinances by him deuiſed afore his ſetting forward vpon his iournie (as before ye haue partlie heard.)

Galf.Vinſaf.

Vpon receipt of which letters, he meant inmediatlie at the firſt to haue returned, and to haue left behind him a conuenient power of men, to wit, thrée hundred knights or men of armes, and two thouſand choſen footmen, to abide vpon the defenſe of the holie land, with other chriſtians at his coſts and charges. But yet at length he was perſuaded to tarrie, ſpeciallie till things were ſet in ſome better ſtate, which then were out of order by the death of the marques of Montferrato, lord of Tire, whom two traitorous Saracens of the kind which they name Aſſaſſini had murthered. After whoſe death Henrie earle of Champaigne nephue to king Richard married his wife, and was made king of Ieruſalem, Guido reſigning to him his title, vnto whome as it were in recompenſe king Richard gaue the Ile of Cypres: although ſome write, that the knights Templers had bought it of him before. Thus king Richard remaining ſtill in the holie land, ſhortlie after Whitſuntide, there came an other meſſenger to him, one Iohn de Alanzon a clearke, bringing worſſe newes out of England than the prior of Hereford had brought before, which in effect conteined, that his brother earle Iohn was alied as a confederat with the French king, and meant through his ſetting on, to ſeize into his poſſeſſion the whole realme of England, notwithſtanding the perſuaſion of his mother quéene Elianor and other his fréends to the contrarie.

The marqu of Montferrato murth by the Aſſaſſini.

Earle Iohn purpoſed to ſeize vpon the kingdom in his brothers abſence.

Herevpon king Richard was fullie perſuaded to returne home, but yet through the admonition of certeine perſons, and namelie of one William de Poicters, a chapleine of his, he eftſoones altered his purpoſe, and ſo remained there, till at length through enuie and malice ſtill increaſing amongſt the chriſtians, he perceiued how no good purpoſe could go forward, ſince that which ſéemed good to ſome, was miſliked of other; and ſpeciallie our writers put great blame in the French men, who either vpon diſdaine or other diſpleaſure would not be perſuaded to follow their aduiſe, which were knowne beſt to vnderſtand the ſtate of things in thoſe parties. And herevpon, when the armie was aduanced to Betenoble,

William de Poicters K. Richards chapleine.

a

a place not paſt foure leagues diſtant from Ieruſalem, bicauſe their mind might not be fulfilled for the beſieging of Ieruſalem, which they had intended to take in hand (whereas the reſidue would rather that they ſhuld haue gone to beſiege Babylon in Aegypt, and that vpon ſundrie great reſpects) the Frenchmen raiſed their field, and returned againe to Acres in great deſpite, putting the reſt of the armie alſo (ſo much as in them laie) in danger of vtter ruine and diſtreſſe.

Anno Reg. 4.

Then king Richard and the other chriſtian capteins perceiuing how the matter inclined, and giuing ouer all hope of any more good ſucceſſe, followed them. So that after they were thus returned to Acres, king Richard ſtill doubting leaſt his long abſence from home might put him in danger of more loſſe here, than he ſaw hope of preſent gaine to be had there, in ſuch diuerſitie of humours and priuie malice which reigned among them, he determined fullie to depart homewards, with no leſſe purpoſe to returne thither againe after he had ſetled things at home in ſuch ſure ſtay as was expedient for the ſuertie of his owne eſtate and quietneſſe of his people. Herevpon being readie to enter into his ſhips at Acres [or as ſome haue, being on his iournie homewards in Cypres] he was aduertiſed that the Souldane Saladine had taken the towne of Iaph, ſlaine a great number of the chriſtians within it, and beſieged the reſidue within the caſtell, the which (conſtreined through feare) had compounded to yéeld, if within thrée daies there came no ſuccour.

Wil. Paruus.

K. Richard reſcueth Port Iaph.

King Richard being hereof aduertiſed, and turning gréef into valiancie, with all ſpéed ſailed backe vnto Iaph, and landing there with his people, cauſed his enimies to forſake the towne: but anon aſſembling themſelues againe togither, they turned once more to beſiege it, wherevpon he iſſued forth into the fields, and fought with them ſundrie daies togither, till finallie they were content to forſake their enterpriſe, and to depart thence for altogither. In theſe conflicts the valiant courage of king Richard, and the worthie manhood of his ſouldiers right well appeared: for he brought not with him at that time vnto Iaph aboue 80 men of armes, and foure hundred other ſouldiers with croſſebowes, and yet with that ſmall handfull of men, and ſome aid of them that he found there in the caſtell, he did not onelie bid battell to the enimies, which were numbred to 62 thouſand, but alſo put them to the worſſe, and cauſed them to flée backe, to their great ſhame and confuſion.

Rad. Niger.
Math.Paris.

Cephas.
K. Richard fell ſicke.

Thus Iaph being deliuered out of the enimies hands, king Richard fell ſicke at a caſtell called Cephas, and ſo remained there certeine daies, till he had recouered his health. In which meane time the Soldane Saladine ſéeming to lament his caſe, ſent vnto him certeine of his councellors to common with him of peace, declaring that although he well vnderſtood that king Richard ment ſhortlie to returne into his countrie, and that after his departure out of the eaſt parts, he could with ſmall adoo recouer all that the chriſtians yet held within the holie land, he would neuertheleſſe in reſpect of king Richards high prowes, and noble valiancie, grant a peace for a certeine time, ſo that not onelie Aſcalon, but alſo all other ſuch townes and places as the chriſtians had fortified or wonne ſince the conqueſt of Acres ſhould be raced, as touching their walles, bulworks, gates, and other fortifications.

King Richard (though he perceiued that this offer of peace tended vnto this point chéefelie, that Saladine would thereby adnihilate whatſoeuer the chriſtian armie had doone in the holie land ſince his & the French kings arriuall, ſo that by the ſaid peace he ſhould gaine more than by the edge of his ſword) did ſomewhat ſtaie at this offer and demand, as a thing greatlie diſhonourable to the chriſtians, to loſe by treatie of peace ſo much or rather more than they got by force of warres (a méere token of faint and féeble courage) yet conſidering that in ſuch neceſſitie both of his departure from thence, and alſo of lacke of other ſuccors to reſiſt the puiſſance of the enimies, after his comming awaie, he iudged it beſt to take the offer at the enimies hands in auoiding of ſome greater euill. Herevpon therefore was a peace concluded to endure for thrée yeares, thrée moneths, thrée wéeks, thrée daies, and thrée houres, to begin at Eaſter next inſuing. And among other articles, it was couenanted, that the chriſtians ſhould haue frée paſſage to come and go vnto the citie of Ieruſalem, to viſit the holie ſepulchre there, which was granted; ſo that amongſt a great number of chriſtians that preſentlie vpon this concluſion went thither, Hubert biſhop of Saliſburie was one, who had continued about the king during the time of all his iournie till this time.

A peace concluded betwixt the Chriſtians & Saracens.

Hubert biſhop of Saliſburie.

K. Richard taketh his iornie homewards.

King Richard hauing thus concluded with Saladine, tooke the ſea, and comming againe into Cypres, ſent his wife quéene Berengaria with his ſiſter Ioane (late quéene of Sicile) into England by the long ſeas, but he himſelfe not minding to lie long on the ſeas, determined to take his courſe into Grecia, and ſo by land to paſſe homewards with all ſpéed poſſible. Howbeit yer he could atteine his purpoſe, his chance was to be driuen by tempeſt into the coaſt of Iſtria, not farre from Aquilia, where he ſtood in ſome doubt of his life. For if he had béene knowne and taken, they would ſurelie haue killed him, bicauſe of the ſlander that went of him, as guiltie of the death of Conrade the marqueſſe of Montferrato, who indéed was ſlaine by two of the Aſſaſſini in the citie of Tyrus, whileſt king Richard was in the holie land (as before yée haue heard.)

K. Richard ſlandered for the death of ỹ marques of Montferrato.

He therefore hauing here made ſhipwracke, and doubting to fall into the hands of any perſon in thoſe parts that bare good will vnto the marqueſſe (againſt whome he had indéed ſhewed himſelfe not fréendlie in a quarrell betwixt the ſaid marqueſſe and Guido the king of Ieruſalem) made the beſt ſhift he could to get away, yet knowledge being had of him, and ſerch made after him by one Meinard of Gorezein, he loſt eight of his ſeruants, and ſo came to a towne within the biſhoprike of Saltzburge called Friſake, where he was eftſoones in danger to haue béene taken againe by one Frederike de ſaint Soome, who notwithſtanding tooke ſix of his men, but yet he himſelfe with thrée other of his companie made ſhift to get away. Finallie comming to Vienna in Auſtrich, and there cauſing his ſeruants to prouide meat for him, more ſumptuous and fine than was thought requiſit for ſo meane a perſon as he counterfeited then to beare out in countenance, it was ſtreightwaies ſuſpected that he was ſome other maner of man than he pretended, and in fine, thoſe that marked more diligentlie the maner of him, perceiued what he was, and gaue knowledge to the duke of Auſtrich named Leopold, being then in the citie of Vienna, what they had ſéene. His page that had the Dutch toong, going about the towne to change gold, and buy vittels, bewraied him, hauing by chance the kings gloues vnder his girdle: wherevpon comming to be examined for feare of tortures confeſſed the truth.

W. Paruus.
Erle of Gorze
Saltzburge.

K. Richard commeth to Vienna.

Polydor.

Ra.Niger.

The duke ſtreightwaies cauſed the houſe where he was lodged, to be ſet about with armed men, and ſent other into the houſe to apprehend him. He being warie that he was deſcried, got him to his weapon: but they aduiſing him to be contented, and alledging the dukes commandement, he boldlie anſwered, that ſith he muſt be taken, he being a king, would yéeld

“ himſelfe to none of the companie but to the duke
“ alone, and therefore if it would pleaſe him to come,
“ he would yéeld himſelfe into his hands. The duke hearing of this, ſpéedilie came vnto him, whom he méeting, deliuered vp his ſword, and committed him vnto his cuſtodie. The duke reioiſing of ſuch a preie, brought him vnto his palace, and with gentle words enterteined him, though he meant no great good towards him, as well inough appeared in that he committed him to the kéeping of certeine gentlemen, which without much courteſie looked ſtreightlie inough to him for ſtarting awaie, in ſomuch that they kept him in cold irons (as ſome authours doo write.) He was taken after the maner aforeſaid in December vpon S. Thomas éeue, in the yéere of our Lord 1192. and in the fourth yeare of his reigne.

K. Richard ſubmitteth himſelfe to the duke of Auſtrich.

N.Triuet.

Polychron.

The duke of Auſtrich owght the king no good will, bicauſe he had caſt downe his enſignes pitcht vp in a turret at Acres, which he had wonne at the verie time when that citie was deliuered by the Saracens: for while they were in tretie on the one ſide, the duke on the other, not knowing anie thing thereof, gaue the aſſault vnto that part of the towne which was appointed vnto him to beſiege. And ſo being entred the towne, and perceiuing that by treatie it was to be deliuered, he retired into the turret which he had firſt wonne and entred, and there ſet vp his ſtandard and enſignes, which king Richard (as the Dutch writers affirme) comming thither, threw downe and trode vnder his féet.

The cauſe of the diſpleaſure betwixt the duke of Auſtrich & king Richard.

Ger.Dor.

But Geruaſius Dorobornenſis declareth this matter ſomewhat otherwiſe, as thus. After that the ſaid citie of Acres was rendred into the chriſtian mens hands (ſaith he) diuerſe lords tooke their lodgings as they thought good, and hanged foorth their enſignes. And as it chanced, the duke of Auſtrich placing himſelfe in one of the faireſt palaces of all the citie, put foorth his enſigne, whereof king Richard being warie, came thither with a companie of hardie ſouldiers about him, and threw downe the dukes enſigne, ſo diſplacing him out of that ſo pleaſant and beautifull a lodging. For this cauſe, and alſo ſurmizing that king Richard ſhould be guiltie of the death of the marques, Conrade the duke of Auſtrich ſhewed ſuch diſcourteſie towards him. But concerning the murther of the marques, the chéefe gouernour of thoſe Saracens called Aſſaſſini cleared king Richard by a letter written and directed vnto the duke of Auſtrich in manner as followeth.

Rog.Houed.

A letter directed to the duke of Auſtrich, *wherein king Richard is cleared of the death of the marqueſſe of Mountferrat, whereof he was vehementlie ſuſpected.*

Lupoldo duci Auſtriæ, Vetus de Monte ſalutem. Cùm plurimi reges & principes vltra mare Richardum regem Angliæ & dominum de morte marchiſi inculpent, iuro per dominum qui regnat in æternum, & per legem quam tenemus, quòd in eius mortem nullam culpam habuit. Eſt ſiquidem cauſa mortis ipſius marchiſi talis. Vnus ex fratribus noſtris in vnam nauem de Satalei, ad partes noſtras veniebat, & tempeſtas illum fortè ad Tyrum appulit, & marchiſus fecit illum capere & occidere, & magnam pecuniam eius rapuit. Nos verò marchiſo nuncios noſtros miſimus, mandantes vt pecuniam fratris noſtri nobis redderet, & de morte fratris noſtri nobiſcum ſe concordaret, & noluit.

Nec non & nuncios noſtros ſpreuit, & mortem fratris noſtri ſuper Reginaldum dominum de Sidonis poſuit, & nos tantum fecimus per amicos noſtros, quod in veritate ſcimus, quòd ille fecit illum occidere & pecuniam rapere. Et iterum alium nuncium noſtrum nomine Edriſum miſimus ad eum, quem in mare mergere voluit, ſed amici noſtri illum à Tyro feſtinanter fecerunt recedere, qui ad nos peruenit, & iſta nobis nunciauit. Nos quoque ex illa hora marchiſum deſiderauimus occidere. Túncque duos fratres miſimus ad Tyrum, qui eum apertè & ferè coram omni populo Tyri occiderunt.

Hæc ergò fuit cauſa mortis marchiſi, & benè dicimus vobis in veritate, quòd dominus Richardus rex Angliæ in hac marchiſi morte nullam culpam habuit. Et qui propter hoc domino regi Angliæ malum fecerunt, iniuſtè fecerunt, & ſine cauſa. Sciatis pro certo, quòd nullum hominem huius mundi pro mercede aliqua vel pecunia occidimus, niſi priùs nobis malum fecerit. Et ſciatis quòd has literas fecimus in domo noſtra ad caſtellum noſtrum Meſſiat in dimidio Septembri, anno ab Alexandro 1505.

The ſame in Engliſh.

Vetus de Monte to Lupold duke of Auſtrich ſendeth greeting. Where manie kings and princes beyond the ſeas blame Richard king of England of the marques his death, I ſweare by the lord that reigneth euerlaſtinglie, and by the law which we hold, that he was not in fault for his death. For the verie cauſe of the marques his death was ſuch as followeth. One of our brethren in a ſhip of Satalie came towards our parties, and chanced by tempeſt to be driuen vnto Tyre, and the marques cauſed him to be taken and ſlaine, and tooke a great portion of monie that he had in the ſhip with him. Wherevpon we ſent our meſſengers to the marques, commanding him to reſtore vnto vs the monie of our brother, and to compound with vs for our ſaid brothers death, and he would not.

Moreouer, he alſo contemned our meſſengers, & laid the fault of our brothers death vpon Reginald lord of Sidon, and we did ſo much through our freends, that we got full vnderſtanding that the marques himſelfe cauſed him to be ſlaine, and tooke his monie. And therefore we ſent vnto him againe an other meſſenger named Edriſus, whome he would haue drowned in the ſea, but our freends made ſuch ſhift, that they procured him to depart with ſpeed from Tyre, who returned to vs, and ſignified theſe things to vs for certeine. And from that houre euer after we had a deſire to ſlea the marques: and ſo then we ſent two of our brethren vnto Tyre, who openlie, & in a manner in preſence of all the people of Tyre ſlue him.

This therefore was the verie cauſe of the death of the marques: & we ſay to you in good ſooth, that the lord Richard king of England, in this death of the marques was nothing culpable: and they that haue doone anie diſpleaſure vnto the king of England for this cauſe, they haue doone it wrongfullie, and without anie iuſt occaſion. Know ye for certeine, that we doo not vſe to kill anie man of this world for anie bribe, or for monie, except he haue doone to vs ſome harme afore time. And know ye that we haue made theſe letters in our houſe at our caſtell of Meſſuat, in the midſt of September, in the yeare from Alexander the great, 1505.

¶ Thus we ſee how king Richard was cleared of that crime concerning the marques his death by the tenour of this letter. And verelie it is moſt like that king Richard would haue beene loth to haue communicated his purpoſe vnto ſuch a wicked kind of pagans as the Aſſaſſini were, if he had pretended any ſuch matter, but rather would haue ſought his reuenge by ſome other meanes. Now therefore to our purpoſe.

1193

The newes of the taking of king Richard was anon bruted and blowne ouer all Germanie, wherevpon the emperour Henrie the ſixt, the ſonne of Frederike the firſt, ſent in all haſt vnto the duke, perſuading him to deliuer the king into his hands, being able to ſuſteine and abide the malice of all them that would be offended with the taking and deteining of him priſoner, as the pope and others. The emperour well vnderſtood the wealth and riches of England, and therefore hoped to make ſome good purchaſe by ranſoming the king, if he might get him out of the dukes hands. The duke perceiuing alſo the emperours meaning, durſt not well denie his requeſt, and therefore he deliuered the king vnto them that were ſent from the emperour, who couenanted to giue vnto the ſaid duke the ſumme of 6000. pounds of Cullen weight for the hauing of the ſaid king. The emperour thus receiuing the king at the hands of the duke of Auſtrich, commanded that he ſhould be committed to cloſe priſon, and would not doo ſo much as once ſpeake with him. This he did, to cauſe the king vpon an indignation and wearineſſe of that maner of life, to make ſpeed in offering ſome large maſſe of monie for his libertie & deliuerance. ¶ Thus we ſee how couetouſneſſe infected the hearts of the mightie, and what occaſion the emperour and duke did take, to inrich themſelues by the meanes of the king, whome they forced not to impoueriſh, ſo their owne greedie worme were ſerued. But this hath beene a diſeaſe not ſo generall as ancient, according to his words that ſaid,

The king is deliuered to the emperor.
Matth.Paris.

Ouid.lib.Faſt.1.

Vix ego Saturno quenquam regnante videbam,
Cuius non animo dulcia lucra forent.

Rog.Houed.

Here is to be remembred by the waie, that about the ſame time, or ſomewhat before, in the yeare of our Lord 1192. the pope ſent two legats (namelie, Octauian biſhop of Hoſtia, and Iordane de Foſſa noua) into Normandie, to reconcile the biſhop of Elie and the archbiſhop of Rouen: but comming vnto Giſors, they were ſtaied from entring any further into the countrie, wherevpon they did interdict the whole duchie of Normandie, togither with William Fitz Radulfe lord ſteward of that countrie, bicauſe he was the man that had ſo ſtaied them. Immediatlie herevpon, queene Elianor, and the archbiſhop of Rouen ſent vnto thoſe legats Hugh biſhop of Durham, requiring them to releaſe that ſentence of interdiction ſo pronounced againſt the ſteward and countrie of Normandie in the kings abſence, but they would not, except they might be receiued into Normandie: howbeit, the pope being ſent vnto, releaſed it, and cauſed the legats to releaſe it alſo, and yet they entred not into Normandie at all.

Two legats from ẏ pope.

Normandie interdicted.

This yeare, whileſt the ſeneſchall of Gaſcoigne laie ſicke, the earle of Pieregort, and the vicount of March, and almoſt all the lords and barons of Gaſcoigne, began to waſte and deſtroie the lands of king Richard. And though the ſeneſchall manie times by meſſengers required a peace, or at the leaſt ſome truce, yet could he not haue any grant thereof: wherfore vpon his recouerie of health he inuaded the lands of the ſaid earle, tooke the caſtels and fortreſſes and ſome of them he fortified, and kept to the kings vſe, and ſome of them he raced downe to the ground. He alſo inuaded the vicounts countrie, and ſubdued it to the kings gouernement. Shortlie after came the brother of the king of Nauarre, with eight hundred knights or men of armes to the ſeneſchals aid, and ſo they two togither entring into the lands of the earle of Tholouſe, tooke diuerſe caſtels and fortreſſes within the ſame, of the which ſome they fortified, and ſome they raced, and rode euen to the gates of Tholouſe, and lodged in maner vnder the walles of the citie.

The earle of Pieregort & others waſt the K.of Englands lands.

The ſeneſchal of Gaſcoigne reuengeth iniurie.

The king of Nauars brother.

A little before Chriſtmas alſo, diuerſe of thoſe that had beene in the holie land with king Richard, came home into England, not knowing but that king Richard had beene at home before them, and being aſked where they thought he was become, they could ſay no more but that they had ſeene the ſhip wherein he firſt went aboord, arriuing at Brendize in Puglia. At length, when newes came that he was taken and ſtaied as priſoner, the archbiſhop of Rouen and other the rulers of the realme of England, ſent the abbat of Boxley and the abbat of Roberts-bridge with all ſpeed into Almaine to ſpeake with him, and to vnderſtand his ſtate, and what his pleaſure was in all things. Who comming to Germanie, paſſed through the countrie into Baierland, where at a place called Orefer they found the king as then on his iournie towards the emperour, to whom (as yee haue heard) the duke of Auſtrich did ſend him. The ſaid abbats attended him to the emperours court, and remained there with him till the emperour and he were accorded, in manner as after ſhall be ſhewed: and then after Eaſter they returned with the newes into England.

The abbats of Boxley and Roberts-bridge.

Vpon report hereof order was taken for manie things, but cheefelie for the ſtate: in which dealings, forſomuch as thoſe which had the rule of the land ſtood in great doubt of things (for the inconſtant nature of earle Iohn was of them much ſuſpected) firſt they cauſed a new oth of allegiance to be made to king Richard, and receiued of the people. They fortified alſo ſuch townes and caſtels as were of importance, both with repairing the walles and other defenſes about the ſame, and furniſhing them with men, munition and vittels. Thus was the land brought into ſome order.

Ger.Dor.

In the meane while, the French king being aduertiſed that king Richard was deteined as priſoner, reioiſed not a little thereat, and with all ſpeed by ſecret meſſages did ſend for his brother earle Iohn, who was readie to come at his call. And being come, he exhorted him not to ſuffer ſo conuenient an occaſion to paſſe, but to take the gouernement of the realme of England now into his hands, promiſing him all ſuch aid as he could of him reaſonablie require: with other like talke ſtill tending to the prouocation of the earle to forſake his allegiance vnto his brother. And to ſay the truth, earle Iohn was eaſilie perſuaded ſo to doo, and therefore vpon his immediat returne into England, aſſembled an armie, and with the ſame (and ſuch ſtrangers as he brought with him) began to proue maiſteries, firſt winning the caſtels of Windſore, Wallingford, Notingham, and diuerſe other, and fortifieng the ſame to his owne vſe and defenſe.

The French king counſelleth K. Iohn to vſurpe againſt his brother.

The barons of the land, iudging ſuch vnlawfull doings not to be anie longer ſuffered, firſt beſieged the caſtell of Windſore, and after preparing to leuie a greater force, did put them within in ſuch feare, that they yeelded vp the ſame, ſeeking to eſcape by

Ger.Dor.

flight, ſome into one place, and ſome into an other, the which yet being apprehended were put to worthie execution. But this was not doone without continuance of time, & without great trouble & charges to the realme: for whereas there was a practiſe betwixt the French king and earle Iohn, that a great power of ſtrangers, & namelie Flemings ſhould haue come into the realme (for whoſe tranſporting a great number of ſhips were brought togither at Witſand) yet the high prouidence and goodneſſe of God diſappointed their purpoſe. For their meſſengers being taken which were ſent hither into England, the treaſon was reuealed, and by the queene mothers appointment (who cheefelie then ruled the land) a great companie of knights, men of armes, and commons of the countrie, watched the ſea coaſts ouer againſt Flanders, to keepe the enimies from landing. They began thus to watch in the paſſion weeke, and ſo continued till a certeine time after Eaſter. Howbeit earle Iohn came ſecreetlie ouer, in hope to haue not onelie the aſſiſtance of the Welſhmen and of manie other his freends in England, but alſo of the Scots, howbeit, the king of Scots would not meddle. He therefore with ſuch Welſhmen and other as he had brought ouer, and ſuch Engliſhmen as he could get to take his part, began ſuch attempts (as before ye haue heard) to the diſquieting of the whole realme, and great diſpleaſure of the king.

The archbiſhop of Yorke.
Hugh Bardolfe.
William de Stuteuille.

Moreouer, beſide that power of the barons which laid ſiege to Windſor caſtell, there were Noble men alſo in other parts of the realme that were readie to reſiſt him. And amongſt other, Geffrey the archbiſhop of Yorke, with Hugh Bardolfe one of the kings iuſtices, and William de Stuteuille, aſſembled an armie, and comming to Doncaſter, fortified the towne: but when the archbiſhop would haue gone forward to beſiege the caſtell of Tickhill, which earle Iohn had in poſſeſſion, the other two his aſſociats would not conſent to go with him, bicauſe they were ſeruants, and reteined with earle Iohn. Herewith the archbiſhop being ſore offended, departed from them, calling them traitors to their king, and enimies to the realme.

Wil.Paruus.
Rouen beſieged.
The earle of Leiceſter.
Polydor.

About the ſame time did the French king enter into Normandie with an armie, & comming to the towne of Giſors, beſieged it, the which one Gilbert de Vaſcoll or Guaſcoill capteine thereof (to his high reproch) yeelded vp vnto him, with an other caſtell alſo called Neſle, which he had likewiſe in keeping. After this, the French king entring into the countrie of Veurine or Veulqueſſine, wan diuers towns and fortreſſes in the ſame, and paſſing forward, tooke Val de Rueil, and Neuſburge, and finallie comming before the citie of Rouen he laid ſiege thereto: but the earle of Leiceſter being gotten into the citie before the French kings comming thither, ſo incouraged the citizens, that they ſtoutlie ſtanding to their defenſe, cauſed the French king to his great diſhonour to raiſe his field, hauing loſt there more than he wan. Yet to ſaue other townes and caſtels from taking, and the countrie from deſtruction, the rulers of the ſame procured a truce for a great ſumme of monie, which they couenanted to giue, deliuering vp foure notable caſtels by waie of engagement, till the ſumme agreed vpon ſhould be to him contented and dulie paid.

Michaelma ſaith Ger. Dorob.

In the meane time, earle Iohn as head of all the conſpiratours, perceiuing himſelfe not able to atchiue his purpoſe as then, nor to reſiſt the lords and barons of the realme, being vp in armour againſt him, and now growen to greater ſtomach, bicauſe they vnderſtood by the biſhop of Saliſburie latelie arriued, of the kings welfare, and hope of deliuerance; and furthermore, conſidering that he was diſappointed both of Scots and Flemings as he had well hoped ſhould haue come to his aid: he tooke a truce with the lords of the kings ſide, by the earneſt trauell of the biſhop of Saliſburie, till the feaſt of All ſaincts, ſo as the caſtels of Windſore, Wallingford, and the Peake, ſhould remaine in the hands of his mother queene Elianor; but the caſtels of Notingham and Tickhill remained ſtill in his owne poſſeſſion, the which with ſuch other caſtels as he held within the land, he furniſhed with garriſons of his owne men and freends, and then went againe ouer into France to the French king, to purchaſe ſome new aid at his hands according to his promiſe.

Wil.Paruus.
The emperour chargeth king Richar with iniuries doone to the Sicilians.
W. Paruus.
Matth. Weſt.
The kings wiſedome in making his anſwere.

Here will we leaue earle Iohn conferring with the French king, and returne to the king of England. Vpon Palmeſundaie after that he was deliuered (or rather betraied) into the emperours hands, he was brought before the princes and lords of the empire, in whoſe preſence the emperour charged him with diuerſe vnlawfull doings: and namelie picked a quarell at him for the wrongs and hurts doone to the Sicilians in time of his ſoiourning in their Ile, as he went towards the holie land. For albeit the ſaid emperour had nothing as then to doo in the countrie, yet for ſomuch as he had latelie recouered the Ile of Sicile out of king Tancreds hands, and was now intituled king thereof by the pope, in right of his wife Conſtance, the daughter of Roger king of Sicile, and ſo by reaſon thereof ſeemed to be greeuouſlie offended with him for his doings about the recouering of the monie from Tancred, which neuertheleſſe was iuſtlie due vnto his ſiſter for hir dowrie, as in the proceſſe afore I haue alreadie declared. King Richard notwithſtanding theſe vaine and other friuolous obiections laid to his charge, made his anſwears alwaies ſo pithilie and directlie to all that could be laid againſt him, and excuſed himſelfe in euerie point ſo throughlie, that the emperour much maruelled at his high wiſedome and prudence, and not onelie greatlie commended him for the ſame, but from thenceforth vſed him more courteouſlie, and ſuffered that his freends might haue acceſſe to him more freelie than before they could be permitted.

Polydor.

The Pope alſo being aduertiſed of the taking of king Richard, was much offended, that anie chriſtian prince, hauing taken vpon him the defenſe of the chriſtian faith againſt the infidels, ſhould be ſo vſed in his returne from ſo godlie an enterpriſe: and therefore ſent both to the duke of Auſtrich, and to the emperour, requiring them to ſet him at libertie. But the emperour declared plainlie that he would be anſwered for ſuch ſummes of monie as king Richard had taken out of Sicile before he would releaſe him or ſet him at libertie.

The biſhop of Saliſburie ſent into England.
Ger.Dor.

When king Richard perceiued that no excuſes would ſerue, though neuer ſo iuſt, but that he muſt needs paie to his couetous hoſt ſome great ſumme of monie for his hard interteinment, he ſent the biſhop of Saliſburie into England, to take order with the barons of the realme to prouide for the paiment of his ranſome, which biſhop (as yee haue heard) after the peace concluded with Saladine, went vnto Ieruſalem to viſit the holie ſepulchre, and now comming into Sicile, as he returned homewards, had knowledge there how king Richard was taken priſoner in Auſtrich, and remained in the emperours hands: whervpon he turned that waie foorth, and comming to him, was now ſent into England with commiſſion (as I haue ſaid) to leauie monie for the kings ranſome. He landed here the twentith day of Aprill, by whoſe comming the land was the ſooner brought in quiet: for the agreement which earle Iohn tooke (as before yee haue heard) was cheefelie procured by his meanes. For till his comming, the caſtell of Windſore was not wonne, the ſiege being but ſlackelie followed by the archbiſhop of Rouen, who had diuerſe of his fréends within it, and therefore was not verie earneſt againſt them.

Rog. Houed. The biſhop of Elie commeth to the king.

When the biſhop of Saliſburie was departed towards England, the biſhop of Elie came to the king and trauelled ſo earneſtlie betwixt the emperour and him, that finallie the emperour (partlie through his ſuit, & partlie for that he had béene verie much called vpon by the pope and other for his deliuerie) tooke order with him for the redéeming of his libertie, and appointed what ſumme he ſhould pay for his ranſome, which (as ſome write) was two hundred thouſand markes: other ſaie that it was but 140 thouſand marks of the poiſe of Cullen weight. But William Paruus, who liued in thoſe daies, affirmeth it was one hundred thouſand pounds, and Roger Houeden ſaith an hundred thouſand marks of Cullen poiſe, to be paid preſentlie at the kings firſt comming into England, and fiftie thouſand marks afterwards, that is to ſay, thirtie thouſand to the emperour, and twentie thouſand to the duke of Auſtrich, as it were in recompenſe of the iniurie done to him in the holie land; where king Richard ouerthrew his enſignes: and for the ſame to deliuer ſufficient ſuerties.

The emperor agreeth with king Richard for his ranſome.
N. Triuet.
Matt. Paris.

R. Houed. Lands aſſigned to king Richard.

Moreouer, we find in Roger Houeden that the emperour amongſt other the articles of this agréement thus concluded betwixt him and king Richard, gaue and granted, and by his letters patents confirmed vnto him theſe lands hereafter mentioned, that is to ſaie: Prouance with the citie of Vienne, and Viennois, the citie of Marſeils, Narbon, Arles and Lion vpon the Rhone, with the countrie vp to the Alps, and all thoſe poſſeſſions which belonged to the empire in Burgoine, with the homages of the king of Aragon and of the earle of S. Giles: wherein is to be noted, that with the precinct of the premiſſes thus granted to king Richard, fiue archbiſhops ſées, and thirtie thrée biſhops ſées are included. Howbeit the truth is, that the emperour neuer had poſſeſſion of theſe countries, cities, and towns himſelfe, neither would the inhabitants receiue any perſon ſo by him appointed to their lord and gouernour, wherefore the king made ſmall account of that his ſo large grant. But after he once vnderſtood the certeintie of the ſumme that he ſhould paie for his ranſome (which buſineſſe he moſt attended) he ſent one with letters by and by and in great haſt into England to his treaſurers, requiring them with all conuenient ſpéed to prouide monie, and to ſend it to him by a day, that he might be ſet at libertie with ſpéed.

Polydor.

Rog. Houed. Order taken for leuieng monie to paie the kings ranſome.

Theſe letters being come to the quéene mother, and other that had charge in gouernance of the realme, tooke order that all maner of perſons as well ſpirituall as temporall, ſhould giue the fourth part of their whole reuenues to them for that yeare accrewing, and as much more of their moueable goods, and that of euerie knights fée there ſhould be leuied the ſum of twentie ſhillings. Alſo that the religious houſes of the orders of the Ciſteaux and Sempringham ſhould giue all their wools for that yeare towards the kings ranſome.

The hard dealing of officers in the collection.

Church iewels.

Now thoſe that had commiſſion to leuie this monie, being poiſoned with couetouſneſſe, and incenſed with a gréedie deſire (than the which as the poet ſaith,

———nulla eſt hac maior Erinnys,
Hanc memorant Acheronte ſatam, per triſtia Ditis
Regna truces agitare faces, &c.)

vſed much ſtreightneſſe in exacting it, not onelie leuieng it to the vttermoſt value and extent of mens lands, goods, and poſſeſſions, but after their owne willes and pleaſures: ſo that vnder colour of the kings commiſſion, and letters to them directed, there ſéemed not a tribute or ſubſidie to be raiſed, but by ſome publike proclamation all the goods and ſubſtance of the people to be appointed as a prey to the kings officers, whereby it came to paſſe, that not onelie priuate mens goods, but alſo the chalices, iewels, and veſſels belonging to the church were turned into monie, and a farre greater ſumme made than was at the firſt commanded, a great part of the ouerplus being conuerted to the vſe of thoſe, through whoſe hands the receipt paſſed. There was no priuilege nor fréedome allowed to exempt any perſon or place for being contributorie towards the paiment of this monie. The order of Ciſteaux that were neuer charged with any paiment before, were now aſſeſſed more déepelie than the reſt.

The biſhop of Norwich.

The abbat of ſaint Albons.

The biſhop of Cheſter.

Matthew de Cléere.

The biſhop of Norwich lamenting the iniurious dealings of the pettie officers, and pittieng the people of the church, collected halfe the value of all the chalices within his dioceſſe himſelfe, and to make vp the other halfe of the whole ſumme, he ſpared not to giue a great portion of his owne treaſure. The abbat of S. Albons acquitted all thoſe churches within the compaſſe of his iuriſdiction, by the gift of an hundred marks. But the biſhop of Cheſter had verie ill lucke with his collections; for hauing gathered a great ſumme of monie to the kings vſe, he was ſpoiled thereof in one night, as he lodged néere vnto Canturburie, being vpon his iournie towards the king. And bicauſe Matthew de Cléere that laie in the caſtell of Douer was knowne to aid thoſe that robbed the ſaid biſhop, the archbiſhop of Canturburie pronounced him accurſſed.

R. Houed. The biſhop of Elie.

About this time, and on the morrow after the natiuitie of ſaint Iohn Baptiſt, the biſhop of Elie lord chancellour arriued in England, not ſhewing himſelfe in any ſtatelie port (for he tooke vpon him neither the dignitie of chancellour nor legat, nor yet of iuſtice) but onelie as a ſimple biſhop and meſſenger ſent from the king. The quéene mother, the archbiſhop of Rouen, and ſuch other as had gouernment of the land, hearing of his comming, met him at ſaint Albons, where he ſhewed to them the emperours letters, conteining the agréement made betwixt him and king Richard, and withall appointed certeine lords & barons to go with him at his returne backe to the king, as Gilbert biſhop of Rocheſter, Siſrid biſhop of Chicheſter, Bennet abbat of Peterborow, Richard earle of Clare, Roger Bigot earle of Norfolke, Geffrey de Saie, and diuerſe other. It was alſo ordeined at this ſame time, that the monie gathered towards the paiment of the kings ranſome ſhould remaine in cuſtodie of Hubert biſhop of Saliſburie, Richard biſhop of London, William earle of Arundell, Hameline earle of Warren, and of the Maior of London, vnder the ſeales of the quéene mother, and of the archbiſhop of Rouen.

Anno Reg. 5.
Wil. Paruus.

¶But ſée the hap of things, whileſt ech one was thus occupied about the aforeſaid monie; it chanced that king Richard was at the point to haue béene deliuered into the hands of his deadlie aduerſarie the French king, as hereafter you ſhall heare, noting by the waie the dangerous eſtate of princes, the manifold diſtreſſes whereinto by ſiniſter fate (as well as the inferior & raſcall rout of common drudges) they be driuen. For what greater calamitie, what gréeuouſer hartach, what more miſerable caſualtie could haue happened vnto a bondman, than to be deliuered to and fro from the hand of one enimie to another, to be bought and ſold for monie, to ſtand to the courteſies of forren foes, of a king to become a captiue? wherevnto the poet did right well allude, when he ſaid,

Sæpius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus, & celſæ grauiore caſu
Decidunt turres, feriúntq; ſummos
Fulmina montes.

Hor. lib. car. 1. ode. 10.

The biſhop of Liege murthered.

The emperour vpon diſpleaſure conceiued againſt the biſhop of Liege, which latelie had atteined to that benefice contrarie to the emperours pleaſure, who wiſhed the ſame rather to an other perſon, hired certeine naughtie fellowes to go into France, where the biſhop remained for feare of the emperours malice, and there to find meanes traitorouſlie to ſlea him, which they accordinglie did, by reaſon whereof the duke of Louaigne that was brother to the biſhop, and other of his kinſmen, vpon knowledge had thereof, meant to haue made the emperour warre, in reuenge of that murther: inſomuch that the emperour, to haue the French kings aid againſt them, was minded to haue deliuered K. Richard vnto him.

Howbeit after that the matter was taken vp, and a concord made betwixt the emperour and his nobles, he changed his purpoſe alſo touching the deliuering ouer of king Richard, who perceiuing that till his ranſome were paid (which would amount to the ſumme of an hundred & fiftie thouſand marks) he ſhould not get libertie: and putting great confidence in the dexteritie and diligence of Hubert biſhop of Saliſburie (whome he ſent as ye haue heard into England to deale for the leuieng of the ſame) he thought good to aduance the ſame biſhop to the metropolitane ſée of Canturburie, which had béene vacant euer ſithence the deceaſe of archbiſhop Baldwine, that died (as ye haue heard) in the holie land.

Wil. Paruus.

Hubert biſhop of Saliſburie elected archbiſhop of Canturburie.

Hereupon writing to the biſhops of the realme, and to the moonks of Canturburie, he required them to procéed to the election of an archbiſhop for that ſée, and withall commended vnto them the foreſaid Hubert, as a man moſt ſufficient and méet for that roome. He wrote likewiſe to the quéene to further that matter, and eaſilie hereby obteined his deſire. For ſhortlie after, the ſame Hubert was elected by the biſhops and moonks, which aſſembled togither for that purpoſe. He was the 41 archbiſhop that gouerned that ſée: for although Reginold biſhop of Bath was elected before him, yet bicauſe he died yer he was inſtalled, he is not put in the number.

Hubert archbiſhop of Cãturburie, lord chéefe iuſtice.

The king being now put in good hope of his ſpéedie deliuerance, ſent into England, willing his mother quéene Elianor, the archbiſhop of Rouen and others, to come ouer vnto him into Almaine, and in the meane time he ordeined Hubert the archbiſhop of Canturburie to remaine at home as lord chéefe iuſtice. After this, the emperour with the aduice of the princes of the empire, aſſigned a day to king Richard, in which he ſhould be deliuered out of captiuitie, which was the mondaie next after the twentith day of Chriſtmaſſe. Whereupon king Richard wrote vnto Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie in forme as followeth.

The tenour of king Richards letters to the *ſaid archbiſhop.*

Richardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, & dux Normaniæ & Aquitaniæ, & comes Andigauiæ, venerabili patri noſtro in Chriſto, & amico chariſſimo Huberto eadem gratia Cantuarienſi archiepiſcopo ſalutem & ſinceræ dilectionis plenitudinem. Quoniam certiores ſumus, quòd liberationem noſtram plurimùm deſideratis, & quòd liberatio noſtra admodum vos lætificat, ſcripto volumus quòd lætitiæ noſtræ participes ſitis. Inde eſt quòd dilectioni veſtræ dignum duximus ſignificare, dominum imperatorem certum diem liberationis noſtræ nobis præfixiſſe, in die lunæ proxima poſt viceſſimum diem natiuitatis Domini, & die dominica proxima ſequenti coronabimur de regno prouinciæ, quod nobis dedit. Vnde mittimus in Angliam literas domini imperatoris ſuper hijs patentes, vobis & cæteris amicis noſtris beneuolis. Vos autem interim pro omni poſſe veſtro quos ſcitis nos diligere, conſolari velitis, & quos ſcitis promotionem noſtram deſiderare. Teſte meipſo apud Spiram 22. die Septembris.

The emperour alſo ſignified by his letters to the lords of England his reſolute determination in this matter, as followeth.

The tenour of the emperours letters *to the States of England touching king* Richard, and the day of his deliuerance, &c.

Henricus Dei gratia Romanorum imperator, & ſemper Auguſtus, dilectis ſuis archiep. epiſcopis, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, & vniuerſis alijs fidelibus Richardi illuſtris regis Anglorum gratiam ſuam & omne bonum. Vniuerſitati veſtræ duximus intimandum, quòd dilecto amico noſtro Richardo illuſtri regi Anglorum domino veſtro certum diem liberationis ſuæ ſtatuimus, à ſecunda feria poſt diem natiuitatis domini in tres ſeptimanas apud Spiram ſiue apud Berenatiam, & inde in ſeptem dies poſuimus ei diem coronationis ſuæ de regno Prouinciæ, quod ei promiſimus: & hoc certum habeatis, & indubitatum, noſtri ſiquidem propoſiti eſt, & voluntatis, præfatum dominum veſtrum ſpecialem promouere ſicut amicum noſtrum, & magnificentiùs honorare. Datum apud Thealluſam vigilia beati Thomæ Apoſtoli.

The kings commandement not obeied.

Before this king Richard had ſent the biſhop of Elie into France vnto his brother earle John, who preuailed ſo much with him, that he returned into Normandie, and there ſware fealtie vnto his brother king Richard, and ſo was contented to forſake the French king. But whereas king Richard commanded that all ſuch caſtels and honours as he had giuen to him afore time, ſhould now be reſtored to him againe, as well thoſe in England, as the other on the further ſide the ſea: ſuch as had the ſame caſtels in kéeping would not obeie the kings commandement herein, refuſing to make reſtitution of thoſe places, according to the tenour & purport of the kings writ, vnto the ſaid earle of Mortaigne, by reaſon of which refuſall, he returned againe to the French king, and ſtucke to him. Hereupon the French king gaue vnto him the caſtels of Drincourt, and Arques, the which ought to haue béene deliuered vnto the archbiſhop of Reimes as in pledge, who had trauelled as a meane betwixt the French king to whom he was vncle, and the king of England to whom he was couſine, procuring a meeting for agreement to be had betwixt them at a certeine place betwixt Vaucolour and Tulle in the borders of Lorraine. But notwithſtanding all that he could doo, matters were ſo farre out of frame, and ſuch miſtruſt was entred into the minds of the parties, that no concluſion held. So that all the hope which king Richard had, was by paiment of his ranſome to redéeme his libertie, and then to ſhift with things as he might. And ſo finallie when the monie was once readie, or rather a ſufficient portion thereof, the ſame was conueied ouer into Germanie, and paiment made to the emperour of the more part of the kings ranſome, and ſufficient pledges left with him for the reſt, as the archbiſhop

1194

of Rouen, the biſhop of Bath [Baldwin Wac] and other which were of late come out of England to ſee and ſalute the king.

R. Houed.
King Richard releaſed out of captiuitie.

Herevpon king Richard, after he had beene priſoner one yeare, ſix weekes, and three daies, was ſet at libertie on Candlemaſſe day (as moſt writers agree) and then with long and haſtie iournies, not keeping the high waies, he haſted forth towards England. It is reported that if he had lingred by the way, he had beene eftſoones apprehended. For the emperour being incenſed againſt him by ambaſſadors that came from the French king, immediatlie after he was ſet forward, began to repent himſelfe in that he had ſuffered him ſo ſoone to depart from him, and herevpon ſent men after him with all ſpeed to bring him backe if they could by any meanes ouertake him, meaning as then to haue kept him in perpetuall priſon.

R. Houed.
The offers of the French K. and erle Iohn to haue the K. of England kept ſtill in priſon.

Some write that thoſe ambaſſadours ſent from the French king, with other from earle Iohn, came to the emperor before king Richard was deliuered, offering in the French kings name fiftie thouſand marks of ſiluer, and in the name of earle Iohn thirtie thouſand, vpon condition that K. Richard might remaine ſtill in captiuitie vntill the feaſt of S. Michaell next inſuing; or elſe if it might ſo pleaſe him, he ſhould receiue a thouſand pounds of ſiluer for euerie moneth, whileſt king Richard ſhould be deteined in his priſon, or otherwiſe fiftie thouſand marks of ſiluer more than the firſt offer, at one entire paiment, if he would deliuer him into their hands, or at the leaſtwiſe to keepe him priſoner by the terme of one whole yeare.

The emperour hearing of ſuch large offers, and yet hoping for more, contrarie to his promiſe and letters patents therefore granted, prorogued the day in which king Richard ſhould haue beene ſet at libertie, till Candlemaſſe after, at which day he was brought from Haguenaw vnto Spiers, where the emperour had called a councell to intreat further of the matter touching his redemption. Here the emperour ſhewed the letters which he had receiued from the French king and earle Iohn vnto king Richard, who vpon ſight and peruſing of the ſame, was maruellouſlie amazed, and began to deſpaire of all ſpeedie deliuerance.

The princes that had vndertaken for the emperor to performe the couenants.

Indeed the emperour ſought delaies vpon a couetous deſire of the monie offered by the French king and earle Iohn, but yet ſuch princes and great lords as had vndertaken for the emperour, that the couenants and articles on his part agreed vpon in the accord paſſed betwixt him and king Richard, ſhould be in ech behalfe performed [that is to ſaie, the archbiſhops of Ments, Cullen, and Saltzburge, the biſhops of Wormes, Spiers, and Liege, the dukes of Suaben, Auſtrich, & Louain, the Palſgraue of the Rhine, and others] came to the emperour, and reprouing him for his couetous mind, in that he deferred the reſtoring of king Richard to his libertie, contrarie to the compoſition, did ſo much preuaile, that the emperour receiuing pledges for the paiment of the monie yet behind (as before ye haue heard) releaſed king Richard out of captiuitie on the ſecond or (as Roger Houeden ſaith) the fourth day of Februarie, being a diſmall day and an infortunate (as they note them in kalendars.) And where the king would haue left Robert de Nouant the biſhop of Couentries brother for a pledge amongſt the other, he refuſed to be one of the number, alledging that he was ſeruant to earle Iohn. King Richard greeuouſlie offended herewith, commanded that he ſhould be apprehended, and committed to priſon, & ſo he was. This Robert was one of thoſe that came with the letters from the French king and earle Iohn to the emperour, about the ſtaieng of king Richards deliuerance.

Robert de Nouant.

Furthermore, king Richard the ſame day in which he was reſtored to libertie, ſummoned by his letters Hugh Nouant biſhop of Couentrie, to appeare in his court, to anſwer ſuch things as were to be obiected againſt him, both before ſpirituall iudges in that he was a biſhop, and alſo before temporall in that he had holden and exerciſed a temporall office. On the verie ſame day alſo the emperour and the princes of the empire, ſent letters vnder their hands and ſeales to the French king, and to Iohn erle of Mortaigne, commanding them immediatlie vpon ſight of the ſame letters, to reſtore vnto king Richard all thoſe caſtels, cities, townes, lands, and other things, which they had taken from him during the time of his remaining in captiuitie, and if they refuſed thus to doo, then they gaue them to vnderſtand by the ſame letters, that they would aid king Richard to recouer that by force, which had beene wrongfullie taken from him.

Yeerelie penſions giuen by the king to certeine princes of the empire.

Memburge.

Moreouer king Richard gaue and by his deed confirmed vnto ſundrie princes of the empire for their homage and fealtie, certeine yearelie penſions, as to the archbiſhop of Ments and Cullen, to the biſhop of Liege, to the dukes of Auſtrich and Louaine, to the marqueſſe of Mountferrat, to the duke of Meglenburge, to the duke of Suaben the emperors brother, to the earle of Bins, to the earle of Holland, and to the ſonne of the earle of Henault, of all the which, and other mo, he receiued homage, or rather had their promiſe by oth to aid him againſt the French king, which French king, now that he ſawe no hope nor likelihood remaining to bring the emperour to the bent of his bowe for the deteining of K. Richard ſtill in captiuitie, raiſed a power forthwith, & entring into Normandie (the truce notwithſtanding) tooke the towne of Eureux, with diuerſe other fortreſſes thereabouts, and after he had doone miſcheefe inough, as it were wearied with euill dooing, he granted eftſoones to ſtand to the truce, and ſo returned home.

Wil. Paruus.
The French king inuadeth Normandie.

Finallie after king Richard had diſpatched his buſineſſe with the emperour, and the princes of Almaigne, he ſet forward on his iornie towards England, and hauing the emperours paſſeport, came to Cullen, where he was ioifullie receiued of the archbiſhop, the which archbiſhop attended on him till he came to Antwerpe, where king Richard tooke the water in a gallie that belonged to Alane de Trenchmere, but in the night he went into a ſhip of Rie, being a verie faire veſſell, and ſo laie aboord in hir all the night, and in the morning returned to the gallie, and ſo ſailed about the coaſt, till he came to the hauen of Swin in Flanders, and there ſtaieng fiue daies, on the ſixt day he ſet forth againe, and at length in good ſafetie landed at Sandwich the twelfe daie of March, and the morrow after came to Canturburie, where he was receiued with proceſſion, as Ger. Dor. ſaith. From thence he went to Rocheſter, and on the wedneſday being the ſixteenth of March, he came vnto London, where he was receiued with great ioy and gladneſſe of the people, giuing heartie thanks to almightie GOD for his ſafe returne and deliuerance.

R. Houed.

He landed the 20. of March being ſundaie as R. Houeden and Rafe de Diceto write.

¶ It is recorded by writers, that when ſuch lords of Almaine as came ouer with him, ſaw the great riches which the Londoners ſhewed in that triumphant receiuing of their ſoueraigne lord and king, they maruelled greatlie thereat, inſomuch that one of them ſaid vnto him; „Surelie oh king, your people are wiſe and ſubtile, which doo nothing doubt to ſhew the beautifull ſhine of their riches now that they haue receiued you home, whereas before they ſeemed to bewaile their need and pouertie, whileſt you remained in captiuitie. For verelie if the emperour had vnderſtood that the riches of the realme had bin ſuch, neither would he haue béene perſuaded that England could haue béene made bare of wealth, neither yet ſhould you ſo lightlie haue eſcaped his hands without the paiment of a more huge and intollerable ranſome.

The ſame yeare that king Richard was taken (as before is mentioned) by the duke of Auſtrich, one night in the moneth of Ianuarie about the firſt watch of the ſame night, the northweſt ſide of the element appeared of ſuch a ruddie colour as though it had burned, without any clouds or other darkneſſe to couer it, ſo that the ſtars ſhined through that redneſſe, and might be verie well diſcerned. Diuerſe bright ſtrakes appeared to flaſh vpwards now and then, diuiding the redneſſe, thorough the which the ſtars ſéemed to be of a bright ſanguine colour. In Februarie next inſuing, one night after midnight the like woonder was ſéene, and ſhortlie after newes came that the king was taken in Almaigne.

On the ſecond daie of Nouember alſo a little before the breake of the daie, the like thing appeared againe with leſſe feare and woonder to the people (than before) being now better accuſtomed to the like ſight againe. And now the ſame daie and ſelfe houre that the king arriued at Sandwich, being the ſecond houre of that daie, whileſt the ſunne ſhone verie bright and cleare, there appeared a moſt brightſome and vnaccuſtomed clearneſſe, not farre diſtant from the ſunne, as it were to the length and breadth of a mans perſonage, hauing a red ſhining brightneſſe withall, like to the rainbow, which ſtrange ſight when manie beheld, there were that prognoſticated the king alreadie to be arriued.

Rog.Houed. **Diuerſe ſieges held at one time.**

In this meane while the biſhop of Durham with a great armie beſieged the caſtell of Tickhill; and earle Dauid brother to the king of Scots, with Ranulfe earle of Cheſter, and earle Ferrers, beſieged the caſtell of Notingham, whileſt at the ſame preſent the archbiſhop of Canturburie with a great power beſieged Marleburgh caſtell, the which within a few daies was rendred into his hands, the liues and lims of them within ſaued. Alſo the caſtell of Lancaſter was deliuered to him, the which the ſame archbiſhops brother had in kéeping vnder earle Iohn, and likewiſe the abbeie of S. Michaels mount in Cornwall, the which abbeie Henrie de la Pomerey chaſing out the moonks, had fortified againſt the king, and hearing newes of the kings returne home, died (as it was thought) for méere gréefe and feare. Theſe thrée places were ſurrendered to the archbiſhop before the kings returne, but Tickhill & Notingham held out.

S. Michaels mount.

King Richard being returned into England, and vnderſtanding both how the French king made warre againſt him in Normandie, and that the ſtate of England was not a little diſquieted, by the practiſe of his brother earle Iohn and his complices, ſpeciallie by reaſon that diuerſe caſtels were defended by ſuch as he had placed in them, he thought good with all ſpéed to cut off ſuch occaſions as might bréed a further miſchéefe. Wherevpon he firſt went to Notingham, and within thrée daies after his comming thither (which was on the daie of the Annunciation of our ladie) he conſtreined them that kept the caſtell there in his brothers name, to yéeld themſelues ſimplie vnto his mercie, after they had abidden diuerſe aſſaults, by the which euen the firſt daie the vtter gates were burnt, and certeine defenſes deſtroied, which they had made before the ſame.

The king goeth to Notingham and winneth the caſtel.

Rog.Houed.

The chéefe of them that were within this caſtell to defend it were theſe, William de Vendeuall coneſtable there, Roger de Mountbegun, Raſe Murdac, Philip de Worceter and Ranulfe de Worceter brethren. The morow after the ſurrender was made, the king went to Clipſtone, and rode into the forreſt of Shirewood, where he had neuer béene before, the view whereof pleaſed him greatlie. The caſtell of Tickhill was likewiſe at the ſame time yéelded vnto the biſhop of Durham, who receiued it to the kings vſe, and them that kept it as priſoners, without anie compoſition, but ſtanding ſimplie to the K. mercie. For although thoſe that had theſe caſtels in kéeping, were ſufficientlie prouided of all neceſſarie things for defenſe, yet the ſudden comming of the king (whom they thought verelie would neuer haue returned) put them in ſuch feare, that they wiſt not what to make of the matter, and ſo (as men amazed) they yéelded without anie further exception. The biſhop of Durham bringing thoſe priſoners with him which had yéelded vp this caſtell of Tickhill, came to the king the 27 daie of March, the verie daie before that Notingham caſtell was giuen ouer.

The forreſt of Shirewood.

The caſtell of Tickhill yéelded.

Rog.Houed.

Moreouer, this is to be remembred, that during the ſiege of Notingham, contention aroſe betwixt the two archbiſhops of Canturburie and Yorke, about the carriage of their croſſes. For Hubert archſhop of Canturburie comming thither, had his croſſe borne before him; the archbiſhop of Yorke (hauing no croſſe there at all) was verie ſore offended, that anie other ſhould go with croſſe borne before him in his dioceſſe, and therfore complained hereof to the king. But the archbiſhop of Canturburie mainteined that he had not doone anie thing but that which was lawfull for him to doo, and therevpon made his appeale to Rome, that the pope might haue the hearing and iudging of that controuerſie betwixt them.

Strife betwixt yͤ archbiſhops for carieng of their croſſes.

In the meane time, after the king had got the caſtels of Notingham and Tickhill into his hands (as ye haue heard) he called a parlement at Notingham, where the quéene mother ſat on the right hand of him, and the archbiſhops of Canturburie & Yorke on the left, with other biſhops, earles and barons according to their places. On the firſt daie of their ſeſſion was Gerard de Camuille diſcharged of the office which he had borne of ſhiriffe of Lincolne, and diſpoſſeſſed both of the caſtell & countie. And ſo likewiſe was Hugh Bardolfe of the caſtell and countie of Yorke, and of the caſtell of Scarbourgh, and of the cuſtodie and kéeping of the countrie of Weſtmerland, the which offices being now in the kings hands, he ſet them on ſale to him that would giue moſt. Hereof it came to paſſe, that where the lord chancellour offered to giue fiftéene hundred markes before hand, for the counties of Yorke, Lincolne and Northampton, and an hundred markes of increaſe of rent for euerie of the ſame counties, Geffrey archbiſhop of Yorke offered to the king thrée thouſand markes aforehand, onelie for the countie of Yorke, and an hundred markes yearelie of increaſe, and ſo had the ſame committed to his regiment.

Officers diſcharged.

Lieutenantſhips ſet on ſale.

The archbiſhop of Yorks offer.

Moreouer in this parlement, the king demanded iudgement againſt his brother Iohn, and Hugh Nouant the biſhop of Couentrie and Cheſter, for ſuch traitorous and moſt diſloiall attempts as they had made againſt him and his countries, and iudgement was giuen that both the ſaid earle and biſhop ſhould haue ſummons giuen them peremptorilie to appeare, and if within fortie daies after, they came not to anſwer ſuch plaints as might be laid againſt them, then ſhould earle Iohn forfeit all that he had within the realme, and the biſhop ſhould ſtand to the iudgement of the biſhops, in that he was a biſhop, and to the temporall lords in that he had béene the kings ſhiriffe.

The biſhop of Cheſter.

In this parlement alſo, in the kalends of Aprill, the king procured a ſubſidie to be granted to him, to wit, two ſhillings of euerie plough land through England, which maner of ſubſidie by an old name is called *Teemen toll*, or *Theyme toll*. He alſo com-

A ſubſidie.

manded that euerie man ſhould make for him the third part of knights ſeruice, accordinglie as euerie fee might beare, to furniſh him forth into Normandie. He demanded of the monks Ciſteaux, all their wolles for the ſame yeare. But bicauſe that ſeemed an ouer greeuous burthen vnto them, they fined with him, as after ſhall appeare. The fourth day of this parlement, by the kings permiſſion manie greeuous complaints were exhibited againſt the archbiſhop of Yorke, for extortion and other vniuſt vexations, which he had practiſed: but he paſſed ſo little thereof, that he made no anſwer vnto their billes.

The archbiſhop of Yorke accuſed.

Gerard de Camuille charged with felonie and treaſon.

Moreouer through the procurement of the lord chancellour, Gerard de Camuille was arreigned for receiuing theeues, and robbers, which had robbed certeine merchants of their goods, that were going to the faire of Stamfort; alſo they appealed him of treaſon for refuſing to ſtand to his triall by order of the kings lawes at commandement of the kings iuſtices, bearing himſelfe to be earle Iohns man, and aiding the ſame earle againſt the king. But all theſe accuſations he flatlie denied, and ſo his aduerſaries put in pledges to follow their ſuit, and he put in the like to defend himſelfe by one of his freeholders.

The king of Scots commeth to ſee the king of England.

The ſame daie king Richard receiued the king of Scots at Clipſtone, comming now to viſit him, and to reioiſe with him for his ſafe returne home after ſo long a iournie, and ſo manie paſſed perils. After they had ſpent the time a certeine ſpace in ioy and mirth, the fourth of Aprill at their being togither at Malton, the king of Scots required of king Richard to haue reſtored to him the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Weſtmerland, with the countie of Lancaſter alſo, the which in right of his predeceſſors belonged to him (as he alledged.)

A parlement.

King Richard aſſembling a parlement of the Nobles of his realme at Northampton, about ſixteene daies after that the Scotiſh king had made this requeſt, gaue him anſwer that by no means he might as then ſatiſfie his petition: for if he ſhould ſo doo, his aduerſaries in France would report that he did it for feare, and not for any loue or hartie freendſhip. But yet king Richard in the preſence of his mother queene Elianor, and the lords ſpirituall and temporall of his realme togither at that preſent aſſembled, granted and by his deed confirmed vnto the ſaid king of Scots, and to his heires for euer, that whenſoeuer he or any of them ſhould come by ſummons of the king of England vnto his court, the biſhop of Durham, and the ſhiriffe of Northumberland ſhould receiue him at the water of Tweed, and ſafe conduct him vnto the water of Theſe, and there ſhould the archbiſhop of Yorke, and the ſhiriffe of Yorke be readie to receiue him of them, and from thence giue their attendance vpon him vnto the borders of the next ſhire.

A grant made to the king of Scots what allowance he ſhould haue when he came to England.

It was alſo granted to the ſaid king, that he ſhould be attended from ſhire to ſhire by prelats and ſhiriffes, till he came to the kings court, alſo from the time that the king of Scotland ſhould enter this realme of England, he ſhould haue dailie out of the kings purſſe for his liuerie an hundred ſhillings, and after he came to the court, he ſhould haue in allowance dailie for his liuerie, ſo long as he there remained, thirtie ſhillings and twelue manchet waſtels, twelue manchet ſimnels, foure gallons of the beſt wine, and eight gallons of houſhold wine, two pound of pepper, foure pound of cumin, two ſtone of wax, or elſe foure links, and fortie great and long colpons of ſuch candels as are ſerued before the king, and foure and twentie colpons of other candels that ſerue for the houſhold. And when he ſhould returne into his countrie againe, then ſhould he be conueied with the biſhops and ſhiriffes from countie to countie, till he come to the water of Tweed, hauing an hundred ſhillings a day of liuerie, &c: as is before appointed. The charter of this grant was deliuered vnto William king of Scots in the towne of Northampton in Eaſter weeke, by the hands of William biſhop of Elie lord chancellour, in the yeare of our lord 1194, and in the fift yeare of king Richard his reigne.

A councell holden at Wincheſter.

After this, on the fifteenth day of Aprill, king Richard hauing the ſaid king of Scots in his companie came to Wincheſter, where he called a councell, and there in open aſſemblie he highlie commended all thoſe of the Nobilitie, that in his abſence had ſhewed themſelues faithfull, and reſiſted his brother, and ſuch other his complices, which had as diſloiall perſons rebelled againſt him. Here he alſo proclaimed his ſaid brother, and all thoſe that tooke his part, traitours to the crowne, and tooke order for the puniſhment of them, that (being of their faction) could by any means be apprehended.

Furthermore, to put awaie as it were the reproofe of his captiuitie and impriſonment) by the reuiuing of his nobleneſſe, which he had in high eſtimation,

——pretio nam dignior omni eſt
Nobilitas, hæc non emitur nec venditur auro)

he cauſed himſelfe to be eftſoones crowned by the archbiſhop Hubert, on the 18 of Aprill, at Wincheſter, and ſo ſhewed himſelfe as a new crowned king (in hope of good ſucceſſe and better lucke to follow) in the preſence of the ſaid king of Scots, who bare one of the three ſwords before him, going in the middle betwixt two earles, that is to ſaie, Hamelin earle of Warren going on his right hand, and Ranulfe earle of Cheſter on his left. The canapie vnder the which he went was borne vp alſo by foure earles, Norffolke, Liſlewight, Saliſburie, and Ferrers. The biſhop of Elie lord chancellour went on the right hand of the king, and the biſhop of London on the left. At dinner alſo the citizens of London ſerued him in the butterie by reaſon of two hundred marks which they had giuen the king that they might ſo doo, notwithſtanding the claime and challenge made by the citizens of Wincheſter, the which ſerued him in the kitchin.

The king crowned anew.

R. Houed.

The king of Scots beareth one of the ſwords before the king of England.

The citizens of London.

The archbiſhop of Yorke was commanded that he ſhould not be preſent at the coronation, leaſt ſome tumult might ariſe about the hauing of his croſſe borne afore him, to the diſpleaſure of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, who ſtood in it, that no prelat within his prouince ought to haue any croſſe borne before him, himſelfe excepted.

A parlement called.

After this, he called a parlement, by vertue whereof he reuoked backe and reſumed into his hands all patents, annuities, fees, and other grants (before his voiage into the holie land) by him made, or otherwiſe granted or alienated. And bicauſe it ſhuld not ſeeme that he vſed a meere violent extortion herein, he treated with euerie one of them in moſt courteous wiſe, bearing them in hand, that he knew well they ment not to let forth their monie to him vpon vſurie, but would be contented with ſuch reaſonable gaine and profit, as had beene raiſed to their vſe in time of his abſence of thoſe things which they held of him by aſſignation in way of lone, ſo that now the ſame might be reſtored to him againe, ſith he ment not to ſell them, but to let them forth as it were to farme for the time, as all men might well vnderſtand, conſidering that he could not mainteine the port of a king without receipt of thoſe profits which he had ſo let forth. With theſe gentle words therefore mixed with ſome dreadfull allegations, he brought them all into ſuch perplexitie, that not one of them durſt withſtand his requeſt, nor alledge that he had wrong doone to him, except Hugh the biſhop of Lincolne, who ſticked not

The bold courage of the biſhop of Lincolne.

The biſhop of Durham loſt his earldome.

to ſaie, that the king in this demand did them and the reſt open iniurie. The biſhop of Durham loſt his earledome, and was conſtreined to content himſelfe with his old biſhoprike, and to leaue the dignitie of an earle, or at the leaſtwiſe the poſſeſſions which he had bought of the king before his ſetting forward into the holie land.

K. Richards practiſes.

The moonks Ciſteaux.

Thus the king recouered thoſe things for the which he had receiued great ſummes of monie, without making any recompenſe, where the moſt part of the occupiers had not receiued ſcarſelie a third part of the principall which they had laid forth. For no ſufficiencie of grant, patent, or other writing to any of them before made, did any thing auaile them. Moreouer, where he had borrowed a great ſumme of monie of the merchants of the ſtaple, he wrought a feat with the moonks of the Ciſteaux order to diſcharge that debt. He told theſe moonks that being conſtreined with vrgent neceſſitie, he had borowed that monie of the merchants beyond the ſea, vpon confidence of their good beneuolence, and therefore he required them to extend their liberalitie ſo farre toward him, as to deliuer ſo much wooll in value, as ſhould diſcharge that debt. To be ſhort, the moonks being ouercome with the kings words, threatning kindneſſe vpon them, fulfilled his requeſt. Moreouer not ſatiſfied herewith, he leuied a taſke throughout the realme, exacting of euerie hide of land two ſhillings, according to the grant made to him at Notingham: and the ſame was generallie gathered, as well of the ſpirituall mens lands as of the temporall.

Rog. Houed.

The king of Scots maketh ſuit for Northumberland.

The king of Scots vnderſtanding that the biſhop of Durham had giuen ouer and reſigned the earledome of Northumberland into the kings hands, thought good once againe to aſſaie if he might compaſſe his deſire, and herewith he began his former ſuit afreſh, offering to king Richard fifteene thouſand markes of ſiluer for the whole earledome of Northumberland with the appurtenances, as his father earle Henrie did hold the ſame before. The king taking counſell in the matter, agreed that he ſhould haue it for that monie, excepting the caſtels: but the king of Scots would haue caſtels and all, or elſe he would not bargaine.

Mainpriſe.

Finallie, after he had ſundrie times mooued this ſuit for the hauing of the lands vnto which he pretended a title, and could get nothing of king Richard but faire words, putting him as it were in hope to obteine that he required at his next returne out of France, vpon the 22 daie of Aprill being fridaie, he tooke leaue of the king, and returned towards his countrie, not verie ioifull, in that he could not obteine his ſuit. King Richard in this meane while cauſed all thoſe priſoners that were taken in the caſtels of Notingham, Tickhill, Marleburgh, Lancaſter, and S. Michaels mount, which were of any wealth to be put in priſon, that they might fine for their ranſoms. The reſidue he ſuffered to depart vpon ſuerties, that were bound for them in an hundreth marks a peece, to be forthcomming when they ſhould be called.

Rog. Houed.

Now the king (after he had gathered a great portion of monie, and ordeined diuerſe things for the behoofe of the common-wealth, thereby to ſatiſfie the harts of the people) prepared himſelfe to ſaile into Normandie. But firſt he reconciled the archbiſhop of Yorke, and the biſhop of Elie lord chancellour, aſwell for the apprehenſion & impriſoning of the archbiſhop at Douer, as for the diſhonourable expulſion of the chancellour out of England, in ſuch wiſe that the chancellour ſhould vpon reaſonable ſummons giuen to him by the archbiſhop, ſweare with the hands of an hundred preeſts with him, that he neither commanded nor willed that the archbiſhop ſhould be apprehended. The controuerſie betwixt the two archbiſhops about the bearing of their croſſes, the king would not meddle withall, for (as he ſaid) that perteined to the pope. Yet the archbiſhop of Canturburie complained to king Richard of the iniurie doone to him at that preſent by the archbiſhop of Yorke, preſuming within his prouince to haue his croſſe borne before him. At length when the kings prouiſion was once readie for his voiage into Normandie, he came to Douer, and hearing that the French king had beſieged the towne of Vernueil, and that the ſame was in danger to be taken, he tooke the ſea togither with his mother queene Elianor on the ninth daie of Maie, and tranſporting ouer into Normandie, arriued at Harfleet with an hundred great ſhips fraught with men, horſſes and armour.

The king tranſporteth ouer into France.

The French king raiſeth his ſiege from Vernueil.

N. Triuet.

The French king hearing of king Richards arriuall, and that he was comming with a great power to the ſuccour of them within Vernueil, and was alreadie incamped neere to the towne of the Eagle, he plucked vp his tents in the night before Whitſundaie, and leauing the ſiege, departed from thence, and tooke a certeine ſmall fortreſſe by the waie as he marched, wherein he left a few ſouldiers to keepe it to his vſe. King Richard herewith entring into the French dominions, ſent three bands of ſouldiers towards Vale de Ruell, and went himſelfe vnto Loches, and beſieging that caſtell wan it within a ſhort time. The Normans alſo recouered the citie of Eureux out of the French mens hands, but thoſe that were ſent vnto Ruell, and had beſieged the caſtell there an eight daies without anie gaine, hearing that the French king was comming towards them, departed thence, & came backe to the kings campe, wherevpon the French king comming to Ruell raced it to the ground, bicauſe his enimie ſhould not at anie time in winning it neſtle there to the further damage of the countrie.

Rog. Houed.

The earle of Leiceſter taken priſoner.

About the ſame time, Robert earle of Leiceſter iſſuing foorth of Rouen in hope to worke ſome feat to the damage of the Frenchmen, as he rode ſomewhat vnaduiſedlie in the lands of Hugh Gourney, fell within danger of his enimies, who tooke him priſoner, and a few other that were in his companie. The French king after this came with his armie into the coaſts of Touraine, and marched neere Vandoſme, and there incamped, whereof king Richard being aduertiſed, drew neere to Vandoſme, meaning to aſſaile the French king in his campe, who hauing knowledge thereof diſlodged with his armie earlie in the morning, and fled awaie (to his great diſhonour) in all haſt poſſible. The king of England with his people following in chaſe of the French men ſlue manie, and tooke a great number of priſoners, amongſt whom was the French kings cheefe treaſurer. Alſo the Engliſhmen tooke manie wagons and ſumpters laden with croſſebowes, armour, plate, apparell, and the furniture of the French kings chapell. This chanced about 37 daies after his fleeing in the night from Vernueil, of which two flights of the French king (in maner as ye haue heard) we find theſe verſes written:

Gallia fugiſti bis, & hoc ſub rege Philippo,
Nec ſunt ſub modio facta pudenda tuo.
Vernolium ſumit teſtem fuga prima, ſecunda
Vindocinum, noctem prima, ſecunda diem.
Nocte fugam primam rapuiſti, manè ſecundam,
Prima metus vitio, viâ ſecunda fuit.

France, twice thou fledſt, while Philip reignd,
the world dooth know thy ſhame,
For Vernueil witneſſe beares of th'one,
next Vandoſme knowes the ſame.

The firſt by night, the next by day,
thy heart and force doo ſhowe,
That firſt through feare, and next by force,
was wrought thine ouerthrowe.

Geffrey de Rancon. The earle of Engoleſme. The king of Nauars brother.

Anno Reg. 6.

Engoleſme wonne.

Polydor. Wal. Paruus.

Polydor.

In this meane while certeine rebels in Guien, as the lord Geffrey de Rancin or Rancon, and the earle of Engoleſme with their complices, vpon confidence of the French kings aſſiſtance, ſore diſquieted the countrie. Howbeit, the ſonne of the king of Nauarre, and brother to Berengaria the quéene of England, entring into Guien with an armie, waſted the lands of both thoſe rebels, till he was called home by reaſon of his fathers death which chanced about the ſame time. Shortlie after Geffrey Rancin died, and king Richard comming into his countrie, wan the ſtrong caſtell of Tailleburge by ſurrender, which apperteined to the ſame Geffrey with others, and then going againſt the other rebels, he wan the citie of Engoleſme from him by force of aſſault. All which time the French king ſtirred not, by reaſon that there was ſome communication in hand for a truce to be taken betwixt him and king Richard, which by mediation of certeine biſhops was ſhortlie after concluded, to endure for twelue moneths. The biſhop of Elie was chéefe commiſſioner for the king of England, and this truce was accorded about Lammas, and ſerued to little purpoſe, except to giue libertie to either prince to breath a little, and in the meane time to prouide themſelues of men, munition, ſhips & monie, that immediatlie after the terme was expired, they might with greater force returne to the field againe, for they had not onelie a like deſire to follow the warres, but alſo vſed a like meane and practiſe to leuie monie.

Great exactions.

The colour pretended in leuieng of monie.

For whereas they had alreadie made the temporaltie bare with often paiments, and calling them forth to ſerue perſonallie in the warres, they thought beſt now to fetch a fleece from the ſpiritualtie and churchmen, conſidering alſo that they had béene by reaſon of their immunitie more gentlie dealt with, and not appointed to ſerue themſelues in anie maner of wiſe. To colour this exaction which they knew would be euill taken of manie, they bruted abroad, that they leuied this monie vpon purpoſe, to ſend it into the holie land, towards the paiment of the chriſtian ſouldiers, which remained there vpon the defenſe of thoſe townes, which yet the Saracens had not conquered. King Richard therfore comming to Towrs in Toraine, required a great ſumme of monie of the cleargie in thoſe parts, and the like requeſt he made through out all thoſe his dominions, on that further ſide of the ſea. King Philip for his part demanded likewiſe intollerable tithes and duties of all the churchmen in his territories, and thoſe that had the gathering of that monie ſerued their owne turne, in dealing moſt ſtreightlie with ſillie préeſts, making them to paie what they thought good, though ſometime beyond the bounds of equitie and reaſon.

Rog. Houed. Inquiſitions taken by a iurie of ſundrie matters.

Vſurers.

In September, the iuſtices itinerants made their circuits thorough euerie ſhire and countie of this realme, cauſing inquiſitions to be taken by ſubſtantiall iuries of plées of the crowne both old and new, of recogniſances, of eſcheats, of wards, of mariages, of all maner of offendors againſt the lawes and ordinances of the relme, and of all other tranſgreſſors, falſifiers, and murtherers of Iewes; of the pledges, goods, lands, debts, and writings of Iewes that were ſlaine, and of other circumſtances touching that matter. Likewiſe of the accompts of ſhiriffes, as to vnderſtand what had béene giuen towards the kings ranſome, how much had béene receiued, and what remained behind to receiue. Alſo of the lands that belonged to erle Iohn, and what goods he had, and what he held in demaine, in wards, eſcheats, and in gifts, and for what cauſe they were giuen. Furthermore, of his fautors and partakers, which had made fines with the king, and which not, with manie other articles touching the ſame earle. Alſo of vſurers, and of their goods being ſeized, of wines ſold contrarie to the aſſiſe, of falſe meaſures, and of ſuch as hauing receiued the croſſe to go into the holie land, died before they ſet forward. Alſo of grand aſſiſes that were of an hundred ſhillings land or vnder, and of defaults, and of diuerſe other things, the iurats were charged to inquire, and preſent the ſame.

Iewes.

Iuſtices, ſhiriffes and other officers.

Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie lord chéefe iuſtice.

The iuſtices alſo were appointed to cauſe the manours, farmes and lands which the king held in demaine, or by wards and eſcheats, to be ſurueied by a ſubſtantiall iurie, and to take order for the conuerting of them to ſuch vſe, as the king might be anſwered of the gaines riſing by the ſame at the farmers hands. Alſo, the Iewes were appointed to inroll all their debts, pledges, lands, houſes, rents and poſſeſſions. Moreouer, inquiſition was taken of iuſtices, ſhiriffes, bailiffes, coneſtables, foreſters and other officers belonging to the king, to vnderſtand in what maner they had behaued themſelues in taking and ſeizing of things into their hands, and of all ſuch goods, gifts and promiſes had and receiued by occaſion of leaſure made of the lands of earle Iohn and his fautors, and who receiued the ſame, and what delaie was granted by commandement of Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie, then lord chéefe iuſtice.

Officers driuen to fine for their offices. The king offended with the lord chancellor.

A new ſeale.

In this meane time, whileſt theſe inquiſitions were thus taken in England, king Richard comming forth of Poictou into Aniou, cauſed all the bailiffes and officers of that countrie, and alſo of Maine, to fine with him for their offices. After this, when he came downe into Normandie, he ſéemed in ſhew to be offended with his chancellour the biſhop of Elie, about concluding of the truce with the French king (where as ye haue heard he was chéefe commiſſioner) miſliking greatlie all that was doone therein, and therefore he tooke the ſeale from him, and cauſed a new ſeale to be made, commanding to be proclaimed thorough all his dominions, that whatſoeuer had béene ſealed with the old ſeale, ſhould ſtand in no force, both for that his chancellor had wrought more vndiſcréetlie than was conuenient; and againe, bicauſe the ſame ſeale was loſt, when Roger Malus Catulus his vicechancellour was drowned, who periſhed among other by ſhipwracke, néere to the Ile of Cypres, before the king arriued there, being as then on his iournie into the holie land. Therefore all men had commandement to come to this new ſeale, that they might haue their charters and writings confirmed.

Matth. Paris. The king returneth into England. He granteth the Engliſh men licence to tournie.

Rog. Houed. Fines paid for licence to exerciſe turnements.

Furthermore, whileſt the truce yet laſted, king Richard ſailed ouer into England, where he cauſed turneis to be exerciſed in diuerſe places, for the better training vp of ſouldiers in feats of warre, that they might growe more ſkilfull and perfect in the ſame, when they ſhould come to the triall of their forces, whereby he raiſed no ſmall ſummes of monie for granting licenſe to his ſubiects ſo to tournie. Euerie earle that would tournie, paid to him for his licence twentie marks, euerie baron ten marks, and euerie knight hauing lands, did giue foure marks, and thoſe that had no lands two marks, to the great damnifieng of the people; hauing learned the common leſſon, and receiued the ordinarie rule followed of all, and neglected of none; namelie,

Mal. Pal. in ſuo cap.

———opus eſt nummis vel morte relictis,
Vel ſorte inuentis, vel quauis arte paratis,
Quippe inopem mala multa pati contingit vbiq;
Nec ſine diuitijs fas cuiquam ducere vitam
Fœlicem, &c.

The charter of this grant was deliuered by the king vnto William earle of Saliſburie, to haue the kéeping thereof: but Hubert Walter the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and lord chéefe iuſtice, made his brother Theobald Walter collector of the monie, for the ſcraping and raking togither whereof, in huge ſums, he put the former ſhifts of extortion and exaction in practiſe.

The tenour of the charter *concerning the turnements before* remembred.

RIchard by the grace of God king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and earle of Aniou, to the reuerend father in Chriſt, Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie, and primat of all England, ſendeth greeting. Know ye that we haue granted turnaments to be kept in England in fiue ſteeds, to wit, betwixt Sarisburie and Wilton, betwixt Warwike and Kenelworth, betwixt Stanford and Warmeford, betwixt Brackeley and Nixburgh, betwixt Blie & Tickhill, ſo that the peace of our land be not broken, nor yet our iuſtices authoritie diminiſhed, nor any damage doone to our forreſts. Prouided that what earle ſoeuer will turney there, ſhall giue to vs twentie markes, a baron ten marks, a knight that hath lands foure marks and he that hath no lands ſhall giue two marks.

Moreouer, no ſtranger ſhall be admitted to turney there, wherevpon we command you, that at the daie of the turnieng, ye haue there two clarkes, and two of our knights to receiue the oth of the earles and barons, which ſhall ſatiſfie vs of the ſaid ſummes of monie, before the turnieng begin, & that they ſuffer none to turney, till (before) they haue made paiment, and haue cauſed to be entred how much & of whom they haue receiued: and ye ſhall take ten marks for this charter to our vſe, whereof the earle of Salisburie, and the earle of Clare, and the earle of Warren are pledges. Witneſſe my ſelfe, at Ville Leueſche, the two and twentith of Auguſt.

Biſhops towne.

Furthermore, ordinances were made and ſet forth for the ſafe kéeping of the peace, ſo that ſuch as would turney, neither by the way in comming or going, or whileſt the turnieng laſted, ſhould violentlie take any thing to ſerue their neceſſarie vſes, without paieng therefore to the owner according to the worth, nor ſhould doo iniurie to any man in any manner of wiſe. But now to the other doings of king Richard, who made no long abode in England at this time, but ſhortlie returned into Normandie, bicauſe he heard that king Philip had an armie readie leuied. Wherefore meaning to buckle with him vpon occaſion offered, he made the more haſt, and being landed there, approched vnto the borders of the French dominions, incamping himſelfe with his armie in the field, to wait for the time that the truce ſhould be expired, leaſt the enimie ſhould in any exploit preuent him. In like manner king Philip hauing with him earle Iohn king Richards brother, kept his ſouldiers and men of warre in a readines with him, to worke any feat that ſhould be thought expedient aſſoone as the truce ſhould end.

I thinke he came not ouer at all into England at this time, but rather ſent his mind vnto the archbiſhop.

1195

Whileſt both theſe kings were thus bent to powre out their malice, and to eaſe their ſtomachs with dint of ſword, there came meſſengers from the pope, exhorting him vnto peace and quietneſſe, but his exhortation little auailed. For they regarding it little or nothing, immediatlie as the truce was expired, got them abroad into the field, & king Richard drew towards Iſoldune, a towne ſituat in the confines of Berrie, whither it was reported that the French king meant to come: and there ſtaid for him a whole day togither. But the French king hearing that king Richard was there to looke for him, thought it beſt not to come there at all. Wherefore king Richard went the next daie vnto a caſtell called Briſon, and tooke it vpon his firſt approch. Then went he to a towne called Nouencourt, and perceiuing the ſame to be ſtrong and well manned, tooke not in hand to aſſaile it till the third daie after his comming thither, at what time he ſo incloſed the ſame round about with diligent watch and ward, that a cat could not haue eſcaped out of the place, neither by daie nor night, but that ſhe ſhould haue béene eſpied. They within being put in feare herewith, yéelded vp the towne the daie next following, in which meane time the French king beſieged Albemarle.

Meſſengers from the pope.

Iſoldune.

Nouencourt yéeldeth to k. Richard.
Albemarle beſieged.
Matt. Weſt.
Polydor.

Herevpon king Richard, hauing left a garriſon of ſouldiers in Nouencourt, came to raiſe the enimie from his ſiege, & ſetting vpon the Frenchmen, there began a ſharpe fight: but the Engliſhmen being wearie with trauell of their paſſed iournie, and hauing raſhlie entred into the battell, were not able to indure the Frenchmens violence, ſo that (not without great loſſe) they were conſtreined to retire with ſwift flight, or (to ſaie the truth) to run awaie a maine paſe. The French king hauing thus chaſed his enimies, returned to aſſault Albemarle, woone the caſtell by force, and the towne by compoſition, permitting the garriſon there to depart with all their armour. This doone, he ruinated the caſtell flat to the ground. Robert earle of Leiceſter offered to the French king a thouſand marks ſterling for his ranſome, and to quite claime to him and his heires for euer all the right which he had to the caſtell of Paſcie, with the appurtenances, and to get a confirmation thereof for him both of the pope, and of the king of England: but for that the warre ſtill laſted, the French king tooke a reſpite in anſwering this offer, neuertheleſſe afterwards in the yeare next inſuing, he tooke it, and ſo the earle was ſet at libertie.

Rog. Houed.
The earle of Leiceſters offer for his ranſome.

Not long after this foreſaid repulſe, the king of England hauing refreſhed his ſouldiers with ſome reſt after their great trauell, went to Million, and giuing aſſault to the towne wan it at the firſt brunt, and made it plaine with the earth. Then was a motion made for peace betwixt the two kings, being now wearied with long wars: whereof when earle Iohn was aduertiſed, who (as it ſhould ſéeme by ſome writers) hauing tarried with the French king till this preſent, began now to doubt leaſt if any agréement were made, he might happilie be betraied of the French king by couenants that ſhould paſſe betwixt them: he determined therefore with himſelfe to commit his whole ſafetie to his naturall brother, and to no man elſe, perceiuing that the French king made not ſo great accompt of him after the loſſe of his caſtels in England, as he had doone before.

Million won and raſed.

A motion for peace.

Herevpon comming to his brother king Richard, he beſought him to pardon his offenſe, and though he had not dealt brotherlie towards him, yet that he would brotherlie forgiue him his rebellious treſpaſſe, adding furthermore, that whereas he had not heretofore béene thankefull for his manifold benefits which he had receiued at his hands, yet he was now moſt ſorie therefore, and was willing to make amends: wherewith he acknowledged the ſafegard of his life to reſt in him, for the which he was bound to giue him thanks, if he would grant thereto. The king moued with his words, made this anſwer (as it is ſaid) that he pardoned him indéed, but yet wiſhed that he might forget ſuch iniuries as he had receiued at his hands, which he doubted leaſt he ſhould not eaſilie doo. Herewith erle Iohn being yet put in good hope of forgiueneſſe, ſware to be true euer after vnto him, and that he would endeuour himſelfe to make amends for his miſdeeds paſt, and ſo was ſhortlie after reſtored vnto his former degrée, honour and eſtimation in all reſpects.

Earle Iohn returneth to the king his brother, and is pardoned.

Wil. Paruus. R. Houed. Matth. Paris.

But by ſome writers it ſhould appeare, that earle Iohn, immediatlie vpon concluſion of the firſt truce, came from the French king, and ſubmitted himſelfe to his brother, and by mediation of the quéene their mother was pardoned, receiued againe into fauour, and ſerued euer after againſt the French king verie dutifullie, ſéeking by new atchiued enterpriſes brought about (to the contentation of his brother) to make a recompenſe for his former miſdemeanor, reputing it méere madneſſe to make means to further miſcheefe; for

Rog. Houed.

——*Stultum eſt hoſtem iritare potentem,*
Atq́; malum maius tumidis ſibi quærere verbis.

But at what time ſoeuer he returned thus to his brother, this yeare (as Roger Houeden ſaith) he was reſtored to the earledoms of Mortaigne in Normandie, and Gloceſter in England, with the honour of Eie (the caſtels onelie excepted) and in recompenſe of the reſidue of the earledoms which he had before inioied, togither with certeine other lands, his brother king Richard gaue vnto him a yéerelie penſion amounting to the ſumme of eight thouſand pound of Aniouin monie. ¶ Now here to ſtaie a while at matters chancing here about home, I will ſpeake ſomewhat of the dooings of Leopold duke of Auſtrich, who as one nothing mooued with the peſtilence and famine that oppreſſed his countrie in this ſeaſon, but rather hauing his hart hardened, began to threaten the Engliſh hoſtages that they ſhuld loſe their liues, if king Richard kept not the couenants which he had vndertaken to performe by a day appointed. Wherevpon Baldwin Betun one of the hoſtages was ſent by common agréement of the reſidue vnto king Richard, to ſignifie to him their eſtate. King Richard willing to deliuer them out of further danger, ſent with the ſame Baldwin his coſen, the ſiſter of Arthur duke of Britaine, and the daughter of the emperour of Cypres, to be conueied vnto the ſaid duke of Auſtrich, the one, namelie the ſiſter of Arthur to be ioined in marriage with the dukes ſonne, and the other to continue in the dukes hands to beſtow at his pleaſure.

R. Houed.

Rog. Houed. Wil. Paruus. Matth. Paris. Polychron.

Baldwin de Betun.

But in the meane time, on ſaint Stephans day, duke Leopold chanced to haue a fall beſide his horſſe, and hurt his leg in ſuch wiſe, that all the ſurgions in the countrie could not helpe him, wherevpon in extreame anguiſh he ended his life. And whereas before his death he required to be abſolued of the ſentence of excommunication pronounced againſt him by the pope (for apprehending of king Richard in his returning from his iournie made into the holie land) he was anſwered by the cleargie, that except he would receiue an oth to ſtand to the iudgement of the church for the iniurie doone to king Richard, and that vnleſſe other of the Nobilitie would receiue the like oth with him if he chanced to die (whereby he might not fulfill that which the church héerein ſhould decrée) that yet they ſhould ſée the ſame performed, he might not otherwiſe be abſolued.

Duke Leopold catcheth a fall beſide his horſſe and dieth of the hurt.

Wherefore he tooke the oth, and the Nobles of his countrie with him, and therewithall releaſed the Engliſh pledges, remitted the monie that yet remained behind of his portion aforeſaid, and immediatlie therewith died. After his deceaſſe, bicauſe certeine péeres of the countrie withſtood the performance of the premiſſes, his bodie laie eight daies longer aboue ground than otherwiſe it ſhould haue doone, for till ſuch time as all the pledges were perfectlie releaſed, it might not be buried. Alſo Baldwin de Betun approching néere to the confines of Auſtrich, when he heard that the duke was dead, returned with the two ladies vnto his ſoueraigne lord king Richard. Thus (as ye haue heard) for feare of the cenſures of the church were the pledges reſtored, and the reſidue of the monie behind releaſed.

¶ All this was both pleaſant and profitable for king Richards ſoules helth (as may be thought) bicauſe he tooke occaſion therof to amend his owne former life, by conſidering how much he might be reprehended for his ſundrie faults committed both againſt God and man. A maruellous matter to heare, how much frō that time forward he reformed his former trade of liuing into a better forme & order. Moreouer, the emperour gaue to the Ciſteaux monks 3000 marks of ſiluer, parcell of king Richards ranſome, to make ſiluer cenſers in euerie church throughout where they had any houſes: but the abbats of the ſame order refuſed the gift, being a portion of ſo wrongfull and vngodlie a gaine. At which thing, when it came to the knowledge of K. Richard, he greatlie maruelled at the firſt, but after commended the abbats in their dooings, and chéeflie for ſhewing that they were void of the accuſtomed gréedineſſe of hauing, which moſt men ſuppoſed them to be much infected withall.

White monks.

King Richard this yeare pardoned Hugh Nouant biſhop of Couentrie of all his wrath and diſpleaſure conceiued toward him, and reſtored to him his biſhoprike for fiue thouſand marks of ſiluer. But Robert Nouant the ſame biſhops brother died in the kings priſon at Douer. Alſo whereas the archbiſhop of Yorke had offended king Richard, he pardoned him, and receiued him againe into fauour, with the kiſſe of peace. Wherevpon the archbiſhop waxed ſo proud, that vſing the king reprochfullie, he loſt his archbiſhoprike, the rule of Yorkeſhire which he had in gouernment as ſhiriffe, the fauour of his ſoueraigne, and (which was the greateſt loſſe of all) the loue of God. For

Rog. Houed. Hugh Nouāt biſhop of Couentrie reſtored to his ſée.

The archbiſh. of Yorke.

Nemo ſuperbus amat ſuperos, nec amatur ab illis,
Vult humiles Deus ac mites, habitatq́; libenter
Manſuetos animos procul ambitione remotos,
Inflatos verò ac ventoſos deprimit idem,
Nec patitur ſecum puro conſiſtere olympo.

M. Pal. in ſuo ſag.

Moreouer, through the kings requeſt, pope Celeſtine this yeare made the archbiſhop of Canturburie legat of all England by his buls directed to him, bearing date at his palace in Rome called Lateran the fifteenth kalends of Aprill, in the fourth yeare of his papaſie. Furthermore, the pope wrote to the Engliſh cleargie, giuing them to vnderſtand that he had created the ſaid archbiſhop of Canturburie his legat, commanding them ſo to accept him: by vertue of which letters, the archbiſhop Hubert being now both archbiſhop of Canturburie, legat of the apoſtolike ſée, and lord chéefe iuſtice of England, appointed to hold a councell at Yorke, and therefore gaue knowledge by the abbat of Binham in Northfolke, and one maiſter Geruiſe, vnto the canons of Yorke, and to the archbiſhops officials of his purpoſed intention.

Pope Celeſtine. The archbiſh. of Canturburie is made y popes legat.

A trinitie of offices in vnitie of perſon.

The ſaid canons and officials well conſidering of the popes letters, which were deliuered vnto them by the meſſengers, ſignified for anſwer, that they would gladlie receiue him as legat of the apoſtolike ſée, but not as archbiſhop of Canturburie, nor as their primat. Herewith he came to Yorke vpon ſaint Barnabies daie being ſundaie, and was receiued with proceſſion. On the morrow after,he held a court of plees of the crowne,of aſſiſes,and ſuch other matters touching the king. On the next day being Tueſday,he entred into the monaſterie of ſaint Maries in Yorke,and depoſed the abbat,bicauſe of his infirmitie of bodie,at the requeſt of the monks, but the abbat appealed to the popes conſiſtorie. Then he aſſembled the cleargie in the church of Saint Peter in Yorke, and there held a ſynod for reformation of things amiſſe in the church,and amendment of manners in the cleargie, ſo that diuerſe decrées were made,the which for bréefeneſſe we omit to ſpeake of in particular. This yeare alſo, the ſaid archbiſhop Hubert cauſed all men throughout the realme of England to receiue an oth of obſeruing the kings peace,and to ſweare that they ſhould not be robbers, nor abbettors of robbers,nor in any wiſe conſenting vnto them,but ſhould doo what in them might lie to apprehend all ſuch offendors,and to diſcouer them to the kings officers to be apprehended, and to purſue them vpon hew and crie to the vttermoſt of their powers, and thoſe that withdrew themſelues from ſuch purſuit, ſhould be apprehended as partakers with the offendors.

l ſynod hol-
en at Yorke.

The emperor
endeth to the
ing.

nno Reg. 7.

The biſhop of
Elie is ſent to
he emperour.

About this time the emperour ſent to king Richard, requiring him in no wiſe to conclude any peace with the French king,but rather to inuade his dominions, promiſing to aid him all that he might. But king Richard,to vnderſtand further of the emperours mind herein, ſent ouer his chancellour the biſhop of Elie vnto him in ambaſſage. In the meane time the warre was ſtill continued betwixt him and the French, by the which they were commonlie put to the worſe,and king Richard inuading their borders, did much hurt in waſting the countries on each ſide.The French king was at one time ſo narrowlie chaſed, that as he would haue paſſed a bridge that laie ouer the water of Saine, he was in danger of drowning by the fall of the ſame vnder him,but yet at the length he eſcaped, and got to the further ſide.

The 2 kings
lke togither.

After this, the two kings came to a communication togither,in the which a motion was made, that Lewes the French king his ſonne and heire ſhould haue the ſiſter of Arthur duke of Britaine in marriage,and that king Richard in conſideration thereof ſhould ſurrender vnto them and to their heires the townes of Giſors,Bademont, with the countrie of Veulqueſſine or Veuxine le Normant, Vernon, Iuerie and Paſcie; and further ſhould giue vnto them twentie thouſand marks of ſiluer. On the other ſide it was moued,that the French king ſhould reſigne vnto king Richard all that he could demand in the countie of Engeuleſme,and ſhould reſtore vnto him the counties of Albemarle and Augie, with the caſtell of Arkes,and all other caſtels which he had taken in Normandie, or in any partie during theſe laſt warres. But there was a reſpit taken for the full concluding and aſſuring of theſe conditions, till the octaues of All ſaints, that king Richard might vnderſtand the emperours pleaſure,without whoſe conſent he might not conclude any thing concerning that matter,bicauſe he had ſent ſuch word vnto him by the lord chancellour, who at this time was attendant in his court.

In the meane time,the emperour being aduertiſed of the whole matter,and of the articles afore mentioned,gaue knowledge to king Richard by the biſhop of Elie at his returning backe, that this forme of peace nothing liked him, but rather made directlie to his diſcontentment : the which leaſt he might ſéeme to ſaie without ſufficient ground of reaſon, he alledged, that it ſhould ſound to king Richards diſhonour, if he ſurrendred and gaue vp anie thing that he had not in poſſeſſion. And to encourage him to recouer thoſe things which had beene taken from him,the emperour pardoned him of the ſeauentéene thouſand marks of ſiluer,which yet remained behind due to him for the kings ranſome. Howſoeuer the matter paſſed, the two kings met not in the octaues of All ſaints, according to the appointment, although they were come, and approched verie néere to the place where they ſhould haue communed togither : but through the diſſimulation of the Frenchmen,they departed,without ſéeing one another, and immediatlie began the warre as fiercelie as at anie time before.

The emperour
diſſuadeth the
king from a-
greeing to the
peace.

The French king tooke the towne of Diep, which king Richard had latelie repared,and burned it,with the ſhips that harbored in the hauen : after this,comming to Iſoldun,he wan the towne and beſieged the caſtell. But king Richard aduertiſed thereof, came with quicke ſpéed (making of thrée daies iournie but one)and entred into the caſtell of Iſoldun to defend the ſame againſt his aduerſaries : and forthwith there reſorted ſuch numbers of men vnto him, when they heard how he was beſieged, that the French king doubting how to retire from thence in ſafetie, made ſuit firſt to haue licence to depart, and after when that would not be granted, he required at the leaſtwiſe to talke with the king of England about ſome agréement.

The warres
begun afreſh.

The haſt
which king
Richard ma

Whereunto king Richard condeſcended, and ſo comming togither, they concluded vpon a truce to indure from that daie,being ſaturdaie next after the feaſt of ſaint Nicholas, vnto the feaſt of ſaint Hilarie next inſuing,and then to méet againe néere vnto Louiers with their councels, that they might grow by ſome reaſonable way vnto a finall peace and concord. And according to this article, ſhortlie after the ſame feaſt of S.Hilarie, they met at Louiers,where finallie they were accorded to conclude a peace on theſe conditions,that the French king ſhould releaſe to the king of England Iſoldun, with the countrie about,woon by him ſith the beginning of theſe wars; likewiſe, all the right which he had in Berrie, Auergine, and Gaſcoigne, and the countie of Albemarle. On the other part, the king of England ſhould reſigne Giſors,and certeine other places, and namelie Veuxine or Veulqueſine vnto the king of France.

The 2 kings
againe talke
togither of
peace,

1196

The conditi-
ons of peace
concluded be-
twixt the two
kings.
Matth. Paris.

Matth. Weſt.

Herevpon were ſuerties alſo bound for performance,and the forfeiture of fiftéene thouſand marks aſſigned to be paid by the partie that firſt brake the peace. Shortlie after,the French king repenting himſelfe of the agréement, began to make a warre anew,ſo that king Richard ſeized into his hands all the goods and poſſeſſions which belonged to the abbats of the order of the great monaſterie of Clunie, and of ſaint Deniſe & la Charitie,which had become ſuertie for the French king in the ſumme of 1500 marks aforeſaid. This yeare died William de Forz earle of Albemarle, in whoſe place ſuccéeded Baldwine de Betun by the kings gift, and married the counteſſe of Albermarle.

Matth. Weſt.
Matth. Paris.

Rog. Houed.
The earle of
Albemarle de-
parted this life

There was a motion alſo made for a marriage betwixt the lord Otho,ſonne to Henrie duke of Saxonie,king Richards nephue by his ſiſter, and the ladie Margaret,daughter to the king of Scots, ſo as they ſhould haue inioied the countries of Lothian, Northumberland, and the countie of Caerleill with the caſtels. For the concluſion of which marriage, the archbiſhop of Canturburie was ſent about Chriſtmas to commune with the king of Scots : but bicauſe the Scotiſh quéene was then conceiued of child,hir huſband (in hope that God would ſend him a ſonne) refuſed to ſtand vnto the aboue mentioned couenants.

Otho ſonne to
the duke of
Saxonie.

Lawnes.

About

Wil.Paruus.
Ran.Higd.
The abbat of Caen ſent into England.

At this time king Richard ſent the abbat of Caen (who was alſo the elect of Durham) into England, to take an accompts of thoſe that had the receipts of the kings monie: for this abbat had informed the king, that his receiuers and officers here in the realme dealt not iuſtlie in making their accompts, but both deceiued the king, and oppreſſed his people, in exacting more than was due, and concealing that which they ought to ſtand accomptable for. The king ſuppoſing his words to be true, or at leaſt likelie ſo to be, and that in reforming ſuch vntruth in his officers, it ſhould be both profitable to him, and well liked of the people, ſent this abbat ouer with commiſſion, to be as it were his generall auditour.

Fraudulent dealing in officers.

Howbeit, Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie, which was gouernour of the realme in cauſes both temporall and ſpirituall (by reaſon he had the kings authoritie as his vicegerent, & therefore ſufficientlie countenanced, & alſo the popes as his legat authoriſed) did ſomewhat ſtomach the matter, in that it ſhould be thought he did ſuffer ſuch abuſes in the kings officers, and not reforme them. But he held him content and ſaid little, ſith the abbat ſhewed him the kings commiſſion to doo that which he went about, although he brought it not to paſſe. For whereas he came ouer in lent, and gaue out commandements, that all ſuch as had any thing to doo in receipt of the kings monie, ſhould appeare before him after Eaſter, he tarried not to ſée Eaſter himſelfe, but was called into another world by the ſtroke of death, there to render accompts for his owne acts here in this life committed.

Fabian.
Wil.Paruus.
Matt.Paris.
Ran.Higd.
william Fitz Oſbert.

At the ſame time there was another perſon in London called William with the long beard (*alias* Fitz Oſbert) which had likewiſe informed the king of certeine great oppreſſions and exceſſiue outrages vſed by rich men againſt the poore (namelie the worſhipfull of the citie, the Maior and Aldermen) who in their hoiſtings, when any tallage was to be gathered, burdened the poore further than was thought reaſon, to eaſe themſelues; wherevpon the ſaid William being a ſeditious perſon, and of a buſie nature, ceaſſed not to make complaints. Now bicauſe the king gaue eare vnto him at the firſt, he tooke a boldneſſe thereof, & drawing vnto him great routs of the poorer ſort of people, would take vpon him to defend the cauſes of thoſe that found themſelues greeued with the heauie yoke of richmen and gentlemen. He was ſomewhat learned, and verie eloquent: he had alſo a verie good wit, but he applied it rather to ſet diſſention betwixt the high eſtates and the low, than to anie other good purpoſe. He accuſed alſo his owne brother of treaſon, who in his youth had kept him to ſchole, & béene verie good and beneficiall brother vnto him, bicauſe now he would not ſtill mainteine him with monie to beare out his riotous port. Moreouer, he declared to the king, that by extortion and briberie of certeine men of great wealth, he loſt manie forfeits and eſcheats.

The foule diſorder in the citizens of London.

The vnnaturall ingratitude of Fitz Oſbert.

Manie gentlemen of honour ſore hated him for his preſumptuous attempts to the hindering of their purpoſes: but he had ſuch comfort of the king, that he little paſſed for their malice, but kept on his intent, till the king being aduertiſed of the aſſemblies which he made, commanded him to ceaſſe from ſuch doings, that the people might fall againe to their ſciences and occupations, which they had for the more part left off, at the inſtigation of this William with the long beard, ſo named of the long heare of his beard, which he nouriſhed of purpoſe to ſéeme the more graue and manlike, and alſo as it were in deſpite of them which counterfeited the Normans (that were for the moſt part ſhauen) and bicauſe he would reſemble the ancient vſage of the Engliſh nation. The kings commandement in reſtraint of the peoples reſort vnto him, was well kept a while, but it was not long yer they began to follow him againe as they had doone before.

why he ware his long berd.
Matth.Paris.

Fabian.

Then he tooke vpon him to make vnto them certeine collations or ſermons, taking for his theme, *Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus ſaluatoris*, that is to ſaie: Ye ſhall draw in gladneſſe waters out of the founteins of your ſauiour. And hereto he added, I am (ſaid he) the ſauiour of poore men; ye be the poore, and haue aſſaied the hard hands and heauie burdens of the rich; now draw ye therefore the healthfull waters of vnderſtanding out of my wels and ſprings, and that with ioy. For the time of your viſitation is come: I ſhall part waters from waters, by waters I vnderſtand the people, and I ſhall part the people which are good and méeke, from the people that are wicked and proud, and I ſhall diſſeuer the good and euill, euen as light is diuided from darkeneſſe.

His oration to the people.

Ger.Dor.

By theſe and ſuch perſuaſions and means as he vſed, he had gotten two and fiftie thouſand perſons, readie to haue taken his part, as appeared after by a roll of their names found in his kéeping, beſides diuerſe inſtruments of iron to breake vp houſes, and other things ſeruing to ſuch like purpoſes. So that he brought the commoners into a great liking of him: but the rich and wealthie citizens ſtood in much feare, ſo that they kept their houſes, in armes, in doubt to be robbed and murthred by him in the night ſeaſon.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie (vnto whome the rule of the realme chéefelie belonged) being aduertiſed hereof, ſent for the greateſt number of the citizens, and vſing them with gentle words, perſuaded them to deliuer pledges, the better to aſſure him, that no ſuch thing ſhould chance, which was ſuſpected of manie, though he was loth to conceiue any ſuch opinion of them. They being ouercome with his courteous words, gaue vnto him pledges.

He is called before the archbiſhop of Canturburie lord chéefe iuſtice or preſident of the realme.

After this, when the foreſaid William ceaſed not to make congregations of the people, at length the archbiſhop ſent a commandement vnto him, that he ſhould appeare before him and other of the councell, at a certeine prefixed daie, to anſwer to ſuch things as might be laid to his charge. To be ſhort, he did ſo at the time appointed, but with ſuch a rout of the common people about him, that the archbiſhop durſt not pronounce againſt him, but licenced him to depart for that time, giuing him ſoft and gentle words. Howbeit, certeine perſons were then appointed by the ſaid archbiſhop and other of the councell to watch him ſometime, when he ſhould haue no great companie about him, and then to apprehend him.

He fleeth into the church of S. Marie Bow.

His concubine.

Amongſt thoſe that were thus commanded to attach him, were two burgeſſes of the citie, who hauing eſpied a conuenient time for the execution of their purpoſe, ſet vpon him to haue taken him, but he getting an ax, defended himſelfe manfullie: and in reſiſting ſlue one of them, and after that fled into the church of S. Marie Bow, kéeping the ſame not as a place of ſanctuarie, but as a fortreſſe: in ſomuch that by the helpe of ſuch as reſorted vnto him, he defended it againſt his aduerſaries, till with fire and ſmoke they conſtreined him to come forth, and all thoſe that were there with him: amongſt them alſo was his concubine, who neuer left him for any danger that might betide him.

The people regarding the danger of their pledges, came not out to aid him, as it was much doubted they would haue doone. Wherefore being thus attached, he was brought forth, and comming out of the church, the ſonne of that burgeſſe whome he had ſlaine (as you haue heard) ſtrake him verie ſore into the bellie with a kniſe, in reuenge of his fathers

He is executed.

Wil.Paruus. Math.Paris.

The archbiſh. of Canturburie euil ſpokẽ of, for ỹ death of William Fitz Oſbert.

death. After this, he was had to his arraignment before the archbiſhop, ſitting within the towre, and being condemned, was from thence drawne with horſes to the place of execution called the Elmes, and there hanged on a gibet, with nine of his adherents, which had defended the church againſt the kings power: and yet for all this, the grudge ceaſſed not, but the common people raiſed a great ſlander vpon the archbiſhop, both for cauſing him to be taken out of the church, where he claimed priuilege of ſanctuarie, and alſo for putting him to death, who was innocent (as they alledged) and not giltie of thoſe crimes that were laid againſt him: who ſought onelie the defenſe of poore people againſt extortioners, and ſuch as were wrong dooers.

An old whoremonger, and a new ſaint.

This rumor roſe ſo faſt, that at length (by bruting abroad, that certeine miracles ſhould be wrought by a chaine, wherein he was bound in time of his impriſonment) he was taken for a ſaint. The place alſo where he ſuffered, was viſited by women, and other ſuperſtitious folks, as a plot of great holineſſe, till at length the archbiſhop cauſed it to be watched, to the end that no ſuch fooliſhneſſe ſhould be vſed there. In fine, the opinion which the people had thus fondlie conceiued of his vertue and innocencie, was by little and little remoued out of their heads, when his acts were more certeinlie publiſhed: as the ſleaing of a man with his owne hands, and the vſing of his concubine within Bowe church, during the time of his being there. Alſo the archbiſhop accurſed a preeſt, which had firſt brought vp the falſe report and fained fable of the miracle wrought by the chaine, whereby the occaſion of idolatrie was firſt giuen, and might eaſilie haue béene continued, if the archbiſhop had not béene the wiſer man, and by ſuch means repreſſed the rumour. ¶ So that we are to note by this example the force of counterfeit holineſſe and feigned harmeleſneſſe in hypocrits,

——qui pelle ſub agni
Vipereum celant virus moreſq; luporum,
Et ſtolidos ficta virtutis imagine fallunt.

But now to returne vnto the dooings of king Richard in France. Ye haue heard how a peace was concluded (as ſome haue written) but the ſame continued not long: for the French king ſéeming to repent himſelfe of that he had doone (as is aforeſaid) brake the peace, and raiſing a power, beſieged Albemarle, at length wan it, and raced it downe to the ground, then king Richard gaue vnto him thrée thouſand marks of ſiluer for the ranſome of his knights and yeomen, or demilances (as I may call them) that were taken in that fortreſſe. After this, the French king wan Nouencourt, and earle Iohn tooke the caſtell of Gamages.

The erledome of Poictou.

Iohn Bouchet his doubt.

About the ſame time alſo king Richard gaue vnto his nephue Otho the earledome of Poictou. Which I haue thought good to note out of Roger Houeden, to remoue the doubt of Iohn Bouchet, who in the third part of his annales of Aquitaine, maruelleth at an old panchart or record which he had ſéene, by the tenour whereof it appeared, that this Otho intituled himſelfe duke of Aquitaine and earle of Poictou, being in his caſtell of Monſtereulbonin néere to Poictiers, in the yeare a thouſand, one hundreth, ninetie nine, in preſence of Geffrey de Luſignen, and others, and granted vnto a certeine perſon the office of cutting the monie in the mint of that towne, as by the ſame panchart it further appeareth.

The ſight whereof brought the ſaid Bouchet into a great perplexitie, conſidering that no chronicle which he had either ſéene, or heard of, made mention of any Otho that ſhuld be duke of Aquitaine, or erle of Poictou, either before that time, or after. Where againe it was euident to him, that quéene Elianor the mother of king Richard, as then liuing, named hir ſelfe dutcheſſe of Aquitaine, and counteſſe of Poictou; & likewiſe king Richard intituled himſelfe duke of Aquitaine, and earle of Poictou, euer after he had fianced the earle of Barcelons daughter, as by diuerſe records both of the mother and the ſonne he had ſéene perfect notice. At length yet he geſſeth (and that trulie) that it ſhould be this Otho, to whom the mother and ſonne had aſſigned the dutchie of Aquitaine and countie of Poictou, for the maintenance of his eſtate, he holding the ſame till the yeare 1199, in the which he was made emperour by king Richards good helpe, as after ſhall be ſhewed more at large.

Ranulph erle of Cheſter tooke his wife the dutcheſſe of Britaine priſoner.

About this time alſo as the counteſſe of Britaine, the mother of duke Arthur came into Normandie to haue ſpoken with king Richard, Ranulph earle of Cheſter hir husband meeting hir at Pountourſon, tooke hir as priſoner, and ſhut hir vp within his caſtell at S. Iames de Beumeron: and when hir ſonne Arthur could not find means to deliuer hir out of captiuitie, he ioined with the king of France, and made great hauocke in the lands of his vncle king Richard, wherevpon the king gathered a mightie armie, and inuading Britaine with great force, cruellie waſted and deſtroied the countrie.

A dearth.

The death of the earle of Saliſburie.

Here is alſo to be noted, that in this ſeuenth yeare of king Richard, a great dearth chanced through this realme of England, and in the coaſts about the ſame. Alſo about the ſame time died William earle of Saliſburie, the ſonne of earle Patrike, whoſe daughter and heire king Richard gaue in marriage, togither with the earledome of Saliſburie, vnto his baſe brother, ſurnamed Long Eſpée.

R. Houed. Math.Paris.

Marchades & Lupeſcaro.

It chanced moreouer about the ſame time, that earle Iohn the kings brother, with certeine capteins of ſuch hired ſouldiors as ſome call Brabanceni; others, the Routs; and the French hiſtories name them Coſtereaux, or Coterels, went abroad to atchiue ſome enterpriſe againſt the biſhop of Beauuois, and other Frenchmen, which had doone much hurt to king Richards ſubiects in thoſe parties. The chéefe leaders of thoſe Routs or Coſtereaux, which went forth with earle Iohn, and ſerued vnder him at that time, were two Prouancois, Marchades & Lupeſcaro. Theſe riding forth into the countrie about Beauuois, made hauocke in robbing and ſpoiling all afore them.

The biſhop of Beauuois taken priſoner.

Anon as Philip the biſhop of Beauuois, a man more giuen to the campe than to the church, had knowledge hereof, thinking them to be a méet preie for him, with ſir William de Merlow and his ſonne, and a great number of other valiant men of warre, came forth into the fields, and encountring with the enimies, fought verie ſtoutlie. But yet in the end the biſhop, the archdeacon, and all the chéefe capteins were taken: the reſidue ſlaine and chaſed. After this, earle Iohn and the foreſaid capteins paſſed forth, and wan the towne of Millie, and ſo returned.

Earle Iohn and Marchades preſented the two prelats with great triumph vnto K. Richard earlie in the morning, lieng yet in his bed, as thoſe that were knowne to be his great enimies, ſaieng to him in French; Riſe Richard, riſe, we haue gotten the great chantour of Beauuois, and a good quiet man (as we take it) to anſwer him in the ſame note, and here we deliuer them vnto you to vſe at your diſcretion. The king ſéeing them, ſmiled, and was verie glad for the taking of this biſhop, for that he had euer found him his great aduerſarie: and therefore being thus taken fighting in the field with armour on his backe, thought he might be bold in temporall wiſe to chaſtiſe him: ſith he (not regarding his calling) practiſed to moleſt him with temporall weapons: wherevpon

vpon he committed him to cloſe priſon all armed as he was.

It chanced ſoone after, that two of his chaplins came vnto the king to Rouen, where this biſhop was deteined, beſeeching the king of licence to attend vpon their maiſter now in captiuitie: vnto whome (as it is of ſome reported) the king made this anſwer; I am conſent to make you iudges in the cauſe betwixt me and your maiſter, as for the euils which he hath either doone, either elſe gone about to doo vnto me, let the ſame be forgotten. This is true, that I being taken as I returned from my iournie made into the holie land, and deliuered into the emperours hands, was in reſpect of my kinglie ſtate, vſed according thereunto verie freendlie and honourablie, till your maiſter comming thither (for what purpoſe he himſelfe beſt knoweth) had long conference with the emperour. After which, I for my part in the next morning taſted the fruit of their ouernights talke, being then loden with as manie irons as a good aſſe might not verie eaſilie haue borne. Iudge you therefore, what maner of impriſonment your maiſter deſerued at my hands, that procured ſuch eaſe for me at the emperours hands.

The two chaplins had their mouths ſtopped with theſe words thus by the king vttered, and ſo departed their waies. The biſhop being ſtill deteined in priſon, procured ſuit to be made to the pope for his deliuerance: but the pope, being truelie informed of the matter, and wiſelie conſidering that the king had not taken the biſhop preaching, but fighting, and kept him priſoner rather as a rough enimie, than as a peaceable prelat, would not be earneſt with the king for his deliuerance, but rather reproued the biſhop, in that he had preferred ſecular warfare before the ſpirituall, and had taken vpon him the vſe of a ſpeare in ſteed of a croſier, an helmet in ſteed of a miter, an herbergeon in ſteed of a white rochet, a target for a ſtoale, and an iron ſword in lieu of the ſpirituall ſword: and therefore he refuſed to vſe any commandement to king Richard for the ſetting of him at libertie. But yet he promiſed to doo what he could by waie of intreating, that he might be releaſed.

It is reported by ſome writers, that the pope at firſt, not vnderſtanding the truth of the whole circumſtance, ſhould ſend to king Richard, commanding him by force of the canons of the church to deliuer his ſons the biſhop and archdeacon out of their captiuitie. To whom the king ſent their armour with this meſſage written in Latine, *Vide an tunica filij tui ſit an non*, that is, See whether theſe are the garments of thy ſonnes or not: alluding to the ſaieng of thoſe that caried Ioſephs coate to Iacob. Which when the pope ſaw, he ſaid: Naie by S. Peter, it is neither the apparell of my ſonnes, nor yet of my brethren: but rather they are the veſtures of the children of Mars: and ſo he left them ſtill to be ranſomed at the kings pleaſure. The biſhop thus ſeeing no hope to be deliuered without ſome agreement had betwixt the two kings, became now through irkeſomneſſe of his bonds, an earneſt mediatour for peace, whereas before he had beene an extreme ſtirrer vp of war. Such a ſchoolemaiſter is impriſonment, & plucker downe of loftie courages. But to proceed.

Geneſ.37.

Anno Reg.8.

About the ſame time the archbiſhop of Rouen put all the countrie of Normandie vnder ſentence of interdiction, bicauſe king Richard had begun to fortifie a caſtell at Liſle Dandelie, vpon a peece of ground which the archbiſhop claimed to apperteine vnto his ſee. The matter was brought before the pope, who perceiuing the intent of king Richard was not otherwiſe grounded vpon any couetous purpoſe to defraud the church of hir right, but onelie to build a fortreſſe in ſuch place as was moſt expedient for defenſe of the countrie about, to preſerue it from inuaſion of the enimies; he counſelled the archbiſhop not to ſtand againſt the king in it, but to exchange with him for ſome other lands: which was doone, and the interdiction by the pope releaſed. The biſhop of Elie lord chancellour, being ſent about this buſineſſe towards Rome, departed this life by the way at Poitiers, in Ianuarie.

Normandie interdicted by ꝧ archbiſhop of Rouen.

The biſhop of Elie departed this life.

But the biſhops of Durham & Liſieux that were ſent with him, paſſed forward, and comming to Rome, informed the pope of the matter, who tooke order with the biſhops (as before is mentioned.) The king gaue to the church in Rouen in recompenſe, his milles which he had in Rouen, ſo that the ſaid church ſhould paie the almes of old time appointed to be giuen for the ſame. He gaue to the ſaid church likewiſe the towne of Diepe, and the towne of Buſſels, ſo that the church ſhould likewiſe paie the almes aſſigned forth of the ſame, being the ſumme of 372 pounds of Aniouine monie: alſo the manour of Louers, and the forreſt of Alermound with the deere and the appurtenances. But now to other doings.

About the ſame time, or not long before, whereas there had beene long contention betwixt the kings of England, and the earles of S. Giles for the earledome of Tholouſe, king Richard by way of aliance fell now at an appointment with the earle Raimond that held thoſe lands: for whereas the counteſſe Conſtance wife to the ſaid Raimond earle of Tholouſe and aunt to king Philip was now departed this life, king Richard concluded a mariage betwene the ſaid earle and his ſiſter Ioane queene of Sicile, ſometime wife to William king of Sicile, ſo that being thus ioined in aliance with the ſaid earle of Tholouſe on the one ſide, he procured a league alſo with Baldwine earle of Flanders on the other, vnto whome he gaue fiue thouſand markes in reward, vpon condition, that he ſhould couenant not to grow to any agreement with the French king without his conſent. Likewiſe Reginold the earle of Bolongne, that was ſonne to the earle of Chaſteau Martine, allied himſelfe with them againſt the French king, and ſo did Baldwine earle of Guines with diuerſe other.

Rog. Houed.

The king and the earle of Tholouſe agreed.

Matt. Paris.

The earle of Flanders allied with K. Richard.

Iacob. Meir.
Les annales de France.

Thus king Richard by ſuch aliance hauing his part greatlie ſtrengthened, prepared himſelfe to the warre more earneſtlie than before, and tooke order with the earle of Flanders, that they ſhould inuade the French dominions in two ſeuerall quarters both at one time, as the earle by Flanders, & he himſelfe by Normandie, according to the appointment betwixt them deuiſed. The earle preparing an armie, firſt wan the towne of Dowaie, and then beſieged ſaint Omers, and wan it after fiue weekes ſiege: wherevpon they of Aire yeelded to him; ſhortlie after he entred into Artois, & beſieged the citie of Arras.

Iacob. Meir.
Wil. Paruus.

Towns won by the earle of Flanders.

At the ſame time king Richard marching towards Giſors, wan in his waie the caſtell of Corſelles, & deſtroied it; that doone, he came to Giſors, and beſieged the towne, waſting all the countrie round about him where he came. The French king being thus troubled with the inuaſion of his enimies in two ſeuerall places at one preſent time, ſent certeine bands of his ſouldiors towards Arras to keepe the earle of Flanders plaie, whileſt he himſelfe went againſt king Richard: and comming vnto Giſors, found it ſtreictlie beſieged of the ſame king, ſo that he wiſt not well how to enter the towne. But yet at length faining to giue battell to king Richard (who vpon deſire to receiue it, came abroad into the field) the French king ruſhed forth with all his whole force to make towards the towne, & ſo got into it, though not without great loſſe and damage of his people.

Giſors beſieged.

The French king entreth into Giſors.

King Richard not meaning to breake vp his ſiege from before the towne, notwithſtanding the French king had entred it, ſtaied a certeine time of purpoſe to win it, knowing the gaine to be the greater, and his name more famous, if he might atchiue his purpoſe, now that his aduerſarie was within it. But when he ſaw it would not be, he raiſed his ſiege, and departed towards Cleremont, ſpoiling all the countrie by his forrais as he went, ſo that he wan great pillage, wherewith his ſouldiers were loden and made verie rich.

Richard
eth his
ge.

gh de
aumount
en priſoner

It chanced, that in a ſkirmiſh Hugh de Chaumount was taken priſoner, one that was of the French kings priuie councell, and king Richard appointed him to the kéeping of Robert Ros, who charged one of his ſeruants named William de Spinie with the cuſtodie of him. But the ſaid Hugh corrupting his kéeper the foreſaid William with rewards, (whereof it is ſaid,

——acceptiſſima ſemper
Munera ſunt, author qua pretioſa facit)

id in 3. Art
.ep.16.

eſcaped out of the caſtell of Bonneuille, where he was within ward, to the great diſpleaſure of king Richard, who cauſed Robert Ros to paie for a fine, the ſumme of twelue hundred marks, which the priſoner ſhould haue paied for his ranſome: and further, commanded William de Spinie to be hanged for his diſloiall dealing.

obert Roſſe
t to his fine
an eſcape.

King Philip, after that the king of England was remooued from Giſors (as before yée haue heard) aſſembled a great hoſt, and with banner diſplaied, entred into Normandie, and waſted the countrie from Newburge to Beaumont le Rogier, and that doone, returned into France, licencing his men to returne vnto their homes. About the ſame time, he ſent vnto king Richard, requiring him to appoint fiue champions, and he would appoint other fiue for his part, which might fight in liſts, for triall of all matters in controuerſie betwixt them, ſo to auoid the ſhedding of more giltleſſe bloud. King Richard accepted the offer, with condition, that either king might be of the number, that is, the French king one of the fiue vpon the French part; & K. Richard one of the fiue vpon the Engliſh part. But this condition would not be granted. Herevpon, when ſhortlie after it was ſignified to king Richard, that ſhips vſed to come out of England to ſaint Valerie with victuals, which were ſold and conueied awaie vnto the French K. and other his enimies, he rode to ſaint Valeries, and ſet the towne on fire, and ſuch ſhips of England as he found there he alſo burnt, and hanged the mariners by the necke, diuiding the graine and other victuals which were found in the ſame ſhips amongſt his owne ſouldiors.

ath.Paris.

ic.Treuet.
he French
ngs requeſt
a combat.

. Richards
ſwer.

1197

ath. Paris.

hips burnt,
d mariners
nged.

About the ſame time he got the fauour of them of Champaigne and of the Britons, and William Creſpine alſo was conſtreined to deliuer vnto him the caſtell of Auge, but the French king recouered it by ſiege, whileſt king Richard entring into Aluergne wan diuerſe caſtels there, to the number of ten out of king Philips hands. In the meane time the earle of Flanders made ſore warre againſt the French king for his part, and training the ſame king within ſtreits, ſo that he was almoſt incloſed on ech ſide, he conſtreined him to agrée to ſuch compoſition as pleaſed the ſame earle to appoint, but afterwards the French king refuſed to ſtand to the couenants of that agréement, and ſo the warre continued betwixt them as before.

s annales
France.

nno Reg. 9.

At length king Richard and the French king concluded vpon an abſtinence of warre to indure from the feaſt of S. Hilarie for one whole yere, purpoſing in the meane time to make a finall peace and agréement. In which ſeaſon Baldwine earle of Flanders came into England to doo his deuotions vnto the ſhrine where Thomas the archbiſhop laie buried at Canturburie. The ſame yeare alſo ſomewhat before this time, Riſe ap Griffin king of Wales departed this life, after whoſe death there fell diſcord betwixt his ſonnes for the ſucceſſion, till the archbiſhop Hubert went to the marſhes of that countrie, and made an agréement betwixt them. Not long after, Roger the brother of Robert earle of Leiceſter, elected biſhop of ſaint Andrews in Scotland, receiued the order of prieſthood, and was conſecrated biſhop by the hands of the biſhop of Aberdine.

Houed.

ne yeare & 4
oneths ſaith
l. Paruus.

Griffin king of Wales departed this life.

This yeare it was ordeined that meaſures of all manner of graine ſhould conteine one quantitie throughout the realme, that is to ſaie, one reſonable horſſelode, and that the meaſures of wine and ale with all maner of liquors ſhould be of one iuſt quantie according to the diuerſitie of the liquor; alſo that weights ſhould be of like rate throughout the relme, and that cloth ſhould conteine two yards in breadth within the liſts, of perfect goodneſſe throughout, as well in the middeſt as by the ſides, and that one manner of yard ſhould be vſed through the relme. It was alſo ordeined that no merchants within the realme ſhould hang any red or blacke clothes before their windowes, nor ſet vp any pentiſes or other thing whereby to darken the light from thoſe that come to buy their cloth, ſo as they might be deceiued in chooſing thereof.

Weights and meaſures.

Alſo it was enacted that there ſhould be foure or ſix ſubſtantiall honeſt men choſen in euerie towne, and likewiſe in ſhires, with the head officers of cities and boroughes, which had a corporation, to ſée that the aſſiſes aforeſaid were truelie kept, and that if any were found to be offending in the premiſſes, to cauſe their bodies to be attached and committed to priſon, and their goods to be ſeized to the kings vſe: and if thoſe that were choſen to haue regard thereto, were tried to be negligent, ſo that by others, and not by them any offendors chanced to be conuicted before the iuſtices, then ſhould the regarders be put to their fines, for the negligent looking to their offices.

King Richard held his Chriſtmaſſe this yeare at Roan, and Hubert the archbiſhop of Canturburie legat of the apoſtolike ſée, named lord chéefe iuſtice of England, was about the ſame time in the marſhes of Wales at Hereford, and there receiued into his hands the caſtels of Hereford, Bridgenorth and Ludlow, remoouing thoſe that had the ſame in kéeping, and appointing others in their roomes. Afterwards comming by Couentrie, he placed the monks againe in the cathedrall church of that citie, by commandement of pope Celeſtine, and chaſed out the ſecular canons, which the biſhop Hugh Nouant had brought into the ſame church when he remooued the monks.

1198

Monks placed againe in the church of Couentrie.

In the Chriſtmaſſe wéeke alſo there came meſſengers to Rouen from the archbiſhops of Cullen and Mentz, and from other ſtates of the empire, which declared vnto king Richard, that all the princes of Germanie were appointed to aſſemble at Cullen, the two & twentith of Februarie, about the chooſing of a new emperour, in place of the late deceaſſed Henrie: and therefore they commanded him by force of the oth and league in which he was bound to the emperour and empire, that all excuſe of deniall or occaſions to the contrarie ceaſing and ſet apart, he ſhould make his repaire vnto Cullen at the aforeſaid day, to helpe them in chooſing of ſome worthie perſonage that might and was able to haue the empire. King Richard doubting to put himſelfe in danger, bicauſe he had not diſcharged all the debts due for his ranſome, ſtaied at home, but yet he ſent diuerſe noble men thither, and did ſo much in fauour of his nephue Otho, that by the helpe of the foreſaid two archbiſhops of Cullen and Mentz, the ſame Otho

Meſſengers from the ſtats of Germanie.

was elected emperour. But of this matter more ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

Three hundred knights of men of armes to be found.

The biſhop of Lincolne.

Moreouer, about the ſame time king Richard required by the archbiſhop of Canturburie his chéefe iuſtice, an aid of 300 knights to be found by his ſubiects of England, to remaine with him in his ſeruice for one whole yeare, or elſe that they would giue him ſo much monie, as might ſerue to reteine that number after the rate of thrée ſhillings a daie of Engliſh monie for euerie knight. Whereas all other were contented to be contributors herein, onelie Hugh biſhop of Lincolne refuſed, and ſpake ſore againſt the archbiſhop that moued the matter. But how ſoeuer that requeſt tooke place, king Richard (as we find) leuied this yeare a ſubſidie of fiue ſhillings of euerie hide of land within the realme, two commiſſioners, that is to ſay, one of the ſpiritualtie, & a knight of the temporaltie, being appointed as commiſſioners in euerie ſhire, with the aſſiſtance of the ſhiriffe, and others, to ſee the ſame aſſeſſed & rated after an hundred acres of land to the hide of land, according to the cuſtome.

The moonks of Chriſtes church ſend to the pope, complaining of their archbiſhop.

The pope ſendeth to the king.

The ſame yeare alſo the moonks of the houſe of the holie Trinitie, otherwiſe called Chriſtes church in Canturburie, exhibited their complaint vnto pope Innocent, that their archbiſhop Hubert (contrarie to his order and dignitie) exerciſed the office of high iuſtice, and ſate in iudgement of bloud, being ſo incumbred in temporall matters, that he could not haue time to diſcharge his office touching ſpirituall cauſes: wherevpon the pope ſent vnto king Richard, admoniſhing him not to ſuffer the ſaid archbiſhop to be any longer troubled with temporall affaires, but to diſcharge him thereof, and not to admit any ſpirituall perſon from thenceforth vnto any temporall adminiſtration.

He further prohibited by vertue of their obedience, all manner of prelats and men of the church, that they ſhould not preſume raſhlie to take vpon them any maner of ſecular function or office. Wherevpon the archbiſhop was diſcharged of his office of chéefe iuſtice, and Geffrey Fitz Peter ſucceeded in gouernement of the realme in his ſtéed. ¶ Geruaſius Dorobernenſis ſaith, that the archbiſhop reſigned that office of his owne accord, and that not till after his returne from the marſhes of Wales, where he had ouerthrowne the Welſhmen, and ſlaine fiue thouſand of them. Which victorie other aſcribe vnto Geffrey Fitz Peter, which Geffrey (as the ſaid Dorobernenſis ſaith) ſucceeded the archbiſhop in the office of lord chéefe iuſtice, but not vntill Auguſt, in the tenth yeare of the kings reigne.

Anno Reg. 10.

In this yeare, immediatlie vpon the expiring of the truce which was taken till haruest might be ended, the warre betwixt the two kings of England & France began eftſoones to be purſued with like earneſtneſſe as before: wherevpon manie encounters chanced betwixt the parties, with taking of townes and fortreſſes, as commonlie in ſuch caſes it happeneth. Twiſe the French king was put to the worſſe, once in September betwixt Gamages and Vernon, where he was driuen to ſaue himſelfe by flight, loſing twentie knights, and thréeſcore ſeruitors or yeomen, which were taken, beſides thoſe that were ſlaine: and againe, in the ſame moneth on Michaelmaſſe euen betwixt Curſeilles and Giſors, at what time he came to ſuccour Curſeilles, bringing with him 400 knights, beſides ſeruitors, and a great multitude of commons. But the caſtell was woone before he could approch it.

King Richard being aduertiſed of his comming, haſted forth to méet him, and giuing the onſet vpon him, forced him to flée vnto Giſors, where at the entring of the bridge there was ſuch preaſſe, that the bridge brake, ſo that amongſt other, the king himſelfe with his horſſe and all fell into the riuer of Geth, and with much adoo was releeued, and got out of the water, no ſmall number of right hardie and valiant gentlemen being taken at the ſame time, which put themſelues forward to ſtaie the Engliſhmen, till the king was recouered out of that preſent danger. To conclude, there were taken to the number of an hundred knights, and two hundred barded horſſes, beſides ſeruitors on horſſebacke, and footmen with croſſebowes. Amongſt other priſoners theſe are named, Matthew de Montmorancie, Gales de Poits, Iollen de Bray, and manie other alſo innumerable. King Richard hauing got this victorie, wrote letters thereof vnto the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbats earles and barons of his realme, that they might praiſe God for his good ſucceſſe.

King Philip almoſt drowned.

Seuen ſcore ſaith R. Houed.

Math. Paris. R. Houed.

¶ A notable example to all princes that haue the conqueſt ouer their enimies, to referre the happie getting thereof to God, and to giue praiſe vnto him who giueth victorie vnto whom it pleaſeth him. Which the Pſalmograph ſaw verie well, and therefore aſcribed all the iſſue of his proſperous affaires to God, as may well be noted by his words, ſaieng expreſſelie,

——— *ab illo*
Munior, hic inſtar turris & arcis erat,
Dura manus in bella meas qui format & armat,
Ad fera qui digitos inſtruit arma meos.

Eob. Heſſ. in Pſal. 144.

Now will we ſtaie the proceedings of the king of France at this time, and make no further relation thereof for a while, till we haue touched other things that happened in England at the ſame ſeaſon. And firſt ye ſhall vnderſtand, that Hugh Bardolfe, Roger Arundell, and Geffrey Hachet, to whom as iuſtices, the counties of Lincolne, Notingham, Yorke, Derbie, Northumberland, Weſtmerland, Cumberland, and Lancaſter were appointed for circuits, held not onelie plées of aſſiſes, and of the crowne, but alſo tooke inquiſitions of eſcheats, and forfaitures of all maner of tranſgreſſions, and of donations of benefices, of marriages of widowes and maids, and other ſuch like things as apperteined to the king, whereby any aduantages grew to his vſe, the which for tediouſneſſe we paſſe ouer. Theſe things were ſtreightlie looked vnto, not without the diſquieting of manie.

Inquiſitions taken.

Herewith came an other trouble in the necke of this former, to diuerſe perſons within the realme, through inquiries taken by the iuſtices of the forreſts: for Hugh Neuill, Hugh Waley, and Heruiſius Neuill, appointed iuſtices itinerants in that caſe, were commanded by the king to call before them archbiſhops, biſhops, earles, barons, knights, and fréeholders, with the réeue, and foure of the ſubſtantiall men of euerie towne or village, to heare and take knowledge of the kings commandement, touching the ordinances of forreſts, the which were verie ſtraight in ſundrie points, ſo that whereas before thoſe that offended in killing of the kings déere were puniſhed by the purſe, now they ſhould loſe their eies and genitals, as the lawe was in the daies of king Henrie his grandfather: and thoſe that offended in cutting downe woods or buſhes, or in digging and deluing vp of turues and clods, or by any other maner of waie made waſte and deſtruction in woods or graſſe, or ſpoile of veniſon, within the precinct of the forreſts, contrarie to order, they ſhould be put to their fines.

Ordinances of forreſts.

Préeſts to be arreſted offending in forreſts.

He gaue commandement alſo, that it ſhould be lawfull to the forreſters to take and put vnder arreſt, as well préeſts and thoſe of the cleargie, as temporall men, being found offenders in forreſt grounds and chaſes. Manie other ordinances were decréed touching the preſeruation of forreſts, and the kings prerogatiue, aduantages and profits riſing and growing by the ſame, as well for ſauing of his woods and waſts, as in pannage and agiſtements, greatlie to the reſtraint of them that might vſurpe or incroch vpon the grounds within the compaſſe of his foreſts.

Ger.Dor.

The church of Lameth.

Ye haue heard before, how the monks of Canturburie did ſend to exhibit a complaint to the pope, for that their archbiſhop tooke vpon him to deale in exerciſe of matters belonging to a temporall man, and not to ſuch a one as had rule ouer the ſpiritualtie: but this was not the cauſe that did greeue them ſo much, as that he went forward with the erection of that church at Lameth, which his predeceſſor archbiſhop Baldwine had firſt begun at Haketon, now called S. Stephans (as before ye haue heard) and after was driuen through the importunate ſuit of the monks to leaue off, and race that which he had there begun, to obeie the popes pleaſure: and after laid a new foundation at Lameth.

The pope cōmandeth the church of Lameth to be raced.

The monks of Canturburie therefore ſtill fearing leaſt that church ſhould greatlie preiudice ſuch rights and liberties, as they pretended, namlie in the election of their archbiſhop, would neuer reſt, but ſtill complained and followed their ſuit in moſt obſtinate maner in the court of Rome, as well in the daies of the ſaid Baldwine, as now againſt Hubert, (when he tooke in hand to continue the worke according to the purpoſe of his predeceſſour the ſaid Baldwine, which was to haue inſtituted a colledge there, and to haue placed ſecular canons in the ſame) and ſuch was the earneſt trauell of the monks herein, that in the end now after the deceaſſe of pope Celeſtine, they found ſuch fauour at the hands of pope Innocent his ſucceſſor, that the ſame Innocent directed his letters of cōmandement to the archbiſhop, and other biſhops of this land, to deſtroie and race the ſame foundation, as a peece of worke derogatorie to the ſee of Canturburie, and verie preiudiciall to the eſtate of holie church.

The archbiſhop at the firſt truſted to be borne out by the king (who was highlie offended with the monks for their preſumptuous dealing) and therfore refuſed to obeie the popes commandement. The king in deed ſtomached the matter ſo highlie, that he ſent letters vnto the monks by no worſſe meſſengers than by Geffrey Fitz Peter, and Hugh Fitz Bardolfe his iuſtices, ſignifieng to them not onelie his high diſpleaſure for their preſumptuous proceedings in their ſuit without his conſent, but alſo commanding them to ſurceaſſe, and not to proceed further in the matter by vertue of anie ſuch the popes letters, which they had purchaſed contrarie to the honour and dignitie of his crowne and realme. Moreouer, he wrote to the biſhops, commanding them to appeale; and to the archbiſhop, forbidding him in anie wiſe to breake downe the church which he had ſo builded at Lameth.

The preſumptuous ſtoutneſſe of the monks.

The ſhiriffe of Kent alſo was commanded to ſeize into his hands all the tenements and poſſeſſions that belonged to the monks (a frie of ſatan, and as one ſaith verie well of them and the like leuen of lewdneſſe,

———ſentina malorum,
Agnorum ſub pelle lupi, mercede colentes
Non pietate Deum, &c.)

who neuertheleſſe were ſo ſtout in that quarell, that they would not prolong one daie of the time appointed by the pope for the racing of that church. Herevpon the king for his part and the biſhops in their owne behalfes wrote to the pope. Likewiſe the abbats of Boxeley, Fourd, Stratford, Roberts-bridge, Stanleie, and Baſing Warke, wrote the matter to him: and againe the pope and the cardinals wrote to the king, to the archbiſhops, and biſhops: and ſo letters paſſed to and fro, till at length the pope ſent a Nuncio of purpoſe, to ſignifie his full determination, as in the next yeare it ſhall be ſhewed at full.

Welſhmen vanquiſhed. Ger.Dor. aſcribeth this victorie vnto Hubert archb. of Canturburie and ſaith there were ſlaine about 500 of the enimies.

Mauds caſtle.

About the ſame time Geffrey Fitz Peter, lord cheefe iuſtice of England, raiſed a power of men, and went into Wales to ſuccour the tenants of William de Brauſe, which were beſieged of the king, or rather prince of that countrie, named Owen, the brother of Cadwalaine, in Mauds caſtell: but the lord cheefe iuſtice comming to the reſkue of them within, gaue battell to the aduerſaries, and vanquiſhing them, ſlue three thouſand of them, and ſeauen hundred of thoſe that were taken priſoners and wounded. And all the while the warres continued in France, the loſſe for the moſt part ſtill redounded to the Frenchmen. Earle Iohn burnt Newburg, and tooke eighteene knights of ſuch as were ſent to the reſkue.

The earle of Leiceſter.

Marchades.

The earle of Leiceſter with a ſmall companie came before the caſtell of Paſcie, which (although the Frenchmen held it) did yet of right belong vnto the ſaid earle. The ſouldiors within iſſued foorth, and being too ſtrong for the earle, cauſed him to flee, for otherwiſe he had beene taken. But returning on the morrow after with more companie about him, and laieng ambuſhes for the enimie, he approched the ſaid caſtell, and trained the Frenchmen foorth till he had them within his danger, and then cauſing his men to breake out vpon them tooke an eighteene knights, and a great multitude of other people. Alſo Marchades with his rout of Brabanders did the Frenchmen much hurt, in robbing and ſpoiling the countries.

About this ſeaſon the archbiſhop of Canturburie went ouer into Normandie to ſpeake with king Richard, and at the French kings requeſt he paſſed into France, to common with him of peace, which the French king offered to conclude, in reſtoring all the townes and caſtels which he had taken (Giſors onelie excepted) and touching the poſſeſſion and title therof, he was contented to put the matter in compromiſe, to the order and award of ſix barons in Normandie to be named by him; and of ſix barons in France which king Richard ſhould name. But king Richard would not thus agree, except the earle of Flanders and others which had forſaken the French king to take his part, might be compriſed in the ſame peace. At length yet in Nouember, there was truce taken betwixt the two kings till the feaſt of S. Hilarie next inſuing.

A truce taken betwixt the two kings.

In the meane time pope Innocent the third, vnderſtanding in what preſent danger things ſtood in the holie land, and on the other ſide, conſidering what a weakening it was vnto chriſtendome, to haue theſe two kings thus to warre with mortall hatred one againſt the other: he thought it ſtood him vpon to trauell betwixt them, to bring them vnto ſome peace and agreement. Herevpon he diſpatched one Peter the cardinall of Capua into France, as legat from the ſee of Rome, vnto the two foreſaid kings, to inſtruct them in what preſent danger the ſtate of the chriſtians in Aſia preſentlie ſtood, ſo that without the aid of them and of other chriſtian princes, it could not be holpen, but needs it muſt come to vtter ruine, and the Saracens yer long to be poſſeſſed of the whole. Therefore both in reſpect hereof, and alſo for the auoiding of the further wilfull ſpilling of chriſtian bloud in ſuch ciuill and vngodlie war, he beſought them to ſtaie their hands, and to ioine in ſome freendlie band of concord, whereby they might with mutuall conſent beſtow their ſeruice in that neceſſarie and moſt godlie warre, wherein by ouercomming the enimies of Chriſt, they might looke for worthie reward at his hands, which is the frée giuer of all victories.

1199

R.Houed.

A truce concluded for fiue yeares.

The cardinall comming into France, and dooing his meſſage in moſt earneſt wiſe, was preſent at the enterview appointed betwixt the two kings in the feaſt of S. Hilarie, but yet could not he bring his purpoſe to full effect: onelie he procured them to take truce for the terme of fiue yeares, further he could not get them to agrée. ¶ The fault by authors is aſcribed aſwell to king Richard, as to king Philip: for king Richard being firſt euill vſed, and put to hinderance, determined either to vanquiſh, or neuer to giue place.

This forbearance from warre was concluded and taken in the yeare 1199 after the incarnation, and tenth of king Richards reigne. But immediatlie after, there aroſe matter of new diſpleaſure betwixt theſe two kings to kéepe their minds in vre with ſecret grudges, though by reaſon of the truce they outwardlie abſteined from declaring it by force of armes. It chanced that in the election of a new emperour, the electors could not agrée, one part of them chooſing Otho duke of Saxonie, nephue to king Richard by his ſiſter Maud, and another part of them naming Philip duke of Tuſcaine, and brother to the laſt emperour Henrie.

Contention about the chooſing of the emperour.

King Richard (as reaſon was) did procure what fauour he could to the furtherance of his nephue Otho: and king Philip on the contrarie part, did what he could in fauour of the foreſaid Philip. At length Otho was admitted by the pope to end the ſtrife: but yet the grudge remained in the harts of the two kings; Philip finding himſelfe much gréeued in that he had miſſed his purpoſe, and Richard being as little pleaſed, for that he had woone his ſo hardlie, and with ſo much adoo. And thus matters paſſed for that yeare.

R.Houed.

The popes letters to the king for the church of Lameth.

In the beginning of the next, the popes Nuncio came with letters, not onlie to the archbiſhop and biſhops of England, but alſo to the king himſelfe, ſignifieng the popes reſolute decrée touching the church and colledge of Lameth to be broken downe and ſuppreſſed. Wherevpon the king and archbiſhop (though ſore againſt their willes) when they ſaw no waie longer to ſhift off the matter, yéelded to the popes pleaſure: and ſo the archbiſhop ſent his letters to Lameth, where the 21 daie of Ianuarie they were read, and the 27 daie of the ſame moneth was the church caſt downe, & the canons which were alreadie there placed, had commandement to depart from thence without further delaie. Thus the moonks in deſpite of the king and archbiſhop had their willes, but yet their vexation ceaſſed not, for the king and archbiſhop bearing them no ſmall euill will, for that they had ſo obteined their purpoſe contrarie to their minds and intents, moleſted them diuerſe waies, although the moonks ſtill vpon complaint to the pope, were verie much reléeued, and found great fréendſhip both with him and likewiſe with his court. ¶ So that it may be obſerued that theſe diſhclouts of the popes kitchen haue in all ages, ſince their firſt quickening béene troubleſome and mutinous, ſawcie and inſolent, proud and malapert. But

The moonks borne out by the pope.

M.Pal. in ſuo ſag.

Proh pudor! hos tolerare poteſt eccleſia porcos,
Cùm ſint laſciui nimiùm, nimiúmq; ſuperbi,
Duntaxàt ventri, veneri ſomnóq; vacantes?

A tax. Fiue ſhillings of euerie ploughland, as ſaith Matt. Weſtm.

In this meane time, king Richard being now at reſt from troubles of warre, ſtudied buſilie to prouide monie, meaning to make a new voiage into the holie land. Therefore finding himſelfe bare of treaſure, by reaſon the French warres had emptied his cofers, he ſet a great tax vpon his ſubiects, and by that meanes, hauing recouered a great ſumme, he builded that notable ſtrong caſtell in Normandie, vpon the banke of the riuer of Saine, named Chateau Galiard: which when it was finiſhed, he fell a ieſting thereat and ſaid; Behold, is not this a faire daughter of one yeares growth. The ſoile where this caſtell was builded, belonged to the archbiſhop of Rouen, for which there followed great ſtrife betwixt the king and the archbiſhop, till the pope tooke vp the matter (as before ye haue heard.)

Chaſteau Galiard built.

After this, he determined to chaſtiſe certeine perſons in Poictou, which during the warres betwixt him and the French king, had aided the Frenchmen againſt him: wherevpon with an armie he paſſed forth towards them, but by the waie he was informed, that one Widomer a vicount in the countrie of Britaine, had found great treaſure: and therefore pretending a right thereto by vertue of his prerogatiue, he ſent for the vicount, who ſmelling out the matter, and ſuppoſing the king would not be indifferent in parting the treaſure, fled into Limoſin, where although the people were tributaries to the king of England, yet they tooke part with the French king.

Images of an emperour and of his wife & children all of fine gold.

The annales of Aquitaine.

There is a towne in that countrie called Chalus Cheuerell, into which the ſaid vicount retired for ſafegard of himſelfe, and then gaue the townesmen a great portion of treaſure, to the end they ſhould defend him and his quarell for the reſt. King Richard ſtill following him, as one that could not auoid his fatall ordinance, haſted into the confines of Limoſin, fullie determining either to win the towne by force, if the inhabitants ſhould make reſiſtance, or at leaſt wiſe, to get into his hands the preie, which he ſo earneſtlie purſued. At his firſt approch he gaue manie fierce aſſaults to the towne, but they within hauing throughlie prouided aforehand for to defend a ſiege, ſo reſiſted his attempts, that within thrée daies after his comming, he ceaſſed to aſſaile the towne, meaning to vndermine the walles, which otherwiſe he perceiued would verie hardlie be gotten, conſidering the ſtoutneſſe of them within, and withall, the naturall ſtrength and ſituation of the place it ſelfe.

Chalus Cheuerell.

R.Houed.

K. Richard beſiegeth Chalus.

Herevpon therefore on the 26 of March, whiles he (togither with capteine Marchades) went about vnaduiſedlie to view the towne (the better to conſider the place which waie he might conueie the courſe of his mine) they came ſo farre within danger, that the king was ſtriken in the left arme, or (as ſome write) in the ſhoulder, where it ioined to the necke, with a quarell inuenomed (as is to be ſuppoſed by the ſequele.) Being thus wounded, he gat to his horſſe, and rode home againe to his lodging, where he cauſed the wound to be ſearched and bound vp, and as a man nothing diſmaid therewith, continued his ſiege with ſuch force and aſſurance, that within 12 daies after the miſhap, the towne was yéelded vnto him, although verie little treaſure (to make any great accompt of) was at that time found therein.

He is wounded.

Ra.Niger.

In this meane ſeaſon, the king had committed the cure of his wound to one of Marchades his ſurgions, who taking in hand to plucke out the quarell, drew forth onelie the ſhaft at the firſt, and left the iron ſtill within, and afterwards going about moſt vnſkilfullie to get forth the head of the ſaid quarell, he vſed ſuch inciſions, and ſo mangled the kings arme, yer he could cut it, that he himſelf deſpaired of all helpe and longer life, affirming flatlie to ſuch as ſtood about him, that he could not long continue by reaſon of his butcherlie handling. To be ſhort, féeling himſelfe to wax weaker and weaker, preparing his mind to death, which he perceiued now to be at hand, he ordeined his teſtament, or rather reformed and added ſundrie things vnto the ſame which he before had made, at the time of his going forth towards the holie land.

The king deſpaired of life.

He ordeineth his teſtament.

Vnto his brother Iohn he aſſigned the crowne of England, and all other his lands and dominions, cauſing the Nobles there preſent to ſweare fealtie vnto him. His monie, his iewels, and all other his goods mooueable he willed to be diuided into thrée parts, of the which Otho the emperor his ſiſters ſonne to haue one, his houſhold ſeruants an other part, and the third to be diſtributed to the poore. Finallie, remembring himſelfe alſo of the place of his buriall, he commanded that his bodie ſhould be interred at Fonteuerard at his fathers féet, but he willed his heart to be conueied vnto Rouen, and there buried, in teſtimonie of the loue which he had euer borne vnto that citie for the ſtedfaſt faith and tried loialtie at all times found in the citizens there. His bowels he ordeined to be buried in Poictiers, as in a place naturallie vnthankefull and not worthie to reteine any of the more honorable parts of his bodie.

R.Houed.

Matth.Paris.

Moreouer he cauſed the arcubaliſtar that wounded him, to be ſought out, whoſe name was Barthram de Gurden, or Peter Baſill (for ſo he named himſelfe as ſome write) who being brought before the king, he demanded wherein he had ſo much offended him, that he ſhould ſo lie in wait to ſlea him, rather than Marchades, who was then in his companie, and attendant on his perſon? The other anſwered boldlie againe, ſaieng; I purpoſed to kill thée, bicauſe thou ſlueſt my father, and two of my brethren heretofore, and wouldeſt alſo now haue ſlaine me, if I had hapned to fall into thy hands. Wherefore I intended to reuenge their deaths, not caring in the meane time what became of my ſelfe, ſo that I might in anie wiſe obteine my will of thée, who in ſuch ſort haſt bereft me of my fréends. The king hearkening vnto his words, and pondering his talke by good aduiſement, fréelie pardoned him, and withall commanded that he ſhould be ſet at libertie, and thereto haue an hundred ſhillings giuen him in his purſſe, and ſo to be let go. Moreouer, he gaue ſtrait charge that no man ſhould hurt him, or ſéeke any reuenge for this his death hereafter. Thus the penitent prince not onelie forgaue, but alſo rewarded his aduerſarie. Howbeit after his deceaſſe, Marchades getting him into his hands, firſt cauſed the ſkin to be ſtripped of his bodie, and after hanged him on a gibet.

Rog.Houed.

A notable example of forgiuing an enimie.
Matth.Paris.

At length king Richard by force of ſickneſſe (increaſed with anguiſh of his incurable wound) departed this life, on the tueſdaie before Palmeſundaie, being the ninth of Aprill, and the xj. day after he was hurt, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauior 1199. in the 44 yeare of his age, and after he had reigned nine yeares, nine moneths, and od daies: he left no iſſue behind him. He was tall of ſtature, and well proportioned, faire and comelie of face, ſo as in his countenance appeared much fauour and grauitie, of haire bright aborne, as it were betwixt red and yellow, with long armes, and nimble in all his ioints, his thighes and legs were of due proportion, and anſwerable to the other parts of his bodie.

King Richard departed this life.

His ſtature & ſhape of bodie.
Gal. Vinſaf.

As he was comelie of perſonage, ſo was he of ſtomach more couragious and fierce, ſo that not without cauſe, he obteined the ſurname of Cueur de lion, that is to ſaie, The lions hart. Moreouer, he was courteous to his ſouldiors, and towards his fréends and ſtrangers that reſorted vnto him verie liberall, but to his enimies hard and not to be intreated, deſirous of battell, an enimie to reſt and quietneſſe, verie eloquent of ſpéech and wiſe, but readie to enter into ieopardies, and that without feare or forecaſt in time of greateſt perils.

His diſpoſition of mind.

Theſe were his vertuous qualities, but his vices (if his vertues, his age, and the wars which he mainteined were throughlie weied) were either none at all, or elſe few in number, and not verie notorious. He was noted of the common people to be partlie ſubiect vnto pride, which ſurelie for the moſt part followeth ſtoutneſſe of mind: of incontinencie, to the which his youth might happilie be ſomewhat bent; and of couetouſneſſe, into the which infamie moſt capiteins and ſuch princes as commonlie follow the warres doo oftentimes fall, when of neceſſitie they are driuen to exact monie, as well of fréends as enimies, to mainteine the infinit charges of their wars.

The vices that were in king Richard.

Hereof it came, that on a time whiles he ſoiourned in France about his warres, which he held againſt K. Philip, there came vnto him a French préeſt whoſe name was Fulco, who required the K. in any wiſe to put from him thrée abhominable daughters which he had, and to beſtow them in marriage, leaſt God puniſhed him for them. Thou lieſt hypocrite (ſaid the king) to thy verie face, for all the world knoweth that I haue not one daughter. I lie not (ſaid the préeſt) for thou haſt thrée daughters, one of them is called pride, the ſecond couetouſneſſe, and the third lecherie. With that the king called to him his lords & barons, and ſaid to them; This hypocrite héere hath required me to marrie awaie my thrée daughters, which (as he ſaith) I cheriſh, nouriſh, foſter and mainteine, that is to ſay, pride, couetouſneſſe, and lecherie. And now that I haue found out neceſſarie & fit huſbands for them, I will doo it with effect, and ſéeke no more delaies. I therefore bequeath my pride to the high minded templers and hoſpitallers, which are as proud as Lucifer himſelfe. My couetouſneſſe I giue vnto the white moonks, otherwiſe called of the Ciſteaux order, for they couet the diuell and all. My lecherie I commit to the prelats of the church, who haue moſt pleaſure and felicitie therein.

Fulco a preeſt

There liued in the daies of this king Richard, men of worthie fame amongſt thoſe of the cleargie, Baldwine archbiſhop of Canturburie, and Hubert who ſucceeded him in that ſée, alſo Hugh biſhop of Lincolne, a man for his worthineſſe of life highlie to be commended. Moreouer, William biſhop of Elie, who though otherwiſe he was to be diſpraiſed for his ambition and pompous hautineſſe, yet the king vſed his ſeruice for a time greatlie to his profit and aduancement of the publike affaires. Alſo of learned men we find diuerſe in theſe daies that flouriſhed here in this land, as Baldwine of Deuonſhire that came to be biſhop of Worceſter in this kings time, and after his deceaſſe, he was aduanced to the gouernment of the archbiſhops ſée of Canturburie, he wrote diuerſe treatiſes, namelie of matters perteining to diuinitie. Daniell Morley well ſéene in the Mathematicals, Iohn de Heram, and Richard de Herham two notable hiſtoricians, Guilielmus Stephanides a moonke of Canturburie, who wrote much in the praiſe of archbiſhop Becket. Beſide theſe, we find one Richard, that was an abbat of the order Premonſtratenſis, Richard Diuiſienſis, Nicholas Walkington, Robert de Bello Foco, an excellent philoſopher, &c. ¶ Sée Bale in his third Centurie.

Baldwine & Hubert archbiſhops of Canturburie.

Iohn Bale.

In martiall renowme there floriſhed in this kings daies diuerſe noble capteins, as Robert earle of Leiceſter, Ranulfe de Fulgiers, two of the Bardulphes, Hugh and Henrie, thrée Williams, Marſhall, Brunell, and Mandeuill, with two Roberts, Ros and Sabeuile. Furthermore, I find that in the daies of this king Richard, a great derth reigned in England, and alſo in France, for the ſpace of thrée or foure yeares during the wars betwéene him & king Philip, ſo that after his returne out of Germanie, and from impriſonment, a quarter of wheat was ſold at 18 ſhillings eight pence, no ſmall price in thoſe daies, if you conſider the alay of monie then currant.

A great derth.

Alſo immediatlie after, that is to ſay, in the yeare of our Lord, a thouſand, one hundred, nintie ſix, which
was

great mor- talitie of peo- ple.
Wil. Paruus.

was about the ſeuenth yeere of the ſaid kings reigne, there followed a maruellous ſore death, which daile conſumed ſuch numbers of people, that ſcarſe there might be found any to keepe and looke to thoſe that were ſicke, or to burie them that died. Which ſickeneſſe was a peſtilentiall feuer or ſharpe burning ague. The accuſtomed manner of buriall was alſo neglected: ſo that in manie places they made great pits, and threw their dead bodies into the ſame, one vpon an other. For the multitude of them that died was ſuch, that they could not haue time to make for euerie one a ſeuerall graue. This mortalitie continued for the ſpace of fiue or ſix months, and at length ceaſſed in the cold ſeaſon of winter.

Two ſunnes.

In the octaues of Pentecoſt before this great death, in the firſt houre of the day, there appeared two ſunnes, the true ſunne & another, as it were a counterfeit ſunne: but ſo apparentlie, that hard it was to the common people, to diſcerne the one from the other. The ſkilfull alſo were compelled by inſtruments to diſtinguiſh the one from the other: in taking their altitudes and places, whereby in the end they found the new apparition, as it were, to wait vpon the planet, and ſo continued by the ſpace of certeine houres. At length when the beholders (of whom Wil. Paruus that recorded things in that age was one) had well wearied their eies in diligent marking the maner of this ſtrange appearance, the counterfeit ſunne vaniſhed awaie.

¶ This ſtrange wonder was taken for a ſignification of that which followed, that is to ſay, of war, famine and peſtilence: or to ſay the truth, it betokened rather the continuance of two of thoſe miſchiefs. For warre and famine had ſore afflicted the people before that time, and as yet ceaſſed not: but as for the peſtilence, it began ſoone after the ſtrange ſight, whereof inſued ſuch effect, as I haue alreadie rehearſed.

Thus farre king Richard.

Iohn the yongeſt ſonne of Henrie the ſecond.

Anno Reg. 1.

IOhn the yoongeſt ſon of Henrie the ſecond was proclaimed king of England, beginning his reigne the ſixt daie of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord 1199, the firſt of Philip emperour of Rome, and the 20 of Philip king of France, K. William as yet liuing in gouernement ouer the Scots. This man, ſo ſoone as his brother Richard was deceaſſed, ſent Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie, and William Marſhall earle of Striguill (otherwiſe called Chepſtow) into England, both to proclaime him king, and alſo to ſee his peace kept, togither with Geffrey Fitz Peter lord cheefe iuſtice, and diuerſe other barons of the realme, whileſt he himſelfe went to Chinon where his brothers treaſure laie, which was forthwith deliuered vnto him by Robert de Turneham: and therewithall the caſtell of Chinon and Sawmer and diuerſe other places, which were in the cuſtodie of the foreſaid Robert. But Thomas de Furnes nephue to the ſaid Robert de Turneham deliuered the citie and caſtell of Angiers vnto Arthur duke of Britaine. For by generall conſent of the nobles and peeres of the countries of Aniou, Maine, and Touraine, Arthur was receiued as the liege and ſouereigne lord of the ſame countries.

Rog. Houed.

Math. Paris.
Chinon.
Robert de Turneham.
Sawmer.
Rog. Houed.
Thomas de Furnes.

Strife amongſt the Engliſh ſubiects on the other ſide of the ſea.

For euen at this preſent, and ſo ſoone as it was knowne that king Richard was deceaſed, diuerſe cities and townes on that ſide of the ſea belonging to the ſaid Richard whileſt he liued, fell at ods among themſelues, ſome of them indeuouring to preferre king Iohn, other labouring rather to be vnder the gouernance of Arthur duke of Britaine, conſidering that he ſeemed by moſt right to be their cheefe lord, forſomuch as he was ſonne to Geffrey elder brother to Iohn. And thus began the broile in thoſe quarters, whereof in proceſſe of time inſued great inconuenience, and finallie the death of the ſaid Arthur, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

Now whileſt king Iohn was thus occupied in recouering his brothers treaſure, and traueling with his ſubiects to reduce them to his obedience, queene Elianor his mother by the helpe of Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie and other of the noble men and barons of the land, trauelled as diligentlie to procure the Engliſh people to receiue their oth of allegiance to be true to king Iohn. For the ſaid archbiſhop and William Marſhall earle of Striguill, being ſent ouer into England (as before you haue heard) to proclaime him king, and to keepe the land in quiet, aſſembled the eſtates of the realme at Northampton, where Geffrey Fitz Peter lord cheefe iuſtice was preſent with other of the Nobles, afore whom thoſe lords whoſe fidelities were earſt ſuſpected, willinglie tooke their oths of obedience to the new king, and were aſſured by the ſame lords on his behalfe, that they ſhould find him a liberall, a noble and a righteous prince, and ſuch a one as would ſee that euerie man ſhould inioy his owne, and ſuch as were knowne to be notorious tranſgreſſors, ſhould be ſure to receiue their condigne puniſhment.

Math. Paris.
The ſtates aſſembled at Northampton.

Euſtace Veſcie ſent into Scotland.

They ſent Euſtace de Veſcie alſo vnto William king of Scotland, to ſignifie to him, that king Iohn vpon his arriuall in England, would ſatiſfie him of all ſuch right as he pretended to haue within the Engliſh dominions. And thus was king Iohn accompted and proclaimed king of England by the generall conſent of all the lords and barons of the ſame. The names of the chéefe of thoſe péeres that were ſworne (as you haue heard) are as followeth. Dauid earle of Huntington brother vnto William king of Scots, Richard earle of Clare, Ranulfe earle of Cheſter, William earle of Tutberie or rather Darbie, Walran earle of Warwike, Roger Lacie conſtable of Cheſter, and William de Mowbraie, with diuerſe other, whoſe names I here omit, bicauſe I would not be tedious and irkſome to the readers.

Now the king of Scotland being informed by the lord Euſtace Veſcie (who had maried his daughter) that there was ſome hope to be had on his part, for the recouerie of ſuch ſeigniories as he and his predeceſſours ſomtime held in England, did further diſpatch ſundrie ambaſſadours with full purpoſe to ſend them ouer into Normandie vnto king Iohn, there to require reſtitution of the countries of Northumberland and Cumberland, with their appurtenances, and he promiſed alſo by his letters, that if the ſame might be granted vnto him, in as ample manner as they had béene in times paſt to his anceſtors, he would gladlie do his homage to king Iohn, as to the true & lawfull king of England for the ſame, and furthermore yéeld to him his faithfull ſeruice againſt all men, ſo often as he ſhould be required therevnto. Howbeit when the archbiſhop of Canturburie and the reſt of the councell, vnderſtood that theſe ambaſſadors ſhould paſſe through England, they would not ſuffer them ſo to do, but ſpéedilie ſent Dauid earle of Huntington into Scotland vnto the king his brother, requiring him earneſtlie that he would not ſend any ambaſſadours ouer as yet, but rather tarie, and take patience a while, till the king ſhould come ouer into England: which (as they ſaid) he purpoſed to do verie ſhortlie.

King Iohn alſo hauing vnderſtanding of his purpoſe, ſent ouer the ſaid lord Euſtace againe vnto him with the like requeſt, who in ſuch wiſe perſuaded him, that he was contented to abide a time, in hope of the better ſucceſſe in his late attempted ſuit. And all this was done chéeflie by the working of the kings mother, whom the nobilitie much honoured and loued. For ſhe being bent to prefer hir ſonne Iohn, left no ſtone vnturned to eſtabliſh him in the throne, comparing oftentimes the difference of gouernement betwéene a king that is a man, and a king that is but a child. For as Iohn was 32 yeares old, ſo Arthur duke of Britaine was but a babe to ſpeake of. In the end, winning all the nobilitie wholie vnto hir will, and ſéeing the coaſt to be cleare on euerie ſide, without any doubt of tempeſtuous weather likelie to ariſe, ſhe ſignified the whole matter vnto K. Iohn, who forthwith framed all his indeuours to the accompliſhment of his buſineſſe.

Quéene Elianors enuie againſt Arthur.

Conſtance dutcheſſe of Britaine.

Surelie quéene Elianor the kings mother was ſore againſt hir nephue Arthur, rather moued thereto by enuie conceiued againſt his mother, than vpon any iuſt occaſion giuen in the behalfe of the child, for that ſhe ſaw if he were king, how his mother Conſtance would looke to beare moſt rule within the realme of England, till hir ſonne ſhould come to lawfull age, to gouerne of himſelfe. ¶ So hard it is to bring women to agrée in one mind, their natures commonlie being ſo contrarie, their words ſo variable, and their déeds ſo vndiſcréet. And therfore it was well ſaid of one (alluding to their diſpoſition and qualities,

Prop. lib. 2.

——*nulla diu fœmina pondus habet*)

When this dooing of the quéene was ſignified vnto the ſaid Conſtance, ſhe doubting the ſuertie of hir ſonne, committed him to the truſt of the French king, who receiuing him into his tuition, promiſed to defend him from all his enimies, and forthwith furniſhed the holds in Britaine with French ſouldiers. Quéene Elianor being aduertiſed hereof, ſtood in doubt by and by of hir countrie of Guien, and therefore with all poſſible ſpeed paſſed ouer the ſea, and came to hir ſonne Iohn into Normandie, and ſhortlie after they went forth togither into the countrie of Maine, and there tooke both the citie and caſtell of Mauns, throwing downe the wals and turrets thereof, with all the fortifications and ſtone-houſes in and about the ſame, and kept the citizens as priſoners, bicauſe they had aided Arthur againſt his vncle Iohn.

Quéene E anor paſſeth into Normandie.

The citie of Mauns take

Matth. Paris R. Houed.

After this, king Iohn entring into Aniou, held his Eaſter at Beaufort (which feaſt fell that yeare the 18 day of Aprill) and from thence he went ſtreight vnto Rouen, where on the ſundaie next after Eaſter being S. Marks day, he was girded with the ſword of the dutchie of Normandie in the high church there by the hands of Walter archbiſhop of Rouen. And ſo being inueſted duke of Normandie, receiued the oth according to the cuſtome, that he ſhould defend the church, and mainteine the liberties thereof, ſée iuſtice miniſtred, good lawes put in execution, and naughtie lawes and orders aboliſhed. In the meane time his mother quéene Elianor, togither with capteine Marchades entred into Aniou, and waſted the ſame, bicauſe they of that countrie had receiued Arthur for their ſoueraigne lord and gouernour. And amongſt other townes and fortreſſes, they tooke the citie of Angiers, ſlue manie of the citizens, and committed the reſt to priſon.

K. Iohn inueſted duke of Normandie.

The citie of Angiers taken.

This enterpriſe being thus luckilie atchiued, the reſidue of the people in thoſe parties were put in ſuch feare, that of their owne accord they turned to their wonted obedience, ſéeming as though they would continue ſtill therein. The French king all this while conceiuing an other exploit in his head, more commodious vnto him than as yet to attempt warre againſt the Engliſhmen vpon ſo light an occaſion, diſſembled the matter for a time, as though he would know nothing of all that was doone, till the king ſhould be otherwiſe occupied in England about his coronation.

In the meane ſeaſon king Iohn hauing ſet ſome ſtay in his buſineſſe on the further ſide of the ſea, he left his mother ſtill in Guien, to defend that countrie againſt the enimies, and taking the ſea, came ouer himſelfe into England, landing at Shorham, the 25 day of Maie. On the next day, being Aſcenſion éeue, he came to London there to receiue the crowne. On the morow after being Aſcenſion daie, when the Nobilitie and commons were aſſembled, and the king brought into the church of S. Peter at Weſtminſter there to receiue his diademe; Hubert the archbiſhop of Canturburie being chéefe in authoritie and honour, both for his age and calling, ſpake theſe words or the like in ſubſtance before the whole aſſemblie, as followeth.

K. Iohn commeth ouer into England.

Hubert the archbiſhop of Canturbu*ries oration to the lords ſpirituall and tem*porall in the preſence of the *king, &c.*

Moſt honorable lords of the ſpiritualtie, and moſt graue and politike péeres and barons of the temporaltie, you are come hither this day to chooſe you a king, and ſuch a one as (if need ſhould require) may be able of himſelfe to take ſuch a charge vpon him, and (hauing vndertaken the ſame) readie to execute that which he ſhall thinke to be expedient for the profit of his ſubiects; we haue therefore one preſent heere among vs, vpon whome harts and good willes of high and low, rich and poore, doo generallie depend: a man I doubt not, but that for his owne part will applie his whole indeuour, ſtudie, and thought vnto that onelie end, which he ſhall perceiue to be moſt profitable for the commonwealth, as knowing himſelfe to be borne not to ſerue his owne turne, but for to profit his countrie, and to ſeeke for the generall benefit of vs that are his ſubiects.

And albeit I am ſure that you doo well know, how all theſe qualities are moſt abundantlie planted in the perſon of Iohn duke of Normandie (a perſon of high prowesse and no leſſe prudence, for the which yee ought to iudge him right worthie of the gouernement) yet béeing in doubt leaſt the common fame ſhould carrie you awaie, or leaſt you ſhould turne your minds to the fauour of an other, as in reſpect of ſome better right, by title of a more lawfull deſcent of inheritance pretended by others than he hath to ſhew, I require you to giue eare vnto my words: who bearing the ſtate of two manner of perſons, ought to be profitable to my countrie, not onelie by example and exhortation, but alſo by loialtie and good counſell, which hitherto I haue euer ſtudied to performe, and wherein (God willing) I meane to perſiſt, ſo long as I ſhall continue in this mortall and tranſitorie tabernacle.

Therefore whereas at this preſent we haue in hand to conclude vpon ſuch a weitie matter, which béeing once doone, can not be vndoone, I commend vnto you this Iohn, euen with all my verie heart, and iudge that you ought to accept him for your king, who in all things which he ſhall ordeine, purpoſe, or take in hand, ſhall not faile ſo to anſwer your opinions with his well dooing, and ſo ſatiſfie your good expectations alreadie conceiued of him with his diligent prouidence, that all the whole realme ſhall not onelie like of and allow your dooing héerin, but alſo with high commendation extoll the ſame to the verie ſtars. Theſe things do I promiſe vnto you, and ſo farforth as in me may lie, I dare take vpon me all chances and perils that may procéed thereof.

Matth. Paris.

Polydor.

Rog.Houed.

When the archbiſhop had ended his ſpeach, diuerſe held their peace, and manie with great zeale ſaluted king Iohn, whom the ſame daie the ſaid archbiſhop crowned at Weſtminſter, after the maner then vſed with great ſolemnitie, and no leſſe reioiſing of all ſuch as were preſent. At the ſame time alſo he receiued the homages of the lords and barons of the realme, and promiſed with all ſpéed to haue conſideration of things that apperteined as well to religion as to the due execution of laws, whereby euerie man might come to inioie that which was his owne, by right and due courſe of iuſtice. We find that there were preſent at this ſolemnitie and coronation of king Iohn, which was celebrated on the Aſcenſion day the 27 of Maie, archbiſhops and biſhops to the number of ſeauentéene, as Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie, Iohn archbiſhop of Dubline, alſo the archbiſhop of Raguſe, William biſhop of London, Gilbert biſhop of Rocheſter, Iohn biſhop of Norwich, Hugh biſhop of Lincolne, Euſtace biſhop of Elie, Godfrey biſhop of Wincheſter, Henrie biſhop of Exceter, Sefride biſhop of Chicheſter, Godfrey biſhop of Couentrie, Sauarie biſhop of Bath, Herbert biſhop of Saliſburie, Philip biſhop of Dureſme, Roger biſhop of ſaint Andrew in Scotland, and Henrie biſhop of Landaffe in Wales. The biſhop of Dureſme found himſelfe ſomewhat gréeued in the matter, making obiections, that the coronation ought not to be celebrated without the preſence of Geffrey archbiſhop of Yorke: but it preuailed not.

Matth. Paris. Additions to Iohn Pike.

Beſides theſe biſhops, there were of the temporall lords and earles, Robert of Leiceſter, Richard of Clare, William of Tutburie, Hamlin of Warren, William of Saliſburie, William of Chepſtow otherwiſe called Striguille, Walran of Warwike, Roger Bigot, William of Arundell, and Ranulfe of Cheſter, with manie other barons, lords, knights, and no ſmall multitudes of gentlemen and other common people. The ſame daie of his coronation alſo, he inueſted William Marſhall with the ſword of the earledome of Striguille, and Geffrey Fitz Peter, with the ſword of the earledome of Eſſex. For although they were called earles, and exerciſed the adminiſtration of their earledoms; yet were they not till that daie girded with the ſword of thoſe earledoms, and ſo that day they ſerued at the table with their ſwords girded vnto them.

Rog.Houed. Williã Marſhall earle of Striguille. Geffrey Fitz Peter created earle of Eſſex.

In like maner, Hubert the archbiſhop of Canturburie was made lord chancellour of England; who as he vttered ſome words vnaduiſedlie, that ſhewed how he inwardlie reioiſed at the kings fauour toward him in the gift of this office, and ſo gloried in the honour whereto he was preferred (which he would neuer haue doone, if he had weied of worldlie pompe as by his profeſſion he ought, and as one asketh the queſtion in the ſame caſe:

——dic mihi, nunquid
Corporibus proſunt? certè nil; dic animiſue?
Tantundem, &c.)

The archb. of Canturburie made lord chancellour.

the lord Hugh Bardolfe ſaid vnto him, yet not ſo ſoftlie in his eare, but that ſome ouer-heard it; My lord, to ſpeake and not offend you, ſuerlie if you would well conſider the dignitie and honor of your calling, you would not willinglie yéeld to ſuffer this yoke of bondage to be laid vpon your ſhoulders, for we haue oftentimes heard of a chancellour made an archbiſhop, but neuer an archbiſhop made a chancellour till now. The coronation being thus ended, it was not long yer there came ambaſſadors from the Scotiſh king, namelie William the prior of May, William the prior of ſaint Colmes Ins, and one William Hay, the which on the behalfe of the ſaid Scotiſh king required reſtitution of Northumberland and Cumberland, with the appurtenances, promiſing that if the ſame were reſtored to him, he would ſerue the king of England with all his power againſt all men then aliue; otherwiſe, that is, if he could not haue thoſe countries, which of right to him apperteined by law, as he pretended, he would doo the beſt he could to recouer them by force.

The ſaieng of the lord Bardolfe.

Ambaſſadors from the king of Scots.

King Iohn made anſwer héerevnto, that if his coſen the king of Scots would come vnto him, he ſhould be aſſured to receiue at his hands all that was reaſon, as well in thoſe demands, as in all other things. He alſo ſent to him the biſhop of Dureſme, to require him to come vnto Notingham, where he would meet with him. Howbeit, king William refuſed to come himſelfe as then, but ſent the biſhop of ſaint Andrew, and Hugh Malebiſſe to follow his ſuit, with promiſe to abſteine from any forceable inuaſion of England, by the ſpace of fortie daies, ſo that he might within that terme haue ſome reſolute anſwer from king Iohn, whervnto he might ſtand either on the one ſide or the other.

N. Triuet.
The French K. inuadeth Normandie.

Whileſt theſe things were a dooing in England, Philip K. of France hauing leuied an armie, brake into Normandie, and tooke the citie of Eureux, the towne of Arques, and diuerſe other places from the Engliſh. And paſſing from thence into Maine, he recouered that countrie latelie before through feare alienated. In an other part, an armie of Britains with great diligence wan the townes of Gorney, Butenant and Genſolin, and following the victorie, tooke the citie of Angiers, which king Iohn had won from duke Arthur, in the laſt yeare paſſed. Theſe things being ſignified to king Iohn, he thought to make prouiſion for the recouerie of his loſſes there, with all ſpeed poſſible. And therevpon perceiuing that the Scotiſh king meant not to meet with him at Notingham whither he was come, and where he kept the feaſt of Whitſuntide, he determined to paſſe the ſeas ouer into Normandie: but firſt he tooke order for the gouernement and defenſe of the realme in his abſence.

Rog. Houed.

L. William de Stuteuille.

Wherevpon he deliuered the charge of the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, vnto the lord William de Stuteuille, with all the caſtels, and other the appurtenances, which the lord Hugh Bardolfe before held, and had in keeping. He alſo deliuered vnto Roger de Lacie coneſtable of Cheſter, the caſtell of Pomfret, hauing firſt the ſonne and heire of the ſame Lacie deliuered vnto him as an hoſtage for his loialtie and faithfull obedience. This doone, he haſted vnto the ſea ſide, and ſailed ouer into Normandie, landing firſt at Diep, and from thence went to Rouen, whither he came vpon the ſundaie before Midſummer day, which was the 26 of Iune as W. Hariſon hath noted.

Roger de Lacie coneſtable of Cheſter.
King Iohn paſſeth ouer into Normandie.

Immediatlie vpon his arriuall in thoſe parts, there reſorted vnto him a great number of ſouldiers both horſſemen and footmen, hoping to be interteined, but by reaſon of ambaſſadours riding to and fro betwixt the two kings, they came to a communication, and tooke truce for fiftie daies. The earle of Flanders being certified thereof, was ſorie in his hart, and loth that the French king ſhould come to any accord with the king of England, and therefore to turne the mind of king Iohn from the purpoſe of peace, he came to viſit him at Rouen, where they renewed the league betwixt England & Flanders, to be the better able to defend themſelues from the French power: and withall determined fullie, that immediatlie vpon the expiring of this laſt truce they would make the French king warre, to reuenge their late receiued iniuries. The French king aduertiſed by eſpials of their determination, prepared alſo for the warres.

A truce for fiftie daies.

The earle of Flanders.
Polydor.
The league renewed betwixt England and Flanders.

In this meane time it chanced, that Henrie earle of Namure, brother to Philip earle of Flanders, and one Peter of Doway, a right valiant knight, with his brother that was the elect biſhop of Cambrey, were taken priſoners in a ſkirmiſh, and preſented to the French king. Wherevpon the cardinall of Capua (being at the ſame time the popes legat in France) interdicted that realme for the taking of the ſame elect of Cambrey, & alſo all Normandie, for the deteining of the biſhop of Beauuois in priſon (who had laine there a long time, & was taken in the field after ſuch manner as is before rehearſed) ſo that the French king was glad to reſtore the elect of Cambrey to his libertie. And likewiſe king Iohn deliuered the biſhop of Beauuois, who paied two thouſand marks, beſides expenſes of diet during the time of his captiuitie, and furthermore tooke an oth, that he ſhould neuer after beare armour in the war againſt any chriſtian or chriſtians.

Rog. Houed.
The earle of Namure.

France interdicted.
Normandie interdicted.

Rog. Houed.

Arthur duke of Britaine made knight.

About the ſame time, king Philip made Arthur duke of Britaine knight, and receiued of him his homage for Aniou, Poictiers, Maine, Touraine, and Britaine. Alſo ſomewhat before the time that the truce ſhould expire; to wit, on the morrow after the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our ladie, and alſo the day next following, the two kings talked by commiſſioners, in a place betwixt the townes of Butenant and Guleton. Within thrée daies after, they came togither perſonallie, and communed at full of the variance depending betwéene them. But the French king ſhewed himſelfe ſtiffe and hard in this treatie, demanding the whole countrie of Veulqueſſine to be reſtored vnto him, as that which had béene granted by Geffrey earle of Aniou, the father of king Henrie the ſecond, vnto Lewes le Groſſe, to haue his aid then againſt king Stephan. Moreouer, he demanded, that Poictiers, Aniou, Maine, and Touraine, ſhould be deliuered and wholie reſigned vnto Arthur duke of Britaine.

The French kings demand.

But theſe, & diuerſe other requeſts which he made, king Iohn would not in any wiſe grant vnto, and ſo they departed without concluſion of any agréement. Therfore diuerſe earls and barons of France, which before that time had ſerued king Richard, repaired vnto king Iohn, and tooke an oth to aſſiſt him, and not to agrée with the French king without his conſent: and he likewiſe ſware vnto them, not to make peace with the French king, except they were therein compriſed. In the moneth of September, Ione king Iohns ſiſter, wife to Raimond earle of S. Giles, and ſomtime quéene of Sicile, died at Rouen, and was buried at Fonteuerard. The French king alſo tooke diuerſe townes and caſtels, but amongſt other the caſtell of Balun, and raced the wals thereof downe to the ground, wherewith William de Roches, generall of the armie of Arthur duke of Britaine, was greatlie offended, and did ſo much by his drift, that ſhortlie after a peace was concluded betwixt king Iohn and his nephue duke Arthur, though the ſame ſerued but to ſmall purpoſe.

Balun wal

A peace betwixt king Iohn & his nephue.

The French king hauing (as I haue ſaid) ouerthrowne the wals of Balun, beſieged a fortreſſe called Lauardin, but king Iohn comming with an armie, cauſed him to raiſe his ſiege, and to withdraw himſelfe to the citie of Mauns, whither he followed, and compelled him (mauger his force) to remooue from thence. All this while was William de Roches buſilie occupied about his practiſe, to make king Iohn and his nephue Arthur fréends, which thing at length he brought about, and therevpon deliuered into king Iohns hands the citie of Mauns which he had in kéeping. Alſo the vicount of Tours came to the king of England, and ſurrendred vnto him the caſtell of Chinon, the kéeping whereof he betooke vnto Roger de Lacie the coneſtable of Cheſter. But in the night folowing, vpon ſome miſtruſt and ſuſpicion gathered in the obſeruation of the couenants on K. Iohns behalfe, both the ſaid Arthur, with his mother Conſtance the ſaid vicount of Tours, and diuerſe other, fled awaie ſecretlie from the king, and got them to the citie of Angiers, where the mother of the ſaid Arthur refuſing hir former huſband the earle of Cheſter, married hir ſelfe to the lord Guie de Tours, brother to the ſaid vicount, by the popes diſpenſation. The ſame yere, Philip baſtard ſonne to king Richard, to whome his father had giuen the caſtell and honor of Coinacke, killed the vicount of Limoges, in reuenge of his fathers death, who was ſlaine (as yée haue heard) in beſieging the caſtell of Chalus Cheuerell.

Lauardin.

William de Roches.

The vicount of Tours.

The miſtruſt that duke Arthur had in his vncle king Iohn.

Philip king Richards baſtard ſon ſlea the vicount of Limoges.

Moreouer,

Great flouds.

Variance betwixt the biſhop of Durham and earle Patrike.

Moreouer, there fell manie great flouds in England, and on the borders of Scotland, by violence whereof diuerſe bridges were borne downe, and amongſt other, the bridge at Barwike. For the building vp againe whereof, ſome variance aroſe betwixt Philip biſhop of Durham and earle Patrike lord chéefe iuſtice of Scotland, and capiteine at the ſame time of the towne of Barwike, who by the Scotiſh kings commandement would haue repared againe the ſame bridge, which could not be doone, but that the one end thereof muſt be builded on the biſhop of Durhams ground, which he would not ſuffer, till by the counſell of the lord William de Stuteuille, he agréed, ſo that the conuention accorded and concluded betwixt the king of Scots and his predeceſſour biſhop Hugh might be reſerued inuiolable.

A rate of yͤ prices of wines.

Furthermore, king Iohn did ſet a rate vpon the prices of wines, as Rochell wine to be ſold for twentie ſhillings the tun, and not aboue. The wine of Aniou for twentie foure ſhillings the tun, and no other French wines aboue fiue and twentie ſhillings the tun, except it were of ſuch notable goodneſſe as that ſome peraduenture for their owne expenſes would be contented to giue after twentie ſix ſhillings eight pence for the tun, and not aboue. Moreouer, the galon of Rochell wine he appointed to be ſold at foure pence: and the galon of white wine at ſix pence. It was alſo ordeined, that in euerie citie, towne, and place where wine was vſed to be ſold, there ſhould be twelue honeſt men ſworne to haue regard that this aſſiſe ſhould not be broken: and that if they found any vintner that ſhould from the pin ſell any wine by ſmall meaſures contrarie to the ſame aſſiſe, his bodie ſhould be attached by the ſhiriffe, and deteined in priſon, till other commandement were giuen for his further puniſhment, and his goods ſeized vnto the kings vſe. Furthermore, if any perſons were or ſhould be found to buy and ſell by the hogſhead or tun, contrarie to this aſſiſe, they ſhould be committed to priſon, there to remaine, till other order were taken for them: neither ſhould there be any regrating of wines that were brought into England. But this ordinance laſted not long, for the merchants could not beare it, and ſo they fell to and ſold white wine for eight pence the gallon, & red or claret for ſix pence.

King Iohn returneth into England.

1200

A ſubſidie.

He ſaileth againe into Normandie.

Anno Reg. 2.

A peace concluded with a marriage.

Matth. Paris.

King Iohn alſo came ouer from Normandie into England, and there leuied a ſubſidie, taking of euerie ploughland thrée ſhillings. In the Lent following, he went to Yorke, in hope to haue met the king of Scots there, but he came not, and ſo king Iohn returned backe, and ſailed againe into Normandie, bicauſe the variance ſtill depended betwéene him and the king of France. Finallie vpon the Aſcenſion day in this ſecond yeare of his reigne, they came eftſoones to a communication betwixt the townes of Vernon and Liſle Dandelie, where finallie they concluded an agréement, with a marriage to be had betwixt Lewes the ſonne of king Philip, and the ladie Blanch, daughter to Alfonſo king of Caſtile the 8 of that name, & néece to K. Iohn by his ſiſter Elianor.

Ra. Niger.

In conſideration whereof, king Iohn, beſides the ſumme of thirtie thouſand markes in ſiluer, as in reſpect of dowrie aſſigned to his ſaid néece, reſigned his title to the citie of Eureux, and alſo vnto all thoſe townes which the French king had by warre taken from him, the citie of Angiers onelie excepted, which citie he receiued againe by couenants of the ſame agréement. The French king reſtored alſo to king Iohn (as Rafe Niger writeth) the citie of Tours, and all the caſtels and fortreſſes which he had taken within Touraine: and moreouer, receiued of king Iohn his homage for all the lands, fees and tenements which at anie time his brother king Richard, or his father king Henrie had holden of him, the ſaid king Lewes or any his predeceſſors, the quit claims and marriages alwaies excepted. The king of England likewiſe did homage vnto the French king for Britaine, and againe (as after you ſhall heare) receiued homage for the ſame countrie, and for the countie of Richmont of his nephue Arthur. He alſo gaue the earledome of Gloceſter vnto the earle of Eureux, as it were by way of exchange, for that he reſigned to the French king all right, title & claime that might be pretended to the countie of Eureux.

Polydor.

The king cõmeth backe againe into England.

By this concluſion of marriage betwixt the ſaid Lewes and Blanch, the right of king Iohn went awaie, which he lawfullie before pretended vnto the citie of Eureux, and vnto thoſe townes in the confines of Berrie, Chateau, Rour or Raoul, Creſſie and Iſoldune, and likewiſe vnto the countrie of Veuxin or Veulqueſſine, which is a part of the territorie of Giſors: the right of all which lands, townes and countries was releaſed to the king of France by K. Iohn, who ſuppoſed that by his affinitie, and reſignation of his right to thoſe places, the peace now made would haue continued for euer. And in conſideration thereof, he procured furthermore, that the foreſaid Blanch ſhould be conueied into France to hir huſband with all ſpéed. That doone he returned into England.

¶ Certes this peace was diſpleaſant to manie, but namelie to the earle of Flanders, who herevpon making no accompt of king Iohns amitie, concluded a peace with king Philip ſhortlie after, and ment to make warre againſt the infidels in the eaſt parts, wherby we may ſée the diſcontented minds of men, and of how differing humors they be, ſo that nothing is harder than to ſatiſfie manie with one thing, be the ſame neuer ſo good,

——ô cæcis mortalia plena tenebris
Pectora, & ô mentes caligine circumſeptas!

Ia. Meir.

But by the chronicles of Flanders it appeareth, that the earle of Flanders concluded a peace with the French king in Februarie laſt paſt, before that king Iohn and the French king fell to any compoſition. But ſuch was the malice of writers in times paſt, which they bare towards king Iohn, that whatſoeuer was doone in preiudice of him or his ſubiects, it was ſtill interpreted to chance through his default, ſo as the blame ſtill was imputed to him, in ſo much that although manie things he did peraduenture in matters of gouernement, for the which he might be hardlie excuſed, yet to thinke that he deſerued the tenth part of the blame wherewith writers charge him, it might ſéeme a great lacke of aduiſed conſideration in them that ſo ſhould take it. But now to procéed with our purpoſe.

R. Houed.

King Iohn is diuorſed.

Matt. Weſt.

Matth. Paris.

R. Houed.

King Iohn being now in reſt from warres with forren enimies, began to make warre with his ſubiects purſſes at home, emptieng them by taxes and tallages, to fill his coffers, which alienated the minds of a great number of them from his loue and obedience. At length alſo, when he had got togither a great maſſe of monie, he went ouer againe into Normandie, where by Helias archbiſhop of Burdeaux, and the biſhop of Poictiers and Scone, he was diuorſed from his wife Iſabell, that was the daughter of Robert earle of Gloceſter, bicauſe of the néereneſſe of bloud, as touching hir in the third degrée. After that, he married Iſabell the daughter of Amerie earle of Angoleſme, by whome he had two ſonnes, Henrie and Richard, and thrée daughters, Iſabell, Elianor, and Iane.

Matth. Paris.

Geffrey arch. of Yorke depriued.

Moreouer, about this time, Geffrey archbiſhop of Yorke was depriued of all his manours, lands, and poſſeſſions, by the kings commandement, directed to the ſhiriffe of Yorkeſhire for diuerſe cauſes, for that he would not permit the ſame ſhiriffe to leuie the dutie called Charugage, that was; thrée ſhillings of euerie ploughland within his dioceſſe, rated and appointed to be leuied to the kings vſe, throughout all parts of the realme. Secondlie, for that the ſame archbiſhop refuſed to go ouer with the king into Normandie to helpe to make the marriage betwixt the French kings ſonne and his néece. Thirdlie, bicauſe he had excommunicated the ſame ſhiriffe and all the prouince of Yorke: wherevpon the king tooke diſpleaſure againſt him, and not onelie ſpoiled him (as I ſaid) of his goods, but alſo baniſhed him out of the court, not ſuffering him to come in his preſence for the ſpace of twelue moneths after.

Rog. Houed. A councell called at Weſtminſter by the archbiſhop of Canturburie.

In this yeare alſo, Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie held a councell at Weſtminſter againſt the prohibition of the lord chiefe iuſtice, Geffrey Fitz Peter earle of Eſſex. In the which councell or ſynod, diuerſe conſtitutions were made and ordeined for orders and cuſtomes to be vſed touching the ſeruice and adminiſtration of ſacraments in the church, and other articles concerning churchmen and eccleſiaſticall matters. About the ſame time, king Iohn and Philip king of France met togither néere the towne of Vernon, where Arthur duke of Britaine (as vaſſall to his vncle king Iohn) did his homage vnto him for the duchie of Britaine, & thoſe other places which he held of him on this ſide and beyond the riuer of Loir, and afterward ſtill miſtruſting his vncles curteſie, he returned backe againe with the French king, and would not commit himſelfe to his ſaid vncle, who (as he ſuppoſed) did beare him little good will. Theſe things being thus performed, king Iohn returned into England, and there cauſed his new married wife Iſabell to be crowned on the ſundaie before the feaſt of S. Deniſe, the eight of October.

Arthur duke of Britaine doth homage to the king of England.

King Iohn returneth into England. The quéene is crowned.

At the ſame time he gaue commandement vnto Hugh Neuill high iuſtice of his forreſts, that he ſhould award his precepts vnto all forreſters within the realme, to giue warning to all the white monks, that before the quindene of S. Michaell they ſhould remoue out of his forreſts all their horſſes of Haraz, and other cattell, vnder the penaltie to forfeit ſo manie of them, as after that day chanced to be found within the ſame forreſts. The cauſe, that moued the king to deale ſo hardlie with them was, for that they refuſed to helpe him with monie, when before his laſt going ouer into Normandie, he demanded it of them towards the paiment of the thirtie thouſand pounds which he had couenanted to pay the French king, to liue in reſt and peace, which he coueted to haue doone for reliefe of his people, and his owne ſuertie, knowing what enimies he had that laie in wait to deſtroie him, and againe, what diſcommodities had chanced to his father and brethren, by the often and continuall wars. But now to procéed with other doings.

An ambaſſage ſent vnto the K. of Scots.

Immediatlie after the ſolemnization of the quéens coronation ended, he ſent Philip biſhop of Dureſme, Roger Bigot earle of Northfolke, and Henrie de Bohun earle of Hereford, nephue to William king of Scotland, and Dauid earle of Huntington, brother to the ſaid king, and Roger de Lacie coneſtable of Cheſter, the lord William de Veſcie, and the lord Robert de Ros, which had married two of the daughters of the ſaid king, & Robert Fitz Roger ſhiriffe of Northumberland, as ambaſſadours from him vnto the foreſaid William king of Scotland, with letters patents, conteining a ſafe conduct for him to come into England, and to méet with king Iohn at Lincolne on the morrow after the feaſt of S. Edmund, who gladlie granted therevnto, and ſo according to that appointment, both the kings met at Lincolne the 21 day of Nouember. And on the morrow after king Iohn went to the cathedrall church, and offered vpon the high altar a chalice of gold.

The king of Scots came to the king of England at Lincolne. Matth. Paris. Ran. Higd. R. Houed. Polydor.

On the ſame day, vpon a hill without the citie, the king of Scots did homage vnto king Iohn, in the preſence and ſight of a great multitude of people, ſwearing fealtie of life, limme, and worldlie honour vnto king Iohn, which oth he made vpon the croſſe of Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie. There were preſent at that time, beſide other Noblemen, thrée archbiſhops, Canturburie, Yorke, and Raguſe, with other biſhops, to the number of thirtéene, as Dureſme London, Rocheſter, Elie, Bath, Saliſburie, Wincheſter, Hereford, Norwich, S. Andrews in Scotland, Landaffe, and Bangor in Wales, and Meth in Ireland, beſide a great multitude of earles, barons, and other Noblemen. When the king of Scots had thus doone his homage, he required reſtitution of Northumberland, Cumberland and Weſtmerland, which he claimed as his right and lawfull heritage. Much talke was had touching this matter, but they could not agrée, and therefore king Iohn aſked reſpit to conſider of it till the feaſt of Pentecoſt next inſuing, which being granted, the king of Scots the next morrow being the 23 of Nouember returned homewards, and was conducted backe againe into his countrie by the ſame Noble men that brought him to Lincolne.

The ſame day that the king of Scots tooke his iournie homewards from Lincolne, the corps of Hugh biſhop of that citie (latelie before, departed this life at London, after his returne from the parts of beyond the ſeas) was brought thither to be buried, the king and all the biſhops, earles and barons went to receiue it, and honoured his buriall with their preſence. On the morrow after being fridaie, he was interred within the new church which he had builded. This Hugh was a Frenchman by nation, borne at Granople, a man of a pregnant wit, and ſkilfull both in ſcience of holie ſcripture and humane knowledge. He was firſt a regular canon, and after became a Carthuſian monke. King Henrie the ſecond moued with the fame of his vertue and godlie life, ſent the biſhop of Bath to bring him into England, and after he was come, made him firſt abbat of Whithing in the dioceſſe of Welles, and after created him biſhop of Lincolne.

He was noted to be of a verie perfect life, namelie, bicauſe he would not ſticke to reproue men of their faults plainelie and frankelie, not regarding the fauour or diſfauour of any man, in ſomuch that he would not feare to pronounce them accurſſed, which being the kings officers, would take vpon them the puniſhment of any perſon within orders of the church, for hunting and killing of the kings game within his parkes, forreſts and chaſes, yea (and that which is more) he would denie paiments of ſuch ſubſidies and taxes as he was aſſeſſed to paie to the vſes of king Richard and king Iohn, towards the maintenance of their wars, and did oftentimes accurſſe by his eccleſiaſticall authoritie, ſuch ſhiriffes, collectors, or other officers, as did diſtreine vpon his lands and goods for to ſatiſfie theſe kings of their demands, alledging openlie, that he would not paie any monie towards the maintenance of wars, which one chriſtian prince, vpon priuate diſpleaſure and grudge, made againſt another prince of the ſame religion. This was his reaſon.

A preſumptuous part in a biſhop.

And when he came before the king to make anſwer to his diſobedience ſhewed herein, he would ſo handle the matter, partlie with gentle admoniſhments, partlie with ſharpe reproofes, and ſometime mixing merrie and pleaſant ſpéech amongſt his ſerious arguments, that often times he would ſo qualifie the kings mood, that being driuen from anger, he could not but laugh and ſmile at the biſhops pleaſant talke and merrie conceits, ſo that it might well be ſaid of him,

Omne tulit punctum qui miſcuit vtile dulci.

This maner he vſed, not onelie with the king alone, but with the father and the two ſonnes, that is to ſay, Henrie the ſecond, Richard and John, in whoſe time he ruled and gouerned the ſée of Lincolne. He was after his deceſſe, for the opinion which men conceiued of his holineſſe and vertues, admitted into the number of the ſaints.

Yee haue heard how king John had conceiued no ſmall diſpleaſure againſt the moonks of the white order, for that they would not part with any monie, excuſing themſelues that they might not doo it, without conſent of a generall chapiter of their order. Whervpon the king had cauſed them diuerſe waies to be moleſted, but chéefelie in reſtreining them of libertie to haue any horſſes or other cattell going to paſture within his forreſts. They therefore taking aduiſe togither, choſe foorth twelue abbats amongſt them of that order, the which in all their names went to Lincolne, there to make ſuit to the king (comming thither at this time to méet the king of Scots) that it would pleaſe him to remit his diſpleaſure conceiued againſt them, and to take them againe into his protection.

This ſuit was ſo followed, althongh with ſome difficultie, that at length, to wit, the ſundaie after that the king of Scots had doone his homage, through the helpe and furtherance of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, they came to the kings ſpéech, and obteined ſo much, as they in reaſon might deſire: for he pardoned them of all his paſſed diſpleaſure, receiued them againe into his fauour, tooke them into his protection, and commanded that all iniuries, gréeuances and moleſtations ſhould be reformed, redreſſed and amended, which in reſpect of his indignation had béene offered and doone to them by any manner of meanes. And to ſée the ſame accompliſhed, writs were directed vnto the ſhiriffes of the counties, bearing date from Lincolne the 27 of Nouember. And thus were thoſe moonks for that time reſtored to the kings fauour, to their great commoditie and comfort.

Fiue moones.

About the moneth of December, there were ſéene in the prouince of Yorke fiue moones, one in the eaſt, the ſecond in the weſt, the third in the north, the fourth in the ſouth, and the fift as it were ſet in the middeſt of the other, hauing manie ſtars about it, and went fiue or ſix times incompaſſing the other, as it were the ſpace of one houre, and ſhortlie after vaniſhed awaie. The winter after was extreamelie cold, more than the naturall courſe had béene aforetime. And in the ſpringtime came a great glutting and continuall raine, cauſing the riuers to riſe with higher flouds than they had béene accuſtomed.

1201

Mat. Paris.
Anno. Reg. 3.

In the yeare 1201 king John held his Chriſtmas at Gilford, and there gaue to his ſeruants manie faire liueries and ſuits of apparell. The archbiſhop of Canturburie did alſo the like at Canturburie, ſéeming in déed to ſtriue with the king, which of them ſhould paſſe the other in ſuch ſumptuous appareling of their men: whereat the king (and not without good cauſe) was greatlie mooued to indignation againſt him, although for a time he coloured the ſame, going preſentlie into the north, where he gathered of the countrie there no ſmall ſumms of monie, as it were by way of fining them for their tranſgreſſions committed in his forreſts.

From thence he returned and came to Canturburie, where he held his eaſter, which fell that yeare on the day of the Annunciation of our ladie, in the which feaſt he ſat crowned, togither with his wife quéene Iſabell, the archbiſhop of Canturburie bearing the charges of them and their traines while they remained there. At the feaſt of the Aſcenſion next inſuing, king John ſet out a proclamation at Tewkeſburie, that all the earles and barons of the realme, and alſo all other that held of him by knights ſeruice, ſhould be readie in the feaſt of Pentecoſt next inſuing, with horſſe and armour at Porteſmouth, to paſſe ouer with him into Normandie, who made their appearance accordinglie. Howbeit, a great number of them in the end gat licence to tarrie at home, paieng for euerie knights fée two markes of ſiluer for a fine, which then was a great matter.

Rog. Houed.

But he ſent before him into Normandie William Marſhall earle of Striguille with an hundred knights or men of armes, which he had hired, and Roger de Lacie with an other hundred men of armes to defend the confines of Normandie againſt the enimies: and to his chamberleine Hubert de Burgh he deliuered the like number of knights or men of armes alſo, to kéepe the marches betwixt England and Wales as warden of the ſame. This doone, he pardoned his brother the archbiſhop of Yorke, and reſtored him to all his dignities, poſſeſſions and liberties, confirming the ſame vnto him in as full and large manner, as euer Roger late archbiſhop of that ſée had enioied the ſame: for the which confirmation his ſaid brother vndertooke to paie to the king within the terme of one yeare the ſumme of a thouſand pounds ſtarling: and for the aſſurance thereof, engaged his baronie to the king in pledge.

The archbiſh. of Yorke reſtored.

Ambaſſadors ſent to Scotland.

Moreouer, about the ſame time, the king ſent Geffrey biſhop of Cheſter, and Richard Malebiſſe, with Henrie de Poiſic, vnto William king of Scotland, requiring him that the time appointed for him to make anſwer touching his demand of Northumberland, might be proroged vntill the feaſt of ſaint Michaell the archangell next inſuing, which was obteined, and then the king and quéene (being come to Portſmouth on the mondaie in Whitſunwéeke) tooke the ſea to paſſe ouer into Normandie, but not both in one ſhip, ſo that the quéene with a proſperous gale of wind arriued there at hir owne deſire. But the king was driuen by reaſon of a pirrie, to take land in the Ile of Wight, and ſo was ſtaied there for a time: howbeit, within a few daies after, he tooke ſhip againe at Portſmouth, and ſo paſſed ouer into Normandie, where ſhortlie after his arriuall in thoſe parties he came to an enteruiew with the king of France, neere to Liſle Donelie, where comming a long time togither alone, they agréed ſo well, that within thrée daies after, king John at the French kings requeſt went into France, and was receiued of him with much honour, firſt at S. Deniſe with proceſſion of the cleargie: and there lodging one night, vpon the morrow the French king accompanied him vnto Paris, where he was receiued of the citizens with great reuerence, the prouoſt preſenting vnto him in the name of the whole citie manie rich gifts for his welcome. K. Philip feaſted him alſo in his owne palace, & for his part gaue to him, to his lords, and to his ſeruants manie great and princelie gifts. Moreouer, the league at this time was renewed betwixt them, and put in writing, with this caution, that whether of them firſt brake the couenants; ſuch lords on his part as were become ſuerties for performance, ſhould be releaſed of their allegiance which they owght to him that ſo ſhould breake, & that they might therevpon fréelie become ſubiects to the other prince.

The king paſſeth ouer into Normandie.

He commeth to talke with the king of France.

King John entreth into Paris.

The league renewed.
Matth. Paris.
R. Houed.

These things doone, at length when as king John had remained at Paris with great mirth and ſolace certeine daies, the French king brought him foorth of the citie, and tooke leaue of him in verie louing wiſe.

Walter Lacie meant to haue taken the lord Curcie.

After this king Iohn went to Chinon, & from thence into Normandie; about which time there chanced ſome troubles in Ireland, for where Walter Lacie vnder pretenſe of a communication that was appointed betwixt him and Iohn de Curcie, lord of Vlneſter, meant to haue taken the ſaid Curcie, and for the accompliſhment of his purpoſe ſet vpon him, ſlue manie of his men, and for his ſafegard conſtreined Curcie in the end to take a caſtell which belonged vnto Hugh Lacie, vpon faire promiſes made to him by the ſame Hugh, to be preſerued out of all danger, it came to paſſe, that when he was once got in, he might no more be ſuffered to depart. For the Lacies thought to haue deliuered him to king Iohn, but the ſeruants and fréends of the ſaid Curcie made ſuch cruell war, in waſting and deſtroieng the lands and poſſeſſions that belonged vnto the ſaid Walter and Hugh Lacies, that finallie they were conſtreined to ſet him againe at libertie whether they would or no.

Polydor.
Aid againſt the Turkes and infidels.

Matth. Paris.

At the ſame time alſo, the kings of France and England gaue large monie towards the maintenance of the armie, which at this preſent went foorth vnder the leading of the earle of Flanders and other, to warre againſt the enimies of the chriſtian faith, at the inſtance of pope Innocent. There was furthermore granted vnto them the fortith part of all the reuenues belonging to eccleſiaſticall perſons, towards the aid of the chriſtians then being in the holie land, and all ſuch as well of the Nobilitie as other of the weaker ſort, which had taken vpon them the croſſe, and ſecretlie laid it downe, were compelled eftſoones to receiue it now againe.

Vnſeaſonable weather.

There chanced this yeare woonderfull tempeſts of thunder, lightning, haile, and abundance of raine, in ſuch wiſe, that mens minds were greatlie aſtonied therwith: medowes and marſh grounds were quite ouerflowne, bridges broken and borne downe, and great quantitie of corne and haie loſt and carried awaie, and diuerſe men and women drowned. Margaret mother of Conſtance, duches of Britaine, ſiſter to William king of Scots, and mother to Henrie Boun earle of Hereford, deceaſſed. This yeare alſo by the counſell and aduice of the burgeſſes of London, there were choſen 35 of the moſt ſubſtantiall and wiſeſt men, which after the report of ſome writers, were called the councell of the citie of London, out of which number the Maior and Bailiffes were yearelie choſen.

Fabian.

Matth. Paris.
1202

In the yeare 1202 king Iohn held his Chriſtmaſſe at Argenton in Normandie, and in the Lent following he and the French king met togither, néere vnto the caſtell of Gulleton, and there in talke had betwéene them, he commanded king Iohn with no ſmall arrogancie, and contrarie to his former promiſe, to reſtore vnto his nephue Arthur duke of Britaine, all thoſe lands now in his poſſeſſion on that ſide the ſea, which king Iohn earneſtlie denied to doo, wherevpon the French king immediatlie after, began war againſt him, and tooke Buteuant, Augi, and the caſtell of Linos. Moreouer, he beſieged the caſtell of Radepont for the ſpace of eight daies, till king Iohn came thither, and forced him to depart with much diſhonor. Howbeit after this, the French king wan Gourney, and then returning to Paris, he appointed certeine perſons to haue the gouernement of the foreſaid Arthur duke of Britaine, and then ſent him foorth with 200 men of armes into Poictou, that he might bring the countrie alſo vnder his ſubiection.

The French K. beginneth to make war againſt king Iohn.

Polydor.
Hugh earle of March.

Herevpon Hugh le Brun earle of March (vnto whome quéene Iſabell the wife of king Iohn had béene promiſed in mariage, before that king Iohn was motioned vnto hir, and therefore bare an inward diſpleaſure towards the king of England, for that he had ſo bereft him of his promiſed ſpouſe) being now deſirous to procure ſome trouble alſo vnto king Iohn, ioined himſelfe with Arthur duke of Britaine, and found meanes to cauſe them of Poictou (a people euer ſubiect to rebellion) to reuolt from king Iohn, and to take armour againſt him, ſo that the yoong Arthur being incouraged with this new ſupplie of aſſociats, firſt went into Touraine, and after into Aniou, compelling both thoſe countries to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, and proclaimed himſelfe earle of thoſe places, by commiſſion and grant obteined from king Philip.

The Poictouins reuolt from king Iohn.

Arthur proclaimeth himſelfe earle of Aniou, &c.

Quéene Elianor.

Quéene Elianor that was regent in thoſe parties being put in great feare with the newes of this ſudden ſturre, got hir into Mirabeau a ſtrong towne, ſituat in the countrie of Aniou, and foorthwith diſpatched a meſſenger with letters vnto king Iohn, requiring him of ſpéedie ſuccour in this hir preſent danger. In the meane time, Arthur following the victorie, ſhortlie after followed hir, and woone Mirabeau, where he tooke his grandmother within the ſame, whom he yet intreated verie honorablie, and with great reuerence (as ſome haue reported.) ¶ But other write far more trulie, that ſhe was not taken, but eſcaped into a tower, within the which ſhe was ſtraitlie beſieged. Thither came alſo to aid Arthur all the Nobles and men of armes in Poictou, and namelie the foreſaid earle of March according to appointment betwixt them: ſo that by this meanes Arthur had a great armie togither in the field.

Matth. Paris.
Matth. Weſt.

King Iohn in the meane time, hauing receiued his mothers letters, and vnderſtanding thereby in what danger ſhe ſtood, was maruellouſlie troubled with the ſtrangeneſſe of the newes, and with manie bitter words accuſed the French king as an vntrue prince, and a fraudulent league-breaker: and in all poſſible haſt ſpéedeth him foorth, continuing his iournie for the moſt part both day and night to come to the ſuccour of his people. To be briefe, he vſed ſuch diligence, that he was vpon his enimies necks yer they could vnderſtand any thing of his comming, or geſſe what the matter meant; when they ſaw ſuch a companie of ſouldiers as he brought with him to approch ſo néere the citie. For ſo negligent were they, that hauing once woone the towne, they ranged abroad ouer the countrie hither and thither at their libertie without any care. So that now being put in a ſudden feare, as preuented by the haſtie comming of the enimies vpon them, and wanting leiſure to take aduice what was beſt to be doone, and hauing not time in manner to get any armour on their backs, they were in a maruellous trouble, not knowing whether it were beſt for them to fight or to flée, to yéeld or to reſiſt.

Polydor.

K. Iohn commeth vpon his enimies not looked for.

This their feare being apparent to the Engliſhmen (by their diſorder ſhewed in running vp and downe from place to place with great noiſe and turmoile) they ſet vpon them with great violence, and compaſſing them round about, they either tooke or ſlue them in a manner at their pleaſure. And hauing thus put them all to flight, they purſued the chaſe towards the towne of Mirabeau, into which the enimies made verie great haſt to enter: but ſuch ſpéed was vſed by the Engliſh ſouldiers at that preſent, that they entred and wan the ſaid towne before their enimies could come néere to get into it. Great ſlaughter was made within Mirabeau it ſelfe, and Arthur with the reſidue of the armie that eſcaped with life from the firſt bickering was taken, who being herevpon committed to priſon, firſt at Falais, and after within the citie of Rouen, liued not long after as you ſhall heare. The other of the priſoners were alſo committed vnto ſafe kéeping, ſome into caſtels within Normandie, and ſome were ſent into England.

Arthur duke of Britaine takẽ priſoner.

Matth. Paris.

King Iohn hauing gotten this victorie, *and taken his nephue Arthur, he wrote the maner of that his ſucceſſe vnto his barons in England, in manner* as followeth.

IOhn by the grace of God king of England, and lord of Ireland, to all his barons ſendeth greeting. Know yee that we by Gods good fauour are in ſound and perfect health, and through Gods grace that maruelouſlie worketh with vs, on tueſdaie before Lammas daie, we being before the citie of Mauns, were aduertiſed that our mother was beſieged in Mirabeau, and therfore we haſted ſo faſt as we poſſibly might, ſo that we came thither on Lammas daie, and there we tooke our nephue Arthur, Hugh le Brun, Andrew de Chauenie, the vicount of Chateau Erald, Raimond de Touars, Sauerie de Mauleon, and Hugh Bangi, and all other enimies of Poictou that were there aſſembled againſt vs, to the number of two hundred knights and aboue, ſo that not one of them eſcaped. Giue God therefore thanks, and reioiſe at our good ſucceſſe.

De Caſtre Erald.

Math. Paris. Math. Weſt.

252 knights or men of armes beſides demilances.

The French king at the ſame time lieng in ſiege before Arques, immediatlie vpon the newes of this ouerthrow, raiſed from thence, and returned homewards, deſtroieng all that came in his waie, till he was entred into his owne countrie. It is ſaid that king John cauſed his nephue Arthur to be brought before him at Falais, and there went about to perſuade him all that he could to forſake his freendſhip and aliance with the French king, and to leane and ſticke to him being his naturall vncle. But Arthur like one that wanted good counſell, and abounding too much in his owne wilfull opinion, made a preſumptuous anſwer, not onelie denieng ſo to doo, but alſo commanding king John to reſtore vnto him the realme of England, with all thoſe other lands and poſſeſſions which king Richard had in his hand at the houre of his death. For ſith the ſame apperteined to him by right of inheritance, he aſſured him, except reſtitution were made the ſooner, he ſhould not long continue quiet. King John being ſore mooued with ſuch words thus vttered by his nephue, appointed (as before is ſaid) that he ſhould be ſtraitlie kept in priſon, as firſt in Falais, and after at Roan within the new caſtell there. Thus by means of this good ſucceſſe, the countries of Poictou, Touraine, and Aniou were recouered.

Anno Reg. 4.

Shortlie after king John comming ouer into England, cauſed himſelfe to be crowned againe at Canturburie by the hands of Hubert the archbiſhop there, on the fourteenth day of Aprill, and then went backe againe into Normandie, where immediatlie vpon his arriuall, a rumour was spred through all France, of the death of his nephue Arthur. True it is that great ſuit was made to haue Arthur ſet at libertie, as well by the French king, as by William de Riches a valiant baron of Poictou, and diuerſe other Noble men of the Britains, who when they could not preuaile in their ſuit, they banded themſelues togither, and ioining in confederacie with Robert earle of Alanſon, the vicount Beaumont, William de Fulgiers, and other, they began to leuie ſharpe wars againſt king John in diuerſe places, inſomuch (as it was thought) that ſo long as Arthur liued, there would be no quiet in thoſe parts: whervpon it was reported, that king John through perſuaſion of his councellors, appointed certeine perſons to go vnto Falais, where Arthur was kept in priſon, vnder the charge of Hubert de Burgh, and there to put out the yoong gentlemans eies.

Math. Paris. King John eftſoones crowned.

Raſe Cog.

But through ſuch reſiſtance as he made againſt one of the tormentors that came to execute the kings commandement (for the other rather forſooke their prince and countrie, than they would conſent to obeie the kings authoritie héerein) and ſuch lamentable words as he vttered, Hubert de Burgh did preſerue him from that iniurie, not doubting but rather to haue thanks than diſpleaſure at the kings hands, for deliuering him of ſuch infamie as would haue redounded vnto his highneſſe, if the yoong gentleman had béene ſo cruellie dealt withall. For he conſidered, that king John had reſolued vpon this point onelie in his heat and furie (which moueth men to vndertake manie an inconuenient enterpriſe, vnbeſeeming the perſon of a common man, much more reprochfull to a prince, all men in that mood being meere fooliſh and furious, and prone to accompliſh the peruerſe conceits of their ill poſſeſſed heart; as one ſaith right well,

———pronus in iram
Stultorum eſt animus, facilè excandeſcit, & audet
Omne ſcelus, quoties concepta bile tumeſcit)

and that afterwards, vpon better aduiſement, he would both repent himſelfe ſo to haue commanded, and giue them ſmall thanke that ſhould ſée it put in execution. Howbeit to ſatiſfie his mind for the time, and to ſtaie the rage of the Britains, he cauſed it to be bruted abroad through the countrie, that the kings commandement was fulfilled, and that Arthur alſo through ſorrow and greefe was departed out of this life. For the ſpace of fiftéene daies this rumour inceſſantlie ran through both the realmes of England and France, and there was ringing for him through townes and villages, as it had béene for his funerals. It was alſo bruted, that his bodie was buried in the monaſterie of ſaint Andrewes of the Ciſteaux order.

But when the Britains were nothing pacified, but rather kindled more vehementlie to worke all the miſcheefe they could deuiſe, in reuenge of their ſouereignes death, there was no remedie but to ſignifie abroad againe, that Arthur was as yet liuing and in health. Now when the king heard the truth of all this matter, he was nothing diſpleaſed for that his commandement was not executed, ſith there were diuerſe of his capteins which vttered in plaine words, that he ſhould not find knights to keepe his caſtels, if he dealt ſo cruellie with his nephue. For if it chanced any of them to be taken by the king of France or other their aduerſaries, they ſhould be ſure to taſt of the like cup. ¶ But now touching the maner in verie deed of the end of this Arthur, writers make ſundrie reports. Neuertheleſſe certeine it is, that in the yeare next inſuing, he was remooued from Falais vnto the caſtell or tower of Rouen, out of the which there was not any that would confeſſe that euer he ſaw him go aliue. Some haue written, that as he aſſaied to haue eſcaped out of priſon, and prooning to clime ouer the wals of the caſtell, he fell into the riuer of Saine, and ſo was drowned. Other write, that through verie gréefe and languor he pined awaie, and died of naturall ſickneſſe. But ſome affirme, that king John ſecretlie cauſed him to be murthered and made awaie, ſo as it is not throughlie agréed vpon, in what ſort he finiſhed his daies: but verelie king John was had in great ſuſpicion, whether worthilie or not, the lord knoweth. Yet how extreamelie ſoeuer he delt with his nephue, he releaſed and ſet at libertie diuerſe of thoſe lords that were taken priſoners with him, namelie Hugh le Brun, and Sauerie de Mauleon, the one to his great trouble and hinderance, and the other to his gaine: for Hugh le Brun afterwards leuied and occaſioned ſore warres againſt him, but Sauerie de Mauleon continued euer after his loiall ſubiect, dooing to him verie agréeable ſeruice, as hereafter may appeare.

Guie ſonne to the vicount of Touars.

The Lord Guie, ſonne to the vicount of Touars, who had taken Arthurs mother Conſtance to wife, after the diuorſe made betwixt hir and the earle of Cheſter, in right of hir obteined the dukedome of Britaine. But king Philip after he was aduertiſed of Arthurs death, tooke the matter verie gréeuouſlie, and vpon occaſion therof, cited king Iohn to appeare before him at a certeine day, to anſwer ſuch obiections as Conſtance the duches of Britaine mother to the ſaid Arthur ſhould lay to his charge, touching the murther of hir ſonne. And bicauſe king Iohn appeared not, he was therefore condemned in the action, and adiudged to forfeit all that he held within the precinct of France, aſwell Normandie as all his other lands and dominions.

Conſtance the mother of duke Arthur accuſeth king Iohn.

Matt. Paris.

The ordinãce for the aſſiſe of bread.

About the ſame time the king cauſed a proclamation to be publiſhed for the lawfull aſſiſe of bread to be made by the bakers, vpon paine to be puniſhed by the pillorie: which aſſiſe was approued and aſſeſſed by the baker of Geffrey Fitz Peter, lord chéefe iuſtice of England, and by the baker of Robert de Tuinham. So that the baker might ſell and gaine in euerie quarter thrée pence, beſides the bran, and two loaues for the heater of the ouen, and for foure ſeruants foure halfepence, for two boies a farthing, for allowance in ſalt an halfepenie, yeſt an halfepenie, for candell a farthing, for fewell thrée pence, and for a bulter an halfepenie. And this was the rate.

When wheat was ſold for ſix ſhillings the quarter, then ſhall euerie loafe of fine manchet wey 41 ſhillings, and euerie loafe of cheat ſhall wey 24 ſhillings. When wheat is ſold for fiue ſhillings and ſix pence, then manchet ſhall wey 20 ſhillings, and cheat 28 ſhillings. When wheat is ſold for fiue ſhillings, then manchet ſhall wey 24 ſhillings, and the cheat bread 32 ſhillings. When wheat is ſold for foure ſhillings ſix pence, manchet ſhall wey 32 ſhillings, and cheat 42 ſhillings. When wheat is ſold for foure ſhillings, manchet ſhall wey 36 ſhillings, and cheat 46 ſhillings. When wheat is ſold for thrée ſhillings ſix pence, then ſhall manchet wey 42 ſhillings, and cheat 54 ſhillings. When wheat is ſold for thrée ſhillings, manchet ſhall wey 48 ſhillings, and cheat 44 ſhillings. When wheat is ſold for two ſhillings and ſix pence, manchet ſhall wey 54 ſhillings, and cheat 72 ſhillings. When wheat is ſold for two ſhillings, manchet ſhall wey ſixtie ſhillings, and cheat foure pound. When wheat is ſold for 18 pence the quarter, manchet ſhall wey 77 ſhillings, & cheat foure pound and eight ſhillings. This ordinance was proclaimed throughout the realme, as moſt neceſſarie and profitable for the common-wealth.

Great tempeſts.

This yeare manie woonderfull things happened, for beſides the ſore winter, which paſſed any other that had béene heard of in manie yeares before, both for continuance in length and extreame coldneſſe of froſts, there followed griſelie tempeſts, with thunder, lightning, and ſtormes of raine, and haile of the bigneſſe of hens egs, wherewith much fruit & great ſtore of corne was periſhed, beſide other great hurts doone vpon houſes and yoong cattell. Alſo ſpirits (as it was thought) in likeneſſe of birds and foules were ſéene in the aire flieng with fire in their beaks, wherewith they ſet diuerſe houſes on fire: which did import great troubles yer long to inſue, and followed in déed, as ſhall appeare hereafter.

1203

Matth. Paris.

With this entrance of the yeare of our lord 1203, king Iohn held his Chriſtmaſſe at Caen, where not hauing (as ſome writers ſay) ſufficient regard to the neceſſarie affaires of his wars, he gaue his mind to banketting, and paſſed the time in pleaſure with the quéene his wife, to the great gréefe of his lords, ſo that they perceiuing his retchleſſe demeanour (or as ſome write, the doubtfull minds of the Nobilitie which ſerued on that ſide, and were readie dailie to reuolt from his obedience) withdrew their dutifull hearts from him, and therefore getting licence, returned home into England.

Anno Reg. 5.

Matth. Paris. Polydor.

The French king inuadeth Normandie.

Roger de Lacie coneſtable of Cheſter taken.

In this meane time the French king, to bring his purpoſe to full effect, entred into Normandie, waſted the countries, and wan the townes of Cowches, le Val de Rueil, and Liſle Dandele. Le Val de Rueil wis giuen ouer without any great inforcement of aſſault, by two noble men that had charge thereof, the one named Robert Fitz Walter, and the other Saer de Quincie. Howbeit Liſle Dandele was valiantlie for a certeine time defended by Roger de Lacie the coneſtable of Cheſter. But at length they within were ſo conſtreined by famine and long ſiege, that the ſaid Lacie and others perceiuing it to be more honourable for them to die by the ſword, than to ſtarue through want of food, brake out vpon their enimies, and ſlue a great ſort of the Frenchmen, but yet in the end they were taken priſoners, and ſo theſe fortreſſes came into the French kings hands.

The pope ſendeth his Nuncij into France.

Gaguinus.

Polydor.

Radpont woone.

The pope hearing of theſe variances betwixt the two kings, ſent the abbat of Caſiner into France, accompanied with the abbat of Troiſſons, to moue them to a peace. Theſe two abbats tooke ſuch paines in the matter, that the kings were almoſt brought to agréement. But the French king perceiuing himſelfe to be aforehand in his buſineſſe, ſticked at one article, which was to repaire all ſuch abbeies as he had deſtroied within the dominions of king Iohn: and king Iohn to doo the like by all thoſe that he had waſted within the French kings countries. The popes Nuncij would haue excommunicated king Philip, bicauſe he would not thus agrée. But king Philip appealing from them, purſued the warre, and beſieged the towne of Radpont. The ſouldiers within the towne defended the firſt aſſault verie manfullie, and cauſed the Frenchmen to retire backe: but king Philip meaning to haue the towne yer he departed, did ſo incloſe it about, that within ten daies he wan it, and tooke there twentie men of armes, an hundred demilances, and twentie arcubaliſters.

Caſtell Galiard.

Matth. Paris.

Hugh de Gourney reuolteth from king Iohn.

Polydor.

K. Iohn commeth backe into England.

After this, when he had fortified this place, he went to caſtell Galiard, which he beſieged; and though by the high valiancie of Hugh de Gourney the capteine there, the Frenchmen were manfullie beaten backe, and kept out for a moneth and more, yet at length by ſtreict ſiege and neare approches hardlie made, the fortreſſe was deliuered into the French kings hands. And in the end the ſaid Hugh Gourney reuolted from his obedience, deliuering alſo the caſtell of Mountfort vnto the French king, which caſtell with the honor thereto apperteining king Iohn had giuen to the ſame Hugh, not verie long before. All this while king Iohn did lie at Rouen: but forſomuch as he could not well remedie the matter as then, bicauſe he wanted ſuch helpe as he dailie looked for out of England, and durſt not truſt any of that ſide, he paſſed it ouer with a ſtout countenance for a while, and would ſaie oftentimes to ſuch as ſtood about him; What elſe dooth my coſen the French K. now, than ſteale thoſe things from me, which hereafter I ſhall indeuour my ſelfe to cauſe him to reſtore with intereſt? But when he ſaw that his enimies would ſtill procéed, and that no aid came out of England, he came ouer himſelfe, and landed at Porteſmouth on S. Nicholas day.

King Philip doubting by vſing the victorie with to much rigor, leaſt he ſhould bring the Normans into a deſperate boldneſſe, and ſo cauſe them for ſafegard of their liues to hazard all vpon reſiſtance, he ſtaied for a time, and withdrew his ſouldiers backe againe into France, hauing not onelie furniſhed thoſe places in the meane time which he had wun, with ſtrong gariſons of his ſouldiers, but alſo appointed certeine perſonages to trauell with the people, yet remaining in the Engliſh ſubiection, to reuolt and turne from king Iohn, to his obeiſance and ſubiection.

King Iohn being returned into England, accuſed diuerſe of his Nobles for ſhewing themſelues negligent and ſlouthfull in aiding him, according to his commandement, alledging furthermore, that being deſtitute of their due and requiſite ſeruice, he was conſtreined to loſe his time in Normandie, as not being able for want of their aid to reſiſt his enimies. Wherefore for this and other matters laid to their charges, he did put them to greeuous fines. By meanes whereof, and by leauieng a ſubſidie of his people, he got togither an huge ſumme of monie. This ſubſidie was granted him in a parlement holden at Oxenford, and begun there vpon the ſecond of Ianuarie 1204, wherein of euerie knights fée was granted the ſumme of two markes and an halfe. Neither were the biſhops, abbats, nor any other eccleſiaſticall perſons exempted, by meanes whereof he ran firſt into the hatred of the clergie, and conſequentlie of manie other of his ſubiects: ſo that they failed him at his néed, whereby he often ſuſteined no ſmall damage, which he might haue preuented and withſtood, if he had béene ſo qualified with diſcretion as to haue ſéene what was conuenient and what inconuenient for his roiall eſtate. But

Math.Paris.
A parlement at Oxenford.
1204
A ſubſidie granted.

———voluntas
Improba perniciem ingentem mortalibus affert,

as it did to him, which may be gathered by a due obſeruation of the conſequence. ¶ This yeare the aire toward the north and eaſt parts ſéemed to be on a bright fire for the ſpace of ſix houres togither. It began about the firſt watch of the night, on the firſt of Aprill.

Anno Reg. 6.

Rafe Cog.
Ambaſſadors ſent into France.

King Iohn about the beginning of this ſixt yeare of his reigne, ſent in ambaſſage to the French king the archbiſhop of Canturburie, the biſhops of Norwich and Elie, the earles Marſhall and Leiceſter, to treat with him of peace: but he was ſo far off from comming néere to any reaſonable motions, bicauſe he ſaw the world frame as he wiſhed, that ſtill by demanding ſomewhat that might not be granted, he kept off, and brought in ſuch hard conditions, that it was not poſſible to conclude anie agréement. And this he did of purpoſe, hoping within ſhort time to conquer all that the king of England poſſeſſed as yet on that ſide the ſeas. He was the more vntoward to compound, for that he was informed how Arthur the duke of Britaine was diſpatched of his life, and therfore not doubting but to haue manie to take part with him in ſéeking reuenge of his death, he made that his chéefe quarell, ſwearing that he would not ceaſſe to purſue the warre againſt king Iohn, till he had depriued him of his whole kingdome. So the ambaſſadors departed without all hope to come to any agréement. ¶ This yeare Eaſter day fell ſo high as it poſſiblie might, that is to ſaie, on ſaint Marks day.

1204

King Philip vnderſtanding that king Iohn remained ſtill in England, rather occupied in gathering of monie amongſt his ſubiects, than in making other prouiſion to bring them into the field (to the great offenſe of his ſaid people) thought now for his part to loſe no time: but aſſembling a mightie armie, he came with the ſame into Normandie, and vpon his firſt comming, he wan the towne of Falaiſe, and ſhortlie after was Dampfront deliuered vnto him by ſurrender. This doone, he marched further into the countrie, and with his ſudden inuaſion ſo oppreſſed the people euerie where, that they could haue no time to make ſhift by flight to get into the townes. With this ſwiftneſſe of ſpéed, he brought alſo ſuch a feare into the hearts of moſt men, that he wan all the countrie of Normandie euen to Mount S. Michaell. The inhabitants in euerie place ſubmitted themſelues, as thoſe of Baieulx, Conſtances, Liſeux, and other townes thereabouts.

Towns wun by the French king.

Finallie, he came before Rouen, the principall citie of all the countrie, and incamped ſo in ſundrie places about the citie, that all the iſſues, entries and waies were cloſed vp by his armie, being ſo diuided into ſeuerall camps, that the diſtance was not great from one to another, making a terrible ſhew to them within. At length after he had prouided all things neceſſarie for his purpoſe, and taken good aduiſe of his capteins how he ſhould beſt imploie his force for the winning of this citie (in which exploit he knew the full perfection of all his paſſed conqueſts chéefelie to conſiſt) he did manfullie aſſault it, and they within as manfullie defended themſelues, ſo that he got little by the aſſaults and approches which he made. Wherevpon he fell in hand to practiſe with the citizens to win them with méed, curteſie, gentle ſpéech, and great promiſes. So that in fine, they within were ſo mooued with ſuch reaſons as he vſed to perſuade them withall, that they made requeſt for a truce to be had for certeine daies, within the terme whereof if no ſuccour came, they couenanted to yéeld without any further trouble.

Rouen beſieged by the French king.

This truce being obteined, ambaſſadours were ſent from them of Rouen into England, to ſignifie vnto king Iohn the whole ſtate of the citie, and of the truce, ſo that if aid came not within the time appointed, the citie muſt néeds be deliuered into the enimies hands. The king hauing no armie in readineſſe to ſend ouer, nor other ſhift to make for the ſuccour of the citie, permitted the ambaſſadours to depart without comfort of any aid, who herevpon returning to Rouen, and reporting what they had hard, ſéene, and found, brought the citie into great ſorrow. For whereas that citie had euer béene accuſtomed to glorie for the great loialtie and faithfull fidelitie which the ſame had euer ſhewed towards their liege lords and naturall princes; now the citizens perceiued manifeſtlie, that vnleſſe they would caſt awaie themſelues, and loſe all they had, they muſt of force yéeld into the hands of their enimies. Wherefore to make their true allegiance more apparant to the world, they ſtaied the ſurrender as long as they had any ſtore of vittels within the citie to reléeue their fainting bodies withall: and ſo in the end being vanquiſhed with hunger, they ſubmitted themſelues to the French king. Their ſubmiſſion being once knowne, cauſed all thoſe other townes which had not yéelded, to deliuer vp their keies vnto the Frenchmen, as Arques, Vernueill, and others.

The great fidelitie of the citizens of Rouen.

Rouē through famine is ſurrendred to the French king.

Moreouer the townes in Poictou, Touraine, and Aniou, which king Iohn had recouered latelie before, did now againe (being in no ſmall feare) yéeld themſelues vnto king Philip: ſo that of all the townes within thoſe countries, there remained none vnder the Engliſh obeiſance, ſaue onelie Rochell, Tours, Niort, and a few other. Thus Normandie which king Rollo had purchaſed and gotten 316 yeares before that preſent time, was then recouered by the Frenchmen, to the great reproch and diſhonour of the Engliſh, in this yeare 1204. About this time quéene Elianor the mother of king Iohn departed this life, con-

Math.Paris.

ſumed rather through ſorow and anguiſh of mind, than of any other naturall infirmitie.

By Rafe Coghſhals report this ſhould ſeeme to haue chanced in the daies of K. Henrie the ſecond.

A fiſh like to a man.

In this firſt yeare of king Iohns reigne, at Oreford in Suffolke, as Fabian ſaith (although I thinke he be deceiued in the time) a fiſh was taken by fiſhers in their nets as they were at ſea, reſembling in ſhape a wild or ſauage man, whome they preſented vnto ſir Bartholomew de Glanuille knight, that had then the kéeping of the caſtell of Oreford in Suffolke. He was naked, and in all his lims and members reſembling the right proportion of a man; he had haires alſo in the vſuall parts of his bodie, albeit that the crowne of his head was bald, his beard was long and rugged, and his breaſt hairie. The knight cauſed him to be kept certeine daies & nights from the ſea, meat ſet afore him he gréedilie deuoured, & did eat fiſh both raw and ſod. Thoſe that were raw he preſſed in his hand till he had thruſt out all the moiſture, and ſo then did eat them. He would not or could not vtter any ſpeach, although to trie him they hung him vp by the héeles, and miſerablie tormented him. He would get him to his couch at the ſetting of the ſunne, and riſe againe at the riſing of the ſame.

One day they brought him to the hauen, and ſuffered him to go into the ſea, but to be ſure he ſhould not eſcape from them, they ſet thrée ranks of mightie ſtrong nets before him, ſo to catch him againe at their pleaſure (as they imagined) but he ſtreightwaies diuing downe to the bottome of the water, got paſt all the nets, and comming vp, ſhewed himſelfe to them againe that ſtood waiting for him, and dowking diuerſe times vnder water and comming vp againe he beheld them on the ſhore that ſtood ſtill looking at him, who ſéemed as it were to mocke them, for that he had deceiued them, & got paſt their nets. At length after he had thus ſported himſelfe a great while in the water, and that there was no more hope of his returne, he came to them againe of his owne accord, ſwimming through the water, and remained with them two moneths after. But finallie, when he was negligentlie looked to, and now ſéemed not to be regarded, he fled ſecretlie to the ſea, and was neuer after ſéene nor heard of.

Iohn Stow.

¶ Thus much out of Rafe Coghſhall, who affirmeth that this chanced in the daies of Henrie the ſecond, about the 33 of his reigne, as Iohn Stow in his ſummarie hath alſo noted. Which report of theirs in reſpect of the ſtrangneſſe thereof might ſéeme incredible, ſpeciallie to ſuch as be hard of beléefe, and refuſe to giue faith and credit to any thing but what their owne eies haue ſealed to their conſciences, ſo that the reading of ſuch woonders as theſe, is no more beneficiall to them, than to carrie a candle before a blind man, or to ſing a ſong to him that is ſtarke deafe. Neuertheleſſe, of all vncouth and rare ſights, ſpeciallie of monſtruous appearances we ought to be ſo farre from hauing little regard; that we ſhould rather in them and by them obſerue the euent and falling out of ſome future thing, no leſſe miraculous in the iſſue, than they be woonderfull at the ſudden ſight. This was well noted of a philoſopher, who to the purpoſe (among other matters by him touched) hath ſpoken no leſſe pithilie than credibilie, ſaieng;

M.Pal. in ſcorp.

Nec fieri aut errore aut caſu monſtra putandum,
Cùm certas habeant cauſas, vt triſtia monſtrent,
Vnde illis nomen, quare & portenta vocantur.

The war was mightilie mainteined all this while betwixt them of Poictou and Aquitaine, and manie ſharpe incounters chanced betwixt the parties, of which the one following the king of Englands lieutenant Robert de Turneham, valiantlie reſiſted the other that held with the French king vnder the conduct of William de Roches, & Hugh le Brun earle of March, chiefe leaders of that faction. But Robert Turneham, togither with Sauerie de Mauleon, and Gerard de Atie, bare themſelues ſo manfullie, that in all conflicts for the moſt part the victorie remained on their ſides. The Gaſcoignes alſo tooke part with king Iohn, and continued in dutifull obedience towards him, for the which their loialtie he was readie to conſider them with princelie gifts and beneficiall rewards, in ſuch bountifull wiſe, that he gaue vnto a Noble man of that countrie named Moreue, the ſumme of 28 thouſand marks, to leuie & wage thirtie thouſand men to aid him at his comming ouer into thoſe parties. The archbiſhop of Burdeaux, that was brother vnto the foreſaid Moreue, became ſuertie for performance of the couenants, and remained in England a long time, bicauſe the ſame couenants were not in all points accompliſhed.

The biſhop of London was ſent ambaſſadour from king Iohn vnto the emperour vpon certeine earneſt buſineſſe. The duke of Louaine, and the earle of Bullongne were made friends by the French kings drift, and promiſed to inuade England with an armie, and to make warre againſt king Iohn for the withholding of ſuch lands and reuenues as they claimed to be due vnto them, in right of their wiues. King Philip alſo vndertooke to follow them within a moneth after they ſhould be entred into England, & thus did the French king ſéeke to make him ſtrong with fréends, which dailie fell from king Iohn on ech hand. ¶ Godfrey biſhop of Wincheſter, that was ſon to the lord Richard de Lucie departed this life. This yeare the king was on Chriſtmaſſe day at Teukeſburie, where he ſtaied not paſt one day.

1205

An extreame froſt.

The 14 day of Ianuarie it began to fréeze, and ſo continued till the 22 of March, with ſuch extremitie, that the huſbandmen could not make their tilth, by reaſon wherof in the ſummer following, corne began to grow to an exceſſiue price, ſo that wheat was ſold by the quarter at 12 ſhillings of monie then currant. This yeare about the feaſt of Pentecoſt, the king (by the aduiſe of his councell aſſembled at Northampton) prepared a nauie of ſhips, muſtered ſouldiers, and ſhewed great tokens that he would renew the war, and ſéeke to be reuenged of his enimie the French king. The Nobles of the realme indeuoured themſelues alſo to match the diligence of the king in this preparation, vpon an earneſt deſire to reuenge the iniuries latelie doone to the common-wealth.

Anno Reg. 7.
Polydor.
Match. Paris.

King Iohn prepareth an armie to go into France.

Now when all things were readie, and the ſhips fraught with vittels, armour, and all other prouiſions neceſſarie, the king came to Porcheſter, there to take the ſea, purpoſing verelie to paſſe ouer into France, in hope of ſuch faire promiſes as his fréends of Normandie and Poictou had made, in ſending oftentimes to him, to procure him with ſpéed to come to their ſuccours. But as the king was readie to enter on ſhipboord, Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie, and William Marſhall earle of Penbroke came to him, and with manie great reaſons went about to perſuade him to ſtaie his iournie. Who although he was verie loath to follow their counſell, yet they put forth ſo manie doubts and dangers that might follow of his departing the realme at that preſent, to the hazarding of the whole ſtate, that in the end (ſore to his gréefe) he was ouercome by their importunate perſuaſions, and ſo diſmiſſing the moſt part of his armie, appointed his brother the earle of Saliſburie with a certeine number of knights & men of armes to paſſe ouer into Rochell, whither the lord Geffrey the kings baſe ſonne was gone before him, with manie other knights and men of armes.

Rafe Cog.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the earle of Penbroke perſuade the king to ſtaie at home.

The lords and other that were diſmiſſed, tooke it verie euill, conſidering the great preparation that had béene made for that iournie. But ſpeciallie the mariners were ſore offended, curſing the archbiſhop and the ſaid earle of Penbroke, that were knowne to be authors of ſo naughtie counſell as they tooke this to be. It was thought there was neuer ſo manie ſhips gotten togither at one time before, as were at that preſent, to haue attended the king: for (as writers haue recorded) there were to the number of fourtéene thouſand mariners that had brought their ſhips thither for that purpoſe. But as the breaking vp of this voiage gréeued others, ſo it pinched the king ſo néere the heart, that he being come backe from the ſea ſide to Wincheſter, repented ſo much that he had not gone forward with his iournie, that the next daie he returned againe to the coaſt, and at Porteſmouth, entring the ſea with his ſhips, on the fiftéenth of Iulie he ſailed to the Ile of Wight, and wafted vp and downe for the ſpace of two daies togither, till by aduiſe of his fréends he was perſuaded not to aduenture to paſſe ouer, ſith his armie was diſmiſſed and gone home, and ſo he returned backe to the ſhore againe, arriuing at Scotland, néere vnto Warham, the third daie after his ſetting forth: yet ſuch as were behind, and haſted after him, thought verelie he had béene gone ouer, and ſuch a brute was ſpred ouer all, till at length in time the truth was knowne.

he king re- penting him eth backe the ſea ſide.

e goeth to e ſea the 15 Iulie, as me authors aue.

At his comming backe (as ſome write) he charged certeine of the Nobilitie with treaſon, bicauſe they did not follow him: wherevpon ſhortlie after he puniſhed them verie gréeuouſlie, and peraduenture not without ſome ground of iuſt cauſe. For likelie it is, that ſome greater matter forced him to breake vp his iournie, than appeareth in our writers, although Rafe Cogheſhall ſetteth downe ſome reaſons alledged by the archbiſhop Hubert, and earle Marſhall, to perſuade him not to depart the realme. But peraduenture other cauſes there were alſo of farre more importance that conſtreined him ſo greatlie againſt his mind & full reſolution, both at the firſt, and now at this ſecond time to returne. ¶ Verelie to vtter my coniecture, it may be that vpon his laſt determination to go ouer, he gaue new commandement to his lords to follow him, and they peraduenture vſed not ſuch diligence in accompliſhing his pleaſure therein, as he looked they ſhould haue doone: or it may be, when the armie was once diſcharged, the ſouldiers made ſuch haſt homewards, ech man towards his countrie, that it was no eaſie matter to bring them backe againe in any conuenient time. But howſoeuer it was, as it had béene vpon a change of purpoſe, he came backe againe (as before yée haue heard.)

The death of the archb. of Canturburie. Matt. Paris. Polydor.

The thirtéenth of Iulie Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie departed this life at Tenham, the king not being gratlie ſorie for his death (as ſome haue written) bicauſe he gathered ſome ſuſpicion that he bare too much good will towards the French king. In verie déed (as ſome write) the archbiſhop repented himſelfe of nothing ſo much, as for that he had commended king Iohn to the Noblemen and Péeres of the realme, ſith he proued an other manner of man than he looked to haue found him. This archbiſhop had gouerned the ſée of Canturburie eleuen yeares, eight moneths, and ſix daies.

An archbiſhop choſen.

After his deceaſſe, the moonks of Canturburie without knowledge of the king, choſe one Reignold the ſubprior of their houſe to be their archbiſhop, who ſecretlie went to Rome to obteine his confirmation of the pope. Which thing bred much miſchéefe and great diſcord betwixt pope Innocent & king Iohn, ſince the pope would not confirme the election, bicauſe he ſaw ſome péece of ſecret practiſe, till he might vnderſtand and be certified by report of ſufficient witneſſe (for that he wanted the letters commendatorie from the king) that the ſame election was lawfull and orderlie made. Of this delaie alſo the moonks being ſpéedilie aduertiſed, and to the end they might now recouer the kings fauour, whome they had verie ſore offended in not making him priuie to the firſt election, they made requeſt vnto him, that by his nomination it might be lawfull for them to chooſe an other archbiſhop.

Matth. Weſt. Iohn Gray biſhop of Norwich preſident of the councell. Matth. Paris.

The king gladlie herevnto aſſented, requiring them to grant their voices vnto Iohn Gray the biſhop of Norwich, being both his chapleine and preſident of his councell. The moonks to gratifie the king obeied his requeſt, and ſo electing the ſame biſhop of Norwich, they ſent their procurators to Rome in the yeare following, to ſignifie the ſame vnto the pope, and to require him to confirme this their ſecond election, as vnmindfull of their firſt, and clearelie adnihilating the ſame to all intents and purpoſes. Amongſt other that were ſent to Rome about this buſineſſe, Helias de Brantfield was one, a moonke of great eſtimation, and had in good credit with the king, who miniſtred vnto them that were thus ſent, ſufficient allowance wherewith to beare their charges and expenſes.

Helias de Brantfield.

The biſhops quarell with the moonks of Canturburie about the election of an archbiſhep.

Alſo at the ſame time the biſhops that were ſuffragans to the ſée of Canturburie, ſent their procurators to Rome, about a quarrell which they had againſt the moonks there, for that the ſame moonks preſumed to procéed to the election of an archbiſhop without their conſent, hauing (as they alledged) a right by ancient decrées and cuſtomes to be aſſociat with them in the ſaid elections. But how this matter was anſwered, yée ſhall ſée hereafter. In the meane time, theſe and other like things procured the pope to reiect both the elections, and of his owne authoritie to nominate the third perſon, whereby the trouble begun was not a little augmented (as you ſhall heare héereafter.) Now whileſt theſe procurators were thus occupied in Rome, Philip the French king minding to conquer all that which king Iohn yet held within France, aſſembled an armie, and comming before the towne of Loches, wan it, and tooke Gerard de Atie priſoner, that had ſo long time and with ſuch valiancie defended it. The ſame time alſo was Robert de Turnham taken priſoner, who with great manhood had all this while repreſſed and chaſtiſed the rebellious Poictouins.

Gerard de Atie & Robert de Turnham takẽ priſoners

Hubert de Burgh a valiant capteine.

Moreouer, when the French king had wonne Loches, he went to Chinon, within the which Hubert de Burgh was capteine, a right valiant man of warre as was any where to be found, who hauing prepared all things neceſſarie for defenſe, manfullie repelled the Frenchmen, who inforced themſelues to win the towne with continuall aſſaults and alarms, not ſuffering them within to reſt neither day nor night, who yet for certeine daies togither, by the valiant incouragement of their capteine defended the towne, with great ſlaughter of the Frenchmen. Neuertheleſſe, at length beginning to deſpaire by reaſon of their inceſſant trauell, certeine of them that were ſomewhat faintharted ſtale ouer the walles in the night, and ran to the Frenchmen, and for ſafegard of their liues inſtructed them of the whole eſtate of the towne. The French vnderſtanding that they within were in no ſmall feare of themſelues, with ſuch violence came vnto the walles, and renewed the aſſault vpon all ſides, that ſtreightwaies they entred by force. A great number of Engliſhmen were taken, and amongſt other their capteine the foreſaid Hubert de Burgh. [This chanced on the vigill of S. Iohn Baptiſt.]

Polydor. Chinon taken by force of aſſault.

After this, king Philip tooke diuerſe other townes and caſtels in that countrie, of the which ſome he raſed, and ſome he fortified and ſtored with gariſons of his ſouldiers. This doone he paſſed ouer the riuer of Loir, and wan a caſtell ſituat néere vnto a promontorie or head of land called Grapelitum, which was woont to be a great ſuccour & aid to Engliſhmen arriuing on that coaſt. The occaſion why he made wars thus vpon the Britains, was (as ſome write) for that Guie duke of Britaine, who had married the ducheſſe Conſtance, and ſucceded in the duchie after hir ſon Arthur, without regard to reuenge the death of the ſame Arthur, was ioined in league with king Iohn togither with Sauerie de Mauleon, and Almerike de Luſignian, lords of great honour, power, and ſtoutneſſe of ſtomach.

1206
nno Reg. 8.

olydor.

Montal-
an woone.

es annales
e France.
olydor.

ing Iohn
an the citie
f Angiers
y aſſault.

King Iohn alſo in this meane while, moued with the increaſe of theſe his new aſſociats, and alſo with deſire to reuenge ſo manie iniuries and loſſes ſuſteined at the French kings hands, preparing an armie of men, and a nauie of ſhips, tooke the ſea with them and landed at Rochell the ninth of Iulie, where he was receiued with great ioy and gladneſſe of the people; and no ſmall number of gentlemen and others that inhabited thereabout repaired vnto him, offering to aid him to the vttermoſt of their powers. He therefore with aſſured hope of good ſpéed departed from thence, and wan the towne of Montalban, with a great part of all the countrie thereabouts. Finallie he entred into Aniou, and comming to the citie of Angiers, appointed certeine bands of his footmen, & all his light horſſemen to compaſſe the towne about, whileſt he, with the reſidue of the footmen, & all the men of armes, did go to aſſault the gates. Which enterpriſe with fire and ſword he ſo manfullie executed, that the gates being in a moment broken open, the citie was entered and deliuered to the ſouldiers for a preie. So that of the citizens ſome were taken, ſome killed, and the wals of the citie beaten flat to the ground. This doone, he went abroad into the countrie, and put all things that were in his way to the like deſtruction. Then came the people of the countries next adioining, of their owne accord to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, promiſing to aid him with men and vittels moſt plentifullie.

The duke of
Britaine and
ther of king
Iohns friẽds
uerthrowne.

King Iohn being verie ioyfull of this good ſucceſſe, marched towards Poictou, ſending out his troops of horſſemen to waſte the countrie on euerie ſide. In the meane while the French king being hereof aduertiſed, came forth with his armie readie furniſhed to reſiſt king Iohn, and by the way encountred with the duke of Britaine, Sauerie de Mauleon, and Almerike de Luſignian, which had béene abroad to ſpoile the French kings countries. But being now ouerſet with the kings puiſſance, they were taken, and all their companie ſtripped out of their armour, to their great confuſion. This miſhap ſore weakened the power and courage of king Iohn. But the French king proud of the victorie, kept on his iournie, and approching néere vnto the place where king Iohn was as then lodged, did cauſe his tents to be pitched downe for the firſt night, and on the morrow after, as one deſirous of battell, brought his armie into the fields, ranged in good order and readie to fight.

latt. Weſt.
latth. Paris.
This truce
vas conclu-
ed vpon All
allowes day.

The like did king Iohn, ſo that with ſtout ſtomachs and eger minds, they ſtood there in the field readie to trie the matter with dint of ſword vpon ſound of the warning-blaſt giuen by the trumpets. Howbeit, by the mediation of certeine graue perſonages, as well of the ſpiritualtie as of the temporaltie, which were in good eſtimation with both the princes, a communication was appointed, which tooke ſuch effect, that a truce was taken betwixt them for the terme of two yeares, the priſoners on either ſide being releaſed by waie of exchange: and thus the wars ceaſed for that time. Then king Philip returned into France, and king Iohn into England, where he landed at Porteſmouth the 12 of December.

Iohn Fere-
tino the pope
legat.

About this time came one Iohn Ferentino (ſo called peraduenture *A ferendo*, a common name to all the whelps of that litter, for they neuer came into the land as legats but they would be ſure to carrie out with them manie large legacies and vſurped duties) a legat from the pope into England, and paſſing through the ſame as it were in viſitation, gathered a great ſumme of monie; and finallie at Reading on the morow after ſaint Lukes day, celebrated a councell, which being ended, he cauſed his coffers to be packed vp and ſent awaie, haſting himſelfe after to depart the realme, and ſo taking the ſea bad England farewell. About the ſame ſeaſon alſo pope Innocent confirmed the authoritie and power which the prior and moonks of Canturburie had to elect and chooſe the archbiſhop of that ſée, giuing ſentence againſt the ſuffragans which claimed a right to be ioined with the ſaid prior and moonks in the election, as by a letter directed to the ſame ſuffragans from the ſaid pope it may more plainelie appeare.

The pope gi-
ueth ſentence
with ẏ monks
againſt the bi-
ſhops.

Sée Matt. Pa-
ris pag 287. in
the printed
copie.

After this it chanced that king Iohn remembring himſelfe of the deſtruction of the citie of Angiers, which (bicauſe he was deſcended from thence) he had before time greatlie loued, began now to repent him, in that he had deſtroied it, and therefore with all ſpéed he tooke order to haue it againe repaired, which was doone in moſt beautifull wiſe, to his great coſt and expenſes, which he might haue ſaued, had not his fooliſh raſhneſſe driuen him to attempt that, whereof vpon ſober aduiſement afterwards he was aſhamed. But what will not an ordinarie man do in the full tide of his furie; much more princes & great men, whoſe anger is reſembled to the roring of a lion, euen vpon light occaſions oftentimes, to ſatiſfie their vnbrideled and braineſicke affections, which carrie them with a ſwift and full ſtreame into ſuch follies and dotages as are vndecent for their degrées. Herto aſſenteth the poet, ſaieng,

King Iohn
repaireth the
citie of An-
giers.

——— *magni regéſque ducéſque*
Delirant ſæpe, & vitiorum peſte laborant,
Stultitijſque ſuis ſæpe vrbes exitio dant,
Imperiúmque ſibi miſerorum cæde lucrantur.

Mal. Pal. in ſuo cap.

Moreouer, in this yeare about Candlemaſſe, the K. cauſed the 13 part of euerie mans goods, as well of the ſpiritualtie, as of the temporaltie, to be leuied and gathered to his vſe, all men murmuring at ſuch doings, but none being ſo hardie as to gainſaie the kings pleaſure, except onelie Geffrey the archbiſhop of Yorke, who thervpon departing ſecretlie out of the realme, accurſed all thoſe that laid anie hands to the collection of that paiment, within his archbiſhoprike of Yorke. Alſo vpon the 17 of Ianuarie then laſt paſt, about the middeſt of the night, there roſe ſuch a tempeſt of wind vpon a ſudden, that manie houſes were ouerthrowne therewith, and ſhéepe and other cattell deſtroied and buried in the drifts of ſnow, which as then laie verie déepe euerie where vpon the ground.

1207
A tax leuied.

The archbi-
ſhop of Yorke
ſtealeth out
of the realme.

A mightie
tempeſt.

The order of frier Minors began about this time, and increaſed maruellouſlie within a ſhort ſeaſon. And the emperour Otho came ouer into England in this yeare, where he was moſt roiallie receiued by king Iohn, who taking councell with the ſaid emperour to renew the warre againſt the French king (bicauſe he was promiſed great aid at his hands for the furniſhing of the ſame) gaue vnto him at his departing forth of the realme, great ſummes of monie in hand towards the paiment of ſuch ſouldiers as he ſhould leuie for this buſineſſe.

The empero
Otho cõmeth
into England.

Fiue thou-
ſand marks
of ſiluer, as
Matth. Weſt.
and Matth.
Paruus do
write.
Anno Reg.

In this meane while, the ſtrife depended ſtill in the court of Rome betwixt the two elected archbiſhops of Canturburie, Reginald and Iohn. But

after

---

tephan
angton cho-
en archbiſhop
of Canturbu-
rie by ẏ popes
ppointment.

after the pope w
their elections, h
by his papall au
(of whome man
that matter) to
dinall of S. Ch
of good eſtimati
to be their archb
loth to conſent
not lawfullie d
and of their cou
But the pop
“ their mouths, ſ
“ that we haue fu
“ of Canturburi
“ princes to be lo
“ the preſence of
“ mand you by t
“ paine of curſſi
“ here as are ſu
“ your archbiſho
“ ther and paſtor
to offend the p
him, except He
ſo the foreſaid
them, was con
letters the who
ding the ſaid S
The king ſo
of Norwich w
which he had a
goods of the m
to his vſe, and
I meane thoſe
and herewith
him to vnderſ
conſent that
“ & alwaies con
“ men, ſhould n
“ dioces of Can
“ ſame letters,
“ pope ment, in
the freendſhip
of Rome, ſith
church out of t
“ realme on th
“ to, that for t
“ ſtand to the d
“ for the electio
“ of Canturbu
“ his realme, h
“ Moreoue
heard and ha
“ the paſſages
“ to Rome, lea
“ nie and trea
litie to beat
“ attempt inu
“ concluded, ſi
other eccleſia
“ England, as
“ ſufficientlie f
“ not go for an
ſéeke iuſtice
“ ren perſons.
The pope
gaine to the
the ſpoiling
“ canons of th
“ againe in th
“ archbiſhop c
“ which for his
liberall ſcien
“ worthie to b

The monks
of Canturbu-
rie baniſhed.
King Iohn
writeth to
the pope.

How gainfull
England
was to the
court of Rome

The popes
anſwer vnto
the king.

Stephan Langton choſen archbiſhop of Canturburie by ý popes appointment.

after the pope was fullie informed of the manner of their elections, he diſanulled them both, and procured by his papall authoritie the monks of Canturburie (of whome manie were then come to Rome about that matter) to chooſe one Stephan Langton the cardinall of S. Chryſogon an Engliſhman borne, and of good eſtimation and learning in the court of Rome to be their archbiſhop. The monks at the firſt were loth to conſent thereto, alledging that they might not lawfullie doo it without conſent of their king, and of their couent.

But the pope as it were taking the word out of their mouths, ſaid vnto them: Doo yée not conſider that we haue full authoritie and power in the church of Canturburie: neither is the aſſent of kings or princes to be looked for vpon elections celebrated in the preſence of the apoſtolike ſée. Wherefore I command you by vertue of your obedience, and vpon paine of curſſing, that you being ſuch and ſo manie here as are ſufficient for the election, to chooſe him to your archbiſhop, whome I ſhall appoint to you for father and paſtor of your ſoules. The monks doubting to offend the pope, conſented all of them to gratifie him, except Helias de Brantfield, who refuſed. And ſo the foreſaid Stephan Langton being elected of them, was confirmed of the pope, who ſignified by letters the whole ſtate thereof to king Iohn, commending the ſaid Stephan as archbiſhop vnto him.

The monks of Canturburie baniſhed. King Iohn writeth to the pope.

The king ſore offended in his mind that the biſhop of Norwich was thus put beſide that dignitie, to the which he had aduanced him, cauſed forthwith all the goods of the monks of Canturburie to be confiſcate to his vſe, and after baniſhed them the relme, as well I meane thoſe at home, as thoſe that were at Rome, and herewith wrote his letters vnto the pope, giuing him to vnderſtand for anſwer, that he would neuer conſent that Stephan which had béene brought vp & alwaies conuerſant with his enimies the Frenchmen, ſhould now enioy the rule of the biſhoprike and dioces of Canturburie. Moreouer, he declared in the ſame letters, that he maruelled not a little what the pope ment, in that he did not conſider how neceſſarie the fréendſhip of the king of England was to the ſée of Rome, ſith there came more gains to the Romane church out of that kingdome, than out of any other realme on this ſide the mountaines. He added hereto, that for the liberties of his crowne he would ſtand to the death, if the matter ſo required. And as for the election of the biſhop of Norwich vnto the ſée of Canturburie, ſith it was profitable to him and to his realme, he meant not to releaſe it.

How gainfull England was to the court of Rome

Moreouer, he declared that if he might not be heard and haue his mind, he would ſuerlie reſtraine the paſſages out of this realme, that none ſhould go to Rome, leaſt his land ſhould be ſo emptied of monie and treaſure, that he ſhould want ſufficient abilitie to beat backe and expell his enimies that might attempt inuaſion againſt the ſame. Laſtlie of all he concluded, ſith the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbats, and other eccleſiaſticall perſons, as well of his realme of England, as of other his lands and dominions, were ſufficientlie furniſhed with knowlege, that he would not go for anie néed that ſhould driue him thereto, to ſéeke iuſtice or iudgement at the preſcript of any forren perſons.

The popes anſwer vnto the king.

The pope greatlie maruelling hereat, wrote againe to the king, requiring him to abſteine from the ſpoiling of thoſe men that were priuileged by the canons of the church, that he would place the monks againe in their houſe and poſſeſſions, and receiue the archbiſhop canonicallie elected and confirmed, the which for his learning and knowledge, as well in the liberall ſciences, as in holie ſcripture, was thought worthie to be admitted to a prebend in Paris: and what eſtimation he himſelfe had of him it appeared, in that he had written to him thrice ſince he was made cardinall, declaring that although he was minded to call him to his ſeruice, yet he was glad that he was promoted to an higher roome; adding further, how there was good cauſe that he ſhould haue conſideration of him, bicauſe he was borne within his land, of father and mother that were his faithfull ſubiects, and for that he had a prebend in the church of Yorke, which was greater and of more dignitie than that he had in Paris. Whereby not onelie by reaſon of fleſh and blood, but alſo by hauing eccleſiaſticall dignitie and office, it could not be but that he loued him and his realme with ſincere affection.

Manie other reaſons the pope alledged in his letters to king Iohn, to haue perſuaded him to the allowing of the election of Stephan Langton. But king Iohn was ſo far from giuing eare to the popes admonitions, that he with more crueltie handled all ſuch, not onelie of the ſpiritualtie, but alſo of the temporaltie, which by any manner means had aided the forenamed Stephan. The pope being hereof aduertiſed, thought good not to ſuffer ſuch contempt of his authoritie, as he interpreted it; namelie, in a matter that touched the iniurious handling of men within orders of the church. Which example might procure hinderance, not to one priuat perſon alone, but to the whole eſtate of the ſpiritualtie, which he would not ſuffer in any wiſe to be ſuppreſſed. Wherefore he decréed with ſpéed to deuiſe remedie againſt that large increaſing miſchéefe. And though there was no ſpéedier waie to redreſſe the ſame, but by excommunication, yet he would not vſe it at the firſt towards ſo mightie a prince, but gaue him libertie and time to conſider his offenſe and treſpaſſe ſo committed.

Bailiffes of London diſcharged and committed to ward.

¶ Theſe things being brought to this iſſue, the further narration of them ſhall ſtaie for a time, till I haue told you of a little trouble which about this time happened in London. For vpon the ſeuenth of Iune, the bailiffes of London, Roger Wincheſter and Edmund Hardell were diſcharged, and Serle the mercer and Hugh of ſaint Albons choſen in their roomes. The two former bailiffes were diſcharged and committed to priſon by the kings commandement, vpon diſpleaſure taken againſt them, bicauſe they had reſiſted his puruéier of wheat, and would not ſuffer him to conueie anie of that kind of graine out of the citie, till the citie was ſtored. The thirtie & fiue rulers of the citie, hauing fulfilled the kings commandement to them directed for the diſcharging of thoſe bailiffes, and impriſoning them, did after take aduice togither, and appointed a certeine number of themſelues with other to ride vnto the king, as then being at Langley, to obteine pardon for the ſaid bailiffes, and ſo comming thither, they made ſuch excuſe in the matter, ſhewing further, that at the ſame ſeaſon there was ſuch ſcarſitie of wheat in the citie, that the common people were at point to haue made an inſurrection about the ſame. By which means, and through fréendſhip which they had in the court, the king was ſo ſatiſfied, that he releaſed them from priſon, and pardoned their offenſes.

The birth of king Henrie the third. N.Triuet.

1208

The pope writeth to the biſhops. Matt. Paris. Nic. Treuet.

Alſo vpon the firſt of October, Henrie the ſonne of king Iohn, begotten of his wife quéene Iſabell, was borne at Wincheſter, who after ſucceeded his father in the kingdome. But now againe to our purpoſe. The pope perceiuing that king Iohn continued ſtill in his former mind (which he called obſtinacie) ſent ouer his bulles into England, directed to William biſhop of London, to Euſtace biſhop of Elie, and to Mauger biſhop of Worceſter, commanding them that vnleſſe king Iohn would ſuffer peaceablie the archbiſhop of Canturburie to occupie his ſée, and his monks their abbie, they ſhould put both him and his

his land vnder the ſentence of interdiction, denouncing him and his land plainelie accurſſed. And further he wrote expreſſe letters vnto all the ſuffragans of the church of Canturburie, that they ſhould by vertue of their obedience, which they owght to the apoſtolike ſée, receiue and obeie the archbiſhop Stephan for their father and metropolitane.

atth. Paris.

Theſe biſhops with other to them aſſociate, made inſtant requeſt and ſuit to the king for the obſeruing of the popes commandement, and to eſchew the cenſures of the church, but that was in vaine: for the king in a great rage ſware, that if either they or any other preſumed to put his land vnder interdiction, he would incontinentlie therevpon ſend all the prelats within the realme out of the ſame vnto the pope, and ſeize all their goods vnto his owne vſe. And further he added, that what Romans ſoeuer he found within the precinct of any his dominions, he would put out their eies, and ſlit their noſes, and ſo ſend them packing to Rome, that by ſuch marks they might be knowne from all other nations of the world. And herewith he commanded the biſhops to packe out of his ſight, if they loued their owne health and preſeruation.

omans, that
ſuch chap-
ines ſtran-
ers as be-
nged to the
pe.

Herevpon the ſaid biſhops departed, and according to the popes commiſſion to them ſent, vpon the euen of the Annuntiation of our Ladie, denounced both the king and the realme of England accurſed, and furthermore cauſed the doores of churches to be cloſed vp, and all other places where diuine ſeruice was accuſtomed to be vſed, firſt at London, and after in all other places where they came. Then perceiuing that the K. ment not to ſtoope for all this which they had doone, but rather ſought to be reuenged vpon them, they fled the realme, and got them ouer vnto Stephan the archbiſhop of Canturburie, to wit, William biſhop of London, Euſtace biſhop of Elie, Malger biſhop of Worceſter, Joceline biſhop of Bath, and Giles biſhop of Hereford.

The mondaie
the paſſion
weeke ſaith
atth. Weſt.
The king and
ealme put vn
er the popes
urſſe.

The king taking this matter in verie great diſpleaſure, ſeized vpon all their temporalties, and conuerted the ſame to his vſe, and perſecuted ſuch other of the prelacie as he knew to fauour their doings, baniſhing them the realme, and ſeizing their goods alſo into his hands. Howbeit the moſt part of the prelats wiſelie prouided for themſelues in this point, ſo that they would not depart out of their houſes, except they were compelled by force, which when the kings officers perceiued, they ſuffered them to remaine ſtill in their abbies, and other habitations, bicauſe they had no commiſſion to vſe any violence in expelling them. But their goods they did confiſcat to the kings vſe, allowing them onelie meat and drinke, and that verie barelie in reſpect of their former allowance.

nno Reg. 10.
The dealing
the king af-
er the inter-
iction was
ronounced.

¶ It was a miſerable time now for preeſts and churchmen, which were ſpoiled on euerie hand, without finding remedie againſt thoſe that offered them wrong. It is reported that in the borders of Wales, the officers of a ſhiriffe brought before the king a fellow which had robbed and ſlaine a preeſt, deſiring to vnderſtand his pleaſure what ſhould be doone with that offender: vnto whome the king made this anſwer, He hath ſlaine mine enimie, and therefore ſet him at libertie.

n heauie
me for
urchmen.

atth. Paris.

The king alſo doubting leaſt the pope ſhould proceed further, and abſolue all his ſubiects of their allegiance which they owght to him, and that his lords would happilie reuolt and forſake him in this his trouble, tooke hoſtages of them whom he moſt ſuſpected. And as the meſſengers, which were ſent abroad for that purpoſe, came vnto the lord William de Breuſe, requiring to haue his ſonnes for the ſaid purpoſe, his wife (like a quicke and haſtie dame) taking the word out of hir huſbands mouth, made this round anſwer, that ſhe would not deliuer hir ſonnes vnto king John, who alreadie had ſlaine his owne nephue Arthur, whome he ought rather honourablie to haue loued and preſerued. Theſe words being ſignified vnto the king, ſet him in ſuch an heat againſt hir huſband (though he rebuked hir ſharpelie for the ſame) that the ſaid lord was glad togither with his wife and children to flee out of the realme into Ireland for ſafegard of their liues.

ord William
Breuſe.

Whereas before this time London bridge was made of timber, and was ruled, guided & repaired by a fraternitie or colledge of preeſts; this yéere by great aid of the citizens of London and others paſſing that waie, the ſame bridge was begun to be made of ſtone. And in the ſame yeare S. Marie Oueries in Southwarke was begun to be repaired. The ſame yeare alſo, the citizens of London made ſuch ſuit vnto the king, that he granted vnto them by his letters patents, licence to chooſe to themſelues a maior, and two ſhiriffes euerie yeare. After which grant vnto them confirmed, they choſe for their maior Henrie Fitz Alwin, who was ſworne and charged at that preſent maior of that citie, vpon the day of ſaint Michaell the archangell, in the ſaid tenth yeare of king John his reigne. On the ſame day and yeare, were Peter Duke & Thomas Nele ſworne for ſhiriffes. Thus the name of bailiffes from thenceforth was clearelie extinguiſhed.

Londō bridg
repaired.

But here yée haue to vnderſtand, that this Henrie Fitz Alwin had béene maior of London long before this time, euen from the firſt yeare of king Richard (as Iohn Stow hath gathered out of ancient inſtruments and records) vnto this preſent tenth yeare of king John, and now vpon grant made to the citizens, that it ſhould be lawfull for them to chooſe euerie yeare a maior, and two ſhiriffes, for the better gouernment of their citie, the ſaid Henrie Fitz Alwin was newlie by them elected, and likewiſe afterwards from yeare to yeare, till he departed this life, which chanced in the yeare 1213, and fifteenth of king Johns reigne, ſo that he continued maior of the ſame citie of London, by the terme of twentie and foure yeares.

Iohn Stow

¶ Now therefore bicauſe it appeareth here how the gouernors of the citie of London had their names altered for their greater honour, and the ſtate of gouernment thereby partlie changed, or rather confirmed; I haue thought good (though verie breefelie) to touch ſomewhat the ſignification of this word Maire, before I procéed any further with the reſt of this hiſtorie. The ancient inhabitants of Franconia, or Frankenland, from whome the Frenchmen are deſcended, and their neighbors the old Saxons, of whom the Engliſhmen haue their originall, being people of Germanie, and deſcended (as Beroſus ſaith) of the the old Hebrues, haue reteined manie Hebrue words, either from the beginning, or elſe borowed them abroad in other regions which they conquered, paſſing by force of armes through a great part of the world. For no doubt, by conuerſation with thoſe people whom they ſubdued, they brought home into their owne countrie and toong manie borowed words, ſo that their language hath no ſmall ſtore of them fetched out of ſundrie ſtrange toongs.

The ſignifi
cation of this
word Mair
Wulf. Laz.
Beroſus.

Now among other old words remaining in their toong, this word Mar was one, which in Hebrue ſignifieth *Dominus*, (that is to ſaie, lord) but pronounced now ſomewhat corruptlie Maire. So as it is to be ſuppoſed, hereof it came to paſſe that the head officer and lieutenant to the prince, as well in London as in other cities and townes of the realme, are called by that name of maior, though in the cities of London and Yorke, for an augmentation of honour by an ancient cuſtome (through ignorance what the title of

maire

---

maire dooth ſignifie)
intituled by the na
ſimplie pronounced
lord, without any ſu
name of Maire. An

King John holdi
Briſtow, ſet foorth a
ſtreined the taking
time, Henrie duke
from the emperou
portion of monie o
his owne countrie a
phanie alſo, the kin
named Richard af
court of the eſchequ
minſter vnto North
yeare, Walter G
who in all things ſtu
purpoſe, for the whi
of the cleargie, and
ceedings of the kin

1209
Matth. Paris.

The eſche-
quer remoued.

¶ It was ſuerlie a
of this realme at th
ther truſted his pée
red the king; no, th
one another, but ech
looking dailie whe
vpon the ſpoile. Th
ctions, ſome fauou
they bare affection.
ſention, ſo that n
ſpite, which brough
of diſobedience to a
to the diſquieting
we haue a perfect
ces, chéeflie when th
prophane power, an
their ſubiects alleg
clauſe alludeth,

M. Pal. in
ſuo Leo.

—crucia
Aßidui metu
Omnia ſunt:
Concipiunt, ſo
Nec ſine fas il

King John not
thus wholie inter
could be found to
made no great ac
fenſe towards G
ſting the hollow h
oth of them for th
diatlie therevpon
Alexander king o
heard) diuerſe of
fled, which Alexa
that had ruled th
tred into the rule
of Scotland, by t

Anno Reg. 11.
Polydor.

A new oth of
allegiance.

Alexander K.
of Scots.

In this mean
Canturburie lam
ſtate of his natiu
giue ouer his holi
vpon certeine da
ted number of p
land, to celebrat
thoſe of conuentu
the moonks of th
that priuilege, bic
diction they had a
pall abbat preſu
without the pope

Matth. Paris.
The white
moonks.

In like man
ning his armie i
the borders of S

Polydor.
Matth. Paris.

maire dooth ſignifie) they haue an addition, and are intituled by the name of lord maire, where Maire ſimplie pronounced of it ſelfe, ſignifieth no leſſe than lord, without any ſuch addition. Thus much for the name of Maire. And now to procéed.

1209
Matth.Paris.

King Iohn holding his Chriſtmaſſe this yeare at Briſtow, ſet forth a commandement, whereby he reſtreined the taking of wild foule. About the ſame time, Henrie duke of Suaben came into England from the emperour Otho, and receiuing no ſmall portion of monie of the king, departed backe into his owne countrie againe. In the vigill of the Epiphanie alſo, the kings ſecond ſonne was borne, and named Richard after his vncles name. And the court of the eſchequer was remoued from Weſtminſter vnto Northampton. Moreouer in the ſame yeare, Walter Gray was made lord chancellour, who in all things ſtudied to ſatiſfie the kings will and purpoſe, for the which he incurred great indignation of the cleargie, and other that fauoured not the procéedings of the king.

The eſchequer remoued.

¶ It was ſuerlie a rufull thing to conſider the eſtate of this realme at that preſent, when as the king neither truſted his péeres, neither the nobilitie fauoured the king; no, there were verie few that truſted one another, but ech one hid & hourded vp his wealth, looking dailie when another ſhould come and enter vpon the ſpoile. The communaltie alſo grew into factions, ſome fauouring, & ſome curſing the king, as they bare affection. The cleargie was likewiſe at diſſention, ſo that nothing preuailed but malice and ſpite, which brought forth and ſpred abroad the fruits of diſobedience to all good lawes and orders, greatlie to the diſquieting of the whole ſtate. So that herein we haue a perfect view of the perplexed ſtate of princes, chéeflie when they are ouerſwaied with forren & prophane power, and not able to aſſure themſelues of their ſubiects allegiance and loialtie. Whereto this clauſe alludeth,

M.Pal.in ſuo Leo.

——cruciat comes improbus ipſos
Aſsidui metus atque timor, ſuſpectáque iiſdem
Omnia ſunt: hinc inſidias, hinc dira venena
Concipiunt, ſoli nec poſſunt ire nec audent,
Nec ſine fas illis præguſtatore comeſſe.

Anno Reg. 11.
Polydor.

King Iohn notwithſtanding that the realme was thus wholie interdicted and vexed, ſo that no préeſts could be found to ſaie ſeruice in churches or chapels, made no great account thereof as touching any offenſe towards God or the pope: but rather miſtruſting the hollow hearts of his people, he tooke a new oth of them for their faithfull allegiance, and immediatlie therevpon aſſembled an armie to go againſt Alexander king of Scots, vnto whome (as he had heard) diuerſe of the nobilitie of this realme were fled, which Alexander was the ſecond of that name that had ruled the Scots, and latelie before was entred into the rule as lawfull ſucceſſor to the crowne of Scotland, by the death of his father K. William.

A new oth of allegiance.
Alexander K. of Scots.

In this meane while alſo Stephan archbiſhop of Canturburie lamenting (as ſome haue reported) the ſtate of his natiue countrie, and yet not minding to giue ouer his hold, obteined of pope Innocent, that vpon certeine dais it might be lawfull for an appointed number of préeſts within the realme of England, to celebrate diuine ſeruice, that is to ſay, for thoſe of conuentuall churches once in the wéeke. But the moonks of the white order were forbidden to vſe that priuilege, bicauſe in the beginning of the interdiction they had at the appointment of their principall abbat preſumed to celebrate the ſacraments without the popes conſent or knowledge.

Matth. Paris.
The white moonks.

Polydor.
Matth. Paris.

In like maner on the other ſide, king Iohn hauing his armie in a readineſſe, haſted forth towards the borders of Scotland, and comming to the caſtell of Norham, prepared to inuade the Scots. But king Alexander wanting power to giue him battell, ſought to come vnto ſome fréendlie agréement with him, and ſo by counſell of his lords, caſting off his armour, he came to the king, and for a great ſumme of gold (or 11 thouſand marks of ſiluer as ſome write) with much adoo he purchaſed peace, deliuering two of his daughters in hoſtage for more aſſurance of his dealing. Wherevpon king Iohn, after his returne from Norham, which was about the 24 of Iune, ſhewed himſelfe not a little diſpleaſed with thoſe of the nobilitie, which had refuſed to attend vpon him in that iournie, hauing receiued ſtreit commandement from him to attend vpon him at that time. Certes the cauſe why they refuſed to follow him, was euident, as they ſaid, in that they knew him to ſtand accurſed by the pope. About the ſame time alſo, when corne began to wax ripe, to reuenge himſelfe of them that had refuſed to go with him in that iournie, he cauſed the pales of all the parks & forreſts which he had within his realme to be throwne downe, & the diches to be made plaine, that the déere breaking out and ranging abroad in the corne fields, might deſtroie & eat vp the ſame before it could be ripened, for which act (if it were ſo in déed) manie a bitter curſſe procéeded from the mouths of the poore husbandmen towards the kings perſon, and not vnworthilie. Moreouer in this ſeaſon the Welſhmen (which thing had not béene ſéene afore time) came vnto Woodſtoke, and there did homage vnto the king, although the ſame was chargeable, aſwell to the rich as the poore ſo to come out of their countrie.

Alexander K. of Scots compoundeth for peace with king Iohn.

Polydor.

Matth. Paris.

About the ſame time alſo, it thanced that a préeſt ſlue a woman at Oxford, and when the kings officers could not find him that had committed the murther, they apprehended thrée other préeſts not guiltie of the fact, and ſtreightway hanged them vp without iudgement. With which crueltie others of the Vniuerſitie being put in feare, departed thence in great numbers, and came not thither againe of a long time after, ſome of them repairing to Cambridge, and ſome to Reading to applie their ſtudies in thoſe places, leauing Oxford void. The ſame yeare one Hugh archdeacon of Welles, and kéeper of the kings great ſeale, was nominated biſhop of Lincolne; and herewithall he craued licence to go ouer into France vnto the archbiſhop of Rouen, that he might be conſecrated of him. Wherewith the king was contented and gladlie gaue him leaue, who no ſooner got ouer into Normandie, but he ſtreight tooke the high waie to Rome, and there receiued his conſecration of Stephan archbiſhop of Canturburie. Now when the king vnderſtood this matter, and ſaw the dulneſſe of the biſhop, he was in a wonderfull chaſe toward him, and therevpon made port-ſale of all his goods, and receiued the profit of the reuenues belonging to the ſée of Lincolne for his owne vſe.

Matth. Paris.
A murther at Oxford.

Thrée thouſand as ſaith Matth.Paris.

Oxford forſaken of the ſcholers.

Hugh archdeacon of Wels made biſhop of Lincolne.
Polydor.
Matth.Paris.

¶ There liued in thoſe daies a diuine named Alexander Cementarius, ſurnamed Theologus, who by his preaching incenſed the king greatlie vnto all crueltie (as the moonks and friers ſaie) againſt his ſubiects, affirming that the generall ſcourge wherewith the people were afflicted, chanced not through the princes fault, but for the wickedneſſe of his people, for the king was but the rod of the Lords wrath, and to this end a prince was ordeined, that he might rule the people with a rod of iron, and breake them as an earthen veſſell, to chaine the mighty in fetters, & the noble men in iron manacles. He did ſée (as it ſhould ſéeme) the euill diſpoſed humors of the people concerning their dutifull obedience which they ought to haue borne to their naturall prince king Iohn, and therefore as a doctrine moſt neceſſarie in that dangerous time, he taught the people how they were

Cementarius

by Gods lawes bound in dutie to obeie their lawfull prince, and not through any wicked perſuaſion of buſie heads and lewd diſcourſers, to be carried away to forget their loiall allegiance, and ſo to fall into the damnable ſinke of rebellion.

He went about alſo to proue with likelie arguments, that it apperteined not to the pope, to haue to doo concerning the temporall poſſeſſions of any kings or other potentats touching the rule and gouernment of their ſubiects, ſith no power was granted to Peter (the ſpeciall and cheefe of the apoſtles of the Lord) but onlie touching the church, and matters apperteining therevnto. By ſuch doctrine of him ſet foorth, he wan in ſuch wiſe the kings fauour, that he obteined manie great preferments at the kings hands, and was abbat of ſaint Auſtines in Canturburie: but at length, when his manners were notified to the pope, he tooke ſuch order for him, that he was deſpoiled of all his goods and benefices, ſo that afterwards he was driuen in great miſerie to beg his bread from doore to doore, as ſome write. This did he procure to himſelfe by telling the trueth againſt that beaſt, whoſe hornes were pricking at euerie chriſtian prince, that he might ſet himſelfe in a ſeat of ſupremaſie aboue all principalities: ſo that we may ſaie,

In audaces non eſt audacia tuta.

1210

Matth. Paris.
Iewes taxed.

Furthermore, about the ſame time the king taxed the Iewes, and greeuouſlie tormented and empriſoned them, bicauſe diuers of them would not willinglie pay the ſummes that they were taxed at. Amongſt other, there was one of them at Briſtow, which would not conſent to giue anie fine for his deliuerance: wherefore by the kings commandement he was put vnto this penance, that euerie daie, till he would agree to giue to the king thoſe ten thouſand marks that he was ſeized at, he ſhould haue one of his teeth plucked out of his head. By the ſpace of ſeauen daies togither he ſtood ſtedfaſt, loſing euerie of thoſe daies a tooth, but on the eight day, when he ſhuld come to haue the eight tooth and the laſt (for he had but eight in all) drawne out, he paid the monie to ſaue that one, who with more wiſedome and leſſe paine might haue doone ſo before, and haue ſaued his ſeauen teeth, which he loſt with ſuch torments, for thoſe homelie toothdrawers vſed no great cunning in plucking them foorth (as may be coniectured.)

A Iew hath his teeth drawne out.

Anno Reg. 12.

Matth. Paris.
King Iohn paſſeth ouer into Ireland.
Polydor.
Matth. Paris.

Whileſt king Iohn was thus occupied, newes came to him, that the Iriſh rebels made foule worke and ſore annoied the Engliſh ſubiects. He therefore aſſembling a mightie armie, imbarked at Penbroke in Wales, and ſo haſting towards Ireland, arriued there the twentie fiue of Maie, and brought the people in ſuch feare immediatlie vpon his arriuall, that all thoſe that inhabited vpon the ſea coaſts in the champaine countries, came in, and yeelded themſelues, receiuing an oth to be true and faithfull vnto him. There were twentie of the cheefeſt rulers within Ireland, which came to the king at his comming to Dublin, and there did to him homage and fealtie as apperteined. The king at the ſame time ordeined alſo, that the Engliſh lawes ſhould be vſed in that land, and appointed ſhiriffes and other officers to haue the order of the countrie, to rule the ſame according to the Engliſh ordinances. After this, he marched forward into the land, and tooke diuerſe fortreſſes and ſtrong holds of his enimies, which fled before him, for feare to be apprehended, as Walter de Lacie and manie other. At length, comming into the countrie of Meth, he beſieged a caſtell, wherein the wife of William de Breuſe, and hir ſonne named alſo William were incloſed, but they found meanes to eſcape before the caſtell was wonne, though afterward they were taken in the Ile of Man, and ſent by the king into England, where they were ſo ſtraitlie kept within the caſtell of Windſor, that (as the fame went) they were famiſhed to death.

Walter de Lacie.

The Ladie de Breuſe & hir ſonne taken.

¶ We read in an old hiſtorie of Flanders, written by one whoſe name is not knowne, but printed at Lions by Guillaume Rouille, in the yeare 1562, that the ſaid ladie, wife to the lord William de Breuſe, preſented vpon a time vnto the queene of England, a gift of foure hundred kine, and one bull, of colour all white, the eares excepted, which were red. Although this tale may ſeeme incredible, yet if we ſhall conſider that the ſaid Breuſe was a lord marcher, and had goodlie poſſeſſions in Wales, and on the marſhes, in which countries the moſt part of the peoples ſubſtance conſiſteth in cattell, it may carrie with it the more likelihood of truth. And ſuerlie the ſame author writeth of the iournie made this yeare into Ireland, ſo ſenſiblie, and namelie touching the manners of the Iriſh, that he ſeemeth to haue had good informations, ſauing that he miſſeth in the names of men and places, which is a fault in maner common to all forreine writers. Touching the death of the ſaid ladie, he ſaith, that within eleuen daies after ſhe was committed to priſon heere in England, ſhe was found dead, ſitting betwixt hir ſonnes legs, who likewiſe being dead, ſate directlie vp againſt a wall of the chamber, wherein they were kept with hard pitance (as writers doo report.) William the father eſcaped, and got away into France.

A preſent of white kine.

He himſelfe eſcapeth.

Thus the more part of the Iriſh people being brought vnder, he appointed Iohn Gray the biſhop of Norwich, to be his deputie there, remouing out of that office Hugh Lacie, which bare great rule in that quarter before. The biſhop then being appointed deputie and cheefe iuſtice of Ireland, reformed the coine there, cauſing the ſame to be made of like weight and fineneſſe to the Engliſh coine, ſo that the Iriſh monie was currant, as well in England, as in Ireland, being of the like weight, forme, and fineneſſe to the Engliſh. Moreouer, thoſe that inhabited the woodcountries and the mounteine places, though they would not as then ſubmit themſelues, he would not at that time further purſue, bicauſe winter was at hand, which in that countrie approcheth timelie in the yeare. Hauing thus ſubdued the more part of all Ireland, and ordered things there at his pleaſure, he tooke the ſea againe with much triumph, and landed in England about the thirtith day of Auguſt.

The biſhop o
Norwich lo
lieutenant o
Ireland.

Iriſh moni
reformed.

The king r
turneth into
England.

From hence he made haſt to London, and at his comming thither, tooke counſell how to recouer the great charges and expenſes that he had beene at in this iournie, and by the aduiſe of William Brewer, Robert de Turnham, Reignold de Cornhill, and Richard de Mariſh, he cauſed all the cheefe prelats of England to aſſemble before him at S. Brides in London. So that thither came all the abbats, abbeſſes, templers, hoſpitallers, keepers of farmes and poſſeſſions of the order of Clugnie, and other ſuch forreners as had lands within this realme belonging to their houſes. All which were conſtreined to paie ſuch a greeuous tax, that the whole amounted to the ſumme of an hundred thouſand pounds. The monks of the Ciſteaux order, otherwiſe called white monks, were conſtreined to paie 40 thouſand pounds of ſiluer at this time, all their priuileges to the contrarie notwithſtanding. Moreouer, the abbats of that order might not get licence to go to their generall chapter that yeere, which yeerelie was vſed to be holden, leaſt their complaint ſhould mooue all the world againſt the king, for his too too hard and ſeuere handling of them.

An aſſembl
of the prela
at London.

A tax leuied.

1211

Anno Reg. 1
King Iohn
goeth into
wales with
an armie.

In the ſummer following, about the 18 day of Iulie, king Iohn with a mightie armie went into Wales, and paſſing foorth into the inner parts of the countrie, he came into Snowdon, beating downe

all

Math. Paris.
White church I thinke.

all that came in his way, ſo that he ſubdued all the rulers and princes, without contradiction. And to be the better aſſured for their ſubiection in time following, he tooke pledges of them, to the number of 28, & ſo returned to Album Monaſterium on the date of the Aſſumption of our ladie, from whence he firſt ſet forth into the Welſh confines. In the ſame yeare alſo, the pope ſent two legats into England, the one named Pandulph a lawier, and the other Durant a templer, who comming vnto king Iohn, exhorted him with manie terrible words to leaue his ſtubborne diſobedience to the church, and to reforme his miſdoings. The king for his part quietlie heard them, and bringing them to Northampton, being not farre diſtant from the place where he met them vpon his returne forth of Wales had much conference with them; but at length, when they perceiued that they could not haue their purpoſe, neither for reſtitution of the goods belonging to préeſts which he had ſeized vpon, neither of thoſe that apperteined to certeine other perſons, which the king had gotten alſo into his hands, by meanes of the controuerſie betwixt him and the pope the legats departed, leauing him accurſed, and the land interdicted, as they found it at their comming.

Pandulph & Durant the popes legats.
Polydor.

Fabian.

Math. Paris.

¶ Touching the maner of this interdiction there haue béene diuerſe opinions, ſome haue ſaid, that the land was interdicted throughlie, and the churches and houſes of religion cloſed vp, that no where was anie diuine ſeruice vſed: but it was not ſo ſtreit, for there were diuerſe places occupied with diuine ſeruice all that time, by certeine priuiledges purchaſed either then or before. Children were alſo chriſtened, and men houſeled and annoiled through all the land, except ſuch as were in the bill of excommunication by name expreſſed. But to our purpoſe.

King Iohn, after that the legats were returned toward Rome againe, puniſhed diuerſe of thoſe perſons which had refuſed to go with him into Wales, in like maner as he had doone thoſe that refuſed to go with him into Scotland: he tooke now of ech of them for euerie knights fée two marks of ſiluer, as before is recited. About the ſame time alſo, Reginald earle of Bullongne being accurſed in like maner as king Iohn was, for certeine oppreſſions doone to poore men, and namelie to certeine préeſts, fled ouer into England, bicauſe the French king had baniſhed him out of France.

Reginald erle of Bullongne.

The chéefeſt cauſe of the French kings diſpleaſure towards this earle, may ſéeme to procéed of the amitie and league which was concluded betwixt king Iohn, and the ſaid earle, in the firſt yeare of the ſaid kings reigne, whereby they bound themſelues either to other, not to make anie peace, or to take anie truce with the king of France, without either others conſent firſt thereto had, and that if after anie agréement taken betwixt them and the king of France, he ſhould chance to make warre againſt either of them, then ſhould the other aid and aſſiſt him, againſt whom ſuch warre ſhould be made, to the vttermoſt of his power.

The like league was made in the ſame firſt yeare of king Iohn betwixt him & Ferdinando earle of Flanders.

This league was accorded to remaine for euer betwixt them and their heires, with ſuerties ſworne on either part: and for the king of England, theſe, whoſe names inſue, William Marſhall earle of Penbroke, Ranulfe earle of Cheſter, Robert earle of Leiceſter, Baldwine earle of Albemarle, William earle of Arundell, Ralfe earle of Augi, Robert de Mellet, Hugh de Gourney, William de Kaen, Geffrey de Tella, Roger coneſtable of Cheſter, Ralfe Fitz Water, William de Albanie, Robert de Ros, Richard de Montfichet, Roger de Thoney, Saer de Quincie, William de Montcheniſe, Peter de Pratellis, William de Poole *aliàs* de Stagno, Adam de Port, Robert de Turneham, William Mallet, Euſtace de Veſcie, Peter de Brus, William de Preſennie, Hubert de Burgh, William de Manſey, and Peter Sauenie. For the earle, theſe were ſuerties, Anſelme de Kaen, Guy Lieſchans, Ralfe the ſaid earles brother, &c. But now to returne.

After that the earle of Bullongne was expelled out of France (as before ye haue heard) he came ouer to king Iohn, and was of him ioifullie receiued, hauing thrée hundred pounds of reuenues in land to him aſſigned within England, for the which he did homage and fealtie vnto him. Shortlie after this alſo, died William de Breuſe the elder, which fled from the face of king Iohn out of Ireland into France, and departing this life at Corbell, was buried at Paris in the abbeie of S. Victor.

Polydor.

In the meane time pope Innocent, after the returne of his legats out of England, perceiuing that king Iohn would not be ordered by him, determined with the conſent of his cardinals and other councellours, and alſo at the inſtant ſuit of the Engliſh biſhops and other prelats being there with him, to depriue king Iohn of his kinglie ſtate, and ſo firſt abſolued all his ſubiects and vaſſals of their oths of allegiance made vnto the ſame king, and after depriued him by ſolemne proteſtation of his kinglie adminiſtration and dignitie, and laſtlie ſignified that his depriuation vnto the French king and other chriſtian princes, admoniſhing them to purſue king Iohn, being thus depriued, forſaken, and condemned as a common enimie to God and his church. He ordeined furthermore, that whoſoeuer imploied goods or other aid to vanquiſh and ouercome that diſobedient prince, ſhould remaine in aſſured peace of the church, as well as thoſe which went to viſit the ſepulchre of our Lord, notonlie in their goods and perſons, but alſo in ſuffrages for ſauing of their ſoules.

But yet that it might appeare to all men, that nothing could be more ioifull vnto his holineſſe, than to haue king Iohn to repent his treſpaſſes committed, and to aſke forgiueneſſe for the ſame, he appointed Pandulph, which latelie before was returned to Rome, with a great number of Engliſh exiles, to go into France, togither with Stephan the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the other Engliſh biſhops, giuing him in commandement, that repairing vnto the French king, he ſhould communicate with him all that which he had appointed to be doone againſt king Iohn, and to exhort the French king to make warre vpon him, as a perſon for his wickedneſſe excommunicated. Moreouer this Pandulph was commanded by the pope, if he ſaw cauſe, to go ouer into England, and to deliuer vnto king Iohn ſuch letters as the pope had written for his better inſtruction, and to ſéeke by all means poſſible to draw him from his naughtie opinion.

Pādulph ſent into France to practiſe with the frēch king, for king Iohn his deſtruction.

In the meane time, when it was bruted through the realme of England, that the pope had releaſed the people & abſolued them of their oth of fidelitie to the king, and that he was depriued of his gouernement by the popes ſentence, by little and little a great number both of ſouldiers, citizens, burgeſſes, capteins and coneſtables of caſtels, leauing their charges, & biſhops with a great multitude of préeſts reuolting from him, and auoiding his companie and preſence, ſecretlie ſtale awaie, and got ouer into France.

Math. Weſt.
Matt. Paris.

Notwithſtanding that diuerſe in reſpect of the popes curſſe, and other conſiderations them mouing, vtterlie refuſed in this manner to obeie king Iohn, yet there were manie others that did take his part, and mainteine his quarell verie earneſtlie, as his brother William earle of Saliſburie, Alberike de Veere erle of Oxford, Geffrey Fitz Peter lord chéefe

The names of the noble men that cōtinued true vnto K. Iohn.

iuſtice of England, alſo thrée biſhops, Durham, Wincheſter, and Norwich, Richard de Mariſh lord chancellour, Hugh Neuill chiefe forreſter, William de Wrothing lord warden of the ports, Robert Veipount and his brother Yuan, Brian de Liſle, Geffrey de Lucie, Hugh Ballioll, and his brother Barnard, William de Cantlow and his ſon William Fulke de Cantlow, Reginald de Cornehull ſhiriffe of Kent, Robert Braibrooke and his ſon Harrie, Philip de Louecotes, Iohn de Baſſingborne, Philip March, Chatelaine of Notingham, Peter de Maulley, Robert de Gaugy, Gerard de Athie and his nephue Ingelrand, William Brewer, Peter Fitz Hubert, Thomas Baſſet, and Foulks de Briant a Norman, with many other, too long here to rehearſe, who as fautors and councellors vnto him, ſought to defend him in all cauſes, notwithſtanding the cenſures of the church ſo cruellie pronounced againſt him; knowing that they were bound in conſcience to ſticke to him, now ſpeciallie in this generall apoſtaſie of his péeres and people. For they were opinioned, that it was

Ouid.lib.2.de Pont.

Turpe referre pedem, nec paſſu ſtare tenaci,
Turpe laborantem deſeruiſſe ratem.

1212

Bernewell.

The ſame yeare king Iohn held his Chriſtmaſſe at Windſor, and in the Lent following, on midlent ſundaie being at London, he honoured the lord Alexander ſonne and heire to the king of Scots, with the high order of knighthood. And (as I find it mentioned by ſome writers) wheras he vnderſtood how there were diuerſe in Scotland, that contemning their naturall lord and king by reaſon of his great age, king Iohn went thither with an armie to repreſſe the rebels, and being come thither, he ſent his men of war into the inner parts of the country, who ſcowring the coaſts, tooke Guthred Macwilliam capteine of them that moued ſedition, whom king Iohn cauſed to be hanged on a paire of gallowes. This Guthred was deſcended of the line of the ancient Scotiſh kings, and being aſſiſted with the Iriſhmen and Scots that fauoured not the race of the kings that preſentlie reigned, wrought them much trouble, as his father (named Donald) had doone before him, ſometime ſecretlie vnder hand, and ſometime againe by way of open rebellion.

The welſhmen mooue rebellion.
Matth.Paris.

Anno Reg. 14.

King Iohn hangeth the welſh pledges.

Shortlie after, the Welſhmen began to ſturre alſo, who ruſhing out of their owne confines, fell vpon their next neighbours within the Engliſh marſhes, waſted the countrie, and ouerthrew diuerſe caſtels flat to the ground. Whereof the king hauing knowledge, aſſembled a mightie armie out of hand, and comming to Notingham, he hanged vp the Welſh hoſtages which the laſt yeare he had receiued, to the number of eight and twentie yoong ſtriplings. And by reaſon he was now ſet in a maruellous chafe, he roughlie procéeded againſt all thoſe whom he knew not to fauor his caſe: ſome he diſcharged of their offices, other he depriued of their capteineſhips and other roomes, & reuoked certeine priuileges & immunities granted to monks, préeſts, & men of religion.

Matth.Paris.
King Iohn breaketh vp his armie.

Furthermore, hauing his armie readie to paſſe on into Wales, he receiued letters the ſame time, both from the king of Scots, and from his daughter the wife of Leoline prince of Wales, conteining in effect the aduertiſement of one matter, which was to let him know, that if he procéeded on his iournie, he ſhould either through treaſon be ſlaine of his owne lords, or elſe be deliuered to be deſtroied of his enimies. The king iudging no leſſe, but that the tenor of the letters conteined a truth, brake vp his armie and returned to London. From whence he ſent meſſengers vnto all ſuch lords as he ſuſpected, commanding them to ſend vnto him hoſtages for more aſſurance of their fidelities. The lords durſt not diſobeie his commandement, but ſent their ſons, their nephues, and other their kinſmen, accordinglie as he required, and ſo his rancour was appeaſed for a time. But Euſtace de Veſcie, Robert Fitz Walter, and Stephan Ridell, being accuſed and ſuſpected of the K. for the ſaid treaſon, were glad to flée the realme, Veſcie departing into Scotland, and the other two into France.

Matth. Paris.
Matt.Weſt.
Saint Mar Oueries burnt.

The ſame yeare, the church of S. Marie Oueries, and all the buildings vpon London bridge on both ſides the ſame, were conſumed with fire, which was iudged to be a ſignification of ſome miſhap to follow. The king held his Chriſtmaſſe this yeare at Weſtminſter, with no great traine of knights about him. About the ſame time Geffrey archbiſhop of Yorke departed this life, after he had remained in exile about a ſeauen yeares. But now to returne againe to the practiſes of the popes legats.

121

The deceaſſe of Geffrey th archbiſhop o Yorke.

The Frenc king prepared to inuad England.

Ye ſhall vnderſtand, the French king being requeſted by Pandulph the popes legat, to take the warre in hand againſt king Iohn, was eaſilie perſuaded thereto of an inward hatred that he bare vnto our king, and therevpon with all diligence made his prouiſion of men, ſhips, munition and vittell, in purpoſe to paſſe ouer into England: and now was his nauie readie rigged at the mouth of Saine, and he in greateſt forwardneſſe, to take his iournie. When Pandulph vpon good conſiderations thought firſt to go eftſoones, or at the leaſt wiſe to ſend into England, before the French armie ſhould land there, and to aſſaie once againe, if he might induce the king to ſhew himſelfe reformable vnto the popes pleaſure: king Iohn hauing knowledge of the French kings purpoſe and ordinance, aſſembled his people, and lodged with them alongſt by the coaſt towards France, that he might reſiſt his enimies, and kéepe them off from landing.

Anno Reg.1
Matth. Pari
The great mie which John aſſem bled togith

Here writers declare, that he had got togither ſuch an armie of men out of all the parts of his realme, both of lords, knights, gentlemen, yeomen, & other of the commons, that notwithſtanding all the prouiſion of vittels that might poſſible be recouered, there could not be found ſufficient ſtore to ſuſteine the huge multitude of them that were gathered alongſt the coaſt, namelie at Douer, Feuerſham, Gipſewich, and other places. Wherevpon the capteins diſcharged and ſent home a great number of the commons, reteining onelie the men of armes, yeomen, and fréeholders, with the croſſebowes and archers. There came likewiſe to the kings aid at the ſame time, the biſhop of Norwich out of Ireland, bringing with him fiue hundred men of armes, & a great ſort of other horſſemen.

The biſhop Norwich.

To conclude, there was eſtéemed of able men aſſembled togither in the armie on Barhamdowne, what of choſen men of armes, and valiant yeomen, and other armed men, the number of ſixtie thouſand: ſo that if they had béene all of one mind, and well bent towards the ſeruice of their king and defenſe of their countrie, there had not béene a prince in chriſtendome, but that they might haue béene able to haue defended the realme of England againſt him. He had alſo prouided a nauie of ſhips farre ſtronger than the French kings, readie to fight with them by ſea, if the caſe had ſo required.

Polydor.
Two knigh of the temp

But as he lay thus readie, néere to the coaſt, to withſtand and beat backe his enimies, there arriued at Douer two Templers, who comming before the king, declared vnto him that they were ſent from Pandulph the popes legat, who for his profit coueted to talke with him: for he had (as they affirmed) meanes to propone, whereby he might be reconciled, both to God and his church, although he were adiudged in the court of Rome, to haue forfeited all the right which he had to his kingdome.

The king vnderſtanding the meaning of the meſſengers, ſent them backe againe to bring ouer the legat, who incontinentlie came ouer to Douer, of whoſe arriuall when the king was aduertiſed, he went thither, and receiued him with all due honour and reuerence. Now after they had talked togither a little, and courteouſlie ſaluted each other (as the courſe of humanitie required) the legat (as it is reported) vttered theſe words following.

The legat Pandulph commeth ouer.

The ſawcie ſpeech of proud Pandulph *the popes lewd legat, to king Iohn, in the preſumptuous popes behalfe.*

I Doo not thinke that you are ignorant, how pope Innocent, to do that which to his dutie apperteineth, hath both abſolued your ſubiects of that oth which they made vnto you at the beginning, and alſo taken from you the gouernance of England, according to your deſerts, and finallie giuen commandement vnto certeine princes of Chriſtendome, to expell you out of this kingdom and to place an other in your roome; ſo worthilie to puniſh you for your diſobedience and contempt of religion: and that Philip king of France, with the firſt being readie to accompliſh the popes commandement, hath an armie in a readineſſe; and with his nauie newlie decked, rigged and furniſhed in all points, lieth at the mouth of the riuer of Saine, looking for a proſperous wind, that as ſoone as it commeth about, he may ſaile therewith hither into England, truſting (as he ſaith) with the helpe of your owne people (which neither name you, nor will take you for their king) to ſpoile you of your kingdome with ſmall adoo, and to conquer it at his pleaſure, for he hath (as he ſticketh not to proteſt openlie to the world) a charter made by all the cheefeſt lords of England touching their fealtie and obedience aſſured to him. Therfore, ſith God for your iuſt deſert is wroth with you, and that you are as euill ſpoken of by all men, as they that come againſt you be well reported, I would aduiſe you, that whileſt there is a place for grace and fauour, rather to obeie the popes iuſt demands, to whoſe word other chriſtian princes are readie to giue eare, than by ſtriuing in vaine to caſt awaie your ſelfe and all others that take your part, or are bent to defend your quarell or cauſe.

Theſe words being thus ſpoken by the legat, king Iohn as then vtterlie deſpairing in his matters, when he ſaw himſelfe conſtreined to obeie, was in a great perplexitie of mind, and as one full of thought, looked about him with a frowning countenance, waieng with himſelfe what counſell were beſt for him to follow. At length, oppreſſed with the burthen of the imminent danger and ruine, againſt his will, and verie loth ſo to haue doone, he promiſed vpon his oth to ſtand to the popes order and decree. Wherefore ſhortlie after (in like manner as pope Innocent had commanded) he tooke the crowne from his owne head, and deliuered the ſame to Pandulph the legat, neither he, nor his heires at anie time thereafter to receiue the ſame, but at the popes hands. Vpon this, he promiſed to receiue Stephan the archbiſhop of Canturburie into his fauour, with all other the biſhops and baniſhed men, making vnto them ſufficient amends for all iniuries to them doone, and ſo to pardon them, that they ſhould not run into any danger, for that they had rebelled againſt him.

K. Iohn deliuereth his crowne vnto Pandulph.

Then Pandulph kéeping the crowne with him for the ſpace of fiue daies in token of poſſeſſion thereof, at length (as the popes vicar) gaue it him againe. By meanes of this act (ſaith Polydor) the fame went abroad, that king Iohn willing to continue the memorie hereof, made himſelfe vaſſall to pope Innocent, with condition, that his ſucceſſors ſhould likewiſe from thenceforth acknowledge to haue their right to the ſame kingdome from the pope. But thoſe kings that ſucceeded king Iohn, haue not obſerued any ſuch lawes of reconciliation, neither doo the autentike chronicles of the realme make mention of any ſuch ſurrender, ſo that ſuch articles as were appointed to king Iohn to obſerue, perteined vnto him that had offended, and not to his ſucceſſors. Thus ſaith Polydor.

Pandulph reſtoreth the crowne again to the king.

Howbeit, Ranulph Higden in his booke intituled Polychronicon, ſaith indéed, that king Iohn did not onelie bind himſelfe, but his heires and ſucceſſors, being kings of England, to be feudaries vnto pope Innocent and his ſucceſſors popes of Rome, that is to ſay, that they ſhould hold their dominions of them in fee, yéelding and paieng yéerelie to the ſée of Rome the ſumme of ſeauen hundred marks for England, and thrée hundred marks for Ireland. Furthermore, by report of the moſt autentike and approoued writers, king Iohn, to auoid all dangers, which (as he doubted) might inſue, deſpairing as it were in himſelfe, or rather moſt ſpeciallie for lacke of loiall dutie in his ſubiects, conſented to all the perſuaſions of Pandulph, and ſo (not without his great hartgréefe) he was contented to take his oth, togither with ſixtéene earles and barons, who laieng their hands vpon the holie euangeliſts, ſware with him vpon perill of their ſoules, that he ſhould ſtand to the iudgement of the church of Rome, and that if he repented him, and would refuſe to ſtand to promiſe, they ſhould then compell him to make ſatiſfaction. Héervpon, they being all togither at Douer, the king and Pandulph, with the earls and barons, and a great multitude of other people, agréed and concluded vpon a finall peace in forme as here inſueth.

Ran. Higd.

England became tributarie to the pope.

Matth. Weſt.

Matth. Paris.

The charter of king Iohn his ſubmiſſion, *as it was conueied to the pope* at Rome.

IOhannes Dei gratia rex Angliæ, omnibus Chriſti fidelibus hanc chartam inſpecturis, ſalutem in Domino. Vniuerſitati veſtræ per hanc chartam ſigillo noſtro munitam, volumus eſſe notum, quòd cùm Deum & matrem noſtram ſanctam eccleſiam offenderimus in multis, & proinde diuina miſericordia plurimùm indigeamus, nec quid dignè offerre poſſimus pro ſatisfactione Deo & eccleſiæ debita facienda, niſi noſmetipſos humiliemus & regna noſtra, volentes noſipſos humiliare, pro illo qui ſe pro nobis humiliauit vſq; ad mortem, gratia ſancti ſpiritus inſpirante, non vi interdicti nec timore coacti, ſed noſtra bona ſpontaneáq; voluntate, ac communi conſilio baronum noſtrorum conferimus, & liberè concedimus Deo & ſanctis apoſtolis eius Petro & Paulo, & ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ matri noſtræ, ac domino papæ Innocentio, eiúſq; catholicis ſucceſſoribus, totum regnum Angliæ, & totum regnum Hyberniæ, cum omni iure & pertinentijs ſuis, pro remiſsione omnium peccatorum noſtrorum, & totius generis noſtri, tam pro viuis quàm pro defunctis, & amodò illa ab eo & eccleſia Romana tanquam ſecundarius recipientes & tenentes, in præſentia prudentis viri Pandulphi domini papæ ſubdiaconi & familiaris.

Exindè prædicto domino papæ Innocentio, eiúſque catholicis ſucceſſoribus, & eccleſiæ Romanæ, ſecundùm ſubſcriptam formam fecimus & iurauimus, & homagium ligium in præſentia Pandulphi; ſi coram domino papa eſſe poterimus, eidem faciemus: ſucceſſores noſtros & hæredes de vxore noſtra in perpetuum obligantes, vt ſimili modo ſummo pontifici, qui pro tempore fuerit, & eccleſiæ Romanæ, ſine contradictione debeant fidelitatem præſtare, & homagium recognoſcere.

Ad indicium autem huius noſtræ perpetuæ obligationis & conceſsionis, volumus & ſtabilimus, vt de proprijs & ſpecialibus redditibus noſtris prædictorum regnorum, pro omni ſeruitio & conſuetudine, quæ pro ipſis facere debemus, ſaluis per omnia denarijs beati Petri, eccleſia Romana mille marcas Eſterlingorum percipiat annuatim: in feſto ſcilicet ſancti Michaëlis quingentas marcas, & in Paſcha quingentas: ſeptingentas ſcilicet pro regno Angliæ, & trecentas pro regno Hyberniæ, ſaluis nobis & hæredibus noſtris, iuſtitijs, libertatibus, & regalibus noſtris. Quæ omnia, ſicut ſupra ſcripta ſunt, rata eſſe volentes atque firma, obligamus nos & ſucceſſores noſtros contra non venire, & ſi nos vel aliquis ſucceſſorum noſtrorum contra hæc attentare præſumpſerit, quicunq; ille fuerit, niſi ritè commonitus reſipuerit, cadat à iure regni.

Et hæc charta obligationis & conceſsionis noſtræ, ſemper firma permaneat. Teſte meipſo, apud domum militum templi iuxta Doueram, coram H. Dublinenſi archiepiſcopo, Iohanne Norwicenſi epiſcopo, Galfrido filio Petri, W. comite Sariſburiæ, Willielmo comite Penbroc, R. comite Bononiæ, W. comite Warennæ, S. comite Winton, W. comite Arundel, W. comite de Ferarijs, W. Briwere, Petro filio Hereberti, Warino filio Geroldi, 15 die Maij, anno regni noſtri decimo quarto.

This deed and inſtrument being written and ingroſſed, the king deliuered it vnto Pandulph, to take with him to Rome, there to make deliuerie thereof to pope Innocent, and herewith did homage to the ſame pope, in forme as followeth.

The words of fealtie made by king Iohn to the pope.

EGo Iohannes Dei gratia rex Angliæ, & dominus Hyberniæ, ab hac hora & in antea, fidelis ero Deo & beato Petro & eccleſiæ Romanæ, & domino meo papæ domino Innocentio, eiúſq; ſucceſſoribus catholicè intrantibus. Non ero in facto, in dicto, conſenſu vel conſilio, vt vitam perdant vel membra, vel mala captione capiantur. Eorum damnum ſi ſciuero, impediam, & remanere faciam ſi potero: alioquin eis quàm citius potero intimabo, vel tali perſonæ dicam, quàm eis credam pro certo dicturam. Conſilium quod mihi crediderint, per ſe vel per nuncios ſuos ſeu literas ſuas, ſecretum, tenebo, & ad eorum damnum nulli pandam me ſciente. Patrimonium beati Petri, & ſpecialiter regnum Angliæ, & regnum Hyberniæ adiutor ero ad tenendum & defendendum, contra omnes homines pro poſſe meo. Sic me adiuuet Deus, & hæc ſancta euangelia, Amen. Acta autem ſunt hæc, vt prædictum eſt, in vigilia dominicæ Aſcenſionis ad Doueram, Anno 1213.

In Engliſh thus.

IOhn by the grace of God king of England, and lord of Ireland, from this houre forward, ſhall be faithfull to God and to ſaint Peter, and to the church of Rome, and to my lord pope Innocentius, and to his ſucceſſours lawfully entring. I ſhall not be in word nor deed, in conſent or counſell, that they ſhould loſe life or member, or be apprehended in euill manner. Their loſſe if I may know it, I ſhall impeach and ſtaie, ſo far as I ſhalbe able, or elſe ſo ſhortlie as I can I ſhall ſignifie vnto them, or declare to ſuch perſon the which I ſhall beleeue will declare the ſame vnto them. The counſell which they ſhal commit to me by themſelues, their meſſengers, or letters, I ſhall keepe ſecret, and not vtter to any man to their hurt to my knowledge. The patrimonie of S. Peter, and ſpeciallie the kingdomes of England and Ireland, I ſhall indeuour my ſelfe to defend againſt all men to my power. So helpe me God, and theſe holie euangeliſts, Amen. Theſe things were done on the eeue of the Aſcenſion of our Lord, in the yeare 1213.

Matth. Paris

Fortie thou ſand marks of ſiluer ſaith Matth. Weſt.

Pandulph hauing thus reconciled king Iohn, thought not good to releaſe the excommunication, till the king had performed all things which he had promiſed, and ſo with all ſpeed hauing receiued eight thouſand markes ſterling in part of reſtitution to be made to the archbiſhop, and the other baniſhed men, he ſailed backe into France, & came to Roan, where he declared to king Philip the effect of his trauell, and what he had doone in England. But king Philip hauing in this meane while conſumed a great maſſe of monie, to the ſumme of ſixtie thouſand pounds, as he himſelfe alledged, about the furniture of his iournie, which he intended to haue made into England, vpon hope to haue had no ſmall aid within the realme, by reaſon of ſuch biſhops and other baniſhed men as he had in France with him, was much offended for the reconciliation of king Iohn, and determined not ſo to breake off his enterpriſe, leaſt it might be imputed to him for a great reproch to haue beene at ſuch charges and great expenſes in vaine. Therefore calling his councell togither, he declared vnto them what he purpoſed to doo.

The Frenc K. diſpleaſ for the recon ciliation of K John with the pope.

All his Nobles in like manner held with him, and allowed his purpoſe to be verie good and requiſite, except the earle of Flanders named Ferdinando, who (in hope to recouer againe thoſe townes, which the French king held from him in Arthois, as Aire, and S. Omers) had ioined ſecretlie in league with king Iohn, and with the earle of Bullongne, and therefore miſliked the concluſion of their aduiſe. Howbeit king Philip not being yet fullie certified hereof, cauſed his nauie to draw alongeſt the coaſt towards Flanders, whither he himſelfe haſted to go alſo by land, that comming thither, he might from thence ſaile ouer into England, and take land at a place to him aſſigned.

The Frenc king meane to proceed i his iourne againſt th realme of England.

Now it came to paſſe, that at his comming to Graueling, he had perfect knowledge, that the earle of Flanders was ioined in league with his enimies, therefore he determined firſt to ſubdue the earle, leaſt whileſt he ſhould be out of his realme, ſome great trouble or ſedition might riſe within his owne dominions. Therefore, leauing the enterpriſe which he ment to haue made againſt England, he turned his power againſt the earle of Flanders, and firſt commanded his nauie to ſaile vnto the port of Dam, whileſt he himſelfe kéeping on his iournie ſtill by land, tooke the towne of Caſſile, and likewiſe Ypres. From thence he went to Bruges, and beſieged the towne, but he could not win it at the firſt, and therefore leauing a power of men to mainteine the ſiege before it, he himſelfe went to Gaunt, and thereto alſo laid his ſiege.

The French K. inuadeth Flanders.

Gaunt beſieged by the French king.

In the meane time, the earle of Flanders perceiuing that he was not able to reſiſt ſo puiſſant an enimie as the French king, ſent ouer in haſt vnto the king of England for aid. Wherevpon king Iohn vnderſtanding that his aduerſarie king Philip had turned all his force againſt the earle of Flanders, and that thereby he was deliuered out of the feare of the Frenchmens comming into England; that ſame nauie (which as before is recited) he had put in a readineſſe, conteining the number of fiue hundred ſaile, he ſent ſtreight into Flanders with a ſtrong armie, both of horſſemen and footmen, vnder the guiding of William duke of Holland, William Longſpée earle of Saliſburie baſe brother to king Iohn, and Reignold earle of Bullongne.

Match.Paris.

Theſe capteins being now paſſed foorth with their fléets into the maine ſea, eſpied anon manie ſhips lieng without the hauen of Dam (for the number of ſhips of the French fléet was ſo great, that the hauen could not receiue them all, ſo that manie of them laie at anchor without the hauen mouth, and all alongſt the coaſt.) Wherefore they ſent foorth certeine ſhallops, to eſpie whether they were fréends or enimies, and what their number and order was. It chanced, that the ſame time, the men of warre which were appointed to kéepe the French fléet, were gone foorth, togither with a great number of the mariners, to ſpoile and fetch booties abroad in the countrie.

The Engliſh eſpials therefore, making ſemblance as though they had béene ſome fiſhermen of thoſe parts, came verie néere the French ſhips lieng at anchor, and perceiuing them to be vnfurniſhed of people neceſſarie to defend them, came backe to their companie, and declared what they had ſéene, certifieng their capteins that the victorie was in their hands, if they would make ſpéed. The capteins glad of theſe newes, commanded their men to make them readie to giue battell, and cauſing their mariners to make ſaile directlie towards the French fléet, at their firſt approch they wanne thoſe tall ſhips that laie at anchor abroad before the hauen, without anie great reſiſtance, the mariners onelie making requeſt to haue their liues ſaued. The other ſmaller veſſels which (after the tide was gone) remained vpon the ſands (ſpoiling them firſt of their tackle and other things that would ſerue to vſe) they conſumed with fier, the mariners eſcaping by flight.

The Engliſh men aſſaile the French ſhips.

Thus the Engliſhmen hauing diſpatched this buſineſſe with good ſucceſſe, did ſet vpon thoſe ſhips that laie in harbrough within the hauen. But here was hard hold for a while, bicauſe the narrowneſſe of the place would not giue anie great aduantage to the greater number. And thoſe Frenchmen that were gone abroad into the countrie, perceiuing that the enimies were come, by the running awaie of the mariners, returned with all ſpéed to their ſhips to aid their fellowes, and ſo made valiant reſiſtance for a time, till the Engliſhmen getting on land, and ranging themſelues on either ſide of the hauen, beat the Frenchmen ſo on the ſides, and the ſhips grapling togither on front, that they fought as it had bin in a pitcht field, till that finallie the Frenchmen were not able to ſuſteine the force of the Engliſhmen, but were conſtreined (after long fight and great ſlaughter) to yéeld themſelues priſoners.

The Engliſh men wanne the French ſhips.

The Engliſh capteins glad of this victorie gotten, contrarie to expectation, firſt gaue thanks to God for the ſame, and then manning thrée hundred of thoſe French ſhips, which they had taken fraught with corne, wine, oile, fleſh, and other vittels, and alſo with armour, they ſent them awaie into England, and afterwards they ſet fire vpon the reſidue that laie on ground, which were aboue an hundred, bicauſe they were drawne vp ſo farre vpon the ſands, that they could not eaſilie get them out, without their further inconuenience. After this, comming on land with their power, they marched foorth into the countrie in good order of battell, to the end that if they ſhould encounter with king Philip by the way comming to the reſcue of his ſhips, they might be readie to giue them battell, which thing was not deuiſed, without good and great conſideration.

For king Philip being certified of the danger wherein his ſhips ſtood by the ſudden comming of his enimies, and therewithall being in good hope to come to their ſuccours in time, and yer the Engliſhmen had wrote their full feat, he raiſed his ſiege, and made haſt toward the coaſt: but as he was comming forward towards his nauie, he was aduertiſed that the enimies had wonne all his whole fléet, and were now marching foorth to méet him, and to giue him battell. Alſo it was told him, how Ferdinando the earle of Flanders, being certified of the victorie atchiued by his fréends, followed at his backe. Wherefore, leaſt he ſhould ſéeme ouer raſhlie to commit himſelfe into manifeſt perill, he ſtaied a little from Bruges, and there incamped for that day, as if he ment to abide the comming of his enimies.

The next morrow he raiſed and returned towards France, the verie ſame waie that he came, no man purſuing him. For the Engliſhmen contented with that victorie which they had gotten, thought it not neceſſarie to follow him with their further hazard. In the meane time, king Iohn receiuing newes of this proſperous victorie thus gotten by his people, did wonderfullie reioiſe for the ſame, conceiuing an hope, that all his buſineſſe would now come forward and growe to good ſucceſſe.

The French K. returneth into France.

¶ This is the truth of this hiſtorie, as ſome authors haue ſet it foorth. But Iames Meir in his diſcourſe of Flanders declareth the matter ſomwhat otherwiſe, as thus: Vpon the thurſdaie before the Pentecoſt (ſaith he) the Engliſh fléet ſetting vpon the French nauie, which laie at anchor in the hauen of Dam, drowned certeine of the French veſſels, and tooke to the number of foure, which they conueied awaie with them. Ferdinando the earle of Flanders hauing an armie of men readie by land, was lodged the ſame time not far off from the coaſt, and therefore hearing what had chanced, came the next day, and ioined with the Engliſhmen.

Matt.Paris.
Polydor.
Iacob.Meir.

There were yet remaining alſo diuerſe other of the French ſhips (beſides thoſe which the Engliſhmen had ſunke and taken) which were drawne vp further into the land ward. The earle of Flanders therefore, and the Engliſh capteins iudged, that it ſhould much hinder the French kings attempts, if they might win thoſe ſhips alſo with the towne of Dam, wherin the king had laid vp a great part of his prouiſion for the furniture of his warres. Hérevpon the Engliſhmen were ſet on land, and ioining with the earls power, they marched ſtrait towards Dam. This was vpon Whitſun éeuen, on the which day, as they were moſt buſie in aſſaulting the towne and ſhips which laie there in the hauen, the French king

being

The Engliſhmen and Flemmings vanquiſhed by the French force.

being come awaie from Gaunt, ſuddenlie ſet vpon them, and though in the beginning he found ſharpe reſiſtance, yet in the end, the Engliſhmen and Flemmings ouerſet with the great multituds of the Frenchmen, were put to flight, and chaſed to their ſhips, with the loſſe of two thouſand men, beſides thoſe that were taken priſoners, amongſt the which were found to be 22 knights.

The French king burneth his ſhips.

The earle of Flanders with the earles of Bullen and Saliſburie, doubting to loſe their ſhips, and late gotten bootie, ſailed ſtrait into one of the Iles of Zeland called Walkeren. Then the French king conſtreining them of Gaunt, Bruges, and Ypres, to deliuer vnto him pledges, cauſed the towne of Dam, and his ſhips lieng there in the hauen to be burned, doubting leaſt they ſhould come into the hands of his enimies, This doone, he returned into France, leauing his ſonne Lewes and the earle of S. Paule in garriſon at Liſle and Doway, and for great ſums of monie, which by agréement he receiued of the townes of Gaunt, Bruges, and Ypres, he reſtored vnto them their pledges. Thus ſaith Meire: and Matthew Paris differeth not much from him touching the ſucceſſe which chanced to the Engliſhmen by land.

¶ Héere will I ſtaie a while in the further narration of this matter, and touch by the way a thing that happened to king Iohn about this preſent time.

An heremit named Peter of Pontfret, or Wakefield as ſome writers haue.

Sée M. Fox, tome firſt, pag. 331.

There was in this ſeaſon an heremit, whoſe name was Peter, dwelling about Yorke, a man in great reputation with the common people, bicauſe that either inſpired with ſome ſpirit of propheſie as the people beléeued, or elſe hauing ſome notable ſkill in art magike, he was accuſtomed to tell what ſhould follow after. And for ſo much as oftentimes his ſaiengs prooued true, great credit was giuen to him as to a verie prophet: which was no good conſequence that therefore his predictions compriſed vndoubted euents. Naie rather, ſith in this pſeudoprophet or falſe foreteller of afterclaps, theſe neceſſarie concurrents (namelie,

Si ſenſus atq; affectus compreſſerit omnes,
Si ſpernens prorſus mortalia gaudia, ſeſe
Abdicet a curis terrenis, aſſiduóq;
Conetur ſtudio ad ſuperos extollere mentem,
Tunc etenim ſapiens fiet, poterítq; futura
Cernere, vel vigilans vel ſomno oppreſſus inerti,
Hoc pacto cecinère olim ventura prophetæ)

were wanting, and that he was contrarilie qualified to that which this heptaſtichon comprehendeth, neceſſarilie it foloweth, that he was not as he was taken, but rather a deluder of the people, and an inſtrument of ſatan raiſed vp for the inlargement of his kingdome; as the ſequele of this diſcourſe importeth. This Peter about the firſt of Ianuarie laſt paſt, had told the king, that at the feaſt of the Aſcenſion it ſhould come to paſſe, that he ſhould be caſt out of his kingdome. And (whether, to the intent that his words ſhould be the better beléeued, or whether vpon too much truſt of his owne cunning) he offered himſelfe to ſuffer death for it, if his propheſie prooued not true. Herevpon being committed to priſon within the caſtell of Corf, when the day by him prefixed came, without any other notable damage vnto king Iohn, he was by the kings commandement drawne from the ſaid caſtell, vnto the towne of Warham, & there hanged, togither with his ſonne.

The heremit and his ſonne hanged.

The people much blamed king Iohn, for this extreame dealing, bicauſe that the heremit was ſuppoſed to be a man of great vertue, and his ſonne nothing guiltie of the offenſe committed by his father (if any were) againſt the king. Moreouer, ſome thought, that he had much wrong to die, bicauſe the matter fell out euen as he had propheſied: for the day before the Aſcenſion day, king Iohn had reſigned the ſuperioritie of his kingdome (as they tooke the matter) vnto the pope, and had doone to him homage, ſo that he was no abſolute king indéed, as authors affirme. One cauſe, and that not the leaſt which mooued king Iohn the ſooner to agrée with the pope, roſe through the words of the ſaid heremit, that did put ſuch a feare of ſome great miſhap in his hart, which ſhould grow through the diſloialtie of his people, that it made him yéeld the ſooner. But to the matter againe.

King Iohn (after his capteins in Flanders had ſped ſo well as before yée haue heard) prepared to make a voiage into Guien, not much regarding the matter, in that the realme ſtood as yet interdicted. But when he vnderſtood by his lords, that they would not go with him except the interdicting might firſt be releaſed, and he clearlie abſolued of the popes curſſe, to the end that Gods wrath and the popes being fullie pacified towards him, he might with better ſpéed mooue and mainteine the warres, he was conſtreined to change his purpoſe, and ſo comming to Wincheſter, diſpatched forth a meſſenger with letters, ſigned with the hands of foure and twentie earles and barons, to the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the biſhops of London, Lincolne, and Hereford, as then ſoiourning in France, requiring them with all the other baniſhed men to returne into England, promiſing them by his letters patents, not onelie a ſure ſafeconduct for their comming ouer, but that he would alſo forget all paſſed diſpleaſures, and frankelie reſtore vnto euerie man all that by his means had béene wrongfullie taken from them, and as yet by him deteined.

King Iohn writeth to th archbiſhop & the other biſhops to returne.

The biſhops doo returne.

They came t Wincheſter ŷ 20 of Iulie.

The K. kneleth to the archbiſhop.

The archbiſhop and the other biſhops receiuing the kings letters, with all ſpéed made haſt to come into England, and ſo arriuing at Douer the ſixtéenth day of Iulie, with other the baniſhed men, they went to Wincheſter, where the king yet remained, who hearing that the biſhops were come, went forth to receiue them, and at his firſt méeting with the archbiſhop of Canturburie, he knéeled downe at his féet, and beſought him of forgiueneſſe, and that it would pleaſe him and the other biſhops alſo to prouide for the reléefe of the miſerable ſtate of the realme. Herewith the water ſtanding in diuerſe of their eies on both ſides, they entred into the citie, the people greatlie reioiſing to behold the head of the commonwealth agrée at length with the members. This was in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour 1213.

The king praieth to be abſolued.

He is abſolued.

A queſt of inquirie.

King Iohn required of the archbiſhop (hauing as then the popes power in his hands, bicauſe he was his legat) to be abſolued, promiſing vpon his ſolemne receiued oth, that he would (afore all things) defend the church and the order of prieſthood from receiuing anie wrongs. Alſo, that he would reſtore the old lawes made by the ancient kings of England, and namelie thoſe of S. Edward, which were almoſt extinguiſhed and forgotten. And further, that he would make recompenſe to all men whom he had by anie meanes indamaged. This doone, he was abſolued by the archbiſhop, & ſhortly after he ſent his oratours to Rome, to intreat with the biſhop to take awaie the interdicion of the land. On the morrow after alſo, the king ſent his letters vnto all the ſhiriffes of the counties within the realme, commanding them to ſummon foure lawfull men of euerie towne belonging to the demeans of the crowne, to make their appearance at S. Albons, vpon the 4 daie of Auguſt, that they and other might make inquiſition of the loſſes which euerie biſhop had ſuſteined, what had béene taken from them, and what ought to be reſtored to them as due for the ſame.

The archbiſhop for that time taking his leaue of the king, went to Canturburie, where he reſtored the

monks

The archbiſhop taketh poſſeſsion of his ſée.

monks to their abbie, and then tooke poſſeſſion of his ſée, being the two and fortith archbiſhop that had ruled the ſame. In the meane time, the king repaired to Porteſmouth, there to take the ſea to ſaile ouer into Poictow, committing the rule of the realme vnto Geffrey Fitz Peter or Fitz Péers, lord chéefe iuſtice, and to the biſhop of Wincheſter, commanding them to vſe the counſell and aduiſe of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, in gouerning things touching the common-wealth. Herewith there came alſo to the king a great multitude of men of warre, alledging, that they had ſpent in ſtaieng for him, and his going ouer ſea all their monie, ſo that he muſt now néeds giue them wages, if he would haue them to paſſe ouer with him into France. The which when he refuſed to doo, he was conſtreined to take the water with his owne ſeruants, arriuing about a thrée daies after at the Ile of Ierſey: but perceiuing that none of his lords followed him according to his commandement, as one diſappointed of aid, he returned backe againe into England, there to take further order for this their miſdemeanour.

The lords refuſe to follow the king into France.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in dooing, Geffrey Fitz Peter, and the biſhop of Wincheſter were come to S. Albons, togither with the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and other biſhops and péeres of the realme, where the kings peace being proclaimed to all men, it was on his behalfe ſtreitlie commanded, that the lawes of K. Henrie his grandfather ſhould be obſerued vniuerſallie within his realme, and that all vniuſt lawes and ordinances ſhould be abrogated. It was alſo commanded, that no ſhiriffe, nor forreſter, nor other miniſter of the kings, ſhould vpon paine of life and limme, take violentlie anie thing of any man by waie of extortion, nor preſume to wrong anie man, or to fine anie man, as they had afore time béene accuſtomed to doo.

King Henrie the firſt his lawes.

After this, the king being come backe from his iournie, which he purpoſed to haue made into Poictow, aſſembled an armie, and ment to haue gone againſt thoſe lords which had refuſed to go with him, but the archbiſhop of Canturburie comming to him at Northampton, ſought to appeaſe his mood, and to cauſe him to ſtaie, but yet in his furious rage he went forward till he came to Notingham, and there with much adoo, the archbiſhop following him with threatning to excommunicate all thoſe that ſhould aid him, procured him to leaue off his enterpriſe.

The archbiſhop menaceth to excommunicate thoſe ỹ aſſiſt the king.

Then the archbiſhop (about the fiue and twentith day of Auguſt) came to London, there to take aduiſe for the reformation of things touching the good gouernement of the common-wealth. But here whileſt the archbiſhop, with other péeres of the realme deuiſed orders verie neceſſarie (as was thought) for the ſtate of the common-wealth, the king doubting leaſt the ſame ſhould be a bridle for him to reſtreine his authoritie roiall from dooing things to his pleaſure, he began to find fault, and ſéemed as though he had repented himſelfe of his large promiſes made for his reconciliation: but the archbiſhop of Canturburie ſo aſſwaged his mood, and perſuaded him, by opening vnto him what danger would inſue both to him and to his realme, if he went from the agréement, that he was glad to be quiet for feare of further trouble.

In this hurlie burlie alſo the lords and péeres of the realme (by the ſetting on of the archbiſhop) were earneſtlie bent to haue the king to reſtore and confirme the grant which his grandfather king Henrie the firſt had by his charter granted and confirmed to his ſubiects, which to doo, king Iohn thought greatlie preiudiciall to his roiall eſtate and dignitie. The earle of Tholouſe hauing loſt all his poſſeſſions, the citie of Tholouſe onelie excepted, came ouer into England, & rendred the ſaid citie into the hands of king Iohn, and receiued at his departure, the ſumme of ten thouſand marks as was reported, by the bountifull gift of king Iohn.

Ralfe Cog. The earle of Tholouſe.

Matth. Paris. Geffrey Fitz Péers or Fitz Peter departeth this life.

Vpon the ſecond of October, Geffrey Fitz Peter earle of Eſſex and lord chéefe iuſtice of England departed this life, a man of great power and autoritie, in whoſe politike direction and gouernement, the order of things perteining to the common-wealth chéefelie conſiſted. He was of a noble mind, expert in knowledge of the lawes of the land, rich in poſſeſſions, and ioined in blood or affinitie with the more part of all the Nobles of the realme, ſo that his death was no ſmall loſſe to the commonwealth: for through him and the archbiſhop Hubert, the king was oftentimes reuoked from ſuch wilfull purpoſes, as now and then he was determined to haue put in practiſe, in ſo much that the king, as was reported (but how trulie I cannot tell) ſéemed to reioiſe for his death, bicauſe he might now worke his will without anie to controll him.

A cardinall ſent into England.

The ſame time, to wit, about the feaſt of ſaint Michaell, came Nicholas the cardinall of Tuſculane into England, ſent from the pope, to take awaie the interdiction, if the king would ſtand to that agreement which he had made and promiſed by his oth to performe. King Iohn receiued this cardinall in moſt honorable wiſe, and gladlie heard him in all things that he had to ſaie. This legat at his comming to Weſtminſter, depoſed the abbat of that place, named William from his roome, for that he was accuſed both of waſting the reuenues of the houſe, and alſo of notable incontinencie. Moreouer the burgeſſes of the towne of Oxford came vnto him to obteine abſolution of their offenſe, in that through their preſumption, the thrée ſchollers (of whom ye haue heard before) were hanged there, to the great terror of all the reſidue. To be ſhort, they were abſolued and penance inioined them, that they ſhould ſtrip them out of their apparell at euerie church in the towne, and going barefooted with ſcourges in their hands, they ſhould require the benefit of abſolution of euerie pariſh préeſt within their towne, ſaieng the pſalme of Miſerere.

The burgeſſes of Oxford require abſolution.

After this, the ſaid cardinall called a councell or conuocation of the cleargie, to reforme ſuch things touching the ſtate of the church as ſhould be thought requiſite. And though he handled not this matter with ſuch fauour and vprightneſſe as the biſhops wiſhed on their behalfes, yet he cauſed king Iohn to reſtore the moſt part of all thoſe goods that remained vnſpent, and alſo the value of halfe of thoſe that were conſumed and made awaie, vnto thoſe perſons as well ſpirituall as temporall, from whom they had béene taken in time of the diſcord betwixt him and the pope. But before all things could be thus quieted and ſet in order betwixt the king and the biſhops, manie méetings were had, as at London, Reading, Wallingford, and in other places.

A cõuocation called by the cardinall.

Now the archbiſhop and prelates for their parts thought this recompenſe to be but ſmall, in reſpect of the great loſſes and hinderances which they had ſuſteined: and to haue the whole reſtitution delaied, they tooke it not well. Howbeit the cardinall leaned ſo to the kings ſide (hauing receiued of him to the popes vſe the charter of ſubiection of the realmes of England and Ireland, now bulled with gold, where at the firſt it was deliuered to Pandulph ſealed onelie with wax. But their ſuit came to little effect, and in the end it fell out in ſuch wiſe, that their complaint was leſſe regarded. Moreouer, the rating of the value which the king ſhould reſtore vnto the archbiſhop, and the other biſhops, was by agréement of the king and them togither, appointed vnto foure barons indifferentlie choſen betwixt them.

At length notwithſtanding that deuiſe tooke no place: for it was otherwiſe decréed by the pope, that the king ſhould reſtore to them the ſumme of fortie thouſand marks, of the which he had paid alreadie twelue thouſand, before the returne of the ſaid archbiſhop and biſhops into the realme, and fiftéene thouſand more at the late méeting had betwixt them at Reading, ſo that there remained onelie 13000 behind: for not onelie the king, but alſo the cardinall had ſent to the pope, requiring him to take direction in the matter, and to aduertiſe him, that there was a great fault in the archbiſhop and his fellowes. In ſo much that Pandulph which was ſent to him from the legat, declared in fauour of the king, that there was not a more humble and modeſt prince to be found than king Iohn, and that the archbiſhop and his fellowes were too hard, and ſhewed themſelues too couetous in requiring the reſtitution that ſhould be made to them for loſſes ſuſteined in time of the interdiction.

Reſtitution to be made to the biſhops.

King Iohn commended to the pope for an humble prince.

Now the cauſe wherefore the legat and the king did ſend vnto the pope, was this. There was ſome grudge betwixt the legat and the archbiſhop, for that where the pope had written to the legat, how he ſhould (according to the order of the ancient canons of the church) place in euerie biſhops ſée and abbeie (that was void) méet and able perſons to rule and guide the ſame, the legat preſuming on that authoritie granted him by the pope, without the aduiſe of the archbiſhop or other biſhops, tooke onelie with him certeine of the kings chapleins, and comming with them to ſuch churches as were vacant, ordeined in them ſuch perſons as were nothing méet to take ſuch charge vpon them, and that according to the old abuſe of England, as Matthew Paris ſaith. Wherevpon the archbiſhop of Canturburie repining at ſuch doings, ſent to the legat as then being at Burton vpon Trent, two of his chapleins from Dunſtable (where he and his ſuffragans held as then a ſynod, after the feaſt of the Epiphanie) commanding him by waie of appeale, in no wiſe to meddle with inſtituting any gouernours to churches, within the precinct of his iuriſdiction, where ſuch inſtitutions belonged onelie to him.

Matth. Paris. The preſumption of the cardinall.

1214

Burton vpon Trent. Dunſtable. A ſynod. Diſcord betwixt the cardinall and the archbiſhop of Canturburie.

Herevpon therefore the legat diſpatched Pandulph to Rome vnto the pope as is aforeſaid, and the king likewiſe ſent ambaſſadors thither, as the biſhop of Norwich, and the archdeacon of Northumberland, with others, the which in the end ſo behaued themſelues in their ſuit, that notwithſtanding Simon Langton the archbiſhops brother earneſtlie withſtood them, as proctor for the biſhops, yet at length, the pope tooke order in the matter, writing vnto his legat, that he ſhould ſée the ſame fulfilled, and then abſolue the realme of the former interdiction. In this meane time, king Iohn made prouiſion to go ouer into France (as after yée ſhall heare) but at his going ouer he committed the whole ordering of this matter vnto the legat, and to William Marſhall the earle of Penbroke. The legat therefore vpon the receipt of the popes bulles, called a councell at London, and there declaring what was conteined in the ſame, he tooke bands for paiment of the reſidue of the fortie thouſand marks which was behind, being 13000 onelie, as before I haue ſaid.

About the ſame time alſo, Walter Gray biſhop of Worceſter was remoued to the gouernement of the ſée of Yorke, which had béen vacant euer ſince the death of the archbiſhop Geffrey. This Walter was the thrée & thirtith archbiſhop that gouerned that ſée. But now to returne and ſpeake of the kings affaires in the parts beyond the ſea. Ye ſhall vnderſtand, that hauing ſet his buſineſſe in ſome good ſtaie at home with the legat, he applied his ſtudie to the performance of his wars abroad, and therefore he firſt ſent monie into Flanders to paie the ſouldiers wages, which he had ſent thither to aid the erle there againſt king Philip. Which earle came ouer this yeare into England, and at Canturburie the king receiued him, where he did homage to the king for the whole earledome of Flanders: and on the other part, the king as well to the ſaid earle, as to ſuch lords and biſhops which came ouer with him, declared his roiall liberalitie by princelie gifts of gold, ſiluer, iewels, and pretious ſtones. After his returne, ſuch capteins as remained in his countrie with their bands at the king of Englands paie, made a iournie into France, and waſted the lands that belonged to the earle of Guiſnes, wanne the caſtell of Bruncham, and raced it, taking within it diuerſe men of armes and demilances. They alſo wanne by ſiege the towne of Aire, and burnt it. The caſtell of Liens they tooke by aſſault, and ſlue manie ſouldiers that defended it, beſide thoſe which they tooke priſoners.

Walter Gray biſhop of Worceſter is remoued to the ſée of Yorke.

Monie ſent in to Flanders.

Rafe Cog. The earle of Flanders dooth homage to K. Iohn.

Matth. Paris. The lands of yͤ erle of Guiſnes waſted.

Moreouer, they waſted and deſtroied the lands which Lewes the French kings ſonne was poſſeſſed of in thoſe parts. In the meane time, king Iohn hauing prepared a mightie nauie, and a ſtrong armie of valiant ſoldiers, tooke ſea at Portſmouth on Candlemas day, with his wife, his ſonne Richard, & Elianor the ſiſter of Arthur duke of Britaine. He had not many of his earles or barons with him, but a great number of knights and gentlemen, with whome he landed at Rochell in ſafetie, within a few daies after his ſetting forth. He tooke ouer with him ineſtimable treaſure, as it was reported, in gold, ſiluer, and iewels. Immediatlie vpon his arriuall at Rochell, the barons of Poictow reuolted from the French king, and comming in to king Iohn, did homage vnto him, as to their king and ſoueraigne lord.

But howſoeuer it was, after the truce began to expire which he had granted vnto the earls of Marſh and Augi, on the friday before Whitſunday he came with his armie before the caſtell of Meireuent, which belonged vnto Geffrey de Lucignam, and on the day next inſuing, being Whitſun éeue, he wanne the ſame. On Whitſunday he laid ſiege vnto Nouant, an other caſtell belonging to the ſame Geffrey, who as then was lodged in the ſame, and alſo two of his ſonnes: but within thrée daies after that the ſiege was laid, the earle of Marſh came to king Iohn, and did ſo much preuaile, that through his means, both Geffrey and his two ſonnes were receiued to mercie, and king Iohn put in poſſeſſion of the caſtell. After this, bicauſe king Iohn was aduertiſed, that Lewes the French kings ſonne had now beſieged Mountcounter, a caſtell that was apperteining to the ſaid Geffrey, he haſted thitherwards, and came to Parthenay, whither came to him as well the foreſaid earle of Marſh, as alſo the earle of Augi, and both they togither with the ſaid Geffrey de Lucignam, did homage to our king, and ſo became his liege men. The ſame time alſo, the ladie Iane the kings daughter was affianced to the ſaid earle of Marſh his ſonne, whereas the French king made means to haue hir married to his ſonne: but bicauſe king Iohn doubted leaſt that ſuit was attempted but vnder ſome cloked pretenſe, he would giue no eare thereto, but rather made this match with the earle of Marſh, in hope ſo to aſſure himſelfe of the ſaid earle, that he might ſtand him in no ſmall ſtéed to defend his cauſe againſt his aduerſaries of France. But now to the doings in England.

Anno. Reg. 16.

Meireuent. Geffrey de Lucignam.

Nouant.

Mountcounter.

Parthenay.

Iane the daughter of king Iohn married to the erle of Marſh.

¶ Ye haue heard before how pope Innocent (or rather Nocent, who was the root of much miſchiefe and trouble, which qualities are nothing conſonant to his name) according to that king Iohn had required of him by ſolemne meſſengers, directed his bulles vnto his legat Nicholas, declaring vpon what conditions his pleaſure was to haue the ſentence of interdiction releaſed. Wherein firſt he commanded that the king ſhould ſatiſfie and pay ſo much monie vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and to the biſhop of London and Elie, as ſhould fullie amount to the ſumme of 40 thouſand markes (with that which alreadie he had paied, which was 27 thouſand markes, at two ſeuerall paiments, as vpon his accounts appeared.) For true contentation and paiment to be made of the reſidue, he ordeined that the king ſhould be ſworne, and alſo ſeale to an obligation, and certeine ſuerties with him (as the biſhops of Norwich and Wincheſter, with the earles of Cheſter, Wincheſter, and Marſhall) all which things were performed at this preſent, ſo that after the aſſurance ſo taken for paiment of the od 13 thouſand marks behind, reſidue of the 40 thouſand marks, the interdiction was taken vtterlie awaie, and the land ſolemnelie releaſed by the legat, ſitting within the cathedrall church of S. Paule at London, vpon the 29 of Iune, in the yeare 1214, after the terme of ſix yeares, thrée moneths, and 14 daies, that the realme had béene ſtriken with that dreadfull dart of correction, as it was then eſtéemed.

The interdiction releaſed.

The emperor Otho.

King Iohn in the meane time remaining ſtill in France, and finding at the beginning fortune fauorable inough vnto him, by reaſon his power was much increaſed by the aid of the Poictouins, determined to attempt the winning of Britaine, for this cauſe ſpeciallie, that he might by ſo dooing weaken the French kings power, and partlie alſo to withdraw him from the wars of Flanders, on which ſide he had procured likewiſe the French borders to be inuaded with great force, and that not onelie by the earle and ſuch capteins as he had ſent thither, and reteined in wages, but alſo by the emperour Otho, who in proper perſon came downe into that countrie himſelfe.

K. Iohn inuadeth Britaine.

The Britaines put to flight.

Peter the erle of Dreux his ſonne taken priſoner.

Herevpon king Iohn went forth with all his power of horſſemen, and entering into Britaine, made rodes through the countrie, waſting the ſame euen to the walles of Naunts: but ſhortlie after the Britaines aſſembled togither, vnder the leading of Peter, the ſon of Robert earle of Dreux (the French kings vncle, who had maried the ladie Adela, daughter to duke Guie of Britaine) and marching forth into the field to defend their countrie from the enimies, came to ioine with them in battell. At the firſt there was a verie ſharpe incounter, but at length the Britains being vanquiſhed and put to flight, a great number of them were taken priſoners, and amongſt other their capteins, the foreſaid Peter was one, whom king Iohn ſent awaie with all the reſt vnto Angiers, to be kept in ſafegard vntill he ſhould returne.

The French kings ſonne came to fight with king Iohn.

K. Iohn remoueth to Angiers.

The Poictouins ſubdued by the Frēch.

The battell at the bridge of Bouins.

After this, he beſieged a caſtell that ſtood vpon the banke of the riuer of Loier, called La Roch au moyne, inforcing his whole indeuour to haue woone it. But yer he could atteine his purpoſe, he was aduertiſed that Lewes the ſonne of king Philip was comming towards him with a great power to raiſe his ſiege. Wherefore hauing no great confidence in the Poictouins, and vnderſtanding that Lewes brought with him a verie ſtrong armie, he tooke aduiſe of his councell, who iudged that it ſhould be beſt for him to breake vp his ſiege and to depart, which he did, and went ſtreight waies to Angiers. Lewes (after king Iohn was thus retired) brought the Poictouins againe to ſubiection, and put the chiefe authours of the rebellion to death. In the meane time alſo his father king Philip with like ſucceſſe, but in a foughten field, vanquiſhed the emperour Otho at the bridge of Bouins on the 28 day of Iulie, as in the hiſtorie of France more at large appeare. There among other priſoners, the thrée earles of Flanders Saliſburie and Bullogne were taken.

The ſaieng of king Iohn.

Now king Iohn being aduertiſed of that ouerthrow, was maruellouſlie ſad and ſorrowfull for the chance, in ſomuch that he would not receiue any meat in a whole daie after the newes thereof was brought vnto him. At length turning his ſorrow into rage, he openlie ſaid, that ſince the time that he made himſelfe & his kingdom ſubiect to the church of Rome, nothing that he did had proſpered well with him. Indéed he condeſcended to an agréement with the pope (as may be thought) more by force than of deuotion, and therefore rather diſſembled with the pope (ſith he could not otherwiſe chooſe) than agréed to the couenants with any hartie affection.

A truce taken betwixt the two kings of England & France.

But to the purpoſe. Perceiuing himſelfe now deſtitute of his beſt fréends, of whom diuerſe remained priſoners with the French king (being taken at the battell of Bouins) he thought good to agrée with king Philip for this preſent, by way of taking ſome truce, which by mediation of ambaſſadours riding to and fro betwixt them, was at length accorded to endure for fiue yeares, and to begin at Eaſter, in the yeare of our Lord, 1215. After this, about the 19 daie of October he returned into England, to appeaſe certeine tumults which began alreadie to ſhoot out buds of ſome new ciuill diſſention. And ſuerlie the ſame ſpred abroad their bloſſoms ſo freſhlie, that the fruit was knit before the growth by ante timelie prouiſion could be hindered. For the people being ſet on by diuerſe of the ſuperiours of both ſorts, finding themſelues gréeued that the king kept not promiſe in reſtoring the ancient lawes of S. Edward, determined from thenceforth to vſe force, ſince by requeſt he might not preuaile. To appeaſe this furie of the people, not onlie policie but power alſo was required, for the people vndertaking an euill enterpriſe, ſpeciallie raiſing a tumult or ioining in a conſpiracie are as hardlie ſuppreſſed and vanquiſhed as Hydra the monſter hauing manie heads: and therefore it is well ſaid, that

———comes eſt diſcordia vulgi,
Námque à turbando nomen ſibi turba recepit.

A cloked pilgrimage.

The Nobles ſuppoſing that longer delaie therein was not to be ſuffered, aſſembled themſelues togither at the abbeie of Burie (vnder colour of going thither to doo their deuotions to the bodie of S. Edmund which laie there inſhrined) where they vttered their complaint of the kings tyrannicall maners, alledging how they were oftentimes called forth to ſerue in the wars & to fight in defenſe of the realme, and yet notwithſtanding were ſtill oppreſſed at home by the kings officers, who (vpon confidence of the lawes) attempted all things whatſoeuer they conceiued. And if anie man complained, or alledged that he receiued wrong at their hands, they would anſwer by and by, that they had law on their ſide to doo as they had doone, ſo that it was no wrong but right which they did, and therfore if they that were the lords and péeres of the realme were men, it ſtood them vpon to prouide that ſuch inconueniences might be auoided, and better lawes brought in vſe, by the which their anceſtours liued in a more quiet and happie ſtate.

The charter of K. Henrie the firſt.

A firebrand of diſſention.

There was brought forth and alſo read an ancient charter made ſometime by Henrie the firſt (which charter Stephan the archbiſhop of Canturburie had deliuered vnto them before in the citie of London) conteining the grant of certeine liberties according to the lawes of king Edward the confeſſor, profitable to the church and barons of the realme, which they purpoſed to haue vniuerſallie executed ouer all the land. And therfore being thus aſſembled in the quéere of the church of S. Edmund, they receiued a ſolemne oth vpon the altar there, that if the king would not grant to the ſame liberties, with others which he of his owne accord had promiſed to confirme to them, they would from thenceforth make warre vpon him, till they had obteined their purpoſe, and inforced him to grant, not onelie to all theſe their petitions, but alſo yéeld to the confirmation of them vnder his ſeale, for euer to remaine moſt ſtedfaſt and inuiolable.

Bernewell.

The cheefe cauſe that mooued the lords to this conſpiracie, roſe by reaſon the king demanded eſcuage of them that refuſed to go with him into Poictow: and they on the other part mainteined, that they were not bound to paie it, for any warres which the king made in the parts beyond the ſeas. But he to prooue that he ought to haue it, declared how in his fathers and brothers time it was paied, and therefore he ought to haue it. Much adoo there was about this matter at the firſt broching thereof, and more adoo there had béene, if the legats preſence had not ſomewhat ſtaied the parties. But after they had gotten the charter of king Henrie the firſt at the hands of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, they made ſuch a ſiniſter interpretation thereof, that ſuppoſing it to ſerue their turnes, they procéeded in their wilfull opinions (as aboue is mentioned.)

Finallie it was determined amongſt them, that ſhortlie after Chriſtmaſſe, they ſhould go to the king, and require of him that they might haue thoſe laws reſtored, which he had promiſed to them (as is aforeſaid.) But foraſmuch as they knew well that their ſute would not be thankfullie accepted, in the meane time they prouided themſelues of horſſe, armour, and other furniture for the warre, thereby to be in the better readineſſe and ſafegard, if in exhibiting their requeſt, the matter did grow to any ſuch inforcement. They appointed alſo diuerſe of the moſt ancient lords to mooue the ſaid matter to the king, in all their names, who was as then at Worceſter, and being aduertiſed of this conſpiracie, as ſoone as the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe was paſt, he went ſtreight to London: thither came the lords alſo with like ſpéed, leauing their men in the townes and villages abroad, to be readie vpon any ſudden warning to come vnto them, if néed ſhould ſo require.

1215
Matt. Paris.
Polydor.

The lords preſent their requeſt to the king.

Being come into his preſence, they required of him that it might pleaſe him, firſt, to appoint the exerciſe and vſe of thoſe ancient lawes vnto them, by the which the kings of England in times paſt ruled their ſubiects: ſecondlie, that according to his promiſe, he would abrogate thoſe newer lawes, which euerie man might with good cauſe name méere wrongs, rather than lawes: and thirdlie they required of him the performance of all other things, which he had moſt faithfullie of late vndertaken to obſerue. The king (though ſomewhat contrarie to his nature) hauing heard their requeſt, gaue them a verie gentle anſwer. For perceiuing them readie with force to conſtreine him, if by gentleneſſe they might not preuaile, he thought it ſhould be more ſafe and eaſie for him to turne their vnquiet minds with ſoft remedies than to go about to breake them of their willes by ſtrong hand, which is a thing verie dangerous, eſpeciallie where both parts are of like force. Therefore he promiſed them within a few daies, to haue conſideration of their requeſt.

The K. promiſeth to conſider of their requeſts.

And to the intent they might giue the more credit to his words, he cauſed the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the biſhop of Elie, with William Marſhall earle of Penbroke (vnto whome he had giuen his daughter Elianor in marriage) to vndertake for him, and as it were to become his ſuerties: which willinglie they did. Herewith the minds of the Nobilitie being ſomewhat pacified, returned home to their houſes. The king ſoone after alſo, to aſſure himſelfe the more effectuallie of the allegiance of his people in time to come, cauſed euerie man to renew his homage, and to take a new oth to be faithfull to him againſt all other perſons. And to prouide the more ſuerlie for himſelfe, on Candlemaſſe day next inſuing, he tooke vpon him the croſſe to go into the holie land, which I thinke he did rather for feare than any deuotion, as was alſo thought by other, to the end that he might (vnder the protection thereof) remaine the more out of danger of ſuch as were his foes. In which point of diſſimulation he ſhewed himſelfe prudent, obſeruing the counſell of the wiſeman,

Matth. Paris.
The king demandeth a new oth of allegiance of his ſubiects.

The king taketh on him the croſſe.

——— *incluſum corde dolorem*
Diſſimula atq; tace, ne deteriora ſubinde
Damna feras.

¶ Some ſay that a great part of this variance that chanced betwéene king Iohn and his barons, was bicauſe the king would without ſkilfull aduiſe haue exiled the earle of Cheſter, and for none other occaſion than for that he had oftentimes aduiſed him to leaue his cruell dealing, and alſo his accuſtomed adulterie with his brothers wife and others. Other write, that the ſame diſſention roſe by reaſon of the great crueltie, and vnreaſonable auarice, which the king vſed towards all the ſtates and degrées of his ſubiects, as well towards them of the ſpiritualtie, as of the temporaltie. The prelats therefore of the realme ſore repining at his doings, for that they could not patientlie ſuffer ſuch exaction to be leuied of their liuings (contrarie as they toke it to the libertie of the church) found meanes through practiſe, to perſuade both the kings of Scotland and France to aid and ſupport them againſt him, by linking themſelues togither with ſundrie noblemen of England. But theſe ſéeme to be coniectures of ſuch writers as were euill affected towards the kings cauſe.

The cauſes of the diſcord betwixt the king and his barons.
Fabian.
Caxton.
The earle of Cheſter.
Hector Boet.
The kings couetouſneſſe.

The repining of the cleargie againſt the k.

Now therefore to the ſequele of the matter. The king hauing ſent awaie the barons with a gentle anſwer, though he minded nothing leſſe than to ſatiſfie them in that they did demand, bicauſe it made much againſt his roiall prerogatiue: and therewith foreſéeing that the matter would be like to grow at length to be tried by force, he began to dout his owne eſtate, and therefore prepared an armie, and fortified diuerſe caſtels and places with men, munition, and vittels, into the which he might retire for his ſafetie in any time of néed. The barons which vnderſtood the kings diligence herein, and coniecturing thereof his whole intent, made readie alſo their power, appointing for their generall one Robert Fitz Walter, a man both excellent in counſell, and valiant in warre. Herewith they came vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie, preſenting vnto him a booke, wherein was conteined a note of all the articles of their petitions, & required him to vnderſtand the kings mind touching the ſame. The archbiſhop coueting to extinguiſh the ſedition (whereof he himſelfe had béene no ſmall kindler) which was like to grow, if the Nobilitie were not pacified the ſooner, talked with the king, and exhorted his grace verie inſtantlie to ſatiſfie the requeſts of his barons, and herewith did ſhew the booke of the articles which they had deliuered vnto him.

Polydor.

Robert Fitz Walter.

The archb. of Canturburie mooueth the k. to ſatiſfie the requeſts of the barons.

The king, when he ſaw what they demanded (which in effect was a new order in things touching the whole ſtate of the common wealth) ſware in a great furie, that he would neuer condeſcend vnto thoſe petitions. Whereof when the barons had knowledge, they gat them ſtrait vnto armour, making their aſſemblie at Stamford in the Eaſter wéeke, whither they had drawne vnto them almoſt the whole Nobilitie, and gathered an excéeding great armie. For the commons

The king refuſeth to grant their petitions.
Matt. Paris.

---

commons floc
cauſe the king
part of his ſub
It was con
the number of
on horſſebacke
and footemen a
The chiefe rin
whoſe names
Veſcie, Rich
Breuſe, Nicho
cheſter, Rober
Richard earl
William de C
Vere, Foulk
liam de Mont
mon de Kinc
liam Mandui
Robert, Iohn
lane, W. de
Maurice de C
de Mounfiche
uile earle of
de Huntingfi
Menton, Ale
Alexander de
ſtable of Che
Helie, and m
with them as
The king a
the aſſemblie
were come to
the octaues of
ſhop of Cant
fidence, and W
to vnderſtand
bling thus to
the ſame me
liberties, priu
nifieng that
ſame, they w
he ſhould ſati
The archb
king, ſhewe
which the ba
nation there
" not aſke to ha
" firmed with a
" ſuch liberties
Here vpon th
returned to t
all to confirm
ming their h
church, ſet fo
ton, and beſie
preuaile, bic
fenſe aforeh
came towar
in which ſir
who being ſe
the place inc
Whileſt th
tifie and furn
there came
them to vnd
nient power
ſhould be rec
nable time t
would ioine
king to the
were glad o
the realme t
ſent foure ba
which were b

The names of the lords that banded themſelues againſt the king.

Anno Reg. 17.

Matth. Paris.

The king ſendeth to the lords.

The barons giue a plauſible name to their armie.

Northampton beſieged.

They wan the towne but not the caſtell.
Matth. Weſt.

Bedford caſtell deliuered to the barons.

commons flocked vnto them from euerie part, bicauſe the king was generallie hated of the more part of his ſubiects.

It was coniectured that there were in that armie the number of two thouſand knights, beſide yeomen on horſſebacke or demilances (as I may call them) and footmen apparelled in diuerſe ſorts of armour. The chiefe ringleaders of this power were theſe, whoſe names inſue: Robert Fitz Walter, Euſtace Veſcie, Richard Percie, Robert Roos, Peter de Breuſe, Nicholas de Stuteuill, Saer earle of Wincheſter, Robert erle of Clare, Henrie earle of Clare, Richard earle de Bigot, William de Mowbray, William de Creſſey, Ralfe Fitz Robert, Robert de Vere, Foulke Fitz Warren, Will. Mallet, William de Montacute, William de Beauchampe, Simon de Kime, William Marſhall the yoonger, William Manduit, Robert de Montibigonis, Iohn Fitz Robert, Iohn Fitz Alane, G. Lauale, O. Fitz Alane, W. de Hobrug, O. de Vales, G. de Gaunt, Maurice de Gaunt, Robert de Brakeſley, Robert de Mounfichet, Will. de Lanualley, G. de Maundeuile earle of Eſſex, William his brother, William de Huntingfield, Robert de Greſley, G. conſtable of Menton, Alexander de Panton, Peter Fitz Iohn, Alexander de Sutton, Oſbert de Bodie, Iohn conſtable of Cheſter, Thomas de Muleton, Conan Fitz Helie, and manie other; they had alſo of councell with them as chiefe the archbiſhop of Canturburie.

The names of the lords that banded themſelues againſt the king.

Anno Reg.17.

Matth.Paris.

The king as then was at Oxford, who hearing of the aſſemblie which the barons made, and that they were come to Brakeſley, on the mondaie next after the octaues of Eaſter, he ſent vnto them the archbiſhop of Canturburie, in whom he repoſed great confidence, and William Marſhall earle of Penbroke, to vnderſtand what they meant by that their aſſembling thus togither. Wherevpon they deliuered to the ſame meſſengers a roll conteining the ancient liberties, priuiledges and cuſtoms of the realme, ſignifieng that if the king would not confirme the ſame, they would not ceaſe to make him warre, till he ſhould ſatiſfie their requeſts in that behalfe.

The king ſendeth to the lords.

The archbiſhop and the earle returning to the king, ſhewed him the whole circumſtance of that which the barons demanded, who tooke great indignation thereat, and ſcornefullie ſaid; Why doo they not aſke to haue the kingdome alſo? Finallie, he affirmed with an oth, that he would neuer grant any ſuch liberties, whereby he ſhould become a ſlaue. Herevpon the archbiſhop and the earle of Penbroke returned to the barons, and declared the kings deniall to confirme their articles. Then the barons naming their hoaſt The armie of God and the holie church, ſet forward, and firſt came vnto Northampton, and beſieging the towne, when they could not preuaile, bicauſe the ſame was well prouided for defenſe aforehand, they departed from thence, and came towards Bedford to beſiege the caſtell there, in which ſir William Beauchampe was capteine, who being ſecretlie confederate with them, deliuered the place incontinentlie into their hands.

The barons giue a plauſible name to their armie.

Northampton beſieged.

They wan the towne but not the caſtell. Matth.Weſt.

Bedford caſtell deliuered to the barons.

Whileſt they remained here a certeine time to fortifie and furniſh the caſtell with neceſſarie prouiſion, there came letters to them from London, giuing them to vnderſtand, that if they would ſend a conuenient power of ſouldiers to defend the citie, the ſame ſhould be receiued thereinto at ſome meet and reaſonable time in the night ſeaſon by the citizens, who would ioine with them in that quarell againſt the king to the vttermoſt of their powers. The lords were glad of theſe newes, to haue the chiefe citie of the realme to take part with them, and therfore they ſent foure bands of ſouldiers ſtreightwaies thither, which were brought into the citie in the night ſeaſon (according to order aforehand taken.) But as Matt. Paris ſaith, they were receiued into the citie by Algate, the 24 of Maie being ſundaie, whileſt the citizens were at maſſe. The next day they made open rebellion, tooke ſuch as they knew fauoured the king, brake into the houſes of the Iewes, & ſpoiled them.

The barons hauing thus gotten poſſeſſion of the citie of London, wrote letters vnto all thoſe lords which as yet had not ioined with them in this confederacie, threatening that if they refuſed to aid them now in this neceſſitie, they would deſtroie their caſtels, manours, parkes, and other poſſeſſions, making open warre vpon them as the enimies of God, and rebels to the church. Theſe were the names of thoſe lords which yet had not ſworne to mainteine the foreſaid liberties, William Marſhall earle of Penbroke, Rainulfe earle of Cheſter, Nicholas earle of Saliſburie, William earle Warren, William erle of Albemarle, H. earle of Cornewall, W. de Albenie, Robert de Veipount, Peter Fitz Herbert, Brian de Liſley, G. de Lucie, G. de Furniuall, Thomas Baſſet, H. de Braibrooke, I. de Baſſingborne, W. de Cantlow, H. de Cornwall, Iohn Fitz Hugh, Hugh de Neuill, Philip de Albenie, Iohn Marſhall, and William Brewer. All theſe vpon receipt of the barons letters, or the more part of them came to London, and ioined themſelues with the barons, vtterlie renouncing to aid king Iohn.

Matth.Paris.

The barons write to other of the nobilitie to ioine with them againſt the king,

Alſo the plees in the eſchequer ceaſed, and the ſhiriffes ſtaied from executing their office. For there was none that would paie anie monie to the kings vſe, nor anie that did obeie him, in ſomuch that there remained with him but onelie ſeuen horſſemen of all his traine at one time (as ſome write) though ſoone after he had a great power, which came to him to the caſtell of Windſore, where he then laie, and meant to haue led the ſame againſt the lords with all ſpeed. But hearing now of this new rebellion of the Londoners, he changed his purpoſe and durſt not depart from Windſore, being brought in great doubt leaſt all the other cities of the realme would follow their example. Herevpon he thought good to aſſaie if he might come to ſome agreement by waie of communication, and incontinentlie ſent his ambaſſadours to the barons, promiſing them that he would ſatiſfie their requeſts, if they would come to Windſore to talke with him.

The king left deſolate of freends.

Polydor.

Howbeit, the lords hauing no confidence in his promiſe came with their armie within three miles of Windſore, and their pitcht downe their tents in a medow betwixt Stanes and Windſore, whither king Iohn alſo came the 15 daie of Iune, and ſhewed ſuch friendlie countenance towards euerie one of them, that they were put in good hope he meant no deceipt. Being thus met, they fell in conſultation about an agreement to be had. On the kings part (as it were) ſate the archbiſhops of Canturburie and Dublin, the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Lincolne, Bath, Worceſter, Couentrie, Rocheſter, and Pandulph the popes Nuncio, with Almerike maſter of the knights templers: the earles of Penbroke, Saliſburie, Warren, Arundell, Alane de Galoway, William Fitz Gerald, Peter Fitz Herbert, Alane Baſſet, Hugh de Neuill, Hubert de Burgh seneſchall of Poictou, Robert de Ropley, Iohn Marſhall, and Philip de Albenie. On the barons part, there were innumerable, for all the nobilitie of England was in a maner aſſembled there togither.

The lords incamped betwixt Stanes and windſore.

K. Iohn commeth to them to talk of ſome pacification.

Matth.Paris.

Finallie, when the king meaſuring his owne ſtrength with the barons, perceiued that he was not able to reſiſt them, he conſented to ſubſcribe and ſeale to ſuch articles concerning the liberties demanded, in forme for the moſt part as is conteined in the two charters Magna Charta, and Charta de Foreſta, be-

Magna Charta and Charta de Foreſta.

ginning *Iohannes Dei gratia, &c.* And he did not onlie grant vnto them their petitions touching the forſaid liberties, but alſo to win him further credit, was contented that they ſhould chooſe out certeine graue and honourable perſonages, which ſhould haue authoritie and power to ſee thoſe things performed which he then granted vnto them.

There were twentie fiue of thoſe that were ſo elected, namelie theſe. The earles of Clare, Albemarle, Glocceſter, Wincheſter, and Hereford: alſo earle Roger, earle Robert, earle Marſhall the yoonger, Robert Fitz Walter the yoonger, Gilbert de Clare, Euſtace de Veſcie, Hugh Bigot, William de Mowbray, the maior of London, Gilbert de la Vale, Robert de Roos, John conſtable of Cheſter, Richard de Percie, John Fitz Robert, William Mallet, Geffrey de Saie, Roger de Mowbray, William de Huntingfield, Richard de Mountfichet, and William de Albenie. Theſe fiue and twentie were ſworne to ſee the liberties granted and confirmed by the king to be in euerie point obſerued, but if he went againſt the ſame, then they ſhould haue authoritie to compell him to the obſeruing of euerie of them.

Moreouer, there were other that were ſworne to be obedient, and as it were aſſiſtant vnto theſe fiue and twentie peeres in ſuch things as they ſhould appoint, which were theſe. The earle of Arundell, the earle Warren by his attornie, Henrie Doilie, Hubert de Burgh, Matthew Fitz Herbert, Robert de Pinknie, Roger Huſcarle, Robert de Newburgh, Henrie de Pont Audoin, Rafe de la Hay, Henrie de Brentfield, Warren Fitz Gerald, Thomas Baſſet, William de Buckland, William de ſaint John, Alane Baſſet, Richard de Riuers, Hugh de Boneuale, Jordain de Sackuille, Ralfe Muſgraue, Richard Siſlewaſt, Robert de Ropeley, Andrew de Beauchampe, Walter de Dunſtable, Walter Folloth, Foukes de Brent, John Marſhall, Philip Daubnie, William de Perca, Ralfe de Normandie, William de Percie, William Agoilum, Engerand de Pratellis, William de Cirenton, Roger de Zuche, Roger Fitz Barnard, and Godfrie de Grancombe. It was further ordered, that the chatelains or conſtables (as I may call them) of the foure caſtels of Northampton, Billingworth, Notingham, and Scarborow, ſhould be ſworne to the fiue and twentie peeres, to gouerne thoſe caſtels in ſuch wiſe as they ſhould haue in commandement from the ſaid fiue and twentie peeres, or from the greater part of them: and that ſuch ſhould be placed as chatelains in the ſame, as were thought to be moſt true and faithfull vnto the barons and the realme. ¶ It was alſo decreed, that certeine ſtrangers, as Flemings and other, ſhould be baniſhed out of England.

The chatelains of foure caſtels.

The king herevpon ſent his letters patents vnto the ſhiriffes of all the counties of this realme, commanding them to ſee the ordinances and liberties which he granted and confirmed, to be diligentlie obſerued. And for the more ſtrengthening of this his grant, he had gotten the pope to confirme a like charter granted the yeare before. For the pope (ſith king John was become his obedient vaſſall, and the apoſtolike king) eaſilie granted to gratifie both him and his lords herein, and ſo was the grant of the liberties corroborated & made good with a double confirmation, and ſo ſealed, that it was impoſſible for them to be ſeparated in ſunder, the kings grant being annexed to the popes bull.

Immediatlie alſo vpon the confirmation now made by the king, diuerſe lords came to him, and required reſtitution of ſuch poſſeſſions, lands, and houſes, as he had in his hands, the right whereof (as they alledged) apperteined to them: but he excuſed the matter, and ſhifted them off, till by inqueſt taken, it might appeare what right euerie man had to thoſe things which they then claimed: and furthermore aſſigned them a daie to be holden at Weſtminſter, which was the ſixteenth day of Julie. But yer he reſtored at that time the caſtell of Rocheſter vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie, the barons hauing obteined a great peece of their purpoſe (as they thought) returned to London with their charter ſealed, the date whereof was this: Giuen by our owne hand, in the medow called Kuningſmede or Rimemede, betwixt Stanes and Windſore, the fifteenth of Iune, in the eighteenth yeare of our reigne.

Rocheſter caſtell reſtored to the archb. of Canturburie.

Great reioiſing was made for this concluſion of peace betwixt the king and his barons, the people iudging that God had touched the kings heart, and mollified it, whereby happie daies were come for the realme of England, as though it had beene deliuered out of the bondage of Aegypt: but they were much deceiued, for the king hauing condeſcended to make ſuch grant of liberties, farre contrarie to his mind, was right ſorowfull in his heart, curſſed his mother that bare him, the houre that he was borne, and the paps that gaue him ſucke, wiſhing that he had receiued death by violence of ſword or knife, in ſteed of naturall noriſhment: he whetted his teeth, he did bite now on one ſtaffe, and now on an other as he walked, and oft brake the ſame in peeces when he had doone, and with ſuch diſordered behauiour and furious geſtures he vttered his greefe, in ſuch ſort that the Noble men verie well perceiued the inclination of his inward affection concerning theſe things, before the breaking vp of the councell, and therefore ſore lamented the ſtate of the realme, geſſing what would follow of his impatiencie and diſpleſant taking of the matter.

Matt.Paris.

The kings impatiencie to ſee himſelfe bridled by his ſubiects.

Herevpon they ſaid among themſelues, Wo be to vs, yea rather to the whole realme that wanteth a ſufficient king, and is gouerned by a tyrant that ſeeketh the ſubuerſion therof. Now hath our ſouereigne lord made vs ſubiect to Rome, and to the Romiſh court, ſo that we muſt henceforth obteine our protection from thence. It is verie much to be feared, leaſt we doo feele hereafter ſome further peece of miſcheefe to light vpon vs ſuddenlie. We neuer heard of any king that would not gladlie indeuor to withdraw his necke from bondage & captiuitie, but ours of his owne accord voluntarilie ſubmitteth himſelfe to become vaſſall to euerie ſtranger. And thus the lords lamenting the caſe, left the king, and returned to London (as before yee haue heard.)

But the king diſquieted not a little, for that he was thus driuen to yeeld ſo farre vnto the barons, notwithſtanding as much as was poſſible he kept his purpoſe ſecret, deuiſed by what means he might diſappoint all that had beene doone, and promiſed on his part, at this aſſemblie betwixt him and the lords a pacification (as yee haue heard.) Wherefore the next day verie late in the euening, he ſecretlie departed to Southampton, and ſo ouer into the Ile of Wight, where he tooke aduice with his councell what remedie he might find to quiet the minds of his lords and barons, and to bring them vnto his purpoſe. At length after much debating of the matter, it was concluded by the aduiſe of the greater part, that the king ſhould require the popes aid therein. And ſo Walter the biſhop of Worceſter, & John the biſhop of Norwich, with one Richard Mariſh his chancellor, with all ſpeed were ſent as ambaſſadors from the king vnto pope Innocent, to inſtruct him of the rebellion of the Engliſh Nobilitie, and that he conſtreined by force had granted them certeine lawes and priuileges, hurtfull to his realme, and preiudiciall to his crowne.

The king departeth into the Ile of Wight.

He ſendeth ambaſſadors to the pope.

Moreouer, ſith that all this was doone by the au-

thoritie

187

Hugh de Boues.

Math.Paris.

thoritie of the pope, the king beſought him to make the ſame void, and to command the barons to obeie him being their king, as reaſon required they ſhould. There were alſo ſent by him other meſſengers, as Hugh de Boues and others, into diuerſe parts beyond the ſea, to bring from thence great numbers of men of war and ſouldiers, appointing them to meet him at Douer, at the feaſt of ſaint Michaell next inſuing. He ſent likewiſe vnto all his chateleins and conſtables of caſtels within the realme, requiring them to prouide themſelues of all things neceſſarie for defenſe of the holds committed to their charge, if they ſhould chance to be beſieged, though it were on the next morrow.

His ambaſſadours and other meſſengers being thus diſpatched, and hauing but few perſons left about him, or in maner none, except ſuch of the biſhop of Norwich his ſeruants as he had borowed of him, he fell to take priſes as anie ſhips came by ſuſpected not to be his friends, ſo ſeeking to win the fauour of the mariners that belonged to the cinke ports, and ſo lay cloſe in the Ile of Wight and there about the ſea-coaſts for the ſpace of three moneths togither. In which meane time, manie things were reported of him, ſome calling him a fiſher, ſome a merchant, and ſome a pirat and rouer. And manie (for that no certeine newes could be heard of him) iudged that he was either drowned, or dead by ſome other means. But he ſtill looking for ſome power to come ouer to his aid, kept himſelfe out of the way, till the ſame ſhould be arriued, and diſſembled the conceit of his reuenge and hart-grudge, till opportunitie ſerued him with conuenient ſecuritie to put the ſame in execution. Wherein he ſhewed himſelfe diſcreet and prouident, and did as in ſuch a caſe one wiſeman doth counſell another, ſaieng,

——ſapiens vtrãque coërcet,
Sæpè etiam vtiliter cedit, placidiſque furentem
Demulcet dictis, & dulcibus allicit hoſtem
Blanditijs, donec deceptum in retia mittat.

Polydor.

The lords all this while lay at London, and began to doubt the matter, bicauſe they could heare no certeine newes where the king was become: for doubting (as I ſaid) the ſuertie of his perſon, he conueied himſelfe ſecretlie from one place to another, lodging and taking his diet oftentimes more meanlie than was decent for his eſtate: and ſtill he longed to heare how his ambaſſadours ſped with the pope, who in the meane time comming vnto Rome, and declaring their meſſage at full, toke it vpon their ſolemne oth, that the right was on the kings ſide, and that the fault reſted onelie on the lords, touching the whole controuerſie betweene them and him, who ſought with great rigour and againſt reaſon to bridle him at their pleaſures.

The ambaſſadours cōming to the popes preſence declare their meſſage.

Math.Paris.

They ſhewed alſo a note of certeine articles conteined in the charter, which ſeemed to make moſt for the kings purpoſe, and withall declared that the king in open aſſemblie, where he and the barons met to talke of ſuch matters, had proteſted that the kingdome of England ſpeciallie aperteined (as touching the ſoueraingtie) vnto the church of Rome, wher vpon he neither could nor ought without knowledge of the pope to ordeine anie thing anew, or change ought within that kingdome in preiudice thereof. Wherefore whereas he put himſelfe and all the rights of his kingdome by way of appealing vnder the protection of the apoſtolike ſee: the barons yet without regard had to the ſame appeale, did ſeize into their poſſeſſion the citie of London, and getting them to armour, inforced the king to confirme ſuch vnreaſonable articles, as there appeared for him to conſider.

The popes anſwer vnto the kings ambaſſadours.

The pope hauing heard their tale, and conſidered of the articles, with bending browes (in witneſſe of his indignation) made forthwith this ſhort anſwer: And is it ſo, that the barons of England do go about to expell their king, which hath taken vpon him the croſſe, and is remaining vnder the protection of the apoſtolike ſee? And do they meane indeed to tranſlate the dominion that belongeth to the church of Rome vnto another? By S. Peter we cannot ſuffer this iniurie to paſſe vnpuniſhed. Herevpon (crediting the ambaſſadours words) by the aduice of his cardinals, he decreed that all thoſe priuiledges, which the king had granted vnto the lords and barons of this realme, as inforced thereto by their rebellious attempt, ſhould be accounted void and of none effect. Alſo he wrote vnto the lords, admoniſhing them by his letters that they ſhould obeie their king, vpon paine of his curſſe if they ſhould attempt anie thing that ſounded to the contrarie.

Hect. Boetius. Cardinall Gualo.

¶ At the ſame time there was in the court of Rome (as Hector Boetius ſaith) a cardinall named Gualo or Wallo, a verie couetous perſon, and ſuch a one (as in that place ſome are neuer wanting) which for monie paſſed not what he did to further anie mans ſuit, without regard either to right or wrong, by whoſe chiefe trauell and means the pope was greatlie induced to fauour king Iohns cauſe, and to iudge with him in preiudice of the lords purpoſes, as before is expreſſed.

Polydor. The ambaſſadours returne from the pope.

The popes decree is declared to the lords.

The barons will trie their quarel by dint of ſword.

But to proceed. The ambaſſadours being diſpatched, and hauing the popes preſcript, and ſuch other his letters with them as they had obteined of him, returned with all ſpeed into England vnto the king (who was come a litle before vnto Windſore caſtell) and there declared vnto him how they ſped. K. Iohn being ioifull in that they had brought the matter ſo well about for his purpoſe, cauſed the popes decree to be declared vnto the barons, commanding them ſtreitlie to obeie the ſame. The barons taking the matter grieuouſlie to be thus mocked, with great indignation both blamed king Iohns vniuſt dealing, and the popes wrongfull iudgement, in that he had pronounced againſt them, without hearing what they had of right to alledge for themſelues. Wherevpon out of hand (notwithſtanding the popes prohibition and preſcript to the contrarie) they determined to trie their cauſe by dint of ſword, and with all ſpeed aſſembled their powers, which for the greater part they had latelie diſmiſſed and ſent home. They furniſhed the caſtell of Rocheſter with a ſtrong garriſon of men, and placed therein as capteine one William Albeney, a verie ſkilfull warriour.

The K. ſendeth eftſoons to the pope.

The king returneth into the Ile of Wight.

Matt. Paris. Polydor.

The arriuall of forren ſouldiers to the kings aid. Sauerie de Mauleon.

Ferdinando erle of Flanders.

King Iohn, after he vnderſtood that the barons (contemning the popes decree and inhibition) were more offended and bent againſt him than before, ſent once againe to the pope, to aduertiſe him of their diſobedience and great contumacie ſhewed in refuſing to ſtand to his preſcript. This doone, he returned to the Ile of Wight, and ſailed from thence to Douer, where diuerſe of thoſe his commiſſaries which he had ſent to hire ſoldiers in forren parts returned to him, bringing with them out of diuerſe countries ſuch a multitude of ſouldiers and armed men, that the onelie ſight of them ſtroke the harts of all the beholders with great feare and terror. For out of the parties of Poictou and Gaſcoine, there came men of great nobilitie, and right worthie warriours, as Sauerie de Mauleon, Geffrey and Oliuer de Buteuile two brethren, hauing vnder them great numbers of good ſouldiers and tall men of warre. Alſo out of Brabant there came Walter Buc, Gerard de Sotignie, and one Godeſtall, with three legions of armed men and croſſebowes. Likewiſe there came out of Flanders other capteins, with diuerſe bands of ſouldiers, which Ferdinando earle of Flanders (latelie returned out of the French captiuitie) for old friendſhips ſake furniſhed and ſent ouer to aid him againſt his ſubiects, according as he had requeſted.

Wil. de Albenie capteine of Rocheſter caſtell.

King Iohn beſiegeth the caſtell of Rocheſter.

King Iohn then hauing recouered ſtrength about him, and being aduertiſed that William de Albenie was entred into the caſtell of Rocheſter with a great number of knights, men of armes and other ſouldiers, haſted thither with his whole armie, and beſieged them within, inforcing himſelfe by all waies poſſible to win the caſtell as well by battering the walles with engines, as by giuing thereto manie aſſaults: but the gariſon within (conſiſting of nintie and foure knights beſide demilances, and other ſouldiers) defended the place verie manfullie, in hope of reſcue from the barons, which laie as then at London: but they comming forward one daies iournie vnto Dartford, when they heard that the king was comming forward in good araie of battell to meet them, vpon conſideration had of their owne forces, for that they were not able to match him with footmen, they returned backe againe to the citie, breaking that aſſured promiſe which they had made and alſo confirmed by their ſolemne oths, which was that if the caſtell ſhould chance to be beſieged, they would not faile but raiſe the ſiege.

Bernewell.

Rocheſter caſtell is yéelded to the king.

At length they within for want of vittels were conſtreined to yéeld it vp vnto the king, after it had béene beſieged the ſpace of thrée ſcore daies: during which time they had beaten backe their enimies at ſundrie aſſaults, with great ſlaughter and loſſe. But the king hauing now got the poſſeſſion of that hold, vpon gréefe conceiued for the loſſe of ſo manie men, and alſo bicauſe he had line ſo long about it yer he could winne it, to his ineſtimable coſts and charges, was determined to haue put them all to death that had kept it. But Sauerie de Mauleon aduiſed him otherwiſe, leſt by ſuch crueltie, the barons in anie like caſe ſhould be occaſioned to vſe the ſame extremitie towards ſuch of his people, as by chance might fall into their hands. Thus the king ſpared the Nobles and gentlemen, ſending William de Albenie, William de Lancaſter, William de Emcford, Thomas de Muleton, Oſbert Gifford, Oſbert de Bobie, Odinell de Albenie, and diuerſe other to the caſtell of Corfe, there to be kept as priſoners. But Robert Charnie, Richard Gifford, and Thomas de Lincolne were ſent to Notingham, and ſo other were ſent to other places. As for all the demilances or yeomen (if I ſhall ſo call them) and the arcubaliſters which had ſlaine manie of his men during the ſiege (as Matthew Paris ſaith) the king cauſed them to be hanged, to put other in feare that ſhould ſo obſtinatlie reſiſt him.

The counſell of Sauerie de Mauleon.

Arcubaliſters thoſe yͤ beare croſſebowes.

Bernewell.

Neuertheleſſe (as the booke that belonged to Bernewell abbie ſaith) there was not any of them hanged, ſauing one arcubaliſter onelie, whome the king had brought vp of a child. But howſoeuer the king dealt with them after they were yéelded, true it is (as by the ſame booke it appeareth) there had béene no ſiege in thoſe daies more earneſtlie inforced, nor more obſtinatlie defended: for after that all the limmes of the caſtell had béene reuerſed and throwne downe, they kept the maiſter tower, till halfe thereof was alſo ouerthrowne, and after kept the other halfe, till through famine they were conſtreined to yéeld, hauing nothing but horſfleſh and water to ſuſteine their liues withall.

Here is to be remembred, that whileſt the ſiege laie thus at Rocheſter, Hugh de Boues a valiant knight, but full of pride and arrogancie, a Frenchman borne, but baniſhed out of his countrie, came downe to Calice with an huge number of men of warre and ſouldiers to come to the aid of king Iohn. But as he was vpon the ſea with all his people, meaning to land at Douer, by a ſudden tempeſt which roſe at that inſtant, the ſaid Hugh with all his companie was drowned by ſhipwracke. Soone after the bodie of the ſame Hugh with the carcaſes of other innumerable, both of men, women, and children, were found not farre from Yermouth, and all along that coaſt. There were of them in all fortie thouſand, as ſaith Matthew Paris; for of all thoſe which he brought with him, there was (as it is ſaid) not one man left aliue.

Hugh de Bo ues drowned

The king (as the fame went, but how true I know not) had giuen by charter vnto the ſaid Hugh de Boues, the whole countrie of Northfolke, ſo that he ment to haue expelled the old inhabitants, and to haue peopled it with ſtrangers. But whether this was ſo or not, ſure it is that he was verie ſorowfull for the loſſe of this ſuccor and aid which thus periſhed in the ſeas, though it happened verie well for his ſubiects of England, that ſhould haue béene ſore oppreſſed by ſuch multitude of ſtrangers, which for the moſt part muſt néeds haue liued vpon the countrie, to the vtter vndoing of the inhabitants wheresoeuer they ſhould haue come.

Raſe Cog.

Héere is to be noted, that during the ſiege of Rocheſter (as ſome write) there came out of France to the number néere hand of ſeauen thouſand men ſent from the French king vnto the aid of the barons, at the ſuit of Saer de Quincie earle of Wincheſter and other ambaſſadours that were ſent from the barons, during the time of this ſiege, although it ſhould ſéeme by Matthew Paris, that the ſaid earle was not ſent till after the pope had excommunicated the barons (as after yée ſhall heare.) The Frenchmen that came ouer at this firſt time landed at Orwell, and at other hauens there néere adioining.

About this ſeaſon, the canons of Yorke (bicauſe the archbiſhops ſée there had remained void a long time) obteining licence of the king, aſſembled togither about the election of an archbiſhop. And though the king had once againe earneſtlie moued them to preferre Walter Graie biſhop of Worceſter, yet they refuſed ſo to doo, and therefore choſe Simon de Langton, brother to the archbiſhop of Canturburie, which election was afterward made void by the earneſt trauell of the king to the pope, bicauſe his brother the ſaid archbiſhop of Canturburie was knowne to fauour the part of the barons againſt him, ſo that the ſaid Walter Graie was then elected and promoted to the guiding of the ſée of Yorke, according to the kings ſpeciall deſire in that behalfe.

Walter Grai elected archb. of Yorke.

About the ſame time alſo, pope Innocent being certified, how the barons of England would not obeie his preſcript, iudged them enimies to the church and gaue commandement to Peter the biſhop of Wincheſter, to the abbat of Reading, and to the ſubdeacon Pandulph, to pronounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt them. But they could not at the firſt execute the popes commandement herein, by reaſon that the archbiſhop of Canturburie, who fauoured the barons cauſe, would not permit them. Wherefore the ſame archbiſhop was interdicted out of the church, and from ſaieng diuine ſeruice, and alſo being cited to appeare at Rome, was in danger to be depriued of his miter; had not certeine cardinals intreated for him, and obteined his pardon. The archbiſhop being gone to Rome, as well to excuſe himſelfe in this matter, as to be preſent at the generall councell there holden at that time (for he was readie to go take the ſea thitherwards when the biſhop of Wincheſter and Pandulph came to him with the popes letters) the ſaid biſhop of Wincheſter & Pandulph proceeded to the pronouncing of the excommunication againſt the barons, renewing the ſame euerie ſundaie and holiedaie: albeit the barons (bicauſe none of them were expreſſelie named in the popes letters)

The archb. of Canturburie fauoureth the barons part.

Math. Paris.

The barons denounced accurſſed by the popes commandement.

letters) made none account of the cenſure, reputing it as void, and not to concerne them in any manner of point. But now to returne to king Iohn.

K. Iohn diuideth his armie in two parts.

Polydor. Math. Paris.

After he had woone the caſtell of Rocheſter (as before you haue heard) he haſted to S. Albons, and there diuided his armie into two parts, appointing the one to remaine about London, whileſt he himſelfe with the other might go into the north to waſte and deſtroie the poſſeſſions of certeine lords there, which (as he was informed) went about to raiſe an armie againſt him. He made capteins of that armie which he left behind him, his brother William earle of Saliſburie, Sauerie de Mauleon, Will. Brewer, Walter Buc, and others. He himſelfe departed from S. Albons about the 21 day of December, leading his ſaid armie northwards: in which were chiefe capteins theſe that follow, William erle of Albemarle, Philip de Albeney, and Iohn Marſhall. Alſo of ſtrangers, Gerard de Sotigam, and Godſtall, with the Flemings, the croſſebowes, and others.

K. Iohn goeth northward. Math. Paris.

Notingham. 1216

Beauer caſtle ſummoned to yeeld. William de Albeney. Stodham. Charnelles.

The caſtell of Beauoir rendered to the king.

The firſt night he laie at Dunſtable, and from thence paſſing forwards towards Northampton, he deſtroied by the waie all the manours, places and houſes, which belonged to the aduerſaries, and ſo kept on his iournie till he came to Notingham, where he laie in the caſtell on Chriſtmaſſe day, and in the morning (being S. Stephans day) he went to Langar, and lodged there that night, ſending his ſummons in the morning to the caſtell of Beauer, willing them within to yeeld. This caſtell apperteined to William Albeney, who had committed the cuſtodie thereof vnto his ſonne Nicholas de Albeney preeſt, to ſir William de Stodham, and to ſir Hugh Charnelles knights: the which came to the king with the keies of the caſtell, and ſurrendered the ſame vnto him, with condition that he ſhould be good to their maſter the ſaid William Albeney, and grant vnto them their horſſes and armour, wherwith they would remaine with him vnder his peace and protection. On the next morrow (being S. Iohns day) the king went to the caſtell, and receiuing the ſame, deliuered it to the keeping of Geffrey Buteuile, and his brother Oliuer.

Dunnington caſtell taken and raced.

Math. Paris.

After this the caſtell of Iohn Lacie at Dunnington was taken and laid flat to the ground, by commandement of the king, who hauing accompliſhed his will in thoſe parties, drew towards Yorkeſhire, and at his comming thither deſtroied the houſes, townes and manours of thoſe lords and gentlemen which were againſt him. It is horrible to heare, and lothſome to rehearſe the crueltie which was practiſed by the ſouldiers and men of warre in places where they came, who counting no honour or renowme more excellent, nor glorie (as warriours ſay)

Maior nulla quidem quàm bello parta videtur,
Horrida Mauortis tractare ferociter arma,
Hoſtilique ſuam temerare in ſanguine dextram,

K. Iohn taketh yͤ caſtell of Barwike.

Hugh de Balioll & Philip de Hulcotes.

Robert de Vepount, Brian de Liſle, Geffrey de Lucie.

and therfore were wholie bent to ſpoile and ranſacke the houſes of the people without pitie or compaſſion, beſides the robberies, ſpoiles and great outrages vſed by the ſouldiers generallie againſt the common people. Few there were in that countrie of great linage or wealth, whom the king for their aſſembling themſelues with the barons either ſpoiled not, or put not to execution. Thus with his armie (to the great deſolation of the countrie) he paſſed forth to the borders of Scotland, and entring that realme, tooke the caſtell of Barwike, and other places of ſtrength in thoſe parts, meaning to haue woone more from the Scots, if other vrgent buſineſſe had not called him backe againe. This being doone, he committed the countrie which lieth betwixt the riuer of Theſe, and the confines of Scotland, to the keeping of Hugh de Balioll and Philip de Hulcotes, aſſigning to them ſuch conuenient number of men of warre as was thought expedient, and the cuſtodie of the caſtels in Yorkeſhire he deliuered to Robert de Vepount, to Brian de Liſle, and to Geffrey de Lucie.

Mountſorell betwixt Leiceſter & Lugborough.

The earle of Saliſburie with his armie inuadeth the countries about London.

Finallie, when he had ſo ordered things in the North parts as ſtood with his pleaſure, ſo that there remained no more but two caſtels, that is to ſaie, Mountſorell, and another in Yorkeſhire that apperteined to Robert de Roos in poſſeſſion of the barons, he returned by the borders of Wales into the ſouth parts: and by all the way as he paſſed, he ſhewed great crueltie againſt his aduerſaries, beſieging and taking their caſtels and ſtrong houſes, of the which ſome he cauſed to be fortified with garriſons of ſouldiers to his owne vſe, and ſome he raced. The like feats were wrought by the other armie in the parts about London: for William earle of Saliſburie, and Foukes de Brent, with the other capteins which the king had left behind him there, perceiuing that the citie would not eaſilie be woone by anie ſiege, firſt furniſhed the caſtell of Windſore, Hertford, and Barkhamſted, with ſuch ſtrong garriſons of ſouldiers as might watch, vpon occaſion giuen to aſſaile thoſe that ſhould either go into the citie, or come from thence: they marched forth with the reſidue of the armie, and paſſing through the counties of Eſſex, and Hertford, Middleſex, Cambridge, Huntington, they waſted the countries, and made the townes become tributaries to them. As for the houſes, manour places, parkes, and other poſſeſſions of the barons, they waſted, ſpoiled and deſtroied them, running euen hard to the citie of London and ſetting fire in the ſuburbs.

The caſtell of Hanſlap.

Tunbridge caſtell.

Bedford taken by Foukes de Brent.

Will. Beauchampe.

Caſtels deliuered to the keeping of Foukes de Brent.

In this meane time, whileſt the king went forwards on his iournie northwards, vpon the 18 of December laſt paſt, the caſtell of Hanſlap was taken by Foukes de Brent, which apperteined vnto William Manduit. On the ſame day alſo was the caſtell of Tunbridge taken by the garriſon of Rocheſter, which caſtell of Tunbridge belonged to the earle of Clare. Moreouer, the foreſaid Foukes de Brent comming vnto Bedford, wan both the towne and caſtell: for they that had the caſtell in keeping, after 7 daies reſpit (which they obteined at the hands of the ſaid Foukes) when reſcue came not from the lord William Beauchampe their maiſter, they deliuered it vnto the ſaid Foukes. Vnto whom K. Iohn gaue not onlie that caſtell, but alſo committed to his keeping the caſtels of Northampton, Oxford and Cambridge.

Foukes de Brent aduanced by marriage.

Rockingham, Sawey, and Biham.

Barkhamſted.

Hertfort caſtell.

The king had this Foukes in great eſtimation, and amongſt other waies to aduance him, he gaue to him in marriage Margaret de Riuers, a ladie of high nobilitie, with all the lands and poſſeſſions that to hir belonged. Moreouer, to William earle of Albemarle the king deliuered the cuſtodie of the caſtels of Rockingham, Sawey and Biham. To one Ranulfe Teutonicus, the caſtell of Barkehamſted, and to Walter Godreuill ſeruant to Foukes de Brent, he betooke the keeping of the caſtell of Hertford. Thus what on the one part, and what on the other, the barons loſt in maner all their poſſeſſions from the ſouth ſea vnto the borders of Scotland, the king ſeizing the ſame into his hands, and committing them to the keeping of ſtrangers, and ſuch other as he thought more truſtie and conuenient. All this while the barons laie at London banketting and making merrie, without attempting anie exploit praiſe-worthie. But yet when they heard by certeine aduertiſement, what hauocke and deſtruction was made of their houſes & poſſeſſions abroad, they could not but lament their miſeries, and amongſt other their complaints which they vttered one to another, they ſore blamed the pope, as a cheefe cauſe of all theſe euils, for that he mainteined and defended the king againſt them.

Indeed about the ſame time pope Innocent, who before at the inſtant ſuit of king Iohn had excommunicated the barons in generall, did now excommunicate them by name, and in particular, as theſe. Firſt all the citizens of London which were authors of the miſcheefe that had happened by the rebellion of the ſaid barons. Alſo Robert Fitz Walter, Saer de Quincie earle of Wincheſter, R. his ſonne, G. de Mandeuille, and W. his brother the earle of Clare, and G. his ſonne, H. earle of Hereford, R. de Percie, G. de Veſcie, I. coneſtable of Cheſter, W. de Mowbraie, Will. de Albenie, W. his ſonne, P. de Breuſe, R. de Creſſey, I. his ſonne, Ranulfe Fitz Robert, R. earle Bigot, H. his ſonne, Robert de Vere, Foulke Fitz Warren, W. Mallet, W. de Mountacute, W. Fitz Marſhall, W. de Beauchampe, S. de Kime, R. de Montbigons, and Nicholas de Stuteuille, with diuerſe other.

The barons accurſed by name.

The armie which king Iohn had left behind him in the ſouth parts, vnder the leading of the earle of Saliſburie and other, laie not idle, but ſcowring the countries abroad (as partlie yee haue heard) came to S. Edmundſburie, and hauing intelligence there, that diuerſe knights, ladies and gentlewomen that were there before their comming, had fled out of that towne, and for their more ſafetie were withdrawne into the Ile of Elie, they followed them, beſieged the Ile, and aſſailed it on ech ſide, ſo that although they within had fortified the paſſages, and appointed men of warre to remaine vpon the gard of the ſame in places where it was thought moſt needfull; yet at length they entred vpon them by force, Walter Bucke with his Brabanders being the firſt that ſet foot within the Ile towards Herbie. For by reaſon the waters in the fenes and ditches were hard froſen, ſo that men might paſſe by the ſame into the ſaid Ile, they found means to enter, and ſpoiled it frō ſide to ſide, togither with the cathedrall church, carieng from thence at their departure a maruellous great prey of goods and cattell.

Ralfe Cog.

The Ile of Elie ſpoiled. Polydor. Bernewell.

The barons of the realme being thus afflicted with ſo manie miſcheefes all at one time, as both by the ſharpe and cruell warres which the king made againſt them on the one ſide, and by the enmitie of the pope on the other ſide, they knew not which way to turne them, nor how to ſeeke for releefe. For by the loſſe of their complices taken in the caſtell of Rocheſter, they ſaw not how it ſhould any thing auaile them to ioine in battell with the king. Therefore conſidering that they were in ſuch extremitie of deſpaire they reſolued with themſelues to ſeeke for aid at the enimies hands, and thereupon Saer earle of Wincheſter, and Robert Fitz Walter, with letters vnder their ſeales were ſent vnto Lewes the ſonne of Philip the French king, offering him the crowne of England, and ſufficient pledges for performance of the ſame, and other couenants to be agreed betwixt them, requiring him with all ſpeed to come vnto their ſuccour. This Lewes had married (as before is ſaid) Blanch daughter to Alfonſe king of Caſtile, neece to king Iohn by his ſiſter Elianor.

The lords ſend to the French kings ſonne, offering to him the crowne.

Now king Philip the father of this Lewes, being glad to haue ſuch an occaſion to inuade the relme of England, which he neuer loued, promiſed willinglie that his ſonne ſhould come vnto the aid of the ſaid barons with all conuenient ſpeed (but firſt he receiued foure and twentie hoſtages which he placed at Campaine for further aſſurance of the couenants accorded) and herewith he prepared an armie, and diuerſe ſhips to tranſport his ſonne and his armie ouer into England. In the meane time, and to put the barons in comfort, he ſent ouer a certeine number of armed men, vnder the leading of the chatelaine of ſaint Omers and the chatelaine of Arras, Hugh Thacon, Euſtace de Neuille, Baldwin Brecell, William de Wimes, Giles de Melun, W. de Beamont, Giles de Herſie, Biſet de Ferſie, and others, the which taking the ſea, arriued with one and fortie ſhips in the Thames, and ſo came to London the ſeauen and twentith of Februarie, where they were receiued of the barons with great ioy and gladneſſe. Moreouer the ſaid Lewes wrote to the barons, that he purpoſed by Gods aſſiſtance to be at Calice by a day appointed, with an armie redie to paſſe ouer with all ſpeed vnto their ſuccours.

French men ſent ouer to the aid of the barons.

The ſaturday after the Epiphanie, ſaith Rafe Cog.

The fridaie before Candlemaſſe day, Sauarie de Mauleon, and other capteines of the kings ſide, laid ſiege to the caſtell of Colcheſter, but hauing intelligence that the barons which laie at London made forward with all ſpeed to come to ſuccour that caſtell, on the Wedneſday after Candlemaſſe day, being the third of Februarie, they raiſed their ſiege, and went backe towards S. Edmundſburie.

Rafe Cog.

In the meane while, the K. being gone (as yee haue heard) to the borders of Scotland, a brute was raiſed that he was dead, and ſecretlie buried at Reading. But this rumour had not time to worke any great alteration, for after he had diſpatched his buſineſſe in the north, as he thought expedient, he returned, and comming into the eaſt parts about the midſt of Lent himſelfe in perſon beſieged the caſtell of Colcheſter, and within a few daies after his comming thither, it was deliuered vnto him by Frenchmen that kept it, with condition that they might depart with all their goods and armour, vnto their fellowes at London, and that the Engliſhmen there in companie with them in that caſtell, might likewiſe depart vpon reaſonable ranſoms.

But although that couenant was kept with the Frenchmen, yet the Engliſhmen were ſtaied and committed to priſon. Whereupon when the Frenchmen came to London, they were apprehended and charged with treaſon for making ſuch compoſition, whereby thoſe Engliſhmen that were fellowes with them in arms were ſecluded from ſo beneficiall conditions as they had made for themſelues. They were in danger to haue beene put to death for their euill dealing herein, albeit at length it was concluded that they ſhould remaine in priſon till the comming of Lewes, vnto whoſe pleaſure their cauſe ſhould be referred.

After this the caſtell of Hidingham was wonne, which belonged vnto earle Robert de Vere. Then the king prepared to beſiege London, but the Londoners were of ſuch courage, that they ſet open their gates, and hearing of the kings approach, made readie to iſſue forth to giue him battell: whereof the king being aduertiſed, withdrew backe, but Sauerie de Mauleon was ſuddenlie ſet vpon by the Londoners, loſt manie of his men, and was ſore hurt and wounded himſelfe.

The king perceiuing that it would not preuaile him to attempt the winning of the citie at that time, drew alongſt the coaſt, fortified his caſtels, and prepared a great nauie, meaning to encounter his enimie Lewes by ſea: but through tempeſt the ſhips which he had got togither from Yarmouth, Dunwich, Lin, and other hauens, were diſperſed in ſunder, and manie of them caſt awaie by rage and violence of the outragious winds.

Somewhat before this time alſo, when he heard of the compact made betwixt the barons and his aduerſaries the Frenchmen, he diſpatched a meſſenger in all haſt to the pope, ſignifieng to him what was in hand and practiſed againſt him, requiring furthermore the ſaid pope by his authoritie to cauſe Lewes

King Iohn once againe ſendeth to the pope.

to ſtaie his iournie, and to ſuccour thoſe rebels in England which he had alreadie excommunicated. This he néeded not haue doone, had he béene indued with ſuch prudence and proweſſe as is requiſit to be planted in one that beareth rule, of whom it is ſaid,

Cui ſi quando Deus rerum permittat habenas,
Imperijq́; decus, tunc aurea ſecula fiunt,
Tunc floret virtus, terráſque Aſtrea reuiſit,
Pax viget, & vitium duris cohibetur habenis,

whereas by meanes of defects in the contrarie, he bare too low a ſaile, in that he would be ſo fooliſhed as being a king, to ſuffer vſurped ſupremaſie to be caruer of his kingdome. But let vs ſée the conſequence. The pope deſirous to helpe king Iohn all that he might (bicauſe he was now his vaſſall) ſent his legat Gualo into France, to diſſwade king Philip from taking anie enterpriſe in hand againſt the king of England. But king Philip though he was content to heare what the legat could ſaie, yet by no meanes would be turned from the execution of his purpoſe, alledging that king Iohn was not the lawfull king of England, hauing firſt vſurped and taken it awaie from his nephue Arthur the lawfull inheritour, and that now ſithens as an enimie to his owne roiall dignitie he had giuen the right of his kingdome awaie to the pope (which he could not doo without conſent of his nobles) and therefore through his owne fault he was worthilie depriued of all his kinglie honor. For the kingdome of England (ſaith he) neuer belonged to the patrimonie of S. Peter, nor at anie time ſhall. For admit that he were rightfull king, yet neither he nor anie other prince may giue awaie his kingdome without the aſſent of his barons, which are bound to defend the ſame, and the prerogatiue roiall, to the vttermoſt of their powers. Furthermore (ſaith he) if the pope doo meane to mainteine this errour, he ſhall giue a perilous example to all kingdomes of the world. Herewithall the Nobles of France then preſent, proteſted alſo with one voice, that in defenſe of this article they would ſtand to the death, which is, that no king or prince at his will and pleaſure might giue awaie his kingdome, or make it tributarie to anie other potentate, whereby the Nobles ſhould become thrall or ſubiect to a forren gouernour. Theſe things were doone at Lions in the quindene after Eaſter.

Anno. Reg. 18. Cardinall Gualo. Matth. Paris.

The French kings allegations to the popes legat Gualo.

Matth. West.

Matth. Paris.

Lewes the Frẽch kings ſonne mainteineth his pretended title to the crowne of England.

Lewes on the morrow following, being the 26 of Aprill, by his fathers procurement, came into the councell chamber, and with frowning looke beheld the legat, where by his procurator he defended the cauſe that moued him to take vpon him this iournie into England, diſprouing not onelie the right which king Iohn had to the crowne, but alſo alledging his owne intereſt, not onelie by his new election of the barons, but alſo in the title of his wife, whoſe mother the quéene of Caſtile remained onelie aliue of all the brethren and ſiſters of Henrie the ſecond late king of England (as before ye haue heard.) The legat made anſwer herevnto, that king Iohn had taken vpon him the croſſe, as one appointed to go to warre againſt Gods enimies in the holie land, wherefore he ought by decrée of the generall councell to haue peace for foure yeares to come, and to remaine in ſuertie vnder protection of the apoſtolike ſée. But Lewes replied thereto, that king Iohn had by warre firſt inuaded his caſtels and lands in Picardie, and waſted the ſame, as Buncham caſtell and Liens, with the countie of Guiſnes which belonged to the fée of the ſaid Lewes.

The priuilege of thoſe that take vpon them the croſſe.

Matth. Paris.

But theſe reaſons notwithſtanding, the legat warned the French king on paine of curſing, not to ſuffer his ſonne to go into England, and likewiſe his ſonne, that he ſhould not preſume to take the iournie in hand. But Lewes hearing this, declared that his father had nothing to do to forbid him to proſecute his right in the realme of England, which was not holden of him, and therefore required his father not to hinder his purpoſe in ſuch things as belonged nothing to him, but rather to licence him to ſéeke the recouerie of his wiues right, which he meant to purſue with perill of life, if néed ſhould require.

The legat perceiuing he could not preuaile in his ſute made to king Philip, thought that he would not ſpend time longer in vaine, in further treating with him, but ſped him forth into England, obteining yet a ſafeconduct of the French king to paſſe through his realme. Lewes in like maner, purpoſing by all meanes to preuent the legat, firſt diſpatched forth ambaſſadours in all haſt vnto the court of Rome to excuſe himſelfe to the pope, and to render the reaſons that moſt ſpeciallie mooued him to procéed forward in his enterpriſe againſt king Iohn, being called by the barons of England to take the crowne thereof vpon him. This doone, with all conuenient ſpéed he came downe to Calice, where he found 680 ſhips well appointed and trimmed, which Euſtace ſurnamed the monke had gathered and prepared there readie againſt his comming.

The French kings ſonne ſendeth to the pope.

He commeth to Calice.

Lewes therefore forthwith imbarking himſelfe with his people, and all neceſſarie prouiſions for ſuch a iournie, tooke the ſea, and arriued at a place called Stanchorre in the Ile of Tenet, vpon the 21 day of Maie, and ſhortlie after came to Sandwich, & there landed with all his people, where he alſo incamped vpon the ſhore by the ſpace of thrée daies. In which meane time there came vnto him a great number of thoſe lords and gentlemen which had ſent for him, and there euerie one apart and by himſelfe ſware fealtie and homage vnto him, as if he had béene their true and naturall prince.

He taketh the ſea.

He landeth in Kent.

The lords doo homage vnto him.

King Iohn about the ſame time that Lewes thus arriued, came to Douer, meaning to fight with his aduerſaries by the way as they ſhould come forward towards London. But yet vpon other aduiſement taken, he changed his purpoſe, bicauſe he put ſome doubt in the Flemings and other ſtrangers, of whome the moſt part of his armie conſiſted, bicauſe he knew that they hated the Frenchmen no more than they did the Engliſh. Therefore furniſhing the caſtell of Douer, with men, munition, and vittels, he left it in the kéeping of Hubert de Burgh, a man of notable proweſſe & valiancie, and returned himſelfe vnto Canturburie, and from thence tooke the high waie towards Wincheſter. Lewes being aduertiſed that king Iohn was retired out of Kent, paſſed through the countrie without anie incounter, and wan all the caſtels and holds as he went, but Douer he could not win.

Matth. Paris.

At his comming to Rocheſter, he laid ſiege to the caſtell there, and wan it, cauſing all the ſtrangers that were found within it to be hanged. This doone, he came to London, and there receiued the homage of thoſe lords and gentlemen which had not yet doone their homage to him at Sandwich. On the other part he tooke an oth to mainteine and performe the old lawes and cuſtomes of the realme, and to reſtore to euerie man his rightfull heritage and lands, requiring the barons furthermore to continue faithfull towards him, aſſuring them to bring things ſo to paſſe, that the realme of England ſhould recouer the former dignitie, and they their ancient liberties. Moreouer he vſed them ſo courteouſlie, gaue them ſo faire words, and made ſuch large promiſes, that they beléeued him with all their harts. But alas! *Cur vincit opinio verum?*

Rocheſter caſtell woone.

Lewes commeth to London.

The rumour of this pretended outward courteſie being once ſpred through the realme, cauſed great numbers of people to come flocking to him, among

whom

whome were diuerſe of thoſe which before had taken part with king Iohn, as William earle Warren, William earle of Arundell, William earle of Saliſburie, William Marſhall the yoonger, and diuerſe other, ſuppoſing verelie that the French kings ſonne ſhould now obteine the kingdome, who in the meane time ordeined Simon Langton afore mentioned, to be his chancellour, by whoſe preaching and exhortation, as well the citizens of London as the barons that were excommunicated, cauſed diuine ſeruice to be celebrated in their preſence, induced thereto, bicauſe Lewes had alreadie ſent his procurators to Rome before his comming into England, there to ſhew the goodneſſe of his cauſe and quarell.

Noblemen reuolting frõ K. Iohn vnto Lewes.

Simon Lãgton chancellor to Lewes.

But this auailed them not, neither tooke his excuſe any ſuch effect as he did hope it ſhould: for thoſe ambaſſadors that king Iohn had ſent thither, replied againſt their aſſertions, ſo that there was hard hold about it in that court, albeit that the pope would decrée nothing till he hard further from his legat Gualo, who the ſame time (being aduertiſed of the procéedings of Lewes in his iournie) with all diligence haſted ouer into England, and paſſing through the middle of his aduerſaries, came vnto king Iohn, then ſoiourning at Gloceſter, of whome he was moſt ioifullie receiued, for in him king Iohn repoſed all his hope of victorie. This legat immediatlie after his comming did excommunicate Lewes by name, with all his fautors and complices, but ſpeciallie Simon de Langton, with bell, booke, and candle, as the maner was. Howbeit the ſame Simon, and one Geruaſe de Hobrug deane of S. Pauls in London, with other, alledged that for the right and ſtate of the cauſe of Lewes, they had alreadie appealed to the court of Rome, and therefore the ſentence publiſhed by Gualo they tooke as void.

Cardinall Gualo commeth ouer into England.

At the ſame time alſo, all the knights and men of warre of Flanders and other parts beyond the ſeas, which had ſerued the king, departed from him, the Poictouins onelie excepted: and part of them that thus went from him reſorted vnto Lewes, and entred into his wages; but the reſidue repaired home into their owne countries, ſo that Lewes being thus increaſed in power, departed from London, and marching towards Wincheſter, he wan the caſtels of Rigat, Gilford, and Farnham. From thence he went to Wincheſter, where the citie was yéelded vnto him, with all the caſtels and holds thereabout, as Wolueſey, Odiham, and Beaumere.

The more part of the ſtrangers depart from the ſeruice of K. Iohn.

Caſtels woon by Lewes.

¶ Whileſt the ſaid Lewes was thus occupied in Suſſex, about the ſubduing of that countrie vnto his obeiſance, there was a yoong gentleman in thoſe parts named William de Collingham, being of a valorous mind, and loathing forren ſubiection, who would in no wiſe doo fealtie to Lewes, but aſſembling togither about the number of a thouſand archers, kept himſelfe within the woods and deſert places, whereof that countrie is full, and ſo during all the time of this warre, ſhewed himſelfe an enimie to the Frenchmen, ſlaieng no ſmall numbers of them, as he tooke them at any aduantage. O worthie gentleman of Engliſh bloud! And O

Grandia quæ aggreditur fortis diſcrimina virtus!

William de Collingham a gentleman of Suſſex.

In like manner, all the fortreſſes, townes, and caſtels in the ſouth parts of the realme were ſubdued vnto the obeiſance of Lewes (the caſtels of Douer and Windſore onelie excepted.) Within a little while after, Will. de Mandeuille, Robert Fitz Walter, and William de Huntingfield, with a great power of men of warre, did the like vnto the countries of Eſſex and Suffolke. In which ſeaſon, king Iohn fortified the caſtels of Wallingford, Corfe, Warham, Briſtow, the Vies, and diuerſe others with munition and vittels. About which time letters came alſo vnto Lewes from his procurators, whom he had ſent to the pope, by the tenor whereof he was aduertiſed, that notwithſtanding all that they could doo or ſay, the pope meant to excommunicate him, and did but onelie ſtaie till he had receiued ſome aduertiſement from his legat Gualo.

Caſtels fortified by king Iohn.

The chéefeſt points (as we find) that were laid by Lewes his procurators againſt king Iohn were theſe, that by the murther committed in the perſon of his nephue Arthur, he had béene condemned in the parlement chamber, before the French king, by the péeres of France, and that being ſummoned to appeare, he had obſtinatelie refuſed ſo to doo, and therefore had by good right forfeited not onelie his lands within the precinct of France, but alſo the realme of England, which was now due vnto the ſaid Lewes as they alledged, in right of the ladie Blanch his wife, daughter to Elianor quéene of Spaine. But the pope refelled all ſuch allegations as they produced for proofe hereof, & ſéemed to defend king Iohns cauſe verie pithilie; but namelie, in that he was vnder the protection of him as ſupreme lord of England: againe, for that he had taken vpon him the croſſe (as before yée haue heard.) But now to returne where we left.

The points wherewith king Iohn was charg

About the feaſt of ſaint Margaret, Lewes with the lords came againe to London, at whoſe comming, the tower of London was yéelded vp to him by appointment, after which the French capteins and gentlemen, thinking themſelues aſſured of the realme, began to ſhew their inward diſpoſitions and hatred toward the Engliſhmen, and forgetting all former promiſes (ſuch is the nature of ſtrangers, and men of meane eſtate, that are once become lords of their deſires, according to the poets words,

Aſperius nihil eſt humili cùm ſurgit in altum)

they did manie exceſſiue outrages, in ſpoiling and robbing the people of the countrie, without pitie or mercie. Moreouer they did not onelie breake into mens houſes, but alſo into churches, and tooke out of the ſame ſuch veſſels and ornaments of gold and ſiluer, as they could laie hands vpon: for Lewes had not the power now to rule the gréedie ſouldiers, being wholie giuen to the ſpoile.

The French men begin ſhew themſelues in their kind.

Iuuen. ſat. 9.

But moſt of all their tyrannie did appeare in the eaſt parts of the realme, when they went through the countries of Eſſex, Suffolke and Northfolke, where they miſerablie ſpoiled the townes and villages, reducing thoſe quarters vnder their ſubiection, and making them tributaries vnto Lewes in moſt ſeruile and ſlauiſh manner. Furthermore, at his comming to Norwich, he found the caſtell void of defenſe, and ſo tooke it, without any reſiſtance, and put into it a gariſon of his ſouldiers. Alſo he ſent a power to the towne of Lin, which conquered the ſame, and tooke the citizens priſoners, cauſing them to paie great ſummes of monie for their ranſoms. Moreouer, Thomas de Burgh, chateleins of the caſtell of Norwich, who vpon the approch of the Frenchmen to the citie, fled out in hope to eſcape, was taken priſoner, and put vnder ſafekéeping. He was brother vnto Hubert de Burgh capteine of Douer caſtell.

The caſtell Norwich for a prey Lewes.

Lin.

Thomas de Burgh tak priſoner.

Now when Lewes had thus finiſhed his enterpriſes in thoſe parts, he returned to London, and ſhortlie therevpon created Gilbert de Gaunt earle of Lincolne, appointing him to go thither with all conuenient ſpéed, that he might reſiſt the iſſues made by them which did hold the caſtels of Notingham and Newarke, waſting and ſpoiling the poſſeſſions and lands belonging to the barons néere adioining to the ſame caſtels. This Gilbert de Gaunt then, togither with Robert de Ropeley, comming into that countrie, tooke the citie of Lincolne, and brought all the countrie vnder ſubiection (the caſtell onlie excepted.)

Gilbert de Gaunt ma earle of Lincolne.

Lincolne woone.

After

Holland in Lincolnſhire inuaded.

Yorkeſhire ſubdued to Lewes.

After that, they inuaded Holland, and ſpoiling that countrie, made it alſo tributarie vnto the French. Likewiſe, Robert de Ros, Peter de Brus, and Richard Percie, ſubdued Yorke and all Yorkeſhire, bringing the ſame vnder the obeiſance of Lewes. The king of Scots in like ſort ſubdued vnto the ſaid Lewes all the countrie of Northumberland, except the caſtels which Hugh de Baliol, and Philip de Hulcotes valiantlie defended againſt all the force of the enimie.

And as theſe wicked rebels made a prey of their owne countrie, ſo the legat Gualo not behind for his part to get ſomething yer all ſhould be gone, vpon a falkoniſh or wooluiſh appetite ſleeced the church, conſidering that,

Η δ' ἀρη παραμείβεται μινύθει δέ τοι ἔργον,
——μελέτη δέ τοι ἔργον ὀφέλλει,

and tooke proxies of euerie cathedrall church & houſe of religion within England, that is to ſay, for euerie proxie fiftie ſhillings. Moreouer, he ſequeſtred all the benefices of thoſe perſons and religious men, that either aided or counſelled Lewes and the barons, in their attempts and enterpriſes. All which benefices he ſpéedilie conuerted to his owne vſe, and to the vſe of his chapleins.

The legat Gualo gathereth proxes. Sequeſtratiõ of benefices.

In the meane time, Lewes was brought into ſome good hope thorough meanes of Thomas de Burgh, whom he tooke priſoner (as before you haue heard) to perſuade his brother Hubert to yéeld vp the caſtell of Douer, the ſiege whereof was the next enterpriſe which he attempted. For his father king Philip, hearing that the ſame was kept by a garriſon, to the behoofe of king Iohn, wrote to his ſonne, blaming him that he left behind him ſo ſtrong a fortreſſe in his enimies hands. But though Lewes inforced his whole indeuour to win that caſtell, yet all his trauell was in vaine. For the ſaid Hubert de Burgh, and Gerard de Sotigam, who were chéefe capteins within, did their beſt to defend it againſt him and all his power, ſo that deſpairing to win it by force, he aſſaied to obteine his purpoſe, by threatning to hange the capteins brother before his face, if he would not yéeld the ſooner. But when that would not ſerue, he ſought to win him by large offers of gold and ſiluer. Howbeit, ſuch was the ſingular conſtancie of Hubert, that he would not giue anie eare vnto thoſe his flatering motions. Then Lewes in a great furie menaced that he would not once depart from thence, till he had woon the caſtell, and put all them within to death, and began to aſſaile it with more force than before he had doone.

Lewes trauelleth in vaine to take Douer. Rafe Cog.

The barons alſo, which at this ſeaſon lay at London, making a rode to Cambridge, tooke the towne, and after went foorth into Northfolke and Suffolke (as it were to gather vp ſuch ſcraps as the French had left) ſpoiling thoſe countries verie pitifullie, churches and all. They conſtreined the townes of Yermouth, Dunwich & Gipſwich, to pay to them great ſummes of monie by waie of ranſoming. And at length returning by Colcheſter, they vſed like practiſes there. From thence they returned to London, and ſhortlie after, vnder the conduct of the earle of Neuers (vpon a ſudden) going to Windſore, they laid a ſtrong ſiege about that caſtell; in the which was capteine Ingelard de Athie, with ſixtie valiant knights, & other men of war of their ſuit, the which manfullie ſtood at defenſe.

Yermouth, Dunwich, & Gipſwich ranſomed.

Alexander K. of Scots doth homage to K. Lewes.

In the moneth of Auguſt, Alexander king of Scotland came through the countrie vnto the ſiege of Douer, and there did homage vnto Lewes, in right of his tenure holden of the kings of England, and then returned home, but in his comming vp, as he came by caſtell Bernard in the countrie of Haliwerkfolke (which aperteined vnto Hugh de Baliol) he loſt his brother in law the lord Euſtace de Veſcie, who was ſtriken in the forehead with a quarrell, as he rode in companie of the king néere vnto the ſame caſtell, to view if it were poſſible vpon anie ſide to win it by aſſault.

This Euſtace had married the ſiſter of K. Alexander.

Matth. Paris.

The vicount of Melune diſcouereth the purpoſe of Lewes.

About the ſame time, or rather in the yeare laſt paſt as ſome hold, it fortuned that the vicount of Melune a French man, fell ſicke at London, and perceiuing that death was at hand, he called vnto him certeine of the Engliſh barons, which remained in the citie, vpon ſafegard thereof, and to them made this proteſtation: I lament (ſaith he) your deſtruction and deſolation at hand, bicauſe ye are ignorant of the perils hanging ouer your heads. For this vnderſtand, that Lewes, and with him 16 earles and barons of France, haue ſecretlie ſworne (if it ſhall fortune him to conquere this realme of England, & to be crowned king) that he will kill, baniſh, and confine all thoſe of the Engliſh nobilitie (which now doo ſerue vnder him, and perſecute their owne king) as traitours and rebels, and furthermore will diſpoſſeſſe all their linage of ſuch inheritances as they now hold in England. And bicauſe (ſaith he) you ſhall not haue doubt hereof, I which lie here at the point of death, doo now affirme vnto you, and take it on the perill of my ſoule, that I am one of thoſe ſixtéen that haue ſworne to performe this thing: wherefore I aduiſe you to prouide for your owne ſafeties, and your realmes which you now deſtroie, and kéepe this thing ſecret which I haue vttered vnto you. After this ſpéech was vttered he ſtreightwaies died.

The vicount of Melune dieth.

When theſe words of the lord of Melune were opened vnto the barons, they were, and not without cauſe, in great doubt of themſelues, for they ſaw how Lewes had alredie placed and ſet Frenchmen in moſt of ſuch caſtels and townes as he had gotten, the right whereof indéed belonged to them. And againe, it gréeued them much to vnderſtand, how beſides the hatred of their prince, they were euerie ſundaie and holiedaie openlie accurſed in euerie church, ſo that manie of them inwardlie relented, and could haue bin contented to haue returned to king Iohn, if they had thought that they ſhould thankfullie haue béene receiued.

The Engliſh nobilitie beginneth to miſlike of the match which they had made with Lewes.

The death of pope Innocent.

In this yeare, about the 17 of Iulie, pope Innocent died, at whoſe death (being knowen in England) all they that were enimies to king Iohn greatlie reioiſed, for they were in great hope that his ſucceſſour would haue rather inclined to their part, than to the kings. But it fell out otherwiſe, for Honorius the third that ſucceeded the ſame foreſaid Innocent, mainteined the ſame cauſe in defenſe of king Iohn, as earneſtlie or rather more than his predeceſſour had doone, ſending with all ſpéed his buls ouer into England to confirme Gualo in his former authoritie of legat, commanding him with all indeuour to procéed in his buſineſſe, in mainteining the king againſt Lewes, and the diſloiall Engliſh nobilitie that aided the ſaid Lewes. But now to our purpoſe.

Honorius the third choſen pope.

King Iohn lieng all this while at Wincheſter, and hauing knowledge how his aduerſaries were dailie occupied in moſt hard enterpriſes, as in beſieging ſundrie ſtrong and inuincible places, ſent foorth his commiſſioners to aſſemble men of warre, and to allure vnto his ſeruice all ſuch, as in hope of prey, were minded to follow his ſtandard, of the which there reſorted to him no ſmall number. So that hauing gotten togither a competent armie for his purpoſe, he brake foorth of Wincheſter, as it had béene an hideous tempeſt of weather, beating downe all things that ſtood in his waie, ſending foorth his people on ech ſide to waſt the countries, to burne vp the townes and villages, to ſpoile the churches & churchmen. With which ſucceſſe ſtill increaſing his furie,

The hauocke which king Iohn made in the poſſeſsions of his aduerſaries.

he turned his whole violence into Cambridgeſhire, where he did exceeding great hurt. Then entring into the countries of Northfolke and Suffolke, he committed the like rage, waſt, and deſtruction, in the lands and poſſeſſions that belonged vnto the earle of Arundell, to Roger Bigot, William de Huntingfield, and Roger de Creſſey.

Northfolke and Suffolke.

The ſiege raiſed from windſor.

The barons in the meane time that lay at ſiege before the caſtle of Windſore, hearing of that hauocke which king John had made in the eaſt parts of the realme, ſecretlie in the night ſeaſon raiſed their camps, and leauing their tents behind them, with all ſpeed made towards Cambridge. But king John by faithfull eſpials, hauing aduertiſement of their intent, which was, to get betwixt him and the places of his refuge, withdrew him and got to Stamford, yer they might reach to Cambridge, ſo that miſſing their purpoſe, after they had taken ſome ſpoiles abroad in the countrie, they returned to London. King John from Stamford, marched toward Lincolne, bicauſe he heard that the caſtell there was beſieged.

Gilbert de Gaunt fleeth from the face of king John.

But thoſe that had beſieged it, as Gilbert de Gaunt, and others, hearing that king John was comming towards them, durſt not abide him, but fled, and ſo eſcaped. The king then turned his iournie towards the marſhes of Wales, and there did much hurt to thoſe places that belonged to his aduerſaries. After this alſo, and with a verie puiſſant armie he went eftſoones eaſtwards, and paſſing through the countries, came againe into the counties of Northfolke and Suffolke, waſting and afflicting all that came in his waie, and at length comming to Lin, was there ioifullie receiued. Then keeping forth northwards, he ſpoiled the townes and abbeies of Peterburgh and Crowland, where a number of the kings enimies were withdrawne into the church, but Sauerie de Mauleon, being ſent forth to ſeeke them, found them in the church the morrow after S. Michaell, and drew them out by force, ſpoiled the houſe, and getting a great bootie and prey of cattell and other riches, he with his people conueied the ſame awaie at his departing, after he had ranſacked euerie corner of the church, and other the houſes and places belonging to that abbeie.

Lin.

The abbeies of Peterburgh & Crowland ſpoiled.

Bernewell.

Thus the countrie being waſted on each hand, the king haſted forward till he came to Wellestreme ſands, where paſſing the waſhes he loſt a great part of his armie, with horſſes and carriages, ſo that it was iudged to be a puniſhment appointed by God, that the ſpoile which had beene gotten and taken out of churches, abbeies, and other religious houſes, ſhould periſh, and be loſt by ſuch means togither with the ſpoilers. Yet the king himſelfe, and a few other, eſcaped the violence of the waters, by following a good guide. But as ſome haue written, he tooke ſuch greefe for the loſſe ſuſteined at this paſſage, that immediatlie therevpon he fell into an ague, the force and heat whereof, togither with his immoderate feeding on rawe peaches, and drinking of new ſider, ſo increaſed his ſickneſſe, that he was not able to ride, but was faine to be carried in a litter preſentlie made of twigs, with a couch of ſtrawe vnder him, without any bed or pillow, thinking to haue gone to Lincolne, but the diſeaſe ſtill ſo raged and grew vpon him, that he was inforced to ſtaie one night at the caſtell of Laford, and on the next day with great paine, cauſed himſelfe to be caried vnto Newarke, where in the caſtell through anguiſh of mind, rather than through force of ſickneſſe, he departed this life the night before the nineteenth day of October, in the yeare of his age fiftie and one, and after he had reigned ſeauenteene yeares, ſix moneths, and ſeauen and twentie daies.

The loſſe of the kings carriages.

Matth. Paris. Matth. Weſt.

King John falleth ſicke of an ague. Matth. Paris.

Laford. Matth. Weſt. Matt. Paris.

King John departed this life.

¶ There be which haue written, that after he had loſt his armie, he came to the abbeie of Swineſhead in Lincolneſhire, and there vnderſtanding the cheapeneſſe and plentie of corne, ſhewed himſelfe greatlie diſpleaſed therewith, as he that for the hatred which he bare to the Engliſh people, that had ſo traitorouſlie reuolted from him vnto his aduerſarie Lewes, wiſhed all miſerie to light vpon them, and therevpon ſaid in his anger, that he would cauſe all kind of graine to be at a farre higher price, yer manie daies ſhould paſſe. Wherevpon a monke that heard him ſpeake ſuch words, being moued with zeale for the oppreſſion of his countrie, gaue the king poiſon in a cup of ale, whereof he firſt tooke the aſſaie, to cauſe the king not to ſuſpect the matter, and ſo they both died in manner at one time.

Caxton.

There are that write, how one of his owne ſeruants did conſpire with a conuert of that abbeie, and that they prepared a diſh of peares, which they poiſoned, three of the whole number excepted, which diſh the ſaid conuert preſented vnto him. And when the king ſuſpected them to be poiſoned indeed, by reaſon that ſuch pretious ſtones as he had about him, caſt forth a certeine ſweat, as it were bewraieng the poiſon, he compelled the ſaid conuert to taſt and eat ſome of them, who knowing the three peares which were not poiſoned, tooke and eat thoſe three, which when the king had ſeene, he could no longer abſteine, but fell to, and eating greedilie of the reſt, died the ſame night, no hurt happening to the conuert, who thorough helpe of ſuch as bare no good will to the K. found ſhift to eſcape, and conueied himſelfe awaie from danger of receiuing due puniſhment for ſo wicked a deed.

Gisburn &

Beſide theſe reports which yee haue heard, there are other that write, how he died of ſurfeting in the night, as Rafe Niger; ſome, of a bloudie flix, as one ſaith that writeth an addition vnto Roger Houeden. And Rafe Cogheſhall ſaith, that comming to Lin, (where he appointed Sauerie de Mauleon to be capteine, and to take order for the fortifieng of that towne) he tooke a ſurfet there of immoderat diet, and withall fell into a laſke, and after his laſke had left him, at his comming to Laford in Lindſey, he was let bloud: furthermore to increaſe his other greefes and ſorrowes for the loſſe of his carriage, iewels and men, in paſſing ouer the waſhes, which troubled him ſore; there came vnto him meſſengers from Hubert de Burgh, and Gerard de Sotegam capteins of Douer caſtell, aduertiſing him, that they were not able to reſiſt the forceable aſſalts and engins of the enimies, if ſpeedie ſuccour came not to them in due time. Whereat his greefe of mind being doubled, ſo as he might ſeeme euen oppreſſed with ſorrow, the ſame increaſed his diſeaſe ſo vehementlie, that within a ſmall time it made an end of his life (as before yee haue heard.)

The variable reports of writers, concerning the death of king John.

The men of warre that ſerued vnder his enſignes, being for the more part hired ſouldiers and ſtrangers, came togither, and marching forth with his bodie, each man with his armour on his backe, in warlike order, conueied it vnto Worceſter, where he was pompouſlie buried in the cathedrall church before the high altar, not for that he had ſo appointed (as ſome write) but bicauſe it was thought to be a place of moſt ſuertie for the lords and other of his freends there to aſſemble, and to take order in their buſineſſe now after his deceaſſe. And bicauſe he was ſomewhat fat and corpulent, his bowels were taken out of his bodie, and buried at Croxton abbeie, a houſe of monks of the order called *Præmonſtratenſes*, in Staffordſhire, the abbat of which houſe was his phyſician.

Bernewell.

¶ How ſoeuer or where ſoeuer or when ſoeuer he died, it is not a matter of ſuch moment that it ſhould impeach the credit of the ſtorie: but certeine it is that he came to his end, let it be by a ſurfet, or by other meanes ordeined for the ſhortening of his life. The manner is not ſo materiall as the truth is certeine. And ſurelie, he might be thought to haue procured againſt himſelfe manie moleſtations, manie anguiſhes & vexations, which nipt his hart & gnawd his very bowels with manie a ſore ſymptome or paſſion: all which he might haue withſtood if fortune had beene ſo fauourable, that the loialtie of his ſubiects had remained towards him inuiolable, that his Nobles with multitudes of adherents had not with ſuch ſhamefull apoſtaſie withſtood him in open fight, that forren force had not weakened his dominion, or rather robbed him of a maine branch of his regiment, that he himſelfe had not ſought with the ſpoile of his owne people to pleaſe the imaginations of his ill affected mind; that courtiers & commoners had with one aſſent performed in dutie no leſſe than they pretended in veritie, to the preſeruation of the ſtate and the ſecuritie of their ſouereigne: all which preſuppoſed plagues concurring, what happineſſe could the king arrogate to himſelfe by his imperiall title, which was through his owne default ſo imbezelled, that a ſmall remanent became his in right, when by open hoſtilitie and accurſſed papaſie the greater portion was pluckt out of his hands.

Here therefore we ſee the iſſue of domeſticall or homebred broiles, the fruits of variance, the gaine that riſeth of diſſention, whereas no greater nor ſafer fortification can betide a land, than when the inhabitants are all alike minded. By concord manie an hard enterpriſe (in common ſenſe thought vnpoſſible) is atchiued, manie weake things become ſo defended, that without manifold force they cannot be diſſolued. From diuiſion and mutinies doo iſſue (as out of the Troiane horſſe) ruines of roialties, and decaies of communalties. The ſinewes of a realme is ſuppoſed of ſome to be ſubſtance and wealth; of other ſome policie and power; of other ſome conuenient defenſes both by water and land: but a moſt excellent deſcription of a well fortified countrie is that of Plautus, ſet downe in moſt pithie words and graue ſentences; no leſſe worthie to be written than read and conſidered. The deſcription is this.

Plaut. in Perſ.

Si incolæ bene ſunt morati pulchrè munitũ regnũ arbitror:
Perfidia & peculatus ex vrbe & auaritia ſi exulent,
Quarta inuidia, quinta ambitio, ſexta obtrectatio,
Septimum periurium, octaua indulgentia,
Nona iniuria, decima quod peſſimum aggreſſu ſcelus:
Hæc niſi inde aberũt cẽtuplex murus reb. ſecundis parũ eſt.

And therefore no maruell though both courtiers and commoners fell from king Iohn their naturall prince, and tooke part with the enimie; not onelie to the diſgrace of their ſouereigne, but euen to his ouerthrow, and the depopulation of the whole land; ſith theſe maine bulworks and rampiers were wanting; and the contrarie in moſt ranke ſort and deteſtable manner extended their virulent forces.

But we will ſurceaſſe to aggrauate this matter, ſith the ſame is ſufficientlie vrged in the verie courſe of the hiſtorie concerning his acts and deeds, continued to the verie day of his death, and the verie time of his buriall, whereof I ſaie thus much, that whether it was his will to be interred, as is aforeſaid, or whether his corpſe being at the diſpoſing of the ſuruiuers, to elect the place as a conuenient ſtorehouſe for a princes bones, I leaue it as doubtfull, and therfore vndetermined, eſteeming the leſſe to labour therein, bicauſe the truth can hardlie by certeintie be winnowed out, but by coniecturall ſuppoſals aimed and ſhot at. Notwithſtanding, in my poore iudgement it is verie likelie (firſt in reſpect of the time which was ſuperſtitious and popiſh; ſecondlie by reaſon of the cuſtome of funerall rites then commonlie vſed) that he was buried in the ſaid place for order ſake, & his bodie (if I may preſume ſo farre by warrant of mine author) wrapped in a moonks cowle and ſo laid in his graue or toome. For the manner was at that time, in ſuch ſort to burie their Nobles and great men, who were induced by the imaginations of moonks and fond fanſies of freers to beleeue, that the ſaid cowle was an amulet or defenſitiue to their ſoules from hell and helliſh hags, how or in what ſoeuer ſort they died; either in ſorrow and repentance for ſinne, or in blaſphemie, outrage, impatiencie, or deſperation.

This forme of funerals was frequented in Wales, hauing beene firſt brewed and broched in England, from whence (if we may giue credit to our late Chronographers) as from a poiſoned ſpring it ſpred it ſelfe into Wales. For the firſt abbeie or frierie that is read to haue beene erected there, ſince the diſſolution of the noble houſe of Bangor, which fauoured not of Romiſh dregs, was the Twy Gwyn, which was builded in the yeare 1146. Afterwards theſe vermine ſwarmed like bees, or rather crawled like lice ouer all the land, and drew in with them their lowſie religion, tempered with I wot not how manie millians of abhominations; hauing vtterlie forgotten the leſſon which Ambroſius Teleſinus had taught them [who writ in the yeare 540, when the right chriſtian faith (which Ioſeph of Arimathia taught the Ile of Aualon) reigned in this land, before the proud and bloodthirſtie moonke Auguſtine infected it with the poiſon of Romiſh errors] in a certeine ode, a part whereof are theſe few verſes inſuing,

Humf. Lhloyd.
Dauid Powell.

Gwae'r offeiriad byd,
Nys angreifftia gwyd,
    Ac ny phregetha:
Gwae ny cheidw ey gail,
Ac ef yn vigail,
    Ac nys areilia:
Gwae ny theidw ey dheuaid,
Rhae bleidhie Rhieſeniaid,
    Ai ffon grewppa,

Thus in Engliſh almoſt word for word.

Wo be to that preeſt yborne,
That will not cleanelie weed his corne,
    And preach his charge among:
Wo be to that ſhepheard (Iſaie)
That will not watch his fold alwaie,
    As to his office dooth belong:
Wo be to him that dooth not keepe,
From rauening Romiſh wolues his ſheepe,
    With ſtaffe and weapon ſtrong.

This (as not impertinent to the purpoſe) I haue recorded, partlie to ſhew the palpable blindnes of that age wherein king Iohn liued, as alſo the religion which they repoſed in a rotten rag, eſteeming it as a Scala cœli or ladder to life; but ſpeciallie inferred to this end, that we may fetch ſome light from this cleere candle (though the ſame ſeeme to be duskiſh & dim) whereby we may be lead to conceiue in reaſon and common ſenſe, that the interrement of the king was according to the cuſtome then in vſe and requeſt, and therefore by all likelihoods he was buried as the peeres and ſtates of the land were woont to be in thoſe daies, after the maner aboue mentioned.

King Iohns children.

But to let this paſſe as a cold diſcourſe of a coffen of bones couered with clods of claie; you ſhall vnderſtand that he left behind him poſteritie of both ſexes. For he had iſſue by his wife queene Iſabell two ſonnes, Henrie who ſucceeded him in the kingdome, and Richard; three daughters, Ioane married to Alexander king of Scotland, Iſabell coupled in matrimonie with the emperour Frederike the ſecond,

cond, and Elianor whome William earle of Gloceſter had to wife. He had alſo another daughter (as ſome haue left in writing) called Elianor.

He was comelie of ſtature, but of looke and countenance diſpleaſant and angrie, ſomewhat cruell of nature, as by the writers of his time he is noted, and not ſo hardie as doubtfull in time of perill and danger. But this ſeemeth to be an enuious report vttered by thoſe that were giuen to ſpeake no good of him whome they inwardlie hated. Howbeit ſome giue this witneſſe of him (as the author of the booke of Bernewell abbeie and other) that he was a great and mightie prince, but yet not verie fortunate, much like to Marius the noble Romane, taſting of fortune both waies: bountifull and liberall vnto ſtrangers, but of his owne people (for their dailie treaſons practiſed towards him) a great oppreſſour, ſo that he truſted more to forreners than to them, and therfore in the end he was of them vtterlie forſaken.

¶ Verelie, whoſoeuer ſhall conſider the courſe of the hiſtorie written of this prince, he ſhall find, that he hath beene little beholden to the writers of that time in which he liued: for ſcarſelie can they afoord him a good word, except when the trueth inforceth them to come out with it as it were againſt their willes. The occaſion whereof (as ſome thinke) was, for that he was no great freend to the clergie. And yet vndoubtedlie his deeds ſhew he had a zeale to religion, as it was then accompted: for he founded the abbeie of Beauleau in the new forreſt, as it were in recompenſe of certeine pariſhchurches, which to inlarge the ſame forreſt he cauſed to be throwne downe and ruinated.

Matth. Paris.
Polydor.
& alij.

He builded the monaſterie of Farendon, and the abbeie of Hales in Shropſhire; he repaired Godſtow where his fathers concubine Roſamund laie interred; he was no ſmall benefactor to the minſter of Lichfield in Staffordſhire; to the abbeie of Crokeſden in the ſame ſhire, and to the chappell at Knareſburgh in Yorkſhire. So that (to ſay what I thinke) he was not ſo void of deuotion towards the church, as diuers of his enimies haue reported, who of meere malice conceale all his vertues, and hide none of his vices; but are plentifull inough in ſetting foorth the ſame to the vttermoſt, and interpret all his dooings and ſaiengs to the woorſt, as may appeare to thoſe that aduiſedlie read the works of them that write the order of his life, which may ſeeme rather an inuectiue than a true hiſtorie: neuertheleſſe, ſith we cannot come by the truth of things through the malice of writers, we muſt content our ſelues with this vnfreendlie deſcription of his time. Certeinelie it ſhould ſeeme the man had a princelie heart in him, and wanted nothing but faithfull ſubiects to haue aſſiſted him in reuenging ſuch wrongs as were doone and offered by the French king and others.

Moreouer, the pride and pretended authoritie of the cleargie he could not well abide, when they went about to wreſt out of his hands the prerogatiue of his princelie rule and gouernement. True it is, that to mainteine his warres which he was forced to take in hand, as well in France as elſewhere, he was conſtreined to make all the ſhift he could deuiſe to recouer monie, and bicauſe he pinched their purſſes, they conceiued no ſmall hatred againſt him, which when he perceiued, and wanted peraduenture diſcretion to paſſe it ouer, he diſcouered now and then in his rage his immoderate diſpleaſure, as one not able to bridle his affections, a thing verie hard in a ſtout ſtomach, and thereby miſſed now and then to compaſſe that which otherwiſe he might verie well haue brought to paſſe.

Matth. Paris.

It is written, that he meant to haue become feudarie (for maintenance ſake againſt his owne diſloiall ſubiects, and other his aduerſaries) vnto Miramumeline the great king of the Saracens: but for the truth of this report I haue little to ſaie, and therefore I leaue the credit thereof to the authors. It is reported likewiſe, that in time when the realme ſtood interdicted, as he was abroad to hunt one day, it chanced that there was a great ſtag or hart killed, which when he came to be broken vp, prooued to be verie fat and thicke of fleſh; Oh (ſaith he) what a pleſant life this deere hath led, and yet in all his daies he neuer heard maſſe. To conclude, it may ſeeme, that in ſome reſpects he was not greatlie ſuperſtitious, and yet not void of a religious zeale towards the maintenance of the cleargie, as by his bountifull liberalitie beſtowed in building of abbeies and churches (as before yee haue hard) it may partlie appeare.

Bale.

In his daies manie learned men liued, as Geffrey Vineſauſe, Simon Fraxinus *alias* Aſh, Adamus Dorenſis, Gualter de Conſtantijs firſt biſhop of Lincolne and after archbiſhop of Rouen, Iohn de Oxford, Colman ſurnamed Sapiens, Richard Canonicus, William Peregrine, Alane Teukeſburie, Simon Thurnaie, who being an excellent philoſopher but ſtanding too much in his owne conceit, vpon a ſudden did ſo forget all his knowledge in learning, that he became the moſt ignorant of all other, a puniſhment (as was thought) appointed him of God, for ſuch blaſphemies as he had wickedlie vttered, both againſt Moſes and Chriſt. Geruaſius Dorobernenſis, Iohn Hanwill, Nigell Woreker, Gilbert de Hoiland, Benet de Peterburgh, William Paruus a moonke of Newburgh, Roger Houeden, Hubert Walter, firſt biſhop of Saliſburie and after archbiſhop of Canturburie, Alexander Theologus, of whome yee haue heard before, Geruaſius Tilberienſis, Sylueſter Giraldus Cambrenſis, who wrote manie treatiſes, Ioſeph Deuonius, Walter Mapis, Radulfus de Diceto, Gilbert Legley, Mauricius Morganius, Walter Morganius, Iohn de Fordeham, William Leiceſter, Ioceline Brakeland, Roger of Crowland, Hugh White *alias* Candidus that wrote an hiſtorie intituled *Hiſtoria Petroburgenſis*, Iohn de ſaint Omer, Adam Barking, Iohn Gray an hiſtoriographer and biſhop of Norwich, Walter of Couentrie, Radulphus Niger, &c. See Bale *Scriptorum Britanniæ centuria tertia*.

Thus farre king Iohn.

* * *

Henrie

Henrie the third, the eldeſt ſonne of king Iohn.

Anno Reg. 1.
1216

HEnrie, the third of that name, the eldeſt ſonne of K. John, a child of the age of nine yeres, began his reigne ouer the realme of England the nineteenth day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1216, in the ſeuenth yeare of the emperour Frederike the ſecond, and in the 36 yeare of the reigne of Philip the ſecond king of France.

William Marſhall earle of Penbroke.

Immediatlie after the death of his father king John, William Marſhall earle of Penbroke, generall of his fathers armie, brought this yoong prince with his brother and ſiſters vnto Gloceſter, and there called a councell of all ſuch lords as had taken part with king John. Anon after it was once openlie knowne, that the ſonnes and daughters of the late deceaſſed prince were brought into a place of ſafetie, a great number of the lords and cheefe barons of the realme haſted thither (I meane not onelie ſuch as had holden with king John, but alſo diuerſe other, which vpon certeine knowledge had of his death, were newlie reuolted from Lewes) in purpoſe to aid yoong king Henrie, to whome of right the crowne did apperteine.

Math. Paris.

Thither alſo came Wallo or Guallo the popes legat (an earneſt defender of the kings cauſe) with Peter biſhop of Wincheſter, & Jocelin biſhop of Bath: alſo Ranulph earle of Cheſter, William Ferrers earle of Derbie, John Marſhall, and Philip de Albenie, with diuerſe other lords and peeres of the relme, and a great number of abbats and priors, who by and by fell to councell togither what waie ſhould be beſt to take, for the good order of things now in ſo doubtfull and perilous a time as this. The peeres of the realme being thus aſſembled, William earle of Penbroke, bringing the yoong king into their preſence, and ſetting him before them, ſpake theſe words following.

The earle of Penbroks ſhort and *ſweet oration as it is borrowed out* of maiſter Fox.

BEhold right honourable and welbeloued, although we haue perſecuted the father of this yoong prince for his euill demeanor, and worthilie, yet this yoong child whome heere you ſee before you, as he is in years tender, ſo is he pure and innocent from thoſe his fathers doings. Wherefore, in ſo much as euerie man is charged onelie with the burthen of his owne works and tranſgreſſions, neither ſhall the child (as the ſcripture teacheth vs) beare the iniquitie of his father: we ought therefore of dutie and conſcience to pardon this yoong and tender prince, and take compaſſion of his age as yee ſee. And now, for ſo much as he is the kings naturall and eldeſt ſonne, and muſt be our ſouereigne king, and ſucceſſour in this kingdome, come and let vs appoint him our king & gouernour, let vs remoue from vs this Lewes the French kings ſonne, and ſuppreſſe his people, which are a confuſion and ſhame to our nation: and the yoke of their ſeruitude let vs caſt from off our ſhoulders.

When the barons had heard this earles words, after ſome ſilence and conference had, they allowed of his ſaiengs, and immediatlie with one conſent, proclaimed the yoong gentleman king of England, whome the biſhops of Wincheſter and Bath did crowne and annoint with all due ſolemnities at Gloceſter, vpon the day of the feaſt of the apoſtles Simon & Jude, in preſence of the legat. Being thus crowned, he was committed to the gouernance of his brother in law, the foreſaid William Marſhall earle of Penbroke, who to win the good will of the people towards the yoong king, ſent forth meſſengers with letters into all parts of the realme, to ſignifie the newes of the kings coronation, with an offer alſo of pardon to all ſuch of the barons ſide as would turne to his part: and likewiſe of great rewards to thoſe, which hauing hitherto continued faithfull, would ſo remaine vntill this trouble ſhould be ouerpaſt. By this means it came to paſſe, that his freends greatlie reioiſed at theſe newes, and manie of thoſe which till that time had aided the Frenchmen, reuolted from them, and in hope of pardon and reward turned to king Henrie.

*See pag. 193. col. 2.

It is reported by writers, that amongſt other things, as there were diuerſe which withdrew the hearts of the Engliſhmen from Lewes, the conſideration of the confeſſion which the * vicount of Melune made at the houre of his death, was the principall. The order whereof, in the later end of the life of king John, yee haue heard. Truelie how little good will inwardlie Lewes and his Frenchmen bare towards the Engliſh nation, it appeered ſundrie waies. And firſt of all, in that they had them in a manner in no regard or eſtimation at all, but rather ſought by all means to ſpoile and keepe them vnder, not ſuffering them to beare anie rule, nor putting them in truſt with the cuſtodie of ſuch places as they had brought them in poſſeſſion of. Secondlie, they called them not to councell, ſo often as at the firſt they vſed to doo, neither did they proceed by their directions in their buſineſſe, as before they were accuſto-

The pride of the Frenchmen procureth them hatred.

med. Thirdlie, in all manner of their conuerſation, neither Lewes nor his Frenchmen vſed them ſo familiarlie, as at their firſt comming: but (as their maner is) ſhewing more loftie countenances toward them, they greatlie increaſed the indignation of the Engliſh lords againſt them, who might euill abide to be ſo ouer-ruled.

To conclude, where great promiſes were made at their entring into the land, they were ſlowe inough in performing the ſame, ſo as the expectation of the Engliſh barons was quite made void: for they perceiued dailie that they were deſpiſed & ſcoffed at for their diſloialtie ſhewed to their owne naturall prince, hearing now and then nips and tawnts openlie by the Frenchmen, that as they had ſhewed themſelues falſe and vntruſtie to their owne lawfull king, ſo they would not continue anie long time true vnto a ſtranger. Thus all theſe things laid togither, gaue occaſion to the Engliſh barons to remember themſelues, and to take iuſt occaſion to reuolt vnto king Henrie, as before wée haue mentioned. But now to the purpoſe of the hiſtorie.

Ye haue heard how Lewes had ſpent long time in vaine about the beſieging of the caſtell of Douer, for although he plagued them within verie ſore, yet Hubert de Burgh and Gerard de Sotigam bare themſelues ſo manfullie, and therwith ſo politikelie, that their aduerſaries could not come to vnderſtand their diſtreſſe & danger within the caſtell, in ſo much that deſpairing to win it in anie ſhort time, euen before the death of king Iohn was knowne (as ſome write) Lewes was contented to grant a truce to them that kept this caſtell, till the feaſt of Eaſter next inſuing: but (as it appeareth by other) this truce was not concluded till after the death of king Iohn was ſignified to Lewes, who greatlie reioiſing therat, ſuppoſed now within a ſhort time, to bring the whole realme vnder his ſubiection: and therefore raiſing his ſiege from Douer, in hope to compaſſe enterpriſes of greater conſequence, he came backe vnto the citie of London.

Matth. Paris.

Hertford caſtell deliuered to Lewes.

The caſtell of Berkehamſtéed ſurrendred.

Matth. Paris.

When they within the caſtell of Douer ſaw the ſiege remooued, they came forth, and burnt ſuch houſes and buildings as the Frenchmen had raiſed before the ſame caſtell, and comming abroad into the countrie, got togither ſuch vittels and other neceſſarie prouiſion, as might ſerue for the furniſhing of their fortreſſe for a long ſeaſon. After that Lewes was returned vnto London, he remained not long there, but with a great armie marched forth vnto Hertford, where he beſieged the caſtell, which was in the keeping of Walter de Godardule ſeruant in houſehold vnto Fouks de Brent, who defended the place from the feaſt of S. Martine, vntill the feaſt of S. Nicholas, and then deliuered it by compoſition, that he and his people might depart with all their goods, horſſe and armour. From thence Lewes went vnto Berkehamſtéed, and beſieged the caſtell, which was valiantlie defended by a Duch capteine named Waleron, who with his people behaued himſelfe ſo manfullie, that a great number of Frenchmen and other of them without, were left dead in the ditches. At an iſſue alſo made vpon the ſide, towards the north where the barons lay, they ſpoiled the carriage and truſſe of the ſaid barons, and tooke therewithall the ſtandard of William Mandeuile. Finallie about the 20 day of December, they yet yéelded the place vnto Lewes, bicauſe they were no longer able to kéepe it, their liues, goods, horſſe and armour ſaued.

Bernewell a truce.

Lewes hauing furniſhed this caſtell with a ſufficient garriſon, returned backe towards London, and comming to S. Albons, conſtreined the abbat to giue vnto him foure ſcore marks of ſiluer, for a fine, in recogniſance of dooing his homage till the feaſt of the purification of our ladie next inſuing. Which poore abbat was made to beléeue, that he ought to take this dealing to be an act of great courteſie, the earle of Wincheſter being an earneſt meane for him that he might ſo eaſilie eſcape. About the ſame time was a generall truce taken betwixt the king and Lewes, and all their partakers, till the 20 day after Chriſtmaſſe, for the obteining of which truce (as ſome write) the caſtell of Berkehamſtéed was ſurrendered vnto the ſame Lewes, as before ye haue heard.

1218

Polydor.

After Chriſtmaſſe, and whileſt the truce yet dured, Lewes and the barons aſſembled at the councell which they held at Cambridge, & the lords that tooke part with the king met likewiſe at Oxford, and much talke there was, and great trauell imploied to haue concluded ſome agréement by compoſition betwixt the parties, but it would not be, nor yet anie longer truce (which was alſo ſought for) could be granted: whervpon Lewes beſieged the caſtell of Hidingham, the which togither with the caſtels of Norwich, Colcheſter, and Oxford, were ſurrendered vnto him, to haue a truce granted vntill a moneth after Eaſter next inſuing. And ſo by this meanes all the eaſt part of the realme came vnto the poſſeſſion of Lewes. For the Ile of Elie was woon by his people a little before the laſt truce, whileſt he himſelfe lay in ſiege at Berkehamſtéed, except one fortreſſe belonging to the ſame Ile, into the which the ſouldiers that ſerued there vnder the king were withdrawen. But yet although Lewes might ſéeme thus partlie to preuaile, in hauing theſe caſtels deliuered into his hands, yet being aduertiſed that dailie there reuolted diuerſe of the barons of England vnto king Henrie, which before had taken part with him: he ſtood in great doubt and feare of the reſt, and therefore furniſhed all thoſe caſtels which he had wonne with conuenient garriſons, and namelie the caſtell of Hertford, and after went to London, there to vnderſtand what further truſt he might put in the reſt of the Engliſh lords and barons: for as diuerſe had alreadie forſaken him, as it is ſaid, ſo the reſidue were doubtfull what they were beſt to doo.

The perplexitie in which the barons ſtood.

For firſt they conſidered, that the renouncing of their promiſed faith vnto Lewes, whome they had ſworne to mainteine as king of England, ſhould be a great reproch vnto them: and againe they well ſaw that to continue in their obedience towards him, ſhould bring the realme in great danger, ſith it would be hard for any louing agréement to continue betwéene the French & Engliſhmen, their natures being ſo contrarie. Thirdlie, they ſtood ſomewhat in feare of the popes curſſe, pronounced by his legat, both againſt Lewes and all his partakers. Albeit on the other ſide, to reuolt vnto king Henrie, though the loue which they did beare to their countrie, and the great towardneſſe which they ſaw in him greatlie mooued them; yet ſith by reaſon of his yong yeares, he was not able either to follow the wars himſelfe, or to take counſell what was to be doone in publike gouernement, they iudged it a verie dangerous caſe. For whereas in wars nothing can be more expedient than to haue one head, by whoſe appointment all things may be gouerned: ſo nothing can be more hurtfull than to haue manie rulers, by whoſe authoritie things ſhall paſſe and be ordered.

Wherefore theſe conſiderations ſtaied and kept one part of the Engliſh lords ſtill in obedience to Lewes, namelie, for that diuerſe of the confederats thought that it ſtood not with their honours ſo to forſake him, till they might haue ſome more honorable colour to reuolt from their promiſes, or that the matter ſhould be taken vp by ſome indifferent agréement to be concluded out of hand betwixt them. Hervpon

vpon they reſorted in like maner vnto London, and there with Lewes tooke councell what was to be doone with their buſineſſe touching the whole ſtate of their cauſe. ¶ Here ye ſhall note, that before the concluding of this laſt truce, Fouks de Brent the capteine of the caſtell of Bedford gat togither a number of ſouldiers out of the garriſons of the caſtels of Oxford, Northampton, Bedford, and Windſor, and comming with them to S. Albons the 22 of Februarie, he ſpoiled the towne & abbie, in like maner as he had doone all the townes and villages by the way as he paſſed through the countrie, from Bedford vnto S. Albons.

S. Albons deſtroied.

The meſſengers which Lewes had remaining in the court of Rome, ſignified vnto him about the ſame time, that except he departed out of England, the ſentence of excommunication, which Gualo or Walo the legat had pronounced againſt him, ſhould be confirmed by the pope on Maundie thurſdaie next inſuing. Wherevpon Lewes was the more inclined to yeeld to the truce before mentioned, that he might in the meane time go ouer into France to his father, who had moſt earneſtlie written and ſent in commandement to him, that in any wiſe he ſhould returne home to talke with him, and ſo about midlent after the truce was concluded, he prepared himſelfe, and ſailed ouer into France, and as Polydor ſaith (but with what authoritie I know not) the king of Scots went alſo with him.

Math. Paris.
Noble men reuolting frō Lewes.

After his departure ouer, William earle of Saliſburie, William earle of Arundell, William earle Warren, and diuerſe other reuolted to king Henrie. Moreouer, William Marſhall earle of Penbroke ſo trauelled with his ſon William Marſhall the yonger, that he likewiſe came to take part with the yong king: whereby the ſide of Lewes and his Frenchmen was ſore weakened, and their harts no leſſe appalled for the ſequele of their affaires. Lewes returned yet into England before the truce was expired. The lords that held on the kings part in the abſence of Lewes, were not forgetfull to vſe opportunitie of time: for beſide that they had procured no ſmall number of thoſe that before time held with Lewes to reuolt from him to the kings ſide, they at one ſelfe time beſieged diuerſe caſtels, and recouered them out of their aduerſaries hands, as Marlebrough, Farneham, Wincheſter, Ciceſter, and certeine other, which they ouerthrew and raced, bicauſe they ſhould not be taken and kept againe by the enimie. For ye muſt vnderſtand, that the going ouer of Lewes now at that time, when it ſtood him moſt vpon to haue beene preſent here in that troubleſome ſeaſon (which he ought to haue regarded with ſingular circumſpection, and warilie to haue watched, for *Virtus eſt, vbi occaſio admonet, diſpicere*) brought no ſmall hinderance to the whole ſtate of all his buſineſſe, in ſo much that he was neuer ſo highlie regarded afterwards among the Engliſhmen as before.

Math. Paris.
The earle of Cheſter.

The caſtell of Mountſorell beſieged.

Henrie Braibroke.

Saer de Quincie erle of Wincheſter.

About the ſame time Ranulfe earle of Cheſter, William earle of Albermarle, William earle Ferrers, Robert de Veipount, Brian de Liſle, William de Cantlow, Philip de Marc, Robert de Gaugi, Fouks de Brent, & others aſſembled their powers, and comming to Mountſorell beſide Loughborough in Leiceſterſhire, beſieged the caſtell there, the capteine whereof was one Henrie de Braibroke. This Henrie defended the place right manfully, and doubting to be in diſtres by long ſiege, ſent with all ſpeed to the earle of Wincheſter, Saer de Quincie as then being at London with the Frenchmen, requiring him to ſend ſome ſuccour to remoue the ſiege. Herevpon the earle of Wincheſter, to whom that caſtell belonged, required Lewes that ſome conuenient power might be ſent, whereby the ſiege might be remooued. Wherefore vpon councell taken with deliberate aduiſe, it was ordeined that an armie ſhould be ſent thither with all ſpeed, not onlie to raiſe the ſiege, but alſo to ſubdue that countrie vnto the obedience of Lewes. Herwith there went out of London 600 knights, and with them aboue twentie thouſand men in armour, greedie (as it ſeemed) to haue the ſpoile of other mens goods.

Their chiefe capteins were theſe: Saer de Quincie earle of Wincheſter, Robert Fitzwater, and others, and they did ſet forward vpon the laſt of Aprill, which was the mondaie before the Aſcenſion daie, paſſing through S. Albons, where they lodged the firſt night, and ſo to Dunſtable, and by the waie ſuch ſouldiers as were vſed to ſpoile and pillage, plaied their parts, not ſparing to rob and ranſacke as well religious houſes as other. From Dunſtable keeping on their iournie northwards, at length they came to Mountſorell, but the earle of Cheſter and the other lords, aduertiſed of their approch, were retired before to Notingham, determining there to abide, till they might vnderſtand what waie the enimies would take.

The earle of Cheſter raiſeth his ſiege.

In the meane time the earle of Wincheſter and the other barons, finding their enimies departed and the ſiege raiſed, determined foorthwith to go vnto Lincolne, where Gilbert de Gaunt and other had kept ſiege a long time before the caſtell, but yet in vaine. For there was a noble ladie within that caſtell named Nichola, who demeaned hir ſelfe ſo valiantlie in reſiſting all aſſaults and enterpriſes, which the enimies that beſieged hir could attempt by anie meanes againſt hir, that they rather loſt than wan honour and eſtimation at hir hands dailie. Therefore Robert Fitzwater and the other leaders of this armie, to the end they might get that caſtell out of hir and other their enimies hands, tooke their iournie forward, and paſſing through the vale of Beauuere, all things there that came to ſight fell into the hands of the greedie ſouldiers. For the French footmen, which were as it had beene the ſcum & reffuſe of their countrie, leaſt nothing vntouched that they might lay hands vpon, not ſparing church or churchyard, nor hallowed place more than common or prophane. For they were ſo poore and ragged, that they had ſcarſe anie tatters to couer their priuie parts withall. Finallie comming vnto Lincolne, they aſſaulted the caſtell with all maner of engins, and aſſaied by all waies poſſible whereby they hoped to aduance their purpoſe.

Bernewell.

The poore eſtate of the French ſoldiers.

Thus whiles the barons with the Frenchmen were much buſied about the ſiege of Lincolne caſtell, W. Marſhall earle of Penbroke, by the aduiſe of the legat Gualo or Walo, and of Peter biſhop of Wincheſter, and other of the councell with king Henrie, cauſed ſummons to be giuen to all capteins and chateleins on the kings part, to be at Newarke vpon mondaie in Whitſunweeke, with ſuch power as they might make, from thence to march to Lincolne, there to raiſe the ſiege, and deliuer the countrie from imminent oppreſſion. Wherevpon there aſſembled at the daie and place prefixed, a great puiſſance of people deſirous to fight for the defenſe of their countrie againſt the Frenchmen and other aduerſaries, rebels to the pope, and excommunicated perſons, ſo that when the muſter was taken, there was numbered 400 knights, 250 croſſebowes, beſides demilances and horſſemen in great numbers, which for need might haue ſupplied and ſerued in ſteed of men of armes, being verie well furniſhed for the purpoſe, and armed at all points.

Summons to raiſe an armie for the king.

The chiefe capteins of this companie were theſe: William Marſhall earle of Penbroke, and his ſon

The capteins of the kings armie.

William Marſhall the yonger, Peter biſh. of Wincheſter, a man right ſkilfull in feats of warre, Ranulph earle of Cheſter, William earle of Saliſburie, William earle Ferrers, William earle of Albemarle, beſides barons, as William de Albenie latelie releaſed out of captiuitie, John Marſhall, William de Cantlow, and William his ſonne, Fouks de Brent, Thomas Baſſet, Robert de Veipount, Brian de Liſle, Geffrey de Lucie, Philip de Albenie, with manie other chateleins and conſtables of ſundrie caſtels.

The legat accurſeth Lewes & his complices.

The legat being there preſent alſo on the fridaie in the Whitſunwéeke aforeſaid, reueſted in a white albe, accompanied with the cleargie, accurſed in ſolemne wiſe Lewes the French kings ſonne, with all his fautours and complices, & eſpeciallie thoſe which held ſiege before the caſtell of Lincolne, with all the citie: and the more to incourage all thoſe that ſhould paſſe foorth in this armie, to raiſe the ſiege, he granted to them frée remiſſion of all their ſins, whereof they were trulie confeſſed, and by authoritie which he had from almightie GOD, and the apoſtolike ſée, he promiſed to them the guerdon of euerlaſting ſaluation. Herewith when the armie had receiued abſolution, and the legats bleſſing, euerie man marched foorth in his order and place appointed, and comming to Stow, an eight miles from Lincolne, they lodged there all night.

In the morning they paſſed foorth towards Lincolne, vnder the conduct of the ſaid earle of Penbroke as generall of the whole armie, who being come thither, compaſſed about the citie with his armie. And to cauſe the enimie the ſoner to leaue the ſiege of the caſtell, he aſſaulted the gates of the citie, inforcing his power to beare downe and breake them open. The Frenchmen perceiuing all the danger to be about the gates, withdrew a little from the aſſailing of the caſtell, and reſorting to the walles of the citie, did their beſt with ſhooting and caſting of ſtones and other things, to driue their aduerſaries from the gates.

Fouks de Brent.

Thus whiles they were occupied on both parts, Fouks de Brent entered into the caſtell by a poſterne gate on the backeſide, and a great number of ſouldiers with him, and ruſhing into the citie out of the caſtell, he began a fierce battell with the citizens within the citie: which when the Frenchmen perceiued, by the noiſe and crie raiſed at their backs, they ran to the place where the ſkirmiſh was, dooing their beſt to beat backe the aforeſaid Foukes de Brent with his companie. But in the meane time the Engliſhmen, vnder the leading of Sauerie de Mauleon, a Poictouin (of whom you haue heard in the life of king John) brake open the gates and entred the citie. Then the fight was ſore increaſed and mainteined for a time with great furie: ſo that it was hard to iudge who ſhould haue the better. But at length the Frenchmen and thoſe Engliſh lords that were with them, being ſore laid at on ech ſide, began to retire towards the gates, and finallie to turne their backs and ſo fled awaie: but being beſet round about with the kings horſſemen, they were ſtreightwaies either ſlaine or taken for the moſt part of them.

The Frenchmen put to flight at Lincolne.

The earle of Perch ſlaine.

Amongſt other that were there ſlaine, the earle of Perch a Frenchman was one, who being gotten into a churchyard manfullie defended himſelfe till his horſſe was killed vnder him, and laſtlie himſelfe was alſo beaten downe and ſlaine. There were taken of Engliſhmen, Saer de Quincie erle of Wincheſter, and Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hereford, Gilbert de Gaunt earle of Lincolne by the gift of Lewes, Richard de Montfichet, William de Mowbraie, William de Beauchampe, William de Manduit, Oliuer de Harecourt, Roger de Creſſie, William de Coleuill, William de Roos, William de Ropeley, Ralfe Chanduit, and diuerſe other: ſo that of knights there were taken to the number of foure hundred, beſide ſuch multitude of demilances, and other horſſemen and footmen, as could not well be numbered. Moreouer, all the prouiſion, truſſe, and baggage loden in carts, clothſackes, and males belonging to the barons and Frenchmen was taken, and the citie was ſpoiled, rifled and ſacked.

Noble mẽ taken priſoners.

Gilbert de Gaunt by the gift of Lewes.

Lewes his faire.

This enterpriſe and diſcomfiture at Lincolne, which was in deriſion called Lewes his faire, chanced the 14 kalends of June, being ſaturdaie in the Whitſunwéeke. Manie honeſt matrons of the towne were drowned, as they were got into boates to auoid the danger of their perſons, wanting ſkill how to guide the ſame boates. The earle of Penbroke the ſame daie before he receiued any repaſt, rode backe in poſt to the king, whom he had left at Stow, and there declared the ioifull newes of his good ſpeed, in vanquiſhing of the enimies. On the next morrow, newes came to the king, that they which had kept the caſtell of Mountſorell were fled out of the ſame, and had left it void. Whervpon immediatlie he ſent in commandement vnto the ſhiriffe of Notinghamſhire, that going thither in his owne perſon, he ſhould ruinat the ſaid caſtell, & make it plaine with the ground.

The k. commandeth ỹ caſtell of Mountſorell to be raced.

The Frenchmen which eſcaped with life from the ſlaughter of Lincolne, as the Marſhall of France, the chateleine of Arras, with others, made towards London with all poſſible ſpeed, in hope to eſcape ſo well as they might: but manie of them, and namelie the footmen were ſlaine by the countrie people where they paſſed, and that in great numbers: for the huſbandmen fell vpon them with clubs and ſwords, not ſparing thoſe whom they got at aduantage. Two hundred knights or men of armes (as we may call them) getting to London, preſented vnto Lewes the ſorowfull report of their miſaduenture, and were of him not moaned, but blamed and ſore rebuked, for that they had fled, and ſhamefullie left the reſidue of their companies to be diſtreſſed, taken, and ſlaine by the aduerſaries, where if they had manfullie ſtood to it, they might happilie haue ſaued their fellowes, and obteined victorie.

Milites.

Chr. Dunſt.

¶ The chronicle of Dunſtable ſheweth in déed that Simon de Peſchie and Henrie Braibroc, perceiuing that Fouks de Brent was entered into the citie, and that they were now aſſailed both afront, and on the backes, they withdrew, and getting togither 80 French knights or men of armes (if we ſhall ſo call them) departed out of the citie, and fléeing through the countrie by Lin and ſaint Edmundſburie, at length got through to London. How ſoeuer they were welcomed of Lewes, certeine it is, that the lords that tooke part with king Henrie, were put in no ſmall hope by the atchiuing of this ſo great a victorie, to bring within a ſhort time all the realme to the obedience of king Henrie: and herevpon marching foorth into the countrie, put the people in ſuch feare, that they ſubmitted themſelues vnto the gouernment of king Henrie in all places where ſoeuer they came.

On the other part, Lewes who all this ſeaſon remained at London, being ſore diſmaied for the loſſe of his people, began to feare euerie daie more and more, leaſt by ſome practiſe he ſhould be betraied and deliuered into his enimies hands. Therefore he went about to make himſelfe as ſtrong as was poſſible, & fortifieng the citie, ſent meſſengers into France, to require his father to ſend him more aid. His father ſorie to heare of his ſons diſtreſſe, and loth that he ſhould take the foile, cauſed his daughter the wife of Lewes, to prepare a power of men, that the ſame

Lewes ſendeth to his father for aid.

might paſſe with all ſpeed ouer into England to the aid of hir husband. For the French king himſelfe would not ſeeme to aid his ſonne, bicauſe he was excommunicated: but his daughter in law, hauing licence and commiſſion thereto, gat togither three hundred knights, or men of armes, whome with a great number of other ſouldiers and armed men, ſhe ſent downe to Caleis, where Euſtace the monke had prouided a nauie of ſhips to conueie them ouer into England. But how they ſped you ſhall heare anon.

An armie prepared in Fráce to come to the ſuccour of Lewes.

Polydor.

In the meane time the earle of Penbroke approched towards London, purpoſing to aſſaile the citie now in this opportunitie of time, letting paſſe no occaſion that might further his proceedings, night and day ſtudieng how to recouer the realme wholie out of the Frenchmens hands, and to ſet the ſame at libertie: ſo that what was to be deuiſed, he did deuiſe, and what was to be doone, that he did, not forſlowing anie occaſion or opportunitie that might be offered. The Engliſh barons alſo calling to mind the benefit which they had receiued at the Frenchmens hands in time of their moſt need, ſought now by all means poſſible, ſome waie how to procure a peace betwixt king Henrie and the ſaid Lewes, thinking by that means to benefit themſelues, and to gratifie him in lieu of his former courteſie bountifullie ſhewed in a caſe of extremitie, which bicauſe it was obteined in a wiſhed time was the more acceptable, whereas being lingered it had beene the leſſe welcome, as one ſaith,

The diligence of the earle of Penbroke.

Auſon. in epig.

Gratia quæ tarda eſt ingrata eſt, gratia nãq;
Quum fieri properat, gratia grata magis.

Herevpon they cauſed dailie new articles of agreement to be preſented in writing vnto the ſaid Lewes, as from king Henrie. But while theſe things were a dooing, the earle of Penbroke and other the lords that tooke part with king Henrie, hauing aduertiſement, that a new ſupplie of men was readie to come and aid Lewes, they appointed Philip de Albenie and Iohn Marſhall to aſſociat with them the power of the cinque ports, and to watch for the comming of the aduerſaries, that they might keepe them from landing, who on ſaint Bartholomews day ſet forth frõ Caleis, in purpoſe to arriue in the Thames, and ſo to come vp the riuer to London. Howbeit Hubert de Burgh capteine of the caſtell of Douer, togither with the ſaid Philip de Albenie and Iohn Marſhall, with other ſuch power as they could get togither of the cinque ports, hauing not yet aboue the number of 40 ſhips great & ſmall, vpon the diſcouering of the French fleet, which conſiſted of 80 great ſhips, beſides other leſſer veſſels well appointed and trimmed, made forth to the ſea. And firſt coaſting aloofe from them, till they had got the wind on their backs, came finallie with their maine force to aſſaile the Frenchmen, and with helpe of their croſſebowes and archers at the firſt ioining, made great ſlaughter of their enimies, and ſo grapling togither, in the end the Engliſhmen bare themſelues ſo manfullie, that they vanquiſhed the whole French fleet, and obteined a famous victorie.

Math. Paris.

Hubert de Burgh aſſaileth the French fleet.

The French fleet is vanquiſhed.

Math. Paris.

Euſtace the monke was found amongſt the capteins, who although he offered great ſummes of gold for his ranſome, ſo that he might haue had his life ſaued, and alſo to ſerue king Henrie, yet the Engliſh capteins would none of that: but Richard the baſtard ſonne of king Iohn, tooke him, and cut off his head, and ſent it vnto king Henrie his brother, as a witneſſe of this their atchieued victorie. This Euſtace was a Fleming borne, and ſomtime a monke, but renouncing his cowle to receiue ſuch heritage as fell to him by the death of his brethren, deceaſſing without iſſue, he became a notable pirat, and had doone in his daies much miſcheefe to the Engliſhmen, and therefore was now rewarded according to his demerits. For

Euſtace the monke taken and beheaded.

Richard baſe ſonne to king Iohn.

Euſtace the monke what he was.

Rarò antecedentem ſceleſtum
Deſeruit pede pœna claudo.

Hor. lib. 3. car. od. 2.

The ſpoile and prey of the French ſhips was verie rich, ſo that the Engliſhmen being loden with riches and honour, vpon their ſafe returne home were receiued with great ioy and gladneſſe. But Lewes, after he vnderſtood of this miſchance happening to his people that came to his aid, began not a litle to deſpaire of all other ſuccour to come vnto him at any time heereafter: wherfore he inclined the ſooner vnto peace, ſo that at length he tooke ſuch offers of agreement as were put vnto him, and receiued furthermore a ſum of monie for the releaſe of ſuch hoſtages as he had in his hands, togither with the title of the kingdome of England, and the poſſeſſion of all ſuch caſtels and holds as he held within the realme. ¶ The French chronicle (to the which the chronicle of Dunſtable and Matthew Paris doo alſo agree) affirmeth that he receiued fifteene thouſand marks. Moreouer, the popes legat abſolued Lewes and all thoſe that had taken his part in the offenſe of diſobedience ſhewed in attempting the warre againſt the popes commandement.

A rich ſpoile.

An accord betwixt K. Henrie & Lewes.

The Engliſh chronicle ſaith a thouſand pounds.

Math. Paris.

Then Lewes with all his complices that had bin excommunicated ſware vpon the holie euangeliſt, that they ſhould ſtand to the iudgement of holie church, and from thenceforth be faithfull vnto the pope and to the church of Rome. Moreouer, that he with his people ſhould incontinentlie depart out of the realme, and neuer vpon euill intent returne againe. And that ſo farre as in him laie, he ſhould procure his father king Philip, to make reſtitution vnto king Henrie of all the right which he had in the parts beyond the ſea: and that when he ſhould be king of France, he ſhould reſigne the ſame in moſt quiet manner.

On the other part, king Henrie tooke his oth togither with the legat, and the earle of Penbroke gouernour of the realme, that he ſhould reſtore vnto the barons of his realme, and to other his ſubiects, all their rights and heritages, with all the liberties before demanded, for the which the diſcord was moued betwixt the late king Iohn and his barons. Moreouer, all priſoners on both parts were releaſed and ſet at libertie, without paieng anie ranſome: yea and thoſe which had couenanted to paie, and vpon the ſame were ſet at libertie before the concluſion of this peace, were now diſcharged of all ſummes of monie which then remained vnpaid.

This peace was concluded on the eleuenth day of September, not farre from Stanes, hard by the riuer of Thames, where Lewes himſelfe, the legat Guallo, and diuerſe of the ſpiritualtie with the earle of Penbroke lord gouernor of the realme, and others, did meet and talke about this accord. Now when all things were ordered and finiſhed agreeable to the articles and couenants of the peace, ſo farre as the time preſent required, the lords of the realme (when Lewes ſhould depart homeward) attended him to Douer in honorable wiſe, as aperteined, and there tooke leaue of him, and ſo he departed out of the realme about the feaſt of ſaint Michaell.

King Henrie by this meanes being put in full poſſeſſion of the relme, according to the preſcript of that article conteined in thoſe conditions of the peace latelie ſpecified, pardoned all thoſe that had aided his aduerſarie Lewes during the wars, except certeine of the ſpiritualtie, which were put to ſuch fines, that they were compelled to laie all that they had to pledge, to leuie ſuch ſummes of monie, as they might with the ſame obteine the kings fauour againe: and beſide that, to ſue to Rome for their entier abſolution at

The prelats are fined.

at the popes owne hands. Amongſt other, Hugh biſhop of Lincolne returning into England, was compelled to paie a thouſand marks to the popes vſe for recouerie of his biſhoprike, & an hundred marks alſo to the legat of good and lawfull monie. Such cheuance made the legat amongſt them of the church, as well perſons ſecular as regular, that he got togither twelue thouſand marks towards his charges, whereby it appeared, that he loſt no time in England. But to proceed.

The realme now being quiet and in all outward felicitie, a number of vnrulie perſons, ſuch as delighting in idleneſſe, knew not how to liue in time of peace, aſſembled themſelues togither and (appointing Fouks de Breut, who was a man of great ſtomach and more raſhneſſe, to be their capteine and ringleder) began to make warre againſt the king, and to ſpoile the townes and countries about them, ſo that their euill dooings might haue cauſed no ſmall perill to haue inſued by ſome great ciuill ſedition, if the earle of Penbroke had not in time preuented their attempts. For he aſſembling the kings power, haſted towards the rebels, and what by his owne authoritie, and by the reuerend regard of ſome biſhops in his companie; more than by vſing any force of armes, he ſtaid the matter for that time, ſo that no further miſcheefe followed of this mutinie.

Beſides the foreſaid Fouks de Breut, there were other of the Nobilitie alſo which practiſed the like diſorder, as William earle of Albemarle, Robert de Veipount, Brian de Liſle, Hugh de Balioll, Philip de Marc, and Robert de Gaugi, the which Robert withheld the caſtell of Newarke that belonged to the biſhop of Lincolne, and would not deliuer it, till the king with William Marſhall erle of Penbroke had laine at ſiege before it an eight daies, in the end of which terme by mediation of freends the matter was taken vp, and the biſhop recouered his caſtell, paieng to the ſaid Robert de Gaugi an hundred pounds ſterling for the victuals which he left within the ſame caſtell.

Soone after this, Ranulph earle of Cheſter was ſent into the holie land by king Henrie, with a goodlie companie of ſouldiers and men of warre, to aid the chriſtians there againſt the infidels, which at the ſame time had beſieged the citie of Damieta in Aegypt, in which enterpriſe the valiancie of the ſame earle after his comming thither, was to his great praiſe moſt apparant. There went with him in that iournie Saer de Quincie earle of Wincheſter, William de Albenie earle of Arundell, beſides diuerſe barons, as the lord Robert Fitz Walter, Iohn conſtable of Cheſter, William de Harecourt, and Oliuer Fitzroie ſonne to the king of England, and diuerſe other.

The next yeare, which was after the birth of our lord 1219, William Marſhall the foreſaid earle of Penbroke died, gouernour both of the realme and alſo of the kings perſon, a man of ſuch worthineſſe both in ſtoutneſſe of ſtomach and martiall knowledge, as England had few then liuing that might be compared with him. He was buried in the new temple church at London vpon the Aſcenſion day. The ſame yeare alſo Wallo or Gualo the legat returned to Rome, and Pandulph, who (as before is expreſſed) did the meſſage ſo ſtoutlie from pope Innocent to king Iohn, was alſo made biſhop of Norwich.

Moreouer, the gouernement of king Henrie after the death of William Marſhall the elder, earle of Penbroke, was committed vnto Peter biſhop of Wincheſter: for the yong king was almoſt deſtitute of any of his kindred that were worthie to haue the rule of him: foraſmuch as his mother queene Iſabell was latelie maried to Hugh Brune the earle of Marſh in France, vnto whome ſhe was promiſed before king Iohn tooke hir to wife, as in the life of the ſame king Iohn is mentioned.

The biſhop of Wincheſter being now in the poſſeſſion of the kings perſon, doubting leaſt he had taken a greater charge vpon him than he might well anſwer, cauſed diuerſe ſage and honourable perſonages to be admitted of the kings councell, to aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration of the common-wealth and good gouernance of the realme. Which being doone, a parlement was holden at London, wherein a ſubſidie was granted to the king of two ſhillings to be gathered and leuied of euerie ploughland within his dominions, towards the relieuing of the great charges which he had ſuſteined by the warres againſt the foreſaid Lewes.

About the ſame time alſo he began the building of the new worke of the church at Weſtminſter. In which meane time the citie of Damieta afore mentioned, was woone by the chriſtian princes, and Ranulph earle of Cheſter returned home, leauing the earle of Arundell with a great number of ſouldiors behind him there in aid of the chriſtians againſt the Saracens, which dailie attempted the recouerie of the ſame. Moreouer, in the yeare inſuing, which was of our lord 1220, and vpon the ſeauenteenth day of Maie being Whitſunday, the king was eftſoones ſolemnelie crowned at Weſtminſter, to the end it might be ſaid, that now after the extinguiſhment of all ſeditious factions, he was crowned by the generall conſent of all the eſtates and ſubiects of his realme.

The ſame yeare alſo was the bodie of Thomas archbiſhop of Canturburie tranſlated, and Hugh biſhop of Lincolne canonized for a ſaint. In like manner in the vigile of Peter and Paule, the king finding the caſtels of Rokingham and Sauueie at that preſent vnpurueied of victuals, tooke the ſame into his hands againſt the will of William of Albemarle which before held the ſame. ¶ This yeare alſo was a proclamation made in London, and throughout all the realme, that all ſtrangers ſhould auoid the land before the feaſt of ſaint Michaell then next following except thoſe that came with merchandize. Furthermore Ranulph earle of Cheſter, after he was come from the holie land, began to build the caſtels of Chartleie and Beeſton, and afterward he alſo builded the abbeie of Dieu Lencreſſe, commonlie called Delacreſſe of the white order. Toward his charges ſuſteined about the building of which caſtels and abbeie, he tooke toll throughout all his lordſhips of all ſuch perſons as paſſed by the ſame with any cattell, chaffre or merchandize.

This yeare deceaſſed Henrie de Boun earle of Hereford, and Saer de Quincie earle of Wincheſter in their iournie which they made into the holie land. Alſo the ſame yeare the preeſts or canons that inhabited within the kings caſtell of old Saliſburie, remoued with the biſhops ſee vnto new Saliſburie, which by the king was made a citie. The biſhop Richard procured this remouing, through the kings helpe, who was verie willing thervnto, as it ſeemed by his charters largelie granted in that behalfe. After this, king Henrie held his Chriſtmaſſe at Oxenford, at what time William de Fortz earle of Albemarle meaning to trouble the kings peace, and to ſet things in a new broile, departed from the court in the night ſeaſon, without leaue or licence, and haſted with all ſpeed vnto the caſtell of Biham, where he aſſembled a ſort of youthfull perſons, giuen to lewd demeanor, and wearie of quietneſſe (as to whome theft and robberies were verie pleſant) by whoſe helpe he ſpoiled diuers townes and villages about him, as Tenham and Deping, with others.

There

o Reg. 2.
t che-
e the
made.

ks de
nt.

h. Paris.

e caſtell of
warke re-
d to the
p of Lin-
.

Paris.
earle of
ter goeth
the holie

ne to K.
n belike.

o Reg. 3.
219
deceaſſe
e earle of
roke.

buried
temple
h.

oulph
biſhop
orwich.

biſhop of
heſter
nour to
ng.

ne Iſa-
arried
earle
rſh.

A parlement and a ſubſidie. R. Fabian.

The new church of Weſtm. begun.

Anno Reg. 4. Matth. Weſt.

The earle of Cheſter returneth home. Polydor.

1220

The K. crowned the ſecond time.

Matth. Paris.

Matth. Paris.

Ran. Higd. A proclamation to auoid ſtrangers.

The caſtles of Chartley & Beeſton built. Ran. Higd.

Anno Reg. 5. 1221

Saliſburie.

Matth. Paris.

The earle of Albemarle.

The caſtell of Biham.

There were of con
thought) Fouks de B
de Mauleon, Engellar
who priuilie ſent men
in his tumultuous affa
pat with him the ſweet
marke whereat euerie
iners

Vult quamuis nequ
Proinde animam v
Obijcit, vt raptis al
Ad proprios referat

In the meane time
to the churches, and g
pards. Moreouer, th
bled themſelues in co
the king was preſen
marle was ſummon
though he had meant
tlie, turned ſuddenli
dinghey, and tooke it
alſo with a garriſon o
to his owne vſe. Tha
the earle of Cheſter,
ſouldiers there in gar
ſurpriſed. When the
king, he raiſed a powe
caſtell of Biham, vp
the feaſt of Candelm
ſame about with a ſtr
within by force of ſu
daies, that finallie o
they came foorth, and
that they had vnto th
them to be ſafelie kep
uiſement what ſhould

In the meane whil
marle, who by the hel
Yorke, and the legat
the kings hands, th
faithfullie ſerued bo
Iohn in their wars,
of armes & ſouldiers
ſelues and remained
Which ouer-great c
perſons to attemp
ſhortlie after. At the
men began to ſturre,
der Leolin they ente
and with great cruel
wherevpon it was d
the king (as he was
Biham) ſhould diui
ding one part there
vpon Leolin, after
power came towar
the ſame, caſt off his
to his mercie.

There be which
had beſieged the ca
nald de Breuſe, the
to helpe to remoue
with his requeſt, ca
thoſe parts, and the
the Welſhmen (acc
ner) fled. The kin
countrie, came to f
now ſtandeth, and p
ſerue well for fortiſ
builded there, to re
accuſtomed trade o
after he had foraied
for the full accompl
ned, the Nobles gr

The caſtell of Fodringhey.

The caſtell of Biham beſieged.

Matth. Paris: Old ſeruice remembred.

The Welſhmen begin to ſtur.

Polydor.

Matth. Paris.

Reginald de Breuſe.

Mountgomerie caſtle built.

Eſcuage paid.

There were of counſell with him alſo (as was thought) Fouks de Brent, Philip de Marc, Peter de Mauleon, Engellard de Athie, and manie other, who priuilie ſent men to his aid, and furthered him in his tumultuous affaires, that they might participat with him the ſweetneſſe of the ſpoile, which is the marke whereat euerie one ſhooteth that is

———iners & inops, qui viuere luxurioſè
Vult quamuis nequeat, non reſpondente crumena,
Proinde animam vendit pretio, ſeſéque periclis
Obijcit, vt raptis alienis victor ouánſque
Ad proprios referat prædam & ſpolia ampla penates.

In the meane time the countrie people withdrew to the churches, and gat their goods into the churchyards. Moreouer, the peeres of the realme aſſembled themſelues in councell at Weſtminſter where the king was preſent, whither the earle of Albermarle was ſummoned to come, who faining as though he had meant to haue gone thitherward directlie, turned ſuddenlie his waie to the caſtell of Fodringhey, and tooke it vpon the ſudden, furniſhing it alſo with a garriſon of ſouldiers, to be kept hereafter to his owne vſe. That caſtell was in the keeping of the earle of Cheſter, who at that inſtant had but few ſouldiers there in garriſon, wherby it was the ſooner ſurpriſed. When theſe newes were brought to the king, he raiſed a power and came with all ſpeed to the caſtell of Biham, vpon the wedneſdaie next after the feaſt of Candelmaſſe, and then compaſſing the ſame about with a ſtrong ſiege, he conſtreined them within by force of ſuch engins as they vſed in thoſe daies, that finallie on the eight daie of Februarie they came forth, and ſubmitted themſelues and all that they had vnto the kings pleaſure. Who cauſed them to be ſafelie kept, till he might take further aduiſement what ſhould be doone with them.

The caſtell of Fodringhey.

The caſtell of Biham yeelded.

In the meane while alſo came the earle of Albemarle, who by the helpe ⁊ means of the archbiſhop of Yorke, and the legat Pandulph, purchaſed peace at the kings hands, the rather indeed bicauſe he had faithfullie ſerued both the king and his father king Iohn in their wars, before that time. All thoſe men of armes ⁊ ſouldiers alſo, which had ſubmitted themſelues and remained as priſoners, were pardoned. Which ouer-great clemencie cauſed other vnrulie perſons to attempt the like offenſe of rebellion ſhortlie after. At the very ſelfe ſame time the Welſhmen began to ſturre, and vnder their prince and leader Leolin they entered vpon the Engliſh marches, and with great crueltie ſpoiled and robbed the ſame, wherevpon it was determined by the councell, that the king (as he was comming toward the caſtell of Biham) ſhould diuide his armie, and ſo he did, ſending one part thereof againſt the Welſhmen: wherevpon Leolin, after he vnderſtood that the kings power came toward him, as one not able to reſiſt the ſame, caſt off his armour, and ſubmitted himſelfe to his mercie.

Matth. Paris. Old ſeruice remembred.

The welſhmē begin to ſtur.

Polydor.

There be which write, that where prince Leolin had beſieged the caſtell of Buet belonging to Reginald de Breuſe, the ſame Reginald beſought the K. to helpe to remoue that ſiege. The king contented with his requeſt, came with a puiſſant armie into thoſe parts, and therewith the ſiege was raiſed, for the Welſhmen (according to their accuſtomed maner) fled. The king then entring further into the countrie, came to the place where Mountgomerie now ſtandeth, and perceiuing the ſite of the ſame to ſerue well for fortification, he cauſed a caſtell to be builded there, to reſtreine the Welſhmen from their accuſtomed trade of harrieng the countrie. And ſo after he had foraied thoſe quarters, and taken order for the full accompliſhment of that caſtell, he returned, the Nobles granting to him of euerie knights fee two markes of ſiluer.

Matth. Paris.

Reginald de Breuſe.

Mountgomerie caſtle built.

Eſcuage paid.

Things being thus in quiet, the king (who by dailie experience of matters grew to more knowledge from time to time) began now of himſelfe to order his affaires for his owne behalfe, namelie touching the eſtate of his kingdome: and bicauſe he was minded to aſſaie the recouerie of thoſe places which his father had loſt in France, he ordeined Sauerie de Mauleon to be his lieutenant in Guien, whereof a great part as yet remained in his hands, and moreouer ſent ambaſſadours vnto the French king, requiring of him reſtitution of thoſe places which he had taken from his father.

Polydor.

K. Henrie requireth reſtitution of his right of the Frēch king.

Theſe oratours being come into France, and admitted to the kings preſence, receiued anſwer, that nothing ought to be reſtored, which by law of armes was rightlie conquered: and other redreſſe at that time would none be granted. ¶ But a maruell it was to conſider here at home, in how ſhort a ſpace the ſtate of the Engliſh common-wealth was changed, and from a troubled fourme reduced to a flouriſhing and proſperous degree: chiefelie by the diligent heed and carefull prouiſion of the king himſelfe. So much auaileth it to haue him that ruleth, to attend that which belongeth to his office.

The French kings anſwer

After this, to the intent that whiles he might be occupied in warres abroad, he ſhould not be troubled with ciuill diſcord at home, he deuiſed to ioine in affinitie with the Scots, giuing his ſiſter Ione in mariage vnto Alexander the king of Scotland, and Hubert of Burgh on the other ſide married the ſiſter of the ſame Alexander called Margaret. Theſe marriages were ſolemnized at Yorke on the morrow after the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt, in the preſence of a great number of the Nobles both of England and Scotland. A councell alſo was holden by the archbiſhop of Canturburie at Oxford for reformation of the ſtate eccleſiaſticall and the religion of moonks. ¶ In which councell two naughtie felowes were preſented before him, that of late had beene apprehended, either of them naming himſelfe Chriſt, and preached manie things againſt ſuch abuſes as the cleargie in thoſe daies vſed. Moreouer, to proue their errour to haue a ſhew of truth, they ſhewed certeine tokens and ſignes of wounds in their bodies, hands and feet, like vnto our ſauiour Ieſus that was nailed on the croſſe. In the end being well apoſed, they were found to be but falſe diſſemblers, wherefore by doome of that councell, they were iudged to be nailed vnto a croſſe of wood, and ſo thoſe to whom the execution was aſſigned, had them forth to a place called Arborberie, where they nailed them to a croſſe, and there left them till they were dead. The one of them was an Hermophrodite, that is to ſay, both man and woman. Alſo there were two women condemned, of whom the one had taken vpon hir to be that bleſſed virgine Marie, and the other fained hir ſelfe to be Marie Magdalene.

Matt. Weſtm. Matth. Paris. Marriages concluded,

Anno Reg. 6.
1222

A councell or ſynod at Oxford.

Two diſſembling perſons apprehended. Matt. Weſtm.

They are executed.

Two women counterfeiting themſelues to be, the one our ladie, the other Marie Magdalene.

Ralfe Coghſhall ſheweth this matter otherwiſe, and ſaith, that there were two men and two women brought before the archbiſhop at this councell, of the which one of the men being a deacon, was accuſed to be an apoſtata, ⁊ for the loue of a woman that was a Iew, he had circumciſed himſelfe: ⁊ being herof conuicted ⁊ diſgraded, he was committed to the ſecular power, ⁊ ſo burnt by the ſeruants of Fouks de Brent. The other being a yoong man, was accuſed of contemning the ſacraments of the church, ⁊ that he ſuffered himſelfe to be crucified, hauing the prints of the fiue wounds appearing in his bodie, and counterfeiting himſelfe to be Chriſt, reioiſed to haue the two women giue out and ſpread the rumour abroad, that he was Chriſt in deed, one of the which women being verie aged, was alſo accuſed of witcherie, ha-

Ralfe Cog.

hauing

ning with hir ſorcerie and witchcraft brought that yoong man vnto ſuch wicked follie and madneſſe. They two being hereof conuicted, were cloſed vp betwixt two walles, where they remained till they died, the other woman being ſiſter to the yoong man, was pardoned and let go, bicauſe ſhe had reuealed the diueliſh practiſe of the other.

Math. Paris.

Matt. Paris. Math. West.

This yeare alſo was the building of the ſteeple belonging to the church of S. Paule in London finiſhed. And this yeare alſo vpon ſaint Iames day the citizens of London kept a plaie of defenſe and wreſtling at the hoſpitall of ſaint Iames, againſt other their neighbours of the ſuburbes, and the quarters next adioining. In the end whereof it ſo fortuned, that the Londoners had the vpper hand: and amongſt other that were put to the foile, the ſteward of the abbat of Weſtminſter with his folkes went awaie with the worſt, to their great greefe. Wherevpon the ſame ſteward deuiſed an other game of wreſtling to be holden at Weſtminſter on Lammas day next following, and that whoſoeuer could get the vpper hand there, ſhould haue a ram for the price, which the ſteward had prepared.

A bell-wedder ſome ſaie.

A riot committed vnder pretenſe of wreſtling.

At the day appointed, there was a great aſſemblie, and the ſteward had got togither out of all parts the beſt wreſtlers that might be heard of, ſo that there was hard hold betwixt them and the Londoners. But finallie, the ſteward vpon deſire of reuenge, procured them to fall togither by the eares without any iuſt cauſe, ſo that the Londoners were beaten and wounded, and conſtreined to flee backe to the citie in great diſorder. The citizens ſore offended to ſee their people ſo miſuſed, roſe in tumult, and rang the common bell to gather the more companie to them. Robert Serle maior of the citie would haue pacified the matter, perſuading them to let the iniurie paſſe, till by orderlie plaint they might get redreſſe, as law and iuſtice ſhould aſſigne. But a certeine ſtout man of the citie named Conſtantine Fitz Arnulfe, of good authoritie amongſt them, aduiſed the multitude not to harken vnto peace, but to ſeeke reuenge out of hand (wherein he ſhewed himſelfe ſo farre from true manhood, that he bewraied himſelfe rather to haue had a womans heart,

quod vindicta
Nemo magis gaudet quàm fœmina)

ſtill proſecuting the ſtrife with tooth and naile, and blowing the coles of contention as it were with full bellowes, that the houſes belonging to the abbat of Weſtminſter, and namelie the houſe of his ſteward might be ouerthrowne and beaten downe flat with the ground.

Robert Serle maior of London.

Conſtantine, a citizen of London procureth the citizens to reuenge their cauſe by waie of rebellion. Math Paris.

This lewd counſell was ſoone receiued and executed by the outragious people, & Conſtantine himſelfe being cheefe leader of them, cried with a lowd voice, Mount ioy mount ioy, God be our aid and our ſoueraigne Lewes. This outragious part comming to the notice of Hubert de Burgh lord cheefe iuſtice, he gat togither a power of armed men, and came to the citie with the ſame, and taking inquiſition of the cheefe offendors, found Conſtantine as conſtant in affirming the deed to be his, as he had before conſtantlie put it in practiſe, wherevpon he was apprehended and two other citizens with him. On the next day in the morning Fouks de Breent was appointed to haue them to execution: and ſo by the Thames he quietlie led them to the place where they ſhould ſuffer. Now when Conſtantine had the halter about his necke, he offered fifteene thouſand marks of ſiluer to haue beene pardoned, but it would not be. There was hanged with him his nephue named alſo Conſtantine, and one Geffrey, who made the proclamation deuiſed by the ſaid Conſtantine. The crie alſo which Conſtantine vſed to the ſetting forward of his vnlawfull enterpriſe in the name of Lewes moſt of all offended the kings freends, as the lord cheefe iuſtice and others, who not ſatiſfied with the death of the three before remembred perſons, but alſo entring the citie againe with their bands of armed men, apprehended diuerſe of thoſe whome they tooke to be culpable, not onelie putting manie of them into priſon, but alſo puniſhing other of them, as ſome with loſſe of a foot, ſome of an hand, and other of their eie-ſight. The king furthermore to reuenge this matter, depoſed all the magiſtrats of the citie, and ordeined new in their roomes. Which cauſed great hartburning againſt diuerſe of the Nobilitie, but cheefelie the lord Hubert and Fouks de Breent, on whome in time they hoped to haue reuenge.

The lord cheefe iuſtice taketh inquiſition of the riot.

Conſtantine apprehended.

He is executed.

Great temp

A general thunder,

As this broile vexed the citie of London, ſo in this yeare there chanced great tempeſt of thunder, lightning and raine, whereby much hurt was doone in diuerſe parts of the realme, and at ſundrie times, as by throwing downe of ſteeples, churches, and other buildings, with the rootwalting of trees, as well in woods as orchards, verie ſtrange to conſider, cheefelie on the eight day of Februarie at Grantham in Lincolneſhire, where there chanced (beſide the thunder) ſuch a ſtinke and filthie ſauour to follow in the church, that the people fled out, for that they were not able to abide it. Likewiſe in the day of the exaltation of the croſſe, a generall thunder happened throughout the realme, and therupon followed a continuall ſeaſon of foule weather and wet, till Candelmas next after, which cauſed a dearth of corne, ſo as wheat was ſold at twelue ſhillings the quarter. Likewiſe on the day of ſaint Andrew an other terrible tempeſt of thunder happened through the realme, throwing downe and ſhaking buildings in manie places, in ſo much that at Pillerdeſton in Warwikeſhire, in a knights houſe, the ladie thereof and ſix other perſons were deſtroied by the ſame. And a turbarie thereby compaſſed about with water and marreſſe was ſo dried vp, that neither graſſe nor mire remained, after which inſued an earthquake. Moreouer on the euen of ſaint Lucie, a mightie wind raged, which did much hurt in ſundrie places of the realme. Furthermore, about this time there appeared in England a woonderfull comet or blaſing ſtarre. The ſea alſo roſe with higher tides and ſprings than it had beene accuſtomed to doo. All which woonders were afterward iudged to betoken and ſignifie the loſſe which the chriſtians ſuſteined the ſame yeare in Aegypt, when they were conſtreined to ſurrender the citie of Damieta into the Saracens hands, which latelie before (as yee haue heard) they had woone with long and chargeable ſiege. After the yeelding vp of Damieta, William de Albenie earle of Arundell (whome Ranulfe earle of Cheſter left behind him in the holie land) with manie ſouldiers and men of warre (when he returned from thence) came now homewards towards England, and died by the waie.

Great dearth of corne,

An other tem peſt of thund

Polydor.

A comet or blaſing ſtar.

The loſſe of the citie of Damieta.

William de A benie earle of Arundell departed this li

Anno Reg. 7.

Iohn Scot marrieth the daughter of Leolin prin of wales.

About the ſame time Iohn the ſonne of Dauid earle of Anguiſh in Scotland, ſiſters ſonne vnto Ranulfe earle of Cheſter, married the daughter of Leolin prince of Wales, as it were to procure a finall accord betweene the ſaid Leolin and Ranulfe. After which marriage, king Henrie held his Chriſtmaſſe at Oxenford, and ſhortlie after the twelftide came to London: where aſſembling a councell of his barons, he was earneſtlie required by the biſhop of Canturburie and other peeres, to confirme the liberties, franchiſes, and free cuſtomes of the realme, for which the warres in his fathers time had beene mooued: which to denie (as the archbiſhop ſeemed to alledge, & ſhuld haue beene aſhamed ſo to open his mouth, to the diſaduantage of his ſoueraigne, but that it is likelie he forgat the old poſie, namelie that,

1223

A councell a London.

Note the redineſſe of this biſh. to broch new contention, *Imago rex eſt animata Dei.)*

he might not with anie reaſon, ſith he had couenanted (and all the baronage with him) to ſée the ſame obſerued, by the articles of the peace concluded with Lewes, when the ſame Lewes departed the realme.

The anſwer of William Brewer to the archbiſhops demand.

Hereupon William Brewer one of the kings councell, hearing the archbiſhop ſo earneſt in theſe matters, told him, that ſith theſe liberties were procured & extorted rather by force than otherwiſe, of the king being vnder age, they were not to be obſerued. Whervnto the archbiſhop replied, that if he loued the king, he would be loth to ſéeke to trouble the quiet ſtate of the realme. The king perceiuing the archbiſhop to be chafed, & taking the tale himſelfe, made a courteous anſwer, and further aduiſe had in the matter, ſent foorth writs to the ſhiriffe of euerie countie, commanding them by inquirie of a ſufficient iurie impanelled, to make certificat within the quindene of Eſter, what were the liberties in times paſt of his grandfather K. Henrie, vſed within the realme of England.

ab accuſeth Helias.

An inquiſition.

Math. Paris.

The earle of Penbroke recouereth his caſtels taken by the prince of wales.

The ſame yeare, whiles William Marſhall earle of Penbroke was buſie in Ireland in war againſt Hugh Lacie, Leolin prince (or king) of Wales, as ſome haue intitled him, tooke by force two caſtels that belonged to the ſame earle: whereof when he was aduertiſed, with all ſpéed he returned out of Ireland, raiſed an armie, and recouered the ſaid caſtels, putting to death all ſuch as he found in the ſame, to requite Leolin with the like damage as he had ſhewed him before in his abſence. This doone he entered into the land of Leolin, waſting and ſpoiling the ſame, whereof when the ſaid Leolin was informed, he aſſembled an hoſt of Welſhmen, and comming into the field gaue battell, but the victorie reſted on the earle of Penbroks ſide: ſo that there were taken and ſlaine in this bickering to the number of 9000 Welſhmen. There was in this yeare a conſpiracie alſo begun by the earle of Cheſter, and other Noble men, againſt Hubert de Burgh lord chiefe iuſtice of England, by whoſe counſell (as it was thought) the king was more ſtreict towards the nobilitie and other his ſubiects, in ſtaieng his grant to confirme the charter of liberties, than otherwiſe he would haue béene, if the ſame Hubert and other had not aduiſed him to the contrarie.

The prince of wales diſcomfited.

A conſpiracie againſt the lord chiefe iuſtice.

Matt. Paris. The king of Ieruſalem commeth into England.

In this ſeaſon alſo Iohn de Bren king of Ieruſalem, and the lord great maiſter of the knights hoſpitallers came into England, where they were honorablie receiued of king Henrie, and liberally rewarded. The cauſe of their comming was to require aid of the king for the recouerie of the holie land out of the poſſeſſion of the Saracens. In like maner about the ſame time Leolin prince of Northwals, with certeine Engliſh lords, as Hugh Lacie and others, vpon an hatred which they bare towards king Henrie for his fathers ſake, ſuppoſing that ſo euill a ſtocke as they tooke him to be, could not bring foorth anie good branch, ſought by open warres to bring William Marſhall earle of Penbroke and other barons that were faithfull friends to the king vnto their purpoſe: but the whole countrie riſing againſt them, they were diſappointed to their owne confuſion, and ſo they could neuer bring that to paſſe which they ſo earneſtlie intended.

The death of the French king. Ambaſſadors ſent into France.

In this yeare Philip the French king departed this life, and after him ſucceeded Lewes his ſonne, vnto whom king Henrie ſent in ambaſſage the archbiſhop of Canturburie with thrée other biſhops, to require, that (according to his oth made and receiued at his returne out of England) he would reſtore and deliuer vp to him the dukedome of Normandie, with other ſuch lands and poſſeſſions as his father in times paſt had taken from king Iohn, and ſtill did wrongfullie withhold. K. Lewes anſwered hereunto, that he held Normandie & the other lands by good right and iuſt title, as he could well proue and iuſtifie, if king Henrie would come to the parlement in France to heare it. And as touching the oth which he had ſworne in England, he affirmed that the ſame was firſt broken by king Henrie, both in that his men which had béene taken at Lincolne were put to gréeuous ranſoms, and alſo for that their liberties for which the warre firſt began, were not obſerued, but denied to the Engliſh ſubiects, contrarie to that which was concluded at the agréement betwixt them at the ſame time made.

Moreouer, king Henrie ſent other ambaſſadours to Rome, who purchaſed a bull of the pope, wherby he was adiudged to be of age ſufficient to receiue the gouernement of the kingdome of England into his owne hands, thereby to order and diſpoſe all things at his pleaſure, & by the aduiſe of ſuch councellours as he ſhould elect and chooſe to be about him. Wherevpon after the ſaid ambaſſadours were returned, all thoſe earles, barons and nobles, which held anie caſtels, honors, manors or places apperteining to the king, were commanded to deliuer and reſigne the ſame to his vſe, which cauſed much trouble, as after ſhall appeare. For diuerſe Noble men, whoſe harts were filled with couetouſneſſe, would not obeie the popes order herein, but ſore repined; yet not ſo much againſt the king as againſt the lord Hubert de Burgh, by whoſe councell the king was moſt led and ruled. And therefore they did put him in all the blame, as one that ſhould ſet the king againſt them, and ſtaie him from ſuffering them to inioy thoſe liberties, which they from time to time ſo much laboured to haue had to them granted and confirmed.

Anno Reg. 8.

Polydor. The king giueth a gentle anſwer to his lords.

Vpon this occaſion therfore, they ſued to the king for the reſtitution of the ancient lawes according to his promiſe, who to pacifie them for the time, gaue them a gentle anſwer, aſſuring them, that he would performe all that he had promiſed, ſo ſoone as opportunitie would permit and ſuffer him ſo to doo. Howbeit, afterwards by the aduiſe of certeine old councellours, which had béene of the priuie councell with king Iohn his father, he found a ſhift to diſappoint them of their demands, by requiring them on the other ſide, to reſtore vnto him thoſe things which they had in times paſt receiued of his anceſtors. Furthermore, bicauſe he would the more eaſilie obteine his purpoſe, and make the reſidue afraid to follow a ſuit ſo diſpleaſant and irkeſome, he thought beſt to begin with the chiefe authors and firſt procurers of the ſaid petitions, and to take from them whatſoeuer they held belonging to his crowne.

1224

The king demanded reſtitution of parcels of inheritance belonging to the crowne.

Herevpon therefore aſſembling a great power about him, he demanded of Ranulph earle of Cheſter the reſtitution of certeine lordſhips which ancientlie apperteined to the crowne of the realme, which earle not being as then able to reſiſt, readilie obeied the kings pleaſure, and reſigned them all. By this entrance of the king into the execution of his purpoſe, diuerſe of the reſt of the barons were brought into ſuch feare, that they were contented alſo to doo the like, ſo that by this meanes the lords being cut ſhort and weakened in power, ſurceaſed as then from moleſting the king anie further with the demand of other lands or liberties.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie alſo threatened them with the dart of excommunication, if they went about to diſquiet the realme with anie ciuill commotions, though no man was more deſirous to haue that matter go forward than he, as appéered by his diligent trauell therein (hoping as now in ſhort proceſſe of time, and that by courteous meanes, to perſuade the king to his purpoſe) but the king droue him off with faire words, and minded nothing leſſe than to alter anie one of the lawes which he knew to be profitable to himſelfe and his ſucceſſours after him. Wherevpon diuerſe miſliking his dealing herein, withdrew themſelues ſecretlie, ſome into one place, and ſome into an other, to the intent they might auoid the dailie ſight of ſuch abuſes, as they for the moſt part could not well abide to beare.

Diſcord betwixt Sauerie de Mauleon and the earle of Saliſburie.

Whileſt king Henrie thus politikelie prouided for his affaires at home, Sauerie de Mauleon made prouiſion in Guien to withſtand ſuch perils and dangers as he ſaw moſt likelie to inſue by the practiſes of the Frenchmen. But as he was moſt buſilie occupied about the purueiance of ſuch things as ſhould be verie neceſſarie for his doings, there ſprang a great diſſention betwixt him and William the earle of Saliſburie, who was ſent ouer into that countrie with commiſſion to ſuruei the ſtate thereof, and by colour of the ſame commiſſion, tooke vpon him to order all things at his owne pleaſure. Whereas the foreſaid Sauerie de Mauleon (being a man of high parentage in thoſe parts where he was borne) iudged it to be a matter nothing ſtanding with his honour, that another man ſhould order things at his will and commandement within the countrie, whereof he himſelfe had the chiefe charge, as the kings lieutenant; and therefore determined not to ſuffer it anie longer.

Herevpon verelie aroſe the contention betwixt them, which the Engliſh ſouldiers that were there, did greatlie increaſe, fauouring the earle as the kings vncle, and contemning the lieutenant as a ſtranger borne, by meanes whereof the foreſaid Sauerie doubting leaſt if he ſhould fight with his enimies, and through ſuch diſcord as was now amongſt them, be put to the worſe, the fault ſhould be laid wholie on his necke: he ſecretlie departed and fled to Lewes the French king, who was latelie come to the crowne of France by the death of his father king Philip, as you before haue heard: wherein he dealt wiſelie in reſpect of ſafetie. For

Sauerie de Mauleon reuolteth to the French king.

Quid poterit iuſta tutius eſſe fuga?

Matth. Paris. Matt. Weſtm. Fouks de Brent an enimie to reſt and quietneſſe.

About the ſame time Fouks de Brent, being a man of an vnquiet mind, readie to miſchiefe and loth to liue in peace (as ſome ſaie) conſpired againſt the king of England, and aduertiſed the king of France that if he would boldlie begin the warres againſt king Henrie in France, he would not faile but raiſe warre againſt him here in the middeſt of his realme of England, hauing diuerſe noble men in a readineſſe, that would willinglie take his part. But how ſoeuer it fell out, certeine it is that this Fouks hauing fortified his caſtell of Bedford, attempted manie enterpriſes greatlie to the preiudice of the kings peace, aſwell in robbing and ſpoiling the countrie about him, as otherwiſe.

And now fearing to be puniſhed therefore by order of law, he ſhewed his malice againſt ſuch as had the execution of the ſame lawes chieflie in their hands. Herevpon he tooke priſoner Henrie Braibroke, one of the kings iuſtices of his bench, and led him to his caſtell of Bedford, and there ſhut him vp cloſe as his lawfull priſoner. Indeed the ſaid Henrie de Braibroke, with Martine de Pateſhull, Thomas de Multon, and other of the kings iuſtices were come to keepe their circuit at Dunſtable. Where, vpon information giuen and preſented before them, Fouks de Brent was condemned to the king in great ſummes of monie. Therewithall this Fouks tooke ſuch indignation and diſpleaſure, that he commanded his men of warre which laie in the caſtell of Bedford, to ride vnto Dunſtable, and there to apprehend the ſaid iuſtices, and to bring them vnto Bedford, where (as he ſaid) he meant to commen further with them. But they hauing knowledge of his purpoſe, fled quicklie out of the towne, ſeeking to eſcape euerie man which waie he might beſt deuiſe. Howbeit, the ſouldiers vſed ſuch diligence, that Henrie de Braibroke fell into their hands, & ſo was brought captiue to Bedford as their maiſter had commanded them.

Matth. Paris. Henrie Braibroke taken by Fouks de Brent, and impriſoned.

The king aduertiſed hereof by the greeuous complaints of his ſubiects, was as then at Northampton (where he had aſſembled his parlement) and therevpon hauing gathered ſpeedilie a power, with all expedition he haſted towards Bedford. At his comming thither, he beſieged the caſtell on ech ſide, and at length after two moneths, though not without much adoo, he wan it, and hanged them all which were taken within, being in number 80 or aboue: and amongſt other William de Brent, the brother of the ſaid Fouks was one. There were but three that eſcaped with life, who were pardoned, vpon condition they ſhould paſſe into the holie land, there to ſerue among the Templers. The ſiege began on the Aſcenſion euen, and continued till the 15 daie of Auguſt, being the feaſt daie of the aſſumption of our ladie.

Bedford c ſtell beſieg

Fouks himſelfe, whileſt the ſiege continued, laie aloofe in Cheſhire, and on the borders of Wales, as one watching to doo ſome miſchiefe: but after the caſtell was wonne, he got him to Couentrie, and there was per long apprehended, and brought to the king, of whom he obteined pardon of life, but yet by the whole conſent of the nobles and peeres of the realme, he was exiled the land for euermore, and then went to Rome, where he knew to purchaſe his pardon eaſilie inough for mony, of what crime ſoeuer he ſhould be iudged culpable. His wife, bicauſe ſhe neuer conſented to his doings, nor yet willinglie to the mariage had betwixt hir and him, was acquited of all blame, and ſo likewiſe was his ſonne Thomas.

He was i borders o Wales, wi the earle o Cheſter h lord.

Howbeit at length the foreſaid Fouks, hauing obteined his purpoſe at Rome (by meanes of his chapleine Robert Paſſelew an Engliſhman, who was his ſollicitor there) as he returned towards England in the yeare inſuing, was poiſoned and died by the waie, making ſo an end of his inconſtant life, which from the time that he came to yeares of diſcretion was neuer bent to quietnes. Which may be reported of him, not to his honour or renowme (for alas what fame is gotten by giuing occaſions of euill) but to his euerlaſting ſhame and infamie, for the ſame ſhall neuer die, but remaine in perpetuall memorie, as one ſaith right well,

The end o Fouks d Brent.

Hominum immortalis eſt infamia,
Etiam tunc viuit cùm eſſe credas mortuam.

Plaut. in Perſa.

But now to leaue theſe things, and returne to the doings in France where we left. Ye ſhall vnderſtand, that after Sauerie de Mauleon was reuolted to the French king, the ſaid king with all ſpeed determined to make warre vpon king Henrie, and to win from him certeine townes and fortreſſes within the countrie of Poictou.

Dunſtable.

The French writers affirme, that king Lewes recouered out of the Engliſhmens hands the townes of Niort, S. Iohns d'Angeli, & Rochell, before Sauerie de Mauleon reuolted from the French part. Indeed, the chronicle of Dunſtable ſaith, that after the truce tooke end, this yeare the French king raiſed an armie, and tooke Niort, and after they of S. Iohn d'Angeli ſubmitted themſelues vnto him. From thence he went to Rochell, within the which at that preſent was the ſaid Sauerie de Mauleon with ſeuentie knights, and Richard Graie, with Geffrey Neuill, who had in their retinue ſixtie knights. Theſe with the forces of the towne ſallied forth, & encountring with the French armie, ſlue manie of their aduerſaries,

uerſaries, and loſt ſome of their owne people. Yet after this, the French K. beſieged the towne, and in the end wan it, whileſt the king of England being occupied about the beſieging of Bedford caſtell, neglected to ſend them within Rochell neceſſarie ſuccours.

Poicto- ſend to Henrie.

But Polydor Virgil writeth, that now after that Sauerie de Mauleon was become the French kings man, the Poictouins ſent vnto king Henrie, ſignifieng, that they were readie to reuolt from the French kings ſubiection, and yeeld themſelues vnto him, if he would ſend vnto them a power of men to defend their countrie from the French men. Now king Henrie hauing receiued theſe letters, interteined them that brought this meſſage verie courteouſlie, and promiſing them to ſend ouer aid with all expedition, he cauſed his nauie to be made readie for that voiage. In the meane time, the French king ſent forth an armie vnder the leading of Sauerie de Mauleon, who then tooke Niort and Rochell, placing in the ſame ſundrie garriſons of ſouldiers, but cheefelie he fortified Rochell, which had beene long in the Engliſhmens hands, and alwaies ſerued them to verie good purpoſe, for the handſome landing of their people, when anie occaſion required. The French king therefore hauing got it, fortified it, and meant to keepe it, to the intent the Engliſhmen ſhould not haue hereafter in time of warre, ſo neceſſarie a place for their arriuall in thoſe coaſts.

ochel won.

Math.Paris. Anno Reg.9. A parlement. 1225

King Henrie holding his Chriſtmaſſe at Weſtminſter, called his high court of parlement there the ſame time, and demanded a releefe of monie, toward the maintenance of his warres in France, and had granted to him the fifteenth penie in value of all the mooueable goods to be found within the realme, as well belonging to the ſpiritualtie as temporaltie, but vnder condition that he ſhould confirme vnto his ſubiects their often demanded liberties. The king vpon deſire to haue the monie, was contented to condeſcend vnto their requeſts, and ſo the two charters were made, and by the king confirmed, the one intituled Magna Charta, & the other Charta de Foreſta. Thus at this parlement were made and confirmed theſe good lawes and laudable ordinances, which haue beene from time to time by the kings and princes of this realme confirmed, ſo that a great part of the law now in vſe dependeth of the ſame. The ſame charters alſo were directed and ſent forth into euerie countie within the realme to be proclamed.

A fifteenth granted to the king.

Magna Charta and Charta de Forreſta confirmed.

It was moreouer decreed, that at a certeine daie after Eaſter, there ſhould be an inquiſition taken by the inqueſt of a ſubſtantiall iurie, for the ſeuering of foreſts, the new from the old, ſo as all thoſe grounds which had beene made foreſts, ſince the daies of king Henrie the grandfather of this Henrie the third, ſhould be diſforeſted. And thervpon after Eaſter, Hugh de Neuill, and Brian de Liſle, were ſent forth as commiſſioners, to take that inquiſition. By force thereof, manie woods were aſſerted and improued to arable land by the owners, and ſo not onelie men, but alſo dogs, which for ſafegard of the game were accuſtomed to loſe their clawes, had good cauſe to reioiſe for theſe confirmed liberties.

Foreſts.

In the meane time, and about the feaſt of the purification, king Henrie (hauing iuſt occaſion to purſue the warre, for recouerie of thoſe townes taken, as before you haue heard by the Frenchmen) ſent ouer his brother Richard, whom he had made earle of Cornewall and Poictow, with a mightie nauie of ſhips vnto Gaſcoigne. This earle, hauing in his companie the earle of Saliſburie, Philip de Albenie, and others, with proſperous wind and weather arriued at Burdeaux with foure hundred ſailes, and there landing his men, went ſtreight vnto the towne of ſaint Machaire, ſituated vpon the banke of Garon, where, vpon his firſt comming, he gat the caſtell, and ſacked the towne, and then paſſing further, wan diuerſe other townes, as Longuile, Bergerat, and other, and after went with great diligence to beſiege and recouer Rochell, or rather Rioll. The French king aduertiſed of the earls arriuall, and of theſe his atchiued enterpriſes, ſent forth by and by the earle of Champaigne with a mightie armie into Guien to aid his people there.

Math.Paris. Polydor.

Three hundred ſaith Gaguin.

Towns won by the Engliſhmen.

The earle of Marſh, ſaith Math.Paris.

The earle of Cornewall vnderſtanding of the comming of that French armie, tooke a part of his hoſt, and therewithall went to meet his enimies, and lieng in ambuſh for them by the way, had them at a good aduantage, and ſlue great numbers of them. After this, the earle of Champaigne keeping his men within their trenches and campe, without attempting anie other exploit, the earle of Cornewall thought it ſufficient, if he might keepe the Gaſcoignes in obedience, which had alreadie practiſed a rebellion, by ſending letters and meſſengers for the ſame intent vnto the French king, and therefore breaking vp his ſiege before the Rioll, he ſtaied a while from exploiting any further enterpriſe. About the ſame time, the earle of Saliſburie returning homwards out of Gaſcoigne, was ſo toſſed and turmoiled on the ſeas by tempeſts of weather, that he fell ſicke therof, and within a few daies after his arriuall died.

The Frenchmen taken at aduantage.

The earle of Cornewall raiſeth his ſiege from the Rioll.

The death of the earle of Saliſburie. Math.Paris.

¶ This yeare alſo, there came forth a decree from the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and his ſuffragans, that the concubines of preeſts and clearkes within orders (for ſo were their wiues then called in contempt of their wedlocke) ſhould be denied of chriſtian buriall, except they repented whileſt they were aliue in perfect health, or elſe ſhewed manifeſt tokens of repentance at the time of their deaths. The ſame decree alſo prohibited them from the receiuing of the pax at maſſe time, & alſo of holie bread after maſſe, ſo long as the preeſts kept them in their houſes, or vſed their companie publikelie out of their houſes. Moreouer, that they ſhould not be purified when they ſhould be deliuered of child, as other good women were, vnleſſe they found ſufficient ſuertie to the archdeacon, or his officiall, to make ſatiſfaction at the next chapter or court to be holden, after they ſhould be purified. And the preeſts ſhould be ſuſpended, which did not preſent all ſuch their concubines as were reſiant within their pariſhes. Alſo, all ſuch women as were conuict to haue dealt carnallie with a preeſt, were appointed by the ſame decree to doo open penance. Where the queſtion may be aſked, whether this decree was extended to preeſts wiues or no? Whereunto anſwer may be made, that as a quadrangle in geometrie compriſeth in it a triangle, and a quaternion in arithmetike conteineth a ternion; ſo in logike a vniuerſall propoſition comprehendeth a particular. But it is ſaid here, that all ſuch women as had carnall knowledge with a preeſt, were to be puniſhed, therefore ſome, and conſequentlie all preeſts wiues. But yet this ſeemeth not to be the meaning of that decree, for preeſts were allowed no wiues, naie Sericius the pope iudged that all ſuch of the cleargie as had wiues could not pleaſe God, bicauſe they were *In carne*, which words he and the reſidue of that litter reſtreined to marriage, admitting in no caſe that churchmen ſhould inioy the rights of matrimonie. Wherin they offer God great iniurie, in ſeeking to limit that large inſtitution of wedlocke, wherein all eſtates are intereſſed; and they ſeeme likewiſe to bridle nature, and to compell hir within certeine precincts, wherein they offer intollerable iniurie to all mankind, conſidering that

Preeſts concubines forbidden chriſtian buriall.

———ad venerem compellimur exercendam
Non modo nos, verùm omne animal, terræq; mariſq;,

Naturæ imperio: facias peiora neceſſe eſt,
Si non fœminei ſorberis ab ore barathri.

This yeare, or (as ſome ſaie) in the next, the king granted to the citizens of London frée warren, that is to ſaie, libertie to hunt within a certeine circuit about London, & that all weires in the Thames ſhould be plucked vp and deſtroied. Alſo in this tenth yeare of his reigne, king Henrie granted to the citizens of London, that they might haue and vſe a common ſeale. About the time of the making of which ordinances, Otho the cardinall of S. Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano came as legat from pope Honorius into England to king Henrie, preſenting him with letters from the pope. The tenour whereof when the king had well conſidered, he declared to the legat, that without the whole aſſent of the eſtates of his realme, he could doo little in that which the pope as then required.

Anno Reg. 10.

A legat from the pope. Matth. Paris.

A parlement called.

Herevpon therefore he cauſed a parlement to be ſummoned at Weſtminſter, there to be holden in the octaues of the Epiphanie: this legat alſo mooued the king in the behalfe of Fouks de Brent, that he might be reſtored to his poſſeſſions, and inioy his wife as before time he had doone: but the king declared that for his manifeſt treaſon committed he was iuſtlie exiled, and not onlie by his, but by the ſentence of the nobles and other eſtates of the whole realme: which anſwer when the legat had heard, he left off to ſolicit the king for Fouks, and from thenceforth talked no more of that matter. Shortlie after by waie of proxie, the ſaid legat gathered a dutie which he claimed of the ſpiritualtie, that was of euerie conuentuall church within the realme two markes of ſiluer.

1226

The king is ſicke.

In this yeare the king held his Chriſtmaſſe at Wincheſter, and after comming to Marlebridge, chanced there to fall ſicke, ſo that he laie in deſpaire of life for certeine daies togither. In the meane time alſo came the daie appointed for the parlement to begin at Weſtminſter, where the legat and other of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie being aſſembled, the ſaid Otho ſhewed the popes letters, and according to the tenour and purport of the ſame, was earneſtlie in hand to haue the prieſts to grant the yearelie paiment of a certeine penſion or tribute to the pope, towards the maintenance of his eſtate, which they generallie denied. When he ſaw that this bait would not take, he onelie demanded a tenth part of all their ſpirituall liuings for maintenance of the wars againſt the Saracens, which was eaſilie granted, as more reaſonable than the firſt.

Matt. Weſtm. Matth. Paris. The cardinals requeſt.

¶ Here by diuerſe credible writers of good credit, it ſhould appeare, that the pope demanded to haue aſſigned vnto him out of euerie cathedrall church two prebends, one out of the portion belonging to the biſhop, & an other out of the portion belonging to the deane and chapiter: and likewiſe of the abbeies, where there were ſeuerall portions, that is to ſaie, ſo much of the conuent as belonged to the finding of one monke, and as much alſo of euerie abbats liuing as ſhould counteruaile the ſame. The cardinall vſed iollie perſuaſions to induce the prelats to aſſent to this grant, alledging that the church of Rome was run in great ſlander for taking of monie in diſpatch of ſuiters cauſes, which aroſe by meanes there was no maintenance of liuing ſufficient for the churchmen there: and therefore he added, how it was the parts of naturall children to releeue the neceſſitie of their louing mother, and that except the charitable deuotion of them and other good and well diſpoſed perſons were ſhortlie extended, they ſhould want neceſſarie maintenance for the ſuſtentation of their liues, which ſhuld be altogither an vnſéemelie thing for the dignitie of the Romane church.

The anſ of John archdeacon of Bedfor

The clergie reſorting togither to take aduiſe what anſwer they ſhould make, at length vpon their reſolute determination, John the archdeacon of Bedford was appointed to tell the tale for them all: who comming before the cardinall, declared boldlie vnto him, that the demand which he had proponed, touched the king eſpeciallie, and generallie all the nobilitie of the realme, which were patrons of anie churches. He added furthermore, how the archbiſhops and biſhops, and manie other of the prelats of England (ſithens the king by reaſon of his ſickeneſſe could not be there) were alſo abſent, ſo that they which were there preſent, being but as it were the inferiour part of the houſe, neither might nor ought to make anie reſolute anſwer as then in this matter. Immediatlie herewith alſo came the lord John Marſhall, and other meſſengers from the king vnto all the prelats that held anie baronies of the king, ſtreightlie commanding them, that they ſhould in no wiſe bind and indanger his laie fée vnto the church of Rome, whereby he might be depriued of his due and accuſtomed ſeruices, and ſo euerie man herevpon departed and went home.

Fabian.

A grant to the citizens of London.

This yeare, the plées of the crowne were pleaded in the tower of London. And on the ſixtéenth daie of March in this tenth yeare of his reigne, the king granted by his charter inſealed, that the citizens of London ſhould paſſe toll frée through all England, and if anie of them were conſtreined in anie citie, borough or towne within the realme, to paie toll, that then the ſhiriffes of London might attach anie man of the ſaid citie, borough or towne, where ſuch toll was exacted, being found within the liberties of London, and him reteine with his goods and cattels, till the citizens that paid ſuch toll were ſatiſfied, by reſtitution of the ſame, with all coſts and charges ſuſteined in the ſuit. Howbeit, about the ſame time, the king conſtreined the Londoners to giue vnto him the ſumme of fiue thouſand marks as a fine, for that they had aided and ſuccoured his aduerſarie Lewes againſt him, and lent to the ſaid Lewes at his departure out of the realme a like ſumme. But it may rather be thought they gaue vnto the king the ſaid fiue thouſand marks for his fauour ſhewed in granting vnto them the aboue mentioned fréedome and liberties. At the ſame time, he had alſo twelue hundred pounds of the burgeſſes of Northampton, beſides the fiftéenth, which not onelie they, but alſo the Londoners, and all other generallie through the realme, paid accordinglie as it was granted.

Matth. Paris.

Anno Reg. 11.

1227

A parlement at Oxford. The king of lawfull age. Matth. Paris. Polydor.

In Februarie, the king called a parlement at Oxford, in the which he made open declaration vnto all the aſſemblie, that he was now of lawfull age to gouerne of himſelfe, without anie to haue rule ouer him, and ſo whereas before he was gouerned firſt by the earle of Penbroke lord protectour, whileſt he liued, & after by the biſhop of Wincheſter and others, he now remooued them from him by the counſell of the lord chiefe iuſtice, taking the regiment wholie to himſelfe, & to ſuch as ſhould pleaſe him from thenceforth to appoint. Alſo in the ſame parlement, he did cancell and diſanull the two charters before mentioned, after that the ſame had béene vſed through the realme for the ſpace of two yeares, pretending them to be of no value, ſith they were ſealed and ſigned whileſt he was vnder age. This déed of the king was gréeuouſlie taken, and all the blame put in the lord chiefe iuſtice. Herewith all ſuch alſo as claimed anie manner charters of liberties, were appointed to remooue the ſame (a practiſe onelie to get monie) and to get them confirmed with the kings new ſeale, the old being made void and pronounced of none effect.

The charters cancelled.

The death of Lewes the French king.

In this yeare died the French king Lewes the eighth, and his ſon Lewes the ninth ſucceeded him, The earle of Marſh commeth ouer to the king and offereth him his ſeruice.

Polydor.

a child of twelue yeares of age, by reaſon of whoſe infancie diuerſe peeres of the realme began to withdraw their obedience from him, as Theobald earle of Champaigne, Hugh earle of Marſh, and Peter duke of Britaine. Howbeit, the earle of Champaigne was eaſilie reduced againe to his former obedience, by the high wiſedome and policie of the quéene mother, who had the gouernement of hir ſonne the yong king and his realme committed vnto hir. But the earle of Marſh conſtant in his purpoſe, came ouer to king Henrie, whoſe mother he had married, and declared vnto him, that now was the time for him to recouer thoſe places, which king Philip had vniuſtlie taken from his father king Iohn: and to bring the ſame to paſſe, he offered himſelfe and all that he could make, in the furthering of this voiage. The K. being thus pricked forward with the earle of Marſh his words, determined without delaie to take in hand the warre.

Math. Paris. Ambaſſadors ſent into France.

Polydor.

¶ Here authors varie, for ſome write, that king Henrie ſent ouer certeine perſons, as the archbiſhop of Yorke, the biſhop of Careleill, and the Lord Philip Dalbenie, to vnderſtand the minds of the Normans, the Britains and Poictouins. And for that thoſe that were ſent, brought word againe that the ſaid people were not greatlie minded to forſake the French gouernment, he ſurceaſſed from attempting any exploit at that time. Other write, that gathering a great ſumme of monie of his ſubiects, towards the maintenance of his charges, he prepared a nauie of ſhips, and ſailed ouer with the ſaid earle of Marſh into Britaine, and there waſted the confines of the French dominions, and that when the French king was readie with an armie to ſuccour his ſubiects, he ſuddenlie retired to his ſhips, and returned into England, without atchiuing anie enterpriſe worthie of remembrance, ſo that whether he went himſelfe or ſent, it forceth not: for certeine it is that he profited nothing at that ſeſon, either by ſending meſſengers to procure him fréendſhip, or by going ouer himſelfe to make an entrie to the warres.

The earle of Cornewall returneth home. Math. Paris.

The earle of Cornewall.

When the French affaires were thus at a ſtaie, within a few moneths after, Richard earle of Cornewall returned forth of Gaſcoigne into England, and ſhortlie after, bicauſe he heard and was crediblie informed, that a certeine manour place which Walerane the Duchman, capteine of Berkamſtéed caſtell held, by the gift and aſſignement of king Iohn, perteined to his earledome of Cornewall, he ſeized the caſtell into his hands. So that Walerane being thus dipoſſeſſed, exhibited his bill of complaint to the king, who incontinentlie ſent to the earle, commanding him to make reſtitution, which he vtterlie refuſed to doo. But forthwith, comming to the king, and without reteining any aduocate, he declared his right which he offered to auerre in open preſence, & in any of the kings courts, before whatſoeuer péeres of the realme ſhould be there aſſembled.

He departeth from the court ſecretlie.

He ioineth himſelfe with the earles of Cheſter and Penbroke and others.

They meet at Stamford with an armie

This addition [the peeres of the realme] nothing pleaſed the king and his councell, namelie the lord chéefe iuſtice, by whoſe aduice the king meant to haue apprehended the earle the ſame night, after he was withdrawne to his lodging. But the earle warned thereof, ſecretlie departed, accompanied onelie with one man, and neuer drew bridle out of his horſſes mouth, vntill he came to Reading (whither his ſeruants reſorted to him) and from thence he rode ſtraight to Marlebridge, where he found his deare fréend William earle Marſhall, to whome he did impart the danger likelie to haue befallen him. Then they drew to the erle of Cheſter, & taking order with him for the raiſing of an armie, there met ſhortlie after at Stamford the perſons whoſe names hereafter inſue; Ranulfe earle of Cheſter, William Marſhall earle of Penbroke, Richard earle of Cornewall the kings brother, Gilbert earle of Gloceſter, William earle Warren, Henrie earle of Hereford, William earle Ferrers, William earle of Warwike, and diuerſe barons, lords and knights, hauing there with them a great puiſſance of warlike perſonages.

A day appointed to meet at Northamptō, for a treatie of pacification.

The kings grant to his brother.

The king hauing vnderſtanding as well of their demeanor, as alſo what they required by their letters and meſſengers to him dailie ſent, thought good for a time to pacifie their furie, and therevpon appointed a day at Northampton, where he would méet, and miniſter ſuch iuſtice vnto them, as ſhould be thought reaſonable, and to ſtand with their good willes and contentation. Wherevpon, the parties comming to Northampton at the day aſſigned, he granted to the earle his brother (at the inſtant deſire of the lords) all his mothers dowrie, with all thoſe lands which belonged to the earle of Britaine within England, and withall, thoſe lands alſo that apperteined to the earle of Bullongne deceaſſed. Thus the matter being pacified, euerie man departed to his home, whereas if the king had béene froward (as he was mild and patient, knowing that

—— non ſolis viribus æquum
Credere, ſæpe acri potior prudentia dextra)

Val. Flac. lib. 4.

warres had immediatlie béene raiſed betwixt them, namelie, bicauſe manie of the lords bare a ſecret grudge towards the king, for that he had reuoked certeine liberties which in the begining of his reigne he had granted to be holden, though now to take awaie the enuie which might be conceiued towards him for his dooing, he alledged, that he did not infringe any thing that he had then granted, but ſuch things as his gouernours had ſuffered to paſſe whileſt he was vnder age, and not ruler of himſelfe: he cauſed them therefore to redéeme manie of the ſame priuileges, whereby he gained great finance for the ſetting to of his new ſeale (as before yée haue heard declared.)

The pope exhorteth the chriſtians to make a iournie againſt the Saracens

Math. Paris ſixtie thouſād.

Polydor.

Moreouer, in this yeare there were ſent certeine perſons from pope Gregorie the ninth (that ſuccéeded Honorius) into all the parts of Europe, to mooue by preaching the chriſtian people to make a iournie into the holie land againſt the Saracens. Such a multitude by means hereof did aſſemble togither from all parts, and that within a ſhort time, as the like had ſildome times béene heard of. It is ſaid, that amongſt them there ſhould be to the number of fortie thouſand Engliſhmen, of whome Peter biſhop of Wincheſter, and William biſhop of Exceſter were the chéefe. Capteins alſo of that great multitude of croſſed ſouldiers that went forth of ſundrie countries were theſe, Theobald earle of Champaigne, and Philip de Albenie, through whoſe negligence the ſequele of this noble enterpriſe came but to ſmall effect. But to procéed.

Anno Reg. 12.
1228
Math. Paris.
Weights and meaſures.
Polydor.
Hubert de Burgh created earle of Kent.

About this time the king minding the benefit of the commonwealth, cauſed the weights and meaſures generallie within the land to be reformed after one ſtandard. Furthermore, he created Hubert de Burgh earle of Kent, the which Hubert how much praiſe ſo euer he got at the beginning for his valiancie ſhewed in the defending of Douer caſtell, and in vanquiſhing the French fléet that was comming to the ſuccour of Lewes by battell on the ſea, it is certeine, that now he purchaſed himſelfe double as much hatred and euill will, bicauſe that being of ſecret councell with the king, and thereby after a ſort ſequeſtred from the lords, he was knowne to diſſuade the ſaid prince from reſtoring of the ancient lawes and cuſtomes vnto the people, which the barons oft required: whereby it came to paſſe, that the more he grew in fauour with the prince, the further he came into the enuie of the Nobilitie, and hatred of the people, which is a common reward to ſuch as in reſpect of their maiſter doo little regard the profit of others, as the prouerbe ſaith,

Plus quis honoratur hoſtis tum multiplicatur.

Stephan archbiſhop of Canturburie departed this life.
Richard Wetherſheid elected in his place.
Matth.Paris.
Walter Helmeſham.

Furthermore, vpon the ninth of Iulie Stephan the archbiſhop of Canturburie died, after he had gouerned that ſée the terme of 21 yeares, after whome ſuccéeded Richard Wetherſheid deane of Paules, who was the thrée and fortith archbiſhop of that ſée. The monks of Canturburie had firſt elected one of their owne conuent, named Walter de Helmeſham: which election was made by the ſame monks the third daie of Auguſt next inſuing the death of their ſaid archbiſhop Stephan, but the king would not conſent that he ſhould haue the place for diuerſe cauſes, which he obiected: as firſt, for that he knew him to be ſuch a man as ſhould be vnprofitable, both to him and to his kingdome. Secondlie, bicauſe his father was a théefe, and thereof being conuict, ſuffered death vpon the gallowes. Thirdlie, for that he himſelfe had ſtood againſt king Iohn in time of the interdiction.

A new trouble about the election of the archbiſhop of Canturburie.

On the other ſide, the biſhops ſuffragans to the church of Canturburie obiected alſo againſt him, that he had vſed the familiar companie of a nunne, and begot of hir certeine children. Moreouer they alledged, that no election without their conſent, could be good, nor ought to take place. But the monke making his appeale, ſtood in it, and taking with him certeine of his fellow monks of Canturburie, went to Rome, and there made ſupplication to the pope, that his election by his authoritie might be ratified and confirmed. Whereof the king and the other biſhops being aduertiſed, did put their obiections in writing vnder their ſeales, & ſent the ſame to Rome to be exhibited to the pope by the biſhops of Weſtcheſter and Rocheſter, and Iohn the archdeacon of Bedford, who vſed ſuch means, that his election was iudged void, & then the ſaid Richard Wetherſheid was out of hand elected & confirmed. In that yeare alſo, a grant was made to the citizens of London, that they ſhould haue and vſe a common ſeale.

Fabian.

Polydor.
The earle of March worketh to induce the Normans & Poictouins to fauour the king of England.
The Normans write to the king of England.

In this meane while, Hugh the earle of March ſo laboured with the Normans and Poictouins in the behalfe of the king of England, that they began to incline to his purpoſe: wherevpon he ſent his letters by ſecret meanes vnto king Henrie, ſignifieng to him, that if it would pleaſe him to come ouer with an armie to make warre againſt the French king, they would be readie to turne vnto his ſide, and receiue him as their ſouereigne. King Henrie taking aduiſe what to anſwer and doo herein, with his welbeloued councellour Hubert of Burgh, thought it not good to attempt anie thing raſhlie in this matter, bicauſe the dealings of the Normans were neuer without ſome fraud: but yet to ſatiſfie the requeſt of his fréends, he promiſed to come ouer ſhortlie vnto them, if in the meane time he might perceiue that they remained ſtedfaſt in their purpoſe, giuing them furthermore manie great and hartie thanks for their good meaning and ſingular kindneſſe towards him.

Matt.Paris.

Now things beyond the ſea ſtanding in this order, it happened in the moneth of Auguſt, that the ſoldiers which laie in garriſon within the caſtell of Mountgomerie, tooke in hand to ſtocke vp a wood not farre from the ſaid caſtell, through which lay an highwaie, where oftentimes manie fellonious robberies and murders were committed by the Welſh. As the ſouldiers were buſie at worke in ſtocking vp the wood, there came vpon them an ambuſhment of Welſhmen, which not onlie draue them awaie from their worke, but alſo tooke and ſlue diuerſe of them, conſtreining the reſidue to flée into the caſtell, which immediatlie the Welſhmen inuironed alſo about with a ſtrong ſiege, thinking to find the defendants vnprouided.

The Welſhmē beſiege the caſtell of Montgomerie.

The king with an arm commeth to the ſuccour o them within the caſtell.

They within aduertiſed Hugh de Burgh, the lord chéefe iuſtice (to whome the caſtell belonged by the kings late gift) of the exploit and enterpriſe attempted by their enimies, with all poſſible haſt: wherevpon the king at requeſt of the ſaid Hubert leuied a power, and came to raiſe the ſiege. But the Welſhmen hearing of the kings approch, fled awaie like ſhéepe, ſo that comming to the caſtell, he found no reſiſtance: howbeit, for ſo much as he ſaw the foreſaid wood to be troubleſome and an annoiance to the ſaid caſtell, he willed it to be deſtroied. True it is, that the ſame wood was verie thicke and rough, and further it conteined alſo fiue leagues or fiftéene miles in length: yet by ſuch diligence as was vſed, the ſame was waſted, ſtocked vp, and quickelie rid out of the waie by fire and other means, ſo that the countrie was made plaine a great waie about.

The abbeie of Cride burnt.
The king beginneth to build a caſtel.

After this, the king departed forth into the Welſh confines, and comming to an abbeie of the white monks called Cride, cauſed it to be burnt, bicauſe it ſerued as a refuge for his enimies. Then by the aduiſe of the lord chiefe iuſtice Hubert de Burgh, he ſet in hand to build a caſtell there, bicauſe the place ſéemed verie fit for fortification. But after the king with his armie had laine there thrée months, through lacke of vittels (the Welſhmen ſtill cutting the Engliſhmen off as they went abroad to fetch in forrage and other prouiſion) he was conſtreined to fall to agréement with Leolin their prince, and receiuing of the ſaid prince the ſumme of thrée thouſand marks, he was contented that ſo much of the caſtell as was alreadie builded, ſhould be raced and made flat againe with the ground, before his departure from thence. Herevpon, manie men tooke occaſion to ieſt at the lord chiefe iuſtice and his doings about this caſtell, who at the beginning named it Huberts follie.

He is cōſtreined to agre with the Welſhmen.

The lord wiliā de Br taken priſoner.

Amongſt other alſo that were taken priſoners by the Welſhmen, whileſt the king thus vainelie ſpent his time about the building of that fort, William de Breuſe a right valiant man of warre was one, who being taken by Leolin prince of Wales, was by him cruellie put to death (as after ſhall appeare) for the which act, and other ſuch iniuries receiued at the ſame Leolins hands, king Henrie at length gréeuouſlie puniſhed him. ¶ For the moſt part of this ſummer ſeaſon, great thunders happened in England: the element alſo ſéemed as though it had burned with continuall flames: ſtéeples, churches, and other hie buildings were ſtriken with lightning, and the harueſt was ſore hindered by continuall raine. Alſo in the middeſt of the day there came a woonderfull darkeneſſe vpon the earth, that the brightneſſe of the aire ſéemed to be couered and taken awaie.

Matt.Paris.
Strange ſights in the aire.
Polydor.
Anno Reg.13
1229

In the thirtéenth yeare of this king, Stephan the popes chapleine and his Nuncio came ouer vnto king Henrie, requiring to haue towards the maintenance of the popes warres againſt the emperour Frederike, a tenth part of all the moueable goods within the realmes & countries of England, Wales, and Ireland, as well of ſpirituall perſons as temporall. Wherevpon, a parlement or aſſemblie of the lords was called at Weſtminſter, on the ſecond ſundaie after Eaſter, which was the 29 of Aprill. At which parlement, when the popes buls were read, and the matter therein conteined plainelie opened and examined, to the end it might appeare vpon what neceſſarie cauſes the pope was conſtreined to purſue the ſaid wars, and to aſke reléefe of faithfull chriſtian people, being members of the holie church: the king, bicauſe he had by his procurators at Rome aforehand promiſed & bound himſelfe to ſuch paiment of tenths, ſate ſtill, and anſwered not to the contrarie

A parlement or a councell holden.

(whereas the hope of a great number was repoſed in him, that by his deniall the popes requeſt ſhuld haue béene fruſtrat) ſo that when by his ſilence he was adiudged to conſent, yet the temporall lords & laic men vtterlie denied to agrée vnto ſuch paiment, not willing in any wiſe to bind their baronies and temporall poſſeſſions vnto the church of Rome.

The temporall lords refuſe to aid the pope with monie.

Howbeit, the biſhops, abbats, priors, and other eccleſiaſticall perſons, after they had ſhewed themſelues to reſt doubtfull (not without great grudging and murmuring in the meane time, for the ſpace of thrée or foure daies togither) at length, for feare of excommunication, conſented to be contributorie, but in ſuch ſort, as they had eſcaped for a farre more reaſonable ſumme, if Stephan Segraue one of the kings councell had not by compact (as was thought) made with the Nuncio, wrought ſo in the matter, that the tenths were finallie granted, to the great impoueriſhment and ineſtimable damage of the church and realme of England. After this, the Nuncio ſhewed the procuratorie letters, whereby he was authoriſed to gather thoſe tenths, and that not after a common manner, but by a verie ſtraight and hard valuation.

Stephan de Segraue.

The tenths of the ſpiritualtie granted to the pope.

And for the more ſure waie of procéeding herein, he had letters of authoritie from the pope, to excommunicate all ſuch as ſhould withſtand him or his deputies in procéeding with thoſe affaires. He ſhewed himſelfe moreouer verie extreame in collecting of this monie, and namelie towards the prelats of the church, inſomuch that appointing him a certeine day in the which vnder paine of excommunication they ſhould make paiment, diuers for want of readie monie, were compelled to make ſhift with the chalices, and other veſſels and ornaments belonging to their churches, and other were glad to take vp monie vpon intereſt, and for that ſhift there were come ouer with the Nuncio diuerſe wicked vſurers vnder the name of merchants, which when they ſaw thoſe that ſtood in néed like to be excommunicate for want of readie monie, they would offer themſelues to lend vnto any that would borow, after the rate of one noble for the loane of twentie by the moneth, ſo bringing the néedie into their ſnares, to their irrecouerable loſſes and vndooing. Hereby the land was filled with bitter curſings (though in ſecret) by thoſe that wiſhed ſuch vnreaſonable exactors neuer to ſée good end of the vſe of that monie.

Vſurers.

Math. Paris.

From that day forward there wanted not in England certeine vſurers called Caurſini, which ſought nothing elſe but the wealth of ſuch perſons as they might get into their ſnares, namelie thoſe whome the church of Rome dooth vex and put to trouble with hir exactions and paiments. The earle of Cheſter onlie ſtood manfullie againſt the paiment of thoſe tenths, inſomuch that he would not ſuffer his lands to be brought vnder bondage, neither wold he permit the religious men and préeſts that held of his fée to pay the ſame, although the reſt of England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland were compelled to be contributorie thereto, hauing onelie this comfort, that not they alone, but alſo other forren regions were driuen to doo the like. Thus did the locuſts of Rome from time to time ſucke the ſwéetneſſe of the land, and all to mainteine the pompe and pride of the ſame, wherein what other practiſes did they vſe, than as one truelie teſtifieth:

The earle of Cheſter wold not permit the tenths to be gathered within his land.

Cuncti luxuriæ atq; gulæ, furtiſq; doliſq;
Certatim incumbunt, &c.

King Henrie prepareth to paſſe ouer into France.

But to let this paſſe: king Henrie purpoſing to ſaile ouer into Britaine and inuade France, came to Portſmouth about Michaelmaſſe, with ſuch an armie aſſembled out of England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, as the like for number of people had not béene knowne to haue paſſed ouer with any of his anceſters: howbeit when he ſhould come to the verie point of imbarking his people, with vittels, armor, and other prouiſion, there were not ſhips ſufficient to paſſe ouer the one halfe of the armie: wherefore when the king ſaw this default, he was ſore offended, but chéefelie with Hubert the earle of Kent, lord chéefe iuſtice, inſomuch that he openlie called him old traitor, and laid to his charge how he had thus vſed the matter of purpoſe, onelie to pleaſure the quéene of France, of whome (as he ſaid) he had receiued fiue thouſand marks to hinder his procéedings. In this heat if the earle of Cheſter and other had not béene at hand, he had ſuerlie ſlaine the chéefe iuſtice euen there with his drawne ſword, who was glad to auoid his preſence, till his angrie mood was ſomwhat ouerpaſſed.

The earle of Kent fallen into the kings diſpleaſure.

In the meane time there arriued Henrie earle of Britaine on the ninth of October, which ſhould haue conducted the king into his countrie. But ſith winter was come vpon them, he aduiſed him to ſtay till the next ſpring, and ſo he did. Then euerie man was licenced to depart home, and the earle of Kent reconciled againe into fauour. The erle of Britaine in like maner did homage to the king for Britaine, and the king reſtored him to all his rights in England, and further giuing him fiue thouſand marks to defend his countrie againſt the enimies, ſent him home againe in moſt courteous and louing maner. In this yéere of our Lord 1230 king Henrie held his Chriſtmaſſe at Yorke, togither with the king of Scots, whome he had deſired to come thither at that time, that they might make merrie: and ſo for the ſpace of thrée daies togither, there was great banketting and ſport betwéene them. On the fourth day they tooke leaue either of other, the king of Scots with rich gifts returning towards his countrie, and the king of England towards London.

Henrie earle of Britaine.

The kings iournie deferred.

Anno. Reg. 14.
1230

Math. Paris.

The king of Scots kept Chriſtmaſſe with the king of England at Yorke.

Vpon the fiue and twentith day of Ianuarie alſo, while the biſhop of London was at high maſſe within the church of S. Paule in London, a ſudden darkneſſe ouerſhadowed the quiere, and therewith ſuch a tempeſt of thunder and lightning, that the people there aſſembled thought verelie the church and ſtéeple had come downe vpon their heads. There came moreouer ſuch a filthie ſauour and ſtinke withall, that partlie for feare, and partlie for that they might not abide the ſauour, they voided the church, falling on heapes one vpon another, as they ſought to get out of the ſame. The vicars and canons forſooke their deſkes, ſo that the biſhop remained there onelie with one deacon that ſerued him at maſſe. Afterward, when the aire began to cleare vp, the people returned into the church, and the biſhop went forward and finiſhed the maſſe.

Math. Paris.

A ſtrange tempeſt at London.

Sée Iohn Stow, pag. 261. of his large collectiō printed 1580.

Math. Paris.

In the meane time the king leuied a great ſumme of monie of the prelats of his land towards his iournie into France: he had alſo a great reléeſe of the citizens of London. And the Iewes were conſtreined to giue to him the third part of all their moueable goods. In the moneth of Aprill, Leolin prince of Wales cauſed William de Breuſe, whom he had taken priſoner long before (as aboue is mentioned) to be hanged on a paire of gallowes, for that he was taken (as was reported) in adulterie with the wife of the ſaid prince. And on the laſt day of Aprill, the king with a puiſſant armie tooke the ſea at Porteſmouth, and landed at ſaint Malos in Britaine on the third day of May, where he was right ioifullie receiued of Henrie earle of that countrie. After he was thus arriued in Britaine, he entered into the French dominions, with the ſaid earle, and the earle of Marſh his father in law, dooing much hurt within the ſame. His armie dailie increaſing by the great numbers

The king gathereth monie towards his iournie into France.

Math. Paris.

The Lord W. de Breuſe hanged.

The king ſaileth ouer into France.

of Normans and other, which at the fame of the king of Englands arriuall in thoſe parts, came flocking from diuerſe places to aid him.

Two brethrẽ of the Paganels or Painelles.
Matth. Paris.

Amongſt other, there were two brethren that were Normans, Fouke and William, of the familie and ſurname of the Paganelles or Painelles, being men of great birth and eſtimation in their countrie, which brought with them thréeſcore knights or men of armes, right worthie and valiant in feats of war. Theſe Noble men would faine haue perſuaded the king to haue entred into Normandie, for that (as they affirmed) it ſhould be an eaſie matter for him to ſubdue the whole countrie: whereto the king would gladlie haue conſented, if the earle of Kent had not aduiſed him otherwiſe. After this, they beſought him at the leaſtwiſe to grant them two hundred knights or men of armes of his armie, with whoſe aid they doubted not to be able (as they ſaid) to expell all the Frenchmen out of Normandie, but neither would this be obteined, ſo that thoſe Norman lords remained without comfort, whileſt the French king cauſed their caſtels and manours to be ſeized vnto his vſe.

The earle of Kent beginneth now to beare ẏ blame for euerie thing amiſſe.

Polydor.

During this time, king Lewes (who a few daies afore had taken from the duke of Britaine the townes of Ardone, Campanell, and Beleſme) being now certified by his eſpials, of the landing and inuaſion made by the king of England, haſted foorth with his armie into the countrie of Aniou, and there by the ſide of the Loire, incamped, to ſtaie the king of England, that he ſhould not paſſe ouer the ſame riuer into Poictou, ſuſpecting leaſt the Poictouins (whom he had alwaie in ſome gelouſie) would reuolt vnto him. But the king of England aduertiſed of his approch, paſſed that riuer ſooner than anie man would haue iudged, and incamped firſt in the countrie of Poictou, and after drew into the confines of Xantonge, the French king ſtill following, and by the waie deſtroieng the townes of Fountney, and Uillars, perteining to one Guie de Rochfort, a capteine belonging to the earle of March. Afterward alſo he paſſed the riuer of Charent, and waſted all the countrie of Xantonge. Where (if we may beléeue ſome writers) the two kings ioined battell, which continued a long time right fierce & cruell: but at length the Engliſhmen giuing backe, the victorie remained on the French ſide, a great number of their aduerſaries being ſlaine and taken.

He tooke the towne and caſtell of Angiers, ſaint Jame, Bonneroy, & Beleſme.
The annales of Aquitaine.

Poictou and Xantonge.

The French get the vpper hand.

After this battell, they ſaie alſo that a peace was concluded betwixt them. But other writers haue recorded, that the matter was firſt taken vp by a truce without anie battell, bicauſe both the kings being yong men, and as yet not verie ſkilfull in martiall affaires, were content to giue eare vnto quéene Blanch, to Philip erle of Bollongne, and to Ranulfe earle of Cheſter, which thrée tooke vpon them to intreat a peace, and preſcribe the couenants of agréement, by which meanes they were at the laſt accorded. Amongſt other things which were concluded at this preſent time, the duke of Britaine, and the earle of March were made fréends again with the French king, and receiued eftſoones into his fauour. Thus ceaſſed the warres for that time betwixt the kings of England and France, as ſome haue witneſſed. ¶ Howbeit if we ſhall beléeue other, which wrote and liued in thoſe daies, there was no peace at that time concluded: but after that king Henrie had paſſed through Aniou and Poictou without battell, he came into Gaſcoigne, where he receiued the homages and fealties of manie noble men in thoſe parties, and returning into Poictou, not onelie had the like alſo of ſundrie lords and men of honour in that countrie, but alſo tooke the caſtell of Mirabeau by aſſault, thorough the manhood of the Engliſhmen, who choſe rather with deſperat aduentures to make entrance to honour, than by timorouſneſſe or want of courage to purchaſe reproch; for they knew verie well, that

Qui cupiunt fortes fieri, diſcrimina oportet
Multa pati, & multos coguntur ferre labores,

and therefore they made triall of their valiantneſſe euen with obteinement of victorie to the diſcomfiture of the enimie, who gaped after the conqueſt.

Matth. Paris.

Mirabeau.

King Henrie returneth into Britaine.

This doone, and order taken for the ſafe keeping of thoſe quarters, he returned into Britaine, & comming to the citie of Naunts, remained a while there, ſpending the time vainelie in pleaſure and banketting. Finallie in the moneth of October he tooke the ſea, and returning into England after manie perils, landed at Porteſmouth, the 27 of October, leauing behind him in Britaine 500 knights or men of armes, a thouſand yeomen or ſtipendarie ſouldiers, for defenſe of the countrie againſt the Frenchmen, and appointed for their capteine the earle of Cheſter, the earle Marſhall, and the earle of Albemarle, with certeine other valiant and approued warriours, who after the departure of the king, made two rodes into the French countries, but firſt into Aniou, where they remained 15 daies without battell, taking and deſtroieng the caſtell of Gonner, alſo Newchatell vpon the riuer of Sart, and finallie laden with plentie of rich ſpoiles, they returned into Britaine, from whence they ſet foorth. Shortlie after they entred into Normandie, deſtroieng the caſtell of Pontorſon, & burning the towne: which enterpriſe when they had accompliſhed at their wils, they returned eftſoones into Britaine, where they were ioifullie receiued.

He ſaileth home into England.

The earle of Cheſter left the kings lieutenant in Britaine.

What feats he wrought.

Pontorſon burnt.

The erle of Cheſter in this meane while ſtrengthened & fortified the caſtell of S. James de Bewmerõ, which (bicauſe it belonged to the right of his wife) the earle of Britaine had (ſith the kings comming ouer) reſtored vnto him. ¶ In this yeare vpon the 14 of Maie, a maruellous eclipſe of the ſunne chanced immediatlie after the riſing thereof, ſo that the earth ſéemed as it had béene couered againe with ſhade of night. On the 22 daie of Nouember, the moone was likewiſe eclipſed, being as then 13 daies old.

S. James de Bewmeron.

A ſtrange eclipſe.

Anno Reg. 15.

Furthermore, whileſt the king was in France, there came ouer into England the duke of Saxonie coſen to the king, and of the citizens of London was honourablie receiued. He was a man of ſuch high and tall ſtature, that men tooke great pleaſure to behold him. In the ſame yeare alſo in the moneth of Julie, an Iriſh king that was gouernour of Connagh, vnderſtanding that both the king of England, and the earle Marſhall were gone ouer into France, and ſo Ireland left without anie great aid of men of warre on the Engliſh part, raiſed a mightie armie, and with the ſame entered into the marſhes of the Engliſh dominion, ſpoiling and burning the countrie before him. Whereof when Geffrey de Mauriſh lord chiefe iuſtice of Ireland was aduertiſed, he called to him Walter de Lacie and Richard de Burgh, aſſembling therewithall a mightie armie, which he diuided into thrée parts, appointing the ſaid Walter de Lacie, and Richard de Burgh, with the two firſt parts, to lie in ambuſh within certeine woods, thorough the which he purpoſed to draw the enimies, and marching foorth with the third, which he reſerued to his owne gouernement, he profered battell to the Iriſhmen, the which when they ſaw but one battell of the Engliſhmen boldlie aſſaied the ſame.

The duke of Saxonie cõmeth into England.

The king of Connagh.

Geffrey de Mauriſh lord chiefe iuſtice of Ireland.
Walter de Lacie, Richard de Burgh.

The Engliſhmen according to the order appointed, feigned as though they had fled, and ſo retired ſtill backer and backer, till they had trained the Iriſh within danger of their other two battels, which comming foorth vpon them, did ſet on them egerlie, whileſt the other which ſéemed before to flée returned backe againe, and ſet vpon them in like maner, by meanes whereof the Iriſhmen being in the midſt, were

The Iriſhmen vanquiſhed by ẏ Engliſhmen in battell.

were beaten downe on all parts, and vtterlie vanquiſhed, with loſſe of 20 thouſand men (as it was credible reported.) The king of Connagh was alſo taken and committed to priſon.

1231

A fifteenth and tenth granted to the king.

Polydor.

Engliſhmen ſent to Spain againſt the Saracens.

In the meane time king Henrie hauing ſpent a great deale of treaſure in his iournie made into France, there was granted vnto him a fifteenth of the temporaltie, with a diſme and a halfe of the ſpiritualtie, towards the furniſhing out of a new power of men to be ſent into Spaine againſt the Saracens, which made ſore warres vpon the chriſtians in that countrie, wherevpon king Henrie being required of the K. of Aragon to aid him with ſome number of ſouldiers, he ſent a great power thither with all ſpeed, and ſo likewiſe did the French king. By means whereof the Spaniards, being ioined with Engliſhmen and Frenchmen, obteined a noble victorie, in vanquiſhing thoſe their enimies. Thus ſaith Polydor. But other write that the king on the ſeauen and twentith of Ianuarie, holding a parlement at Weſtminſter (where the Nobles both ſpirituall and temporall were aſſembled) demanded eſcuage of all thoſe that held any baronies of him, that is to ſaie, forren knights fée, fortie ſhillings, or thrée marks.

Math. Paris.

Eſcuage demanded.

The archb. of Canturburie ſtandeth against the K. in defenſe of his cleargie.

Moreouer, the archbiſhop of Canturburie (as they ſay) ſtood againſt the king in this demand, mainteining that the cleargie ought not to be ſubiect vnto the iudgement of laie men, ſith this eſcuage was granted in the parts beyond the ſeas without their conſent. Wherevpon the matter as touching the biſhops was deferred till the quindene of Eaſter, albeit that all the laitie, and other of the ſpiritualtie conſented to the kings will. ¶ About this time alſo there chanced to riſe a great ſtrife and contention betwixt Richard the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and Hubert the earle of Kent, who as gardian to the yoong erle of Gloceſter had got into his hands the caſtell of Tunbridge, with the towne, and certeine other poſſeſſions which belonged to the archbiſhops ſée, and therefore did the archbiſhop complaine to the king of the iniurie which he ſuſteined.

Contention betwixt the archb. and the earle of Kent.

Math. Paris.

Now when he perceiued no hope likelie to come for any redreſſe at the kings hands, he tooke an other way: and firſt by his pontificall authoritie accurſed all thoſe that withheld the ſame poſſeſſions, and all their mainteiners (the king excepted) and therewith appealing to the pope, he went to proſecute his appeale at Rome, whither the king and the earle ſent alſo their procurators, and made the pope their arbitratour to iudge of the matter. In the end pope Gregorie hauing heard the whole proceſſe of the controuerſie, iudged the right to remaine with the archbiſhop, who hauing then obteined his deſire, haſted toward England: but as he was returning homewards, he died by the way, not farre from Rome, whereby the popes iudgement tooke no place: for whileſt the ſée was void, there was none that would follow the ſuit: and ſuch was the end of this controuerſie for this time.

Ralfe Neuill elected arch. of Canturburie.

After the deceaſſe of this archbiſhop Richard, the monks elected Ralfe Neuill biſhop of Chicheſter the kings chancellor, an vpright man, and of iuſt dealing in all his doings. In whome alſo it is to be noted, he would not giue one halfepenie to the monks towards the bearing of their charges in their iournie to Rome, which they ſhould take vpon them from thence to fetch his confirmation, according to the manner, leaſt he ſhould burthen his conſcience with the crime of ſimonie which he greatlie abhorred, although ſome imputed this to proceed rather of a cloked ſpice of couetouſneſſe. Which practiſe of his maketh greatlie to the confounding of the indirect means now vſed to aſpire vnto promotions, for the obteinment whereof no remedie is forborne; no, though the ſame be repugnant to reaſon, and vtterlie againſt conſcience and honeſtie. But this is the temptation of auarice and ambition, which poiſon the minds of men in ſuch ſort, that rather than they will want their wiſhed aduancement, they will vſe theſe meanes that may further them moſt, namelie, fréendſhip, monie, and mightie mens countenance; which one noteth verie well in a diſtichon of neat deuiſe, ſaieng,

Artis, honeſtatis, recti, præcepta, decus, vim,
Conculcat, ſuperant, ſpernunt, fauor, æra, potentes,

But to the purpoſe from whence we are digreſſed. When the monks came to the popes preſence, vpon inquirie made, and chéefelie by report of Simon Langton, who (as ſome thinke) gaped for the dignitie, he vnderſtood that the ſaid Ralfe Neuill ſhould be a man vnlearned, a courtier, haſtie and ſhort of word, and that which moſt diſpleaſed the pope, it was to be feared, that if he ſhould be preferred to that roome, he would go about to deliuer the realme of England from the thraldome of the pope, and the court of Rome (into the which being made tributorie by king Iohn it had latelie béene brought) that (as he ſhould alledge) it might ſerue God and holie church in the old accuſtomed libertie.

Simō Langtons report of the conditions of Ralfe Neuill.

To bring this to paſſe (hauing the king thereto greatlie inclined, and all the realme readie to aſſiſt him in the ſame) he would not ſticke to put his life in ieopardie, namelie vpon confidence of the right and appeales of Stephan the late archbiſhop of Canturburie, made in ſolemne wiſe before the altar of S. Paule in the cathedrall church of London, when king Iohn reſigning his crowne into the hands of the legat, made that writing obligatorie moſt execrable to the whole world.

Sée before in pag 177, & 178.

The pope maketh void the election.

When the pope had heard this tale told, he ſtreit diſanulled the election and requeſt of the confirmation of the ſaid Ralfe Neuill, granting libertie to the monks to choſe ſome other which might proue a wholſome ſhéepheard for the ſoule of man, profitable to the church of England, and a faithfull ſonne to the ſée of Rome, and ſo the monks returning home, made relation to the couent how they had ſped. After this, the monks elected the prior of their houſe named Iohn to be their archbiſhop, who going to Rome for his confirmation, was perſuaded in the end to renounce his election: ſo that at length one Edmund that was treaſurer of the colledge of Saliſburie, was elected, confirmed, and conſecrated, a man of great zeale, being the foure & fortith archbiſhop that had gouerned that ſée.

The earle of Cornewall marrieth the counteſſe of Gloceſter.

The earle of Penbroke departed this life.

Polydor.

Leolin prince of Wales inuadeth the Engliſh borders.

This yeare the kings brother the earle of Cornewall married the counteſſe of Gloceſter, widow to the late earle Gilbert, and ſiſter to William Marſhall earle of Penbroke, the which erle of Penbroke ſhortlie after the ſame marriage departed this life, and was buried on the fiftéenth day of Aprill, in the new temple at London, néere vnto his father. Moreouer, Leolin prince of Wales about this ſeaſon enterpriſing to inuade the Engliſh confines, burned and waſted the countrie in moſt cruell wiſe. Whereof the king being aduertiſed, haſted forth by great iournies, with purpoſe to reuenge ſuch iniuries. But the enimies hearing of his comming (according to the cuſtome of their countrie) withdrew into the mounteins, bogs, and mariſhes. Wherefore the king (ſéeing that he could not haue them at his pleaſure, and leaſt he ſhould be thought to ſpend time in vaine) came backe, and left behind him a ſmall troope of ſouldiers to reſiſt their attempts, if they ſhould happen to riſe vp any more.

The Welſhmen hauing intelligence that the king was returned home, brake forth againe as before into the Engliſh marſhes, and not onelie tooke preies and booties, but went about to deſtroie with fire and ſword all that ſtood in their way. Howbeit in their returne, and as they ranged abroad ſomewhat vnaduiſedlie, they were intrapped by the ſouldiers which the king had left there for the defenſe of the countrie, and put to flight neere the caſtell of Mountgomerie, with great ſlaughter & loſſe of their people. But Leolin nothing diſmaied therwith, aſſembled a greater power than he had before, and began forthwith to rob and ſpoile within the Engliſh marſhes with paganiſh extremitie. Which thing when it came to the vnderſtanding of the king, he was verie ſore diſpleaſed, that ſo meane a man as Leolin was, ſhould put him to ſo much trouble, therefore he raiſed a farre greater armie than he had doone at anie time before, and with the ſame came to the citie of Hereford.

welſh-
ut to

hing go-
gainſt the
men.
Paris.

In the meane time Leolin comming neere vnto the ſaid caſtell of Mountgomerie, by the practiſe of a traitorous monke, trained forth the Engliſh ſouldiers which laie in garriſon there, and counterfeiting to flee, till he had laid them vp in bogs and mires with their horſſes, ſo as they could not helpe themſelues, he fell vpon them, and ſo ſlue and tooke a great number of them euen as he could haue wiſhed. The king aduertiſed hereof, haſted the faſter forward, and comming into thoſe parts, as he paſſed by an abbeie of the Ciſteaux order (of which houſe the monke was that had betraied the Engliſhmen of Mountgomerie) he burned a grange that belonged to the ſame abbeie, and further ſpoiling the ſame abbeie it ſelfe, he had ſet it on a light fire alſo, if the abbat therof had not redeemed it with the ſumme of three hundred marks of ſiluer. After this, he cauſed Mawds caſtell to be repaired and fortified, which the Welſhmen in times paſt had ouerthrowne, and when the worke was finiſhed, he left there a ſtrong garriſon of ſouldiers to keepe backe the Welſhmen from making their accuſtomed incurſions.

Engliſh
iſtreſſed.

ods ca-
epaired.

Whileſt the king was thus occupied in Wales, there was ſome buſines in France: for in the moneth of Iune, the French king with an armie came to inuade the countrie of Britaine, but earle Henrie with the earle of Cheſter and the other Engliſh capteins found meanes to take and deſtroie all the cariages and wagons which came with vittels and other prouiſion to ſerue the French armie. When the Frenchmen perceiued they could not haue their purpoſe, by mediation of the archbiſhop of Reimes, and the earle of Bollongne on the French part, and by conſent of the earles of Britaine and Cheſter on the Engliſh part, a peace was concluded, or rather a truce to indure for three yeares betwixt the two kings of England and France. This agreement was made the fift daie of Iulie, and then the earles of Britaine and Cheſter, with Richard Marſhall, came ouer into England, and rode to the king, whom they found at Mawds caſtell, where he remained till the worke was finiſhed, and then in the moneth of October returned into England.

.Paris.

ie earle
itaine,
he earle
heſter
ſſe the
ch kings
ges.

ce ta-

In this meane time no ſmall grudge aroſe among the people, by reaſon that their churches were occupied by incumbents that were ſtrangers, promoted by the popes and their legats, who neither inſtructed the people, nor could well ſpeake anie more Engliſh than that which ſerued for the collection of their tithes, in ſomuch that for the inſolencie of ſuch imcumbents as well the Noble men and thoſe of good reputation, as other of the meaner ſort, by an vndiſcreet preſumption attempted a diſorderlie redreſſe, confederating themſelues togither, and taking vpon them to write and direct their letters vnto biſhops and chapters, commanding them by waie of inhibition, not to ſeeme to interrupt thoſe that ſhould ſeize vpon the beneficed ſtrangers, or vpon their reuenues.

Reg. 16.
2 3 2

.Paris.

norder-
eſump-
attempt

They alſo tooke vpon them to write vnto ſuch religious men and others, which were farmers vnto anie of thoſe ſtrangers, forbidding them to ſtand accountable vnto the ſaid ſtrangers, but to reteine the rents and profits in their hands to anſwer the ſame vnto ſuch as they ſhould appoint for the receipt therof. The ſuperſcription of their letters was this. ¶ *Tali epiſcopo, & tali capitulo, vniuerſitas eorum, qui magis volunt mori quàm à Romanis confundi, ſalutem.* That is to ſay, To ſuch a biſhop and chapter, all thoſe which had rather die than be confounded by the Romans, ſend greeting. In the ſeale wherewith the ſaid letters were ſealed, were two ſwords ingrauen.

The ſuperſcription of their letters.

This matter went ſo farre forth, that there were ſundrie perſons armed and diſguiſed like mummers, which enterpriſed not onelie to take diuerſe of thoſe ſtrangers that were beneficed men, but alſo came to their barnes, threſhed vp their graine, and either made ſale therof, or gaue it awaie for God his ſake, ſhewing counterfeited letters vnder the kings ſeale, which they had procured for their warrant, as they did pretend. At length the pope vpon complaint made vnto him of ſuch violent doings, wrote to king Henrie, blaming him not a little for ſuffering ſuch diſorders to be committed within his realme, commanding him vpon paine of excommunication to cauſe a diligent inquirie to be had of the offendors, and to ſee them ſharpelie puniſhed, to the example of others.

Maſking threſhers.

The pope cõplaineth to the K. in blaming him.

The pope cõmandeth the offendors to be accurſe

Moreouer he ſent letters to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and to the abbat of ſaint Edmundſburie, to make the like inquiſition, and to accurſe all thoſe that ſhould be found culpable within the ſouth parts of England, as he did to the archbiſhop of Yorke, to the biſhop of Durham, and to an Italian named Iohn a canon of Yorke, to doo the like in the north parts, ſo that the offendors ſhould remaine accurſed, till they came to Rome, there to fetch their abſolution. Hereupon therefore a generall inquiſition was taken, as well by the king as by the biſhops, and manie found guiltie, ſome in fact, and ſome in conſent: amongſt which number there were both biſhops and chapleins to the king, with archdeacons and deanes, knights, and manie of the laitie.

Inquiſition taken.

There were ſome ſhiriffes and bailiffes alſo, which by the kings commandement were arreſted and put in priſon, and diuerſe of all ſorts did keepe themſelues out of the waie, and would not as yet be found. In like maner, Hubert earle of Kent, lord cheefe iuſtice, was accuſed to be chiefe tranſgreſſour in this matter, as he that had giuen forth the kings letters patents to thoſe diſguiſed and maſking threſhers, who had taken vpon them ſo to ſequeſter other mens goods, whereto they had no right. There came alſo to the king one ſir Robert de Twing, a knight of the north parts (which named himſelfe William Wetherſe, and had led about a companie of the foreſaid maſkers) proteſting that he had doone it vpon iuſt cauſe to be reuenged vpon the Romans, which went about by ſentence of the pope, and manifeſt fraud to ſpoile him of the parſonage of a certeine church which he held, and therfore he ſaid he had rather ſtand accurſed without iuſt cauſe for a time, than to loſe his benefice without due iudgement. Howbeit the king and the other commiſſioners counſeled him in the end to go to Rome to purchaſe his abſolution, ſith he was fallen in danger of excommunication, and there to ſue for his pardon in the popes conſiſtorie. And to incourage him the better ſo to doo, the king wrote alſo in his fauour to the pope, teſtifieng the right which he claimed to the church, whereby at length he obteined his ſuit (as after ye ſhall heare.)

The earle of Kent put in blame.

Sir Robert de Twing.

The king called a parlement at Weſtminſter,

Polydor.
A parlement

wherein

A ſubſidie demanded, and denied.

The biſhop of wincheſters counſell giuen to the king.

wherein declaring w
uers waies, he requ
him, for the releeſe
denied, the Nobles a
uertie amongſt all d
dent reaſons. Here
being a verie eloque
lie counſelled the kin
had alreadie made p
butes and exactions.
ſuch need as was all
into his hands agai
which during the tim
ſtowed vpon his ſer
conſideration, for la
cretion, and againe t
perſons, who now we
terpillers in the com
they held, and had be
to yeald vp their acc
manner of ſponges
paſt made them full
wring them drie, fo
Veſpaſian. And by
douted but he ſhould
out doing iniurie to

The king followeth the biſhop of wincheſters counſell.

The king gaue
words, and followin
uers, treaſurers, and
anie of his receipts t
derſtanding by the a
accounts, that the
much more and by ot
red into their reckon
ſtore it out of hand
magiſtrats to be call
them being conuicte
make reſtitution.

Math. Paris. Ranulfe Briton, Peter de Riuales.

ton treaſurer of his
fice, and fined at a
was ſet Peter de R
Orzuales, a Poictou
biſhop of Wincheſte
a more ſtrait accoun
ued ſuch as he iudged

The earle of Kent diſcharged of his office of cheefe iuſtice.
Math. Paris.

At the ſame time
depoſe. from the offi
Segraue appointed
(bicauſe he refuſed t
was demanded of hi
into his diſpleaſure,
but for ſafegard of hi

The earle of Kent taketh ſanctuarie.

Merton, and there t
ing of this his dem
withall, that he ſent
to go thither and fetc
doners, which in no
death of their citizen
die to accompliſh th

The citizens of London their good deuotion towards the earle of Kent.

that where the mai
them the effect of the
twentie thouſand of
earlie in the morning
now to be reuenged
that he had borne vn

But the king bei
ſter and others, that i
armor, and in ſo grea
other outrage by the
ſome ſuch inconuen
ſtaied, he ſent to the
backe to the citie ag
in their hearts that t
their deſired enterp

A ſubſidie demanded, and denied.

The biſhop of wincheſters counſell giuen to the king.

wherein declaring what charges he had beene at diuers waies, he required to haue a ſubſidie granted him, for the releefe of his want, which was flatlie denied, the Nobles and other eſtats excuſing the pouertie amongſt all degrees of men, by manie euident reaſons. Herevpon the biſhop of Wincheſter being a verie eloquent and faire-ſpoken man, openlie counſelled the king to fauour his people, whom he had alreadie made poore and bare with continuall tributes and exactions. And if it were ſo that he ſtood in ſuch need as was alledged, that then he ſhould take into his hands againe ſuch poſſeſſions and things, which during the time of his yoong yeeres he had beſtowed vpon his ſeruants, without any good aduiſed conſideration, for lacke of ripe iudgement and diſcretion, and againe to take from certeine couetous perſons, who now were become horſeleches and caterpillers in the commonwealth, all ſuch offices as they held, and had verie much abuſed, cauſing them to yeeld vp their accounts, and to vſe them after the manner of ſponges, ſo that where he had in times paſt made them full of moiſture, he might now wring them drie, following herein the example of Veſpaſian. And by this means it was not to be douted but he ſhould haue inough of his owne, without dooing iniurie to any man.

The king followeth the biſhop of wincheſters counſell.

Matth. Paris. Ranulfe Briton, Peter de Riuales.

The king gaue verie good eare to the biſhops words, and following his counſell, cauſed his receiuers, treaſurers, and other ſuch as had medled with anie of his receipts to come to a reckoning. And vnderſtanding by the auditors appointed to take their accounts, that the moſt part of them had receiued much more and by other means than they had entered into their reckoning, he compelled them to reſtore it out of hand with intereſt. Alſo he cauſed the magiſtrats to be called to a reckoning, and manie of them being conuicted of fraud, were condemned to make reſtitution. And among other Ranulfe Briton treaſurer of his chamber was put beſide his office, and fined at a thouſand marks, in whoſe place was ſet Peter de Riuales, or after ſome copies de Oriuales, a Poictouin, nephue or rather ſonne to the biſhop of Wincheſter, by whoſe aduice the king tooke a more ſtrait account of his officers, and often remoued ſuch as he iudged guiltie.

The earle of Kent diſcharged of his office of cheefe iuſtice. Matth. Paris.

The earle of Kent taketh ſanctuarie.

The citizens of London their good denotion towards the earle of Kent.

At the ſame time alſo, Hubert earle of Kent was depoſed from the office of high iuſtice, and Stephan Segraue appointed in his roome. The ſaid Hubert (bicauſe he refuſed to anſwer a certeine dutie which was demanded of him to the kings vſe) ran ſo farre into his diſpleaſure, that he durſt not abide his ſight, but for ſafegard of himſelfe got him to the abbeie of Merton, and there tooke ſanctuarie. The king hearing of this his demeanor, was ſo highlie offended withall, that he ſent to the Londoners, willing them to go thither and fetch him to his preſence. The Londoners, which in no wiſe loued him, bicauſe of the death of their citizen Conſtantine, were verie readie to accompliſh this commandement, inſomuch that where the maior ouernight late declared to them the effect of the kings commiſſion, there were twentie thouſand of them in armor gotten forward earlie in the morning towards Merton, in full hope now to be reuenged of him, for the ſmall good-will that he had borne vnto their citie heretofore.

Ouid.lib.2.de triſt.5.

But the king being informed by the earle of Cheſter and others, that if the Londoners being thus in armor, and in ſo great a number, ſhould commit any other outrage by the way, the matter might grow to ſome ſuch inconuenience as would not eaſilie be ſtaied, he ſent to them a countermand to returne backe to the citie againe, which they did, though ſorie in their hearts that they might not go through with their deſired enterpriſe. Furthermore (ſee heere the mutabilitie of fortune and hir inconſtancie, whereof complaint hath beene made by our forefathers time out of mind, ſaieng,

Paſsibus ambiguis fortuna volubilis errat,
Et manet in nullo certa tenáxq; loco;
Sed modò læta manet, vultus modò ſumit acerbos,
Et tantùm conſtans in leuitate ſua eſt.)

now that the erle of Kent was thus out of the kings fauour, there were few or none of thoſe whome he had before beene beneficiall vnto, that ſhewed themſelues as freends and louers vnto him, but all forſooke & were readie to ſaie the worſt of him, the archbiſhop of Dubline excepted, who yet obteined of the king reſpit for him to make anſwere vnto ſuch things as ſhould lawfullie be obiected againſt him, both for the debt which ſhould be due to the king, and alſo vpon points of treaſon, which were now laid to his charge. ¶ Wherin we may ſee what hath beene the courſe of the world in former ages touching freends, who in the ſpring of a mans felicitie like ſwallowes will flie about him; but when the winter of aduerſitie nippeth, like ſnailes they keepe within their ſhels: wherevnto the poet verie well alluding, ſaith,

Hor.lib.car.1, od.35.

———diffugiunt cadis
Cum fæce ſiccatis amici,
Ferre iugum pariter doloſi.

Matth. Paris.

After this, as the ſaid Hubert would haue gone to S. Edmundſburie in Suffolke, where his wife as then remained, he was apprehended at Burntwood in Eſſex, within a chappell there (as ſaith Fabian.) But (as Matthew Paris ſaith) ſir Robert de Cranecombe, with three hundred armed men was ſent to apprehend him by the kings commandement, and ſo he was taken in a village belonging to the biſhop of Norwich in Eſſex, and by the kings commandement caſt into priſon, but yet afterwards he was reconciled to the kings fauor, when he had lien foure moneths in priſon, and thirteene moneths baniſhed the court.

A ſubſidie granted in a parlement holden at Lambeth.

Anno Reg. 17.

Matth. Paris. Ranulfe earle of Cheſter departeth this life.

Erle Ranulfs thrice maried.

This Clemence was daughter to erle Ferrers.

In this yeare, on the exaltation of the croſſe, at Lambeth, in the aſſemblie of the ſtates there, a ſubſidie was granted to the K. of the fortith part of euerie mans goods towards the diſcharge of his debts which he owght to the earle of Britaine. Alſo in the beginning of the ſeauenteenth yeere of his reigne, Ranulfe earle of Cheſter and Lincolne departed this life the ſix and twentith day of October, whoſe bodie was buried at Cheſter, and his bowels at Wallingford where he died. This earle Ranulfe was thrice married, firſt to Conſtance daughter and heire to Conan earle of Britaine and Richmund, and ſo in right of hir was intituled earle of thoſe two places: which Conſtance had beene firſt married vnto Geffrey the third ſonne of king Henrie the ſecond, by whom ſhe had iſſue Arthur (as before yee haue heard.) But by earle Ranulfe ſhe had no iſſue at all, but was from him diuorced, and afterwards married vnto Guy vicount de Towars. Then after earle Ranulfe was ſo diuorſed from the ſaid Conſtance, he married a ladie named Clemence, and after hir deceaſſe, he married the third time the ladie Margaret, daughter to Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hereford and Eſſex, conſtable of England.

The partition of his lands.

Howbeit he neuer had iſſue by any of thoſe his wiues, ſo that Iohn Scot his nephue by his ſiſter Mawd ſucceeded him in the earldome of Cheſter, and William Dalbenie earle of Arundell, nephue to him by his ſiſter Mabell, had the manour of Barrow, and other lands that belonged to the ſaid Ranulfe, of the yeerelie value of fiue hundred pounds. Robert Quincie, he that married his ſiſter Hauiſe, had the earledome of Lincolne, and ſo of a baron became an earle who had iſſue by his wife, Margerie counteſſe of Lincolne, that was maried to Edmund Lacie earle of Lincolne. William earle Ferrers and of Darbie, that had married Agnes, ſiſter to the ſaid Ranulfe, had the caſtell and manour of Chartley, togither with other lands for his pourpart.

Here is alſo to be remembred, that the afore mentioned earle Ranulfe (or Randulfe whether ye liſt to call him) atchiued manie high enterpriſes in his time, as partlie in this booke ye haue alreadie heard: he held ſore warres againſt the Welſhmen, till at length an agreement was concluded betwixt him and Leolin prince of Wales. I remember I haue read in an old record, that vpon a time as this earle paſſed into Wales with an armie, his chance was to be ouerſet by the Welſhmen, ſo that he was driuen to retire into a caſtell, wherein the Welſhmen did beſiege him. And as it fortuned at that time, Roger Lacie the conſtable of Cheſter was not then with him, but left behind at Cheſter to ſee the citie kept in order (for as it ſhould ſeeme, their ſolemne plaies which commonlie are vſed at Whitſuntide were then in hand, or elſe their faire which is kept at Midſummer.)

This Roger Lacie is ſurnamed Helle.

Wherefore the earle ſent a meſſenger in all poſſible haſt vnto his conſtable, praieng him with ſpeed to come to his ſuccour in that extreame point of neceſſitie. Lacie made no delaie, but aſſembling all the forreners, plaiers, muſicians, and others which he could find within that citie fit to weare armor, went forth with them, and in moſt ſpeedie maner marched toward the caſtell, where the Welſhmen kept the earle beſieged, who now perceiuing ſuch a multitude of men comming towards them, incontinentlie left the ſiege and fled awaie. The earle then being thus deliuered out of that preſent danger, came forth of the caſtell, returned with his conſtable vnto Cheſter, and in recompenſe of that ſeruice, gaue vnto his ſaid conſtable Roger Lacie, the rule, order, and authoritie ouer all the forreners, plaiers, muſicians, and other ſtrangers reſorting to Cheſter at the time, when ſuch publike plaies (or elſe faire) ſhould be kept & holden.

John Lacie the ſonne of the ſaid Roger married Alice the daughter of Gilbert de Aquila, and after hir deceaſſe, he married the ladie Margaret, the daughter of Robert Quincie earle of Lincolne, of whom he begat Edmund Lacie conſtable of Cheſter, which Edmund after the deceaſſe of his father, married Alice the daughter of the marqueſſe of Saluces in Italie, which ladie was ſurnamed the queene, of whom he begat Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne, which Henrie married the ladie Margaret, daughter to William Long eſpee earle of Saliſburie, by whom he had two ſons, Edmund and John, and two daughters, Alice and Joan, which Alice Thomas earle of Lancaſter married, who claimed and had the ſame rights and priuiledges which ancientlie belonged to the ſaid Roger Lacie, and other the conſtables of Cheſter, concerning the fines of forreners and others. ¶This haue I the more willingly declared, that it may appeare in what eſtimation and credit the Lacies conſtables Cheſter by inheritance liued in their time, of whoſe high valiancie, and likewiſe of other of that familie, highlie commended for their noble chiualrie in martiall enterpriſes ye may read in ſundrie hiſtories at large.

But now to returne and ſpeake of other doings, which chanced about the time in which the ſaid Ranulfe earle of Cheſter departed this life. The king in the meane while ſeized into his hands a great portion of the treaſure which Hubert de Burgh earle of Kent had committed to the keeping of the templers. But whereas there were that trauelled to haue had him put to death, the king in reſpect of the ſeruice which he had doone to him and to his predeceſſors king Richard and king John, granted him life, with thoſe lands which he had either by purchaſe, or by gift of king John, but neuertheles he cauſed him to be kept in free priſon at the caſtell of the Vees, vnder the cuſtodie of foure knights belonging to the earles of Cornewall, Warren, Penbroke, and Ferrers, which foure earles were become ſuerties for him.

The earle of Kent kept in priſon within the caſtell of Vees.

This yeare alſo about the ſame time, to wit, the morow after S. Martins daie, chanced great thunder and lightning, which continued for the ſpace of 15 daies togither, to the great terrour and feare of the people, and namelie of the Londoners, which haue that kind of weather ſo familiar to them, that if there be anie abroad in the land, they haue their part thereof. Moreouer on the 23 of March, was heard an other great and terrible tempeſt of thunder, and after followed a maruellous wet ſummer with manie floods. Alſo on the 8 daie of Aprill, in the parts about Hereford and Worceſter, there appeared foure ſunnes in the element, beſide the naturall ſunne, of red colour, and a great circle of chriſtaline colour, the which compaſſed with his largeneſſe as it had beene the whole circuit almoſt of the whole realme of England, from the ſides whereof went forth certeine halfe circles, in whoſe ſections appeared the ſaid foure ſunnes. The naturall ſunne was at the ſame time in the eaſt part of the firmament, for it was about the firſt houre of the daie, or betwixt ſix and ſeuen in the morning, the aire being the ſame time verie bright and cleare. The biſhop of Hereford, and ſir John Monmouth knight, and manie others beheld this wonderfull ſight, and teſtified the ſame to be moſt true. And after this there followed the ſame yeare in thoſe parts cruell warre, ſlaughter, terrible bloudſhed, & a generall trouble through England, Wales, and Ireland. About the ſame time, to wit, in June, in the ſouth parts of England neere to the ſea coaſt, two huge dragons appeared fighting in the aire, and after a long fight the one ouercame the other, and followed him, fleeing into the depth of the ſea, & ſo they were ſeene no more.

Matth.Paris. A great thunder.

1233

A wet ſummer.

Foure ſunnes beſide the a cuſtomed ſu

Matth.Paris.

Matth.Paris.

A ſtrange wonder.

Moreouer in this yeare great variance and ſtrife roſe betwixt the king and his barons, for the king tooke great diſpleaſure againſt all other his officers, & ſo much the more miſtruſted them, for that he found himſelfe deceiued in the earle of Kent, to whom he had committed a further credit than to anie other, and had made him high iuſtice of England, onelie for the good will that he alwaies bare to him. Therefore perceiuing this, he was doubtfull whom he ſhould truſt, diſcharging the moſt part of thoſe Engliſhmen that bare any office about him, and in their roomes placed ſtrangers, as Poictouins and Britains, of the which there came ouer vnto him manie knights and other, to the number of 2000, which he placed in garriſons within caſtels of diuerſe places of the land, and committed the order of all things for the moſt part to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and to his nephue or ſonne Peter de Riuales.

Polydor.

The king b ginneth to uour ſtrangers.

The biſhop of Wincheſter.

Herwith he offended ſo much the minds of his Nobles, that Richard Marſhall erle of Penbroke (chiefe of that familie, & boldeſt to ſpeake, now that Ranulfe of Cheſter was gone) as well in his owne name, as in the names of other, tooke vpon him openlie to reproue the kings doings herein, as pernicious and dangerous to the ſtate of the realme. Herevnto the biſhop of Wincheſter (whoſe counſell as it ſeemed he followed) made anſwer, that the king had doone nothing in that behalfe vnaduiſedlie, but vpon good and deepe conſideration: for ſith he might perceiue how the Engliſh nobilitie had firſt purſued his father with malicious hatred & open war, and now that he found diuerſe of them whom he had brought vp and aduanced to high honours, vnfaithfull in the adminiſtration of their offices, he did not without iuſt cauſe re-

The earle of Penbroke.

Strangers alwaies o ous to ŷ hom borne.

ceiue into his fauour ſtrangers, and preferre them before thoſe of his owne nation, which were not ſo faithfull in his ſeruice and obedience as they.

This anſwer of the biſhop ſo pricked and wounded the minds of the Engliſh Nobilitie, that manie of them (amongſt whome the ſaid earle of Penbroke was the chéefe) began an open rebellion, ſome of them reſorting to one place, and ſome to an other, to gather people for their purpoſe. The names of ſuch barons as ſtirred vpon this occaſion were theſe; Richard Marſhall earle of Penbroke afore named, Gilbert Baſſet and his brethren, men of great honor and right hardie capteins: alſo Richard Sward a warlike perſonage, trained vp in feats of armes from his youth, with Walter Clifford a worthie knight, and manie others. The king hauing knowledge of their doings proclaimed them all traitors, confiſcated their goods, and ſent for a great power of men out of Flanders to ſerue him in his warres.

The lords withdrew into wales.
Matth. Paris.
Polydor.

The king proclaimed them traitors.

Strangers ſent for.

Whileſt king Henrie thus prouided himſelfe of an armie, the lords with their capteine Richard Marſhall ioined themſelues to Leolin prince of Wales, & doubting the comming of the king, ſpoiled all the marſhes next adioining to England, leauing no vittels nor cattell any where about in thoſe parts wherby the kings armie might haue reléefe, and further made all things readie for their owne defenſe ſo well as they could deuiſe. The earle of Kent about the ſame time, by helpe of two yeomen that attended vpon him, eſcaped out of the caſtell of Vées, and tooke ſanctuarie in the next church: but when thoſe that had the charge of him and the caſtell in kéeping, miſſed him, and heard where he was, they fetcht both him, and the two yeomen that holpe him to make the eſcape out of the church, and bringing them backe to the caſtell, impriſoned the earle.

Matth. Paris.
The earle of Kent eſcapeth and taketh ſanctuarie.

He is fetcht out.

And though the biſhop of Saliſburie came thither and threatened to accurſſe them, if they would not deliuer the earle, and reſtore him to ſanctuarie againe: they made anſwer, that they had rather the earle ſhould hang for himſelfe, than they for him. And ſo bicauſe they would not deliuer him, the biſhop did excommunicate them, and after riding to the court, and taking with him the biſhop of London, and other biſhops, preuailed ſo much by complaint exhibited to the K. that the earle was reſtored to the church againe the eightéenth day of October: but ſo, as the ſhiriffe of the ſhire had commandement to compaſſe the church about with men, to watch that no reléeſe came vnto him, whereby he might be conſtreined through famiſhing to ſubmit himſelfe. Notwithſtanding, ſhortlie after there came a power of armed men, and fetcht the ſaid earle from thence (ſetting him on horſſebacke in faire complet armour) and ſo conueied him into Wales, where he ioined with other of the kings enimies, the thirtith day of October.

He is reſtored to ſanctuarie.

Anno Reg. 18.
The earle of Kent reſcued and conueied into wales.

Within a few daies after came the king with his armie, and entring into Wales, for want of vittels was conſtreined to retire backe to the marſhes, betwixt Worceſterſhire & Salopſhire, where ſtaieng certeine daies togither in thoſe parts, his ſouldiers ſtraied abroad in the countrie vnaduiſedlie, and kéeping no watch nor ward about their campe, were ſurpriſed in the night by their enimies, and ſlaine on euerie ſide. The ſlaughter had béene greater, but that the reſidue which laie in campe, brake forth about midnight, and in a plumpe togither fled into a caſtell which was néere at hand, called Groſſemound, in the which the king himſelfe was lodged. There were ſlaine aboue fiue hundred men, and all the truſſe and baggage of the campe loſt. Yet Matthew Paris ſaith there were but two knights ſlaine, which caſt awaie themſelues by their owne wilfulneſſe, that would needs ſtand to it and make reſiſtance, where the reſidue being ſpoiled of all that they had with them, got awaie by flight, as the biſhops of Wincheſter and Chicheſter, the lord chéefe iuſtice Stephan Segraue, Peter de Riuales treaſurer, Hugh Bigot earle of Norfolke, William earle of Saliſburie, William lord Beauchampe, and William Dalbenie the yoonger, who were witneſſes of this loſſe amongſt the reſidue.

Polydor.
The king entreth into wales with an armie.

Hereof it came to paſſe, that manie of the kings armie (ſpeciallie thoſe which had loſt their horſſes, armour, monie, and other furniture, with their vittels) returned into their countrie, to their great confuſion. For the Welſhmen and other outlawes, hauing ſpoiled the campe, returned with the cariages and ſumpters which they had taken, into places of ſafe refuge. The king hauing receiued this loſſe, and oftentimes tried fortune nothing fauourable vnto him in thoſe parts, by reaſon of the ſtreits and diſaduantage of the places, thought good to reſerue the reuenge of his receiued iniuries vntill a more conuenient time, and thervpon returned to Gloceſter, and furniſhed diuers caſtels and fortreſſes in the borders of Wales, with garriſons of ſouldiers, namelie Poictouins and other ſtrangers to defend the ſame againſt William Marſhall, and the other his complices, who vpon occaſions dailie ſought to ſuppreſſe and diſtreſſe the ſaid ſtrangers.

Polydor.

The king returneth out of wales.

And beſide other encounters, in the which manie of thoſe Poictouins and other ſtrangers were ſlaine and oppreſſed by the ſaid William Marſhall and his adherents, it chanced that vpon ſaint Katherins day, the ſaid William Marſhall comming néere to the caſtell of Monmouth to view the ſame, was in danger to haue remained priſoner in the enimies hands, through an iſſue made by ſir Baldwine de Guines, capiteine of that caſtell, with his Poictouins and Flemings. But by ſuch reſcue as came to his aid, he was deliuered out of their hands, and the Poictouins and other of the garriſon diſcomfited. At this ſkirmiſh ſir Baldwine himſelfe being ſore wounded, was borne out of the field into the caſtell, loſing fiftéene knights of his part, and a great ſort of other which were taken priſoners, beſides no ſmall number that were ſlaine in the place.

The earle of Penbroke in danger.

He is reſcued.

The Poictouins diſcomfited.

The ſame yeare chanced a great dearth, by reaſon that the growth of all things was much hindered with the extreame cold weather. Alſo there happened about the beginning of Nouember great thunder and lightning, and therewith folowed an earthquake to the great feare of the inhabitants of the towne of Huntington and other places thereabouts. After this, came a great dearth amongſt the people, being commonlie a néere companion to great famine and dearth.

Dearth.

Tempeſts.

An earthquake.

A death.

Richard Marſhall erle of Penbroke in this meane time ceaſſed not to waſte the marſhes of England next adioining to Wales, and dailie diuerſe of the Engliſh Nobilitie repaired to him, ſo that the king was ſore troubled in his mind. It chanced at the ſame time, that one Iohn of Monmouth a right valiant capteine, who led the kings armie, receiued a great ouerthrow at the hands of Richard Marſhall. For whereas the foreſaid Iohn, hauing aſſembled a mightie hoſt, made great haſt towards his enimies, in hope to haue come vpon them at vnwares, and therefore marching by night, that he might be readie to aſſaile them ſomewhat afore the breake of the day, which in the ſummer ſeaſon is the moſt ſilent time of all the night, it chanced farre otherwiſe than he looked it ſhould haue doone. For the earle of Penbroke, hauing knowledge by his ſpies of his aduerſaries intent, laie himſelfe with his people within a wood in ambuſh by the way, where the ſaid Iohn ſhould paſſe,

and

Match.Paris.

John Monmouth receiueth an ouerthrow.

and ſetting vpon him as he approched, put his people in ſuch feare by the ſudden incounter, that they knew not what capteine or enſigne they might follow, and ſo immediatlie fell to running awaie. The ſlaughter was great on euerie ſide, both of Poictouins and others. Diuerſe of them fléeing alſo into the next woods, were receiued by ſuch as were laid there to cut them off, and ſo ſlaine or taken out of hand. Howbeit their chiefe capteine the forenamed John of Monmouth eſcaped, with a few other in his companie. This ouerthrow chanced the morrow after Chriſtmaſſe daie.

1234

Polydor.

Match.Paris.

The next daie Richard Marſhall hauing thus got the victorie, deſtroied certeine houſes and lordſhips there in the marſhes which belonged to the ſaid John of Monmouth. About the ſame time alſo, Richard Sward with other outlawes deſtroied the poſſeſſions belonging to the earle of Cornewall beſide Brehull, and burned a place there called Segraue, where Stephan de Segraue the lord chiefe iuſtice was borne, and likewiſe a village belonging to the biſhop of Wincheſter, not farre from Segraue aforeſaid. This was the maner of thoſe outlawes, that they hurt no perſon, but onelie thoſe councellers about the king by whom they were exiled, and therefore bearing ſtomach againſt them, they did not onlie excogitate but alſo execute this reuenge; which till they had obteined, they were no leſſe ill appaid, than well pleaſed when the ſame was paſt, for

——— *minuit vindicta dolorem.*

A part of the towne of Shrewſburie burnt.

Polydor.

Immediatlie within the octaues of the Epiphanie, the earle Marſhall and Leolin prince of Wales waſted and robbed all the marſhes betwixt Wales and Shrewſburie, a part of which towne they alſo burnt. King Henrie being hereof certified as yet ſoiourning at Glouceſter, was ſore troubled in his mind, and calling togither his councell, aſked aduiſe what waie he might beſt take to redreſſe ſuch iniuries. After ſundrie opinions amongſt them declared, they agréed all in one ſentence, that it ſhould be moſt expedient to appeaſe the minds of the rebels with gentle offers, to grant them pardon of their offenſes, wiſelie to winne them to tractableneſſe, and not roughlie afflicting them to exaſperat their fierſeneſſe, ſith,

——— *ſæpe acri potior prudentia dextra.*

Alſo to baniſh from his court diuerſe that bare great rule, and namelie Peter the biſhop of Wincheſter, and his ſonne or nephue Peter de Riuales, by the counſell of which two perſons all things had béene changed in the kings houſe. Moreouer, to put from him ſuch ſtrangers as bare offices, and to reſtore Engliſhmen againe to the ſame.

Match.Paris.

The king allowing this aduiſe to be good, followed it accordinglie, and firſt of all diſcharging the biſhop of Wincheſter of all publike adminiſtration of things, he commanded him to repaire home to his dioceſſe, and to ſée to the gouernement thereof, as to his dutie apperteined. He alſo baniſhed from his preſence Peter de Riuales, Stephan Segraue, Robert Paſſelew, and diuerſe others of his chiefe councellers, by whoſe means he had procured the euill will of his Nobilitie. Then receiued he againe his old ſeruants & officers, & finallie ſent the archb. of Canturburie, the biſhops of Cheſter & Rocheſter vnto the barons in Wales, to offer them peace & pardon of all iniuries paſt, if they wold returne to his obedience.

Match.Paris.

The earle of Penbroke paſſeth ouer into Ireland.

Thus in the end there was a truce taken betwixt the king and the rebels, to begin at Candlemaſſe, and to indure vntill Eaſter next inſuing, in which meane time, Richard the earle of Penbroke, hearing that Mauriſh Fitz Gerald, with Walter Lacie, Richard Burgh and others waſted his lands and poſſeſſions in Ireland (according to ſuch commiſſion as they had receiued of late from king Henrie and his councell) paſſed ouer thither, and there incountering with his enimies, was ſore wounded and taken priſoner, hauing entered the battell verie raſhlie, and with a ſmall companie of his people about him, onlie by the traitorous perſuaſion of Geffrey Mauriſh, who with other fled at the firſt brunt, and left him in maner alone, to ſtand to all the danger. Thoſe that thus tooke him, brought him into his owne caſtell, the which the lord chiefe iuſtice Maurice Fitz Gerald had latelie wonne. This incounter, in which Richard Marſhall was thus taken, chanced on a ſaturdaie, being the firſt of Aprill; and on the 16 of the ſame moneth, by reaſon of the wound which he had receiued, he departed this life.

He is taken priſoner.

Geffrey Mauriſh.

The death the earle of Penbroke.

We find alſo that the biſhop of Wincheſter, and his ſonne (or kinſman as ſome haue called him) Peter de Riuales had procured the king to ſend commiſſion vnder his ſeale vnto the foreſaid noble men in Ireland, that if the ſaid Richard Marſhall earle of Penbroke chanced to come thither, they ſhould doo their beſt to take him, and in reward of their paines, they ſhould inioy all his lands and poſſeſſions which he held in that countrie. But after his death, and when the king had remooued thoſe his councellers from him, he confeſſed he had put his ſeale to a writing, but that he vnderſtood what were the contents thereof he vtterlie denied. Finallie, this was the end of the worthie earle of Penbroke Richard Marſhall, a man worthie to be highlie renowmed for his approued valiancie. His death ſuerlie was greatlie bewailed of king Henrie, openlie proteſting that he had loſt the worthieſt capteine that then liued.

Polydor.

Match.Paris.

After this, the lords that had remained in Wales, by ſafe conduct came to the king, and through the diligent trauell of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, he receiued them into fauour. Amongſt them were theſe men of name, Gilbert Marſhall the brother of the foreſaid Richard Marſhall, Hubert earle of Kent, Gilbert Baſſet, and Richard Sward, beſide diuerſe other. Vnto Gilbert Marſhall he deliuered his brothers inheritance, and vpon Whitſundaie made him knight, giuing vnto him the rod of the office of Marſhall of his court, according to the maner, to vſe and exerciſe as his anceſters had doone before him. And herewith the earle of Kent Gilbert Baſſet and Richard Sward were receiued againe into the court, and admitted to be of the kings priuie councell.

Gilbert M
ſhall earle
Penbroke.

Officers ca
led to ac
counts.

Soone after this, Peter de Riuales, Stephan Segraue, & Robert Paſſelew were called to accounts, that it might appeare how the kings treaſure was ſpent, and how they had vſed themſelues with the kings ſeale. The two laſt remembred kept themſelues out of the waie, and could not be found. Stephan Segraue ſhrowding himſelfe in ſecret within the abbeie of Leiceſter, and Robert Paſſelew feining himſelfe ſicke, kept within the new temple at London. Peter de Riuales alſo, with his father the biſhop of Wincheſter, tooke ſanctuarie at Wincheſter, for they were afraid leaſt their bodies ſhould not be in ſafetie if they came abroad, bicauſe they vnderſtood that their manours and grange places were ſpoiled and burnt by thoſe that bare them diſpleaſure. Howbeit at length, vnder the protection of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, they came to their anſwer, & were ſore charged for their vniuſt dealing, traitorous practiſe, and great falſhood vſed in time of their bearing office, and (as it appeareth by writers) they could but ſorilie cleare themſelues in thoſe matters wherewith they were charged: but yet by reaſon of their protection they were reſtored to the places from whence they came, or elſe otherwiſe ſhifted off the matter for the time, so that we read not of anie great bodilie puniſhment which they ſhould receiue as then. In the end they were pardoned & reconciled to the

---

the kings fauor, vp
aſſeſſed vpon them
This yeare, bi
kings of England
uer to aid the earle
and two thouſand
French king came
uade Britaine, did
with vittels, armo
ing alſo no ſmall m
king from them th
ſafetie, without a
withſtanding this
gaine his power,
Britaine, ſo that h
to indure till the fe
the meane time br
would come ouer
aid or no: but bi
that the ſaid earle
but how to get mo
and to doo him no
manner at an ot
king of France, h
requeſts at ſuch ti
ter the taking of th
with alſo the ſaid
into his owne cou
lie ſubmitted himſ
the report went) h
These things b
troubles quieted, t
there was brought
plaint exhibited a
which had ſtolen a
moneths old, and
togither, to the end
crucifie him in de
and the chriſtian re
fell out well for the
that thoſe curſſed
this innocents bl
and puniſhed, whe
About the ſame ti
rie died Hugh de
enimie to moonks
ſted was then pre
learning, and tra
infancie.
The ſame yea
cond, maried the
Jſabell was a m
ſonage, and of ag
was affianced by
twentith of Febr
ſhop of Cullen, a
from the emperou
to the emperors p
den, ſo ſumptuou
all banketting
from London to
not be imagined.
minſter on the fi
ing ſhe did ſet for
to Sandwich, the
thouſand horſſes.
uenth of May, the
out teares, when t
other. And ſo with
arriued at Antw
ward, till ſhée can
whom ſhée was re
at Worms, wher
vpon a ſundaie,

The truce ended. Welſhmen ſent ouer to the aid of the earle of Britaine.

The earle of Britaine ſubmitteth himſelfe to the French king. Anno Reg.19.

1235

Polydor. Fabian.

*Sée the like in pag.56. col.2.

Match. Paris.

The emperor Frederike marieth the king of Englands ſiſter.

A great and ſumptuous feaſt.

the kings fauor, vpon paiment of ſuch fines as were aſſeſſed vpon them.

The truce ended. Welſhmen ſent ouer to the aid of the earle of Britaine.

This yeare, bicauſe the truce ended betwixt the kings of England and France, king Henrie ſent ouer to aid the earle of Britaine, thréeſcore knights, and two thouſand Welſhmen, the which when the French king came with his armie to enter and inuade Britaine, did cut off and take his cariage laden with vittels, armor, and other prouiſion; ouerthrowing alſo no ſmall number of the Frenchmen, and taking from them their horſſes, they returned backe in ſafetie, without any great damage receiued. Notwithſtanding this, the French king inforcing againe his power, waxed too ſtrong for the earle of Britaine, ſo that he was conſtreined to take a truce to indure till the feaſt of all ſaints, that he might in the meane time vnderſtand if the king of England would come ouer with ſome puiſſant armie to his aid or no: but bicauſe it was perceiued in the end that the ſaid earle of Britaine ſought nothing elſe but how to get monie out of king Henries coffers, and to doo him no pleaſure for it, bicauſe he was in manner at an other agréement alreadie with the king of France, king Henrie refuſed to ſatiſfie his requeſts at ſuch time as he came ouer vnto him (after the taking of that truce) for more monie. Herewith alſo the ſaid erle being offended, got him backe into his owne countrie, and ſhortlie after apparantlie ſubmitted himſelfe to the French king, which (as the report went) he had doone before in ſecret.

The earle of Britaine ſubmitteth himſelfe to the French king.

Anno Reg.19.

1235

Polydor. Fabian.

*Sée the like in pag.56. col.2.

Theſe things being thus brought to paſſe, and all troubles quieted, the king as then being at London, there was brought before him by one Tolie, a complaint exhibited againſt the * Iewes of Norwich, which had ſtolen a yoong child, being not paſt a twelue moneths old, and ſecretlie kept him an whole yeare togither, to the end that he might (when Eſter came) crucifie him in deſpite of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt, and the chriſtian religion. The matter as it happened fell out well for the lad: for within a few daies before that thoſe curſſed murtherers purpoſed to haue ſhed this innocents bloud, they were accuſed, conuicted and puniſhed, whereby he eſcaped their cruell hands. About the ſame time, to wit the ſeauenth of Februarie died Hugh de Wels biſhop of Lincolne, a great enimie to moonks and religious men. Robert Groſted was then preferred to his roome, a man of great learning, and trained vp in ſchooles euen from his infancie.

Matth. Paris.

The emperor Frederike marieth the king of Englands ſiſter.

The ſame yeare, the emperour Frederike the ſecond, maried the ladie Iſabell the kings ſiſter. This Iſabell was a moſt beautifull ladie, of comelie perſonage, and of age about one and twentie years. She was affianced by procuracie, about the ſeauen and twentith of Februarie. And after Eaſter, the archbiſhop of Cullen, and the duke of Louane came ouer from the emperour, to haue the conueiance of hir vnto the emperors preſence. There was ſuch a feaſt holden, ſo ſumptuous ſeruice, ſo rich furniture, and roiall banketting kept the day before hir departure from London towards the ſea ſide, that more could not be imagined. The ſame feaſt was kept at Weſtminſter on the fift day of May, and the day following ſhe did ſet forward, and by eaſie iournies came to Sandwich, the king bringing hir thither with thrée thouſand horſſes. Finallie, ſhe tooke the ſea the eleuenth of May, the king taking leaue of hir not without teares, when they thus departed the one from the other. And ſo with proſperous wind and weather ſhée arriued at Antwerpe, and from thence paſſed forward, till ſhée came to hir huſband the emperour, by whom ſhée was receiued with great ioy and comfort at Worms, where the marriage was conſummate vpon a ſundaie, being the two and twentith day of Iulie, or (as Matthew Weſtminſter ſaith) the ſeauen and twentith of May, being Whitſunday.

A great and ſumptuous feaſt.

This yeare the biſhop of London pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt certeine vſurers called Caorſini. But bicauſe the ſame vſurers ſhadowed themſelues vnder the pretext of the popes merchants (as they named themſelues) they preuailed ſo much by the fauour of the court of Rome, that the ſaid biſhop being ſicke and feeble, was cited peremptorilie in the parts beyond the ſeas, before iudges choſen forth by the ſame vſurers, to make anſwer for ſuch high iniurie as he had here doone to the popes factors. The biſhop willing by the example of Sem, rather to couer his fathers ſhame, than to reueale it to the whole world, did quietlie put vp the matter: and with commendable patience receiued the proffered wrong, hauing learned this leſſon, that

Gaudet patientia duris;

and to pacifie the trouble, ſuffered their wickedneſſe, commending in the meane while the cauſe vnto his patrone S. Paule. And when he preached of the force of faith, he vttered this ſaieng: If an angell preach contrarie doctrine to vs in theſe things, let him be accurſſed.

Matth. Paris. Vſurers called Caorſini, of whome ſée more in pag. 211, col. 1.

The biſhop of London his doctrine.

Anno Reg. 20.

In the twentith yeare of king Henries reigne, in the Aduent time, the noble baron the lord Robert Fitz Water departed this life, and ſo likewiſe did a noble yong man deſcended of moſt noble parentage, one Roger de Somerie. On the fouretéenth day of Ianuarie inſuing, the king married the ladie Elianor, daughter to the earle of Prouance named Raimond. This marriage was ſolemnized at Canturburie, and in the octaues of S. Hilarie next inſuing being ſunday, ſhée was crowned quéene of England at Weſtminſter. At the ſolemnitie of this feaſt and coronation of the quéene, all the high péeres of the realme, both ſpirituall and temporall, were preſent there to exerciſe their offices as to them apperteined.

1236

King Henrie marrieth the ladie Elianor daughter to the earle of Prouance.

Matth. Paris.

The citizens of London were there in great araie, bearing afore hir in ſolemne wiſe, thrée hundred and thréeſcore cups of gold and ſiluer, in token that they ought to wait vpon hir cup. The archbiſhop of Canturburie (according to his dutie) crowned hir, the biſhop of London aſſiſting him as his deacon. The earle of Cheſter bare the ſword of ſaint Edward before the king, in token that he was earle of the palace, and had authoritie to correct the king, if he ſhould ſée him to ſwarue from the limits of iuſtice, his conſtable of Cheſter attended vpon him, and remoued where the preſſe was thicke, with his rod or warder. The earle of Penbroke high Marſhall bare the rod before the king, and made roome before him, both in the church and in the hall, placing euerie man, and ordering the ſeruice at the table. The wardens of the cinque ports bare a canopie ouer the king, ſupported with foure ſpeares.

The earle of Cheſter.

The conſtable of Cheſter.

The earle of Penbroke.

The wardes of the cinque ports.

The earle of Leiceſter held the baſon when they waſhed. The earle of Warren, in the place of the erle of Arundell, bicauſe he was vnder age, attended on the kings cup. M. Michaell Bellet was Butler by office. The earle of Hereford exerciſed the roome of high Marſhall in the kings houſe. The lord William de Beauchampe was almoner. The chéefe iuſtice of the forreſts on the right hand of the king remoued the diſhes on the table, though at the firſt he was ſtaied by ſome allegation made to the contrarie. The citizens of London ſerued out wine to euerie one in great plentie. The citizens of Wincheſter had ouerſight of the kitchin and larderie. And ſo euerie perſon (according to his dutie) exerciſed his roome: and bicauſe no trouble ſhould ariſe, manie things were ſuffered, which vpon further aduiſe taken therin were reformed. The chancellor and all other ordinarie of-

ficers

The earle of Leiceſter.

Erle warren.

The earle of Hereford.

Lord william Beauchampe

The citizens of London.

The citizens of wincheſter.

ficers kept their place. The feaſt was plentifull, ſo that nothing wanted that could be wiſhed. Moreouer, in Tuthill field roiall iuſtes were holden by the ſpace of eight daies togither. And ſoone after the king called a parlement at London, where manie things were enacted for the good gouernment of the realme, and therewith the king demanded a ſubſidie.

A parlement at London. Polydor.

Strange ſights. Matth. Paris.

¶ About the ſame time wonderfull ſtrange ſights were ſeene. In the northparts of England, not farre from the abbie of Roch or Rupie, there appeared comming forth of the earth companies of armed men on horſſebacke, with ſpeare, ſhield, ſword, and baners diſplaied, in ſundrie formes and ſhapes, riding in order of battell, and incountering togither: and this ſight was ſeene ſundrie daies ech after other. Sometime they ſeemed to ioine as it had beene in battell, and fought ſore; and ſometime they appeared to iuſt and breake ſtaues, as it had beene at ſome triumphant iuſts of tornie. The people of the countrie beheld them a farre off, with great wonder: for the thing ſhewed ſo liuelie, that now and then they might ſee them come with their emptie horſſes ſore wounded and hurt: and then men likewiſe mangled and bleeding, that pitie it was to ſee them. And that which ſeemed more ſtrange and to be moſt maruelled at, the prints of their feet appeared in the ground, and the graſſe troden downe in places where they had beene ſeene. The like ſight was alſo ſeene more apparentlie in Ireland, and in the parts thereabout.

Great raine. Matth. Paris.

Matth. Weſt.

Immediatlie followed, or rather preceeded paſſing great tempeſts of raine, which filled the earth full of water, and cauſed monſtruous flouds: for this raine continued all the ſpace of the moneths of Ianuarie, Februarie, and a great part of March; and for eight daies it rained (as ſome write) in maner without ceaſſing: and vpon the tenth of Februarie, immediatlie after the change of the moone, the Thames roſe with ſuch an high tide, that boats might haue beene rowed vp and downe in Weſtminſter hall. In the winter before, on the twentith of December, there chanced a great thunder, and on the firſt fridaie in December, which was the fift of that moneth, there was a counterfet ſunne ſeene beſide the true ſunne. Moreouer, as in the ſpring preceeding there happened ſore and exceeding great raines, ſo in the ſummer following there chanced a great drouth, continuing by the ſpace of foure moneths or more.

A great thunder.

A drie ſummer.

Gilbert Norman founder of Merton abbeie.

This yeare was a parlement holden at Merton, a towne in Surrie, diſtant from London 7 miles, where was an abbeie of regular canons founded by one Gilbert a lord of Normandie, that came into the realme with William conquerour. At this parlement, diuerſe good & profitable lawes were made and eſtabliſhed, which yet remaine in vſe, bearing the name of the place where they were firſt ordeined.

Anno Reg. 21.

High tides. Matth. Paris.

¶ In the beginning of the 21 yeare of king Henries reigne, on the morrow after the feaſt of S. Martine, and certeine daies after, the ſea burſt out with ſuch high tides and tempeſts of wind, that the marriſh countries neere to the ſame were drowned vp and ouerflowen: and beſide great heards and flocks of cattell that periſhed, there was no ſmall number of men loſt and drowned. The ſea roſe continuallie in flowing the ſpace of two daies and one night, without ebbing, by reaſon of the mightie violence of contrarie winds. At Wiſbech alſo, and in villages thereabouts, the people were drowned in great numbers, ſo that in one village there were buried an hundred corpſes in one daie. Alſo the daie before Chriſtmaſſe eeue, there chanced a great wind, with thunder and raine, in ſuch extreame wiſe, that manie buildings were ſhaken and ouerthrowen.

Wiſbech people periſhing by rage of waters.

1237

In a parlement holden at Weſtminſter about the octaues of the Epiphanie, the king required a ſubſidie of his ſubiects, which requeſt was not verie well taken, but yet at length, vpon promiſe that he would be good lord vnto them, and not ſeeke to infringe and diſanull the grants which he had made by pretenſe of want of the popes confirmation (as it was thought he meant to doo) they agreed to giue him the thirtith part of all moueable goods, as well of the ſpiritualtie as the temporaltie, reſeruing yet to euerie man his readie coine, with horſſe and armour, to be imploied for the profit of the common-wealth. In conſideration of which grant, the king being of perfect age, and in his owne rule and full gouernance, of his free and meere good will, at the requeſt, and by counſell of the lords of his realme, eftſoones granted and confirmed the liberties and cuſtomes conteined in the two charters, the one called Magna charta, and the other Charta de foreſta, with this addition following added in the end.

A ſubſi

The confirmation of the charters, *under the kings acknowledgement and* ſubſcription of witneſſes.

NVnc autem conceſſimus, & hac præſenti charta confirmauimus omnibus prædictis de regno noſtro, omnes libertates & liberas conſuetudines contentas in chartis noſtris, quas eis fidelibus noſtris fieri fecimus cùm in minori eſſemus ætate, ſcilicet in Magna charta noſtra, quàm in charta de Foreſta. Et volumus pro nobis, & hæredibus noſtris, quòd præfati fideles noſtri, & ſucceſſores, & hæredes eorum habeant, & teneant in perpetuum omnes libertates & liberas conſuetudines prædictas, non obſtante quòd prædictæ chartæ confectæ fuerint cùm minoris eſſemus ætatis, vt prædictum eſt, hÿs teſtibus, Edmundo Cant. archiepiſcopo, & omnibus alÿs in Magna charta nominatis. Dat. per manum venerabilis patris Ciceſtrienſis epiſcopi, cancellarÿ noſtri 28 die Ianuarÿ, Anno Regni noſtri 21.

Matth. Pari

Beſide the confirmation of theſe charters, the king further to win the fauour of his people, was contented to remooue and ſequeſter from him diuerſe of his councellours that were thought not to be well minded towards the aduancement of the commonwealth, and in their places to admit the earle of Warren, William de Ferrers, and Iohn Fitz Geffrey, who were ſworne to giue to the king faithfull counſell, and in no wiſe to go out of the right waie for any reſpect that might otherwiſe mooue them. ¶ About the firſt daie of March, there began ſore raine and tempeſtuous weather, whereof inſued great flouds, as before in the beginning of the yeare paſſed, had chanced, though not dooing ſo much hurt as before.

Iohn Sco earle of Ch ſter depart this life.

Iohn Scot alſo earle of Cheſter and Huntington died at Deren hall the ſeuenth daie of Iune, without iſſue, and was buried at Cheſter. He was poiſoned by the diueliſh practiſe of his wife daughter to Leolin prince of Wales (as Matt. Paris ſaith.) He had foure ſiſters, of whom the firſt named Margaret was married to Allen of Gallowaie, by whom ſhe had iſſue a daughter named Deuorgoill; which Deuorgoill was married to Iohn Balioll, by whom ſhe had iſſue Iohn Balioll that was afterward king of Scotland. The ſecond named Iſabell, was married to Robert le Bruis. The third named Mawd, died without iſſue. And the fourth called Alda, was married to Henrie Haſtings. But bicauſe the land perteining to the earledome of Cheſter, ſhould not go amongſt rocks and diſtaues, hauing ſuch roiall prerogatiues

Ran. Higd. His ſiſters.

gatiues belonging thereto, the king ſeized them into his owne hands, and in recompenſe aſſigned other lands to the forſaid ſiſters, as it had beene by way of exchange.

Now ſith the earles of Cheſter (I meane thoſe of the line of Hugh Lupus) tooke end in this John Scot; I haue thought it not impertinent for the honor of ſo noble a linage, to ſet downe the deſcent of the ſame earles, beginning at the foreſaid Hugh the firſt that gouerned after the conqueſt, as I haue ſeen the ſame collected out of ancient records, according to their true ſucceſſion in ſeauen deſcents one after another, as here followeth.

The true genealogie of the famous *and moſt honourable earles of* Cheſter.

Hugh Lou or Lupus, firſt earle of Cheſter after the conqueſt, nephue to William Conquerour by his ſiſter Margaret, wife to Richard Vicount of Auranches, married a noble ladie named Armetruda, by whom he had iſſue Richard that ſucceeded him in the earledome, Robert abbat of ſaint Edmundſburie, and Otuell. He departed this life about the yeere of our Lord 1102, when he had beene earle about 40 yeeres.

2 Richard Lupus eldeſt ſon to Hugh Lupus, and ſecond earle of Cheſter, married Maud the daughter of Stephan erle of Blois, Charters and Champaigne, and ſiſter to K. Stephan. This Richard with his brother Otuell was drowned in the ſeas, in the yeere of our Lord 1120, as before hath beene ſhewed, after he had beene earle about ninteene yeares.

3 Ranulfe or Randulfe the firſt of that name called Bohun, and otherwiſe Meſtheins, the ſonne of John de Bohun, and of Margaret, ſiſter to Hugh Lupus, ſucceeded Richard, as couſin and heire to him in the earldome of Cheſter, and was the third earle in number after the conqueſt. He married Maud the daughter of Auberie de Vere earle of Giſney and Oxenford, by whome he had iſſue Ranulfe ſurnamed Geruous the fourth earle of Cheſter. He died about the yere of our Lord 1130, after he had continued earle eight yeares.

4 Ranulfe or Randulfe Bohun, the ſecond of that name, and fourth erle in number after the conqueſt, ſurnamed Geruous, ſucceeded his father, and married Alice, daughter to Robert erle of Glouceſter, baſe ſonne to king Henrie the firſt by whome he had iſſue Hugh Keuelocke, the fift earle of Cheſter. He deceaſſed about the yeare of our Lord 1153, when he had beene earle 29 yeares.

5 Hugh Bohun otherwiſe Keuelocke, the ſonne of the ſaid Ranulfe, was the firſt earle of Cheſter after the conqueſt, and ſecond of that name. He married Beatrice, daughter to Richard Lucie lord cheefe iuſtice of England, by whom he had iſſue Ranulfe the third of that name, and foure daughters, Mawd married to Dauid that was earle of Angus and Huntington and lord of Galloway, Mabell maried to William Dalbegnie earle of Arundell, Agnes maried to William Ferrers earle of Derbie, and Hauiſa ioined in marriage with Robert Quincie, a baron of great honour. This Hugh died about the yeare 1181, when he had beene earle eight and twentie yeares.

6 Ranulfe Bohun the third of that name, otherwiſe called Blundeuille, the ſonne of Hugh Keuelocke, was the ſixt earle of Cheſter after the conqueſt. He was alſo earle of Lincolne, as next couſine and heire to William Romare earle of Lincolne. He had three wiues (as before yee haue heard) but yet died without iſſue, about the yeare of our Lord 1232, after he had beene earle 51 yeares.

7 John Scot, the ſonne of Dauid earle of Angus & Huntington, was in the right of his mother the ſeuenth earle of Cheſter after the conqueſt. He died without iſſue (as before yee haue heard) by reaſon whereof, the erldome came into the kings hands in the yeare 1237. Thus much may ſuffice (with that which is ſaid before) touching the deſcent of the earles of Cheſter. And now to proceed.

Cardinall Otho or Othobon.

The ſame yeare that John Scot died, cardinall Otho (by ſome writers named Othobon) about the feaſt of S. Peter and Paule came into England from pope Gregorie. He was receiued with all honour and ſolemne reuerence as was decent, yea and more than was decent, the king meeting him at the ſea ſide. His comming was not ſignified afore to the nobles of the realme, which cauſed them to miſlike the matter, and to grudge againſt the king, ſeeing that he did all things contrarie to order, breaking law, faith, and promiſe in all things. He hath coupled himſelfe (ſaid they) in mariage with a ſtranger, without conſent of his freends and naturall ſubiects, and now he bringeth in a legat ſecretlie, who will take vpon him to make an alteration in the whole ſtate of the realme.

The lords grudge at the king for receiuing the cardinall without their knowledge.

The legat praiſed for his ſober behauiour.

But this legat ſhewed himſelfe a verie ſober and diſcreet perſon, not ſo couetous as his predeceſſors, in ſo much that he refuſed diuerſe gifts which were offered vnto him, though ſome he receiued, and indeed commanded the other to be reſerued for him. He alſo diſtributed liberallie the vacant rents vnto ſuch as he brought with him, as well perſons worthie as vnworthie, and pacified ſuch controuerſies as were ſprong betwixt the nobles and peeres of the realme, ſo that he made them freends. ¶ An act memorable & to be kept in record, that the inſtrument and ſeruant of ſo bad a maiſter as he ſerued, namelie the pope, ſhould be the procurer of ſo good a worke: conſidering that from the ſee of Rome full tides and violent ſtreames of ſeditions haue flowed, and verie ſildome any occaſion or means made to plant peace among men, which is the daughter of loue, and the worthieſt thing that is, as one ſaith verie well in theſe words:

Gignit amor pacem, pax eſt dignißima rerum,

A tournie at Blie.

The biſhop of Wincheſter, the earle of Kent, Gilbert Baſſet, Stephen Siward & others were by him accorded, who had borne ſecret grudge ech to other a long time, which hatred was at point to haue broken forth, and ſhewed it ſelfe in perilous wiſe at a tornie holden at Blie in the beginning of Lent, where the Southernmen ſtroue againſt the Northerne men, and in the end the Southerne men preuailed, and tooke diuerſe of their aduerſaries, ſo that it ſéemed not to be a triumphant iuſtes, but rather a ſharpe challenge and incounter betwixt enimies. But amongſt all others, earle Bigot bare himſelfe verie ſtoutlie.

Earle Bigot.

Anno Reg. 22.

The legat holdeth a ſynod at London.

After that the legat had thus agréed the noblemen, he aſſembled a ſynod at London, the morrow after the octaues of S. Martin, wherein manie ordinances were newlie conſtituted for the ſtate of the cleargie, but not altogither verie acceptable to diuerſe yoong préeſts and ſcholers (as ſome write) inſomuch that the legat afterwards comming to Oxford, and lodging in the abbie of Oſnie, it chanced as certeine ſcholers preſſed to the gates thinking to come in and doo their dutie (as they tooke the matter) vnto the legat, the porter kept them backe, and gaue them ouerthwart words, wherevpon they ruſhed in vpon him, & ſo began a fraie betwixt them and the legats men, who would haue beaten them backe.

1238.

The legat commeth to Oxford.

A fraie betwixt the legats men, and the ſcholers of Oxford.

It fortuned in this hurlie burlie, that a poore Iriſh ſcholer being got in néere to the kitchin dreſſer, beſought the cooke for Gods ſake to giue him ſome reliefe: but the cooke (as manie of that calling are cholerike fellowes) in a great furie tooke vp a ladle full of hot broath out of a kettell wherein fleſh had béene ſodden, and threw it right vpon the Iriſhmans face, which thing when another Welſh ſcholer that ſtood by beheld, he cried out; What meane we to ſuffer this villanie, and therewithall tooke an arrow, and ſet it in his bow, which he had caught vp in his hand at the beginning of the fraie, and drawing it vp to the head let flie at the cooke, and ſo ſlue him there outright.

A cookes almes.

The legats cooke ſlaine.

Herevpon againe noiſe and tumult roſe round about the houſe, the legat for feare got him into the belfraie of the abbeie, where he kept himſelfe cloſe till the darke of the night had ſtaied the vprore, and then ſtale forth, and taking his horſſe eſcaped as ſecretlie as he could ouer the Thames, and rode with all ſpéed to the court, which laie not far off at Abington, and there made his complaint to the king, in ſuch lamentable wiſe, that he forthwith ſent the earle Waren with a power of armed men, to fetch awaie the reſidue of the legats ſeruants which remained behind in the abbeie, and to apprehend the chiefe offendors.

The legat complaineth to the king.

The earle Waren ſent to apprehend the offendors.

The earle comming thither, tooke thirtie ſcholers, with one maſter Odo a lawier, and brought them to Wallingford caſtell, and there committed them to priſon. The legat alſo in reuenge of the iniurie in this wiſe to him doone, pronounced the curſſe againſt the miſdooers, and handled the matter in ſuch wiſe, that the regents and maſters of the Vniuerſitie were at length conſtreined to come vnto London, & there to go bare-footed through Cheapeſide, vnto the church of S. Paule, in ſuch wiſe to aſke him forgiueneſſe, and ſo with much adoo they obteined abſolution. This legat among other things demanded ſoone after the tenth part of all ſpirituall mens yearelie reuenues, towards the maintenance of the wars againſt the Saracens in Aſia.

The legat curſſeth.

The regents of ẏ Vniuerſitie abſolued. Polydor.

Matth. Paris.

The emperor of Conſtantinople cōmeth into England.

Moreouer, the emperour of Conſtantinople, namelie, Baldwine ſonne to Peter earle of Auſſerre, being expelled out of his empire, came this yeare into England, to ſue for aid: but at his firſt arriuall at Douer, he was told, that he had not doone well to come ſo preſumptuouſlie into the land of another prince, without his ſafe conduct. But when the ſaid emperour ſéemed to be ſorie for his offenſe, and to excuſe his innocencie and ſincere meaning, the king was pacified, & willed him to come to London, where at his comming thither, being the 22 daie of Aprill, he was honorablie receiued, and at his departure with rich gifts highlie honored, ſo that he had alwaie with him to the value of about ſeuen hundred marks as was reported. About this time alſo, Elianor the kings ſiſter (that was ſometime wife vnto William Marſhall earle of Penbroke) was now by the kings meanes married the ſecond time to Simon Montford, a man of high parentage and noble prowеſſe.

The counteſſe of Penbroke, ſiſter to the king married to Simon de Montford. Polydor.

This Simon was indowed with ſuch vertue, good counſell, courteous diſcretion, and other amiable qualities, that he was highlie fauoured as was ſuppoſed, both of God and man: inſomuch that he might right well, as for birth, ſo alſo for education and good demeanour be counted (as he deſerued) a notable Noble man, for he was ſo qualified as ſtandeth with the nature of true nobilitie, according to that of the poet,

——non cenſus, nec clarum nomen auorum,
Sed probitas magnos ingeniúmque facit.

Notwithſtanding all which noble indowments concurring in him, he was baniſhed out of France, vpon diſpleaſure, which Blanch the quéene mother conceiued againſt him. But now comming into England, he was ioifullie receiued of king Henrie, who not onelie gaue vnto him (as aboue is mentioned) his ſiſter in mariage with the earledome of Leiceſter in name of a dowrie, but alſo aduanced him vnto offices of greateſt honour within the realme of England. Howbeit, this marriage was verie diſpleaſant vnto Edmund the archbiſhop of Canturburie, bicauſe that the foreſaid Elianor, after the death of hir firſt huſband, had vowed perpetuall chaſtitie, and betaken hir (as was ſaid) to the mantell and the ring.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie diſpleaſed with the marriage.

As the prelat was not pleaſed with this match, ſo the king was as highlie offended with the archbiſhop for not fauouring the cauſe, inſomuch that the archbiſhop went ſoone after to Rome, where he not onelie complained of certeine iniuries receiued latelie at the kings hands, but alſo ſignified the eſtate of this marriage, to procure a diuorce. In like manner, Richard the kings brother found great fault with the king for the ſame matter, but chieflie, for that he ſtroke it vp without making him and other of the Nobles of councell therein. To be ſhort, it was not long yer this grudge grew ſo far, that ciuill war was verie likelie to haue followed therevpon. But when the king ſaw that all the lords leaned to his brother, he ſought to pacifie the matter by courteous means, and ſo by mediation of the legat, the king and his brother were reconciled, to the great griefe of the lords, which had brought the matter now to that point, that the king could not haue ſo reſiſted their force, but that they were in good hope to haue deliuered the realme out of bondage from all manner of ſtrangers, as well of thoſe Romans that were beneficed men, as of anie other.

He goeth to Rome to cōplaine of the king.

The earle of Cornewall is alſo offended for the ſame marriage. Matth. Paris.

Simon the earle of Leiceſter alſo perceiuing how the matter went, made ſhift another waie to get all the monie he could in preſt or otherwiſe (inſomuch that he had of one burges of Leiceſter, named Simon Curleuath, fiue hundred markes) and leauing his wife in the caſtell of Kelingworth, he ſecretlie departed out of the realme, and got him to Rome, to purchaſe a confirmation of his marriage, which he eaſilie obteined, notwithſtanding the archbiſhop of Canturburies former and verie behement information againſt him, and ſo hauing brought his purpoſe about, in the latter end of this yéere, he returned into England, and was ioifullie receiued, firſt of the king and after of his wife, whome he found at Kelingworth, néere to the time of hir trauell, and ſhortlie after deliuered of a yoong ſonne, whom they called Simon after the name of his father.

The earle of Leiceſter gathereth monie.

He goeth to Rome to get a diſpenſation or rather confirmation of his marriage.

At the ſame time, Frederike the emperour going into Italie, had a great number of Engliſh ſouldiers with him, which king Henrie furniſhed for his aid,

Ten ſent forth of England to the emperour.

Henrie Trubleuille.
John Manſel.
Wil. Hardell.

vnder the leading of a right valiant warriour, named Henrie de Trubleuille, with whome went alſo John Manſell, whoſe valiancie in that iournie well appeared, and William Hardell a citizen of London was treaſurer and paimaiſter to the ſouldiers. Herewith the pope was ſore offended, and wrote his mind thereof to the king, who forthwith returned an eloquent anſwer, requiring him to be more fauourable to the emperour, conſidering his cauſe was ſuch as could not iuſtlie offend his holineſſe. About the ſame time, or rather (as by ſome writers it ſhould appeare) ſomwhat before, the kings ſiſter Joane queene of Scotland, comming into England to ſee hir brother, fell into a ſickneſſe, and died.

Moreouer, the archbiſhop of Canturburie returned into England, who at his comming to Rome, obteined little or nothing touching the ſuit which he had before the pope, for (as ſome haue written) the legat Otho being his heauie freend, had ſo ſtopped the popes eares from hearing any of his complaints, that all his whole trauell did come to none effect. In like manner, Peter des Roches biſhop of Wincheſter died this yeare in his manor at Farnham, about the ninth of June, which prelat had gouerned that ſee about 32 yeares. He was a man of great wiſedome and dexteritie in ordering of weightie affaires touching the ſtate of temporall regiment. He builded manie goodlie monaſteries, as the abbeies of Hales, Tikborne and Seleborne, with the hoſpitall at Porteſmouth. He made alſo a notable teſtament, and beſides his bequeſts which were great, he left his biſhoprike ſo ſtored and throughlie furniſhed, that there was not ſo much diminiſhed of that which he found at his comming in value, as the cattell that ſerued to draw the verie ploughs.

The biſhop of winchester departeth this life.

About this time, a learned eſquire, or rather a clearke of the vniuerſitie of Oxenford, bearing ſome malice toward the king, fained himſelfe mad, and eſpieng thereby the ſecret places of his houſe at Woodſtoke where he then laie, vpon a night by a window he got into the kings bedchamber, and comming to the beds ſide, threw off the couerings, and with a dagger ſtrake diuers times into a pillow, ſuppoſing that the king had beene there, but as GOD would, that night the king laie in another chamber with the queene. In the meane time, one of the queenes chambermaids named Margaret Biſet, hauing eſpied the traitor, made an outcrie, ſo that the K. ſeruants which came to vnderſtand what the matter meant, preſentlie apprehended the ſaid clearke, who being conueied to Couentrie, was there arreigned, and by lawfull proofe had of his malicious intent, was condemned, and executed as a traitor. At his death he confeſſed, that he was ſent from * William de Mariſch the ſonne of Geffrie de Mariſch to murther the king by ſuch manner of means, not caring what had become of himſelfe ſo he might haue diſpatched his purpoſe.

Matth. Paris.
A naughtie wretch meant to haue deſtroied the K.

* See his end in pag. 230.

¶ Theſe practiſes of treaſon *In ſummo gradu*, which cannot be committed without irrecouerable detriment to the whole eſtate (ſpeciallie where ſucceſſion is vncerteine) are of an old brewing, though they be neuer ſo newlie broched. And trulie, if the curſſed miſcreant which vndertaketh an enterpriſe of this qualitie, had the grace to conſider how manie murthers he committeth by implication in giuing the roiall perſon of the prince a deadlie wound; I doubt not, if he were a man and not a ranke diuell, he would be weaned from that outragious villanie. For, in wounding and killing the prince, he is guiltie of homicide, of parricide, of chriſticide, nay of deicide. And therefore a thouſand woes light on his hart that ſhall ſtretch out his hand, naie, that ſhall once conceiue in thought a murther ſo heinous, as both God and nature dooth abhorre; ſpeciallie if it be commenſed againſt a chriſtian prince, and ſuch a one as to whome true and vndefiled religion is no leſſe pretious and deere than life it ſelfe. Princes therefore had need to ſee to the ſafegard of their perſons, ſithens the ſafetie of manie millians dependeth therevpon. For certeine it is, that the ſtate of a poore priuat man is leſſe perillous by manie degrees than the ſtate of a potentat, which is ment by this true allegorie following.

Quatiunt altas ſæpè procellæ,
Aut euertit fortuna domos;
Minùs in paruis fortuna furit,
Raros patitur fulminis ictus
Humida vallis.

Seneca in Octa. & Hippol.

Anno Reg. 23.
1239
Matth. Paris.
Variance betwixt the king and the earle of Penbroke.

In the three and twentith yeare of his reigne, king Henrie held his Chriſtmaſſe at Wincheſter, where a great grudge aroſe betwixt him and Gilbert the earle of Penbroke, by reaſon that the ſaid earle with his ſeruants (hauing tipſtaues) in their comming to the court, were not ſuffred to enter within the gates but were kept backe by the porters and other. Of which iniurie when he had complained, the king made him ſuch an ouerthwart anſwer, that the earle perceiuing him not to like verie well of his ſeruice, departed forthwith, and rode into the North countrie, ſo that from that day forth, neither he nor his brother Walter loued the king as they ought to haue doone. Soone after this departure of earle Gilbert, vpon Candlemas day the king gaue the earldome of Leiceſter vnto Simon de Mountford, and inueſted him thereinto, hauing firſt pacified earle Almerike that was elder brother to the ſame Simon. Yet about the beginning of the next Auguſt, the king was ſo incenſed againſt earle Simon, that both he and his wife were glad to get them ouer into France, till the kings wrath were more pacified.

Simon earle of Leiceſter fled ouer into France.

Vpon the ſixteenth day of June, the kings eldeſt ſonne named Edward, and after ſurnamed Longſhanke by the Scots in mockage, bicauſe he was a tall and ſlender man, was borne at Weſtminſter, who after his fathers deceaſe, ſucceeded him in the kingdome. ¶ Before the birth of this Edward, there appeared earlie in the morning certeine daies togither before the ſunne was vp, a ſtar of a large compaſſe, the which with ſwift courſe was caried through a long circuit of the aire, ſometimes ſhewing as it had borne fire with it, and ſometimes leauing as it were ſmoke behind it, ſo that it was after iudged, that the great deeds which were to be atchiued by the ſame Edward, were by this wonderfull conſtellation foreſhewed and ſignified.

The birth of king Edward the firſt.

Polydor.
A ſtrange ſtar.

About the ſame time, by reaſon of an accuſation made by a priſoner againſt Ranulfe Briton (ſometime the kings chancellour, but now leading a priuat life, being a canon of the cathedrall church of ſaint Paule in London) the ſame Ranulfe (by commandement from the king ſent to the maior of the citie William Joiner) was taken out of his houſe, had to the tower, and there impriſoned, wherevpon the deane of Paules, maiſter G. Lucie, in abſence of the biſhop accurſſed all thoſe that had preſumptuouſlie attempted to laie hands on the ſaid Ranulfe, and further, he put his owne church of ſaint Paule vnder interdiction.

Matth. Paris.

Ranulfe Briton taken out of his houſe, and led to the tower.

To conclude, through threatning of excommunication to be pronounced againſt the king, and other for this fact by the legat and the biſhops of the realme as namelie, Canturburie and London, the king was compelled to releaſe and ſet at libertie the foreſaid Ranulfe. Finallie, the priſoner that had accuſed the ſaid Ranulfe and other, being one of the kings purſeuants, when for his wicked doings he came to ſuffer death, openlie confeſſed, how he had accuſed thoſe perſons, onelie in hope to deferre his owne execuſion, being conuicted as acceſſarie to the treaſon of the clearke that ſuffered at Couentrie the laſt yeare. He had accuſed not onelie the ſaid Briton, but diuers of the nobilitie alſo to be priuie and giltie of the ſame conſpiracie. ¶ This yeare for the ſpace of foure moneths togither, fell exceeding great raine, yet at length it began to hold vp about Eaſter.

Great raine.

The legat beginneth to looke to his owne commoditie.

In this while, the lords of the realme practiſed ſundrie drifts likewiſe, as men that would faine haue beene rid of the legats companie: but the king did what he could on the otherſide (by ſending to the pope for licence) to haue him remaine ſtill here, who began now indeed to looke to his owne profit, as by way of procuracies and other meanes, ſo that he got togither great ſummes of monie, although in the beginning he ſeemed to forbeare, and not to ſeeke for anie ſuch gaine. Alſo, he tooke vpon him to beſtow benefices without conſent of the patrones that were temporall men, wherevpon complaint was made to the pope, namelie, by one ſir Robert de Twing, who claimed as patrone the preſentation of the rectorie of Luthun in Yorkeſhire, and could not be permitted to inioy it, by reaſon of the popes prohibition, but vpon the hearing of his title in the popes conſiſtorie, he obteined letters from the pope to be reſtored, and alſo an inhibition, that from thenceforth no perſon ſhould be promoted to anie ſpirituall benefice or church, without conſent of the patrone. The king and the peeres of the realme vnderſtanding themſelues to be touched in this wrong offered to this knight, had written in his fauour to the pope, ſo that his ſuit had the better ſucceſſe.

Sir Robert de Twing.

The Iewes puniſhed by the purſſe.

A ſynod holden at London.

Moreouer, the Iewes in this yeare, for a murther which they had ſecretlie committed, were greeuouſlie puniſhed, namelie by the purſſe to buy their peace, & they were glad to giue the king the third part of all their goods. The legat alſo aſſembled a ſynod of the clergie at London vpon the laſt of Iulie, in the which he demanded procuracies, but the biſhops vpon deliberation had in the matter, anſwered, that the importunatnes of the Romane church had ſo often con-
“ ſumed the goods of the Engliſh church, that they could
“ no longer ſuffer it, and therefore ſaid they; Let them
“ giue you procuracies which vnaduiſedlie haue called
“ you into the realme, if they will, for of vs you ſhall
“ be ſure to come by none at all, howbeit he got his demand of the abbats and other religious men.

About the feaſt of the aſſumption of our ladie, Thomas earle of Flanders, vncle to the queene, arriued at Douer, and was receiued of the king with great ioy and gladneſſe, who rode thitherward to meet him, and ſo brought him to London, where the citizens came forth alſo, and meeting him in the waie, brought him into the citie with all honour that might be deuiſed. He did homage to the king (as authors write) and at his departure had in reward fiue hundred marks, and a penſion aſſured him of as much yearelie out of the eſcheker of the kings free gift. This earle Thomas was ſonne to the earle of Sauoy, and a little before his comming into England, he had married Ione counteſſe of Flanders, which had firſt beene coupled in marriage with Ferdinando, as in the life of king Iohn may further appeare.

Anno Reg. 24.
1240
Matth. Paris.
Matth. Weſt.
Baldwin de Riuers earle of the Ile of wight.

In the 24 yeare of his reigne, king Henrie held his Chriſtmaſſe at Wincheſter, where he made Baldwine de Riuers knight, and inueſted him with the right of the earledome of the Ile of Wight, in the preſence of the earle of Cornewall, who procured him this honour, bicauſe he had the wardſhip of him, and married him to his daughter in law the ladie Amicia, that was daughter to his wife the counteſſe of Glouceſter by hir former huſband. The earle of Leiceſter alſo, meaning to go into the holie land, returned out of France, where he had remained a certeine time as an exile, but was now receiued honorablie of the king and other peeres of the realme, and after that he had ſeene the king and doone his dutie as apperteined, he went to his poſſeſſions to make monie for his furniture neceſſarie to be had in that iournie, for the which he ſold at that time his woods about Leiceſter, vnto the knights of the Hoſpitall, and to the canons of Leiceſter, receiuing of them for the ſame about the ſumme of a thouſand pounds.

The woods about Leiceſter ſold.

Leolin prince of wales departeth this life.

About the ſame time, to wit, the 14 of Aprill, died Leolin prince of Wales, and then followed contention betwixt his ſons Griffin and Dauid for the principalitie, which at length Dauid obteined through king Henries ſupport (though he were the yonger brother) bicauſe he was begot in lawfull bed on the ſiſter of king Henrie. The whole countrie of Wales was maruellouſlie in trouble about their quarels. At length, a daie of meeting was appointed betwixt them, to grow by waie of talke vnto ſome quiet end; and Griffin meaning no deceit, came in peaceable wiſe with Richard biſhop of Bangor and others to the place aſſigned, where they ſhould haue met. But Dauid by a traine tooke Griffin, and committed him to priſon, wherevpon afterwards, the yeare inſuing, by continuall plaint and earneſt ſute of the biſhop of Bangor, king Henrie entred Wales with an armie, and conſtreined Dauid to ſubmit himſelfe, and to deliuer the ſaid Griffin into his hands, and further alſo to put in ſuerties to appeare at London, there to receiue ſuch order in the kings courts, as to him by law ſhould be orderlie awarded. Griffin ap Maddocke and diuerſe other great lords of Wales ioined with the king in this iournie againſt Dauid, as in the next yeare ye ſhall further heare.

Griffin ap Maddocke.

King Henrie aided the pope with monie againſt the emperour.

About the ſame time, there was great ſtrife and contention ſtill remaining betwixt the emperour Frederike and pope Innocent the fourth that ſucceeded Celeſtine the fourth, in ſomuch that ſore and mortall warre followed. But king Henrie by the procurement of the legat Otho, aided the pope with monie, though he was ſomewhat loth to doo it, bicauſe the ſaid emperour had married his ſiſter. Indeed, the emperour wrote to the king to ſtaie his hand, but the diligence of that legat was ſuch in furthering his maſters buſineſſe, that the monie was gone ouer yer the emperours letters came. At this time alſo, Edmund the archbiſhop of Canturburie greatlie diſalowed the often exactions and ſubſidies which the legat cauſed dailie to be leuied of the Engliſh clergie. Howbeit, in hope to haue his purpoſe the rather againſt the monks of Canturburie, with whom he was at variance, he firſt granted to the legats requeſt made on the popes behalfe in a ſynod holden at Reading, for the hauing of the fift part of ſpirituall mens reuenues, and ſo by his example others were inforced to doo the like.

Furthermore he gaue eight hundred marks to the pope, but whether of his owne free will, or by conſtreint, I cannot ſaie; but now vtterlie miſliking all things doone by the legat contrarie to his mind, after he had doone and ſaid what he could for redreſſe, and when he ſaw no hope at hand for anie reformation either in the king or legat, who eſteemed not his words, as a man not longer able to ſee his countrie ſo ſpoiled, he went ouer into France, and got him vnto Pontney, there to remaine in voluntarie exile, after the example of his predeceſſour Thomas Becket, whoſe doings he did follow in verie manie things. Verelie the collections of monie, which the pope in theſe daies by his legats gathered here in this realme, were great and ſundrie, ſo that (as it appeareth by hiſtoriographers of this time) the cleargie and other found themſelues ſore grieued, and repined not a little againſt ſuch couetous dealings and vnmeaſurable

Complaint to the king of the collections made for the pope.

meaſurable exactions, in ſo much that they ſpake to the king of it, and ſaid; Right famous prince, whie ſuffer you England to be made a prey and deſolation to all the paſſers by, as a vineyard without an hedge, common to the waifaring man, and to be deſtroied of the bores of the field, ſith you haue a ſufficient priuilege that no ſuch exactions ſhould be made in this kingdome? And ſuerlie he is not worthie of a priuilege which abuſeth the ſame being granted. The king anſwered thoſe that went thus about to perſuade him, that he neither would nor durſt gainſaie the pope in any thing: and ſo the people were brought into miſerable deſpaire.

The anſwer of the king.

Polydor.

The cauſes that moued archbiſhop Edmund to depart the realme.

There be that write how that there were other occaſions of the archbiſhops departure out of the relme of the which this ſhould be one; when he ſaw religion not to be regarded, and that preeſts were had in no honor, neither that it laie in his power to reforme the matter, ſith the king gaue no eare to his admonitions, he determined to abſent himſelfe till the king (warned by ſome miſhap) ſhould repent him of his errours, and amend his miſdoings. Other ioine an other cauſe herevnto, which was this; whereas the king by the inſample of other kings (begun by William Rufus) vſed to keepe biſhops ſees, and other ſuch ſpirituall poſſeſſions in his hands, during the vacation, till a conuenient perſon were to the ſame preferred, the archbiſhop Edmund, for that he ſaw long delaies made oftentimes yer any could be admitted to the roome of thoſe that were deceaſſed, or by any other means depriued, he was in hand with the king, that the archbiſhop of Canturburie might haue power onlie to prouide for ſucceſſors in ſuch roomes as chanced to be vacant, aboue the tearme of ſix moneths, which thing the king for a certeine ſumme of monie granted: but afterward perceiuing what hinderance he ſuſteined thereby, he reuoked that grant, ſo much to the diſpleaſure of the archbiſhop, that he thought good no longer to continue in the realme.

Math. Weſt.
Math. Paris.
Polydor.

At his comming to Pontney, he ſo ſeemed to deſpiſe all worldlie pompe and honor, giuing himſelfe wholie to diuine contemplation, to faſting and praier, that the former opinion, which men had conceiued of his vertues, was maruellouſlie confirmed. At length being ſore vexed with ſickneſſe, ſuppoſing that he might recouer helth by changing of aire and place, he cauſed himſelfe to be conueied into an other houſe of religion, named Soiſie, two daies iournie from Pontney, where finallie he died the ſixteenth of Nouember, and his bodie was brought againe to Pontney, and there buried, where alſo through ſundrie miracles ſhewed (as they ſay) at his graue, he was reputed a ſaint, and at length canonized by pope Innocent the fourth. He was borne at Abingdon, beſide Oxenford, and thereby ſome named him ſaint Edmund of Abingdon, and ſome S. Edmund of Pontney, after the place where he was inſhrined. The ſee of Canturburie was void more than three yeares after his deceaſe, till at length by the kings commandement, the monks of Canturburie elected one Boniface of Sauoie vncle to queene Elianor, being the 45 archbiſhop which ruled that church.

The death of Edmund archbiſhop of Canturburie ſurnamed of Pontney.

A Charterhouſe monke apprehended.

¶There was this yeare a certeine perſon of honeſt conuerſation, and ſober, repreſenting in habit one of the Carthuſian monks, taken at Cambridge, being accuſed for that he refuſed to come to the church to heare diuine ſeruice, and vpon his examination, bicauſe he anſwered otherwiſe than was thought conuenient, he was committed to ſecret priſon, and ſhortlie after ſent vp to the legat to be of him examined. This man openlie proteſted, that Gregorie was not the true pope, nor head of the church, but that there was another head of the church, and that the church was defiled, ſo that no ſeruice ought to be ſaid therein, except the ſame were newlie dedicated, and the veſſels and veſtments againe hallowed and conſecrated; The diuell (ſaid he) is loſed, & the pope is an heretike, for Gregorie, which nameth himſelfe pope, hath polluted the church.

Herevpon (in the preſence and audience of the abbat of Eueſham, maiſter Nic. de Fernham, and diuerſe other worſhipfull perſonages) the legat ſaid vnto him being thus out of the waie; Is not power granted to our ſouereigne lord the pope from aboue, both to loſe and bind ſoules, ſith he executeth the roome of S. Peter vpon earth? Now when all men looked to heare what anſwer he would make, beleeuing his iudgement to depend vpon the ſame, he ſaid by way of interrogation, and not by way of aſſertion; How can I beleeue, that vnto a perſon ſpotted with ſimonie and vſurie, and haplie wrapt in more greeuous ſins, ſuch power ſhould be granted as was granted vnto holie Peter, who immediatlie followed the lord, as ſoone as he was made his apoſtle, and followed him not onelie in bodilie footſteps, but in cleereneſſe of vertues. At which word the legat bluſhed, & ſaid to ſome of the ſtanders by; A man ought not to chide with a foole, nor gape ouer an ouen.

Iuſtices itinerants. William de Yorke, Robert Lexinton iuſtices.

In this ſeaſon the king ſent his iuſtices itinerants in circuit about the land, the which vnder pretext of iuſtice puniſhed manie perſons, and ſo leuied great ſummes of monie to the kings vſe. Sir William of Yorke prouoſt of Beuerley was aſſigned to viſit the ſouth parts, and ſir Robert de Lexinton the north parts. Alſo Richard earle of Cornewall the kings brother, with a nauie of ſhips ſailed into Syria, where in the warres againſt the Saracens, he greatlie aduanced the part of the chriſtians. There went ouer with him the earle of Saliſburie William Longeſpee, and William Baſſet, Iohn Beauchampe, Geffrey de Lucie, Iohn Neuill, Geffrey Beauchampe, Peter de Breuſe, and William Furniuall. The erle of Montford alſo went ouer the ſame time: but where the earle of Cornewall tooke the ſea at Marſiles, the earle of Leiceſter paſſed through Italie, and tooke the water at Brandize, and with him went theſe perſons of name, Thomas de Furniuall, with his brother Gerard de Furniuall, Hugh Wake, Almerike de S. Aumond, Wiſchard Ledet, Punchard de Dewin, and William de Dewin that were brethren, Gerard Peſmes, Fouke de Baugie, and Peter de Chauntenaie. Shortlie after alſo, Iohn earle of Albemarle, William Fortis, and Peter de Mallow a Poictouin, men for their valiancie greatlie renowmed, went thither, leading with them a great number of chriſtian ſouldiors.

The earle of Cornewal goeth into the holy land.

The earle of Leiceſter goeth thither alſo.

The earle of Albemarle.

In this yeare and vpon the day of S. Remigius, was the church of S. Paule in the citie of London dedicated by Roger biſhop of that citie, the king and a great number of biſhops and other Noble men being preſent, which were feaſted the ſame day by the ſaid biſhop Roger and the canons. Moreouer, there died the ſame yeare the counteſſe Iſabell, wife to Richard earle of Cornewall, and two earles, William earle Warren, and Iohn earle of Lincolne, alſo the lord Iohn Fitz Robert, one of the cheefe barons in all the north parts of the realme. ¶Alſo in Februarie there appeared a comet or blaſing ſtarre verie dreadfull to behold, for the ſpace of thirtie daies togither. Moreouer, on the coaſt of England there was a great battell amongſt the fiſhes of the ſea, ſo that there were eleauen whales or thirlepooles caſt on land, beſide other huge and monſtruous fiſhes, which appeared to be dead of ſome hurts; and one of thoſe mightie fiſhes, comming into the Thames aliue, was purſued by the fiſhers, and could ſcarſe paſſe through the arches of London bridge. At length with darts and other ſuch weapons, they ſlue him before

The dedication of the church of S. Paule in London.

The death of Iſabell the counteſſe of Cornewall.
The lord Iohn Fitz Robert.
A comet.
A battell betwixt fiſhes.
Math. Paris.

The kings manour at Moꝛtlake.

the kings manour at Moꝛtlake, whither they followed him. There was alſo a great ſound heard this yeare in ſundꝛie parts of England at one ſelfe time, as if it had beene the noiſe of ſome mightie mountaine that had fallen into the ſea. And vpon the ſeuenth of Maie there chanced a great boiſterous wind that ſoꝛe troubled the ſkie.

A great wind.

An oth receiued.

This yeare the king cauſed the citizens of London, and the gardians of the cinque poꝛts, and manie other to receiue an oth to be true and faithfull to his ſonne pꝛince Edward. The friers pꝛeachers and minoꝛs, and other men of the church that were diuines, abſolued ſuch as had taken on them the croſſe, receiuing of them ſo much monie as would ſuffice to haue boꝛne their charges in that iournie, and this not without ſlander redounding to the church. The ſame meanes to get monie was pꝛactiſed alſo by the legat Otho, hauing authoꝛitie therto of the pope. The ſame yeare the ſeneſhall of Aquitaine came ouer to the king, and let him know, that if timelie pꝛouiſion were not had, all thoſe countries on the further ſide of the ſea wold be loſt. No other incident chanced the ſame yeare neither in warre abꝛoad, noꝛ in the ſtate of gouernement of the common-wealth at home, whereof any great accompt is to be made, but that the legat Otho got great ſummes of monie diuerſe waies, of religious men to the popes behoofe: wherevpon certeine abbats made complaints to the king, but in place of comfoꝛt they receiued diſcomfoꝛt, & after knowledge thereof giuen to the legat, he was moꝛe extreame with them than he was befoꝛe.

The ſeneſhall of Aquitaine.

Peter Roſſo.

Shoꝛtlie after one of the popes familiars and kinſman named maſter Peter Roſſo came from Rome, taking England in his waie to go into Scotland, and vſed in both ſuch diligence in the popes cauſe, that he got a fifteenth granted here, which he ſpeedilie gathered. About the ſame time one Peter de Supino was ſent into Ireland, and there likewiſe he got a vintieſme, bꝛinging from theſe the ſumme of 115 marks, and aboue. But the collection which Peter Roſſo got out of the Scottiſh confines doubled that ſumme, as was thought. In his returne alſo from thence, viſiting the houſes of religion, and ſearching the conſciences of religious perſons, by new ſhifts he craftilie got yet moꝛe monie to the popes vſe, cauſing them to ſweare to keepe this myſterie ſecret, as it were ſome pꝛiuitie of confeſſion foꝛ the ſpace of one halfe yeare, whereby he turned the harts of manie men from the loue of the church of Rome, wounding them with great greefe and remoꝛſe of conſcience to ſee this pillage.

Peter de Supino got a vintieſme, that is the 20 part of pꝛeeſts benefices.

Anno Reg. 25.
1241

In the 25 yeare of his reigne, king Henrie kept his Chꝛiſtmaſſe at Weſtminſter, at which time the legat was ſent foꝛ to returne vnto Rome, and after he had beene honoꝛablie feaſted of the king, on the 4 daie of Chꝛiſtmaſſe he departed from London towards the ſea ſide, after he had remained here aboue thꝛee yeares. Peter of Sauoie that was vncle to the queene came into England, and was honoꝛablie receiued and interteined of king Henrie, who had giuen to him the earledome of Richmont. His ſonne Boniface was this yeare alſo elected archbiſhop of Canturburie, a tall gentleman and of a goodlie perſonage, but neither ſo learned noꝛ otherwiſe meet foꝛ that roome. But ſuch was the kings pleaſure, who in fauour of the queene, to whom he was coſen germane ſought to aduance him, and getting the popes fauour in that behalfe, pꝛocured the monks & biſhops to grant their conſents, although much againſt their minds, if they might haue had their owne wils.

Boniface de Sauoie elected archb. of Canturburie.
Math. Paris.

The earle of Coꝛnewall returning out of the holie land in ſafetie, after he had ſettled things there, by concluding an abſtinence of warre betwixt the Saracens and chꝛiſtians about the octaues of S. John Baptiſt, he arriued in Sicill, and hearing there in what place the emperour as then ſoiourned, he repaired vnto him, of whom and of his ſiſter the empreſſe he was moſt ioifullie receiued. Within a few daies after, he went to the court of Rome, to trie if he might dꝛiue ſome agreement betwixt the emperour and the pope, but finding the pope too hard, and nothing confoꝛmable, except he might haue had all his owne will (which was, that the emperour ſhould haue ſubmitted himſelfe to the popes pleaſure, and ſtand vnto what ſoeuer oꝛder the church ſhould appoint) he returned backe to the emperour without concluding any thing with the pope, declaring vnto him as he had found. After this he remained two moneths with the emperour, & then taking his leaue was honoured with great gifts at his departure, and ſo returning towards England, at length arriued at the towne of Douer on the moꝛrow after the feaſt of the Epiphanie in the yeare following.

The earle o Coꝛnewall a intercessoꝛ f a peace to b had betw the pope an the empero

He returne into England.

About the ſame time that the earle of Coꝛnewall was in his returne foꝛth of the holie land, new wars ſuddenlie aroſe in Wales, which happened well foꝛ king Henrie. There were diuerſe of the Welſhmen that could not well like of the gouernement of Dauid, and therefoꝛe ſoꝛe lamenting the captiuitie of his bꝛother Griffin, whom befoꝛe (as ye haue heard) he had by a traine taken and kept ſtill as pꝛiſoner, began to make warre vpon the ſaid Dauid, and thoſe that tooke his part, the which on the other ſide ſought to oppꝛeſſe their aduerſaries, ſo that there inſued much bloudſhed and ſlaughter betweene the parties. The wife alſo of the ſaid Griffin, and ſuch other noble men as were become enimies vnto Dauid, ſent and wꝛit vnto king Henrie, requiring his aid, that Griffin might be deliuered out of his bꝛothers hands, pꝛomiſing him great helpe and furtherance, with large conditions of ſubmiſſion, and aſſurance furthermoꝛe to be at his commandement, and to receiue him foꝛ their true and ſoucreigne loꝛd.

Warres betweene the Welſhmen.

King Henrie goeth into Wales with an armie.

King Henrie vnderſtanding all their doings and intents, thought that this contention betweene the two bꝛethꝛen foꝛ the title of Wales would ſerue verie well foꝛ his purpoſe, and therefoꝛe he haſted foꝛth with a ſpeedie armie of men in that countrie, purpoſing to reduce the ſame vnder his obeiſance. Herewith Senena oꝛ Guenhera, the wife of Griffin (and other of the Welſh Nobilitie, that tooke part with hir) concluded a league with king Henrie, vpon certeine conditions as the ſame are conteined in an inſtrument oꝛ charter, the tenour whereof beginneth as followeth.

Conuenit inter dominum Henricum tertium regem Anglorum illuſtrem ex vna parte, & Senenam vxorem Griffini, filij Leolini, quondàm principis Northwalliæ, quem Dauid frater eius tenet carceri mancipatum, cum Owino filio ſuo, nomine eiuſdem Griff. ex altera, &c.

Articles of agreement betweene Henrie the third of that name, king of England of the one partie, and Senena the wife of Griffin, the ſonne of Leolin, ſometimes prince of Northwales, whom Dauid his brother deteineth in priſon, with Owen his ſonne, in the name of the ſaid Griffin of the other partie.

In pꝛimis, the ſaid Senena vndertaketh, that the ſaid Griffin hir husband will giue vnto the king ſix hundꝛed markes, vpon condition that the king doo cauſe the ſaid Griffin and Owen his ſonne to be deliuered from the pꝛiſon wherein they are kept, and will ſtand to the iudgement of the kings court, whether by law he ought to be impriſoned or no.

2 Item the ſaid Griffin and his heires will ſtand to the iudgement of the kings court, for and concerning that portion of the inheritance of the ſaid Leolin his father, which of right ought to apperteine vnto him.

3 Item the ſaid Senena vndertaketh for the ſaid Griffin and his heires, that the ſaid Griffin and his heires ſhall yeeld and paie yearelie to the king for the ſame lands, the ſumme of thrée hundred markes. Whereof the firſt third part to be paid in monie, the ſecond in kine, and the third in horſſes, by the eſtimation of indifferent men, and the ſame to be paid yearlie at Michaelmas and Eaſter by euen portions, by the hands of the ſhiriffe of the countie of Salop for the time being.

4 Item the ſaid Senena vndertaketh further for the ſaid Griffin and his heires, that they and euerie of them ſhall obſerue the peace againſt the ſaid Dauid, and ſuffer him quietlie to inioy ſuch portion of his fathers inheritance as to him ſhall be found to be due.

5 Item the ſaid Senena doth further vndertake for the ſaid Griffin hir huſband and his heires, that in caſe anie Welſhman hereafter ſhall happen to rebell againſt the king, they at their owne coſts and charges ſhall compell the ſaid offendor to make ſatiſfaction to the king for his diſobedience.

6 Item for the performance of the premiſſes, the ſaid Senena will deliuer vnto the lord the king, Dauid and Roderike hir ſonnes for pledges, with prouiſo that if the ſaid Griffin and Owen or either of them ſhall happen to die before their deliuerie out of the ſaid priſon, it ſhall be lawfull for the ſaid Senena to haue one of hir ſonnes releaſed, the other remaining with the king for pledge.

7 Item the ſaid Senena hath ſworne vpon the holie Euangeliſt, that the ſaid Griffin hir huſband and his heires, and euerie of them ſhall accompliſh and performe all the premiſſes on their behalfe, and further vndertaketh that the ſaid Griffin hir huſband, vpon his deliuerie out of priſon, ſhall take the ſame oth.

8 Item the ſaid Senena in the name of the ſaid Griffin hir huſband, ſubmitteth hir ſelfe concerning the obſeruation of the premiſſes vnto the iuriſdiction of the reuerend fathers the biſhops of Hereford and Lichfield, ſo that the ſaid biſhops or either of them at the kings requeſt ſhall compell the ſaid Griffin and his heires to obſerue all and ſingular the premiſſes on their behalfe, by ſentence of excommunication vpon their perſons, and interdiction vpon their lands.

9 Laſtlie, the ſaid Senena doth vndertake and promiſe (Bona fide) to ſée and procure the full performance of all the premiſſes, and that the ſaid Griffin hir huſband and his heires ſhall allow and performe the ſame, and thereof ſhall deliuer his inſtrument in writing to the king in forme aforeſaid. To this charter both parties put their ſeales, Griffin and Senena to that part which remained with the king, and the K. to that part which remained with Senena.

Finallie, for the performance of the articles in this inſtrument or writing conteined, the ſaid ladie in name of hir huſband, procured diuerſe Noble men to become ſuerties or pledges, that is to ſaie, Ralfe de Mortimer, Walter de Clifford, Roger de Monthualt ſeneſhall of Cheſter, Mailgun ap Mailgun, Meredoc ap Robert, Griffin ap Maddoc of Bromefield, Houwell and Meredoc brethren, Griffin ap Wenuwen: which perſons vndertooke for the ſaid ladie, that the couenants on hir part ſhould be performed, and therupon they alſo bound themſelues by their writings obligatorie vnto the ſaid king, in forme following.

Omnibus hoc ſcriptum viſuris Rogerus de monte alto ſeneſcallus Ceſtriæ ſalutem. Sciatis quod ego me conſtitui plegium, &c.

TO all and ſingular, to whome this writing ſhall come, Roger de monte alto the ſteward of Cheſter ſendeth greeting. Know yee that I haue conſtituted my ſelfe pledge for Senena the wife of Griffin the ſonne of Leolin, ſometimes prince of Northwales, and haue vndertaken for hir to our ſouereigne lord Henrie king of England, that the ſaid Senena ſhall accompliſh and performe all and ſingular thoſe couenants and articles, agreed vpon betweene our ſaid ſouereigne lord and the ſaid Senena, for and concerning the deliuerance of the ſaid Griffin hir huſband and Owen his ſonne out of the priſon of Dauid his brother, and the portion of inheritance due vnto the ſaid Griffin, which the ſaid Dauid keepeth from him by force. In witneſſe whereof to this preſent writing I haue put my ſeale. Dated at Salop, the mondaie before the feaſt of the Aſcenſion of the bleſſed virgin Marie, in the 15 yeare of his reigne.

But now to our purpoſe. When Dauid vnderſtood of the kings approach with ſo puiſſant an armie, he was brought into great perplexitie, and the more in déed, not onelie bicauſe there chanced the ſame yeare for the ſpace of foure moneths togither a great drouth, ſo that the mariſhes and bogges were dried vp and made paſſable for the kings people, but alſo for that manie of the Welſh Nobilitie, as chéefelie Griffin Maddoc and others, ſought his deſtruction in fauour of his brother Griffin (whoſe deliuerance they earneſtlie wiſhed) and for that he ſtood excommunicate by the pope. All which things well conſidered, cauſed him to doubt of a further miſchéefe to hang ouer his head: wherevpon he ſent to the king, ſignifieng that he would deliuer his brother Griffin fréelie into his hands, but letting him withall to wit by manie good reaſons, that if he did ſet him at libertie, he ſhould miniſter manie new occaſions of continuall warres.

Dauid driuen to his wits end.

Moreouer, this couenant Dauid required at the kings hands, that the king ſhould reſerue him ſo to his peace vnder the bond of fidelitie and hoſtages, that he ſhould not diſherit him: which when as the king courteouſlie granted, Dauid ſent vnto him his brother Griffin, to diſpoſe of him as he ſhould thinke requiſite. The king receiuing him, ſent him to London, vnder the conduct of ſir Iohn de Lexinton, togither with other mo (whome he had receiued as hoſtages both of Dauid and others the Nobles of Wales) appointing them to be kept in ſafetie within the tower there. There was alſo a charter or déed made by the ſame Dauid vnto king Henrie, conteining the articles, couenants, and grants made betwixt the ſaid prince and the foreſaid Dauid, as followeth.

Dauid deliuereth his brother to the K.

The charter of the articles of Dauids ſubmiſſion to the king.

Omnibus Chriſti fidelibus, ad quos præſentes literæ peruenerint, Dauid filius Leolini ſalutem. Sciatis quòd conceſſi domino meo Henrico regi Angliæ illuſtri, &c.

1 TO all chriſtian people, to whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come, Dauid the ſonne of Leolin ſendeth gréeting. Know ye that I haue granted and promiſed to deliuer

liuer vnto the lord Henrie the noble king of England, Griffin my brother with his ſonne and heire whom I keepe in priſon, and all other priſoners, who by occaſion of the ſaid Griffin lie in durance.

2 Item I ſhall ſtand to the iudgement of the kings court, aſwell in that caſe, whether the ſaid Griffin ought to be deteined priſoner or no, as alſo for and concerning the part of the inheritance of the ſaid Leolin my father, claimed by the ſaid Griffin according to the cuſtomes of Wales: ſo that the peace be mainteined betweene me and the ſaid Griffin.

3 Item I and the ſaid Griffin, and either of vs ſhall hold our portions of land, of our ſaid ſoueraigne the king in Capite, acknowleging him chiefe lord therof.

4 Item I ſhall reſtore vnto Roger de monte alto ſteward of Cheſter, his land of Montalt or Mould, with the appurtenances.

5 Item I ſhall likewiſe reſtore to all other barons, all ſuch lands, lordſhips and caſtels, as were taken from them ſince the beginning of the warres betweene the lord Iohn king of England, and the ſaid Leolin prince of Wales my father, ſauing the right of all couenants and grants by writing, to be reſerued vnto the iudgement and determination of the kings court.

6 Item I ſhall giue and reſtore vnto our ſoueraigne lord the king all his charges in this preſent voiage laid out.

7 Item I ſhall make ſatiſfaction for all damages & iniuries doone by me, or anie of my ſubiects vnto the king or his, according to the conſideration of the kings court, and ſhall deliuer ſuch as ſhalbe malefactours in that behalfe.

8 Item I ſhall reſtore vnto the ſaid lord the king all the homages, which the late king Iohn his father had, & which the ſaid lord the king of right ought to haue, eſpeciallie of all the noble men of Wales: and if the king ſhall ſet at libertie anie of his captiues, the poſſeſſions of that man ſhall remaine to the king.

9 Item the land of Elſmer with the appurtenances ſhall remaine to the lord the king and his heires for euer.

10 Item I ſhall not receiue or ſuffer to be receiued within my countrie of Wales, any of the ſubiects of England, outlawed or baniſhed by the ſaid lord the king, or his barons of Mercia.

11 Item for confirmation and performance of all and ſingular the premiſſes on my behalfe, I ſhall prouide by bonds and pledges, and by all other waies and meanes as the ſaid lord the king ſhall award, and will accompliſh the commandement of the ſaid king, and will obeie his lawes.

In witneſſe whereof to this preſent writing I haue put my ſeale: dated at Alnet by the riuer of Elwey, in the feaſt of the decollation of S. Iohn Baptiſt, in the fiue & twentith yeere of the reigne of the ſaid king. For the obſeruation of theſe 11 articles, the ſaid prince Dauid and Ednivet Vachan were ſworne. Alſo the ſaid prince Dauid ſubmitted himſelfe to the iuriſdiction of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and of the biſhops of London, Hereford, and Couentrie, for the time being. That all, or one of them, whom the king ſhall appoint, may excommunicate him, and interdict his land vpon breach of anie the ſaid articles. And therevpon he procured the biſhops of S. Bangor, and S. Aſaph to make their charters to the lord the king, whereby they granted to execute and denounce all ſentences, aſwell of excommunication as of interdiction ſent from the foreſaid archbiſhop, biſhops, or anie of them.

The ſaid Dauid alſo ſent priuilie to the king, to deſire him that he would ſuffer him being his nephue, and the lawfull heire of Leolin his father, to inioy the principalitie of Wales rather than Griffin, which was but a baſtard, and no kin vnto the king. Giuing him withall to vnderſtand, that in caſe he did ſet Griffin at libertie, he ſhould be ſure to haue the war renewed. Wherevpon the king knowing theſe things to be true, and vnderſtanding alſo that Griffin was a valiant ſtout man, and had manie freends and fauourers of his cauſe, inclined rather to aſſent vnto Dauids requeſt than otherwiſe to be in danger of further troubles, & therfore willinglie granted the ſame.

Shortlie after Dauid did ſend his brother Griffin vnto the king, and other pledges for himſelfe, for performance of the ſaid articles, whom the king ſent forthwith to the towre of London, there to be ſafelie kept, allowing to Griffin a noble a daie for his finding. And within few daies after Michaelmas, prince Dauid comming to the kings court did his homage, and ſwore fealtie, who for ſo doing, and in that he was the kings nephue, was ſent home againe in peace. When Griffin ſaw how all things went, and that he was not like to be ſet at libertie, he began to deuiſe waies and meanes to eſcape out of priſon.

Matth.Paris, page,765.

Wherefore deceiuing the watch one night, he made a long line of hangings, couerings, and ſheets, and hauing gotten out at a window, let downe himſelfe by the ſame from the top of the towre: but by reaſon that he was a mightie perſonage and full of fleſh, the line brake with the weight of his bodie, and ſo falling downe headlong of a great height, his necke and head was driuen into his bodie with the fall: whoſe miſerable carcaſſe being found the morow after, was a pitifull ſight to the beholders. The king being certified thereof, commanded Griffins ſonne to be better looked vnto, and puniſhed the officers for their negligence.

Matth.Paris, page,830.

About the ſame time there chanced a controuerſie to riſe betwixt the king and the biſhop of Lincolne, for the beſtowing of the benefice of Thame, the which Iohn Manſell the kings chapleine had gotten in poſſeſſion by the kings fauour, through prouiſion granted of the pope, where the biſhop alleging priuileges to the contrarie, had granted it to an other. At length the king hauing his fathers trouble before his eies, and doubting the biſhops words, threatning ſome euill miſhap to follow, if he ſhould ſtand long in the matter againſt the ſaid biſhop, gaue ouer his tenour: and therewithall prouided Iohn Manſell of a farre more rich benefice, that is to ſaie, of the perſonage of Maidſtone, whereinto the biſhop ſpeedilie inueſted him.

Iohn Manſell.

This yeare manie noble men ended their liues, as well ſuch as were gone with the earles of Cornewall and Leiceſter into the holie land, and others remaining ſtill at home. Amongſt which number were theſe: William Fortz earle of Albemarle, Walter Lacie, one of the chiefeſt nobles in all Ireland, Stephan de Segraue, Gilbert de Baſſet and his ſonne and heire named alſo Gilbert. Moreouer, Iohn Biſet high iuſtice of the foreſts, and Peter de Mallow, Hugh Wake, Robert Marmion, Peter de Bruis, Guiſcharde Laider, Euſtace Stoutuill, Eudo Hamon ſurnamed Peccham, Baldwin de Betun, Iohn Fitz Iohn ſteward in houſehold to earle Richard, Iohn de Beaulieu, Gerard de Furniuall. There died alſo the ladie Elianor the counteſſe of Britaine, wife vnto Geffrey, that was ſometime earle of Britaine (which counteſſe had beene long kept priſoner at Briſtow) with diuerſe other.

Death of noble men.

Lacie left no iſſue male behind him, ſo ÿ his daughters inherited his lands.

Moreouer, there died this yeare Roger biſhop of London, and Hugh biſhop of Cheſter. Alſo Gilbert Marſhall earle of Penbroke, in a torneie which he had attempted at Hereford againſt the kings licence, was by an vnrulie horſſe caſt, and ſo hurt, that immediatlie he died thereof. Neither was this yeare onelie mournefull to England for the loſſe of ſuch high eſtates, but alſo in other places manie notable perſonages departed out of this tranſitorie life. As two popes, Gregorie the ninth and his ſucceſſour Celeſtine the fourth, beſides cardinals: amongſt the which, Robert Somercote an Engliſh man was one. ¶ About the later end of this 25 yeare, the ſixt daie of October, there appeared a right ſore eclipſe of the ſunne, verie ſtrange to the beholders. ¶ In the 26 yeare died the empreſſe Iſabell, wife vnto Frederike the emperour.

Cardinall Somercote an Engliſhman.

An eclipſe.

Anno Reg. 26. The death of the empreſſe Iſabell.

1242

In this yeare alſo began the wars againe betwixt king Henrie, and Lewes the king of France, for the quarell of Hugh earle of March, who refuſed to doo homage vnto Alfonſe the brother of king Lewes, which Alfonſe had married the onelie daughter and heire of Raimund earle of Tholouſe, and therefore ſhould ſucceed the ſame earle in his eſtate and inheritance. His brother king Lewes had alſo giuen vnto him the earledome of Poictou, with all the lands of Aluergne: and bicauſe the earle of March would not doo homage vnto him, king Lewes made warre vpon the earle of March, who therupon ſought to procure king Henrie (whoſe mother he had married) to come ouer with an armie vnto his aid.

Wars renued betwixt the kings of England & France. The earle of March. Gaguinus. Matth. Weſt.

King Henrie being ſollicited with letters, not onelie from his father in law, but alſo from diuerſe other noble men of Poictou, who willinglie would haue beene vnder his gouernement, aſked aduiſe of his councell what he ought to doo in the matter. Some were of opinion, that ſith there had beene a truce taken betwixt the kings, it were not reaſon in anie wiſe to breake the ſame: but ſome other thought, that ſith the Frenchmen in times paſt had taken from king Iohn his lawfull heritage in Normandie and Poictou, and wrongfullie deteined the ſame ſtill in their poſſeſſion without reſtitution, it could not be at anie time vnlawfull vpon occaſion giuen to recouer the ſame out of their hands. This opinion was allowed for good, and the beſt that might be both of the king & alſo of the earle of Cornewall, who was latelie returned from his iournie which he had made into the holie land.

Sundrie opinions in the kings counſellers.

But now all the ſtaie reſted in gathering of monie, which being earneſtlie demanded in a parlement begun at Weſtminſter the tueſdaie before Candlemaſſe, was as ſtiffilie denied, alledging in excuſe their often paiments of ſubſidies and releeſes, which had beene gathered ſith the comming of the king to his crowne, as the thirteenth, fifteenth, ſixteenth and fortieth parts of all their moueable goods, beſides charugage, hidage, and ſundrie eſcuages, namelie the great eſcuage granted for the marriage of his ſiſter the empreſſe: and alſo beſide the thirtieth within foure yeares laſt paſt, or thereabouts, granted to him, which they thought remained vnſpent, bicauſe it could not be vnderſtood about what neceſſarie affaires for the common-wealth it ſhould be laid forth and imploied, whereas the ſame was leuied vpon condition, that it ſhould remaine in certeine caſtels, and not to be expended but by the aduiſe of foure peeres of the realme, as the earle of Warren, and others. Moreouer, they alledged, that the eſcheats and amercements which had beene gathered of late were ſuch as muſt needs fill the kings coffers: & ſo to conclude, they would not conſent to grant any ſubſidie.

Charugage a certeine dutie for euerie plowland.

Howbeit, the king ſo handled the matter with the richer ſort, and namelie thoſe of the ſpiritualtie, that partlie by gift and partlie by borrowing, he got togither a great maſſe of treaſure, and ſo prepared an armie and ſhips to paſſe ouer into Gaſcoine with all conuenient ſpeed. In the meane time, bicauſe he would leaue things in more ſuertie at home, he ſent the biſhop of Durham into Scotland, by whoſe diligence a marriage was concluded betwixt the lord Alexander eldeſt ſonne to the king of Scots, and the ladie Margaret daughter to king Henrie. Moreouer the marſhes of England adioining to Scotland were committed to the king of Scots as warden of the ſame, to keepe and defend whileſt king Henrie ſhould abide in the parts beyond the ſeas. The archbiſhop of Yorke, in the kings abſence, was alſo appointed cheefe gouernour of the realme.

The biſhops of Durham ſent into Scotland.

The king of Scots warden of the Engliſh marſhes.

The archbiſhop of Yorke gouernor of the realme.

When this prouiſion was once readie, about the middeſt of Maie, the king tooke the ſea, togither with the queene his wife, his brother Richard earle of Cornewall, and ſeauen other earles, and about three hundred knights or men of armes. The Poictouins had written to him that he needed not bring ouer with him any great armie of men, but rather plentie of monie to reteine ſuch as he ſhould find there readie to ſerue him at his comming. Whervpon he tooke with him thirtie barrels of ſterling coine: and at length (but not without contrarie winds) he arriued on the coaſt of Gaſcoine, in the mouth of the riuer of Garon, and taking land, was ioifullie receiued of the people, and namelie of Reignold lord of Pons.

Thirtie barrels of Engliſh coine.

The king paſſeth ouer into France.

The French king aduertiſed that the king of England was come ouer into France, to the aid of the earle of March, and other his ſubiects againſt him, prepared a mightie armie, in the which were reckoned to be to the number of foure thouſand men of armes, well prouided and armed at all points, beſides twentie thouſand eſquires, gentlemen, yeomen and croſſebowes: and with the ſame immediatlie he entred the dominions of the earle of March, and tooke from him diuerſe townes and caſtels, as Fountney, wherein he tooke one of the earls ſonnes: alſo Meruant with diuers other. In the meane while the king of England was aduanced forward and come neere vnto Tailborge, lieng with his armie in the faire medow by the riuer ſide of Charent faſt by the caſtell of Thonay: & he had there with him in campe ſixteene hundred knights, or rather men of armes, and twentie thouſand footmen, with ſeauen hundred that bare croſſebows. He made there his two halfe brethren, the ſonnes of the earle of March knights, and gaue to the one of them fiue hundred marks, and to the other ſix hundred marks yearelie, to be paid out of his eſcheker, till he had otherwiſe prouided for them in lands and reuenues equall to that penſion.

The French king inuadeth the earle of Marches land.

The number of the Engliſh armie.

Now the French king being aduertiſed that king Henrie laie thus neere to Tailborge, marched thitherwards with all his puiſſance latelie reenforced with new ſupplies, and approching to Tailborge, had the towne deliuered vnto him. This chanced about the latter end of Iulie. Then after the French king had gotten poſſeſſion of Tailborge, he ment to paſſe the water, and if by mediation of a truce politikelie procured by the earle of Cornewall (and as it were at a narrow pinch) the king of England had not found means to remoue in the night ſeaſon, he had beene in great danger to haue beene taken, through want of ſuch aid as he looked to haue had at the hands of the Poictouins and other his confederats. But yet he got awaie (though with ſome ſtaine of honour) and withdrew to Xainctes, whither alſo the French king folowed, and comming neere to the towne, there was a ſharpe inconnter begun betwixt the French and the Engliſh, wherein the Engliſhmen were victors, and in which by the Frenchmens owne confeſſion, if the Engliſh power had beene like to theirs in number, they had fullie atchiued the honour of a foughten field, and for a light ſkirmiſh a ſound and perfect victorie.

Tailborge.

Xainctes.

An encounter betwixt the Engliſh and French.

The high proweſſe and valiancie of the earles of Leiceſter, Saliſburie, Norfolke, with other Noble men,

The valiancy of the earle of Leiceſter and others.

men, as John de Burgh, Warren de Mount Chenill or Cheincie, Hubert Fitz Matthew, and Ralfe Fitz Nicholas did in this fight right well appeare: and likewiſe other of the Engliſh nation bare themſelues ſo manfullie, that they deſerued no ſmall commendation. Amongſt other alſo ſir John Manſell the kings chapleine, and one of his priuie councell did right worthilie, taking priſoner with his owne hands one Peter Orige a gentleman in good place. There was moreouer taken on the French part ſir John de Barris a man of good accompt, by William de Sey, beſide ſundrie others. On the Engliſh part was ſlaine Gilbert de Clare, and Henrie Haſting taken priſoner, with other, to the number of twentie knights, or men of armes, if I may ſo call them.

John Manſell.

Sir John Barris. wil. de Sey. Gilbert de Clare ſlaine.

After this incounter, by reaſon the French armie increaſed by new bands ſtill reſorting to their king, the earle of March ſecretlie ſought meanes to be reconciled vnto him: and finallie by the helpe of the duke of Britaine, his old acquaintance and fréend at néed, his peace was purchaſed, ſo that he had his lands againe to him reſtored, except certeine caſtels, which for further aſſurance the French king reteined in his hands by the ſpace of thrée yeares. The king of England, perceiuing himſelfe too too much deceiued in that he had put ſuch confidence in the earle of March and others of that countrie, which ſhould haue aided him at this preſent, and againe aduertiſed, that the French king meant to beſiege him within the citie of Xainctes, departed with all ſpéed from thence, and came to Blaie, a towne in Gaſcoigne, ſituat néere to the riuer of Garon, & diſtant ſeuen leagues from Burdeaux.

The earle of March is reconciled to the French king.

Now whileſt he laie here at Blaie, there came vnto him the counteſſe of Bierne (a woman monſtruous big of bodie) bringing with hir to ſerue the king, hir ſonne, and thrée ſcore knights, in hope to get ſome of his ſterling monie, whereof ſhe knew him to haue plentie: and ſo couenanting for hir interteinment, remained ſtill with him, and receiued euerie daie 13 pounds ſterling, and yet ſhe neuer pleaſured him the worth of a groat, but rather hindered him, in making him bare of monie, which ſhe receiued, purſſed vp and tooke awaie with hir when ſhe departed from him. But if to hir making and ſtature ſhe had bin indued with the courage of Voadicia, whom ſhe excéeded (as it ſhould ſéeme) in proportion, or with the proweſſe of Elfleda, hir ſeruice had béene no leſſe beneficiall to the K. than anie ſkilfull capteins marching vnder his banner. So that we ſée in this woman a deſire rather to ſatiſfie hir hydropicall humor of couetouſneſſe, than anie true affection to ſet forward the kings affaires; therefore it may well be ſaid of hir in reſpect of hir gréedineſſe to get from the king for hir owne commodities ſake, that ſhe was

Vt mare, quod das deuorat, nunquam abundat,
Nunquam rependit.

Math. Paris. The counteſſe of Bierne.

The reuolting of other French lords

Sée pag. 42, 43, 44. & pag. 152. of the hiſtorie of England.

In the meane time the lords de Pons, Mirabeau and Mortaigne ſuddenlie reuolted, & ſubmitted themſelues to the French king, with the vicount of Towars, and all other the lords and knights of Poictou, and the marches therabouts, that not long before had procured king Henrie to come ouer to their aid. The citie of Xainctes was likewiſe rendred to him immediatlie vpon king Henries departure from thence. At which ſeaſon the French king meant to haue followed him to Blaie, but by reaſon of a great death which chanced in his armie, he was conſtreined to alter his purpoſe. Suerlie, as authors haue recorded, that through peſtilence and vnwholeſomneſſe of the aire, a great manie of Frenchmen died at that time, and dailie more fell ſicke. The number of them that died (as Math. Paris, & Math. Weſtminſter affirme) amounted to twentie thouſand perſons, beſide foureſcore of the Nobilitie that bare banners or penons. King Lewes himſelfe alſo began to ware diſeaſed and craſie, ſo that he was conſtreined to renew the truce with king Henrie, & therewith departed home.

Death in the French camp.

Truce m betwixt t two king Polydor.

King Henrie remained at Blaie vntill the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our ladie, and then went to Burdeaux to viſit the quéene, who in this meane while was brought to bed about midſummer of a yong ladie, whom they named Beatrice after the quéenes mother. Now whileſt king Henrie was thus occupied in Poictou and Gaſcoine, William Mariſch, the ſonne of Geffrie Mariſch (by commandement ſent from the king) was put to death at London, with ſixtéene of his complices on the euen of S. James the apoſtle. This William Mariſch falling into the kings diſpleaſure, got him to the ſea, and plaied the rouer, kéeping the Ile of Lundaie in the weſt countrie, till finallie he was taken and brought priſoner vnto the tower, where he was charged with ſundrie articles of treaſon, as that he ſhould hire that counterfeit mad man which ſought to haue murthered the king at Woodſtoke, as before ye haue heard. Howbeit when he ſhould die, he vtterlie denied that euer he was priuie to anie ſuch thing. He was firſt had from Weſtminſter to the tower, & from thence drawne to the gibet, and there hanged till he was dead, and after being cut downe, had his bowels ripped out and burned, and when his head was cut off, the bodie was diuided into foure quarters, and ſent vnto foure of the principall cities of the realme. His complices were alſo drawne through the citie of London vnto the ſame gibet, and there hanged.

The quee Englan liuered of daughter.

William M riſch exec

Sée pag.

In the time of this warre alſo betwixt England and France, there was much hurt doone on the ſea betwixt them of the cinque ports and the Frenchmen of Normandie, and other: as the Caleis men and the Britons, which did make themſelues as ſtrong as they could againſt the Engliſhmen by ſea. Wherevpon diuerſe incounters chanced betwixt them, but more to the loſſe of the Engliſhmen, than of the Frenchmen: inſomuch that they of the ports were conſtreined to require aid of the archb. of Yorke the lord gouernour of the realme. About which time, and after the king was withdrawen to Burdeaux, diuers noble men, as the earles of Norffolke and Wincheſter, with others, got licence to returne into England. Soone after whoſe arriuall, eſcuage was gathered through the realme towards the bearing of the kings charges. Moreouer, in this yeare of the king there died ſundrie noble men of naturall infirmities, as the earle of Warwike, Gilbert de Gaunt, Baldwin Wake, Philip de Kime, and Roger Berthram of the north, with diuerſe other. Howbeit the king himſelfe returned not home, but laie all the winter time at Burdeaux, meaning to attempt manie enterpriſes, but he brought none to paſſe, ſauing that in protracting the time, he ſpent much monie, and to litle purpoſe.

The ſeas t bled with men of

Eſcuage g thered 20.s kings of e knights fe Math. We

Death of noble men.

About the beginning of the ſeuen and twentith yeare of his reigne, his brother the earle of Cornewall, miſliking the order of things which he ſaw dailie in the king his brothers procéedings, would néeds returne backe into England, but chieflie when he perceiued that his councell & aduiſe could not be heard. The king was ſore offended herewith, but he could not well remedie the matter, nor perſuade him to tarie. And ſo the ſaid earle of Cornewall, togither with the earles of Penbroke and Hereford, and diuerſe other noble men tooke the ſea, and after manie dangers eſcaped in their courſe, at length on S. Lucies daie they arriued in Cornewall, though ſome of the veſſels that were in the companie were driuen by force of the tempeſtuous weather vpon other contrarie coaſts. ¶ About this ſeaſon alſo, that is to ſaie,

Anno. Reg.

The earle of Cornwal and other returne home.

on the day of S. Edmund the king, there happened a maruellous tempeſt of thunder and lightening, and therwith followed ſuch an exceeding raine (which continued many daies togither) that riuers roſe on maruellous heigth, and the Thames it ſelfe, which ſildome riſeth or is increaſed by lant floods, paſſing ouer the banks, drowned all the countrie for the ſpace of ſix miles about Lambeth, ſo that none might get into Weſtminſter hall, except they were ſet on horſſebacke.

ouiſion of ine and vi- ls taken and ſent he king.

About the ſame time the king ſent ouer into England to the archbiſhop of Yorke lord gouernour of the realme, to cauſe prouiſion of graine and bakon, to be conueied ouer vnto him, which he appointed to be taken out of the poſſeſſions of the archbiſhoprike of Canturburie, and other biſhoprikes that were vacant, and out of other ſuch places as ſeemed to him good to appoint. Herevpon were ſent ouer to him ten thouſand quarters of wheat, fiue thouſand quarters of otes, with as manie bakons. Alſo there was ſent vnto him great prouiſion of other things, as cloth for apparell and liueries, but much of it periſhed in the ſea by one meane or other, that little thereof came to his vſe, who remained ſtill at Burdeaux to his great coſt and charges, and ſmall gaine, ſauing that he recouered certeine townes and holds there in Gaſcoigne that were kept by certeine rebels. At which time, bicauſe he was inclined rather to follow the counſell of the Gaſcoignes and other ſtrangers than of his owne ſubiects, and gaue vnto them larger enterteinment, not regarding the ſeruice of his owne naturall people: he was maruellouſlie euill ſpoken of here in England, and the more in deed, bicauſe his iournie had no better ſucceſſe, and was yet ſo chargeable vnto him and all his ſubiects. The Noble men that remained with him, as the earles of Leiceſter and Saliſburie, with other, were conſtreined to borrow no ſmall ſummes of monie to beare out their charges: and ſo likewiſe the king himſelfe ran greatlie in debt, by taking vp monie towards the diſcharging of his importable expenſes.

1243

he king led by ſtrangers.

e is euill ſpoken of.

truce taken fiue yeare.

At length by mediation of ſuch as were commiſſioners a truce was concluded betwixt him and the French king for fiue yeares, and then he returned toward England, but he arriued not there till the ninth of October, although the truce was concluded in March vpon S. Gregories day: for beſide other occaſions of his ſtaie, one chanced by ſuch ſtrife and debate as roſe amongſt the Gaſcoignes, which cauſed him to returne to land, that he might pacifie the ſame when he was alreadie imbarked, and had hoiſed his ſaile immediatlie to ſet forward. He left in Guien for his lieutenant one Nicholas de Mueles or Moles, to defend thoſe townes, which yet remained vnder his obeiſance, for he put no great confidence in the people of that countrie, the which of cuſtome being vexed with continuall warre, were conſtreined not by will, but by the change of times, one while to hold on the French ſide, and an other while on the Engliſh. In deed the townes, namelie thoſe that had their ſituation vpon the ſea coaſtes, were ſo deſtroied and decaied in their walles and fortifications, that they could not long be any great aid to either part, and therefore being not of force to hold out, they were compelled to obeie one or other, where by their willes they would haue doone otherwiſe.

icholas de ueles his eutenant in aſcoigne.

This was the cauſe that the K. of England, oftentimes vpon truſt of theſe townes, which for the moſt part were readie to receiue him, was brought into ſome hope to recouer his loſſes, and cheefelie for that he was ſo manie times procured to attempt his fortune there, at the requeſt of the fickle-minded Poictouins, who whileſt they did ſeeke ſtill to purge their offenſes to the one king or to the other, they dailie by new treaſons defamed their credit, and ſo by ſuch means the king of England oftentimes with ſmall aduantage or none at all, made warre againſt the French king, in truſt of their aid, that could, or (vpon the leaſt occaſion conceiued) quickelie would doo little to his furtherance. And ſo thereby king Henrie as well as his father king John, was oftentimes deceiued of his vaine conceiued hope.

Death of Noble men.

In this ſeauen and twentith yeare of king Henries reigne, diuerſe noble perſonages departed this life, and firſt about the beginning of Januarie, deceaſſed the lord Richard de Burgh, a man of great honour and eſtimation in Ireland, where he held manie faire poſſeſſions, by conqueſt of that noble gentleman his worthie father. Alſo that valiant warriour Hugh Lacie, who had conquered in his time a great part of Ireland. Alſo the ſame yere on the ſeauenth of Maie, Hugh de Albenie earle of Arundell departed this life, in the middeſt of his youthfull yeares, and was buried in the priorie of Wimundham, which his anceſtours had founded. After his deceaſſe, that noble heritage was diuided by partition amongſt foure ſiſters.

Hugh Lacie.

About the ſame time, to wit, on the twelfth day of Maie, Hubert de Burgh earle of Kent departed this life at his manor of Banſtude, and his bodie was conueied to London, and there buried in the church of the Friers preachers, vnto the which Friers he had beene verie beneficiall. Amongſt other things, he gaue vnto them his goodlie palace at Weſtminſter adioining neere to the palace of the earle of Cornewall, which the archbiſhop of Yorke afterwards purchaſed. The monks of the Ciſteaux were this yeare ſomewhat vexed by the king, bicauſe they had refuſed to aid him with monie towards his iournie made into Gaſcoigne. Alſo the plees of the crowne were kept and holden in the towre of London. And in the night of the ſix and twentith day of Julie, ſtarres were ſeene fall from the ſkie after a maruellous ſort, not after the common manner, but thirtie or fortie at once, ſo faſt one after another and glanſing to and fro, that if there had fallen ſo manie verie ſtarres in deed, there would none haue beene left in the firmament.

Fabian.

Matth. Paris.

Stars fallen after a ſtrange manner.

Anno Reg. 28.

The counteſſe of Prouance mother to the queene commeth ouer into England.

In the eight and twentith yeare of king Henries reigne, the queenes mother the ladie Beatrice counteſſe of Prouance arriued at Douer on the foureteenth day of Nouember, bringing with hir the ladie Sanctia hir daughter, and in the octaues of S. Martine they were receiued into London in moſt ſolemne wiſe, the ſtreets being hanged with rich clothes, as the maner is at the coronations of princes. On S. Clements day, Richard earle of Cornewall the kings brother married the ſaid ladie Sanctia, which marriage was ſolemnized in moſt roiall wiſe, and with ſuch ſumptuous feaſts and banketings, as greater could not be deuiſed. Finallie, the queens mother the counteſſe of Prouance, being a right notable and worthie ladie, was honored in euerie degree of hir ſonne in law king Henrie in moſt courteous and ſumptuous manner, and at hir departure out of the realme, which was after Chriſtmaſſe, ſhee was with moſt rich and princelie gifts honourablie rewarded.

The earle of Cornewall maried to the ladie Sanctia.

William Ralegh biſhop of Norwich.

About the ſame time alſo, whereas William de Ralegh was requeſted to remoue from the ſee of Norwich vnto Wincheſter, and conſenting therevnto, without the kings licence, obteined his confirmation of the pope: the king was highlie diſpleaſed therewith, bicauſe he ment it to another. Wherevpon when the ſaid William Ralegh was returned from Rome to be inſtalled, the king ſent commandement to the maior and citizens of Wincheſter, that they ſhould not ſuffer him to enter the citie. Where-

He is conſecrated biſh. of Wincheſter by the pope.

vpon he being ſo kept out, accurſſed both the citie and cathedrall church with all the monks and others that fauoured the prior, which had intruded himſelfe onelie by the kings authoritie, and not by lawfull election and means, as was ſuppoſed.

1244

He ſteleth out of the realme.

At length the ſaid biſhop vpon greefe conceiued that the king ſhould be ſo heauie lord vnto him, got into a ſhip at London, and ſtale awaie into France, where he was well receiued of the French king, and greatlie cheriſhed. Alſo he found ſuch means that the pope in fauour of his cauſe wrote letters both to the king and to the queene, naming hir his coſen, but which waie that kindered ſhould come about, as yet it was neuer knowen. The biſhop to ſhew himſelfe thankefull for ſuch freendſhip, gaue the pope aboue ſix thouſand marks (as is ſaid) and the pope bicauſe he would not be accompted a diſdainefull perſon, turned not backe one pennie of that which was ſo gentlie offered him. At length partlie at contemplation of the popes letters, and partlie by reaſon the biſhop humbled himſelfe in anſwering the articles which the king had obiected againſt him in cauſe of the controuerſie betwixt them, he granted him his peace, and receiued him into the land, reſtoring to him all that had beene taken and deteined from him.

He giueth to the pope 6000 marks.

Martine the popes collectour.

Moreouer, in this meane while the pope truſting more than inough vpon the kings ſimplicitie and patience, who indeed durſt not in any caſe ſeeme to diſpleaſe him, had ſent an other collector of monie into England named Martine, not adorned with power legantine, but furniſhed with ſuch authorities and faculties as had not beene heard of. He was lodged in the temple, where he ſhewed what commiſſion he had to gather vp the popes reuenues, and to exact monie by ſundrie maner of meanes, and ſo fell in hand therewith, vſing no ſmall diligence therein, vnto the great greefe and hurt of conſcience of manie: he had power to ſtaie the beſtowing of benefices, till he was ſatiſfied to the full contentation of his mind. Benefices of ſmall value he regarded not greatlie, but ſuch as were good liuings in deed felt his heauie and rauenous hands extended towards them. He had power alſo to excommunicate, to ſuſpend, and to puniſh all ſuch as ſhould reſiſt his will, although neuer ſo wilfullie bent, in ſo much that it was ſaid, he had ſundrie blankes vnder the popes bulled ſeale, bicauſe that vpon the ſudden he brought forth ſuch as ſeemed beſt to ſerue for his purpoſe. He vſed this his vnmeaſurable authoritie to the vttermoſt, and therein did not forget his owne profit, but tooke palfries and other preſents of religious men.

¶ But to declare all the practiſes of this the popes agent, as it would be too long and tedious a proceſſe, ſo it is nothing ſtrange that theſe his landloping legats and Nuncios haue their manifold colluſions to couſen chriſtian kingdoms of their reuenues. For if they were not furniſhed with foxlike fraud and wooluiſh rauine, they were no fit factors for him; ſith it is required that like maiſter haue like man. And therefore he is aptlie deſcribed in the likeneſſe of a man, his head and face excepted, wherein he reſembleth a woolfe; beſides that, he is ſet forth with a croſiers ſtaffe in his hand, at the hooke whereof hangeth his Iudas purſſe, wherein are powched vp his pilfered Peter pence, and I wot not what extorted paiments and pretended duties. As for his deceits and crafts, he hath more varietie of them, than the cat of the mounteine hath ſpots in his ſkin, or the pecocke hath eies in his taile. Wherevpon it is trulie ſaid of a late poet,

Sydera nemo poteſt quot ſunt numerare polorum,
Quot neq; vere nouo gramina campus habet,
Sic quoq; nemo poteſt vafri ludibria papæ
Eius & innumeros commemorare dolos:
Huic ſcopus immenſum ſeducere fraudibus orbem,
Huic ſcopus humanum ludificare genus.

Antitheſis de Chriſti & papæ facinorb. ſub authore anonymo.

The nobl
complaine
the king o
popes co

But to proceed, when men ſaw ſuch vnreaſonable couetouſnes and polling, by the popes procurement; ſome of the nobilitie of the realme, not able longer to beare it, came to the king, and exhibited to him their complaint hereof, namelie for that the popes procurator beſtowed diuers rich prebends and other rooms in churches vpon ſtrangres knowne to be infamed for vſurie, ſimonie, and other heinous vices, which had no reſpect to preaching, nor to keeping of any hoſpitalitie, for maintenance whereof their anceſtors had giuen forth their lands to the inriching of the church, not meaning to haue the ſame beſtowed on ſuch maner of perſons. The king vnderſtood that truth it was which was told him, and therefore writ to the pope in humble wiſe, beſeeching him of his fatherlie care to take order for ſome redreſſe therein.

The king
writeth t
the pope.

Polydor.

The king
keth counc
how to p
in his wa
againſt th
French k

About this time the king began to renew his imagination for the following of the warres againſt the French king, and therefore aſked the aduiſe of his councell how he might beſt attempt the recouerie of thoſe lands in France which were wrongfullie deteined from him. The moſt part of all his ancient councellors were of this opinion, that to make warre againe in truſt of others aid, as had beene attempted ſo often before without any profit, ſhould be no wiſedome, and therefore he ought either to forbeare, or els ſo to prouide himſelfe of power ſufficient, without truſting to the ſupport of ſtrangers, as he might be able with his owne puiſſance and force to atchiue his enterpriſe, for otherwiſe his trauell ſhould proue but vaine and to verie ſmall effect. The king perſuaded with theſe ſound reaſons, thought not good to attempt any thing more touching the ſaid warre vnaduiſedlie: and to the end it ſhould not be ſaid how he truſted in vaine vpon the aid of ſtrangers, he cauſed all ſuch poſſeſſions as the Normans held in England to be confiſcated, to the intent that as well the Normans as Britons and Poictouins might well vnderſtand, that he minded not from thenceforth to credit the falſe promiſes of rebels, as he that would now vſe onelie the ſeruice of his owne people the Engliſhmen, which in reſpect of others painted promiſes he had before contemned.

The poſſ
ons of th
Normans
confiſcat

Matth. Pari
The occa
why the N
mans we
diſherite

The occaſion that moued the king ſo to diſherit the Normans, did cheefelie riſe of the French kings dealing, who about the ſame time calling to him all thoſe that had lands in England, required them either to ſticke vnto him inſeparablie, either elſe to the king of England, ſith no man might ſerue two maiſters. Wherevpon ſome forſaking their lands in England, liued on thoſe which they had in France, and other forſooke thoſe liuings which they had in France, and came ouer into England to liue on thoſe poſſeſſions which they had here. But in the French kings doings was no inforcing of men, either to forſake the one or the other: wherfore the proceedings of the king of England ſeemed ſomewhat more iniurious, and partlie ſounded to the breach of the truce. Howbeit all was paſſed ouer without apparant trouble.

Polydor.
Matth. Pari
Matt. VVeſt
Dauid p
of wales
neth to ſu
mit himſe
to the pop

Whileſt all things were thus in quiet, and the king himſelfe not troubled with any outward wars, the Welſhmen (who though they were ſubdued, yet could not reſt in quiet) receiued againe the fornamed Dauid to their prince, the which for a policie determined himſelfe to make offer to the pope to hold his land of him, yeelding therefore yearelie vnto him the ſumme of fiue hundred marks (as is ſaid) to the end that vnder the wings of the popes protection he might ſhadow himſelfe, and be defended againſt all men. At length by large gifts of no ſmall ſummes of monie he purchaſed letters of the pope in his fauour,

to

---

to the preiudice of
ing the right whic
dominion of Wa
appeare, beginnin
no Henrico Dei grat

Math. Paris
pag. 880.

Thus Dauid bei
ther of the Welſh
pointed did ſet vp
gled abroad, whom
and like manie of
them at aduentu
was come, and
reſt, aſſembled the
morning with ne
bodie, came vpon
them a new batte
houres togither, t
raſhlie had entred
and fled to their w
and mareſhes. Th
Scotland, hauing
all his ſouldiers v
comming into S
ned, he incenſed
rie to his vttern
how reprochfullie
Scots, reprouing
math; alſo that th
of the Engliſh na
manie other thing
haue moued a m
and diſpleaſure.

The welſhmen diſcomfited.

Dauid fled into Scotland.

He prouoketh the king of Scots to make warre againſt England.

Finallie, eith
or by ſome other
make warres vp
ſing an armie ma
ſome hurt by incu
Henrie, as ſom
would hold anie
king of England
with, purpoſed in
ter called a parle
he earneſtlie mo
him with monie
fers, being empt
charges in his la
not open his mea
to the Scots, bic
ſecretlie kept, till

The king of Scots inuadeth Englãd.

Math. Paris.

King Henrie requireth an aid of monie of his ſubiects

But although
in his fauour vn
porall, to aid him
was much adoo, a
to grant at that
demanded: and
ſing new orders,
ſuit for the confi
the realme, ſo as
ding to the gran
letters patents,
They alſo appoin
choſen of the moſ
within the realm
kings councell,
lie, and to ſee tha
ſpecting of perſ
lors ſhould be e
the leaſt three or
knowledge and
ſhould be ſpent a
chanced to fall a
rome by the app

New orders deuiſed by the lords.

They would a
lord chancellour

Vnreaſonable requeſts.

to the preiudice of the crowne of England, as touching the right which the king of England had to the dominion of Wales, as by the tenour thereof it may appeare, beginning as here enſueth. *Illuſtri viro domino Henrico Dei gratia regi Angliæ, &c.*

Math. Paris pag. 880.

Thus Dauid being incouraged herewith and ſuch other of the Welſhmen as tooke his part, at time appointed did ſet vpon the kings capteins as they ſtragled abroad, whom at the firſt brunt they put to flight, and ſlue manie of them here and there as they tooke them at aduenture. The Engliſhmen when night was come, and that the Welſhmen withdrew to reſt, aſſembled themſelues againe togither, and in the morning with new recouered force both of mind and bodie, came vpon the Welſhmen, and began with them a new battell, which continued the ſpace of three houres togither, till at length the Welſhmen, which raſhlie had entred the fight, began to ſhrinke backe, and fled to their wonted places of refuge, the woods and mareſhes. Their chiefe capteine Dauid fled into Scotland, hauing loſt in that battell the moſt part of all his ſouldiers which he had there with him. At his comming into Scotland, and whileſt he there remained, he incenſed king Alexander againſt king Henrie to his vttermoſt power, putting into his head, how reprochfullie the Engliſhmen did ſpeake of the Scots, reprouing them of cowardnes & lacke of ſtomach; alſo that they liued according to the preſcript of the Engliſh nation, as ſubiects to the ſame: and manie other things he forged, which had beene able to haue moued a moſt patient man vnto indignation and diſpleaſure.

The Welſhmen diſcomfited.

Dauid fled into Scotland.

He prouoketh the king of Scots to make warre againſt England.

Finallie, either by the prouoking of this Dauid, or by ſome other occaſion, king Alexander meant to make warres vpon king Henrie indeed, and in raiſing an armie made a rode into England, and did ſome hurt by incurſions, and further ſignified to king Henrie, as ſome write, that he neither ought nor would hold anie part or portion of Scotland of the king of England. King Henrie ſore offended herewith, purpoſed in time to be reuenged, and ſhortlie after called a parlement at Weſtminſter, in the which he earneſtlie moued the lords and other ſtates to aid him with monie towards the furniſhing of his coffers, being emptied (as they knew) by his exceeding charges in his laſt iournie into Gaſcoigne. He would not open his meaning which he had to make warre to the Scots, bicauſe he would haue his enterpriſe ſecretlie kept, till he ſhould be readie to ſet forward.

The king of Scots inuadeth Englãd.

Math. Paris.

King Henrie requireth an aid of monie of his ſubiects.

But although the king had got the pope to write in his fauour vnto the lords both ſpirituall and temporall, to aid him in that his demand of monie, there was much adoo, and plaine deniall made at the firſt, to grant at that time to anie ſuch paiment as was demanded: and eftſoones they fell in hand with deuiſing new orders, and namelie to renew againe their ſuit for the confirmation of the ancient liberties of the realme, ſo as the ſame might be obſerued, according to the grant thereof before made by the kings letters patents, without all fraud or contradiction. They alſo appointed, that there ſhould be foure lords choſen of the moſt puiſſant and diſcreeteſt of all other within the realme, which ſhould be ſworne of the kings councell, to order his buſineſſe iuſtlie and trulie, and to ſee that euerie man had right without reſpecting of perſons. And theſe foure chiefe councellors ſhould be euer attending about the king, or at the leaſt three or two of them: alſo that by the view, knowledge and witneſſe of them, the kings treaſure ſhould be ſpent and laid forth, and that if one of them chanced to fall awaie, an other ſhould be placed in his roome by the appointment of the reſidue.

New orders deuiſed by the lords.

They would alſo that the lord chiefe iuſtice and the lord chancellour ſhould be choſen by the generall voices of the ſtates aſſembled, and bicauſe it was needfull that they ſhould be oftentimes with the king, it was thought they might be choſen out of the number of thoſe foure aboue rehearſed conſeruators of iuſtice. And if the king at anie time chanced to take the ſeale from the lord chancellour, whatſoeuer writing were ſealed in the meane time ſhould be of none effect. They aduiſed alſo, that there ſhould be two iuſtices of the benches, two barons of the excheker, and one iuſtice for the Iewes; and theſe for that preſent to be appointed by publike voices of the ſtates, that as they had to order all mens matters and buſineſſe, ſo in their election the aſſents of all men might be had and giuen: and that afterwards, when vpon anie occaſion there ſhould be anie elected into the roome of anie of theſe iuſtices, the ſame ſhould be appointed by one of the afore mentioned foure councellors.

Vnreaſonable requeſts.

But as the Nobles were buſie in three weekes ſpace about the deuiſing of theſe ordinances and other, to haue beene decreed as ſtatutes, the enimie of peace and ſower of diſcord, the diuell, hindred all theſe things by the couetouſneſſe of the pope, who had ſent his chapleine maſter Martin, with authoritie to leuie alſo an aid of monie for his need to mainteine his wars withall againſt the emperour; and the emperour on the other part ſent ambaſſadours to the king, to ſtaie him and his people from granting anie ſuch aid vnto the pope: ſo that there was no leſſe hard hold and difficultie ſhewed in refuſing to contribute vnto this demand of the popes Nuncio, than vnto the kings. At length yet in another ſitting, which was begun three weekes after Candlemaſſe, they agreed to giue the king eſcuage to run towards the marriage of his eldeſt daughter, of euerie knights fee holden of the king twentie ſhillings to be paid at two termes, the one halfe at Eaſter, and the other at Michelmaſſe.

The pope ſendeth for ſome aid of monie to mainteine wars againſt the emperour.

Eſcuage granted the king.

After this, the king minding to inuade the Scots, cauſed the whole force of all ſuch as ought to ſerue him in the wars to aſſemble, and ſo with a mightie hoſt he went to new caſtell vpon Tine, meaning from thence to inuade the ſame, in reuenge of ſuch iniuries as the Scots had doone vnto him and his ſubiects, and namelie, for that Walter Cumin a mightie baron of Scotland and other noble men had built two caſtels neere to the Engliſh confines, the one in Galowaie, and the other in Louthian, and further had receiued and ſuccoured certeine rebels to the king of England, as Geffrey de Mariſch or Mareis an Iriſh man, and others. The king of Scots was aduertiſed of king Henries approch, and therefore in defenſe of himſelfe and his countrie, had raiſed an huge armie. Hereupon certeine noble men vpon either ſide, ſorie to vnderſtand that ſuch bloudſhed ſhould chance as was like to follow (and that vpon no great apparant cauſe) if the two kings ioined battell, tooke paine in the matter to agree them, which in the end they brought to paſſe, ſo that they were made freends and wholie reconciled. There was a publike inſtrument alſo made thereof by the king of Scots vnto king Henrie, ſigned with his ſeale, and likewiſe with the ſeales of other noble men, teſtifieng his allegiance which he owght to the king of England, as ſuperiour lord, in forme following.

The K. with an armie goeth towards Scotland.

The king of England and Scotland made freends.

The charter of Alexander king of *Scotland made to Henrie* the third.

ALexander Dei gratia rex Scotiæ, omnibus Chriſti fidelibus hoc ſcriptum viſuris vel audituris, ſalutem. Ad veſtram volumus venire notitiam, nos pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris conceſsiſſe, & fideliter promi-

promiſiſſe chariſsimo & ligio domino noſtro Henrico tertio Dei gratia regi Angliæ illuſtri domino Hiberniæ, duci Normaniæ & Aquitaniæ, & comiti Andegauiæ, & eius hæredibus, quòd in perpetuum bonam fidem ei ſeruabimus, pariter & amorem. Et quòd nunquam aliquod fœdus iniemus per nos vel per aliquos alios ex parte noſtra, cum inimicis domini regis Angliæ vel hæredum ſuorum, ad bellum procurandum vel faciendum, vnde damnum eis vel regnis ſuis Angliæ & Hiberniæ, aut cæteris terris ſuis eueniat, vel poſsit aliquatenus euenire: niſi nos iniuſtè grauet: ſtantibus in ſuo robore conuentionibus inter nos & dictum dominum regem Angliæ initis vltimo apud Eboracum in præſentia domini Othonis tituli S. Nicholai in carcere Tulliano, diaconi cardinalis, tunc apoſtolicæ ſedis legati in Anglia. Et ſaluis conuentionibus ſuper matrimonio contrahendo inter filium noſtrũ & filiam dicti domini regis Angliæ.

Et vt hæc noſtra conceſsio & promiſsio pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris perpetuæ firmitatis robur obtineant, fecimus iurare in animam noſtram Alanum Oſtiarium, Henricũ de Baliol, Dauid de Lindeſey, Wilhelmum Gifford, quòd omnia prædicta bona fide firmiter & fideliter obſeruabimus. Et ſimiliter iurare fecimus venerabiles patres, Dauid, Wilhelmum, Galfridum, & Clementem ſancti Andreæ Glaſconienſem, Dunkeldenſem, Dublinẽſem epiſcopos: & præterea Malcolmum comitem de Fiſe, fideles noſtros, Patricium comitem de Dunbar, Maliſium comitem de Strathern, Walterum Cumin comitem de Menteth, Wilhelmum comitem de Mar, Alexandrum comitem de Buchquhan, Dauid de Haſtings comitem de Athol, Robertum de Bruis, Alanum Oſtiarium, Henricum de Baliol, Rogerum de Mowbray, Laurentium de Abirnethia, Richardum Cumin, Dauid de Lindeſey, Richardum Siward, Wilhelmum de Lindeſey, Walterum de Morauia, Wilhelmum Gifford, Nicholaum de Sully, Wilhelmum de veteri Ponte, Wilhelmum de Brewer, Anſelmum de Meſue, Dauid de Graham, & Stephanum de Suningam.

Quòd ſi nos vel hæredes noſtri, contra conceſsionem & promiſsionem prædictam (quod abſit) venerimus, ipſi & hæredes eorum nobis & hæredibus noſtris nullum contra conceſsionem & promiſsionem prædictam auxilium vel conſilium impendent, aut ab alijs pro poſſe ſuo impendi permittent. Imò bona fide laborabunt erga nos & hæredes noſtros, ipſi & hæredes eorum, quòd omnia prædicta à nobis & hæredibus noſtris nec non ab ipſis & eorum hæredibus firmiter & fideliter obſeruentur in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium tam nos quàm prædicti prælati, comites & barones noſtri præſens ſcriptum ſigillorum ſuorum appoſitione roborauimus. Teſtibus prælatis, comitibus & baronibus ſuperiùs nominatis, Anno regni noſtri, &c.

The ſame in Engliſh.

ALexander by the grace of God, king of Scotland, to all faithfull chriſtian people that ſhall ſee or heare this writing, ſendeth greeting. We will that it be knowne to you, that we for vs and our heires haue granted and faithfullie promiſed to our moſt deare and liege lord Henrie the third, by the grace of God, the noble king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandie and Guien, and earle of Aniou, and to his heires, that we will beare and keepe vnto him good faith and loue for euer, and that we ſhall not enter into any league with our ſelues, or by others in our behalfe with the enimies of our ſaid ſoureigne lord the king of England, or of his heires, to procure or make warre, whereby any damage may happen to come to them or to their kingdoms of England and Ireland, or to their other lands, except vniuſtlie they doo moleſt and oppreſſe vs. The couenants alwaies ſtanding in force, which were concluded betwixt vs at our laſt being togither at Yorke, in the preſence of Otho decon cardinall of ſaint Nicholas *In carcere Tulliano*, then legat of the ſee apoſtolike in England, and ſauing the couenants made vpon the contract of the mariage betwixt our ſonne & the daughter of the ſaid king of England.

And that this promiſe and grant for vs and our heires may haue the force and confirmation of an euerlaſting aſſuredneſſe, we haue cauſed theſe to ſweare on our behalfe: Alan Porter, Henrie de Balioll, Dauid de Lindeſey, Wil. Gifford, that we ſhall in good faith obſerue all the premiſſes faithfullie and ſubſtantiallie, and we haue likewiſe cauſed to ſweare the reuerend fathers, Dauid, William, Geffrey, & Clement, Biſhops of S. Andrewes, Glaſcew, Dunkeld, and Dublane: and furthermore our faithfull ſubiects Patrike earle of Dunbar, Malcolme earle of Fiſe, Maliſius earle of Stratherne, Walter Cumin earle of Menteth, William earle of Mar, Alexander earle of Buchquhan, Dauid de Haſtings earle of Athol, Robert de Bruis, Alan Porter, Henrie de Balioll, Roger de Mowbraie, Laurence de Abirnethi, Richard Cumin, Dauid de Lindeſey, Richard Siward, William de Lindeſey, Walter de Murraie, William de Gifford, Nicholas de Sully, William de Veipont, William de Brewer, Anſelme de Meſue, Dauid de Graham, and Stephan de Suningham.

The lords ſweare to ſe the couenants performed.

And if that either we or our heires, againſt the foreſaid grant and promiſe, ſhall doo anie thing to the breach therof (which God forbid) they and their heires ſhall not imploie either aid or counſell againſt the ſaid grant and promiſe, nor ſhall ſuffer other to imploie any ſuch aid or counſell, ſo far as they may hinder them therein: yea rather they and their heires ſhall in good faith and plaine meaning endeuour againſt vs and our heires, that all the premiſſes may firmelie and faithfullie be obſerued and kept of vs and our heires, and likewiſe of them and their heires for euer. In witneſſe whereof aſwell we our ſelues, as the ſaid prelats, our earles and barons haue confirmed this writing by putting their ſeales vnto the ſame, the prelats earles and barons before rehearſed beeing true witneſſes thereunto, In the yeare of our reigne, &c.

The ſeales of king Alexander himſelfe, of William de Brewer, William de Veipont, William de Lindeſey, Stephan de Suningham, and the ſeales of the reſt were ſet to afterwards, and the writing ſent ouer to the king of England at Chriſtmaſſe next inſuing, by the prior of Tinmouth, who had trauelled diligentlie and faithfullie in this negotiation to the honour of both parts. This writing alſo was ſent to the pope, that he might confirme the ſame in manner as followeth.

A requeſt made to the pope that he *would vouchſafe to confirme the foreſaid charter.*

SAnctiſſimo in Chriſto patri I. Dei gratia ſummo pontifici, Alexander eadem gratia rex Scotiæ, comes Patricius, comes de Strathern, comes Leuenox, comes de Anegui, comes de Marra, comes de Atholia, comes de Ros, comes de Catnes, comes de Buth, Rogerus de Mowbray, Rogerus de Abirnethiæ, Petrus de Mauuere, Richardus Cumin, Wilhelmus de veteri Ponte, Robertus de Bruis, Rogerus Auenel, Richardus de Sully, Wilhelm. de Murray de Dunfel, Wilhelmus de Muref de Petin, Iohannes Biſet iuuenis, Wilhelmus de Lindeſey, Iohannes de Vallibus, Dauid de Lindeſey, Wilhelmus Gifford, Duncanus de Ergatilia, I. de Matreuers, Hemerus filius eius, Rogerus comes Wintonienſis, H. comes Oxonienſis, W. de Veſcy, Richardus Siward, Wilhelmus de Ros, Rogerus de Clere, Henricus filius comitis de Brettere, Euſtacius de Stoutville, Malcolmus de Fif comes de Mentethſhire, Walterus filius Alani, Walterus Olifar, Barnardus Fraſer, Henricus de Bailliol, Dauid Cumin, Dauid Mareſchallus, Dauid filius Ranulfi, Wilhelmus de Fortere, Ioannes de Bailliol, & Robertus de Ros, ſalutem & debitam cum omni honore reuerentiam.

Sanctitati veſtræ ſignificamus, nos ſacramentum corporaliter præſtitiſſe coram venerabili patre Othone, tituli S. Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diacono cardinalium, in Anglia, Scotia, & Hibernia, nunc Apoſtolicæ ſedis legato, ac chartam noſtram confeciſſe, quæ ita incipit: Sciant præſentes & futuri, quòd ita conuenit in præſentia domini Othonis ſancti Nicolai, &c. Quæ charta penes dominum regem Angliæ, & nos remanet chyrographata. Item aliam quæ ſic incipit: Ad omnium veſtrum notitiam volumus peruenire. Cùm vt ex forma præcedentium noſtrarum pateat obligationum ſubiecimus nos iuriſdictioni veſtræ, vt nos & hæredes noſtros, per cenſuram eccleſiaſticam poſſitis coërcere, ſi aliquo tempore contra memoratam pacem venerimus.

Etſi nonnunquam continget, quòd quidam noſtrum omnes vel vnus contrauenire temerè præſumpſerint vel præſumere nituntur vel nitentur; & ex hoc tam animabus noſtris quàm hæredum noſtrorum graue poſſit generari periculum, & corporibus noſtris & rebus non minimum immineret detrimentum: ſanctæ paternitati veſtræ ſupplicamus, quatenus alicui ſuffraganeorum archiepiſcopi Cantuarienſis detis in mandatis, vt nos, & hæredes noſtros ad præfatæ pacis obſeruationem compellat, prout in inſtrumentis inde confectis plenius continetur. Aliàs ſuper eadem pace quod canonicum fuerit anctoritate veſtra ſtatuat contradictores, &c. Et ad iſtius petitionis noſtræ conſummationem præſenti ſcripto ſigilla noſtra appoſuimus.

In Engliſh thus.

The letter of the lords to pope Innocent.

TO our holie father in Chriſt I. by the grace of God, the higheſt biſhop, Alexander by the ſame grace king of Scotland, earle Patrike, the earle of Stratherne, the earle of Leuenox, the earle of Angus, the earle of Mar, the earle of Athole, the earle of Ros, the earle of Catneſſe, the earle of Buch, Roger de Mowbray, Laurence de Abirnethie, Peter de Mauuere, Richard Cumin, William de Veipont, Robert de Bruis, Roger Auenel, Nicholas de Sulley, William de Murray de Dunfel, William de Murray de Petin, Iohn Biſet the yoonger, William de Lindeſey, Iohn de Valeis, Dauid de Lindeſey, William Gifford, Duncan de Ergile, Iohn de Matreuers, Eimere his ſonne, Roger earle of Wincheſter, Hugh earle of Oxford, William de Veſcy, Richard Siward, William de Ros, Roger de Clere, Henrie Fitz conte de Brettere, Euſtace de Stouteuille, earle Malcolme of Fife, the erle of Mentethſhire, Walter Fitz Alaine, Walter Olifard, Barnard Fraſer, Henrie de Baillioll, Dauid Cumin, Dauid Mareſchall, Dauid Fitz Randulfe, William de Fortere, Iohn de Bailioll, and Robert Ros, ſend greeting and due reuerence with all honour.

We doo ſignifie vnto your holineſſe, that we haue receiued a corporall oth before the reuerend father Otho, deacon cardinall of S. Nicholas *In carcere Tulliano*, legat to the ſee apoſtolike, in England, Scotland and Ireland, and haue made our charter or deed, which beginneth thus; *Sciant præſentes, &c.* Which charter or deed indented and ſealed, remaineth with the king of England, and with vs. Alſo another deed or writing that beginneth thus; *Ad omnium veſtrum notitiam volumus peruenire.* Whereas therefore by the forme of our precedent deeds obligatorie, we haue ſubmitted our ſelues to your iuriſdiction, that you may bridle and reſtraine vs, and our heires by the eccleſiaſticall cenſures, if at any time we go againſt the ſaid peace.

And if it happen at any time, that any of vs all, or one of vs, ſhall fortune to preſume raſhlie and vnaduiſedlie to go againſt it, or be about, or herafter ſhall be about ſo to preſume, and therby may procure great perill as well to the ſoules of our owne ſelues, as of our heires, & no ſmall danger may alſo be readie through the ſame our default to light vpon our bodies & goods, we beſeech your holie fatherhood, that you will giue in commandement vnto ſome of the ſuffragans of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, that he doo compell vs and our heires vnto the obſeruing of the ſame peace, accordinglie as in the inſtruments thereof more fullie is conteined, or elſe to order by your authoritie vpon the ſame peace, that which ſhall be agreeable to the canons, &c. And to the performance of this our petition, we haue to this preſent writing ſet our ſeales.

When all things were throughlie concluded, and order taken in what ſort the aſſurances of this accord ſhould paſſe, the king of Scots returned into the inner parts of his realme, and the king of England likewiſe returned to London. At the ſame time alſo, the Welſhmen were verie buſie: for hearing that the kings of England and Scotland were agréed, they doubted leaſt all the burthen of the warre would be turned againſt them. Wherefore (as it were to preuent the matter) they began to waſt the Engliſh confines. The king aduertiſed thereof, ſent Hubert Fitz Matthew with thrée hundreth knights or men of armes to defend the Engliſh marſhes againſt the

The welſhmen ſtirre coles.

Welſhmen, that made dailie war againſt thoſe that dwelled on the marſhes, and namelie againſt the erle of Herford, which chéeflie occaſioned this warre, by deteining the land which apperteined vnto the wife of prince Dauid, as in the right of hir purpartie.

Matth.Paris.

Wherevpon when the Welſhmen vnderſtood that the king had broken vp his armie and was returned to London, they inuaded their enimies, namelie the ſaid earle of Herfords men and the Mortimers, ſleaing and cutting in péeces two valiant and noble knights, and maiming the third, they ſlue and ouerthrew of the footbands about an hundred, ſo that all the Engliſh armie was diſordered, and the Welſhmen with victorie returned to their places of refuge. Which when the foreſaid Hubert Fitz Matthew vnderſtood, the morrow after he made foorth with his thrée hundred waged men of armes, in hope to hem in and take the Welſhmen at aduantage: but he was preuented and by them diſtreſſed, in ſo much that he was conſtreined with loſſe of men and horſſes to returne to his holds, and ſcarſe could be ſuffered to remaine there in ſafetie. This yeare Rafe Neuill biſhop of Ciceſter and chancellour of England departed this life.

The deceaſſe of the biſhop of Ciceſter.

Anno.Reg.29. P.V.

In the 29 yeare of his reigne, king Henrie hauing ſpent much treaſure with the great preparation of wars which he had taken in hand againſt the Scots, and alſo bicauſe he was conſtreined to be at further charges for the Welſh wars, he called a parlement to begin on the third daie of Nouember, in the which he demanded a great reliefe of monie, but the ſame being generallie denied of all men, he exacted it in particular of the richer ſort of his ſubiects, & amongſt other he cauſed the citizens of London to giue vnto him 15 hundred marks for a fine, bicauſe they had receiued a baniſhed man, one Walter Bukerell into their citie, contrarie to the law and order: but this they denied, affirming that his brother had got his pardon, as by the kings owne letters patents they could prooue, but they were anſwered, that the king was vnder age when theſe letters were purchaſed, and therefore were of none effect. About the ſame time, ſir Nicholas de Molis or Mules ſeneſhall of Gaſcoigne, hauing warres againſt the king of Nauarre, got the victorie in battell. ¶ About the midſt of Nouember, great thunder and lightning chanced, with a maruellous vntemperat ſeaſon for the ſpace of 15 daies togither, as a ſigne of ſome miſfortune to ſucceed.

A ſubſidie of the richer ſort.

Matth.Paris.

The citizens of London.

The ſeneſhall of Gaſcoine vanquiſhed the king of Nauarre. Anno, 1242. as Matt. Weſt. ſaith, & Matth. Paris.

1245

On S. Hughs daie died Margaret counteſſe of Penbroke the widow of Gilbert Marſhall late earle of Penbroke, & ſiſter to the king of Scots, and ſhortlie after the biſhop of Exceſter William de Brewer likewiſe deceaſed, as yet being in his floriſhing age, a man in manners, parentage, and knowledge right honorable, and highlie commended. ¶ On the daie of S. Marcellus was the quéene deliuered of a man child, which at the font was named Edmund.

In Lent following néere to the caſtell of Mountgomerie in Wales, thrée hundred Welſhmen were ſlaine by them that lay in garriſon there by a policie of the capteine, which faining a counterfeited flight, drew the Welſhmen within danger of an ambuſh, which he had laid to ſurpriſe them vnwares as if came euen to paſſe according to his deuiſe. Dauid that tooke himſelfe for king of Wales, coueting to be reuenged of this diſpleaſure, ceaſſed not daie nor night to make incurſions and to exploit enterpriſes to the damage of the marchers, the which valiantlie reſiſted the enimies, and droue them oftentimes into the mounteines, woods, bogs, and other places of refuge, and oftentimes the enimies hauing the aduantage of place, did much diſpleaſure to the Engliſhmen.

Dauid king or prince of wales.

Vpon a time as they (being got to the heigth of an hill, to caſt downe ſtones and throw darts vpon the Engliſhmen that aſſailed them beneath) chanced amongſt other to ſlea with a mightie ſtone (which they threw downe by the ſide of the hill) ſir Hubert Fitz Matthew a right valiant knight, and a man of great accompt for his knowledge and ſeruice in warres. Thus the wars continued betwéene the parties, and oftentimes the Welſhmen by the ſudden inuaſions got the better: their prince Dauid comming to the caſtell of Monthault beſieged it, and within a ſhort time wan it, ſlaieng or taking all thoſe whome he found within it. The owner thereof the lord Roger de Monthault by chance was not at home, which happened well for him, where otherwiſe he had béene in great danger: but néere to the caſtell of Mountgomerie, the Welſhmen yet were eftſoons ouerthrowne and 200 of them ſlaine by an ambuſh that brake forth vpon their backs. About the middeſt of Lent the prelats of England were ſummoned to come to a generall councell, the which pope Innocent had appointed to be holden at the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt next following.

Sir Hubert Fitz Matthew ſlaine.

The caſtell of Monthault taken by the Welſhmen.

A generall councell.

It chanced that about this time, a poſt comming from the pope with letters to his Nuncio maiſter Martin, conteining inſtructions how he ſhould procéed for the gathering of monie, was ſtaied at Douer, by the practiſe of ſuch noble men as were gréeued to ſée anie ſuch ſummes of monie to be conueied out of the realme in ſort as was vſed. He was had into the caſtell and his letters taken from him, wherein ſuch ſecrets were conteined for the getting of monie, as ought not to haue beene reuealed. Maiſter Martin hearing that the poſt was thus ſtaied and impriſoned, made a gréeuous complaint vnto the king, ſo that the poſt was ſet at libertie, had his letters to him reſtored, & ſo came vnto maſter Martin, and deliuered them vnto him that he might vnderſtand the popes pleaſure, which others to his griefe vnderſtood now as well as himſelfe.

The popes letters ſtaied.

The king this yeare cauſed inquiſition to be made through euerie countie within the realme, to vnderſtand the true valuation of all ſuch benefices and ſpirituall promotions as were in the hands of anie incumbents that were ſtrangers borne, and ſuch as had béene preferred by the court of Rome, and the whole ſumme of all their reuenues was found to be ſixtie thouſand marks. On Whitſundaie the king made the earle of Gloceſter, Gilbert de Clare knight, and 40 other yoong gentlemen that attended vpon him. And perceiuing by the late inquiſition what great reuenues the beneficed ſtrangers had and poſſeſſed within the realme, and againe conſidering the excéeding great ſummes of monie which the court of Rome had recouered of his ſubiects, he began to deteſt ſuch couetous dealing. And herevpon a letter was deuiſed by the whole bodie of the realme, wherein were conteined, the ſundrie extortions and manifold exactions of the popes legats, and other of his chapleines, which vnder colour of his authoritie they had vſed. There were appointed alſo to go with theſe letters vnto the generall councell, certeine honorable and diſcréet perſonages, as Roger Bigod earle of Northfolke, Iohn Fitz Geffrey, William de Cantlow, Philip Baſſet, and Ralfe Fitz Nicholas, with other, the which preſenting the ſame letters vnto the ſaid aſſemblie, ſhould declare the gréefe of the whole realme, and require ſome redreſſe and eaſement therein.

The valuati of benefices taken, that perteined to ſtrangers.

This Gilbert was erle of Gloceſter, Hereford & lord of Clare.

Amballadors ſent to the generall councell.

These were barons.

Moreouer, it chanced that there was a great number of lords, knights, and gentlemen aſſembled togither at Dunſtable and Luiton, to haue kept a martiall iuſts, and triumphant tornie, but they had a countercommandement from the king, not to go forward with the ſame: wherevpon, when they were

A iuſts and tornie appointed, and by the kings commandement diſappointed.

diſappointed of their purpoſe heerin. Vpon occaſion of their being altogither, on the morrow after the feaſt of Peter & Paule, they ſent from them Fouke Fitz Warren, to declare vnto maiſter Martine the popes Nuncio, as then lodging at the temple in London, in name as it were of all the whole bodie of the realme, that he ſhould immediatlie depart out of the land. Fouke dooing the meſſage ſomewhat after a rough manner, maiſter Martine asked him what he was that gaue forth the ſaid commandement, or whether he ſpake it of himſelfe or from ſome other. This commandment (ſaith Fouke) is ſent to thee, from all thoſe knights and men of armes which latelie were aſſembled togither at Dunſtable and Luiton.

Fouke Fitz Warren commandeth the popes Nuncio to auoid the realme.

Maiſter Martine hearing this, got him to the court, and declaring to the king what meſſage he had receiued, required to vnderſtand whether he was priuie to the matter, or that his people tooke it vpon them ſo raſhlie without his authoritie or no. To whome the king anſwered, that he had not giuen them any authoritie ſo to command him out of the realme: but indeed (ſaith he) my barons doo ſcarſelie forbeare to riſe againſt me, bicauſe I haue mainteined and ſuffered thy pilling and iniurious polling within this my realme, and I haue had much adoo to ſtaie them from running vpon thee to pull thee in peeces. Maiſter Martine hearing theſe words, with a fearefull voice beſought the king that he might for the loue of God, and reuerence of the pope, haue free paſſage out of the realme: to whome the king in great diſpleaſure anſwered, The diuell that brought thee in carie thee out, euen to the pit of hell for me. Howbeit at length, when thoſe that were about the king had pacified him, he appointed one of the marſhals of his houſe, called Robert North or Nores, to conduct him to the ſea ſide, and ſo he did, but not without great feare, ſithens he was afraid of euerie buſh, leaſt men ſhould haue riſen vpon him and murthered him. Wherevpon, when he came to the pope, he made a greeuous complaint, both againſt the king and others.

The kings anſwer vnto the popes Nuncio.

Matth. Paris.
Matth. Weſt.
The popes Nuncio ſent out of the realme.

The church of ſaint Peter at Weſtminſter was inlarged, and newlie repared by the king, ſpeciallie all the eaſt part of it, the old wals being pulled downe, and builded vp in more comelie forme. ¶ The generall councell, according to the ſummons giuen, was holden this yeare at Lions, where it began about midſummer, in which the Engliſh ambaſſadors being arriued, preſented to the pope their leters, directed from the whole bodie of the realme of England, requiring a redreſſe in ſuch things, wherewith (as by the ſame letters it appeared) the realme found it ſelfe ſore annoied. The pope promiſed to take aduiſe therein, but ſith the matter was weightie, it required reſpit. Finallie, when they were earneſt in requiring a determinate anſwer, it was giuen them to vnderſtand, that they ſhould not obteine their deſires, wherevpon in great diſpleaſure they came awaie, threatening and binding their words with oths, that from thenceforth they would neuer paie, nor ſuffer to be paid, anie tribute to the court of Rome, nor permit the reuenues of thoſe churches, whereof they were patrones, to be pulled awaie, by any prouiſion of the ſame court.

S. Peters church at weſtminſter.

The Engliſh ambaſſadors come to the councell.

The Engliſh ambaſſadors threaten the pope, that he ſhould not haue any tribute out of England.

The pope hearing of theſe things, paſſed them ouer patientlie, but he procured the Engliſh biſhops to ſet their ſeales vnto that charter, which king Iohn had made concerning the tribute, againſt the mind of the archbiſhop of Canturburie Stephan Langton, who at that time, when king Iohn ſhould ſeale it, ſpake ſore againſt it. When king Henrie was informed hereof, he was greeuouſlie offended; and ſware in a great chafe, that although the biſhops had doone otherwiſe than they ought, yet would he ſtand in defenſe of the liberties of his realme, and would not ſo long as he had a day to liue, paie any dutie to the court of Rome, vnder the name of a tribute. In this meane while, the king with a puiſſant armie inuaded the Welſh rebels, to reduce them to ſome quiet, whereas with their continuall incurſions and other exploits, they had ſore harried, vexed, and waſted the lands of the kings ſubiects.

Matth. Paris.

Herevpon the king being entred the countrie, inuaded the ſame, vnto the confines of Snowdon, and there he began to build a ſtrong caſtell at a place called Gannoke, remaining there about the ſpace of ten weekes, during the which, the armie ſuffered great miſerie through want of vittels and other prouiſions namelie apparell, and other helps to defend themſelues from cold, which ſore afflicted the ſouldiers and men of warre, bicauſe they laie in the field, and winter as then began to approch. Moreouer, they were driuen to keepe watch and ward verie ſtronglie, for doubt to be ſurpriſed by ſudden aſſaults of the enimies, the which watched vpon occaſion euer to doo ſome miſcheefe.

The king inuades wales.
He buildeth a caſtell at Gannoke.

The morrow after the Purification of our ladie, Iſabell de Boulbec counteſſe of Oxenford departed this life, and likewiſe the morrow after ſaint Valentines day died Baldwine de Riuers earle of Deuonſhire and of the Wight. Moreouer, Geffrey de March, a man ſometime of great honour and poſſeſſions in Ireland, after he had remained long in exile, and ſuffered great miſerie, ended the ſame by naturall death. Alſo Raimond earle of Prouance, father to the queenes of England and France deceaſſed this yeare, for whome was kept in England a moſt ſolemne obſequie. Alſo in the weeke after Palmeſundaie, died a right noble baron, and warden of the north parts of England, the lord Gilbert Humfreuile, leauing behind him a yong ſonne, the cuſtodie of whome the king forthwith committed to the earle of Leiceſter, not without the indignation of the earle of Cornewall, who deſired the ſame.

The deceaſe of the counteſſe of Oxford, and of the earle of Deuonſhire.
Geffrey de March deceaſeth.
The deceaſe of Raimond earle of Prouance.
The deceaſe of the lord Humfreuile.

Finallie, after that the king had lien at Gannoke about the fortifieng of the caſtell there, the ſpace of ten weekes, and ſaw the worke now fullie finiſhed, he appointed forth ſuch as ſhould lie there in gariſon, and therewith, on the morrow after the feaſt of Simon and Iude, he raiſed his field, and returned towards England, leauing the Welſhmen in great miſerie, and like to ſtarue for want of neceſſarie food. For the Ile of Angleſey, which is as a nurſe to the Welſhmen, thoſe Iriſhmen that came to the kings aid, had vtterlie waſted and deſtroied. Againe, the king of purpoſe had conſumed all the prouiſion of corne and vittels which remained in the marſhes, ſo that in Cheſhire, and other the parts adioining, there was ſuch dearth, that the people ſcarſe could get ſufficient vittels to ſuſteine themſelues withall.

Anno Reg. 30.

The king returneth forth of wales.
Iriſhmen deſtroied Angleſey.

A dearth.

The king alſo gaue forth commandement, that no prouiſion of corne or vittels ſhould be conueied vnto the Welſhmen, out of any parts, either of England or Ireland, on paine of forfeiting life, lands & goods. Moreouer, he cauſed the brine pits in Wales to be ſtopped vp and deſtroied. The king hauing thus ordered his buſineſſe, returned into England, and ſhortlie after, taking diſpleaſure with the lord Maurice, cheefe iuſtice of Ireland, bicauſe he had not made ſuch ſpeed as had beene conuenient in bringing the Iriſhmen to his aid, he diſcharged him of the office of cheefe iuſtice, and placed in his roome Iohn Fitz Geffrey. In this thirtith yeare of king Henries reigne, Walter earle Marſhall and of Penbroke departed this life: and ſhortlie after, to wit, three daies before Chriſtmaſſe, his brother Anſelme that ſucceeded him in the inheritance, deceaſſed alſo without iſſue: and ſo all the fiue ſonnes of the great earle William Marſhall, being departed this world with-

Brine pits deſtroied in wales.
The lord Maurice cheefe iuſtice of Ireland.

Iohn Fitz Geffrey lord iuſtice of Ireland.
Matth. Paris.
The deceaſe of walter erle Marſhall.

out heires of their bodies begotten, the whole heritage deſcended to the ſiſters, and ſo was diuided amongſt them as copartenners.

1246

The king this yeare held his Chriſtmas at London, and had there with him a great number of the nobilitie of his realme, which had béene with him in Wales, that they might be partakers of paſtime, mirth and pleaſure, as they had béene participants with him in ſuffering the diſeaſes of heat, cold, and other paines abroad in the fields and high mounteines of Wales, conſidering with himſelfe (as the truth is) that

Mat.Pal. in ſuo cap.

——vita eſt quàm proxima letho,
Quàm meritò ſpernenda animum ſi nulla voluptas
Mulceat, atq; leuent ſolatia nulla laborem.

But that no pleſure ſhuld paſſe without ſome ſtaine of gréefe, there was a rumor ſpred abroad, that the pope conceiued freſh rankor in his ſtomach againſt the king and realme of England, for the complaints which had béene exhibited in the councell at Lion by the Engliſh orator, for the oppreſſion done to the church of England: that thervpon, minding now to be reuenged, as was ſaid, he earneſtlie moued the French king to make warre againſt the Engliſhmen and to ſubdue them vnder his dominion: which enterpriſe the French king vtterlie refuſed, both for that he and the king of England were coſens, and againe, bicauſe the king of France had no iuſt title or right to make claime to England.

The pope requireth the French king to make war againſt England.

The French king refuſeth to gratifie the pope therein.

Further, there was as then a truce betwixt England and France, and before that England could be ſubdued, much giltleſſe blood ſhould be ſpilt. Alſo, the chriſtians in the holie land were ſore oppreſſed, and looked dailie for the arriuall of the king of France, and therefore he would be loth to attempt any new enterpriſe to hinder his iornie thither. But about the feaſt of the Epiphanie, other news came out of Prouance, that troubled the king of England worſe than the other before, as thus, That the counteſſe Beatrice his wiues mother had deliuered vp the countie of Prouance into the French kings hands, togither with ſixtéene caſtels, which in right of the quéene ought to haue remained vnto the king of England. For the ſafe kéeping wherof to his vſe, the ſaid counteſſe Beatrice had receiued yéerelie for the terme of fiue yeares laſt paſt, the ſumme of foure thouſand marks of the king of England, and yet now in the deliuering of them, with the reſidue of the countrie vnto the French king, ſhe neuer made any mention of his right.

The counteſſe of Prouance dealeth vniuſtlie with the king of England hir ſonne in law.

Shortlie after alſo, Charles the French kings brother maried the ladie Beatrice, yongeſt daughter of earle Raimond, and had with hir the ſame countie of Prouance, and ſo was intituled earle thereof, as in the French hiſtorie appeareth. Moreouer, the archbiſhop of Canturburie procured a grant from the pope to recouer for one yeare the firſt fruits of all cures that chanced to be void within the citie, dioceſſe, and prouance of Canturburie, by and during the tearme of ſeauen yeares then next following, till the ſumme of ten thouſand marks were leuied, towards the diſcharge of the ſaid archbiſhops debts. The collection of the which ten thouſand marks was aſſigned by the popes bulles vnto the biſhop of Hereford, who ſhould alſo leauie two thouſand marks of the reuenues belonging to the church of Canturburie, to be conuerted to the ſame vſe. The king at the firſt was ſore offended herewith, but ſhortlie after, he was pacified and ſo the archbiſhop had his will.

Charles the French kings brother is made earle of Prouance.

The archb. of Canturburie purchaſeth grant of the pope to leuie monie.

After this about the beginning of the next ſpring, Dauid prince of Wales departed this life, after great penſiueneſſe of mind, for the deſtruction and miſerie into the which his countrie had béene brought through the preſent warres with the Engliſhmen. After his deceaſſe, the Welſhmen elected to ſucceed in his place, the ſonne of Griffin, whom king Henrie had reteined in ſeruice, and honourablie vſed, euen of a child: but now that he heard that the Welſhmen had elected him to their prince, he ſtale away, and fled into Wales. ¶ On the day of the purification of our ladie, a robberie was committed vpon certeine Iewes at Oxenford, for the which fact, fiue and fortie of the offendors were put in priſon, but at the ſuit of Robert biſhop of Lincolne, they were deliuered by the kings commandement, bicauſe no man impeached them of anie breach of peace, or other crime. The citizens of London alſo about the beginning of the ſpring, were compelled to paie a talage, wherewith they found themſelues ſore aggreeued.

Dauid prince of wales departeth this life.

Ap Griffin choſen p of wales.

Jews rob in Oxenfo

The Londo ners paie a talage.

About the middeſt of Lent, there was a parlement holden at London, wherein diuerſe ſtatutes and ordinances were deuiſed, as penalties for thoſe that offended in other mens parks and warrens: but the chéefeſt occaſion of aſſembling this parlement, was to take aduiſe in matters touching the gréefes wherewith the church of England ſéemed to be oppreſſed by the pope and the court of Rome. The pope indeed to quiet the Engliſh ambaſſadors, and to put the king and realme in ſome good hope of reléefe and deliuerance out of ſuch oppreſſions, as were opened vnto him in the face of the whole councell, did not onelie promiſe largelie, but alſo cauſed diuerſe priuileges to be made and deliuered vnto the ſaid ambaſſadors verie fauorablie, in the behalfe of their requeſt. But yet the ſame notwithſtanding, ſith the breaking vp of the ſaid generall councell, and return to the ambaſſadors, manie things were doone, to the increaſing and continuation of the former gréefes, ſo that they ſtood in doubt of further oppreſſions to follow, rather than in hope of the promiſed redreſſe. Hervpon they concluded eftſoones to write vnto the pope, and to the cardinals, both in name of the king, of the biſhops and prelats, of the earles, barons, and other eſtates of the temporaltie, and of the abbats and priors. In the meane time, the pope for a while ſomewhat relented in the point of beſtowing benefices here in England, for when any of his fréends or kinſmen was to be preferred to any benefice within this realme, he would ſue to the king for his grant and good will, that ſuch a one might be admitted, and not ſéeme of himſelfe to grant it without the kings conſent.

A parlemen

A ſtatute gainſt

The earle of Sauoy in the preſence of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the biſhop of Hereford and others, did homage to the king of England, acknowledging to hold of him certeine fées, as thoſe of Suſe, Auillian, S. Maurice de Chablais, and the caſtell of Bard, which he might well doo, not preiudicing the right of the empire, ſith he held nothing of the ſame empire, except Aigues and the paſſages. This yeare, the office of the earle Marſhall was giuen to Roger Bigod earle of Northfolke, in right of his wife the counteſſe, that was eldeſt daughter vnto the great earle William Marſhall. ¶ Moreouer, in this yeare the king holding his Eaſter at London, honored Harold king of Man with the order of knighthood. About the ſame time, diuerſe noble men of Wales ſubmitted themſelues, and were receiued vnto the kings peace. ¶ On ſaint Markes day was a great froſt and ſnow, which nipped the leaues of trées and hearbes in ſuch extreame wiſe, that for the more part they withered and faded awaie.

The earle of Sauoy doth homage to the K. of Englan

Roger Bigod intitled to the office of earle Marſhall.

Matth.Paris.

Harold king of Man.

Welſhmen receiued to the kings peace, vpon their ſubmiſſion.

Furthermore, bicauſe the pope vnderſtood, that diuerſe rich beneficed men were of late dead in England inteſtate, as Robert Hailes the archdeacon of Lincolne, Almerike the archdeacon of Bedford, and Iohn Hotoſpe archdeacon of Northhampton, he ordeined a decrée, that all ſuch ſpirituall per-

A decrée of the pope.

ſons as died inteſtate, their goods ſhould remaine to the pope. The execution of which decrée he commanded to the friers preachers and minors: but the king would not ſuffer it to take place, bicauſe he ſaw that it ſhould redound to the preiudice of him and his kingdome. Wherein the popes oppreſſion and wrong offered to the dead (by whoſe deceaſſe their ſuruiuing fréends ſhould be benefited) and his cruell couetouſnes extending to the verie ſenſeles corpſe doth manifeſtlie appeare, ſo that it is verified of him, by waie of compariſon,

Carniuorax tumidis vt gaudet hyæna ſepulchris,
Sic inſtat putidis ille cadaueribus.

Alſo, where the pope required a talage of the clergie, the king flatlie forbad it by his letters inhibitorie.

In this meane while, William Powis chapleine, and ſir Henrie de Lamere knight, which were ſent with the ſecond letters, deuiſed in the late parlement (as you haue heard) to be preferred vnto the pope and cardinals, returned againe without obteining anie towardlie anſwer, but rather (as they declared) they found the pope ſharp and rough in ſpéech, ſaieng, The king of England which now kicketh againſt the church, ⁊ beginneth to plaie Frederiks part, hath his counſell, ⁊ ſo likewiſe haue I, which I intend to follow. Other anſwer they cold not obteine. Againe, the Engliſhmen that were ſutors in the court of Rome, were ſtrangelie vſed, and could not get anie diſpatch in their buſineſſe, but were rather put backe as ſchiſmatikes, and with rebukes reuiled. Herevpon the king called a parlement at Wincheſter, to haue the aduiſe of his lords in this matter, where how ſoeuer they agréed, proclamation was immediatlie ſet forth, and publiſhed in euerie ſhire ⁊ countie through the realme, that no man ſhould conſent to the popes contribution, nor ſend anie monie out of the realme to his aid. When the pope heard of this, he wrote verie ſharplie to the biſhops, commanding them on paine of excommunication and ſuſpenſion, to ſatiſfie his Nuncio remaining at the new temple in London, before the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our ladie. And whereas the king minded to haue ſtood in the matter through threats of his brother the earle of Cornewall, and of certeine prelats, namelie, the biſhop of Worceſter (who had authoritie as was ſaid to interdict the land) he yéelded and ſuffered the pope to haue his will, to the great griefe and diſcomfort of manie.

A proclamation inhibiting monie to be ſent to the pope.

On S. Margarets daie, there fortuned a maruellous ſore tempeſt of haile, raine, thunder and lightning, which being vniuerſall through the realme, did much hurt, ⁊ continued the ſpace of 16 houres togither without ceaſſing. This yéere, ſundrie noble perſonages departed this world, as Iſabell the kings mother, wife to the earle of March in Poictou. Alſo, the counteſſe of Albemarle, the daughter of Alaine of Galloway, and ſiſter to the counteſſe of Wincheſter: wherevpon, a great part of Gallowaie that belonged to hir (for that ſhe died without iſſue) remained to Roger de Quincie earle of Wincheſter, that married the eldeſt ſiſter. Moreouer, John lord Neuill died this yeare, which had béene chiefe forreſter of England: but he was not onelie put out of that office for certeine tranſgreſſions, but alſo out of the kings fauor before he died, where (at firſt) none was more eſtéemed in the court than he. The biſhop of Saliſburie, named maſter Robert de Bingham, died alſo this yeare, and ſir Richard de Argenton knight, a right noble perſonage, which in the holie land had ſhewed good proofe of his high valiancie, manhood, ⁊ prowesse: likewiſe ſir Henrie Bailioll of the north, and diuerſe other.

A ſore tempeſt of haile.

Iſabell the kings mother departeth this life.

Roger de Quincie earle of winchester.

John lord Neuill departed this life with diuers other.

Anno Reg. 31.

In the beginning of the one and thirtith yeare of king Henries reigne, the pope ſent into England to haue the third part of one yeares profit of euerie beneficed man that was reſident, and of euerie one not reſident the one halfe. The biſhop of London ſhould haue ſéene this aid and collection leuied, but it would not be granted. And in a parlement called this yeare on the morrow after the Purification of our ladie, it was ordeined, that new letters ſealed with the common ſeale of the citie of London ſhould be ſent by ſufficient meſſengers, from all the eſtates of the realme, vnto the pope and cardinals, requiring a moderation to be had in ſuch exactions as were intollerable for the realme to beare. Whileſt this parlement yet laſted, there came ouer the lord Peter of Sauoy earle of Richmond, bringing with him certein yoong ladies and damſels, to be beſtowed in marriage on ſuch yoong lords and gentlemen as were wards to the king.

1247

Match. Paris.

Intollerable exactions.

Peter de Sauoy earle of Richmond.

On S. Valentines euen, a great earthquake happened here in England, and namelie about London, on the Thames ſide, with the which manie buildings were ouerthrowen. Theſe earthquakes, the ſeldomer they chance in England, the more dreadfull the ſame are, and thought to ſignifie ſome great alteration. A little before this earthquake, the ſea had ceaſſed from ebbing and flowing for the ſpace of thrée moneths togither, by a long tract néere to the Engliſh ſhore, to the great maruell of many, for either it flowed not at all, or elſe ſo little that it might not be perceiued. And after the earthquake, there followed ſuch a ſeaſon of foule weather, that the ſpring ſéemed to be changed into winter, for ſcarſe was there anie daie without raine, till the feaſt of the tranſlation of S. Benet.

An earthquake.

A ſtrange wonder.

Continuall raine.

There were at this time diuerſe ordinances decréed and enacted by waie of prohibition, to reſtreine the authoritie of ſpirituall perſons, as that no eccleſiaſticall iudge ſhould determine in cauſes of anie temporall man, except touching cauſes of matrimonie and teſtaments. They were alſo prohibited to ſue anie actions touching tithes, before anie ſpirituall iudge, and the writ whereby they were prohibited, was called an *Indicauit*. Sundrie other ſuch ordinances were deuiſed, which for bréefeneſſe we omit. What ſpéed or anſwer ſo euer the meſſengers had that were ſent to Rome with the letters deuiſed in the late parlement, truth it is, that the pope ſent ouer into England ſuch of his agents as gathered no ſmall ſums of monie amongſt the cleargie, as one Marinus, and an other named Johannes Anglicus a frier minor, the which were not intituled by the name of legats, to ſaue the priuileges which the king had, that no legat might come into the realme without his licence. The comming ouer of theſe men, bicauſe it was to gather monie, contented not manie mens minds, as well appeared in a parlement called at Oxford about reformation thereof, but yet notwithſtanding it was there agreed, that the pope ſhould haue eleuen thouſand marks to be leuied amongſt them of the ſpiritualtie, exempt perſons and places reſerued.

Acts made to reſtraine preſumptuous authoritie of the ſpiritualtie.

The popes collectors.

A ſhift by forbearing the name of legat.

About the ſame time, Baldwine naming himſelfe emperour of Conſtantinople, came againe into England, to procure ſome new aid of the king, towards the recouerie of his empire, out of the which he was was expelled by the Gréekes. ¶ Alſo, there arriued in England a cardinall that was biſhop of Sabine, hauing firſt receiued an oth, that he came not for anie hurt to the king or his realme, for otherwiſe being a legat he might not be ſuffered to enter the land: he came this waie to paſſe ouer into Norwaie, whither he went to crowne and annoint Hacon king of that realme. There arriued here with him the thrée halfe brethren to the king, Guy de Lucignan, William de Valence, ⁊ Athelmare a préeſt, with their ſiſter Alice. All theſe were begotten by

The emperor of Conſtantinople commeth into England.

A cardinall cõmeth into England, receiuing an oth not to preiudice yͤ realme.

The kings halfe brethren came to ſée the king.

Hugh Brun earle of March, of quéene Iſabell the kings mother, and were therefore ioifullie receiued of the king, with faithfull promiſe, that he would be to them a beneficiall good brother, which his ſalengs with effectuall déeds he after fullie performed. The cardinall hauing ſaluted the king, tooke leaue of him and came to Lin, where he ſtaied at the point of thrée moneths, making ſuch purchaſe amongſt religious men, that what by procuracies and other ſhifts, he got as was thought, a foure thouſand marks towards his charges, and ſo departed. Edmund Lacie earle of Lincolne, and Richard de Burgh, as then wards to the king, were married vnto two of thoſe yong ladies of Prouance, which Peter de Sauoy earle of Richmond brought ouer with him, whereat manie of the Engliſh nobilitie grudged.

The cardinall maketh ſhift for monie.

William de Valence marrieth lord Montchēcies daughter.

Gaſton de Bierne maketh war againſt the kings lieutenant.

Préeſts of the prouince of Canturburie ſuſpended.

Sir Fouke de Newcaſtell the kings coſen by his mother departeth this life.

Alſo, about the thirtéenth of Auguſt, the ladie Ione daughter to the lord Guarine de Monchencie, was married vnto William de Valence the kings halfe brother. The ſame ladie was heire to hir fathers lands, by the death of hir brother the ſonne of the ſaid lord Guarine. Sir William de Bucles knight a Norman borne, was made ſeneſhall of Gaſcoigne about this ſeaſon, and was ſore vexed with wars by Gaſton the ſonne of the counteſſe of Bierne and others, which Gaſton ſhewed himſelfe verie vnthankefull, for the king had giuen both to him and to his mother (a woman of a monſtrous ſtature) verie large interteinement to ſerue him in his wars at his laſt being in that countrie (as before ye haue heard.) The archbiſhop of Canturburie ſuſpended the préeſts of his prouince, bicauſe they would not conſent (according to the grant which he had purchaſed of the pope) that he ſhould haue the firſt fruits for one yeare, of euerie benefice that chanced to be vacant within the ſame prouince. The earles of Cornewall and Penbroke got much monie by waie of a collection, towards the reliefe of the warres in the holie land, hauing purchaſed of the pope certeine buls of indulgence for the ſame. Sir Fouke de Newcaſtell a valiant knight, and coſen germane to the king on the mothers ſide died at London, during the time of the parlement.

Pardon granted by biſhops

On the thirtéenth of October was a portion of the holie bloud of Chriſt (as it was then ſuppoſed) ſhewed in moſt reuerent wiſe in a ſolemne proceſſion, for the king comming to the church of S. Paule in London, receiued there the ſame bloud conteined in a chriſtalline glaſſe, the which he bare vnder a canopie ſupported with foure ſtaues, through the ſtréets, vnto the abbeie church of Weſtminſter. His armes were alſo ſupported by two lords as aids to him all the waie as he went. The maſters of the Templers and Hoſpitallers had ſent this relike to the king. To deſcribe the whole courſe and order of the proceſſion and feaſt kept that daie, would require a ſpeciall treatiſe. But this is not to be forgotten, that the ſame daie the biſhop of Norwich preached before the king in commendation of that relike, pronouncing ſix years and one hundred and ſixtéene daies of pardon, granted by the biſhops there preſent, to all that came to reuerence it.

Knights made.

Anno Reg. 32.

The earle of Wincheſter beſieged in Galloway by his owne tenants.

Alſo the ſame daie and in the ſame church, the king made his halfe brother William de Valence, and diuerſe other yong bachelers, knights. Vnto the ſaid William de Valence, for his further aduancement and maintenance, he gaue the caſtell of Hertford, and the honor therto belonging, with great treaſure: & to the elder brother Guy de Lucignan, which about the ſame time returned into France, he gaue verie great and honorable gifts, lading his ſumpters with plate and treaſure of ſterling monie, which in thoſe daies in all countries was verie much eſtéemed. The earle of Wincheſter remaining in Gallowaie, where he had faire poſſeſſions in right of his wife, was beſieged of his owne tenants, within a caſtell wherein he lodged, and being in danger either to die through famine, or elſe at the diſcretion of the enimies, he burſt forth, and making way with his ſword, eſcaped, and comming to the king of Scots, complained of the iniurie doone to him by his people, wherevpon the king tooke ſuch order, that the rebels were puniſhed, and the earle ſet in quiet poſſeſſion of his lands againe.

William earl Ferrers departeth this life.

1248

The counte of Prouan commeth i England.

A parlem

Toward the latter end of Nouember, William earle Ferrers & of Derbie departed this life, a man of great yeares and long troubled with the gout, a iuſt man and a peaceable. The ſame moneth the counteſſe his wife died alſo, a woman of yeares, vertue and fame like to hir huſband. Thomas Becket the archbiſhop of Canturburie did miniſter the préeſts office at their marriage. Their eldeſt ſonne William ſuccéeded his father in the earledome, a good man and a diſcreet, but vexed with the gout verie pitifullie, hauing that diſeaſe alſo as it were, by inheritance from his father. There died likewiſe other of the nobilitie, as Richard de Burgh, and William Fitz Ham. Beatrice the counteſſe of Prouance mother to the quéene, and Thomas de Sauoy late earle of Flanders, came into England to viſit the king and quéene, and were honorablie receiued, and at their departure backe towards home, richlie rewarded. This yeare in the octaues of the Purification, a parlement was holden at London, where all the nobilitie of the realme in manner was preſent. There were nine biſhops, as the archbiſhop of Yorke, with the biſhops of Wincheſter, Lincolne, Norwich, Worceſter, Chicheſter, Elie, Rocheſter and Carlell, with the earls of Cornewall, Leiceſter, Wincheſter, Hereford, Northfolke, Oxford, Lincolne, Ferrers, and Warwike, with Peter de Sauoy earle of Richmond, beſides lords and barons. The archbiſhop of Canturburie was at the court of Rome, & the biſhop of Dureſme was letted by ſickeneſſe.

A ſubſidie manded.

Polydor.

Matth. Pari

The king charged his immode rate inrich of ſtranger

The parle prorogued.

In this parlement king Henrie earneſtlie required a ſubſidie, in reliefe of the great charges which he had diuerſe waies ſuſteined, wherevpon he was ſtreightwaies by the péeres of the realme noted both of couetouſneſſe, vnthankfulneſſe, and breach of promiſe, bicauſe he neuer ceaſſed gathering of monie, without regard had to his people: and where he had promiſed manie things, as that he would not be burdenous vnto them, and ſuch like; he had performed verie little of thoſe his gaie promiſes. Manie miſdemeanors, and wrongfull doings, to the gréeuance of his people were opened and laid before him, as cheriſhing and inriching of ſtrangers, & vſing his prerogatiues too largelie, to the great decaie & hinderance of the common-wealth. The king abaſhed herewith, and ſuppoſing that the confeſſion of his fault ſhould make amends, & aſwage the diſpleſure which his Nobles and other had conceiued at his miſgouernance, to content them all with one anſwer, he promiſed that he would reforme all that was amiſſe, and ſo quieting the minds of his barons, the parlement was prorogued till the quindene of the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt. Wherein his prudence and wiſedome was to be commended, but his patience deſerueth excéeding great praiſe, whereby he ſhewed himſelfe princelike-minded, in that he could tollerate the exprobation and caſting of his faults in his face, euen by ſuch as ſhould rather haue concealed than diſcloſed them: wheras it had ſtood with his roialtie to haue giuen them the countercheck, and in angrie mood to haue tamed their malapertneſſe: but that he prouidentlie conſidered that

——parit ira furorem,
Turpia verba furor, verbis ex turpibus exit

Rixa, ex hac oritur vulnus, de vulnere lethum :
———patientia virtus,
Qua quicunq; caret, careat probitate neceſſe eſt.
Qui nil ferre poteſt, hominum commercia vitet.

ordinance
onie.

uirie
for wa-
ʒ clip-
of monie.

About the ſame time, by reaſon that the ſterling monie was generallie ſo clipped, that the inſcription was cut off for the moſt part euen to the inner circle, a proclamation was ſet forth, that no péeces thereof ſhould paſſe from one to an other, nor be receiued as currant and lawfull monie, except the ſame were of iuſt weight and faſhion. Herewith alſo inquirie was made for thoſe that had ſo defaced it, and ſundrie Iewes bankers, and cloth-merchants of Flanders were found giltie. Alſo, the French king cauſed ſerch to be made within his realme for the ſame offendors, and ſuch as were found giltie, were hanged, ſo that he was more ſeuere in puniſhing thoſe falſifiers of the king of Englands coine, than the king of England was himſelfe.

Math. Paris.
e parlemēt
lued.
e king dri-
to ſell his

The parlement began againe at the day appointed, but nothing to accompt of was then concluded, but rather a diſpleaſure kindled betwixt the king and his barons, for that they looked for a reformation in his doings, and he for monie out of their coffers, which would not be granted, and ſo that parlement brake vp. The king herevpon for want of monie, was driuen to ſo hard a ſhift, that he was conſtreined to ſell his plate and iewels (which the Londoners bought) ſo much to his hinderance, that diuers péeces (the workemanſhip whereof was more worth than the value of the ſtuffe) were ſold notwithſtanding after the rate as they weied.

Edwards
e at weſt-
ſter.

This yeare, the king cauſed a faire to be kept at Weſtminſter at ſaint Edwards tide, to indure for fiftéene daies, and to the end that the ſame ſhould be the more haunted with all manner of people, he commanded by proclamation, that all other faires, as Elie, and ſuch like holden in that ſeaſon, ſhould not be kept, nor that any wares ſhould be ſhewed within the citie of London, either in ſhop or without, but that ſuch as would ſell, ſhould come for that time vnto Weſtminſter: which was doone, not without great trouble and paines to the citizens, which had not roome there, but in booths and tents, to their great diſquieting and diſeaſe, for want of neceſſarie prouiſion, being turmoiled too pitifullie in mire and dirt, through occaſion of raine that fell in that vnſeaſonable time of the yeare. The biſhop of Elie complained ſore of the wrong doone to him by ſuſpending his faire at Elie aforeſaid.

ir Richard
ward de-
eaſſeth.

eath of
iſhops.

n eclipſe.

ewcaſtell
urnt by ca-
all fire.

The archb. of
Cant. curſeth.

Sir Richard Sward died this yeare, after he had laien a long time vexed with the palſie, which ſir Richard had in his daies béene a right worthie and famous knight. There died alſo the biſhops of Bath and ſaint Dauids. In the firſt day of Iune, the moone immediatlie vpon the ſetting of the ſunne, was almoſt wholie eclipſed, ſo that little of hir might appeare. The towne of Newcaſtell vpon Tine was almoſt wholie conſumed with fire, togither with the bridge there. The archbiſhop of Canturburie remaining ſtill with the pope by his procurator the deane of Beauueis, denounced all them accurſſed which went about to impeach him of receiuing the firſt fruits of benefices that voided, which he had by the popes grant, the king and quéene, with their children, and the kings brother the earle of Cornewall onelie excepted out of that curſſe.

nno Reg. 33.
n erthquake

1249

There chanced another earthquake foure daies before Chriſtmaſſe, namelie in the weſt countrie about Bath and Welles, which ſhooke and ouerthrew ſome buildings, ſpeciallie the tops and ſummets of ſtéeples, turrets and chimnies were ſhaken therwith, and not the baſes or lower parts. ¶ In Chriſtmaſſe following, the earle of Leiceſter returned out of Gaſcoigne, where he had béene as generall againſt Gaſton de Bierne, whome he had ſo afflicted and put to the worſe, that the ſame Gaſton was glad to ſue for an abſtinence of warre, where before he had doone much hurt to the kings ſubiects. The ſaid earle had alſo with the aid of the kings ſubiects apprehended an other rebell, one William Berthram de Egremont who had doone much hurt in the parts of Gaſcoigne, and in the confines there, whome he had left in priſon within the caſtell of the Rioll.

The biſhop of Durham reſigneth his biſhoprike.

Matth. Paris.
The king practiſeth to get monie.

A neſt of théeues broke.

This yeare a little before Candlemas, the biſhop of Durham being a man of great yeares, by licence obteined of the pope, reſigned his miter, reſeruing to himſelfe onelie thrée manors, Houeden with the appurtenances, Stocton and Euerington. The king hauing the laſt yeare receiued of his ſubiects a deniall of a generall ſubſidie to be granted him, practiſed this yeare to get ſome reléefe at their hands, in calling each of them apart: but firſt he got two thouſand marks of the citie of London, and after fell in hand with the abbats and priors, of whome he got ſomewhat, though ſore againſt their willes. By occaſion of two merchant ſtrangers of Brabant, which chanced to be robbed about the parts of Wincheſter, whileſt the king was there, vpon their importunate ſuit and complaint, there was a great neſt of théeues broken, amongſt the which were manie wealthie perſons and fréeholders, ſuch as vſed to paſſe on life and death of their owne companions, to whom they were fauourable inough you may be ſure: alſo, there were ſome of the kings ſeruants amongſt them. About thirtie of thoſe offendors were apprehended, and put to execution, beſides thoſe that eſcaped, ſome into ſanctuarie, and ſome into voluntarie exile, running out of and vtterlie forſaking the countrie.

The archbiſh. of Rone.

Matth. Paris.
Great raine.

About Eaſter, the archbiſhop of Rone came ouer into England, and dooing homage for ſuch reuenues as belonged to his church here within this realme, had the ſame reſtored vnto him. In Iune there fell ſuch abundance of raine, ſpeciallie about Abington, that the willow trées, milles, and other houſes ſtanding néere to the water ſide, were borne downe and ouerturned, with one chapell alſo: and the corne in the field was ſo beaten to the ground, that bread made thereof after it was ripe, ſéemed as it had béene made of bran.

The earle of Saliſburie & other go into the holie land.

Matth. Paris.

The ſpite of the French towards the Engliſhmen.

About the ſame time, William de Longeſpée earle of Saliſburie, and Robert de Véer, with other Engliſhmen, to the number of two hundred knights, hauing taken on them the croſſe, went into the holie land, the ſaid earle being their chéefe capteine, and had ſo proſperous ſpéed in their iornie, that they arriued ſafe and ſound in the chriſtian armie, where (the French king being chéefe thereof) they were receiued ioifullie. But yet (as Matthew Paris writeth) the pride and diſdaine of the Frenchmen was ſo great, that vpon ſpite and enuie conceiued at the Engliſhmens glorie, which bare themſelues right worthilie, the Frenchmen vſed the Engliſhmen nothing fréendlie; & namelie the earle of Arras ſticked not to ſpeake manie reprochfull words againſt the ſaid William de Longeſpée and his people, whereat they could not but take great indignation.

Peter de Geneure.

Alſo the ſame ſeaſon, the earle of Leiceſter, who had likewiſe receiued the croſſe, deferred his iournie for a time, and ſailing into Gaſcoigne, mightilie there ſubdued the kings enimies, as Gaſton de Bierne, alſo one Ruſteine, and William de Solares. This yeare died Peter de Geneure, a Prouancois borne, whome the king had preferred in marriage vnto the ladie Maud, daughter and heire of Walter Lacie a man of faire poſſeſſions in Ireland. Of which marriage there came iſſue a ſonne and a daughter. Alſo about Whitſuntide died a noble baron of the north

parts,

The deceaſſe of Roger Fitz John.

The death of Hugh le Brun.

parts, named the lord Roger Fitz John, whoſe ſonne and heire being yoong, was giuen in wardſhip to William de Valence the kings halfe brother. Alſo this yeare Hugh earle of March, father to the ſame William de Valence died in Cipres, whileſt the French armie wintered there, as then going into the holie hand.

Anno Reg. 34. The archb. of Canturburie inthronized.

A tornie holden at Brackley, or (as ſome copies haue) at Barkley.

1250 Edmond ſon to Richard earle of Cornwall borne.

An ambaſſage ſent to the pope.

In the feaſt of All ſaints, the archbiſhop Bonifacius was inthronized at Canturburie, and kept a ſolemne feaſt, at the which the king and quéene, with the more part of all the prelats of the land were preſent. About this ſeaſon was a great tornie and iuſts holden at Brackley, where the earle of Gloceſter (contrarie to his accuſtomed maner) fauoured the part of the ſtrangers, wherby they preuailed. In ſomuch that William de Valence handled one ſir William de Odingeſelles verie roughlie, the ſame ſir William being a right worthie knight. About the ſame time, the counteſſe of Cornewall at Berkehamſtéed was deliuered of a ſonne named Edmund. This yeare about the beginning of the ſpring, the kings brother the earle of Cornewall with other Noble men of the realme, as the earle of Gloceſter, Henrie Haſtings baron, & Roger Thurkebie, went ouer into France in princelie arraie and furniture to viſit the pope, who held his court ſtill at the citie of Lions. The biſhop of Lincolne alſo and the biſhop of Worceſter went thither. For what cauſe the other went, it was not openlie knowne. But the biſhop of Lincolne went thither about ſuch buſineſſe as he had in hand againſt the Templers, Hoſpitalers, and ſuch other which had appealed from him to the court of Rome, where he could not bring his purpoſe to paſſe, for his aduerſaries with monie had purchaſed the iudges fauour. And ſo the biſhop returned, hauing ſpent his trauell and monie in vaine.

The king taketh on him the croſſe.

The lord Roger de Monthault.

On the 6 of March being ſundaie, the king tooke vpon him the croſſe, with his brother de Valence, and a great number of other Noble men, and amongſt other the abbat of Burie, to the preiudice (as was thought) of his order. Roger de Monthault, a baron of great honour, meaning verelie to go in that iournie, to recouer monie towards his neceſſarie furniture, ſet and ſold the moſt part of his liuings. His woods and poſſeſſions, which he had about Couentrie, he ſold and let to fee farme vnto the couent there. The like chieuance was made by ſundrie noble men, which prepared themſelues to go in that iournie.

Gaſton de Bierne ſubmitteth himſelf to the king.

The earle of Leiceſter his ſeruice in Gaſcoigne.

Vpon the 27 day of Aprill thoſe that had taken on them the croſſe, aſſembled at Bermondſey beſides London, to treat of their ſetting forward, determining that the ſame ſhould be at Midſummer next: but by the popes letters which the king procured, they were commanded to ſtaie till the king himſelfe went. Thus their iournie for that time was diſappointed. There was of them and their retinues that meant thus to haue gone, fiue hundreth knights, beſides yeomen or demilances and other common ſouldiers in great numbers. Gaſton de Bierne was ſo driuen to his ſhifts by the high proweſſe of the earle of Leiceſter, that in the end he was conſtreined to come ouer into England, and ſubmit himſelfe to the king, whom he found at Clarendon, where he gat ſuch mercie at the kings hands, that he was pardoned and reſtored to his lands. But the earle of Leiceſter put the king in poſſeſſion of the caſtels of Fronſacke, Egremount, and others, and baniſhed Ruſtein, and William de Solares, with diuerſe other ſtubborne and diſloiall rebels, depriuing them of their lands and inheritance in that countrie.

The biſhop of Lincolne.

An inhib procured b the king o the pope.

The biſhop of Lincolne did excommunicat a préeſt within his dioceſſe, that was accuſed of incontinencie. And bicauſe the ſame préeſt continued fortie daies without ſéeking to be reconciled, the biſhop ſent to the ſhiriffe of Rutland, within whoſe bailiwike the ſame préeſt dwelled, to apprehend him as a diſobedient and rebellious perſon: but the ſhiriffe winked at the matter, and would not execute the biſhops commandement, wherevpon the biſhop did alſo excommunicat the ſhiriffe: whereof the king being informed, tooke diſpleaſure, and ſending to the pope, procured an inhibition, that no archbiſhop nor biſhop ſhould compell anie officer belonging to the king, to follow anie ſuit afore them, for thoſe things that apperteined to the kings iuriſdiction, or giue ſentence againſt them for the ſame.

The earle Cornwall turneth fr the pope.

The king reth to brin himſelfe o of debt,

The mondaie before the Rogation wéeke, Richard the kings brother earle of Cornewall, returned from the court of Rome, where he had béene about certeine buſineſſe vnknowne to moſt men: but whatſoeuer the ſame was, the pope gaue him moſt courteous and honorable interteinement for his welcome, and made him great cheare during his abode at Lions, where the popes court as then laie. ¶ About this ſeaſon, the K. to rid himſelfe out of debt, wherein he was indangered to certeine merchants, leſſened the charges of his houſhold, and kept but a meane port, diminiſhing euen the accuſtomed almeſſe of the poore, and alſo the great number of tapers and lights in his chappell, ſo that he was noted with the blame of too much niggardlie ſparing and pinching: but in that he diſcharged his debt to the merchants, he was thought to doo wiſelie and charitablie; for that he would not ſee them hindered to whom he was ſo indebted; beſides the opinion that he had concerning himſelfe, namelie that

Profectum faciunt rarum quos debita ſtringunt.

The Iews conſtrain helpe the ki with moni

Matth. Pari

A generall chapter of þ friers prea chers,

About the ſame time alſo, he cauſed the Iewes to giue vnto him a great portion of their goods, ſo that they were greatlie impoueriſhed. There was one of them named Aaron borne in Yorke, the which ſince the kings laſt returne out of Gaſcoigne, had paied to the king the ſumme of thirtie thouſand markes, ouer and beſides two hundred marks which he had giuen to the quéene, as the ſame Aaron proteſted to Matthew Paris, vpon his faith and truth which he bare to his law. In the Whitſunwéeke was a generall chapter holden of the friers preachers at London in Holborne, where out of ſundrie parts of the world were aſſembled aboue foure hundred of them, and they had meat and drinke found them of almeſſe, bicauſe they poſſeſſed nothing of their owne. On the firſt daie the king came into their chapter, that he might be partaker of their praiers, and found them meat and drinke that day, and dined there with them, to doo them the more honour. Another day the quéene likewiſe fed them, and afterwards the biſhop of London, the abbats of Weſtminſter, S. Albon, and Waltham, with others.

Matth. Pari

Strife betwixt the L doners and the abbat of weſtminſt

William de Kilkennie kéeper of the great ſeale,

About the ſame ſeaſon the citizens of London found themſelues gréeued verie ſore, for ſuch liberties as the king granted to the abbat of Weſtminſter, to the great hinderance and decaie of the franchiſes of their citie. The maior and communaltie reſiſted all that they might againſt thoſe liberties, and finallie by the good helpe and fauour of the lords, as the earles of Cornewall and Leiceſter, they obteined their purpoſe. This yeare maiſter William de Kilkennie, a ſober, faithfull and learned man, was made kéeper of the great ſeale. ¶ The ſame yeare vpon inquiſition made by Geffrey de Langley, one of the kings councell of tranſgreſſors in forreſts and chaſes, manie that had offended were preſented, and moſt gréeuouſlie puniſhed by impriſonment, fines, and excéeding great amercements, and namelie in the north countrie.

Robert de Lexinton departeth this life.

On the ninetéenth of Maie died Robert de Lexinton clearke, the which hauing continued a long time in the office of a iudge, purchaſed to himſelfe great fame, and alſo moſt large poſſeſſions. But certeine yeeres before his death, bicauſe he was diſeaſed with the palſie, he gaue ouer that office, and drew himſelfe into a quiet trade of life, ſo ending his daies in praiers and dooing of almeſdeeds. About the feaſt of S. Margaret died Henrie Haſtings a noble baron, and one Robert de Muſchampe a man of great renowme in the north parts. Alſo Walter biſhop of Wincheſter departed this life, about the feaſt of S. Matthew, in whoſe place (through the kings earneſt ſuit) his halfe brother Athelmare was promoted to ſucceed. Moreouer, in the eaſt parts, that valiant erle of Saliſburie William de Longeſpee, with Robert de Veer, and others, was ſlaine in that vnfortunate battell in the which the Saracens vanquiſhed the chriſtian armie, and tooke Lewes the French king priſoner.

lord Hen Haſtings eth. rt Muſ- pe. marle ngs half er made of win- er.

earle of burie by the cens.

On the firſt day of October, the moone vpon hir change, appearing exceeding red and ſwelled, began to ſhew tokens of the great tempeſt of wind that followed, which was ſo huge and mightie, both by land & ſea, that the like had not bene lightlie knowne, and ſildome or rather neuer heard of by men then aliue. The ſea forced contrarie to hir naturall courſe, flowed twice without ebbing, yeelding ſuch a roring noiſe, that the ſame was heard (not without great woonder) a farre diſtance from the ſhore. Moreouer, the ſame ſea appeared in the darke of the night to burne, as it had beene on fire, and the waues to ſtriue and fight togither after a maruellous ſort, ſo that the mariners could not deuiſe how to ſaue their ſhips where they laie at anchor, by no cunning nor ſhift which they could deuiſe. At Hertburne three tall ſhips periſhed without recouerie, beſides other ſmaller veſſels. At Winchelſey, beſides other hurt that was doone in bridges, milles, breakes and banks, there were three hundred houſes, and ſome churches drowned with the high riſing of the water courſe. The countrie of Holland beyond the ſea, and the mariſh land in Flanders, ſuſteined ineſtimable damage, and in manie other places; by reaſon that riuers beaten backe and repelled (by the riſing of the ſea) ſwelled ſo high that they ouerflowed their chanels, and much hurt was doone in medowes, bridges, milles, and houſes.

mightie wind.

Paris.

ſea ſee- to burne

s loſt. burne. helſey.

About the beginning of the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Henries reigne, the biſhops of England, vnderſtanding that the archbiſhop of Canturburie was about to purchaſe of the pope a grant to gather monie through his whole prouince of the cleargie and people for ſynods and procuracies, they thought to preuent him, and therefore made a collection euerie one through his owne dioceſſe, of two pence in euerie marke which any beneficed man might diſpend, which monie ſo collected, they ment to imploie about charges in the popes court, for the ſtaie of the archbiſhops ſuit, that the grant ſhould not paſſe.

o Reg. 35. practiſe biſhops appoint rchbi. of nturburie is purpoſe

About the ſame time, to wit, vpon ſaint Lucies day, there was a great earthquake at S. Albons, and in the parts thereabouts with a noiſe vnder the ground, as though it had thundred. This was ſtrange and maruellous, bicauſe the ground there is chalkie and ſound, not hollow nor looſe, as thoſe places be where earthquakes for the moſt part happen. Doues, rookes, and other birds that ſat vpon houſes, and in boughes of trees fearing this ſtrange wonder, flickred vp, and flue to and fro, ſhewing a token of feare as if a goſhauke had beene ouer their heads. The pope required by ſolemne meſſengers ſent to the king of England, that he might come to the citie of Burdeaux in Gaſcoigne, & there for a time remaine. The king wiſt not well what anſwer to make, for loth he was to denie anie thing that the pope ſhould require, and againe he was not willing for ſundrie reſpects, that the pope ſhould come ſo neere vnto him. Indeed, manie were in doubt, leaſt if he came to Burdeaux, he would alſo come into England, and rather impaire the ſtate thereof than amend it by his preſence, ſith by ſuch vſurers and licentious liuers as belonged to him, the realme had alreadie beene ſore corrupted. Howſoeuer the matter went, there was delaie and ſuch means deuiſed and made, that the pope came not there at that time.

rthquake . Albons.

pope ſu- for licence iorne at rdeaux.

The popes preſence more like to impaire than amend things.

On Chriſtmaſſe day in the night, great thunder and lightning chanced in Northfolke and Suffolke paſt meaſure, in token as was thought of ſome euill to follow. ¶ The king kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Wincheſter, but without any great port or liberalitie, for hoſpitalitie with him was greatlie laid aſide. About this time, Guy de Luſignan the kings halfe brother came ouer into England, after his returne out of the holie land, and was of the king ioifullie receiued. Towards the releefe of his expenſes made in that iournie, the king gaue him fiue hundred pounds which he got of the Iewes. Moreouer, he gaue to his brother Geffrey the cuſtodie of the baron Haſtings lands, and ſo by ſuch liberall and bounteous gifts as he beſtowed on them and other ſtrangers, he greatlie incurred the hatred of his naturall people the Engliſhmen.

1251

Thunder and lightening.

Guy de Luſignan brother to the king.

On the day of the Epiphanie, the earle of Leiceſter came to the king in great haſt out of Gaſcoigne giuing him to vnderſtand, that the Gaſcoignes were reuolted in ſuch number, that if ſpeedie ſuccour were not prouided, the whole countrie would fall from the Engliſh ſubiection. Hereupon the king furniſhed him with monie, and the earle himſelfe got all that he could make of his owne reuenues, and likewiſe of the Vmfreuilles lands, the heire whereof he had in cuſtodie. He made no long abode, but with all ſpeed returned, and reteined two hundred Rutters out of the duke of Brabants countries, and with them certeine croſbowes. Theſe were eger ſouldiers, and bloudie, but yet the Gaſcoignes prepared themſelues to reſiſt them all that they might: howbeit the earle put them ſtill to the worſe. Before his laſt returne from thence, he had raced the caſtell of Fronſacke flat with the ground, and likewiſe left deſolate the caſtell of Egremount.

The earle of Leiceſter returneth.

He had of the king 3000 marks.

Rutters.

About this ſeaſon, one of the kings iuſtices named Henrie de Bath fell in the kings diſpleaſure, bicauſe he was accuſed that he had not exerciſed his office vprightlie, but to his owne priuat gaine, and peruerted iuſtice through bribes, vpon occaſion of a ſuit mooued betwixt him and one Euerard de Trumpington: he was appealed of falſhood and treaſon by Sir Philip Darcie knight. His wife was of kin to the Baſſets and Samfords, the which procured him great freendſhip at the hands of the earle of Cornewall, and of Iohn Manſell, and other of the kings councell. But for all that they could doo, he was in great danger to haue loſt his life at the parlement holden that yeare, and begun on the ſixteenth day of Februarie. For the king was ſo ſore mooued againſt him, that he cauſed proclamation to be made, that if any man had any thing to laie againſt the ſaid Henrie de Bath, they ſhould come forth, and their information ſhould be heard. Hereupon diuerſe came and preſented their complaints, and amongſt other, one of his owne fellowes, that was a iuſtice alſo, declared that he had ſuffered an offendor conuict, to eſcape vnpuniſhed, for a bribe, which he receiued to the preiudice of the king, and the danger of his aſſociats the other iuſtices, whereas it is required of one put in truſt with the adminiſtration of lawes, to be vncorrupt and ſound in iudgement, according to this true poſition,

A iuſtice accuſed for taking bribes.

Iudicio

Iudicis eſt recti nec munere nec prece flecti.

The king herewith roſe vp in a great fume,and ſaid openlie: If any man will ſlea Henrie of Bath, he ſhall not be impeached for his death: for I doo here plainelie declare him acquit and guiltleſſe for the ſame. Herewith diuerſe would haue run vpon him to haue murdered him, but that Iohn Manſell ſtaied their outrage, ſhewing them that the king might well herafter repent the words which he ſpake thus in his furie, and thoſe that ſhould doo any violence vnto the man, were not like to eſcape puniſhment: for both the biſhop of London would ſuerlie accurſe them,and other of his fréends would not faile to ſéeke reuenge by temporall force: and thus was Henrie of Bath in the kings high diſpleaſure for the time. Howbeit at length, through interceſſion of the earle of Cornewall,and the biſhop of London, he was put to his fine,and pardoned.

Henrie de Bath put to his fine.

About the ſame time, Athelmare the kings halfe brother was confirmed biſhop of Wincheſter by the pope, although he was thought ſcarſelie ſuffieient to haue the place, for lacke of learning and ripe yeares. About this time alſo,the biſhops aſſembling at Dunſtable,tooke aduiſe togither, how to preuent the archbiſhop of Canturburie,that he ſhould not viſit: and in the end they concluded to ſend their procurator vnto the court of Rome,to trie what purchaſe might be made there for monie to ſtaie the licence, and not to ſticke for the diſburſing of foure thouſand marks, if néed required. Their procurator did ſo much in the matter,that he found the pope fauourable vnto his cauſe, though no determinate anſwer was giuen of a long time, till at length,to gratifie the archbiſhop and his kin,as the duke of Sauoy and other,the pope granted him licence to viſit, but not generallie: for he might not viſit anie pariſh church, except the perſon required him thereto. And whereas he had libertie to viſit conuentuall churches, yet might he not receiue for procuracies aboue foure marks. For this moderation to be had, the procurator for the biſhops gaue vnto the pope ſix thouſand marks.

Athelmare or Odomare biſhop of Wincheſter confirmed.

A conuocatiō of the biſhops.

Six thouſand marks giuen to the pope.

The ſame yeare the biſhop of Lincolne viſited the religious houſes within his dioceſſe, to vnderſtand what rule was kept amongſt them,vſing the matter ſomewhat ſtrictlie(as they thought:) for he entred into the chambers of the moonks & ſearched their beds. And comming to the houſes of the nuns, he went ſo néere as to cauſe their breaſts to be tried, that he might vnderſtand of their chaſt liuings. In Lent following he was ſuſpended by the pope, bicauſe he would not ſuffer an Italian that had no ſkill of the Engliſh toong to inioy a prebend in his church, which the pope had giuen to the ſame Italian. In this ſeaſon,Wales was brought to be ſubiect vnto the Engliſh lawes, and that part which ioineth to Cheſhire, was committed to the cuſtodie of Alain lord Zouch, the which gaue,for hauing of the profits thereof to farme,ii hundred marks, and ſupplanted lord Iohn Graie which ſhould haue had it for fiue hundred. Certeine vſurers and ſtrangers borne called Caorſini, had bought faire houſes at London,and ſo remained there as inhabitants, occupieng their trade without controlment,for the prelats durſt not ſpeake againſt them, bicauſe they alleged themſelues to be the merchants of the popes highneſſe: and the citizens durſt not trouble them bicauſe they were defended by certeine noble men,whoſe monie (as was ſaid) they occupied,to gaine after the manner of the court of Rome. Howbeit at length they were called before the ciuill magiſtrate by the kings procurement, and grieuouſlie accuſed for their vnlawfull occupieng of vſurie,and ſome of them committed to priſon, the reſidue hid themſelues out of the way, till at length for a ſumme of monie they were licenced to be at reſt, and ſo continued for a ſeaſon. The Iewes reioiſed hereat,to haue fellowes with them in their miſerie.

The biſhop of Lincolne viſiteth abbeies.

The biſhop of Lincolne ſuſpended by the pope,

Wales ſubiect to the Engliſh lawes.

Alain lord Zouch.

Vſurers called Caorſini.

In this ſeaſon alſo there depended a controuerſie betwixt the archbiſhop of Canturburie with the biſhop of London and his canons of Paules, ſo that the ſaid biſhop of London & the deane of Paules,and other of the canons were excommunicated. But the biſhop perceiuing which way the world went,reconciled himſelfe: as for the deane, he ſtood long in the matter,& at length went himſelfe to the pope to vtter his gréefe. This controuerſie hanged long betwixt them, and was handled in ſuch wiſe, that laie-men laughed at their doings, for now and then whom the pope commanded to be abſolued, their aduerſaries by colour of the popes authoritie would command to be excommunicated.The firſt day of Iulie the earle of Leiceſter in Gaſcoigne ouercame manie of the kings enimies,and tooke from them a fortreſſe called Chattellon.

Contr
betwi
lats.

The ea
Leiceſte
ſpereth
Gaſcoig

On S. Dunſtans day there was a maruellous ſore tempeſt of weather, the aire being darkened on euerie ſide from the foure corners thereof, and withall chanced ſuch a thunder as few the like had béene heard of. Firſt it began as it had béene a great way off, but after it burſt out with ſuch terrible crackes as was woonderfull. But one amongſt the reſt excéeded,and withall ſuch lightening flaſhed foorth,as put men in great feare and terror. The chimnie of the chamber,wherein the quéene and hir children then were,was beaten downe to duſt, and the whole building ſore ſhaken. This was at Windſore, where in the parke,okes were rent in ſunder,and turned vp by the roots,and much hurt doone; as milles with the millers in them, ſhéepfolds with their ſhepheards, and plowmen, and ſuch as were going by the way were deſtroied and beaten downe. About the ſame time the ſea on the coaſts of England aroſe with higher tides than the naturall courſe gaue, by the ſpace of ſix féet.

A ſore te
peſt of th
der & ligh
ning.

Windſo

High ti

About Michaelmaſſe quéene Dowager of Scotland, that was daughter to Monſieur de Couſie a Frenchman, came through England to returne into France where ſhe was borne,and was of the king honorablie receiued and welcomed. This yeare the nunrie of Marran not far from Lin was founded by the ladie Iſabell counteſſe of Arundell. ¶ Alſo this yeare the lord William de Cantlow departed this life,in whoſe heritage his ſon alſo named William ſucceeded. ¶ Moreouer,Iohn Cobham & Geffrey Spenſer (that was a man of great fame, and one of the kings councell)departed this life,Cobham before Eaſter, and Spenſer ſhortlie after the ſame feaſt. Alſo in the octaues of Pentecoſt,Paule Peiuer or Peure departed this life, he was one of the kings chéefe councellors, and lord ſteward of his houſe. This man at the firſt was not borne to anie great poſſeſſions, but by purchaſe atteined to great reuenues. The ladie Ione his wife compounded with the king for the marriage of hir ſon named Paule, after his father, but the lord Iohn Graie paied the monie,being fiue hundred marks, and ſo diſcharging hir of that debt,maried hir ſonne to one of his daughters at his manor of Eiton,and afterwards at London married the mother of his ſonne in law, wherewith the king was ſore diſpleaſed,for he had giuen the marriage of hir vnto a ſtranger, one Stephan de Salines, ſo that the lord Graie was glad to giue to the king the ſumme of fiftie marks, by way of a fine to haue his good will.

The nun
of Marr
founded.

Paule Peiuer.

The lord
Will. Gra
marrieth th
wife of Pa
Peiuer.

In the ſix and thirtith yéere of king Henries reigne, the church of Hales was dedicated of the foundation of Richard earle of Cornewall. At which dedication he kept a ſolemne feaſt on the euen of ſaint Leonard being Sunday. There was preſent the king and the

Anno Reg.
Matth.Pa
The chur
of Hales d
dicated.

quéene, and almoſt all the Nobilitie of England, both ſpirituall and temporall. The building of that church, all charges accounted, ſtood the earle in ten thouſand marks, as he himſelfe confeſſed vnto Mathew Paris. ¶ About the ſame time the earle of Leiceſter and Guie de Luſignan the kings halfe brother came into England out of France, and landed at Douer, whome the king receiued with great ioy and gladneſſe. He gaue to his brother at his returne great rewards, as he was euer accuſtomed. In the feaſt of the Conception of our ladie at a iuſtes holden at Rocheſter, the ſtrangers were put to the worſe, and well beaten by the Engliſh batchlers and men of armes, ſo that the diſhonour which they did to the Engliſhmen at Brakley was now recompenſed with intereſt. For the ſtrangers fléeing to the citie for ſuccour, were met by the way by the Engliſh knights ſeruants and yeomen, which fell vpon them, beat them ſore with clubs and ſtaues, and handled them verie euill. Hereof ſprang a great hatred betwixt the Engliſhmen and ſtrangers, which dailie grew and increaſed more and more, the rather bicauſe the king had them in ſo good eſtimation, and reteined ſo manie of them within the realme.

The charges of the building of the church of Hales.

Tournies and iuſts in thoſe daies were handled in more rough manner than is vſed in our time.

1252

The king did celebrate the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe at Yorke, whither came Alexander the yong king of Scots, and was there made knight by the king of England, and on ſaint Stephans day he married the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of England, according to the aſſurance before time concluded. There was a great aſſemblie of noble perſonages at that feaſt. The quéene Dowager of Scotland mother to king Alexander, a French woman of the houſe of Coucie, had paſſed the ſea, & was preſent there with a faire companie of lords and gentlemen. The number of knights that were come thither on the king of Englands part were reckoned to be at the point of one thouſand. The king of Scots had with him thrée ſcore knights, and a great ſort of other gentlemen comparable to knights. The king of Scots did homage to the king of England at that time for the realme of Scotland, and all things were doone with great loue and fauour, although at the beginning ſome ſtrife was kindled about taking vp of lodgings.

The houſe of Coucie.

The king of Scots did homage to the K. of England.

This aſſemblie of the princes coſt the archbiſhop verie déerelie, in feaſting and banketting them and their traines. At one dinner it was reported he ſpent at the firſt courſe thréeſcore fat oxen. ¶ At requeſt of the K. of Scots, the K. of England receiued Philip Lunell againe into fauour, or rather Louell (as I take it) one of his councell, againſt whome he had conceiued diſpleaſure in the yeare laſt paſt, for ſuch briberie as he was thought to be giltie of for ſhewing fauour to the Iewes. The king of Scots when he ſhould depart, tooke his leaue in moſt courteous maner, and led with him his new married wife, on whome attended ſir Robert Norice knight marſhall of the kings houſe, and ſir Stephan Bauſan, and alſo the ladie Mawd, the widowe of the lord William Cantlow, with others. On the octaues of the Epiphanie chanced an excéeding great wind, which did much hurt in diuerſe places of the realme. The biſhop of Rocheſter returning frõ the court of Rome, brought with him a bull, authoriſing him to receiue to his owne vſe the fift part of the reuenues of all the beneficed men within his dioceſſe.

Sir Robert Norice, and ſir Stephan Bauſan.

An excéeding great wind.

The biſhop of Rocheſt. bull.

In this meane while the earle of Leiceſter remaining in England, the Gaſcoignes made ſore warre againſt ſuch as he had left behind him, and withall gaue information to the king that the earle of Leiceſter was a traitor, and one that had ſpoiled the kings ſubiects: and furthermore by his vniuſt dealings had giuen to the Gaſcoignes cauſe of rebellion. The king to boult out the truth of this matter, ſent firſt his chapleine Henrie Wingham, and afterwards ſir Nicholas de Moles de Valence, as commiſſioners to inquire of the earles dooing, who went and returned without finding any manifeſt crime in the earles demeanor. The earle was much offended that his innocencie ſhould be thus ſuſpected; but at length being appointed to returne into Gaſcoigne, he obeied and hauing a great ſumme of monie, he reteined a power of men of warre, as well Frenchmen as others, and meaning to be reuenged of thoſe that had giuen the information againſt him, he ſtrengthened himſelfe with the aid of the king of Nauarre, and of the earle of Bigorre and other, ſo that he oppreſſed his aduerſaries on ech hand, and ſo abated their pride, that if conuenientlie they might, they would haue yéelded themſelues to ſome other prince, and vtterlie haue renounced the K. of England for euer. Whereby it ſhould ſéeme that he was throughlie reuenged of them euen to their no ſmall ſmart, not in word and threatning, but with ſword and bloud-ſhedding, defending his innocencie, and manfullie ſhewing his warlike mind. But yet he had purchaſed to himſelfe a greater portion of praiſe, if he had not with weapon but with wiſedome made a conqueſt of the enimie: according to this ſound counſell of a ſage writer;

The Gaſcoignes make warre againſt the Engliſh ſubiects.

The earle of Leiceſter danteth his enimies.

Ingenio ſtudeas mage quàm ſuperare furore,
Ingenio vires cedunt, prudentia victrix
Cuncta domat.

Mal. Pal. in ſuo cap.

On the thirtéenth day of March, the new moone was ſéene, whereas the prime change by naturall courſe ſhould not haue béene till the ſixtéenth day following; and for the ſpace of fiftéene daies that then next inſued, the ſunne, the moone, and ſtarres appeared of a red colour. And herewith the whole face of the earth ſéemed as it had béene ſhadowed with a thicke miſt or ſmoke, the wind notwithſtanding remaining north and northeaſt. Then began a ſore drought, continuing a long time, the which togither with morning froſts, and northerlie winds, deſtroied the fruits and other growing things, which were blaſted in ſuch wiſe, that although at the firſt it was a verie forward yeare, and great plentie towards of corne and fruit, yet by the meanes aforeſaid, the ſame was greatlie hindered and ſpeciallie in the ſummer ſeaſon, when the ſunnes heat increaſed, and the drought ſtill continued.

A ſtrange wonder of the new moone.

A great drought.

The reſidue of ſuch fruits as then remained, withered awaie, ſo that ſcarſe a tenth part was left, and yet there was indifferent ſtore. For if the abundance which the bloſſomes promiſed had come forward, the trées had not béene able to haue borne the ſame. The graſſe was ſo burned vp in paſtures and medowes, that if a man tooke vp ſome of it in his hands, and rubbed the ſame neuer ſo little, it ſtreight fell to poulder, and ſo cattell were readie to ſtarue for lacke of meat. And bicauſe of the excéeding hot nights, there was ſuch abundance of fleas, flies, and gnats, that people were vexed and brought in caſe to be wearie of their liues. And herewith chanced manie diſeaſes, as ſweats, agues, and other. In the harueſt time fell there a great death and murren amongſt cattell, and ſpeciallie in Northfolke, in the fens and other parts of the ſouth. This infection was ſuch, that dogs and rauens féeding on the dead carrens, ſwelled ſtreightwaies and died, ſo that the people durſt eat no béefe, leaſt the fleſh happilie might be infected.

Manie diſeaſes reigned.

A murren of cattell.

Alſo this was noted not without great wonder, that yong heifers and bullockes followed the milchkine, & as it had béene calues ſucked the ſame kine. Alſo appletrées and peartrées, now after the time of yéelding their ripe fruit, began againe to bloſſome, as if it had béene in Aprill. The cauſe of the death of cattell was thought to come hereof. After ſo great a

The cauſe of the death of cattell.

drought (which had continued by all the ſpace of the moneths of Aprill, Maie, Iune, and Iulie) when there folowed good plentie of raine, the earth began to yeeld hir increaſe moſt plentiouſlie of all growing things, though not ſo wholeſome nor of ſuch kindlie ſubſtance, as in due time and ſeaſon ſhe is accuſtomed to bring forth, and ſo the cattell which before were hungerſtarued, fed now ſo greedilie of this new graſſe ſprong vp in vndue ſeaſon, that they were ſuddenlie puffed vp with fleſh, and ſuch vnnaturall humors, as bred infections amongſt them, whereof they died.

The biſhop of Lincolne.

The biſhop of Lincolne would haue inforced all the beneficed men within his dioceſſe to be preeſts, but they purchaſed a licence from Rome, to remaine at the Vniuerſities for certeine yeares, without taking the order of preeſthood vpon them. ¶ The king meaning to go (as he pretended) into the holie land, had grant of the pope to leuie a tenth of his ſubiects both ſpirituall and temporall. The Gaſcoignes ſore repining at the earle of Leiceſter his ſtreict gouernance (who handled them more roughlie than they had beene accuſtomed) ſent the archbiſhop of Burdeaux ouer into England to exhibit a complaint againſt him in all their names. The earle of Leiceſter aduertiſed thereof, followed him, and comming to the court, found the archbiſhop readie to aduouch the information which he had made againſt the ſaid earle, cheefelie in that he had ſought the deſtruction of thoſe to whom the earle of Cornewall when he was ruler there, had granted life and peace, and whom ſir Henrie Trubleuile, and Waleran the Dutchman, late ſtewards of Gaſcoigne, vnder the king, had cheriſhed and mainteined. With manie other things the archbiſhop charged him, the which the earle wittilie refelled and diſproued, ſo as he was allowed in his iuſtification by thoſe that ſtood by, as the earle of Cornewall and others.

The Gaſcoigns meane to complaine of the earle of Leiceſter.

The earle diſproueth the allegations of his accuſers.

The biſhop of Lincolns authoritie to inſtitute vicars in churches impropriate.

The biſhop of Lincolne got authoritie of the pope to inſtitute vicarages in churches impropriat to religious men, where no vicars were; and where ſuch were as ſeemed too ſlenderlie prouided of ſufficient allowance, to augment the ſame as he thought expedient: which his authoritie he vſed more largelie than ſtood with the pleaſure of religious perſons, bicauſe he ſhewed great fauour to the vicars. The copie of the letters which the biſhop had procured of the pope, authoriſing him herein, followeth as we find the ſame in the chronicles of Matthew Paris.

The tenor of the popes grant.

INnocentius epiſcopus, &c. Cùm ſicut accepimus in tua ciuitate & diocæſi, nonnulli religioſi & alij collegiati eccleſias perochiales in proprios vſus obtineant, in quibus nimis exiles aut nullæ taxatæ ſunt vicariæ; fraternitati tuæ per authoritatem ſummam mandamus, quòd in iiſdem eccleſiis de ipſarum prouentibus vicarias inſtituas, & inſtitutas exiles adaugeas vice noſtra: prout iuxta conſuetudinem patriæ ſecundũ Deum videtur expedire, non obſtantibus ſi prædicti exempti ſint, aut aliàs muniti apoſtolicis priuilegiis ſiue indulgentiis, per quæ id impediri vel differri poſſit; & de quibus ſpeciale oporteat in præſentibus fieri mentionem: contradictores per cenſuras eccleſiaſticas apoſtolica poteſtate compeſcendo. Datum Lugduni 7 Octob. pontificatus noſtri, An. 8.

The earle of Leiceſter ſent eftſoones into Gaſcoigne.

The earle of Leiceſter was eftſoones ſent into Gaſcoigne by the king, who had not cared if he had fallen into his enimies hands, as ſhould appeare. But the earle hired ſouldiers in France, and comming into Gaſcoigne, preuailed againſt his enimies, though in one conflict he was in danger of looſing both life and the honour of the field. But yet through his good hap, Gods fauour, and the valiancie of himſelfe and ſome of his retinue, he got the vpper hand, and put his enimies to flight, taking Ruſteine, one of the cheefe ringleaders, whom he cauſed to be preſented to the king. At the ſame time had the king inueſted his ſon Edward with the duchie of Aquitaine to the offenſe of the earle of Cornewall, to whom by charter he had before giuen and confirmed the ſame. In a iuſts holden at Walden, ſir Arnold de Monteinie a right valiant knight was ſlaine by ſir Roger de Lemborne, for which miſchance all the Nobles there aſſembled made great lamentation, and namelie the ſaid ſir Roger: but yet he was ſuſpected to be in blame, bicauſe the ſocket of his ſtaffe was poliſhed, & not abated. Hereby it ſhould appeare, that in qualitie of weapon, and not in maner of their running togither, theſe iuſts and tornies in thoſe daies practiſed differed from the verie order of warre.

Ruſteine taken.

The kings eldeſt ſon Edward created duke of Aquitaine.

Sir Arnold de Monteinie ſlaine.

The 17 of September the cathedrall church of Elie was dedicated, which the biſhop of that ſee named Hugh had builded of his owne proper coſts and charges, togither with the palace there. The king and a great number of the peeres & nobles of the realme both ſpirituall and temporall were preſent at this ſolemne feaſt, which was kept in moſt plentifull manner. The 13 day of October, the king held a great feaſt at London, and had called the ſtates of the realme, then and there to aſſemble in parlement, wherein he opened to them the popes grant, which he had obteined of the tenths due to the church, to be receiued by him for three yeares, towards his charges in his iournie which he meant to make into the holie land. The biſhops, and namelie Lincolne, vtterlie refuſed to be contributarie to his grant.

The church of Elie dedicated.

A parlement.

The king demandeth the tenths of the ſpiritualtie.

They alledged ſundrie reaſons for their excuſe, as the pouertie of the Engliſh church being alreadie made bare, with continuall exactions and oppreſſions; but cheeflie they excuſed themſelues by the abſence of the archbiſhops of Canturburie and Yorke, of whom the one was beyond the ſea, and the other at home in the north parts. All th'other Engliſh biſhops were there, except Hereford & Cheſter, which Cheſter was ſicke, and therefore without the conſent of thoſe that were abſent, and namelie their primat the archbiſhop of Canturburie, they could not conclude vpon any generall point touching the kings demand. And although the king fretted and ſtormed againſt them, yet could he not bring them to his purpoſe, ſo that the parlement for that time was diſſolued. Yet before their departure from London, he communed with the biſhops apart, to ſee if he might perſuade them to giue him ſome portion of monie towards his charges: but they had tuned their ſtrings all after one note, diſcording all from his tenor, ſo that not a penie could be got of them: wherefore he tooke high diſpleaſure againſt them, reuiling them in moſt reprochfull maner, and amongſt other he vpbraided his halfe brother (the elect of Wincheſter) of great vnthankefulneſſe, who alſo amongſt the reſidue ſtood againſt him.

The biſhops refuſe to yeeld to the popes grant.

The king highlie offended with the biſhops.

The king hauing this repulſe at the biſhops hands, began to fall in talke with the lords of the temporaltie touching the troubles in Gaſcoigne, where things were in broile by the hard doings of the earle of Leiceſter, againſt whom the Gaſcoignes ceaſſed not to make warre ſtill, and of late hauing beſieged him in the caſtell of Mountalbon, droue him to ſuch ſhift, that to eſcape the preſent danger he was glad to ſet at libertie certeine rebels, which he had before taken captiues.

The king aſſaieth to get monie of the lords temporall.

captiues. Therefore to reduce that countrie vnto quietneſſe, the king determined to go thither himſelfe, and to remoue the earle of Leiceſter out of his office: but when he came to the pith of the matter, which was to deſire their aid both of men and monie, the lords would not agree to grant him anie. And where he ſought to burthen the erle of Leiceſter with miſgouerning things againſt his honour, they excuſed the ſame earle, and ſo the lords alſo departed in diſpleaſure of the king as well as the biſhops. Howbeit the king got of the Londoners by way of princelie praier twentie thouſand marks of gold at that time. And to their further greefe for better meane to be reuenged againſt the biſhop of Elie, he cauſed the ſaid Londoners to keepe ſaint Edwards faire for fifteene daies togither at Weſtminſter, and in the meane time to keepe their ſhops ſhut through all the citie. Which thing (by reaſon of the foule weather chancing at that time) was verie greeuous vnto them, albeit there was ſuch repaire of people thither, that London had not beene fuller to the iudgement of old ancient men neuer at anie time in their daies to their remembrance.

The Londoners helpe at a pinch.

This yeare died ſir Nicholas Samford knight, a man of great reputation and valiancie. Alſo on the twentith day of October, the counteſſe of Wincheſter daughter to the earle of Hereford departed this life at Grobie, a manour place belonging to hir huſband the earle of Wincheſter, a little beſides Leiceſter, and was buried at Braklie. The ſaid earle ſhortlie after married an other wife in hope of iſſue. For neither by this his laſt wife, neither by his firſt that was daughter to the lord Alane de Galowaie had he any children. Alſo the ſame yeare, that noble ladie Margaret counteſſe of Liſle ſurnamed Riuers, ſomtime wife to Fouks de Brent, departed out of this world, about the ſecond day of October. In the ſeauen and thirtith yeare of king Henries reigne, one of the popes notaries called Albert came into England to offer vnto Richard earle of Cornewall the kings brother, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicill. But the earle ſuppoſing it not to ſtand with his honour, to depriue his nephue Henrie, ſonne to the emperor Frederike the ſecond, by his wife the empreſſe Iſabell that was ſiſter to the ſaid erle, refuſed to take that honour vpon him.

The death of ſir Nicholas Samford.

The counteſſe of wincheſter departeth this life.

Math. Paris.

The deceaſſe of the counteſſe de Liſle de wight.

Anno Reg. 37.

The pope offereth the kingdome of Sicill vnto the earle of Cornewall.

About the ſame time, that is to ſay, on the octaues of ſaint Martin, Boniface the archbiſhop of Canturburie arriued in England, comming from the court of Rome, where he had beene long reſiant. ¶ At the ſame time there chanced a great occaſion of ſtrife betwixt the ſaid archbiſhop, and the biſhop of Wincheſter. For where maiſter Euſtace de Lin, officiall to the ſaid archbiſhop had firſt excommunicated, and after for his contumacie cauſed to be attached a preeſt which by authoritie of the elect of Wincheſter as dioceſane there, was entred into poſſeſſion of an hoſpitall in Southwarke, as gouernour thereof, by the name of prior, without conſent of the officiall: who pretended title as patrone in his maiſters name. The ſaid elect of Wincheſter cauſed a riotous ſort of perſons after the maner of warre to ſeeke reuenge hereof, the which after manie outrages doone, came to Lambeth, and there by violence tooke the ſaid Euſtace out of his owne houſe, and led him to Farnham, where he was kept as priſoner.

The archbiſhop thus ſerued at his firſt comming ouer, and taking the ſame but for a homlie welcome, was maruellouſlie offended, and comming to London accompanied with the biſhops of Chicheſter and Hereford, in the church of ſaint Marie bowe, being reueſted in pontificalibus, pronounced all thoſe accurſſed, which were authours or fauourers of ſuch a raſh and preſumptuous deed, and further commanded all the biſhops within his prouince, by vertue of their obedience, to denounce the ſame in their churches euerie ſundaie and holie day. The biſhop of Wincheſter on the other part, ſent commandement to the deane of Southwarke, to reſiſt the archbiſhop to his face, and to denounce his curſſe to be void, vaine, and of no force, but deuiſed of a craftie purpoſe and wicked meaning. The archbiſhop continuing in his conceiued diſpleaſure, went to Oxenford, and there on the morrow after ſaint Nicholas day, renewed the ſame curſſe in ſolemne wiſe before all the learned men, ſtudents, and ſcholers of the Vniuerſitie.

1253

Howbeit, at length the matter was taken vp betwixt them, for the king in his brothers cauſe, and the queene for hir vncle the archbiſhop, tooke ſome paine to agree them: and ſo in the octaues of the Epiphanie they were made freends, and thoſe abſolued that were excommunicated, in which number William de Valence, and Iohn de Warren were thought to be conteined, as thoſe that ſhould be preſent in vſing the force againſt the officiall (as before ye haue heard.) By inquirie taken about this time by the diligence of the biſhop of Lincolne, it was found that the yeerlie profits and reuenues of ſpirituall promotions and liuings reſting in ſtrangers hands preferred by the popes prouiſions, amounted to the ſumme of threeſcore and ten thouſand marks, which was more by two third parts, than the kings reuenues belonging to his crowne.

The archb. of Canturburie and the biſhop of wincheſter made freends. william de Valence, and Iohn de warren.

The value of ſpirituall liuings in ſtrangers hands.

The earle of Gloceſter and the lord William de Valence went ouer into France in moſt triumphant manner, to conclude a marriage betwixt the ſonne of the ſaid earle of Gloceſter, and the daughter of the lord Guie of Engoleſme. Which marriage the king had motioned for the affection which he bare towards the aduancement of his linage, by the mothers ſide. Whereat bicauſe they were ſtrangers, the Engliſh nobilitie ſomewhat repined. And whereas like luſtie yoong gentlemen they attempted a iuſts and tornie to ſhew ſome proofe of their valiant ſtomachs, they were well beaten by the Frenchmen, that diſdained to ſee yoong men ſo preſumptuous, to prouoke old accuſtomed warriours to the triall of ſuch martiall enterpriſes. About the beginning of Lent, the new moone was ſeene foure daies before ſhee ought to haue appeared by hir due and common courſe.

The new moone appeared before hir time.

The king by a ſhift got of the Londoners 1000 marks. For as it happened about the ſame time the youthfull citizens (for an exerciſe and triall of their actiuitie) had ſet forth a game to run at the quintine, and whoſoeuer did beſt, ſhould haue a peacocke which they had prepared for a priſe. Certeine of the kings ſeruants, bicauſe the court laie then at Weſtminſter, came (as it were in ſpite of the citizens) to the game, and giuing reprochfull names to the Londoners (which for the dignitie of the citie and ancient priuileges which they ought to haue inioied were called barons) the ſaid Londoners not able to beare ſo to be miſuſed, fell vpon the kings ſeruants, and bet them ſhrewdlie, ſo that vpon complaint, the king cauſed the citizens to fine for their raſh doings. Wherein the Londoners followed the counſell of him that in a caſe of ſtrife, ſaid

Tu ne cede malis ſed contra audentior ito,
Audaces fortuna iuuat.

Running at the quintine.

The Londoners called Barons.

Moreouer, about the ſame time, the king vpon diſpleaſure conceiued againſt the earle of Leiceſter, had cauſed him to reſigne his office of the wardenſhip of Gaſcoigne: and bicauſe the earle had it by patent, the king not able to find any iuſt cauſe of forfeiture, agreed to paie vnto him for the reſignation no ſmall portion of monie. And whereas the Gaſcoignes had charged the earle with too much ſtreict

The earle of Leiceſter reſigneth his gouernment of Gaſcoigne.

handling of them, whereby they were occaſioned to raiſe tumults, the matter was now nothing at all amended. For after the earle had reſigned, they continued ſtill in rebellion, ſo that the Rioll with S. Millions and other places were taken by the aduerſaries out of the kings hands, and great ſlaughter of people made in thoſe parts: wherefore the king minding to go thither, cauſed muſters to be taken, and men put in a redineſſe according to the cuſtome, that he might vnderſtand what number of able men furniſhed for the warre were to be had. He alſo tooke order that euerie man that might diſpend yeerlie fiftéene pounds in lands ſhould be made knight.

The Rioll, S. Millions, townes in Gaſcoigne.

Knights to be made.

Moreouer, for the better preſeruation of peace and quietneſſe amongſt his people, he appointed watch to be kept by night in cities and borough townes. And further by the aduiſe of the Sauoiſines, which were about him, he ordeined that if any man chanced to be robbed, or by any meanes damnified by any théefe or robber, he to whom the kéeping of that countrie chéefelie apperteined where the robberie was doone, ſhould competentlie reſtore the loſſe: and this was after the vſage of Sauoy, but was thought more hard to be obſerued here, than in thoſe parts, where are not ſo manie bypaths and ſtarting corners to ſhift out of the waie. ¶ The Gaſcoignes continued in their ſeditious doings, and namelie Gaſcon de Bierne, who renouncing his dutie and obedience to the king of England ioined himſelfe to the king of Spaine, through his helpe to be the ſtronger & more able to annoie the Engliſh ſubiects. The euill intreating vſed towards the Gaſcoignes which brought hither wines, in that the ſame were oftentimes taken from them by the kings officers, and other, without readie monie allowed for the ſale, gaue occaſion to them to grudge and repine againſt the king.

An ordinance againſt robbers.

The cauſe yͭ moued the Gaſcoignes to rebellion.

In the quindene of Eaſter a parlement began at London, in which all the ſtates being aſſembled, the matter was mooued for aiding the king with ſome reléefe of monie towards the iournie which he ment to make into the holie land: and ſo at length it was agréed that a tenth part of all the reuenues belonging to the church was granted to him for thrée yeares ſpace, and that eſcuage ſhould be leuied for that yeare, after thrée markes of euerie knights féé, and the king on the other part promiſed faithfullie to obſerue and mainteine the grant of the great charter, and all the articles conteined within the ſame. For further aſſurance whereof, on the third day of Maie, in the great hall at Weſtminſter, in the preſence and by the aſſent of the king and the earles of Norfolke, Hereford, Oxford, Warwike, and other Noble men, by the archbiſhop of Canturburie as primate, and by the biſhops of London, Elie, Lincolne, Worceſter, Norwich, Hereford, Saliſburie, Durham, Exceſter, Carliell, Bath, Rocheſter, and S. Dauies, reueſted and apparelled in pontificalibus, with tapers, according to the maner, the ſentence of excommunication was pronounced againſt all tranſgreſſors of the liberties of the church, and of the ancient liberties and cuſtomes of the realme of England, and namelie thoſe which are conteined in the great charter, and in the charter of forreſt.

A parlement.

A tenth granted of the ſpiritualtie. Eſcuage granted.

Magna charta.

Whileſt the ſentence was in reading, the king held his hand vpon his breaſt with glad and chéerefull countenance, and when in the end they threw awaie their extinct and ſmoking tapers, ſaieng, So let them be extinguiſhed and ſinke into the pit of hell which run into the dangers of this ſentence; the king ſaid, So helpe me God, as I ſhall obſerue and kéepe all theſe things, euen as I am a chriſtian man, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and annointed. But afterward when he through other counſell brake his promiſe therein, he was aduiſed by ſome to giue a portion of that monie which he got at this time, to the Pope, that he might of him be abſolued.

Godlie counſell no doubt.

Immediatlie after the breaking vp of the parlement, that is to ſaie, about the firſt of Iune, the king being earneſtlie called vpon by meſſengers ſent from the Gaſcoignes to prouide in time for the defenſe and ſafegard of that countrie, ſith otherwiſe he ſtood in danger to loſe it, with all ſpeed he reſolued to go thither; and therevpon cauſed ſummons to be giuen to all thoſe that held of him by knights ſeruice, to prepare to be at Porteſmouth, with horſſe and armour in the octaues of the Trinitie. Herewith he made great prouiſion of ſhips, the which being aſſembled, and the armie likewiſe come togither, through lacke of conuenient wind he was inforced to ſtay a long time, to his great gréefe and no leſſe charges.

The king purpoſeth to go himſelfe into Gaſcoigne.

Finallie, on the 6 of Auguſt he tooke the ſea, leauing his brother the earle of Cornewall, and the quéene in charge with gouernance of the realme, and of his ſonne the lord Edward. There departed with him from Porteſmouth thrée hundred ſailes of great ſhips, beſides a number of other ſmaller veſſels. And thus accompanied, he tooke his courſe to Gaſcoigne, & about our ladie day named hir Aſſumption, he arriued at Burdeaux, where he was of the citizens honorablie receiued. Immediatlie after his arriuall there, he cauſed the towne of the Rioll to be compaſſed about with a ſtrong ſiege, within the which a great number of rebels were incloſed, which valiantlie defended the place in hope of reſcue, which Gaſton de Bierne that was fled to the king of Spaine had promiſed to procure for them. But the king of England to preuent them in that point, ſent the biſhop of Bath, and his truſtie chapleine ſir Iohn Manſell vnto the ſaid king of Spaine, to conclude freendſhip and aliance with him, ſo that the lord Edward his eldeſt ſonne might marrie the king of Spaine his daughter.

He taketh the ſea.

He arriueth at Burdeaux.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Spaine.

After long treatie, by the diligence of the ſaid ambaſſadors, a full concluſion followed of their motion. And whereas the king of England had giuen and aſſigned the dominion of Gaſcoigne to his ſaid ſonne the lord Edward, the king of Spaine in the inſtrument that conteined the couenants of the marriage, reſigned and quite claimed all the right and title within Gaſcoigne which he had or might haue by the gift of king Henrie the ſecond, and by confirmation of the kings, Richard and Iohn. In this meane while, the townes and caſtels which the rebels held, were won and deliuered into the kings hands, and herewith followed a great dearth in the kings armie, ſo that a hen was ſold for ſix pence ſterling, a pound weight in bread was at two pence or thrée pence, a gallon of wine at two ſhillings, a coome of foure buſhels of wheat at twentie ſhillings, ſo that a knight with his eſquire, and coiſtrell with his two horſſes, might ſcarſe be competentlie found for two ſhillings in ſiluer. Wherefore the king to relieue his people there with him on that ſide the ſea, ſent the prior of Newbourgh with other into England, to cauſe prouiſion of vittels and other neceſſaries to be conueied and brought vnto him into Gaſcoigne, and ſo there was a great quantitie of graine and powdred fleſh taken vp and ſent awaie with all conuenient ſpéed.

A marriage concluded betwixt the K. of Englands ſonne & the K. of Spaines daughter.

A dearth in the kings campe.

The earle of Leiceſter came to the king, bringing with him out of France where he had remained for a time, a faire companie of ſouldiers and men of warre to the kings aid, and was verie courteouſlie receiued. The Gaſcoignes then perceiued the kings power to increaſe, and ſaw how not onelie the caſtels wherein they truſted to haue refuge were woone and gotten out of their hands by the king of England, but alſo that their vines (wherein chéefelie conſiſted their hope of ſuſtentation) were burned vp and de-

The Gaſcoigns begin to humble themſelues.

ſtroied, they began to humble themſelues, and ſo by little and little returned to their due obedience, after that the authors of their ſeditious tumults were either apprehended, or chaſed out of the countrie.

The biſhop of Chicheſter Richard witz and Groſted B. of Lincolne depart this life

The praiſe of Groſted.

This yeare died Richard Witz the biſhop of Chicheſter, a man of great vertue and ſingular knowledge. Alſo that famous clearke Robert Groſted biſhop of Lincolne departed this life on the day of S. Deniſe in the night, at his manor of Bugdon, whoſe learning coupled with vertue and vprightneſſe of life wan to him perpetuall commendation. He was a manifeſt blamer of pope and king, a reprouer of prelats, a corrector of moonks, a director of preeſts, an inſtructor of clearkes, a ſuſteinor of ſcholers, a preacher to the people, a perſecutor of incontinent liuers, a diligent ſearcher of the ſcriptures, a contemnor and a verie mallet of ſuch ſtrangers as ſought preferment in this realme by the popes prouiſions: in houſekeeping liberall, in corporall refection plentifull, and in miniſtring ſpirituall food, deuout and godlie affected: in his biſhoplike office diligent, reuerend, and neuer wearied: a ſingular example of a biſhop, ſpeciallie in thoſe daies, and at whoſe life our reformed biſhops may fetch light to abandon their darkeneſſe, and to amend that which is amiſſe in them, ſith

Leo papa.

Validiora ſunt exempla quàm præcepta,
Et plenius docemur vita quàm verbo.

The L. wil. Veſcie departeth this life.

Great wet.

Great drout.

Anno Reg. 38. The ladie Katherin the kings daughter borne.

Moreouer there died in Gaſcoigne, William de Veſcie a baron of great fame in the north parts. Alſo in the ſpring and ſummer of this yeare was a great drought, and in the harueſt ſeaſon fell ſuch wet, that great floods by the riſing of the riuers, and ouerflowing their banks, did much hurt in ſundrie places of the realme. Againe in the later end of harueſt about Michaelmaſſe, there was eftſoones ſuch a drought, that men could get no grinding at the milles, but were conſtreined to go in ſome places a daies iournie off, to haue their corne groond. In the eight and thirtith yeare of king Henries reigne, the quéene was deliuered of a daughter which was called Katherin, bicauſe the ſame was borne on ſaint Katherins daie.

Winter thunder.

1254

The quéenes liberalitie towards the K.

A ſtrang ſight in the aire.

Redborne.

A death of ſhéepe.

On S. Lucies daie, there fell a great ſnowe, and withall a winters thunder, for a token of ſome euill to follow. The king to ſettle the ſtate of the countrie of Gaſcoigne in better order, tarried there all the winter, and repared certeine decaied townes and caſtels. The quéene kept hir Chriſtmaſſe at London, where ſhe laie in child-bed, and was purified on the euen of the Epiphanie, making a roiall feaſt, at the which manie great lords were preſent, as the archbiſhop of Canturburie, the biſhop of Elie, the earls of Cornewall and Gloceſter, and manie other. She ſent ouer at the ſame time to hir huſband for a new yeers gift the ſumme of fiue hundred marks of hir owne reuenues, towards the maintenance of his warres. On the euen of the Circumciſion of our Lord, in the night ſeaſon, whileſt the aire was moſt cleare and bright with ſhining ſtarres, the moone being eight daies old, there appeared in the element the perfect forme and likeneſſe of a mightie great ſhip, which was firſt ſéene of certeine moonks of ſaint Albons, who remaining at ſaint Amphibalus, were got vp to behold by the ſtarres, if it were time for them to go to mattens; but perceiuing that ſtrange ſight, they called vp ſuch of their acquaintance as lodged néere at hand, to view the ſame. At length it ſéemed as the bourds and ioints thereof had gone in ſunder, and ſo it vaniſhed awaie. There followed a maruellous ſore later end of a winter, through cold and ouerſharpe weather, which continued till the feaſt of S. Gregorie in March next inſuing. Alſo there chanced the ſame yeare a great murren and death of ſhéepe and deere, ſo that of whole flocks and heards ſcarſe the one halfe eſcaped.

The king demandeth a ſubſidie.

Whileſt the king remained ſtill in Gaſcoigne, he ſent for his wife queene Elenor, with his eldeſt ſonne Edward, but bicauſe he could not make an end of all his buſineſſe that winter, he continued there the ſummer alſo. And forſomuch as he ſtood in need of monie, to haue ſome reaſonable pretenſe to demand a ſubſidie, in the beginning of March, he ſent to his brother Richard the earle of Cornewall (which was come ouer before cheefelie for that purpoſe) certeine inſtrnctions, to declare how there was like to follow great warre, by means of Alfonſe the tenth of that name king of Caſtile, who manaced verie ſhortlie to inuade the confines of Gaſcoigne perteining to the Engliſh dominion, and therefore he required of his faithfull ſubiects ſome aid of monie, wherby he might be able to reſiſt his aduerſarie the ſaid K. of Caſtile. Earle Richard did what he could to perſuade the people to this paiment, but he caſt his net in vaine before the face of the feathered foule, as the old prouerbe ſaith,

Apparens rete fugêre volucria quæq;.

For though he ſet forth the matter to the vttermoſt in the preſence of the Nobles and other eſtates, yet would they not heare of anie paiment to be made, as thoſe that ſmelled out the feined fetch and forged tale of the kings need. For they had intelligence that there was an agreement concluded betwixt him and the king of Spaine. And for the ſame cauſe the quéene and the lord Edward were gone ouer, that the king of Spaine might haue a ſight of him, as he had required, when the couenants of the marriage were accorded.

The king offended with them that refuſed to helpe him with monie.

Edward the kings ſonne is ſent to the K. of Caſtile.

The ſtates of the realme were twiſe aſſembled at London about the grant of this paiment, but all in vaine; ſo that they were conſtreined to paſſe it ouer with ſilence, and to ſurceaſſe in the matter to their great gréefe, and namelie the earle of Cornewall, who had taken great paines therein. Yet for that he would not returne with emptie hand, he leuied by rigorous means a great ſumme of the Iewes (of whom a maine multitude inhabited at that ſeaſon in London) and therewith returning to his brother king Henrie, ſhewed him how he had ſped. The king was not a little offended with them that thus had denied to helpe him with monie, inſomuch that vpon euerie light occaſion, he was readie to reuenge his diſpleaſure towards them, in taking awaie ſuch grants of priuileges and liberties as before he had made. But now to auoid ſuſpicion of his feined pretenſe of war betwixt him and king Alfonſe, he ſent his ſonne Edward into Caſtile vnto the ſame Alfonſe, vnder a color to compound with him for peace, wheras the verie occaſion of his going thither, was to purchaſe him the ladie Elenor to wife, that was ſiſter to the ſaid king Alfonſe.

He marrieth the ladie Elenor daughter to K. Alfonſe.

Ran. Higd. Polydor.

At his comming to the court of Spaine, he was verie honorablie receiued of the king, and in the end, vpon conference had of his meſſage, obteined his ſuit, ſo that king Alfonſe was content to beſtow vpon him his daughter in marriage, with the countie of Pontieu in France, which ſhe held in right of hir mother queene Ione, the ſecond wife of Ferdinando the king of Caſtile, father vnto this king Alfonſe, which Ione was the onelie daughter and heire of Simon earle of Pontieu, and had iſſue by hir huſband the ſaid Ferdinando two ſonnes, Ferdinando and Lewes, with one daughter; to wit, the foreſaid Elenor, the which by reaſon hir brethren died yoong, was heire to hir mother. The lord Edward hauing diſpatched his buſineſſe according to his deſire, returned with a ioifull hart to his father, and declared to him what he had doone. His father moſt glad thereof, for

Edward the kings ſonne created prince of wales, and earle of Cheſter.
Math. Paris

an augmentation of honour, created him prince of Wales and earle of Cheſter, and appointed him to be his deputie and generall lieutenant both in Guien and in Ireland, and gaue to him the townes of Briſtow, Stamford and Grantham. Hereof came it, that euer after the kings eldeſt ſonne was made immediatlie vpon his birth prince of Wales and earle of Cheſter. He created alſo his other ſonne named Edmund earle of Lancaſter.

Edmund the kings yonger ſonne created duke of Lancaſter.

Ships of a ſtrange mold.

About this ſeaſon were certeine ſhips driuen by force of wind and weather into certeine hauens on the north coaſts of England towards Barwike, which ſhips were of a verie ſtrange forme and faſhion, but mightie and ſtrong. The men that were aboord the ſame ſhips were of ſome farre countrie, for their language was vnknowne, and not vnderſtandable to any man that could be brought to talke with them. The fraught and balaſt of the ſhips was armour and weapon, as habergeons, helmets, ſpeares, bowes, arrowes, croſbowes and darts, with great ſtore of vittels. There laie alſo without the hauens on the coaſt diuerſe other ſhips of like forme, mold and faſhion. Thoſe that were driuen into the hauens were ſtaied for a time by the bailiffes of the ports. But finallie, when it could not be knowne what they were, nor from whence they came, they were licenced to depart without loſſe or harme in bodie or goods.

Gaſton de Bierne attempteth to take the citie of Baion.

About Candlemaſſe, Gaſton de Bierne, aſſembling togither a multitude of the kings enimies, thorough the intelligence of ſome of the citizens of Baion that fauoured not the king, wrought ſo, that certeine of his number entred that citie, meaning to haue bereft the king of the dominion thereof. But other of the citizins (namelie thoſe of the meaner ſort which fauoured the king) made ſuch reſiſtance, that the enimies which were entred, were apprehended, and diuerſe of them ſuffered puniſhment, as they had well deſerued. After this, there chanced a mutinie in the Engliſh armie, bicauſe the kings brethren and the biſhop of Hereford tooke vpon them to puniſh certeine Welſhmen, for that without commiſſion they had beene abrod to ſpoile within the French confines. Therefore in aſmuch as the puniſhment ſeemed to exceed the degree and qualitie of the offenſe; and againe, for that the earle of Hereford being conſtable of the hoſt by inheritance ought to haue had the order of all corrections in caſes of ſuch offenſes, the Engliſhmen were in mind to haue ſlaine all the Poictouins in deſpite of the kings brethren, if the king had not in humble wiſe ſought to haue appeaſed their furie.

A mutinie in the Engliſh armie.

A mightie ſtorme of haile.

The wind continuing this yeare for the ſpace of three moneths and od daies northerlie, did greatlie hinder the growth and increaſe of flowres and fruits: and about the firſt of Iulie there fell ſuch a ſtorme of haile and raine, as the like had not beene ſeene nor heard of in thoſe daies, breaking downe the tiles and other couerings of houſes, with boughes of trees, by the violent aboundance and force of the water and haileſtones, which continued aboue the ſpace of an houre powring and beating downe inceſſantlie. After this, when the king had remained a whole yeare in Guien, he returned homewards through France, and comming vnto Charters, was honorablie there receiued of Lewes the French king, as then latelie returned out of the holie land, and from thence he was roiallie by the ſame king Lewes brought vnto Paris. The counteſſe of Cornewall went ouer with a noble traine of lords, gentlemen, and others, to be preſent at the meeting of hir two ſiſters, the queenes of England and France, ſo that the roialtie of the aſſemblie on ech part was great.

Anno. Reg. 39.
The king returneth homwards thorough France

The counteſſe of Cornewall.

1255

After that king Henrie had continued there for his pleaſure certeine daies, he returned to England, landing at Douer in Chriſtmaſſe weeke. This iournie into Gaſcoigne was verie coſtlie, and to ſmall purpoſe (as writers haue recorded) for the kings charges amounted to the ſumme of 27 hundred thouſand pounds and aboue, except lands and rents, which he gaue vnaduiſedlie to thoſe which little deſerued, but rather ſought the hinderance both of him and his realme, beſides the gift of 30 thouſand marks, which he beſtowed vpon his halfe brethren by the mothers ſide, not reckoning the lands nor rents, neither yet the wards nor the horſſes, nor iewels which he gaue to them beſides, being of price ineſtimable. Thus in two iournies which he made, the one into Poictou, which countrie he loſt; and the other into Gaſcoigne, which he hardlie preſerued; he ſpent more treaſure than a wiſe chapman would haue giuen for them both if they had beene ſet on ſale (as Matthew Paris writeth) ſo that it might be verified in him that is meant by the old prouerbe,

Qui procul excurrit, ſed nil mercatur ibidem,
Si via longa fuit, rediens triſtatur hic idem.

Moreouer to increaſe the kings vaine charges, ſo it fell out, that pope Innocent bearing grudge towards Conrade king of Sicill, offered that kingdome (as before is partlie touched) to Richard duke of Cornewall, who refuſed the offer, aſwell for other cauſes, as chieflie for that the pope would not agree to ſuch conditions as earle Richard thought neceſſarie for his aſſurance. Wherevpon the pope granted that kingdome vnto king Henrie, with manie godlie promiſes of aid to his furtherance for atteining the poſſeſſion thereof. King Henrie ioifullie receiued that grant, and called his ſonne Edmund openlie by the name of K. of Sicill, and to furniſh the pope with monie for the maintenance of his war againſt Conrade, he got togither all ſuch ſums as he could make, aſwell out of his owne coffers, and out of the excheker, as by borrowing of his brother earle Richard, and likewiſe what he could ſcrape from the Iewes, or otherwiſe extort by the rapine of the iuſtices itinerants: all which he ſent to the pope, who not content herwith (when he began eftſoones to want) wrote againe to the king for more.

The pope o fereth ÿ kin dome of Si cill vnto the king of Eng land,

The k keth great ſhift for mo to ſend to pope.

The king through the inſtinct of the diuell, to anſwer the popes auarice, ſent him letters patents obligatorie, ſigned with his roiall ſeale, by which he might take by way of lone ſuch ſummes of monie, as would largelie ſerue his turne of the merchants Italians, willing him not to ſticke at the diſburſing of treaſure, nor at the great quantitie of the intereſt riſing vpon the vſurie, for he would diſcharge all: and herevnto he bound himſelfe vnder paine to forfeit his kingdome and other his heritages. The pope conſenting herevnto, accepted this large offer. If he did well herein (ſaith Matthew Paris) the Lord the iudge of all iudges iudge it, to whom apperteineth the care of all things. To conclude, much monie was ſpent, for the pope ſpared not the king of Englands purſſe, though little good was done therewith. At length Conrade died, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. The pope being aduertiſed of his death, reioiſed greatlie, as he well vttered in plaine words, saieng; Let vs all that be the children of the Romiſh church reioiſe, for now two of our greateſt enimies are diſpatched out of the waie; the one a ſpirituall man, that is to ſaie, Robert biſhop of Lincolne; and the other a laie-man, that is Conrade king of Sicill. But yet the pope miſſed of his purpoſe, for Manfred the baſtard ſonne of the emperour Frederike the ſecond, was ſhortlie after proclaimed king of Sicill, and ſo the ſecond errour was greater than the firſt.

He ſendeth the pope a rant to ta vp monie.

Math. Paris

The pope is liberall of other purſſe.

Manfred p claimed king of Sicill.

A parlem

About the quindene of Eaſter, there was a parlement holden at London, at the which were aſſembled all the ſtates of the realme in greater number than had beene commonlie ſeene. This parlement was cheefelie called, to let them vnderſtand the kings neceſſitie of monie for diſcharging of his debts, and to require them of their aid towards the ſame. But whereas he requeſted more than was thought ſtood with reaſon, they would not agree thervnto, but deſired that he would confirme, and without all cauillation ſweare to obſerue the liberties which by the charter he had promiſed to hold. Moreouer they required, that by the common councell of the realme they might choſe to them the cheefe iuſtice, the chancellour and treaſuror, but they were anſwered plainelie by ſome of the priuie councell, that this requeſt would at no hand be granted.

The ſtates refuſe to grant a ſubſidie.

Furthermore, the prelats complained, that they were driuen to paie the tenths which they promiſed conditionallie, as it were now by conſtreint and of dutie, to the preiudice of the liberties of the church. The Nobles alſo found themſelues greeued for the exactions which they ſaw at hand, but finallie, after manie things had beene debated touching theſe matters, the parlement was adiourned till Michaelmas next, and euerie man departed to his home, with no great truſt of the kings good will towards them, nor anie hartie thanks receiued of him for their paines, as may be thought by that which writers haue recorded. Two Noble men, to whom the cuſtodie and guiding of the king and queene of Scots was committed, that is to ſay, Robert de Ros, and John de Bailioll, were accuſed, for miſuſing themſelues in the truſt and charge which they had taken vpon them. King Henrie was the ſame time at Notingham. The information came forth by a phyſician, who was ſent from the queene of England, vnto hir daughter the queene of Scots, to be about hir for gard of hir health, but bicauſe the ſame phyſician (whoſe name was Reignold of Bath) perceiued the queene of Scots to be impaired in health through anguiſh of mind, by reaſon of the miſdemeanor of ſuch as had the gouernement of hir and hir huſband, he ſticked not to blame and reproue them in their doings, for the which he was poiſoned, as ſome thinke: for the truth was, he ſhortlie after ſickened and died, ſignifieng vpon his death-bed vnto the queene of England what he miſliked and thought amiſſe in thoſe that had the doings about hir daughter and hir huſband the Scotiſh king.

The parlemẽt adiourned.

Rob. de Ros & John Bailioll accuſed.

Reignold de Bath a phyſitian.

The mone ſuffered a maruellous eclipſe on the night following the day of S. Margaret in Julie. It began afore midnight, and continued foure houres. The king in the behalfe of his daughter the queene of Scots raiſed a power, and drew northwards, ſending before him the earle of Glouceſter, and John Manſell that was his chapleine and one of his councell. Theſe two ſo vſed the matter, that they came to Edenburgh, where the king and queene of Scots then laie in the caſtell, into the which they entred, and altred the order of the houſhold, ſo as ſtood with the contentation of the king and queene; which were in ſuch wiſe vſed before that time, that they were not ſuffered to lie togither, nor ſcarſe come to talke togither.

An eclipſe.

The earle of Glocester & John Manſell ſent into Scotland.

Robert de Ros was ſummoned to appeare before the king of England, to anſwer to ſuch things as might be laid to his charge. At the firſt he withdrew himſelfe, but afterwards he came in, and ſubmitted himſelfe to the kings pleaſure. Diuerſe of the nobles of Scotland tooke it not well, that the earle of Glouceſter and John Manſell ſhould thus come into the caſtell of Edenburgh, and order things in the kings houſe in ſuch ſort at their pleaſure: wherevpon they aſſembled a power, and beſieged the caſtell, but at length perceiuing their owne error, they raiſed their ſiege and departed. John de Bailioll being accuſed of the like crime that was laid to the charge of his fellow Robert de Ros, for a peece of monie bought his peace and was pardoned, but the lands of Robert de Ros were ſeized into the kings hands. Finallie, the king and queene of England came to an enteruiew with the king of Scots and the queene their daughter, and ſetting all things with them in ſuch order as was thought conuenient, they returned towards the ſouth parts.

Robert de Ros ſummoned to appeare.

In the meane ſeaſon, the biſhop of Hereford deuiſed a ſhift to helpe the K. with monie, towards the paiments of his debts, by obteining certeine autentike ſeales of the prelats of this land, wherewith he ſigned certeine inſtruments and writings, wherein was expreſſed, that he had receiued diuerſe ſummes of monie for diſpatch of buſineſſe perteining to them and to their churches, of this and that merchant of Florence or Siena, whereby they ſtood bound for repaiment thereof by the ſame inſtruments and writings ſo made by him their agent in their names. This ſhift was deuiſed by the ſaid biſhop of Hereford, with licence obteined therevnto of the king, and alſo of the pope, vnto whome for the ſame intent the ſaid biſhop was ſent, with ſir Robert Walerane knight. The pope was the ſooner perſuaded to grant licence for the contriuing of ſuch manner of ſhift, bicauſe the monie ſhould go to the diſcharging of the kings debts, into the which he was run, by bearing the charges of the warres againſt the king of Sicill.

A ſhift to get monie of the biſhops deuiſed by the biſh. of Hereford.

About the feaſt of ſaint Edward, the parlement began againe at London, in which the ſtates treated of a ſubſidie to be granted to the king, but they could not conclude thereof, neither would Richard earle of Cornewall diſburſe anie monie at that ſeaſon to his brother the king, bicauſe he allowed not the maner of laieng it out for the warres againſt Manfred, being taken in hand without his conſent. The ſame yeare, the king by the procurement of his brother Richard earle of Cornewall, had ſeized the liberties of the citie of London into his owne hands, vnder colour that the maior had not doone his dutie in the iuſt puniſhing of bakers for breaking of the aſſiſes of their bread. Herevpon, where the maior and communaltie of the citie had by the kings grant the citie to farme, with diuerſe cuſtomes and offices, at a certeine rate and ſtinted ſumme of monie; now the king ſet officers therein at his pleaſure, which were accomptable to him for all the reuenues and profits that grew within the citie.

A parlement.

Richard earle of Cornewall ſtandeth againſt his brother for the grant of a ſubſidie.

The liberties of London ſeized into the kings hands.

But whereas the malice which the earle of Cornewall bare to the citie, was, for that they would not exchange with him certeine grounds that belonged to their communaltie, they were glad to agree with him, and paie vnto him ſix hundred marks. After which agreement concluded, about the ninteenth daie of Nouember, they were ſhortlie after reſtored to their liberties. This chanced before the kings comming ouer, who at his comming to London, lodged in the tower, and vpon new diſpleaſure conceiued againſt the citie for the eſcape of a priſoner (being a clearke conuict) out of Newgate, which had killed a prior, that was of aliance to the king, as couſine to the queene, the king ſent for the maior and the ſhiriffs to come before him to anſwer the matter. The maior laid the fault from him to the ſhiriffes, for ſo much as to them belonged the keeping of all the priſoners within the citie: and ſo the maior returned home againe, but the ſhiriffes remained there as priſoners by the ſpace of a whole moneth or more, and yet they excuſed themſelues, in that the fault cheefelie reſted in the biſhops officers: for whereas the priſoner was vnder his cuſtodie, they at his requeſt had granted him licence to impriſon the offendor within their

The ſhiriffes of London impriſoned.

ward of Newgate, but ſo as his officers were charged to ſée him ſafe kept. The king notwithſtanding demanded of the citie thrée thouſand marks for a fine.

The king demandeth monie of the Iewes.

Moreouer, whereas he ſtood in great néed of monie, he required by way of a tallage eight thouſand marks of the Iewes, charging them on paine of hanging, not to deferre that paiment. The Iewes ſore impoueriſhed with gréeuous and often paiments excuſed themſelues by the popes vſurers, and reproued plainelie the kings exceſſiue taking of monie, as well of his chriſtian ſubiects as of them. The king on the other ſide, to let it be knowne that he taxed not his people without iuſt occaſion, and vpon neceſſitie that droue him thereto, confeſſed openlie, that he was indebted by his bonds obligatorie, in thrée hundred thouſand marks: and againe, the yearelie reuenues aſſigned to his ſonne prince Edward, aroſe to the ſumme of fiftéene thouſand marks and aboue, where the reuenues that belonged vnto the crowne were greatlie diminiſhed, in ſuch wiſe, that without the aid of his ſubiects, he ſhould neuer be able to come out of debt. To be ſhort, when he had fléeced the Iewes to the quicke, he ſet them to farme vnto his brother earle Richard, that he might pull off ſkin and all; but yet conſidering their pouertie, he ſpared them, and neuertheleſſe, to relieue his brothers neceſſitie, vpon a pawne he lent him an huge maſſe of monie. Theſe ſhifts did the king vſe from time to time, not caring with what exactions and impoſitions he burthened the inhabitants of his land, whereby he procured vnto himſelfe the name of an oppreſſor and couetous ſcraper. But what wonder is it in a king, ſith

The kings debt 3000000 marks.

The earle of Cornewall lendeth the king monie.

Hor. lib. 2. ſerm.

Maxima pars hominum morbo iactatur eodem?

An elephant ſent to the K.

An ewer of pearle, peraduenture an agat.

About the ſame time, Lewes the French king ſent vnto king Henrie for a preſent an elephant, a beaſt moſt ſtrange and woonderfull to the Engliſh people, ſith moſt ſeldome or neuer any of that kind had béene ſéene in England before that time. The French quéene alſo ſent for a preſent vnto the king of England an ewer of pearle like to a peacocke in forme and faſhion, garniſhed moſt richlie with gold, ſiluer, and ſaphires to furniſh him foorth in all points of fine and cunning workemanſhip, to the verie reſemblance of a liuing peacocke. ¶ Manie woonders chanced about this time. The ſea roſe with moſt high tides, riuers were ſo filled with abundance of water, by reaſon of the great continuall raine, that maruellous flouds followed therevpon. A comet alſo appeared, and manie high buildings were ſtriken by force of tempeſts. The death of Walter archbiſhop of Yorke followed theſe prodigious wonders, who had gouerned that ſée the ſpace of fortie yeares. After him ſucceeded one Seuall the 34 archbiſhop of that citie.

Strange wonders. High tides.

A comet.

The deceaſe of walter archbiſhop of Yorke.

Elianor the wife of prince Edward cōmeth to the citie.

About the feaſt of S. Etheldred, the ladie Elianor wife of prince Edward the kings ſon, came to London, where ſhe was honorablie receiued of the citizens, & conueied through the citie to S. Iones without Smithfield, and there lodged for a ſeaſon, and yer long ſhe remooued to the Sauoy. It was not long after, that the king ſeized the liberties of the citie of London into his hands, for certeine monie which the quéene claimed as due to hir of a certeine right to be paid by the citizens, ſo that about the feaſt of S. Martine in Nouember, they gaue vnto the king foure hundred marks, and then had their liberties to them againe reſtored, and the kings vnder-treaſuror diſcharged, which for the time was made cuſtos or kéeper of the citie.

The liberties of the citie reſtored to the Londoners.

A legat from the pope named Ruſcand a Gaſcoigne.

About the ſame time came another legat from the pope, namelie, one Ruſcand a Gaſcoigne borne, to whom, with the archb. of Canturburie, and the biſhop of Hereford, the pope had granted authoritie to collect and gather the tenths of the ſpiritualtie within England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the vſe of the pope and the king, notwithſtanding all priuiledges, for what cauſe or vnder what forme of words ſo euer the ſame had paſſed. This Ruſcand alſo abſolued the king of his vow made to go into the holie land, to the end he might go againſt Manfred king of Sicill. He alſo preached the croſſe againſt the ſame Manfred, promiſing all thoſe remiſſion of their ſins which ſhould go to war againſt Manfred, as well as if they ſhould go into the holie land, to warre againſt Gods enimies there, whereat faithfull men much maruelled, that he ſhould promiſe as great méed for the ſhedding of chriſtian bloud, as the bloud of infidels.

Tenths gathered for the pope.

The croſſe preached againſt Manfred.

The craftie and ſlie fetches which were vſed in this ſeaſon by this Ruſcand the biſhop of Hereford, and other their complices, to get monie of the prelats and gouernors of monaſteries within this realme, were wonderfull, & verie gréeuous to thoſe that felt themſelues oppreſſed therewith; and namelie, for the debt which the ſaid biſhop of Hereford had charged them with, they being not priuie to the receipt, nor hauing any benefit thereby. Ruſcand called a councell at London, & propounded great cauſes why the prelats ought to aid the pope, and ſo therevpon demanded great ſummes of monie. Amongſt other ſummes, he demanded ſix hundred marks of the houſe of S. Albons.

A councell called at London by the legat.

Matth. Paris.

The church men being pinched by their purſes fret and fume againſt the popes procedings in that behalfe.

To conclude, his demands were eſtéemed vnreaſonable, ſo that the biſhops and abbats were in a maruellous perplexitie, perceiuing into what miſerable ſtate by reaſon of immoderate exactions the church of England was brought. The biſhop of London ſticked not to ſaie, that he would rather loſe his head, than conſent that the church ſhould be brought to ſuch ſeruitude as the legat went about to inforce. And the biſhop of Worceſter openlie proteſted, that he would ſooner ſuffer himſelfe to be hanged, than to ſée the church ſubiect to ſuch oppreſſion by their examples. Other alſo taking a boldneſſe vnto them, affirmed, that they would follow the ſteps of Thomas ſometime archbiſhop of Canturburie, which for the liberties of the church ſuffered himſelfe to haue his braines cut out of his head. Yet were thoſe prelats euill troubled, for the king was againſt them on the one ſide, and the pope gaping after monie was become their vtter enimie on the other: neither were the Noble men much mooued with pitie towards the church their mother (as the terme then went) now thus in miſerie.

The biſhops would rather become martyrs, than loſe their monie.

Finallie, the prelats appealed from Ruſcand, vnto the popes preſence, and would not obeie the wilfull and violent oppreſſions of the ſame Ruſcand, ſo that much adoo there was, and a great complaint made to the king by Ruſcand, of the ſtubborne diſobedience of the prelats, and namelie of the biſhop of London. The king was in a great chafe with him, and threatned that he would cauſe the pope to puniſh him according to that he well deſerued: but the biſhop anſwered thereto; Let the pope and king (ſaith he) which are ſtronger than I am, take from me my biſhoprike, which by law yet they cannot doo: let them take awaie my miter, yet an helmet ſhall remaine.

Ruſcand complaineth to the king of the frowardneſſe of the prelats.

The biſhop of London his ſaiengs.

Anno Reg. 41.

This yeare after S. Lukes daie, the king aſſembled a great number of the nobilitie at London, and thither came the biſhop of Bologna la graſſe from the pope, bringing with him a ring, with the which he inueſted Edmund the kings ſonne king of Sicill and Naples. About the ſame time, the burgeſſe of Darbie obteined of the king for a ſumme of monie to haue the iuſtices itinerants to hold their aſſiſes at Darbie for the countie of Darbie, and likewiſe the ſhiriffes to kéepe their tournies there, and not at Nothingham, as before they had béene accuſtomed for both the ſhires. But now to returne to the biſhops.

Edmund the kings ſonne inueſted king of Sicill and Naples.

Chro. Dun.

In the meane time, the biſhop of Hereford and Ruſcand ſought to ſet variance and diſcord amongſt the Engliſh prelats, whereby being diuided in parts, and not conſenting togither, they ſhould be leſſe able to giue true information to the pope, how the verie truth reſted. But finallie, bicauſe the archbiſhop of Canturburie was in the parts beyond the ſea, and for that alſo the ſée of Yorke was vacant, and diuerſe biſhops were abſent, the councell was proroged till the feaſt of S. Hilarie, and ſo they departed euerie man to his home in a maruellous doubt what waie were beſt for them to take, ſith they ſaw themſelues in great diſtreſſe, if Ruſcand did ſuſpend or excommunicate any of them either iuſtlie or otherwiſe. For ſure they were, that the king as a lion lieng in wait whome he might deuoure (to get monie) after fortie daies were paſt, if they ſubmitted not themſelues, would ſpoile them of all their goods as forfeited. So that the pope and the king ſéemed as though the ſhéepheard and woolfe had béene confederate togither to the deſtruction of the poore flocke of ſhéepe, threatning euerie mans vndoing, to their owne inriching: and not ceaſing, till with fulneſſe they were forced to fall from the fleſh, much like bloudſucking horſléeches, of whoſe nature it is notablie noted, that

The councell proroged.

The K. lieth in wait for mens goods.

Non miſſura priùs carnem, quàm plena cruoris,
Quando hæret teneræ mollis hirudo cuti:
Sic ignara dolis emungitur ære caterua,
Imbelles populi quid niſi præda manent?

Thus by reaſon of couetous gréedineſſe to get monie for the furniſhing of the popes warres againſt Manfred king of Sicill, both the pope and the king of England ran in ſlander and hatred of the Engliſh nation, namelie, of the ſpiritualtie, ſo that ſuch as recorded the acts and doings of that time, ſpared not to make manifeſt to the world by their writings, how iniuriouſlie they were handled, blaming the practiſes of the court of Rome in plaine terms, and affirming that the pope had power in thoſe things which worke to edification, and not to deſtruction. About this ſeaſon, Iohn lord Grey, being one of the chéefe councellors to the king, a right honourable knight, and for his good demeanor and high valiancie greatlie commended of all, withdrew himſelfe from the court, either by reaſon of age that deſireth reſt, or rather (as was thought) for that he doubted to beare blame for ſuch errors as were dailie committed by them that bare rule about the king, which could not but bring the authors into great infamie at length, and therefore was he loth to be partaker with them of ſuch ſlander as might haue redounded to him alſo, if he had ſtill continued and taried amongſt them.

Math. Paris.

The Lord Gray forſaketh the court.

Alſo, vpon the two and twentith of Nouember, were brought vnto Weſtminſter a hundred and two Iews from Lincolne, that were accuſed for the crucifieng of a child in the laſt ſummer, in deſpight of Chriſtes religion. They were vpon their examination ſent to the tower. The child which they had ſo crucified was named Hugh, about an eight yeares of age. They kept him ten daies after they got him into their hands, ſending in the meane time vnto diuerſe other places of the realme, for other of their nation to be preſent at the crucifieng of him. The murther came out, by the diligent ſearch made by the mother of the child, who found his bodie in a well, on the backe ſide of the Iews houſe, where he was crucified: for ſhe had learned, that hir ſonne was laſtlie ſéene plaieng with certeine Iews children of like age to him, before the dore of the ſame Iew. The Iew that was owner of the houſe, was apprehended, and being brought before ſir Iohn de Lexinton, vpon promiſe of pardon, confeſſed the whole matter. For they vſed yearelie (if they could come by their preie) to crucifie one chriſtian child or other. The king vpon knowledge had hereof, would not pardon this Iew that had ſo confeſſed the matter, but cauſed him to be executed at Lincolne, who comming to the place where he ſhould die, opened more matter concerning ſuch as were of counſell and preſent at the crucifieng of the poore innocent. Wherevpon at length alſo eightéene of them that were ſo brought to London, were conuinced, adiudged and hanged, the other remained long in priſon.

Iewes accuſed & executed for crucifieng a child at Lincolne named Hugh.

Eightéene Iews hanged

1256

When the feaſt of ſaint Hilarie was come, the cleargie met againe at London, and fell to intreat of their former buſineſſe, at what time one maiſter Leonard *aliàs* Reignold that was choſen prolocutor for all the prelats, amongſt other anſwers made to the legat Ruſcand, when the ſame Ruſcand alledged that all churches were the popes; Truth it is ſaid Leonard, to defend, and not to vſe and appropriate them to ſerue his owne turne; as we ſaie, that all is the princes, meaning that all is his to defend, and not to ſpoile: and ſuch was the intent of the founders. Ruſcand ſore offended herewith, ſaid, he would that euerie man ſhould ſpeake afterwards for himſelfe, that as well the pope as the king might vnderſtand what euerie man ſaid in their buſineſſe and matters. The prelats were ſtriken in a dumpe herewith, for they perceiued how the matter went: they appealed yet againſt the demands that were made by Ruſcand, who would not change a word of that he had written, in which was conteined, that the prelats had acknowledged themſelues to haue borrowed of the merchant ſtrangers, no ſmall ſummes of monie, and the ſame to be conuerted to the vſe of their churches, which was moſt vntrue as all men well vnderſtood: wherevpon the prelats affirmed, and not without reaſonable cauſe, that there was a greater occaſion in this cauſe of martyrdome, than in that of Thomas ſometime archbiſhop of Canturburie.

The prolocutors anſwer to the popes legat.

The prelats appeale.

Marke the cauſe of martyrdome.

Ruſcand at length, perceiuing their manner, became ſomewhat more mild, and promiſed that he would talke with the pope of this matter. But firſt there was ſent to Rome the deane of Pauls in London, and certeine others, as attornies or agents for the whole cleargie of England. Theſe ſped ſo in their ſuit, that the pope tooke order that if the prelats paid the monie by force of the contriued writings, whereby they ſtood bound for them, their houſes, and churches; then, to eaſe their burthen, they might reteine in their hands ſuch parcell of tenths as they ought to paie to the king, for furniſhing of his wars againſt the Saracens, amounting to the ſumme which they ſhould be conſtreined to paie for the bonds made to the merchants, by the biſhop of Hereford (as before is recited.)

The deane of ſaint Paules ſent to Rome on the behalfe of the prelats.

In this ſeaſon the deuotion, which manie had conceiued of the pope and the church of Rome, began to wax cold, reputing the vertue which he ſhewed at his entring into the papaſie, to be rather a colourable hypocriſie, than otherwiſe, ſith his procéedings anſwered not to his good beginnings: for as it was manifeſt, where ſutors brought their complaints into the court of Rome, ſuch ſped beſt as gaue moſt bribes, and the two priors of Wincheſter, the one expelled, and the other got in by intruſion, could well witneſſe the ſame: and all the world knoweth that the viperous generation of Romaniſts, reckoning from the ringleader to the ſimpleſt ſhaueling, haue made gaine the ſcope of their holineſſe, and as it is truelie ſaid,

Mens deuotion towards the pope waxeth cold.

Quæ libet arripiunt, lucri bonus eſt odor ex re
Qualibet, imponunt, hos ſcelus omne iuuat:
Accipiunt quoduis, ſi non ſonat ære crumena,
Siue ſiligo adſit, ſordida ſiue pecus, &c.

Antith. de præcl. Chriſti, &c.

This yeare died William of Yorke biſhop of Saliſburie,

The b. of Saliſburie departeth this life.

liſburie, which had béene brought vp in the court, euen from his youth. This biſhop firſt cauſed that cuſtome to be receiued for a law, whereby the tenants of euerie lordſhip are bound to owe their ſuit to the lords court, of whom they hold their tenements.

Suit of court when it was firſt receiued for a law.

Math. Paris.

Magnus king of Man.

In the feaſt of Eaſter this yeare, the king adorned Magnus king of Man, with the order of knighthood, and beſtowed vpon him great gifts and honors. ¶ The counteſſe of Warren Aueſia or Ateſia (as ſome bookes haue) ſiſter to the king by his mother, departed this life in hir flouriſhing youth, vnto the great griefe of hir brother, but ſpeciallie of hir huſband John earle of Waren that loued hir intierlie. ¶ About the midſt of Maie, the Jewes that were in the towre, and in other priſons for the murther of the child at Lincolne, and had béene indited by an inqueſt vpon the confeſſion of him that had ſuffered at Lincolne, were now diſmiſſed and ſet at libertie, to the number of foure and thirtie of them. ¶ In Whitſuntide was holden a great iuſts at Blie, where the lord Edward the kings eldeſt ſonne firſt began to ſhew proofe of his chiualrie. There were diuerſe ouerthrowen and hurt, and amongſt other William de Longſpée was ſo bruſed, that he could neuer after recouer his former ſtrength.

A proclamation for knighthood.

A ſore tempeſt of wind and raine.

The king cauſed a proclamation to be ſet foorth, that all ſuch as might diſpend fiftéene pounds in lands, ſhould receiue the order of knighthood; and thoſe that would not or could not, ſhould paie their fines. This yeare, thrée daies after the feaſt of S. Ciricus, a maruellous ſore tempeſt of wind, raine, haile, and thunder chanced, that did excéeding much hurt. Mill-whéeles by the violence of waters were carried away, and the wind-milles were no leſſe tormented with the rage of wind. Arches of bridges, ſtackes of haie, houſes that ſtood by water ſides, and children in cradels were borne awaie, that both wonderfull and no leſſe pitifull it was to ſée. At Bedford the riuer of Ouſe bare downe ſix houſes togither, and did vnſpeakeable hurt thereabouts.

The king of Scots commeth into England.

John Manſell feaſted the two kings.

Alexander the third king of Scots with his wife quéene Margaret, came about the beginning of Auguſt into England, and found the king at his manor of Woodſtoke, where he ſolaced him a ſeaſon, and had the lands of the earle of Huntington reſtored vnto him, which his grandfather king William in his time loſt and forfeited. Here he did homage to king Henrie. Vpon the day of the decollation of S. John, the two kings with their quéenes came to London, where they were honorablie receiued, and ſo conueied vnto Weſtminſter. On the day of S. Auguſtine the biſhop, being the eight and twentith of Auguſt, John Manſell the kings chapleine beſought the two kings, and other ſtates, to dine with him on the morrow following, which they granted, and ſo he made a maruellous great dinner. There were ſeuen hundred meſſes ſerued vp, but the multitude of gheſts was ſuch, that ſcarſe the ſame ſufficed; his houſe was not able to receiue them all, and therefore he cauſed tents and booths to be ſet vp for them. The like dinner had not béene made by any chapleſne before that time. All thoſe that came were worthilie receiued, feaſted and interteined, in ſuch ſort, as euerie man was ſatiſfied.

Orders deuiſed for the appearance of ſhiriffes.

The ſhiriffes fined.

The king of

Scots
neth in
countrie

About foure daies before the feaſt of S. Edward, K. Henrie came into the excheker himſelfe, & there deuiſed order for the appearance of ſhiriffes, and bringing in of their accompts. At the ſame time alſo, there was fiue marks ſet on euerie ſhiriffes head for a fine, bicauſe they had not diſtreined euerie perſon that might diſpend 15 pounds land, to receiue the order of knighthood, as was to the ſame ſhiriffes commanded. The king of Scots, after he had remained a while with the king of England, returned backe into Scotland, and left his wife behind with hir mother till ſhe ſhould be brought to bed, for ſhe was as then great with child.

Anno Re
Richard
of Co
elected
rour,

In the 41 yeare of the reigne of king Henrie, his brother Richard earle of Cornewall was elected emperour, by one part of the Coruoſters: and diuerſe lords of Almaine comming ouer into this land (vpon the daie of the innocents in Chriſtmaſſe) preſented vnto him letters from the archbiſhop of Colen, and other great lords of Almaine, teſtifieng their conſents in the chooſing of him to be emperour, and withall, that it might ſtand with his pleaſure to accept that honor. Finallie, vpon good deliberation had in the matter, he conſented therevnto: wherevpon the lords that came with the meſſage, being right glad of their anſwer, returned with all ſpéed to ſignifie the ſame vnto thoſe from whom they had béene ſent. The treaſure of this earle Richard now elected king of Almaine, was eſtéemed to amount vnto ſuch a ſumme, that he might diſpend euerie day a hundred marks, for the terme of ten yeares togither, not reckoning at all the reuenues which dailie accrewed to him of his rents in Almaine and England.

The gr
treaſur
Richard
of Alma

The We
men cho
them a go
uernour
rebell ag
the king,

In this meane time the vnquiet Welſhmen, after the death of their prince Dauid, choſe in his ſtéed one Leolin, that was ſon to the ſame Griffin that brake his necke as he would haue eſcaped out of the towre of London; and herewith they began a new rebellion, either driuing out ſuch Engliſhmen as laie there in gariſons within the caſtels and fortreſſes, or elſe entring into the ſame by ſome traitorous practiſe, they ſlue thoſe which they found within them, to the great diſpleaſure of their ſoueraigne lord Edward the kings eldeſt ſonne, who coueting to be reuenged of their rebellious enterpriſes, could not bring his purpoſe to paſſe, by reaſon of the vnſeaſonable weather and continuall raine which fell that winter, ſo raiſing the waters & ſetting the mariſhes on floods, that he could not paſſe with his armie.

The kin
wanteth
monie.

Sir Ge
de Langl
hard dea
cauſe of th
Welſhme
rebellion.

Math. Pa
The num
of the We
enimies.

The Welſ
men diuid
their pow
into two
parts.

Moreouer, his father the king wanted monie and treaſure to furniſh him withall, howbeit prince Edward borrowed of his vncle erle Richard foure thouſand marks towards the maintenance of that war. The rebellion of the Welſhmen ſpeciallie roſe by the hard dealing of ſir Geffrey de Langlie knight, the kings collector amongſt them, who handled them ſo ſtreightlie, that in defenſe of their countrie, lawes, and liberties (as they pretended) they put on armour. They tooke and deſtroied the lands and poſſeſſions which were great and large, of Griffin Brunet, being fled for ſafegard of his life vnto the king of England. There were of thoſe Welſh rebels at the point of twentie thouſand men, and of them ten thouſand were horſſemen, the which perceiuing the ſeaſon to make for their purpoſe, defended themſelues ſo manfullie, that they droue backe prince Edward and his armie, & ſo continuing the wars, did much hurt to the Engliſh mariſhes. Their power ſo increaſed, that at length they diuided the ſame in two equall parts, the better to recouer vittels, and in either armie there were eſtéemed thirtie thouſand armed men, after the maner of their countrie, of the which there were fiue hundred men of armes in either hoſt, with barded horſſes all couered in iron. Thus being of ſuch puiſſance, they did much miſchéefe to the Engliſhmen that inhabited on the marſhes, neither were the lords marchers able to reſiſt them, although the earle of Gloceſter aided the ſame lords all that he might.

Nic. Treu
Stephan
Bauzan, a
Baucan.

King Henrie being hereof aduertiſed, ſent with all ſpéed Stephan Bauzan, a man ſkilfull in feats of warre, with a great number of ſoldiers into Wales, againſt the rebels, who comming into that countrie, and entring into the lands of a Welſh lord named

Riſe Vaughan, was intrapt by ſuch ambuſhments as his enimies laid for him, and thereby was ſlaine with the more part of his armie. This ouerthrowe chanced by the treaſon of Griffin de Brunet, who at that preſent reuolting from the Engliſh ſide to his countrimen, inſtructed them in all things, how they might vanquiſh their enimies. At that time, Northwales and Southwales ioined in league and fréendlie amitie togither, which commonlie was not ſéene in thoſe daies, they being for the more part at variance, the one rather ſéeking ſtill how to indamage the other: but now in defenſe of their liberties (as they pretended) they agréed in one.

Engliſhmen ouerthrowne.

Northwales and Southwales ioined togither in league.

The king ſore moued herewith, determined to go himſelfe into Wales, that he might take worthie puniſhment of thoſe his aduerſaries, that could neuer be ſufficientlie chaſtiſed. Whervpon raiſing a great power, he haſted forth, and comming into Wales, put the rebels in ſuch feare, that they withdrew to their accuſtomed places of refuge, I meane the woods and mareſhes. The king would faine haue had them forth, that he might haue puniſhed them according to their deſerts, and therefore to bring his purpoſe the better to paſſe, he ſent for an armie of ſoldiers into Ireland, and tarried for their comming at the caſtell of Brecknoke, but the yeare was farre ſpent yer his people could be gathered, ſo that by the aduiſe of his lords he ſtrengthened certeine caſtels, and ſo returned for that yeare into England, leauing the lord Roger Mortimer his lieutenant in Wales, to reſiſt the rebels. But now let vs ſpeake of other dooings which chanced in the meane while that the warres thus continued and laſted betwixt England and Wales.

The king paſſeth himſelfe in perſon into wales.

The lord Mortimer the kings lieutenant in wales Polydor.

Yée ſhall vnderſtand, that in the Lent ſeaſon, the archbiſhop of Meſſina came as legat from the pope hither into England, with letters of procuration, to demand and receiue, and alſo with power, to puniſh ſuch as ſhould denie and ſéeme to reſiſt, and ſo being here arriued with a great traine of ſeruants and horſes, he ſent forth his commandements in writing to euerie prelat, to prouide him monie by way of prorie ſo that of the houſe of S. Albons, and of the celles that belonged therevnto, he had one and twentie marks, and when the monks of S. Albons came to viſit him in his houſe, they could not be permitted to depart, but were kept as priſoners, till they had ſatiſfied his couetous demand: for whereas they alledged that they had not brought any monie with them, he aſked them whie they were ſuch beggers, and further ſaid, Send yée then to ſome merchant, that will lend you monie, and ſo it was doone: for otherwiſe they might not haue libertie to depart. This archbiſhop was of the order of the Friers preachers, in whome (ſaith Matthew Paris) we had hoped to haue found more abundant humilitie. About the ſame time, there appeared at London a new order of Friers, not knowen till thoſe daies, hauing yet the popes autentike bulles, which they openlie ſhewed, ſo that there ſéemed a confuſion of manie orders, as the ſame Matthew Paris recordeth, and bicauſe they were apparelled in ſackecloth, they were called ſacked Friers.

A legat from Rome. Matth. Paris.

A new order of Friers.

About the middeſt of Lent, there was a great parlement holden, to the which the maiſters of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford were ſummoned, that peace might be concluded betwixt them and the biſhop of Lincolne, which had them in ſuit about their liberties. There came to the ſame parlement, the earle of Gloceſter, and ſir Iohn Manſell, latelie returned out of Almaine, where they had béene on ambaſſage from Richard the elect king of Almaine. Thither came alſo the ſame elect king of Almaine, and almoſt all the Nobilitie of the realme, so that ſcarſe might the citie of London receiue the number that repaired to that parlement. The king of Almaine meant to take his leaue at that time of the lords and péeres of the realme, purpoſing ſhortlie after, to take his iournie towards Almaine, and to ordeine the biſhop of London gouernor of all his lands and poſſeſſions within England.

A parlement.

Matth. Paris.

In this parlement, the lord Edmund the kings yonger ſonne was ſhewed as king of Naples and Sicill, for the obteining of the poſſeſſion of which dominions and kingdoms, his father king Henrie demanded no ſmall ſubſidie and aid of monie, both of the temporaltie and alſo of the ſpiritualtie, but namlie, he required to haue the tenths of ſpirituall mens liuings for the terme of fiue yeares, according to the new taxations without any deductions to be allowed except neceſſarie expenſes: alſo, the fruits for one yeare of benefices that chanced to fall void within the ſaid terme of fiue yeare. Moreouer, ſundrie other duties he required to haue of the ſpirituall men, ſore to their gréeuance, and ſpeciallie, bicauſe they knew that ſuch tyrannie firſt tooke beginning from the pope. In the end (though loth they were to conſent) yet conditionallie that the king would confirme the liberties conteined in the great charter, and obſerue the ſame throughlie, now after it had béene ſo manie times brought out and redéemed, they offered to giue him towards his inſtant neceſſitie two and fiftie thouſand marks, to the irrecouerable danger of impouerishing the church. And yet, as it is ſaid, the king refuſed the gift, as that which he thought not to be ſufficient.

The lord Edmund the kings ſonne.

A ſubſidie demanded.

The offer of yͤ ſpiritualtie.

¶ Truelie it ſhould ſéeme, that there was a great vntowardlie diſpoſition in the ſubiects of that time, for the helping of their king with neceſſarie aid of monie, towards ſuch great charges as he had béene diuers waies occaſioned to be at, ſince his firſt comming to the crowne. But bicauſe it was perceiued that he beſtowed no ſmall quantitie of his treaſure to the aduancing of his kinſfolke and aliance, namelie ſtrangers, and againe defraied great ſummes in vaine hope to obteine the kingdoms of both the Sicils which the pope offered to him fréelie inough in words, as before yée haue heard, the Engliſh ſubiects conceiued a great miſliking of the whole gouernement, and namelie, for that he ſéemed to be led and ruled by the aduiſe and counſell of thoſe ſtrangers, who being not throughlie acquainted with the nature of the Engliſh people, nor fullie inſtructed in the lawes and cuſtomes of the realme, cauſed him to doo manie things, that procured both to him and them much ill will, as well of the hie ſtates as of the commons, which as occaſion ſerued, they were readie inough to diſcouer, and therefore they were verie inquiſitiue, both to learne what he receiued, and alſo in what ſort he beſtowed that which he did receiue and take.

It was therefore knowne, that ſince he firſt began to waſte his treaſure, his charges amounted vnto the ſumme of 950000 marks, as the bookes of accompts remaining in the hands of the clearks of his cloſet plainelie witneſſed, and yet of all thoſe vaine expenſes no great aduantage was growne thereby to the king or realme, but rather diſaduantage, as the moſt part of men then tooke it, and no maruell: for there was ſuch hart-burning amongſt the nobilitie, one enuieng an others aduancement, & repining at each others dooings, that it was not poſſible to bring any good driſt forward amongſt men ſo far at ods togither. But we will let this paſſe as a thing manifeſt inough to them that ſhall well conſider the courſe of that time, and will returne to the parlement aboue mentioned.

Before the end of this ſolemne aſſemblie of ſtates, The archbiſh. of Cullen and other ambaſſadors of Almaine.

the archbiſhop of Cullen with a duke, & an other biſhop came ouer out of Almaine, vnto their elect king Richard, to whome they did fealtie and homage, as to their ſoueraigne liege lord and gouernor, which thing once done, he gaue to the ſaid archbiſhop fiue hundred marks to beare his charges, with a rich miter ſet with ſtones, & furniſhed with plates of beaten gold; which miter when the archbiſhop had ſet it vpon his head; He hath (ſaith he) giuen a rich gift to me and to my church, and verelie, euen as I haue put this miter on my head, ſo will I ſet on his head the crowne of the kingdome of Almaine; he hath mitered me, and I will crowne him. The other lords of Almaine, which at the ſame time did homage vnto earle Richard, were alſo preſented with great and rich gifts.

Six archbiſh. preſent at London in time of the parlement.

Hée is further to be noted, that there were preſent at this parlement ſix archbiſhops, Canturburie, Yorke, Dubline, Meſſina, Tarento and Cullen. The archbiſhop of Meſſina was come to the king to ſet him on dotage for the buſineſſe about the conqueſt of Naples and Sicill. At the feaſt of Eſter next following, the archbiſhop of Cullen returned into his countrie, and the third day after Eaſter, the elect king of Almaine tooke his leaue, and departed toward Yarmouth, where he purpoſed to take the ſea, to ſaile ouer into Almaine, but by reaſon of contrarie winds he was driuen to remaine there a long time, to his great gréefe and ineſtimable charges before he could paſſe ouer; yet finallie, about the latter end of Aprill, he got foorth to the ſea, and landed at Dordreigh the firſt of Maie next inſuing.

The elect K. of Almaine taketh his leaue of the king his brother.

He landeth at Dordreigh.

A ſynod.

About the ſame time, the archbiſhop of Canturburie called a ſynod of the biſhops and abbats inhabiting within his prouince, that inuocating the grace of the Holie-ghoſt, they might foreſée ſome redreſſe for reléefe of the Engliſh church, now in theſe late yeares ſore diſquieted by new oppreſſions, more gréeuous than had béene accuſtomed: for the king by counſell, or rather by the whiſpering of ſome flatterers and enimies to the realme, was ſo induced, that he permitted certeine euill cuſtoms, as thornie brembles to increaſe in the fruitfull garden of pleaſure, and to choke vp the trées that brought foorth fruit in great plentie. Moreouer in this yeare, king Henrie cauſed the walles of the citie of London, which were ſore decaied and deſtitute of turrets, to be repared in more ſéemelie wiſe than before they had béene, at the common charges of the citie.

Matth. Paris.

A decrée made by the pope.

There was an ordinance made at Rome by the pope and his cardinals (which verie diligentlie foreſaw to aduance their temporall commodities, not much paſſing for other mens aduantages) that euerie one which ſhould be choſen an exempt abbat, ſhould come to the court of Rome to be there confirmed, and receiue the popes bleſſing, by which heinous ordinance, religion was laid open to great danger, and the church depriued of temporall proſperitie (as ſaith Matthew Paris) for by this means (ſaith he) it was néedfull for religious men, to chooſe to their gouernour a man not religious, but rather halfe temporall, and ſuch a one as to whome rather Iuſtinians lawes than Chriſtes which conuerteth ſoules ſhould be familiar. The moonks of Durham, who onlie with the canons of Giſborne reſiſted the wicked procéedings of the popes exactors, and ſtood therefore interdicted a long time, at length, after manie altercations, were abſolued. Oh (ſaith Matth. Paris) if in that their tribulation they might haue had fellows, and in their conſtant doings aidors, how happilie had the church of England triumphed ouer hir tormentors and oppreſſors!

Matth. Paris

The moonks of Durham that were excōmunicated are now abſolued.

Matth. Paris.

You haue heard how Richard earle of Cornewall being elected king of Almaine, ſailed thither, where on the Aſcenſion day laſt, he was crowned king by the archbiſhop of Cullen, of whom, and diuerſe other great princes of Germanie he was holden for their lawfull king and gouernour (as in the Dutch hiſtories you may find more largelie expreſſed) though other of them had choſen Alfonſe king of Caſtile, the which Alfonſe wrote to the king of England, as his confederate and alie, requiring aid of him againſt the ſaid Richard that was his owne brother, to the which vnreaſonable requeſt the king would in no wiſe conſent.

Fabian.

In info

on agai

lord mai

London.

Moreouer, in this fortie one yeare of king Henries reigne, by reaſon of a roll cloſed in gréene war and found in the kings Wardrobe at Windſor, conteining as it were an information againſt the maior and ſhiriffes of London, for oppreſſion and wrongs doone to the communaltie of the citie, the king tooke great diſpleaſure, and cauſed ſtreit inquiſition to be made, as well by Fouke Moots, as Ward Moots, & diuerſe other means. At length, the maior and ſhiriffes, with the chamberlaine of the citie, were diſcharged by Iohn Manſell, one of the kings iuſtices, afore whom and other the kings councell, the inquiſition was taken, and then was the cuſtodie of the citie aſſigned vnto the conſtable of the tower, and in place of the ſhiriffes were appointed Michaell Tonie, and Iohn Audrian. At length, the maior, ſhiriffes and Aldermen that were accuſed, perceiuing the kings diſpleaſure towards them, ſubmitted themſelues wholie to his mercie, ſauing to them and to all other the citizens their liberties & franchiſes, and ſo in the excheker chamber at Weſtminſter afore the king, there ſitting in iudgement vpon the matter, they were condemned to paie their fines for their offenſes committed, and further, euerie of them diſcharged of his ward and office. Shortlie after was William Fitz Richard by the kings commandement made maior, and Thomas Fitz Thomas, and William Grapiſgate ſhiriffes.

The lor

or and ſh

riffes of L

don diſch

ged.

The lord

maior an

ſhiriffes

The archbiſhop of Yorke was accurſed by the popes commandement through all England, with booke, bell and candle, that by ſuch terror his conſtancie might he weakened. But the archbiſhop (ſaith Matthew Paris) informed by the example of Thomas Becket, and by the example and doctrine of ſaint Edmund ſometime his inſtructor, and alſo taught by the faithfulneſſe of bleſſed Robert, late biſhop of Lincolne, deſpaired not of comfort from heauen, in bearing patientlie the popes tyrannie; neither would he beſtow the wealthie reuenues of his church vpon Italians, being vnworthie perſons and ſtrangers; neither would he obeie and incline to the popes will like a faint-harted perſon, by leaning and ſetting apart the rigor of the law, leaſt therby he might ſéeme to reſult from his paſtorlike office, and animate the woolfe of Rome to breake into the ſhéepfold of the church, whoſe purpoſe was to ſucke the verie bloud quite and cleane out of euerie veine, yea to bite out bowels and all. Which qualitie to reſt in him, wofull experience hath taught, and the teſtimonie of written verities hath ſhewed, among which this one for the truth thereof is worthie to be reported euen to the praiſe of the deuiſer for his prettie deuiſe therein compriſed, and here ſet downe as fit for the purpoſe:

Math.Pa

The arch

of Yorke

curſed.

The con

cie of the

biſhop of

Yorke.

Non pontifex ſed potifex,
Non potifex ſed panifex,
Non panifex ſed carnifex,
Eſt papa pater pontifex.

About the beginning of the two and fortith yeare of king Henries reigne, the lord Iames Audelie that had béene ouer with the king of Almaine, and was latelie returned home in companie of the lord Henrie, ſonne to the ſaid king (who came backe from his father about the feaſt of ſaint Michaell laſt paſt) vnderſtanding how the Welſhmen in his abſence had

burnt,

The lord Audelie warreth vpon the welſhmen.

Ambaſſadors ſent into France.

The marſhes of wales ſore impoueriſhed.

burnt, waſted, and deſtroied his lands, poſſeſſions, and caſtels, which belonged vnto him in the confines of Wales, he meant to be reuenged of thoſe iniuries, and inuading them, he ſlue a great number of them, ſo reuenging the death of thoſe his freends, ſeruants and tenants, whome they before had murthered. The Welſhmen were not ſo diſcouraged herewith, but that they brake vpon him out of their ſtarting-holes and places of refuge through the mariſhes, and ſlaieng their enimies horſſes, put them backe to their power, & ceaſſed not to doo what miſcheefe they could, by ſpoiling, killing, and burning houſes and caſtels where they might come vnto them, and ſo the realme of England was dailie put to loſſes & hindcrances. For out of Wales, England was accuſtomed to be furniſhed with horſſes, cattell, and other things, to the great profit of both the countries. About the ſame time there was an ambaſſage ſent from the king of England to the French king by the biſhop of Worceſter, the elect of Wincheſter, the abbat of Weſtminſter, the earle of Leiceſter, & Hugh Bigod earle Marſhall, with Peter de Sauoy, and Robert Walcron. The effect of their meſſage was to require reſtitution of thoſe countries, lands, cities, and townes which had bene euicted out of the hands of king Iohn and others, apperteining by right of inheritance to the king of England. Theſe lords did their meſſage, but as was thought, they had no towardlie anſwer, but rather were put off with trifling words & ſcornefull tawnts, ſo that they returned ſhortlie againe all of them, the abbat of Weſtminſter onelie excepted, who remained there behind for a fuller anſwer, not onelie to thoſe requeſts exhibited on the part of the king of England, but alſo on the behalfe of the king of Almaine. The marſhes towards Wales in this ſeaſon were brought almoſt deſert, by reaſon of the continuall wars with the Welſhmen, for what with fire & ſword, neither building nor liuing creature, nor any other thing was ſpared, that fire & ſword might bring to ruine.

A great dearth. Math. Paris.

1258

The greedie dealing of the Londoners to the hurt of the cõmon-welth.

In this yeare was an exceeding great dearth, in ſo much that a quarter of wheat was ſold at London for foure and twentie ſhillings, whereas within two or three yeares before, a quarter was ſold at two ſhillings. It had beene more deerer, if great ſtore had not come out of Almaine, for in France and in Normandie it likewiſe failed. But there came fiftie great ſhips fraught with wheat and barlie, with meale and bread out of Dutchland, by the procurement of Richard king of Almaine, which greatlie releeued the poore; for proclamation was made, and order taken by the king, that none of the citizens of London ſhould buy any of that graine to laie it vp in ſtore, whereby it might be ſold at an higher price vnto the needie. But though this prouiſion did much eaſe, yet the want was great ouer all the realme. For it was certeinelie affirmed, that in three ſhires within the realme, there was not found ſo much graine of that yeares growth, as came ouer in thoſe fiftie ſhips. The proclamation was ſet forth, to reſtreine the Londoners from ingroſſing vp that graine, and not without cauſe: for the wealthie citizens were euill ſpoken of in that ſeaſon, bicauſe in time of ſcarſitie they would either ſtaie ſuch ſhips as fraught with vittels were comming towards the citie, and ſend them ſome other way forth; or elſe buy the whole, that they might ſell it by retaile at their pleſure to the needie. By means of this great dearth and ſcarſitie, the common people were conſtreined to liue vpon hearbs & roots, and a great number of the poore people died through famine, which is the moſt miſerable calamitie that can betide mortall men, and was well marked euen of the heathen, but notablie by Ouid, who making a deſcription of famine, ſetteth hir forth in moſt ouglie and irkeſome ſort, intending therby the dreadfulnes of that heauie plague, saieng:

Quæſitámque famem lapidoſo vidit in antro,
Vnguibus & raris vellentem dentibus herbas,
Hirtus erat crinis,caua lumina,pallor in ore,
Labra incana ſitu,ſcabri rubigine dentes,
Dura cutis,per quam ſpectari viſcera poſſent,
Oſſa ſub incuruis extabant arida lumbis,
Ventris erat pro ventre locus,pendêre putares
Pectus & à ſpinæ tantummodo crate teneri,
Auxerat articulos macies,genuúmque tumebat
Orbis,& immodico prodibant tubere tali,&c.

Ouid. lib. 8. Meta. fab. 11.

A parlement. Matth. Paris.

Hurtred, a meſſenger frõ the pope.

The welſhmen ſpoile Penbrokeſhire.

This yeare after Eaſter a parlement was holden at London, in the which manie weightie matters were intreated of touching the kings cauſes, namelie, about the conqueſt of the realme of Naples, the pope hauing ſent a meſſenger named Hurtred for the diſcharge of monie, which the pope had receiued of merchants, as it were to the kings vſe, and entred bonds for the paiment thereof. Alſo, whereas the king was ſore diſquieted for the warre which the Welſhmen made againſt him, he aſked aduiſe of the ſtates, how he might proceed to ſeeke his iuſt reuenge of them, who by reaſon of their good hap were become verie ſtout and loftie, and had of late by the expiring of a truce which had beene accorded betwixt them, ſpoiled and waſted the moſt part of Penbrokeſhire, of which iniurie the earle of Penbroke, namelie William de Valence, ſore complained.

Variance betwixt the earle of Penbroke and others.

But whereas the king knowing him to be rich, willed him to lay out ſome great portion of monie, towards the maintenance of his wars, the erle tooke great diſpleaſure therewith, as though the king had made that requeſt by the ſuggeſtion and ſetting on of ſome of the Engliſh lords, in ſomuch that words paſſed in diſpleaſant ſort betwixt him and the earles of Gloceſter and Leiceſter, ſo far forth, that the earle of Penbroke called the earle of Leiceſter traitor, who therewith made towards him, to haue reuenged the iniurie, and ſo would haue doone indeed, if the king had not beene moderator betwixt them. Finallie at this parlement the lords told the king that they might not aid him with any great ſummes of monie, except it ſhould redound to their great impoueriſhment: they told him alſo, that he had not doone wiſelie to enter into couenants, for the purchaſe of the kingdome of Naples for his ſonne, without their conſents.

The archbiſhop of Yorke depriued of his croſſe.

Manſuetus the popes Nuncio.

They alſo declared to him, what articles it ſhould be good for him to propone vnto the pope, if he would haue him to continue in bearing the charges of the wars againſt Manfred. But when thoſe articles were afterwards preſented to the pope, he allowed them not, & ſo the matter remained without any certeine aſſurance of the promiſes, which had beene and ſtill were from time to time made to ſet the king on dotage. The archbiſhop of Yorke had his croſſe taken from him by the popes commandement, but the archbiſhop would not yet bow his knee vnto Baall, to beſtow the benefices of his church vpon aliens, and ſuch as were vnworthie perſons, as it had beene to caſt pearles vnto ſwine. ¶ There came from the pope as his Nuncio, vnto king Henrie, a frier minor named Manſuetus, furniſhed with great power and authoritie, in ſomuch that he tooke vpon him to abſolue men for changing their vowes, and to iuſtifie thoſe that were excõmunicated perſons, falſe periured, and ſuch like. Whereupon, manie of euill diſpoſition preſumed to offend: for eaſineſſe to purchaſe pardon bred boldneſſe in manie, howbeit the wiſe ſeemed to laugh at ſuch doings.

The parlement ſtill continued, till the ſundaie after the Aſcenſion day, with hard hold betwixt the king and the lords, who laid it ſore to his charge, that he had not performed the promiſes which he made touching the obſeruing of the liberties conteined in the great charter. They alſo complained greatlie of his miſgouernance, in that he ſo much aduanced the Poictouins and other ſtrangers, to the impoueriſhment of himſelfe and the whole realme, and further, mainteined them ſo far foorth, that they were readie to offer wrong vnto other, vpon preſumption of his fauour and bearing with them, he hauing by commandement reſtreined that no proceſſe ſhould paſſe out of the chancerie againſt certeine of them that were his coſins, as the earle of Penbroke and others. Finallie, when the lords were in doubt which way to worke for their owne ſafeties, they cauſed the parlement to be proroged, till the feaſt of ſaint Barnabe, then to begin againe at Oxford. In the meane time the lords of the realme, as the earles of Gloceſter, Leiceſter, Hereford and Northfolke, with other, did confederate themſelues togither, bicauſe they ſtood in feare to be intrapped by the kings ſubtill ſleights, and by the craftie wiles of thoſe ſtrangers whom he reteined againſt them.

The parlemẽt proroged.

In the ſame yeare by the wind, which continuallie certeine months togither kept northerlie, the flours, with other growing things, were ſo hindered, that ſcarſelie they appeared to anie purpoſe, till the moſt part of Iune was paſt, wherevpon the hope of receiuing the fruits of the earth was quite taken awaie, & ſo vpon the great dearth that happened, a ſore death and mortalitie followed, for want of neceſſarie food to ſuſteine the pining bodies of the poore people. They died ſo thicke, that there were great pits made in churchyards to laie the dead bodies in one vpon an other.

A late growth

A dearth accompanied with a death.

About the feaſt of the Aſcenſion, Seuall the archbiſhop of Yorke departed this life, who conſtantlie had reſiſted the tyrannie of the court of Rome, in defenſe of his church, ſuffering in this world manie greeuous tribulations, but now was remoued from thenſe vnto the kingdome of heauen, to be crowned with the elect for his good deſeruings, as was then certenlie beleeued. About this time, a great number of Poictouins were come into England, by reaſon of their aliance and coſinage to the king, the which by the kings fauour being highlie aduanced, began to wax proud thereof, and to require to be reſtored vnto ſuch lands and liuings as before time they had poſſeſſed: namelie the kings halfe brethren, Athelmare or Odomare, that was a preeſt, with William, Geffrey and Guie, theſe were the ſonnes of Hugh le Brun earle of Marſh, by his wife queene Iſabell, the mother of king Henrie, and being come into England, they ſhewed themſelues verie loftie & high-minded, partlie, bicauſe of their coſinage to the king, & partlie by reaſon of his courteous interteining of them, inſomuch that forgetting themſelues, they began to deſpiſe (vpon a preſumptuous pride) the Engliſh nobilitie, looking ſtill for preferment of honor aboue all other. And ſuerlie Odomare obteined at the firſt a great peece of his purpoſe, being made by the kings gift biſhop of Wincheſter, and by that means bare a ſtout port, and greatlie holpe and mainteined his other brethren.

Seuall archb. of Yorke departeth this life.

Matth. Paris.

The kings halfe brethren.

The Engliſh barons not well able to ſuffer ſuch preſumption in ſtrangers, who ſeemed to haue them in deriſion, complained to the king, in ſo much that at length, as well for a reformation hereof, as in other things, a parlement was called (as before you haue heard) firſt at London, and after reiorned to Oxenford, there to be aſſembled about the feaſt of ſaint Barnabe in the moneth of Iune. This (of ſome writers) is named *Inſanum parliamentum*, that is to ſay, The mad parlement; for at this parlement (to the which the lords came with great retinues of armed men, for the better ſafegard of their perſons) manie things in the ſame yeare were enacted contrarie to the K. pleaſure, and his roiall prerogatiue. For the lords at the firſt determined to demand the confirmation of the ancient charter of liberties, which his father king Iohn had granted, and he himſelfe had ſo often promiſed to obſerue and mainteine, ſignifieng plainelie, that they meant to purſue their purpoſe and intent herein, not ſparing either for loſſe of life, lands or goods, according to that they had mutuallie giuen their faiths by ioining of hands, as the manner in ſuch caſes is accuſtomed. Beſides the grant of the great charter, they required other things neceſſarie for the ſtate of the common-wealth, to be eſtabliſhed and enacted.

Inſanum parliamentum.

The demand of the lords.

It was therefore firſt enacted, that all the Poictouins ſhould auoid the land, togither with other ſtrangers, and that neither the king nor his ſonne prince Edward ſhould in anie ſecret manner aid them againſt the people. Moreouer, that the king & his ſonne ſhould receiue an oth, to ſtand vnto the decrees and ordinances of that parlement, and withall ſpeed to reſtore the ancient lawes and inſtitutions of the realme, which they both did, rather conſtreined therevnto by feare, than of anie good will. Thus not onelie the king himſelfe, but alſo his ſonne prince Edward receiued an oth, to obſerue the ordinances of that parlement. But Iohn earle Warren, and the kings halfe brethren, namelie the earle of Penbroke refuſed that oth; and likewiſe the lord Henrie, ſonne to the king of Almaine, excuſed himſelfe by his fathers abſence, without whoſe conſent he would not receiue it, vnto whome this anſwer was made, that if his father would not conſent to the agreement of the baronage, he ſhould not poſſeſſe one furrowe of land within this realme.

Ordinances made.

An oth exacted of the king

Alſo, whereas the earle of Leiceſter reſigned the caſtels of Killingworth and Odiham into the kings hands, which he had latelie receiued by his gift, and newlie repaired, the earle of Penbroke and his other brethren ſware deepelie, that they would for no mans pleaſure giue ouer ſuch caſtels, rents, and wardſhips of theirs, as they had of the kings gift. But the earle of Leiceſter told the earle of Penbroke flatlie and plainlie, that he ſhould either render them vp, or elſe he ſhould be ſure to loſe his head. This ſaieng was confirmed by the generall voices of all other the barons, bicauſe it was a ſpeciall article concluded amongſt other in that parlement. The kings halfe brethren, perceiuing which waie the world went, ſtood in doubt of themſelues, and ſecretlie therevpon departing from Oxenford, firſt withdrew vnto Wincheſter, where Odomare, one of the ſame brethren was biſhop, through whoſe ſupport, and by reaſon of the ſtrength of ſuch caſtels as he held, they truſted to be in more ſafetie: but finallie, perceiuing themſelues not to be ſo out of danger, ſith the barons minded to purſue them, about the eighteenth daie of Iulie they departed the realme with a great number of other of their countriemen; and amongeſt thoſe, William de ſaint Herman the kings caruer was one.

The earle of Leiceſter threatneth the earle of Penbroke.

The kings halfe brethren ſhift awaie.

They depart the Realme.

Henrie Montfort, ſonne to the earle of Leiceſter, vnderſtanding of their departure out of the realme, followed; and hearing that they were arriued at Bullogne, he landed in thoſe parts, & by ſuch freendſhip as he found there amongſt thoſe that bare good will vnto his father, he got togither a power, and after a manner beſieged the Poictouins within Bullogne, laieng watch for them in ſuch ſort, both by ſea and land, that there was no waie left for them to eſcape. When they ſaw themſelues in that danger, they ſent a meſſenger with all poſt haſt to the French king, requiring his ſafe conduct, to paſſe freelie through his

Henrie Mõ fort purſue the kings h brethren.

They ſent t the French

his realme, as they truſted he would be content to grant vnto ſuch, as for refuge and ſafegard of life ſhould repaire vnto him for comfort. The French king courteouſlie granted their requeſt, and ſo they were in ſafetie permitted to paſſe quietlie through the countrie. In the meane while one Richard Gray, chatellaine of Douer caſtell, a right valiant man and a faithfull, ſuffered no man to paſſe that waie vnſearched, according to that which he had in commandement: wherevpon he tooke & ſeized into his hands a great portion of treaſure, which was brought thither to be tranſported ouer to the Poictouins that were fled out of the realme. Alſo, there was found a great quantitie of treaſure in the new temple at London, which they had gathered & hoorded vp there, which alſo was ſeized to the kings vſe.

Richard Gray capteine of Douer caſtell, and lord warden of the ports.

Matt. VVeſt.

Foure and twentie gouernours.

The abuſes of thoſe gouernours.

But now to returne vnto the doings in the parlement holden at Oxford. It was ordeined (as ſome write) that the king ſhould chooſe twelue perſons of the realme, and the communaltie of the land ſhould chooſe other twelue, the which hauing regall authoritie in their hands, might take in charge the gouernance of the realme vpon them, & ſhould from yeare to yeare prouide for the due election of iuſtices, chancellors, treaſurors, and other officers, and ſee for the ſafe kéeping of the caſtels which belonged to the crowne. Theſe foure and twentie gouernours appointed as prouiders for the good gouernement of the realme, began to order all things at their pleaſure, in the meane time not forgetting to vſe things chéeflie to their owne aduantages, as well in prouiding eſchets and wards for their ſonnes and kinſfolks, as alſo in beſtowing patronages of churches (belonging to the kings gift) at their pleaſures, ſo that theſe prouiders ſéemed to prouide all for themſelues, inſomuch that neither king nor Chriſt could receiue ought amongſt them: and as for iuſtice they regarded nothing leſſe, their minds were ſo rauiſhed with deſire of priuat wealth; which who ſo hunteth after, being in place of magiſtracie, he muſt néeds neglect the law and courſe of equitie, and therefore this counſell is good which a good writer giueth in this behalfe, ſaieng;

M. Pal. in Virg.

Si iuſtus vult eſſe aliquis non vtile quærat,
Iuſticia eſt multis laudata, domeſtica paucis.

Fabian.

There be that write, how there were but twelue of theſe gouernours choſen; whoſe names were as followeth. Firſt, the archbiſhop of Canturburie, the biſhop of Worceſter, Roger Bigod earle of Northfolke and marſhall of England, Simon de Mountfort earle of Leiceſter, Richard de Clare earle of Gloceſter, Humfrey Bohun earle of Hereford, the earles of Warwike and Arundell, ſir Iohn Manſell chéefe iuſtice of England, ſir Roger lord Mortimer, ſir Hugh Bigod, ſir Peter de Sauoy, ſir Iames Audeley, and ſir Peter de Mountfort. To theſe was authoritie onelie giuen to puniſh and correct all ſuch as offended in breaking of any the ordinances at this parlement eſtabliſhed.

Contention betwixt the earles of Leiceſter and Gloceſter.

The lords come to the Guildhall to haue their ordinances confirmed.

It was not long after the finiſhing of this parlement, but that ſtrife and variance began to kindle betwéene the king and the earles of Leiceſter and Gloceſter, by reaſon of ſuch officers as the ſaid earles had remooued, and put others in their roomes: among the which Iohn Manſell was diſcharged of his office, and ſir Hugh Bigod, brother to earle Marſhall, admitted in his roome. Alſo bicauſe the foreſaid gouernours had knowledge that the king minded not to performe the ordinances eſtabliſhed at Oxford, they thought to make their part as ſtrong as was poſſible for them to doo, and therefore vpon the morrow after the feaſt of Marie Magdalene, the king as then being at Weſtminſter, the earle Marſhall, the earle of Leiceſter, and diuerſe other came to the Guildhall of London, where the maior and aldermen, with the commons of the citie were aſſembled, and there the lords ſhewed the inſtrument or writing ſealed with the kings ſeale, and with the ſeales of his ſonne prince Edward, and of manie other lords of the land, conteining the articles of thoſe ordinances which had béene concluded at Oxford, willing the maior and aldermen to ſet alſo therevnto their common ſeale of the citie. The maior and aldermen vpon aduiſe amongſt them taken, required reſpit till they might know the kings pleaſure therein, but the lords were ſo earneſt in the matter, and made ſuch inſtance, that no reſpit could be had; ſo that in the end the common ſeale of the citie was put to that writing, and the maior with diuerſe of the citie ſworne to mainteine the ſame, their allegiance ſaued to the king, with their liberties and franchiſes, according to the accuſtomed manner.

A proclamation againſt purueiers.

A parlement.

The iuſtices ſit at S. Sauiours.

Bailiffes and other officers puniſhed.

Bakers puniſhed.

Vpon the ninth day of Auguſt, proclamation was made in diuerſe places of the citie, that none of the kings takers ſhould take any thing within the citie, without the will of the owner, except two tunnes of wine, which the king accuſtomablie had of euerie ſhip comming from Burdeaux, paieng but 40 ſhillings for the tun. By meanes of this proclamation, nothing was taken by the kings officers within the citie and liberties of the ſame, except readie paiment were made in hand, which vſe continued not long. Herevpon the king held a parlement at Weſtminſter, and another at Wincheſter, or elſe prorogued and remoued the ſame thither. Alſo ſir Hugh Bigod lord chéefe iuſtice, with Roger Turkſey, and other called Itinerarij, kept the terme for plées at ſaint Sauiours: for you muſt vnderſtand, that in thoſe daies they were kept in diuerſe places of the realme, which now are holden altogither at Weſtminſter, and iudges ordeined to kéepe a circuit, as now they kéepe the aſſiſes in time of vacation. The foreſaid iudges ſitting on that maner at ſaint Sauiours, puniſhed bailiffes, and other officers verie extremelie, which were conuict afore them for diuerſe treſpaſſes, and ſpeciallie for taking of merciaments otherwiſe than law gaue them. After this, the ſame ſir Hugh came vnto the Guildhall, and there ſat in iudgement, and kept plées without order of law; yea contrarie to the liberties of the citie, he puniſhed bakers for lacke of true ſize, by the tumbrell; where before they were puniſhed by the pillorie, & manie other things he vſed after ſuch manner, more by will than good order of law.

Matth. Paris.

The Poictouins ſuſpected to haue poiſoned ẏ Engliſh lords.

Walter Scotonie arreigned and condemned.

There was a bruite raiſed (whether of truth or otherwiſe we leaue to the credit of the authors) that the Poictouins had practiſed to poiſon the moſt part of the Engliſh nobilitie. Indéed diuers of them were gréeuouſlie tormented with a certeine diſeaſe of ſwelling and breaking out, ſome died, and otherſome verie hardlie eſcaped, of which number the earle of Gloceſter was one, who laie ſicke a long time at Sunning a place beſides Reading. At length he recouered: but his brother William died of the ſame diſeaſe, and vpon his death-bed laid the fault to one Walter Scotenie, as the occaſioner of his death, which afterwards coſt the ſaid Walter his life. For although he was one of the chéefe councellors, and ſteward alſo to the ſaid earle of Gloceſter, yet being had in ſuſpicion, and thervpon apprehended and charged with that crime, when in the yeare next following in Iune he came to be arreigned at Wincheſter, and put himſelfe to be tried by a iurie, the ſame pronounced him guiltie: and when thoſe that were impanneled vpon that iurie were aſked by the iudges how they vnderſtood that he ſhould be giltie, they anſwered, bicauſe that where the ſaid Walter was neuer indebted, that they could heare of, either to William de Valence, or to any of his brethren, they were fullie certified that he had late receiued no ſmall ſum of monie of the ſaid W. de Valence to poiſon both his maiſter and other of the Engliſh nobilitie as was to be thought, ſith there was no other apparant cauſe why he ſhould receiue ſuch a gift at the hands of their enimie the ſaid William de Valence, and ſo was the ſaid Walter executed at Wincheſter aforeſaid.

He ſuffereth.

A late harueſt

The harueſt was verie late this yeare, ſo that the moſt part of the corne rotted on the ground, and that which at length was got in, remained yet abrode till after Alhallowentide, ſo vntemperate was the weather, with exceſſiue wet and raine beyond all meaſure. Hereupon the dearth ſo increaſed, that euen thoſe which had of late releeued other, were in danger to ſtarue themſelues. Finallie ſolemne faſts and generall proceſſions were made in diuerſe places of the realme to appeaſe Gods wrath, and (as it was thought) their praiers were heard, for the weather partlie amended, and by reaſon the ſame ſerued to get in ſome ſuch corne as was not loſt, the price thereof in the market fell halfe in halfe. A good and memorable motiue, that in ſuch extremities as are aboue the reach of man to redreſſe, we ſhould by and by haue recourſe to him that can giue a remedie againſt euerie caſualtie. For

Dearth of corne increaſeth.

Faſts & proceſſions vſed.

Flectitur iratus voce rogante Deus.

Richard Gray lord warden of the ports.

Erlotus the popes Nuncio returneth home.

Richard Gray the chattellaine of Douer looking diligentlie vnto his charge, tooke a thouſand marks which the biſhop of Wincheſter had ſent thither to haue beene tranſported ouer into France. Erlotus the popes Nuncio perceiuing the trouble that was like to inſue within the realme would no longer tarie, but wiſelie departed and got him home. Herewith certeine wiſe perſonages were ſent to Rome on the part of the king and baronage, to informe the pope in what ſtate the realme ſtood, and to giue him to vnderſtand how greeuouſlie the people had beene handled by the practiſe of certeine Romane prelats promoted in this land.

Matth. Paris. The lord of Kedwellie ſlaine.

Matth. Paris.

This yeare neere to Carmardin Patrike of Chauton lord of Kedwelli, Hugh de Viun, and diuerſe other both horſmen and footmen were ſlaine through treaſon by the Welſhmen: yet it ſhould appeare by Matthew Paris that the Engliſhmen procured this miſcheefe to light on their owne heads, through their diſloiall dealing. For where they were come to the place to talke of an agreement, ſome of the marchers ſuppoſing they had beene too ſtrong for the Welſhmen, perſuaded the ſaid lord of Kedwellie to aſſaile them vpon the ſudden, in hope to haue deſtroied them all: but in the end the Engliſhmen were diſtreſſed through the valiancie of Dauid one of the ſonnes of the great Leolin and other capteines of the Welſh nation. Neuertheleſſe Matthew Weſtminſter ſaith brieflie, that the Engliſh men were treaſonablie ſlaine: ſo that it ſeemeth that Matthew Paris ſpeaketh rather of an affection and good will which he bare to the Welſh proceedings in thoſe daies, than otherwiſe.

Matth. Paris not well affected towards the gouernement of the realme as it then ſtood.

For who ſo marketh the courſe of his hiſtorie, ſhall perceiue that he had no good liking of the ſtate in thoſe daies, neither concerning the eccleſiaſticall nor temporall policie, in ſomuch that he ſticketh not to commend the Welſhmen greatlie for their holding togither, againſt the oppreſſion (as he meaneth it) of the Engliſh gouernement, and no doubt there was cauſe that mooued him to ſuch miſliking, namelie the often paiments and collections of monie by the popes agents, and other ſuch miſorders as dailie were permitted or rather mainteined to the impoueriſhing of both eſtates ſpirituall and temporall.

Godfrey de Kinton archbiſhop of Canturburie.

Godfrey de Kinton was conſecrated archbiſhop of Canturburie at Rome, about the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe laſt paſt, and ſo returned from thence home to his cure. There was an ordinance made about this time, for puniſhment to be had of the extortion of ſhiriffes, ſo that aſwell the receiuer as the giuer of bribes was puniſhable. Which law if it were now executed vpon all officers & occupiers whatſoeuer, there would not be ſo much wealth and ſubſtance, ſo great riches and treaſure raked vp togither in the poſſeſſion of ſome few men, as the old ſage ſaieng importeth,

An ordinanc againſt extortion.

Quiſquis ditatur rapidos miluos imitatur.

Anno Reg. 43. Ambaſſadors ſent to the councell at Cambrey.

The biſhops of Worceſter and Lincolne, with the earles of Norfolke and Leiceſter, were ſent ouer in ambaſſage vnto a councell holden at Cambrey, for a league and peace to be concluded betwixt the kingdoms of England and France, and alſo the empire: but bicauſe the French king looked to haue the king of England there, when he heard that the ſame king came not, he alſo ſtaied at home, and ſo no concluſion followed at that aſſemblie.

Jone counteſſe of Penbroke.

Jone counteſſe of Penbroke, the wife of William de Valence the kings halfe brother, demanded hir right of dower, in ſuch lands as belonged to hir by title of inheritance. At length ſhe had to the value of fiue hundred marks aſſigned hir of the ſame lands, notwithſtanding hir heritage amounted to the ſum of a thouſand marks and aboue of yearelie reuenues, but for that ſhe ſhould not aid hir huſband with part thereof, the one halfe was thought ſufficient for hir maintenance. About Aduent next inſuing, ſhe went ouer vnto hir huſband, either for the deſire ſhe had to inioy his perſonall preſence, or for that ſhe thought hirſelfe not well dealt with, to be abridged of thoſe reuenues, which by right of inheritance were hir owne. In the firſt night of December, there chanced a maruellous ſore tempeſt of lightning and thunder, with mightie winds and raine, as a token and ſigne of the troubles that after followed, the more noted, for that thunder in the winter ſeaſon is not commonlie heard of. Guy de Rochford a Poictouin, to whom about two yeares before the king had giuen the caſtell of Rocheſter, was now baniſhed the realme, and depriued of all that he held in this land. About this ſeaſon there roſe great variance amongſt the ſcholers of Oxford being of ſundrie countries, as Scottiſhmen, Welſhmen, Northern men, and Southern men: who fell ſo farre at ſquare, that they raiſed baners one againſt an other, and fought togither, in ſomuch that diuerſe were ſlaine, and manie hurt on both parties. ¶ The Welſhmen this yeare, notwithſtanding their good ſucceſſe had in theſe late wars, conſidered with themſelues, that if the barons of England did once ioine in one knot of freendſhip, they would with maine force eaſilie ſubdue them, wherefore to preuent that which might chance vnto them by ſtubborne reſiſtance, they made ſuit to be receiued into the kings peace, offering to giue vnto him the ſumme of foure thouſand markes, and to his ſonne the lord Edward three hundred marks, and to the queene two hundred marks. Yet the king would not accept thoſe offers, and ſo the matter depended in doubtfull balance a certeine time. The Welſhmen in the meane ſeaſon attempted not any exploit, but rather ſate ſtill in hope to come at length to ſome reaſonable agreement. ¶ The moonks of Wincheſter meaning to prouide themſelues of a biſhop, now that Athelmare *alias* Odomare the kings halfe brother was baniſhed the realme, elected one Henrie de Wingham the kings chancellor, in hope that the K. would be contented with his election, and ſo he was, but yet conditionallie, that if the pope would allow his ſaid halfe brother for biſhop, then ſhould the other giue place.

A great tem peſt of lightning and thunder.

Guy de Ro ford baniſh

Variance a debat betw the ſtudẽts Oxford.

The Welſhmen ſeke to agree with the king.

Henrie de Wingham e lected biſhop of Winch

1259

Ambaſſado ſent to the of Almain

About the feaſt of S. Hilarie, when knowledge was giuen that king Richard of Almaine meant to returne into England, there were ſent ouer vnto

him

His proteſtation to their demand.

him the biſhop of Worceſter, the abbat of ſaint Edmundſburie, Peter de Sauoy, and John Manſell, as ambaſſadours from the baronage and communaltie of the realme, to require of him an oth, to ſtand vnto and obeie the ordinances of the late parlement holden at Oxenford. When the ſaid ambaſſadors came before his preſence, and declared to him the effect of their meſſage, he beheld them with a ſterne looke, and frowning countenance, ſaieng (and binding it with an oth) that he would neither be ſworne, nor kéepe any ſuch ordinances as had béene made without his conſent; neither would he make them of counſell how long his purpoſe was to ſtaie within the realme, which the ambaſſadours required alſo to vnderſtand. Hereunto he further added, that he had no péere in England, for he was the ſonne of the deceaſed king, and brother of the king that now reigned, and alſo earle of Cornewall, and therefore if the barons of England ment to reforme the ſtate of the kingdome, their duetie had béene firſt to haue ſent for him, and not to haue procéeded ſo preſumptuouſlie in ſuch a weightie cauſe, without his preſence or conſent. When one of the ambaſſadours was about to haue made anſwer ſomewhat roundlie, and alſo nippinglie vnto this ſpéech vttered by the king of Almaine, he was ſtaied by one of his aſſociats. And ſo the ambaſſadours vnderſtanding his mind, returned with all conuenient ſpéed.

He changeth his purpoſe and commeth ouer into England.

He receiueth an oth not to infringe the ſtatutes of Oxford.

The king of Almaine had aſſembled a great hoſt of men on the further ſide the ſea, meaning with all expedition to haue paſſed hither into England: but when he had aduertiſement giuen that there was a power raiſed in England, and beſtowed both by ſea and land to reſiſt him, he changed his purpoſe by aduiſe of his fréends, ſo that he conſented to receiue ſuch manner of oth as the barons required, and herewith taking the ſea, he arriued at Douer on ſaint Julians daie with his owne houſhold-ſeruants, bringing with him no traine of ſtrangers, except onelie two earles of Almaine, which brought with them but onelie thrée knights, and he himſelfe had but eight knights: his brother king Henrie was readie to receiue him, and brought him from Douer vnto Canturburie, for neither of them was ſuffered to enter into the caſtell of Douer, the lords hauing them in a gelouſie, leaſt they ſhould be about to breake the ordinances which were concluded. On the morow after, the king of Almaine receiued the oth in the preſence of Richard earle of Gloceſter and others, within the chapter houſe of Canturburie. And on the day of the Purification of our ladie, the two kings with their quéenes and a great number of noble perſonages made their entrie and paſſage into the citie of London.

A parlement.

A peace concluded vpon betwixt the kings of England & France

The counteſſe of Leiceſter.

Contention betwixt the earles of Gloceſter and Leiceſter.

In the octaues of the ſaid Purification, the parlement began at London, to the which came the earle of Leiceſter from the parts of beyond the ſea, where he had for a certeine time remained. There came alſo an ambaſſador from the French king, one that was deane of Burges, and ſo there was an earneſt treatie had touching a peace to be concluded betwixt the two kings of England and France, which on the day of ſaint Valentine was accorded and put in articles, with condition that the ſame ſhould remaine firme and ſtable, if the kings would aſſent to that which had béene talked of and agréed vpon by their ſpeciall and ſolemne agents. For the further perfecting of this agréement and finall peace betwixt the kings of England and France, about the begining of Aprill, the earls of Gloceſter and Leiceſter, John Manſell, Peter de Sauoy, and Robert Walerane were ſent ouer into France, hauing alſo with them letters of credence, to conclude in all matters as had béene talked of by their agents. But when the counteſſe of Leiceſter would not conſent to quite claime and releaſe hir right in ſuch parcels of Normandie as belonged to hir, which king Henrie had couenanted with the reſidue to reſigne vnto the French king. The earle of Gloceſter fell at words with the earle of Leiceſter, about the ſtubborne demeanor which his wife ſhewed in that matter, and ſo by reaſon that either of them ſtood at defiance with the other (although by meane of fréends they ſtaied from further inconuenience) they returned backe without concluding any thing in that whereabout they were ſent.

The friers preachers begin to inhabit at Dunſtable.

The moonks hindred by the the comming of the friers.

About the ſame time there was a certeine manſion houſe by waie of deuotion giuen vnto the friers that are called preachers within the towne of Dunſtable, ſo that certeine of them thruſting themſelues in there, began to inhabit in that place, to the great annoiance of the prior and conuent of Dunſtable, & as it were by the example of the other order called minors (which in the laſt préceding yeare, at ſaint Edmundſburie in Suffolke had practiſed the like matter againſt the willes of the abbat and conuent there) they began to build verie ſumptuous houſes, ſo that in the eies of the beholders ſuch chargeable workes of building, ſo ſuddenlie aduanced by them that profeſſed voluntarie pouertie, cauſed no ſmall woonder. The ſaid friers building them a church with all ſpéed, and ſetting vp an altar, immediatlie began to celebrate diuine ſeruice, not once ſtaieng for the purchaſe of anie licence. And ſo building from day to day, they obteined great aid of ſuch as inhabited néere vnto them, of whome the prior and conuent ought to haue receiued the reuenues that were now conuerted to be imploied on the ſaid friers towards their maintenance. Thus by how much more their houſe increaſed, by ſo much more did the prior and conuent decreaſe in ſubſtance and poſſeſſions: for the rents which they were accuſtomed to receiue of the meſſuages and houſes giuen to the friers, were loſt, and likewiſe the offerings (which were woont to come to their hands) now theſe friers being newlie entred by occaſion of their preachings, vſurped to themſelues.

Richard Gray diſcharged of his office of lord warden.

Walaſcho a frier ſent from the pope.

Richard Graie conſtable of the caſtell of Douer, and lord warden of the cinque ports was this yeare remooued by the lord chéefe iuſtice Hugh Bigod, who tooke into his owne hands the cuſtodie of the ſaid caſtell and ports. The cauſe whie the ſaid Richard Graie was diſcharged, we find to haue fallen out by this means. He ſuffered a frier minor called Walaſcho, comming from the pope (bicauſe he had the kings letters vnder the great ſeale) to enter the land, not ſtaieng him, nor warning the lords of his comming, contrarie (as it was interpreted) vnto the articles of their prouiſions enacted at Oxenford. This frier indéed was ſent from the pope to haue reſtored Athilmarus or Odomarus (as ſome write him) the kings halfe brother, vnto the poſſeſſions of the biſhoprike of Wincheſter, to the which he had béene long before elected. But the lords were ſo bent againſt him, that vpon ſuch ſuggeſtions as they laid forth, Walaſcho refrained from dooing that which he had in commandement, and returned to make report what he vnderſtood, ſo that Odomarus was now as farre from his purpoſe as before.

The biſhop of Bangor ſent frõ the prince of wales to king Henrie.

The welſhmen offer to reſort vnto Cheſter.

About the feaſt of ſaint Michaell, the biſhop of Bangor was ſent from Leolin prince of Wales vnto the king of England, to make offer on the behalfe of the ſaid Leolin and other the lords of Wales, of ſixtéene thouſand pounds of ſiluer for a peace to be had betwixt the king and them, and that they might come to Cheſter, and there haue their matters heard and determined, as in time paſt they had béene accuſtomed. But what anſwer at his returne was giuen to this biſhop by the king and his nobles, it is vncer-

Anno Reg. 44.
A parlement.

The ſtatutes of Oxenford read, and the breakers of the ſame denounced accurſſed.

Eſcuage granted.

Knights fées how manie were then in England.

teine. In the fortie and fourth yeare of king Henries reigne, the fridaie following the feaſt of Simon and Iude, in a parlement holden at Weſtminſter, were read in preſence of all the lords and commons, the acts and ordinances made in the parlement holden at Oxenford, with certeine other articles by the gouernours thereunto added and annexed. After the reading whereof the archbiſhop of Canturburie being reueſted with his ſuffragans to the number of nine biſhops, beſides abbats and others, denounced all them accurſſed that attempted in word or déed to breake the ſaid ſtatutes, or anie of them. In the ſame parlement was granted to the king a taſke called ſcutagium, or eſcuage, that is to ſaie, fortie ſhillings of euerie knights fée throughout England, the which extended to a great ſumme of monie. For as diuerſe writers do agrée, there were in England at that time in poſſeſſion of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie beyond fortie thouſand knights fées, but almoſt halfe of them were in ſpirituall mens hands.

Fabian.
A folkemote.

The king asketh licence to paſſe the ſeas.

Math. Weſt.
The king ſaileth ouer into France.

1260

He compoundeth all differences with the French k.

Upon the ſixt day of Nouember the king came vnto Paules, where by his commandement was the folkemote court aſſembled, and the king (according to the former ordinances made) asked licence of the communaltie of the citie to paſſe the ſea, and promiſed there in the preſence of a great multitude of people, by the mouth of Hugh Bigod his chéefe iuſtice, to be good and gratious lord vnto the citie, and to mainteine the liberties thereof vnhurt. Herewith the people for ioy made a great ſhout. The eight day of Nouember he rode through the citie towards the ſea ſide, and vpon the thirtéenth daie of Nouember, he tooke the ſea at Douer and arriued at Whitſand, and ſo from thence he rode vnto Paris, where, of the French king he was moſt honorablie receiued. The cauſe of his going ouer was chéefelie to conclude ſome aſſured peace with the French king, that he ſhould not néed to doubt any forren enimies, if he ſhould come to haue warre with his owne people, whereof he ſaw great likelihoods, and therefore he made ſuch agréement with king Lewes (as in the French hiſtorie more at large appeareth) which (to be ſhort) I here omit.

Polydor.
N.Triuet.
Wil.Riſang.

Matt.VVeſt.

This one thing is here to be noted, that beſides the monie which king Henrie had in hand, amounting to the ſumme of an hundred and fiftie thouſand crownes for his reſignation then made vnto Normandie, Aniou and Maine, it was accorded, that he ſhould receiue yearelie in name of a tribute the ſum of ten thouſand crownes. ¶ Others write that he had thrée hundred thouſand pounds of ſmall Turon monie, which he receiued in readie paiment, and was promiſed reſtitution of lands to the value of twentie thouſand pounds of yearelie rent: and that after the deceaſe of the French king, that then was, the countrie of Poictou ſhould returne vnto the Engliſh dominion. Some write that immediatlie after king Henrie had concluded his agréement, he began to repent himſelfe thereof, and would neuer receiue penie of the monie, nor leaue out in his ſtile the title of duke of Normandie. But it is rather to be thought that ſuch an agréement was at point to haue béene concluded, or at the leaſtwiſe was had in talke, but yet neuer concluded nor confirmed with hands and ſeales, as it ought to haue béene, if they had gone through with it.

Diſſention betwixt prince Edward and the earle of Gloceſter.

Prince Edward and th earle of Gloſter are not ſuffered to come with the citie of London.

In the meane time that king Henrie was thus occupied in France, diſſention fell in England betwéene prince Edward and Richard earle of Gloceſter, for the appeaſing whereof a parlement was called at Weſtminſter, to the which the lords came with great companies, and ſpeciallie the ſaid prince and earle. They intended to haue lodged within the citie: but the maior going vnto the biſhop of Worceſter, to ſir Hugh Bigod, and to ſir Philip Baſſet (vnto whome, and to the archbiſhop of Canturburie, the K. had committed the rule of the land in his abſence) required to know their pleaſure herein. Whervpon they thought it good to haue the aduiſe of Richard the king of Almaine, and therevpon went to him, where they concluded, that neither the ſaid prince nor earle nor anie of their partakers ſhould come within the citie, the gates whereof were by the maiors appointment cloſed and kept with watch and ward both day and night. Soone after alſo, for the more ſafegard of the citie, the gates were by the maiors appointment cloſed and kept with diligent watch and ward both day and night. Soone after alſo for the more ſafegard of the ſaid citie, and ſure keeping of the peace, the king of Almaine with the ſaid ſir Hugh and ſir Philip came and lodged in the citie with their companies, and ſuch other as they would aſſigne, to ſtrengthen the citie if néed required. Wherin their prouident conſent to withſtand ſo foule a miſchéefe as ſedition might haue bred in the citie, deſerueth high commendation, for it was the next waie to preſerue the ſtate thereof againſt all occaſions of ruine, to vnite harts and hands in ſo ſwéet an harmonie, which the law of nature teacheth men to doo, and as by this ſage ſentence is inſinuated and giuen to vnderſtand,

Manus manum lauat & digitus digitum,
Vir virum & ciuitas ſeruat ciuitatem.

The king returneth into England.

Shortlie after, the king returned out of France, and about the feaſt of S. Marke came to London, and lodged in the biſhops palace. And bicauſe of certeine rumors that were ſpred abroad ſounding to ſome euill meaning, which prince Edward ſhould haue againſt his father, the king brought ouer with him a great power of men in armes being ſtrangers, howbeit he brought them not into the citie, but left them beyond the bridge in the parts of Surrie, notwithſtanding being entred the citie, he ſo kept the gates and entries, that none was permitted to enter, but ſuch as came in by his ſufferance. The earle of Gloceſter by his appointment alſo was lodged within the citie, and the prince in the palace at Weſtminſter. Shortlie after by the kings commandement he remoued to S. Iohns, & all the other lords were lodged without the citie, and the king of Almaine remoued againe to Weſtminſter. In which time a direction was taken betwéene the ſaid parties, and a new aſſemblie and parlement aſſigned to be kept in the quindene of S. Iohn Baptiſt, and after deferred or proroged till the feaſt of ſaint Edward, at the which time all things were pacified a while, but ſo as the earle of Gloceſter was put beſide the roome which he had amongſt other the péeres, and ſo then he ioined in fréendſhip with the earle of Leiceſter, as it were by way of confederacie againſt the reſidue, and yet in this laſt contention, the ſaid earle of Leiceſter tooke part with the prince againſt the earle of Gloceſter.

The earle o Gloceſter cofederateth hi ſelfe with th earle of Leiceſter.

Chr. Dunſt

Math. Weſt.

A Iew at Teukeſburie falleth into a iakes.

This yeare the lord William de Beauchampe the elder deceaſſed. ¶ The lord Edward the kings ſonne, with a faire companie of knights and other men of armes, paſſed the ſeas to exerciſe himſelfe in iuſts, but he himſelfe and his men were euill intreated in manie places, ſo that they loſt horſſe, armour, and all other things to his great griefe and diſliking (as may be eſtéemed) yet (as ſome write) he returned home with victorie in the iuſts. This yeare at Teukeſburie, a Iew falling by chance into a iakes vpon the ſaturdaie, in reuerence of his ſabboth would not ſuffer any man to plucke him forth, wherof the earle of Gloceſter being aduertiſed, thought the chriſtians ſhould doo as much reuerence to their ſabboth which is ſundaie, and therefore would ſuffer no man to go about to take him forth that day, and ſo lieng ſtill

till mondaie, he was there found dead.

Matt. Weſtm.
Death of Noble men.

Diuers Noble men departed this life in this yeare, as the earle of Albemarle, the lord William Beauchampe, Stephan de Longeſpee lord chéefe iuſtice of Ireland, and Roger de Turkeby one of the kings chéefe councellors and iuſtices of the land, William de Kirkham biſhop of Durham, and John de Crakehale treaſurer of England, a ſpirituall man, but rich beyond meaſure: alſo Henrie de Ba another of the kings iuſtices of the bench. In the 45 yeare of king Henries reigne, Alexander king of Scotland came to London anon after the feaſt of S. Edward, with a faire companie of Scotiſhmen, and ſhortlie after his wife the quéene of Scots came thither alſo. Moreouer king Henrie kept a roiall feaſt at Weſtminſter, where he made to the number of foure ſcore knights, amongſt whome, John ſonne to the earle of Britaine, who had maried the ladie Beatrice, one of the kings daughters was there made knight. Shortlie after was ſir Hugh Spenſer made lord chéefe iuſtice.

Bach rather.

Matth. Weſt.
Anno. Reg. 45.
The king of Scots commeth to London.
Matt. Weſt.

1261
Chro. Dun.

After Chriſtmaſſe the K. comming into the towre of London, fortified it greatlie, & cauſed the gates of the citie to be warded, ſending forth commandement to his lords that they ſhould come to the towre, there to hold a parlement; but they denied flatlie ſo to doo, ſending him word that if it pleaſed him, they would come to Weſtminſter, where vſuallie the parlement had béene kept, and not to any other place, wherupon there roſe diſſention betwixt him and the barons. After the feaſt of the Purification, at a folkemote holden at Paules croſſe (where the king was preſent in perſon, with the king of Almaine, the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and diuerſe other of the Nobles) commandement was giuen to the maior, that euerie ſtripling of the age of 12 yeares and aboue, ſhould before his alderman be ſworne to be true to the king and his heires kings of England, and that the gates of the citie ſhould be kept with armed men, as before by the king of Romans was deuiſed.

Fabian.
A folkemote holden at Pauls croſſe.

An oth to be true to the king.

The lord Spenſer diſcharged of his office.

About Eaſter the barons of the land with conſent of the péeres, diſcharged ſir Hugh Spenſer of his office of chéefe iuſtice, and placed in his roome ſir Philip Baſſet without the kings aſſent, he being not made priuie therevnto. Wherevpon a new occaſion of diſpleaſure was miniſtred to kindle debate betwixt the king and his lords, but by the policie of the king of Almaine and ſome prelats, the matter was quieted for a time, till after at Hallowentide next inſuing, which was the 46 yeare of K. Henrics reigne. At that time the barons tooke vpon them to diſcharge ſuch ſhiriffes as the king had elected & named gardians of the countries and ſhires, and in their places put other ſhiriffes, and beſides that would not ſuffer the iuſtice which the king had admitted, to doo his office in kéeping his circuit, but appointed ſuch to doo it, as it pleaſed them to aſſigne, wherwith the king was ſo much offended, that he laboured by all means to him poſſible about the diſanulling of the ordinances made at Oxford, and vpon the ſecond ſundaie in Lent, he cauſed to be read at Paules croſſe a bull, obteined of pope Vrbane the fourth, as a confirmation of an other bull before purchaſed of his predeceſſour pope Alexander, for the abſoluing of the king, and all other that were ſworne to the maintenance of the articles agréed vpon at Oxford. This abſolution he cauſed to be ſhewed through the realmes of England, Wales & Ireland, giuing ſtreight charge that if any perſon were found that would diſobeie this abſolution, the ſame ſhould be committed to priſon, there to remaine till the kings pleaſure were further knowne.

Anno Reg. 46.
The preſumptuous procéedings of the barõs againſt the king.

1262
A bull read at Pauls croſſe.

Matth. Weſt.
Many gouernors pernicious to a common-wealth.

Suerlie the moſt part of thoſe péeres which had the rule of the king and kingdome thus in their hand, perceiuing the enormitie that dailie grew of ſo manifold heads and gouernours, were minded of themſelues to diſſolue thoſe prouiſions and ordinances ſo made at Oxford, in ſomuch that there were but fiue which ſtiffelie ſtood in defenſe of the ſame, that is to ſaie, the biſhop of Worceſter, and the earles of Leiceſter and Gloceſter, with Henrie Spenſer, and Peter de Montfort, the which by no meanes could be brought to confeſſe that they might with a ſafe conſcience go contrarie to thoſe ordinances which they had confirmed with their ſolemne oth, notwithſtanding the popes diſpenſation; whereas the ſame oth was rather a bond of iniquitie (as ſaith Matth. Weſtminſter) deuiſed to conſpire againſt Chriſt and his annointed, that is to ſaie, their naturall liege lord and lawfull king, than any godlie oth aduiſedlie taken, or neceſſarie to be receiued of good meaning ſubiects, yea and of ſuch a friuolous oth it is ſaid, that

In aqua ſcribitur & in puluere exaratur.

The king of Almaine goeth ouer into Germanie.
Fabian.
The king hauing licence paſſeth ouer into France.

In June the king of Almaine tooke ſhipping and ſailed ouer into Dutchland, and king Henrie at a folkemote holden at Paules croſſe the ſundaie after S. Peters day, had licence to ſaile into France, and the morrow after he departed from London towards the ſea ſide, with the quéene and other lords, his two ſonnes prince Edward and the earle of Lancaſter being at that preſent in Guien. When he had béene a ſeaſon in France, he went vnto Burdeaux, and there fell ſicke of a feuer quartane, by occaſion whereof he taried in thoſe parties till S. Nicholas tide next following. There were few that went ouer with him that eſcaped frée without the ſame diſeaſe, ſo that in maner all his companie were taken and ſore handled therewith. Manie died thereof to the number of thréeſcore, and amongſt them as chéefe were theſe, Baldwine de Liſle earle of Deuonſhire, Ingram de Percie, and William de Beauchampe.

He falleth ſick of a feuer quartane.

Chro. Dun.

Death of noble men.

The earle of Gloceſter departeth this life.

In this yeare died Richard the Clare earle of Gloceſter, and his ſonne ſir Gilbert de Clare was earle after him, vnto whome his father gaue great charge that he ſhould mainteine the ordinances of Oxford. In the 47 yeare of king Henries reigne, by reaſon that a Jew had wounded a chriſtian man at London within Colechurch, in the ward of cheap, not onelie the ſaid Jew was ſlaine by other chriſtians that followed him home to his houſe, but alſo manie other Jewes were robbed and ſlaine in that furie and rage of the people. The Welſhmen with their prince Leolin made wars againſt the men and tenants of Roger de Mortimer; and tooke two of his caſtels (the one called Kenet) and raced them both to the ground. The ſaid Roger being ſore gréeued herwith, got ſuch aſſiſtance as he could of other lords there in the marches, and watching the Welſhmen at aduantage, diſtreſſed diuerſe companies of them, ſometime thrée hundred, ſometime foure hundred, and other whiles fiue hundred. But at one time he loſt thrée hundred of his footmen that were entred the countrie, and ſo incloſed that they could make no ſhift to eſcape.

Anno Reg. 47.

Jewes ſlaine.

Matth. Weſtm.
The Welſhmen warre againſt yͤ lord Mortimers tenants.

He ſéeketh his reuenge againſt them.

Fabian.
1263
Thames froſen.

Vpon the euen of S. Thomas the apoſtle, the king landed at Douer, and came to London the Wedneſdaie before the twelfe day in Chriſtmaſſe. In this yeare the froſt began about S. Nicholas daie, and continued for the ſpace of a moneth and more, ſo extreamelie, that the Thames was froſen, ſo that men paſſed ouer on horſſebacke. ¶ The ſame winter the kings little hall at Weſtminſter, with manie other houſes therevnto adioining, was conſumed with fire, by negligence of one of the kings ſeruants. Variance roſe betwixt the citizens of London, and the conſtable of the towre, for that contrarie to the liberties of the citie he tooke certeine ſhips paſſing by the towre with wheat and other vittels into the towre,

Variance betwixt the citizens of Lõdon and the conſteble of the towre.

making the price thereof himſelfe. The matter was had before ſir Philip Baſſet lord cheefe iuſtice and others, who vpon the ſight and hearing of all ſuch euidences and priuiledges as could be brought forth for the aduantage of both the parties, tooke order that the conſtable ſhould (when he lacked prouiſion of graine or vittels) come into the market holden within the citie, and there to haue wheat two pence in a quarter within the maiors price, and other vittels after the ſame rate.

Matth. Weſt.

Prince Edward goeth againſt the welſhmen.

Prince Edward the kings ſonne returning from the parts beyond the ſea, went with a great power (as well of Engliſhmen as ſtrangers) againſt the Welſhmen towards Snowdon hils: but the enimies withdrawing themſelues to their ſtrengths within the woods and mounteines, he could not much indamage them, wherevpon after he had fortified certeine caſtels in thoſe parts, with men, munition, and vittels, he returned being ſent for backe of his father. The archbiſhop of Canturburie foreſeeing the trouble that was like to inſue betwixt the king and his barons, got licence of the king to go vnto Rome, about ſuch buſineſſe as he fained to haue to doo with the pope, and ſo departed the land, and kept him awaie till the trouble was appeaſed. Vpon Midlent ſundaie, at a folkemote holden at Paules croſſe, before ſir Philip Baſſet and other of the kings councell, the maior of London was ſworne to be true to the king, and to his heires kings of England, and vpon the morrow at the Guildhall euerie alderman in preſence of the maior tooke the ſame oth. And vpon the ſundaie following, euerie inhabitant within the citie, of the age of 12 yeares and aboue, before his alderman in his ward was newlie charged with the like oth.

The archb. of Canturbur. goeth to Rome.

Fabian.

The lord maior of London ſworne to be true to the king.

Cloked malice burſteth out.

The barons raiſe people.

The lord Clifford.

Chron. Dun.

Then began the diſpleaſure betweene the king and his barons to appeare, which had beene long kept ſecret, diuers of whom aſſembling togither in the marches of Wales, gathered vnto them a power of men, and ſent a letter vnto the king, vnder the ſeale of ſir Roger Clifford, beſeeching him to haue in remembrance his oth and manifold promiſes made for the obſeruing of the ſtatutes ordeined at Oxford. But although this letter was indited and written verie effectuallie, yet receiued they no anſwer from the king, who minded in no wiſe to obſerue the ſame ſtatutes, as by euident tokens it was moſt apparant. Wherevpon they determined to attempt by force to bring their purpoſe to paſſe. The king and the queene for their more ſafegard got them into the tower of London, and prince Edward laie at Clerkenwell, but in ſuch neceſſitie and diſcredit for monie, that neither had they any ſtore to furniſh their wants, neither was there any man that would truſt them with a groat.

Prince Edward taketh monie out of yͤ treaſurie of the temple.

Prince Edward not able to abide ſuch diſhonor, in the feaſt of the apoſtle Peter and Paule, taking with him Robert Waleran, and certeine others, went to the new temple, and there calling for the keeper of the treaſure-houſe, as if he meant to ſee his mothers iewels, that were laid vp there to be ſafelie kept, he entred into the houſe, and breaking the coffers of certeine perſons that had likewiſe brought their monie thither, to haue it in more ſafetie, he tooke awaie from thence the value of 1000 pounds.

Mart. lib. 11.
Hor. lib. car. 3. ode 24.

———ô quantum cogit egeſtas!

Magnum pauperies opprobrium iubet
Quiduis & facere & pati,
Virtutiſque viam deſerit arduæ.

The Londoners rob the houſe of the lord Gray.

The citizens of London were ſo offended herewith that they roſe in armour againſt him and other of the kings councell, in ſomuch that they aſſailed the lodging of the lord Iohn Gray without Ludgate, and tooke out of his ſtables 32 horſſes, and ſuch other things as they might laie hold vpon, keeping ſuch ſtur that the lord Gray himſelfe was forced to flie beyond Fleetbridge. The like rule they kept at the houſe of Iohn de Paſſelew.

Iohn Ma fleeth into France.

Iohn Manſell departing forth of the tower to the Thames, with the counteſſe de Liſle, and other ladies that were ſtrangers borne, ſailed into France, and landed at Whitſand, where the ſaid Manſell hearing that the lord Henrie, ſonne to the king of Almaine, that then held with the barons was in thoſe parts, he cauſed the lord Ingram de Fines to ſtaie him as priſoner, and ſo he remained, till king Henrie vpon the agreement betwixt him and the barons, found meanes to get him releaſed, and ſo then he returned into England.

The barons that roſe againſt the king.

But now touching the barons, they proceeded in their buſineſſe which they had in hand with all earneſt diligence, of whome theſe were the cheefe that vndertooke this matter: yoong Humfrie de Boun, the lord Henrie ſon to the king of Almaine, Henrie Montford, Hugh Spenſer, Baldwin Wake, Gilbert Gifford, Richard Gray, Iohn Ros, William Marmion, Henrie Haſtings, Haimon le Strange, Iohn Fitz Iohn, Godfrey Lucie, Nicholas Segraue, Roger de Leiborne, Iohn Veſie, Roger de Clifford, Iohn de Vaus, Gilbert de Clare, Gilbert de Lacie, and Robert Vepont, the which with one generall conſent elected for their cheefe capteins and generall gouernours, Simon de Mountfort earle of Leiceſter, Gilbert of Clare earle of Gloceſter, and Robert Ferreis earle of Darbie, and Iohn earle of Warren. On the kings part theſe perſons are named to ſtand with him againſt the other. Firſt, Roger Bigod erle of Norffolke and Suffolke, Humfrie de Boun earle of Hereford, Hugh Bigod lord cheefe iuſtice, Philip Baſſet, William de Valence, Geffrey de Lucignan, Peter de Sauoy, Robert Walrand, Iohn Manſell, Geffrey Langley, Iohn Gray, William Latimer, Henrie Percie, and manie other. The barons notwithſtanding hauing aſſembled their powers, reſolued to go through with their purpoſe.

Their cheefe capteins.

The barons that tooke pa with the kin

Riſanger no teth this to 1264.

The barons make hauo

The firſt enterpriſe they made was at Hereford, where they tooke the biſhop of that ſee named Iohn Breton, and as manie of his canons as were ſtrangers borne. After this they tooke ſir Matthew de Bezilles ſhiriffe of Gloceſter, a ſtranger borne; and keeping on their waie towards London with baners diſplaied, ſo manie as came within their reach, whom they knew to be againſt the maintenance of the ſtatutes of Oxford, they ſpoiled them of their houſes, robbed them of their goods, and impriſoned their bodies, hauing no regard whether they were ſpirituall men or temporall. In diuerſe of the kings caſtels they placed ſuch capteins and ſoldiers as they thought conuenient, and diſplaced others whom they either knew or ſuſpected to be aduerſaries to their purpoſe.

About Midſummer when they drew neere to London, they ſent a letter to the maior and aldermen vnder the ſeale of the earle of Leiceſter, willing to vnderſtand whether they would obſerue the acts and ſtatutes eſtabliſhed at Oxford, or elſe aid and aſſiſt ſuch perſons as meant the breach of the ſame. And herewith they ſent vnto them a copie of thoſe articles, with a prouiſo, that if any of them were preiudiciall, or in any wiſe hurtfull to the realme and commonwealth, that then the ſame by the aduiſe of diſcreet perſons ſhould be amended and reformed. The maior bare this letter and the copie of the articles vnto the king, who in this meane time remained in the tower of London, togither with the queene and the king of Almaine, latelie returned out of Almaine; alſo his ſonne prince Edward, and manie other of his councell. The king aſked of the maior what he thought of thoſe articles? Who made ſuch anſwer as the king ſeemed well pleaſed therewith, and ſo permitted the maior to returne againe into the citie, who tooke much paine in keeping the citie in good quiet now in that dangerous time.

The diligence of the lord maior of London.

All ſuch the inhabitants as were ſtrangers borne, and ſuſpected to fauour either of the parties, were baniſhed the citie, but within a while after, prince Edward ſet them or the moſt part of them in offices within the caſtell of Windſore. On the ſaturdaie next after the tranſlation of ſaint Benet, as the queene would haue paſſed by water from the tower vnto Windſore, a ſort of lewd naughtipacks got them to the bridge, making a noiſe at hir, and crieng; Drowne the witch, threw downe ſtones, cudgels, dirt, and other things at hir, ſo that ſhe eſcaped in great danger of hir perſon, fled to Lambeth, and through feare to be further purſued, landed there, and ſo ſhe ſtaied till the maior of London with much adoo appeſing the furie of the people, repaired to the queene and brought hir backe againe in ſafetie vnto the tower. And (as ſome write) bicauſe the king would not ſuffer hir to enter againe into the tower, the maior conueied hir vnto the biſhop of Londons houſe by Paules, and there lodged hir.

The miſdemeanor of lewd perſons towards the queene.

Chron. Dunſt.

Math. Weſt.

The barons in this meane time hauing got the citie of Worceſter and Bridgenorth, with other places, were come into the ſouth parts, to the end that they might win the caſtell of Douer, and find ſome meanes to ſet the lord Henrie (ſonne to the king of Almaine that was priſoner beyond the ſeas) at libertie. In the meane time the biſhops of Lincolne, London and Cheſter, trauelled betwixt the king and barons for a peace; but the barons would not agree, except that the king and queene would firſt cauſe the lord Henrie to be ſet at libertie, and deliuer into their hands the caſtels of Windſore, Douer, and other fortreſſes, and ſend awaie all the ſtrangers, and take ſuch order that the prouiſions of Oxenford might be obſerued, as well by the king as others.

Chron. Dunſt.
Biſhops trauell to make peace.

The king although theſe conditions ſeemed verie hard and diſpleaſant to his mind, yet was he driuen to ſuch an extremitie that he granted to accept them, and ſo an agreement was made and had betwixt him and the lords. But now all the difficultie was to appeaſe the lord Edward, and to remoue the ſtrangers which he had placed in the caſtell of Windſore, which they had not onelie fortified, but alſo in manner deſtroied the towne, and doone much hurt in the countrie round about them. There were to the number of an hundred knights or men of armes (as I may call them) beſide a great number of other men of warre. But now after that the king had agreed to the peace, the barons entred the citie on the ſundaie before S. Margarets daie; and ſhortlie after the king came to Weſtminſter with the queene, and thoſe of his councell. And immediatlie herevpon, by conſent of the king and the barons, ſir Hugh Spenſer was made cheefe iuſtice and keeper of the tower. During the time that the lords remained in London, manie robberies and riots were doone within the citie, and ſmall redreſſe had in correcting the offendors, they were ſo borne out and mainteined by their maiſters and others.

Strangers keepe the caſtell of Windſore.

The great diſorder in the citie of London.

The commons of the citie were farre out of order, for in the aſſemblies and courts, as well at Guildhall as in other places, the matters and iudgement of things went by the voices of the ſimple and vndiſcreet multitude, ſo that the ſubſtantiall and worſhipfull citizens were not regarded. The barons on the morrow following the feaſt of ſaint Iames, departed from London toward Windſore, in which meane while prince Edward was gone to Briſtow, & there thinking himſelfe to be out of danger, by miſhap there roſe variance betwixt the citizens & his men, ſo that the whole citie reuolted from him, and prepared to beſiege him in the caſtell, not doubting but eaſilie to win it. When he ſaw how the world went, he ſent to the biſhop of Worceſter that was of the barons ſide, promiſing that he would agree with the barons, if he would helpe to deliuer him out of the Briſtow mens hands. The biſhop taking his promiſe conueied him foorth in ſafetie toward the court; but when he came neere vnto Windſore, he turned thither, greatlie to the miſliking of the biſhop: yet neuertheleſſe when the barons came forward to beſiege that caſtle, the lord Edward met them not farre from Kingſton, offering them conditions of peace. Some write that he was ſtaied and not ſuffered to returne againe to Windſore, after he had ended his talke with the barons: but howſoeuer it was, the caſtell was ſurrendred, with condition that thoſe that were within it ſhould ſafelie depart, and ſo they did, and were conducted to the ſea by Humfrey de Bohun the yoonger. ¶ About the ſame time, Leolin prince of Wales deſtroied the lands of prince Edward in Cheſhire, and the marſhes thereabouts. The two caſtels of Diſard and Gannoc he tooke and deſtroied, being two verie faire fortreſſes.

Abington.

Nic. Treuet.

A parlement.

Abington.

About the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our ladie, there was a parlement holden at London, at the which all the nobles of the realme both ſpirituall and temporall were preſent; and then the citie of London, and the cinque ports ioined in league as confederats with the barons: but the king plainlie proteſted before all the aſſemblie, that by the ſtatutes and prouiſions (as they termed them) made at Oxenford, he was much deceiued. For contrarie to that which the barons had promiſed, he felt himſelfe rather charged with more debt than anie thing releeued: and therefore ſith he had obteined of the pope an abſolution of the oth both for himſelfe and his people, his requeſt was to be reſtored vnto his former eſtate of all ſuch prerogatiues as in time paſt he had inioied. The barons on the other ſide ſtiffelie mainteined, that they could not with ſafe conſciences go againſt their oth, and therefore they meant to ſtand in defenſe of the articles aforeſaid euen ſo long as they had a daie to liue.

The kings proteſtation againſt the articles at Oxenford.

Thus whileſt both parts kept ſo farre from all hope of agreement, and were now in point to haue departed in ſunder, through mediation of ſome biſhops that were preſent a peace was concluded, and the parties ſo agreed, that all matters in controuerſie touching the articles, prouiſions, and ſtatutes made at Oxenford ſhould be ordered and iudged by the French king, whom they choſe as arbitrator betwixt them. Herevpon, on the thirteenth of September, both the king and queene, with their ſonnes, and diuerſe other of the nobles of this land, tooke ſhipping, and ſailed ouer to Bullongne, where the French king as then was at a parlement, with a great number of the nobles and peeres of France. The earle of Leiceſter alſo with diuerſe of his complices went thither, and there the matter was opened, argued, and debated before the French king, who in the end vpon due examination, and orderlie hearing of the whole proceſſe of all their controuerſies, gaue expreſſe ſentence, that all and euerie of the ſaid ſtatutes and ordinances deuiſed at Oxford, ſhould be from thenceforth vtterlie void, and all bonds and promiſes made by king Henrie, or anie other for performance of them, ſhould likewiſe be adnihilated, fordoone, and clearelie cancelled.

The matter put to the French king.

The French king giueth ſentence againſt the barons.

The barons highlie diſpleaſed herewith, refuſed to ſtand to the French kings award herein, bicauſe he had iudged altogither on the kings ſide. Wherevpon after they were returned into the realme, either partie prepared for warre: but yet about the feaſt of S.

Anno Reg. 48.

Matth.Weſtm.

Edward, the king and the barons eftſoones met at London, holding a new parlement at Weſtminſter, but no good could be doone. Then when the king of Almaine and prince Edward, with others of the kings councell ſaw that by rapine, oppreſſion, and extortion practiſed by the barons againſt the kings ſubiects, as well ſpirituall as temporall, the ſtate of the realme and the kings honour was much decaied, and brought in manner vnto vtter ruine, they procured the king to withdraw ſecretlie from Weſtminſter vnto Windſore caſtell, of which his ſonne prince Edward had gotten the poſſeſſion by a traine. From Windſore he went to Reading, and from thence to Wallingford, and ſo to Oxford, hauing a great power with him.

The lords that reuolted to the king.

At his being at Oxford there came vnto him the lord Henrie, ſon to the king of Almaine, Iohn earle Warren, Roger Clifford, Roger Leiborne, Haimond le Strange, and Iohn de Vaux, which had reuolted from the barons to the kings ſide, Iohn Gifford alſo did the like: but he ſhortlie after returned to the barons part againe. The kings ſonne the lord Edward had procured them thus to reuolt, promiſing to euerie of them in reward by his charter of grant fiftie pounds lands to aid the king his father and him againſt the barons.

Chron.Dun.

Abington,

1264

The king goeth again ouer to the French king.

Fabian.

After this the king went to Wincheſter, and from thence came backe vnto Reading, and then he marched forth with his armie vnto Douer, where he could not be ſuffered to come into the caſtell, being kept out by the lord Richard Gray that was capteine there. Hervpon he returned to London, where the barons againe were entred, through fauour of the commoners, againſt the will of the cheefe citizens, and here they fell eftſoones to treat of agreement, but their talke profited nothing. And ſo in the Chriſtmaſſe weeke the king, with his ſonne prince Edward and diuerſe other of the councell ſailed ouer againe into France, and went to Amiens, where they found the French king, and a great number of his Nobles. Alſo for the barons, Peter de Montford, and other were ſent thither as commiſſioners, and as ſome write, at that preſent, to wit on the 24 daie of Ianuarie, the French king ſitting in iudgement, pronounced his definitiue ſentence on the behalfe of king Henrie againſt the barons: but whether he gaue that ſentence now, or the yeare before, the barons iudged him verie parciall, and therefore meant not to ſtand vnto his arbitrement therein.

The king hauing ended his buſineſſe with the French king, returned into England, and came to London the morrow after S. Valentines day. And about ſeuen or eight daies after, the lord Edward his eldeſt ſonne returned alſo, and hearing that the barons were gone to the marſhes of Wales (where ioining with the Welſhmen, they had begun to make warre againſt the kings freends, and namelie againſt his lieutenant Roger lord Mortimer, whome they had beſieged in the caſtell of Wigmore) the lord Edward thervpon, with ſuch power as he could get togither, marched thitherwards to raiſe their ſiege: but the lord Mortimer perceiuing himſelfe in danger, fled priuilie out of the caſtell, and got to Hereford, whither the prince was come. The barons inforced their ſtrength in ſuch wiſe that they wan the caſtell. Prince Edward on the other ſide tooke the caſtels of Haie and Huntington that belonged vnto the earle of Hereford yoong Henrie de Boun.

Nic.Triuet. Caſtels gotten by prince Edward.

Worceſter taken.

Matth.We The citie Gloceſter p coured, an put to fine.

The caſtell of Brecknoc was alſo deliuered into his hands, which he betooke to the keeping of the lord Roger de Mortimer, with all the territorie thereto belonging. Robert earle of Darbie that tooke part with the barons, beſieged the citie of Worceſter, and tooke it by the old caſtell, ſacked the citizens goods, and conſtreined the Iewes to be baptiſed. The citie of Gloceſter alſo was taken by the barons: but prince Edward following them and reparing the bridge ouer Seuerne, which the barons had broken downe after they were come ouer, he entred the caſtell of Gloceſter with his people. The next day by procurement of Walter biſhop of Worceſter, a truce was taken betwixt prince Edward and the barons that had taken the towne, during the which truce the barons left the towne, and the burgeſſes ſubmitted themſelues vnto prince Edward: and ſo he hauing the caſtell and towne in his hands, impriſoned manie of the burgeſſes, & fined the towne at the ſumme of a thouſand pounds. Then he drew towards his father lieng at Oxford, or at Woodſtoke, gathering people togither on ech hand.

The cõmoners of the citie of London agre with the barons. R.Fabian.

The manou Thiſtlewo ſpoiled.

The chaf cauſe that the K. of A maine ſe ſo againſt the barons.

In the meane time the lords drew towards London, and the new aſſurance by writing indented was made betweene the communaltie of the citie and the barons, without conſent of any of the rulers of the citie. The commoners herewith appointed of themſelues two capteins, which they named conſtables of the citie, that is to ſaie, Thomas Piwelſdon & Stephan Bukerell, by whoſe commandement and tolling of the great bell of Paules all the citie was warned to be readie in harneſſe, to attend vpon the ſaid two capteins. About the beginning of Lent the conſtable of the towre ſir Hugh Spenſer, with the ſaid two capteins, and a great multitude of the citizens and others went to Thiſtleworth, and there ſpoiled the manour place of the king of Almaine, and then ſet it on fire, and deſtroied the water milles, and other commodities which he there had. This deed was the cauſe (as ſome haue iudged) of the warre that after inſued. For where before this time the ſaid king of Almaine had beene, by reaſon of the alliance betwixt him and the earle of Gloceſter, continuallie an intreater for peace, he was now euer after this time an vtter enimie vnto the barons, and vnto their ſide, ſo farre as laie in his power.

The lords that follow the king.

The king hearing of this riotous act, and being informed that Peter de Mountfort was at Northampton, aſſembling people to ſtrengthen the barons part, he got togither ſuch men of warre as he could from all places, and ſo he had with him his brother Richard king of Almaine, his eldeſt ſonne the lord Edward, William de Valence his halfe brother on the mothers ſide, & Iohn Comin of Ward in Scotland with a great number of Scots, Iohn Balioll lord of Gallowaie, Robert Bruis lord of Annandale, Roger Clifford, Philip Marmion, Iohn Vaux, Iohn Leiborne, Henrie Percie, Philip Baſſet, and Roger Mortimer.

Northampt taken by fo

Thus the king hauing theſe Noble men about him, with his armie ſped him towards Northampton, and comming thither tooke the towne by force, ſlue diuerſe, and tooke priſoners Peter Mountfort, and Simon Mountfort the earle of Leiceſters ſon, William Ferries, Baldwin Wake, with Nicholas his brother, Berengarius de Wateruile, Hugh Gubiun, Robert Buteuilein, Adam of Newmarch, Robert Newton, Philip Dribie, Grimbald Pauncefoet, Roger Beltram, Thomas Manſell, and diuerſe other, to the number of 80 knights (or as Matthew Weſtminſter hath 15 barons, and 60 knights) beſides a great number of eſquires and burgeſſes, the which were beſtowed abroad in ſundrie priſons. The towne (as ſome write) was taken by this meanes. Whileſt diuerſe of the capteins within were talking with the king on the one ſide of the towne towards the medowes, the lord Philip Baſſet approched the walles neere vnto the monaſterie of S. Andrew, and there with his people hauing ſpades, mattocks, and other inſtruments prouided for the purpoſe, vndermined a great paine of the wall, and reuerſed the ſame into ditches, making ſuch a breach, that fortie horſſemen might enter afront. Some put the blame in ſuch moonks of the abbeie as were ſtrangers, as though they ſhould prepare this entrie for the enimie: but howſoeuer it was, the king got the towne out of his enimies hands.

Scholers fight againſt the king.

This alſo is to be remembred, that where by reaſon of variance, which had chanced that yere betwixt the ſcholers of Oxford and the towneſmen, a great number of the ſame ſcholers were withdrawen to Northampton and there ſtudied. They had raiſed a banner to fight in defenſe of the towne againſt the king, and did more hurt to the aſſailants than anie other band; wherevpon the king threatned to hang them all, and ſo had he doone indeed, if by the perſuaſion of his councell he had not altered his purpoſe, doubting to procure the hatred of their freends, if the execution ſhould haue beene ſo rigorouſlie proſecuted againſt them: for there were amongſt them manie yoong gentlemen of good houſes and noble parentage. Thus was the towne of Northampton taken on a ſaturdaie being Paſſion ſundaie euen, and the morrow after the daie of S. Ambroſe which is the fift of Aprill. On the monday following, the king led his armie towards Leiceſter, where the burgeſſes receiued him into the towne at his comming thither. From thence he marched to Notingham, burning and waſting the houſes and manors of the barons and other of his enimies, and ſpeciallie thoſe that belonged to the earle of Leiceſter. Here he alſo gathered more people, and ſo increaſed his power: in ſomuch that diuerſe Noblemen, as Roger Clifford, Henrie Percie, Richard Gray, Philip Baſſet, Richard Sward, and Hubert earle of Kent, doubting the lacke of power in their companions, reuolted incontinentlie to the kings ſide.

Some write that Iohn de Balioll and Robert de Brus, and Peter de Brus, came to him here and not before Mat. VVeſt.

The caſtell of Tutburie defaced.

He ſent his ſonne prince Edward into Darbiſhire and Staffordſhire with a ſtrong power, where he waſted the manours and poſſeſſions of Robert de Ferrers earle of Darbie, and namelie he ouerthrew and defaced the caſtell of Tutburie. Whereſoeuer the kings armie, or that which his ſonne prince Edward led, chanced to come, there followed ſpoiling, burning and killing. The barons on the other ſide ſate not ſtill, for the lord Iohn Gifford, with others that were appointed by the earle of Leiceſter to keepe Killingworth caſtell (which was furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, maruellouſlie, and with ſuch ſtrange kind of engines as had not beene lightlie heard of nor ſeene in theſe parts) tooke by a policie the caſtell of Warwike, and William Manduit earle of Warwike, with his wife and familie within it; and leading them to Killingworth, there cōmitted them to priſon. The cauſe was, for that they ſuſpected him that he would take part with the king againſt them. The caſtell of Warwike they raced downe, leaſt the kings people ſhould take it for their refuge. In the Paſſion weeke the Iewes that inhabited in London being detected of treaſon, which they had deuiſed againſt the barons and citizens, were ſlaine almoſt all the whole number of them, and great riches found in their houſes, which were taken and caried awaie by thoſe that ranſacked the ſame houſes.

The caſtell of Warwike taken.

The caſtell of Warwike raced.

The Iewes are killed.

Rocheſter beſieged.

N. Triuet.
Math. Weſt.

After Eaſter the erle of Leiceſter, hauing London at his commandement, went to Rocheſter and beſieged that citie, but the capteine thereof Iohn earle of Warren did manfullie reſiſt the enimies; till the king aduertiſed thereof, with the power of the marſhes of the north parts and other came and remoued the ſiege. This doone, he left a conuenient garriſon within the citie to defend it, and comming to Tunbridge, wan the caſtell, and taking the counteſſe of Gloceſter that was within it, permitted hir to depart. This doone, he repaired to the ſea ſide towards France, to ſtaie there till his brethren, Geffrey and Guie, the ſonnes of the earle of Marſh ſhould arriue with ſome band of ſouldiers, for whom he had now ſent and reuoked into the realme, being latelie before baniſhed by the Nobles, as before yee haue heard. They ſhortlie after landed, wherevpon the king hauing his power increaſed, came to Lewes, and pight downe his field not farre from that towne.

The kings halfe brethren come out of France to his aid.

The king incampeth at Lewes.

In the end of Aprill the barons hearing where the king was, departed from London with a great multitude of the citizens, whom they placed in the vantward, and marched foorth towards the king, and comming neere to the place where he was lodged, ſet downe their tents, and incamped themſelues a little beſide him. Either here or by the waie as they came forward, the barons deuiſed a letter, and ſent it vnto the king, conteining an excuſe of their doings, and a declaration of their well meanings, both towards him, and the wealth of the realme; and heerewith accuſed thoſe that were about him, and with euill counſell miſinformed him, both againſt them, againſt the publike wealth of the land, and his owne honor. This letter was dated the tenth of Maie, and ſubſcribed with the names of a great number of noble men, of the which the more part doo here inſue, but yet not all; Sir Simon de Montfort earle of Leiceſter and high ſteward of England, ſir Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloceſter, Robert Ferrers earle of Darbie, Hugh Spenſer lord cheefe iuſtice, & Henrie Montfort ſonne and heire to the earle of Leiceſter, Richard Grey, Henrie Haſtings, Iohn Fitz Iohn, Robert de Veepont, Iohn Giuuile, Robert Roos, William Marmion, Baldwine Wake, Gilbert Gifford, Nicholas de Segraue, Godfrey de Lucie, Iohn de Veiſie, William de Mountchenſie, with other. The king anſwered this letter, in charging them with rebellion, and mouing of open war againſt him, to the great diſquieting of the realme. Alſo he laid vnto their charge, the burning of the manours, houſes and places of his nobles and councellors; and herewith defied them by the ſame anſwer, which was dated at Lewes aforeſaid on the twelfth of Maie.

The barons ſend a letter to the king.

The anſwer to yͤ barons.

He defieth them.

Alſo the king of Romanes, and prince Edward ſent their defiance to the barons at the ſame time in writing vnder their ſeales, for that the barons in their letter to the king, had burthened them and other with miſleading the king with vntrue informations and ſiniſter counſell. Thus as they writ to and fro ſuch nipping letters, all the treatie of peace was forgotten and laid aſide, ſo that they prepared to battell. The king had indeed the greater number of armed men, but manie of them were vnfaithfull, and cared not greatlie though the loſſe fell to his ſide, and ſo whileſt they went to it without order, & vnaduiſedlie, they fought at aduenture, & continued but faintly. His capteines made three battels of their armie, the lord Edward led the foreward, and with him William de Valence earle of Penbroke, and Iohn de Warren erle of Surrey and Suſſex. In the ſecond, the K. of Almaine, with his ſonne Henrie were cheefetaines. The third the king gouerned himſelfe.

Math. Weſt.

N. Triuet.
The ordering of the battels.

The barons diuided their hoſt into foure battels, the firſt was vnder the gouernment of the lord Henrie de Montfort and others. The ſecond was led by the lord Gilbert de Clare, the lord Iohn Fitz Iohn, and the lord William de Mountchenſie. The third, in which the Londoners were placed, the lord Nicholas de Segraue ruled. The fourth was led by Simon Montfort earle of Leiceſter himſelfe, and one Thomas de Peuelſton. Thus being ordered, on the fourteenth of Maie being Wedneſdaie, they ioined in fight, and at the firſt incounter, the L. Hen-

The battels ioine.

Chron. Dunſt.

Prince Edward purſueth the Londoners.

rie de Haſtings, the lord Geffrey de Lucie, & Humfrey de Bohun the yonger were wounded, and the Londoners forthwith were beaten backe: for prince Edward ſo fiercelie aſſailed them, that they were not able to abide the brunt. He hated them indéed aboue all other, namelie for that of late they had miſvſed his mother, reuiling hir, and throwing durt and ſtones at hir, when ſhe paſſed the bridge (as before ye haue heard) which wrong and abuſe by them committed was peraduenture on their parts forgotten, but of prince Edward (as it ſéemeth) remembred, for

Puluere qui lædit, ſed læſus marmore ſcribit.

The kings part put to the worſe.
Matt. Weſtm.
Nic. Triuet.

Matth. Paris.

Seuen hundred hath Abington.

Prince Edward commeth backe to his father.

Herevpon prince Edward now to be reuenged of them, after they began to flie, moſt egerlie following them, chaſed & ſlue them by heaps. But whileſt he ſeparated himſelfe by ſuch earneſt following of the Londoners tóo farre from the reſidue of the kings armie, he was the onelie cauſe of the loſſe of that field: for the earle of Leiceſter, perceiuing that the prince with the chiefeſt force of the kings armie was thus gone after the Londoners (of whom he made no great account) he exhorted his people to ſhew their valiancie at that inſtant, and ſo comming vpon his aduerſaries with great courage, in a moment put them to flight. There were taken the king of Almaine, the lords Iohn de Burgh and Philip Baſſet with all other the chiefeſt that were about the king, but the king himſelfe retired with thoſe few about him that were left, into the priorie of Lewes, and other there were that withdrew into the caſtell. The barons purſuing them, entered the towne, and tóoke or ſlue ſo manie as they found within the caſtell and priorie. At length, prince Edward returned from the chaſe of the Londoners, whom he had purſued for the ſpace of foure miles, and finding the field loſt, began a new battell: but the earle of Surrie, William de Valence, and Guy de Lucignan, with Hugh Bigod and others, hauing with them thrée hundred armed men, ſtreightwaies fled vnto the caſtell of Pemſie. Prince Edward then perceiuing ſlaughter to be made on each hand, caſt about the towne, and with his companie got into the priorie to his father.

Friers ſuborned to treat a peace.

In the meane time the barons gaue aſſault to the caſtell, but they within valiantlie defended themſelues, with whoſe hardie dóings prince Edward incouraged, gathered his people togither againe, and meant eftſóones to giue battell; but the ſubtill head of the earle of Leiceſter beguiled them all, for he cauſed certeine friers to take in hand to be intreators betwixt them, which comming to the king and to the prince his ſonne, declared that the barons, to auoid that more chriſtian bloud ſhould not be ſpilt, would be contented to haue the matter put in compromiſe of indifferent perſons; but if it were ſo, that the king and his ſonne would néeds ſtand to the vttermoſt triall of battell, they would not faile but ſtrike off the heads of the king of Almaine and other priſoners, which they would ſet vpon the ends of their ſpeares in ſtéed of ſtandards.

An agréement taken.
Matth. Weſt.

The king and his people hauing the reſpect of pitie before their eies, changed their purpoſed intent to fight, and falling to a parle (which continued for the moſt part of all the night next following) at length it was agréed vpon, that the French king with thrée prelats and thrée other noble men of the temporaltie, ſhould chóoſe forth and name two noble men of France, which comming into England ſhould take a third perſon to them whom they thought góod, and they thrée ſhould haue the hearing of all controuerſies betwixt the king and the barons, and what order ſo euer they tóoke therein, the ſame ſhould ſtand, and be receiued for a perfect concluſion and ſtable decrée. This agréement was confirmed, and prince Edward and Henrie ſonne to the king of Almaine were appointed to remaine as hoſtages with the barons.

Polydor.

Matth. W

Lords ta on the ki ſide.

¶ Other write otherwiſe of this battell at Lewes, affirming, that not onelie the king of Romans, but alſo king Henrie himſelfe, hauing his owne horſſe thruſt through on both ſides, was taken, and likewiſe his ſonne prince Edward with other on their ſide, to the number of fiue and twentie barons and bannerets: and that moreouer, there died on the kings ſide that day in the battell and chaſe, ſix thouſand and fiue hundred men, as Polydor noteth: howbeit, Richard Southwell ſaith, there died on both parts onlie 3400. But Matth. Weſtminſter writeth, that as the report went, there died fiue thouſand on both ſides, and amongſt other, theſe he nameth as chéefe, William de Wilton one of the kings iuſtices, & the lord Fouke Fitz Waren a baron that tóoke the kings part. On the barons ſide, the lord Raſe Heringander a baron alſo, and William Blunt the earles ſtandardbearer. Of them that were taken on the kings ſide, beſide ſuch as before are recited, we find theſe named, Humfrie de Bohun earle of Hereford, William lord Bardolfe, Robert lord of Tatſhale, Roger lord Somerie, Henrie lord Percie, Iohn de Balioll, Robert de Bruis, and Iohn Comin, with other barons of Scotland, hauing loſt all their footmen whom they had brought with them to the kings aid.

Fabian.
N. Triuet.
Matth. W

Moreouer, it ſhould appeare by ſome writers, that the king being thus in captiuitie, was conſtreined to make a new grant, that the ſtatutes of Oxford ſhuld ſtand in force, and if any were thought vnreaſonable, the ſame ſhould be reformed by foure Noble men of the realme of France, two of the ſpiritualtie and two of the temporaltie. And if thoſe foure could not agrée, then the earle of Aniou and the duke of Burgoigne ſhuld be iudges in the matter. ¶ But if either thoſe or the other were appointed to be arbitrators, like it is, that the former report touching the ſucceſſe of the battell is true; for if both the king and his ſonne had béene taken priſoners in the field, the barons would ſuerlie haue conſtreined him to haue conſented to the obſeruance of the ſtatutes, without putting the ſame in compromiſe, to be altered at the diſcretion of any arbitrators, and namelie ſtrangers.

Peace p claimed.

A new o of the bar

But howſoeuer it was, on the tueſday before the Aſcenſion day, peace was proclaimed in London, betwéene the king and the barons; and wheras the king either by conſtreint for ſafegard of himſelfe or his fréends, either vpon aſſurance of the barons promiſe, committed himſelfe vnto the companie of the ſame barons, at their comming with him to London they went from this laſt agréement, and forthwith deuiſed other ordinances as thus. They ordeined, that two earles and a biſhop, which being elected out by the communaltie, ſhould chóoſe to them nine other perſons, and of theſe, thrée of them ſhould ſtill remaine about the king, and by their order and the other nine, all things ſhould be gouerned both in the court and in the realme. They conſtreined the king and his ſonne prince Edward (menacing to depoſe the one, and to kéepe the other in perpetuall priſon) to conſent and agrée to this laſt ordinance: and ſo the earles of Leiceſter and Gloceſter, and the biſhop of Chicheſter were ordeined there the chéefe rulers, and letters ſent with all ſpéed vnto the cardinall Sabinenſis the popes legat, and to the king of France, to ſignifie to them, that the compromiſe agréed vpon at Lewes was vtterlie reuoked, and that a new peace in fréendlie wiſe was concluded.

But although the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and Worceſter inſtantlie required the ſaid legat, that he would helpe to further the ſame peace, yet he ſore rebuked them, in that they would giue their conſent, ſo much to abaſe and bring vnder the kings roiall power. And bicauſe he might not be ſuffered to enter the realme, he firſt cited them to appeare before him at Bullongne. And whereas they ſéemed to contemne his authoritie, and appeared not, he both ſuſpended the ſaid thrée biſhops, and excommunicated the ſaid earles of Leiceſter and Gloceſter, and their complices, with the citie of London, and the cinque ports: but the foreſaid biſhops, earles and barons, feigning to make their appeales to the popes conſiſtorie, or if néed were, vnto a generall councell and ſo forth, though indéed truſting more to the temporall ſword, than fearing the ſpirituall, they did not forbeare to ſaie and heare diuine ſeruice in churches and elſe-where, as before they had doone, till the comming of the cardinall Othobone.

Matth. West.

N.Triuet.

The Londoners ſpoiled at Croidon.

The capteines and men of warre, whom the king had left at Tunbridge, immediatlie vpon the agréement concluded betwixt the king and the barons, were commanded by the K. to depart, & repaire euerie man to his home; but they fearing the malice of their enimies, would not breake in ſunder, but kéeping togither, went ſtrait to Briſtowe, and there remained, till the lord Edward the kings ſonne was eſcaped out of captiuitie. But this is to be remembred, that before their departure from Tunbridge, when by report of William de Saie, who eſcaping from the battell at Lewes, was come thither, they vnderſtood how the matter had paſſed on both ſides, and that the Londoners being chaſed out of the field, were lodged at Croidon, about the euening tide they came thither, and aſſailing them in their lodgings, ſlue manie, and wan a great ſpoile. The earle of Leiceſter and the barons hauing the rule of the king and realme in their hands, ſought to oppreſſe all ſuch as they knew to be againſt them, and not to like of their procéedings; namelie, the northerne lords, and thoſe of the marſhes of Wales, as the lord Mortimer and others: but waxing herewith wilfull, they vſed things with ſmall diſcretion, which at length brought them to confuſion. For the foure ſonnes of the earle of Leiceſter, Henrie, Guie, Simon, and an other Henrie, which had ſerued right worthilie indéed on the daie of the battell, began to waxe ſo proud, that in compariſon of themſelues, they deſpiſed all others.

Matt. West.

The earle of Darbie commeth to Cheſter with 20 thouſand men.

The lords of the marſhes of Wales, as Roger de Mortimer, James de Audelie, Roger de Clifford, Roger de Leiborne, Haimon le Strange, Hugh Turberuile, and other that had eſcaped from the battell at Lewes, began to make againſt them that had thus vſurped the rule of the land, vnder colour of hauing the king in their hands. The earle of Leiceſter aduertiſed hereof, ioined in league with Leolin prince of Wales, and comming with the king into thoſe parts, entered into the caſtell of Hereford, into the which he remoued the lord Edward from Douer, where he was firſt kept in ward, after he had yéelded himſelfe at Lewes. After this, the earle of Leiceſter recouered the caſtell of Haie, and waſting the lands and manours of the lord Mortimer, conſtreined Hugh Mortimer to yéeld himſelfe, ſo that his caſtell called Richar, and other his poſſeſſions, were committed to the kéeping of the lord John Fitz John. Robert de Ferrers earle of Darbie, with a great puiſſance of horſſemen and footmen came to Cheſter, in fauour of the earle of Leiceſter, againſt whome although William de Couſche, and Dauid brother to the prince of Wales, taking the contrarie part with the lord James Audelie and other, came to incounter, yet they durſt not abide him, but fled, and loſt an hundred of their men.

The lords Mortimer and Audelie baniſhed.

An armie lodged on Barham-downe.

Matth. West.

1265

Chr. Dunſtab.

In the meane time, the earle of Leiceſter procéeding in his buſineſſe, wan the caſtell of Ludlow, and after marching towards Montgomerie, whither the lords Roger de Mortimer, and James Audelie were withdrawne, he conſtreined them at length to a feigned agréement, ſo that they gaue hoſtages, promiſing to come to the next parlement that was appointed to be holden, where they were baniſhed the land for a twelue moneths, and all the caſtels on the marſhes, in manner from Briſtow to Cheſter, were deliuered to the earle. After this (as by Nicholas Triuet it appeareth) there was a great aſſemblie of men of warre made out of all parts of the realme, to reſiſt ſuch ſtrangers as the quéene (remaining in the parts beyond the ſeas) had got togither, meaning to ſend them into England to aid the king againſt the barons, and for that purpoſe had cauſed a great number of ſhips to be brought into the hauen of Dam. But now that the king was in the barons hands, and that ſuch a multitude of horſſemen and footmen were aſſembled on Barham-downe (as a man would not haue thought had béene poſſible to haue found within the whole relme) to reſiſt the landing of thoſe ſtrangers, the ſaid ſtrangers were ſent home againe, without hauing doone anie pleaſure to the quéene, other than ſpent hir monie. The king held his Chriſtmas at Woodſtoke; and the earle of Leiceſter, who ſéemed then to rule the whole realme, kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Killingworth.

Abington.

After this, a parlement was holden at London in the octaues of ſaint Hilarie, and manie things were concluded, couenants accorded, and oths taken for performance by the K. and his ſonne prince Edward, which ſhortlie after came to little effect. Yet prince Edward, and Henrie the ſonne and heire of the king of Almaine, which had béene kept as pledges about the tearme of nine moneths and od daies, were in the Lent following ſet at libertie, vpon aſſurance made, that the ſaid prince Edward ſhould remaine in the kings court, and not depart from thence without licence of the king and certeine of the barons. He was alſo conſtreined to giue vnto the earle of Leiceſter the countie Palantine of Cheſter, before he might obteine to haue ſo much libertie. Betwéene Eaſter and Whitſuntide, the earles of Leiceſter and Gloceſter fell at variance, through the preſumptuous demeanour of the earle of Leiceſters ſonnes, and alſo bicauſe the earle of Leiceſter would not deliuer the king of Almaine and other priſoners vnto the earle of Gloceſter, requiring to haue the cuſtodie of them, bicauſe he had taken them in the battell at Lewes.

Prince Edward eſcapeth awaie.

Matth. West.

The earle of Gloceſter, perceiuing himſelfe not well vſed, ſecretlie entred into confederacie with the lord Mortimer, and other of the marſhes: wherevpon the earle of Leiceſter hauing thereof ſome inkeling, came to Hereford, in purpoſe to haue taken the earle of Gloceſter, and to haue put him in ſafe kéeping, as latelie before he had ſerued the earle of Darbie. But by the practiſe of the lord Mortimer, ſhortlie after the lord Edward or prince Edward (whether yée liſt to call him) aſſaieng abroad in the fields an horſſe or two, ſuch as he ſhould vſe at iuſts and tornies, which were appointed to be holden, he mounted at length vpon a light courſer, which the ſaid lord Mortimer had ſent to him; and bidding the lord Robert Roos and other (that were appointed to attend on him, as his kéepers) farewell, he galloped from them, and could not be ouertaken of them that purſued him, till at length he came to the lord Mortimer, who with a great troope of men was come forth of his caſtell of Wigmore to receiue him. This was on the thurſdaie in Whitſunwéeke.

About the ſame time, the earle of Warren, with William de Valence earle of Penbroke, the kings halfe brother, and others, who (as yée haue heard) fled from the battell at Lewes, were now returned into the realme, landing firſt in Southwales with a power of croſſebowes and other men of warre, the which hearing that the lord Edward was thus eſcaped out of captiuitie, came to Ludlow, and there ioined with him, and ſo likewiſe did the earle of Gloceſter. Now after they had communed togither, and were made freends and confederats, they cauſed all the bridges to be broken, that the enimies ſhould not come to oppreſſe them, till they had aſſembled all their forces, and paſſing forward towards Gloceſter, wan the citie, and ſtill came people vnto them from all ſides, namelie thoſe lords and capteins, which all the time ſince the battell of Lewes had laine in Briſtow. After this they came to Worceſter, and entred there alſo. When the earle of Leiceſter was hereof aduertiſed (who in all this meane time by order taken, was about the king, and ruled all things in the court) he ſent in all haſt vnto his ſonne Simon de Montfort to raiſe a power of men, the which accordinglie aſſembled to him much people, and comming with the ſame vnto Wincheſter, wan the citie by ſurrender, ſpoiled it, and ſlue the more part of the Iewes that inhabited there. Then he laid ſiege to the caſtell, but hearing a feined rumor that prince Edward was comming thither with his power, he departed from thence with his companie, and went to Killingworth.

The earle of Leiceſters ſonne raiſeth an armie.

He wan Wincheſter.

On the laſt day of Iulie, prince Edward with his hoſt came to Killingworth aforeſaid, and there fighting with the ſaid Simon de Montfort and his armie, with little ſlaughter diſcomfited the ſame, and tooke priſoners the erle of Oxford, the lords William de Montchenſie, Adam de Newmarch, Baldwine Wake, and Hugh Neuill, with diuerſe others: the lord Simon himſelfe fled into the caſtell, and ſo eſcaped. In this meane while the earle of Leiceſter hauing raiſed his power, came to the caſtell of Monmouth, which the earle of Gloceſter had latelie taken and fortified: but they that were within it being driuen to yéeld, it was now raced downe to the ground. This doone, the earle of Leiceſter entring into Glamorganſhire, and ioining his power with the prince of Wales, waſted and burned the lands of the ſaid earle of Gloceſter: but hearing what his aduerſaries went about in other places, he returned from thence, and came forward towards the ſaid prince Edward, who likewiſe made towards him, and at Eueſham they met on the ſixt day of Auguſt, where was fought a verie fierce and cruell battell betwixt the parties.

The armie of the earle of Leiceſters ſonne is diſcomfited.

N. Triuet.

The caſtell of Monmouth taken.

The battell of Eueſham.

Polydor.

¶ Some write, that the earle of Leiceſter placed king Henrie in the front of his battell, whom he had there with him as captiue, and had arraied him in his owne cote-armour, that if fortune went againſt him, whileſt the enimies ſhould be earneſt to take the king bearing the ſemblance of the chéefe capteine, he might himſelfe eſcape: but king Henrie, when they came to ioine, fought not, but called to his people, and declared who he was, whereby he eſcaped the danger of death, for being knowne of them he was ſaued. The Welſhmen which in great numbers the earle of Leiceſter had there on his ſide, at the firſt onſet fled and ran awaie; which their demeanor, when the earle ſaw, he exhorted thoſe that were about him to plaie the men, and ſo ruſhing forth into the preaſe of his enimies, he was incloſed about and ſlaine, togither with his ſonne Henrie. Herevpon, his death being knowne, his people tooke them to flight as men vtterlie diſcomfited. There died in that battell about 4000 men (as Polydor ſaith.) But Richard Southwell ſaith, there were killed of knights or rather men of armes 180, and of yeomen or rather demilances 220, of Welſhmen 5000, and of ſuch footmen as were of the earle of Leiceſters owne retinue 2000, ſo that there died in all to the number of ten thouſand men, as the ſame Southwell affirmeth. Among whom of noblemen, theſe are reckoned, Hugh Spenſer lord chéefe iuſtice, the lord Raſe Baſſet, the lord Peter de Montfort, the lord Iohn Beauchampe, ſir William Yorke, the lord Thomas de Eſterlie, the lord Walter de Creppings, Guie de Balioll a Frenchman, the lord William de Mandeuill, the lord Roger S. Iohn, the lord Robert Tregoz, and others.

The welſhmen fled.

The earle of Leiceſter ſlaine.

Math. Weſt.

This ruine fell to the barons by the diſcord which was ſprong latelie before, betwixt the earles of Leiceſter and Gloceſter, through the inſolencie and pride of the earle of Leiceſters ſonnes, who (as I ſaid before) deſpiſing other of the nobilitie, and forgetting in the meane time the nature of true and vnſtained nobleneſſe, whereof it is ſaid and trulie remembred, that

Nobilitas morum plus ornat quàm genitorum,

ſpake manie reprochfull words by the ſaid earle of Gloceſter, and vſed him in ſuch euill ſort, that he vpon diſpleaſure thereof, had not onelie procured the ſcape of prince Edward, but ioined with him in aid, againſt the ſaid earle of Leiceſter, and other of the barons, to the vtter confuſion, both of them and of their cauſe. The bodie of the ſame earle was ſhamefullie abuſed & cut in peeces, his head and his priuie members were cut off, and faſtened on either ſide of his noſe, and preſented vnto the wife of the lord Roger Mortimer.

The pride of the earle of Leiceſters ſons bringeth the barons to confuſion.

The people conceiued an opinion, that this earle being thus ſlaine, fighting in defenſe of the liberties of the realme, & performance of his oth, as they tooke it, died a martyr: which by the bruted holineſſe of his paſſed life and miracles aſcribed to him after his death, was greatlie confirmed in the next age. But the feare of the kings diſpleaſure ſtaied the people from haſtie honouring him as a ſaint at this time, where otherwiſe, they were inclined greatlie thereto, reputing him for no leſſe in their conſcience, as in ſecret talke they would not ſticke to vtter. There were wounded & taken, beſides the other that were ſlaine at that battell of Eueſham, Guie de Montfort, the earle of Leiceſters ſonne, the lords Iohn Fitz Iohn, Henrie de Haſtings, Humfrie de Bohun the yoonger, Iohn de Veſcie, Peter de Montfort the yoonger, and Nicholas de Segraue with others. The king being deliuered out of his aduerſaries hands, and likewiſe the king of Romans, went vnto Warwike, and there increaſing his power, determined to purſue his enimies.

Polydor.

Math. Weſt.

But firſt, about the Natiuitie of our ladie was a parlement holden at Wincheſter, where the ſtatuts of Oxford were cléerelie repealed. Alſo, all ſuch as had fauoured the barons, and were as then either in priſon or abroad, ſhould be diſherited. It was alſo ordeined at this parlement, that the wealthieſt citizens of London ſhould be caſt into priſon, and that the citie ſhould be depriued of hir liberties. Alſo, that the ſtulps and cheins, wherewith the ſtréets were fenſed, ſhould be had awaie, bicauſe that the citizens had aided the earle of Leiceſter againſt the king and his realme. All this was doone, for the chéefe citizens were committed to ward within the caſtle of Windſor, till they had paid no ſmall ſummes of monie for their fines. The liberties of the citie were ſuſpended, and the towre of London was made ſtronger by the ſtulps and cheins which were brought into it out of the citie. Moreouer, bicauſe Simon de Montfort might not agrée with the king, being come to this parlement vpon aſſurance, he was reſtored to the caſtell of Killingworth.

A parlement at Wincheſter.

After this, in the feaſt of the tranſlation of S. Edward, a parlement was holden at Weſtminſter, and the ſentence of diſheriting the kings aduerſaries was pronounced againſt them, whoſe lands the king forthwith gaue vnto his truſtie ſubiects, where he thought good. Some of the diſherited men redée-

A parlement at Weſtminſter.

med

Erle Ferrers

med their poſſeſſions, with a portion of monie, in name of a fine. Other of them flocking togither, got them into the woods and deſert places, where keeping them out of ſight as outlawes, they liued by ſpoiles and robberies. The cheefeſt of them was Robert erle of Ferrers, who neuertheleſſe was reſtored to his lands, but yet with condition, that if afterwards he fell into the like crime, he ſhould forfeit his earldome for euer. The Londoners with much adoo, at length, obteined pardon of the king. The maior and aldermen of the citie were glad to ſubmit themſelues, though the commons, without conſideration of the great perill which they were in, would haue ſtood ſtill at defiance with the king, and defended the citie againſt him. It was no maruell though they were of diuerſe and contrarie opinions, for in thoſe daies, the citie was inhabited with manie and ſundrie nations which then were admitted for citizens. At length, vpon their ſubmiſſion, the king tooke them to mercie, vpon their fine, which was ſeized at twentie thouſand marks.

Fabian.
Anno Reg. 50.
The citie of London ſubmitteth hirſelfe to the K.

The Londoners put to their fine.

Cardinall Othobone the popes legat.
Fabian.

About Alhallowentide, cardinall Othobone came from the pope into England as his legat, to helpe towards ſome agreement to be had betwixt the king and his barons. He was committed to priſon (as ſome write) by the Londoners, for that he ſpake againſt their doings, when they ſhut their gates againſt the king; but he was ſhortlie releaſed as ſhould appeare. On the ſixt day of Nouember in the fiftith yeare of his reigne, king Henrie came to Weſtminſter, and ſhortlie after, he gaue awaie the number of threeſcore houſes, with the houſhold ſtuffe in the ſame conteined, ſo that the owners were compelled to redeeme them againe of thoſe his ſeruants, to whome he had giuen the ſaid houſes, togither with all ſuch lands, goods and cattels, as the ſame citizens had within any part of England. Then was one called ſir Othon made cuſtos or gardian of the citie, who was alſo coneſtable of the tower, he choſe to be bailiffes, and to be accomptable to the kings vſe, John Adrian, and Walter Henrie, citizens of the ſame citie. The king alſo tooke pledges of the beſt mens ſonnes of the citie, which pledges he cauſed to be put in the tower, and there kept at the coſts of their parents. ¶ The king by aduiſe of his councell ordeined, that within euerie ſhire of the relme, there ſhould be a capteine or lieutenant appointed with neceſſarie allowance of the king for his charges, the which, with the aſſiſtance of the ſhiriffe, ſhould puniſh and keepe downe the wicked outrage of theeues and robbers, which in time of the late ciuill warres were ſprong vp in great numbers, and growen to exceeding great boldneſſe; but now, through feare of deſerued puniſhment, they began to ceaſſe from their accuſtomed rapine, and the kings power came againe in eſtimation, ſo that peace after a manner tooke new root and increaſe.

One Othon made gardian of the citie of London.

Math. Weſt.

Nic. Treuet.
The legat holdeth a ſynod at Northampton.

Vpon S. Nicholas euen, the king departed from Weſtminſter, towards Northampton, where the cardinall Othobone held a ſynod, and according to that he had in commandement, pronounced all the kings aduerſaries accurſſed, and namelie all the biſhops which had aided the barons againſt the king, in time of the late warres, of whome afterward he abſolued the moſt part. But John biſhop of Wincheſter, Henrie biſhop of London, and Stephan biſhop of Chicheſter were ſent to Rome, to purchaſe their abſolution of pope Clement the fourth, as well for other points of diſobedience, as cheeflie for that, where the queene had procured a curſſe of pope Vrbane the fourth, that was predeceſſor to this Clement, to accurſſe all the barons and their ſupporters, which warred againſt the king hir huſband: the ſaid biſhops (to whome the commiſſion was ſent to denounce that curſſe) for feare of the barons deferred the execution. Walter biſhop of Worceſter, chancing to fall ſicke at that time, died about the beginning of Februarie, confeſſing firſt, that he had greeuouſlie erred, in mainteining the ſide of the erle of Leiceſter againſt the king, and therefore directed his letters to the popes legat, requiring to be abſolued, which his petition the legat granted. Moreouer, in this councell at Northampton, there was publiſhed by the cardinall a grant, made to the king by the pope, of the diſmes of the engliſh church for one whole yeare then next inſuing.

Matt. VVeſt.
This ſuſpenſion was pronounced in a councell holden by the ſaid cardinall at Paules as Fabian ſaith.
Matth. Weſt.

N. Triuet.

A little before the kings departure from London now in this laſt time, he ordeined ſir John Linde knight, and maiſter John Waldren clearke, to be gardians of the citie and tower, by the names of ſeneſhals or ſtewards: but ſuch earneſt ſuit was made to the king, to obteine a perfect pardon for the Londoners, that at length after the aforeſaid ſeneſhals had taken ſuerties for the paiment of their fine, the K. cauſed his charter of pardon to be made vnder his broad ſeale, and ſent it vnto them, wherein all former treſpaſſes committed by them in the laſt warres was cleerelie pardoned; certeine perſons, whoſe bodies and goods were giuen vnto his eldeſt ſonne Edward, excepted out of the ſame pardon. This charter was dated at Northampton, the tenth day of Januarie, in the fiftith yere of king Henries reigne. Then alſo were diſcharged the foreſaid ſeneſhals, and the citizens of themſelues choſe for maior, William Fitz Richard; and for ſhiriffs, Thomas de la Fourd, and Gregorie de Rockeſleg.

The Londoners pardōed.

1266

Fabian.

Simon de Montfort.

Whileſt the king laie at Northampton, the lord Simon de Montfort put himſelfe vpon the doome and order of the legat Othobone, and was therefore permitted to be at large in the kings court: but at the kings comming to London, he ſuddenlie departed out of the court, and rode to Winchelſie, where he aſſociated himſelfe with rouers, and after ſome prices taken, departed from them, and went into France, where he offered his ſeruice to the French king, and was receiued. Thus ſaith Matthew Weſtminſter, and other. But Polydor ſaith, that by Othobons means, he was reconciled to the kings fauour; and therevpon to auoid occaſion of further diſpleaſure, he commanded, that the caſtell of Killingworth ſhould be reſtored vnto the king, which the capteine refuſed to deliuer, hauing fortified it with all manner of prouiſion, and things neceſſarie to defend a ſiege.

Matth. Weſt.
Polydor.

Fabian.
The wardens of the cinque ports reconciled to the king.
Matth. Weſt.

The wardens of the cinque ports, which (during the time of the barons warre) had doone manie roberies on the ſea, as well againſt the Engliſhmen as other, were at length reconciled to the king, who was faine to agree with them vpon ſuch conditions as they thought good, bicauſe at that time (as the cōmon fame went) they had the dominion of the ſea in their owne hands. But in ſome writers we find it thus recorded, that when certeine priſoners which were kept by the barons of the cinque ports in the caſtell of Douer, heard how all things proſpered on the kings ſide, they got poſſeſſion of a tower within the ſame caſtell, and tooke vpon them to defend it againſt their keepers; whereof when aduertiſement was giuen to the king and to his ſonne the lord Edward, they haſted forth to come & ſuccour their freends. The keepers of the caſtell, perceiuing themſelues beſet with their enimies, ſent to the king for peace, who granting them pardon of life and limme, with horſſe, armour and other ſuch neceſſaries, the caſtell was yeelded vnto his hands. From thence, prince Edward departing, viſited the ſea coaſts, puniſhing diuerſe of the inhabitants within the precinct of the cinque ports, and putting them in feare, receiued diuerſe to the king

Douer caſtell deliuered to the king.

Winchelſie won by force.

his fathers peace. The inhabitants of Winchelſie onelie made countenance to reſiſt him, but prince Edward with valiant aſſaults entred the towne, in which entrie much guiltie bloud was ſpilt, but yet the multitude by commandement of prince Edward was ſpared. And thus hauing woone the towne, he commanded that from thenceforth they ſhould abſteine from piracies, which they had before time greatlie vſed. Thus were the ſeas made quiet, and thoſe of the cinque ports brought to the kings peace, and throughlie reconciled.

Matth. Weſtm.
The Ile of Oxholme.

Abington.
Lincolne taken.
N.Triuet.

Killingworth caſtell fortified againſt the king.

The kings purſeuant had his hand cut off.

In this meane while diuerſe of the diſherited gentlemen, ſore repining at the ſentence and order giuen againſt them, had taken the Ile of Oxholme in Lincolneſhire, whither a great number of euill dooers immediatlie reſorted, and began to doo miſcheefe in all the countries next adioining. They tooke and ſacked the citie of Lincolne, ſpoiled the Iewes, and ſlue manie of them, entred their ſynagog, and burnt the booke of their law. At length prince Edward, or (as other ſaie) his brother earle Edmund, was ſent againſt them, who compelled them by force to come to the kings peace, which to obſerue, they receiued an oth ſhortlie after at London, but neuertheleſſe were as ſoone readie to breake and renounce the ſame, and began a new broile in ſundrie parts of the realme. Diuerſe of them fortified the caſtell of Killingworth, prouiding themſelues of all things neceſſarie for defenſe out of the countries adioining. The king aduertiſed hereof, ſent vnto them a purſeuant, commanding them to ceaſe frõ ſuch rebellious attempts, but the meſſenger had one of his hands cut off, and ſo with a contemptuous anſwer was ſent backe againe.

Adam Gurdon.

Matth. Weſtm.

The battell of Cheſterfield.

Prince Edward in paſſing through the forreſt of Aulton, got ſight of ſir Adam Gurdon one of the diſherited men, with whome he coped and tooke him priſoner with his owne hand, yet ſauing him, and pardoning the offenſe of rebellion, in reſpect of the valiancie which he tried by proofe to reſt in him: but his ſoldiers and complices being there taken, he cauſed to be hanged vpon trees within the ſame forreſt. Robert earle Ferrers contrarie to his oth of late receiued, accompanied with the lord d'Euille and others, did much hurt by way of open war againſt the kings freends in the north parts. Againſt whom the lord Henrie, ſonne to the king of Almaine was ſent with a great power: the which comming to Cheſterfield fell vpon his enimies in ſuch wiſe on the ſudden, that they had not time to arme themſelues, and ſo were diſtreſſed and ouercome.

Euerſden.

Yet the lord Iohn d'Euille brake out, and incountring with ſir Gilbert Hanſard, ouerthrew him, and eſcaped out of danger. Great ſlaughter was made on ech hand, and in the meane while the Nobles and gentlemen ſought to get out of perill by flight. The earle of Darbie got into a church, but he was deſcried by a woman, and ſo was taken. There were manie other alſo taken: & amongſt them the lord Baldwine Wake, and ſir Iohn de la Haie with much paine eſcaped. This battell was foughten about the midſt of Maie, or vpon Whitſun eeue, as the Chronicle of Dunſtable ſaith. Thoſe that eſcaped, as the lord Iohn d'Euille and others, gaue not ouer yet, but aſſembling themſelues togither in companies, keeping within woods and other deſert places, brake out oftentimes, and did much miſcheefe. On the ninth of Auguſt they tooke the Ile of Elie, and ſo ſtrengthned it, that they held it a long time after, ſpoiling and robbing the countries round about them, as Norffolke, Suffolke, and Cambridgeſhire.

Norwich ſacked.

Chron. D

The ſiege Killingw caſtell begu neth.
The lord Haſtings.

Anno Reg.

Killingw caſtell deli red to the k

The biſhop of Elie had vndertaken to keepe the Ile to the kings vſe, but being now diſpoſſeſſed thereof, he got him awaie, and fell to curſing them that were thus entred againſt his will, but they ſeemed to paſſe litle vpon his thundering excommunications. On the 16 of December, they came to the citie of Norwich; and ſpoiling it, tooke manie of the wealthie citizens, and ranſomed them at great ſummes of monie. The lord Henrie Haſtings and Simon de Pateſhull, with diuerſe others, got them into the caſtell of Killingworth, and dailie went forth at their pleaſures, ſpoiling and waſting the townes about them, or cauſing them to fine with them to be ſpared. And this they forced not to doo, although the lord Edmund the kings ſonne laie in Warwike, to cut them ſhort of ſuch their licentious doings. The king therfore mening to haue the ſaid caſtels of Killingworth by force, began his ſiege about the ſame vpon the eeuen of S. Iohn Baptiſt. But the lord Henrie Haſtings, the capteine of that caſtell, and other his complices defended it ſo ſtronglie, that though the king inforced his power to the vttermoſt to win it of them, yet could he not anie thing preuaile, till at length vittels began to faile them within, and then vpon the eeuen of ſaint Thomas the apoſtle before Chriſtmaſſe, the lord Henrie Haſtings deliuered the ſaid caſtell into the kings hands, vpon condition that he and all other ſhould haue life and limme, horſſe and armour, with all things within the place to them belonging. And thus this ſiege had continued from the 26 of Iune vnto the 20 day of December.

Dictum de Killingwor
Abington,
Matth. Weſ

1 2 6

A parlem at weſtm ſter.

Earle Fer rers diſheri ted.

¶ Here is to be remembred, that at the beginning of the ſiege, there were within the caſtell a thouſand and ſeuen hundred armed men, and eight ſcore women, beſide lackies and coiſterels. Here is alſo to be remembred, that whileſt the ſiege laie before Killingworth, by the aduiſe of the kings councell, and of the legat Othobone, there were twelue peeres appointed and choſen forth, which ſhould deuiſe and make ordinances touching the ſtate of the realme, and the diſherited perſons, who according to their commiſſion, ordeined certeine prouiſions, the which are conteined within the ſtatute intituled Dictum de Killingworth. The king after that the caſtell of Killingworth was deliuered to his hand, left therein his ſonne Edmund, and went himſelfe to Couentrie or (as other haue) to Oxford, and there held his Chriſtmaſſe. Shortlie after comming to Weſtminſter he held a parlement there, ſtudieng to ſet a quietneſſe in all matters and controuerſies depending betwixt him and the barons. In this parlement ſentence was giuen againſt earle Ferrers for the forfeiture of his earledome: then was Edmund the kings yoonger ſonne put in poſſeſſion both of the earledome of Darbie and Leiceſter.

The earle Gloceſte with an a commeth London.

On the firſt of Februarie being ſundaie, the king came to S. Edmundſburie, and ſtaieng there till the two and twentith of the ſame moneth, ſet foreward that day towards Cambridge, where he laie with his armie, the better to bridle them that kept the Ile of Elie againſt him. He laie there all the Lent ſeaſon. And in the meane time the earle of Gloceſter taking great diſpleaſure, for that he might not haue his will, aſwell for the baniſhing of ſtrangers, as for reſtitution to be made vnto the diſherited men of their lands, he began a new ſturre, and aſſembling a great power in the marſhes of Wales came neere vnto London, pretending at the firſt as though he had come to aid the king, at length he got licence of the maior and citizens to paſſe through the citie into Southwarke, where he lodged with his people, and thither came to him ſhortlie ſir Iohn d'Euille, by Southerie ſide, bringing with him a great companie.

The maior cauſed the bridge and water ſide to be kept and watched both day and night with armed men, and euerie night was the drawbridge drawne vp: but within a while the earle vſed the matter ſo, that he was permitted to lodge within the citie with certeine of his men, by reaſon whereof, he drew more and more of his people into the citie, ſo that in the end he was maiſter of the citie, and in Eaſter wéeke tooke the keies of the bridge into his hands. The legat comming forth of the tower, repaired to the church of S. Paule, vnder a colour to preach the croiſey, but in the end of that his exhortation, he turned his words to the earle of Gloceſter, admoniſhing him to obeie the king as he was bound by his allegiance. And further, whereas the earle had giuen commandement that no victuals ſhould be ſuffered to be brought into the tower where the popes legat was lodged, he thought himſelfe euill vſed in that behalfe, ſith he was a mediator for peace, and no partaker. But when the earle ſéemed to giue ſmall regard to his words, he got him ſecretlie againe into the tower, with certeine noble men the kings fréends, meaning to defend it vnto the vttermoſt of their powers.

The legat admoniſheth the earle of Gloceſter to obeie the king.

There entred alſo into the tower a great number of Iewes with their wiues and children, vnto whome one ward of the tower was committed to defend, which they did in that neceſſitie verie ſtoutlie. Manie of the citizens fearing a new inſurrection, auoided out of the citie, whoſe goods the earle ſeized into his owne vſe, or ſuffered his men to ſpoile the ſame at their pleaſures. The moſt part of all the commons of the citie tooke part with the earle, and in a tumult got them to the Guildhall, and there choſe for their maior or cuſtos of the citie, Richard de Colworth knight, and for bailiffes, Robert de Linton and Roger Marſhall, diſcharging the old maior and ſhiriffes of their roomes. Diuerſe aldermen were committed to priſon, and their goods ſequeſtred, and much part thereof ſpoiled. Alſo all ſuch perſons as were priſoners in Newgate, Ludgate, Creplegate, or in any other priſon about the citie, for the quarrell of the barons warre, were ſet at libertie.

The legat ⁊ other meane to defend the tower againſt the earle of Gloceſter.

The citizens of London in vprore choſe new officers.

Priſoners ſet at libertie.

The legat perceiuing ſuch diſorder, accurſſed generallie all ſuch as thus troubled the kings peace, ſhewing themſelues enimies to the king and the realme. He alſo interdicted all the churches within the citie and about it, licencing onlie diuine ſeruice to be ſaid in houſes of religion, and without ringing of any bell or ſinging: and whileſt ſeruice was in hand, he appointed the church doores to be ſhut, bicauſe none of them that ſtood accurſſed, ſhould enter and be preſent. The king in the meane time laie at Cambridge to defend the countries about from iniuries, which were dailie attempted by them that held the Ile of Elie againſt him, of whome at one time he diſtreſſed a certeine number at Ramſey. And bicauſe now after that the earle was thus come to London, another companie of them brake out to rob and ſpoile, and were ſtopped by the kings power from entring into the Ile againe, they repaired ſtreight to London, dooing miſcheefe inough by the waie.

The legat accurſeth ẏ troublers of the kings peace.

The king laie at Cambridge

Ramſey.

The earle of Gloceſter greatlie incouraged by their aſſiſtance, fell in hand to aſſaile the tower, within the which the popes legat Othobone, and diuerſe other were incloſed, taking vpon them to defend it againſt the earle and all his puiſſance. The king vpon the firſt newes of the earle of Gloceſter his commotion, ingaged the ſhrines of ſaints, and other iewels and reliks of the church of Weſtminſter vnto certeine merchants for great ſummes of monie, with the which ſending into France and Scotland, he reteined men of warre to come to his aid. Herevpon his ſonne prince Edward came to his ſuccour vnto Cambridge, bringing thither with him thirtie thouſand able men out of the north parts, Scots and other. The king then leauing a conuenient number to defend Cambridge, marched from thence toward Windſore. After his comming thither, his armie dailie increaſed. The earle of Gloceſter and his complices began to feare the matter, and ſent to him for peace, which could not be granted: whervpon they appointed to giue him batell vpon Hounſlow heath. The king comming thither in the morning, found no man there to reſiſt him, and therefore, after he had ſtaied there a certeine ſpace, he marched forth and came to Stratford, where he was lodged in the abbeie: his hoaſt incamped and laie at Ham and thereabouts.

The king maketh hard ſhift for monie to hire ſoldiers ⁊ men of war to aſſiſt him.

The K. remoueth towards Windſore.

The king commeth to Stratford. Fabian.

This chanced about thrée wéekes after Eaſter. The ſouldiers which laie in London and in Southwarke, did much hurt about in the countrie of Southerie, ⁊ elſe-where. They alſo ſpoiled the towne of Weſtminſter, and the pariſh-church there: but the monks and the goods belonging to the abbeie they touched not, but made hauocke in the kings palace, drinking vp ⁊ deſtroieng his wine, breaking the glaſſe windowes, and defacing the buildings moſt diſorderlie, yea ſcarſe forbearing to ſet the houſe on fire. Alſo there were of them that brake vp ⁊ robbed certeine houſes in London, of the which miſgouerned perſons there were foure taken, that ware the cogniſance of the earle of Darbie, whome the earle of Gloceſter cauſed to be put in ſackes, and ſo throwne into the Thames.

Matth.Weſtm.

Weſtminſter ſpoiled.

Soldiers ſacked and throwen into the Thames.

As the king thus laie at Stratford, there came vnto him from the parts of beyond the ſea, the earle of Bullongne, and S. Paule, with two hundred men of armes, and their ſuit of other ſouldiers. Alſo there arriued in the Thames a fléet of great veſſels fraught with Gaſcoins, and laie afore the tower, abiding the kings pleaſure. ¶ The earle of Gloceſter had cauſed bulworks and barbicans to be made betwixt the tower and the citie; and alſo in ſundrie places where néed required ditches and trenches were caſt, ſo that the citie was ſtronglie fortified. Howbeit now that the ſaid erle and his complices perceiued themſelues in manner as beſieged, they ſought for peace. And by mediation of the king of Almaine, the lord Philip Baſſet and the legat Othobone, the ſame was granted, the ordinance of Killingworth in euerie condition obſerued. The Londoners were pardoned of their treſpaſſe for receiuing the earle, though they were conſtreined to paie a thouſand marks to the king of Romans, in recompenſe of the hurts doone to him in burning of his houſe at Thiſtleworth.

The earles of Bullongne ⁊ S. Paule.

A fléet of Gaſcoins come to the kings aid.

Abington.

A peace concluded.

The Londoners pardoned

Whileſt the earle of Gloceſter kept the citie of London againſt the king, one Henrie de Gudereſch, ſteward to the ſaid earle, departing from London, came to the manour houſe of Geffrey ſaint Leger at Offeld, which he burnt, and turning from thence came to Brickhill. The lord Reignold Graie that held of the knights part, aduertiſed hereof, followed him with his retinue of men of warre, and comming vpon his enimie at vnwares, tooke the ſaid Henrie, and ſlue thirtie of the chéefeſt of his companie, ſome he tooke, howbeit manie eſcaped. But now to our purpoſe. By this agréement concluded betwixt the king ⁊ the earle of Gloceſter, he alſo accepted to his grace the lord Iohn Eineley, the lord Nicholas de Segraue, the lord William Marmion, the lord Richard de Graie, the lord Iohn Fitz Iohn, and the lord Gilbert de Lucie, with others: ſo that all parts of the realme were quieted, ſauing that thoſe in the Iſle of Elie would not ſubmit themſelues: yet at length by mediation of prince Edward they were reconciled to the king, and all the fortreſſes and defenſes within that Iſle by them made, were plucked downe and deſtroied.

Chron.Dun.

Budereſch.

The lord Graie.

But it appeareth by other writers, that immediatlie after the agréement concluded betwixt the earle of Gloceſter, prince Edward the kings ſonne, by ſet-

Euerſden.

ting workemen in hand to make a cauſie through the fens with boords and hurdels, entred vpon them that kept the Ile of Elie, ſo that manie of them got out, and fled to London vnto the ſaid earle of Gloceſter, and other their complices. The reſidue ſubmitted themſelues, as the lord Wake, Simon Montfort the yonger, the Pechees and other, vpon condition to be pardoned of life and member: and further, that prince Edward ſhould be a meane to his father to receiue them into fauour. But by other it may rather ſeeme, that ſome of them kept and defended themſelues within that Ile, till after the agreement made betwixt the king and the earle of Gloceſter. By order of which agreement there were foure biſhops and eight lords choſen forth, which had beene firſt nominated at Couentrie, to order and preſcribe betwixt the king and the diſherited men a forme of peace and redemption of their lands. And ſo in the feaſt of All ſaints, proclamation was made of a full accord and agreement, and what euerie man ſhould paie for his ranſome for redeeming his offenſe againſt the king.

nno Reg. 52.

parlement
Marle-
rough.

In the octaues of S. Martine, the king held a parlement at Marleborough, where the liberties conteined in the booke called *Magna charta* were confirmed, and alſo diuerſe other good and wholeſome ordinances concerning the ſtate of the common-wealth were eſtabliſhed and enacted. ¶ In the moneth of Aprill there chanced great thunder, tempeſtuous raine, and flouds, occaſioned by the ſame, verie ſore & horrible, continuing for the ſpace of fifteene daies togither. The legat Othobone, after he had in the ſynods holden at Northampton and London, deuiſed and made manie orders and rules for churchmen, and leuied amongſt them great ſummes of monie, finallie in the moneth of Julie, he tooke leaue of the king and returned to Rome, where after the deceaſſe of Innocent the fift, about the yeare of our Lord 1276 he was choſen pope, and named Adrian the fift, liuing not paſt 50 daies after. He went ſo neere hand to ſearch out things at his going awaie, that he had inrolled the true value of all the churches and benefices in England, and tooke the note with him to Rome.

1268

he legat
thobone
turneth to
ome.
thobone
oſen pope.

bington.

Prince Edward the kings ſonne, and diuerſe other great lords of England before this legats departure out of the realme, receiued the croſſe at his hands in Northampton on Midſummer day, meaning ſhortlie after according to promiſe there made, to go into the holie land to warre againſt Gods enimies. In this yeare fell great variance betweene the corporations or fellowſhips of the goldſmiths and tailors within the citie of London, whereunto euill words flowing from the tong gaue originall, for

Pondus valde graue verboſum vas ſine claue,

ſo that one euening there were aſſembled to the number of fiue hundred in the ſtreets in armour, and running togither made a fowle fraie, ſo that manie were wounded and ſome ſlaine. But the ſhiriffes hearing thereof, came & parted them, with aſſiſtance of other trades, and ſent diuerſe of them being taken vnto priſon, of the which there were arreigned to the number of thirtie, and thirteene of them condemned and hanged.

rince Ed-
ard recei-
th the
ſſe.

bian.
fraie in Lō-
n betweene
goldſ-
iths and
lors.

In the fiftie & third yeare of king Henries reigne, there was ſuch an exceeding great froſt, beginning at ſaint Andrewes tide, and continuing till it was neere candlemaſſe, that the Thames from the bridge vpwards was ſo hard froſen, that men and beaſts paſſed ouer on foot from Lambeth to Weſtminſter, and ſo weſtward in diuerſe places vp to Kingſton. Alſo merchandize was brought from Sandwich and other places vnto London by land. For the ſhips by reaſon of the yce could not enter the Thames. ¶ And about the feaſt of S. Vedaſt, which falleth on the 6 of Februarie, fell ſo great abundance of raine, that the Thames roſe ſo high, as it had not doone at any time before, to remembrance of men then liuing; ſo that the cellars and vaults in London by the water ſide were drowned, and much merchandize marred & loſt.

no. Reg. 53.
hames
ſen.

1269

Abington.
A parlement
holden at
London.

About S. Georges day there was a parlement holden at London, for the appeaſing of a controuerſie depending betwixt prince Edward the kings ſon and the earle of Gloceſter: at the which parlement were preſent almoſt all the prelats and peeres of the realme. At length they put the matter in compromiſe, into the hands of the king of Almaine, vndertaking to be ordered by him high and low touching all controuerſies: and likewiſe for the iournie to be made into the holie land, but the king of Almaine did little in the matter to any great effect. ¶ In the beginning of Lent the king gaue to his ſonne prince Edward the rule of the citie of London, with all the reuenues and profits thereto belonging. After which gift, the ſaid prince made ſir Hugh Fitz Othon conſtable of the tower and cuſtos of the citie of London. ¶ Vpon the ninth day of Aprill, Edmund the kings ſonne, ſurnamed Crouchbacke, married at Weſtminſter Aueline the daughter of the earle of Aumarle. Prince Edward commanded the citizens of London to preſent vnto him ſix citizens, of the which number he might nominate two ſhiriffes, and ſo appointed William de Hadſtocke and Anketill de Alberne, which were ſworne to be accomptants as their predeceſſours had beene.

Prince Ed-
ward appo
teth the ma
and ſhiriffes
of London.

In thoſe daies a new cuſtome or toll was vſed to be paid, which prince Edward let to farme vnto certeine ſtrangers, for the ſumme of twentie marks by yeare. Wherefore the citizens being greeued therewith, bought it of him for two hundred marks. Alſo this yeare there was granted to the king towards his iournie by him purpoſed into the holie land, the twentith penie of euerie mans mooueable goods thoroughout the realme of the laie fee, and of the ſpiritualtie was granted by the aſſent of pope Gregorie the tenth, three diſmes to be gathered within the terme of three yeares. This yeare the kings ſonne the lord Edward obteined a confirmation for the citie of London of the charter of the ancient liberties, ſo that the citizens did then choſe vnto them a maior and two ſhiriffes, which ſhiriffes by vertue of the ſame charter, had their office to farme, in maner as before time was accuſtomed: ſauing that where they paid afore but three hundred and fiftie pounds, they paid now foure hundred and fiftie pounds. After which confirmation granted and paſſed vnder the kings broad ſeale, they choſe for their maior John Adrian, and for ſhiriffes Walter Potter and John Tailor, the which were preſented the 16 day of Julie vnto the king at Weſtminſter by his ſonne prince Edward, and there admitted and ſworne. Then was ſir Hugh Fitz Othon diſcharged of the rule of the citie. The citizens of their owne freewill gaue vnto the king an hundred marks, and to his ſonne prince Edward fiue hundred markes. There was no great diſorder attempted this yeare to the diſquieting of the realme, ſauing that certeine of the diſherited gentlemen that belonged to the earle of Darbie, withdrew vnto the forreſt of the Peake in Darbiſhire, and there making their abode, ſpoiled and waſted the countries next adioining.

An aid gra
ted to the kin

The liberti
of the citie
confirmed.

The rent of
the farme of
the ſhiriffes
of London
increaſed.

Chron. D

Anno Reg.
1270
Wil. Riſhan.
Prince Ed
ward ſetteth
forward to
wards the
holie land.

In the moneth of Maie, prince Edward the kings ſonne ſet forward on his iournie towards the holie land, and taking the ſea at Douer, paſſed ouer into France, and came to Burdeaux, where he ſtaied a while, and after went to Agues Mortes, and there tooke ſhipping, firſt ſailing (as ſome write) vnto Thunis, where the chriſtian armie, which Lewes the French king as then deceaſſed had brought thither, was readie to depart, and ſo prince Edward, with the new French king Lewes and other princes paſſed ouer into Sicill, where he ſoiourned for the winter time. In this yeare the king was vexed with a greeuous ſickneſſe: and the Iriſhmen in rebellion ſlue a great ſort of Engliſhmen, as well magiſtrats, as others in that countrie.

Matth. Weſt. The king ſick

When the ſpring of the yeare began to approch, prince Edward eftſoones tooke the ſea, and finallie arriued at Acres with a thouſand choſen men of warre, though there be writers that affirme, how there arriued with him of ſundrie countries fiue thouſand horſmen, and double the ſame number of footmen. But amongſt thoſe that went out of England with him, theſe we find as principall, Iohn de Britaine, Iohn de Veſcie, Otes de Granton, and Robert de Bruſe, beſides other. Of his noble chiualrie there atchiued, yee ſhall find a breefe note in the deſcription of the holie land, and therefore here we omit the ſame. Howbeit this is to be remembred, that whileſt the lord Edward ſoiorned there in the citie of Acres, he was in great danger to haue beene ſlaine by treaſon: for a traitorous Saracen of that generation which are called Arſacidæ, and latelie reteined by the ſame lord Edward, and become verie familiar with him, found means one day as he ſat in his chamber, to giue him three wounds, which ſuerlie had coſt him his life, but that one of the princes chamberleins ſtaied the traitors hand, and ſomewhat brake the ſtrokes, till other ſeruants came to the reſcue, and ſlue him there in the place.

Anno Reg. 55.
1271

Prince Edward arriueth at Acres.
Abington.

Arſacidæ, of ſome named Aſſaſini.

Prince Edw. is traitorouſlie wounded.

¶ There be that write, how prince Edward himſelfe, perceiuing the traitor to ſtrike at his bellie, warded the blowe with his arme: and as the Saracen offered to haue ſtriken againe, he thruſt him backe to the ground with his foot, and catching him by the hand, wreſted the knife from him, and thruſting him into the bellie, ſo killed him, though in ſtrugling with him, he was hurt againe a little in the forhead: and his ſeruants withall comming to helpe him, one of them that was his muſician, got vp a treſtill and ſtroke out the braines of the traitor, as he laie dead on the ground, and was blamed of his maiſter for ſtriking him, after he ſaw him once dead before his face, as he might perceiue him to be. Some write, that this traitor was ſent from the great admerall of Iapha, on meſſage to the prince Edward, and had beene with him diuerſe times before, & now making countenance to take forth letters, got forth his knife, and attempted ſo to haue wrought his feat. Whatſoeuer the man was, the prince was in great danger, by reaſon of the enuenimed knife wherewith he was wounded, ſo that it was long yer he could be perfectlie whole. Theſe Saracens called Arſacidæ, are a wicked generation of men, infected with ſuch a ſuperſtitious opinion, that they beleeue heauenlie bliſſe is purchaſed of them, if they can by anie means ſlea one of the enimies of their religion, & ſuffer themſelues for that fact the moſt cruell death that may be deuiſed. ¶ Prince Edward, after he was whole and recouered of his wounds, perceiuing that no ſuch aid came into thoſe parts out of chriſtendome, as was looked for, tooke a truce with the enimies of our faith, and returned towards England, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed.

Port Iapha.

The generation of the Arſacide, or Aſſaſini.

Anno Reg. 56.

On the fourth nones of Aprill (as ſome ſaie) or in the moneth of Februarie (as other write) in the ſix and fiftith yeare of K. Henries reigne at Berkhamſteed, died Richard king of Almaine and earle of Cornewall, and was buried in the abbeie of Hailes which he himſelfe had founded: he was a worthie prince, and ſtood his brother king Henrie in great ſtead, in handling matters both in peace and warre. He left behind him iſſue begotten of his wife Sanctia two ſonnes, Edmund and Henrie. This Edmund was he that brought the blood of Hails out of Germanie: for as he was there vpon a time with his father, it chanced that as he was beholding the relikes, and other pretious monuments of the ancient emperors, he eſpied a box of gold: by the inſcription whereof he perceiued (as the opinion of men then gaue) that therein was conteined a portion of the bloud of our ſauiour.

1272
Nic. Triuet.
Matth. Weſt.
The deceaſſe of the king of Almaine.

His iſſue.

Edmund erle of Cornewall.

He therefore, being deſirous to haue ſome part thereof, ſo intreated him that had the keeping of it, that he obteined his deſire, and brought it ouer with him into England, beſtowing a third part thereof after his fathers deceaſſe in the abbeie of Hailes, as it were to adorne and inrich the ſame, bicauſe that therein both his father and mother were buried; and the other two parts he did reſerue in his owne cuſtodie, till at length mooued vpon ſuch deuotion as was then vſed, he founded an abbeie a little from his manour of Berkhamſteed: which abbeie was named Aſhrug, in the which he placed monks of the order of Bonhommes, being the firſt that euer had beene ſeene of that order here in England. And herewith he alſo aſſigned the two other parts of that bloud to the ſame abbeie. Whervpon followed great reſort of people to thoſe two places, induced thereunto by a certeine blind deuotion.

The bloud of Hailes.

Aſhrug abbeie built.
Bonhommes.

Henrie the brother of this Edmund, and ſonne to the foreſaid king of Almaine, as he returned from Affrike, where he had beene with prince Edward, was ſlaine at Viterbo in Italie (whither he was come about buſineſſe which he had to doo with the pope) by the hand of Guie de Montfort, the ſonne of Simon de Montfort earle of Leiceſter, in reuenge of the ſame Simons death. This murther was committed afore the high altar, as the ſame Henrie kneeled there to heare diuine ſeruice. The foreſaid Guie vpon that murther committed, fled vnto his father in law, the earle of Anguilare, then gouernour of Tuſkain. There was at Viterbo the ſame time Philip king of France, returning homewards from the iournie which his father made into Affrike, where he died. Alſo Charles king of Sicill was there preſent, whome the ſaid Guie then ſerued. Both thoſe kings were put in much blame, for that the murther and wilfull eſcape was doone and ſuffred in their preſence and no purſuit made after the murtherer. Boniface the archbiſhop of Canturburie, when he had ruled the ſea ſeauen and thirtie yeares, departed this life: and after his deceaſſe, about two yeares or more, was one Robert Kilwarbie appointed in his place by pope Gregorie, which Robert was the ſix and fortith archbiſhop that had gouerned the ſee of Canturburie.

The L. Henrie ſonne to the K. of Almaine murdered in Italie.

Robert Kilwarbie archb. of Cãturburie

About the moneth of Iune there fell great debate and diſcord betwixt the monks of Norwich and the citizens there; which increaſed ſo farre, that at length the citizens with great violence aſſaulted the monaſterie, fired the gates, and forced the fire ſo with reed and drie wood, that the church with the bookes, and all other ornaments of the ſame, and all houſes of office belonging to that abbeie were cleane burned, waſted, and deſtroied, ſo that nothing was preſerued except one little chapell. The king hearing of this riot, rode to Norwich, and cauſing inquirie to be made thereof, thirtie yoong men of the citie were condemned, hanged and burnt, to the great greefe of the other citizens, for they thought that the priour of the place was the occaſion of all that miſcheefe, who had got togither armed men, and tooke vpon him to keepe the belfraie and church by force of armes: but the prior was well inough borne out, and defended by the biſhop of Norwich, named Roger, who (as it is likelie) was the maiſter of the miſcheefe, though hands were not laid vpon him nor his adherents: perhaps for feare,

A fraie betwixt the monks and citizens of Norwich.

Thirtie of the citizens of Norwich hanged and burnt.

feare, peraduenture for fauour; & no maruell though the leſſe faultie loſt their liues as moſt guiltie, for

——rarus venator ad vrſos
Accedit, tutos conſeruat ſylua leones,
Debilibus robuſta nocent, & grandia paruis,
Ales fulminiger timidos infeſtat olores,
Accipiter laniat turdos mollésq; columbas,
Verſicolor coluber ranas miſeráſq; lacertas,
Irretit muſcas tranſmittit aranea veſpas.

The king returning by ſaint Edmundſburie, after he had doone his deuotions to S. Edmunds ſhrine, began to waxe ſomewhat craſie: but after hauing a little recouered his health, he called a councell there, wherein he went about to haue taken order for the puniſhment of rebels: but his ſickneſſe againe renewing, he brake vp the aſſemblie, and with all ſpéed haſted to London. Prince Edward vpon his returne out of the holie land came to Chalons in Burgogne, & at the requeſt of the earle he did attempt with his companie to hold a iuſtes and tournie againſt the ſaid earle & all other commers. And though through diſdaine and ſpite there was homelie plaie ſhewed, vpon purpoſe to put the Engliſhmen to the foile & reproch; yet by high valiancie prince Edward and his companie bare themſelues ſo worthilie, that in the end the aduerſaries were well beaten, and conſtreined to leaue the honor of that enterpriſe to the ſaid prince Edward and his partakers. After this, he kept on his iornie till he came vnto Paris, where he was honourablie receiued of the French king, and from thence he went to Burdeaux, and there remained till after his fathers death.

A iuſts and tornie holden at Chalons.

In this meane time king Henrie, being returned to London from ſaint Edmundſburie (as before yée haue heard) his ſickneſſe ſo increaſed vpon him, that finallie he departed at Weſtminſter on the ſixtéenth day of Nouember, in the yeare of our Sauiour 1272. after he had liued thréeſcore and fiue yeares, and reigned fiftie and ſix yeares, and ſeauen and twentie daies. A little before his death, when he perceiued that he could no longer liue, he cauſed the earle of Glocester to come before him, and to be newlie ſworne to kéepe the peace of the land, to the behoofe of his ſonne prince Edward. His bodie was buried at Weſtminſter. He had iſſue by his wife quéene Elianor two ſonnes, the foreſaid Edward, prince of Wales, that ſuccéeded him; and Edmund earle of Lancaſter, by ſome authors ſurnamed Crouchbacke, though (as other affirme vntrulie) that this Edmund was the elder brother: but bicauſe he was a deformed perſon, therefore his yonger brother Edward was preferred to the kingdome, which was deuiſed of purpoſe to conueie a right to king Henrie the fourth, which fetched the deſcent from the ſaid Edmund, and by force vſurped and held the crowne, as after it may appeare. Moreouer, king Henrie had thrée daughters by the ſaid Elianor, as Margaret maried to Alexander king of Scots, Beatrice whom the duke of Britaine had to wife, and Catharine which died before ſhe was mariable.

Anno Reg. 57.

King Henrie departeth this life.

The earle of Glocester.

The iſſue of king Henrie the third.

He was of bodie well caſt and ſtrong, of a good ſtature in heigth, well fauoured of face, with the lid of one of his eies comming downe, ſo as it almoſt couered the apple of the ſame eie. Of nature he was courteous, and of ſtomach rather noble than ſtout; a deuout prince and liberall towards the poore and néedie. Yet he wanted not diſpraiſe in ſome points, namelie for that in ordering of things and weightie affaires, he vſed ſmall conſideration. He was alſo noted to be a great taker of monie by loanes, taxes, and ſubſidies: but thereunto he was inforced by neceſſitie, to beare the charges of warre and other publike affaires, than of any couetous mind or purpoſe to ſerue his owne turne. ¶ What capteins of honour among the nobilitie liued in his time, it may appeare by the courſe of the hiſtorie of his age.

His proportion of bodie.

His conditiōs

Of ſundrie learned men theſe we find mentioned in maiſter Bales centuries and others. Walter of Couentrie an hiſtoriographer: Radulphus Niger that wrote both hiſtories and other treatiſes, Geruaſius de Melkelie, Albricius of London, Robert Curſon a man excellentlie learned both in diuine and humaine letters, ſo that comming to the court of Rome he there grew in ſuch eſtimation, that he became a cardinall, of whom we find this recorded by Matthew Weſtminſter and Matthew Paris. [At the taking of Damiate, a citie in Aegypt, there was with Pelagius, the cardinall of Alba, the popes legat, maſter Robert Curſon an Engliſhman a moſt famous clerke, borne of a noble houſe, and cardinall of the church of Rome.] Theſe are reported to floriſh in the daies both of king Iohn and king Henrie his ſonne.

In the ſaid kings time alſo there liued other learned men, as theſe; Hugh Kirkeſtéed, Richard of Elie, Peter Henham, Iohn Giles or de Sancto Egidio an excellent phyſician, Caducan a Welſhman borne and biſhop of Bangor, Alexander a ſingular learned man that wrote diuerſe and manie treatiſes aſwell in diuinitie as philoſophie and humanitie, both in verſe and proſe; alſo Stephan Langton, that for his ſingular knowledge was made high chancellor of the vniuerſitie of Paris, and at length was admitted archbiſhop of Canturburie, againſt the will of king Iohn, in which quarell ſo great trouble inſued, as before yée haue partlie heard; Raſe Coggeſhall alſo liued in king Henries daies, that wrote the appendix vnto the chronicle of Ralfe Niger, he was abbat of Coggeſhall abbeie in Eſſex, whereof he tooke his ſurname; William Lanthonie, Peter of S. Sauior, a canon of the houſe called S. Sauior, or of the trinitie by London; Alexander Hailes a frier of the order of the minors, who wrote manie treatiſes in diuinitie; Richard ſurnamed Medicus a moſt learned phyſician, and no leſſe expert in philoſophie and the mathematicals. There be alſo remembred by maiſter Bale, Randulfe the earle of Cheſter, the third and laſt of that name, who hauing great knowledge and vnderſtanding in the lawes of this land, compiled a booke of the ſame lawes, as a witneſſe of his great ſkill therein: Alexander Wendocke biſhop of Cheſter, Iohn Blund, Edmund Rich, Robert Rich, Henrie Bracton, that excellent lawier, who wrote the booke commonlie called Bracton after his name, intituled *De conſuetudinibus Anglicanis*; Richard ſurnamed Theologus, Walter de Eueſham, Ralfe Freborne, Laurence Somercote, brother as it is thought to Robert Somercote, at that time a cardinall of the Romane church; Nicholas Fernham a phyſician, Robert Bacon a notable diuine, Simon Langton, brother to the archbiſhop of Canturburie Stephan Langton; Richard Fiſaker, Simon Stokes, Iohn of Kent or Kantianus, William Shirwood, Michaell Blaunpaine, Iohn Godard, Vincent of Couentrie, Alberike Veer, Richard Wich, Iohn Baſing *aliàs de* Baſingſtoke, Roger Waltham, William Seningham, Robert Groſted that learned biſhop of Lincolne, whoſe memorie amongſt the learned will remaine while the world laſteth.

Thus farre Henrie the third.

Edward

Edvvard the firſt, ſurnamed Longſhanks, the eldeſt ſonne of Henrie the third.

1272
Anno Reg. 1.

EDward, the firſt of that name after the conqueſt, began his reigne ouer this kingdome of England, the 16 day of Nouember, in the yéere of the world, 5239, of our Lord 1272, of the Saxons 814, after the conqueſt 206, the vacation of the empire after the deceaſſe of Frederike the ſecond as yet induring (though ſhortlie after in the yeare next following, Radulfe of Habſpurge was elected emperour) in the third yeare of Philip the third then reigning in France, and Alexander the third yet liuing in gouernement of the Scotiſh kingdome.

This Edward the firſt, when his father died, being about the age of 35 yeares, was as then in the holie land, or rather in his iournie homewards: but whereſoeuer he was at that preſent, the nobles of the land, after his father was departed this life, aſſembled at the new temple in London, and cauſing a new ſeale to be made, they ordeined faithfull miniſters and officers, which ſhould haue the treaſure in kéeping, and the adminiſtration of iuſtice for the maintenance of peace and tranquillitie within the land, and on the 22 day of Nouember he was proclaimed king. Who after he had remained a time in the holie land, and perceiued himſelfe deſtitute of ſuch aid as he looked for at the hands both of the Chriſtians and Tartarians, he left in the citie of Acon certeine ſtipendarie ſouldiers, and taking the ſea ſailed homewards, arriuing firſt in Sicill, where, of Charles K. of that land he was honorablie receiued and conueied, till he came vnto *Ciuita vecchia* in Italie, where pope Gregorie as then laie with his court, of whome (as of his old fréend that had béen with him in the holie land) he obteined that earle Aldebrandino Roſſo, and Guy of Montfort, that had murthered the lord Henrie, eldeſt ſonne to Richard king of Almaine, might be ſent for. Earle Aldebrandino purged himſelfe, but Guy de Montfort was excõmunicated, as a violator of the church, a murderer and a traitor, ſo as he was diſherited euen vnto the fourth generation, till he had reconciled himſelfe to the church, as he was inioined.

Matth. Weſt.
A new ſeale made.

Chro. Dun.

Matt. Weſtm.

1273

Guy de Mõtfort excommunicated.

After this, it is woonderfull to remember with what great honor king Edward was receiued of the cities, as he paſſed through Tuſcaine and Lumbardie. At his comming ouer the mounteins at Chalon in Burgundie, he was at a iuſts and tornie, which then was there holden by the Frenchmen againſt the Engliſhmen, the honor whereof remained with the Engliſhmen. In this tornie the fight of the footmen was great: for the Engliſhmen being ſore prouoked, ſlue manie of the French footmen, but bicauſe they were but raſcals, no great accompt was made of them, for they were vnarmed gaping for the ſpoile of them that were ouerthrowen. K. Edward paſſing forth, came to the French court, where of his coſine germane king Philip he was ioifullie receiued. Here king Edward, dooing homage to the French king for the lands which he ought to hold of him in France, paſſed into Guien.

Anno Reg. 2.
Matth. Weſtm.
A diſme grãted to the king & his brother.

A tenth was granted of the cleargie to the K. and to his brother Edmund earle of Leiceſter and Lancaſter by the popes appointment for two yeares, a chapleine of the pope a Gaſcoine borne named Reimond being ſent into England for that purpoſe, who gaue part vnto them, and part thereof he kept to himſelfe towards his charges, but the moſt part was reſerued to the popes diſpoſing. ¶ Whileſt the king remained in Gaſcoigne, he had ſomwhat to do againſt certeine rebels, as Gaſton de Bierne, and other that were reuolted from him. The caſtels belonging to the ſaid Gaſton he ſubdued, but his perſon he could not méet with. Finallie, after he had ſet things in order aſwell in Guien as in other places in the parts of beyond the ſeas, he haſted homewards, and came to London on the ſecond day of Auguſt, where he was receiued with all ioy that might be deuiſed. The ſtréets were hanged with rich cloths of ſilke, arras, and tapeſtrie, the aldermen and burgeſſes of the citie threw out of their windowes handfuls of gold and ſiluer, to ſignifie the great gladneſſe which they had conceiued of his ſafe returne: the conduits ran plentifullie with white wine and red, that ech creature might drinke his fill. Vpon the 19 day of Auguſt in this ſecond yeare of his reigne he was crowned at Weſtminſter, togither with his wife quéene Elianor, by the hands of Robert Kilwarbie archbiſhop of Canturburie.

1274

Nic. Treuet.
King Edward his returne home.

Matth. Weſt.

At this coronation were preſent Alexander king of Scots, and Iohn earle of Britaine, with their wiues that were ſiſters to K. Edward. The king of Scots did homage vnto king Edward for the realme of Scotland, in like maner as other the kings of Scotland before him had doone to other kings of England anceſtours to this king Edward. At the ſolemnitie of this coronation there were let go at libertie (catch them that catch might) fiue hundred great horſſes by the king of Scots, the earles of Cornewall, Glouceſter, Penbroke, Warren, & others, as they were alighted frõ their backs. ¶ On S. Nicholas euen there chanced ſuch an earthquake with lightning and thunder, and therewithall the appearing of the burning drake, and a blaſing ſtarre called a comet, that the people were brought into no ſmall feare vpon conſideration thereof. But now to the point of the hiſtorie.

Caxton.

King Edward at the firſt like a prudent prince choſe the wiſeſt and worthieſt men to be of his counſell, & to purchaſe the loue of his ſubiects, whoſe minds were ſomewhat offended towards his father (by reaſon that he refuſed to kéepe promiſe with them, touching the reſtitution of gentle and fauourable lawes) king Edward ſhewed himſelfe ſo gentle towards all

1275
Anno Reg.3.

A parlement. The ſtatutes of Weſtminſter.

The prince of wales Leolin.

degrées of men, that he ſéemed to excéed the reaſonable bounds of courteous humanitie, much more than became his roiall eſtate. After this, he reformed diuerſe lawes and ſtatutes, and deuiſed ſome new ordinances, greatlie for the wealth of the realme. He held his firſt parlement at Weſtminſter, where the ordinances were made, called the ſtatutes of Weſtminſter the firſt.

To this parlement was Leolin the prince of Wales ſummoned to come and doo his homage, hauing béene requeſted firſt to come to the kings coronation, but he refuſed; and now hauing ſummons to come to this parlement, he excuſed himſelfe, affirming that he durſt not come for feare of certeine noblemen that laie in wait for his life, requiring to haue pledges deliuered for his ſafe comming and going, the kings ſonne, and Gilbert earle of Gloceſter, with Robert Burnell the lord chancellor. The king was greatlie offended with ſuch a preſumptuous demand, but paſſed it ouer, till after the end of the parlement, & then repairing to Cheſter he ſent eftſoones meſſengers to the ſaid Leolin, requiring of him to come & doo his homage, but he ſtill detracted time, ſo that in the end the king raiſed an armie, meaning to recouer that by force, which otherwiſe he could not obteine by quiet meanes. ¶This yéere the people paid a fiftéenth to the king of all their temporall goods, which was ſaid to be granted firſt to his father.

The king cōmeth to Cheſter.

Matth.Weſtm. **Breton biſhop of Hereford departeth this life.**

The ſame yéere departed this life John Breton biſhop of Hereford, who being verie expert in the lawes of the land, compiled a booke of them called Le Breton. The 11 of September, a generall earthquake chanced betwixt the firſt houre and the third of the ſame daie, the church of S. Michaell on the hill without Glaſtenburie, was therwith throwne down to the ground. After this, it rained bloud in the countrie of Wales, as a prodigious euill token to that nation, with whoſe bloud ſhortlie after that region was in manie places moiſtened and ſtained. For as it chanced ſhortlie after, Leolin the ſonne of Griffin came to haue the gouernment of Wales, who partlie to raiſe new ſeditions in England, and partlie to purchaſe him friendſhip and aliance in France, ſent vnto king Philip, requiring of him that he might haue in marriage the ladie Eleanor daughter to Simon Montfort earle of Leiceſter, the which togither with hir mother and brother Emerike, remained as baniſhed perſons in France. The French king granted his requeſt, and ſent hir vnder the conduct of hir ſaid brother to be conueied into Wales vnto Leolin, who had promiſed to marrie hir. But yer they approched to Wales, at the Ile of Sillie both the brother & ſiſter were taken by foure ſhips of Briſtow, the owners whereof that ſo tooke them, ſent them vnto king Edward. When Leolin vnderſtood that his wife was taken from him by the waie as ſhe was comming, he was not a little wroth, and incontinentlie began to make warre vpon king Edwards ſubiects that bordered néere vnto Wales, killing the people, ſpoiling their goods, and burning vp their townes and houſes on each ſide.

It rained bloud.

1276
Anno Reg.4.

The earle of Montforts daughter appointed wife to the prince of wales taken.

Leolin prince of wales beginneth to make wars. Matth. Weſt.

Herewith the king of England was ſo mooued, that although the ſaid Leolin made ſute for peace, and offred no ſmall ſum of monie to haue the daughter of the earle of Leiceſter his fianced wife deliuered to him, yet would not the king by any meanes conſent to that marriage, nor receiue any monie of him, except he would reſtore vnto the right owners ſuch lands as he had inuaded and got into his poſſeſſion, and further repaire ſuch caſtels as he had deſtroied. Herevpon grew no ſmall grudge betwixt the Welſhmen and Engliſhmen, ſo that to repreſſe the inuaſion of the enimies in the parts towards Briſtow, Mountgomerie and Cheſter, the king ſent thrée hundred men in armes on horſebacke. In the quindene of Eaſter, the king departing from Weſtminſter, haſted towards Wales with a mightie power, and cauſed the courts of the excheker and of his bench to remooue vnto Shrewſburie, that they might be néere vnto him, making forward with all conuenient ſpéed to come to the aid and ſuccour of his liege people.

Math.We **The ex and the b bench r ued to ſweſbur**

Herevpon entring into Wales he tooke the caſtell of Rutland, and ſent into Weſtwales a valiant capteine named Paine de Camurets, who with fire and ſword waſted that countrie, ſo that the people offering themſelues to the kings peace, deliuered vnto the ſaid Paine the caſtell of Stridewie with the countrie adioining. Then Leolin the prince of Wales, perceiuing that he was not able to reſiſt the kings power, and knowing that if he did attempt the conflict againſt him the danger would redound to himſelf & his traine, did as th'old verſe counſelleth,

Peruigili cura ſemper meditare futura,

and therefore made ſuit for peace, in ſo much that finallie it was agréed, that commiſſioners for both parts ſhould talke concerning certeine articles, and whatſoeuer they concluded, aſwell the king as the ſaid Leolin ſhould hold the ſame for firme and ſtable. The king appointed one of his commiſſioners, to wit, the lord Robert de Tiptoſt, to take an oth for him, & authoriſed the ſaid Robert, Anthonie Beke, and frier William de Southampton, prior prouinciall of the friers preachers, commiſſioners, nominated on his behalfe, to receiue the like oth of the ſaid Leolin. Which Leolin appointed commiſſioners for his part, Tuder ap Edeuenet, and Grono ap Helin, the which commiſſioners with good deliberation concluded vpon certeine points and articles, of which the principall were as followeth.

The caſt Rutland ken.

Anno Reg
127

The caſt Stridew Leolin ſu for peace.

N.Triuet. **Cōmiſſi appoint**

1 Firſt, that the ſaid Leolin ſhould ſet at libertie all priſoners which he held in captiuitie for the king of Englands cauſe, freelie and without all challenge.

2 Secondlie, that to haue peace and the kings of Englands fauour, he ſhould giue vnto the ſaid king fiftie thouſand pounds ſterling, the daies of the paiment whereof to reſt in the kings will and pleaſure.

3 Thirdlie, that the land of the foure cantreds without all contradiction ſhould remaine for euer to the king and his heires, with all lands conquered by the king and his people, the Ile of Angleſey excepted, which Ile was granted to the prince, ſo that he ſhould paie for the ſame yearelie the ſumme of one thouſand marks, and fiue thouſand marks for an income. Prouided, that if the prince chanced to die without iſſue, then the ſaid Ile to reuert againe into the kings hands.

4 Fourthlie, that the prince ſhall come to Rothelan or Rothland (as it is commonlie called) there to doo fealtie to the king, and before his comming thither, he ſhould be abſolued and haue the interdiction of his lands releaſed, and at his being at Rothelan, a daie ſhall be appointed him by the king for his comming to London, there to doo his homage. Herevpon was order taken for his ſafe conduct, aſwell in his comming to Rothelan, as to London. There be that write that he was appointed to come vnto London, at the feaſt of the natiuitie of our Lord.

5 Fiftlie, it was couenanted, that all the homages of Wales ſhould remaine to the king, except onelie of fiue barons which inhabited néere vnto the caſtell of Snowdon: for otherwiſe the ſaid Leolin could not conuenientlie call himſelfe prince, except he had ſome barons vnder him.

6 Sixtlie, that he ſhould receiue the title and name of prince ſo long as he liued, and after his deceaſſe the homages of thoſe fiue barons ſhould reuert to the

king and to his heires for euer.

7 N. Triuet.
Dauid Leolins brother prouided for.

Seuenthlie the king granted vnto the ſaid Leolin, the lands that belonged to his brother Dauid, for tearme of the ſaid Leolins life, and in recompenſe thereof was contented to ſatiſfie the ſaid Dauid with other lands in ſome other place, the which after the deceaſe of the ſaid Leolin or Dauid ſhould reuert to the king and his heires.

An oth to be receiued.

For the aſſurance of which articles and couenants the prince deliuered for hoſtages ten perſons of the beſt in Wales, which he could get, without impriſonment, diſheriting, or terme of deliuerance; and of euerie cantred twentie perſons, of the beſt and moſt ſufficient, to be choſen by ſuch as the king ſhall ſend thither yéerelie, & ſhall from yéere to yéere be ſworne vpon the euangeliſts, in preſence of the bailiffes of the ſaid Leolin, that whenſoeuer the prince ſhall breake any of theſe articles, and vpon admonition dooth not reforme himſelfe, they ſhall forſake him, and in all things, being vnto him open enimies, ſhall beare him deadlie hoſtilitie.

Leolins brethren.
Dauid rewarded by king Edward.
Dauid preferred in mariage

Beſides this, the prince ſhall (as farre as in him may lie) pacifie his brethren, of the which he had put two in priſon, Owen and Roderike: the third named Dauid, eſcaping his hands, fled into England, and remained many yéeres with king Edward, who receiuing him into his ſeruice, made him knight in this warre, and gaue vnto him a caſtell at Denbigh in Wales, with lands to the yéerelie value of a thouſand marks, in recompenſe of thoſe poſſeſſions which he ought to haue had in Angleſey, the which (as before is ſaid) the king granted vnto Leolin for terme of his life, and after his deceaſſe to reuert vnto the king and to his heires. Moreouer, he preferred Dauid to the marriage of a iollie widowe, that was daughter to the earle of Darbie.

The article concerning Owen.

As concerning Owen, through the kings fauour he was deliuered out of priſon, by force of the articles concluded at this preſent by the commiſſioners, vnder this forme and maner: that vpon his being ſet at libertie, certeine perſons appointed by the king ſhould make offer to him, to chooſe whether he would firſt compound with his brother, and therevpon come to the king, and beſéech him to allow the compoſition, or elſe to put himſelfe vnder the ſafe kéeping of the king, till according to the lawes and cuſtomes of Wales, in the place where he did tranſgreſſe, iudgement ſhould be giuen of the matter: and if he were acquit, then might he demand his heritage if he thought it ſo expedient: and which of theſe two waies he ſhould chooſe, the ſame ſhould be made firme and ſtable in the kings preſence.

All theſe articles, with other additions, were accorded by the ſaid cõmiſſioners at Aberconweie, on the tueſdaie before the feaſt of S. Martine, in the yeare 1277, and letters of confirmation made thereof by the king, dated at Rutland on the tenth daie of Nouember, in the fift yéere of his reigne. Alſo the ſaid Leolin, by the name of Leolin ap Griffin prince of Wales, with letters vnder his ſeale, confirmed the aboueſaid articles on his behalfe, for the releaſing of his right to the foure cantreds and other things that ſhould remaine to the king, which letters bare date at Aberconweie, on the foreſaid tueſdaie in the ſaid yéere 1277. Alſo the K. releaſed to the ſaid Leolin, the ſaid ſumme of fiftie thouſand pounds, and the ſaid ſumme of a thouſand marks yéerelie to be paid for the Ile of Angleſey, as by his letters dated at Rutland on the ſaid 10 daie of Nouember in the ſaid fift yéere of his reigne more at large it appéereth. Neuertheleſſe by his letters dated at Rutland, on the ſaid eleuenth of the ſaid month of Nouember, it is euident that he receiued of the ſaid Leolin the ſumme of two thouſand marks ſterling, by the hands of Thomas Beke kéeper of his wardrobe.

The caſtell of Lamperdeuaur built.
Anno. Reg. 6.
1278
Leolins wife reſtored to hir husband.
Statutes of Gloceſter.

Moreouer, the king in the weſt part of Wales built at the ſame time a caſtle at Lamperdeuaur, to kéepe vnder the rebellious attempts of the Welſhmen. King Edward gaue in mariage by waie of reſtitution to the fore-remembred Leolin prince of Wales the earle of Leiceſters daughter, which was taken (as ye haue heard) at the Ile of Sillie. He alſo bare all the charges of the feaſt at the daie of the marriage, and honored the ſame with the preſence of himſelfe and the quéene. ¶ A ſubſidie of the twentieth part of euerie mans goods was granted to the king towards his charges ſuſteined in the Welſh warres. Moreouer, in the firſt yéere of his reigne K. Edward held a parlement at Gloceſter, in the which were certeine acts and ſtatutes made for the wealth and good gouernment of the realme, which vnto this daie are called the ſtatutes of Gloceſter. ¶ Alexander king of Scots came into England, to common with K. Edward, of matters touching his kingdome of Scotland. ¶ Shortlie after king Edward went ouer into France, and there receiued certeine townes that were reſtored to him, but not the moitie of thoſe that were promiſed to his father, when he releaſed his title vnto the dutchie of Normandie.

The archbiſh. of Yorke being made cardinal reſigneth his archbiſhoprike
Iohn Peckham archbiſh. of Yorke.
Clippers of monie.
Anno Reg. 7.
Nic. Triuet.

Robert Kilwarbie archbiſhop of Canturburie, was by pope Nicholas aduanced to the dignitie of a cardinall, and made biſhop of Portua, ſo that he went to Rome, and gaue ouer the archbiſhoprike of Canturburie, to the which through the popes grant frier Iohn Peckham was admitted archbiſhop. This yéere there was inquirie made in London for ſuch as had clipped, waſhed, & counterfaited the kings coine, wherevpon the Iewes of the citie and diuers goldſmiths that kept the exchange of ſiluer were indited, and after to the number of two hundreth foure ſcore and ſeuenteene perſons were condemned, and in diuers places put to execution. There were but 3. Engliſhmen among them, all the reſidue were Iewes; but diuerſe chriſtians that were participants with them in their offenſes were put to their fines, and not without iuſt cauſe.

Chron. Dunſt.
The caſtels of Flint & Rutland built.
1279
Leolin beginneth new war

About the ſame time the king remooued all ſuch ſhiriffes as were either préeſts or ſtrangers, and in their places appointed knights to be ſhiriffes, that were of the ſame countrie where their offices laie. Moreouer, about this ſeaſon king Edward builded the caſtell of Flint, and fortified the caſtell of Rutland and others, placing garriſons of Engliſhmen in the ſame to defend the countrie, and to kéepe the Welſhmen vnder obedience. But Leolin ſo ſmallie regarded all couenants made, and benefits receiued, that ſhortlie after, vpon the death of his late married wife, being ſummoned to come to a parlement holden by king Edward, he diſdained to obeie, and vpon a verie ſpite began to make new warre to the Engliſhmen, in waſting and deſtroieng the countrie: notwithſtanding king Edward had ſo manie waies doone him good, and had giuen him iuſt cauſe of thankfulneſſe, which is the common reward of benefits, and which little recompenſe whoſo neglecteth to make, being but a little lip labour,

Non eſt laudari dignus, nec dignus amari.

He ſueth for peace.

But being put in feare with the kings comming towards him with his power, he laid armor aſide, and began eftſoones to require peace, which the king now the ſecond time did not denie to grant; bicauſe he would not loſe time to warre with the mounteins, woods and mariſhes, the places of refuge for Welſhmen in thoſe daies, when they wanted power to abide battell and kéepe the féelds. About the ſame time the king gaue vnto Dauid the brother of Leolin the lordſhip of Frodeſham in Cheſhire, and made him knight. Moreouer, in this yeare the king held a parlement, The ſtatute of Mortmaine.

ment, in which the ſtatute of Mortmaine was eſtabliſhed.

A ſynod at Reading.

Frier Iohn Peckham, whome the pope had alreadie conſecrated archbiſhop of Canturburie, being the 47 in number that had gouerned the ſaid ſee, came this yeare ouer into England to ſupplie the roome. ¶ Alſo Walter Gifford archbiſhop of Yorke departed this life, in whoſe place ſucceeded William Wickham, the 37 archbiſhop there. The archbiſhop of Canturburie held a ſynod at Reading about the latter end of Iulie, wherin he renewed the conſtitutions of the generall councell, as thus: That no eccleſiaſticall perſon ſhould haue aboue one benefice to the which belonged cure of ſoule; and againe, that all thoſe that were promoted to any eccleſiaſticall liuing, ſhould receiue the order of prieſthood within one yere after his being promoted therevnto.

The kings coine amended.

In this yeare the king tooke order for the amending of his monie and coine, which in that ſeaſon was fowlie clipped, waſhed, and counterfeited by thoſe naughtie men the Iewes, and other, as before you haue partlie heard. The king therefore in the octaues of the Trinitie ſent forth commandement to all the ſhiriffes within the land, that ſuch monie as was counterfeited, clipped or waſhed, ſhould not be currant from thenceforth: and furthermore he ſent of his owne treaſure, good monie and not clipped, vnto certeine cities and townes in the realme, that exchange might be made with the ſame till new monie were ſtamped. About the third daie of Auguſt, the firſt exchange was made of the new monie of pence and farthings; but yet the old monie went all this yeare togither with the new, and then was the old coine generallie forbidden, and commandement giuen by publike proclamation, that from thenceforth it ſhould no more be allowed for currant. Herewith alſo halfpence, which had beene ſtamped in the meane time, began to come abroad the ſame day in which the old monie was thus prohibited.

Anno Reg. 8.
1280
N. Triuet.
Polydor.
Abington.
A ſhift to get monie.

The lord Roger Mortimer kept a great feaſt at Killingworth, with iuſts and triumphs of an hundred knights and as manie ladies, to the which reſorted lords, knights, & gentlemen from diuerſe countries and lands, to ſhew proofe of their valiancie in the practiſe of warlike feats and exerciſes. In the meane ſeaſon king Edward ſtanding in need of monie, deuiſed a new ſhift to ſerue his turne, as this: namely that wheras he was cheefe lord of many lordſhips, manours, poſſeſſions and tenements, he well vnderſtood, that partlie by length and proces of time, and partlie by caſualties during the troubles of the ciuill warres, manie mens euidences, as their charters, deeds, copies and other writings were loſt, waſted, and made awaie, he therfore vnder colour to put the ſtatute of (*Quo waranto*) in execution, which was ordeined this yeare in the parlement holden at Gloceſter in Auguſt laſt paſt (as ſome write) did now command by publike proclamation, that all ſuch as held any lands or tenements of him, ſhould come and ſhew by what right and title they held the ſame, that by ſuch meanes their poſſeſſions might returne vnto him, by eſcheat as cheefe lord of the ſame, and ſo to be ſold or redeemed againe at his hands.

Ordinances for monie.

This was thought to be ſo ſore a proclamation, as that a more greeuous had not lightlie beene heard of. Men in euerie place made complaint and ſhewed themſelues greeuouſlie offended, ſo that the king by meanes thereof came in great hatred of his people: but the meane ſort of men, though they ſtood in defenſe of their right, yet it auailed them but little, bicauſe they had no euidence to ſhew, ſo that they were conſtreined to be quiet with loſſe, rather than to ſtriue againſt the ſtreame. Manie were thus called to anſwer, till at length the lord Iohn Warren earle of Surrie, a man greatlie beloued of the people, perceiuing the king to haue caſt his net for a preie, and that there was not one which ſpake againſt him, determined to ſtand againſt thoſe ſo bitter and cruell proceedings. And therefore being called afore the iuſtices about this matter, he appeared, and being aſked by what right he held his lands: ſuddenlie drawing forth an old ruſtie ſword; By this inſtrument (ſaid he) doo I hold my lands, and by the ſame I intend to defend them. Our anceſtors comming into this realme with William the Conquerour, conquered their lands with the ſword, and with the ſame will I defend me from all thoſe that ſhall be about to take them from me; he did not make a conqueſt of this realme alone, our progenitors were with him as participants and helpers.

The ſaieng of the earle of Surrie.

The king vnderſtanding into what hatred of his people by this meanes he was fallen, and therfore deſirous to auoid ciuill diſſention and war that might thereby inſue, he left off his begun practiſe: ſo that the thing which generallie ſhould haue touched and beene hurtfull to all men, was now ſuddenlie ſtaied by the manhood and couragious ſtoutneſſe onelie of one man, the foreſaid earle, who in his rare act of defending cõmon equitie againſt the mightie in authoritie (who ſpared not to offer extreme iniurie) ſhewed himſelfe a verie true and naturall branch of nobilitie,

——— *cupit quæ grandia ſemper,*
Vilia contemnit, quæ ſurſum tendere vt ignis
Nititur, & ſummas penetrat velut ardea nubes.

A ſynod at Lambeth.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie held an other ſynod at Lambeth, in the which he receiued and confirmed the orders and conſtitutions decreed and eſtabliſhed by the legats Otho and Othobone, in councels by them kept here within this realme, adding diuerſe other of his owne: & in the ſame councell he went about to adnihilate certeine liberties belonging to the crowne, as the taking knowledge of the right of patronages and the kings prohibitions *In placitis de catallis*, and ſuch like, which ſeemed meerlie to touch the ſpiritualtie. But the king by ſome in that councell withſtood the archbiſhop openlie, and with menaces ſtaied him from concluding any thing that might preiudice his roiall liberties and prerogatiues. King Edward held a parlement at London, in the which he demanded a fifteenth of the cleargie, which latelie before he had got of the temporaltie. The archbiſhop of Yorke was content at the firſt to grant this fifteenth to be paid of the cleargie within his dioceſſe in two yeares; but the archbiſhop of Canturburie held off, and required reſpit till the next parlement to be holden after Eaſter, and then he granted vnto the king the diſmes of all his cleargie for three yeares, that in ſome point he might be different from the archbiſhop of Yorke.

A parlement.
The archbiſhop of Yorke.
The archbiſhop of Canturburie.

Anno Reg. 9.
1281
The feaſt of the round table holden at Warwike.
Dauid the brother of Leolin reuolteth, and becommeth a rebell.
The lord Clifford taken.

In the ninth yeare of king Edwards reigne, the feaſt of the round table was kept at Warwike with great and ſumptuous triumph. Whileſt theſe things were in doing, Dauid brother to Leolin prince of Wales, forgetting the great benefits which he had receiued at the hands of king Edward, became his aduerſarie, and cauſed his ſaid brother the prince of Wales with a great number of other noble men of that countrie to rebell: and to incourage them the ſooner to attempt the warre, he began the firſt exploit himſelfe, taking the ſaid lord Roger Clifford (a right worthie and famous knight) in his caſtell of Hawardine, vpon Palmeſundaie, the ſaid lord being in no doubt of any ſuch matter. Diuerſe knights and other that were in the ſame caſtell at that time, and made reſiſtance, were ſlaine.

Chron. Dunſt.
The caſtell of Rutland beſieged.

After this the foreſaid Dauid returned to his brother the prince, and therewith aſſembling an armie, they went both togither and beſieged the caſtell of

Rutland. King Edward at the ſame time being in the parts about Saliſburie, where he kept his Eaſter at the Vies, ſent out commiſſioners to leauie an armie, and commanded ſuch men of warre as he had then in a readineſſe, to haſt forth to the reſcue of the caſtell of Rutland. And in the meane time, the caſtell of Lamperdeuaux was taken by Rice ap Malgone and Griffith ap Meridoc. Alſo diuerſe other caſtels were taken by other of the Welſh nobilitie. Moreouer, about this time by the labour and ſuit of John the archbiſhop of Canturburie, Emericke de Montfort, which had beene reteined in priſon (ſith that he was firſt taken togither with his ſiſter at the Iſle of Sillie by the Briſtowmen) was now ſet at libertie and permitted to returne into France. The ſaid archbiſhop of Canturburie was ſent into Wales to perſuade Leolin and his brother with the other rebels vnto peace and quietneſſe, but returning into England, without bringing anie thing to paſſe, he denounced them accurſſed.

The caſtell of Lamperdeuaux taken.

Emericke de Montfort ſet at libertie.

Leolin and other the welſh rebels accurſſed.

Anno Reg. 10.

1282

The king entreth into wales.

The king haſted forth to come to the reſcue of his people, wherevpon Leolin and his brother Dauid retired with their people to Snowdon hilles, and fortified the caſtell there with a ſtrong garriſon of men. The king entring into Wales, when he heard that his enimies were withdrawne into the mounteins, paſſed forth till he came neere vnto them, where he pitched downe his field, and the next day cauſing his horſſemen to iſſue forth of the campe, filled all the plaines which compaſſe the foot of thoſe hilles (aſwell on the eaſt ſide as toward the ſouth) with the ſame horſſemen, and herewith placed his footmen more aloft on the ſide of the hilles in couert: this doone he prouoked his enimie to come forth to fight, but when he ſaw this would not be, then that he might ſtop them from all places of refuge, he cauſed his ſhips to take the Iſle of Angleſey, bicauſe the Welſhmen vſed to flie thither oftentimes for their ſafegard, in the which enterpriſe the mariners of the cinque ports bare themſelues right manfullie.

The mariners of the cinque ports.

Meneth.

After this, ioining certeine veſſels togither, he cauſed a bridge to be made in the riuer of Meneth, into the which an other ſmall riuer falleth that riſeth at the roots of thoſe hilles of Snowdone, to keepe the enimies from lodging on the further ſide of that riuer. This bridge conteining roome for threeſcore armed men to paſſe afront, was made ouer the riuer of Sient, by the which men ſaile into the Iſle, which by the courſe of the ſea ebbeth and floweth euerie twelue houres. But ſo it came to paſſe, that before the bridge was well borded ouer, whileſt the king yet remained at Aberconwaie, diuerſe of the Engliſh nobilitie, to the number of ſeauen banerets with three hundreth armed men raſhlie paſſed ouer, and as they ſurueied the foot of the mounteine, the tide began to come in ſo ſwiftlie, that where the Engliſhmen were aduanced a good prettie waie from the water ſide, they could not now get backe againe to the bridge which as yet was not fullie made vp.

The Welſhmen perceiuing this, came downe beſide the mounteine, and aſſailed the Engliſhmen verie fiercelie, and with their great multitude ſo oppreſſed them, that for feare the Engliſhmen were driuen to take the water, and ſo by reaſon they were loaden with armour, manie of them were drowned: and amongſt other, that famous knight ſir Lucas de Thanie, Robert Clifford, ſir William Lindſey, and two gentlemen of good accompt that were brethren to Robert Burnell as then biſhop of Bath. There periſhed in all (as ſome ſaie) thirteene knights, ſeuenteene yoong gentlemen, and to the number of two hundred footmen. Yet ſir William Latimer, as good hap would, eſcaped, and diuerſe other. This miſchance happened on S. Leonards day.

The Engliſhmen diſtreſſed by welſhmen.

The lord Clifford.

Chron. Dunſt.

The earle of Gloceſter maketh warre on the welſhmen

In this meane time in an other part of the countrie the earle of Gloceſter with an armie, made ſore warre to the Welſhmen, and neere vnto the towne called Lantilaware, fought a ſore battell with them, in the which manie of the Welſhmen being ſlaine, the earle loſt alſo fiue knights vpon his partie, as William Valence the yoonger, being one of that number, who was the kings couſine. The earle of Gloceſter then departing from thence, Leolin the prince of Wales entered into the countrie of Cardigan and Stradwie, deſtroieng the lands of Rice ap Meridoc, which now held with the king againſt the ſaid prince. At length, prince Leolin going towards the land of Buelth with a ſmall companie, left his maine armie behind him aloft vpon the top of the mounteine, neere to the water called Waie, and he had ſet a number of his people to keepe the bridge of Orewin: and ſo the Welſhmen kept on the one ſide, and the Engliſhmen on the other, of whome were capteins the lord John Gifford and the lord Edmund Mortimer, the which perceiuing the Welſhmen that were readie to defend the bridge, and a great hoſt of them vpon the top of the mounteine, they conſulted togither what they were beſt to doo.

Anno Reg. 11.

Leolin inuadeth the kings freends.

The lord Gifford and Mortimer.

Helias walwaine.

At length by the couragious exhortation of one Helias Walewaine they drew on the one hand alongſt the riuer, where was a foord paſſable in deed, though not without danger: but yet the Engliſhmen by the conduct of the ſame Helias, got ouer by the ſame foord, ſo that it bare the name long after of Helias way. And ſo the Welſhmen that kept the bridge (perceiuing the Engliſhmen to be got ouer vnto that ſide) fled, wherevpon the reſidue of the Engliſh armie paſſed ouer at the bridge, whereof roſe a great noiſe, which Leolin lurking not farre off might well heare, but yet at the firſt he could not be brought to thinke that by any poſſible means the Engliſhmen were got ouer to that ſide of the water. But yet perceiuing it to be true, he drue backe toward the heigth of the mounteine againe, neuertheleſſe being diſcouered by one Stephan de Franketon, named by ſome writers Sward, he was ſo narrowlie purſued of the ſame Stephan, that he was ouertaken and ſlaine.

Prince Leolin ſlaine by Stephan de Franketon.

Stephan not knowing whome he had ſlaine, returned to the hoſt, the which was now mounting vp the hill to ioine with the Welſh armie that ſtood ſtill looking for the returne of their prince Leolin (though in vaine) yet they manfullie abode by their tackle, diſcharging plentie of arowes and darts at the Engliſhmen as they came vp towards them. The Engliſh archers which were mingled amongſt the horſſemen, paid them home againe with their ſhot, ſo that finallie the Engliſh horſſemen, winning the top of the hill, ſlue manie of them ſtanding ſtoutlie at defenſe, and put the reſidue to flight. Stephan Sward that had ſlaine Leolin, after the victorie was atchiued, rode to the dead bodie which he had ſlaine in the beginning of the battell, and vpon vew taken of him perceiued who he was, of which good hap the Engliſhmen were verie ioifull. His head was herewith cut off, which the lord Edmund Mortimer tooke with him vnto Rutland (where the king as then was lodged) vnto whome he preſented it: and the king ſent it vnto London, appointing that there ſhould be an yuie crowne ſet vpon it, in token that he was a prince, and ſo being adorned, a horſſeman carried it vpon the end of his ſtaffe through Cheapſide, holding it as he rode on heigth, that all men might ſee it, till he came to the tower, & there it was pight vp aloft vpon one of the higheſt turrets, remaining there a long time after.

Leolins head preſented to the king.

Thus was the propheſie fulfilled, which was told

A propheſie fulfilled.

to him by an old woman taken for a ſouthſaier, of whome he required to know how he ſhould ſpeed in this warre, whereunto ſhe anſwered, that he ſhould boldlie go forward in them, for he ſhould ride with a crowne on his head through Cheapſide: and ſo by the deceiueable propheſie he was deluded & brought to deſtruction. The incounter wherein the Welſhmen were vanquiſhed (as before ye haue heard) chanced on the fridaie before S. Lucies day. King Edward being certified thus of the victorie, ſtreightwaies marched forth with his people, and appointed at euerie paſſage certeine bands of ſouldiers to lie in wait for the enimies. Alſo at the foot of the hilles he left his horſſemen, and mounted vp the hilles himſelfe, with the reſidue of his armie. There were certeine Gaſcoines, whome the lord John Veſcie had brought with him out of their countrie, to ſerue the king, which burned manie townes, and ſlue great numbers of the Welſhmen, all that came in their waie, and finallie, giuing an aſſault to Snowdon caſtell, they wan it in fine by force.

The Gaſcoins purſue the welſhmen egerlie.

In this meane time, the Welſhmen, when they ſaw themſelues incloſed, and ſtopped from all waies to eſcape, after the maner of wild beaſts, fled into the thicke woods & caues, ſome of them making ſhift to get downe through the ſteepe and broken rocks, and ſome of them ſeeking to eſcape by flight, fell into their enimies hands, & were either ſlaine or taken, and amongſt theſe, about Midſummer was Dauid taken, togither with his wife, his two ſonnes, and ſeauen daughters, and brought to the king, who ſent them firſt to Rutland caſtell, there to be ſafelie kept.

King Edward hauing ſubdued the Welſhmen that inhabited in the mounteins, went about all the countrie to conquer the reſidue, aſſembling all his armie togither, and then purſuing his aduerſaries, made great ſlaughter of them on each ſide, ſo that there were ſlaine aboue three thouſand men: then hauing the countrie at his will, he gaue vnto the Engliſh lords townes in the middeſt of Wales, and diuided the countrie into ſhires, ordeined ſhiriffes, and other officers as then were vſed in England. At Aberconow he builded a ſtrong caſtell, where before was an houſe of white monks, the which he remoued to the Vale roiall in Cheſhire, where he builded a faire abbeie of the Ciſteaux order, and endowed it with great lands and reuenues. He alſo made and fortified the caſtell of Carnaruan faſt by Snowdon, and repared againe the towne of Lambaterwhir, otherwiſe called Abreſwich, which Leolin had before beaten downe. Alſo he placed Engliſh garriſons in the caſtels and holds by the ſea ſides, and made Engliſhmen lords of the grounds and poſſeſſions belonging to the ſame. Rees ap Bouan one of the cheefeſt and mightieſt capteins of all Wales, which during the warres, had doone more diſpleaſure to the Engliſhmen than any other, in ſpoiling their confines, and making great ſlaughters vpon them, vnderſtanding now both of the death of prince Leolin, and the taking of his brother Dauid, and alſo perceiuing himſelfe purſued on each ſide, at length yeelded himſelfe and his complices to Humfrie de Bohun earle of Hereford, who ſtraightwaies ſent him to the king, and the king ſent him to London, there to be kept priſoner in the tower.

Wales diuided into ſhires.

The Vale roiall built by k. Edward the firſt.

Rees ap Bouan yeeldeth himſelfe vnto K. Edward.

Thus king Edward, hauing brought the rebellious Welſhmen vnder his correction, appointed his generall lieutenant there, the lord Robert Tiptoft, and when he had ſet all things in good order, about Michaelmas he came to Shrewesburie, where at a parlement by him there holden, the foreſaid Dauid (that was brought thither) as cheefe procurer of all this warre, was condemned of treaſon, and was afterward executed, according to iudgement pronounced againſt him, that is to ſaie, he was hanged drawne and quartered. His head was ſent to London, and ſet vp by the head of his brother Leolin. His quarters were diuided, and ſent to be ſet vp on the gates of foure of the cheefeſt cities of England. This reward reaped he for his proditorious attempts, before God, angels, and men: an horrible puniſhment for an heinous offenſe; and no maruell, ſith

Ante Dei vultum nihil vnquam reſtat inultum.

A parlement at Shrewesburie.

Dauid condemned of treaſon.

He is executed.

During theſe warres, the king had of the temporaltie, the thirtith part of all their goods, and of the ſpiritualtie, the twentith part, towards the maintenance of the ſame warres.

N. Triuet.

The ſame yeare alſo after Michaelmas, the king held a parlement at Acton Burnell, wherein thoſe ſtatutes were ordeined, which vnto this daie beare the name of the place where they were made. In the twelfth yeare of this kings reigne, his eldeſt ſonne Alfonſe departed this life at Windſore, and on S. Markes daie his ſonne Edward, that after ſucceeded him in the kingdome, was borne at Carnaruan, where the king had builded a ſtrong caſtell, and was come thither with the queene at that time, to ſee the ſame. ¶Alſo this yeare, in the quindene of ſaint Michaell, the iuſtices itinerants began to go their generall circuits.

Anno Reg. 11.
1284

Edward the ſecond borne.

Abington.

On Eaſter daie, which fell this yeare on the ninth of Aprill, being alſo leape yeare, in the morning about the riſing of the ſunne, the element was ſhadowed with ſuch darkeneſſe and thickneſſe of aire, that it ſeemed to waxe night againe, and ſuddenlie roſe an horrible tempeſt, firſt of haile and raine, and after of ſnow, that couered all the earth; and then followed ſuch thunder and lightning, that men were maruellouſlie amazed therewith, conſidering it ſeemed to be againſt the nature of the ſeaſon, for ſcarſe in Aprill ſhall yee heare anie ſuch thunder. Yet at length it brake vp and the element recouered hir accuſtomed cleereneſſe.

A great tempeſt on Eaſter daie in the morning.

In the thirteenth yeare of his reigne, king Edward kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Briſtowe, and held there a priuate councell, but no generall parlement; and this was the firſt time that anie Engliſh king can be remembred, to haue kept any ſolemne feaſt at Briſtow. The king then leauing his court of chancerie at Briſtow, with his children, came to London, where he had not beene almoſt of three yeares before. Heere came meſſengers to him from the French king, requiring him to come in perſon, with a certeine number of men of warre, to aid him in the warres againſt the king of Aragon, as of right he ought to doo, by reaſon of the dutchie of Guien which he held of him. The ſame yeare died William the archbiſhop of Yorke, after he had gouerned that ſee ſix yeares, and then ſucceeded one John ſurnamed Romane. About this ſeaſon, was Marton colledge in Oxenford founded by Walter Marton that was lord Chancellour of England, and after biſhop of Rocheſter. ¶King Edward ſeized the franchiſes and liberties of London into his hands, and diſcharged Gregorie Rokkeſlie the maior then being, and appointed for cuſtos and gardian of the citie, one Stephan Sandwich, the which from the day of the conuerſion of ſaint Paule, till the monday following the Purification of our ladie, continued in that office, and was then diſcharged, and ſir John Breton knight charged therewith for the reſidue of the yeare. There is no certeine knowledge left in records, whie the king tooke ſuch diſpleaſure with the citie, ſaue that the ſaid Gregorie Rokkeſlie then maior, as the fame went, tooke bribes of the bakers, and ſuffered them to ſell bread, lacking ſix or ſeauen ounces of weight in a penie lofe. ¶The new worke of the church of Weſtminſter, to the end of the quier, begun (as be-

Anno Reg. 13.
1285

Briſtow.

Ambaſſadors from the French king.

William the archbiſhop of Yorke deceaſſed.

John Romen archbiſhop of Yorke.

Marton colledge in Oxford built.

fore is ſhewed) in the third yeare of king Henrie, was in this yeare fullie finiſhed.

The death of the Scotiſh king.

The nineteenth of March, died Alexander king of Scotland, by a fall which he caught as he ran a ſtirring horſſe: he left no iſſue behind him, nor any certeine knowne heire to ſucceed him, by reaſon whereof inſued great harme to that relme (as in the Scotiſh hiſtorie may more at large appeare.) The manner of whoſe death (as in Richard Southwell I find it reported) I haue thought good breeflie to touch, for that in recitall thereof, he ſomewhat diſagreeth from the Scotiſh hiſtorie. There went (ſaith he) a common ſpeach through Scotland all this yeare, before the kings death, that on the ſame nineteenth of March the daie of iudgement ſhould be: wherevpon, as the ſaid king ſat at dinner in the caſtell of Edenburgh, hauing a diſh of excellent good lampries before him, he ſent part therof to one of the lords that ſat at ſome other table not far from him, and willed him by the gentleman that bare it, to be merrie, and haue in mind that this was the day of doome. The lord ſent him thanks againe, and praied the meſſenger to tell the king merilie, that if this were the daie of doome, they ſhould riſe to iudgement ſpeedilie with their bellies filled with good meats and drinks. After they had dined, and the night began to draw on, he tooke his horſſe, and onlie accompanied with three gentlemen, would needs ride to Kingorne, where the queene his new wife then laie, and before he could get vnto Innerkenin, it was darke night, ſo that he tooke there two guides to lead him the waie: but they had not ridden paſt two miles, but that the guides had quite loſt the waie, ſo that they were driuen to giue their horſſes libertie to beat it out themſelues.

Rich. South.

Herewithall the king being ſeuered from his companie, how he ruled his horſſe it is hard to ſaie, but downe he was throwne, and immediatlie died with the vehement fall which he thus caught, either headlong downe one of the cliffes or otherwiſe, and thus he came to his end, on a mondaie, being ſaint Cuthberts euen the nineteenth of March (as before is noted) after he had reigned ſix & thirtie yeares and nine moneths, as the ſame Southwell ſaieth; who alſo (contrarie to that which Hector Boetius writeth) affirmeth, that the ſame daie was ſo tempeſtuous with wind, ſnow, haile and raine, that he and manie other that then liued and felt it, durſt not vncouer their faces, in going abroad againſt the bitter northerne wind, that droue the ſnow and ſleet moſt vehementlie vpon them. And although that ſuch fowle weather might haue ſtaied him from taking his iournie in that ſort, yet he made no accompt thereof, as he that was accuſtomed to ride as well in fowle weather as faire, and ſpared neither for tempeſt, waters, nor craggie rocks, thicke nor thin; for all was one to him, oftentimes taking his iournie in diſguiſed apparell, accompanied onlie with one ſeruant. But to returne vnto the doings in England.

In this yeare the king tooke eſcuage, fortie ſhillings of euerie knights fee, towards the charges of his laſt wars in Wales. ¶ A parlement was holden at Weſtminſter, at the which were made the ſtatutes called *Additamenta Gloceſtriæ*, or rather the ſtatutes of Weſtminſter the ſecond. In the foureteenth yeare of king Edward, a citizen of London named Thomas Piwileſdon, who in time of the barons warres had beeue a great doer, to ſtir the people againſt king Henrie, was now accuſed, that he with other ſhould go about to make new diſturbance within the citie: whereof inquirie being made and had before ſir Raſe Standiſh, then cuſtos or gardian of the citie, the ſaid Piwileſdon and other, to the number of fiftie, were baniſhed the citie for euer. ¶ Alſo, whereas of old time before this ſeaſon, the merchant ſtrangers were vſed to be lodged within the dwelling houſes of the citizens of London, and ſold all their merchandize by procuration of their hoſts, for the which their ſaid hoſts had a certeine allowance, after the rate of euerie pound: now it was ordeined, that the ſaid merchant ſtrangers might take houſes to hire, for to inhabit therein, & for ſtowage of their wares, & no citizen to intermeddle with them or their wares: by reaſon whereof they vſed manie deceits, both in vttering counterfeit wares, and alſo vniuſt weights. Moreouer, much of thoſe wares, which they ſhould haue waied at the K. beame, they weighed at home within their houſes, to the hinderance of the kings cuſtome. Wherevpon ſearch being made vpon a ſudden, and their weights found and prooued falſe, twentie of the ſaid ſtrangers were arreſted and ſent to the towre, and their weights burnt, deſtroied and broken to peeces in Weſtcheape, on thurſdaie before the feaſt of Simon and Iude. Finallie, the ſaid merchants were deliuered, being put to a fine of a thouſand pounds, after ſore and hard impriſonment.

Anno Reg. 14.
Fabian.

Thomas Piwileſdon a citizen of London.

He with other are baniſhed the citie.

A new order for merchant ſtrangers.

Strangers committed to the towre.

1286

The Iewes in one night were generallie apprehended, and put in priſon through all the parts of England, and ſo kept in durance, till they had fined at the kings pleaſure. ¶ It is reported that the commons of England granted to the king, the fift part of their mooueables, to haue the Iewes baniſhed out of the land: but the Iewes, to put the Engliſhmen frō their purpoſe, gaue to the king great ſummes of monie, whereby they tarried yet a while longer. King Edward went ouer into France vpon the fiue and twentith of Maie, paſſing through Picardie vnto Amiens, and there the French king, to doo him honor, was readie to receiue him. Here king Edward did homage vnto the French king, for the lands which he ought to hold of him in France. And after, he was alſo preſent at a parlement, which the ſaid French king held at Paris, in the which he obteined manie things for the liberties of his ſaid lands, as then by diuerſe waies wrongfullie oppreſſed, though ſuch grant continued not long in force. After Whitſuntide, king Edward departed from Paris and went into Gaſcoigne, togither with his wife queene Elianor, who was with him in all his iournie.

Nic. Triuet.
The king paſſeth ouer into France.

Anno Reg. 15.
1287

This yeare the king went into Aragon, where his authoritie auailed much, in the making of agreement betwixt the kings of Aragon and Naples; whereby Charles king of Naples was then ſet at libertie, vpon certeine contracts or couenants paſſed and agreed betwixt them. ¶ The kings mother queene Elianor this yeare forſooke the world, and tooke vpon hir the habit of a nunne at Ambreſburie; but yet ſhe ſtill reteined and inioied hir dower by the popes authoritie and diſpenſation. About this time a ſquire called Chamberlaine, with his complices, ſet fire on the merchants boothes, at S. Butolphes faire; and whileſt the merchants were about to quench the fire, the ſaid ſquire and his complices ſet vpon the ſaid merchants, ſlue manie of them, and robbed them of their goods. In this yeare fell variance betweene the lord Paine Tiptoſt, wardeine of certeine caſtels in Wales, and a Welſh knight called ſir Rees ap Meridoc, ſo that ſundrie ſkirmiſhes were foughten betwixt them, and men ſlaine on both ſides, to the great diſturbance of the countrie.

Rich. South.

Briſtow faire robbed.

Variance betwixt the lord Paine Tiptoſt, and Rice ap Meridoc.

The cauſe of this warre roſe cheeflie, for that the ſaid lord Tiptoſt, and the lord Alane Plucknet, the kings ſteward in Wales, would haue conſtreined the ſaid Rees to appeare at counties and hundreds, as the vſe in other parts of Wales then was, contrarie to ſuch liberties as he had obteined of the king as he pretended. But when the king wrote vnto the ſame Rees, requiring him to keepe the peace, till his returne (at what time he promiſed to reforme all

N. Triuet.

things in due and reaſonable order) Rées hauing alreadie put armour vpon his backs, would not now incline to any peace, but to reuenge his cauſe, aſſembled a great multitude of Welſhmen, with whoſe helpe he burnt & deſtroied manie townes in Wales, ſo that the K. being then beyond the ſeas, ſent to the earle of Cornewall, whom in his abſence he had appointed his lieutenant ouer England, requiring him to ſend an armie into Wales, to reſiſt the malice and riotous attempts of the Welſhmen. The earle ſhortlie therevpon prepared an armie, and went with the ſame into Wales, or (as other write) the biſhop of Elie, the lord prior of S. Iohns, the earle of Gloceſter, and diuerſe barons of the land went thither, and chaſing the ſaid Rées, diſperſed his armie, and ouerthrew and raced his caſtels, but by vndermining and reuerſing the wals at the caſtell of Druſlan, with the fall therof, the baron Stafford, and the lord William de Montchenſie, with manie other knights and eſquiers, were oppreſſed and bruſed to death. ¶ This yeare, the king at Blankfort in Gaſcoigne, tooke vpon him the croſſe, purpoſing eftſoones to make a iournie againſt Gods enimies.

Chron. Dunſt.

In the winter of this yeare great flouds chanced, by reaſon of the excéeding abundance of raine that fell: and the ſea alongſt the northeaſt coaſts from Humber to Yarmouth, brake into the land, ouerflowing the ſame by the ſpace of thrée or foure leagues in breadth (as the author of the Chronicle of Dunſtable affirmeth) ouerthrowing buildings, and drowning vp men and cattell that could not auoid the danger by the ſodden comming in thereof, namelie, about Yarmouth, Dunwich, and Gippeſwich. Likewiſe in the Mers land of Lincolnſhire it did paſſing great hurt, bringing all the countrie into water. This chanced in the verie night of the beginning of this yéere, to wit, in the feaſt of the circumciſion of our Lord, and in December it brake out againe in Northfolke and Suffolke, where it did much harme, namelie about Yarmouth.

Anno Reg. 16.
1288
Chron. Dunſt.
Nic. Treuet.

O woonder by thunder!

Ri. Southwell.

This yeare, and likewiſe the yeare laſt paſt, was ſuch plentie of graine, that wheat was ſold in ſome places of this land for twentie pence a quarter, and in ſome places for ſixtéene pence, and peaſe for twelue pence a quarter. The ſummer this yeare excéeded in heat, ſo that men thorough the intemperate exceſſe thereof died in diuers places. ¶ It chanced in Gaſcoigne, that as the king & quéene ſate in their chamber vpon a bed talking togither, the thunder-bolt comming in at the window behind them, paſſed through betwixt them as they ſate, and ſlue two of their gentlemen that ſtood before them, to the great terror of all that were preſent. ¶ This yeare diuerſe of thoſe that robd the faire at Boſton, were executed.

Polydor.
Ran. Higd.
N. Triuet.

Moreouer, whereas Rées ap Meridoc continued ſtill in his miſchieuous dooings, at length, the lord deputie of Wales, Robert Tiptoſt, vſing both ſpéedie diligence and timelie counſell, gathered all ſuch power as he could make, & paſſed forth againſt his aduerſaries. Whereof when ſir Rées was aduertiſed, and vnderſtanding that the Engliſhmen were farre fewer in number than his Welſhmen, he thought to ouerthrow them at his pleaſure, and therefore incouraging his people with manie comfortable words, to ſhew their manhood vpon the Engliſhmens approch, he haſted to méet them. The Welſhmen being for the more part but yoong ſouldiers, and not trained to kéepe any order of battell, ran fiercelie vpon their enimies, aſſailing them on the front before, on the ſides a flanke, and on the backe behind, inforcing themſelues to the vttermoſt of their power to breake their arraie.

But the Engliſhmen valiantlie reſiſted, ſo that there was a ſore battell for a while, and the more couragiouſlie the Welſhmen aſſailed, the more ſtoutlie the Engliſhmen defended, in kéeping themſelues cloſe togither, and beating backe their aduerſaries: and at length perceiuing them to faint and wax wearie, they ruſhed forth into the middle of the Welſhmen, & brake them in ſunder, ſo that when they ſaw themſelues thus repelled by the Engliſhmen, contrarie vnto all their expectation, they knew not what to doo, for they durſt neither fight nor flée, and ſo by that meanes were beaten downe on euerie ſide. Meridoc himſelfe was taken, but the moſt part of all his armie was ſlaine, to the number of foure thouſand men. Thus were the Welſhmen worthilie chaſtiſed for their rebellion. Sir Rées ap Meridoc was had to Yorke, where at length, after the king was returned out of Gaſcoigne, he was hanged, drawen and quartered.

The welſh diſcomfited.
Rées ap Meridoc taken.

Anno Reg. 17.
1289
Hen. Marl.
A ſore tempeſt of haile.
Ran. Higd.

A great dearth beginneth.

This yeare on S. Margarets euen, that is, the 9 daie of Iulie, fell a woonderfull tempeſt of haile, that the like had not béene ſéene nor heard of by any man then liuing. And after, there inſued ſuch continuall raine, ſo diſtempering the ground, that corne waxed verie deare, ſo that wheras wheat was ſold before at thrée pence a buſhell, the market ſo roſe by little and little, that it was ſold for two ſhillings a buſhell, and ſo the dearth increaſed ſtill almoſt by the ſpace of 40 yeares, till the death of Edward the ſecond, in ſo much that ſometime a buſhell of wheat London meaſure was ſold at ten ſhillings.

Chron. Dun.

Thomas Weiland lord chéefe iuſtice of the kings bench.

Robert Malet.

The king, after he had remained and continued thrée yeares, two moneths, and fiftéene daies in Gaſcoine, and in other parts there beyond the ſea, he returned into England on the fourth day of Auguſt, and vpon the euen of the Aſſumption of our ladie he came to London, where he was moſt ioifullie receiued, & ſo came to Weſtminſter: where ſhortlie after were preſented vnto him manie gréeuous complaints and informations againſt diuerſe of his iuſtices, as ſir Thomas Weiland, Adam Stretton, and others, the which were had in examination, and thervpon found giltie of manie treſpaſſes and tranſgreſſions, in ſo much that it was giuen him to vnderſtand, that there were among them that had giuen conſent to the committing of murthers and robberies, and wittinglie had receiued the offendors. Wherevpon, the king cauſed ſtreight inquirie to be made by an inqueſt of 12 ſubſtantiall perſonages, who found by verdict, that Thomas Weiland lord chéefe iuſtice of the kings bench, had cauſed a murther to be doone by his ſeruants, and after ſuccoured and mainteined them: hervpon he was by the kings officers arreſted, but eſcaping their hands, he tooke ſanctuarie in the church of the friers minors at ſaint Edmundeſburie, and was admitted into their habit, but within fourtie daies after, order was giuen by the king that no kind of vittels ſhould be ſuffered to be conueied to that houſe, ſo that all the friers came forth, except thrée or foure, and at length he was conſtreined to take vpon him a laie mans apparell, and comming forth was deliuered to the hands of Robert Malet knight, who had before the cuſtodie of him, and now hauing him againe brought him to the tower of London. At length, he was put to his choiſe of thrée waies, which ſoeuer of them he would take, that is, whether to be tried by his péeres, or to remaine in perpetuall priſon, or to abiure the realme: he choſe the laſt, and ſo bare-footed and bare-headed, bearing a croſſe in his hand, he was conueied from the tower to Douer, where taking the ſea, he was tranſported to the further ſide of the ſea; his goods, moueable and vnmoueable, being confiſcate to the kings coffers.

William Brampton
Roger Leceſter.
Iohn Luneth

William Brampton, Roger Leiceſter, Iohn Luneth, aſſociats of the ſaid Thomas, and iuſtices of the kings bench: alſo, Robert Liſhburie chapleine, and maiſter of the rolles, being accuſed of wrongfull iudgements and other treſpaſſes were committed to priſon within the tower, and at length with much adoo, eſcaped with paieng their fines, ſo that he which paied leaſt, gaue a thouſand marks. Moreouer, Salomon of Rocheſter, Thomas de Sudington, Richard de Boiland, and Walter de Hopton, iuſtices itinerants, were likewiſe puniſhed, and for the ſemblable offenſes put to their fines. Sir Raſe de Hingham a iuſtice alſo, to whome in the kings abſence the ordering of the realme chéefelie apperteined, being accuſed of diuerſe tranſgreſſions, and committed to the tower, redéemed his offenſe for an infinit ſumme of monie. Adam de Stratton, lord chéefe baron of the excheker, being conuicted of manie hainous crimes, a man plentifullie prouided both of temporall poſſeſſions, and eccleſiaſticall reuenues, loſt all his temporall liuings, and foure and thirtie thouſand marks in readie coine, beſide other mooueables, in cattell, iewels and furniture of houſhold, which were all confiſcated, and forfeited wholie: and it was thought he was gentlie dealt with, that he eſcaped with life, and ſuch ſpirituall liuings as to him remained. Henrie Braie eſcheator, and the iudges ouer the Iewes, were reported to haue committed manie gréeuous offenſes, but for monie they bought their peace. To conclude, there was not found any amongſt all the iuſtices and officers cléere and void of vniuſt dealing except Iohn de Metingham, and Elias de Bekingham, who onelie among the reſt had behaued themſelues vprightlie. When therfore ſuch gréeuous complaints were exhibited to the king, he appointed the earle of Lincolne, the biſhop of Elie, and others, to heare euerie mans complaint, and vpon due examination & triall, to ſée them anſwered accordinglie as right and equitie ſhould require. In which adminiſtration of iuſtice againſt euill iuſticiaries, the king performed the charge impoſed and laid vpon all ſuch as are in gouernement and magiſtracie; namelie,

Salomon de Roſſa. Thomas de Sudington. Richard de Boiland. walter Hoptō Raſe de Hingham.

Adam de Stratton, L. chéefe baron.

Henrie Braie

Iohn de Metingham, and Elias de Bekingham.

Nunc igitur reges reſipiſcite, quærite rectum,
Quorum iudicijs terra regenda data eſt.

Rob. Heſſ. in Pſal. 2.

In the eightéenth yeare of his reigne, the king maried two of his daughters, that is to ſaie, Ioane de Acres vnto Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloceſter, and the ladie Margaret vnto the lord Iohn ſonne to the duke of Brabant. ¶ The king ordeined, that all the wooll, which ſhould be ſold vnto ſtrangers, ſhould be brought vnto Sandwich, where the ſtaple thereof was kept long time after. In the ſame yeare was a parlement holden at Weſtminſter, wherein the ſtatutes of Weſtminſter the third were ordeined. It was alſo decréed, that all the Iewes ſhould auoid out of the land, in conſideration whereof, a fiftéenth was granted to the king, and ſo héervpon were the Iewes baniſhed out of all the kings dominions, and neuer ſince could they obteine any priuilege to returne hither againe. All their goods not mooueable were confiſcated, with their taillies and obligations; but all other their goods that were mooueable, togither with their coine of gold and ſiluer, the king licenced them to haue and conuey with them. A ſort of the richeſt of them, being ſhipped with their treaſure in a mightie tall ſhip which they had hired, when the ſame was vnder ſaile, and got downe the Thames towards the mouth of the riuer beyond Quinborowe, the maiſter mariner bethought him of a wile, and cauſed his men to caſt anchor, and ſo rode at the ſame, till the ſhip by ebbing of the ſtreame remained on the drie ſands. The maiſter herewith entiſed the Iewes to walke out with him on land for recreation. And at length, when he vnderſtood the tide to be comming in, he got him backe to the ſhip, whither he was drawne vp by a cord. The Iewes made not ſo much haſt as he did, bicauſe they were not ware of the danger. But when they perceiued how the matter ſtood, they cried to him for helpe: howbeit he told them, that they ought to crie rather vnto Moſes, by whoſe conduct their fathers paſſed through the red ſea, and therefore, if they would call to him for helpe, he was able inough to helpe them out of thoſe raging floods, which now came in vpon them: they cried indéed, but no ſuccour appeared, and ſo they were ſwallowed vp in water. The maiſter returned with the ſhip, and told the king how he had vſed the matter, and had both thanks and reward, as ſome haue written. But other affirme (and more truelie as ſhould ſéeme) that diuerſe of thoſe mariners, which dealt ſo wickedlie againſt the Iewes, were hanged for their wicked practiſe, and ſo receiued a iuſt reward of their fraudulent and miſchéeuous dealing. But now to the purpoſe.

Anno Reg. 18.
1290
H. Marle.
N. Triuet.

The ſtatutes of weſtminſter the third eſtabliſhed.

The Iewes baniſhed out of England.

Iewes drowned.

Chro. Dun.

In the foreſaid parlement, the king demanded an aid of monie of the ſpiritualtie, for that (as he pretended) he meant to make a iournie into the holie land, to ſuccour the chriſtians there: wherevpon they granted to him the eleuenth part of all their mooueables. He receiued the monie aforehand, but letted by other buſineſſe at home, he went not forth vpon that iournie. In the ninetéenth yeare of king Edward quéene Elianor king Edwards wife died vpon ſaint Andrews euen at Herdebie, or Herdelie (as ſome haue) neere to Lincolne, the king being as then on his waie towards the borders of Scotland: but hauing now loſt the iewell which he moſt eſtéemed, he returned towards London to accompanie the corps vnto Weſtminſter, where it was buried in S. Edwards chapell, at the féet of king Henrie the third. She was a godlie and modeſt princeſſe, full of pitie, and one that ſhewed much fauour to the Engliſh nation, readie to reléeue euerie mans gréefe that ſuſteined wrong, and to make them fréends that were at diſcord, ſo farre as in hir laie. In euerie towne and place, where the corps reſted by the waie, the king cauſed a croſſe of cunning workmanſhip to be erected in remembrance of hir, and in the ſame was a picture of hir ingrauen. Two of the like croſſes were ſet vp at London, one at Charing, and the other in Weſtcheape. Morouer, he gaue in almes euerie wedneſday whereſoeuer he went, pence a péece, to all ſuch poore folkes as came to demand the ſame.

The eleuenth part of eccleſiaſticall reuenues granted to the K.

Anno Reg. 19.

The deceaſſe of Q. Elianor

Thom. Walſin.

The praiſe of the quéene deceaſſed.

Charing-croſſe & other erected.

About the ſame time, bicauſe the king ſhould be the more willing to go into the holie land, as he had promiſed to doo, hauing monie to furniſh him forth, the pope granted vnto him the tenth of the church of England, Scotland and Ireland, according to the true value of all the reuenues belonging vnto the ſame for ſix yeares. He wrote to the biſhops of Lincolne and Winchester, that the ſame tenth ſhould be laid vp in monaſteries and abbeies, till the king was entred into the ſea, called Mare Maggiore, forwards on his iournie eaſtwards, and then to be paid to his vſe. But the king afterwards cauſed the collectors to make paiment to him of the ſame tenth gathered for thrée yeares, and laid vp in monaſteries, although he ſet not one foot forward in that iournie, as letted through other buſineſſe.

1291

The tenth of ſpirituall reuenues grãted to the K.

Alſo, by reaſon of the controuerſie which depended as then betwixt diuerſe perſons, as competitors of the crowne of Scotland, he went into the north parts and kept his eaſter at Newcaſtell, and ſhortlie after, called a parlement at Northampton; where, by the aduiſe of the prelats and other of his councell, learned in both the lawes, vpon knowledge had by ſearch of records, and chronicles of ancient time, he cauſed all the prelats and barons of Scotland to be called afore him, and there in the pariſh-church of Norham, he declared vnto them his right to the ſuperioritie of

Controuerſie about the crowne of Scotland.

Salomon de Roſſa. Thomas de Sudington. Richard de Boiland. walter Hoptõ. Raſe de Hingham.

Adam de Stratton, L. cheefe baron.

Henrie Braie

Iohn de Metingham, and Elias de Bekingham.

kings bench: alſo, Robert Liſhburie chapleine, and maiſter of the rolles, being accuſed of wrongfull iudgements and other treſpaſſes were committed to priſon within the tower, and at length with much adoo, eſcaped with paieng their fines, ſo that he which paied leaſt, gaue a thouſand marks. Moreouer, Salomon of Rocheſter, Thomas de Sudington, Richard de Boiland, and Walter de Hopton, iuſtices itinerants, were likewiſe puniſhed, and for the ſemblable offenſes put to their fines. Sir Raſe de Hingham a iuſtice alſo, to whome in the kings abſence the ordering of the realme cheefelie apperteined, being accuſed of diuerſe tranſgreſſions, and committed to the tower, redeemed his offenſe for an infinit ſumme of monie. Adam de Stratton, lord cheefe baron of the excheker, being conuicted of manie hainous crimes, a man plentifullie prouided both of temporall poſſeſſions, and eccleſiaſticall reuenues, loſt all his temporall liuings, and foure and thirtie thouſand marks in readie coine, beſide other mooueables, in cattell, iewels and furniture of houſhold, which were all confiſcated, and forfeited wholie: and it was thought he was gentlie dealt with, that he eſcaped with life, and ſuch ſpirituall liuings as to him remained. Henrie Braie eſcheator, and the iudges ouer the Iewes, were reported to haue committed manie greeuous offenſes, but for monie they bought their peace. To conclude, there was not found any amongſt all the iuſtices and officers cleere and void of vniuſt dealing except Iohn de Metingham, and Elias de Bekingham, who onelie among the reſt had behaued themſelues vprightlie. When therfore ſuch greeuous complaints were exhibited to the king, he appointed the earle of Lincolne, the biſhop of Elie, and others, to heare euerie mans complaint, and vpon due examination & triall, to ſee them anſwered accordinglie as right and equitie ſhould require. In which adminiſtration of iuſtice againſt euill iuſticiaries, the king performed the charge impoſed and laid vpon all ſuch as are in gouernement and magiſtracie; namelie,

Eob. Heſſ. in Pſal. 2.

Nunc igitur reges reſipiſcite, quærite rectum,
Quorum iudicijs terra regenda data eſt.

Anno Reg. 18.
1290
H. Marle.
N. Triuet.

The ſtatutes of weſtminſter the third eſtabliſhed.

The Iewes baniſhed out of England.

In the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, the king married two of his daughters, that is to ſaie, Ioane de Acres vnto Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloceſter, and the ladie Margaret vnto the lord Iohn ſonne to the duke of Brabant. ¶ The king ordeined, that all the wooll, which ſhould be ſold vnto ſtrangers, ſhould be brought vnto Sandwich, where the ſtaple thereof was kept long time after. In the ſame yeare was a parlement holden at Weſtminſter, wherein the ſtatutes of Weſtminſter the third were ordeined. It was alſo decreed, that all the Iewes ſhould auoid out of the land, in conſideration whereof, a fifteenth was granted to the king, and ſo heervpon were the Iewes baniſhed out of all the kings dominions, and neuer ſince could they obteine any priuilege to returne hither againe. All their goods not mooueable were confiſcated, with their taillies and obligations; but all other their goods that were mooueable, togither with their coine of gold and ſiluer, the king licenced them to haue and conuey with them. A ſort of the richeſt of them, being ſhipped with their treaſure in a mightie tall ſhip which they had hired, when the ſame was vnder ſaile, and got downe the Thames towards the mouth of the riuer beyond Quinborowe, the maiſter mariner bethought him of a wile, and cauſed his men to caſt anchor, and ſo rode at the ſame, till the ſhip by ebbing of the ſtreame remained on the drie ſands. The maiſter herewith entiſed the Iewes to walke out with him on land for recreation. And at length, when he vnderſtood the tide to be comming in, he got him backe to the ſhip, whither he was drawne vp by a cord. The Iewes made not ſo much haſt as he did, bicauſe they were not ware of the danger. But when they perceiued how the matter ſtood, they cried to him for helpe: howbeit he told them, that they ought to crie rather vnto Moſes, by whoſe conduct their fathers paſſed through the red ſea, and therefore, if they would call to him for helpe, he was able inough to helpe them out of thoſe raging flouds, which now came in vpon them: they cried indeed, but no ſuccour appeared, and ſo they were ſwallowed vp in water. The maiſter returned with the ſhip, and told the king how he had vſed the matter, and had both thanks and reward, as ſome haue written. But other affirme (and more truelie as ſhould ſeeme) that diuerſe of thoſe mariners, which dealt ſo wickedlie againſt the Iewes, were hanged for their wicked practiſe, and ſo receiued a iuſt reward of their fraudulent and miſcheeuous dealing. But now to the purpoſe.

Iewes drowned.

Chro. Dun.

The eleuenth part of eccleſiaſticall reuenues granted to the K.

Anno Reg. 19.
The deceaſſe of Q. Elianor

Thom. Walſin.

The praiſe of the queene deceaſſed.

Charing-croſſe & other erected.

In the foreſaid parlement, the king demanded an aid of monie of the ſpiritualtie, for that (as he pretended) he meant to make a iournie into the holie land, to ſuccour the chriſtians there: whervpon they granted to him the eleuenth part of all their mooueables. He receiued the monie aforehand, but letted by other buſineſſe at home, he went not foorth vpon that iournie. In the nineteenth yeare of king Edward queene Elianor king Edwards wife died vpon ſaint Andrews euen at Herdebie, or Herdelie (as ſome haue) neere to Lincolne, the king being as then on his waie towards the borders of Scotland: but hauing now loſt the iewell which he moſt eſteemed, he returned towards London to accompanie the corps vnto Weſtminſter, where it was buried in S. Edwards chapell, at the feet of king Henrie the third. She was a godlie and modeſt princeſſe, full of pitie, and one that ſhewed much fauour to the Engliſh nation, readie to releeue euerie mans greefe that ſuſteined wrong, and to make them freends that were at diſcord, ſo farre as in hir laie. In euerie towne and place, where the corps reſted by the waie, the king cauſed a croſſe of cunning workmanſhip to be erected in remembrance of hir, and in the ſame was a picture of hir ingrauen. Two of the like croſſes were ſet vp at London, one at Charing, and the other in Weſtcheape. Morouer, he gaue in almes euerie wedneſday whereſoeuer he went, pence a peece, to all ſuch poore folkes as came to demand the ſame.

1291

The tenth of ſpirituall reuenues granted to the K.

About the ſame time, bicauſe the king ſhould be the more willing to go into the holie land, as he had promiſed to doo, hauing monie to furniſh him foorth, the pope granted vnto him the tenth of the church of England, Scotland and Ireland, according to the true value of all the reuenues belonging vnto the ſame for ſix yeares. He wrote to the biſhops of Lincolne and Wincheſter, that the ſame tenth ſhould be laid vp in monaſteries and abbeies, till the king was entred into the ſea, called Mare Maggiore, forwards on his iournie eaſtwards, and then to be paid to his vſe. But the king afterwards cauſed the collectors to make paiment to him of the ſame tenth gathered for three yeares, and laid vp in monaſteries, although he ſet not one foot forward in that iournie, as letted through other buſineſſe.

Controuerſie about the crowne of Scotland.

Alſo, by reaſon of the controuerſie which depended as then betwixt diuerſe perſons, as competitors of the crowne of Scotland, he went into the north parts and kept his eaſter at Newcaſtell, and ſhortlie after, called a parlement at Northampton; where, by the aduiſe of the prelats and other of his councell, learned in both the lawes, vpon knowledge had by ſearch of records, and chronicles of ancient time, he cauſed all the prelats and barons of Scotland to be called afore him, and there in the pariſh-church of Norham, he declared vnto them his right to the ſuperioritie of the kingdome of Scotland, and requiring of them, that they would recogniſe the ſame, proteſting that he would defend the right of his crowne, to the ſhedding of his owne bloud, that a true certificat and information might come to light of his title and rightfull claime, vnto the direct and ſupreme dominion ouer the realme of Scotland.

He had cauſed verelie all the hiſtories, chronicles, and monuments that were to be found within England, Scotland and Wales, to be ſought vp and peruſed, that it might be knowen what right he had in this behalfe. Wherevpon it was found by the chronicles of Marianus the Scot, William of Malmesburie, Roger Houeden, Henrie Huntington, Rafe de Diceto, and others, that in the yeare of our Lord 910, K. Edward ſurnamed Senior, or the elder, ſubdued to him the kings of Scots and Welſhmen, ſo that in the yeare 921, the ſame people choſe the ſaid Edward to be their king and patrone. And likewiſe in the yeare 926, Athelſtan king of England vanquiſhed Conſtantine king of Scotland, and permitted him yet to reigne vnder him. Moreouer, Edred the brother of Athelſtan, and king of England, ouercame the Scots and Northumbers, the which ſubmitted themſelues to him and ſware him fealtie. Alſo Edgar king of England vanquiſhed Kineth the ſon of Alpine king of Scotland, who ſware fealtie to him. Likewiſe Cnute king of England and Denmarke, in the 16 yeare of his reigne ouercame Malcolme king of Scots, & ſo became king of foure kingdoms, England, Scotland, Denmarke, and Norwaie.

Furthermore, that bleſſed king S. Edward, gaue the kingdome of Scotland vnto Malcolme the ſonne of the king of Cumberland, to hold the ſame of him. Againe, William Baſtard the Norman conqueror, in the ſixt yeare of his reigne vanquiſhed Malcolme king of Scotland, and receiued of him an oth of fealtie. Alſo, Will. Rufus did the like vnto Malcolme king of Scots, and two of his ſonnes that ſucceſſiuelie reigned ouer that realme. Alſo, Alexander ſucceded his brother Edgar in the kingdome of Scotland, by conſent of K. Henrie the firſt. Alſo Dauid king of Scotland did homage to K. Stephan, & William K. of Scots did homage to Henrie, the ſon of K. Henrie the ſecond, when in his fathers life time he was crowned; and againe, to Henrie the father in the 20 yeare of his reigne, as by an agreement made betwixt them two it doth appeare. Alſo, Roger Houeden ſaith, that William king of Scotland came to his ſoucreigne lord king Henrie into Normandie, and likewiſe to king Richard, and moreouer to king Iohn at Lincolne, dooing to them his homage. Alſo, in the chronicles of S. Albons it is found, that Alexander king of Scotland married at Yorke Margaret the daughter of king Henrie the third, in the 35 yeare of his reigne, and did to him homage.

K. Edward recogniſed for ſuperiour lord of Scotland.

And further, when king Edward himſelfe was crowned at Weſtminſter, in the yeare of our Lord 1274, being the ſecond of his reigne, the laſt deceaſſed K. of Scotland, Alexander the third of that name did homage vnto him at Weſtminſter the morrow after the coronation. All which homages and fealties thus done by ſundrie kings of Scotland, vnto ſundrie kings of England, were directlie and moſt maniſeſtlie prooued to be doone for the realme of Scotland, and not onelie for the lands which they held of the kings of England within England, as the Scottiſh writers would ſeeme to colour the matter. But things being then freſh in memorie, no ſuch cauillation might be auerred. And ſo herevpon king Edwards title being ſubſtantiallie prooued, he was recogniſed ſuperiour lord of Scotland, of all them that pretended title at that time to that kingdome, by writings thereof made and confirmed vnder their ſeales, the which being written in French conteined matter as here followeth.

The copie of the charter
in French.

A Tous ceulx, qui ceſte preſente lettre verrunt ou orrunt, Florence counte de Holland, Robert de Brus ſeigneur du Val Danand, Iehan Baliol ſeigneur de Galloway, Iehan de Haſtings ſeigneur de Abergeuenne, Iehan Comin ſeigneur de Badenaugh, Patrique de Dunbar counte de la Marche, Iehan de Veſcy pur ſon pere, Nichol de Seules, & Guilaum de Ros, ſaluz en dieu. Come nous entendons d' auger droyt en reaume d' Eſcoce, & celle droyt monſtrer, chalēger, & auerer deuant celuy, que plus de poer, iuriſdiction, & reeſon, euſt de trier noſtre droyt, & l' noble prince ſire Edward, par la grace de dieu, roy d' Angleterre, nous a enforme per bonnes & ſuffiſaunt reeſons, que a luy apent, & auer doit la ſouerein ſeigneurie, du dict reaume d' Eſcoce, & la cogniſaunce de oir, trier & terminer noſtre droyt. Nous de noſtre propre volunté, ſanz nulle maniere de force ou deſtreſſe, voluns, otrions, & grantons de receiuré droyt deuaunt luy, come ſouerein ſeigneur de la terre. Et voluns ia lemeins, & promettons, que nous auerons, & tendrons, ferme, & eſtable ſon fait, & que celuy emportera le reaume, a qui droyt le durra deuant luy. En teſtimoigne de ceſte choſe, nous auons mis nous ſeaules a ceſte eſcript. Fait & donné a Norham, le mardi prochein apres la Aſcenſion, l' an de Grace, 1291.

In Engliſh thus.

TO all them that theſe preſent letters ſhall ſee or heare, Florence earle of Holland, Robert le Bruce lord of Annandale, Iohn Comin lord of Badenaw, Patrike de Dunbar earle of March, Iohn de Baliol lord of Gallowaie, Iohn Haſtings lord of Abergeuennie, Iohn de Veſey in ſtead of his father, Nicholas de Sules, & Walter Ros, ſend greeting in our Lord. Whereas we intend to haue right in the kingdome of Scotland, and intend to declare, chalenge and proue the ſame before him that hath the beſt authoritie, iuriſdiction and reaſon to examine our right, and that the noble prince the lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England, by good and ſufficient reaſons hath informed vs, that the ſuperior dominion of Scotland belongeth to him, and that he ought to haue the knowledge in the hearing, examining, and defining of our right, we of our free willes, without all violence and conſtraint, will, conſent and grant, to receiue our right before him, as the ſuperior lord of the land. We will alſo & promiſe, that we ſhal haue and hold his deed for firme and ſtable, and that he ſhall haue the kingdome, vnto whom before him beſt right ſhall aſſigne the ſame. In witneſſe whereof we haue to theſe letters put our ſeales. Giuen at Norham, the tueſdaie next after the feaſt of the Aſcenſion of our Lord, in the yeare of Grace, 1291.

The recogniſing therefore made of the ſuperioritie and ſubmiſſion of grant to receiue that, which before the king of England ſhould by law be defined, the ſaid king required to haue the caſtels, and the whole land deliuered vnto his poſſeſſion, that by peaceable ſeizine thereof had, his right of ſuperioritie now recogniſed by their letters and writings, might be the more manifeſt and apparent to the whole world. They ſtreightwaies agreed to the kings requeſt, and writings thereof were made and confirmed with their ſeales, being written in French, as followeth.

The copie of the ſecond charter *touching the poſſeſſion of the* land, in French.

A Tous iceulx, que ceſte preſente lettre verrunt ou orront, Florence counte de Holland, Robert de Brus ſeigneur du Val Danand, Iehan de Baliol ſeigneur de Galloway, Iehan de Haſtings ſeigneur de Abergeuenny, Iehan Comin ſeigneur de Badenaw, Patrique Dunbar counte de la Marche, Iehan de Veſcy, pour ſon pere, Nichol de Seules, & Guilaume de Ros, ſaluz en dieu. Come nous aions otrie, & graunte, de noſtre bonne volunté, & comune aſſent ſans nulle deſtreſſe, a noble prince ſire Edward, par la grace de dieu, roy de Angleterre quil come ſouerein ſeig. de la terre de Eſcoce puiſſe oir trier, & terminer nos chalenges, & nos demandes, que nos entendons monſtrer, & auerrer pur noſtre droyt en la reaume de Eſcoces & droyt receiuer deuant luy, come ſouerein ſeigneur de la terre, promettons ia lemains que ſon fait auerons & tendrons ferme & eſtable, & qu' il emportera le reaume, a qui droyt le durra deuant luy.

Mes pour ce que lauandict roy de Ang. ne puiſt nulle manier conuſance faire ne a complier ſauns iugement, ne iugement doit eſtre ſauns execution, ne execution ne peult il faire duement, ſauns la poſſeſſion, & ſeyſine de meſme la terre, & de chaſteaux. Nous volons, otrions, & grantons, qu il come ſouereine ſeigneur, a parfaire les choſes auant dictes, ait la ſeyſine de toute la meſme terre, & de chaſteaux de Eſcoce, tant que droyt ſoit feit & perfourme, as demandans en tiel maniere, que auant ceo qu' il eit le ſeyſine auant dict face bone ſeurte, & ſuffiſante as demandants & as gardiens, & a la commune du reaume d' Eſcoce, a faire la reuerſion de meſme le reaume, & de chaſteaux, oue toute la royauté, dignité, ſeignourie, franchiſes, couſtomes, droitures, leys, vſages, & poſſeſſions, & touz manieres des apurtenances, en meſme le eſtate, quils eſtoient quant la ſeyſine luy fuſt baillée, & liuereé a celuy que le droyt emportera par iugemēt de ſa royauté, ſauue au roy d' Anglterre le homage de celuy, qui ſerra rey. Yſsint que la reuerſion ſoit feit dedans les deux moys apres le iour que le droyt ſera trieé & affirmé. Et que les yſſues de meſme la terre en le moyne temps reſceus, ſoient ſauuement mis en depos & bien gardees par la main le chamberleyn d' Eſcoce que ore eſt, & de celuy qui ſerra aſſigne a luy de par le rey d' Angleterre, & de ſous leur ſeaus ſauue renable ſuſtinance de la terre, & des chaſteaux & des miniſtres du royaume. En teſtimoigne de ceſt es choſes auandicts, nous auons mis nos ſeaulx a ceſte eſcript. Faict & donne a Norham le mecredie prochein apres l' Aſcenſion, l' an de Grace, 1291.

The ſame in Engliſh.

TO all them that theſe preſent writings ſhall ſee or heare, Florence earle of Holland, Robert le Bruce lord of Annandale, Iohn de Balioll lord of Galloway, Iohn Haſtings lord of Abergeuenny, Iohn Comin lord of Badenaw, Patrike de Dunbarre the earle of March, Iohn de Veſcy in ſtead of his father, Nicholas de Sules, William de Ros, ſend greeting in our lord. Bicauſe that of our good will and common aſſent, without all conſtraint, we doo conſent and grant vnto the noble prince the lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England, that he as ſuperiour lord of Scotland, may heare, examine, define and determine our claimes, chalenges, and petitions, which we intend to ſhew and prooue for our right, to be receiued before him as ſuperiour lord of the land, promiſing moreouer, that we ſhall take his deed for firme and ſtable, and that he ſhall inioy the kingdome of Scotland, whoſe right ſhall by declaration beſt appeare before him.

Whereas then the ſaid king of England cannot in this manner take knowledge, nor fulfill our meanings without iudgement, nor iudgement ought to be without execution, nor execution may in due forme be doone without poſſeſſion and ſeizine of the ſaid land and caſtels of the ſame; we will, conſent, and grant, that he as ſuperiour lord to performe the premiſſes may haue the ſeizine of all the land and caſtels of the ſame, till they that pretend title to the crowne be ſatiſfied in their ſuit, ſo that before he be put in poſſeſſion and ſeizine, he find ſufficient ſuertie to vs that pretend title, and to the wardens, and to all the communaltie of the kingdome of Scotland, that he ſhall reſtore the ſame kingdome with all the roialtie, dignitie, ſeigniorie, liberties, cuſtomes, rights, lawes, vſages, poſſeſſions, and all and whatſoeuer the appurtenances, in the ſame ſtate wherein they were before the ſeizine to him deliuered, vnto him to whome by right it is due, according to the iudgement of his regalitie, ſauing to him the homage of that perſon that ſhall be king: and this reſtitution to be made within two moneths after the daie in the which the right ſhall be diſcuſſed and eſtabliſhed, the iſſues of the ſame land in the meane time ſhall be receiued, laid vp, and put in ſafe keeping, in the hands of the chamberlaine of Scotland which now is, and of him, whome the king of England ſhall to him aſſigne, and this vnder their ſeales, reſeruing and allowing the reaſonable charges for the ſuſtentation of the land, the caſtels and officers of the kingdome. In witneſſe of all the which premiſſes, we haue vnto theſe letters ſet our ſeales. Giuen at Norham the wedneſday next after the feaſt of the Aſcenſion of our Lord, in the yeare of Grace, 1291.

These two letters the king of England ſent vnder his priuie ſeale vnto diuerſe monaſteries within his realme, in the 19 yeere of his reigne, that in perpetuall memorie of the thing thus paſſed, it might be regiſtred in their chronicles. Thus by the common aſſent of the cheefeſt of the lords in Scotland, king Edward receiued the land into his cuſtodie, till by due and lawfull triall had, it might appeere who was rightfull heire to the crowne there. The homage or fealtie of the nobles of Scotland was expreſſed in words as followeth.

Rich.South.

The

The forme and tenor of the homage *doone by the Scots.*

Becauſe all we are come vnto the allegiance of the noble prince Edward king of England, we promiſe for vs and our heires, vpon all the danger that we may incurre, that we ſhall be faithfull, & loiallie hold of him againſt all maner of mortall men, and that we ſhall not vnderſtand of any damage that may come to the king, nor to his heires, but we ſhall ſtaie and impeach the ſame to our powers. And to this we bind our ſelues & our heires, and are ſworne vpon the euangeliſts to performe the ſame. Beſides this, we haue doone fealtie vnto our ſouereigne lord the ſaid king in theſe words ech one by himſelfe; I ſhall be true and faithfull, and faith and loialtie I ſhall beare to the king of England Edward and his heires, of life, member, and worldlie honour againſt all mortall creatures.

Maſter Stephanſons booke of Records.

Wardens of the realme of Scotland appointed by K. Edward.

The biſhop of Catneſſe elected chancellor of Scotland.

He receiueth his ſeale.

He is ſworne.

The king hauing receiued as well the poſſeſſions of the realme, caſtels, manours, as other places belonging to the crowne of Scotland, he committed the gouernement and cuſtodie of the realme vnto the biſhops of S. Andrews and Glaſco, to the lords Iohn Comin, and Iames Steward, who had put him in poſſeſſion, ſo that vnder him they held the ſame, in maner as they had doone before. But in diuerſe caſtels he placed ſuch capteines as he thought moſt meeteſt to keepe them to his vſe, till he had ended the controuerſie, & placed him in the kingdome, to whom of right it belonged. He alſo willed the lords of Scotland to elect a ſufficient perſonage to be chancellour of the realme, which they did, naming Alane biſhop of Catneſſe, whom the king admitted, ioining with him one of his chapleins named Walter Armundeſham, ſo that on the 12 of Iune, vpon the greene ouer againſt the the caſtell of Norham, neere to the riuer of Tweed, in the pariſh of Vpſetelington, before Iohn Balioll, Robert Bruce, the biſhops of S. Andrews and Glaſco, the lords Comin and Steward, wardens of Scotland; the biſhop of Catneſſe receiued his ſeale, appointed him by the king of England as ſupreme lord of Scotland, and there both the ſaid biſhop & Walter Armundeſham were ſworne trulie to gouerne themſelues in the office.

The wardẽs ſworne.

The Scotiſh nobilitie doth fealtie to king Edward.

The morrow after were the wardens ſworne and with them as aſſociated Brian Fitz Alane, and there all the earles and lords of Scotland that were preſent ſware fealtie vnto king Edward, as to their ſupreme ſouereigne lord, and withall there was peace proclaimed, and publike edicts ſet forth in the name of the ſame king, intituled ſupreme lord of the realme of Scotland. The reſidue of the Scotiſh nobilitie, earles, barons, knights, and others, with the biſhops and abbats, vpon his comming into Scotland, ſware fealtie either to himſelfe in perſon, or to ſuch as he appointed his deputies to receiue the ſame, in ſundrie towns and places, according to order giuen in that behalfe. Such as refuſed to doo their fealties, were attached by their bodies, till they ſhould doo their fealties as they were bound. Thoſe that came not, but excuſed themſelues vpon ſome reaſonable cauſe, were heard, and had day giuen vntill the next parlement: but ſuch as neither came, nor made any reaſonable excuſe, were appointed to be diſtreined to come.

The biſhop of S. Andrewes, and Iohn lord Comin of Badenoth, with Brian Fitz Alane, were aſſigned to receiue ſuch fealties at S. Iohns towne. The biſhop of Glaſco, Iames lord ſteward of Scotland, and Nicholas Segraue were appointed to receiue them at Newcaſtell of Are. The earle of Southerland, and the ſhiriffe of that countrie, with his bailiffes, and the chatellaine of Inuerneſſe were ordeined to receiue thoſe fealties in that countie; the chattelaine firſt to receiue it of the ſaid earle, and then he with his ſaid aſſociats to receiue the ſame of others. The lord William de Saintclare, and William de Bomille, were appointed to receiue fealtie of the biſhop of Whiterne, and then the ſaid biſhop with them to receiue the fealties of all the inhabitants of Gallowaie. Amongſt other that did their homage to the king himſelfe, was Marie queene of Man, and counteſſe of Stratherne, vpon the 24 daie of Iulie, the king being thus in S. Iohns towne, otherwiſe called Perth. To conclude, he was put in full poſſeſſion of the realme of Scotland, & receiued there homages and fealties (as before ye haue heard) as the direct and ſupreme lord of that land.

The kings mother deceaſſed.

Anno Reg. 20. 1292

Nic. Triuet.

This doone, and euerie thing ordered as ſeemed moſt expedient, king Edward returned into the ſouth parts of his realme, to be at his mothers buriall, that in this meane time was departed this life. Hir hart was buried in the church of the Graifriers at London, & hir bodie at Ambreſburie in the houſe of the nunnes. ¶ After the funerals were ended, king Edward returned into the north parts againe: he ſtaied a while at Yorke, and during his abode there, Rees ap Meridoc (of whome ye haue heard before) was by order of law condemned & executed. ¶ This yeare after Eaſter, as the fleet laie before S. Matthewes in Britaine, there roſe certeine diſcord betwixt the Norman mariners, and them of Baion, and ſo farre the quarell increaſed, that they fell to trie it by force, the Engliſhmen aſſiſting them of Baion, and the French kings ſubiects taking part with the Normans, and now they fraught not their ſhips ſo much with merchandize as with armour & weapon. At length the matter burſt out from ſparkes into open flame, the ſequele whereof hereafter ſhall appeare, as we find it reported by writers.

Iohn Balioll obteineth the kingdome of Scotland.

Nic. Triuet.

Polydor.

But now touching the Scotiſh affaires. At length the king comming into Scotland, gaue ſummons to all thoſe that claimed the crowne, to appeare before him at the feaſt of the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt next inſuing, that they might declare more at large by what right they claimed the kingdome. Hervpon, when the daie of their appearance was come, and that king Edward was readie to heare the matter, he choſe out the number of 40 perſons, the one halfe Engliſhmen, and the other Scotiſhmen, which ſhould diſcuſſe with aduiſed deliberation and great diligence the allegations of the competitors, deferring the finall ſentence vnto the feaſt of S. Michaell next inſuing, the which feaſt being come, after due examination, full triall, and aſſured knowledge had of the right, the kingdome by all their aſſents was adiudged vnto Iohn Balioll, who deſcended of the eldeſt daughter of Dauid king of Scotland. Robert le Bruce, betwixt whom and the ſame Balioll at length (the other being excluded) the queſtion and triall onlie reſted, was deſcended of the ſecond daughter of king Dauid, though otherwiſe by one degree he was neerer to him in bloud. Thus writeth Nicholas Triuet.

But others affirme, that after long diſputation in the matter, by order of king Edward, there were appointed 80 ancient and graue perſonages, amongſt the which were 30 Engliſhmen, vnto whom (being ſworne and admoniſhed to haue God before their eies) authoritie was giuen to name him that ſhould be king. Theſe 80 perſons, after they had well conſidered vnto whome the right apperteined, declared with one voice, that Iohn Balioll was rightfull king.

king Edward allowed their ſentence, and by his authoritie confirmed vnto the ſame John, the poſſeſſion of the kingdome of Scotland, with condition that if he did not gouerne that realme with iuſtice, then vpon complaint, the king of England might put vnto his hand of reformation, as he was bound to doo by his right of ſuperioritie, that in him was inueſted. Herevpon king Edward awarded forth his writ of deliuerie of ſeizine at the ſuit of the ſaid J. Balioll, to William and Robert, biſhops of S. Andrewes and Glaſco, to John lord Comin, James lord Steward of Scotland, and to the lord Brian Fitz Alane, wardens of Scotland, commanding them to deliuer vnto the ſaid John Balioll the ſeizine and poſſeſſion of that realme, ſauing the reléeſes and debts due to him of the iſſues and profits of the ſame realme, vnto the day of the date of the writ, which was the ninetéenth day of Nouember, in the twentie yere of his reigne. Alſo there was another writ made, and directed to ſuch as had the kéeping of the caſtels in their hands, in forme as followeth.

The copie of the writ for the deliuerie of the caſtels.

EDwardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, dux Aquitaniæ, & ſuperior dominus regni Scotiæ, dilecto & fideli ſuo Petro Burdet, conſtabulario caſtri de Berwike ſalutem. Cùm Iohannes de Baliolo nuper in parlamento noſtro apud Berwicum ſuper Tuedam, veniſſet coram nobis, & petiuiſſet prædictum regnum Scotiæ ſibi per nos adiudicari, & ſeiſinam ipſius regni vt propinquiori hæredi Margaretæ filiæ regis Norwegiæ dominæ Scotiæ iure ſucceſſionis liberari, ac nos auditis & intellectis petitionibus, & rationibus diligentur examinatis, inuenerimus præfatum Iohannem de Baliolo eſſe propinquiorem hæredem prædictæ Margaretæ, quo ad prædictum regnum Scotiæ obtinendum: propter quod idem regnum Scotiæ, & ſeiſinam eiuſdem, ſaluo iure noſtro, & heredum noſtrorum, cùm voluerimus inde loqui, prædicto Iohanni reddidimus: tibi mandamus quòd ſeiſinam prædicti caſtri de Beruico cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis, vnà cum alijs omnibus rebus tibi per chirographum traditis, ſecundum quod in prædicti caſtri tibi commiſſa cuſtodia res huiuſmodi recepiſti, ſine dilatione præfato Iohanni de Baliolo, vel attornatis ſuis has litteras deferentibus, deliberari facias. Teſte meipſo apud Beruicum ſuper Tuedam 19 die Nouembris, Anno regni noſtri 20.

In Engliſh thus.

EDward by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, and ſuperiour lord of the realme of Scotland, to his welbeloued and faithfull ſeruant Peter Burdet coneſtable of the caſtell of Berwike, ſendeth greeting. Where Iohn de Balioll late in parlement holden at Berwike vpon Tweed, came before vs, and demanded the ſaid realme of Scotland to be adiudged to him by vs, and ſeizine of the ſame realme to be to him deliuered as next heire to Margaret daughter to the king of Norwaie, ladie of Scotland by right of ſucceſſion. We hauing heard and vnderſtood the ſame petitions; and reaſons being diligentlie weighed and examined, we find the ſaid Iohn Balioll to be next heire vnto the ſaid Margaret, as to obteine the ſaid kingdome of Scotland, wherevpon we haue deliuered to him the ſaid kingdome of Scotland, and the ſeizine therof, ſauing the right of vs & our heires, when it ſhall pleaſe vs to ſpeake therof. We therefore command you, that you deliuer vp vnto the ſaid Iohn Balioll, or to his attornies, that ſhall bring with them theſe our preſent letters, the ſeizine of the ſaid caſtell of Berwike, with all the appurtenances, togither with all other things to you by indenture deliuered accordinglie as you did receiue the ſame, with the cuſtodie of the ſaid caſtle to you committed: and this without delaie. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Berwike vpon Tweed the nineteenth day of Nouember, in the twentith yeare of our reigne.

In the ſame forme of words were writs awarded forth, to all and euerie other the kéepers of caſtels and manors belonging to the crowne of Scotland, and being at that time in K. Edwards hands, the names of places and the perſons that had them in cuſtodie onelie changed. On the ſame day alſo in the caſtell of Berwike was the ſeale broken, which had béene appointed to the gouernors, during the time that the realme was vacant of a king. It was broken into foure parts, and put into a purſſe to be reſerued in the treaſurie of the king of England, in further and more full token of his ſuperioritie and direct ſupreme dominion ouer the realme of Scotland.

The ſeale broken.

Theſe things were doone in preſence of the ſaid John Balioll then king of Scotland, John archbiſhop of Dubline, John biſhop of Wincheſter, Anthonie biſhop of Dureſme, William biſhop of Elie, John biſhop of Carleil, William biſhop of S. Andrewes, Robert biſhop of Glaſco, Marke biſhop of Man, and Henrie biſhop of Aberdene, with diuerſe other biſhops, beſides abbats and priors of both the realmes; Henrie earle of Lincolne, Humfrie earle of Hereford, Roger earle of Norffolke, John earle of Buchquane, Douenald earle of Mar, Gilbert earle of Angus, Patrike earle of March, and Maliſius earle of Stratherne; with the foure and twentie auditors of England, and the foure score auditors of Scotland: chapleins alſo, Henrie de Newmarke deane of Yorke, John Lacie chancellour of Chicheſter, William de Gréenefield canon of Yorke, and John Ercurie notarie, and manie other. John Balioll being thus created K. of Scotland, on the twentith day of Nouember, in the caſtell of Norham, did fealtie to king Edward for the kingdome of Scotland, in maner as followeth.

The forme of the fealtie of Iohn Balioll *king of Scots to the king of England* in proteſtation.

THis heare you my lord Edward king of England, ſoueraigne lord of the realme of Scotland, that I John de Balioll king of Scotland, which I hold and claime to hold of you, that I ſhall be faithfull and loiall, and owe faith and loialtie to you, I ſhall beare of life and member, and of earthlie honour, againſt all people, and lawfullie I ſhall acknowledge and doo the ſeruices which I owe to doo to you, for the realme of Scotland aforeſaid. So God me helpe and his holie euangeliſts.

Hereof alſo he made letters patents, witneſſing that he had thus done fealtie vnto king Edward, which letters he ſealed and deliuered in preſence of William biſhop of ſaint Andrews, Robert biſhop of Glaſco, Iohn earle of Bouchquane, William earle of Ros, Patrike earle of March, Walter earle of Menteth, Iames lord ſteward of Scotland, Alexander de Ergay, Alexander de Balioll lord of Caures, Patrike de Graham, and William de Saintclere. This done, king Edward appointed Anthonie biſhop of Dureſme, and the lord Iohn ſaint Iohn to paſſe with Balioll into Scotland, and there to put him into the corporall poſſeſſion of the ſame realme of Scotland, which they did, and ſo he was crowned at Scone vpon ſaint Andrews day, being placed in the marble chaire within the abbeie church there. The ſolemnitie of which coronation being ended, he returned into England, and comming to Newcaſtell vpon Tine, where K. Edward in that yeare kept his Chriſtmaſſe, he there did homage vpon ſaint Stephans daie vnto the ſaid king Edward, in forme of words as followeth.

Anno Reg. 21. Iohn Balioll crowned king of Scotland.

The forme of the king of Scots *homage to king Edward, in action.*

My lord, lord Edward king of England, ſuperior lord of Scotland, I Iohn de Balioll king of Scotland, doo acknowledge and recogniſe me to be your liegeman of the whole realme of Scotland, with all the appurtenances, and whatſoeuer belongeth thereto, the which kingdome I hold and ought of right and claime to hold by inheritance of you and your heires kings of England, and I ſhall beare faith and loialtie to you and to your heirs kings of England, of life, of member, and earthlie honour, againſt all men, which may liue and die.

This homage in forme aforeſaid did king Edward receiue, his owne and others right ſaued. Then did the king of England without delaie reſtore vnto the ſaid Iohn Balioll the kingdome of Scotland, with all the appurtenances. This yeare, as one Richard Bagley an officer of the ſhiriffes of London led a priſoner towards the gaile, thre perſons reſcued the ſaid priſoner, and tooke him from the officer, the which were purſued and taken, and by iudgement of law then vſed, were brought into Weſtcheape, and there had their hands ſtriken off by the wriſts. On the 14 daie of Maie fell a woonderfull ſnow, and therewith blew ſuch an exceeding wind, that great harme was done thereby in ſundrie places of England. In the ſame yeare died frier Iohn Peckham archbiſhop of Canturburie, and then was Robert of Winchelſie elected archbiſhop the 48 in number that had ruled that ſee. About the middle of September following, the earle of Bar a Frenchman, married the ladie Elianor the kings daughter in the towne of Briſtow. ¶ This yeare wheat was ſold at London for two ſhillings a buſhell.

1293

Richard Bagley. A priſoner reſcued.

The offenders loſt their hand.

A great ſnow and tempeſt of wind in Maie

The archbiſhop of Canturburie deceaſſeth.

The kings daughter maried to the earle of Bar.

This yeare alſo the war was begun betwene the kings of England and France. For whereas king Edward had furniſhed foorth ſix ſhips of warre, and ſent them vnto Burdeaux for defenſe of the coaſts thereabouts, two of them, as they ſailed alongſt the coaſt of Normandie, and fearing no hurt by enimies, were taken by the Norman fleet, and diuerſe of the mariners hanged. The lord Robert Tiptoſt that was admerall of the Engliſh fleet aduertiſed therof, got togither a great number of ſhips, and directed his courſe with them ſtreight towards Normandie, and finding no ſhips of the Normans abroad in the ſeas, vpon a deſire to be reuenged, entered the mouth of the riuer of Saine, and ſet vpon the Norman ſhips that laie there at anchor, ſlue manie of the mariners, & tooke ſix ſhips awaie with him, and ſo returning to the ſea againe, caſt anchor not far off from the land, to prouoke the Frenchmen to come foorth with their fleet to giue battell. And as he laie at anchor, it chanced that certeine Norman ſhips fraught with wine came that waies, as they returned out of Gaſcoigne. The lord Tiptoſt ſetting on them, tooke them with little adoo, and ſleaing neere hand the third part of all the mariners, ſent the ſhips into England.

War betwixt England and France.

Two Engliſh ſhips taken.

The lord merall of Eng land ſetteth vpō the No man ſhips.

The Frenchmen to reuenge this act, prepared a nauie, and furniſhing the ſame with ſouldiers went foorth to the ſea, to incounter the Engliſhmen: but yer they met, meſſengers were ſent to and fro, the Engliſhmen accuſing the Frenchmen of truce-breaking, and the Frenchmen againe requiring reſtitution of their goods taken from them by violence. And now forſomuch as this buſineſſe had beene moued raſhlie betwixt the Engliſhmen and the Normans, without any commiſſion of their princes, their minds therefore were not ſo kindled in diſpleaſure, but that there had been good hope of agreement betwixt them, if Charles earle of Valois the French kings brother (being a man of a hot nature & deſirous of reuenge) had not procured his brother to ſeeke reuengement by force of armes. Wherevpon the French fleet made toward the Engliſhmen, who minding not to detract the batell, ſharplie incountred their enimies in a certeine place betwixt England and Normandie, where they had laid a great emptie ſhip at anchor, to giue token where they meant to ioine. There were with the Engliſhmen both Iriſhmen and Hollanders, and with the Normans there were Frenchmen and Flemings, and certeine veſſels of Genowaies.

Charles earle of Valois procureth warre betwixt England and France.

The fight at the firſt was doubtfull, and great ſlaughter made, as in the meeting of two ſuch mightie nauies muſt needs inſue. Yet in the end the victorie fell to the Engliſhmen, and the French ſhips put to the chaſe and ſcattered abroad. The number of ſhips loſt is not recorded by ſuch writers as make report of this conflict, but they write that the loſſe was great. King Philip being aduertiſed of this diſcomfiture of his fleet was ſore diſpleaſed, and as though he would proceed againſt king Edward by order of law, he ſummoned him as his liegeman to appeare at Paris, to anſwer what might be obiected againſt him; but withall bicauſe he knew that king Edward would not come to make his appearance, he prepared an armie.

The Engliſhmen victors by ſea.

K. Edward ſummoned to appeare at Paris.

In the meane time king Edward ſent his brother Edmund earle of Lancaſter to be his attornie, and to make anſwer for him before all ſuch iudges as might haue hearing of the matter: but the iudges meaning nothing leſſe than to trie out the truth of the cauſe, admitted no reaſons that the earle could alledge in his brothers behalfe, and ſo pronounced king Edward a rebell, and decreed by areſt, that he had forfeited all his right vnto the duchie of Guien. Theſe things thus doone, he ſent priuie meſſengers vnto Burdeaux, to procure the citizens to reuolt from the Engliſhmen, and appointed conſtable of France the lord Arnold de Neale to follow with an armie, who comming thither eaſilie brought them of Burdeaux vnder the French dominion, being alreadie minded to reuolt through practiſe of thoſe that were latelie before ſent vnto them from the French king for that purpoſe. After this, the ſaid conſtable brought the people neere adioining vnder ſubiection, partlie moued by the example of the cheefe and head citie of all the countrie, and partlie induced therevnto by

Edward earle of Lancaſter ſent to the French king.

K. Edward condemned in the French kings court.

Arnold de Neale ſent into Gaſcoigne with an armie.

bribes and large gifts. The Engliſhmen that were in the countrie, after they perceiued that the people did thus reuolt to the French king, withdrew incontinentlie vnto the townes ſituat néere to the ſea ſide, but ſpeciallie they fled to a towne called the Rioll, which they fortified with all ſpéed. Thus ſaith Polydor.

N. Triuet.

Henrie earle of Lincolne.

Nicholas Triuet, writing hereof, declareth the beginning of this warre to be on this manner. The Engliſh merchants being diuerſlie vexed vpon the ſeas, made complaint to the king for loſſe of their merchandize. The king ſent Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne vnto the French king, inſtantlie requiring, that by his aſſent there might ſome waie be prouided with ſpéed by them and their councell, for ſome competent remedie touching ſuch harmes and loſſes by ſea as his people had ſuſteind. In the meane time whileſt the earle taried for anſwer, a nauie of the parts of Normandie conteining two hundred ſhips and aboue, being aſſembled togither, that they might the more boldlie aſſaile their enimies, and the more valiantlie reſiſt ſuch as ſhould encounter them, ſailed into Gaſcoigne, determining to deſtroie all thoſe of their aduerſaries that ſhould come in their waie. But as theſe Normane ſhips returned backe with wines, glorieng as it were that they had got the rule of the ſea onelie to themſelues, they were aſſailed by thréeſcore Engliſh ſhips, which tooke them, & brought them into England the fridaie before Whitſundaie: all the men were either drowned or ſlaine, thoſe onelie excepted which made ſhift to eſcape by botes. The newes hereof being brought into France, did not ſo much moue the king and the councell to wonder at the matter, as to take thereof great indignation.

The biſhop of London ſent with an anſwer vnto the French king.

Ambaſſadors were appointed to go into England which on the behalfe of the French king, might demand of king Edward reſtitution of thoſe ſhips and goods thus taken by his ſubiects, and conueied into his realme, without all delaie, if he minded to haue any fauour in the French court touching his affairs that belonged to his countrie of Gaſcoigne. The king of England hearing this meſſage, tooke therein deliberation to anſwer, and then ſent the biſhop of London, accompanied with other wiſe and diſcréet perſons into France, to declare for anſwer vnto the French king and his councell as followeth; that is, Whereas the king of England hath his regall court without ſubiection to any man, if there were therefore any perſons that found themſelues hurt or indamaged by his people, they might come to his court, and vpon declaration of their receiued iniuries, they ſhould haue ſpéedie iuſtice, and to the end they might thus doo without all danger, whoſoeuer minded to complaine, he would giue vnto them a ſafe conduct to come and go in ſafetie thorough his land: but if this waie pleaſed not the French king, then he was content there ſhould be arbitrators choſen on both ſides, who weieng the loſſes on both parts, might prouide how to ſatiſfie the complaints: and the king of England would for his part enter into bonds by obligation to ſtand to and abide their order and iudgement herein, ſo that the French king would likewiſe be bound for his part, and if any ſuch doubt fortuned to ariſe, which could not be decided by the ſaid arbitrators, let the ſame be reſerued vnto the kings themſelues to diſcuſſe and determine, and the king of England vpon a ſufficient ſafe conduct had, would come ouer to the French K. if he would come downe vnto any hauen towne néere to the ſea coaſt, that by mutuall aſſent an end might bée had in the buſineſſe: but if neither this waie ſhould pleaſe the French king nor the other, then let the matter be committed to the order of the pope, to whom it apperteined to nouriſh concord among chriſtian princes; or bicauſe the ſée was as then void, let the whole colledge of cardinals or part of them take order therein, as ſhould be thought neceſſarie, that ſtrife and diſcord being taken awaie and remoued, peace might againe flouriſh betwixt them and their people, as before time it had doone, and bring with it the bleſſings thereupon depending; namelie, althings that may make an happie & fortunat ſtate, according to the nature of peace, whereof it is ſaid,

Pax eſt cunctorum mater veneranda bonorum,
Fit ſub pace forum, fit felix cultus agrorum,
Pax pietas mentis, pax eſt pincerna ſalutis.

The king of England cited to appere

Sentence giuen againſt the king of England.

The French councell weied nothing at all theſe offers, and would not ſo much as once vouchſafe to giue an anſwer to the Engliſh ambaſſadors earneſtlie requiring the ſame. Finallie, the French K. ſent vnto the citie of Aniou, which is knowne to belong vnto the dutchie of Guien, where he there cauſed the king of England to be cited to make his appéerance at Paris, at a certeine daie, to anſwer to the iniuries and rebellions by him doone in the countrie of Gaſcoigne, at the which daie when he appéered not, the French king ſitting in the ſeat of iudgement in his owne proper perſon, gaue ſentence there againſt the king of England, for making default, and withall commanded the high coneſtable of France to ſeize into his hands all the dutchie of Guien, and either to take or to expell all the king of Englands officers, ſouldiers, and deputies, which were by him placed within the ſaid duchie. The king a little before had ſent thither a valiant knight, named the lord Iohn ſaint Iohn, which had furniſhed all the cities, townes, caſtels, and places, with men, munition, and vittels, for defenſe of the ſame.

Anno Reg. 22.

1294

The peace of the quéenes.

In the meane time the king of England, deſirous to be at quiet with the Frenchmen, appointed his brother Edmund earle of Lancaſter, as then ſoiourning in France, to go vnto the French kings councell to procure ſome agréement, which both might be allowed of the French king, and not be diſhonorable vnto him. But when the earle could not preuaile in his ſute, he tooke his iournie towards England, vtterlie deſpairing to procure any peace. But yer he came to the ſea ſide, he was ſent for backe againe by the two quéenes of France, Ione wife to king Philip, and Marie his mother in law, which promiſed to frame ſome accord betwéene the two kings, and ſo thereupon after diuerſe communications by them had in the matter with the ſaid earle of Lancaſter, at length it was accorded, that for the ſauing of the French kings honour, which ſéemed to be touched by things doone by the king of Englands miniſters in Gaſcoigne, ſix caſtels ſhould remaine at the ſaid kings pleaſure, as Santes, Talemond, Turnim, Pomeroll, Penne, and mount Flaunton. Alſo there ſhould be ſet a ſeruant or ſergeant in the French kings name, in euerie citie and caſtell within all the whole duchie of Guien, except Burdeaux, Baion, and the Rioll. And further, hoſtages ſhould be deliuered at the French kings pleaſure, of all miniſters to be placed by the king of England in Gaſcoigne and other places through all the country. Theſe things doone, the French king ſhould reuoke the ſummons publiſhed and pronounced in the court of Paris againſt the king of England. Alſo he ſhuld reſtore all the caſtels (his ſeruants being remoued which he had placed in the ſame) togither with the pledges incontinentlie, at the requeſt of the ſame quéenes, or of either of them. The king of England hauing a ſafe conduct ſhould come to Amiens, that there méeting with the French king, peace and amitie might be confirmed betwixt them. Then were there writings made and ingroſſed touching the forſaid articles of agréement, one part deliuered to the earle, ſealed with the ſeales of the quéenes, and other remained with the foreſaid quéenes ſealed with the ſeale of the earle.

Letters patents.

The king of England certified hereof, ſent his letters patents, directed vnto all his officers and miniſters in Gaſcoigne, commanding them to obeie in all things the French kings pleaſure. Theſe letters patents were firſt ſent vnto the earle of Lancaſter, that he might cauſe them to be conueied into Gaſcoigne when he ſhould ſée time. The earle hauing receiued thoſe letters, doubting whether the French K. would obſerue the agréement which the quéenes had made and concluded, or not; required of them that he might heare the French king ſpeake the word, that he would ſtand vnto that which they had concluded. Wherevpon in the preſence of the ſaid earle and his wife Blanch quéene of Nauar, mother to the French quéene, alſo of the duke of Burgoigne, Hugh Veere ſonne to the earle of Oxenford, and of a chapline called ſir Iohn Lacie, the French king promiſed by the faith of a prince, that he would fulfill the promiſes of the ſaid quéenes, and the couenants by them accorded.

Sir Geffrey Langley.

Hervpon a knight of the earles of Lancaſter, called ſir Geffrey de Langley, was ſpéedilie ſent into Gaſcoigne with letters from the French king, directed to the coneſtable, to call him backe againe from his appointed enterpriſe. And the foreſaid chapleine ſir Iohn Lacie was ſent alſo thither with the letters patents of the king of England, directed vnto his officers there, in forme as is aboue mentioned, wherevpon the lord Iohn ſaint Iohn the king of Englands lieutenant in Gaſcoigne, vnderſtanding the concluſions of the agréement, ſold all ſuch prouiſions as he had made and brought into the cities, townes, and fortreſſes for the defenſe of the ſame, and departing out of Gaſcoigne, came towards Paris to returne that waie into England.

The French kings mind changed.

His vniuſt dealing.

But behold what followed; ſuddenlie by the enimie of peace was the French kings mind quite changed. And where the king of England was come vnto Canturburie, and kept his Eaſter there, that immediatlie vpon the receipt of the ſafe conduct he might tranſport ouer the ſeas, and ſo come to Amiens, according to the appointment made by the agréement; now not onelie the ſafe conduct was denied, but alſo the firſt letters reuocatorie ſent vnto the coneſtable to call him backe, by other letters ſent after were alſo made void, and he by the latter letters appointed to kéepe vpon his iournie, ſo that the coneſtable entring into Gaſcoigne with a power, found no reſiſtance, the capteins and officers ſubmitting them ſelues with the townes and fortreſſes at his pleaſure according to the tenor of the letters patents latelie to them deliuered. All the officers and capteins of the fortreſſes were brought to Paris as captiues and pledges.

The French K. renounceth what he had ſaid.

Within a few daies after, the earle of Lancaſter required the quéenes, that they would call vpon the king to grant his ſafe conduct for the king of England, to reuoke the citation or ſummons, to reſtore the lands taken from him; and to deliuer the pledges: but the French king by the mouths of certeine knights ſent vnto the earle, renounced all ſuch couenants as before had béene concluded. The earle of Lancaſter then perceiuing that both he and his brother king Edward were mocked thus at the French kings hands, returned into England, and informed the king & his councell from point to point of all the matter. Hervpon a parlement being called at Weſtminſter, at the which the king of Scotland was preſent, it was decréed by the ſtates, that thoſe lands which were craftilie taken ſo from the K. ſhould be recouered againe by the ſword. And the king herewith ſent vnto the French king a frier preacher named Hugh of Mancheſter, and a frier minor called William de Gaineſbourgh, both being wiſe and diſcréet men, and doctours of diuinitie, to declare vnto him, that ſith he would not obſerue ſuch agréements as had béene concluded betwixt their anceſtours; and further had broken ſuch couenants as were now of late agréed vpon betwixt them, by the trauell of his brother Edmund earle of Lancaſter: there was no cauſe whie he ought to account him being king of England, and duke of Guien, as his liegeman, neither did he intend or meane further to be bound vnto him by reaſon of his homage.

Hugh of Mancheſter a frier ſent to the French king.

The king of England renounceth the French king.

Imbaſſadors ſent into Germanie.

About the ſame time did the king of England ſend the archbiſhop of Dubline, and the biſhop of Dureſme into Germanie, about the concluding of a league with Adolph king of Romans, to whome was giuen a great ſumme of monie (as was ſaid) vpon couenants, that he ſhould aid the king of England againſt the French king, with all his maine force, and that neither of them ſhould conclude peace with the ſaid French king without conſent of the other. About the Aſcenſion tide, king Edward ſtaied the wolles of this land, aſwell belonging to ſpirituall men as temporall men, till the merchants had fined with him for the ſame, ſo that there was a ſubſidie paied for all ſarpliers of wooll that went out of the relme, and in ſemblable wiſe for felles and hides. He alſo ſent an armie by ſea into Gaſcoigne, vnder the conduct of his nephue Iohn of Britaine that was earle of Richmond, appointing to him as councellours, the lord Iohn ſaint Iohn, and the lord Robert Tiptoſt; men of great wiſdome, and verie expert in warlike enterpriſes.

Wolles ſtaied. Fabian.

A ſubſidie raiſed of wols

An armie ſent to Gaſcoigne.

N.Triuet.

Thrée fléets appointed to the ſea.

He alſo cauſed thrée ſeuerall fléets to be prepared, and appointed to them thrée ſundrie admerals, for the better kéeping of the ſeas. To them of Yarmouth and other of thoſe parts, he aſſigned the lord Iohn Botetourt: to them of the cinque ports, William de Leiborne: and to them of the weſt countrie, and to the Iriſhmen, he appointed a valiant knight of Ireland as their chéefteine. This yeare in England was a great dearth and ſcarſitie of corne, ſo that a quarter of wheat in manie places was ſold for thirtie ſhillings: by reaſon whereof poore people died in manie places for lacke of ſuſtnance. About Michaelmas, the Engliſh fléet tooke the ſea at Porteſmouth, and after ſome contrarie winds, yet at laſt they arriued within the riuer of Garon, and ſo paſſing vp the ſame riuer, wan diuers townes, as Burge, Blaines, Rions, and others.

A dearth. Rich.South.

The Engliſh armie paſſeth to Gaſcoigne.

Towns won. Nic.Triuet. Polydor. Abington.

The kings coffers by reaſon of furniſhing forth of this armie, and other continuall charges which he had ſuſteined, were now in maner emptie: for remedie whereof, William March one of the kings treaſurers, purpoſed with other mens loſſes to ſuplie that want. He knew that in abbeies and churches was much monie kept in ſtore, the which if he commanded to be taken from thence, he thought that he ſhould not commit any offenſe, but rather doo a good déed, that the monie might come abroad to the vſe of the people, whereby the ſouldiers might be ſatiſfied for their wages. Such capteins therefore, as he appointed to worke the feat, placing their ſoldiers in euerie quarter through the realme, made ſearch at one time, in Iulie, at thrée of the clocke in the afternoone, for all ſuch monie as was hid and laid vp in all hallowed places, and taking the ſame awaie, brought it vnto the king, who diſſembling the matter, as he that ſtood in néed, excuſed the act doone by his treaſurer ſo well as he could, to auoid the enuie of the people; and not content herewith, he called togither ſhortlie after, to wit, on ſaint Matthewes day the apoſtle, at London, all the archbiſhops, biſhops, deanes, & archdeacons,

Math. Weſt. A ſhift for monie.

Abington.

The treaſurer accuſed.

The K. excuſeth himſelfe. Abington.

not

The ſpiritualtie called to a councell.

not in their proper perſons, but by two procurators of euerie dioceſſe. Here when they were once aſſembled, the king declared vnto them the warres which he was driuen to mainteine againſt the Frenchmen, & the charges which he was at for the ſame. He alſo ſhewed them, that the earles, barons & knights of the realme, did not onlie aid him with their goods, but put their perſons forward to ſerue him in defenſe of the land, whereof they were members, euen to the ſhedding of their bloud, and oftentimes with loſſe of their liues. Therfore (ſaith he) you which may not put your perſons in perill by ſeruice in the warres, it is good reaſon you ſhould aid vs with your goods.

Their offer not liked.

The halfe part of ſpirituall liuings granted to the king.

R. Fabian. Polydor. Abington.

The cleargie hauing no ſpeciall head, by reaſon that the ſee of Canturburie was void, wiſt not well how to gouerne themſelues. At length Oliuer biſhop of Lincolne, required in all their names to haue three daies reſpit to make anſwer to the matter, the which time expired, they offered to the king two diſmes to be paid within one yeare. The which when the king heard, he tooke great diſdaine therewith, and threatned by ſome of his men of war to put the cleargie out of his protection, except they would grant to him the halfe of their goods. The cleargie put in feare herewith, and ſome of them alſo deſirous to win the kings fauour, granted his requeſt, and ſo the king at that time got the halfe part of euerie ſpirituall mans liuing and benefice for one yeares extent, to be paid in portions within three yeares next inſuing, beginning at twentie marks benefice, & ſo vpwards. And the ſooner to induce them herevnto, he promiſed the biſhops to grant ſome thing that might be beneficiall to the cleargie, if they would demand it.

The prelates require to haue the ſtatute of Mortmain repealed.

The K. ſhifteth them off.

N. Triuet.

The biſhops taking councell togither, required of him that the ſtatute of Mortmain might be repealed, which they ſaw to be moſt preiudiciall to their order. But the king anſwered them, that without the whole conſent of a parlement he could not breake that ordinance, which by authoritie of parlement had beene once eſtabliſhed, and therefore he wiſhed that they would not require that thing which laie not in him to grant, and ſo by that means he ſhifted them off. The ſpiritualtie was not onelie charged with this ſubſidie, but they of the temporaltie were alſo burthened. For the citizens and burgeſſes of good townes gaue to the king the fift part of their goods, and the reſidue of the people gaue the tenth part.

The welſhmen are buſie.

Madoc. Carnaruan burnt.

Malgon.

Morgan driueth the earle of Glocester out of Glamorganſhire.

The earles of Lancaſter & Lincolne vanquiſhed by the welſhmen.

Moreouer, about the ſame time, the Welſhmen eftſoones rebelled againſt the king, and in diuerſe parts made diuerſe rulers amongſt them. Thoſe of Northwales which inhabited about Snowdon hils, hauing to their capteine one Madoc, of the line of their former prince Leolin, burned the towne and caſtell of Carnaruan, ſleaing a great multitude of Engliſhmen, which doubting no ſuch matter, were come thither to the faire. Thoſe of the weſt part hauing choſen to their ruler one Malgon on the parts of Penbroke and Carmardin ſhires, did much miſcheefe. And one Morgan hauing them of Southwals at his commandement, expelled and droue the earle of Gloceſter out of his countrie of Glamorgan, which earle had before time diſherited the anceſtors of the ſame Morgan. The king therefore to repreſſe the Welſhmens attempts, called backe his brother Edmund earle of Lancaſter, and the earle of Lincolne, being readie to haue ſailed ouer into Gaſcoine, the which earles as they approched neere vnto the caſtell of Denbigh vpon ſaint Martins day, the Welſhmen with great force incountred them, and giuing them battell, droue them backe and diſcomfited their people. Polydor iudgeth that this ouerthrow happened to the Engliſhmen, the rather for that the armie was hired with ſuch monie as had beene wrongfullie taken out of the abbeis and other holie places, howbeit it is but his opinion onelie.

Anno Reg. 23. 1295

Baion yeelded to the Engliſhmen.

The caſtell of Baion won.

Two French gallies taken.

Saint John de Sordes.

The Gaſcoins aid the Engliſhmen.

The king kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Aberconwey in Wales, and hearing that the new archbiſhop of Canturburie, doctor Robert Winchelſey, being returned from Rome (where, of pope Celeſtine he had receiued his pall) was comming towards him, he ſent one of his chapleines named John Berwike with a power of ſouldiers to conduct him ſafelie vnto his preſence. And after the archbiſhop had done his fealtie to the king, accordinglie as of dutie and cuſtome he was bound, he was licenced to returne with great honour ſhewed vnto him at the kings hands. Vpon the day of the circumciſion of our Lord, was the citie of Baion rendred vnto the lord John ſaint John, the which the day before had beene taken by the mariners by force of aſſault. Manie of the citizens which were knowne to be cheefe enimies vnto the king of England, were apprehended and ſent into England. The caſtell was then beſieged, and after eight daies taken. The lord of Aſpermont with diuerſe others that held it, were committed to priſon. There were alſo taken two gallies, which the French king had cauſed to be made, and appointed to be remaining there vpon defenſe of that citie. Shortlie after the towne of ſaint John de Sordes was deliuered vnto the Engliſhmen, who wan manie other townes and fortreſſes, ſome by ſurrender of their owne accord, and ſome by force and violence. The Engliſh armie greatlie increaſed within a while, after the deceit of the Frenchmen once appeared, for the Gaſcoins returned vnto the Engliſh obedience, in ſuch wiſe that foure thouſand footmen and two hundred horſemen came to aid the Engliſh capteins.

The king entreth into wales.

Abington.

In the meane time, the king of England paſſing ouer the riuer of Conwey, with part of his armie to go further into Wales towards Snowdon, loſt manie carts and other cariages which were taken by the Welſhmen, being loden with the prouiſions of vittels, ſo that he with his people indured great penurie, and was conſtreined to drinke water mixt with honie, and eat ſuch courſe bread and ſalt fleſh as he could get, till the other part of the armie came vnto him. There was a ſmall quantitie of wine amongſt them, which they would haue reſerued onelie for the king, & therfore refuſed to taſt therof. But leaſt they ſhould repine at his extraordinarie and ſeuerall fare, and ſo take conceits of diſcontentment for not hauing the like, he conſidered in a ſympathie, that,

Quæ mala cum multis patimur, leuiora videntur,

ſaieng, that in time of neceſſitie all things ought to be common, and all men to be contented with like diet. For as touching him (being the cauſe and procurer of their want) he would not be preferred before any of them in his meats and drinks. The Welſhmen compaſſed him about in hope to diſtreſſe him, for that the water was ſo riſen, that the reſidue of his armie could not get to him. But ſhortlie after, when the water fell, they came ouer to his aid, and therewith the aduerſaries fled.

The earle of Warwike. N. Triuet.

The welſhmen ouerthrowne by the earle of Warwike.

The earle of Warwike, hearing that a great number of Welſhmen was aſſembled togither, and lodged in a vallie betwixt two woods, he choſe out a number of horſſemen, with certeine croſſebowes and archers, and comming vpon the Welſhmen in the night, compaſſed them round about, the which pitching the ends of their ſpeares in the ground, and turning the points againſt their enimies, ſtood at defenſe ſo to keepe off the horſſemen. But the earle hauing placed his battell ſo, that euer betwixt two horſſemen there ſtood a croſbow, a great part of the Welſhmen which ſtood at defenſe in maner aforeſaid with their ſpeares, were ouerthrowne and broken with the ſhot of the quarels, and then the earle charged the reſidue with a troope of horſſmen, and bare them downe with ſuch ſlaughter, as they had not ſuſteined the like loſſe of people (as was thought) at anis one time before.

The woods in wales cut downe.

Beaumariſe built.

Madoc taken priſoner.
Abington.

In the meane while, king Edward to reſtreine the rebellious attempts of thoſe Welſhmen, cauſed the woods of Wales to be cut downe, wherein before time the Welſhmen were accuſtomed to hide themſelues in time of danger. He alſo repared the caſtels and holds in that countrie, and builded ſome new, as the citie and caſtell of Bewmariſe with other, ſo that the Welſhmen conſtreined through hunger and famine, were inforced within a while to come to the kings peace. Alſo at length about the feaſt of ſaint Laurence, the Welſhman Madoc, that tooke himſelfe for prince of Wales was taken priſoner, and being brought to London was committed to perpetuall priſon. ¶ By ſome writers it ſhould appeare, that Madoc was not taken, but rather after manie aduentures & ſundrie conflicts, when the Welſhmen were brought to an iſſue of great extremitie, the ſaid Madoc came in and ſubmitted himſelfe to the kings peace, and was receiued, vpon condition that he ſhould purſue Morgan till he had taken him and brought him to the kings priſon, which was doone, and ſo all things in thoſe parts were ſet in reſt and peace, and manie hoſtages of the chéefeſt amongſt the Welſh nobilitie were deliuered to the king, who ſent them to diuerſe caſtels in England where they were ſafelie kept almoſt to the end of the warres that followed with Scotland.

Welſhmen impriſoned.

Polydor.

Charles de Valois chaſeth the Engliſh men.

The Earle of Richmond.

Rion beſieged

About the ſame time Charles de Valois brother to the French king, being ſent with an armie into Gaſcoine, and comming vpon the ſudden, found the Engliſhmen wandering abroad in the countrie out of order, by reaſon wherof taking them at that aduantage, he cauſed them to leaue their booties behind them, ſlue part of them, and chaſed the reſidue, the which fled to their ſhips, or to ſuch hauen townes as were in their poſſeſſion. The capteins of the Engliſhmen, as Iohn de Britaine earle of Richmond, and the lord Iohn ſaint Iohn, after they had got togither their ſouldiers which had béene thus chaſed, ſent two bands vnto Ponteſey to defend that towne againſt the enimies: alſo other two bands vnto ſaint Seuere: and they themſelues went to Rion to fortifie that place. Charles de Valois aduertiſed hereof, thought he would not giue them long reſpit to make themſelues ſtrong by gathering any new power, and therfore appointed the coneſtable ſir Raſe de Neale, (who had woone the citie of Burdeaux from the Engliſhmen latelie before) to go vnto Ponteſey and beſiege that towne, whileſt he went vnto Rion, which he beſieged and fiercelie aſſaulted. But the Engliſhmen and Gaſcoins did not onelie defend the towne ſtoutlie, but alſo made an iſſue forth vpon their enimies, though (as it happened) the ſmaller number was not able to ſuſteine the force of the greater multitude, and ſo were the Engliſhmen beaten backe into the towne againe.

Pontſey won.

Nic. Triuet.
Rion wonne.

Whileſt they tried their manhood thus at Rion, the conſtable woone Ponteſcy or Pontſac vpon Dordone, and came to ioine with the earles de Valois at Rion, and ſo inforced both their powers to win that towne. The Engliſhmen and Gaſcoins, though they were put in ſome feare, yet they ſhewed their approoued valiancie in defending the towne, till at length when they ſaw they could defend it no longer, and were in no hope of ſuccour from anie part, they fled out about midnight, and made toward their ſhips: but diuerſe of them were taken by the waie, for the Frenchmen hauing knowledge of their intent, forlaie the paſſages, and taking ſome of them that firſt ſought to eſcape thus by flight, ſlue them, but there was not many of thoſe. For all the reſidue, when they perceiued that the Frenchmen had laid betwixt them and their ſhips, making vertue of neceſſitie, ſtood ſtill in defenſe of the towne, till the Frenchmen entred it by force of aſſault the friday in Eaſter wéeke.

Engliſhmen taken.

Abington.

Sir Adam Kreting kild.
Sir walter Gifford.

Some write, that the ſame night, in which they ſo ment to flée to their ſhips, there chanced a great tumult and mutenie betwixt the footmen and horſſemen, ſo that they fought togither, or elſe might the whole number of them haue eſcaped. The horſſemen that got forth left their horſſes behind them readie brideled and ſadled, which the Frenchmen vpon entring the towne in the morning tooke, after they had ſlaine the moſt part of the footmen. The Frenchmen hauing got a bloudie victorie, ſaued onelie the capteins and gentlemen, and ſlue the other, aſwell Engliſhmen as Gaſcoins. There was taken of knights, ſir Raſe Tannie, ſir Amis de ſaint Amand, with his brother ſir Raſe de Gorges marſhall of the armie, ſir Roger Leiborne, ſir Iohn Kreting, ſir Iames Kreting, ſir Hen. Boding, ſir Iohn Mandeuile, ſir Iohn Fulborne, ſir Robert Goodfield, ſir Thomas Turberuile, & ſir Walter, with thrée & thirtie eſquiers, which were ſent all vnto Paris. Sir Adam Kreting was killed, a right valiant knight, by reaſon of one ſir Walter Gifford a knight alſo, which had dwelled in France manie yeares before as an outlaw.

Saint Seuere taken.
Nic. Triuet.
Hugh Véer.
Charles de Valois.

Saint Seuere beſieged.

Saint Seuere yéelded by compoſicion.

Charles de Valois returneth into France.

Polydor.

On the ſame day was the towne of ſaint Seuere deliuered vnto the Engliſhmen, the which Hugh or (as Abington ſaith) Robert Véer, brother to the earle of Oxenford tooke vpon him to kéepe as capteine there with two hundred men of armes. Charles de Valois aduertiſed thereof, departed from Rion with all ſpéed, to beſiege the foreſaid towne of ſaint Seuere, per the Engliſhmen ſhould haue time to fortifie it. But the foreſaid Hugh Véer kept him out the ſpace of thirtéene or (as Abington ſaith) nine wéekes, to the great loſſe of the Frenchmen, no ſmall part of their people dieng in the meane time, both of peſtilence and famine. At length, when vittels began to faile within, a truce was taken for fiftéene daies, within the which it might be lawfull for them within the towne to ſend vnto Baion for ſuccour, which if it came not within that tearme, the towne ſhould be yéelded vnto the Frenchmen, and ſo it was vpon theſe conditions, that the Engliſhmen and other that would depart, ſhould haue libertie to take with them their armour and goods, and be ſafelie conueied two daies iornie on their waie from the French armie. Alſo that thoſe which were minded to remaine ſtill in the towne, ſhould not ſuſteine any loſſe or damage in their bodies or goods. The pledges alſo which aforetime were taken out of that towne by the French kings ſeneſhall, ſhould returne in ſafetie to the towne, and haue their goods reſtored vnto them. This doone, Charles de Valois appointed a garriſon of ſoldiers to remaine there for the kéeping of the towne, and then returned backe into France. The Engliſhmen, which eſcaped out of thoſe places from the Frenchmens hands, repaired vnto Baion, to defend that towne with their capteins the foreſaid erle earle of Richmond and the lord Iohn de S. Iohn, the which of ſome are vntruelie ſaid to haue béene ſlaine at Rion. Shortlie after that Charles de Valois was departed and gone out of the countrie, the towne of ſaint Seuere was recouered by the Engliſhmen.

The Earle of Oxford then liuing hight Robert Véer and not Hugh Véer.

¶ It ſhould appeare by report of ſome writers, that Hugh Véer (whome they wronglie name to be earle of Oxenford) was ſent ouer as then from king Edward to the aid of his capteins in Gaſcoine, and at his firſt comming, recouered the towne of ſaint Seuere, and afterwards ſo valiantlie defended it againſt the Frenchmen, that honorable mention is made of him, both by Nicholas Triuet, and alſo by ſome

N. Triuet.

Polydor.

French writers, for his high manhood therin ſhewed. But whether he were brother or ſonne to the earle of Oxford, I can not ſaie; howbeit about the 27 yeare of this king Edwards reigne, we find one Hugh Veer, that was a baron, whom I take to be this man, but earle I thinke he was not. For (as Euerſden ſaith) one Robert Veer that was earle of Oxford deceaſſed in the yeare next inſuing, and after him ſucceeded an other earle that bare the ſame name (as by records it may appeare.) Polydor ſpeaking of the ſiege of S. Seuere, rehearſeth not who was capteine as then of the towne, but in the yeelding of it vnto Charles de Valois, after he had laine more than three moneths before it, he agreeth with other writers.

Polydor. Cardinals ſent to the kings of England and France to treat a peace. Math. Weſtm.

The cardinals gather monie.

In the ſame yeare Berard biſhop of Alba and Simon archbiſhop of Bourges, two cardinals of the Romane ſee, were ſent vnto the kings of England and France, to mooue them to conclude a peace. They firſt came into France, and after into England, but perceiuing the minds of the kings nothing inclined to concord, they returned to Rome without any concluſion of their purpoſe, but not without monie gathered of religious men to beare out their expenſes, for they had authoritie by the popes grant to receiue in name of procuracies and expenſes, ſix marks of euerie cathedrall and collegiat church thorough the realme, beſides diuerſe other rewards. And where any poore chapiter of nunnes or religious perſons were not able of themſelues, the pariſh churches next adioining were appointed to be contributorie with them.

Nic. Triuet. Polydor. Math. Weſtm. Sir Thomas Turberuiles promiſe to the French king.

At the ſame time ſir Thomas Turberuile a knight, and one of thoſe (as before ye haue heard) which were taken at Rion, to ſaue his life, and to deliuer himſelfe out of captiuitie, though he was neuer proued falſe before, promiſed king Philip that if he would ſuffer him to returne into England, he would ſo worke with king Edward, that he might be made by him admerall of the ſeas; which thing brought to paſſe he would deliuer the Engliſh nauie into the hands of the ſaid king Philip. Herevpon was he ſet at libertie, and ouer he came into England. And for as much as he had knowne to be a man of ſingular and approued valiancie, king Edward receiued him verie courteouſlie, who remembring his promiſed practiſe to the French king, fell in hand by procuring of freends to be made admerall of the ſeas. But king Edward (as God would haue it) denied that ſute.

The French king ſendeth forth a fleet againſt England. Abington.

Abington.

French men ſlaine. A gallie burnt.

The French king in the meane time hauing prepared his nauie, conteining three hundred ſaile, what with the gallies and other ſhips (for he had got diuerſe both from Merſelles and Genoa) ſent the ſame forth to the ſeas, that vpon ſuch occaſion the king of England might alſo ſend forth his fleet. But the French nauie comming neere to the coaſt of England, and lieng at anchor certeine daies, looking for ſir Thomas Turberuile; when he came not at the day prefixed, the capteines of the French fleet appointed one of their veſſels to approch neere to the ſhore, and to ſet on land certeine perſons that knew the countrie, to vnderſtand and learne the cauſe of ſuch ſtaie. They being taken of the Engliſhmen and examined, could make no direct anſwer in their owne excuſe, and ſo were put to death. Some write that they ſent fiue gallies towards the ſhore to ſuruey the coaſt, of the which gallies one of them aduanſing forth afore hir fellowes, arriued at Hide neere to Romney hauen, where the Engliſhmen eſpieng hir, to draw the Frenchmen on land, feined to flie backe into the countrie, but returning ſuddenlie vpon the enimies, they ſlue the whole number of them, being about two hundred and fiftie perſons. They ſet fire on the gallie alſo and burned hir.

Douer robbed by the French.

The Frenchmen chaſed to their ſhips.

Frenchmen ſlaine about Douer.

The admerall of the French fleet kindled in anger herewith, ſailed ſtreight vnto Douer, and there landing with his people, robbed the towne and priorie. The towneſmen being ſtriken with terror and feare of the ſudden landing of their enimies, fled into the countrie, and raiſed people on euerie ſide, the which being aſſembled togither in great numbers, towards euening came to Douer, and inuading ſuch Frenchmen as were ſtraied abroad to ſeeke preies, ſlue them downe in ſundrie places. The French admerall which had beene buſie all the day in pilfering the towne, hearing the noiſe of thoſe Frenchmen that came running towards the ſea ſide, ſtreightwaies got him to his ſhips with ſuch pillage as he could take with him. The other Frenchmen, which were gone abroad into the countrie to fetch preies, and could not come to their ſhips in time, were ſlaine euerie mothers ſonne. Some of them hid themſelues in the corne fields, and were after ſlaine of the countrie people. There was little leſſe than eight hundred of them thus ſlaine by one meane and other at that time. There were not manie of the men of Douer ſlaine, for they eſcaped by ſwift flight at the firſt entrie made by the Frenchmen: but of women and children there died a great number, for the enimies ſpared none. There was alſo an old moonke ſlaine named Thomas, a man of ſuch vertue (as the opinion went) that after his deceaſſe, manie miracles through him were ſhewed.

Sir Thomas Turberuile executed. N. Triuet.

Caxton.

Abington.

Sir Thomas Turberuile, being troubled in his mind that he could not bring his traitorous purpoſe to paſſe, began to aſſaie another waie, which was to procure Iohn Balioll king of Scotland to ioine in league with the French king, but yer any of his practiſes could be brought about, his treaſon was reuealed, who being thereof euidentlie conuicted, was put to execution. Nich. Triuet ſaith, that he had promiſed the French king to cauſe Wales to reuolt from king Edward, and that by procurement of the prouoſt of Paris, he conſented to worke ſuch treaſon. And (as ſome write) he did not onelie homage vnto the French king, but alſo left two of his ſonnes in pledge for aſſurance to worke that which he had promiſed. His ſecretarie that wrote the letters vnto the French king, conteining his imagined treaſons, with other aduertiſements touching king Edwards purpoſes, fearing leaſt the matter by ſome other means might come to light (as the old prouerb ſaith,

Quicquid nix celat ſolis calor omne reuelat)

as well to his deſtruction as his maiſters for concealing it, diſcloſed all to the king. Now he hauing knowledge that he was bewraied by his ſeruant, fled out of the court, but ſuch diligence was vſed in the purſuit of him, that he was taken within two daies after, and brought backe againe to London, where he was conuicted of the treaſon ſo by him imagined, and therefore finallie put to death. ¶ This yeare the cleargie gaue to the king the tenth part of their goods, the citizens a ſixt part, and the commons a twelfth part, or rather (as Euerſden ſaith) the burgeſſes of good townes gaue the ſeuenth, and the commons abroad the eleuenth penie.

The death of noble men.

Sir Rafe Monthermer wedded the counteſſe of Gloceſter.

The ſame yeare died Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloceſter, which left iſſue behind him, begot of his wife the counteſſe Ione the kings daughter (beſide three daughters) one yoong ſonne named alſo Gilbert to ſucceed him as his heire. The counteſſe his wife, after hir huſbands deceaſſe, married a knight of meane eſtate, borne in the biſhopricke of Dureſme, named ſir Rafe Monthermer, that had ſerued the earle hir firſt huſband in his life time. The king at the firſt tooke diſpleaſure herewith, but at length through the hie valiancie of the knight, oft times ſhewed and apparantlie approoued, the matter was ſo well taken, that he was intituled earle of Gloceſter,

Anno Reg. 24.
N. Triuet.
1296

and aduanced to great honor. ¶ John Romane archbiſhop of Yorke alſo this yeare died, after whome one Henrie de Newmarke deane of the colledge there ſuccéeded. ¶ Moreouer the ſame yeare William de Valence earle of Penbroke departed this life, and lieth buried at Weſtminſter, and then Aimer his ſonne ſuccéeded him.

The king of Scots concludeth a league with the French king.
Polydor.
Matth. Weſt.

John king of Scotland affianced his ſonne Edward Balioll with the daughter of Charles du Valois brother to the French king, and concluded with the ſaid French king a league againſt the king of England. Nothing mooued the Scotiſh king ſo much hereto, as the affection which he bare towards his natiue countrie, for he was a French man borne, and lord of Harecourt in Normandie, which ſegniorie was after made an earledome by Philip du Valois king of France. The Scotiſhmen had choſen 12 péeres, that is to ſaie, foure biſhops, foure earles, and foure barons, by whoſe aduiſe and counſell the king ſhould gouerne the realme, by whome he was induced alſo to conſent vnto ſuch accord with the French men, contrarie to his promiſed faith giuen to king Edward when he did homage to him.

K. Edwards requeſt made to the Scots is denied.
Abington.
The diſloiall dealing of the Scots.

King Edward not fullie vnderſtanding the concluſion of this league, required aid of the Scotiſh king for the maintenance of his warres againſt France, and receiuing a doubtfull anſwer, began to ſuſpect the matter: whervpon he required to haue thrée caſtels, as Barwike, Edenburgh, and Rokeſburgh, deliuered vnto him as gages till the end of the warre, and if the Scotiſhmen continued faithfull vnto him, he would then reſtore the ſame caſtels to them againe when the warres were ended. This to do the Scotiſhmen vtterlie denied, alledging that their countrie was frée of it ſelfe, and acquit of all ſeruitude or bondage, and that they were in no condition bound vnto the king of Scotland, and therefore they would receiue the merchants of France, of Flanders, or any other countrie without exception, as they thought good.

Nic. Triuet.
The earle of Lancaſter ſent into Gaſcoine.
Abington.

There were in the hauen of Berwike at the ſame time, certeine Engliſh merchants, vpon whome the Scots made aſſault, and wounded ſome of them, and ſome of them they ſlue, and chaſed the reſidue, the which returning into England, made complaint, and ſhewed in what euill maner they had béene dealt with. King Edward héerevpon perceiuing the purpoſes of the Scots, determined to make warre vpon them with all ſpéed, & to conquer the whole countrie, if they could not cleare themſelues of ſuch euill dealing as of them was reported and thought to be put in practiſe. About the conuerſion of ſaint Paule in Januarie, king Edward ſent ouer into Gaſcoine his brother the lord Edmund earle of Lancaſter, with the earle of Lincolne and other, to the number of 26 banerets, and 700 men of armes, beſides a great multitude of other people. They arriued at Blay, about the midſt of Lent, and ſtaied there till towards Eaſter. In which meane ſeaſon, a great ſort of Gaſcoins and other people reſorted vnto them, ſo that they were two thouſand men of armes.

The caſtell of Leſpar deliuered vnto him.
Nic. Triuet.
The Frenchmen forced to retire.
Polydor.

Vpon Cene thurſdaie, the caſtell de Leſparre was deliuered vnto the earle of Lancaſter, and after that diuers other caſtels. At his approching néere vnto Burdeaux, vpon the thurſdaie in Eaſter wéeke, as he reſted to refreſh himſelfe and his armie in a little village called Rekell, an armie of French men iſſuing out of Burdeaux, ment to come on the Engliſhmen at vnwares: but hauing warning, they prepared themſelues to battell, ſo well as the ſhortnes of time would permit, and ſo therevpon incountring with their enimies, and fighting a ſore battell, at length conſtreined the French men to returne vnto the citie, and purſuing them as they fled, two Engliſh knights being brethren to ſir Peter de Mallow and an other that was a Gaſcoine, entred the citie with two ſtandard-bearers belonging to the earle of Richmond, & to the lord Alane de la Zouch, whom the Frenchmen tooke, cloſing them within the gates. The other Engliſhmen being ſhut out, firſt fell to the ſpoile of the ſuburbs, and then ſet fire vpon the ſame. After this were certeine of the citizens that ſecretlie were at a point with the earle of Lancaſter, to haue deliuered the citie into his hands, but their practiſe being eſpied, they were taken and executed yer they could performe that which they had promiſed.

The earle of Lancaſter departeth this life.
Aques beſieged.
The earle of Arthois ſent with an armie to Gaſcoine.
N. Triuet.

Then the earle perceiuing he ſhould but loſe his labor to ſtaie any longer there, vpon certeine weightie occaſions returned vnto Baionne, where he ſhortlie after fell ſicke and died. He left behind him thrée ſonnes, Thomas that ſuccéeded him in the earldome of Lancaſter, Henrie lord of Monmouth, and John whome he had begot of his wife Blanch, the which before had béene married vnto Henrie earle of Champaigne, and king of Nauar, by whome ſhée had but one onelie daughter, that was married vnto the French king Philip de Beau. After this the Engliſh armie beſieged the citie of Aques, but thorough want of vittels he was conſtreined to raiſe thence and breake vp the ſiege. The earle of Arthois being ſent of the French king with an armie into Gaſcoine, incountred with the Engliſhmen, and chaſed them with the ſlaughter of a great number, and after recouered diuers townes and fortreſſes in the countrie.

Burg beſieged.
The lord Simon de Montagew his enterpriſe to reſcue the garriſon of Burg.
The ſiege is raiſed.

Thoſe Engliſhmen that kept the towne of Burg, being compaſſed about with a ſiege by Mounſeur de Sully, obteined truce for a certeine ſpace, during the which they ſent vnto Blaines for ſome reléefe of vittels, and where other refuſed to bring vp a ſhip loden with vittels, which was there prepared, the lord Simon de Montagew, a right valiant chéefetaine, and a wiſe, tooke vpon him the enterpriſe, and through the middle of the French gallies, which were placed in the riuer to ſtop that no ſhip ſhould paſſe towards that towne, by helpe of a proſperous wind, he got into the hauen of Burg, and ſo relieued them within of their want of vittels, by meanes whereof, Mounſeur de Sully brake vp his ſiege, and returned into France.

The king of England concludeth a league with the earle of Flanders.
He concludeth a league alſo with the earle of Bar.
The earle of Bar inuadeth Champaigne.

In the meane time, king Edward not ſléeping his buſineſſe, procured Guie earle of Flanders to ioine with him in league againſt the Frenchmen. This Guie was the ſon of Margaret counteſſe of Flanders, whom ſhe had by hir ſecond huſband William lord of Dampire in Burſtoine. Alſo king Edward procured Henrie earle of Bar, to whome (as before ye haue heard) he had giuen his daughter Eleanor in marriage, to make warre vpon the Frenchmen, ſo that at one time the erle of Bar inuaded the countrie of Champaigne, and the earle of Flanders made incurſions vpon thoſe countries of France which ioine vnto Flanders. King Philip hereof aduertiſed, ſent forth one Walter de Creſſie with a great armie againſt the earle of Bar, ſo that beſieging the chéefeſt towne of Bar, he conſtreined the ſaid earle to leaue off his enterpriſe in Champaigne, and to returne home, for doubt to loſe more there than hée ſhould win abroad.

A marriage concluded.

But now to touch more at large the circumſtances of the occaſion that mooued the earle of Flanders to make war againſt the French king, I find (in Iacob Meir) that there was a marriage concluded betwixt the lord Edward the eldeſt ſon of king Edward, and the ladie Philip daughter to the foreſaid Guie earle of Flanders, which marriage was concluded by Henrie biſhop of Lincolne, and the earle Warren, being ſent ouer as ambaſſadours by king Edward, vnto the ſaid earle Guie for the ſame purpoſe. In the yeare following, the ſaid earle of Flanders, togither with his wife, comming to viſit the French king at Corbeill, were arreſted, and ſent to Paris, there to remaine as priſoners, bicauſe that the earle had affianced his daughter to the French kings aduerſarie, without his licence: neither might they be deliuered, till by mediation of the pope (who muſt néeds meddle in the matter by vertue of his peremptorie power, & all chriſtendome muſt veile the bonnet to his holineſſe, or rather abhominableneſſe,

Ille etenim toto ſeſe iubet orbe colendum,
Cui niſi parueris, crede perire licet)

and ſuertie had vpon the promiſe of Amedie earle of Sauoy, they were ſet at libertie, with theſe conditions, that they ſhould deliuer into the French kings hands their daughter, which was ſo affianced vnto K. Edwards ſonne, and further couenanted, not to conclude any league with the king of England, but in all points t'obſerue a certeine peace which was concluded with Ferdinando earle of Flanders, in the yeare 1225. And if earle Guie brake the ſame peace, then ſhould he be excommunicated, and all his countrie of Flanders interdicted by the archbiſhop of Reims, and the biſhop of Senlis, iudges appointed herein by authoritie of the pope.

The earle of Flanders arreſted.

The pope intermedleth in the matter.

The earle of Flanders forced to agrée with the French king.

The earles daughter being ſent for, and brought vnto Paris, the earle and his wife were releaſed, and ſuffered to returne into Flanders, and ſhortlie after, the earle made earneſt ſuit to haue his daughter reſtored vnto him againe, inſomuch that he procured pope Boniface to be a meane for him to the French king; but all would not ſerue, no, though as ſome ſay the pope accurſſed the French king for reteining hir, anſwer being made, that matters perteining to worldlie gouernement, belonged not to the pope to diſcuſſe. Finallie, earle Guie, perceiuing he could not preuaile in that ſuit, to haue his daughter againe, vpon high diſpleaſure concluded to ioine in league with king Edward & his confederats. Herevpon, at an aſſemblie or councell kept at Gerardmount, there was a ſolemne league made and agréed betwixt Adolph the emperour of Almaine, Edward king of England, Guie earle of Flanders, John Duke of Brabant, Henrie earle of Bar, both ſonnes in law to king Edward, and Albert duke of Auſtrich, againſt Philip king of France, and John earle of Henault his partaker.

The earle of Flanders releaſed returneth home.

The French kings anſwer to the pope.

A new league betwixt the K. of England, the emperour and others againſt the French king.

Match. Weſt.

The merchants of Flanders procured the earle to conclude this league with king Edward, as ſome write, the rather in reſpect of the great commodities which roſe to their countrie, by reaſon of the intercourſe of merchandize vſed betwixt England and Flanders, and for that through aid of the Engliſhmen, they might the better withſtand the malice, both of the French and of all other their enimies. This league being proclaimed in England, there were ſent ouer into Flanders, the treaſurer of the excheker, and diuerſe other noble men, to fetch hoſtages from thence, and to giue to the earle fiftéene thouſand pounds of ſiluer, toward the fortifieng of his caſtels and holds. King Philip being hereof aduertiſed, by counſell of the péeres of his realme, ſent two honorable perſonages, as the capteine of Mounſtrell, and the capteine of Belquerke, which ſhould attach the earle of Flanders by his bodie, and ſummon him to yéeld himſelfe priſoner at Paris, within the ſpace of fiftéene daies next inſuing.

The earle of Flanders defieth the French king.

This attachment made, and ſummons giuen, the earle of Flanders ſent his full defiance vnto the French king by the abbats of Gemblois, and Seneſles, vnto whome he gaue ſufficient letters procuratorie, to authoriſe them thereto, dated at Male in the yeare of Grace 1296, after the accounts of the chronicles of Flanders, which begin their yere at Eaſter: and ſo this chanced in the fiue and twentith yeare of king Edwards reigne, the wedneſdaie next after the feaſt of the Epiphanie. Herevpon was the earle accurſſed, & Flanders interdicted by the archbiſhop of Reims, and the biſhop of Senlis comming vnto Terwane for that purpoſe, about the fifteenth day of June, in the yeare 1297. But the lord Robert the earles ſonne appealed from that interdiction to the pope, and ſo the Flemmings tooke themſelues frée & out of danger of the ſame. Earle Guie alſo obteined of king Edward, that it might be lawfull for them of Bruges, to buy wools, through England, Scotland and Ireland, as fréelie as the Italians might by their priuilege and grant.

The earle of Flanders accurſſed.

His ſonne appealeth from the interdiction.

But to returne now to the doings of king Edward, who in this meane time, hauing perfect knowledge of the league concluded betwixt the king of France and the king of Scotland, prepared an armie, and firſt ſent ambaſſadors into Scotland, to giue ſummons to king John to appeare at Newcaſtell within certeine daies, that he might there ſhew the cauſe whie he had broken the league: and further, to declare vnto him that he was deceiued, if he thought he might ſerue two maiſters, contrarie to the words of the goſpell, and according to the old ſaieng which ſeldome neuer faileth in conſequence,

Deficit ambobus qui vult ſeruire duobus.

For how much fauour as he purchaſed at the hands of the Frenth king, ſo much diſpleaſure might he aſſure himſelfe to procure at the hands of the king of England, whome to obeie, it ſhould be moſt for his aduantage. The ambaſſadors that were ſent, did their meſſage throughlie, but king John was ſo farre off from anſwering any thing that might ſound to the maintenance of peace, that ſhortlie after he ſent letters of complaint vnto king Edward, for wrongs which he alledged he had ſuſteined by his means and at his hands. Herevpon, king Edward, by aduiſe of his councell, determined to ſet forward with his armie into Scotland.

Ambaſſadors ſent to the K. of Scots.

In the meane time, Robert Ros, capteine of Warke caſtell, reuolted to the Scotiſh king, moued therevnto through the loue of a Scotiſh gentlewoman, whome he meant to marrie, notwithſtanding he had ſworne fealtie vnto king Edward. Wherevpon, his brother William de Ros giuing knowledge to king Edward, required to haue ſome aid, whereby he might defend the caſtell againſt the Scotiſhmen. King Edward ſent vnto him a thouſand ſouldiers, (Polydor ſaith an hundred) the which as they lodged one night in a towne called Preſtfen, were ſlaine by the Scotiſhmen of the gariſon of Rockeſborough, that were led and guided by the ſaid Robert Ros: ſome of them although but few eſcaped awaie by flight. King Edward aduertiſed hereof, haſted forth, and came to the ſaid caſtell, glad of this (as is reported) that the Scotiſhmen had firſt begun the warre, meaning, as it ſhould ſéeme by their procéedings, to follow the ſame, for vpon Good friday, diuerſe Scotiſhmen entring the borders, burnt ſundrie villages, and ſpoiled the abbeie of Carham.

Nic. Triuet.

The lord Ros reuolteth to ẏ K. of Scots.

William de Ros continueth faithfull to the king of England.

Engliſhmen diſtreſſed.

Rich. South.

Furthermore, whileſt king Edward kept his caſtell at Warke, ſeauen earles of Scotland, as Bouchan, Menteth, Stratherne, Lennox, Ros, Atholl, and Mar, with John Comin the maiſter of Badenaw, hauing aſſembled an armie togither of fiue hundred men of armes on horſſebacke, and ten thouſand footmen in Annandale, vpon monday in Eaſter wéeke entred England, and putting all to fire and ſword, approched to Carleill, and laid ſiege thereunto on each ſide, paſſing the water of Eden by a foord vnder Richardſton, and did ſo much preuaile, that they burned

N. Triuet.

Abington.

The Scots inuade England.

Nic. Triuet.

the ſuburbes, and aſſaulted the gates, at which enterpriſe, a gentleman of Galloway as he ventured ſomewhat neere to the gate, was drawne vp by an iron hooke, of thoſe that ſtood aloft vpon the gates to defend the ſame, and there ſlaine, and thruſt through with ſpeares. In the meane time, a ſpie, the which had beene taken and committed to priſon, ſet fire on the houſe wherein he was incloſed, and ſo the flames catching hold vpon the other buildings, a great part of the citie was thereby burned. Yet the men and the women getting themſelues to the wals, droue their enimies backe, and ſo defended the citie from taking. Wherevpon, the Scotiſh lords perceiuing they could not preuaile, left their ſiege on the thurſdaie in Eaſter weeke, and returned againe into Scotland.

The Scots raiſe their ſiege from Carleil.

Berwike ſummoned.

Abington.

The Engliſh fleet.

Foure Engliſh ſhips loſt.

Abington.

On the ſame thurſdaie, king Edward with his armie paſſed the riuer of Tweed, and ſo entring into Scotland, ſent to the burgeſſes of Berwike, offering them peace vpon certeine conditions, and ſtaied a whole day for an anſwer: but when he could haue none that liked him, nor that ſounded in anie thing to peace, he approched the towne, and lodged in the monaſterie of Caldeſtreime. His armie conſiſted as ſome write of foure thouſand men of armes on horſebacke, and thirtie thouſand foot men, beſides fiue hundred men of armes on horſſebacke, and a thouſand footmen of the biſhoprike of Durham. At the ſame time, there came foure and twentie Engliſh ſhips, the mariners whereof, beholding where the Engliſh armie was placed in battell raie, vpon a plaine, the king making there certeine knights, they thought his meaning was to haue giuen forthwith an aſſalt, and ſo entring the hauen, and approching to the land, began to fight with the towneſmen, where they loſt foure of their ſhips, and were conſtreined to withdraw with the reſidue, with helpe of the falling water. Some haue written, that they loſt but three ſhips which were conſumed with fire, and that the mariners and ſouldiers of one of thoſe ſhips, after they had defended themſelues by great manhood from the firſt houre of the daie, till eleuen of the clocke, eſcaped awaie, ſome by the bote of that ſhip, and ſome leaping into the water, were ſaued by the botes of other ſhips that made in to ſuccour them.

Berwike wonne.

This ſir Richard Cornewall was brother to the erle of Cornewall.

Abington.

Caxton.

The rumor of the mariners attempt being bruted through the armie, the king paſſing forward towards the towne, got ouer a ditch, which the Scots had caſt to impeach his paſſage, and ſo comming to the towne, wan it, not loſing any man of renowme, ſauing ſir Richard Cornewall, the which was ſlaine by a quarell which a Flemming ſhot out of a croſſebowe, being in the red hall, which the merchants of Flanders held in that towne, and had fortified it in manner of a tower: but when they would not yeeld, and could not eaſilie otherwiſe be wonne, the houſe towards euening was ſet on fire, and ſo they being thirtie in number, were burned to death within it. Vpon the ſame night, the king lodged in the caſtell, which was yeelded vnto him by them that kept it, their liues and limmes ſaued, and receiuing an oth, that they ſhould not from thenceforth beare armour againſt the king of England, they were permitted to depart whither they thought good, their capteine ſir William Dowglas excepted, whom the king ſtill kept with him, till the end of the warres. Some write that there ſhould be ſlaine of Scotiſhmen at this winning of Berwike, aboue the number of twentie thouſand men, Abington ſaith 8000, but Richard Southwell ſaith 15000 at the leaſt one with an other, with ſmall loſſe of Engliſhmen, not paſt eight and twentie of all ſorts. Yee may read more hereof in the Scotiſh hiſtorie.

Abraham Fleming.

R. Grafton, pag. 176.

G. Buchanan rer. Scotic. lib. 8. pag. 243. prope finem.

¶ But before I paſſe ouer this ſlaughter, ſo lamentable and wonderfull, I haue bethought my ſelfe of a promiſed apologie for and in the behalfe of Richard Grafton, mentioned before in the reigne of Henrie the ſecond, page 112. col. 1. where I ſhewed how vnaduiſedlie and with vnſeemelie modeſtie for a man of learning, George Buchanan the Scot dooth ſhoot his bolts at the ſaid Grafton, as now by occaſion of the matter conuenientlie occurrent ſhall be ſhewed. The ſaid Grafton in his large volume of Engliſh chronicles, falling vpon the affaires betweene king Edward the firſt, and Iohn Baliol king of Scotland, among other things there remembred, maketh report that in the ſaid battell of Berwike, the ſlaughter was ſo great, that a mill might well haue beene driuen by the ſpace of two daies, with the ſtreames of bloud which at that time ouerranne the ground. At which words George Buchanan giueth a ſnatch, emboldened ſo to doo, bicauſe the ſaid Grafton referreth this record to Hector Boetius in his fourteenth booke and ſecond chapter.

Ieſu, how the Scot taketh vp the Engliſhman for halting in his allegation, firſt for the chapter, conuincing him that Hector Boetius diuided not his booke into chapters, and therefore, where is the ſecond chapter, ſith the whole fourteenth booke is a continued diſcourſe without diſtinction by chapters? Secondlie the ſaid Grafton hath the checke, for ſetting a lie aflote, Buchanan flatlie affirming that Hector Boetius hath no ſuch matter once mentioned in his annales. Touching the firſt fault, wherewith the Scot chargeth the Engliſhman, this is note-worthie, that it ſhould ſeeme to anie man of meane iudgement, that Buchanan of a prepenſed malice and purpoſed wilfulneſſe hath ſharpened his ſtile in this nipping ſort againſt Grafton. For ſith it was Graftons meaning to record the truth, ſo farre forth as he was warranted by the auerment of writers; why ſhould he be caſt in the teeth with *Effrænis maledicendi libido*, or diſhoneſtlie termed *Indoctus & impudenter mendax?* Which opprobrious epithets, if they were deſerued by an vntrue report of the author; then ſhould Buchanan haue ſharpened his tong againſt Belenden his countriman, the tranſlator of Hector Boetius into their mother tong, from whome Grafton hath deriued his words; ſenſe for ſenſe vnmangled (as he found the ſame written.)

Now who knoweth not that Bellenden diſtinguiſhed Hectors annales into chapters, vpon whoſe authoritie Grafton relieng, and citing his authoritie according to the quotation of his diuiſion, white ſhould he rather than Bellenden be barked at, who is the principall in this controuerſie? Againe, it could not be hidden from Buchanan, that Bellenden had diſtributed Boetius into chapters; conſidering that they were σύγχρονοι, both liuing in the reigne of Iames the fift of that name king of Scots: ſo that it might haue pleaſed him to haue tried Grafton by the Scotiſh Boetius, and ſo to haue beene reſolued for the ſecond chapter of the foureteenth booke, according to the archdeacon of Murreis tranſlation.

Hector Boetius, pag. 294. lib. impreſſ. Pariſijs à Iacobo du Puys, 1574.

Now for the matter it ſelfe, touching the effuſion of bloud, wherewith a mill might well haue beene driuen for two daies ſpace; Hector Boetius his owne words are theſe; *Riui ſanguinis toto oppido adeo fluxere, vt cum æſtu decurrente minor aqua quàm ad molendina circumagenda fuerit, adiuuante aquam ſanguine aliqua circumagi ſponte cœperint.* Which place, Bellenden hath interpreted after this manner; So lamentabl' ſlauhter wes throw all the parts of the toun, that ane mill might haif gane two daies ithandlie be ſtremis of blude. Now examine Graftons words by Bellenden, and Bellendens by Boetius (beſides that, marke what Grafton annexeth to the report of this ſlaughter, who ſaith that he will not inforce the credit thereof vpon any man, but counteth it a Scotiſh lie rather than a matter of truth) and then conclude according to equitie, that Grafton is altogither excuſable and fautleſſe, and Buchanans curious & furious challenge reprouable. But admit Grafton had fetcht his report from Boetius, as he had it from Bellenden; ſeemeth it a lie or an vnlikelihood, that the bloud guſhing out of the bodies of 25000, or (as Hector Boetius ſaith) 7000, would not increaſe to a ſtreame ſufficient & able to driue a mill or two about, without any water intermingled therwithall? The Latine copie hath *Riui ſanguinis*, riuers of bloud, noting by the word the abundance and alſo the ſtreaming courſe of the ſame, which was able with the violent current thereof to beare awaie the verie bodies of the ſlaine. To conclude this matter, & to ſet our Engliſhman by the truth, and let the Scot go with his lieng toong, which I would he had had the modeſtie to haue tempered, & to haue proffered a practiſe of that which himſelfe paraphraſticallie preacheth and teacheth others to obſerue, ſaieng;

In paraph. ſuper pſal. 39.

(Linguæ obſeraui clauſtra fræno, pertinax
Obmutui ſilentio,
Ac temerè ne quid os mali profunderet,
Verbis bonis clauſi exitum.)

K. Edward fortifieth Berwike.

A ſcotiſh frier ſent to king Edward.

And now to the ſtorie. K. Edward remaind at Berwike 15 daies, & cauſed a ditch to be caſt about the towne of 80 foot in breadth, & of the like in depth. In the meane time, about the beginning of Aprill, the warden and reader of the frier minors of Rockeſborough called Adam Blunt, came vnto him with letters of complaint from king John, for the wrongs doone and offered vnto him and his realme, as well in claiming an vniuſt ſuperioritie, and conſtreining him to doo homage by vndue and wrongfull meanes, as alſo by inuading his townes, ſlaieng and robbing his ſubiects: for the which cauſes he teſtified by the ſame letters, that he renounced all ſuch homage and fealtie for him and his ſubiects, as he, or any of them owght for any lands holden within England. The king hearing the letters red, receiued the reſignation of the homage, and commanded his chancellor, that the letter might be regiſtred in perpetuall memorie of the thing.

The Scotiſh king renounceth his homage and fealtie vnto the king of England.

The Scots inuade the Engliſh borders.

Harbotell.

Rich. South.

The earles of Scotland before remembred, being aſſembled togither with their powers at the caſtell of Jedworth, entred into England the eighth of Aprill, and with fire and ſword did much hurt in the countries as they paſſed. In Riddeſdale they beſieged the caſtell of Harbotell by the ſpace of two daies, but when they could not preuaile, they remoued, and paſſing forth by the eaſt part of the riuer of Tine, thorough Cokeſdale, Riddeſdale, and Northumberland, vnto Herham, they did much miſcheefe by burning and harrieng the countries. At Herham they ſpoiled the abbeie church, and got a great number of the cleargie, as well moonks, prieſts, as ſcholers, and others, whom they thruſt into the ſcholehouſe there, and cloſing vp the doores, ſet fire on the ſchoole, and burned all them to aſhes that were within it. It is wonderfull to read, what beaſtlie crueltie the Scots vſed in that road which they made at that time in two ſeuerall parts. For the earle of Boghan, with them of Galloway, entred by Cumberland in like manner as the other did in Riddeſdale, burning and murthering all that came in their waie. For whereas all thoſe that were of able age and luſtie to get awaie, fled, & eſcaped their hands; the aged & impotent creatures, women in childbed, and yoong children that could not ſhift for themſelues, were vnmercifullie ſlaine, and thruſt vpon ſpeares, and ſhaken vp in the aire, where they yeelded vp their innocent ghoſts in moſt pitifull wiſe.

The earle of Boghan.

The crueltie of the Scots.

Churches were burned, women were forced without reſpect of order, condition or qualitie, as well the maids, widowes and wiues, as nunnes that were reputed in thoſe daies conſecrated to God, and when they had beene ſo abuſed, manie of them were after alſo murthered, and cruellie diſpatched out of life. At length, they came to the nunrie of Lamclaie, & burned all the buildings there, ſauing the church, and then returned backe into Scotland with all their pillage and booties by Lauercoſt, an houſe of moonks, which they likewiſe ſpoiled. So that the cruell & bloudie deſolation whereof Lucan ſpeaketh in his ſecond booke of ciuill warres, may aptlie be inferred here, as fitlie deſcribing the mercileſſe murther of all ſtates and ſexes without parcialitie vnder the hand of the enimie: for ſaith he,

The nunrie of Lamclaie burnt.

Luc. lib. 2.

Nobilitas cum plebe perit, latéque vagatur
Enſis, & à nullo reuocatum eſt pectore ferrum,
Stat cruor in templis, multáque rubentia cæde
Lubrica ſaxa madent, nulli ſua profuit ætas,
Non ſenis extremum piguit vergentibus annis
Præcipitaſſe diem, non primo in limine vitæ
Infantis miſeri naſcentia rumpere fata.

The caſtell of Dunbar rendred to the Scots.

Patrike earle of Dunbar came to the king of England, and ſubmitted himſelfe, with all that he had into his hands; but the caſtell of Dunbar vpon ſaint Markes day, being aſſieged of the Scots was rendred vnto them, by treaſon of ſome that were within it, of whome, the counteſſe (wife to the ſame erle) was the cheefeſt; for recouerie whereof king Edward ſent John earle of Warren, Surrey and Suſſex, & William earle of Warwike with a great power, the which laieng ſiege to that caſtell, a great hoſt of Scotiſhmen came vpon them to the reſcue of them within, ſo that there was foughten a verie ſore and terrible battell. At length, the victorie abode with the Engliſhmen, and the Scotiſhmen were put to flight, the Engliſhmen following them in chaſe eight mile of that countrie, almoſt to the foreſt of Selkirke: the ſlaughter was great, ſo that (as was eſteemed) there died of the Scotiſhmen that day, to the number of ten thouſand.

Beſide 2000 barded horſſes they had in that armie 10000 footmen.

N. Triuet.
Matth. Weſtm.
Abington.

A ſore battell fought at Dunbar.

The number ſlaine.

Matth. Weſtm.
Abington.

The morrow after being ſaturdaie, which was the eight and twentith day of Aprill, at the kings comming thither the caſtell was ſurrendred vnto him. There were taken in the ſame caſtell three earles, Menteth, Caſſels, and Ros; ſix barons, John Comin the yoonger, William Sanclere, Richard Siward the elder, John Fitz Geffrey, Alexander de Morteigne, Edmund Comin of Kilbird, with thirtie knights, two clearks, John de Someruile, and William de Sanclere, and three and thirtie eſquires, the which were ſent vnto diuerſe caſtels in England, to be kept as priſoners. After the winning of Dunbar the king went to the caſtell of Rockeſborough, which incontinentlie was yeelded by the lord Steward of Scotland, the liues and members of all ſuch as were within it at the time of the ſurrender.

Rockeſborough yeelded.

Then went king Edward vnto Edenburgh, where he planted his ſiege about the caſtell, and raiſed engines, which caſt ſtones againſt and ouer the walles, ſore beating and bruſing the buildings within. But as it chanced, the king writing letters, to aduertiſe his councell at home of his proceedings, and concerning other buſineſſe, deliuered that packet vnto a Welſhman named Lewin, commanding him to go with the ſame to London in all haſt poſſible, for he knew him to be a verie ſpeedie meſſenger and a truſtie alſo (as he tooke it.) But hauing the letter thus deliuered him, togither with monie to beare his charges, he got him to a tauerne, where riotouſlie cõſuming the monie (which he had ſo receiued) in plaie, & making good cheere, in the morning he cauſed one of his companions to take a target, and beare it afore him in approching the caſtell, for that he meant (as he colourablie pretended) not to depart, vntill he had

Rich. Southw.

wrought ſome diſpleaſure to them within with his croſſebow, which he tooke with him for that purpoſe, ſo that comming vnto the caſtell gates, he called to the warders on the walles to caſt downe to him a cord, that they might plucke him vp to them therewith, for that he had ſomwhat to ſay to their capteine touching the ſecrets of the king of England.

They fulfilling his deſire, when he came in, and was brought afore the captein ſitting then at breakfaſt, he ſaid vnto him: Behold ſir, here ye may peruſe the king of Englands ſecrets, and withall raught to him a box, wherein the packet of the kings letters were incloſed, and appoint me (ſaith he) to ſome corner of the wall, and trie whether I can handle a croſſebow or not, to defend it againſt your aduerſaries. Heere when others would haue opened the box, and haue read the letters, the capteine would in no wiſe conſent thereto, but going into a turret, called to the Engliſhmen beelow, and willed them to ſignifie to the king, that one of his ſeruants being fled to him, ſought to bewraie his ſecrets, wherevnto he would by no means agree, and therefore meant to reſtore both the traitor and the letters. Herevpon, the lord Iohn Spenſer, comming to heare what the matter might meane, the capteine cauſed Lewin to be let downe to him, togither with the letters ſafe, and not touched by him at all.

A welſhman hanged.

When the king vnderſtood this, he much commended the honeſt reſpect of the capteine, and whereas he had cauſed engins to be raiſed to annoie them within (as yee haue heard) he commanded the ſame to ceaſſe, and withall, vpon their capteins ſuit, he granted them libertie to ſend vnto their king Iohn Balioll, to giue him to vnderſtand in what ſort they ſtood. As touching the Welſhman, he was drawne and hanged on a paire of high galowes, prepared for him of purpoſe, as he had well deſerued. A notable example of a traitorous villaine, ſo to offer the ſecrets of his ſouereigne to be known to his enimies: and no leſſe excellent a preſident of an honeſt and faithfull harted foe, that would not himſelfe nor let anie other haue a ſight of the contents therein written; a rare point of good meaning and vpright dealing in a ſouldier, and ſpeciallie in an enimie; but

——multo optimus ille
Militiæ cui poſtremum eſt primúmq; tueri
Inter bella fidem.

Striueling caſtel left void

Edenburgh caſtell deliuered to the king of England.

Now while the meſſengers were on their waie to Forfair, where the Scotiſh king then laie, king Edward with a part of his armie went vnto Striueling, where he found the caſtell gates ſet open, and the keies hanging on a naile, ſo that he entred there without any reſiſtance, for they that had this caſtle in gard, were fled out of it for feare before his comming. The meſſengers that were ſent from them within Edenburgh caſtell, comming to their king, declared to him in what caſe they ſtood that were beſieged. King Iohn, for that he was not able to ſuccor them by any manner of means at that preſent, ſent them word, to take the beſt waie they could for their owne ſafetie; with which anſwer the meſſengers returning, the caſtell was immediatlie deliuered vnto the lord Iohn Spenſer, that was left in charge with the ſiege, at the kings departure towards Striueling, with the like conditions as the caſtell of Rockeſborough had yeelded a little before.

Thus was that ſtrong caſtell of Edenburgh ſurrendred by force of ſiege, to the king of Englands vſe, on the 15 daie, after he had firſt laid his ſiege about it. A place of ſuch ſtrength by the heigth of the ground whereon it ſtood, that it was thought impregnable, and had not beene wonne by force at any time, ſince the firſt building therof, before that preſent, ſo farre as anie remembrance either by writing or otherwiſe could be had thereof.

Saint Iohns towne.

The king of Scots ſueth for peace.

The biſhop of Durham.

The king of Scots ſubmitteth himſelfe to the K. of England.

Here at Edenburgh, or rather at Rockeſborough (as Abington ſaith) a great number of Welſhmen came vnto the king, who ſent home the like number of Engliſh footmen, of thoſe that ſeemed moſt wearie. Moreouer, at Striueling, there came to the king the earle of Vlſter, with a great number of Iriſhmen. Then paſſing ouer the riuer of Forth, the king came vnto ſaint Iohns towne about Midſummer, and there tarried certeine daies. Whileſt theſe things were a dooing, Iohn king of Scotland, perceiuing that he was not of power to reſiſt king Edward, ſent ambaſſadors vnto him to ſue for peace: king Edward was content to heare them, and therevpon appointed, that king Iohn ſhould reſort vnto the caſtell of Brechin, there to commen with ſuch of his councell as he would ſend thither within fifteene daies next enſuing, to treat of an agreement. King Edward ſent thither Anthonie biſhop of Durham, with full commiſſion to conclude all things in his name. And within the appointed time came king Iohn, and diuers of his nobles vnto him, the which after many & ſundrie treaties holden betwixt them and the ſaid biſhop, at length they ſubmitted themſelues and the realme of Scotland, ſimplie and purelie into the hands of the king of England, for the which ſubmiſſion to be firmelie kept and obſerued, king Iohn deliuered his ſon in hoſtage, and made letters thereof, written in French as followeth.

The inſtrument of the *ſaid ſubmiſſion.*

IEhan per la grace de Dieu, roy de Eſcoce, á tous ceulx quæ ceſtes præſentes letres verront ou orront, ſaluz, &c. Iohn by the grace of GOD king of Scotland, to all thoſe that theſe preſent letters ſhall ſee or heare, ſendeth greeting. Bicauſe that we through euill counſell and our owne ſimplicitie, haue greeuouſlie offended our ſouereigne lord, Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitane, in many things; that is to ſaie, in that, whereas we beeing and abiding vnder his faith and homage, haue bound our ſelues vnto the king of France which then was his enimie and yet is, procuring a mariage with the daughter of his brother Charles du Valois, and that we might greeue our ſaid lord, and aid the king of France with all our power by warre and other means, we haue at length by aduiſe of our peruerſe counſell defied our ſaid lord the K. of England, and haue put our ſelues out of his allegiance and homage, & ſent our people into England, to burne houſes, to take ſpoiles, to commit murther, with many other damages, and alſo in fortifieng the kingdome of Scotland, which is of his fee, putting and eſtabliſhing armed men in townes, caſtels, and other places, to defend the land againſt him, to deforce him of his fee, for the which tranſgreſſions our ſaid ſouereigne lord the king, entring into the realm of Scotland with his power, hath conquered and taken the ſame, notwithſtanding al that we could do againſt him, as by right he may do, as a lord of his fee, bicauſe that we did render vnto him our homage, and made the foreſaid rebellion. We therfore as yet being in our full power and free will, doo render vnto him the land of Scotland, and all the people therof with the homages. In witneſſe whereof, we haue cauſed theſe letters patents to be made. Yeuen at Brechin the tenth day of Iulie, in the fourth yeare of our reigne, ſealed with the common ſeale of the kingdome of Scotland.

K. Edward paſſeth forward through Scotland.

After this, king Edward went forward to ſee the mounteine countries of Scotland, the biſhop of Durham euer keeping a daies iournie afore him. At length, when he had paſſed through Murrey land, and was come to Elghin, perceiuing all things to be in quiet, he returned towards Berwike, and comming to the abbeie of Scone, he tooke from thence the marble ſtone, wherevpon the kings of Scotland were accuſtomed to ſit as in a chaire, at the time of their coronation, which king Edward cauſed now to be transferred to Weſtminſter and there placed, to ſerue for a chaire for the prieſt to ſit in at the altar. The king comming to Berwike, called thither vnto a parlement all the nobles of Scotland, and there receiued of them their homages, the which in perpetuall witneſſe of the thing, made letters patents thereof, written in French, and ſealed with their ſeales, as the tenor here followeth.

K. Edward bringeth the marble ſtone out of Scotland.

The nobilitie of Scotland ſubmit themſelues to the king.

The inſtrument of the homages of *the lords of Scotland to K. Edward.*

A Touz ceux que ceſtes lettres verront ou orront, &c. To all thoſe that theſe preſent letters ſhall ſee or heare, we Iohn Comin of Badenaw, &c. Bicauſe that we at the faith and will of the moſt noble prince, and our deareſt lord, Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, doo vow and promiſe for vs and our heires, vpon paine of bodie and goods, and of all that we may haue, that we ſhall ſerue him well and trulie againſt all men, which may liue and die, at all times when we ſhall be required or warned by our ſaid lord the king of England or his heires, and that we ſhall not know of any hurt to be doone to them, but the ſame we ſhall let and impeach with all our power, and giue them warning thereof: and thoſe things to hold and keepe, we bind vs, our heires, and all our goods, and further, receiue an oth thereof vpon the holie euangeliſts: and after all, we and euerie of vs haue done homage vnto our ſouereigne lord the king of England in words as followeth; I become your liegeman of life, members, and earthlie honour, againſt all men which may liue and die. And the ſame our ſouereigne lord the king receiued this homage vnder this forme of words; We receiue it for the land of the which you be now ſeized, the right of vs, or other ſaued, and except the lands which Iohn Balioll ſometime king of Scotland granted vnto vs, after that we did deliuer vnto him the kingdome of Scotland, if happilie he hath giuen to you any ſuch lands.

The forme of their homage.

The words of K. Edward accepting it.

Moreouer, all we, and euerie of vs by himſelfe haue done fealtie to our ſaid ſouereigne lord the king in theſe words; I as a faithfull & liege man, ſhall keepe faith and loialtie vnto Edward king of England, and to his heires, of life, member and earthlie honor, againſt all men which may liue and die, and ſhall neuer for any perſon beare armour, nor ſhall be of counſell nor in aid with any perſon againſt him, or his heires in any caſe that may chance, but ſhall faithfullie acknowledge, and doo the ſeruice that belongeth to the tenements the which I claime to hold of him, as God me helpe and all his ſaints. In witneſſe wherof, theſe letters patents are made and ſigned with our ſeales. Yeuen at Warke the foure and twentith of March, in the 24 yeare of the reigne of our ſaid lord the king of England.

Officers appointed in Scotland by king Iohn.

Then was Iohn Warren earle of Surrey and Suſſex made by king Edward warden of Scotland, Hugh Creſſingham treaſurer, and William Ormeſbie high iuſtice, whome the king commanded, that he ſhould call all thoſe before him which held any lands of the crowne, and to receiue of them in his name their homages and fealties. Iohn Balioll the late king of Scotland was ſent to London, and had a conuenient companie of ſeruants appointed to attend him, hauing licence to go any whither abroad, ſo that he kept himſelfe within the circuit of twentie miles neere to London. Iohn Comin of Badenaw, and Iohn Comin of Lowan, and diuerſe nobles of Scotland were brought into England on the ſouth ſide of Trent, being warned vpon paine of death not to returne into Scotland, till the king had made an end of his wars with France. After this, at his returne into England, king Edward held a parlement at ſaint Edmundſburie, which began the morrow after the feaſt of All ſaints, in which the citizens & burgeſſes of good townes granted vnto him an eighth part of their goods, and of the reſidue of the people a twelfth part.

Iohn Balioll ſent to London.

A parlement at ſaint Edmundſburie.

A ſubſidie granted.

The cleargie by reaſon of a conſtitution ordeined and conſtituted the ſame yeare by pope Boniface, prohibiting vpon paine of excommunication, that no talages nor other exactions ſhould be leuied or exacted of the cleargie in any manner of wiſe by ſecular princes, or to be paid to them of things that perteined to the church, vtterlie refuſed to grant any manner of aid to the king, towards the maintenance of his wars. Wherevpon the king, to the intent they ſhould haue time to ſtudie for a better anſwer, deferred the matter to an other parlement to be holden on the morrow after the feaſt of ſaint Hilarie.

The pretended excuſe of the cleargie.

Anno Reg. 25.

1297

This yeare after the feaſt of the Epiphanie, Elizabeth the kings daughter was married vnto king Iohn earle of Holland. Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hereford and Eſſex was ſent to conueie them into Holland, there to take poſſeſſion of the earledome, as then deſcended vnto the ſaid Iohn, by the death of his father latelie before ſlaine by his owne ſubiects, bicauſe he would haue diſherited this Iohn, and made a baſtard ſonne which he had to be his heire. ¶ The day appointed for the parlement to be holden at London being come, and the cleargie continuing in their deniall to grant any ſubſidie, the king excluded them out of his protection, for the redeeming whereof, manie by themſelues, and manie by mediators, did afterwards giue vnto the king a fift part of all their goods. The archbiſhop of Canturburie being found ſtiffe in the matter, the king ſeized all his lands, and commanded all ſuch debts as were found of his in the rolles of the excheker, to be leuied with all ſpeed of his goods and cattell. Some write, that when the archbiſhop of Canturburie in name of all the reſidue, had declared to them whom the king had appointed commiſſioners to receiue the anſwer, that whereas they of the cleargie had two ſouereigne lords and gouernours, the one in ſpirituall matters and the other in temporall, yet they ought rather to obeie their ſpirituall gouernour than their temporall. Neuertheleſſe, to ſatiſfie the kings pleaſure, they would of

The earle of Holland marrieth Elizabeth the kings daughter. N. Triuet.

Abington. The archbiſhop his words.

of their owne charges ſend to the pope, that by his licence and permiſſion, they might grant the king ſome aid, or elſe receiue ſome anſwer from him, what to doo therein: for (ſaith the archbiſhop) we beléeue that the king feareth the ſentence of excommunication, and would be as glad to auoid it as we.

When the commiſſioners heard this anſwer, they required that they would appoint ſome of their owne companie to beare this meſſage vnto the king, for they durſt not report it to him: which being doone as the commiſſioners had required, the king in his furie procéeded againſt them, in ſuch rigorous manner as ye haue heard, in ſomuch that the lord chéefe iuſtice ſitting vpon the bench, ſpake openlie theſe words; You ſirs that be attornies of my lords the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbats, priors, and all other the cleargie, declare vnto your maſters, and tell them, that from hencefoorth there ſhall no iuſtice be doone vnto them in the kings court for any manner of thing, although neuer ſo heinous wrong be doone vnto them: but iuſtice ſhall be had againſt them, to euerie one that will complaine and require to haue it.

The declaration of the lord chéefe iuſtice.

The clearkelie handling of the matter by the archbi. of Yorke his ſuffragans.

Henrie de Newarke the elect biſhop of Yorke, with the biſhops of Durham, Elie and Saliſburie, with certeine other, fearing the kings indignation thus kindled againſt them, ordeined to laie downe in the churches, a fift part as ye haue heard, of all their goods, towards the defenſe of the realme, and maintenance of the kings warres in ſuch time of great neceſſitie, and ſo the king receiuing it, they were reſtored to the kings protection againe. The fréends of the biſhop of Lincolne found means, that the ſhiriffe of the ſhire leuied and tooke the fift part of all his goods, and reſtored to him againe his lands and poſſeſſions. Alſo, all the monaſteries within his dioceſſe, and within the whole prouince of Canturburie, were ſeized into the kings hands, and wardens appointed, which onelie miniſtred neceſſarie finding vnto the monks and other religious perſons, and conuerted the ouerplus vnto the kings vſe. Wherevpon the abbats and priors were glad to follow the court, and ſued to redéeme, not their ſins, but their goods, with giuing a fourth part thereof. The cleargie ſuffered manie iniuries in that ſeaſon, for religious men were ſpoiled and robbed in the kings high waie, and could not haue any reſtitution nor remedie againſt them that thus euill intreated them, till they had redéemed the kings protection. Perſons and vicars, and other of the cleargie, when they rode foorth any whither, were glad to apparell themſelues in laie mens garments, ſo to paſſe through the countrie in ſafetie.

The miſerie of churchmen.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie loſt all the goods that he had, for he would neither agrée to giue any thing, nor to laie any thing downe in the church, that the king might receiue it. Wherevpon he was brought to ſuch extreme miſerie, that all his ſeruants went from him, & commandement was giuen foorth, that no man ſhould receiue him, neither within monaſterie nor without, and ſo not hauing any one place of all his biſhoprike where to laie his head, he remained in the houſe of a poore perſon, onelie with one prieſt and one clearke: yet he ſtiffelie ſtood in the matter, affirming certeinlie, that all thoſe which granted any thing, either to the king, or to any other temporall perſon without the popes leaue, ran without doubt into the danger of the ſentence pronounced in the canon.

The archbiſh. of Canturburie his goods confiſcate.

The obſtinate maner of the archbiſhop of Canturburie.

About the feaſt of S. Matthew in Februarie, the king called a parlement of his nobles (not admitting thereto any of the cleargie) at Saliſburie, and there required certeine of his Nobles to paſſe ouer into Gaſcoine, but euerie of them ſéemed to excuſe himſelfe, whereat the king being mooued, threatened that they ſhould either go, or he would giue their lands to other that would go, with which words manie of them were gréeuouſlie offended, in ſo much that the earles of Hereford and Marſhall, Humfrie Bohun, and Roger Bigod, declared that they would be readie to go with the king if he went himſelfe, or elſe not. And when the earle Marſhall was eftſoones required to go, he anſwered, I will willinglie go with the king, and march before him in the fore ward, as by right of inheritance I am bound. Yea (ſaith the king) and you ſhall go with other though I go not. I am not ſo bound (ſaith the earle) neither doo I purpoſe to take the iournie in hand with you.

A parlement at Saliſburie

The king then in a great chafe burſt out & ſware, By God ſir earle, either thou ſhalt go or hang. And I ſweare (ſaith the earle) the ſame oth, that I will neither go nor hang: and ſo he departed from the king without leaue taking. Immediatlie herevpon thoſe two earles aſſembled manie noble men, and other of their fréends togither to the number of thirtie banerets and aboue, ſo that in all they were found to be fiftéene hundred men of armes appointed and readie for battell, and herewith they withdrew into their countries, and kept ſuch ſtir there, that they would not permit the kings officers to take neither wools, leather, nor any thing againſt the owners will, but forbad them on paine of loſing their heads to come within their roomes, and withall prepared themſelues to reſiſt if néed were.

The diſloiall demeanor of the two erles.

In this meane time the warre was proſecuted in Gaſcoine. ¶ The thurſdaie before the Purification of our ladie, Henrie earle of Lincolne, and the lord Iohn ſaint Iohn departing from Baion towards Bellegard, a place beſieged as then by the earle of Arthois, to ſuccour them within the ſame with vittels (whereof they ſtood in néed) as they approched to a wood diſtant from the fortreſſe thrée miles, they diuided themſelues into two ſeuerall battels, the lord Iohn ſaint Iohn leading the firſt, and the earle of Lincolne the ſecond. The lord ſaint Iohn therefore hauing paſſed the wood with his battell, and entring into the plaine fields, was incountred by the earle of Arthois, who tarried there for him with a great power, where immediatlie at the firſt ioining of the battels, the earle of Lincolne retired backe: ſo that the lord Iohn ſaint Iohn and his companie ouerſet with preaſſe of enimies were vanquiſhed: and the ſaid lord ſaint Iohn with ſir William de Mortimer, ſir William Burmengham and other to the number of eight knights, and diuerſe eſquires were taken, the which were ſent to Paris as priſoners.

They had with them 600 men of armes, and 10000 footmen as Abington ſaith.

Battell betwixt the earle of Lincolne and the earle of Arthois, who had with him 1500 men of armes, as Abingtõ ſaith.

Other write ſomewhat otherwiſe of this battell, as that vpon the firſt incounter the Engliſhmen droue backe one regiment of the earle of Arthois his men of armes, whom he diuided into foure parts; but when they once ioined with the ſecond regiment, to the which they were beaten backe, forward they came againe, and ſo charging the Engliſhmen, with helpe of their third ſquadron, which was now come to them alſo, they eaſilie put the Engliſhmen oppreſſed with multitude vnto flight, & followed them in chaſe. After this came the Engliſhmen which were in the rereward, and incountring with the fourth ſquadron or regiment of the Frenchmen, ſtreightwaies brake the ſame. Herewith was the night come vpon them, ſo that one could not know an other, a fréend from an enimie, and ſo both the Engliſhmen and Frenchmen were diſperſed till the moone roſe, and the Frenchmen withdrew to their fortreſſes, and amongſt them certeine Engliſhmen were mingled, which being diſcouered were taken priſoners, as the lord Iohn ſaint Iohn, and others.

The ſlaughter was not great, for there were no footmen on either part, to ſpoile or kill the men of armes that were throwne beſide their horſſes: for the

Engliſh

Math. Weſt.
Abington.

Engliſh footmen remained in the wood, or were withdrawne backe, as before ye haue heard, without attempting any exploit worthie of praiſe. Indéed ſome laie the blame in the Gaſcoine footmen for the loſſe of this battell, bicauſe that they withdrew backe, and left the Engliſh horſſemen in danger of the enimies which had compaſſed them about on euerie ſide. Thrée hundred of the men of armes came through to the towne of Bellegard, but bicauſe it was night, ſo that they could not be diſcerned whether they were frends or foes, they within the towne would not ſuffer them to enter: wherevpon they departed, and went to S. Seuere foure leagues off. Yet further in the night, other of the Engliſhmen were receiued into Bellegard, which came thither after the other, and ſo in the morning they of the gariſon with their aſſiſtance iſſued forth, and comming to the place where the battell had béene, gathered the ſpoile of the field, and conueied into their towne ſuch prouiſion of vittels as they found there.

The earle of Lincolne eſcaped.
He commeth home.
He inuadeth the countrie about Tholouſe.

The earle of Lincolne with a great manie of other wandred a great part of the night and knew not whither to go. At length about thrée of the clocke in the morning he came to Perforate, where he had lodged with his armie the night before, & there found a great number of his people right glad of his comming and happie eſcape out of danger. From thence he returned vnto Baion with the earle of Richmond ſir Iohn de Britaine and all his companie that were left. And ſuch was the hap of this iournie. In Lent following, thoſe that were diſperſed here and there abroad, reſorted to the earle of Lincolne, ſoiourning at Baion, and in the ſummer ſeaſon made a iournie towards Tholouſe, ſpoiling and waſting the countries of Tholouſe and other there abouts, and remoued alſo the ſiege which thoſe of Tholouſe had laid vnto a fortreſſe called S. Kiternes, in chaſing them from the ſame ſiege: and towards Michaelmaſſe they returned to Baion, and there laie all the winter till after Chriſtmaſſe, and then by reaſon of the truce concluded, as after appeareth, betwixt the two kings of England & France, they returned home into England.

The cuſtome of wooll raiſed.
Abington.
Euerſden.
Prouiſion for the kings iournie into France.
Ia. Meir.
The French king inuadeth Flanders.

In the ſame yeare the king raiſed the cuſtome of wooll to an higher rate than had béene paid at any time before: for he tooke now fortie ſhillings of a ſacke or ſarpler, where before there was paid but half a marke. Moreouer he commanded, that againſt his iournie which he meant to make ouer into France, there ſhould be two thouſand quarters of wheat, and as much of oates taken by the ſhiriffe in euerie countie within the realme to be conueied to the ſea ſide, except where they had no ſtore of corne, and there ſhould béeues and bakons be taken to a certeine number. In the meane time the earle of Flanders was ſore vexed by war which the French king made againſt him, being entred into Flanders with an armie of thrée ſcore thouſand men, as ſome authors haue recorded.

Liſle beſieged.
The earle of Arthois vanquiſheth the Flemings in battell.
N. Triuet.

About the feaſt of the natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt, he laid ſiege to Liſle, and ſhortlie after came the earle of Arthois, being returned out of Gaſcoine with his power vnto that ſiege, and was ſent forth to kéepe the Flemings and others occupied, which laie at Furneis, and in other places thereabouts in low Flanders, with whome he fought and got the victorie. King Edward therefore, to ſuccour his fréends prepared to go ouer into Flanders, and therevpon ſummoned all thoſe that owght him any ſeruice, & ſuch alſo as held lands to the value of twentie pounds and aboue, to be readie with horſſe and harneſſe at London about Lammas to paſſe ouer with him in that iournie.

A rebellion in Scotland by the means of one william waleis.
Engliſhmen ſlaine in Scotland.

In the meane time about the moneth of Maie, there began a rebellion in Scotland by the ſetting on of William Waleis: for the king of Englands iuſtice William Ormſbie, accordinglie as he had in commiſſion, confined and put to outlawrie a great ſort of ſuch Scotiſhmen, as refuſed to doo fealtie and homage vnto the king of England, the which Scotiſhmen being thus condemned as outlawes, elected the foreſaid William Waleis for their capteine, with whome William Douglas being once aſſociated, the number of them increaſed hugelie. The earle of Surrey and the treaſurer being in England, thoſe outlawes purpoſed to haue taken the iuſtice at Scone: but he being warned though almoſt too late, eſcaped himſelfe with much adoo, leauing the moſt part of his people as a ſpoile to the enimies. For William Waleis and his companie killed as manie Engliſhmen as fell into his hands, and taking certeine religious men, he bound their hands behind them, and conſtreined them to leape into the riuer, taking pleaſure to behold how they plunged.

The vnfaithfull dealing of the Scots.

The king ſent the biſhop of Durham into Scotland, to vnderſtand the certeintie of this rebellion, who returning from thence, informed him of the truth. The king not minding to breake his iournie which he had purpoſed to make into Flanders, appointed that the earle of Surrey ſhould haue the leading of all ſuch men of warre as might be leuied beyond Trent, to repreſſe the Scotiſh rebels, and alſo wrote vnto Iohn Comin earle of Boughan, that remembring their faith and promiſe, they ſhould returne into Scotland, and doo their beſt to quiet the countrie: they according to his commandement, went into Scotland, but ſhewed themſelues ſlow inough to procure thoſe things that perteined to peace and quietneſſe.

Abington.
Robert Bruce.
Thomas Beckets ſword.

In the meane time, whileſt theſe things were a doing, the biſhop of Carleill, and other which laie there vpon the gard of that citie and caſtell, hauing ſome miſtruſt of the loialtie in Robert Bruce the yoonger, that was earle of Carrike by his mother, they ſent him word to come vnto them at a certeine daie, bicauſe they had to talke with him of matters touching the kings affairs. He durſt not diſobeie but came to Carleill togither with the biſhop of Gallowaie, & there receiued a corporall oth vpon the holie and ſacred myſteries, and vpon the ſword of Thomas Becket, to be true to the king of England, and to aid him and his againſt their enimies in all that he might: and further to withſtand that the ſaid king receiued no hurt nor damage ſo far as in him might lie.

Robert Bruce reuolteth to the rebels.
N. Triuet.
Thrée hundreth men of armes, and fiftie thouſand footmen ſaith Abington.
Henrie Percie ſent before.
Irwin.

This doone, he returned againe into Scotland, and for a colour entred into the lands of William Douglas, and burnt part of them, bringing the wife and children of the ſame William backe with him into Annandale: but ſhortlie after, he conſpired with the Scotiſh rebels, and ioined himſelfe with them, not making his father priuie to the matter, who in the meane while remaind in the ſouth parts of England. He would haue perſuaded ſuch knights, gentlemen and other as held their lands of his father in Annandale, to haue gone with him, but they would not breake their faith giuen to the king of England, and ſo left him. The earle of Surrey aſſembling togither his power in Yorkeſhire, ſent his nephue the lord Henrie Percie with the ſouldiers of the countrie of Carleill before into Scotland, who paſſing forth to the towne of Aire, went about to induce them of Gallowaie into peace, and hearing that an armie of Scotiſhmen was gathered togither at a place about foure miles from thence called Irwin, he made thitherward, and comming néere to the Scotiſh hoſt, might behold where the ſame was lodged beyond a certeine lake. In that armie were capteins, the biſhop of Glaſco, Andrew de Murreie ſteward of Scotland, and William Waleis which (as it ſhould ſéeme)

ſéeme) were not all of one mind.

Diſcord in the Scotiſh armie.
Sir Richard Lundie.

There was in the ſame armie a knight named ſir Richard Lundie, which neuer yet had doon homage to the king of England, but now flieng from his companie, he came to the Engliſh armie, and ſubmitted himſelfe with his retinue vnto the king of England, ſaieng that he ment not to ſerue amongſt them any longer that could not agrée togither.

The Scots ſue for peace.

The reſidue of the Scotiſhmen ſued for peace, vpon condition to haue liues, members, goods, cattels and lands ſaued, with a pardon of all offenſes paſt. The lord Percie vpon pledges & writings héerof deliuered, was contented to grant their requeſts, ſo that the king his maiſter would be therewith pleaſed, who being hereof certified, bicauſe he would not gladlie be ſtaied of his iournie into Flanders, granted vnto all things that were thus required.

Then after that the earle of Surrie was come to the Engliſh campe, bicauſe William Waleis ceaſſed not in the meane time to aſſemble more people, the Engliſhmen doubting ſome treaſon, reſolued to giue battell, but whileſt they were in mind thus to do,

The biſhop of Glaſco and William Douglas.

the biſhop of Glaſco and William Douglas to auoid the note of diſloialtie and treaſon, came and ſubmitted themſelues: and ſo the biſhop was committed to ward within the caſtell of Rokeſborough, and William Douglas in the caſtell of Berwike. It is to be noted, that euen in the verie time that the treatie was in hand betwixt the lord Percie and the Scotiſh capteins, the Scots of Gallowaie and other ſet vpon that part of the Engliſh campe, where the truſſe and baggage laie, which they ſpoiled and ranſacked, ſlaieng aboue fiue hundreth perſons, what of men, women and children, but the alarum being raiſed, the Engliſhmen came to the reſcue, and chaſing the Scots, ſlue aboue a thouſand of them, and recouered the moſt part of their owne goods, with more which they tooke from their enimies.

Abington.

The archbiſh. of Canturburie receiued into fauour.

In this meane time king Edward at the feaſt of Lammas held a councell at London, where he receiued the archbiſhop of Canturburie againe into his fauor, reſtoring vnto him all his goods and lands. He appointed him and the lord Reinold Grey to haue his eldeſt ſonne prince Edward in kéeping, till his returne out of Flanders.

Nic. Triuet.
Gardians appointed to the kings ſonne in his fathers abſence.

But Nicholas Triuet writeth, that the ſaid prince Edward being appointed to remaine at home, as lieutenant to his father, there were appointed vnto him as councellors, Richard biſhop of London, William earle of Warwike, and the forenamed lord Reinold Grey, with the lord Iohn Gifford, and the lord Alane Plokenet, men of high wiſedome, grauitie and diſcretion, without making mention of the archbiſhop of Canturburie in that place.

Earles Marſhall and Hereford refuſe to go ouer with the king into Flanders.

The two earles Marſhall and Hereford being commanded to attend the king into Flanders, refuſed, excuſing themſelues by meſſenger.

Sir Raſe Monthermer releaſed.

After this, the king cauſed ſir Raſe Monthermer (whom his daughter the counteſſe of Gloceſter, in hir widowhood had taken to husband without knowledge of hir father) to be deliuered out of the caſtell of Briſtow, wherein he had béene kept priſoner a certeine time vpon diſpleaſure for the marriage: but now he was not onelie ſet at libertie, but alſo reſtored to his wife, and to all the lands perteining to the earledome of Gloceſter, appointing him to find 50 men at armes to ſerue in that iournie into Flanders.

Scotiſhmen releaſed.

He alſo deliuered the earles of Caſſels and Menteth, Iohn Comin, and diuers other Scotiſhmen, appointing them alſo to go with him into Flanders.

The lord Berkley.
A libell deliuered to the

Finallie hauing aſſembled his armie, ouer the which he made the lord Thomas Berklie conſtable, and Geffrey Ienuille marſhall, he went to Winchelſey, and whilſt he laie there before he tooke the ſea, there was preſented vnto him from the earles a writing, which conteined the cauſes of the gréefe of all the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbats, earles, lords, barons, and of all the communaltie, as well for ſummoning them to ſerue by an vndue meane, as alſo for the vnreaſonable taxes, ſubſidies, impoſitions & paiements which they dailie ſuſteined, and namelie the impoſt augmented vpon the cuſtome of wooll ſéemed to them verie gréeuous. For whereas for euerie ſacke of whole wooll there was fortie ſhillings paid, and for euerie ſacke of broken wooll one marke: it was well knowne, that the wooll of England was almoſt in value eſtéemed to be worth halfe the riches of the realme, and ſo the cuſtome thereof paid, would aſcend to a fift part of all the ſubſtance of the land.

king from th earles of Hereford and Marſhall.

The kings anſwer.

The kings anſwer therevnto was, that he could not alter any thing, without the aduiſe of his councell, of the which part were alreadie paſſed ouer into Flanders, and part were at London; and therfore he required the ſaid earles, that if they would not attend him in that iournie into Flanders, they would yet in his abſence do nothing that might be preiudiciall to the realme: for he truſted by Gods fauour to returne againe in ſafetie, and ſet all things in good order.

The king p ſeth ouer int Flanders.
Abington.

At length, about the 21 daie of Auguſt, the king tooke the ſea, and landed in Flanders néere to Sluice, about the 27 day of the ſame moneth. He was no ſooner on land, but that through old enuie and malice depending betwéene the mariners of the cinque ports, and them of Yermouth and other quarters, a quarell was picked, ſo that they fell togither, and fought on the water in ſuch earneſt ſort, notwithſtanding the kings commandement ſent to the contrarie, that there were 25 ſhips burnt and deſtroied of theirs of Yermouth, and other their partakers: alſo thrée of their greateſt ſhips, part of the kings treaſure being in one of them, were tolled forth into the high ſea, and quite conueied awaie.

Debate and fighting betwixt the mariners of the cinque ports and others.

Ia. Meir.

The king from Sluice firſt went to Bruges, and after to Gaunt, finding the countrie in euill ſtate, by reaſon that the good towns were not all of one mind: for diuers of them miſliked with the doings of the earle, in that he had alied himſelfe with the French kings aduerſaries.

Liſle yéelded to the French king.

About the beginning of September was Liſle yéelded vnto the French king, and after that they of Dowey, Curtray, and Bruges, did likewiſe ſubmit themſelues to the ſame king.

Charles de Valois ſent to Bruges.

Then was Charles earle of Valois ſent to Bruges to fortifie that towne, and to take the Engliſh nauie that laie at anchor in the hauen of Dam: but the Engliſhmen hauing warning thereof, got forth with their veſſels into the ſea, and ſo the earle of Valois being diſappointed of that preie, ſet in hand to fortifie Bruges and Dam. But the earle of Auſtrich, & Robert de Neuers ſon to earle Guy, being ſent with a power of Engliſhmen, Flemings, and other ſouldiors vnto Dam, fought with the Frenchmen, ſlue foure hundreth of them, beſides diuers that were taken, and recouered the towne. They might alſo haue recouered Bruges, as was thought, if the Engliſhmen and Flemings had not fallen at ſtrife, & fought togither about diuiding of the preie.

The emperour Adulfe breaketh promiſe.

Finallie, after this, the French king came to Bruges, and when the king of England and the earle of Flanders had long looked and all in vaine for the emperor Adulfe, who had promiſed to come to their aid with a great armie; for the charges and wages whereof he had receiued great ſummes of monie both of the king of England, and alſo of the earle of Flanders: they concluded in the end (when they perceiued he would not come) to make ſome agreement with the French king: and ſo firſt was a truce taken, from the middeſt of October, vnto the calends of December, and after by mediation of Charles (ſurnamed Claudius) king of Sicill, the ſame truce was prolonged as hereafter ye ſhall heare.

In this meane while, to wit, about the end of Auguſt, the earle of Surrey, when he ſaw that the Scotiſhmen would not performe promiſe touching the deliuerie of the pledges, and that William Waleis ſtill moued the people to rebellion, he aſſembled his armie, & with the ſame entring Scotland, came vnto Striueling. Then the lord ſteward of Scotland, and alſo the earle of Lenox came vnto him, requiring him to ſtaie till they might haue leaſure to ſée if they could bring the people of Scotland vnto the kings peace. But when they could not doo it, they returned on the tenth day of September, promiſing to bring to the aid of the earle of Surrey on the morrow after fortie horſſemen, vpon the which day two friers of the order of preachers were ſent vnto William Waleis, and to the other Scotiſhmen lieng beyond the hill aboue the monaſterie of Scambeſkin, to moue them to the kings peace. But their anſwer was, that they were not come to haue peace, but to trie the matter by battell.

The pride of Hugh Creſſingham.

The Engliſh armie without good aduiſe, thorough the preſumptuous pride of the lord Hugh Creſſingham, preaſed to the bridge, and haſting to paſſe the ſame, the Scotiſhmen came vpon them yer the one halfe could get ouer, and ſo fiercelie aſſailed them, that the Engliſhmen were beaten backe and ſlaine downe. For the Scots, after they ſaw ſo manie of the Engliſhmen to haue paſſed the bridge, as they thought themſelues able to diſtreſſe, they made downe to the bridge foot, and with a number of their ſpearemen on foot, cloſed it vp, that no more ſhould come ouer to the aid of their fellowes, nor thoſe that were alreadie paſſed, ſhould returne againe: yet one ſir Marmaduke Thweng a right valiant knight, which was one of the firſt among the men of armes that came ouer, after that he and his companie had driuen downe one wing of their aduerſaries, & had followed them in chaſe a good waie, as purpoſing to haue gotten the conqueſt againſt them, at length perceiuing the companie behind diſtreſſed by the Scots, he returned with thoſe few that were about him, and purpoſing to repaſſe the bridge, ruſhed in among the Scots that ſtood before him with ſuch violence, that he paſſed thorough them, making waie for himſelfe and his folks by great manhood, ſauing one of his nephues alſo which was ſet on foot & wounded, after his horſſe had béene killed vnder him.

The Scots aſſaile the Engliſhmen.

Abington.

The valiancie of ſir Marmaduke Thweng.

The Engliſhmen diſcomfited.

At length the diſcomfiture was ſuch, and the Scots preaſſed ſo earneſtlie to win the bridge alſo of thoſe Engliſhmen, which were not yet paſſed, that at length the earle of Surrey commanded to breake that end of the bridge, where they ſtood at defenſe to kéepe backe the Scots, for elſe had there few of the Engliſhmen eſcaped. There were ſlaine (as ſome haue written) to the number of ſix thouſand men, and amongſt other was ſlaine ſir Hugh Creſſingham, whoſe ſkin (as hath béene reported) the Scots ſtripped off his dead carcaſſe, for the malice which they bare toward him. This diſcomfiture chanced on the 11 day of September. The earle of Surrey, leauing in the caſtell of Striueling the ſaid ſir Marmaduke Thweng, promiſed him to come to his aid at all times when néed ſhould be, within ten wéekes ſpace, and herewith taking his horſſe, rode in ſuch haſt to Berwike, that after his comming thither, his ſtéed being ſet vp in the ſtable of the friers minors, neuer after taſted meat, but died: after this, the ſaid earle making no long aboad in Berwike, rode vp to London vnto prince Edward, and left the towne of Berwike as a preie to the Scotiſhmen: but thoſe yet that had the caſtell in kéeping, defended it manfullie againſt the Scots, the which aſſembled togither in campe vnder the leading of Alexander earle of Murrey: and their capteine William Waleis came to Berwike, and finding the towne void of all defenſe, entred it, but they could not win the caſtell by any meanes.

The earle of Surrey returneth in haſt to Berwike.

The Scots enter Berwike.

The caſtell holdeth tacke againſt them.

The Northumberland men conueied their wiues, their children, their cattell, & other goods, which might be remoued, out of the countrie for feare of the enimies inuaſion: but when the Scots lingered time, and entred not within the Engliſh borders for a ſeaſon, they brought their goods againe, in hope that the Scots would not come foorth of their owne marches at that time. But the Scots hauing aduertiſement thereof, about the feaſt of S. Luke entred the Engliſh borders, and did much hurt within the countrie of Northumberland, ſo that to auoid the danger, all the religious men fled out of the monaſteries ſituat betwixt Newcaſtell vpon Tine, and Carleill. The Scots ſpoiled, harried, and burnt vp the countrie, till the feaſt of ſaint Martine, and in the oactues of the ſame feaſt they drew togither, and went towards Carleill, which towne they ſummoned, as you ſhall heare.

The Scots inuade Northumberland, and ſpoile the countrie.

They ſent a préeſt to them that kept it, commanding them to yéeld: but receiuing a froward anſwer, they fell to and waſted all that countrie, paſſing thorough the forreſt of Inglewood, Cumberland, and Allerdale, till they came vnto Derwent and Cokermouth, not ſparing either church nor chappell. Their meaning was to haue gone into the biſhoprike of Durham, but what through ſore weather of haile, ſnow and froſt, & what through vaine feare of wrong information giuen by their ſpials, that the countrie was well prouided of men of warre for defenſe, they brake off that iournie, and yet there were not paſt a hundred men of armes, and thrée thouſand footmen in that countrie, which were then alſo diſperſed thorough irkſomeneſſe of long ſtaieng for the enimies. The Scots therefore drew vnto Hexham, and there lodged, not without vexing the canons, although they had granted letters of protection vnto the prior and couent of the ſame houſe, to indure for one whole yeare: and likewiſe letters of ſafe conduct to paſſe and repaſſe for one canon, one ſquire, and two ſeruants, when ſoeuer they ſhould ſend to them, during that terme: which letters were giuen foorth vnder the name of the ſaid earle of Murrey, and William Waleis. From thence they went towards Newcaſtell, and burnt the towne of Riton. Finallie, perceiuing they could not preuaile in attempting to win the towne of Newcaſtell, they diuided their ſpoiles and returned home.

The foreſt of Inglewood.

The towne of Riton burnt. Anno Reg. 26.

The Scots returne home.

About the ſame time, to wit, a little before Chriſtmaſſe, the lord Robert Clifford, with the power of the citie of Carleſll, entred Annandale, committing all to the ſpoile of the footmen, of whome there was a great number. The men of armes on horſbacke, being not paſt an hundred in all, kept togither, and finding their enimies aſſembled néere to Annankirke, gaue a charge vpon them, and chaſed them into a mariſh, within the which they kept them, till the footmen came in, and aſſailing them, ſlue 308 perſons, and tooke diuerſe of them priſoners, and returning againe to their market, burnt ten villages, and on Chriſtmaſſe euen returned with their preie and booties vnto Carleiſl. In the beginning of Lent they made an other rode, in the which they burnt the church of Annan.

The lord Clifford inuadeth Annandale.

Annankirke.

Scots ſlaine.

1298

Annankirke burnt.

Whileſt theſe things were in hand, prince Edward the kings eldeſt ſon, and other, which had the rule of the realme in the kings abſence, ſought meanes to pacifie the earles Marſhall and Hereford: but they would not agrée, but vpon ſuch conditions as pleaſed themſelues to preſcribe, which were, that the king ſhould confirme the ggeat charter, and the charter of

N Triuet.

The froward dealing of the erles of Hereford & Marſhall.

foreſts, with certeine new articles to be included in the ſame great charter, and that from thenceforth the king ſhould not charge his ſubiects ſo fréelie at his pleaſure as before time he had doone, without conſent of the ſtates of parlement, and that he ſhould pardon his diſpleaſure and malice conceiued againſt them for denieng to go with him into Flanders. Manie other articles they would that the king ſhould grant, confirme, pardon and eſtabliſh. The which were all ſent ouer into Flanders to the king, that he might peruſe them, and declare whether he would agrée or diſagrée to the ſame. He as one being driuen to the wall, thought good to yéeld vnto the malice and iniquitie of the time, to reconcile the offended minds of the péeres and barons of his realme, and granted vnto all the ſaid articles, confirming the ſame with his charter vnder his great ſeale. In conſideration wherof, the nobles of the realme and commons granted to the king the ninth penie of all their goods: the archbiſhop of Canturburie, with the cleargie of his prouince, the tenth penie; and the elect of Yorke and thoſe of his prouince, granted the fift penie; towards the maintenance of the war againſt the Scots, bicauſe they were next vnto the danger.

Abington.
A ſubſidie granted.

The king alſo by his ſpeciall letters required the nobles of the realme, that if they continued in their due obedience to him, as they promiſed at his departure out of the realme to doo, that then they ſhould reſort and appeare at his parlement, to begin at Yorke the morrow after the feaſt of ſaint Hilarie, without all excuſe or delaie: for otherwiſe he would accompt them as enimies to the commonwelth of the realme. At which day appeared the earles of Warren and Gloceſter, with the counteſſe of Gloceſter his wife daughter to the king, the earles Marſhall, Hereford, and Arundell, Guie ſonne to the earle of Warwike in his fathers roome: and of barons, the lord Henrie Percie, the lord John Wake, and the lord John Segraue, with manie of the nobilitie, the which being aſſembled togither, would that it ſhould to all men be notified, in what manner the king had confirmed the great charter, and the charter of foreſts: wherevpon the ſame being read with the articles therevnto added, and put in, the biſhop of Carleill, adorned in pontificalibus, did pronounce all them accurſſed, that went about to violate and breake the ſame. And bicauſe the Scotiſh lords appeared not, being ſummoned to be there, it was decréed that the armie ſhould come togither at Newcaſtell vpon Tine, in the octaues of the feaſt of ſaint Hilarie next inſuing, ſo that the generall muſters might then and there be taken.

A parlement at Yorke.

Magna charta.

Debate betwixt ẏ kings men and the Gantners.

The king laie the moſt part of this winter at Gant, in the which meane time there chanced ſedition betwéene th'Engliſhmen & the Gantners, inſomuch that the Welſhmen had ſet fire on the towne, if the king had not ſtaied the matter. But the Flemiſh writers ſaie, the Engliſhmen ſet fire in foure parts of the towne indéed, that they might the more fréelie haue robbed in other parts thereof, whileſt the towneſmen had gone about to quench the fire. But the towneſmen bent on reuenge, aſſembled togither in great numbers, and falling on the Engliſhmen ſlue thirtie of their horſſemen, and of their footmen to the number of ſeuen hundred, or thereabouts. They had alſo ſlaine the king, if a knight of Flanders had not made ſhift to ſaue him. ¶ Indéed (as ſhould appeare by the ſame writers) the Engliſh footmen had doone much hurt in the countrie, and namelie one day they ſpoiled the towne of Dam, and ſlue two hundred worthie perſonages, who had yéelded themſelues to the king at his firſt comming into the countrie.

And although the king cauſed certeine of thoſe that had doone this outrage to be hanged: yet the Flemings bare this & other iniuries in their minds, & meant to be reuenged thereof, before the Engliſhmen departed out of their countrie, and therefore there drew out of ſundrie parts into the citie of Gant by ſmall companies, to the number of foure thouſand men of armes, beſides a great multitude of footmen, and when they perceiued themſelues ſtrong inough (as they tooke the matter) at the day amongſt them appointed, and conſidered in their minds, that

——vnita potentior eſt vis
Quælibet, at partes in plures ſecta peribit,

they cluſtred togither, and vnder the leading of the earles ſonnes, William and Robert, they did firſt ſet vpon the Engliſhmen that were in their lodgings, of whom they ſlue diuerſe, and after comming forth into the ſtréets, they ment to haue made ſlaughter of all the reſidue: but by the noiſe that was raiſed, the king had warning in what ſtate the matter ſtood, and therewith getting him to armour, came forth of his lodging, and ſtreightwaies his people flocked about him. And furthermore, the footmen which were lodged in the ſuburbes, hearing of this tumult, got them to armour, & approching the gates, found them ſhut: but with fire which they kindled with ſtraw, wood, butter and tallow, and other ſuch things, they burnt vp the ſame gates and ſo got in, loſing not paſt ſix perſons that were ſlaine at the firſt entring.

The Flemings ſet vpon the Engliſhmen in their lodgings.

Herewith the earle of Flanders came to the king, and beſought him to ſtaie his people from committing further outrage: but the king as he had reaſon ſo to doo, blamed him for the outragious attempt of his people, and bad him go to appeaſe them, or he would take paine with them himſelfe to his owne ſuertie, though not greatlie to their eaſe. The earle went, and preuailed ſo much, that at length he quieted them, and then was order giuen for reſtitution of ſuch things as had béen taken from any man wrongfullie, according to the order and direction preſcribed by certeine diſcréet perſons appointed as commiſſioners in that behalfe. The king perceiuing himſelfe in ſome danger, and that without the fauour of the Flemings he might hardlie eſcape out of their countrie, bare manie things, and ſpake courteouſlie, making partlie amends for the harms doone by his people, as well abroad in the countries as in the towns. And finallie about Midlent he returned into England, as after ye ſhall heare.

The earle of Flanders pacifieth his people.

Nic. Triuet.
An armie aſſembled at Yorke.

In this meane time, by the kings appointment, the earle of Surrey lord warden of Scotland, with other earles and noble men to him aſſociat, about the feaſt of ſaint Hilarie, had aſſembled an armie at Yorke, hauing firſt ſummoned the lords of Scotland to appeare there at the ſame day, who yet came not, but contrarilie had beſieged the caſtell of Rockeſborough. Wherevpon the earle of Surrey haſted thitherwards, ſo that William Waleis and other of the Scotiſhmen which laie there at ſiege, raiſed the ſame, and departed from thence. The earle of Surrey comming to Rockeſborough, and relieuing them that kept it with ſuch things as they wanted, paſſed forth to Kelſow, and came afterwards to the towne of Berwike, which the Scotiſhmen had left void. Here came letters vnto them from king Edward, ſignifieng that he had taken truce with the French king, and that he meant ſhortlie to returne into England, and therefore commanded them not to make any further enterpriſe than the defending of the frontiers, and the recouerie of Berwike, till his comming ouer. Herevpon was a great part of the armie diſcharged, and ſuch onelie remained in Berwike as might ſuffice for defenſe thereof.

The Scots beſiege Rockeſborough.

The earle of Surrey entreth Scotland.

K. Edward returneth homewards.

King Edward hauing made an end of his buſineſſe in Flanders, as before ye haue heard, returned now towards England, and came to a towne called Ardenburge, where the moſt part of ſuch Scotiſhmen as he had brought with him into Flanders ſlipped from him, and went vnto Paris. The king being returned into England, remoued the barons of the exchecker, and the iuſtices of the bench vnto Yorke, calling a parlement thither; and gaue ſummons vnto the lords of Scotland to come to the ſame: but making default in their appearance, he ſent forth his commiſſion and letters to warne his ſubiects to be readie with horſſe and harneſſe at Rockeſborough in the feaſt of the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt next inſuing. They obeieng his commandement, aſſembled there at the day appointed.

The Scots ſummoned to the parlement at Yorke, refuſed to come.

An armie raiſed.

Abington. The number of men armed in this armie.

There were in this armie now aſſembled at Rockeſborough togither with thoſe of the biſhoprike, about thrée thouſand men of armes mounted on barded horſſes, beſides foure thouſand other armed men on horſſebacke without bards. There were alſo a great number of footmen, and yet none but ſuch as came vpon their owne good willes, the which were almoſt all Welſhmen or Iriſhmen. There came alſo afterwards fiue hundred men of armes well apparelled, furniſhed and mounted out of Gaſcoine, of the which a certeine number were ſent to Berwike by the king: where after the battell fought with the Scots, they remained in gariſon. The earle of Hereford, and the earle Marſhall were preſent with their retinues amongſt other in this armie here aſſembled at Rockeſborough, the which vpon ſuſpicion conceiued of that they had heard, thought it not ſufficient to haue the kings letters patents touching the confirmation of the two charters, and other the articles aboue mentioned, ſigned by him, whileſt he was out of the realme, and therefore required that he would now within his owne land confirme the ſame againe. Here the biſhop of Durham, Iohn earle of Surrie, William earle of Warwike, and Rafe erle of Gloceſter, vndertooke for the king, that after he had ſubdued his enimies, and ſhould be againe returned into the realme, he ſhould ſatiſfie them in that behalfe, and confirme the ſame articles.

Welſhmen and Iriſhmen.

Gaſcoins.

N. Triuet.

The earles of Hereford and Marſhall miſtruſt the king.

This doone, the king marching forth with his armie, came to Temple Hiſton, and ſent forth the biſhop of Durham to take certeine caſtels therabouts, as Drinton or (as ſome copies haue) Drilton, and other two, which enterpriſe the biſhop ſpéedilie accompliſhed. The Engliſh fléet that ſhould haue come from Berwike, and kept alongſt the coaſt to haue furniſhed the armie with victuals, was ſtaied and holden backe with contrarie winds, ſo that the armie began to be in great neceſſitie of victuals. The Scotiſhmen were aduertiſed hereof, and ſuppoſing that the Engliſhmen by reaſon of ſuch want of victuals, had not béene able through féebleneſſe to make anie great reſiſtance, aſſembled their powers togither, and came towards the place where the king with his armie was lodged.

Caſtels won by the biſhop of Durham.

At the ſame time two of the Engliſh ſhips arriued there with victuals, the which being beſtowed amongſt the ſouldiors, releeued them greatlie of their hunger. Amongeſt other the Welſhmen had two tunnes of wine deliuered to them for their ſhare, the which they taſted ſo gréedilie, that ouercome therewith they fell to quarrelling with the Engliſhmen, and begun a fraie, in the which they ſlue eightéene, and hurt diuerſe. The Engliſh horſſemen herewith being kindled with diſpleaſure, got them to armor, and ſetting vpon the Welſhmen, ſlue of them to the number of fourescore, and put the other to flight: wherevpon the next morning it was ſaid that the Welſhmen vpon wrath conceiued hereof meant to depart to the Scots: but yet when the campe remoued, they followed the armie though a farre off, and apart by themſelues, inſomuch that manie doubted leaſt if the Engliſhmen had chanced to haue had the worſſe at the Scotiſhmens hands, they would haue ioined with them againſt the Engliſhmen. This bloodie broile ſprang of intemperancie, and ſurfetting drunkenneſſe, which is worthie to be thus diſclaimed,

Abington. A fraie betwixt the Welſh and Engliſhmen.

The Engliſhmen ſtand in doubt of the Welſhmen.

——— animæ lethum, & vitiorum
Nutrix ac ſcelerum, quid non mortalia cogis
Pectora? Quid per te non audent? Iurgia, lites,
Prælia dira moues, & gaudes ſanguine fuſo,
Sordidior quæ res, quæ bellua vilior? &c.

The king now hearing that the Scots were comming towards him, raiſed his field, and went forth to méet them, lodging the next night in a faire plaine. In the morning verie earlie, a great alarme was raiſed, ſo that euerie man got him to armour, ſuppoſing the Scots to be at hand. The horſſe appointed for the kings ſaddle that day, as the king ſhould haue got vpon him, frighted with ſome noiſe, ſtarted aſide, and threw the king downe with ſuch violence, that he brake two of his ribbes, as the report went. Other write, that his horſſe trod on him in the night, as he and his people reſted them, kéeping their horſſes ſtill bridled, to be readie the ſooner vpon occaſion of any neceſſitie: but howſoeuer he came by his hurt, he ſtaied not to paſſe forward in his purpoſed iournie, but mounting vpon an other horſſe, went forth with his armie till he came to a place called Foukirke, where both the armies of England and Scotland met and fought.

N. Triuet.

The battell of Foukirke.

The Scots were diuided in foure ſchiltrons, as they termed them, or as we may ſaie, round battels, in forme of a circle, in the which ſtood their people that carried long ſtaues or ſpeares, which they croſſed iointlie togither one within another, betwixt which ſchiltrons or round batels were certeine ſpaces left, the which were filled with their archers and bowmen, and behind all theſe were their horſſemen placed. They had choſen a ſtrong ground, ſomewhat ſideling on the ſide of a hill. The earles Marſhall, Hereford, & Lincolne, which led the fore ward of the Engliſhmen, at the firſt made directlie towards the Scots, but they were ſtaied, by reaſon they found a mariſh, or an euill fauoured moſſe betwixt their enimies and them, ſo that they were conſtreined to fetch a compaſſe towards the weſt ſide of the field. The biſhop of Durham ruling in the ſecond battell of the Engliſhmen, conſiſting of ſix and thirtie ſtandards or banners, knowing the let of that moſſe or mariſh toward the eaſt ſide, haſted forth to be the firſt that ſhould giue the onſet: but yet when they approched néere to the enimies, the biſhop commanded his people to ſtaie till the third battell, which the king led, might approach. But that valiant knight the lord Rafe Baſſet of Draiton ſaid to him: My lord biſhop, you may go and ſay maſſe, which better becommeth you, than to teach vs what we haue to doo, for we will doo that which belongeth to the order and cuſtome of warre.

Abington. The order of the Scotiſh battels.

The earles Marſhall, Hereford, and Lincolne led the fore ward.

The biſhop of Durham led the ſecond ward.

The lord Baſſet of Draitons words to the biſhop of Durham.

Herewith they haſted forth on that ſide to charge the firſt ſchiltron of the Scots, and the earles with their battell on the other ſide, and euen vpon the firſt brunt the Scotiſh horſſemen fled, a few onelie excepted, which ſtaied to kéepe the footmen in order. And amongſt other was the brother of the lord ſteward of Scotland, who as he was about to ſet in order the bowmen of Selkirke, by chance was vnhorſſed, and ſlaine there amongſt the ſame bowmen, and manie a tall mans bodie with him. The Scotiſh archers thus being ſlaine, the Engliſhmen aſſailed the ſpearemen; but kéeping themſelues cloſe togither, and ſtanding at defenſe with their ſpeares like a thicke wood, they kept out the Engliſh horſſemen for a while, & fought manfullie, though they were ſore beaten with ſhot of

The Scotiſh horſſemen flee.

Their archers ſlaine.

Theſe Scotiſh ſpearemen were of Gallowaie as Euerſden ſaith.

arrowes by the Engliſh archers on foot: & ſo at length gilled with ſhot; and aſſailed by the horſſemen on ech ſide, they begun to diſorder and ſhrinke from one ſide to another, and herewith the horſſemen brake in amongſt them, and ſo they were ſlaine and beaten downe in maner all the whole number of them.

Nic. Triuet.

Math. Weſt. ſaith fourtie thouſand.

Polydor.

N. Triuet.

The towns of S. Andrews.

The caſtell of Aire.

Some ſaie there died of the Scots that daie (being the two & twentith of Iulie, and the feaſt of Marie Magdalene) aboue twentie thouſand. Other write that there were ſlaine at the leaſt to the number of 15 thouſand. The Scotiſh writers alledge that this battell was loſt by treaſon of the Comins and other, as in the Scotiſh hiſtorie ye may more plainlie perceiue, with more matter touching the ſame battell: after this was the towne of ſaint Andrews deſtroied, no man being within to make reſiſtance. And from thence the Engliſh armie came through Selkirke forreſt vnto the caſtell of Aire, which they found void: and after they came by the towne of Annan, and tooke the caſtell of Lochmaben, and ſo returned into England by the weſt marches, and came to Carleill.

Abington.

Iriſh lords.

The Ile of Araine.

Thomas Biſet requireth the Ile of Araine.

The euill opinion of the earles Marſhall & Hereford towards the king.

About the ſame time certeine Iriſh lords, and amongſt other as cheefe, one Thomas Biſet landed in the Ile of Araine, the inhabitants whereof yeelded themſelues vnto the ſame Thomas, who (as was iudged) meant to haue aided the Scots: but now hearing of the victorie which king Edward had gotten in a pight field, he ſent vnto him to giue him to vnderſtand that he was come in his aid, & had won the ſaid Ile of Araine, and therfore beſought him that it might pleaſe him to grant it vnto him and his heires for euer. Which requeſt the king granted: whereof when the earles Marſhall and Hereford were aduertiſed, they thought this a raſh part of the king, conſidering that he had promiſed to doo nothing anew without their conſents and counſell.

The kings liberalitie towards his nobles.

Therefore the king being (as ye haue heard) returned to Carleill, they got licence to depart home with their people, leauing the king ſtill at Carleill, where he remained a time, and held a parlement there, in the which he granted vnto manie of his nobles, the lands and liuings of diuers noble men of the Scots, as to the earles earledomes, to the barons baronies; but Gallowaie and Annandale, with certeine other counties, he aſſigned to none, reſeruing the ſame (as was thought) vnto the foreſaid two earles, leaſt they ſhould thinke themſelues euill dealt with, if they had no part beſtowed on them amongſt the reſidue.

Anno Reg. 27.

Cotingham.

1299

A parlement.

Abington.

The lords call vpon the king to performe promiſe.

His anſwer.

The addition put in the concluſion of the articles.

The king after this went to Durham, and from thence thought to haue returned ſtreight towards London, but hearing that the Scots meant to make ſome inuaſion, he went to Tinmouth, and remained there till towards Chriſtmaſſe. Now when the king had laine a certeine time at Tinmouth, he departed from thence, and drew ſouthward, and comming to Cotingham, a little from Beuerlie, held his Chriſtmaſſe there, and after drew towards London, where in the beginning of Lent, he held a parlement, at the which he was required to keepe promiſe for the confirmation of the two charters and articles concluded with the earles of Hereford and Marſhall. The king was nothing contented that this matter ſhould be ſo earneſtlie called vpon, for loth he was to grant their full requeſts; and againe to denie them, he ſtood in doubt how it might be taken: he therefore prolonged time, & would make no anſwer either to or fro. But when the lords vrged him ſo ſore to giue them anſwer, he got him out of the citie, not making them priuie of his departure, and when they followed him, and ſeemed not well contented that he ſhould ſo diſſemble with them, he excuſed himſelfe by blaming the aire of the citie to be againſt his health, and therefore bare them in hand, that he onelie ſought to refreſh himſelfe in ſome better aire in the countrie more agreeable to his nature: and as for anſwer to their requeſts, he willed them to repaire againe to the citie, and they ſhould haue anſwer by his councell, ſo farre as ſhould ſtand with reaſon to content them. They returned as he willed them, and had the charters confirmed according to their requeſts, ſauing that this addition was put in the latter end of the ſame, *Saluo iure coronæ noſtræ.* With which addition the lords were offended, and turned home to their houſes in as great diſpleeaſure towards the king as before.

The articles red in Paules churchyard.

The perambulations of forreſts.

The councell doubting ſome ſeditious ſtir to ariſe hereof amongſt the people, deliuered the charters (ſo ſealed and ſigned as they were) vnto the ſhiriffes of London, that the ſame might be read openlie before the people, which was doone in Paules churchyard in preſence of a great aſſemblie there, come togither and gathered for that purpoſe. The people (than whom the ſea in ebbing and flowing is not more inconſtant, nor in iudgment more raſh, heddie, ſudden, and vnaduiſed, as one ſaith verie well, & to purpoſe,

Iudicium vulgi inſulſum, imbecillàque mens eſt,
Quandoquidem inuiſa eſt vulgo ſapientia, &c.)

at the firſt before they heard the addition, gaue manie bleſſings to the king for thoſe grants: but when they heard with what words he concluded, they curſed as faſt as before they had bleſſed. Before this parlement was diſſolued, the lords had warning to returne againe ſhortlie after Eaſter, and then they had all things granted and performed as they could wiſh or deſire. The perambulations of forreſtes were appointed vnto three biſhops, three earles, and three barons.

A biſhop ſent from the pope.

About the latter end of Iune there came ouer a biſhop ſent from pope Boniface as his Nuncio, and diuerſe other with him, to declare the order which the pope as arbitrator indifferentlie choſen betwixt the kings of England and France, for the deciding of all controuerſies depending betwixt them, had giuen forth & decreed, which was in effect as followeth.

The popes decree of peace betwixt the kings of England & France.

1 Firſt that king Edward being then a widdower ſhould marrie the French kings ſiſter named Margaret, notwithſtanding the degrees of conſanguinitie, for the which the pope would diſpenſe.

2 That the lord Edward the kings eldeſt ſonne ſhould at conuenient time take to wife the ladie Iſabell the French kings daughter.

Nic. Triuet.

The popes requeſt for the releaſing to libertie of Iohn Balioll.

3 That the king of England ſhould make ſatiſfaction for the French ſhips which his men had taken at the beginning of the war, and that ſundrie townes in Gaſcoine ſhould be put into the popes hands, till it might be vnderſtood vnto whome the right apperteined. But thoſe two laſt articles tooke ſmall effect, the French king refuſing to deliuer any of thoſe townes which he had gotten in poſſeſſion. Moreouer, theſe meſſengers in the popes behalfe required the king that he would ſet Iohn Balioll, ſometime king of Scotland at libertie, and reſtore thoſe lands vnto his ſonne Edward Balioll, which he ought to hold within the realme of England, promiſing and vndertaking in the popes behalfe to preſerue and ſaue the realme harmeleſſe from all hurt and damage that might inſue by the deliuerie of the ſaid Iohn Balioll.

Iohn Balioll deliuered out of priſon at the popes ſuit.

Polydor.

He departeth this life.

King Edward vnderſtanding that there was great danger in ſetting him at libertie, was contented to deliuer him vnto the pope, but he refuſed to make reſtitution vnto Balioll of the lands which he demanded. The popes ambaſſadours receiuing Iohn Balioll at king Edwards hands, tooke him ouer with him into France, and there left him in the cuſtodie of the biſhop of Cambrie, the popes deputie in that behalfe, where ſhortlie after he died. After this, according

N.Triuet.

ding to the couenants of agréement made betwixt the two kings of England and France, the captiues vpon either part were deliuered. In the feaſt of the natiuitie of our Ladie, the king married the ladie Margaret ſiſter to the French king at Canturburie with great ſolemnitie. About the feaſt of S. Martine in winter the king held a parlement at Yorke, meaning to haue gone from thence into Scotland, to haue reſcued the caſtell of Striueling, which the Scotiſhmen had beſieged, and had it ſurrendred vnto them, yer the king could ſet forward to come to raiſe the ſiege. The ſame yeare died Henrie Newarke archbiſhop of Yorke, and Thomas Corbridge a doctour in diuinitie ſucceeded him.

The king marieth the Fréch kings ſiſter.

A parlemeut at Yorke.

The deceaſſe of the archbiſhop of Yorke.

Anno Reg. 28.

1300

Abington.

A proclamation for monie.

In the eight and twentith yeare of his reigne, in the Chriſtmaſſe ſeaſon king Edward ſet forth a proclamation, forbidding and prohibiting all forren coins to be receiued and paid as ſterling monie within his dominion, commanding by the ſame proclamation, that two péeces of them ſhould go for one ſterling, vntill the feaſt of Eaſter. There were diuerſe monies in thoſe daies currant within this realme, as pollards, crocards, ſtaldings, eagles, leonines, ſléepings, and all theſe were white monies, artificiallie made of ſiluer, copper, and ſulphur, ſo that it was an ill time for baſe monies, & much chopping and changing was vſed in buieng and ſelling of things.

Forren monies forbidden to go as currant.

At Eaſter following the king vtterlie forbad that any of thoſe monies ſhould be currant at all, and held his exchange in ſundrie places, and to be rid of them, men gaue fiue or ſix of them for one ſterling, not caring for them, bicauſe of their baſeneſſe, and yet within a yeare after that men had learned the ſkill by proofe how to trie mettall with melted lead in the fire, they found that two péeces of thoſe baſe monies were in value worth one ſterling, and many became rich by the exchange, which had bought good ſtore of them, when they were ſo ſmallie eſtéemed: but the king cauſed inquirie to be made of them that vſed ſuch exchange without his licence, and put them to their fines.

At a parlement holden at London in Lent this yeare, the king renewed the confirmation of the charters, and made certeine new ſtatutes concerning fines and goale deliueries, verie profitable to the common-wealth. About the feaſt of ſaint Iohn Baptiſt, king Edward went with an armie into Scotland, and there granted a truce to the Scots that inhabited the mounteine countries to indure for eleuen moneths, that is to ſaie, till Whitſuntide next inſuing. As the king was vpon his iournie forewards in the north parts, his late married wife quéene Margaret was deliuered of hir firſt ſonne at Brotherton, a place in Yorkeſhire not farre from Pontfret; he was named Thomas, and tooke the ſurname of Brotherton, of the place where he was borne.

Abington.

The king goeth with an armie into Scotland.

Thomas of Brotherton borne the firſt of Iune.

Moreouer pope Boniface at the ſute of the Scots wrote his letters vnto king Edward, commanding him by the ſame and by the archbiſhop of Canturburie, whome he appointed to deliuer the ſame letters by other letters to him directed, that he ſhould not onelie releaſe and ſet at libertie all ſuch Scots as he had in priſon, but alſo giue ouer his warres which he made againſt the realme of Scotland: and if he meant to make anie claime to the ſame, then to ſend his procurators vnto the court of Rome, and there to ſhew what euidence he could for his right thereto, where the mater (as he mainteined) was to be heard, decided, and iudged; and not elſewhere. The archbiſhop, according to the popes commandement, did the meſſage, and preſented the popes letters vnto the king, who deferred the anſwer vnto the aſſemblie of the eſtates in parlement, and hereof the archbiſhop aduertiſed the pope accordinglie, as in the letters to him dicreed he was commanded; which he durſt not but ſatiſfie, bicauſe he was perſuaded the popes authoritie to haue béene ſo ample and peremptorie, that there was no reſiſting or gaineſaieng of him, ſith,

Vt medijs ludunt in aquis immania cœte,
Et patulo piſces quoſlibet ore vorant:
Sic tenet imperium mortales inter, & omnes
Diripit, illicita ſubdit & arte duces,
Omnibus inſultans, ſic ſubijcit impius orbem,
Implicat atque ſuo regia colla iugo.

Antith. Chriſt. & Antichriſt. pag. 24.

This yeare alſo on ſaint Remigius daie, which is the firſt of October, died Edmund earle of Cornewall, the ſonne of earle Richard, that was alſo king of Almaine; and bicauſe he left no iſſue behind him to inherit that earledome, the ſame returned to the crowne. In the 29 yeare of king Edwards reigne, on ſaint Oſwalds day, or (as ſome haue written) the friday after the feaſt of Peter Ad Vincula, his wife quéene Margaret was deliuered of hir ſecond ſonne, that had to name Edmund of Woodſtoke, ſurnamed ſo of the place where he was borne. ¶ The king alſo this yeare after Chriſtmaſſe held a parlement at Lincolne, to the which the earls and barons of the realme came in armour, to the end (as it is ſaid) that they might procure of the king the more ſpéedie execution of the charter of forreſts, which by him had hitherto béene delaied, but now that he perceiued their earneſtneſſe and importunate ſuit, he condeſcended to their willes in all things.

Euerſden.

Anno Reg. 29.

Matth. Weſtm.

Croxden.

1301

Pope Boniface being ſollicited by the inſtant ſuit of the Scotiſhmen, and offended alſo that the lands in England, which belonged vnto Edward Balioll ſonne of Iohn Balioll, were not to the ſame Edward reſtored, he eftſoones wrote to king Edward; forbidding him from thence forth any further to vex the Scots by wars, bicauſe that the kingdome of Scotland was ſurrendred alreadie into his hands by the generall conſent of the Scotiſhmen themſelues, and therefore was it in his power to beſtow and take away the ſame to whom or from whom ſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe him.

Pope Boniface prohibiteth the king of England further to vex the Scots.

¶ There were reaſons alledged why the king of England ſéemed to do wrong in challenging as then the kingdome of Scotland: and amongſt other, one was, that ſuch homage as had beene doone of ancient time to the kings of England, by the kings of the Scots, was onelie meant for Tindale, Penreth, and ſuch other lands as the Scotiſh kings held within England, and not for the realme of Scotland. And whereas the kings of Scotland had aided the kings of England in their warres againſt the rebels of the realme of England, and béene preſent at their coronation, the ſame was doone of ſpeciall fauour, and not of dutie. K. Edward hauing receiued the popes preſcript, and well conſidered the whole contents thereof, ſent in writing his anſwer at large, prouing by euident reaſons that the right of proprietie in the kingdome of Scotland, did moſt iuſtlie apperteine vnto him, and that the allegations were not true, but forged, which had béene by ſurmiſed information preſented againſt him.

N. Triuet.

Beſide the kings letters, which he wrote in his owne behalfe, there was an other letter deuiſed and written by all the lords temporall of the land, aſſembled in parlement at Lincolne, in which letter they anſwered in name of all the eſtates there gathered, vnto that point wherein the pope pretended a right to be iudge for the title of the realme of Scotland, proteſting flatlie, that they would not conſent that their king ſhould doo any thing that might tend to the diſheriting of the right of the crowne of England, and plaine ouerthrow of the ſtate of the ſame realme, and alſo hurt of the liberties, cuſtoms, and lawes of their fathers, ſith it was neuer knowne, that the kings of this land had anſwered or ought to anſwer for their rights in the ſame realme, afore any iudge eccleſiaſticall or ſecular.

The tenour of the foreſaid letter *indited and directed to pope* Boniface.

TO our moſt holie father in Chriſt, Boniface by Gods prouidence high biſhop of the holie Romane and vniuerſall church, his deuout ſonnes Iohn earle Warren, Thomas erle of Lancaſter, Rafe de Monthermer earle of Gloceſter and Hereford, Humfrey de Bohun earle of Hertford and Eſſex and conſtable of England, Roger Bigod earle of Norfolke, and mareſchall of England, Guie earle of Warwike, Richard earle of Arundell, Adomare de Valence lord of Monterney, Henrie de Lancaſter lord of Monmouth; Iohn de Haſtings lord of Bergeuennie, Henrie de Percie lord of Topclife, Edmund de Mortimer lord of Wigmor, Robert Fitz Walter lord of Wodham, Iohn de S. Iohn lord of Hannake, Hugh de Weer lord of Swaneſtampe, William de Breuſe lord of Gower, Robert de Monthault lord of Hawarden, Robert de Tateſhall lord of Wokeham, Reignold de Grey lord of Ruthin, Henrie de Grey lord of Coduore, Hugh Bardolfe lord of Wormegaie, Robert de Clifford chatellaine of Appelbie, Peter de Malowe lord of Mulgreene, Philip lord of Kime, Robert Fitz Roger lord of Clauerings, Iohn de Mohun lord of Duneſter, Almerike de S. Amound lord of Widehaie, William de Ferrers lord of Grobie, Alane de Zouche lord of Aſhbie, Theobald de Verdon lord of Webbeley, Thomas de Furniuall lord of Schefield, Thomas de Multon lord of Egremont, William Latimer lord of Corbie, Thomas lord Berkley, Foulke Fitz Warren lord of Mitingham, Iohn lord Segraue, Edmund de Eincourt lord of Thurgerton, Peter Corbet lord of Caus, William de Cantelowe lord of Rauenſthorpe, Iohn de Beauchampe lord of Hacche, Roger de Mortimer lord of Penkethlin, Iohn Fitz Reignold lord of Blenleueny Rafe de Neuill lord of Rabie, Brian Fitz Alane lord of Bedale, William Marſhall lord of Hengham, Walter lord Huntercombe, William Martin lord of Cameis, Henrie de Thies lord of Chilton, Roger le Ware lord of Iſefield, Iohn de Riuers lord of Augre. Iohn de Lancaſter lord of Griſedale, Robert Fitz Paine lord of Lainnier, Henrie Tregoz lord of Garinges, Robert Hipard lord of Lomford, Walter lord Fancomberge, Roger le Strange lord of Elleſmer, Iohn le Strange lord of Cnokin, Thomas de Chances lord of Norton, Walter de Beauchampe lord of Alceſter, Richard Talbot lord of Eccleſwell, Iohn Butetourt lord of Mendeſham, Iohn Engain lord of Colum, Hugh de Poinz lord of Corneualet, Adam L. of Wels, Simon L. Montacute, Iohn L. Sulle, Iohn de Melles or Moelles L. of Candeburie, Edmund baron Stafford, Iohn Louell lord of Hackings, Edmund de N. lord of Elchimhonokes, Rafe Fitz William L. of Grimthorpe, Robert de Scales lord of Neuſels, William Tuchet lord of Lewenhales, Iohn Abadan lord of Deuerſton, Iohn de Hauerings lord of Grafton, Robert la Ward lord of Whitehall, Nicholas de Segraue lord of Stow, Walter de Tey L. of Stongraue, Iohn de Liſle lord of Wodton, Euſtace lord Hacche, Gilbert Peche L. of Corbie, William Painell lord Trachington, Rog. de *Albo monaſterio*, Foulke le Strange lord of Corſham, Henrie de Pinkenie lord of Wedon, Iohn de Hodeleſton lord of Aneis, Iohn de Huntingfield lord of Bradenham, Hugh Fitz Henrie lord of Raueneſwath, Iohn Daleton lord of Sporle, Nicholas de Carrie lord of Muleſford, Thomas lord de la Roche, Wal. de Muncie lord of Thornton, Iohn Fitz Marmaduke lord of Horden, Iohn lord of Kingſton, Robert Haſtings the father lord of Chebeſſey, Rafe lord Grendon, William lord of Leiborne, Iohn de Greiſtocke lord of Morpath, Matthew Fitz Iohn lord of Stokenham, Nicholas de Neuell lord of Wherlton, and Iohn Painell lord of Ateli, with all humble ſubmiſſion.

Haſtings I take it.

Whiteminſter I thinke.

Thus far out of M. Parkins et the inner temple.

The holie mother church, by whoſe miniſterie the catholike ſee is gouerned, in hir deeds (as we throughlie beleeue and hold) proceedeth with that ripeneſſe in iudgement, that ſhe will be hurtfull to none, but like a mother would euerie mans right be kept vnbroken, aſwell in another, as in hir ſelfe. Whereas therfore in a generall parlement called at Lincolne of late, by our moſt dread lord Edward by the grace of God the noble king of England; the ſame our lord cauſed certeine letters receiued from you to be read openlie, and to be declared ſeriouſlie afore vs, about certeine buſineſſe touching the condition and ſtate of the realme of Scotland: we did not a little muſe and maruell with our ſelues, hearing the meanings concerning the ſame, ſo wondrous and ſtrange as the like we haue not heard at any time before. For we know moſt holie father, and it is well knowne aſwell within this realme of England (as alſo not vnknowne to other perſons beſides) that from the firſt beginning of the realme of England, the certeine and direct gouernment of the realme of Scotland in all temporall cauſes from time to time belonged to the kings of the ſame relme of England and relme of Scotland, aſwell in the times both of the Britains as alſo Engliſhmen, yea rather the ſame realme of Scotland of old time was in fee to the anceſtours of our foreſaid lords kings of England, yea and to himſelfe.

Out of maiſter Fox. pag. 427.

Furthermore, the kings of Scots and the realme haue not beene vnder any other than the kings of England, and the kings of England haue anſwered or ought to anſwer for their rights in the foreſaid relme, or for anie his temporalities before anie iudge eccleſiaſticall or ſecular, by reaſon of free preheminence of the ſtate of his roiall dignitie and cuſtome kept without breach at all times. Wherefore, after treatie had, and diligent deliberation of the contents in your foreſaid letters, this was the common agreement & conſent with one mind, and ſhall be without faile in time to come by Gods grace, that our foreſaid lord the king ought by no meanes to anſwer in iudgement in any caſe, or ſhould bring his foreſaid rights into doubt, nor ought not to ſend any proctors or meſſengers to your preſence, ſpeciallie ſeeing that the premiſſes tend manifeſtlie to the diſheriting of the right of the crowne of England, and the plaine ouerthrowe of the ſtate of the ſaid realme, and alſo hurt of the liberties, cuſtomes and lawes of our fathers, for the keeping & defenſe of which we are bound by the duetie of the oth made, and we will mainteine them with all power, and will defend them (by Gods helpe) with all ſtrength, and furthermore, will not ſuffer our foreſaid lord the king to doo or by anie means attempt the premiſſes being ſo vnaccuſtomed, vnwont, and not hard of afore. Wherefore we reuerentlie and humblie beſeech your holineſſe, that yee would ſuffer the ſame our lord king of England (who among other princes of the world ſheweth himſelfe catholike and deuout to the Romiſh church) quietlie to inioy his rights, liberties, cuſtomes, and lawes aforeſaid: without all impairing and trouble, and let them continue vntouched. In witneſſe whereof, we haue ſet our ſeales to theſe preſents, as well for vs, as for the whole communaltie of the foreſaid relme of England. Dated at Lincolne the twelfth of Februarie, in the yeare of our Lord 1301, *Et anno Edwardi primi 29.*

The K. goeth to Scotland.

The pope when he heard and deliberatelie pondered the kings anſwer, with this letter directed to him from the Engliſh barons, waxed cold in the matter, and followed it no further. The truce betwixt the king and the Scots being once expired, the king aſſembled his armie, and went into Scotland, about the feaſt of ſaint Iohn Baptiſt, and tarieng there all the ſummer and winter following, his ſouldiers loſt manie of their great horſſes for lacke of forrage, which could not be gotten in the cold winter ſeaſon. He kept his Chriſtmas at Lithquo, and at length at the requeſt and ſute of his brother in law the French king, he granted eftſoones a truce to the Scotiſhmen, vntill the feaſt of All ſaints next inſuing.

Anno. Reg. 30.
1302

A truce granted to the Scots.

The king returneth into England.

The pope exhorteth the K. of England to make war againſt Frãce.

Then hauing ordered his buſineſſe for that time in Scotland, he returned into England, and about midlent called a parlement at London. Alſo this yeere pope Boniface vpon diſpleaſure conceiued againſt the French king, ſent vnto king Edward, exhorting him to make warres againſt the ſame French king, and to perſuade him the more eaſilie therevnto, he promiſed him great aid: but the king of England hauing prooued the ſaid pope, not the ſureſt man in friendſhip towards him, forbare to attempt anie forceable exploit againſt the French king, truſting by ſome other meanes to recouer his right.

The deceaſſe of the earle of Hereford.

Re. Tur.
Tournies prohibited.

This yeere Humfrey Bohun earle of Hereford departed out of this life, after whome ſucceeded his ſonne Humfrey, who afterwards maried the kings daughter, Elizabeth counteſſe of Holland, after that hir firſt huſband was dead. Tournies, iuſtes, barriers, and other warlike exerciſes, which yoong lords and gentlemen had appointed to exerciſe for their paſtime in diuerſe parts of the realme, were forbidden by the kings proclamations ſent downe to be publiſhed by the ſhiriffs in euerie countie abroad in the realme: the teſte of the writ was from Weſtminſter the ſixteenth of Iulie. ¶ The citizens of Burdeaux could not beare the yoke of the French bondage, and therefore this yeere about Chriſtmaſſe expelled them out of their citie. ¶ Shortlie after the French king doubting leaſt the king of England, by the ſetting on of the pope, ſhould make warres againſt him for wrongfull deteining of Gaſcoine, to purchaſe his fauor, reſtored to him all that which he held in Gaſcoine, and ſo then they of Burdeaux alſo ſubmitted themſelues to the king of England of their owne accord.

Townes reſtored to the K. in Gaſcoine.

Polydor.
The lord Segraue ſent with an armie into Scotland.

Abington.
Polydor.

Now after that the truce with the Scots was expired, which tooke end at the feaſt of All ſaints laſt paſt, the king ſent the lord Iohn Segraue, a right valiant knight (but not ſo circumſpect in his gouernment as was neceſſarie) with a great armie into Scotland, to haue the rule of the land as lord warden of the ſame: with him was ioined alſo Rafe Confreie, treaſurer of the armie. Theſe two capteins comming to the borders, and hearing that the Scotiſhmen alreadie were in armes, they entered into Scotland, and in order of battell paſſed forth to Edenburgh, and hearing nothing of their enimies which kept them ſtill in the mounteins, they deuided their armie into three ſeuerall battels, two of the which came behind the fore ward vnder the leading of the ſaid Rafe Confreie, the third (that is to ſay) the fore ward, the lord Segraue led himſelfe, in ſuch order that there was the diſtance of foure miles betwixt their lodgings. This they did to be the more plentiouſlie ſerued of vittels.

But the Scots vnderſtanding this order of their enimies, became the more hardie, and therevpon hauing knowledge where the lord Segraue was lodged with his companie, a good way off from the other two parts of the armie, they haſted forwards in the night ſeaſon, and came néere vnto the place where the ſame lord Segraue was incamped, a little before daie, making themſelues readie to aſſaile the Engliſhmen in their campe. But the lord Segraue hauing knowlege of their comming, though he was counſelled by ſome of them that were about him, either to withdraw vnto the other battels, or elſe to ſend vnto them to come to his aid, he would follow neither of both the waies; but like a capteine more hardie than wiſe in this point, diſpoſed his companies which he had there in order to fight, and incouraging them to plaie the men, immediatlie vpon the riſing of the ſunne, and that his enimies approched, he cauſed the trumpets to ſound to the battell, and gaue therewith the onſet.

The Engliſh men vanquiſhed by the Scots.

The fight was ſore and doubtfull for a while, till the Engliſhmen ouercome with the multitude of their enimies began to be ſlaine on ech ſide, ſo that few eſcaped by flight. To the number of twentie worthie knights were taken, with their capteine the ſaid lord Segraue being ſore wounded, but he was by chance reſcued and deliuered out of the enimies hands, by certeine horſſemen, which vnder the leading of the

Abington.

Rafe Cõfreie was ſlaine at this incounter, as Abington ſaith.

N.Triuet. The earle Marſhall reſigneth his lands vnto the king.

lord Robert Neuell a right valiant knight (vpon hearing the noiſe of them that fled) came on the ſpurs out of the next campe to the ſuccour of their fellowes. Rafe Confreie after this miſhap (as Polydor ſaith) brought backe the reſidue of the armie into England, not thinking it neceſſarie to attempt any further enterpriſe at that time againſt the enimies, ouermatching him both in ſtrength and number. This incounter chanced on the firſt ſundaie in Lent. ¶ I remember the Scotiſh chronicles conteine much more of this enterpriſe greatlie to their glorie, and more (haplie) than is true, as by conferring the place where they intreat of it, with this that I haue here exemplified out of our writers it may well appeare. The earle Marſhall hauing ſpent largelie whileſt he ſtood in contention againſt the king, who was now earneſtlie called vpon to repaie ſuch ſummes of monie as he had borowed of his brother John Bigod, who was verie rich by reaſon of ſuch benefices and ſpirituall liuings as he had in his hands, the earle bicauſe he had no children, to whom he might leaue his lands, meant to haue left them vnto his ſaid brother: but when he ſaw him ſo importunate in calling for the debts which he owght him; he tooke ſuch diſpleaſure therewith, that to obteine the kings fauour, and to diſappoint his brother of the inheritance, he gaue vnto the king all his poſſeſſions, vpon condition that the king adding thereto other lands in value worth a thouſand markes by yeare, ſhould reſtore them to him againe to inioy during his life, the remainder after his deceaſſe to come vnto the king, and further, the king ſhould paie and diſcharge him of all his debts.

A ſubſidie.

The king goeth in perſon into Scotland.

Cathnes.

The Scots ſubmit themſelues to the king.

King Edward being aduertiſed of the loſſe which his men had ſuſteined in Scotland, ſtreightwaies called a parlement, wherein by aſſent of the ſtates a ſubſidie was granted, towards the maintenance of his warres, and then the ſame being leuied he aſſembled his people, and ſhortlie after about Whitſuntide entred into Scotland to reuenge the death of his men. The Scots hearing of the kings comming, fled into the mounteins, moſſes, and mariſh grounds, not once ſhewing any countenance to fight any ſet battell with the Engliſh hoſt, ſo that the king in maner without reſiſtance paſſed through the countrie euen vnto Cathnes, which is the furtheſt part of all Scotland. Manie of the Scots perceiuing their lacke of power to reſiſt the Engliſh puiſſance, came to king Edward, and ſubmitted themſelues, with condition that they ſhould inioy their lands which he had giuen awaie to his lords, they redéeming the ſame with conuenient fines, which was granted.

Abington. William Waleis.

Polydor. Hect.Boetius. Ia.Meir.

Anno Reg. 32. Striueling caſtell beſieged. Abington.

1304

Engins to caſt ſtones.

But Will. Waleis with certeine other, kéeping themſelues in places where no armie could come to purſue them, would neuer giue eare to any conditions of agréement: ſo that neither with feare, neither with offer of rewards could this Waleis be induced to follow or behold the Engliſh K. ruling the realme of Scotland. King Edward returning backe, came to the caſtell of Striueling (which the Scotiſhmen held againſt him) and beſieged it. The king himſelfe laie at Dunferling the moſt part of the winter: and whileſt he laie there, the quéene which had lien a long time at Tinmouth came to him, and when the winter was once paſt, the king himſelfe came to the ſiege, and cauſed certeine engins of wood to be raiſed vp againſt the caſtell, which ſhot off ſtones of two or thrée hundred weight: but yet would not they within once talke of any ſurrender. And where the Engliſhmen filled the ditches with wood and boughs of trées, they ſet the ſame on fire, and burnt them to aſhes: at length the ditches were filled with ſtones and earth, ſo that then the Scots within perceiuing themſelues in euident perill to loſe the caſtell, on ſaint Margarets daie they yéelded themſelues ſimplie into the kings hands, as the Engliſh writers affirme, though the Scotiſh writers record the contrarie.

Polydor.

Tho. Walſ. The earle of Penbroke lord warden of Scotland. N.Triuet. Polydor.

A fiftéenth granted.

Finallie, when the king had ordered all his buſineſſe in Scotland at his pleaſure, he returned into England, leauing in Scotland for warden the lord John Segraue, or (as other writers haue) ſir Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke. At his comming to Yorke he cauſed the iuſtices of his bench, and the barons of the excheker to remoue with their courts, and all their clearks and officers, togither with the lord chancellor and his court to London, that the termes might be kept there, as in times paſt they had béene, whereas now the ſame had remained at Yorke aboue the ſpace of ſix yeares, vpon this conſideration, that the king and his councell might be néere vnto Scotland to prouide for the defenſe thereof, as occaſion from time to time ſhould require. From Yorke he came to Lincolne, and there remained all the winter, holding a councell, in the which he eftſoones confirmed the articles of Magna charta, touching the liberties, priuileges and immunities of his ſubiects, the which to declare their thankfull minds towards him for the ſame, granted to him for the ſpace of one yéere the fiftéenth part of all their reuenues. Others write that the king had in this yeare of citizens and of the burgeſſes of good townes, the ſixt penie according to the valued rate of their goods.

The deceaſſe of the archbiſhop of Yorke. Wil. Gréenefield made archbiſhop of Yorke.

Robert Bruce earle of Carrike departeth this life.

N. Triuet. Inquiſitions taken of the miſdemeanors of iuſtices. Caxton.

Iuſtices fined.

About the ſame time, Thomas Colebrugh or Corbridge archbiſhop of Yorke departed this life, and one William Gréenefield doctour of both the lawes ſuccéeded him. ¶ There died about the ſame time that valiant knight the lord W. Latimer. ¶ Alſo John Warren earle of Surrey and Suſſex died this yéere & was buried at Lewes. His nephue by his ſon (named alſo John) ſuccéeded him, obteining to wife the kings néece by his daughter Elianor that was married to the earle of Bar, as before ye haue heard. Likewiſe Robert Bruce earle of Carrike, the fift of that name died this yeare, who was father to that Robert Bruce that was after K. of Scots. ¶ Moreouer, about this ſeaſon the king ordeined certeine commiſſioners of iuſticiaries, to make inquiſitions through the realme, by the verdict of ſubſtantiall iuries vpon all officers, as maiors, ſhiriffes, baſliffes, exchetors, and other that had miſuſed themſelues in their offices, either by extortion, briberie, or otherwiſe, to the gréeuance of the people, contrarie to that they rightlie might doo and iuſtifie by vertue of their offices: by means of which inquiſitions manie were accuſed and found culpable, and therevpon put to gréeuous fines.

Matth.Weſtm.

Intruſions puniſhed, and other offenſes againſt the kings peace and iuſtice.

Forfeits.

Nic.Triuet. Traile baſton.

Alſo the iuſtices, which were aſſigned to take theſe inquiſitions, extended the ſame according to their commiſſion againſt ſuch as had made intruſions into other mens lands, and for doubt to be impleaded for the ſame had made alienations ouer into the hands of great men; alſo againſt ſuch barretors as vſed to take monie to beat any man, and againe would not ſticke to take monie of him whom they had ſo beaten, to beat him that firſt hired them to beat the other. The malice of ſuch maner people was now reſtreined by force of theſe inquiſitions: for ſuch as were found culpable, were worthilie puniſhed, ſome by death, and ſome by ranſoms: diuerſe alſo for feare to come to their anſwers fled the realme: alſo forfeits againſt the crowne were ſtreightlie looked vnto, found out, and leuied; by reaſon whereof great ſummes of monie came to the kings coffers, which holpe well towards the maintenance and charges of his warres. This kind of inquiſition was named commonlie Traile baſton, which ſignifieth, Traile or draw the ſtaffe. And forſomuch as the procéeding in this wiſe againſt ſuch miſdemenors as then were vſed, brought ſo great a benefit to the realme in reſtreining ſuch malefactors, which greatlie (as ſhould ſeeme) diſquieted the ſtate of the commonwealth, I haue thought good to ſet downe the ſubſtance of the ſame, as followeth.

An extract of the foreſaid writ, as it is *regiſtred in the booke that belonged* to the abbeie of Abington.

REx dilectis & fidelibus ſuis, Radulfo filio Wilhelmi, & Iohanni de Barton de Riton ſalutem. Quia quàm plures malefactores, & pacis noſtræ perturbatores, homicidia, deprædationes, incendia, & alia damna quàm plurima nocte dieq́; perpetrantes, vagantur in boſcis, parcis, & alijs locis diuerſis, tam infra libertates quàm extra, in comitatu Eboracenſi, & ibidem receptantur in maximum periculum tam hominum per partes illas tranſeuntium, quàm ibidem commorantium, in noſtri contemptum, ac pacis noſtræ læſionem manifeſtam, vt accepimus: per quorum incurſum poterunt peiora peioribus de facili euenire, niſi remedium ſuper hoc citiùs apponatur, nos eorum malitiæ in hac parte obuiare, & huiuſmodi damnis & periculis præcauere volentes, aſsignamus vos ad inquirendum per ſacramentum tam militum quàm aliorum proborum & legalium hominum, de contemptu prædicto, tam infra libertates quàm extra, per quos ipſa veritas meliùs ſciri poterit, qui ſint illi malefactores & pacis noſtræ perturbatores, & eos conduxerunt & conducunt ad verberandum, vulnerandum, malè tractandũ, & interficiendum, plures de regno noſtro in ferijs, mercarijs, & alijs locis in dicto comitatu, pro inimicitia, inuidia, aut malitia. Et etiam pro eò quòd in aſsiſis iuratis, recognitionibus, & inquiſitionibus factis de felonijs poſiti fuerant, & veritatem dixerunt: vnde per conditionem huiuſmodi malefactorum, iuratores aſsiſarum, iurationum, recognitionum, & inquiſitionum illarum, pro timore dictorum malefactorum, & eorum minarum, ſæpiùs veritatem dicere, ſeu dictos malefactores indictare minimè auſi fuerunt, & ſunt. Et ad inquirendum de illis qui huiuſmodi munera dederunt, & dant, & quantum, & quibus, & qui huiuſmodi munera receperunt, & à quibus & qualiter, & quo modo, & qui huiuſmodi malefactores fouent, nutriunt, & manutenent in comitatu prædicto, & ad ipſos malefactores tam per vos, quàm per vicecomitem noſtrum comitatus prædicti arreſtandos, & priſonæ noſtræ liberandos, & ſaluò & ſecurè in eadem per vicecomitem comitatus prædicti cuſtodiendos, ita quòd ab eadem priſona nullo modo deliberentur, ſine mandato noſtro ſpeciali.

Et ideo vobis mandamus, quòd ad certos diem & locum, quos ad hoc prouideritis, inquiſitiones illas faciatis. Et aſſumpto vobiſcum ſufficienti paſſe comitatus prædicti, ſi neceſſe fuerit, dictos malefactores coram vobis ſic indictatos, arreſtetis, & ipſos priſonæ noſtræ liberetis, in forma prædicta: & etiam omnia bona, & catalla ipſorum malefactorũ qui ſe ſubtraxerint, & fugam fecerint, poſtquam de felonijs aliquibus coram vobis ſolenniter indictati fuerint, per vicecomitem comitatus prædicti, in manum noſtram capiatis, & ea ad opus noſtrum ſaluò cuſtodire faciatis, donec aliud inde vobis præceperimus. Mandamus enim vicecomiti noſtro comitatus prædicti, quòd ad certos diem & locum, quos vos prouidere duxeritis, venire faciat, coram vobis tot & tales, tam milites quàm alios, quos habere decreueritis, de comitatu illo, tam infra libertates, quàm extra, per quos ipſa veritas meliùs ſciri poterit, & inquiri. Et quod omnes illos quos per inquiſitionem culpabiles inuenire contigerit, & quos vos ſic liberaueritis, à nobis recipiantur, & quorum nomina eis ſcire faciatis, aſſumpto ſecum ſufficienti poſſe comitatus prædicti, ſinè dilatione arreſtari, & in priſona noſtra ſaluò & ſecurè cuſtodire faciat in forma prædicta, & communitati dicti comitatus, quod ſimul cum vicecomite prædicto, vobis quotienſcúnq; opus fuerit in præmiſſis pareat, aſſiſtat, & intendat, prout eis iniungetis ex parte noſtra. In cuius rei teſtimonium, &c. ¶ Heereunto were annexed certeine articles by way of inſtructions, of what points they ſhould inquire, as partlie aboue is noted out of the addition to *Matthew Weſt*. but not ſo fullie, as in the ſaid chronicle of *Abington* is found expreſſed, and heere for breefeneſſe omitted.

In the three and thirtith yeare of his reigne, king Edward put his ſonne prince Edward in priſon, bicauſe that he had riotouſlie broken the parke of Walter Langton biſhop of Cheſter; and bicauſe the prince had done this déed by the procurement of a lewd and wanton perſon, one Péers Gaueſton, an eſquire of Gaſcoine, the king baniſhed him the realme, leaſt the prince, who delighted much in his companie, might by his euill and wanton counſell fall to euill and naughtie rule. Moreouer, the ſame yeare, William Waleis was taken, and deliuered vnto king Edward, who cauſed him to be brought to London, where on S. Bartholmewes euen, he was conueied through the ſtreets vnto Weſtminſter, and there arreigned of his treaſon, and condemned, and therevpon hanged, drawne and quartered, his head was ſet ouer London bridge, his right ſide ouer the bridge at Newcaſtell vpon Tine, his left ſide was ſent to Berwike and there ſet vp, his right leg was ſent to S. Iohns towne, and his left vnto Aberden, in which places the ſame were ſet vp for an example of terror to others.

Anno Reg. 33.
1305
Prince Edward cõmitted to ward.
Caxton.
Fabian.

William Waleis taken & put to death.
Rich. South.

Alſo, about the ſame time, the king of France required the king of England by meſſengers and letters ſent vnto him, that he would baniſh all the Flemings out of his realme, in like manner as at his inſtance he had latelie before baniſhed all the Scotiſhmen out of France. The king of England was contented ſo to doo, and by that means were all the Flemings auoided out of this land at that ſeaſon, but ſhortlie after, they returned againe. King Edward accuſed Robert archbiſhop of Canturburie vnto the pope, for that he ſhould go about to trouble the quiet ſtate of the realme, and to defend and ſuccour rebellious perſons, wherevpon the ſaid archbiſhop being cited to the popes conſiſtorie, was ſuſpended from executing his office, till he ſhould purge himſelfe by order of law, of ſuch crimes as were laid and obiected againſt him. The king alſo obteined an abſolution of the pope, of the oth which againſt his will he had taken, for the obſeruing of the liberties exacted by force of him, by the earls and barons of his realme, namelie, touching difforreſtings to be made.

N. Triuet.

Flemings baniſhed the land, at contemplation of the king of France.
Abington.
The archbiſhop of Canturburie accuſed by the K.
Nic. Triuet.
He is ſuſpended.

This yeare, Robert Bruce, contriuing waies how to make himſelfe king of Scotland, the nine & twentith day of Ianuarie, ſlue the lord Iohn Comin at Dunfrice, whileſt the kings iuſtices were ſitting in iudgement within the caſtell there, and vpon the day of

Anno Reg. 34.
1306
Iohn lord Comin ſlaine by Robert Bruce.

The counteſſe of Boughan ſet the crowne on Robert Bruce his head.

She is taken.

Hir puniſhment.

of the Annunciation of our ladie, cauſed himſelfe to be crowned king of Scotland at Scone, where the counteſſe of Boughan, that was ſecretlie departed from hir huſband the earle of Boughan, and had taken with hir all his great horſſes, was readie to ſet the crowne vpon R. Bruces head, in abſence of hir brother the earle of Fife, to whom (being in England) ſoiourning at his manor of Whitwike in Leiceſterſhire, that office of right apperteined. This counteſſe being afterwards taken the ſame yeare by the Engliſhmen, where other would haue had hir put to death, the king would not grant therevnto, but commanded that ſhe ſhould be put in a cage made of wood, which was ſet vpon the walles of the caſtell of Berwike, that all ſuch as paſſed by might behold hir; too ſlender a puniſhment for ſo great an offenſe. But the king counted it no honour to be ſeuere againſt that ſex whom nature tendereth, though malefactors, and therfore was content with a mild correction tending rather to ſome ſhame than ſmart, to recompenſe hir offenſe, wherby ſhe procured againſt hir ſelfe no leſſe reproch than ſhe ſuſteined, agréable to the old ſaieng,

Sæpe ſuum proprium fecit puer ipſe flagellum.

An armie ſent into Scotland.

Prince Edward made knight.

Thrée hundred ſaith Matth. Weſt.

Prince Edward ſent into Scotland.

There were preſent at his coronation foure biſhops, fiue earles, and a great multitude of people of the land. Immediatlie vpon the newes brought to the king of Bruces coronation, he ſent foorth a power of men, vnder the conduct of the earle of Penbroke, and of the lord Henrie Percie, the lord Robert Clifford, and others, to reſiſt the attempts of the Scots, now readie to worke ſome miſchéefe, through the incouragement of the new king. Edward prince of Wales was made knight this yeare at London vpon Whitſundaie, & a great number of other yong bachelers with him (297 as Abington writeth) the which were ſent ſtreightwaies with the ſaid prince towards Scotland, to ioine with the earle of Penbroke, to reſiſt the attempts of the new king Robert le Bruce and his complices. King Edward himſelfe followed. The generall aſſemblie of the armie was appointed at Carleill, fiftéene daies after the Natiuitie of ſaint Iohn Baptiſt, from thence to march foorth vnder the guiding of the prince into Scotland.

Robert Bruce.

Abington.

It was the next ſundaie after midſummer daie.

Rob. Bruce put to flight by the earle of Penbroke.

In the meane time, Robert le Bruce went abroad in the countries of Scotland, receiued the homages of manie Scotiſhmen, and got togither an armie of men, with the which he approched néere to ſaint Iohns towne, into the which the earle of Penbroke was a little before entred to defend it, with thrée hundred men of armes, beſide fotmen. Then R. Bruce ſent to the earle to come out and giue battell, the earle ſent vnto him word againe, that he would not fight that daie being ſundaie, but vpon the next morow he would ſatiſfie his requeſt. Robert Bruce herevpon withdrew a mile backe from the towne, determining to reſt himſelfe and his people that night. About euening tide came the earle foorth of the towne with his people in order of battell, and aſſailing his enimies vpon a ſudden, ſlue diuerſe yer they could get their armour on their backs. Robert Bruce and others that had ſome ſpace to arme themſelues made ſome reſiſtance for a while, but at length the Engliſhmen put them to the worſe, ſo that they were conſtreined to flée.

Rob. Bruce fled into Kentire.

His wife and brother are taken.

The earle of Atholl taken. Fabian.

Nic. Triuet. Matth. Weſt.

The earle following the chaſe, purſued them euen into Kentire, not reſting till he vnderſtood that a great number of them were gotten into a caſtell, which he beſieged, in hope to haue found Robert Bruce within it, but he was fled further into the countrie. Howbeit, his wife and his brother Nigell or Neall, with diuerſe other were taken in this caſtell, and ſent in ſafetie vnto Berwike. Alſo ſhortlie after, the earle of Atholl was taken, being fled out of the ſame caſtell. ¶ But ſome write, that this earle was taken in the battell laſt remembred, after long fight and great ſlaughter of Scots, to the number of ſeuen thouſand, and alſo that in the chaſe, the lord Simon de Friſell was taken, with the biſhops of ſaint Andrews and Glaſco, the abbat of Scone, and the ſaid earle of Atholl, named ſir Iohn Chambres. The biſhops and abbat, king Edward ſent vnto pope Innocent, with report of their periurie: but others write, that the foreſaid biſhops and abbat being taken indéed the ſame yeare, were brought into England, and there kept as priſoners within ſundrie caſtels.

Bruces wife whoſe daughter ſhe was.

The ſaieng of Robert Bruces wife.

The wife of Robert le Bruce being daughter to the earle of Vlſter, was ſent vnto the manour of Bruſtwike, and there honorablie vſed, hauing a conuenient number of ſeruants appointed to wait on hir. The earle of Vlſter hir father, in the beginning of theſe laſt wars, ſent vnto king Edward two of his owne ſonnes to remaine with him, in ſuch wiſe as he ſhould thinke conuenient, to aſſure himſelfe of him, that he would attempt nothing againſt the Engliſh ſubiects. Alſo it was ſaid, that the ladie hir ſelfe, the ſame daie hir huſband and ſhe ſhould be crowned, ſaid, that ſhe feared they ſhould proue but as a ſummer king and quéene, ſuch as in countrie townes the yong folks choſe for ſport to danſe about maipoles. For theſe cauſes was ſhe the more courteouſlie vſed at the kings hands, as reaſon no leſſe required.

Polydor.

Nic. Triuet.

Matth. Weſt. Methſen.

The caſtell of Lochdore taken, and Chriſtopher Seiton within it.

Nic. Triuet. He is executed.

It ſhould appeare by Robert Fabian, that the king was preſent himſelfe at this battell: but other affirme, that prince Edward was there as generall and not his father, and that the battell was fought at Dunchell vpon the riuer of Tay. But neither the Scotiſh chronicles nor Nicholas Triuet (whom in the hiſtorie of this king Edward the firſt, we haue moſt followed) make anie mention, that either the king or prince ſhould be at the foreſaid battell, but that the earle of Penbroke with Robert lord Clifford, and Henrie lord Percie were ſent before (as ye haue alreadie heard) with an armie, by whome as appeareth this victorie was obteined, at a place called Methſen. After this was the caſtell of Lochdore taken, and within it Chriſtopher Seiton, that had married the ſiſter of Robert le Bruce; and bicauſe he was no Scot but an Engliſhman borne, the king commanded that he ſhould be led vnto Dunfriſe, where he had killed one of the kings knights, and there to be hanged, drawen and quartered.

His lands giuen awaie by the king.

The lands of Rob. Bruce giuen awaie. The earle of Hereford.

Lord Clifford.

The lord Henrie Percie. Rafe de Mothermer.

The wife of this Chriſtopher Seiton, he appointed to be kept in the monaſterie of Thirell in Lindſey; and the daughter of Robert le Bruce, which was alſo taken about the ſame time, was ſent to the monaſterie of Waiton. Moreouer, the manour of Seiton in Whitebeſtroud he gaue vnto the lord Edmund de Mauley, and thoſe other lands that belonged vnto the ſaid Chriſtopher Seiton in Northumberland he gaue vnto the lord William Latimer. The lands that belonged to the new Scotiſh king he beſtowed in this wiſe, to Henrie Bohun earle of Hereford, which had married one of king Edwards daughters, he gaue the lordſhips of Annandale; Hert & Hertnes he gaue vnto the lord Robert Clifford, ſauing alwaies the right yet that belonged to the church of Durham, Totenham, and Totenhamſhire; and the maner of Wrothell in the ſouth parts he gaue to other noble men; and the earledome of Carrike which R. Bruce had holden, as by inheritance from his mother, the king gaue to the lord Henrie Percie, the earledome of Atholl he gaue to Rafe de Monthermer earle of Gloceſter, who had alſo married (as before yee haue heard) an other of the kings daughters, after the deceſſe of hir firſt huſband Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloceſter.

About the feaſt of ſaint Michaell, the new Scotiſh king Robert le Bruce returned forth of the Iles (into the which he had fled) with manie Iriſhmen and Scots in his companie, and remained a certeine time in Kentire, he ſent certeine of his officers, to leuie and gather vp the rents of the fermes due at the feaſt of ſaint Martine for ſuch lands and poſſeſſions as they held in that countrie, wherof the lord Percie being aduertiſed, haſted thither; but the new king comming vpon him, ſlue certeine of his men, tooke his horſſes and plate, with other things, and droue him into a caſtell, within the which he beſieged him, till at length by a power ſent from king Edward, Bruce was conſtreined to depart. The king in this meane time was come to Lauercoſt neere to Carleill, and there remained a long time. From thence he ſent his iuſtices vnto Berwike, where they ſate in iudgement vpon Nigell Bruce, and the other priſoners taken with him, which were condemned to die, and ſo they were hanged, drawen and quartered. The earle of Atholl was conueied to London, and although he ſued for pardon in reſpect of that he was of kin to the king, yet was he hanged vpon a gibbet higher than all the reſidue, his bodie burned vnder the ſame gibbet, and his head firſt cut off, was ſet vpon a pole ouer London bridge for example ſake that traitors ſhould looke for no pardon.

The L. Percie put to flight by the Scotiſh king Bruce.

Nigell or Neall Bruce condemned and executed.

The earle of Atholl executed.

The elect archbiſhop of Yorke William Greenefield was confirmed this yeare by pope Clement the fift, at the citie of Lions in France, where the ſame pope was crowned about the ſame time, and held his court there, liuing cheeflie by the monie which he got of biſhops that came to him for their confirmations: he had of the ſaid archbiſhop of Yorke within one yeare, nine thouſand and 500 markes, beſides the expenſes which he was at whileſt he laie there, and ſo when this archbiſhop was returned into England, through pouertie he was driuen to gather monie of the perſons, preeſts, and religious men within his prouince at two ſundrie times in one yeare, as firſt, in name of a courteſie and gratious beneuolence, and the ſecond time by waie of an aid.

The ſummes of monie which the pope had of the archbiſh. of Yorke.

Moreouer, pope Clement ordeined Anthonie biſhop of Durham, patriarch of Ieruſalem, diſpenſing with him, ſo as he held ſtill the biſhoprike of Durham, notwithſtanding his other promotion; and this was, bicauſe the biſhop was rich, and the pope poore. For this biſhop might diſpend in yearelie reuenues by purchaſes & inheritances, beſides that belonged to his miter, aboue fiue thouſand marks, and he gaue great rewards to the pope, and to his cardinals, by means whereof he obteined in ſuit againſt the prior of Durham, ſo that he had the charge and ouerſight of the monaſterie of Durham, both the ſpirituall gouernement and temporall, through informing the pope, that the prior was not able in diſcretion to rule the houſe. At his returning home, he cauſed a croſſe of ſiluer and gilt, adorned with an image of the crucifix, to be borne afore him.

The great reuenues of Anthonie B. of Durham.

But where he appointed certeine perſons as his deputies to enter into the priorie of Durham, and to take charge thereof in place of the prior, the monks ſhut the gates againſt them, appealing to the pope, and pretending the kings protection, which they had purchaſed. But thoſe that thus came in the biſhops name, accurſed the monks, & ſo departed. The king heerewith was highlie offended, ſo that he cauſed them to anſwer the matter afore the iuſtices of his bench, and for their preſumption in pronouncing the curſſe, without making the king priuie to their doings, they were put to their fines. And whereas the biſhop was ſummoned to appeare before the king in perſon at a certeine daie, he made default, and departing out of the realme, got backe againe to the pope, contrarie to the kings prohibition: whervpon the liberties of the ſee of Durham were ſeized into the kings hands, and the king placed his iuſtices and chancellor there, and in the yeare next inſuing, he exacted of the tenants of the archbiſhoprike, the thirteenth penie of their goods, and otherwiſe vexed them with ſundrie talages.

He is kept out of the abbeie at Durham.

He is ſummoned to appeere before the K. and refuſeth.

The concluſion of this matter was this, that the prior was cited by the pope, to appeare at his conſiſtorie, whither he went, hauing the kings letters in his fauour directed to the pope; wherevpon, when the pope had examined the matter, and heard the prior ſpeake in his owne perſon, he perceiued him to be otherwiſe than he was informed (a ſober and diſcreet man) and therefore reſtored him againe to the gouernment of his houſe; but he remained in the popes court, till after the kings death, and finallie died there himſelfe in the yeare 1307. But now to returne to other doings of king Edward. We find, that whileſt he lay ſtill at Lauercoſt, he gaue to the earle of Warwike Bernards caſtell, the which he had by eſcheat, through forfeiture thereof made by John Balioll late king of Scotland. He alſo tooke and ſeized into his hands Penreth with the appurtenances.

The concluſion of the ſtrife betwixt the biſhop and monks of Durham.

Bernards caſtell giuen to the earle of Warwike.

In the octaues of S. Hilarie, the king held a parlement at Carleill, in the which, by the peeres of the realme, great complaint was made of the oppreſſions doone to churches, abbeies, and monaſteries, by reaſon of paiments latelie raiſed and taxed by one maiſter William or Guilelmo Teſta the popes chapleine. Commandement therefore was giuen to the ſame chapleine, that from thenceforth he ſhould not leauie anie ſuch paiments; and for further remedie, meſſengers were made forth vnto the pope, to declare vnto him the inconuenience thereof. This Teſta was ſent from pope Clement into England with bulles, in the contents whereof it appeared, that the pope had reſerued to himſelfe the firſt fruits of one yeares reuenues of euerie benefice that fell void by anie manner of meanes within the realme of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and likewiſe of all abbeies, priories, and monaſteries; ſo that it may well be ſaid of him & his retinue, according to the proceſſe of all their actions, as it was ſaid of old,

Curia Romana non quærit ouem ſine lana.

Anno. Reg. 35.
1307
A parlement at Carleill.

William Teſta the popes chapleine inhibited to leuie monie.

Abington.

But the king and lords of the land thought it againſt reaſon, that the pope ſhould take and receiue the profits of thoſe abbeies and monaſteries, which had beene founded by their predeceſſors for the ſeruice of God, and the maintenance of almeſdeeds, and good hoſpitalitie to be kept: and ſo the pope changed his purpoſe, touching abbeies, but granting to the K. the tenth of the Engliſh churches for two yeers, he obteined the firſt fruits of the ſame churches for himſelfe, as before he required. In the ſame parlement were ſtatutes made concerning religious men, which had their head and cheefeſt houſes in forren regions.

A ſtatute againſt the religious perſons.
N. Triuet.

There came alſo at the ſame time, a cardinall from the pope, named Petrus Hiſpanus, to procure the conſummation of the mariage, betwixt the prince of Wales, and the French kings daughter; for the ſame was delaied, by reaſon that all couenants were not kept on the French kings behalfe, touching the deliuerie of the townes in Gaſcoine. For whereas in times paſt, the French king had giuen one of thoſe townes that were taken from the Engliſhmen, named Mauleon, vnto a French knight; he kept the ſame ſtill, and would not deliuer it now at the French kings commandement, where-through (as was ſaid) the marriage had beene hitherto deferred. The ſame cardinall by vertue of his bull, would haue had of euerie cathedrall church, colledge, abbeie, and priorie, twelue marks of ſterling monie; and of euerie perſon of pariſh churches eight pence of eue-

Petrus Hiſpanus a cardinall ſent frõ the pope.

The cauſe of his comming.

Math. Weſt.
His demand of monie of religious houſes.

rie

The cardinall preacheth.

He accurſeth Rob. Bruce. Nic. Triuet.

ric marke of his reuenues. But the Engliſh cleargie appealed from this exaction, ſo that by the king and his councell it was ordeined, that he ſhould haue no more than in times paſt cardinall Othobon did receiue, that is to ſaie, the halfe of his demand. Moreouer, this cardinall being at Carleill, and hauing made a ſermon in praiſe of peace, vpon the concluſion of marriage betwixt the prince of Wales and the French kings daughter, in the end he reueſted himſelfe and the other biſhops which were preſent, and then with candels light, and cauſing the bels to be rong, they accurſed in terrible wiſe Robert Bruce the vſurper of the crowne of Scotland, with all his partakers, aiders and mainteiners.

Thomas Bruce and Alexander Bruce taken.

Math. Weſt.

Tho. Bruce executed. Alexander Bruce & Reginald Crawford executed.

Neuertheleſſe, Robert Bruce in this meane while ſlept not his buſineſſe, but ranging abroad in the countrie, ſlue manie that would not obeie him, and ſent forth his two brethren, Thomas that was a knight, and Alexander that was a préeſt, with part of his armie into an other quarter of the countrie, to allure the people vnto his obedience, partlie with gentleneſſe, and partlie with menaces. But the Engliſhmen came vpon them in the night and tooke them both, ſo that being brought before the iuſtices they were condemned, and therevpon hanged, drawen and quartered. ¶ Some write, that Duncan Magdoill, a man of great power in Galloway, tooke theſe two brethren priſoners, togither with Reginald Crawford (being the principlas) on the ninth daie of Februarie, as they with certeine other capteins and men of war came by ſea, and landed in his countrie, vpon whome being ſeuen hundred men, he with thrée hundred or few aboue that number boldlie gaue the onſet, and not onelie tooke the ſaid thrée perſons priſoners, ſore wounded as they were, with diuerſe other, but alſo ſlue Malcolme Makaile a lord of Kentire, and two Iriſh lords, whoſe heads, and the foreſaid priſoners, he preſented vnto king Edward, who cauſed Thomas Bruce to be hanged, drawen and quartered, but the other two were onelie hanged and quartered at Carleill, where their heads were ſet vp aloft on the caſtell and gates of the citie.

The earle of Penbroke put to flight.

Bruce beſiegeth the earle of Glouceſter.

He is chaſed frō that ſiege.

After Eaſter their brother Robert Bruce, calling himſelfe king of Scotland, and hauing now augmented his armie with manie ſouldiers of the out Iles, fought with the earle of Penbroke and put him to flight, and ſlue ſome of his men though not manie. Within a few daies after, he chaſed alſo the earle of Glouceſter, into the caſtell of Aire, and beſieged him within the ſame, till an armie was ſent from king Edward to the reſcue: for then the ſaid Robert was conſtreined to flée, and the Engliſhmen followed, till he got into the woods and mariſhes, where they might come néere him without manifeſt danger, to caſt themſelues awaie. ¶ The king of England, minding to make a full conqueſt of the Scots, and not to leaue off vntill he had wholie ſubdued them, ſent his commiſſions into England, commanding all thoſe that owght him ſeruice, to be redie at Carleill within thrée wéekes after Midſummer. He ſent his ſonne Edward into England, that vpon knowledge had what the French king did touching the agreement, he might accordinglie procéed in the marriage to be made with his daughter.

The death of K. Edward the firſt.
He is buried at Weſtminſter.
His iſſue.

After the prince was departed from the campe, his father king Edward was taken with ſore ſickeneſſe, yet he remoued from Carleill, where the ſame ſickneſſe firſt tooke him, vnto Burrough vpon Sand, and there the daie after being the ſeuenth daie of Iulie, he ended his life, after he had reigned 34 yeares, ſix moneths and one and twentie daies. He liued 68 yeares and twentie daies. His bodie was conueied to London, and in the church of Weſtminſter lieth buried. He had iſſue by his firſt wife queene Elianor, foure ſons, Iohn, Henrie, Alfonſe, & Edward which ſucceeded him, the other died long before their father. Alſo fiue daughters; Elianor, Ione, Margaret, and Elizabeth, were beſtowed in marriage as before in this booke is expreſſed: the fift named Marie became a nunne. By his ſecond wife quéene Margaret, he had two ſonnes, Thomas of Brotherton, and Edmund of Woodſtoke, with one daughter named Margaret after hir mother.

His ſtature and forme of bodie.

His qualitie of mind.

He miſliked the pride of prelats.

He was tall of ſtature, ſome what blacke of colour, ſtrong of bodie, and leane, auoiding groſeneſſe, with continuall exerciſe, of comelie fauour, and iettie eies, the which when he waxed angrie, would ſuddenlie become reddiſh, and ſeeme as though they ſparkled with fire. The haire of his head was blacke and curled, he continued for the moſt part in good health of bodie, and was of a ſtout ſtomach, which neuer failed him in time of aduerſitie. Moreouer, he had an excellent good wit, for to whatſoeuer he applied his ſtudie, he eaſilie atteined to the vnderſtanding thereof: wiſe he was and vertuous, an earneſt enimie of the high and preſumptuous inſolencie of préeſts, the which he iudged to procéed chéeflie of too much wealth and riches: and therefore, he deuiſed to eſtabliſh the ſtatute of Mortmaine, to be a bridle to their inordinate luſts and riotous exceſſe. He built the abbeie of the vale roiall in Cheſhire, he was a conſtant fréend, but if he once tooke diſpleaſure or hatred againſt any perſon, he would not eaſilie receiue him into fauour againe: whileſt he had any vacant time from weightie affaires, he ſpent lightlie the ſame in hunting.

Siluer mines

The ſame Wimondham alſo receiued 82 pounds, & 26 founders of lead, out of the which the ſiluer was tried, as appeareth by his accompts.

Towards the maintenance of his warres and other charges, beſides the ſubſidies which he leuied of his people, and other reuenues comming to his coffers, he had great helpe, by reaſon of the ſiluer mines which in his daies were found in Deuonſhire, and occupied greatlie to his profit, as in the records remaining in the excheker, concerning the accompts and allowances about the ſame it doth and may appeare. For in the accompts of maſter William de Wimondham, it is recorded, that betwixt the twelfth daie of Auguſt, and the laſt of October, in the 22 yeare of this king Edwards reigne, there was tried and fined out at Martineſſtowe in Deuonſhire by times, ſo much of fined ſiluer, as amounted to the ſumme of 370 pounds weight, which being brought to London, was there refined by certeine finers, that plate might be forged thereof, for the ladie Elianor duches of Bar, and daughter to the ſaid king, married in the yeare then laſt paſt to the duke of Bar, as before ye haue heard.

Betwixt the 10 day of Iulie, and the 10 day of October the ſame yeare.

In the 23 yeare of his reigne, there was fined at the place aforſaid 521 pounds & ten ſhillings weight of ſiluer by times, which was alſo brought to London. In the 24 yeare of his reigne, there were taken vp 337 miners, within the wapentake of the Peake in Darbiſhire, and brought into Deuonſhire, to worke there in thoſe ſiluer mines, as appeareth by the allowance demanded by the ſaid maſter William de Wimondham in his roll of accounts, deliuered that yeare into the excheker: and there was brought from thence to London the ſame yeare of ſiluer fined and caſt in wedges 700 foure pounds, thrée ſhillings, one penie weight. In the 25 yeare of his reigne, there were thrée hundred and fourtie eight miners brought againe out of the Peake into Deuonſhine, and out of Wales there were brought alſo 25 miners, which all were occupied about thoſe ſiluer mines, beſide others of the ſelfe countrie of Deuonſhire, and other places. Alſo Wil. de Aulton clearke, kéeper of the kings mines in Deuonſhire and Cornewall, was accomptant of the iſſues and profits of the kings mines there, from the fourth of March, Anno 26 of his reigne, till the eightéenth of Aprill, Anno 27, and yéelded vp his account, both of the ſiluer and lead.

But now to conclude with this noble prince king Edward the firſt, he was ſure not onelie valiant but alſo politike, labouring to bring this diuided Ile, into one entier monarchie, which he went verie neere to haue atchiued, for whereas he was fullie bent to make a conqueſt of Scotland, in like caſe as he had alreadie doone of Wales, if he had liued any longer time to haue diſpatched Robert le Bruce, that onelie ſtood in his waie, it was verie likelie that he ſhould haue found none other to haue raiſed banner againſt him about the quarrell or title to the claime of that realme. For as he was a right warlike prince of himſelfe, ſo was he furniſhed with capteins and ſouldiers anſwerable to his deſire, who being able to lead and command them of himſelfe, had them at length obedient inough to ſerue him, although (as partlie yée haue heard) ſome of the peeres ſhewed themſelues at times diſobedient and ſtubborne, whom yet in the end he tamed well inough, as the earles of Hereford and Northfolke, the which in the thirtith yeare of his reigne reſigned their caſtels and manours into his hands, as by the records of the tower it further may appeare.

Now to follow, as in other kings I haue doone heretofore for learned men, theſe I find to haue flouriſhed in this kings daies, Henrie de Henna a Carmelite frier, Goodwine the chantor of the church of Saliſburie, Adam de Mariſco or Mareis borne in Summerſetſhire an excellent diuine as he was reputed in thoſe daies, Gregorie Huntington a monke of Rameſey verie expert in the toongs; Seuall archbiſhop of Yorke a man ſingularlie learned and ſtout in defending the cauſe of his cleargie againſt the pope, Haimo de Feuerſham, Peter Swanington, Helias Trickingham, Helias de Eueſham, Radulfe Bocking borne in Suſſex, Alphred ſurnamed Anglicus, Iames Ciſtercienſis, William of Ware, Robert Oxenford, Thomas Docking, Iohn ſurnamed Grammaticus, Robert Dodeford: but the more part of theſe are rather to be aſcribed vnto the time of Henrie the third, the father of this king Edward, where theſe that follow are thought to flouriſh in the time of king Edwards reigne, after the deceaſſe of his father king Henrie, Thomas Spot a chronographer, Peter de Ickeham a Kentiſhman borne as Bale thinketh, Iohn Beckton a doctor of both the lawes, William Hanaberge a Carmelite frier, prouinciall gouernour of his order heere in England; Robert Kilwarbie biſhop of Canturburie, and after made a cardinall and biſhop of Portua; Gilbert ſurnamed Magnus, a monke of the Ciſteaux order; Helias Ros, Walter Recluſe, Hugh le Eueſham, Iohn Euerſden a writer of annales, whome I haue partlie followed in this kings life; William Pagham, Henrie Eſſeborne, Iohn de Haida, Roger Bacon a Franciſcane frier, an excellent philoſopher, and likewiſe a mathematician, Iohn Derlingon a dominike frier, Iohn Chelmeſton, Thomas Borſtale a Northfolke man borne, Gregorie Cairugent a monke of Glouceſter a writer of annales; Gregorie de Bredlington, Thomas Bungey a frier minor borne in Northfolke, an excellent mathematician, prouinciall ruler of his order heere in England, he flouriſhed in the daies of king Edward the firſt, although there were another of the ſame name that liued in the time of king Edward the third, Hugh de Mancheſter a Dominike frier, & prouinciall gouernour of his order héere in England, Richard Knapwell a Dominike frier, Iohn Peckham borne in the dioces of Chicheſter, a Franciſcane frier, excellentlie learned, as by his workes it appeareth, he was aduanced by pope Honorius the third, to the archbiſhops ſée of Canturburie; Thomas de Illey a Suffolke man borne, and a white or Carmelite frier in the houſe of Gippeſwich, Michaell ſurnamed Scot, but borne in the biſhoprike of Durham (as Leland ſaith) an excellent phyſician, and likewiſe verie expert in the mathematicals, Hugh de Newcaſtell a frier minor, profeſſed in the ſame towne, Thomas Sutton a blacke frier, that is of the order of S. Dominike, Iohn Read an hiſtoriographer, William de la Mare a frier minor, Thomas Wicke a chanon of Oſney in Oxenford, Simon de Gaunt, William Hothun, prouinciall of the friers Dominiks in England, Iohn de Hide a monke of Wincheſter, Robert Crouch, a cordelier, or a Franciſcane frier, Richard Midleton a frier minor, Thomas Spirman a blacke frier, William Lidlington a doctor of diuinitie, and a Carmelite frier in Stanford, Iohn Fiberie or Beuer, a monke of Weſtminſter, William Makeleſfield borne in Cheſhire, in a market towne, whereof he beareth the name, a blacke frier by profeſſion, and an excellent philoſopher.

Thus farre Edward the firſt, ſurnamed Longſhanks.

Edward the ſecond, the ſonne of Edward the firſt.

1307

Continuation of Matt. Weſt.

EDward, the ſecond of that name, the ſonne of Edward the firſt, borne at Carnaruan in Wales, began his reigne ouer England the ſeauenth day of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 1307, of the world 5273, of the comming of the Saxons 847, after the conqueſt 241, about the tenth yeare of Albert emperour of Rome, and the two and twentith of the fourth Philip, ſurnamed Le Beau, as then king of France, and in the third yeare after that Robert le Bruce had taken vpon him the crowne and gouernement of Scotland. His fathers corpſe was conueied from Burgh vpon Sands, vnto the abbeie of Waltham, there to remaine, till things were readie for the buriall, which was appointed at Weſtminſter.

The biſhop of Couentrie committed to priſon.

Within three daies after, when the lord treaſurer Walter de Langton biſhop of Couentrie and Lichfield (thorough whoſe complaint Peers de Gaueſton had beene baniſhed the land) was going towards Weſtminſter, to make preparation for the ſame buriall, he was vpon commandement from the new king arreſted, committed to priſon, and after deliuered to the hands of the ſaid Peers, being then returned againe into the realme, who ſent him from caſtell to caſtell as a priſoner. His lands and tenements were ſeized to the kings vſe, but his moueables were giuen to the foreſaid Peers. Walter Reignold that had beene the kings tutor in his childhood, was then made lord treaſurer, and after when the ſee of Worceſter was void, at the kings inſtance he was by the pope to that biſhoprike preferred. Alſo, Rafe biſhop of London was depoſed from the office of lord Chancellour, and John Langton biſhop of Chicheſter was therto reſtored. Likewiſe, the barons of the excheker were remoued, and other put in their places. And Amerie de Valence earle of Penbroke was diſcharged of the wardenſhip of Scotland, and John de Britaine placed in that office, whom he alſo made earle of Richmond.

Officers remoued.

Polydor.

But now concerning the demeanour of this new king, whoſe diſordered maners brought himſelfe and manie others vnto deſtruction; we find that in the beginning of his gouernement, though he was of nature giuen to lightneſſe, yet being reſtreined with the prudent aduertiſements of certeine of his councellors, to the end he might ſhew ſome likelihood of good proofe, he counterfeited a kind of grauitie, vertue and modeſtie; but yet he could not throughlie be ſo bridled, but that forthwith he began to plaie diuers wanton and light parts, at the firſt indeed not outragiouſlie, but by little and little, and that couertlie. For hauing reuoked againe into England his old mate the ſaid Peers de Gaueſton, he receiued him into moſt high fauour, creating him earle of Cornewall, and lord of Man, his principall ſecretarie, and lord chamberlaine of the realme, through whoſe companie and ſocietie he was ſuddenlie ſo corrupted, that he burſt out into moſt heinous vices; for then vſing the ſaid Peers as a procurer of his diſordred doings, he began to haue his nobles in no regard, to ſet nothing by their inſtructions, and to take ſmall heed vnto the good gouernement of the commonwealth, ſo that within a while, he gaue himſelfe to wantonnes, paſſing his time in voluptuous pleaſure, and riotous exceſſe: and to helpe them forward in that kind of life, the foreſaid Peers, who (as it may be thought, he had ſworne to make the king to forget himſelfe, and the ſtate, to the which he was called) furniſhed his court with companies of ieſters, ruffians, flattering paraſites, muſicians, and other vile and naughtie ribalds, that the king might ſpend both daies and nights in ieſting, plaieng, banketing, and in ſuch other filthie and diſhonorable exerciſes: and moreouer, deſirous to aduance thoſe that were like to himſelfe, he procured for them honorable offices, all which notable preferments and dignities, ſith they were ill beſtowed, were rather to be accounted diſhonorable than otherwiſe, both to the giuer and the receiuer, ſith

Peers de Gaueſton.

The yeare next inſuing, the Jle of Man was taken by Robert Bruce.

Sufficiens honor eſt homini, cùm dignus honore eſt,
Qui datur indigno non eſt honor, eſt onus, imò
Ludibrium, veluti in ſcena cùm ludius eſt rex,
Quippe honor eſt ſoli virtuti debita merces.

A parlement at Northampton.

About the thirteenth day of October, a parlement was holden at Northampton, in the which it was ordeined by the kings appointment, that the coine of his father king Edward ſhould be ſtill currant, notwithſtanding the baſeneſſe thereof, as ſome reputed it, and therefore it was moued in the parlement to haue it diſanulled. ¶ Alſo, order was taken for the buriall of his fathers corpſe, which was ſolemnelie conueied from Waltham, and brought to Weſtminſter the ſeauen and twentith day of October following, where with all funerall pompe it was interred. Moreouer, at the ſame parlement, a marriage was concluded betwixt the earle of Cornewall Peers de Gaueſton, and the daughter of Gilbert de Clare earle of Glouceſter, which he had by his wife the counteſſe Joane de Acres the kings ſiſter, which marriage was ſolemnized on All hallowes day next inſuing.

Peers de Gaueſton mari

The K. paſſeth ouer into France.

1308

He was married the 28 of Februarie, as Tho. de la More writeth.

About the two and twentith of Januarie, the king ſailed ouer into France, and at Bullongne in Picardie on the foure and twentith day of Januarie, he did homage to the French king for his lands of Gaſcoine and Pontieu, and on the morrow after, maried Iſabell the French kings daughter, and on the ſeauenth of Februarie he returned with hir into England, and comming to London, was ioifullie receiued of the citizens, and on the fiue and twentith daie

The king and quéene crowned.

Tho. Walſin.

Sir John Blackwell ſmothered and thruſt to death.

Continuation of N. Triuet.

of Februarie, being Shrouesundaie in the leape yeare, they were ſolemnlie crowned by the biſhop of Wincheſter, bicauſe that Robert the archbiſhop of Canturburie was not as then within the realme. There was ſuch preaſe and throng of people at this coronation, that a knight called ſir John Wakewell *alias* Blackwell, was thruſt or crowded to death. ¶ On the day of the circumciſion this yeare, a great tempeſt of thunder and lightning began about euenſong time, that continued the moſt part of the night following.

The order taken for the apprehenſion of the téplers.

On wedneſdaie after the Epiphanie, the knights templers in England were apprehended all in one day by the kings commandement, vpon ſuſpicion of hainous crimes & great enormities by them practiſed, contrarie to the articles of the chriſtian faith. The order of their apprehenſion was on this wiſe. The king directed his writs vnto all and euerie the ſhiriffes of counties within the realme, that they ſhould giue ſummons to a certeine number of ſubſtantiall perſons, knights or other men of good accompt, to be afore them at certeine places within their gouernements, named in the ſame writs, on the ſunday the morrow after the Epiphanie then next inſuing, and that the ſaid ſhiriffes faile not, to be there the ſame day in their owne perſons, to execute that which in other writs to them directed, and after to be ſent, ſhould be conteined. The date of this writ was the fifteenth of December.

The ſecond writ was ſent by certeine chapleins, in which the ſhiriffes were commanded vpon the opening of the ſame, forthwith to receiue an oth in preſence of the ſaid chapleins, to put in execution all that was therein conteined, and not to diſcloſe the contents to any man, till they had executed the ſame with all expedition, and therewith to take the like oth of thoſe perſons, whom by vertue of the firſt writ they had ſummoned to appeare afore them. An other writ there was alſo framed & ſent by the ſame chapleins, by the which the ſaid ſhiriffes were commanded to attach by their bodies, all the templers within the precinct of their gouernements, and to ſeize all their lands and goods into the kings hands, togither with their writings, charters, deeds, and miniments, and to make thereof a true inuentarie and indenture, in preſence of the warden of the place, whether he were brother of that order, or any other, & in preſence of honeſt men being neighbors; of which indenture, one part to remaine in the cuſtodie of the ſaid warden, and the other with the ſhiriffe, vnder his ſeale that ſhould ſo make ſeizure of the ſaid goods: and further, that the ſaid goods and chattels ſhould be put in ſafe cuſtodie, and that the quicke goods and cattell ſhould be kept and found of the premiſſes as ſhould ſéeme moſt expedient, and that their lands and poſſeſſions ſhould be manured and tilled to the vttermoſt commoditie.

Further, that the perſons of the ſaid templers being attached, in manner as before is ſaid, ſhould be ſafelie kept in ſome competent place out of their owne houſes, but not in ſtreight priſon, but in ſuch order, as the ſhiriffes might be ſure of them to bring them forth when he ſhould be commanded, to be found in the meane time according to their eſtate of their owne goods ſo ſeized, and hereof to make a true certificat vnto the treaſurer and barons of the checheker, what they had done concerning the premiſſes, declaring how manie of the ſaid templers they had attached, with their names, and what lands and goods they had ſeized by vertue of this precept. The date of theſe two laſt writs was from Biflet the 20 of December, and the returne thereof to be made vnto the checheker, was the morrow after the Purification. There were writs alſo directed into Ireland, as we haue there made mention, and likewiſe vnto John de Britaine earle of Richmond the lord warden of Scotland, & to Euſtace de Coteſbach chamberleine of Scotland, to Walter de Pederton iuſtice of Weſtwales, and to Hugh Aldighle *alias* Audlie iuſtice of Northwales, to Robert Holland iuſtice of Cheſter, vnder like forme and maner as in Ireland we haue expreſſed.

The malice which the lords had conceiued againſt the earle of Cornewall ſtill increaſed, the more indeed through the high bearing of him, being now aduanced to honour. For being a goodlie gentleman and a ſtout, he would not once yeeld an inch to any of them, which worthilie procured him great enuie amongſt the chéefeſt peeres of all the realme, as ſir Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne, ſir Guie earle of Warwike, and ſir Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, the earles of Gloceſter, Hereford, Arundell, and others, which vpon ſuch wrath and diſpleaſure as they had conceiued againſt him, thought it not conuenient to ſuffer the ſame any longer, in hope that the kings mind might happilie be altered into a better purpoſe, being not altogither conuerted into a venemous diſpoſition, but ſo that it might be cured, if the corrupter thereof were once baniſhed from him.

Tho. Walſi. Cõtinuatiõ of N. Triuet.

Here vpon they aſſembled togither in the parlement time, at the new temple, on ſaturdaie next before the feaſt of ſaint Dunſtan, and there ordeined that the ſaid Péers ſhould abiure the realme, and depart the ſame on the morrow after the Natiuitie of ſaint John Baptiſt at the furtheſt, and not to returne into the ſame againe at any time then after to come. To this ordinance the king (although againſt his will) bicauſe he ſaw himſelfe and the realme in danger, gaue his conſent, and made his letters patents to the ſaid earles and lords, to witneſſe the ſame.

The tenour of the kings letters patents.

Notum vobis facimus per præſentes, quòd amodò vſque ad diem dominus Petrus de Gaueſton regnum noſtrum eſt abiuraturus & exiturus, videlicet in craſtino natiuitatis S. Iohannis Baptiſtæ proximo ſequenti: nos in quantum nobis eſt nihil faciemus, nec aliquid fieri permittemus, per quod exilium dicti domini Petri in aliquo poterit impediri, vel protelari, quin ſecundum formam à prælatis, comitibus, & baronibus regni noſtri, ordinatam, & per nos libero conſenſu confirmatam, plenariè perficiatur. In cuius rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes. Datum apud Weſtm. 18 die Maij. Anno regni noſtri primo.

Theſe letters were read, heard, and allowed in the preſence of all the Noble men of this land, the day and yeare aboueſaid. ¶ The archbiſhop of Canturburie, being latelie returned from Rome, where he had remained in exile in the late deceaſſed kings daies for a certeine time, did pronounce the ſaid Péers accurſed, if he taried within the realme longer than the appointed time, and likewiſe all thoſe that ſhould aid, helpe, or mainteine him, as alſo if he ſhould at any time hereafter returne againe into the land. To conclude, this matter was ſo followed, that at length he was conſtreined to withdraw himſelfe to Briſtow, and ſo by ſea as a baniſhed man to ſaile into Ireland.

Anno Reg. 2. The earle of Cornewall baniſhed the realme.

The king being ſore offended herewith, as he that fauoured the earle more than that he could be with-

The kings fauour towards the earle of Cornwall.

Polydor.
Fabian.
The earle of Cornewall deputie of Ireland.
Hen.Marle.

out his companie, threatned the lords to be reuenged for this diſpleaſure, and ceaſſed not to ſend into Ireland vnto Peers, comforting him both with freendlie meſſages, and rich preſents, and as it were to ſhew that he meant to reteine him ſtill in his fauour, he made him ruler of Ireland as his deputie there. A wonderfull matter that the king ſhould be ſo inchanted with the ſaid earle, and ſo addict himſelfe, or rather fix his hart vpon a man of ſuch a corrupt humor, againſt whome the heads of the nobleſt houſes in the land were bent to deuiſe his ouerthrow: but the leſſe maruell it is that the king bare him ſuch a feruent affection, and ſet his hart vpon him, conſidering that

———vetus autorum ſententia, mores
Quod ſimiles, ſimile & ſtudium ſunt fomes amoris,
Sic vanus vanum, ſtudioſum ſic ſtudioſum
Diligit, & ſocios adeunt animalia cœtus.

The lords perceiuing the kings affection, and that the treaſure was ſpent as lauiſhlie as before, thought with themſelues that it might be that the king would both amend his paſſed trade of life, and that Peers being reſtored home, would rather aduiſe him thereto, than follow his old maners, conſidering that it might be well perceiued, that if he continued in the incouraging of the king to lewdneſſe, as in times paſt he had doone, he could not thinke but that the lords would be readie to correct him, as by proofe he had now tried their meanings to be no leſſe. Hereupon to reteine amitie, as was thought on both ſides, Peers by conſent of the lords was reſtored home againe (the king meeting him at Cheſter) to his great comfort and reioiſing for the time, although the malice of the lords was ſuch, that ſuch ioy laſted not long.

1309
Anno Reg. 3.
Hen.Marle.

1310
Anno Reg. 4.
The addition to Triuet.

In the fourth yeare of king Edward was a councell holden at London againſt the templers, the which councell indured from the beginning of Maie, till Iune. In this councell they confeſſed the ſame, but not the fact of the crimes laid to their charge, except two or thrée ribalds that were amongſt them: but bicauſe they could not cleare themſelues, they were adiudged vnto perpetuall penance within certeine monaſteries. The king this yeare fearing the enuie of the lords againſt Peers de Gaueſton, placed him for his more ſafetie in Bambourgh caſtell, bearing the prelats and lords in hand, that he had committed him there to priſon for their pleaſures.

The earle of Cornewall placed in Bambourgh caſtell.

This yeare alſo there were ordinances made for the ſtate and gouernement of the realme, by the prelats, earles, and barons, which were confirmed with the ſentence of excommunication againſt all them that ſhould go about to breake the ſame. The king neither allowed of them nor obſerued them, although he had confirmed them with his ſeale, and ſent them to all cathedrall churches and counties, to be regiſtred in perpetuall memorie thereof. The king indeed was lewdlie led, for after that the earle of Cornewall was returned into England, he ſhewed himſelfe no changeling (as writers doo affirme) but through ſupport of the kings fauour, bare himſelfe ſo high in his doings, which were without all good order, that he ſéemed to diſdaine all the peeres & barons of the realme. Alſo after the old ſort he prouoked the king to all naughtie rule and riotous demeanour, and hauing the cuſtodie of the kings iewels and treaſure, he tooke out of the iewell-houſe a table, & a paire of treſtels of gold, which he deliuered vnto a merchant called Aimerie de Friſcobald, commanding him to conueie them ouer the ſea into Gaſcoine. This table was iudged of the common people, to belong ſometime vnto king Arthur, and therefore men grudged the more that the ſame ſhould thus be ſent out of the realme.

Polydor.

Caxton.

1311

Rich.Southw.
Anno Reg.

Berwike fortified.

The king entred into Scotland.

The king this yeare raiſed a great power to go into Scotland. And about the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our ladie, hauing with him Peers de Gaueſton earle of Cornewall, and the earles of Gloceſter and Warren, he came to Berwike, which towne he cauſed to be fortified with a ſtrong wall, and a mightie déepe ditch, and although the other earles would not come to ſerue him in that voiage, by reaſon of a new variance riſen amongſt them, yet he marched forth into Scotland, to ſéeke his aduerſarie Robert le Bruce: but Robert refuſing the battell, kept him forth of the waie, ſo that the king was driuen to returne to Berwike againe, without méeting with his enimie. And he was no ſooner come backe, but the ſaid Robert and his people entred into Louthian, ſore moleſting ſuch as were yéelded to the king of England. The king aduertiſed thereof, followed them, but could doo no good, & ſo returned. The earle of Cornewall laie at Rokeſbourgh, and the earle of Gloceſter at Norham to defend thoſe parts. After Candlemaſſe, the king ſent the earle of Cornewall, with two hundred men of armes to S. Iohns towne, beyond the Scottiſh ſea, who receiued to the kings peace all thoſe that inhabited beyond that ſea vp to the mounteins. The king laie ſtill at Berwike, but the earles of Gloceſter and Warren, after the beginning of Lent, rode into the foreſt of Solkirke, and receiued the foreſters & other the inhabitants there to the kings peace. ¶ In this fift yeare of the kings reigne, but ſomwhat before this preſent, in the yeare 1310, Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne gouernour of England in the kings abſence departed this life, in whoſe place the earle of Gloceſter was choſen gouernour, and therefore he returned now into England. This erle of Lincolne was buried in the new worke at Paules. Lieng on his death bed, he requeſted (as was reported) Thomas earle of Lancaſter, who had married his daughter, that in any wiſe he ſhould ſtand with the other lords in defenſe of the common-welth, and to mainteine his quarell againſt the earle of Cornewall, which requeſt earle Thomas faithfullie accompliſhed: for by the purſute of him, and of the earle of Warwike chéefelie, the ſaid earle of Cornewall was at length taken and beheaded (as after ſhall appeare.) Some write that king Edward the firſt vpon his death-bed, charged the earles of Lincolne, Warwike, and Penbroke, to foreſée that the foreſaid Peers returned not againe into England, leaſt by his euill example he might induce his ſonne the prince to lewdneſſe, as before he had alreadie doone.

Thomas earle of Lancaſter came toward Berwike, to doo homage to the king for the earledome of Lincolne fallen to him in right of his wife, now after the deceaſſe of hir father the late earle of Lincolne. But he was counſelled not to go forth of the realme to the king, ſo that therevpon roſe no ſmall diſpleaſure, and great doubt leaſt there would haue followed ciuill warres about it. Neuertheleſſe, at length the king was perſuaded to come ouer the water vnto Hagerſton, foure miles diſtant from Berwike, and there receiued homage of the earle, and ſo they continued fréends, and for that time departed aſunder in louing maner. The lords perceiuing the miſchéefe that dailie followed and increaſed by that naughtie man (as they tooke it) the earle of Cornewall, aſſembled at Lincolne, and there tooke counſell togither, and concluded eftſoones to baniſh him out of the realme, and ſo therevpon ſhortlie after, about Chriſtmaſſe (as ſome write) or rather, as other haue, within the quindene of ſaint Michaell, he was exiled into Flanders, ſore againſt the kings will and pleaſure, who made ſuch account of him, that (as appeared) he could not be quiet in mind without his companie, & therfore about Candlemaſſe he eftſoones re-

Fabian.
Hen.Marle.

Rich.South.
The earle of Cornewall baniſhed into Flanders.

uoked him home.

But he being nothing at all amended of thoſe his euill manners, rather demeaned himſelfe worſe than before he had done, namelie towards the lords, againſt whome vſing reprochfull ſpeech, he called the earle of Glouceſter baſtard, the earle of Lincolne latelie deceaſed burſten bellie, the earle of Warwike the blacke hound of Arderne, and the earle of Lancaſter churle. Such lords and other more that were thus abuſed at this earle of Cornewals hands, determined to be reuenged vpon him, and to diſpatch the realme of ſuch a wicked perſon: and therevpon aſſembling their powers togither, came towards Newcaſtell, whither the king from Yorke was remoued, and now hearing of their approch, he got him to Tinmouth, where the quéene laie, and vnderſtanding there that Newcaſtell was taken by the lords, he leauing the quéene behind him, tooke ſhipping, and ſailed from thence with his dearelie beloued familiar the earle of Cornewall, vnto Scarbourgh, where he left him in the caſtell, and rode himſelfe towards Warwike. The lords hearing where the earle of Cornwall was, made thither with all ſpéed, and beſieging the caſtell, at length conſtreined their enimie to yéeld himſelfe into their hands, requiring no other condition, but that he might come to the kings preſence to talke with him.

1312

Maiſter Fox. Thom. Walſ.

The earle of Cornewall taken.

The king hearing that his beſt beloued familiar was thus apprehended, ſent to the lords, requiring them to ſpare his life, and that he might be brought to his preſence, promiſing withall that he would ſée them fullie ſatiſfied in all their requeſts againſt him. Wherevpon the earle of Penbroke perſuaded with the barons to grant to the kings deſire, vndertaking vpon forfeiture of all that he had, to bring him to the king and backe againe to them, in ſuch ſtate and condition as he receiued him. When the barons had conſented to his motion, he tooke the earle of Cornewall with him to bring him where the king laie; and comming to Dedington, left him there in ſafe kéeping with his ſeruants, whileſt he for one night went to viſit his wife, lieng not farre from thence.

The kings requeſt for his life.

The earle of Penbroks ſuit to the other lords.

The ſame night it chanced, that Guie erle of Warwike came to the verie place where the erle of Cornwall was left, and taking him from his kéepers, brought him vnto Warwike, where incontinentlie it was thought beſt to put him to death, but that ſome doubting the kings diſpleaſure, aduiſed the reſidue to ſtaie; and ſo they did, till at length an ancient graue man amongſt them exhorted them to vſe the occaſion now offered, and not to let ſlip the meane to deliuer the realme of ſuch a dangerous perſon, that had wrought ſo much miſchéefe, and might turne them all to ſuch perill, as afterwards they ſhould not be able to auoid, nor find ſhift how to remedie it. And thus perſuaded by his words, they cauſed him ſtreitwaies to be brought forth to a place called Blackelow, otherwiſe named by moſt writers, Gauerſlie heath, where he had his head ſmitten from his ſhoulders, the twentith day of Iune being tueſdaie. A iuſt reward for ſo ſcornefull and contemptuous a merchant, as in reſpect of himſelfe (bicauſe he was in the princes fauour) eſteemed the Nobles of the land as men of ſuch inferioritie, as that in compariſon of him they deſerued no little iot or mite of honour. But lo the vice of ambition, accompanied with a rable of other outrages, euen a reprochfull end, with an euerlaſting marke of infamie, which he pulled by violent meanes on himſelfe with the cords of his owne lewdneſſe, and could not eſcape this fatall fall: for

Ad mala patrata ſunt atra theatra parata.

Continuation of Triuet.

Gauers heath or Gauerſuch

The earle of Cornwall beheaded.

When the king had knowledge hereof, he was wonderfullie diſpleaſed with thoſe lords that had thus put the ſaid earle vnto death, making his vow that he would ſée his death reuenged, ſo that the rancour which before was kindled betwixt the king and thoſe lords, began now to blaſe abroad, and ſpred ſo farre, that the king euer ſought occaſion how to worke them diſpleaſure. This yeare, the thirtéenth of Nouember, the kings eldeſt ſonne named Edward (which ſuccéeded his father in the kingdome by the name of Edward the third) was borne at Windſore. King Edward now after that the foreſaid Piers Gaueſton the earle of Cornewall was dead, nothing reformed his maners, but as one that deteſted the counſell and admonition of his Nobles, choſe ſuch to be about him, and to be of his priuie councell, which were knowne to be men of corrupt and moſt wicked liuing (as the writers of that age report) amongſt theſe were two of the Spenſers, Hugh the father, and Hugh the ſonne, which were notable inſtruments to bring him vnto the liking of all kind of naughtie and euill rule.

The kings diſpleaſure,

Anno Reg. 6. K. Edward ẏ third borne.

Polydor.

The Spenſers.

By the counſell therefore of theſe Spenſers, he was wholie lead and gouerned: wherewith manie were much offended, but namelie Robert the archbiſhop of Canturburie, who foreſaw what miſchéefe was like to inſue: and therefore to prouide ſome remedie in time, he procured that a parlement was called at London. In the which manie good ordinances and ſtatutes were deuiſed and eſtabliſhed, to oppreſſe the riots, miſgouernance, and other miſchéefes which as then were vſed: and to kéepe thoſe ordinances, the king firſt, and after his lords receiued a ſolemne oth, that in no wiſe neither he nor they ſhould breake them. By this means was the ſtate of the realme newlie reſtored, and new councellours placed about the king. But he neither regarding what he had ſworne, neither weieng the force of an oth, obſerued afterwards none of thoſe things, which by his oth he had bound himſelfe to obſerue. And no maruell: for ſuerlie (as it ſhould ſéeme by report of Thomas de la More) the lords wreſted him too much, and beyond the bounds of reaſon, cauſing him to receiue to be about him whome it pleaſed them to appoint. For the yoonger Spenſer, who in place of the earle of Cornwall was ordeined to be his chamberlaine, it was knowne to them well inough, that the king bare no good will at all to him at the firſt, though afterwards through the prudent policie, and diligent induſtrie of the man, he quicklie crept into his fauour, and that further than thoſe that preferred him could haue wiſhed.

Fabian. A parlement.

The L. Hugh Spenſer the ſonne at the firſt not fauored of the K.

But now to our purpoſe. About the ſame time, to wit, vpon the eleauenth of Maie, the aforeſaid Robert archbiſhop of Canturburie departed this life, ninetéene yeares after his firſt entrance into the gouernment of that ſée. After him was Walter biſhop of Worceſter tranſlated vnto the ſée of Canturburie, and was the nine and fortith archbiſhop that had ruled the ſame. ¶ Alſo William the archbiſhop of Yorke deceaſſed, and one William Melton ſuccéeded him the two & fortith archbiſhop that had gouerned that ſée. This archbiſhop Melton, though he was moſt ſtudious of things perteining to religion, beſtowing almoſt his whole time about the ſame, yet neuertheleſſe he was not forgetfull of that which belonged to the aduancement of the commonwealth, and therefore being at London vpon a time, Simon the elect biſhop of Whitherne came to Yorke, that he might be conſecrated of him: wherefore this archbiſhop gaue commandement to Iohn the biſhop of Carleill, to conſecrate the ſaid Simon, and in his name to receiue of him his oth of obedience, which commandement the ſaid biſhop of Carleill did dulie execute.

Continuation of Triuet.

1313

Polydor.

The biſhop of Whitherne conſecrated at Yorke by the biſhop of Carleill.

The king and quéene this yeare in Maie went ouer into France, where they were preſent in Paris on

Continuation of Triuet. Thom. Walſ.

Anno Reg. 7. Record.Tur.

Whitſundaie at the coronation of Philip ſonne to the French king, created that day king of Nauarre. ¶ Iohn de Drokenſford biſhop of Bath and Welles was appointed warden of the realme till the kings returne. In Iulie the king returned backe from his iournie into France, and landed at Sandwich the mondaie before the feaſt of S. Margaret, hauing diſpatched his buſineſſe with the French king in good and honorable maner, for his lands and countrie of Gaſcoine. ¶ About this ſeaſon Maurice fitz Thomas, and Thomas fitz Iohn maried two ſiſters that were daughters to Richard earle of Vlneſter. In this meane time, Robert Bruce recouered the moſt part of all Scotland, winning out of the Engliſhmens hands ſuch caſtels as they held within Scotland, chaſing all the ſouldiers which laie there in garriſon, out of the countrie, and ſubduing ſuch of the Scots as held on the Engliſh part.

Hen.Marle. Mariages.

1314

The ſucceſſe of Robert Bruce.

The king of England paſſeth into Scotland.

King Edward to be reuenged herof, with a mightie armie brauelie furniſhed, and gorgiouſlie appareled, more ſéemelie for a triumph, than méet to incounter with the cruell enimie in the field, entred Scotland, in purpoſe ſpeciallie to reſcue the caſtell of Sterling, as then beſieged by the Scotiſhmen. But at his approching néere to the ſame, Robert Bruce was readie with his power to giue him battell. In the which king Edward nothing doubtfull of loſſe, had ſo vnwiſelie ordered his people, and confounded their ranks, that euen at the firſt ioining, they were not onelie beaten downe and ouerthrowne, by thoſe that coped with them at hand, but alſo were wounded with ſhot a farre off, by thoſe their enimies which ſtood behind to ſuccour their fellowes when néed required, ſo that in the end the Engliſhmen fled to ſaue their liues, and were chaſed and ſlaine by the Scots in great number.

The Engliſh men chaſed.

The king eſcapeth.

The battell of Banokeſborne.

The king eſcaped with a few about him, in great danger to haue béene either taken or ſlaine. Manie were drowned in a little riuer called Banokeſborne, néere to the which the battell was foughten. There were ſlaine of noble men, Gilbert earle of Gloceſter, Robert lord Clifford, the lord Giles Argentine, the lord Paine Tiptoſt, the lord William Marſhall, the lord Reginald Daincourt, the lord Edmund of Mauley the kings ſteward, with other lords and barons to the number of 42, and of knights and baronets to the number of 67. There were ſlaine of all ſorts vpon the Engliſh part that daie about ten thouſand men, ouer and beſide the priſoners that were taken. Amongſt the which were accounted 22 men of name, as the earle of Hereford, the lord Iohn Segraue, William lord Latimer, Maurice lord Berkley, and others. He that liſteth to heare more of this diſcomfiture may read thereof further at large in the Scotiſh hiſtorie.

The great ſlaughter of Engliſhmen. Polydor.

Fabian. Croxden. Addition to Triuet and Math.Paris.

Anno Reg.8. A councell holden at Yorke.

The king of England hauing eſcaped from this battell, which was fought on Midſummer day in the yéere aforeſaid, came to Yorke, where he held a councell of his lords, to haue their aduiſe by what means he might beſt reſtore his armie, and reuenge the loſſe which he had ſuſteined at the hands of his enimie R. Bruce. And ſhortlie after was ſir Peter Spalding ſent vnto Berwike, with a crew of ſouldiers to defend the towne againſt the ſaid Bruce, who intended ſhortlie to laie ſiege to that towne, as the king had certeine vnderſtanding. Alſo the Scotiſhmen aduanced highlie in their minds for the late gotten victorie, paſſed ouer into Ireland, vnder the conduct of Edward Bruce, the brother of Robert Bruce, ſore afflicting that countrie, by ſpoile, ſword, and fire: the villages were robbed, the townes and caſtels which they wan were ſacked, and after fired, ſo vtterlie to deface them.

Sir Peter Spalding.

1315

The Scots in Ireland.

The Iriſhmen being put in great feare herewith, aſſembled togither, and ioined themſelues with ſuch Engliſhmen as laie there in garriſons; ouer the which the lord Iohn Bermingham as deputie had the chéefe charge. Thus being ioined togither, they made earneſt reſiſtance againſt the attempts of their enimies in defenſe of the countrie. And ſo by that means they warred and fought one againſt an other, with great ſlaughter on both ſides, the Scotiſhmen on their part dooing their beſt to obteine the gouernement of the countrie, hauing alreadie obteined no ſmall portion thereof, and created Edward Bruce king there; and the Iriſhmen on the other part, inforcing their whole indeuor to beat the enimie backe, and to rid him out of the countrie. But at length the inuincible obſtinatneſſe of the Iriſhmen preuailed, through aid of the Engliſhmen (as after ſhall appeare.) Neuertheleſſe in the meane while, as ſome Engliſh chronicles make mention, there died of the Scots in theſe warres to the number of thirtie thouſand, and aboue fiftéene thouſand Iriſhmen.

The lord Bermingham.

Great ſlaughter of Scots in Ireland.

Ri.Southw.

The Scots not onelie thus inuaded Ireland, but alſo continued their rage againſt England. For the ſame yeare about the feaſt of Peter and Paule, they entered into the biſhoprike of Durham, & ſpoiled the countrie vnto Hartilpoole, which towne they robbed of all the goods which they there found, the inhabitants being fled with their ſhips to the ſea. About Maudlentide following, the king of Scots entred England with a mightie armie on the weſt borders, and comming to Carleill beſieged the citie, remaining before it ten daies, but they within ſo valiantlie defended themſelues and their wals, that the Scots loſt more than they wan, ſauing that during their abode at this ſiege, they robbed and waſted the countries of Allerdale, Copeland, and Weſtmerland. The 11 day after their comming thither, when they had aſſaied all their force and policie to win the citie, and ſaw themſelues nothing to preuaile, but to loſe their men and trauell, they raiſed their field, and returned into Scotland with diſhonor, leauing behind them all their engines of warre, ſo that beſides the diſhonour which he ſuſteined by the repulſe, in lieu of lucre he ſuffered loſſe, and therefore this leſſon by exemplification would be learned and practiſed, that

Res bene quiſque gerens lucra fit inde ferens.

The biſhoprike of Durham ſpoiled by the Scots.

Anno Reg.9. Rob. Bruce inuadeth England. Carleill beſieged.

The ſiege raiſed.

Now as they went their waie, certeine Engliſhmen following them, tooke Iohn de Murrey, who in the battell of Striueling had for his part 13 Engliſh knights priſoners, beſide eſquiers and others. They tooke alſo with him one Robert Berdolfe a great enimie of the Engliſhmen.

Iohn de Murrey taken.

Great raine.

This yeare there fell excéeding great raine and abundance of wet, in the moneths of Iulie and Auguſt, that the huſbandmen of the countrie could not get in that ſmall crop which then ſtood on the ground, and that which they inned, yéelded not the hoped quantitie, as when it came to the threſhing well appeared. ¶ On the day of the Aſſumption of our ladie, Iohn the kings ſecond ſonne was borne at Eltham. ¶ A knight of Lancaſhire called ſir Adam Baniſter raiſed war in this yeare of king Edwards reigne, againſt his lord the earle of Lancaſter; but about the feaſt of ſaint Martine he was taken and beheaded. ¶ Alſo this yeare, Edward de Bruce brother to the king of Scots, entred into the north parts of Vlneſter with a great armie, vpon the day of S. Auguſtine in Maie, and afterwards burnt Dundalke, and a great part of Argile. The Iriſhmen alſo burnt the church of Athird. Moreouer in the battell of Comeran in Vlneſter, Richard earle of Vlneſter fled, and ſir Richard Bourgh, & ſir Iohn Mandeuile, and ſir Alane fitz Waren were taken priſoners. The caſtell of Norbrough was alſo taken, & at Kenlis in Meth the lord Roger Mortimer was diſcomfited by

Iohn of Eltham borne.

Hen.Marle. Dundalke burnt.

The battell of Comeran.

the foreſaid Edward Bruce, and manie of the ſaid ſir Rogers men were ſlaine and taken.

A blaſing ſtar dearth and death.

The deceaſe of Guie earle of Warwike.

Croxden.

1316

Rich. South.

Alſo in the ninth yeare of king Edwards reigne, before Chriſtmaſſe, a blaſing ſtarre or comet appeared in the north part of the element, by the ſpace of a moneth togither, and after followed dearth and death (as after ſhall appeare.) Guie earle of Warwike, a man of great counſell and ſkilfull prouidence, departed this life this yeare, and was buried at the abbeie of Bordiſley. ¶ About Midſummer the Scots eftſoones entred into England, doing much miſchéefe with fire and ſword, in like ſort as they had vſed to doo before time, not ſparing (as ſome write) ſo much as thoſe houſes wherin women laie in childbed. At their comming to Richmond, the gentlemen of the countrie that were got into the caſtell to defend it, compounded with the enimies for a great ſumme of monie, to ſpare the towne and countrie about it, without dooing further damage thereto at that iournie.

Anno Reg. 10.

The dearth increaſed.

The Scots hauing receiued the monie, turned their march toward the weſt parts, and iournieng thréeſcore miles, came to Fourneis, burning all the countrie thereabouts, and tooke awaie with them all the goods and priſoners, both men and women which they might laie hands on, and ſo returned, reioiſing moſt of ſuch iron as they had got in that iournie, for they had great want in Scotland of that kind of metall in thoſe daies. The dearth by reaſon of the vnſeaſonable weather in the ſummer and harueſt laſt paſt ſtill increaſed, for that which with much adoo was inned, after when it came to the proofe, yéelded nothing to the value of that which in ſheafe it ſéemed to conteine, ſo that wheat and other graine which was at a ſore price before, now was inhanced to a farre higher rate, the ſcarſitie thereof being ſo great, that a quarter of wheat was ſold for fortie ſhillings, which was a great price, if we ſhall conſider the allaie of monie then currant. ¶ Alſo by reaſon of the murren that fell among cattell, béefes and muttons were vnreaſonablie priced.

The lord Beaumont diſcomfited.

1317

Lewes Beaumont taken by ſir Gilbert Middleton.

Caxton.

Sir Gilbert Middleton proclaimeth himſelfe duke.

About this ſeaſon, the lord Henrie Beaumont a man of high valiancie and noble courage, hauing gotten togither a power of men, entred into Scotland, and after he had taken great booties and ſpoiles in the countrie, he being intrapped by ſir Iames Dowglas, loſt the moſt part of his men, togither with the prey which they had gotten. The diſpleaſure of theſe miſhaps was increaſed with the naughtie and bold preſumption of ſir Gilbert Middleton knight, who being offended that maiſter Lewes Beaumount was preferred vnto the biſhops ſée of Durham, and Henrie Stamford put from it, that was firſt elected and after diſplaced by the kings ſuit made vnto the pope, tooke the ſaid Lewes Beaumont and his brother Henrie on Wingleſdon moore néere vnto Darington, leading the biſhop to Morpath, and his brother the lord Beaumont vnto the caſtell of Mitford, and ſo deteined them as priſoners, till they had redéemed their libertie with great ſums of monie. Herewith the ſaid ſir Gilbert being aduanced in pride, proclaimed himſelfe duke of Northumberland, and ioining in fréendſhip with Robert Bruce the Scotiſh king, cruellie deſtroied the countie of Richmond. With ſuch traitorous parts William Felton, and Thomas Heton, being not a little ſtirred, firſt wan by force the caſtell of Mitford, and after apprehended ſir Gilbert Middleton, with his companion Walter Selbie, and ſent them vp to London, where ſhortlie after they were drawne, hanged and quartered.

Gancellino and Fliſco cardinals.

Thom. Walſi.

Fabian. Caxton.

Polydor.

The curſſe pronounced againſt the Scots.

Some write that the ſaid ſir Gilbert was put to death for robbing two cardinals, to wit, Gancellino the popes chancellour, and Lucas de Fliſco, that were ſent from pope Iohn the two and twentith, to conſecrate the foreſaid Lewes Beaumont biſhop of Durham, and to intreat a peace betwixt the realms of England and Scotland, and alſo to make an agréement betwixt the king and the earle of Lancaſter. The which being met with vpon Wingleſdon moore in Yorkeſhire by the ſaid Gilbert, were robbed of ſuch ſtuffe & treaſure as they brought with them, but yet eſcaped themſelues and came to Durham, and from thence ſent meſſengers to Robert Bruce, to perſuade him to ſome agréement. But whereas he would not condeſcend to any reaſonable conditions of peace at that time, they determined to go into Scotland to talke with him themſelues: but before they came to the borders, king Robert, who iudged it not to ſtand with his profit to haue any peace in that ſeaſon, ſent certeine of his people to forbid the cardinals the entrie of his realme. The cardinals being thus iniuriouſlie handled, pronounced the Scots by their legantine power accurſed; and interdicted their whole realme. And bicauſe they ſaw nothing leſſe than any hope to doo good with king Robert touching any compoſition or agréement to be had, they returned againe to the pope, without any concluſion of that for the which they were ſent.

Rich. South.

After that Edward Bruce had atchiued ſuch enterpriſes in other parts of Ireland, as in the laſt yéere ye haue heard, he went vnto Fenath, and to Skeres in Leiniſter, and there the lord chéefe iuſtice Edmund Butler roſe againſt him, with the lord Iohn fitz Thomas, that was after erle of Kildare, ſir Arnold Power, and diuerſe other, with a great armie. But by reaſon of diſcord that chanced amongſt them, they ſcaled their armie, and departed out of the field on the 26 daie of Februarie. Edward Bruce then burned the caſtell of Leis, and after returning into Vlneſter, he beſieged the caſtell of Knockfergus, and ſlue Thomas Mandeuile, and his brother Iohn, at a place called Down, as they came thither out of England. After this the foreſaid Edward returned into Scotland.

A pitifull famine.

Tho. Walſ. Fabian.

A ſore mortalitie of people.

In this ſeaſon vittels were ſo ſcant and déere, and wheat and other graine brought to ſo high a price, that the poore people were conſtreined thorough famine to eat the fleſh of horſſes, dogs, and other vile beaſts, which is woonderfull to beléeue, and yet for default there died a great multitude of people in diuers places of the land. Foure pence in bread of the courſer ſort would not ſuffice one man a daie. Wheat was ſold at London for foure marks the quarter and aboue. Then after this dearth and ſcarſitie of vittels inſued a great death and mortalitie of people, ſo that what by warre of the Scots, and what by this mortalitie and death, the people of the land were woonderfullie waſted and conſumed. O pitifull depopulation!

Edward Bruce before the feaſt of Eaſter returned againe into Ireland, with the earle of Murrey and other noble men of Scotland, hauing with them a great armie, and beſieged the caſtell of Knockfergus, and after they went to another caſtell where they tooke a baron priſoner: & there Edward Bruce laie for a ſeaſon. Alſo Richard earle of Vlneſter lay in ſaint Maries abbie by Dublin, where the maior and communaltie of the citie tooke him, and put him in priſon within the caſtell of Dublin. They alſo ſlue his men, and ſpoiled the abbie. After this the foreſaid Edward Bruce went to Limerike, after the feaſt of ſaint Matthew the apoſtle, and there ſoiourned till Eaſter was paſt.

John fitz Thomas erle of Kildare.

In the meane while Roger de Mortimer the kings deputie arriued at Waterford with a great armie, by reaſon wherof Edward le Bruce for feare departed, and got him into the vttermoſt parts of Vlneſter, and Iohn fitz Thomas was made earle of Kildare.

dare. Alſo Occoner of Conneigh, and manie other Iriſhmen of Connagh and Meth were ſlaine neere to Aurie by the Engliſhmen of thoſe parts. There was a great ſlaughter alſo made of the Iriſhmen neere vnto Thiſtildermote, by the lord Edmund Butler, and an other alſo at Balitebam of Omorth by the ſame Edmund. The lord deputie deliuered the earle of Vlneſter out of priſon, and after Whitſuntide baniſhed out of Meth ſir Walter Lacie, and ſir Hugh Lacie, giuing their lands awaie from them vnto his knights, and they went ouer into Scotland with Edward Bruce, who returned thither about that time. The death ſtill increaſed as by ſome writers it ſhould appeare.

Croxden.

Anno Reg. 11.
Ri. Southwell.
1318

Berwike betraied to the Scots.

In the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the ſecond his reigne, vpon the ſaturdaie night before Midlent ſundaie, the towne of Berwike was betraied to the Scots, through the treaſon of Peter Spalding. The caſtell held good tacke a while, till for want of vittels they within were conſtreined to deliuer it into the Scotiſhmens hands, who wan alſo the ſame time the caſtell of Harbotell, Werke, and Medford, ſo that they poſſeſſed the more part of all Northumberland, euen vnto Newcaſtell vpon Tine, ſauing that certeine other caſtels were defended againſt them. In Maie they entred with an armie further into the land, burning all the countrie before them, till they came to Ripon, which towne they ſpoiled, and tarieng there three daies, they receiued a thouſand marks of thoſe that were got into the church, and defended it againſt them, for that they ſhould ſpare the towne, and not put it to the fire, as they had alreadie doone the townes of Northalerton and Bourghbridge as they came forwards. In their going backe they burnt Knareſbourgh, and Skipton in Crauen, which they had firſt ſacked, and ſo paſſing through the middeſt of the countrie, burning and ſpoiling all before them, they returned into Scotland with a maruellous great multitude of cattell, beſide priſoners, men and women, and no ſmall number of poore people, which they tooke with them to helpe to driue the cattell.

Caſtels won by the Scots.

Northalerton and Bourghbridge burnt.

Anno Reg. 12.
Additions to Triuet.

The king & the earle of Lancaſter made freends.

In the 12 yeare of Edward the ſeconds reigne, in Auguſt, the king and the earle of Lancaſter came to talke togither in a plaine beſide Leiceſter, where they were made freends to the outward ſhew, ſo that in the yeare next following, the ſaid earle went with the king to the ſiege of Berwike. About the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our ladie, the two cardinals, which were yet remaining in England, ſent foorth commandements vnto all the prelats and prieſts within the realme, that three times in euerie ſolemne maſſe, they ſhould denounce Robert Bruce that called himſelfe king of Scotland accurſed, with all his councellors and fautors, and on the behalfe of the pope, they depriued him by denunciation of all honour, and put all his lands vnder interdiction, diſabling all their children [to the ſecond degree] that held with him, as vnworthie & vnfit to receiue or take vpon them any eccleſiaſticall function. They denounced alſo all the prelats of Scotland and men of religion, exempt, and not exempt, excommunicate and accurſed.

Rob. Bruce pronounced accurſed.

Hen.Marl.

The lord Roger Mortimer returned againe into England, and Alexander Bicnor was made cheefe iuſtice of Ireland. ¶ Alſo Edward Bruce, with ſir Walter and ſir Hugh Lacie, bringing with them a great armie, returned out of Scotland, and arriued at Dundalke, on the day of ſaint Calixt the pope. But neere to the ſame place ſir Iohn Brimingham, Richard Tute, and Miles of Verdon, with a power of 1324 men incountred them, and ſlue the ſaid Edward le Bruce, and aboue the number of 8200 men, or (as other haue) but 5800. The ſaid ſir Iohn Birmingham brought the head of Edward le Bruce ouer into England, and preſented it to the king. Wherevpon the king in recompenſe of his ſeruice, gaue vnto him the earledome of Louth, to hold to him and his heires males, and the baronie of Athird to him and his heires generall.

Th. Walſing.
Continuation of Triuet.

About this ſeaſon, or ſomewhat before, about Midſummer (as Southwell ſaith) a naughtie fellow called Iohn Poidras, or (as ſome books haue) Ponderham, a tanners ſon of Exceſter comming to Oxford, and there thruſting himſelfe into the kings hall that ſtood without the wals, gaue foorth that he was ſonne and right heire of king Edward the firſt, and that by means of a falſe nurſſe he was ſtolne out of his cradle, and this Edward the ſecond being a carters ſon was brought in and laid in his place, ſo that he by reaſon thereof was afterwards hardlie foſtered and brought vp in the north part of Wales. At length being laid for, he fled to the church of the white friers in Oxford, truſting there to be ſafe through the immunitie of the place, bicauſe king Edward the firſt was their founder. But when he could not keepe his toong, but ſtill fondlie vttered his follie, and ſtood in his opinion, ſo that great rumor thereof was raiſed, he was at length taken out of that church, & caried to Northampton, where he was there arreigned, condemned, and had foorth to a place in the countrie called the copped oke, where he was drawne, hanged, and as a traitour bowelled. At the houre of his death he confeſſed, that in his houſe he had a ſpirit in likeneſſe of a cat, which amongſt other things aſſured him that he ſhould be king of England.

1319
Murren of cattell.

Anno Reg. 13.

In this ſeaſon, to wit, in the yeare 1319, a great murreine and death of cattell chanced through the whole realme, ſpreading from place to place, but ſpeciallie this yeare it reigned moſt in the north, where as in the yeares before it began in the ſouth parts. The king deſirous to be reuenged of the Scots, made preparation to leuie a mightie armie; and for want of ſufficient numbers of men in other places towards the north parts, the king cauſed much people to come vnto him out of the ſouth and eaſt parts of the realme, amongſt the which the citie of London was conſtreined to find at their coſts and charges two hundred men, ſending them to Yorke, where the generall aſſemblie of the armie was made. From thence, after he had receiued his men from ſundrie countries and good townes of his realme, he went to Berwike, & laid ſiege to the towne. In which meane time the Scots being aſſembled, came to the borders, paſſed by the Engliſh hoſt, and entring into England, came in ſecreet wiſe downe into the marches of Yorkeſhire, and there ſlue the people, and robbed them in moſt cruell wiſe.

The king goeth to Berwike.

The Scots come into the parts of Yorke.

Wherefore the archbiſhop of Yorke, meaning in time of ſuch neceſſitie to doo his indeuour in defenſe of his countrie, aſſembled ſuch power as he could get togither, of clearkes, moonks, canons, and other ſpirituall men of the church, with huſbandmen and ſuch other vnapt people for the warres: and thus with a great number of men, and few warlike or diſcreet cheefeteins, he togither with the biſhop of Elie, as then lord chancellour, came foorth againſt the Scots, and incountred with them at a place called Mitton vpon Suale, the twelfth day of October. Here as the Engliſhmen paſſed ouer the water of Suale, the Scots ſet fire vpon certeine ſtacks of haie, the ſmoke whereof was ſo huge, that the Engliſhmen might not ſee where the Scots laie. And when the Engliſhmen were once got ouer the water, the Scots came vpon them with a wing in good order of battell, in faſhion like to a ſheeld, egerlie aſſailing their enimies, who for lacke of good gouernement were eaſilie beaten downe and diſcomfited, without ſhewing any great reſiſtance: ſo that there were ſlaine to the

Auesburie.

The diſcomfiture of Mitton vpon Suale.
Caxton.

Polydor.

number of two thouſand and the reſidue ſhamefullie put to flight.

Aueſburie.

The archbiſhop, the lord chancellor, and the abbat of Selbie, with helpe of their ſwift horſſes eſcaped, and diuerſe other. The maior of Yorke named Nicholas Fleming was ſlaine, & ſir William Diremin préeſt taken priſoner. Manie were drowned, by reaſon that the Scots had gotten betwixt the Engliſhmen and the bridge, ſo that the Engliſhmen fled betwixt that wing of the Scots and their maine battell, which had compaſſed the Engliſhmen about on the one ſide, as the wing did vpon the other. And bicauſe ſo manie ſpirituall men died in this battell, it was after named of manie writers The white battell. The king of England informed of this ouerthrow giuen by the Scots to the Northerne men, he brake vp his ſiege incontinentlie, and returned to Yorke.

Caxton.

Polydor.

Thus all the kings exploits by one means or other quailed, and came but to euill ſucceſſe, ſo that the Engliſh nation began to grow in contempt by the infortunate gouernment of the prince, the which as one out of the right waie, raſhlie and with no good aduiſement ordered his doings, which thing ſo gréeued the noblemen of the realme, that they ſtudied day and night by what means they might procure him to looke better to his office and dutie; which they iudged might well be brought to paſſe, his nature being not altogither euill, if they might find ſhift to remoue from him the two Spenſers, Hugh the father, and Hugh the ſonne, who were gotten into ſuch fauour with him, that they onelie did all things, and without them nothing was doone, ſo that they were now had in as great hatred and indignation (ſith

The enuie of the lords towards the Spenſers.

——liuor non deerit iniquus
Dulcibus & lætis, qui fel confundat amarum)

both of the lords and commons, as euer in times paſt was Péers de Gaueſton the late earle of Cornwall. But the lords minded not ſo much the deſtruction of theſe Spenſers, but that the king ment as much their aduancement, ſo that Hugh the ſonne was made high chamberleine of England, contrarie to the mind of all the noblemen, by reaſon whereof he bare himſelfe ſo hautie and proud, that no lord within the land might gainſaie that which in his conceit ſéemed good.

1320
Additions to N. Triuet.

In this thirtéenth yeare of his reigne, in Iune king Edward went ouer into France, where at Amiens he found the French king, of whome he receiued the countie of Pontieu, which the ſaid French king vpon his comming to the crowne had ſeized into his hands, bicauſe the king of England had not doone to him his homage due for the ſame. Alſo this yeare the pope granted to the king of England the tenth of eccleſiaſticall reuenues for one yeare, as before that time he had likewiſe doone. ¶ About this ſeaſon, pope Iohn, being informed of the great deſtruction and vnmercifull warre which the Scots made vpon the Engliſhmen, and namelie for that they ſpared neither church nor chapell, abbeie nor priorie, he ſent a generall ſentence vnder his bulles of lead vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie and Yorke, appointing them that if Robert le Bruce the Scotiſh king would not recompenſe king Edward for all ſuch harmes as the realme of England had by him ſuſteined, and alſo make reſtitution of the goods that had béene taken out of churches and monaſteries, they ſhould pronounce the ſame ſentence againſt him and his complices.

A tenth of the eccleſiaſticall liuings granted to the K.

Anno. Reg. 14.
Caxton.

Scots eftſoons accurſed

Wherevpon when the Scots tooke no regard to the popes admonition, the archbiſhop procéeded to the pronouncing of the foreſaid ſentence, ſo that Robert Bruce, Iames Dowglas, and Thomas Randulfe earle of Murrey, and all other that kept him companie, or them in any wiſe mainteined, were accurſed throughout England euerie day at maſſe thrée times. Howbeit, this nothing holpe the matter, but put the king and the realme to great coſt and charge, and in the meane ſeaſon the commons of the realme were ſore oppreſſed by ſundrie waies and means, diuerſe of them loſt their goods and poſſeſſions, being taken from them vpon ſurmiſed and feined quarels, ſo that manie were vtterlie vndoone, and a few ſingular and miſordered perſons were aduanced.

1321
Rich. South.
The Scots inuade England.

After the Epiphanie, when the truce failed betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, an armie of Scots entred England, and came into the biſhoprike of Durham. The earle of Murrey ſtaied at Darington, but Iames Dowglas and the ſteward of Scotland went forth to waſte the countrie, the one towards Hartlepoole and Cleueland, and the other towards Richmond: but they of the countie of Richmond (as before they had doone) gaue a great ſumme of monie to ſaue their countrie from inuaſion. The Scots at that time remained within England by the ſpace of fiftéene daies or more. The knights and gentlemen of the north parts did come vnto the earle of Lancaſter that laie the ſame time at Pomfret, offering to go forth with him to giue the enimies battell, if he would aſſiſt them: but the earle ſéemed that he had no luſt to fight in defenſe of his prince, that ſought to oppreſſe him wrongfullie (as he tooke it) and therefore he diſſembled the matter, and ſo the Scots returned at their pleaſure without encounter.

Thom. Walſ.

About this ſeaſon, the lord William de Bruce that in the marches of Wales enioied diuerſe faire poſſeſſions to him deſcended from his anceſtors, but through want of good gouernement was run behind hand, offered to ſell a certeine portion of his lands called Gowers land lieng in the marches there, vnto diuerſe noble men that had their lands adioining to the ſame, as to the earle of Hereford, and to the two lords Mortimers, the vncle & nephue, albeit the lord Mowbraie that had maried the onelie daughter and heire of the lord Bruce, thought verelie in the end to haue had it, as due to his wife by right of inheritance. But at length (as vnhap would) Hugh Spenſer the yoonger lord chamberleine, coueting that land (bicauſe it laie néere on each ſide to other lands that he had in thoſe parts) found ſuch means through the kings furtherance and helpe, that he went awaie with the purchaſe, to the great diſpleaſure of the other lords that had béene in hand to buie it.

The chéefe cauſe of the variance betwixt yͤ lords and the Spenſers.

Hereby ſuch hartburning roſe againſt the Spenſers, that vpon complaint made by the erle of Hereford vnto the earle of Lancaſter, of their preſumptuous dealing, by ruling all things about the king as ſéemed beſt to their likings, it was thought expedient by the ſaid earles that ſome remedie in time (if it were poſſible) ſhould be prouided. Wherevpon the ſaid earls of Lancaſter and Hereford, with the lords Roger Tuchet, Roger Clifford, Iocelin Deieuille, Roger Bernſfield, the two Mortimers, Roger the vncle and Roger the nephue, William de Sullie, William de Elmbrige, Iohn Gifford of Brimeſfield, and Henrie Tieis, all barons; the which with diuerſe other lords and knights, and men of name, aſſembling togither at Shierborne in Elmedone, ſware each of them to ſtand by other, till they had amended the ſtate of the realme. But yet notwithſtanding this their oth, the moſt part of them afterwards forſaking the enterpriſe, ſubmitted themſelues to the king.

Neuertheleſſe, whether for that the king by a proclamation ſet forth the ſixtéenth of March, had commanded (as ſome write) that the lords Mowbraie,

Clifford,

The lords take armes vpon them againſt the Spenſers.

Clifford, and Deiuille for diſobeieng to make their perſonall appearance before him, ſhould auoid the land within ten daies next inſuing, or for that they meant with all ſpéed to put their enterpriſe in execution, we find that the earle of Hereford, the lords Mortimer, the vncle and nephue, the lord Roger Damorie, the lord Iohn Mowbraie, the lord Hugh Audelie, and his ſonne named alſo Hugh, the lord Clifford, the lord Iohn Gifford of Brimeſfield, the lord Morice Berkeley, the lord Henrie Tieis, the lord Iohn Matrauers, with manie other that were alied togither, hauing the conſent alſo of the earle of Lancaſter, on the wedneſdaie next after the feaſt of the Inuention of the croſſe, hauing with them to the number of eigth hundred men of armes, fiue hundred hoblers, and ten thouſand men on foot, came with the kings banner ſpread vnto Newport in Wenloks lands, where they tooke the caſtell that belonged vnto the lord chamberleine Hugh Spenſer the yoonger.

They inuade the Spenſers lands.

They alſo tooke Kaerdie, Kerſillie, Lantriſſane, Taluan, Lamblethian, Kenefegis, Neoth, Druſſelan, and Diuenor; part of his men which in the foreſaid places they found, they ſlue, as ſir Iohn Iwain, and ſir Matthew de Gorges knights, with 15 other of his men that were Welſhmen: part they tooke and put them in priſon, as ſir Raſe or Randulfe de Gorges being ſore wounded, ſir Philip Ioice, ſir Iohn de Friſſingfield, ſir Iohn de Dunſtable, William de Dunſtable, and manie other, of the which the moſt part were put to their ranſome. They tooke, ſpoiled and deſtroied ſo much in value of his goods as amounted vnto two thouſand pounds. They tooke vp in ſuch debts as were owing to him in thoſe parts, to the ſumme of thrée thouſand pounds, and of his rents to the value néere hand of a thouſand pounds. They burnt 23 of his manors which he had in thoſe parts of Wales, with his barnes, and did what hurt they could deuiſe, burning or taking awaie all his writings and euidences. After they had remained 15 daies there, they came into England, with the like force and diſorder inuading his caſtels, manors and poſſeſſions, ſo that the damage which they did here vnto the ſaid lord chamberleine, amounted to the value of ten thouſand pounds.

The king ſendeth to the lords.

The lord Badeliſmere reuolteth to the ſide of the barons.

The king aduertiſed of their doings, ſent vnto them the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the lord Bartholomew de Badeliſmere lord ſteward of his houſe, to requeſt them to deſiſt and leaue off from ſuch their outragious doings, and comming to the parlement which he had alreadie ſummoned, they might put in their complaints and grieuances, & he would ſée that they ſhould haue iuſtice, according as equitie ſhould require. The lord Badeliſmere forſaking the king, became one of the confederacie with the barons, and ſo the archbiſh. was glad to returne alone, leauing the L. Badeliſmere behind him, who ſent the king word by the archbiſhop, that till they had expelled the Spenſers out of the realme, they would not giue ouer their enterpriſe. On ſaint Barnabies day they came to a manour of Hugh Spenſer the father called Faſterne, in the countie of Wiltſhire, and ſpoiled the ſame with diuerſe and manie other manors, aſwell in Wiltſhire, as elſe where, to wit, in Gloceſterſhire, Dorſetſhire, Hamſhire, Barkeſhire, Oxfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Surrie, Cambridgeſhire, Huntingtonſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Lincolneſhire, Cheſhire, and Warwikeſhire, making ſuch hauocke of all ſuch goods or cattell as belonged to the ſaid Hugh Spenſer the father, that he was thought to be indamaged to the value of thirtie thouſand pounds, burning his houſes, beating, maiming and ranſoming his men.

Furthermore not contented to ſpoile thoſe places which belonged to him, but hearing that in the abbeie of Stanlie he had laid vp monie and euidences, they brake into that abbeie, and tooke out thereof a thouſand pounds in readie coine, beſide euidences and writings, to the indamaging of him to the value of ſix thouſand pounds, and likewiſe entring into the caſtell of Marleburgh, where the ſaid Hugh Spenſer the father had laid vp in wooll to the number of 36 ſacks, they tooke the ſame and other of his goods, as well in plate as apparell, to the value in all of ſix thouſand pounds. And they did not onelie ſpoile the poſſeſſions, houſes, goods, and cattels of the two Spenſers, whereſoeuer they could heare that the ſame were to be found, but alſo they vſed the like diſorder againſt all ſuch as were knowne to be friends or wellwillers to either the father or ſonne, ſending commiſſions vnto ſuch as ſhould ſée the ſame executed to the moſt extremitie, ſo that in this rage of enuie and hot reuenge there was no parcialitie, but that one with another, the innocent with the nocent, the guiltleſſe with the guiltie went to wracke, and (as the old prouerbe ſaith concurring with common practiſe

Quod ſus peccauit ſuccula ſæpe luit)

The barons raiſe the people and came in armes towards the parlement.

finallie, after they had ſatiſfied their deſires in ſuch riotous ſort, they raiſed the people, and conſtreined them to ſweare to be of their accord, and ſo came forward with the like force towards the parlement that was ſummoned to be holden at London thrée wéeks after Midſummer. At their comming to S. Albons, they ſent the biſhops of London, Saliſburie, Elie, Hereford, and Chicheſter, to the king with their humble ſuit in outward apperance, though in effect and verie déed more preſumptuous than was requiſite. Their chéefe requeſt was that it might pleaſe his highneſſe to put from him the Spenſers, whoſe counſell they knew to be greatlie againſt his honour, and hereof not to faile if he tendered the quiet of his realme. They alſo required letters patents of him, conteining a generall pardon for the indemnitie of themſelues, and all thoſe that had béene in armes with them, ſo as they ſhould not be impeached by the king for any tranſgreſſions paſt or preſent, in time hereafter to come.

They ſend to the king.

Their requeſts.

The kings anſwer.

The king hereunto anſwered, that as concerning Hugh Spenſer the father, he was abroad on his buſines beyond the ſeas, and that Hugh the ſonne was on the ſea for the ſafe kéeping of the cinque ports, as by his office he was bound, and that they ought not by any right or cuſtome to be baniſhed, before they haue made anſwere to the crimes obiected againſt them. He added further, that their requeſt wanted foundation of law and reaſon. And if it might be proued that the Spenſers had in any wiſe offended againſt the ſtatutes and ordinances of the land, they were alwaies readie to make their anſwere as the lawes of the realme ſhould require. Laſtlie he added this with an oth, that he would not be forſworne contrarie to that which at his coronation he had taken vpon him by oth, through granting letters of peace and pardon to ſuch notorious offendors in contempt of his perſon, and to the trouble and diſquieting of the whole realme.

Fabian.
Caxton.

The order which the lord maior of London tooke.

The barons vpon knowledge had what anſwer the king made to their requeſts, forthwith got them to armour, and with a great power of men of armes and other, came to the parlement, which the king had ſummoned to begin at Weſtminſter thrée wéekes after Midſummer. Their retinue were apparelled in a ſute of iakets or coats of colours demie, partie yellow and gréene, with a band of white caſt ouerthwart. By reaſon whereof that parlement long after was called The parlement of white bands. Then to ſée the kings peace kept within the citie, the maior cauſed a thouſand men well armed to watch dailie in diuerſe wards, & at diuerſe gates of the citie, which watch began at foure of the clocke in the morning, and ſo continued till ſix at night, and then as manie were appointed to the night watch, continuing the ſame till the houre of fiue in the morning. And for the more ſuertie that this night watch ſhould be well and ſufficientlie kept, two aldermen were aſſigned nightlie to ride about the citie with certeine officers of the towne, to ſée the watchmen well and diſcréetlie guided. The gates were ſhut at nine of the clocke & opened againe at ſeauen in the morning. Alſo euerie citizen was warned to haue his armour by him, that he might be readie vpon anie occaſion when he ſhould be called.

Mat. VVeſt.

Neuertheleſſe the barons being come in forceable wiſe (as yée haue heard) vnto this parlement, they conſtreined the earle of Richmond, Arundell, Warren, and Penbroke, to agrée vnto their purpoſe; and likewiſe ſome of the biſhops they compelled through feare to take an oth to ioine with them in their purpoſe, for the expelling of the Spenſers out of the realme, and ſo comming all togither before the king, they publiſhed certeine articles againſt the ſaid Spenſers, both the father and ſonne, wherevpon they made an award, that they ſhould be diſherited and baniſhed the land during their liues, if by the king and conſent of all the lords in parlement aſſembled, they ſhould not be reſtored. They had day and place appointed where to paſſe forth of the land, to wit, at Douer, and not elſewhere, betwixt the daie of his award made, and the feaſt of the decollation of ſaint Iohn Baptiſt, that day to be counted for one. Diuers articles (as before is ſaid) were laid to the charge of thoſe Spenſers.

The Spenſers baniſhed by the decrée of the barons.

Articles wherwith the barons charged the Spēſers.

1 Amongſt other things it was alledged; Firſt that Hugh Spenſer the ſonne, being on a time angrie and diſpleaſed with the king, ſought to allie and confederate himſelfe with the lord Gifford of Brimeſfield, and the lord Richard Gray to haue conſtreined and forced the king by ſtrong hand to haue followed his will and pleaſure.

2 Secondlie it was alledged, that the ſaid Spenſers as well the father as the ſonne, had cauſed the king to ride into Gloceſterſhire, to oppreſſe and deſtroie the good people of his land, contrarie to the forme of the great charter.

3 Thirdlie, that where the earle of Hereford, and the lord Mortimer of Wigmore, had gone againſt one Thlewillin Bren, who had raiſed a rebellion againſt the king in Glamorganſhire, whiles the lands of the earle of Gloceſter were in the kings hands, the ſame Thlewillin yéelded himſelfe to the ſaid earle, and to the lord Mortimer, who brought him to the king, vpon promiſe that he ſhould haue the kings pardon, and ſo the king receiued him. But after that the ſaid earle and lord Mortimer were out of the land, the Spenſers taking to them roiall power, tooke the ſaid Thlewillin and led him vnto Kardif, where after that the ſaid Hugh Spenſer the ſonne had his purpartie of the ſaid earle of Gloceſters lands, he cauſed the ſaid Thlewillin to be drawne, headed and quartered, to the diſcredit of the king, and of the ſaid earle of Hereford and lord Mortimer, yea and contrarie to the lawes and dignitie of the imperiall crowne.

4 Fourthlie, the ſaid Spenſers counſelled the king to foreiudge ſir Hugh Audlie, ſonne to the lord Hugh Audlie, and to take into his hands his caſtels and poſſeſſions. They compaſſed alſo to haue atteinted the lord Roger Damorie, that thereby they might haue enioied the whole earledome of Gloceſter.

Theſe and other articles of miſdemeanour in the Spenſers were exhibited, to perſuade the king and others, that they were vnprofitable members in the common-wealth, and not worthie of thoſe places which they occupied. Now after that their diſheriting and baniſhment was concluded in manner as before is ſaid, the earle of Hereford and other the lords that had proſecuted the quarell againſt them, came before the king, and humblie on their knées beſought him of pardon for all things which they had committed againſt him, his lawes, or any other perſon in the purſuit of the ſaid Spenſers. The king, being brought into a ſtreict, durſt not but grant vnto all that which they requeſted, eſtabliſhing the ſame by ſtatute.

The king goeth to Canturburie.

The parlement being thus ended, the king and quéene went to Canturburie, there to viſit the ſhrine of Thomas Becket ſomtime archbiſhop there. From thence he went to the Ile of Tenet, that he might méet with his deare & welbeloued councellour Hugh Spenſer the yoonger, whome he had of late ſent in ambaſſage vnto the French king, and now being returned by ſea into thoſe parts, he was deſirous to ſée him, that he might haue conference with him: and ſo comming togither, they ſpent certeine daies in commoning of ſuch matters as they thought good. The king calling to him the mariners of the cinque ports, committed to them the cuſtodie of the ſaid Hugh, who for a time kept him with them in their ſhips, and the king ſailing alongſt the coaſt to Porcheſter, conferred with him of manie things.

He commeth to talke with the lord chamberlaine.

From Porcheſter the king ment to returne vnto London, there to méet the quéene, who in hir returne from Canturburie would haue lodged one night in the caſtell of Léeds, which the lord Bartholomew de Badeliſmere late ſteward of the kings houſe had by exchange of the king for other lands, and now taking part with the barons, had left his wife and children with other of his fréends and treaſure in the ſame caſtell. Thoſe that were put in truſt with kéeping this caſtell, would neither permit quéene nor other to enter therein, without expreſſe commandement from their lord and maiſter, and ſo they ſignified not onelie to the quéenes ſeruants that came before to make prouiſion for hir, but alſo declared the ſame to hir ſelfe comming thither in perſon.

The quéene not ſuffered to lodge in the caſtell of Léeds.

This chanced verie vnluckilie for the barons: for where the quéene had euer ſought to procure peace, loue and concord betwixt the king and his lords, ſhée tooke ſuch diſpleaſure with this deniall made to hir for one nights lodging in that caſtell, that vpon hir gréeuous complaint ſent to the king, he forthwith raiſed a mightie armie out of Kent and Eſſex, from the cinque ports, and of the Londoners, and hauing with him his brethren, Thomas earle Marſhall, and Edmund earle of Kent, alſo the earls of Richmond, Penbroke, Arundell, and Atholl, he haſted thither, & laid ſiege about the caſtell; conſtreining them within by all meanes that might be deuiſed.

The king beſiegeth the caſtell of Léeds.

In the meane time, at the ſuit of the lord Badeliſmere, the earle of Hereford, and other lords of the confederacie, came with a great power vnto Kingſtone, about the feaſt of Simon and Iude, and there ſtaieng certeine daies for ſome of their companie that were to come vnto them, they ſent vnto the king the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the biſhop of London, with the earle of Penbroke, requiring him to remooue his ſiege, till by parlement ſome order might be taken: but the king would not giue eare to their ſuit, but continued his ſiege till the caſtell was yéelded to him. For thoſe that were at Kingſtone cowardlie leuing their enterpriſe, came not forward, but returned backe againe. They that were within the caſtell, hauing ſimplie ſubmitted themſelues to the king, cauſed twelue or thirtéene of them to ſuffer death. Amongſt other was one Walter Culpepper reckoned for the chéefe of them that defended the caſtell againſt the king. The wife of the lord Badeliſmere,

The lords came with a power to raiſe the ſiege.

The caſtell of Léeds yéelded

walter Culpepper executed.

mere, with his nephue Bartholomew de Burwaſh was ſent to the tower of London, but his ſiſter was ſent to Douer caſtell, there to remaine in ſafe kéeping. The caſtell of Léeds being thus yéelded to the king, he entred the ſame on All halowes daie, and ſhortlie after the caſtell of Chilham was deliuered, and the caſtell of Tunbridge left void by them that had it in kéeping. The king thus beſtirring him, came into Eſſex, and ſeized into his hands the lands of the lord Badeliſmere, and likewiſe the lands of ſuch as were his mainteiners, abbettors, fréends, fauourers, and furtherers; of the which ſuch as he could méet with he put in priſon, and herewith ſummoned an armie to méet him at Cirenceſter about ſaint Lucies day the virgine. And then about ſaint Andrews tide he came to London, where the archbiſhop of Canturburie had called a prouinciall councell.

The lord chãberleine yéeldeth himſelfe to the law.

At the ſame time Hugh Spenſer the ſonne, being latelie come from the ſea, yéelded himſelfe priſoner to the kings ward, beſéeching the king that he might haue right miniſtred to him, concerning the wrongs and iniuries to him doone by the barons in maner as before ye haue heard, ſpeciallie for the award which in parlement they had procured to be enacted againſt him, the errours committed in the proceſſe, whereof he beſought the king that he might be admitted to ſhew: as firſt, in that they made themſelues iudges: ſecondlie, in that he was not called to anſwer: thirdlie, for that the ſame award was made without the aſſent of the prelats, who are péeres of the parlement as well as the temporall lords: fourthlie, in that the ſaid barons had no record in their purſuit vpon the cauſes conteined in that award: fiftlie, in that the award was made againſt the forme of the great charter of franchiſes, wherein is conteined that none ſhall be foreiudged nor deſtroied but by lawfull iudgement of his péers, according to the law of the land. Further, he alledged that it was to be conſidered, how the ſaid barons and great men being ſummoned to come in due maner vnto that parlement, they came in forceable wiſe with all their powers. A like petition was alſo exhibited on the behalfe of Hugh Spenſer the father, for redreſſe to be had of the wrongs and loſſes, which in like caſe he had ſuſteined.

Anno Reg. 15.

The king aſketh the opinions of the prelats.

The king fauouring inough the cauſes and petitions of the Spenſers, granted their requeſts, and deliuered the petitions vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie and his ſuffragans, the which at the ſame time were there aſſembled in their prouinciall councell aforeſaid, requiring to haue their aduiſe and opinion therein. He likewiſe requeſted of the earles and barons that were then with him, and of the counſellers in law, what they thought of this matter. The prelats vpon deliberation had, declared that in their opinion, the ſaid award as touching the diſheriting and baniſhing of the Spenſers, the father and ſonne was erronious, and not rightlie decréed, and for themſelues they denied that they either did or could thinke it reaſon to conſent thereunto, and therefore they required that it might be repealed, and the kings brother Edmund earle of Kent, John de Britaine earle of Richmond, Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, and Edmund earle of Arundell, then being in preſence of the king, and likewiſe of the foreſaid prelats, affirmed that the ſaid award pronounced againſt the Spenſers was made contrarie to law and right, and therefore as the prelats requeſted, that the ſame might be repealed.

The declaration of the prelats.

The declaration of the earles.

Further, the ſaid earles alledged, that the aſſent which they gaue in the ſaid award, was for doubt of the vnlawfull force which the barons brought vnto the ſaid parlement, when they made that award, and for that the ſaid earles that now were with the king, had counſelled him to ſuffer the ſaid award to paſſe, for feare of the ſaid force, and confeſſed they had doone euill, and beſought him of pardon for their offenſes in ſo dooing. The king thus hauing cauſed the prelats, earles, barons, and lawiers there preſent to vtter their iudgements in maner aforeſaid, he iudiciallie reuoked and quite diſanulled the proceſſe of the ſaid award, made as well touching the baniſhment, as the diſheriting of the Spenſers, and reſtored them to his peace and allegiance, and to their former eſtates, in all conditions as they inioied the ſame before the making of the ſaid award, notwithſtanding certeine letters to the contrarie of the earle of Lancaſter, and other lords of his faction, which for the approuing and ratifieng of the ſaid proceſſe they directed vnder their ſeales to the king as yet remaining at London.

They wrote alſo to the prelats, iuſtices, and barons of the excheker, to induce the king to giue his aſſent to that which in the tenor of their letters was conteined. The earle of Hereford, the lord Roger Mortimer of Cherke, & the lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, entring the marches of Wales, came to Gloceſter, and tooke that citie. The caſtell was alſo deliuered vnto them by the conſtable thereof. The king hauing his people comming dailie vnto him, whereby his armie was hugelie increaſed, about the feaſt of ſaint Nicholas he ſet forth from London, and with him there went his brother Edmund earle of Kent, John earle of Richmond, Edmund earle of Arundell, and manie other great lords and barons. The quéene with hir children he left in the tower of London. The lord John de ſaint John comming to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the king, at the interceſſion of diuerſe noble men, with much adoo had his pardon at length granted him.

The bar againe g armour.

The lord ſaint Joh

The king paſſing forward, ſeized into his hands the townes, caſtels, manors, and goods of them that were againſt him. But in the meane time the lord Henrie de Tieis, with certeine other that were entred into Gloceſterſhire (hearing that a great multitude of people was aſſembled out of the countrie of Cirenceſter by the kings commandement) came thither and chaſed them home to their houſes, putting them in feare of their liues, if they ſhould offer to reſiſt him. The king comming to Crikelade after the feaſt of ſaint Lucie the virgin, wrote to the earle of Lancaſter an anſwer of his letters, which he had receiued from him at London, modeſtlie reprouing him, for that he had ſo gréeuouſlie and vndutifullie reproched him, without reſpect had to his roiall eſtate, and alſo preſumed to aſſigne him a daie within the which he ſhould reforme thoſe things which he miſliked in him, as if he were his ſubiect and vnderling, & beſide this was now ioined with his aduerſaries againſt him, where on his behalfe there had béene no let nor ſtaie at any time, but that they might be fréends & remaine in quiet togither. Wherein though he did more than ſtood with the dignitie of his roiall title, in ſomuch as he had the earles life at his commandement, yet for that he tollerated ſuch inſolencie of behauiour, as was vnſéemelie to be ſhewed againſt the perſon of his prince, the kings clemencie and patience is highlie therein to be commended; though his forbearing and ſéeking means of quietneſſe did neuer a whit amend the malignant mind of the earle, whoſe hart was ſo inchanted with ambition and ſupereminent honour, that he quite forgat this good leſſon of ſubmiſſion and due allegiance,

Vt nequeas lædi maiori ſemper obedi.

The lord Tieis.

Cirenceſter.

The K. wri teth to the erle of Lancaſter.

From Crikelade the king went to Cirenceſter, where he held the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe, the earles of Norffolke, Penbroke, Surrie, and other great lords comming

The K. kepeth his Chriſtmaſſe at Crikelade.

comming

Earles that came to the king to Crikeland.

1322

The Scots inuade Northumberland.

Caſtels taken by the welſhmen.

comming thither to ioine their powers with his. Thither came alſo a great ſtrength of footmen, part of the which vnder the leading of one Robert Aquarij, a right famous capteine, tooke the caſtell of Bronfield, thoſe that had the keeping of it fleeing foorth of it. The king comming to Worceſter about Newyeres tide, cauſed the walles of the citie to be repared, committing the cuſtodie thereof vnto William de Longchampe. After the Epiphanie he paſſed on the ſide of Seuerne towards Shrewſburie, where, at his comming thither he was honourablie receiued by the burgeſſes that came foorth to meet him in armor, and ſo conueied him into their towne being ſtronglie fenſed. In this meane time the Scots now that the truce was ended, entring with a ſtrong power into England, deſtroied all the countrie to Newcaſtell vpon Tine with fire and ſword. The Welſhmen with their capteine Griffin Loitis tooke the caſtels in Wales, which were kept by the people of the lord Mortimer the elder. They tooke alſo the caſtels of Mole, Chirke, and Olono, the keepers whereof comming vnto the king to Shrewſburie ſubmitted themſelues to him, who ſhortlie after ſent them to the tower of London. The lord Hugh Audelie the elder, the lord Iohn de Haſtings, and diuerſe other comming in, and ſubmitting themſelues to the king were likewiſe committed to ward. The lord Roger Damorie entring into the citie of Worceſter deſtroied all that which the K. had appointed to be doone, about the fortification thereof.

The earle of Lãcaſter writeth to the erle of Hereford.

The earle of Hereford cõmeth to ioine with the earle of Lancaſter.

The earle of Lancaſter lieng at Pomfret, and hearing of all this buſineſſe, wrote to the earle of Hereford, and other lords that were with him, that they ſhould make haſt to come to him at Pomfret, promiſing from thenceforth to be their generall and leader. The earle of Hereford reioiſing at theſe newes, togither with all thoſe that were about him, leauing Gloceſter and all other ſtrengths which they held in thoſe parts, ſet forward to paſſe through the middeſt of the realme, ſpoiling by the way mens cattell and goods verie diſorderlie, and ſo came through to the earle of Lancaſter. The king getting into his hands all the caſtels of his aduerſaries in thoſe parts, went to Hereford, where he was honorablie receiued of the cleargie and citizens. His armie increaſed dailie, many comming in vnto him, that before durſt not for feare of his aduerſaries. The biſhop of Hereford was ſharplie checked, bicauſe he had taken part with the kings enimies.

The lord Berkley ſubmitteth himſelfe to the K.

They appointed to meet at Couentrie.

Wil. Sutton.

Killingworth holden againſt the K.

Tikehil caſtle beſieged.

The king ſent from hence the lord Iohn Haſtings into Southwales, to take in his name the ſeizine of the caſtels belonging to the earle of Hereford, the lord Roger Damorie, and the lord Hugh Spenſer the yoonger, which the barons had the laſt yeare got into their hands, all which being now taken to the kings vſe, were furniſhed with faithfull garriſons. ¶ The king, after this, comming to Gloceſter, condemned the ſhiriffe of Hereford to be hanged, for that he had taken part againſt him with the barons. The lord Maurice Berkley came to the king to Gloceſter, ſubmitting himſelfe to the kings pleaſure. After this the king came by Weſton vnder edge towards Couentrie, where he had appointed aſwell ſuch as he had latlie licenced to depart to their homes to refreſh themſelues for a time, as alſo diuerſe other, to aſſemble with their powers to go with him from thence againſt his aduerſaries. The day of this aſſemblie was the friday next after the firſt ſundaie in Lent. The king from Couentrie went to Meriuall, and there lodged in the abbeie for his more eaſe, writing to William Sutton vnder-conſtable of Warwike caſtell, commanding him to be attendant on the ſhiriffe of Warwike, in helping him to watch the entries and iſſues to and from the caſtell of Killingworth that was holden againſt him. In the meane time certeine of the lords that were gone to the earle of Lancaſter beſieged Tikehill caſtell fifteene daies togither, but preuailed not.

Letters intercepted.

King Arthur a name feined of purpoſe.

There were letters intercepted about the ſame time, which a meſſenger brought foorth of Scotland, three cloſed and three open, for there were ſix in all. The king ſent them to the archbiſhop of Canturburie, who by his commandement publiſhed them in open audience at London. The firſt was cloſed with the ſeale of the lord Thomas Randulfe earle of Murrie, lord of Annandale and of Man, lieutenant to Robert le Bruce king of Scotland, which conteined a ſafe conduct for ſir Thomas Topcliue chapleine, and one to be aſſociate with him to come into Scotland, and to returne from thence in ſafetie. The ſecond was ſealed with the ſeale of ſir Iames Dowglas for a like ſafe conduct for the ſame perſons. The third was cloſed with the ſeale of the ſaid earle of Murrie for the ſafe conduct of the lord Iohn de Mowbraie, and the lord Iohn de Clifford, and fortie horſſes with their pages for their ſafe comming vnto the ſaid erle into Scotland, and for their abiding there and returning backe. The fourth was cloſed with the ſeale of Iames Dowglas, directed to king Arthur. The fift was cloſed with the ſeale of Iames Dowglas directed vnto the lord Rafe Neuill. The ſixt had no direction, but the tenour thereof was this as followeth.

The tenor of the ſaid ſixt letter lacking *a direction.*

YOu ſhall vnderſtand my lord, that the communication before hand had, is now brought to effect. For the earle of Hereford, the lords Roger Damorie, Hugh de Audelie the yoonger, Bartholomew de Badeleſmer, Roger de Clifford, Iohn Gifford, Henrie Teis, Thomas Manduit, Iohn de Willington, and all other are come to Pomfret, and are readie to make you good aſſurance, ſo that you will performe couenant with them, to wit for your comming to aid vs, and to go with vs into England and Wales, to liue and die with vs in our quarell: We therefore beſeech you to aſſigne vs day and place, where we may meet, and we will be readie to accompliſh fullie our buſineſſe: and we beſeech you to make vs a ſafe conduct for thirtie horſſes, that we may in ſafetie come to your parts.

Record. Tur.

The king ſetteth forward towards his enimies.

He made a proclamation.

Burton vpon Trent.

The king, when ſuch earles and lords as he had licenced for a time were returned (his brother the earle of Northfolke excepted) & that the moſt part of thoſe men of warre were aſſembled that had ſummons, although diuerſe came not at all; about the firſt ſundaie in Lent he ſet forward towards his enimies, hauing with him to the number of ſixteene hundred men of armes on horſſebacke, and footmen innumerable; with this power paſſing foorth towards his aduerſaries, he cauſed proclamation to be made, that he was readie to receiue all men to his peace, that would come and ſubmit themſelues, thoſe excepted which had beene at the ſiege of Tikehill caſtell, or at the taking of the citie of Gloceſter, or at the inuaſion made vpon his men at Bridgenorth.

At his comming to a little village called Caldwell, he ſent afore him certeine bands to Burton vpon on Trent, where he ment to haue lodged: but the earles of Lancaſter and Hereford, the lords Roger Damorie, Hugh Audelie the yonger, John de Mowbraie, Bartholomew de Badeliſmere, Roger de Clifford, John Gifford de Bremeſfield, Henrie Tieis, and many other, being gotten thither before, kept the bridge, and aſſailing the kings people which he had thus ſent before, ſome of them they ſlue, and ſome they wounded, ſo defending the bridge, that none could paſſe, and by reaſon that the waters, and ſpeciallie the riuer of Trent through abundance of raine that was latelie fallen, were raiſed, there was no meane to paſſe by the foords, wherevpon the king was conſtreined to ſtaie the ſpace of thrée daies, in which meane time, the earles and their complices fortified the bridge at Burton, with barriers and ſuch like defenſes, after the maner of warre, but the king at length vpon deliberate aduiſe taken how to paſſe the riuer, ordeined, that the earle of Surrie with certeine armed men, ſhould go ouer by a bridge that was thrée miles diſtant from Burton, that he might come vpon the backes of the enimies, as they were fighting with thoſe that ſhould aſſaile them afront.

The earle of Surrie. Peraduenture at Wichnore.

The earles of Richmond & Penbroke.

Robert Aquarie.

The K. paſſeth by a foord.

The earles of Lancaſter & Hereford flée and ſet fire on the towne.

The earles of Richmond and Penbroke were appointed to paſſe by a foord, which they had got knowledge of, with thrée hundred horſſemen in complet armour, and the king with his brother the earle of Kent ſhould follow them, with the reſidue of the armie, ſauing that Robert Aquarie or Waters, with certeine bands of footmen was commanded to aſſaile the bridge, which he did verie manfullie, cauſing the archers & croſſebowes to annoie them that kept it, ſo as he might draw the whole power of the enimies that waie, till the king and the earles were paſſed by the foord. But after that the earles of Lancaſter and Hereford with their complices, heard that the king was paſſed with his armie, they came foorth with their people into the fields, and put them in order of battell: but perceiuing the great puiſſance which the king had there readie to encounter them, without more adoo they fled ſetting fire on the towne, and leauing all their vittels and other things behind them. The kings people comming ſpéedilie forward, and entring the towne, quenched the fire, and fell to the ſpoile of ſuch things as the enimies for haſt had left behind them. The king kept nothing to himſelfe, but onelie a faire cup that belonged to the earle of Lancaſter, a péece eſtéemed to be of ſome great value.

The K. commeth to Tutburie.

Hue and crie.

On the ſame night, being wedneſdaie, the king came to Tutburie, and lodged in the caſtell, ſending foorth the next day with all ſpéed, letters to the ſhiriffe of Derbiſhire and Notinghamſhire, aduertiſing him both of the ſucceſſe he had againſt his enimies, and withall, pronouncing them and all their adherents, rebels and traitors to him and his realme, and that for ſuch they ſhould be reputed, taken and vſed. Wherefore he commanded in the ſame letters or writs, vpon forfeiture of all that the ſaid ſhiriffe might forfeit, he ſhould purſue the ſaid rebels, that is, the earles of Lancaſter and Hereford, the lords Roger Damorie, Hugh Audelie the yonger, John de Mowbraie, Bartholomew de Badeliſmere, Roger de Clifford, John Gifford de Brimeſfield, Henrie Tieis, and all and euerie other perſon or perſons that were of their confederacie, or in their companies; cauſing hue and crie to be raiſed vpon them, in what part ſoeuer they might be heard of, and in all places where the ſaid ſhiriffe ſhould thinke it expedient, and to inioine and ſtreightlie command all and ſingular perſons, the ſaid rebels and enimies to purſue, take and arreſt, and them to deliuer vnto the ſaid ſhiriffe, and that ſuch as were not able to purſue them, yet with hand or horne they ſhould leuie hue and crie againſt them, in paine that being found negligent herein, to be accompted for fauourers and adherents to the ſaid rebels and traitors, and that the ſaid ſhiriffe ſhould thervpon apprehend them, and put them in priſon. The writ was dated at Tutburie the eleuenth of March, and the like writs were directed and ſent foorth to all other ſhiriffes through the realme, and likewiſe to the biſhop of Durham, and to the iuſtice of Cheſter.

Proclamations made for the peace to be kept.

Beſide this, he directed alſo other writs to the ſaid ſhiriffes and others, that although he had béene conſtreined to paſſe in forceable wiſe through diuerſe parts of his realme, and the marches of Wales, to ſuppreſſe the malicious rebellion of diuerſe his ſubiects, and that as yet he was conſtreined to continue his iournie in ſuch forceable wiſe, neuertheles his pleaſure was, that the peace ſhould be mainteined and kept throughout his realme, with the ſtatutes, lawes and cuſtomes inuiolated, and therfore he commanded the ſaid ſhiriffes, that they ſhould cauſe the ſame to be proclaimed in places where was thought moſt expedient, as well within liberties as without, inhibiting that any maner of perſon, of what ſtate or condition ſoeuer he was, vpon paine that might fall thereon, to attempt any thing to the breach of peace; but that euerie man ſhould ſéeke to mainteine and preſerue the peace and tranquillitie of the people, with the ſtatutes, lawes and good cuſtomes of the land, to the vttermoſt of his power: this alwaies obſerued, that the rebels, whereſoeuer they might be found, ſhould be arreſted, and committed to ſafe cuſtodie. The date of this writ was at Tutburie aforeſaid on the twelfth of March.

The lord Damorie departed this life.

Sir Gilbert de Elleſfield & ſir Robert Holland ſubmit themſelues to the king.

The earles of Lancaſter & Hereford came to Pomfret.

The lord Roger Damorie laie ſicke in his bed at the ſame time in the priorie of Tutburie, who after he had heard what iudgement the king had pronounced againſt him, departed this life within two daies after. But the earles of Lancaſter and Hereford, with other in their companie that fled from the diſcomfiture at Burton, loſt manie men and horſſes in their flieng awaie, by reaſon of ſuch purſuit as was made after them. Diuerſe of them that had taken part with the lords againſt the king, came now and ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, amongſt the which were ſir Gilbert de Elleſfield, and ſir Robert Holland knights. The king yet had the ſaid Holland in ſome ſuſpicion, bicauſe he had promiſed to haue come to him before. The earle of Lancaſter had ſent him at this time to raiſe his tenants in Lancaſhire, and to bring them vnto him, but he deceiued him, and came not to him at all, wherevpon the earles of Lancaſter and Hereford, with the other barons, being come vnto Pomfret, fell to councell in the Friers there, and finallie, after much debating of the matter, and conſidering how by the vntrue dealing of the ſaid Robert Holland, their ſide was much weakened, it was concluded, that they ſhould go to the caſtell of Dunſtanborough, and there remaine till they might purchaſe the kings pardon, ſith their enterpriſe thus quailed vnder their hands: and herewith ſetting forward that waie foorth, they came to Borough bridge, where ſir Andrew de Herkley with the power of the counteſſe of Cumberland and Weſtmerland had forlaid the paſſage, and there on a tueſdaie being the 16 of March, he ſetting vpon the barons, in the end diſcomfited them, and chaſed their people.

Rich. South. Sir Andrew Herkley.

The earle of Hereford ſlaine. The earle of Lancaſter taken.

Barons taken.

In this fight was ſlaine the earle of Hereford, the lord William de Sullie, with ſir Roger de Bourghfield, and diuerſe others. And there were taken Thomas earle of Lancaſter, the lord Roger Clifford ſon to that lord Roger which died in the battell of Bannockeſborne in Scotland, the lord Gilbert Talbot, the lord John Mowbraie, the lord Hugh de Willington, the lord Thomas Manduit, the lord Warren de Liſle, the lord Philip Darcie, the lord Thomas Wither,

ther, the lord Henrie de Willington, the lord Hugh de Knouill, the lord Phillip de Beche, the lord Henrie de Leiborne, the lord Henrie de Bradborne, the lord John de Beckes, the lord Thomas Louell, the lord William fitz William, Robert de Wateuille, John de Strikeland, Odnell Heron, Walter Pauelie of Stretton, and a great number of other eſquires and gentlemen. This battell was fought on the fiftéenth day of March, in the yeare 1322 after the accompt of them that begin the yeare at the Circumciſion, which was in the ſaid fiftéenth yéere of this kings reigne.

The battell of Borough bridge.

The bodie of the earle of Hereford was ſent to Yorke, two friers of the order of preachers being appointed to looke to it, till the king tooke order for the burieng of it. The lord Clifford alſo, bicauſe he was wounded with an arrow, was ſent vnto Yorke. At the ſame time, the lord Henrie Percie tooke the lord Henrie Tieis, and John de Goldington knight, with two eſquires, and within a few daies after, Donald de Mar tooke the lord Bartholomew de Badeliſmere, the lord Hugh Audelie the yoonger, the lord John Gifford, the lord William Tuchet, and in maner all thoſe which eſcaped by flight from this battell were taken in one place or other, by ſuch of the kings ſeruants and fréends as purſued them. Vpon the one and twentith of March, came ſir Andrew de Harkley vnto Pomfret, bringing with him the earle of Lancaſter and other priſoners. The king was come thither a few daies before, and had the caſtell yéelded to him by the conſtable, that not manie daies paſt was appointed to the kéeping thereof by the earle, which earle now being brought thither captiue, was mocked, ſcorned, and in deriſion called king Arthur.

The caſtell of Pomfret is rendred to the king.

On the morrow after being mondaie, the two and twentith of March, he was brought before theſe noble men, Edmund earle of Kent, John earle of Richmond, Aimer earle of Penbroke, John erle of Surrie, Edmund earle of Arundell, Dauid earle of Atholl, Robert earle of Anegos, the lord Hugh Spenſer the father, the lord Robert de Malmeſthorp iuſtice, and others with them aſſociate, before whome he was arreigned of high treaſon, for that he had raiſed warre againſt the king, and defended the paſſage of Burton bridge, for the ſpace of thrée daies togither againſt him, and after when it was perceiued that the king had paſſed the riuer, he with Humfrie de Bohun earle of Hereford, and other their complices like traitors, ſet fire on the ſaid towne, and cruellie burnt part of the houſes and men of the ſame towne, and after, the ſaid earle of Lancaſter with his complices, arranged himſelfe in field with his armie and banners diſplaid readie to fight againſt the king, till that perceiuing the kings power to be ouerſtrong for him & his partakers to reſiſt, he togither with them fled, committing by the waie diuerſe felonies and robberies, till they came to Burrough bridge, where finding certeine of the kings faithfull ſubiects readie to reſiſt them, they aſſailed the ſaid faithfull ſubiects with force of armes and banners diſplaied, ſlaieng diuerſe of them, till finallie the ſaid earle of Lancaſter was caught, and other of his complices, ſome taken, ſome ſlaine, and the reſidue put to flight, ſo that there wanted no good will in the ſaid earle of Lancaſter and others, whie the king ſhould not haue béene vanquiſhed. Which treaſons, murthers, burning of houſes, deſtroieng of the kings people, being plainlie & manifeſtlie knowne to the earls, barons, lords, and other people of the land, the ſaid earle of Lancaſter was thervpon adiudged to die, according to the law in ſuch caſes prouided, that is, to be drawne, hanged, and headed. But bicauſe he was the quéenes vncle, and ſonne to the kings vncle, he was pardoned of all ſaue heading, and ſo accordinglie therevnto ſuffered at Pomfret the two and twentith of March.

The earle of Lancaſter arreigned.

He is found giltie.
Ri. Southwell.

He is beheaded.

Thus the king ſéemed to be reuenged of the diſpleaſure doone to him by the earle of Lancaſter, for the beheading of Peers de Gaueſton earle of Cornewall, whom he ſo déerelie loued, and bicauſe the erle of Lancaſter was the chéefe occaſioner of his death, the king neuer loued him entirelie after. ¶ So that here is verified the cenſure of the ſcripture expreſſed by the wiſedome of Salomon, that the anger and diſpleaſure of the king is as the roring of a lion, and his reuenge ineuitable. Wherefore it is an hie point of diſcretion in ſuch as are mightie, to take héed how they giue edge vnto the wrath of their ſoucreigne, which if it be not by ſubmiſſion made blunt, the burthen of the ſmart inſuing will lie heauie vpon the offendor, euen to his vtter vndoing, and loſſe (perhaps) of life. In this ſort came the mightie earle of Lancaſter to his end, being the greateſt péere in the realme, and one of the mightieſt earles in chriſtendome: for when he began to leauie warre againſt the king, he was poſſeſſed of fiue earledomes, Lancaſter, Lincolne, Saliſburie, Leiceſter, and Derbie, beſide other ſeigniories, lands, and poſſeſſions, great to his aduancement in honor and puiſſance. But all this was limited within preſcription of time, which being expired, both honour and puiſſance were cut off with diſhonour and death, for (O mutable ſtate!)

Inuida fatorum ſeries, ſummiſq; negatum
Stare diu.

On the ſame day, the lord William Tuchet, the lord William fitz William, the lord Warren de Liſle, the lord Henrie Bradborne, and the lord William; Chenie barons, with John Page an eſquire, were drawne and hanged at Pomfret aforeſaid, and then ſhortlie after, Roger lord Clifford, John lord Mowbraie, and ſir Goſein d' Eeuill barons, were drawne and hanged at Yorke. At Briſtow in like manner were executed ſir Henrie de Willington, and ſir Henrie Montfort baronets; and at Glocceſter, the lord John Gifford, and ſir William Elmebridge knight; and at London, the lord Henrie Teies baron; at Winchelſie, ſir Thomas Culpepper knight; at Windſor, the lord Francis de Aldham baron; and at Canturburie, the lord Bartholomew de Badeliſmere, and the lord Bartholomew de Aſhbornham, barons. Alſo at Cardiffe in Wales, ſir William Fleming knight was executed: diuerſe were executed in their countries, as ſir Thomas Mandit and others.

Lords executed.

But now touching the foreſaid earle of Lancaſter, great ſtrife roſe afterwards amongſt the people, whether he ought to be reputed for a ſaint or no. Some held, that he ought to be no leſſe eſtéemed, for that he did manie almeſdéeds in his life time, honored men of religion, and mainteined a true quarell till his liues end. Alſo, his enimies continued not long after, but came to euill end. Others conceiued an other opinion of him, alledging, that he fauoured not his wife, but liued in ſpouſe-breach, defiling a great number of damoſels and gentlewomen. If anie offended him, he ſlue him ſhortlie after in his wrathfull mood. Apoſtataes and other euill doers he mainteined, and would not ſuffer them to be puniſhed by due order of law. All his doings he vſed to commit vnto one of his ſecretaries, and tooke no héed himſelfe thereof: and as for the manner of his death, he fled ſhamefullie in the fight, and was taken and put to death againſt his will, bicauſe he could not auoid it: yet by reaſon of certeine miracles which were ſaid to be doone néere the place both where he ſuffered, and where he was buried, cauſed manie to thinke he was a ſaint; howbeit, at length, by the kings commandement, the church doores of the priorie where he was buried, were ſhut and cloſed, ſo that no

Auesburie.
Nic. Triuet.

Caxton.

man might be ſuffered to come to the toome to bring any offerings, or to doo any other kind of deuotion to the ſame. Alſo, the hill where he ſuffered was kept by certeine Gaſcoines, appointed by the lord Hugh Spenſer the ſonne then lieng at Pomfret, to the end that no people ſhould come and make their praiers there in worſhip of the ſaid earle, whome they tooke verelie for a martyr.

A parlement at Yorke.

The record touching the baniſhing of the Spenſers reuerſed.

Creation of earls.

The lord Audelie pardoned.

When the king had ſubdued the barons, ſhortlie after, about the feaſt of the Aſcenſion of our lord, he held a parlement at Yorke, in which parlement, the record and whole proceſſe of the decrée or iudgement concerning the diſheriting of the Spenſers, ordeined by the lords in parlement aſſembled at London the laſt ſummer, was now throughlie examined, and for their errours therein found, the ſame record and proceſſe was cléerelie adnihilated and reuerſed, and the ſaid Spenſers were reſtored to all their lands and offices, as before. And in the ſame parlement the lord Hugh Spenſer the father was made earle of Wincheſter, and the lord Andrew de Herklie earle of Carleill. Moreouer, in the ſame parlement, all ſuch were diſherited as had taken part with the earls of Lancaſter & Hereford, except the lord Hugh Audelie the yoonger, and a few other, the which lord Hugh was pardoned, bicauſe he had married the kings néece, that was ſiſter to Gilbert de Clare earle of Glouceſter, which was ſlaine in Scotland, at the battell of Bannockeſborne, as before is mentioned.

Robert Baldocke is made lord chancellour.

Polydor.

The quéene giueth good counſell.

The kings eldeſt ſonne created prince of wales.

At this time alſo maſter Robert Baldocke, a man euill beloued in the realme, was made lord chancellour of England. This Robert Baldocke, and one Simon Reding were great fauourers of the Spenſers, and ſo likewiſe was the earle of Arundell, whereby it may be thought, that the Spenſers did helpe to aduance them into the kings fauour, ſo that they bare no ſmall rule in the realme, during the time that the ſame Spenſers continued in proſperitie, which for the terme of fiue yeares after that the foreſaid barons (as before is expreſſed) were brought to confuſion, did woonderfullie increaſe, and the quéene for that ſhe gaue good and faithfull counſell, was nothing regarded, but by the Spenſers meanes cléerelie worne out of the kings fauour. Moreouer, we find, that in this parlement holden at Yorke, the kings ſonne Edward was made prince of Wales, and duke of Aquitaine.

Statutes.

A ſubſidie.

Addition to Triuet.

The earle of Penbroke arreſted.

Alſo, the king cauſed the ordinances made by the earles and barons to be examined by men of great knowledge and ſkill, and ſuch as were thought neceſſarie to be eſtabliſhed, he commanded that the ſame ſhould be called ſtatutes, and not ordinances. Beſide a great ſubſidie granted to the king by the temporaltie, the cleargie of all the prouince of Canturburie granted fiue pence of euerie marke, and they of the prouince of Yorke foure pence. Aimer earle of Penbroke, being returned home from this parlement holden at Yorke, was arreſted by certeine knights, ſent with authoritie thereunto from the king, who brought him backe to Yorke, where at length thorough ſuit of certeine noble men, he was vpon his oth taken to be a faithfull ſubiect, and in conſideration of a fine which he paied to the king, ſet at libertie. The occaſion of his impriſonment came, for that he was accuſed and detected to be a ſecret fauourer of the barons cauſe againſt the Spenſers in time of the late troubles.

Fabian.

Moreouer, ſhortlie after the king gathered the ſixt penie of the temporall mens goods thorough England, Ireland and Wales, which had béene granted to him at the foreſaid parlement holden at Yorke, towards the defending of the realme againſt the Scots. This tax was not gathered without great murmur and grudge, the realme being in ſuch euill and miſerable ſtate as it then was. ¶ This yeare alſo the ſunne appeared to mans ſight in colour like to bloud, and ſo continued ſix houres, to wit, from ſeuen of the clocke in the morning of the laſt daie of October, vntill one of the clocke in the after noone of the ſame daie.

Polydor.

The Scots inuade the biſhoprike of Durham.

Here is to be noted, that during the time whileſt the ciuill warre was in hand betwixt king Edward and his barons, the Scots and Frenchmen were not idle, for the Scots waſted & deſtroied the countrie of the biſhoprike of Durham (as before ye haue partlie heard) & the Frenchmen made roades & incurſions into the borders of Guien, alledging that they did it vpon good and ſufficient occaſion, for that king Edward had not doone his homage vnto the king of France, as he ought to haue doone, for the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Pontieu. But the true occaſion that mooued them to attempt the warres at that preſent, was for that they were in hope to recouer all the lands which the king of England held within France, cléerelie out of his hands, for ſo much as they vnderſtood the diſcord betwixt him and his barons, and how infortunatlie he had ſped againſt the Scots, by reaſon whereof they iudged the time to ſerue moſt fitlie now for their purpoſe.

Rich. South.

Rob. Bruce inuadeth England.

Sée more hereof in Scotland.

Anno Reg. 16.

The king goeth into Scotland with an armie.

Ri. Southw.

Merimouth.

In the octaues of the natiuitie of ſaint Iohn Baptiſt, Robert Bruce entring into England by Carleill, kept on his waie through Cumberland, Coupeland, Kendall, and ſo into Lancaſhire, till he came to Preſton in Anderneſſe, which towne he burnt, as he had doone others in the countries through which he had paſſed. There were ſome of the Scots that forraied the countrie fiue miles on this ſide Preſton ſouthwards, and thus being foureſcore long miles within England, they returned homewards, and entred againe into Scotland without incounter, after they had béene at this time within England the ſpace of thrée wéeks and thrée daies. King Edward being thus beſet with two miſchiefes both at one time, thought good firſt to prouide remedie againſt the néerer danger, which by the Scots was ſtill at hand, and therefore he meant to go againſt them himſelfe, and to ſend his brother Edmund earle of Kent into Guien, to defend that countrie from the Frenchmen. Herevpon now in the ſixteenth yeare of his reigne, after that the Scots were returned home with a great bootie and rich ſpoile, he got togither a woonderfull great armie of men, and entring into Scotland, paſſed far within the countrie, not finding any reſiſtance at all (as the moſt part of our writers doo agrée) but at length, through famine and diſeaſes of the flix and other maladies that fell amongſt the Engliſhmen in the armie, he was conſtreined to come backe, and in his waie beſieged the caſtell of Norham, which fortreſſe he wan within ten daies after he had begun to aſſault it.

Robert Bruce immediatlie after the Engliſh armie was retired home, raiſed a power, and entring into England by Sulwaie ſands, laie at a place called Beaumond, not paſt thrée miles frō Carleill, by the ſpace of fiue daies, ſending in the meane time the moſt part of his armie abroad to ſpoile and harrie the countrie on euerie ſide, and afterwards remouing from thence, he paſſed towards Blackamore, hauing knowledge by diligent eſpials, that king Edward was in thoſe parts, giuing himſelfe more to paſtime in hunting there within the woods about Blackamore, than to the good ordering of his people which he had then about him. Wherevpon the Scotiſh king Bruce, entring into that wild and mooriſh countrie, where he had not béene afore, conueied his enterpriſe ſo warilie, and with ſuch diligent induſtrie, that on ſaint Lukes daie, comming vpon the Engliſh armie at vnwares, he put the ſame to flight, ſo that the king himſelfe was in great danger to haue beene taken priſoner. For (as ſome authors write) the Scots had almoſt taken him at dinner in the abbeie of Beighland. Sir Iohn Britaine earle of Richmond was taken at this battell, and the kings treaſure was ſpoiled and carried awaie, with the prouiſion and ordinance that belonged to the hoſt.

Rich. South.

Yorkeſwoll ſpoiled by the Scots.

Beuerlie ranſomed.

The earle of Carleill raiſeth an armie.

Fabian.

The king eſcaping awaie, got to Yorke, and the Scots hauing thus the vpper hand, after they had ſpoiled the monaſterie of Riuale, and taken their pleaſure there, they paſſed forth into Yorkeſwold, deſtroieng that countrie euen almoſt vnto Beuerlie, which towne they ranſomed, receiuing a ſumme of monie for ſparing it, leaſt they ſhould haue burnt it, as they did other. The earle of Carleill being commanded by the king to raiſe the powers of Cumberland, Weſtmerland, and Lancaſhire, did ſo, and according to that he had in commandement, bringing them belowe the countries vnto Yorke, found the K. there in no plight to giue battell to his enimies, all things being brought about him into great confuſion: whervpon he licenced his people to depart to their homes againe, and the Scots ſo returned without battell home into their countries, entring into Scotland the morrow after All hallowes daie, after they had remained in England at this time, one whole moneth and foure daies. Some write, that in their returne, they ſpoiled Northalerton, and diuerſe other townes and places as they paſſed.

A conſpiracie to ſet priſoners at libertie.

Sir Iohn Goldington.

In the ſame yeare, there was a great conſpiracie practiſed by certein perſons that had taken part with the barons in the late warres, purpoſing to ſet at libertie in one ſelfe night, all thoſe noble men and others, that were by the king kept in priſon for that quarrell. Certeine therefore of thoſe conſpirators came to the caſtell of Walingford, within the which the lord Maurice Berkelie, and the lord Hugh Audlie remained as priſoners. The conſpirators found ſhift to enter the caſtell by a poſterne gate towards the Thames ſide, howbeit not ſo ſecretlie but that the towneſmen hauing knowledge thereof, aſſembled togither, and beſieged them that were ſo entred the caſtell, till the earles of Kent and Wincheſter came with a great power to reenforce the ſiege, ſo that in the end, they that had made this attempt fled into the chappell of the caſtell, in hope to be ſaued through ſanctuarie of the place, but they were (againſt the willes of the deane and preeſts of the colledge there that ſought to defend them) taken forth by force, ſo that ſir Iohn de Goldington knight, ſir Edmund of the Bech chapleine, and an eſquire called Roger Walton, were ſent to Pomfret, and there put in priſon; the eſquire was after ſent to Yorke, and there drawne and hanged. This enterpriſe cauſed all other priſoners to be more ſtreightlie looked vnto.

Polydor.

Rich. Southw. Polydor.

In this yeare was begun a wicked practiſe of treaſon vpon this occaſion. Where K. Edward hauing aſſaied fortune ſo froward towards him, in chance of warre againſt the Scots at ſundrie times, was therby taught to doubt the triall thereof any further, and rather to ſeeke for peace, he appointed Andrew Herklie earle of Carleill, to ſeeke ſome means, wherby a peace might be concluded betwixt him and king Robert. The earle by the kings commandement, going into Scotland, and comming vnto king Robert, whome he found at Loghmaban, intreated with him of warre, and not of peace; for whether it were ſo that he deſpaired of the ſtate of king Edwards buſineſſe, which proſpered neither at home nor abroad; cheefelie by reaſon of his owne wilfull negligence (as ſome write) or whether of his owne nature this earle delighted in nothing ſo much, as in deceipt, craft, and treaſon: he concluded vpon points with the Scotiſh king, how, when, and where king Edward ſhould be betraied, and to the end that couenanted faith on either ſide might be the more ſuerlie kept and obſerued, the ſiſter of K. Robert was affianced vnto the ſaid earle of Carleill: a verie beautifull ladie and a comelie as was anie where to be ſeene or found.

Treaſon will euer come to light by one meane or other.

1323

The earle of Carleill put to death.

This practiſe being thus contriued, ſhortlie after the king got knowledge thereof, though by whome it was not certeinlie knowne: ſo hard a thing it is for man to conceale and keepe ſecret that thing which he goeth about, though he ſtudie neuer ſo much ſo to doo, namelie in matters of treaſon, which hath a thouſand feet to creepe abroad, and which way ſoeuer it goeth, it leaueth a thouſand prints of the footſteps behind it, by the which it may be diſcouered to the world. When therefore the earle came backe againe to Carleill, he was arreſted by commandement from the king, and ſtraightwaies being arreigned of the treaſon, he was thereof condemned and put to execution. His head was ſent vnto London, and there ſet vpon the bridge, or rather vpon ſome turret of the tower. So hard a matter it is for traitors to eſcape the hands of the executioner; vnder whoſe hatchet they ſubmit their heads to be hewen from their ſhoulders, euen then when they haue conceiued their traitorous attempts in hart, for God who hath placed princes in thrones of roialtie, to this end hath vouchſafed them a ſuperlatiue degree of dignitie, that they might be obeied, neither will his iuſtice permit impunitie to the diſloiall enterpriſes and complots of malefactors, common peace-diſturbers, hautie-harted Nemrods, ambitious Hamans, or anie lewd malcontent: for

Acer Dei eſt oculus ad omnia videndum,
Eius pœnas non effugit mortalis,
Viuere volens ergo ne faciat morte digna.

Ri. Southwell.

¶ But there be that write otherwiſe (as it may well be) thus, that this earle of Carleill, perceiuing the miſerie of his countrie, without conſent of the king of England, made peace with the king of Scots, vnder this forme, as by Richard Southwell we find recorded. Firſt, the earle promiſed faithfullie for him and his heires, that they ſhould with all their force and means poſſible, ſeeke to mainteine the ſaid king of Scots, his heires and ſucceſſors, in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdome of Scotland, and that to their powers they ſhuld fight againſt all thoſe that would not agree vnto that couenant, as againſt them that ſhould ſeeme to be enimies vnto the common-wealth of both the realmes of England and Scotland. The king of Scots promiſed faithfullie for his part, to defend the ſaid earle, his heires, and adherents in the ſaid couenant or paction, and not onelie to keepe peace with England, but alſo to build a monaſterie within Scotland, aſſigning reuenues thereto, to the value of fiue hundred marks, to celebrate diuine ſeruice, and to pray continuallie for the ſoules of them that were dead, by occaſion of the paſſed warres betwixt England and Scotland; and further, that he ſhould giue to the king of England within ten yeares, fortie thouſand pounds of ſiluer; and that the king of England ſhould haue the king of Scots eldeſt ſonne, to marrie him vnto ſome ladie of his bloud, as he ſhould thinke expedient. To the performance of all which couenants well and truelie to be obſerued, Thomas Randulfe earle of Murrey ſware on the behalfe of the king of Scots, and the earle of Carleill ſware for himſelfe: and heerewith certeine writings indented were drawne and ingroſſed, to the which interchangeablie they ſet their hands and ſeales.

After that the earle of Carleill was returned home, he called to Carleill all the cheefe perſons of the countrie, as well ſpirituall as temporall, and there rather through feare, than otherwiſe, conſtreined them to receiue an oth, that they ſhould aid & aſſiſt him to their powers, to ſee all the couenants aboueſaid performed and kept. After that theſe things were knowne to the king and the realme, although ſome of the communaltie liked well inough of the matter, bicauſe they hoped thereby to remaine in peace, eſpeciallie thoſe of the north parts, the king yet and his councell (not without cauſe) were ſore offended, for that he whom the king had ſo latelie aduanced, ſhould confederate himſelfe with the Scots, to the preiudice of the king and his crowne, concluding any couenants of peace without his conſent, wherevpon reputing him for a ranke traitor, the king ſent vnto the lord Antonie Lucie, to apprehend the ſaid earle by ſome meanes if he might, and for his paines he ſhould not faile to be well rewarded.

The lord Lucie.

The lord Lucie watching his time, when the earles men were gone ſome whither abroad, and but few left about him, the morrow after the feaſt of ſaint Matthew the apoſtle, he entred the caſtell of Carleill, as it were to talke with the earle of ſome buſineſſe, as his manner was at other times to doo. He had with him ſir Hugh Lowther, ſir Richard Denton, and ſir Hugh Moricebie knights, and foure eſquiers, beſide other priuilie armed, ſo that leauing ſome at euerie gate and doore as he entred, he came into the hall, and there finding the earle inditing letters, arreſted him. Herewith when certeine of the earles ſeruants made a noiſe, and cried, Treaſon, treaſon, the porter of the inner gate would haue ſhut it vpon them that were thus entred, but ſir Richard Denton ſlue that porter with his owne hands, and there was not one more ſlaine by them in the apprehenſion of the earle, for all other his ſeruants yéelded themſelues and the houſe vnto the ſaid lord Lucie, without more reſiſtance.

Michaell de Herkley.

Howbeit one of his ſeruants that ſaw theſe doings, got awaie, and with all ſpéed ran to the péele of Heihead, and ſhewed to the earles brother Michaell Herkeley what was chanced to the earle, wherevpon the ſaid Michaell forthwith fled into Scotland, and with him ſir William Blunt knight, a Scottiſhman, and diuerſe other that were of the earles priuie councell. The lord Lucie ſtreightwaies ſent a meſſenger to the king vnto Yorke, aduertiſing him how he had taken the earle, and therefore required to vnderſtand further of the kings pleaſure. The king forthwith ſent the lord Geffrey Scrobe iuſtice, with a number of armed men vnto Carleill, the which came thither on ſaint Chaddes daie, and the morrow after, being the third of March, he ſat in iudgement vpon the ſaid earle, in the caſtell of Carleill, and there (as out of the kings mouth) he pronounced ſentence againſt him in this wiſe; firſt, that he ſhould be diſgraded of his earledome, by the taking awaie from him the ſword which the king had gird him with, and likewiſe of his knighthood, by cutting off his ſpurs from his héeles, and that after this, he ſhould be drawen from the caſtell through the citie vnto the place of execution, where felons were accuſtomed to ſuffer, and there to be hanged, afterwards headed, and then his head to be ſent vnto London, there to be ſet aloft vpon one of the turrets of the tower, and his quarters to be diuided, one to be ſet vp at Carleill, an other at Newcaſtell vpon Tine, the third at Briſtow, & the fourth at Douer.

The earle of Carleils iudgement.

His conſtancie at his death.

When he had heard this iudgement, he ſaid; You haue diuided my bodie at your pleaſure, and I commit my ſoule vnto God: and being according to the iudgement drawen to the place where he ſuffered, he neuer ſhranke at the matter, but boldlie behaued himſelfe, declaring at the verie houre of his death, that his intention in concluding the agréement with the Scots was good, and procéeding not of any euill meaning, but tending onelie to the wealth and quietnes of the realme. Neither could ſuch friers as were permitted to come to him before his arreignement to heare his confeſſion, get any thing more of him, but that his meaning was good, and that which he had concluded with the king of Scots was not doone vpon any euill purpoſe, whereby any hurt might inſue, either to the king or to the realme. ¶ Thus haue we thought good to ſhew the cauſe of this earles death, as by ſome writers it hath béene regiſtred; although there be that write, that the ouerthrow at Beighland chanced through his fault, by miſleading a great part of the kings hoſt, and that therefore the king being offended with him, cauſed him to be put to death, albeit (as I thinke) no ſuch matter was alleged againſt him at the time of his arreignement.

Fabian. Caxton.

Polydor.

About this ſeaſon was the foundation begun of S. Michaels colledge in Cambridge, by one ſir Henrie Stanton knight, chancellour of the excheker. About the feaſt of the Aſcenſion, there came as commiſſioners from the king of England vnto Newcaſtell, Aimerie earle of Penbroke, and the lord chamberlaine Hugh Spenſer the yonger, and other foure perſonages of good accompt. And from the king of Scots, there came the biſhop of ſaint Andrews, Thomas Randulfe earle of Murrey, and other foure of good credit to treat of peace, or at the leaſt wiſe of ſome long truce, and through the good will and pleaſure of God, the author of all peace and quietneſſe, they concluded vpon a truce, to indure for thirtéene yeares, and ſo about the feaſt of ſaint Barnabe the apoſtle, it was proclaimed in both realmes, but yet ſo, that they might not traffike togither, bicauſe of the excommunication wherewith the Scots were as yet intangled, although as ſome write, about the ſame time, the interdict wherein the realme of Scotland ſtood bound, was by pope Iohn releaſed.

Rich. South. Commiſſioners mett to intreat of peace.

A truce concluded.

Polydor. Hect. Boetius. Anno Reg. 17. Meſſengers from the French king.

The French king taketh townes in Aquitaine.

The French K. being latelie come to the crowne, ſent certeine ambaſſadors vnto king Edward, to wit, the lord Beouille, and one Andreas de Florentia a notarie, to giue ſummons vnto him from the French king, to come and doo homage for the lands which he held in France, as for the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Pontieu. And though the lord chamberleine Hugh Spenſer the ſonne, and the lord chancellour Robert Baldocke did what they could to procure theſe ambaſſadors, not to declare the cauſe of their comming to the king, yet when they ſhould depart, they admoniſhed the king to come and doo his homage vnto the French king, and vpon this admonition the ſaid Andreas framed a publike inſtrument, by vertue whereof, the French king made proceſſe againſt the king of England, and ſeized into his hands diuerſe townes and caſtels in Aquitaine, alledging that he did it for the contumacie ſhewed by the king of England, in refuſing to come to doo his homage, being lawfullie ſummoned, although the king was throughlie informed, that the ſummons was neither lawfull, nor touched him anie thing at all.

The lord Mortimer breaketh out of the tower.

About the ſame time, the lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmor, giuing his kéepers a drinke that brought them into a ſound and heauie ſléepe, eſcaped out of the tower of London where he was priſoner. This eſcape of the lord Mortimer greatlie troubled the king, ſo that immediatlie vpon the firſt newes, he wrote to all the ſhiriffes of the realme, that if he chanced to come within their roomes, they ſhould cauſe hue and crie to be raiſed, ſo as he might be ſtaied and arreſted, but he made ſuch ſhift, that he got ouer into France, where he was receiued by a lord of Picardie, named monſier Iohn de Fieules, who had faire lands in England, and therefore the king wrote to him, reprouing him of vnthankfulneſſe, conſidering he had beene euer readie to pleaſure him, and to aduance his profits and commodities, and yet notwithſtanding he did ſuccour the ſaid lord Mortimer, and other rebels that were fled out of his realme.

1324
A parlement.

In Lent this yeare, a parlement was holden at London, in the which diuerſe things were intreated, amongſt other the cheefeſt was, to determine for the ſending of ſome honorable ambaſſage to the French king, to excuſe the king for not comming to him to doo his homage, according to the pretended ſummons. ¶ In the ſame parlement, Adam biſhop of Hereford was arreſted, and examined vpon points of treaſon, for aiding, ſuccouring, and mainteining the Mortimers, and other of the rebels. This biſhop was reckoned to be wiſe, ſubtill, and learned, but otherwiſe, wilfull, preſumptuous, and giuen to mainteine factions. At the firſt, he diſdeined to make anie anſwer at all, and finallie, when he was in manner forced thereto, he flatlie told the king, that he might not make any anſwere to ſuch matters as he was charged with, except by the licence and conſent of his metropolitane the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and other his peeres. Heerevpon, the ſaid archbiſhop and other biſhops made ſuch ſute, that he was committed to the keeping of the ſaid archbiſhop, with him to remaine, till the king had taken order for his further anſwer.

The biſhop of Hereford arreſted.
Thom. de la More.
Thom. Walſ.

Within few daies after, when the king called him againe before his preſence, to make anſwere to the matters laid againſt him, the archbiſhops of Canturburie, Yorke, Dublin, and ten other biſhops came with their croſſes afore them, and vnder a colour of the priuilege and liberties of the church, tooke him awaie, before he had made anie anſwere, forbidding all men on paine of excommunication, to laie anie hands vpon him. The king greatlie offended with this bold proceeding of the prelats, cauſed yet an inqueſt to be impanelled, to inquire of the biſhop of Herefords treaſons, and vpon the finding of him giltie, he ſeized into his hands all the temporalties that belonged to his biſhoprike, and ſpoiled his manours and houſes moſt violentlie, in reuenge of his diſloiall dealings.

The preſumtuous demeanor of prelats.

Re. Tur.
Lands belonging to the templers.

Moreouer, in this parlement, the lands and poſſeſſions that belonged ſometime to the Templers, and had beene deliuered vnto the knights Hoſpitalers, otherwiſe called knights of the Rodes by the king in the ſeauenth yeare of his reigne (according to the decree of the councell of Vienna) were by authoritie of this parlement aſſured vnto the ſaid knights, to enioy to them and their ſucceſſors for euer. Alſo it was concluded, that the earle of Kent, and the archbiſhop of Dubline ſhould go ouer as ambaſſadours into France, to excuſe the king for his not comming in perſon to the French king, to doo his homage for the lands he held in France. Moreouer, in the ſame parlement, the king granted, that all the dead bodies of his enimies and rebels that had ſuffered and hanged ſtill on the gallowes, ſhould be taken downe, and buried in the churchyards next to the places where the ſame bodies were hanging, and not elſewhere, by ſuch as would take paine to burie them, as by his writs directed vnto the ſhiriffes of London, and of the counties of Middleſex, Kent, Gloceſter, Yorke, and Buckingham it appeared. And not onelie this libertie was granted at that time for the taking downe of thoſe bodies, but (as ſome write) it was decreed by authoritie in the ſame parlement, that the bodies of all thoſe that from thenceforth ſhould be hanged for felonies, ſhould incontinentlie be buried, which ordinance hath beene euer ſince obſerued.

Licence to burie the bodies of the rebels.
Record. Tur.
Polydor.

Imbaſſadors ſent into France.

The earle of Kent, and the archbiſhop of Dubline going ouer into France, could not light vpon anie good concluſion for the matter about the which they were ſent, bicauſe the ſame time, or rather ſomewhat before, the lord Raſe Baſſet of Draiton, being the kings ſeneſhall in Guien, had ouerthrowne a certeine towne, newlie fortified by the Frenchmen on the frontiers, for that the inhabitants, truſting on the French kings fauour and maintenance, refuſed to obeie the lawes and ordinances of the countrie of Aquitaine, and ſeemed to deſpiſe and ſet at naught the authoritie of the ſaid lord Baſſet in that countrie, contrarie to all right, good order or reaſon. Neuertheleſſe, the French king tooke the matter ſo greeuouſlie, that except the lord Baſſet might be conſtreined to come vnto Paris, and there make anſwer to his offenſe, he would not hearken to anie other ſatiſfaction. And therevpon, when the ambaſſadours were returned, he ſent his vncle the lord Charles de Valois earle of Aniou, with a mightie armie, againſt the Engliſh ſubiects into Guien, where entring into Agenois, he tooke and ſeized all that countrie into the French kings hands. The earle of Kent being now gotten into thoſe parts, with a great number of other capteins and men of warre ſent thither by the king of England, reſiſted the enimies verie manfullie, in ſo much that vpon their approch to the Rioll, a ſtrong towne in thoſe parts, the earle of Kent as then being within it, did iſſue foorth, and giuing them battell, ſlue (as ſome write) foureteene hundred of their men, ſo that they were glad to lodge at the firſt ſomewhat further off the towne.

The lord Baſſet.
Anno Reg. 18.
The earle of Aniou ſent into Guien.
The earle of Kent.

Fabian.
The king of England writeth to the duke of Britaine.
Record. Tur.

Whileſt this ſiege remained before the towne of the Rioll, the king of England wrote his letters to the duke of Britaine, as one of the peeres of France, declaring the iniurious dealing of the French king, who had ſent his vncle the earle of Aniou with an armie againſt his people in Agenois, where he had taken manie townes, deſtroied his people, and now had beſieged his nephue Edmund earle of Kent, within the towne of the Rioll, inforſing his whole puiſſance wrongfullie to bereaue him of all the duchie of Guien, and againſt all reaſon, and the prerogatiue of the peeres of France, to an euill preſident or example in time to come of the perpetuall ſeruitude of the ſaid peeres. And although ſaith the king of
England, that the French alledge that we haue been „
lawfullie ſummoned to come and doo homage, and
haue refuſed ſo to doo, that is not ſo: for we were ne- „
uer in due order required as was conuenient, nei- „
ther could we doo homage, by reaſon of the great in-
iuries and hard dealings practiſed againſt vs, from „
the feaſt of Eaſter laſt, till the date of thoſe his pre-
ſent letters (which was the ſixt of October, in this „
eighteenth yeare of his reigne) and yet, ſaith he, there
was neuer anie lawfull proceſſe had againſt vs be- „
fore our peeres, in the great chamber at Paris, as „
had beene requiſite.

Herevpon he requeſted the duke of Britaine, that for the preſeruation and maintenance of the honorable eſtate of the peeres of France, & for iuſtice ſake he would helpe to aid him, either by waie of requeſt, or other conuenient meanes, ſo as the ſaid ſtreict dealings and iniurious wrongs may ceaſſe, and the eſtate of the peereſhip may be mainteined as was requiſite. He wrote likewiſe to the lord Iohn the infant, the lord of Biſkie, and to the ladie Marie of Biſkie gouerneſſe of the king of Caſtile and Leon, and to Iames king of Aragon, requeſting them to aid him with men of warre, as well horſſemen as footmen, againſt his aduerſarie the French king, that moſt vniuſtlie went about to depriue him of his inheritance. But howſoeuer the matter went, no aid came to the earle of Kent from any part, till at length, the Frenchmen ſo reinforced the ſiege, that the towne was deliuered to the earle of Aniou, and a truce taken vpon certeine conditions, that

The lord of Biſkie.

further

Tho. Walſ.
A truce takē.

further talke might be had, for the concluſion of ſome peace.

The lord de Sullie ſent into France in ambaſſage.

The pope ſendeth ambaſſadors to the kings of England and France.

1325

Then were ſent ouer other ambaſſadors, as the lord John de Sullie a Frenchman borne, and one maiſter John de Shordich, but the lord Sullie had ſo ſtrange interteinment for ſome diſpleaſure which the French king conceiued againſt him, that if the French queene had not the beter intreated for him, he had loſt his head; and as for the other, he had alſo returned home without bringing any thing to paſſe, of that for the which he was ſent. After this, the pope ſent the archbiſhop of Uienna, and the biſhop of Orange, to the princes of either realme, to exhort them to ſome agréement, but they could doo no good, and ſo taking monie of the cleargie for their expenſes, they returned. After this, about the twentith daie after Chriſtmaſſe, there was a parlement called at London, in the which the king required to haue the aduiſe of the lords, how he might worke for ſauing of the duchie of Guien, ſore moleſted by the French. Herevpon it was concluded, that the biſhops of Wincheſter and Norwich, and John de Britaine earle of Richmond, ſhould go ouer as ambaſſadors to the French king, who comming into France, after manie argumentations, allegations, and excuſes, made on both parts, at length receiued a certeine forme of pacification at the French kings hands, with the which the biſhop of Wincheſter was ſent backe to England, the biſhop of Norwich, and the earle of Richmond remaining there, till it might be knowen how the king of England would like thereof.

Other ambaſſadors ſent ouer into France.

The quéene is ſent ouer into France to talke with hir brother the French king.

A peace and concord agréed vpon.

Finallie it was thought good, that the quéene ſhuld go ouer to hir brother the French king, to confirme that treatie of peace vpon ſome reaſonable conditions. She willinglie tooke vpon hir the charge, and ſo with the lord John Crumwell, & other foure knights, without any other great traine, taking ſea, ſhe landed in France, where of the king hir brother ſhe was ioifullie receiued, and finallie ſhe being the mediatrix, it was finallie accorded, that the K. of England ſhould giue to his eldeſt ſonne the duchie of Aquitaine, and the countie of Pontieu, and that the French king receiuing homage of him for the ſame, he ſhould reſtore into his hands the ſaid countie, and the lands in Guien, for the which they were at variance, and for thoſe countries which had béene forraied and ſpoiled, the earle of Aniou ſhould fullie ſée him ſatiſfied, as right did require.

Anno Reg. 19.

Upon the couenants the French king wrote his letters patents into England, and other letters alſo of ſafe conduct, as well for the ſonne as for the king himſelfe, if it ſhould pleaſe him to come ouer himſelfe in perſon. Upon which choiſe great deliberation was had, as well at Langdon, as at Douer, diuerſe thinking it beſt that the king ſhould go ouer himſelfe: but the earle of Wincheſter and his ſonne the lord chamberleine, that neither durſt go ouer themſelues with the king, nor abide at home in his abſence, gaue contrarie counſell, and at length preuailed ſo, that it was fullie determined that the kings eldeſt ſonne Edward ſhould go ouer, which turned to their deſtruction, as it appeared afterward.

The prince of wales is ſent into France.

Herevpon the king made a charter of grant vnto his ſonne, of the duchie of Guien, and countie of Pontieu, to haue and hold to him & his heires kings of England, with condition, that if he chanced to depart this life whileſt his father liued, thoſe lands ſhould returne to his father againe, ſo as the French king might not marrie the kings ſonne at his pleaſure, nor appoint vnto him any gardians or gouernours. This ordinance was made at Douer by the kings charter, with conſent of the prelats and other noble men of the realme there preſent, the morrow after the Natiuitie of our ladie, and on the thurſdaie following, the kings ſonne tooke the ſea, and with him Walter biſhop of Exceſter and others in competent number, and about the feaſt of ſaint Mathew the apoſtle, he did homage to his vncle the French king at *Bois de Vincennes*, vnder certeine proteſtations made, as well on the one part as the other.

A drie ſummer.

Cattell died.

The king ſendeth for his wife and ſon to returne home.

The ſummer this yeare prooued excéeding hot and drie, ſo that ſprings and riuers failed to yéeld their accuſtomed courſe of waters, by reaſon wherof great numbers of cattell and beaſts, both wild and tame died, through lacke of conuenient liquor to aſſwage their vehement thirſt. In the beginning of the next ſpring, king Edward ſent into France vnto his wife and ſonne, commanding them, now that they had made an end of their buſineſſe, to returne home with all conuenient ſpéed. The quéene receiuing the meſſage from hir huſband, whether it was ſo that ſhe was ſtaied by hir brother, vnto whome belike ſhe had complained after what manner ſhe was vſed at hir huſbands hands, being had in no regard with him: or for that ſhe had no mind to returne home, bicauſe ſhe was loth to ſée all things ordered out of frame by the counſell of the Spenſers, whereof to heare ſhe was wearie: or whether (as the manner of women is) ſhe was long about to prepare hir ſelfe forward, ſhe ſlacked all the ſummer, and ſent letters euer to excuſe hir tarriance. But yet bicauſe ſhe would not run in any ſuſpicion with hir huſband, ſhe ſent diuerſe of hir folkes before hir into England by ſoft iournies. A lamentable caſe, that ſuch diuiſion ſhould be betwéene a king and his quéene, being lawfullie married, and hauing iſſue of their bodies, which ought to haue made that their copulation more comfortable: but (alas) what will not a woman be drawne and allured vnto, if by euill counſell ſhe be once aſſaulted? And what will ſhe leaue vndoone, though neuer ſo inconuenient to thoſe that ſhould be moſt déere vnto hir, ſo hir owne fanſie and will be ſatiſfied? And how hardlie is ſhe reuoked from procéeding in an euill action, if ſhe haue once taken a taſte of the ſame? As verie truly is reported by the comedie-writer, ſaieng,

The womans diſſimulation.

Malè quod mulier incœpit niſi efficere id perpetrat,
Id illi morbo, id illi ſenio eſt; ea illi miſeræ miſeria eſt:
Si bene facere incœpit, eius eam citò odium percipit,
Nimiſq; paucæ ſunt defeſſæ, malè quæ facere occœperint;
Nimiſq; paucæ efficiunt, ſi quid occœperint benefacere;
Mulieri nimiò malefacere melius eſt onus, quàm benè.

Plaut. in Truc.

But to the purpoſe. King Edward not a little offended with king Charles, by whoſe meanes he knew that the woman thus lingered abroad, he procured pope John to write his letters vnto the French king, admoniſhing him to ſend home his ſiſter and hir ſonne vnto hir huſband. But when this nothing auailed, a proclamation was made in the moneth of December, the ninetéenth yeare of this kings reigne, that if the quéene and hir ſonne entred not the land by the octaues of the Epiphanie next inſuing in peaceable wiſe, they ſhould be taken for enimies to the realme and crowne of England. ¶ Here authors varie, for ſome write, that vpon knowledge had of this proclamation, the queene determined to returne into England forthwith, that ſhe might be reconciled to hir huſband.

A proclamation.
Fabian.

Polydor.

Others write, and that more truelie, how ſhe being highlie diſpleaſed, both with the Spenſers and the king hir huſband, that ſuffered himſelfe to be miſled by their counſels, did appoint indéed to returne into England, not to be reconciled, but to ſtir the people to ſome rebellion, wherby ſhe might reuenge hir manifold iniuries. Which (as the proofe of the thing ſhewed) ſéemeth to be moſt true, for ſhe being a wiſe woman, & conſidering that ſith the Spenſers had excluded, put out, and remoued all good men, from and beſides the kings councell, and placed in their roomes ſuch of their clients, ſeruants and fréends as pleaſed them, ſhe might well thinke that there was ſmall hope to be had in hir huſband, who heard no man but the ſaid Spenſers, which ſhe knew hated hir deadlie. Wherevpon, after that the tearme prefixed in the proclamation was expired, the king cauſed to be ſeized into his hands, all ſuch lands, as belonged either to his ſonne, or to his wife.

1326

Sir Robert walkfare.

About the ſame time, one ſir Robert Walkfare knight, a right hardie man of his hands, but craftie and ſubtill (who being taken in the warres which the lords raiſed againſt the king, had béene committed to priſon in the caſtell of Corſe) found meanes now to kill the conſtable of that caſtell moſt cruellie, and eſcaping awaie, got ouer to the quéene into France, and ſo the number of them that ran out of the realme vnto hir dailie increaſed. This ſir Robert Walkfare was a great procurer of the diſcord betwixt the king and the lords, and a chéefe leader, or rather ſeducer of that noble man Humfrie de Bohune earle of Hereford: and whileſt other gaue themſelues to ſéeke a reformation in the decaied ſtate of the commonwealth, he ſet his mind vpon murders and robberies. Diuerſe other about the ſame time fled out of the realme vnto the quéene, and vnto hir ſonne the earle of Cheſter. But in the meane time, Walter Stapleton biſhop of Excester, which hitherto had remained with the quéene in France, ſtale now from hir, and got ouer into England, opening to the king all the counſell and whole mind of the quéene: which thing turned firſt of all vnto his owne deſtruction, as ſhall after appeare.

The biſhop of Excester cõmeth from the quéene.

Sir Oliuer de Ingham lieutenant of Gaſcoine.

About the ſame time, one ſir Oliuer de Ingham, a yoong, luſtie, and valiant knight, was by the kings ſonne the duke of Aquitaine (not without his fathers conſent) eſtabliſhed lord warden of the marches of Guien, the which ſir Oliuer gathering an armie of hired ſoldiers, Spaniards, Aragons, and Gaſcoins, inuaded the countrie of Agenois (which the French king held yet in his hands contrarie to couenant) and recouering it from the French, cléerelie reduced it to the Engliſh dominion. Moreouer, ſir Iohn Oturum, ſir Nicholas Kiriell, and ſir Iohn Felton, admerals by the kings appointment, with the fléets of the eaſt, ſouth, and weſt parts, went to the ſea, to apprehend ſuch Frenchmen as they might méet withall. They according to their commiſſion beſtirred themſelues ſo, that within few daies they tooke ſix ſcore ſaile of Normans, and brought them into England, wherevpon the diſpleaſure ſore increaſed betwixt the two realmes.

Agenois recouered out of the Frenchmens hands.

Ships of Normandie taken.

The king of England ſtood not onelie in doubt of the Frenchmen, but more of his owne people that remained in France, leaſt they thorough helpe of the French ſhould inuade the land, and therefore he commanded the hauens and ports to be ſuerlie watched, leſt ſome ſudden inuaſion might happilie be attempted, for it was well vnderſtood, that the quéene meant not to returne, till ſhe might bring with hir the lord Mortimer, and the other baniſhed men, who in no wiſe could obteine anie fauour at the kings hands, ſo long as the Spenſers bare rule. ¶ The pope lamenting this matter, ſent two biſhops into England, to reconcile the king and quéene, and alſo to agrée the two kings. Theſe biſhops were reuerentlie receiued, but more than reuerence here they obteined not, and ſo departed as they came.

Anno. Reg.20.

The lord Beaumont of Heinault.

King Edward vnderſtanding all the quéenes drift, at length ſought the French kings fauour, and did ſo much by letters and promiſe of bribes with him and his councell, that quéene Iſabell was deſtitute in manner of all helpe there, ſo that ſhe was glad to withdraw into Heinault, by the comfort of Iohn the lord Beaumont, the earle of Heinault his brother, who being then in the court of France, and lamenting quéene Iſabels caſe, imagined with himſelfe of ſome marriage that might be had betwixt the yoong prince of Wales, and ſome of the daughters of his brother the earle of Heinault, and therevpon required hir to go into Heinault, and he would be glad to attend hir. She gladlie conſenting hereto, went thither with him, where ſhe was moſt ioifullie receiued with hir ſonne, and all other of hir traine.

The quéene of England with hir ſon goeth into Heinault. Polydor.

Caxton.

The Spenſers (ſome write) procured hir baniſhment out of France, and that ſhe was aduiſed by the earle of Arthois chéefelie to repaire into Heinault. Alſo I find, that the Spenſers deliuered fiue barrels of ſiluer, the ſumme amounting vnto fiue thouſand marks, vnto one Arnold of Spaine a broker, appointing him to conueie it ouer into France, to beſtowe it vpon ſuch fréends as they had there of the French kings counſell, by whoſe meanes the king of France did baniſh his ſiſter out of his relme. But this monie was met with vpon the ſea by certeine Zelanders, and taken, togither with the ſaid Arnold, and preſented to the earle of Heinault, vnder whoſe dominion the Zelanders in thoſe daies remained, of which good hap the earle and quéene Iſabell greatlie reioiſed.

Fabian. A marriage concluded.

In the time that the quéene and hir ſonne laie in the court of the earle of Heinault, a marriage was concluded betwixt the prince of Wales, and the ladie Philip, daughter to the ſaid earle, vpon certeine conditions, whereof one was, that the ſaid erle ſhould at his proper coſts ſet ouer into England the ſaid prince of Wales, with a crue of foure hundred men of armes. But whether there was any ſuch mariage as then concluded, and that in conſideration thereof, the earle of Heinault aided quéene Iſabell and hir ſonne, it may be doubted, bicauſe other writers make no ſuch report. Neuertheleſſe, certeine it is, that the earls brother ſir Iohn de Heinault lord Beaumont, was appointed with certeine bands of men of arms, to the number of foure hundred or fiue hundred, to paſſe ouer with the ſaid quéene and hir ſonne into England, and ſo therevpon began to make his purueiance for that iournie, which thing when it came to the knowledge of king Edward and the Spenſers, they cauſed muſters to be taken through the realme, and ordeined beacons to be ſet vp, kept and watched, as well in the vallies by the ſea ſide, as within the countries, vpon hilles and high grounds, that the ſame vpon occaſion of the enimies arriuall, might be ſet on fire, to warne the countries adioining to aſſemble and reſiſt them.

Caxton. Prouiſion made in England to reſiſt the quéene.

But quéene Iſabell and hir ſonne, with ſuch others as were with hir in Heinault, ſtaied not their iournie for doubt of all their aduerſaries prouiſion, but immediatlie after that they had once made their purueiances, and were readie to depart, they tooke the ſea, namelie the quéene, hir ſonne, Edmund of Wodſtoke earle of Kent, ſir Iohn de Heinault aforeſaid, and the lord Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, a man of good experience in the warres, and diuerſe others, hauing with them a ſmall companie of Engliſhmen, with a crue of Heinewiers and Almains, to the number of 2757 armed men, the which ſailing forth towards England, landed at length in Suffolke, at an hauen called Orwell beſides Harwich, the 25 daie of September. Immediatlie after that the quéene and hir ſonne were come to land, it was wonder to ſée how faſt the people reſorted vnto them; and firſt of all, the earle Marſhall, in whoſe lands ſhe firſt came on ſhore, repaired vnto hir, ſo did the earle of Leiceſter, and diuerſe barons & knights of thoſe parts, with all the prelats in manner of the land, as the biſhops of Lincolne, Hereford, Dubline, and Elie, the which being ioined with the quéene,

Tho. Walſin. The quéene with hir ſon land in Suffolke.

Tho. Walſi.

The readineſſe of the prelats to aſſiſt the queene.

made a great armie. The archbiſhop of Canturburie and others aided hir with monie.

After that ſhe had refreſhed hir people a little ſpace at ſaint Edmundſburie, ſhe marched foorth to ſeeke the aduerſaries of hir and of the realme, as ſhe bruted it; but they ſtill keeping themſelues neere to the kings perſon, that vnder the ſhadow of the wings of his protection they might remaine in more ſafegard, durſt not depart from his preſence. At the time of the queenes landing he was at London, and being ſore amazed with the newes, he required aid of the Londoners.

The anſwer of the Londoners to the king.

They anſwered, that they would doo all the honour they might vnto the king, the queene, and to their ſonne the lawfull heire of the land: but as for ſtrangers & traitors to the realme, they would keepe them out of their gates, and reſiſt them with all their forces: but to go foorth of the citie further than that they might returne before ſunne-ſetting, they refuſed, pretending certeine liberties in that behalfe to them granted in times paſt, as they alledged.

The king forſaketh London, and goeth towards the marches of wales.

The king not greatlie liking of this anſwer, fortified the tower, and leauing within it his yoonger ſon John of Eltham, and the wife of the lord chamberleine Hugh Spenſer the yoonger that was his neece, he departed towards the marches of Wales, there to raiſe an armie againſt the queene.

A proclamation ſet forth by the king.

Before his departure from London, he ſet foorth a proclamation, that euerie man vnder paine of forfeiting of life & goods, ſhould reſiſt them that were thus landed, aſſaile, and kill them, the queene, his ſonne Edward, and his brother the earle of Kent onelie excepted; and whoſoeuer could bring the head or dead corps of the lord Mortimer of Wigmore, ſhould haue for his labour a thouſand marks.

The queenes proclamation.

The queenes proclamations on the other part willed all men to hope for peace, the Spenſers publike enimies of the realme, and the lord chancellor Robert Baldocke, with their aſſiſtants onlie excepted, through whoſe meanes the preſent trouble was happened to the realme. And it was forbidden, that no man ſhould take ought from any perſon, and who ſo euer could bring to the queene the head of Hugh Spenſer the yoonger, ſhould haue two thouſand pounds of the queenes gift.

The biſhop of Exceſter left in charge with the citie of London.

The king at his departure from London, left maiſter Walter Stapleton the biſhop of Exceſter behind him, to haue the rule of the citie of London. Then ſhortlie after, the queene with hir ſon, making towards London, wrote a letter to the maior, and the citizens, requiring to haue aſſiſtance for the putting downe of the Spenſers, not onelie knowne enimies of theirs, but alſo common enimies to all the realme of England.

Caxton.

To this letter no anſwer at the firſt was made, wherefore an other was ſent, dated at Baldocke the ſixt daie of October, vnder the names of Iſabell by the grace of God queene of England, ladie of Ireland, and counteſſe of Pontieu, and of Edward eldeſt ſonne to the king of England, duke of Guien, earle of Cheſter, of Pontien and of Muttrell. This letter being directed to the maior and communaltie of London, conteining in effect, that the cauſe of their landing and entring into the realme at that time, was onelie for the honor of the king and wealth of the realme, meaning hurt to no maner of perſon, but to the Spenſers, was faſtened vpon the croſſe in Cheape, then called the new croſſe in Cheape, on the night before the ninth daie of October. Diuerſe copies of the ſame letter were ſet vp, and faſtened vpon windowes and doores in other places of the citie, and one of the ſame copies was tacked vpon the lord maiors gates.

Fabian.
Thom. Walſi.

After which letter thus publiſhed in the citie, a great number of artificers, and other that loued not to ſit in reſt vpon ſuch occaſion of diſcord offered, now that things were in broile in other parts of the realme, aſſembled in great numbers, & with weapon in hand came to the lord maior of the citie, whom they knew to fauor the kings part, & therefore they forced him through feare of ſome iniurious violence, to receiue an oth to ſtand to their ordinance, which was to put to death all thoſe that were aduerſaries to the queene, or had by any meanes procured the hinderance of the cities liberties, vnder pretext of which oth they ran and tooke one of the citizens, called John Marſhall, who bicauſe he was verie familiar with the earle of Gloceſter, and therefore ſuſpected to haue accuſed the citizens, they ſtroke off his head, and ſpoiled all his goods.

The lord maior forced to take an oth.

John Marſhall taken & beheaded.

On the ſame day, being the fourteenth of October, continuing their rage, they ran to the houſe of the biſhop of Exceſter, Walter de Stapleton, and ſetting fire on the gates, they entred and ſpoiled him of all his plate, iewels, monie and goods. And as it chanced in an infortunate houre for him, the biſhop being at the ſame time returning from the fields, would not ſeeme to ſhrinke, although he was admoniſhed of theſe outragious attempts of the people; but ſitting on horſſebacke, came to the north doore of S. Paule, where foorthwith the furious people laid violent hands on him, threw him downe, and drew him moſt outragiouſlie into Cheapeſide, where they proclamed him an open traitor, a ſeducer of the king, and a deſtroier of their liberties.

The biſhop of Exceſter beheaded.

The biſhop had vpon him a certeine cote of defenſe, which was called an aketon, the ſame therefore being plucked beſide his backe as all other his garments, they ſhore his head from his ſhoulders, and to the like death they put two of his ſeruants, the one an eſquire, and the other a yeoman. The biſhops head was ſet on a pole for a ſpectacle, that the remembrance of his death, and the cauſe thereof might continue. His bodie was buried in an old churchyard of the pied friers, without any manner of exequies of funerall ſeruice doone for him.

The chiefeſt cauſe of the enimitie which the Londoners bare towards this biſhop, roſe hereof. He being lord treaſuror, procured that the iuſtices itinerants did ſit in the citie of London, and where manie of the citizens were found offendors, and iuſtlie puniſhed, as well by looſing their freedoms, as by paieng their fines, and ſuffering corporall puniſhments, they conceiued a great diſpleaſure towards him. Moreouer, it was ſaid, that he had raiſed a great multitude of armed men againſt the queene, and hir ſon the duke of Aquitaine, and therefore did the Londoners (as they affirmed) ſeeke to preuent his proceedings. ¶ The morrow after that they had thus beheaded the biſhop of Exceſter, they tooke by chance ſir John Weſton conſtable of the tower, and from him they tooke the keies of the ſame tower, and ſo entering the tower, they ſet all the priſoners at libertie, and in like caſe all thoſe that were impriſoned in maner through the land were permitted to go at large, and all the baniſhed men and outlawes were likewiſe reſtored home.

The Londoners hauing the tower thus at their commandement, remooued all the officers therein placed by the king, and put other in their roomes, in the name of the lord John de Eltham the kings ſon, whom they named warden of the citie and land. And yet they ceaſſed not to commit manie robberies & other outragious & moſt inſolent parts. In the meane time, the king being come to Briſtow, left that citie in the keeping of the earle of Wincheſter. And with the earles of Gloceſter and Arundell, and the lord chancellor ſir Robert Baldocke, he ſailed ouer into Wales, there to raiſe a power of Welſhmen in defenſe of himſelfe againſt the queens and hir adherents, which he had good hope to find amongeſt the

The king ſailed into wales.

Welſh-

Polydor.

His fauour towards the Welſhmen.

Welſhmen, bicauſe he had euer vſed them gentlie, and ſhewed no rigor towards them for their riotous miſgouernance. Againe, he drew the rather into that part, that if there were no remedie, he might eaſilie eſcape ouer into Ireland, and get into ſome mounteine-countrie, mariſh-ground, or other ſtreict, where his enimies ſhould not come at him.

The quéene following the king commeth to Oxenford.

Tho. de la More.

The biſhop of Hereford maketh an oration to the quéenes armie.

But now to ſpeake of the queene, yée moſt vnderſtand, that after ſhe had receiued knowledge from the Londoners, that they were wholie at hir deuotion, ſhe being glad thereof, turned hir iournie toward Wales to follow the king, and comming to Oxenford, ſtaied there a while, and ſtill came people to hir from all ſides. Héere Adam de Corleton the biſhop of Hereford, which latelie before had béene ſore fined by the king, for that he was accuſed to ſtirre the people to rebellion, and to aid the barons (as yée haue heard) made a pithie oration to the armie, declaring that the queene and hir ſonne were returned onelie into England, to the intent to perſecute the Spenſers, & reforme the ſtate of the realme. And ſith then that they now were come in maner to an end of the tyrannie of moſt naughtie men, and of the danger that might growe dailie thereof, he exhorted them with patient minds to beare the ſmall trauell that remained in purſuit of the enimies; and as for reward, they might looke for all things by the victorie, and the quéenes liberalitie, whoſe loue was ſuch towards the common-wealth, as ſhe onelie applied all hir endeuours and doings to the aduancement thereof.

The quéene goeth to Gloceſter.

Theſe words ſpoken, the queene accompanied with a great power, departed from Oxenford, and went ſtraight vnto Gloceſter, and ſent before hir vnto Briſtow the earle of Kent, the kings brother, ſir Iohn of Hennegew, with other, to take the earle of Wincheſter. They did their endeuour with ſuch diligence, that the towneſmen, compounding to be ſaued harmleſſe in bodie and goods, deliuered the towne and caſtell vnto the quéene, & to hir ſonne the prince. In the meane time, there came to the quéene at Gloceſter, the lord Percie, the lord Wake, and diuerſe other, as well from the north parts, as forth of the marches of Wales, ſo that hir armie hugelie increaſed.

The lord Berkley.

The quéene commeth to Briſtow.

The earle of Wincheſter executed.

From Gloceſter ſhe paſſed by Berkley, and reſtored the caſtell of Berkley (which the earle of Gloceſter, Hugh Spenſer the yoonger had held) vnto the lord Thomas Berkley, heire to the lord Maurice Berkley latelie before deceaſſed in priſon, within the caſtell of Wallingford, togither with all the appurtenances to the honor of Berkley belonging. From thence ſhe went to Briſtow, and the morrow after hir thither comming, being the euen of the apoſtles Simon and Iude, through the inſtant calling vpon of the people, the earle of Wincheſter was drawne forth in his cote armor vnto the common gallows, and there hanged. His head was after cut off, and ſent to Wincheſter, whereof he was earle.

Sir Thomas Blunt, lord Steward to the king, reuolteth to the quéene.

The king in this meane time kept not in one place, but ſhifting hither and thither, remained in great care. Wherevpon ſir Thomas Blunt, an ancient knight, and lord ſteward of the kings houſe, tooke his ſeruants, with vittels, horſſes, and armour in great plentie, and came to the queene, of whome, and likewiſe of hir ſonne he was ioifullie receiued, and diuerſe of them which he brought with him were reteined, and the other had letters of protection, and were ſent awaie in louing manner. ¶ The king with the earle of Gloceſter, and the lord chancellor, taking the ſea, meant to haue gone either into the Ile of Lundaie, or elſe into Ireland, but being toſſed with contrarie winds for the ſpace of a wéeke togither, at length he landed in Glamorganſhire, and got him to the abbeie and caſtell of Neith, there ſecretlie remaining vpon truſt of the Welſhmens promiſes. ¶ Hugoline Spenſer, the ſonne of the earle of Gloceſter, defended the caſtell of Kerſilie, againſt the power of the queene and of hir ſonne till eaſter following, and then compounding for the ſafetie of his owne life, and all theirs within that caſtell, and likewiſe for the inioieng of their goods, he yéelded it to the hands of the men of warre that held ſiege before it in the queenes name, and of hir ſonne.

But now touching the king, whileſt he was thus abroad, and no man wiſt where he was become, proclamations were made in the queenes armie dailie, in the which he was ſummoned to returne, and to take the rule of the relme into his hands, if he would be conformable to the minds of his true liege men; but when he appeared not, the lords of the land aſſembled in councell at Hereford, whither the quéene was come from Briſtow, and there was the lord Edward prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine made warden of England, by common decrée, vnto whome all men, as to the lord warden of the realme, made fealtie, in receiuing an oth of allegiance to be faithfull and loiall to him. After this, they made the biſhop of Norwich lord chancellor, and the biſhop of Wincheſter lord treaſuror.

A councell at Hereford.

The prince of wales made lord warden of the realme.

A new chancellor and treaſuror.

The quéene remained about a moneths ſpace at Hereford, and in the meane while ſent the lord Henrie erle of Leiceſter, and the lord William la Zouch, and one Rice ap Howell, that was latelie deliuered out of the tower where he was priſoner, into Wales, to ſée if they might find means to apprehend the king by helpe of their acquaintance in thoſe parts, all thrée of them hauing lands thereabouts, where it was knowne the king for the more part kept. They vſed ſuch diligence in that charge, that finallie with large gifts beſtowed on the Welſhmen, they came to vnderſtand where the king was, and ſo on the day of ſaint Edmund the archbiſhop, being the ſixtéenth of Nouember, they tooke him in the monaſterie of Neith, néere to the caſtell of Laturſſan, togither with Hugh Spenſer the ſonne called earle of Gloceſter, the lord chancellour Robert de Baldocke, and Simon de Reading the kings marſhall, not caring for other the kings ſeruants, whome they ſuffered to eſcape.

The king is brought to Killingworth.

Hugh Spenſer the yonger executed.

The king was deliuered to the earle of Leiceſter, who conueied him by Monmouth and Leadburie, to Killingworth caſtle, where he remained the whole winter. The earle of Gloceſter, the lord chancellor, and Simon de Reading, were brought to Hereford, and there preſented to the queene, where on the foure & twentith of Nouember, the ſaid earle was drawne and hanged on a paire of gallowes of fiftie foot in heigth. Then was his head ſtriken off, his bowels taken out of his bodie and burnt, and his bodie diuided in quarters. His head was ſent to London, and ſet vpon the bridge with other, & his quarters were ſent to foure ſeuerall parts of the realme, and there pight vpon poles, to be ſéene of the people. He was drawne in his owne cote armour, about the which there were letters embrodered plaine to be read, conteining a parcell of the 52 pſalme, as followeth.

1 *QVid gloriaris in malitia potens?*
2 *Iniquitatem tota die, iniuſtitiam cogitauit lingua tua, ſicut nouacula acuta feciſti dolum,*
3 *Dilexiſti malitiam ſuper bonitatem, iniuſtitiam magis quàm loqui iuſtitiam,*
4 *Dilexiſti omnia verba demerſionis lingua doloſa,*
5 *Propterea Deus deſtruat te in finem, euellat te & emigrare te faciat de tabernaculo tuo, & radicem*

Polydor.

His fauour towards the welſhmen.

Welſhmen, bicauſe he had euer vſed them gentlie, and ſhewed no rigor towards them for their riotous miſgouernance. Againe, he drew the rather into that part, that if there were no remedie, he might eaſilie eſcape ouer into Ireland, and get into ſome mounteine-countrie, mariſh-ground, or other ſtreict, where his enimies ſhould not come at him.

The quéene following the king commeth to Oxenford.

Tho. de la More.

The biſhop of Hereford maketh an oration to the quéenes armie.

But now to ſpeake of the queene, yée moſt vnderſtand, that after ſhe had receiued knowledge from the Londoners, that they were wholie at hir deuotion, ſhe being glad thereof, turned hir iournie toward Wales to follow the king, and comming to Oxenford, ſtaied there a while, and ſtill came people to hir from all ſides. Héere Adam de Torleton the biſhop of Hereford, which latelie before had béene ſore fined by the king, for that he was accuſed to ſtirre the people to rebellion, and to aid the barons (as yée haue heard) made a pithie oration to the armie, declaring that the queene and hir ſonne were returned onelie into England, to the intent to perſecute the Spenſers, & reforme the ſtate of the realme. And ſith then that they now were come in maner to an end of the tyrannie of moſt naughtie men, and of the danger that might growe dailie thereof, he exhorted them with patient minds to beare the ſmall trauell that remained in purſuit of the enimies; and as for reward, they might looke for all things by the victorie, and the quéenes liberalitie, whoſe loue was ſuch towards the common-wealth, as ſhe onelie applied all hir endeuours and dooings to the aduancement thereof.

The quéene goeth to Gloceſter.

Theſe words ſpoken, the quéene accompanied with a great power, departed from Oxenford, and went ſtraight vnto Gloceſter, and ſent before hir vnto Briſtow the earle of Kent, the kings brother, ſir Iohn of Hennegew, with other, to take the earle of Wincheſter. They did their endeuour with ſuch diligence, that the towneſmen, compounding to be ſaued harmleſſe in bodie and goods, deliuered the towne and caſtell vnto the quéene, & to hir ſonne the prince. In the meane time, there came to the quéene at Gloceſter, the lord Percie, the lord Wake, and diuerſe other, as well from the north parts, as forth of the marches of Wales, ſo that hir armie hugelie increaſed.

The lord Berkley.

The quéene commeth to Briſtow.

The earle of wincheſter executed.

From Gloceſter ſhe paſſed by Berkley, and reſtored the caſtell of Berkley (which the earle of Gloceſter, Hugh Spenſer the yoonger had held) vnto the lord Thomas Berkley, heire to the lord Maurice Berkley latelie before deceaſſed in priſon, within the caſtell of Wallingford, togither with all the appurtenances to the honor of Berkley belonging. From thence ſhe went to Briſtow, and the morrow after hir thither comming, being the euen of the apoſtles Simon and Iude, through the inſtant calling vpon of the people, the earle of Wincheſter was drawne forth in his cote armor vnto the common gallows, and there hanged. His head was after cut off, and ſent to Wincheſter, whereof he was earle.

Sir Thomas Blunt, lord Steward to the king, reuolteth to the quéene.

The king in this meane time kept not in one place, but ſhifting hither and thither, remained in great care. Wherevpon ſir Thomas Blunt, an ancient knight, and lord ſteward of the kings houſe, tooke his ſeruants, with vittels, horſſes, and armour in great plentie, and came to the queene, of whome, and likewiſe of hir ſonne he was ioifullie receiued, and diuerſe of them which he brought with him were reteined, and the other had letters of protection, and were ſent awaie in louing manner. ¶ The king with the earle of Gloceſter, and the lord chancellor, taking the ſea, meant to haue gone either into the Ile of Lundaie, or elſe into Ireland, but being toſſed with contrarie winds for the ſpace of a wéeke togither, at length he landed in Glamorganſhire, and got him to the abbeie and caſtell of Neith, there ſecretlie remaining vpon truſt of the Welſhmens promiſes. ¶ Hugoline Spenſer, the ſonne of the earle of Gloceſter, defended the caſtell of Kerſilie, againſt the power of the queene and of hir ſonne till eaſter following, and then compounding for the ſafetie of his owne life, and all theirs within that caſtell, and likewiſe for the inioieng of their goods, he yéelded it to the hands of the men of warre that held ſiege before it in the queenes name, and of hir ſonne.

A councell at Hereford.

The prince of wales made lord warden of the realme.

A new chancellor and treaſuror.

But now touching the king, whileſt he was thus abroad, and no man wiſt where he was become, proclamations were made in the queenes armie dailie, in the which he was ſummoned to returne, and to take the rule of the relme into his hands, if he would be conformable to the minds of his true liege men; but when he appeared not, the lords of the land aſſembled in councell at Hereford, whither the quéene was come from Briſtow, and there was the lord Edward prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine made warden of England, by common decrée, vnto whome all men, as to the lord warden of the realme, made fealtie, in receiuing an oth of allegiance to be faithfull and loiall to him. After this, they made the biſhop of Norwich lord chancellor, and the biſhop of Wincheſter lord treaſuror.

The quéene remained about a moneths ſpace at Hereford, and in the meane while ſent the lord Henrie erle of Leiceſter, and the lord William la Zouch, and one Rice ap Howell, that was latelie deliuered out of the tower where he was priſoner, into Wales, to ſée if they might find means to apprehend the king by helpe of their acquaintance in thoſe parts, all thrée of them hauing lands thereabouts, where it was knowne the king for the more part kept. They vſed ſuch diligence in that charge, that finallie with large gifts beſtowed on the Welſhmen, they came to vnderſtand where the king was, and ſo on the day of ſaint Edmund the archbiſhop, being the ſixtéenth of Nouember, they tooke him in the monaſterie of Neith, néere to the caſtell of Laturſſan, togither with Hugh Spenſer the ſonne called earle of Gloceſter, the lord chancellour Robert de Baldocke, and Simon de Reading the kings marſhall, not caring for other the kings ſeruants, whome they ſuffered to eſcape.

The king is brought to Killingworth.

Hugh Spenſer the yonger executed.

The king was deliuered to the earle of Leiceſter, who conueied him by Monmouth and Leadburie, to Killingworth caſtle, where he remained the whole winter. The earle of Gloceſter, the lord chancellor, and Simon de Reading, were brought to Hereford, and there preſented to the queene, where on the foure & twentith of Nouember, the ſaid earle was drawne and hanged on a paire of gallowes of fiftie foot in heigth. Then was his head ſtriken off, his bowels taken out of his bodie and burnt, and his bodie diuided in quarters. His head was ſent to London, and ſet vpon the bridge with other, & his quarters were ſent to foure ſeuerall parts of the realme, and there pight vpon poles, to be ſéene of the people. He was drawne in his owne cote armour, about the which there were letters embrodered plaine to be read, conteining a parcell of the 52 pſalme, as followeth.

1 *Quid gloriaris in malitia potens?*
2 *Iniquitatem tota die, iniuſtitiam cogitauit lingua tua, ſicut nouacula acuta feciſti dolum,*
3 *Dilexiſti malitiam ſuper bonitatem, iniuſtitiam magis quàm loqui iuſtitiam,*
4 *Dilexiſti omnia verba demerſionis lingua doloſa,*
5 *Propterea Deus deſtruat te in finem, euellat te & emigrare te faciat de tabernaculo tuo, & radicem*

dicem tuam de terra viuentium,
6 *Videbunt iuſti & timebunt, & ſuper eum ridebunt, & dicent,*
7 *Ecce homo qui non poſuit Deum adiutorem ſuum, ſed ſperauit in multitudine diuitiarum ſuarum, & præualuit in vanitate ſua.*

1 Why boaſteſt thou that thou canſt do miſchiefe?
2 Thy toong imagineth wickedneſſe, & with lies thou cutteſt like a ſharpe raſor,
3 Thou haſt loued vngratiouſneſſe more than goodneſſe, and to talke of lies more than righteouſneſſe,
4 Thou haſt loued to ſpeake all words that may doo hurt ô thou falſe toong,
5 Therefore ſhall God deſtroie thee for euer, he ſhall take thee, and plucke thee out of thy dwelling, and roote thee out of the land of the liuing,
6 The righteous alſo ſhall ſee this, and feare, and ſhall laugh him to ſcorne,
7 Lo this is the man that tooke not God for his ſtrength, but truſted vnto the multitude of his riches, & ſtrengthned himſelfe in his wickedneſſe.

Simon de Reading executed.

On the ſame daie was Simon de Reading drawne and hanged on the ſame gallowes, but ten foot lower than the other. This Reading being marſhall of the kings houſe, had vſed the quéene verie vncourteouſlie, giuing hir manie reprochfull words, which now were remembred, and therefore may ſerue for an example, how dangerous a thing it is to ſpeake euill of the higher powers. The common fame went, that after this Hugh Spenſer the ſonne was taken, he would receiue no ſuſtenance, wherefore he was the ſooner put to death, or elſe had he béene conueied to London, there to haue ſuffered. Iohn earle of Arundell was taken on S. Hughs day, in the parts about Shreweſburie, and the ſame day ſeuennight before the execution of the earle of Gloceſter, Hugh Spenſer the yonger, as well the ſaid earle, who had béene euer a great fréend to both the Spenſers, as alſo Iohn Daniell, and Thomas de Micheldeure were put to death at Hereford, by procurement of the lord Mortimer of Wigmore, that hated them extreamelie, by reaſon whereof they were not like to ſpéed much better, for what he willed the ſame was doone, and without him the quéene in all theſe matters did nothing.

Caxton.

The earle of Arundell taken.

Th. Walſing. Execution.

The fauour in which the lord Mortimer was with the quéene.

The chancellour Robert de Baldocke being committed to the cuſtodie of Adam de Torleton biſhop of Hereford, remained at Hereford in ſafe kéeping till Candlemaſſe next, and then the biſhop being at London, appointed him to be brought vp, where not without the biſhops conſent (as was thought) he was taken out of his houſe by violence, and laid in Newgate, where ſhortlie after through inward ſorow and extreame gréefe of mind he ended his life. Thus the quéene and hir companie hauing compaſſed their buſineſſe in ſo happie maner as they could wiſh, she with hir ſonne and a great companie of lords and gentlemen repaired vnto Wallingford, where they kept Chriſtmaſſe togither with great ioy and triumph, the king in the meane while remaining (as ye haue heard) at Killingworth, in a kind of honorable eſtate, although he was priſoner. ¶ After Chriſtmaſſe, the quéene with hir ſon and ſuch lords as were then with them, remoued to London, where at their comming thither, which was before the feaſt of the Epiphanie, they were receiued with great ioy, triumph, and large gifts, and ſo brought to Weſtminſter, where the morrow after the ſame feaſt, the parlement which before hand had béene ſummoned began, in which it was concluded and fullie agréed by all the ſtates (for none durſt ſpeake to the contrarie) that for diuerſe articles which were put vp againſt the king, he was not worthie longer to reigne, and therefore ſhould be depoſed, and withall they willed to haue his ſonne Edward duke of Aquitaine to reigne in his place. This ordinance was openlie pronounced in the great hall at Weſtminſter by one of the lords, on the feaſt day of ſaint Hilarie being tueſdaie, to the which all the people conſented. The archbiſhop of Canturburie taking his theame, *Vox populi, vox Dei*, made a ſermon, exhorting the people to praie to God to beſtow of his grace vpon the new king. And ſo when the ſermon was ended, euerie man departed to his lodging. But the duke of Aquitaine, when he perceiued that his mother tooke the matter heauilie in appearance, for that hir huſband ſhould be thus depriued of the crowne, he proteſted that he would neuer take it on him, without his fathers conſent, and ſo thervpon it was concluded, that certeine ſolemne meſſengers ſhould go to Killingworth to mooue the king to make reſignation of his crowne and title of the kingdome vnto his ſonne.

Robert Baldocke ended his life.

1327

A parlement.

The king is depoſed by act of parlement.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie preacheth.

There were ſent on this meſſage (as ſome write) thrée or (as other haue) two biſhops, two earles, two abbats, two or (as Tho. de la More and Walſingham haue) foure barons, and for euerie countie, citie, and burrough, and likewiſe for the cinque ports, certeine knights and burgeſſes. The biſhops that were ſent were theſe (as T. de la More noteth) Iohn de Stratford biſhop of Wincheſter, Adam de Torleton biſhop of Hereford, and Henrie biſhop of Lincolne. The two earles (as Southwell hath) were Lancaſter and Warwike: the two barons, Roſe and Courtney: beſide theſe (as he ſaith) there were two abbats, two priors, two iuſtices, two friers of the order of preachers, two of the Carmelits, two knights for the commons on the north ſide of Trent, and two for the other on the ſouth ſide of the ſame riuer: two citizens for London, two burgeſſes for the cinque ports, ſo as in all there went of this meſſage (as Southwell ſaith) thrée and twentie or rather foure and twentie perſons of one degrée and other.

Thom. de la More.
Thom. Walſ.

None of the frier minors went, bicauſe they would not be the bringers of ſo heauie tidings, ſith he had euer borne them great good will. The biſhops of Wincheſter and Lincolne went before, and comming to Killingworth, aſſociated with them the earle of Leiceſter, of ſome called the earle of Lancaſter, that had the king in kéeping. And hauing ſecret conference with the king, they ſought to frame his mind, ſo as he might be contented to reſigne the crowne to his ſonne, bearing him in hand, that if he refuſed ſo to doo, the people in reſpect of the euill will which they had conceiued againſt him, would not faile but procéed to the election of ſome other that ſhould happilie not touch him in linage. And ſith this was the onlie meane to bring the land in quiet, they willed him to conſider how much he was bound in conſcience to take that waie that ſhould be ſo beneficiall to the whole realme.

The king being ſore troubled to heare ſuch diſpleaſant newes, was brought into a maruelous agonie: but in the end, for the quiet of the realme and doubt of further danger to himſelfe, he determined to follow their aduiſe, and ſo when the other commiſſioners were come, and that the biſhop of Hereford had declared the cauſe wherefore they were ſent, the king in preſence of them all, notwithſtanding his outward countenance diſcouered how much it inwardlie grieued him; yet after he was come to himſelfe, he anſwered that he knew that he was fallen into this miſerie through his owne offenſes, and therefore he

Rich. South.

The kings anſwer.

he was contented patientlie to ſuffer it, but yet it could not (he ſaid) but greeue him, that he had in ſuch wiſe runne into the hatred of all his people: notwithſtanding he gaue the lords moſt heartie thanks, that they had ſo forgotten their receiued iniuries, and ceaſſed not to beare ſo much good will towards his ſonne Edward, as to wiſh that he might reigne ouer them. Therefore to ſatiſfie them, ſith otherwiſe it might not be, he vtterlie renounced his right to the kingdome, and to the whole adminiſtration thereof. And laſtlie he beſought the lords now in his miſerie to forgiue him ſuch offenſes as he had committed againſt them. Ah lamentable ruine from roialtie to miſerable calamitie, procured by them cheefelie that ſhould haue beene the pillers of the kings eſtate, and not the hooked engins to pull him downe from his throne! So that here we ſee it verefied by triall, that

——*miſer atq; infœlix eſt etiam rex,*
Nec quenquam (mihi crede) facit diadema beatum.

Polydor.

The ambaſſadours with this anſwer returning to London, declared the ſame vnto all the ſtates, in order as they had receiued it, wherevpon great ioy was made of all men, to conſider that they might now by courſe of law proceed to the chooſing of a new king. And ſo therevpon the nine and twentith day of Ianuarie in ſeſſion of parlement then at Weſtminſter aſſembled, was the third king Edward, ſonne to king Edward the ſecond, choſen and elected king of England, by the authoritie of the ſame parlement, firſt (as before is ſaid) confirmed by his fathers reſignation: and the firſt day of his reigne they agreed to be the fiue and twentith of Ianuarie, in the yeare 1326 after the account of the church of England, beginning the yeare the fiue & twentith day of March, but by the common account of writers, it was in the yeare 1327. ¶ On the ſame daie ſir William Truſſell procurator for the whole parlement did renounce the old king in name of the whole parlement, with all homages and fealties due to him, ſo that the ſame fiue and twentith day of Ianuarie hath beene reputed and taken for the firſt day of the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, ſo that whatſoeuer chanced before that day, is aſcribed to be doone during the reigne of his father.

Merimuth.

Thom. de la More.

But now to make an end of the life, as well as of the reigne of king Edward the ſecond, I find, that after he was depoſed of his kinglie honour and title, he remained for a time at Killingworth, in cuſtodie of the earle of Leiceſter. But within a while the queene was informed by the biſhop of Hereford, (whoſe hatred towards him had no end) that the erle of Leiceſter fauoured hir huſband too much, and more than ſtood with the ſuertie of hir ſonnes ſtate, wherevpon he was appointed to the keeping of two other lords, Thomas Berkley, and Iohn Matreuers, who receiuing him of the earle of Leiceſter the third of Aprill, conueied him from Killingworth vnto the caſtell of Berkley, ſituate not farre off from the riuer of Seuerne, almoſt the midwaie betwixt Gloceſter and Briſtow.

Sir Thomas Gourney.

But forſomuch as the lord Berkley vſed him more courteouſlie than his aduerſaries wiſhed him to doo, he was diſcharged of that office, and ſir Thomas Gourney appointed in his ſtead, who togither with the lord Matreuers conueied him ſecretlie (for feare leaſt he ſhould be taken from them by force) from one ſtrong place to another, as to the caſtell of Corfe, and ſuch like, ſtill remoouing with him in the night ſeaſon, till at length they thought it ſhould not be knowne whither they had conueied him. And ſo at length they brought him backe againe in ſecret maner vnto the caſtell of Berkley, where whileſt he remained (as ſome write) the queene would ſend vnto him courteous and louing letters with apparell and other ſuch things, but ſhe would not once come neere to viſit him, bearing him in hand that ſhe durſt not, for feare of the peoples diſpleaſure, who hated him ſo extreamelie. Howbeit, ſhe with the reſt of hir confederats had (no doubt) laid the plot of their deuiſe for his diſpatch, though by painted words ſhe pretended a kind of remorſe to him in this his diſtreſſe, & would ſeeme to be faultleſſe in the ſight of the world, for

Proditor illudit verbis dum verbera cudit.

The earle of Kent conſpireth to deliuer his brother.

But as he thus continued in priſon, cloſelie kept, ſo that none of his freends might haue acceſſe vnto him, as in ſuch caſes it often happeneth, when men be in miſerie, ſome will euer pitie their ſtate, there were diuerſe of the nobilitie (of whome the earle of Kent was cheefe) began to deuiſe means by ſecret conference had togither, how they might reſtore him to libertie, diſcommending greatlie both queene Iſabell, and ſuch other as were appointed gouernours to the yong king, for his fathers ſtreict impriſonment. The queene and other the gouernours vnderſtanding this conſpiracie of the earle of Kent, and of his brother, durſt not yet in that new and greene world go about to puniſh it, but rather thought good to take awaie from them the occaſion of accompliſhing their purpoſe. And herevpon the queene and the biſhop of Hereford wrote ſharpe letters vnto his keepers, blaming them greatlie, for that they dealt ſo gentlie with him, and kept him no ſtreictlier, but ſuffered him to haue ſuch libertie, that he aduertiſed ſome of his freends abroad how and in what manner he was vſed, and withall the biſhop of Hereford vnder a ſophiſticall forme of words ſignified to them by his letters, that they ſhould diſpatch him out of the waie, the tenor whereof wrapped in obſcuritie ran thus:

Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum eſt:
To kill Edward will not to feare it is good.

Which riddle or doubtfull kind of ſpeech, as it might be taken in two contrarie ſenſes, onelie by placing the point in orthographie called *Cōma,* they conſtrued in the worſe ſenſe, putting the *Comma* after *Timere,* and ſo preſuming of this commandement as they tooke it from the biſhop, they lodged the miſerable priſoner in a chamber ouer a foule filthie dungeon, full of dead carrion, truſting ſo to make an end of him, with the abhominable ſtinch thereof: but he bearing it out ſtronglie, as a man of a tough nature, continued ſtill in life, ſo as it ſeemed he was verie like to eſcape that danger, as he had by purging either vp or downe auoided the force of ſuch poiſon as had beene miniſtred to him ſundrie times before, of purpoſe ſo to rid him.

Tho. [illegible]alſ.

Thom. de la More.

K. Edward the ſecond murthered.

Wherevpon when they ſawe that ſuch practiſes would not ſerue their turne, they came ſuddenlie one night into the chamber where he laie in bed faſt aſleepe, and with heauie featherbeds or a table (as ſome write) being caſt vpon him, they kept him down and withall put into his fundament an horne, and through the ſame they thruſt vp into his bodie an hot ſpit, or (as other haue) through the pipe of a trumpet a plumbers inſtrument of iron made verie hot, the which paſſing vp into his intrailes, and being rolled to and fro, burnt the ſame, but ſo as no appearance of any wound or hurt outwardlie might be once perceiued. His crie did moue manie within the caſtell and towne of Berkley to compaſſion, plainelie hearing him vtter a wailefull noiſe, as the tormentors were about to murther him, ſo that diuerſe being awakened therewith (as they themſelues confeſſed) praied heartilie to God to receiue his ſoule, when they vnderſtood by his crie what the matter ment.

The queene, the biſhop, and others, that their tyrannie might be hid, outlawed and baniſhed the lord Matreuers, and Thomas Gourney, who fleeing vnto Marcels, three yeares after being knowne, taken, The kings anſwer.

he was contented patientlie to ſuffer it, but yet it could not (he ſaid) but greeue him, that he had in ſuch wiſe runne into the hatred of all his people: notwithſtanding he gaue the lords moſt heartie thanks, that they had ſo forgotten their receiued iniuries, and ceaſſed not to beare ſo much good will towards his ſonne Edward, as to wiſh that he might reigne ouer them. Therefore to ſatiſfie them, ſith otherwiſe it might not be, he vtterlie renounced his right to the kingdome, and to the whole adminiſtration thereof. And laſtlie he beſought the lords now in his miſerie to forgiue him ſuch offenſes as he had committed againſt them. Ah lamentable ruine from roialtie to miſerable calamitie, procured by them chéefelie that ſhould haue beene the pillers of the kings eſtate, and not the hooked engins to pull him downe from his throne! So that here we ſee it verefied by triall, that

——miſer atq; infœlix eſt etiam rex,
Nec quenquam (mihi crede) facit diadema beatum.

Polydor.

Merimuth.

The ambaſſadours with this anſwer returning to London, declared the ſame vnto all the ſtates, in order as they had receiued it, wherevpon great ioy was made of all men, to conſider that they might now by courſe of law proceed to the chooſing of a new king. And ſo therevpon the nine and twentith day of Ianuarie in ſeſſion of parlement then at Weſtminſter aſſembled, was the third king Edward, ſonne to king Edward the ſecond, choſen and elected king of England, by the authoritie of the ſame parlement, firſt (as before is ſaid) confirmed by his fathers reſignation: and the firſt day of his reigne they agréed to be the fiue and twentith of Ianuarie, in the yeare 1326 after the account of the church of England, beginning the yeare the fiue & twentith day of March, but by the common account of writers, it was in the yeare 1327. ¶ On the ſame daie ſir William Truſſell procurator for the whole parlement did renounce the old king in name of the whole parlement, with all homages and fealties due to him, ſo that the ſame fiue and twentith day of Ianuarie hath beene reputed and taken for the firſt day of the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, ſo that whatſoeuer chanced before that day, is aſcribed to be doone during the reigne of his father.

Thom. de la More.

But now to make an end of the life, as well as of the reigne of king Edward the ſecond, I find that after he was depoſed of his kinglie honour and title, he remained for a time at Killingworth, in cuſtodie of the earle of Leiceſter. But within a while the queene was informed by the biſhop of Hereford, (whoſe hatred towards him had no end) that the erle of Leiceſter fauoured hir huſband too much, and more than ſtood with the ſuertie of hir ſonnes ſtate, wherevpon he was appointed to the keeping of two other lords, Thomas Berkley, and Iohn Matreuers, who receiuing him of the earle of Leiceſter the third of Aprill, conueied him from Killingworth vnto the caſtell of Berkley, ſituate not farre off from the riuer of Seuerne, almoſt the midwaie betwixt Gloceſter and Briſtow.

Sir Thomas Gourney.

But forſomuch as the lord Berkley vſed him more courteouſlie than his aduerſaries wiſhed him to doo, he was diſcharged of that office, and ſir Thomas Gourney appointed in his ſtead, who togither with the lord Matreuers conueied him ſecretlie (for feare leaſt he ſhould be taken from them by force) from one ſtrong place to another, as to the caſtell of Corfe, and ſuch like, ſtill remoouing with him in the night ſeaſon, till at length they thought it ſhould not be knowne whither they had conueied him. And ſo at length they brought him backe againe in ſecret maner vnto the caſtell of Berkley, where whileſt he remained (as ſome write) the queene would ſend vnto him courteous and louing letters with apparell and other ſuch things, but ſhe would not once come there to viſit him, bearing him in hand that ſhe durſt not, for feare of the peoples diſpleaſure, who hated him ſo extreamelie. Howbeit, ſhe with the reſt of hir confederats had (no doubt) laid the plot of their deuiſe for his diſpatch, though by painted words ſhe pretended a kind of remorſe to him in this his diſtreſſe, & would ſeeme to be faultleſſe in the ſight of the world, for

Proditor illudit verbis dum verbera cudit.

The earle of Kent conſpireth to deliuer his brother.

But as he thus continued in priſon, cloſelie kept, ſo that none of his freends might haue acceſſe vnto him, as in ſuch caſes it often happeneth, when men be in miſerie, ſome will euer pitie their ſtate, there were diuerſe of the nobilitie (of whome the earle of Kent was cheefe) began to deuiſe means by ſecret conference had togither, how they might reſtore him to libertie, diſcommending greatlie both queene Iſabell, and ſuch other as were appointed gouernours to the yoong king, for his fathers ſtreict impriſonment. The queene and other the gouernours vnderſtanding this conſpiracie of the earle of Kent, and of his brother, durſt not yet in that new and greene world go about to puniſh it, but rather thought good to take awaie from them the occaſion of accompliſhing their purpoſe. And herevpon the queene and the biſhop of Hereford wrote ſharpe letters vnto his keepers, blaming them greatlie, for that they dealt ſo gentlie with him, and kept him no ſtreictlier, but ſuffered him to haue ſuch libertie, that he aduertiſed ſome of his freends abroad how and in what manner he was vſed, and withall the biſhop of Hereford vnder a ſophiſticall forme of words ſignified to them by his letters, that they ſhould diſpatch him out of the waie, the tenor whereof wrapped in obſcuritie ran thus:

Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum eſt:
To kill Edward will not to feare it is good.

Which riddle or doubtfull kind of ſpeech, as it might be taken in two contrarie ſenſes, onelie by placing the point in orthographie called *Cōma*, they conſtrued in the worſe ſenſe, putting the *Comma* after *Timere*, and ſo preſuming of this commandement as they tooke it from the biſhop, they lodged the miſerable priſoner in a chamber ouer a foule filthie dungeon, full of dead carrion, truſting ſo to make an end of him, with the abhominable ſtinch thereof: but he bearing it out ſtronglie, as a man of a tough nature, continued ſtill in life, ſo as it ſeemed he was verie like to eſcape that danger, as he had by purging either vp or downe auoided the force of ſuch poiſon as had beene miniſtred to him ſundrie times before, of purpoſe ſo to rid him.

Tho.[illegible]alſ.

Thom. de la More.

K. Edward the ſecond murthered.

Wherevpon when they ſawe that ſuch practiſes would not ſerue their turne, they came ſuddenlie one night into the chamber where he laie in bed faſt aſleepe, and with heauie featherbeds or a table (as ſome write) being caſt vpon him, they kept him down and withall put into his fundament an horne, and through the ſame they thruſt vp into his bodie an hot ſpit, or (as other haue) through the pipe of a trumpet a plumbers inſtrument of iron made verie hot, the which paſſing vp into his intrailes, and being rolled to and fro, burnt the ſame, but ſo as no appearance of any wound or hurt outwardlie might be once perceiued. His crie did mooue manie within the caſtell and towne of Berkley to compaſſion, plainelie hearing him vtter a wailefull noiſe, as the tormentors were about to murther him, ſo that diuerſe being awakened therewith (as they themſelues confeſſed) praied heartilie to God to receiue his ſoule, when they vnderſtood by his crie what the matter ment.

The quéene, the biſhop, and others, that their tyrannie might be hid, outlawed and baniſhed the lord Matreuers, and Thomas Gourney, who fleeing vnto Marcels, thrée yeares after being knowne, taken, The fond opinion of the ignorant people.

and brought foward England was beheaded on the ſea, leaſt he ſhould accuſe the chiefe dooers, as the biſhop and other. Iohn Matreuers, repenting himſelfe, laie long hidden in Germanie, and in the end died penitentlie. Thus was king Edward murthered, in the yeare 1327, on the 22 of September. The fame went that by this Edward the ſecond, after his death manie miracles were wrought. So that the like opinion of him was conceiued as before had béene of earle Thomas of Lancaſter, namelie amongſt the common people. He was knowne to be of a good and courteous nature, though not of moſt pregnant wit.

The nature & diſpoſition of king Edward the ſecond.

And albeit in his youth he fell into certeine light crimes, and after by the companie and counſell of euill men, was induced vnto more heinous vices, yet was it thought that he purged the ſame by repentance, and patientlie ſuffered manie reprooſes, and finallie death it ſelfe (as before ye haue heard) after a moſt cruell maner. He had ſuerlie good cauſe to repent his former trade of liuing, for by his vndiſcréet and wanton miſgouernance, there were headed and put to death during his reigne (by iudgement of law) to the number of 28 barons and knights, ouer and beſide ſuch as were ſlaine in Scotland by his infortunate conduct.

All theſe miſchéefes and manie more happened not onlie to him, but alſo to the whole ſtate of the realme, in that he wanted iudgement and prudent diſcretion to make choiſe of ſage and diſcréet councellors, receiuing thoſe into his fauour, that abuſed the ſame to their priuate gaine and aduantage, not reſpecting the aduancement of the common-wealth, ſo they themſelues might atteine to riches and honour, for which they onelie ſought, inſomuch that by their couetous rapine, ſpoile, and immoderate ambition, the hearts of the common people & nobilitie were quite eſtranged from the dutifull loue and obedience which they ought to haue ſhewed to their ſouereigne, going about by force to wreſt him to follow their wils, and to ſéeke the deſtruction of them whome he commonlie fauoured, wherein ſuerlie they were worthie of blame, and to taſt (as manie of them did) the deſerued puniſhment for their diſobedient and diſloiall demeanors. For it was not the waie which they tooke to helpe the diſfigured ſtate of the common-wealth, but rather the readie meane to ouerthrow all, as if Gods goodneſſe had not béene the greater it muſt néeds haue come to paſſe, as to thoſe that ſhall well conſider the pitifull tragedie of this kings time it may well appeare.

His iſſue.

But now to procéed with that which remaineth touching this infortunate prince. He had iſſue by his wife quéene Iſabell two ſonnes, Edward which was made king whileſt he was yet aliue, and Iohn which died yoong: alſo two daughters, Elianor which died before ſhe came to yeares able for mariage; and Ione which was after giuen in mariage vnto Dauid king of Scotland. He was indifferentlie tall of ſtature, ſtrong of bodie, and healthfull, neither wanted there in him ſtoutneſſe of ſtomach, if his euill councellors had béene remooued, that he might haue ſhewed it in honorable exploits, which being kept backe by them, he could not doo. So that thereby it appeareth of what importance it is to be trained vp in youth with good and honeſt companie. ¶ It is ſaid that he was learned, inſomuch that there remaine verſes, which (as ſome haue written) he made whileſt he was in priſon. Certeine it is he fauored lerning, as by the creation of Oriall colledge in Oxford, & S. Maries hall, which were of his foundation, it may well be gathered.

Oriall & S. Maries hall in Oxford.

Ex centuria 4. Bale.

Sée in Scotland.

Learned men we find recorded by Bale, to liue in this kings time theſe as follow. Iohn Duns that ſubtill logician, borne (as Leland hath gathered) in a village in Northumberland called Emildune, thrée miles diſtant from Alnwike, although other hold the contrarie, the Scots claiming him for their countrieman, and the Iriſhmen for theirs; Robert Walſingham a Carmelite frier that writ diuerſe treatiſes, Iohn Wilton an Auguſtine frier, Walter Winterborne, Rafe Lockſley, Nicholas Stanford, William Whitley, Thomas Ioice, Walter Ioice, William Gaineſburgh, Robert Baſton borne not farre from Notingham a Carmelite frier of Scarburgh, the ſame whome king Edward tooke with him into Scotland to write ſome remembrances of his victories, although being taken by the Scots, he was conſtreined by Robert Bruce to frame a dittie to a contrarie tune; Iohn Horminger a Suffolke man borne, William Riſhanger a monke of S. Albons an hiſtoriographer, Rafe Baldocke biſhop of London wrote alſo an hiſtorie, which was intituled *Hiſtoria Anglica*; Richard Bliton a Lincolnſhire man borne a Carmelite frier, Iohn Walſingham borne either in Walſingham or Brunham (as Bale ſuppoſeth) a Carmelite frier alſo, and wrote diuerſe treatiſes; Thomas Chabham a canon of Saliſburie and a doctor of diuinitie, Robert Plimpton borne in Deuonſhire a regular canon; Thomas Caſtleford a monke of Pomfret, William Manſfield, Iohn Canon, Robert Grime, William Aſkettle of Beuerley, Geffrey of Cornewall, Iohn Gatiſdene, Theobald Anglicus, Stephan Eiton or Edon, Iohn Goldſtone borne in Yorkeſhire, Iohn Winchelſey, Nicholas de Lyra a Iew by birth of thoſe that had their habitations in England, who wrote verie manie treatiſes, to his great commendation for his ſingular knowledge and zeale, which he ſhewed in diſprouing the Rabines that ſtill ſought to kéepe the Iewiſh nation in blindneſſe and vaine hope, in looking for another Meſſias; Rafe Acton an excellent diuine, Iohn Dumbleton a logician, Thomas Langford borne in Maldon in Eſſex a logician, Oſbert Pickenam a Carmelite frier of Lin in Norffolke, Nicholas Okeham a graie frier, William Ockam a frier minor that wrote diuerſe treatiſes, and namelie againſt Iohn Duns, and likewiſe againſt Iohn the thrée and twentith pope of that name in fauour of the emperour Lewes of Bauier, Richard Walingford, Thomas Haſelwood a canon of Léeds in Kent wrote a chronicle called *Chronicon compendiarium*, Robert Karew, Robert Perſcrutator borne in Yorkeſhire a blacke frier and a philoſopher or rather a magician, Richard Belgraue a Carmelite, Brinkley a minorite; and others.

Thus far infortunat Edward the second.

Edward the third, who came to the crowne by the reſignation of his father Edward the ſecond.

EDward the third of that name, the ſonne of Edward the ſecond, and of Iſabell the onelie daughter of Philip le Beau, & ſiſter to Charles the fift king of France, began his reigne as king of England, his father yet liuing, the 25 daie of Ianuarie, after the creation 5293, in the yeare of our lord 1327, after the account of them that begin the yeare at Chriſtmaſſe, 867 after the comming of the Saxons, 260 after the conqueſt, the 13 yeare of the reigne of Lewes the fourth then emperour, the ſeuenth of Charles the fift king of France, the ſecond of Andronicus Iunior emperour of the eaſt almoſt ended, and about the end of the 22 of Robert le Bruce king of Scotland. He was crowned at Weſtminſter on the day of the Purification of our ladie next inſuing, by the hands of Walter the archbiſhop of Canturburie.

1327

Gouernours appointed.

And bicauſe he was but fourtéene yeares of age, ſo that to gouerne of himſelfe he was not ſufficient, it was decréed that twelue of the greateſt lords within the realme ſhould haue the rule and gouernment till he came to more perfect yeares. The names of which lords were as followeth. The archbiſhop of Canturburie, the archbiſhop of Yorke, the biſhops of Wincheſter and of Hereford, Henrie earle of Lancaſter, Thomas Brotherton earle marſhall, Edmund of Woodſtoke earle of Kent, Iohn earle of Warren, the lord Thomas Wake, the lord Henrie Percie, the lord Oliuer de Ingham, & the lord Iohn Ros. Theſe were ſworne of the kings councell, and charged with the gouernement as they would make anſwer. But this ordinance continued not long: for the quéene, and the lord Roger Mortimer tooke the whole rule ſo into their hands, that both the king and his ſaid councellors were gouerned onelie by them in all matters both high and low. Neuertheleſſe, although they had taken the regiment vpon them, yet could they not foreſée the tumults and vprores that preſentlie vpon the yong kings inthronizing did inſue: but néeds it muſt come to paſſe that is left written where children weare the crowne, & beare the ſcepter in hand,

Væ pueri terræ ſæpiſſimè ſunt ibi guerræ.

The franchiſes of the citie of London confirmed.

He confirmed the liberties and franchiſes of the citie of London, and granted that the maior of the ſame citie for the time being might ſit in all places of iudgement within the liberties thereof for chéefe iuſtice, aboue all other, the kings perſon onelie excepted; and that euerie alderman that had béene maior ſhould be iuſtice of peace through all the citie of London and countie of Middleſex; and euerie alderman that had not béene maior, ſhould be iuſtice of peace within his owne ward. He granted alſo to the citizens, that they ſhould not be conſtreined to go forth of the citie to anie warres in defenſe of the land, and that the franchiſes of the citie ſhould not be ſeized from thenceforth into the kings hands for anie cauſe, but onelie for treaſon and rebellion ſhewed by the whole citie. Alſo Southwarke was appointed to be vnder the rule of the citie, and the maior of London to be bailiffe of Southwarke, and to ordeine ſuch a ſubſtitute in the ſame borough as pleaſed him.

Records of Burie.

In the firſt yeare of this kings reigne, we find in records belonging to the abbeie of S. Edmundſburie in Suffolke, that the inhabitants of that towne raiſed a ſore commotion againſt the abbat & moonks of the ſame abbeie, and that at ſeuerall times, as firſt on the wedneſdaie next after the feaſt of the conuerſion of S. Paule, in the ſaid firſt yeare of this kings reigne, one Robert Foxton, Richard Draiton, and a great number of other, aſſembling themſelues togither in warlike order and araie, aſſaulted the ſaid abbeie, brake downe the gates, windowes, and doores, entered the houſe by force, and aſſailing certeine moonks and ſeruants that belonged to the abbat, did beat, wound, and euill intreat them, brake open a number of cheſts, coffers, and forſets, tooke out chalices of gold and ſiluer, books, veſtments, and other ornaments of the church, beſide a great quantitie of rich plate, and other furniture of houſehold, apparell, armour, and other things, beſide fiue hundred pounds in readie coine, & alſo thrée thouſand florens of gold.

All theſe things they tooke and caried awaie, togither with diuerſe charters, writings, & miniments, as thrée charters of Knute ſometime king of England, foure charters of king Hardiknute, one charter of king Edward the confeſſor, two charters of king Henrie the firſt, & other two charters of king Henrie the third, which charters concerned as well the foundation of the ſame abbeie, as the grants and confirmations of the poſſeſſions and liberties belonging thereto. Alſo they tooke awaie certeine writings obligatorie, in the which diuerſe perſons were bound for the paiement of great ſummes of monie, and deliuerie of certeine wines vnto the hands of the ſaid abbat. Moreouer they tooke awaie with them ten ſeuerall buls, concerning certeine exemptions and immunities granted to the abbats and moonks of Burie by ſundrie biſhops of Rome.

Furthermore, not herewith contented, they tooke Peter Clopton prior of the ſaid abbeie, and other moonks forth of the houſe, and leading them vnto a place called the Leaden hall, there impriſoned them, till the thurſdaie next before the feaſt of the Purification of our ladie, and that daie bringing them backe againe into the chapter-houſe, deteined them ſtill as priſoners, till they had ſealed a writing, conteining that the abbat and conuent were bound in ten thouſand pounds to be paid to Oliuer Kempe and others by them named. And further, they were conſtreined to ſeale a letter of releaſe for all actions, quarels, debts, transgreſſions, ſuits and demands, which the abbat might in anie wiſe claime or proſecute againſt the ſaid Oliuer Kempe and others in the ſame letters named.

For theſe wrongs and other, as for that they would not permit the abbats bailiffes and officers to kéepe their ordinarie courts as they were accuſtomed to doo, as well thrée daies in the wéeke for the market, to wit, mondaie, wedneſdaie and fridaie, as the Portman mote euerie tueſdaie thrée wéeks, and further prohibit them from gathering ſuch tols, cuſtomes, and yearelie rents, as were due to the abbat for certeine tenements in the towne, which were let to farme, the abbat brought his action againſt the ſaid Forton, Draiton, and others, and hauing it tried by an inqueſt, on the fridaie next after the feaſt of ſaint Lucie the virgine, in a ſeſſions holden at Burie by Iohn Stonore, Walter Friſkney, Robert Maberthorpe, & Iohn Bouſſer, by vertue of the kings writ of oier and determiner to them directed, the offendors were condemned in 40000 pounds, ſo that the ſaid Richard Draiton, and others there preſent in the court, were committed to priſon in cuſtodie of the ſhiriffe Robert Walkefare, who was commanded alſo to apprehend the other that were not yet arreſted, if within his bailiwike they might be found, and to haue their bodies before the ſaid iuſtices at Burie aforſaid, on thurſdaie in Whitſunwéeke next inſuing.

The ſecond riot.

Beſide this, there was an other indictement and action of treſpaſſe found there the ſame daie againſt the ſaid Richard Draiton and others, for a like diſorder and riot by them committed, on the thurſday next after the feaſt of the Purification of our ladie, in the ſame firſt yeare of this king, at what time they did not onelie breake into the abbie, and beat the abbats men, but alſo tooke the abbat himſelfe, being then at home, with certeine of his moonks, kéeping both him and them as priſoners, till the next daie that they were conſtreined to ſeale certeine writings. And amongſt other, a charter, in which it was conteined, that the abbat and his conuent did grant vnto the inhabitants of the towne of Burie, to be a corporation of themſelues, and to haue a common ſeale with a gild of merchants and aldermen: alſo they were compelled to ſeale another charter, wherein was conteined a grant to the ſaid inhabitants, that they ſhould haue the cuſtodie of the towne gates, and likewiſe the wardſhip of all pupils and orphans within the ſame towne, beſide diuerſe other liberties.

Moreouer, they were in like manner conſtreined to ſeale thrée ſeuerall obligations, in which the abbat and conuent were bound to the ſaid inhabitants, as to a communaltie of a corporation, in ſeauen thouſand pounds, as in two thouſand by one obligation, and in two thouſand by an other, and in thrée thouſand by the third obligation: and further they were driuen to ſeale a letter of releaſe of all treſpaſſes, and other things that might be demanded againſt the ſaid inhabitants, with a generall acquittance of all debts. Beſide this, the ſaid riotous perſons tooke at the ſame time forth of the abbie great riches, as well in plate, armor, books, & apparell, as in other things. They alſo brake downe two houſes or meſſuages, that belonged to the abbeie, and ſituate within the towne of Burie: they alſo deſtroied his fiſh-ponds, and tooke out ſuch ſtore of fiſh as they found in the ſame: they cut downe alſo thréeſcore aſhes there growing on the ſoile that belonged to the ſaid abbat, and did manie other great outrages and enormities, ſo that it was found by the inqueſt, that the abbat was damnified to the value of other fortie thouſand pounds.

The third riot.

Theſe riots may ſéeme gréeuous and verie ſtrange, but yet the ſame were not ſo heinouſlie taken, as an other which the ſaid inhabitants of Burie attempted againſt the ſaid abbeie in manner of a plaine commotion, vpon ſaint Lukes day in the ſame yeare, at what time (as by the records of that abbeie it ſhould appeare) both the abbat and his houſe were in the kings ſpeciall protection, and the ſaid inhabitants prohibited by his letters to attempt anie iniurie againſt him or his conuent. But neuertheleſſe we find that not onelie the inhabitants of Burie, but alſo a great number of other miſgouerned perſons, that reſorted to them from places there about, arraied and furniſhed with horſſe, armor and weapons, after the manner of warre, came and aſſaulted the abbeie gates, ſet fire on them, and burned them with diuerſe other houſes néere adioining, that belonged to the abbeie, and continued in that their riotous enterpriſe all that day and the night following.

The manour of Holderneſſe barne.

The manour of weſtlie burnt.

The ſame night alſo they burnt a manor of the abbats called Holderneſſe barne, with two other manors called the Almoners barne, and Haberdone, alſo the granges that ſtood without the ſouth gate, and the manour of Weſtlie, in which places they burned in corne & graine, to the value of a thouſand pounds. The next daie they entered into the abbeie court, and burnt all the houſes on the north ſide, as ſtables, brewhouſes, bakehouſes, garners, and other ſuch neceſſarie houſes and conuenient roomes of offices; and on the other ſide the court, they burnt certeine houſes belonging to the Almonrie. On the next daie they burned the mote hall, and Bradford hall, with the new hall, and diuerſe chambers and ſollers to the ſame halles annexed, with the chapell of ſaint Laurence at the end of the hoſpitall hall. Alſo the manor of Eldhall, the manor of Horninger, with all the corne and graine within and about the ſame.

The next day they burnt the ſoller of the Sollerer, with a chapell there: alſo the kitchin, the larder, and a part of the farmarie. On the thurſdaie they burnt the reſidue of the farmarie, and the lodging called the blacke lodging, with a chapell of S. Andrew therein. In executing of all theſe riotous diſorders, one Geffrie Moreman was an aider, who with diuerſe other perſons vnknowne, departed forth of the towne of Burie, and by the aſſent of the other his complices he burnt the manor of Fornham. The ſame day alſo other of their companie, as William the ſonne of Iames Neketon, Rafe Grubbe, Richard Kerie, and a great number of other perſons vnknowne, by the aſſent and abbetment of the other that committed the ſaid diſorders, burnt two manors belonging alſo to the ſaid abbeie in great Berton, with all the corne and graine there found.

The manour of Fornhan burnt.

Vpon knowledge had of theſe great riots, and perillous commotions, there was a commiſſion directed from the king, vnto Thomas earle of Northfolke high marſhall of England, to Thomas Bardulfe, Robert Morlie, Peter Wedall, Iohn Howard, and Iohn Walkfare, authoriſing them with the power of the counteſſe of Suffolke and Norffolke, to apprehend, trie and puniſh ſuch lewd diſordered perſons, and rebellious malefactors, which had committed ſuch felonious enterpriſes, to the breach of the kings peace, and dangerous diſquieting of his ſubiects: but the ſaid commiſſioners procéeded not according to the effect of their commiſſion in triall of anie felonies by the ſame perſons committed and doone, but onelie cauſed them to be indicted of treſpaſſe: albeit Robert Walkfare, and Iohn Clauer, with their aſſociats iuſtices of peace, in their ſeſſions holden at Elueden the tueſdaie next after the feaſt of the apoſtles Simon and Iude, in the ſaid firſt yeare of this king

K. Edward the third procéeded in ſuch wiſe againſt the ſaid malefactors, that John de Berton cordwainer, Robert Forton, and a great number of other were indicted of felonie, for the miſdemenours afore mentioned, and the indictements ſo found were after ſent and preſented vnto John Stonore, Walter de Friſkenie, Robert Malberthorpe, and John Bouſſer, who by vertue of the kings commiſſion of oier and determiner to them directed, ſat at S. Edmundſburie the wedneſdaie next after the feaſt of ſaint Lucie the virgine; and then and there ſent forth precepts to the ſhiriffe, commanding him to apprehend the ſaid Berton, Forton, and others, that were indicted of the foreſaid felonies, and alſo to returne a ſufficient iurie to trie vpon their arreignment the ſaid malefactors by order of law, the fridaie next after the ſaid feaſt of S. Lucie. Herevpon Alane de Latoner, and Robert Dalling, with ſeauentéene others, being arreigned, were found guiltie, and ſuffered death according to the order appointed for felons.

One Adam Miniot ſtood mute, and refuſed to be tried by his countrie, and ſo was preſſed to death, as the law in ſuch caſe appointeth. Diuerſe other were ſaued by their bookes, according vnto the order of clerkes conuict, as Alexander Brid perſon of Hogeſet, John Rugham perſon of little Welnetham, John Berton cordwainer, and diuerſe other. Some were repriued, as one woman named Julian Barbor, who being big bellied was reſpited, till ſhe were deliuered of child. Benedict Sio and Robert Ruſſell were repriued, and committed to the ſafe kéeping of the ſhiriffe, as triers or appeachers (as we tearme them) of other offendors: and bicauſe there was not anie as yet attached by their appeales, they were commanded againe to priſon. One Robert de Creſwell was ſaued by the kings letters of ſpeciall pardon, which he had there readie to ſhew. As for Robert Forton, Adam Cokefield, and a great number of other, whome the ſhiriffe was commanded to apprehend, he returned that he could not heare of them within the precinct of his bailiffewéeke, wherevpon exigents were awarded againſt them, and the ſhiriffe was commanded, that if he might come to attach them, he ſhould not faile but ſo to doo, and to haue their bodies there at Burie before the ſaid iuſtices, the thurſdaie in Whitſunwéeke, next inſuing.

Diuerſe alſo were arreigned at the ſame time of the ſaid felonies, and thereof acquited, as Michaell Scabaille, Rafe Smeremonger, and others. Indéed thoſe that were found guiltie, and ſuffered, were the chéefe authors and procurors of the commotion, bearing others in hand, that the abbat had in his cuſtodie a certeine charter, wherein the king ſhould grant to the inhabitants of the towne of Burie, certeine liberties, whereby it might appeare that they were frée, and diſcharged from the paiment of diuerſe cuſtomes and exactions, wherevpon the ignorant multitude eaſilie giuing credit to ſuch ſurmiſed tales, were the ſooner induced to attempt ſuch diſorders as before are mentioned. ¶ Thus haue yée heard all in effect that was doone in this firſt yeare of king Edward the third his reigne, by and againſt thoſe offendors. But bicauſe we will not interrupt matters of other yeares with that which followed further of this buſineſſe, we haue thought good to put the whole that we intend to write thereof here in this place.

The common people often deceiued by lewd informations.

Yée ſhall therefore vnderſtand, that diuerſe of thoſe, againſt whome exigents were awarded, came in, and yéelded their bodies to the ſhiriffes priſon, before they were called on the fift countie daie. Albeit a great manie there were that came not, and ſo were outlawed. Robert Forton got the kings pardon, and ſo purchaſing forth a ſuperſedeas, the ſuit therevpon againſt him was ſtaied. The ſhiriffe therefore in Whitſunwéeke, in the ſecond yeare of this kings reigne, made his returne touching Benedict Sio, Robert Ruſſell, & Julian Barbor, ſo that he deliuered them vnto the bailiffes of the libertie of the abbat of Burie, by reaſon of an ancient priuilege, which the abbat claimed to belong to his houſe. The bailiffes confeſſed they had receiued the ſaid priſoners, but forſomuch as they had béene arreigned at a Portmane mote, which was vſed to be kept euerie thrée wéeks, and vpon their arreignment were found guiltie of certeine other felonies by them committed within the towne of Burie, and therevpon were put to execution, Adam Finchman the kings attournie there tooke it verie euill, & laid it gréeuouſlie to the charge of the abbats officers, for their haſtie and preſumptuous procéeding againſt the ſaid priſoners, namelie, bicauſe the ſaid Sio and Ruſſell were repriued, to the end that by their vtterance, many heinous offenſes might haue béene brought to light.

Rob. Forton pardoned.

A priuilege.

Portman mote.

The abbats officers blamed.

On the ſame daie, that is to wit, the thurſdaie in Whitſunwéeke, the foreſaid Robert Forton, and diuerſe other came in, and were attached by the ſhiriffe to anſwer the abbat to his action of treſpaſſe, which he brought againſt them, and putting the matter to the triall of an inqueſt, they were condemned in ſixtie thouſand pounds, to be leuied of their goods and chattels, vnto the vſe of the abbat, and in the meane time they were committed to priſon. But firſt they made ſuit that they might be put to their fines for their offenſes committed againſt the kings peace, and their requeſt in that behalfe was granted, ſo that vpon putting in ſufficient ſuerties for their good abearing, their fines were aſſeſſed, as ſome at more and ſome at leſſe, as the caſe was thought for to require.

A condemnation.

Thus reſted the matter a long ſeaſon after, vntill the fift yeare of this kings reigne, in which the thurſdaie next after the feaſt of the bleſſed Trinitie, the K. being himſelfe in perſon at S. Edmundſburie aforeſaid, a finall agréement and concord was concluded betwixt the ſaid abbat and his conuent on the one partie, and Richard Draiton and others of the inhabitants of that towne on the other partie, before the right reuerend father in God John biſhop of Wincheſter and chancellor of England, and the kings iuſtices John Stonore and John Cantbridge ſitting there at the ſame time, by the kings commandement. The effect of which agréement was as followeth.

An agréemēt.

The articles of agreement betweene *the moonks of Burie and the inhabitants* of Burie.

Firſt, wheras the ſaid abbat had recouered by iudgement before the ſaid John Stonore and other his aſſociats iuſtices of oier and determiner in the ſaid towne of Burie, the ſumme of ſeuen ſcore thouſand pounds for treſpaſſes to him and his houſe committed and doone by the ſaid Richard Draiton, and other the inhabitants of Burie: now at the deſire of the ſaid king, and for other good reſpects him mouing, he pardoned and releaſed vnto the ſaid Richard Draiton, and to other the inhabitants of Burie, to their heires, executors, and aſſigns the ſumme of 122333 pounds, eight ſhillings eight pence, of the ſaid totall ſumme of 140000 pounds.

And further the ſaid abbat and conuent granted and agreed for them and their ſucceſſors, that if the ſaid Richard Draiton, & other the inhabitants of the ſaid towne of Burie, or any of them, their heires, executors or aſſignes, ſhould paie to the ſaid abbat & conuent, or their ſucceſſors within twentie yeares next inſuing the date of that preſent agreement, 2000 marks, that is to ſaie, 100 marks yearelie at the feaſts of S. Michaell & Eaſter, by euen portions: that then the ſaid Richard & other the inhabitants of the towne of Burie ſhould be acquited & diſcharged of 4000 marks, parcell of 17666 pounds, thirteene ſhillings foure pence reſidue behind for euer.

Moreouer, whereas the ſaid abbat and conuent, & the ſaid abbat by himſelfe, ſince the 19 yeare of the reigne of king Edward the ſecond vnto that preſent time, had ſealed certeine charters, deeds, & writings, as well with the proper ſeale of the abbat, as with the common ſeale of the abbat & conuent, if the ſaid Richard and the inhabitants of the ſaid towne of Burie did reſtore vnto the ſaid abbat & conuent all the ſame writings, or take ſuch order, that neither the abbat nor conuent be impleaded, or in any wiſe hindered, indamaged nor moleſted by force of the ſame: and further if neither the ſaid Richard, nor any the inhabitants of the ſaid towne, nor their heires, executors, nor aſſignes, ſhall go about to reuerſe the iudgements againſt them, at the ſuit of the ſaid abbat, nor ſhall ſeeke to impeach the executions of the ſame iudgements by anie falſe or forged acquitances or releaſes, nor implead nor moleſt any of the iurie, by whom they were conuict, that then they and their heires, executors & aſſignes ſhall be acquited & diſcharged of ten thouſand pounds parcell of the ſaid 17666 pounds, 13 ſhillings foure pence.

And furthermore, if the ſaid Richard and other the inhabitants of the ſaid towne of Burie, doo not hereafter maliciouſlie riſe againſt the ſaid abbat or conuent, nor ſeeke to vex them by any conſpiracie, confederacie, or by ſome other ſecret vniuſt cauſe, nor likewiſe euill intreat any man by reaſon of the inditement found againſt them, nor yet claime to haue any corporation of themſelues within that towne, that then the ſaid Richard, & the ſaid inhabitants, their heires, ſucceſſors & aſſignes, ſhall remaine acquited and diſcharged of all the reſidue of the ſaid 17666 pounds, thirteene ſhillings foure pence for euer. And the ſaid abbat and conuent doo grant for them & their ſucceſſours, that their intention is not, that if any ſingular perſon of his owne priuate malice, ſhall riſe againſt the ſaid abbat and conuent, their ſucceſſors, moonks, bailiffes, or ſeruants, to doo them, or any of them iniurie or diſpleaſure; that thoſe which be not partakers of the offenſe, ſhall be in any wiſe puniſhed for the ſame, ſo that the offendors be not mainteined by any of the ſame towne, but that the inhabitants there, doo aſſiſt the abbat and conuent their ſucceſſours, bailiffes, ſeruants & officers, that the ſame offendors may be puniſhed, according to their demerits, as reaſon and law ſhall allow.

This was the effect of the agreement at length had and made betwixt the abbat and moonks of Burie on the one part, & the inhabitants of that towne on the other part, and for the more confirmation thereof, it pleaſed the king to put his ſeale to the charter conteining the ſame agreement. ¶ But how ſoeuer it chanced, it ſhould appeare by ſuch records as came to the hands of maſter Iohn Fox, as he alledgeth in the firſt tome of his booke of acts and monuments, this agreement was but ſorilie kept: for diuerſe of the former offendors, bearing grudge towards the abbat for breaking promiſe with them at London, did confederat themſelues togither, and priuilie in the night comming to the manour of Chennington where the abbat then did lie, burſt open the gates, and entring by force, firſt bound all his ſeruants, and after they had robbed the houſe, they tooke the abbat, and ſhauing him, ſecretlie conueied him to London, and there remoouing him from ſtreet to ſtreet vnknowne, had him ouer the Thames into Kent, and at length tranſported him ouer vnto Diſt in Brabant, where they kept him for a time in much penurie, thraldome and miſerie, vntill at length the matter being vnderſtood, they were all excommunicate, firſt by the archbiſhop, & after by the pope. At the laſt, his freends hauing knowledge where he was, they found means to deliuer him out of the hands of thoſe theeues, and finallie brought him home with proceſſion, and ſo he was reſtored to his houſe againe.

This might come to paſſe before the agreement was made in the fift yeare of the kings reigne as aboue is mentioned, and ſo thereupon he might be reſtored.

Thus much touching thoſe troubles betwixt the townesmen of Burie & the abbat and moonks there, and now we will returne to other generall matters touching the publike ſtate of the realme. ¶ And firſt you ſhall vnderſtand, that in the beginning of this kings reigne the land trulie ſeemed to be bleſſed of God: for the earth became fruitfull, the aire temperate, and the ſea calme and quiet. This king though he was as yet vnder the gouernement of other, neuertheleſſe he began within a ſhort time to ſhew tokens of great towardneſſe, framing his mind vnto graue deuiſes, and firſt he prepared to make a iornie againſt the Scotiſhmen, the which in his fathers time had doone ſo manie diſpleaſures to the Engliſhmen, and now vpon confidence of his minoritie, ceaſſed not to inuade the borders of his realme. And namelie the verie ſelfe night that followed the day of this kings coronation, they had thought by ſkaling to haue ſtolne the caſtell of Norham: but Robert Maners capteine of that place, vnderſtanding of their enterpriſe aforehand by a Scotiſhman of the gariſon there, ſo well prouided for their comming, that where ſixteene of them boldlie entred vpon the wall, he ſlue nine or ten of them, and tooke fiue.

Rich. South.

Rob. Maners capteine of Norham caſtell.

This was thought an euill token, that they ſhould ſtill be put to the worſſe in this kings time, ſith they had ſo bad ſucceſſe in the verie beginning of his reigne: but they continuing in their malicious purpoſes, about ſaint Margarets tide inuaded the land with three armies, the earle of Murrey hauing the leading of one of the ſame armies, and Iames Douglas of another, and the third was guided by the earle of Mar. King Edward aduertiſed hereof, aſſembled not onelie a great power of Engliſhmen, but alſo required Iohn lord Beaumont de Heinault, whome he had latelie ſent home right honorablie rewarded for his good aſſiſtance, to come againe into England, with certeine bands of men at armes, and he ſhould receiue wages and good interteinement

The Scots inuade England.

The lord Beaumont of Heinault.

for

Caxton.

for them. The lord Beaumont, as one that loued déeds of armes, was glad to accompliſh king Edwards requeſt: and ſo therevpon with ſeauen hundred men at armes, or fiue hundred (as Froiſſart ſaith) came ouer into England againe, to ſerue againſt the Scots.

A fraie betwixt yͤ Engliſh archers and the Henuiers. Caxton.

Froiſſart.

Caxton. Froiſſart.

The generall aſſemblie of the armie was appointed to be at Yorke, and thither came the ſaid lord Beaumont with his people, and was ioifullie receiued of the king and his lords. Here whileſt not onelie the Scotiſh ambaſſadours (which had béene ſent to treat of peace, were heard to tell their meſſage) but alſo whileſt the councell tooke ſome leiſure in debating the matter how to guide their enterpriſe, which they had now in hand: vpon Trinitie ſundaie, it chanced that there aroſe contention within the citie of Yorke, betwixt the Engliſh archers, and the ſtrangers, which the lord Beaumont of Heinault had brought with him, inſomuch that fighting togither there were ſlaine to the number of foure ſcore perſons of thoſe archers, which were buried within the church of ſaint Clement in Foſgate. ¶Some write that there were ſlaine to the number of thrée hundred Engliſhmen: yet bicauſe the Henuiers came to aid the king, their peace was cried vpon paine of life. And further, it was found by an inqueſt of the citie, that the quarrell was begun by the Engliſhmen, the which (as ſome write) were of the Lincolneſhire men, of thoſe that ſometime belonged to the Spenſers, and to the earle of Arundell, ſo that there was cauſe, whie they bare euill will to the Henuiers which had aided (as yée haue heard) to bring the ſaid earle and Spenſers to their confuſion.

Stanóp parke. Caxton.

In this meane time the Scots being entred into England, had doone much hurt, and were come as farre as Stanóp parke in Wiredale: and though they had ſent their ambaſſadours to treat with the king and his councell for peace, yet no concluſion followed of their talke. At the ſame time, bicauſe the Engliſh ſouldiours of this armie were cloathed all in cotes and hoods embrodered with floures and branches verie ſéemelie, and vſed to nouriſh their beards: the Scots in deriſion thereof made a rime, which they faſtened vpon the church doores of ſaint Peter toward Stangate, conteining this that followeth.

A rime in deriſion of the Engliſhmen.

Long beards, hartleſſe, Painted hoods, witleſſe,
Gaie cotes, graceleſſe, Make England thriftleſſe.

Froiſſart. The lord Dowglas.

The king when he ſaw it was but a vaine thing to ſtaie anie longer in communication with the ambaſſadors about peace, departed from Yorke with his puiſſant armie, and getting knowledge how the Scots were cloſelie lodged in the woods of Stanop parke, he came and ſtopped all the paſſages, ſo it was thought that he ſhould haue had them at his pleaſure, but through treaſon (as was after reported) of the lord Roger Mortimer, after that the Scots had béene kept within their lodgings for the ſpace of fiftéene daies, till they were almoſt famiſhed, they did not onelie find a waie out, but about two hundred of them vnder the leading of the lord William Douglas, aſſailing that part of the Engliſh campe where the kings tent ſtood, in the night ſeaſon, miſſed not much of either taking the king or ſleieng him: and hauing doone hurt inough otherwiſe, as in the Scotiſh chronicle is alſo touched, they followed their companie, and with them returned into Scotland without impeachment.

The lord Beaumõt returned home. Polydor.

Fabian.

1328

It is ſaid, that Henrie earle of Lancaſter, and Iohn the lord Beaumont of Heinault would gladlie haue paſſed ouer the water of Wire, to haue aſſalted the Scots, but the earle of March through counſell of the lord Mortimer, pretending to haue right to the leading of the fore ward, and to the giuing of the firſt onſet, would not ſuffer them. Howſoeuer it was the king miſſed his purpoſe, and right penſiue therefore, brake vp his field, and returned vnto London. ¶Walter biſhop of Canturburie departed this life in Nouember, and then Simon Mepham was aduanced to the gouernement of that ſée. The lord Beaumont of Heinalt was honorablie rewarded for his paines and trauell, and then licenced to returne into his countrie, where he had not béene long, but that through his means then (as ſome write) the marriage was concluded betwéene king Edward, and the ladie Philip daughter to William earle of Heinault, and néece to the ſaid lord Beaumont, who had the charge to ſée hir brought ouer thither into England about Chriſtmaſſe: where in the citie of Yorke vpon the éeuen of the Conuerſion of ſaint Paule, being ſundaie, in the latter end of the firſt yeare of his reigne, king Edward ſolemnlie maried hir.

Anno Reg. 2. A parlement at Northampton.

A diſhonorable peace.

Ragman.

Fabian. Caxton. The blacke croſſe.

In the ſecond yeare of his reigne, about the feaſt of Pentecoſt, king Edward held a parlement at Northampton, at the which parlement by euill and naughtie counſell, whereof the lord Roger Mortimer and the quéene mother bare the blame, the king concluded with the Scotiſh king both an vnprofitable and a diſhonorable peace. For firſt, he releaſed to the Scots their fealtie and homage. Alſo he deliuered vnto them certeine old ancient writings, ſealed with the ſeales of the king of Scots, and of diuerſe lords of the land both ſpirituall and temporall: amongſt the which was that indenture, which they called Ragman, with manie other charters and patents, by the which the kings of Scotland were bound as feodaries vnto the crowne of England; at which ſeaſon alſo there were deliuered certeine iewels, which before time had béene woone from the Scots by the kings of England, and among other, the blacke croſier or rood is ſpeciallie named.

A marriage concluded.

Ione Makepeace.

Ri. Southwell.

And not onelie the king by his ſiniſter councell loſt ſuch right and title as he had to the realme of Scotland, ſo farre as by the ſame councell might be deuiſed, but alſo the lords and barons, and other men of England that had anie lands or rents within Scotland, loſt their right in like manner, except they would dwell vpon the ſame lands, and become liege men to the king of Scotland. Herevpon was there alſo a marriage concluded betwixt Dauid Bruce the ſonne of Robert Bruce king of Scotland, and the ladie Iane ſiſter to king Edward, which of diuerſe writers is ſurnamed Ione of the tower, and the Scots ſurnamed hir halfe in deriſion, Ione Makepeace. This marriage was ſolemniſed at Berwike vpon the daie of Marie Magdalen. The quéene with the biſhops of Elie and Norwich, the earle Warren, the lord Mortimer, and diuerſe other barons of the land, and a great multitude of other people were preſent at that marriage, which was celebrate with all the honour that might be.

Tho. Walſin. Adam Merimuth. Polydor. Creations of earles.

The earle of March ruleth all things at his pleaſure.

Caxton.

After the quindene of ſaint Michaell, king Edward held a parlement at Saliſburie, in which the lord Roger Mortimer was created earle of March, the lord Iohn of Eltham the kings brother was made earle of Cornwall, and the lord Iames Butler of Ireland earle of Ormond, who about the ſame time had married the earle of Herefords daughter. But the earle of March tooke the moſt part of the rule of all things perteining either to the king or realme into his owne hands: ſo that the whole gouernment reſted in a manner betwixt the quéene mother and him. The other of the councell that were firſt appointed, were in manner diſplaced; for they bare no rule to ſpeake of at all, which cauſed no ſmall grudge to ariſe againſt the quéene and the ſaid earle of March, who mainteined ſuch ports, and kept among them ſuch retinue of ſeruants, that their prouiſion was wonderfull, which they cauſed to be taken vp, namelie for the queene, at the kings price, to the ſore oppreſſion of the people, which tooke it diſpleſantlie inough.

The earle of Lancaſter.

Robert Holland ſlaine.

There was like to haue growen great variance betwixt the queene and Henrie earle of Lancaſter, by reaſon that one ſir Thomas Wither, a knight perteining to the ſaid earle of Lancaſter, had ſlaine Robert Holland, who had betraied ſometime Thomas earle of Lancaſter, and was after committed to priſon by earle Henries means, but the queene had cauſed him to be ſet at libertie, and admitted him as one of hir councell. The quéene would haue had ſir Thomas Wither puniſhed for the murther, but earle Henrie cauſed him to be kept out of the waie, ſo that for theſe cauſes and other, Henrie the earle of Lancaſter went about to make a rebellion, and the quéene hauing knowledge thereof, ſought to apprehend him: but by the mediation of the earles Marſhall and Kent, the matter was taken vp, and earle Henrie had the kings peace granted him for the ſumme of eleuen thouſand pounds, which he ſhould haue paid, but he neuer paid that fine, though it was ſo aſſeſſed at the time of the agreement.

The archbiſhop of Canterburie was the chiefe procuror of the agréement & reconciliation of the earle (as Merimuth ſaith.)

Adam Merimuth.

There were diuerſe lords and great men that were confederat with him, the lord Thomas Wake, the lord Henrie Beaumont, the lord Foulke Fitz Warrein, ſir Thomas Roſſelin, ſir William Truſſell, and other, to the number of an hundred knights.

1329

Anno Reg. 3.

¶ In the third yeare of his reigne, about the Aſcenſion tide, king Edward went ouer into France, and comming to the French king Philip de Valois, as then being at Amiens, did there his homage vnto him for the duchie of Guien (as in the French hiſtorie appeareth.) ¶ The ſame yeare Simon the archbiſhop of Canturburie held a ſynod at London, wherein all thoſe were excommunicated that were guiltie to the death of Walter Stapleton biſhop of Exceſter, that had béene put to death by the Londoners, as in the laſt kings time ye haue heard. ¶ This biſhop of Exceſter founded Exceſter colledge in Oxford, & Harts hall. But now to the purpoſe.

Tho. Walſi.
Ri. Southwell.
Additions to Meri.

The king about the beginning, or (as other ſaie) about the middle of Lent, held a parlement at Wincheſter, during the which, Edmund of Woodſtoke earle of Kent the kings vncle was arreſted the morrow after ſaint Gregories day, and being arreigned vpon certeine confeſſions and letters found about him, he was found giltie of treaſon. There were diuerſe in trouble about the ſame matter, for the earle vpon his open confeſſion before ſundrie lords of the realme, declared that not onelie by commandement from the pope, but alſo by the ſetting on of diuerſe nobles of this land (whome he named) he was perſuaded to indeuour himſelfe by all waies and meanes poſſible how to deliuer his brother king Edward the ſecond out of priſon, and to reſtore him to the crowne, whome one Thomas Dunhed, a frier of the order of preachers in London, affirmed for certeine to be aliue, hauing (as he himſelfe ſaid) called vp a ſpirit to vnderſtand the truth thereof, and ſo what by counſell of the ſaid frier, and of thrée other friers of the ſame order, he had purpoſed to worke ſome meane how to deliuer him, and to reſtore him againe to the kingdome. Among the letters that were found about him, diſcloſing a great part of his practiſe, ſome there were, which he had written and directed vnto his brother the ſaid king Edward, as by ſome writers it ſhould appeare.

Thom. Dunhed a frier.

Thom. Walſ.

1330

Anno Reg. 4.

The biſhop of London and certeine other great perſonages, whome he had accuſed, were permitted to go at libertie, vnder ſuerties taken for their good demeanour and forth comming. But Robert de Touton, and the frier that had raiſed the ſpirit for to know whether the kings father were liuing or not, were committed to priſon, wherein the frier remained till he died. The earle himſelfe was had out of the caſtell gate at Wincheſter, and there loſt his head the 19 day of March, chiefelie (as was thought) thorough the malice of the quéene mother, and of the earle of March: whoſe pride and high preſumption the ſaid earle of Kent might not well abide. His death was the leſſe lamented, bicauſe of the preſumptuous gouernement of his ſeruants and retinue, which he kept about him, for that they riding abroad, would take vp things at their pleaſure, not paieng nor agréeing with the partie to whome ſuch things belonged; in ſo much that by their meanes, who ought to haue doone their vttermoſt for the inlargement of his honour, he grew in greater obloquie and reproch: a fowle fault in ſeruants ſo to abuſe their lords names to their priuat profit, to whome they cannot be too truſtie. But ſuch are to be warned, that by the ſame wherin they offend, they ſhall be puniſhed, euen with ſeruants faithleſſe to plague their vntruſtineſſe, for

Qui violare fidem ſolet, & violetur eidem.

The earle of Kent beheaded.

Naughtie ſeruants bring their maſter into diſfauour.

The yong queene Philip was brought to bed at Woodſtoke the 15 day of June of hir firſt ſonne, the which at the fontſtone was named Edward, and in proceſſe of time came to great proofe of famous chiualrie, as in this booke ſhall more plainelie appeare. He was commonlie named when he came to ripe yeares prince Edward, & alſo ſurnamed the Blacke prince. The ſixtéenth day of Julie chanced a great eclipſe of the ſunne, and for the ſpace of two moneths before, and thrée moneths after, there fell exceeding great raine, ſo that through the great intemperancie of weather, corne could not ripen, by reaſon whereof, in manie places they began not harueſt till Michaelmas, & in ſome places they inned not their wheat till Alhallontide, nor their peaſe till ſaint Andrews tide.

The Blacke prince borne.

Croxden.

An eclipſe.

A late harueſt.

On Chriſtmaſſe euen, about the breake of day, a maruellous ſore and terrible wind came forth of the weſt, which ouerthrew houſes and buildings, ouerturned trees by the roots, and did much hurt in diuerſe places. ¶ This yeare ſhortlie after Eaſter, the king with the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the lord William Montacute, hauing not paſt fiftéene horſſes in their companie, paſſed the ſea, apparelled in clokes like to merchants, he left his brother the earle of Cornewall his deputie & gardian of the realme till his returne. Moreouer, he cauſed it to be proclaimed in London, that he went ouer on pilgrimage, and for none other purpoſe. He returned before the later end of Aprill, and then was there holden a turnie at Dertford.

A mightie wind.

The mondaie after ſaint Mathews day in September, the king held a ſolemne iuſts in Cheapeſide, betwixt the great croſſe and Soperlane, he with 12 as chalengers anſwering all defendants that came. This ſolemne iuſts and turnie continued thrée daies. The quéene with manie ladies being preſent at the ſame, fell beſide a ſtage, but yet as good hap would they had no hurt by that fall, to the reioiſing of manie that ſaw them in ſuch danger, and yet ſo luckilie to eſcape without harme. ¶ Alſo in a parlement holden at Notingham about ſaint Lukes tide, ſir Roger Mortimer the earle of March was apprehended the ſeuentéenth day of October within the caſtell of Notingham, where the king with the two queenes, his mother and his wife, and diuerſe other were as then lodged. And though the keies of the caſtell were dailie and nightlie in the cuſtodie of the ſaid earle of March, and that his power was ſuch, as it was doubted how he might be arreſted (for he had, as ſome writers affirme, at that preſent in retinue nine ſcore knights, beſide eſquiers, gentlemen and yeomen) yet at length by the kings helpe, the lord William Montacute, the lord Humfrie de Bohun, and his brother

Additions to N. Triuet.

ſir William, the lord Rafe Stafford, the lord Robert Vfford, the lord William Clinton, the lord John Neuill of Hornbie, and diuerſe other, which had accuſed the ſaid earle of March for the murther of king Edward the ſecond, found means by intelligence had with ſir William de Eland conſtable of the caſtell of Notingham, to take the ſaid earle of March with his ſonne the lord Roger or Geffrey Mortimer, and ſir Simon Bereford, with other.

Sir Hugh Trumpington or Turrington (as ſome copies haue) that was one of his cheefeſt freends with certeine other were ſlaine, as they were about to reſiſt againſt the lord Montacute, and his companie in taking of the ſaid earle. The manner of his taking I paſſe ouer, bicauſe of the diuerſitie in report thereof by ſundrie writers. From Notingham he was ſent vp to London with his ſonne the lord Roger or Geffrey de Mortimer, ſir Simon Bereford, and the other priſoners, where they were committed to priſon in the tower. Shortlie after was a parlement called at Weſtminſter, cheefelie (as was thought) for reformation of things diſordered through the miſgouernance of the earle of March. But whoſoeuer was glad or ſorie for the trouble of the ſaid earle, ſuerlie the queene mother tooke it moſt heauilie aboue all other, as ſhe that loued him more (as the ſame went) than ſtood well with hir honour. For as ſome write, ſhe was found to be with child by him. They kept as it were houſe togither, for the earle to haue his prouiſion the better cheape, laid his penie with hirs, ſo that hir takers ſerued him as well as they did hir both of vittels & cariages. Of which miſvſage (all regard to honour and eſtimation neglected) euerie ſubiect ſpake ſhame. For their manner of dealing, tending to ſuch euill purpoſes as they continuallie thought vpon, could not be ſecret from the eies of the people. And their offenſe heerein was ſo much the more heinous, bicauſe they were perſons of an extraordinarie degree, and were the more narrowlie marked of the multitude or common people,

Maiſter Fox.

Claudi.

——nam lux altiſſima fati
Occultum nil eſſe ſinit, latebráſq; per omnes
Intrat, & obtruſos explorat fama receſſus.

The earle of March atteinted.

But now in this parlement holden at Weſtminſter he was attainted of high treaſon expreſſed in fiue articles, as in effect followeth.

1 Firſt, he was charged that he had procured Edward of Carnaruan the kings father to be murthered in moſt heinous and tyrannous maner within the caſtell of Berklie.

2 Secondlie, that the Scots at Stanop parke through his means eſcaped.

3 Thirdlie, that he receiued at the hands of the lord James Dowglas, at that time generall of the Scots, great ſummes of monie to execute that treaſon, and further to conclude the peace vpon ſuch diſhonorable couenants as was accorded with the Scots at the parlement of Northampton.

4 Fourthlie, that he had got into his hands a great part of the kings treaſure, and had waſted and conſumed it.

5 Fiftlie, that he had impropried vnto him diuers wards that belonged vnto the king: and had beene more priuie with queene Iſabell the kings mother, than ſtood either with Gods law, or the kings pleaſure.

Adam Meremuth. The earle of March executed.

These articles with other being proued againſt him, he was adiudged by authoritie of the parlement to ſuffer death, and according therevnto, vpon ſaint Andrewes euen next inſuing, he was at London drawne and hanged, at the common place of execution, called in thoſe daies The elmes, & now Tiborne, as in ſome bookes we find. His bodie remained two daies and two nights on the gallowes, and after taken downe was deliuered to the friers minors, who buried him in their church the morrow after he was deliuered to them, with great pompe and funerall exequies, although afterwards he was taken vp and carried vnto Wigmore, whereof he was lord. He came not to his anſwer in iudgement, no more than any other of the nobilitie had doone, ſince the death of Thomas earle of Lancaſter.

Sir Simon Bereford executed.

Sir Simon de Bereford knight that had beene one of the kings iuſtices, was drawne alſo and hanged at London, vpon S. Lucies daie. In this parlement holden at Weſtminſter, the king tooke into his hand, by aduiſe of the ſtates there aſſembled, all the poſſeſſions, lands and reuenues that belonged to the queene his mother, ſhe hauing aſſigned to hir a thouſand pounds by yeare, for the maintenance of hir eſtate, being appointed to remaine in a certeine place, and not to go elſewhere abroad: yet the king to comfort hir, would lightlie euerie yeare once come to viſit hir. ¶ After that the erle of March was executed (as yee haue heard) diuerſe noble men that were departed the realme, bicauſe they could not abide the pride and preſumption of the ſaid earle, now returned: as the ſonne and heire of the earle of Arundell, the lord Thomas Wake, the L. Henrie Beaumont, ſir Thomas de Roſſelin, ſir Foulke fitz Warren, ſir Griffin de la Poole, and diuerſe other.

Some bookes haue 3 thouſand pounds.

Ad. Merem.

1331
Anno Reg. 5.
Edward Balioll commeth into England

In the fift yeare of K. Edwards reigne, Edward Balioll came forth of France into England, and obteined ſuch fauour through the aſſiſtance of the lord Henrie Beaumont, the lord Dauid of Strabogie earle of Athole, the lord Geffrey de Mowbraie, the lord Walter Cumin, and others, that king Edward granted him licence to make his prouiſion in England to paſſe into Scotland, with an armie of men to attempt the recouerie of his right to the crowne of Scotland, with condition that if he recouered it, he ſhould acknowledge to hold it of the king of England as ſuperiour lord of Scotland. The comming awaie of Edward Balioll out of France is diuerſlie reported by writers: ſome ſaie, that he was aided by the French king, whoſe ſiſter he had married: and other ſaie, that he being in priſon in France, for the eſcape of an Engliſhman, one John Barnabie eſquier, which had ſlaine a Frenchman by chance of quarelling in the towne of Dampierre, where the ſame Barnabie dwelled with the ſaid Edward Balioll, ſo it came to paſſe that the lord Henrie Beaumont hauing occaſion of buſineſſe with the French king, that fauoured him well, came ouer to France, and there vnderſtanding of Baliols impriſonment, procured his deliuerance, and brought him ouer into England, and cauſed him to remaine in ſecret wiſe at the manor of Sandhall vpon Ouſe in Yorkeſhire with the ladie Veſcis, till he had purchaſed the kings grant for him to make his prouiſion of men of war and ſhips within the Engliſh dominions.

Caxton.

John Barnabie.

The lord Beaumont.

1332
Anno Reg. 6.
Croxden.
The earle of Gelderland.

In the ſixt yeare of king Edwards reigne, Reignold earle of Gelderland married the ladie Elianor ſiſter to this king Edward the third, who gaue vnto the ſaid earle with hir for hir portion, fifteene thouſand pounds ſterling. ¶ Iſabell the kings daughter was borne alſo this yeare at Woodſtoke. ¶ After that Edward Balioll had prepared and made readie his purueiances for his iournie, and that his men of warre were aſſembled and come togither, being in all not paſt fiue hundred men of armes, and about two thouſand archers, and other footmen, he tooke the ſea at Rauenſpurgh in Yorkeſhire, and from thence directing his courſe northward, he arriued at length in Scotland, where he atchiuing great victories (as in the Scotiſh chronicle yee may read more at large) was finallie crowned king of that realme.

Edward Balioll crowned K. of Scotlãd.

It may ſeeme a wonder to manie, that the king of England would permit Edward Balioll to make his prouiſion thus in England, and to ſuffer his people to aid him againſt his brother in law king Dauid that had married his ſiſter (as before ye haue heard.) Indéed at the firſt he was not verie readie to grant their ſuit that moued it, but at length he was contented to diſſemble the matter, in hope that if Edward Balioll had good ſucceſſe, he ſhould then recouer that againe, which by the concluſion of peace during his minoritie, he had through euill counſell reſigned out of his hands. The Scots neuertheleſſe in December chaſed their new king Edward Balioll out of Scotland, ſo that he was faine to retire into England, and celebrated the feaſt of the Natiuitie at Carleill, in the houſe of the friers minors, and the morrow after being S. Stephans day, he went into Weſtmerland, where of the lord Clifford he was right honorablie receiued, to whome he then granted Douglas Dale in Scotland, which had béene granted to the ſaid lord Cliffords grandfather in the daies of king Edward the firſt, if he might at anie time recouer the realme of Scotland out of his aduerſaries hands.

The cauſe that moued K. Edward to aid Edward Balioll.

Rich. South. Edward Balioll chaſed out of Scotland.

1333

After this, he went and laie a time with the ladie of Gines, that was his kinſewoman. Finallie about the tenth day of March, hauing aſſembled a power of Engliſhmen and Scotiſhmen, he entred Scotland, and beſieged the towne of Berwike, during the which ſiege, manie enterpriſes were attempted by the parties: and amongſt other, the Scots entred England by Carleill, dooing much miſchiefe in Gilleſland, by burning, killing, robbing and ſpoiling. The king aduertiſed hereof, thought himſelfe diſcharged of the agréement concluded betwixt him and Dauid Bruce, the ſonne of Robert Bruce that had married his ſiſter, & therfore tooke it to be lawfull for him to aid his coſen Edward Balioll the lawfull K. of Scots. And herewith aſſembling an armie, came to the ſiege of Berwike, togither with his brother Iohn of Eltham earle of Cornewall, and other noble men, ſéeking by all meanes poſſible how to win the towne: and finallie diſcomfited an armie of Scots, which came to the reſcue thereof vpon Halidon hill, in ſleaing of them what in the fight and chaſe, ſeuen earles, nine hundred knights and baronets, foure hundred eſquiers, and vpon 32 thouſand of the common people: and of Engliſhmen were ſlaine but 15 perſons, as our Engliſh writers make mention. The Scotiſh writers confeſſe, that the Scotiſhmen loſt the number of 14 thouſand.

Anno Reg. 7.

Berwike beſieged.

The victorie of Engliſhmen at Halidon hill.

On the morrow following, being S. Margarets day, the towne of Berwike was rendered vnto king Edward with the caſtell, as in the Scotiſh chronicle ye may read, with more matter touching the ſiege and battell aforeſaid, and therfore here in few words, I paſſe it ouer. King Edward hauing thus ſped his buſineſſe, left a power of men with Edward Balioll, vnder the conduct of the lord Richard Talbot, and returned himſelfe backe into England, appointing the lord Percie to be gouernor of the towne of Berwike, and ſir Thomas Grey knight his lieutenant. The lord Iohn Darcie lord chéefe iuſtice of Ireland, leauing the lord Thomas Bourgh his deputie in that countrie, paſſed ouer with an armie into Scotland, to aid the king, who (as ye haue heard) was there the ſame time in perſon. And ſo by the king on one ſide, and by the Iriſhmen on an other, Scotland was ſubdued, and reſtored vnto Balioll, who the morrow after the octaues of the Natiuitie of our ladie, held a parlement at ſaint Iohns towne, in the which he reuoked and made void all acts, which the late king of Scots Robert Bruce had inacted or made: and further ordeined, that all ſuch lands and poſſeſſions as the ſaid Bruce had giuen to any maner of perſon, ſhould be taken from them, and reſtored to the former and true inheritour.

Berwike deliuered.

The lord Richard Talbot

The lord iuſtice of Ireland commeth into Scotland.

In this yeare about the twelfth of October, Simon Mepham archbiſhop of Canturburie, departed this life, in whoſe place ſucceeded Iohn Stretford, being remoued from the ſée of Wincheſter, whereof he was biſhop, before that he was thus called to the ſée of Canturburie. After Candlemas the king of England repaired towards Yorke, there to hold a parlement, to the which (beginning on the mondaie in the ſecond wéeke in Lent) when Edward Balioll doubting to be ſurpriſed by his aduerſaries, could not come, yet he ſent the lord Henrie de Beaumont, and the lord William de Montacute, to make excuſe for him. The king of England paſſing further into the north parts, held his Whitſuntide at Newcaſtell vpon Tine, with great roialtie: and ſhortlie after, Edward Balioll king of Scots came thither, and vpon the nintéenth daie of Iune made his homage vnto the king of England, and ſware vnto him fealtie in the preſence of a great number of Nobles and gentlemen there aſſembled, as to his ſuperiour and chiefe lord of the realme of Scotland, binding himſelfe by that oth, to hold the ſame realme of the king of England, his heires and ſucceſſors for euer. He alſo gaue and granted vnto the king of England at that time fiue counties next adioining vnto the borders of England, as Berwike and Rockſburgh, Peplis, and Dunfres, the townes of Hadington and Gedworth with the caſtell, the forreſts of Silkirke, Etherike, and Gedworth, ſo as all theſe portions ſhould be cléerelie ſeparated and put apart from the crowne of Scotland, and annexed vnto the crowne of England for euer. And theſe things were confirmed and roborated with oth, ſcepter, and witneſſe ſufficient.

Adam Merimuth.

1334

Anno Reg. 8. Adam Merimuth.

A parlement at Yorke.

Edward Balioll doth homage vnto the king of England for Scotland.

Which things doone in due order, as was requiſite, the king of England returned home, and the kings went backe into Scotland. And then were all ſuch lords reſtored againe to their lands and poſſeſſions in Scotland, which in the daies of Edward the ſecond had béene expelled from the ſame: and now they did their homage vnto the king of Scotland for thoſe lands as apperteined. ¶ Immediatlie after, the king of England called a councell of his lords ſpirituall and temporall at Notingham, commanding them to méet him there about the thirtéenth daie of Iulie, there to conſult with him of weightie cauſes concerning the ſtate of the realme. This yeare on ſaint Clements daie at night, which fell on the thrée and twentith of Nouember, through a maruellous inundation & riſing of the ſea all alongſt by the coaſts of this realme, but eſpeciallie about the Thames, the ſea bankes or walles were broken and borne downe with violence of the water, and infinite numbers of beaſts and cattell drowned, fruitfull grounds and paſtures were made ſalt mariſhes, ſo as there was no hope that in long time they ſhould recouer againe their former fruitfulneſſe.

Inundation of the ſea.

In this meane time the French king was appointed to haue made a viage againſt the Saracens, enimies of our faith, and had ſent to the king of England, requiring him of his companie in that iournie. But the king of England being otherwiſe occupied with the affaires of Scotland, made no direct anſwer therevnto, ſo that the French king perceiuing that the king of England was not in all things well pleaſed with him, thought good before he ſet forward on that iournie to vnderſtand his meaning, and thervpon ſent eftſoones vnto him other ambaſſadours. Theſe ambaſſadours arriued here in England and had audience, but nothing they concluded in effect, ſaue that the king promiſed to ſend his ambaſſadors ouer into France, to haue further communication

Ambaſſadors from the French king.

in the matter touching ſuch points of variance as depended betwixt them.

Rich.South.
A parlement at London.

The king entreth into Scotland with an armie
1335

Although Edward Balioll by the puiſſance of the king of Englands aſſiſtance had got the moſt part of the realme of Scotland into his hands, yet diuerſe caſtels were holden againſt him, and the Scots dailie ſlipped from him, and by open rebellion moleſted him diuerſe waies. The king of England aduertiſed thereof called a parlement at London, wherein he tooke order for his iournie into Scotland, had a tenth and a fifteenth granted him, and ſo about Alhallontide he came to Newcaſtell vpon Tine, with his armie, and remained there till the feaſt of ſaint Katharine, and then entring into Scotland, came to Rockeſburgh, where he repared the caſtell which had beene aforetime deſtroied. After the third daie of Chriſtmaſſe was paſt, the king of England entred into Ethrike forreſt, beating it vp and downe, but the Scots would not come within his reach: where vpon he ſent the king of Scots that was there preſent with him, and the earles of Warwike and Oxenford, and certeine other barons and knights with their retinues vnto Carleill, to keepe and defend thoſe weſt parts of the realme from the Scots.

Hen.Marle.

A dearth and deth of cattell.

In their iournie thitherwards, they went by Peplis to apprehend certeine Scots, whome they heard to be lodged and abiding thereabouts, but when they found them not, they waſted the countrie, and turned ſtreight to Carleill, where after the Epiphanie there aſſembled an armie foorth of the counties of Lancaſter, Weſtmerland, and Cumberland, by the kings appointment, which armie togither with the king of Scots and the other lords there found, entred Scotland, and did much hurt in the countrie of Galloway, deſtroieng towns and all that they found abroad, but the people were fled and withdrawne out of their waie. And when they had taken their pleaſure, the king of Scots returned backe to Carleill. This yere there fell great abundance of raine, and therevpon inſued morren of beaſts: alſo corne ſo failed this yeare, that a quarter of wheat was ſold at fortie ſhillings.

Anno Reg.9.

Ambaſſadors ſent into France.

Finallie, when the king had finiſhed his buſineſſe in Scotland, as to his ſeeming ſtood with his pleaſure, he returned into England, and ſhortlie after he ſent the archbiſhop of Canturburie, ſir Philip de Montacute, and Geffrey Scroope vnto the French king, to conclude a firme amitie & league with him. Theſe lords comming into France, were not at the firſt admitted to the French kings preſence, till they ſhewed themſelues halfe greeued with that ſtrange dealing: for then finallie were they brought vnto him, who gentlie receiued them, and cauſed the matter to be intreated of about the which they were ſent, in furthering whereof, ſuch diligence was vſed, that finallie a concluſion of peace and concord was agreed, and ſo farre paſſed, that proclamation thereof ſhould haue beene made in Paris, and in the countrie thereabout the next day: but ſcarſe were the Engliſh ambaſſadours returned vnto their lodgings, when they were ſent for backe againe, and further informed, that the French king minded to haue Dauid king of Scotland compriſed in the ſame league, ſo that he might be reſtored vnto his kingdome, and the Balioll put out. The Engliſh ambaſſadors anſwered, that their commiſſion extended not ſo farre, and therfore they could not conclude any thing therein. Herevpon all the former communication was reuoked, and cleerelie made void, ſo that the Engliſh ambaſſadors returned home into England without anie thing concluded.

Ri. Southwell.
A parlement.

The Welſhmen.

Dundee burnt.

About the feaſt of the Aſcenſion, the king held a parlement at Yorke, ordeining for his iournie into Scotland, and alſo deuiſing by authoritie thereof diuerſe profitable ſtatutes for the common-wealth. About midſummer, he came with his armie vnto Newcaſtell vpon Tine, whither came to him from Carleill the king of Scots, and there order was taken, that the king of England, and his brother the earle of Cornwall, the earls of Warwike, Lancaſter, Lincolne, and Hereford, with all their retinues, and the earle of Gulikerland, that had married the kings ſiſter, and with a faire companie was come to ſerue the king in theſe warres, ſhould paſſe to Carleill, and on the twelfe of Iulie enter Scotland. The king of Scots, the earles of Surrie, and Arundell, and the lord Henrie Percie, a baron of great might and power, being all of kin vnto the king of Scots, with their retinues ſhould go to Berwike, and there enter the ſame day aboue mentioned, and as it was appointed, ſo it was put in practiſe. For both kings on the ſame day entring Scotland in ſeuerall parts paſſed forward without reſiſtance at their pleaſures, waſting and burning all the countries, both on this ſide, and beyond the Scotiſh ſea. The Welſhmen ſpared neither religious perſons nor their houſes, making no more accompt of them than of others: the mariners of Newcaſtell alſo burnt a great part of the towne of Dundee.

The earle of Namure.

Fourdon.

The earle of Murrey takē.
Rich.Southw.

Fourdon.

The earle of Namure about the ſame time comming into England, to ſerue the king in his warres, tooke vpon him to paſſe into Scotland with a band of an hundred men of armes, beſide ſeauen or eight knights which he brought ouer with him, and certeine Engliſhmen to be his guides from Berwike, but he was aſſailed before he could get to Edenburgh, by the earles of Murrey and Dunbarre, and the lord William Dowglas: ſo that notwithſtanding the ſtrangers bare themſelues verie manfullie, yet oppreſſed with multitude, they were forced to giue place, but yet ſtill fighting and defending themſelues till they came to Edenburgh, and there taking the hill where the ruines of the caſtell ſtood, kept the ſame all the night folowing. But the next day they deſpairing of all ſuccours, and hauing neither meat nor drinke, at length yeelded themſelues, whom the earle of Murrey receiuing right courteouſlie, ſhewed them ſuch fauour, that without ranſome he was contented they ſhould returne into their countries: and for more ſuertie, he conueied the ſaid earle of Namure (whome the Scotiſh books call earle of Gelderland) and his companie backe to the borders; but in his returne, or ſhortlie after, the ſame earle of Murrey that tooke himſelfe for gouernour of Scotland, was encountred by the Engliſhmen that laie in garriſon within Rockeſburgh, and by them taken priſoner. The lord William Dowglas being there alſo with him eſcaped, but Iames Dowglas brother to the ſaid lord William Dowglas, was at that bickering ſlaine with diuerſe other.

Scots ſubmit them to the king of England.

The caſtell of Kildrummie.

The earle of Atholl ſlaine.

About the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our ladie, diuerſe of the Scotiſh nobilitie came and ſubmitted themſelues to the king, namelie the earle of Atholl and others, but earle Patrike of Dunbarre, and the earle of Roſſe, the lord Andrew de Murrey, the lord William Dowglas, and the lord William de Keth, and manie other would not come in, but aſſembling themſelues togither, did all the miſcheefe they could vnto thoſe that had receiued the kings peace. The earle of Atholl in the winter ſeaſon, beſieging the caſtell of Kildrummie beyond the Scotiſh ſea was ſet vpon by the earles of Dunbarre and Roſſe, ſo that they ſlue him there in field, for his men fled from him (through ſome traitorous practiſe as was thought) and left him and a few other in all the danger. ¶ The king of England being returned foorth of Scotland, remained for the moſt part of the winter in the north parts, and held his Chriſtmaſſe at Newcaſtell vpon

Tine,

1336

Anno Reg. 10.

A truce granted to the Scots.

Time, and after the Epiphanie hauing aſſembled an armie readie to paſſe into Scotland, to reuenge the earle of Athols death, which he tooke verie diſpleaſantlie, there came in the meane time ambaſſadors both from the pope and the French king, and found the king of England at Berwike, readie with his armie to ſet forwards into Scotland. But theſe ambaſſadors did ſo much by intreatie with the two kings of England and Scotland, that about the feaſt of the Purification, a truce was agréed vpon to indure till midlent.

The ſtoutnes of Scots hindered the concluſion of the peace.

Then was a parlement to be holden at London, and herewith articles were drawne, and certeine petitions put forth, vpon the which if the parties in the meane time could agrée, the peace accordinglie might be eſtabliſhed, if not, then the warre to be proſecuted as before. The chiefeſt article and petition which the Scots propoſed, as deſirous to be therein reſolued, was to vnderſtand which of the two that claimed the crowne of Scotland, to wit, Edward Balioll, and Dauid Bruce, had moſt right thereto. But when in the parlement time the lord Maurice de Murrey ſlue ſir Geffrey de Roſſe a Scotiſh knight, that was ſhiriffe of Aire and Lenarke, being of the Baliols ſide, for that in time of open warre the ſame ſir Geffrey had ſlaine his brother, vpon reſpect of this preſumptuous part, and by reaſon of ſuch ſtoutneſſe as the Scots otherwiſe ſhewed, no concluſion of peace could be brought to effect.

An armie ſent into Scotland.

S. Iohns towne fortified.

Adam Merimuth.

The K. goeth into Scotland.

Before the feaſt of the Aſcenſion, the king of England ſent forward the king of Scots, the earles of Lancaſter, Warwike, Oxford, and Anegos, and diuerſe lords and capteins with an armie, the which after Whitſuntide entring into Scotland, paſſed ouer the Scotiſh ſea, and comming to ſaint Iohns towne (which the Scots had burnt, deſpairing to defend it againſt the Engliſh power) they ſet in hand to fortifie it, compaſſing it with déepe diches and a ſtrong rampier of earth. ¶ About the ſame time the king called a parlement at Northampton, where leauing the prelats and other to treat of ſuch matters as were proponed, he himſelfe rode northwards, and comming to Berwike, tooke with him a ſmall band of men of armes, and ſetting forward, haſted forth till he came to ſaint Iohns towne, where he found the king of Scots, and other his nobles greatlie wondering at his comming thither ſo vnlooked for. After he had reſted there a little, he tooke with him part of the armie, and paſſed forward ouer the mounteines of Scotland euen vnto Elgen in Murrey and Inuernes, further by manie miles than euer his grandfather had gone.

Aberden burnt.

Tho. Walſin.

Sir Thomas Roſſelin ſlain.

The earle of Cornewall.

The lord Douglas.

Striueling caſtell built or rather repared.

In his returne he burnt the towne of Aberden, in reuenge of the death of a right valiant knight called ſir Thomas Roſſelin, that comming thither by ſea tooke land there, and was ſlaine by the enimies: he burnt diuerſe other townes and places in this voiage, ſpoiling and waſting the countries where he came, not finding anie to reſiſt him. About Lammas the earle of Cornewall with the power of Yorkeſhire and Northumberland, and the lord Anthonie Lucie with the Cumberland and Weſtmerland men entred Scotland, and deſtroied the weſt parts, as Carrike, and other which obeied not the Balioll. The lord William Douglas ſtill coaſted the Engliſhmen, dooing to them what damage he might. At length this armie loden with preies and ſpoile returned home, but the earle of Cornewall with his owne retinue came through to ſaint Iohns towne, where he found the king being returned thither frō his iournie which he had made beyond the mounteins. The king ſtaied not long there, but leauing the king of Scots with his companie in that towne, he went to Striueling, where, on the plot of ground vpon which the deſtroied caſtell had ſtood, he built an other fortreſſe, called a Pile. And now, bicauſe he had ſpent a great deale of treaſure in thoſe warres of Scotland, he ſummoned a parlement to be holden at Notingham, in which there was granted to him a tenth of the cleargie, and likewiſe of the citizens and burgeſſes of good townes, and a fiftéenth of other that dwelt forth of cities and boroughes.

The death of the earle of Cornewall.

The deceaſſe of Hugh de Freſnes earle of Lincolne.

Walter Giſburgh.

Thom. Walſ.

The lord Stafford.

About the latter end of October, Iohn of Eltham earle of Cornewall the kings brother departed this life at ſaint Iohns towne in Scotland: his bodie was afterwards conueied to Weſtminſter, & there buried with all ſolemne funerals. The Scotiſh writers affirme that he was ſlaine by his brother king Edward for the crueltie he had vſed in the weſt parts of Scotland, in ſleaing ſuch as for ſafegard of their liues fled into churches. Moreouer, in December there deceaſſed at S. Iohns towne aforeſaid, Hugh de Freſnes, that in right of the counteſſe of Lincolne was intituled earle of Lincolne. He died of the flix, or (as was ſaid) through exceſſiue cold, which in thoſe quarters in that cold time of the yeare ſore afflicted the Engliſh people. ¶ In the meane time, about the feaſt of ſaint Luke the euangeliſt, the king went with an armie into Scotland toward the caſtell of Bothuille, and comming thither repared the ſame, which by the Scots had latelie before béene deſtroied. The baron Stafford at the ſame time comming towards the king with a power of men, tooke Douglas Dale in his waie, taking in the ſame a great preie of cattell and other things.

A ſtatute ordeined by the Scots in fauour of the K. of England.

Polydor.

Townes fortified by king Edward in Scotland.

Before Chriſtmaſſe the king returned into England, but the king of Scots remained all the winter in ſaint Iohns towne with a ſober companie. When the king had ſetled the ſtate of Scotland vnder the gouernement of the Balioll, thoſe Scotiſhmen which tooke part with the Balioll, ordeined as it were in recompenſe of king Edwards friendſhip a ſtatute, whereby they bound themſelues to the ſaid king Edward and his heires kings of England, that they ſhould aid and aſſiſt him againſt all other princes: and whenſoeuer it chanced that either he or any king of England being rightfull inheritor, had any wars againſt any prince, either within the land or without, the Scotiſhmen of their owne proper coſts and expenſes ſhould find thrée hundred horſſemen, & a thouſand footmen well and ſufficientlie arraied for the warre, the which thirtéene hundred men the Scots ſhould wage for a whole yeare: & if the king of England ended not his warres within the yeare, then he to giue wages to the ſaid number of thirtéene hundred Scots, as he dooth to other of his ſouldiers and men of warre. There be that write, that the king of England ſhould not onlie fortifie ſaint Iohns towne about this time, as before is mentioned, but alſo ſaint Andrews, Cowper, Aberdine, Dunfermeling, with certeine other caſtels, leauing gariſons of men in the ſame. But for ſo much as ye may read ſufficientlie of thoſe troubles, in Scotland; and of the returne of king Dauid forth of France, and how his realme was recouered out of the Baliols hands in the Scotiſh chronicles: we néed not here to make anie long diſcourſe thereof.

Th. Walſing.

Croxden.

1337

The king ſtudieth to gather monie to mainteine his warres.

The quéene was deliuered of hir ſecond ſonne at Hatfield, who was therfore named William of Hatfield, who liued but a ſhort time, departing this world when he was but yoong. The king being returned home out of Scotland, ſought by all waies poſſible how to recouer monie, both to ſupplie his charges for the Scotiſh wars, and alſo to furniſh the other wars which he meant to take in hand againſt the French king: he got ſo much into his hands (as it is reported by writers) that it was verie ſcant and hard to come by throughout the whole realme: by reaſon of which

Great cheapneſſe of wars and ſcarſitie of monie.

ſcarſitie and want of monie, or vpon ſome other neceſſarie cauſe, vittels, and other chaffer and merchandize were exceeding cheape: for at London a quarter of wheat was ſold for two ſhillings, a fat oxe for ſix ſhillings eight pence, a fat ſheepe for ſix pence or eight pence, halfe a dozen of pigeons for one penie, a fat gooſe for two pence, a pig for one penie, and ſo all other vittels after the like rate.

This yeare was the warre proclamed betwixt England and France, cheefelie by the procurement of the lord Robert Dartois, a Frenchman, as then baniſhed out of France, vpon occaſion of a claime by him made vnto the earldome of Artois. This lord Robert after he was baniſhed France, fled ouer vnto king Edward, who gladlie receiued him and made him earle of Richmond. ¶ All the goods of the Italians were by the kings commandement this yeare confiſcate to his vſe, and ſo likewiſe were the goods of the monks of the Cluniake and Ciſterceaux orders. ¶ This yeare alſo a comet or blaſing ſtarre appeared, with long and terrible ſtreames paſſing from it. In the eleuenth yeare of his reigne, the king held a parlement at Weſtminſter, about the time of Lent, during the which, of the earledome of Cornewall he made a duchie, and gaue it vnto his eldeſt ſonne Edward, that was then earle of Cheſter, whom alſo (as ſome write) he created at the ſame time prince of Wales.

1338
Anno Reg. 11.

Thom. Walſ.
Ran. Higd.
Polydor.
Fabian.

Moreouer in reward of ſeruice, there were ſix noble men at this parlement aduanced to the honour and title of earles, as the lord Henrie ſonne to the earle of Lancaſter was created earle of Derbie, or after ſome writers, earle of Leiceſter; William Bohun was created earle of Northampton, William Montacute earle of Saliſburie, Hugh Audeley earle of Gloceſter, William Clinton earle of Huntingdon, and Robert Vfford earle of Suffolke. This creation was on the ſecond ſundaie in Lent, and the ſame day were twentie knights made, whoſe names for breefeneſſe we do here omit. In this parlement it was enacted, that no man ſhould weare any maner of ſilke in gowne, cote, or doublet; except he might diſpend of good and ſufficient rent an hundred pounds by yeare, which act was not long obſerued. For the nature of man is ſuch, that of it owne corrupt & euill inclination, it withſtandeth good things, and chooſeth rather to follow whatſoeuer is forbidden, yea though the ſame be ſtarke naught and offenſiue to law and conſcience: which prepoſterous and ouerthwart diſpoſition the poet noteth well, ſaieng,

Creations of noble men.

Additions to Hen. Marle. Croxden.

An act of arraie, againſt ſumptuous apparell.

——— *aliudq; cupido*
Mens aliud ſuadet: video meliora, proboq;
Deteriora ſequor.

It was alſo ordeined by the aduiſe of this parlement, that Henrie of Lancaſter newlie created erle of Derbie ſhould go ouer into Gaſcoine, there to remaine as the kings lieutenant. But Richard Southwell ſaith, that the earle of Saliſburie, and not the earle of Derbie was appointed to go into Gaſcoine at that time, and the earle of Warwike into Scotland. Moreouer in this parlement it was enacted that no wooll of the Engliſh growth ſhould go forth of the land, but be here wrought and made in cloath: and further an act was ordeined for receiuing of ſtrangers that were clothworkers, and order taken, that fit and conuenient places ſhould be aſſigned forth to them where to inhabit, with manie priuileges and liberties, and that they ſhould haue wages and ſtipends allowed them, till they were ſo ſetled as they might gaine commodiouſlie by their occupation and ſcience: but now to returne againe to other matters.

An act for reſtraint of tranſporting ouer wools.
Adam Merimuth.

Rich. South.
The caſtell of Bothule taken.

The Scots this yeare tooke the caſtell of Bothuile by ſurrender, ſo as the Engliſhmen that were within it, departed with their liues and goods ſaued. Diuerſe other caſtels and fortreſſes were taken by the Scots in Fife, and in other parts, but the countrie of Galloway was by them ſpeciallie ſore afflicted, bicauſe the people there held with their lord Edward Balioll. Herevpon it was agreed in this laſt parlement, that the earle of Warwike being appointed to go thither, ſhould haue with him the power beyond Trent northwards. But when about the Aſcenſiontide the Scots had beſieged the caſtell of Striueling, the king of England in perſon haſted thitherwards, of whoſe approach the Scots no ſooner vnderſtood, but that ſtreightwaies they brake vp their ſiege, and departed thence: the king therefore returned backe into the ſouth parts. About the ſame time ſir Euſtace de Maxwell knight, lord of Carlauerocke, reuolted from Edward Balioll vnto Dauid le Bruſe his ſide, and ſo that part dailie increaſed, and alſo the warre continued, with damage inough vnto both parts.

Sir Euſtace Maxwell.

In the beginning of September the earle of Warwike with an armie entred Scotland by Berwike, and the lord Thomas de Wake, and the lord Clifford, with the biſhop of Carleill accompanied with the Weſtmerland and Cumberland men, entred by Carleill, and within two daies after met with the earle of Warwike, as before it was appointed, and ſo ioining togither, they paſſed forwards, ſpoiling and waſting Teuidale, Moſetdale, and Nidesdale. The lord Anthonie Lucie with a part of the armie entred into Galloway, and after he had waſted that countrie, he returned to the armie, which by reaſon of the exceeding great weat that fell in that ſeaſon, they could not keepe on their iournie into Douglaſdale, and to Aire, as they had appointed: but hauing remained in Scotland twelue daies, they returned altogither vnto Carleill. Edward Balioll was not with them in this iournie, but remained ſtill in England.

The earle of Warwike inuadeth Scotland.

The Scots in reuenge hereof made diuerſe rodes into England, withdrawing ſtill with their prey and booties, before the Engliſh power could aſſemble to giue them battell. About Alhallontide, the Scots beſieged the caſtell of Edenburgh, but the biſhop of Carleill, the lord Randoll Dacres of Gilleſland, with the power of the counties of Cumberland and of Weſtmerland, and the king of Scots Edward Balioll, with the lord Anthonie Lucie, and ſuch companie as they brought from Berwike, meeting at Rokeſburgh, marched forth vnto Edenburgh, and chaſing the Scots from the ſiege, tooke order for the ſafe keeping of the caſtell from thenceforth, and returned into England. In this meane time things happened ſo well to the purpoſe of king Edward, that by practiſe he alienated the hearts of the Flemings from the obedience of their earle, being altogither an earneſt freend to the French king. He therefore vnderſtanding the minds of his people, ſought to winne them by ſome gentle treatie, and ſo did euen at the firſt, concluding an agreement with them of Gaunt, which were fullie at a point to haue entred into league with the king of England, as with him whoſe freendſhip by reaſon of the traffike of merchandize, (and namelie of the Engliſh wools) they knew to be more neceſſarie for their countrie than the French kings.

The caſtell of Edenburgh beſieged.

The ſiege is raiſed.

The K. practiſeth with ẏ Flemings.

Although by the helpe of the biſhop of Tournie the earle of Flanders cauſed them to ſtaie from concluding or ioining in anie ſuch bonds of amitie with the king of England for that time, yet he doubted the arriuall of ſome power out of England, and therevpon appointed his baſtard brother Guie of Rickenburgh, and certeine other noble men and capteins, with a crue of men of warre to lie in the Ile of Cadſant,

The biſhop of Tournie.

Ia. Meir.

The Ile of Cadſant.

An armie ſent by ſea into Flanders.

Foure thouſand ſaith Ia. Meir.

Froiſſard.

Cadſant, to defend the paſſage there, and to ſee that no Engliſh ſhips ſhould come or go that waie by the ſeas: whereof the king of England being aduertiſed, ſent thither the earle of Derbie, the lord Lewes Beauchampe, the lord Reginald Cobham, alſo the lord William ſonne to the earle of Warwike, the lord Walter de Mannie an Hanneuier, and other lords, knights, and capteins, with a power of fiue hundred men of armes, and two thouſand archers, the which comming to the foreſaid Ile of Cadſant, found the Flemings, about fiue thouſand in number, readie arranged on the towne dikes and ſands, in purpoſe to defend the entrie, which they did a certeine ſpace right valiantlie: but in the end they were diſcomfited, and thrée thouſand of them ſlaine in the ſtréets, hauen, and houſes. Sir Guie the baſtard of Flanders was taken with diuerſe other knights and gentlemen, the towne was burnt, and the goods with the priſoners were carried into England. This chanced on a ſundaie the daie before the feaſt of ſaint Martine in Nouember. Where the lord Walter de Mannie might haue had 11 thouſand pounds ſterling for the ranſome of the ſaid ſir Guie, and other priſoners, the king bought them of him in the fouretéenth yeare of his reigne for eight thouſand pounds ſterling, as by records in the tower it appeareth.

Two cardinals come into England.

Additions to Meri.

1339

Ri. Southwell.

The caſtell of Dunbar beſieged.

Anno Reg. 12.

About the feaſt of ſaint Martine in winter, there came vnto London two cardinals, ſent by the pope to treat for a peace betwixt the kings of England, and France. ¶ The archbiſhop of Canturburie, with the biſhops of Wincheſter, Elie, Chicheſter, Couentrie, & the cõmoners of the citie of London met them on Shooters hill. The duke of Cornewall with the earle of Surrie, and manie other of the nobilitie receiued them a mile without the citie. The king himſelfe receiued them at the leſſer hall doore of his palace at Weſtminſter, and brought them into the painted chamber, where they declared their meſſage: wherevpon the king cauſed a parlement to be ſummoned at London, to begin the morrow after Candlemaſſe day. The king held his Chriſtmaſſe at Gildford, and within the octaues of the ſame feaſt he tooke his iournie towards Scotland, or rather (as other haue) he ſent thither the earles of Saliſburie, Gloceſter, Derbie, and Anegos, with thrée barons, the lords Percie, Neuill, and Stafford, the which with twentie thouſand men beſieged the caſtell of Dunbar.

A parlement.

Croxden.

A ſubſidie.

The cardinals returne.

This ſiege began euen in the beginning of the twelfth yeare of king Edwards reigne, and continued for the ſpace of ninetéene wéeks, with ſmall gaine and leſſe honour to the Engliſhmen, in ſo much that the ſame brake vp vnder a colour of a truce, when there was no hope of winning the place, and that the noble men that laie there at ſiege, haſted to make an end, that they might attend the king in his iournie ouer into Brabant. The morrow after Candlemaſſe day the parlement began, in which there was a grant made to the king by the laitie of the one halfe of their woolles through the whole realme for the next ſummer, which he receiued, and likewiſe he leuied of the cleargie the whole, cauſing them to paie nine marks of euerie ſacke of the beſt wooll. But after the rate of the one halfe he tooke in whoſe hands ſo euer it was found, aſwell merchants as others. After this, he tooke a fiftéenth of all the communaltie of his realme in wooll, the price of euerie ſtone conteining fouretéene pounds rated at two ſhillings. The one and twentith of March the two cardinals tooke the ſea at Douer, and in their companie went ouer the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the biſhop of Durham to treat of a peace, if by any good means the two kings might be made fréends. But as it appeared, their trauell was in vaine, for although they abode togither for a time on the frontiers, dooing their beſt indeuor, yet their trauell nothing auailed, as by that which followeth is moſt manifeſt.

Iames or Iacob Arteueld, a honimaker of Gant.

His authoritie among the commons.

A league betwixt England & Flanders.

Ia. c. Meir.

Siger de Curtrey.

The Flemings that fauoured king Edward, were put in ſuch comfort by the late victorie obteined by the Engliſhmen in the Ile of Cadſant, that falling to their former practiſe, one Iaques or Iacob van Arteueld an honimaker of the towne of Gant, was choſen amongſt them to be as it were the defender of the people, and namelie of the weauers, and other clothworkers. Finallie, his authoritie grew ſo hugelie amongſt all the whole number of the commons in Flanders, that he might doo more with them than their earle; and yet the earle to reconcile the people to his fauour, ceaſſed not to vſe all courteous means towards them that he could deuiſe, as releaſing cuſtomes and duties of monie, pardoning offenſes, forfeitures, and other ſuch like, but all would not auaile him. The king of England had ſo woon them by the meanes of the ſaid Iaques van Arteueld, that in the end Iohn archbiſhop of Canturburie, & Richard the biſhop of Durham, came into Flanders as ambaſſadors from king Edward, and trauelled ſo earneſtlie to draw the Flemings vnto an amitie with their maſter king Edward, that finallie a league was concluded betwixt the countrie of Flanders, and the ſaid king at Gant, in the preſence of the earle of Gelderland, as then being there. The chéefe authors of this league were the ſaid Iaques van Arteueld, and a noble man of Flanders, called Siger de Curtrey.

The fullers of Gant.

The earle of Flanders fléeth into France.

He returneth home.

Dixmue.

He eftſoones fléeth.

But this Siger being immediatlie after apprehended by the earle of Flanders, was put to death. Which act procured the earle ſo much hatred of the people, that ſhortlie after comming to Bruges, and attempting to force the towne to his will, he was forced himſelfe to flée from thence, for otherwiſe he had béene either taken or ſlaine; the commons of the towne & namelie the fullers, of whome he had ſlaine ſome there in the ſtréets, roſe ſo faſt vpon him. Herevpon fléeing home to his houſe, he tooke his wife, and a ſonne which he had, and fled with them into France, ſo forſaking his countrie which was now gouerned by Iaques van Arteueld, as though he had béene immediatlie lord thereof. After this, the earle returned home againe, as it were with the French kings commiſſion, to perſuade the Flemings to renounce the league concluded with the king of England: but he could bring nothing to paſſe, but was ſtill in danger to haue béene arreſted and ſtaied of his owne ſubiects, both at Gant and in other places, but namelie at Dixmue, where if he had not made the more haſt awaie, he had béene taken by them of Bruges. Amongſt other of his ſtuffe which he left behind him in that haſtie departure, his ſignet was forgotten, and not miſſed till he came to ſaint Omers, whither he fled for his ſafegard.

Flanders wholie at the deuotion of K. Edward.

K. Edward ſaileth to Antwerpe.

Froiſſard.

The marques of Gulike.

The earle of Gelderland created a duke.

Thus ye may perceiue that Flanders reſted wholie at king Edwards commandement, who to eſtabliſh amitie alſo with the duke of Brabant, and other princes of the empire, about the middeſt of Iulie ſailed ouer vnto Antwerpe, with his wife quéene Philip, his ſonne the prince of Wales, and a great number of other of the péeres and barons of his realme, where he was moſt ioifullie receiued of the duke of Brabant, and other lords of the empire. There was ſent to the emperour to procure his fréendſhip, from the king of England, the marques of Gulike with certeine noble men of England, and alſo certeine of the duke of Gelderland his councell, the which marques was made at that time an earle, & the earle of Gelderland was made duke. This duke of Gelderland named Reginald had married the ladie Iſabell ſiſter of king Edward, and therefore in fauour of the king his brother in law, trauelled moſt earneſtlie to procure him all the fréends within the empire that he could make.

K. Edwards confederates.

The princes and lords then, with whom king Edward was alied and confederated at that time, I find to be theſe; the dukes of Brabant and Gelderland, the archbiſhop of Cullen, the marqueſſe of Gulike, ſir Arnold de Baquehen, and the lord of Valkenburgh, who all promiſed to defie the French king, in the king of Englands quarrell, and to ſerue him with notable numbers of men, where and whenſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe him to appoint. The aliance of the earle of Heinault firſt procured the king of England all theſe fréends, vnto the which earle he had ſent ouer the biſhop of Lincolne and other in ambaſſage, immediatlie after that he had reſolued to make warres againſt France, by the counſell and aduiſe of ſir Robert Dartois, as in the French hiſtorie more plainlie appeareth. In this meane ſeaſon was quéene Philip brought to bed at Antwerpe of hir third ſonne, which was named Lionell. ¶ The king of England earneſtlie followed his buſineſſe, and had manie treaties with his fréends and confederats, till at length he made ſure to him the fréendſhip of all thoſe townes & countries, which lie betwixt France and the riuer of Rhene: onelie the cities of Tournie and Cambrie held of the French kings part, though Cambrie belonged to the empire.

Lionell that was after duke of Clarence borne.

Additions to Adam Merimuth.

A parlement at Northampton.

A ſubſidie vpon wooll.

The cleargie granteth a tenth.

In this twelfth yeare of king Edwards reigne at a councell holden at Northampton by the duke of Cornewall, lord warden of England in abſence of the king his brother, and by manie of the prelats and barons of the realme, there was granted to the king a ſubſidie in wooll, to the great burthen of the commons: but for ſo much as the cleargie of the land was not preſent at that councell, it was ordeined that they ſhould be called, and ſo they aſſembled in a conuocation at London the firſt day of October, in which the cleargie granted to the king a tenth for the third yeare then to come, ouer and beſides the two tenths before granted, and that the tenth of this preſent yeare ſhould be paid in ſhorter time than it was appointed: but they flatlie denied to grant their wools, which neuertheleſſe the laitie paid, and that to their great hinderance, for it roſe double to a fiftéene. From the beginning of October, to the beginning of December this yeare, fell ſuch abundance of raine that it hindered greatlie the huſbandmen in ſowing of their winter corne: and in the beginning of December came ſuch a vehement froſt continuing the ſpace of twelue wéeks, that it deſtroied vp all the ſéed almoſt that was ſowne, by reaſon whereof ſmall ſtore of winter corne came to proofe in the ſummer following: but though there was no plentie, yet all kinds of graine were ſold at a reaſonable price, through want of monie.

Great raine.

1339

Anno Reg. 13.

The Frenchmen invade ÿ coaſts of this land.

Plimmouth burnt.

The earle of Deuonſhire.

Rich. South.

William Dowglas.

The Frenchmen by ſea ſore troubled the ſea coaſts of this realme, ſpeciallie where the champion countries ſtretch towards the ſea coaſts. At Haſtings in the feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti*, they burnt certeine fiſhermens houſes, and ſlue ſome of the inhabitants. Alſo in the hauens about Deuonſhire and Cornewall, and towards Briſtow, they tooke and burnt certeine ſhips, killing the mariners that came to their hands, and in the Whitſun-wéeke they landed at Plimmouth, and burnt the more part of the towne: but Hugh Courtnie earle of Deuonſhire, a man almoſt foureſcore yeares of age, and other knights and men of the countrie came againſt theſe Frenchmen, ſleaing ſuch as came into their hands to the number of fiue hundred, as was eſtéemed, and chaſed the reſidue. ¶ The Scots alſo about the ſame time did much hurt and great miſchéefe to the Engliſhmen both by ſea and land.

Hect. Boetius.

A floud.

In the beginning of Iulie the lord William Dowglas, with a number of men of warre, returned from France home into England, and to him vpon his returne the caſtell of Cowper was deliuered, with all the countrie thereabouts. After this, comming to the ſiege of S. Iohns towne, which the gouernour the earle of Murrey, the erle of March, Patrike de Dunbarre, and other of the Scotiſh lords had beſieged, at length it was ſurrendered by ſir Thomas Vthred capiteine there of the Engliſh gariſon, departing in ſafetie home into England. Thrée daies before the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our ladie, there chanced in the night ſeaſon ſuch a mightie and ſudden inundation of water at Newcaſtell vpon Tine, that it bare downe a péece of the towne wall, ſix perches in length, néere to a place called Walknow, where a hundred and twentie temporall men with diuerſe préeſts and manie women were drowned and lamentablie periſhed.

Cõmiſſioners ſent to treat of peace.

They cannot agrée.

Cambrie beſieged.

Ia. Meir.

The king raiſeth his ſiege and entreth into France. Flaminguerie.

But now to returne to the king, which all this while remained in Brabant. Ye haue heard how the citie of Cambrie held with the French king: wherefore the K. of England aſſembling togither a mightie ſtrong armie aſwell of Engliſhmen as of the low countries of Dutchland, ment to beſiege it, but firſt he ſent the archbiſhop of Canturburie with the biſhops of Lincolne and Durham vnto Arras, as commiſſioners from him to méet there with the archbiſhop of Rouen, and the biſhops of Langres and Beauuais, appointed to come thither as commiſſioners from the French king, to treat with the Engliſhmen of a peace, but they could not agrée vpon anie concluſion, wherevpon king Edward, comming forward with his power, approched to Cambrie, and planted his ſiege round about it. But the biſhop, not meaning to deliuer the citie vnto king Edward nor vnto anie other that ſhould demand it to the behoofe of the emperour Ludouike of Bauiere, as then excommunicated of the pope, had receiued into the towne fiue thouſand Frenchmen, with the French kings eldeſt ſonne, the duke of Normandie latelie returned out of Guien, and the lord Theobald Maruiſe, with certeine companies of Sauoiſins, ſo that the citie was ſo defended, that the king of England perceiuing he ſhould but loſe time, leuied his ſiege, and entred into France, pitching his field at a place called Flaminguerie.

Fabian.
Thom. Walſi.

Southamptõ burnt.

Two Engliſh ſhips taken.

In the meane time had the French king not onelie made himſelfe ſtrong by land, but alſo by ſea, hauing ſent forth a ſtrong nauie of ſhips and gallies towards the coaſts of England, which arriuing at Southampton the mondaie after Michaelmas day, tooke and ſpoiled the towne, and the morrow after ſet fire vpon it in fiue places, ſo that a great part of it was burnt. Alſo thirtéene ſailes of the French fléet met with fiue Engliſh ſhips, and after a ſore fight which continued nine houres, tooke two of thoſe fiue being tall and goodlie ſhips, the one called the Edward, and the other the Chriſtopher; the other thrée being ſmaller veſſels, as two of them barks and the other a caruell eſcaped by their ſwiftneſſe of ſailing. There was ſlaine in that fight vpon both parts about the number of ſix hundred men.

The French kings armie.

Iacob. Meir.

The French king himſelfe hearing that the king of England would inuade his realme, made his generall aſſemblie of his armie at Peronne; and when he heard that he was entred France, he remoued towards him with his whole power, being at the point of an hundred thouſand men, as in the French chronicle yee may read more at large. The king of England had not paſt thréeſcore thouſand in his armie at the moſt: but whileſt he laie there vpon the borders of France, his people did much hurt, making roads abroad beyond the water of Some, burning

Townes burnt by the Engliſhmen in France.

The towne of Guiſe burnt.

The earle of Heinault.

and ſpoiling abbies, towns, and villages, as Crignie, ſaint Benoit, Ribemont in Thieraſſe, ſaint Gouan, Marle, and Creſſie. Alſo the lord Beaumont of Heinault burnt the towne of Guiſe, though his daughter was as then within the ſame towne wife vnto Lewes earle of Blois: his brother William earle of Heinault was latelie before deceaſſed, leauing the earledome to his ſonne named alſo William, who continued with the king of England ſo long as he laie before Cambrie, & kept him within the bounds of the empire, as though his allegiance had bound him to no leſſe, but after the ſaid king was paſſed the riuer of Leſcault, otherwiſe called the Skell, and in Latine *Scaldis*, which diuideth the empire from the kingdome of France, he would no longer ſerue the king of England, but departed from him for feare to offend the French king, accounting that the matter perteined not now to the empire, but to the priuate quarell and buſineſſe of the king of England: notwithſtanding his vncle the ſaid ſir Iohn like a faithfull gentleman continued ſtill in king Edward his ſeruice.

The armies approch néere togither.

Froiſſard.

Robert king of Sicill diſſuadeth the French king to fight with the king of England.

The armies retire without battell.

The two armies of England and France approched within foure miles togither, ſo that euerie man thought that there would ſure haue béene battell betwixt them, as there had béene in déed, if the French king had béene willing; yet ſome ſaie, that he of himſelfe was diſpoſed thereto: but his councellors aduiſed him to the contrarie, by reaſon of certeine ſigns and tokens which they miſliked, as the ſtarting of an hare amongſt them, and ſuch like. Alſo it was ſaid that Robert king of Naples being then come into France, whoſe knowledge in aſtronomie was knowne to be great, diſſuaded the French king by his letters, that in no wiſe he ſhould fight with the king of England, for he had vnderſtanding by art of the heauenlie influences and diſpoſition of the bodies aboue, that if the French king fought with this Edward king of England, he ſhould aſſuredlie be put to the worſe. Whether this was the cauſe, or anie other, ſure it is that the Frenchmen had no mind to fight, ſo that theſe two mightie armies departed in ſunder without battell, and the king of England returned into Flanders, ſorie in déed that he had not with him halfe the number that the French king had, yet in truſt of the valiancie of his ſouldiers, choſen out of the pikedſt men through England and all the low countrie on this ſide the Rhene, he ment verelie to haue incountered his enimies, if they had come forward.

A councell at Bruſſels.

At his comming backe into Brabant, there was a councell called at Bruſſels, where were preſent all thoſe lords of the empire which had béene with him in that iournie, as the dukes of Brabant, Gelderland, and Gulike, the marques of Blankbourgh, the earle of Bergen, the lord Beaumont of Heinault otherwiſe called ſir Iohn de Heinault, the lord of Valkenbourgh, and manie others. Thither came alſo Iaques Arteueld chéefe gouernour of Flanders. Here in councell taken how the king of England might beſt mainteine the wars which be had begun thus againſt the French king, he was aduiſed that he ſhould in anie wiſe require them of Flanders to aid him, and in his quarell to defie the French king, and to go with him againſt the ſaid French king, and if they would thus doo, then ſhould he promiſe them to recouer and deliuer into their hands the towns of Liſle, Dowaie, and Bethon. The king of England, according to this aduiſe to him giuen, made ſuch requeſt to the Flemings, who therevpon deſired time to conſult togither, what they might doo therein, and finallie they declared for anſwer, that they would gladlie ſo doo, but yet whereas they were bound by faith and oth, and in the ſumme of two millians of florens in the popes chamber, not to make nor moue any warre againſt the king of France, whoſoeuer he were, on paine to loſe that ſumme, and beſide to run in the ſentence of curſing, they beſought him, that it might ſtand with his pleaſure, to take vpon him the title and armes of France, as the ſame apperteined to him of right, and then would they obey him as rightfull K. of France, and require of him acquittances in diſcharge of their bonds, and he to pardon them thereof, as rightfull king of France.

The motiō of the Flemings to haue the K. of England to take vpon him the title to the crowne of France.

The kings anſwer to the Flemings.

Theſe towns had béene ingaged to the king of Frāce for monie.

The quartering of the armes of England & France.

The king of England, though he had iuſt cauſe to claime the crowne of France, in right of his mother quéene Iſabell, yet to take vpon him the name and armes of that realme, before he had made conqueſt of any part thereof, he thought it ſtood not with much reaſon: but yet after he had cauſed the matter to be throughlie debated amongſt them of his councell, as well to ſatiſfie the Flemings, as for other reſpects, he ſaw it ſhould be the beſt waie that might be taken to the aduancement of his purpoſe. Then he anſwered the Flemings, that if they would ſweare, and ſeale to this accord, and promiſe to mainteine his warre, he would be contented to fulfill their deſire, and alſo he promiſed to get for them againe the townes of Liſle, Dowaie, and Bethune. Herevpon was a day aſſigned to méet at Gant: the king came thither, and the moſt part of the ſaid lords, and all the councellors of the good townes & places in Flanders were there aſſembled, and ſo all the foreſaid matters were rehearſed, ſworne, and ſealed, and the armes of France were then quartered with thoſe of England, and from thenceforth he tooke vpon him the name of king of France, in all his writings, proclamations, and commandements. This is noted by Chriſtopher Okland, where ſpeaking of the mingling of the French and Engliſh armes, he ſaith amongſt other things;

In Angl. prelijs ſub Edwardo 3.

———*vt hæres*
Legitimus regni Celtarum, inſignia gentis
Ille ſuis immiſcet atrox, quòd auunculus orbus
Carolus è vita ad ſuperas migrauerat oras, &c.

Polydor.

The iſſue of Philip le Beau.

Lewes Hutine.

Philip le Long.

¶ Sith then that we be come to this place, it ſhall not be much amiſſe to rehearſe ſomewhat of the right and title whereby king Edward did thus claime the crowne of France, hauing of purpoſe omitted to ſpeake thereof, till now that he intituled himſelfe with the name, & tooke vpon him to beare the armes alſo of France, vpon occaſion before expreſſed. It is well knowne that Philip le Beau king of France had iſſue by his wife quéene Ione thrée ſons, Lewes ſurnamed Hutine, Philip le Long, and Charles le Beau: alſo two daughters, the one dieng in hir infancie, and the other named Iſabell liued, and was maried vnto Edward the ſecond of that name king of England, who begot of hir this Edward the third, that made this claime. The thrée ſonnes of the foreſaid Philip le Beau reigned ech after other, as kings of France. Firſt after Philip the father, ſuccéeded his eldeſt ſonne Lewes Hutine, who had iſſue by his firſt wife Margaret, daughter to Robert duke of Burgogne, a daughter named Ione, the which was anon giuen in mariage vnto Lewes earle of Eureux: but ſhe liuing not long, died without iſſue. Hir father the ſaid Lewes Hutine married after the deceaſſe of his firſt wife, an other wife named Clemence, daughter to Charles Martell, the father of K. Robert of Sicill, whom he left great with child when he died. The child being borne proued a ſon, & was named Iohn, but liued not manie daies after. Then Philip the Long was admitted vnto the crowne of France, though manie ſtood in opinion that Ione the daughter of Lewes Hutine, which yet was aliue, onght to haue inherited the kingdome after hir father: and namelie Odo duke of Burgogne, vncle to the ſaid Ione, was moſt earneſt in that matter, in fauour

uour

Charles le Beau.

uour of his neece. But might ouercame right, ſo that he was conſtreined to be quiet. Philip le Long, after he had reigned fiue yeares, died alſo, and left no iſſue behind him. Then laſtlie Charles le Beau tooke vpon him the kingdome, and the ſeuenth yeare after died, his wife big bellied, which ſhortlie after brought forth a maiden named Blanch, that ſtreightwaies haſting to follow hir father, liued no while in this world. By this means then the bloud roiall in the heires male of Philip le Beau was extinguiſhed in his ſonne the foreſaid Charles le Beau, whereof the contention tooke beginning about the right to the crowne of France, betwixt the Frenchmen and Engliſhmen, which hangeth as yet vndecided till theſe our daies. For king Edward auerred that the kingdome of France apperteined vnto him as lawfull heire, bicauſe that he alone was remaining of the kings ſtocke, and touched his mothers father Philip le Beau, in the next degree of conſanguinitie, as he that was borne of his daughter Iſabell.

King Edward ſignifieth his right to the crowne of France.

L. Mair.

King Edward tooke vpon him the title & armes of the K. of France.

The Flemings ſweare fealtie to the king of England.

Therefore immediatlie after the deceaſſe of the ſaid Charles le Beau, by ambaſſadours ſent vnto the peeres of France, he publiſhed to them his right, requiring that they would admit him king according therevnto: but his ambaſſadours could neuer be quietlie heard, and therefore returned home without anie towardlie anſwer, which moued him in the end to attempt the recouerie of his lawfull inheritance by force, ſith by law he could not preuaile, and now by aduiſe of his freends to take vpon him both the title and armes of France, to ſignifie to the world what right he had to the ſame. After that this league therefore was concluded with them of Flanders, and that king Edward had taken vpon him the name of king of France with the armes; the duke of Gelderland and Iaques van Arteueld went vnto all the good townes and iuriſdictions of Flanders, to receiue their oths of fidelitie vnto king Edward, perſuading with the people, that the ſupreme rule belonged vnto him, ſauing to the townes their ancient lawes and liberties, and to their earle his right of proprietie.

Additions to Nic. Triuet.

Iohn of Gaunt borne.

About the latter end of this thirteenth yeare of K. Edwards reigne, the mariners and ſea-men of the cinque ports, getting them abord into a number of ſmall ſhips and balingers, well trimmed and appointed for the purpoſe, paſſed ouer to Bullongne, where they tooke land one day in a thicke foggie weather, and ſetting on the Baſe towne, they burnt nineteene gallies, foure great ſhips, and to the number of twentie ſmaller veſſels, togither with their tackle and furniture. They ſet fire alſo on the houſes that ſtood neere to the water ſide, and namelie they burnt one great houſe, wherein laie ſuch a number of oares, ſailes, armour, and croſſebowes, as might haue ſufficed to furniſh ſo manie men as could be well abord in nineteene gallies. There were manie ſlaine on both parts in atchiuing this enterpriſe, but more of the Frenchmen than of the Engliſhmen. About the ſame time the queene of England was deliuered of hir fourth ſonne in the towne of Gaunt, the which was named Iohn, firſt created earle of Richmond, and after duke of Lancaſter. He was borne about Chriſtmaſſe, in the thirteenth yere of king Edwards reigne.

1340
Anno Reg. 14.

A parlement.

Hen. Marl. Polydor.

A ſubſidie.

When king Edward had finiſhed his buſineſſe with the Flemings at Gaunt, he left his wife queene Philip there ſtill in that towne, and returned himſelfe vnto Antwerpe, and ſhortlie after about the feaſt of Candlemaſſe tooke the ſea, and came backe into England, to prouide for monie to mainteine his begun warres. And herevpon about the time of Lent following, he called his high court of parlement at Weſtminſter, in the which he aſked of his commons towards his charges, for the recouerie of his right in France, the fift part of their moueable goods, the cuſtomes of wools for two yeares to be paid aforehand, and the ninth ſheafe of euerie mans corne. At length it was agreed, that the king ſhould haue for euerie ſacke of wooll fortie ſhillings, for euerie three hundred wooll fels fortie ſhillings, and for euerie laſt of leather fortie ſhillings, and for other merchandize after the rate; to begin at the feaſt of Eaſter, in this fourteenth yeare of the kings reigne, and to indure till the feaſt of Pentecoſt then next following, and from that feaſt till the feaſt of Pentecoſt, then next inſuing into one yeare: for which the king granted, that from the feaſt of Pentecoſt, which was then to come into one yeare, he nor his heires ſhould not demand, aſſeſſe, nor take, nor ſuffer to be aſſeſſed or taken, more cuſtome of a ſacke of wooll of any Engliſhman, but halfe a marke, and vpon the wooll fels and leather the old former cuſtome.

The citie of London lendeth the king monie.

Beſide this, the citizens and burgeſſes of cities and good townes, granted to giue the ninth part of all their goods; and the forren merchants and other not liuing of gaine, nor of breeding cattell, nor of ſheepe, ſhould giue the fifteenth part of all their goods lawfullie to the value: for the which he granted that as well now in time of warre as of peace, all merchants, denizens and forreiners (thoſe excepted that were of the enimies countries) might without let ſafelie come into the realme of England with their goods and merchandize, and ſafelie tarie, and likewiſe returne, paieng the cuſtoms, ſubſidies, and profits, reſonable thereof due, ſo alwaies that the franchiſes and free cuſtoms granted by him or his predeceſſours reaſonablie to the citie of London, and other cities, burroughes, and townes, might alwaies to them be ſaued. Moreouer, there was granted vnto him the ninth ſheafe, the ninth fleece, and ninth lambe, to be taken by two yeares next comming. And for the leuieng thereof, the lords of euerie ſhire through the land, were appointed to anſwer him, euerie one for the circuit within the which he dwelled. And bicauſe the king muſt needs occupie much monie yer the receit of this ſubſidie could come to his hands, he borrowed in the meane time manie notable ſummes of diuerſe cities, and particular perſons of this land, amongſt the which he borrowed of the citie of London 20000 marks, to be paied againe of the monie comming of the foreſaid ſubſidie.

The frontiers of France full of men of warre.

The towne of Aſper burnt.

The erle of Heinault defieth the Frēch king.

In the meane while, now that king Edward was come backe into England, the warres were hotlie purſued againſt his freends, that had their lands neere to the borders of France, and namelie againſt ſir Iohn de Heinault lord Beaumont, for the Frenchmen burned all his lands of Chimaie, except the fortreſſes, and tooke from thence a great preie. All the frontiers were full of men of warre, lodged within townes in garriſon, as at Tournie, Mortaigne, S. Amond, Dowaie, Cambrie, and in other ſmaller fortreſſes. Theſe men of warre laie not idle, but were dooing oftentimes in Flanders, and ſometime otherwhere, neither was the countrie of Heinault ſpared, though the earle (as yee haue heard) did not onelie refuſe to ſerue the king of England againſt France, but alſo when the ſame king entred France, he reſorted to the French king, and ſerued him; yet by the ſuggeſtion of the biſhop of Cambrie, who complained of the Hainuiers, for the damages which they had doone him, the French garriſons of the frontiers thereabouts were commanded to make a road into that countrie, which they did, burning the towne of Aſper, and brought from thence a great bootie. The earle of Heinault ſore moued therewith to haue his lands ſo ſpoiled and burnt, defied the French king, and ioining with his vncle the lord Beaumont, entred with an armie into Thieraſſe, tooke & deſtroied

Townes burnt in Thieraſſe.

Aubenton, with Mawbert, Fonteine, Daubecuille, and diuerſe other.

Flanders interdicted.

In this meane time the French king procured the pope to pronounce his curſſe againſt the Flemings for their rebellion, and to ſuſpend all diuine ſeruice that ought to be ſaid in anie hallowed place, ſo that there were no prieſts to be found that would take vpon them to ſaie any diuine ſeruice: wherevpon the Flemings ſent ouer into England certeine meſſengers to giue notice to king Edward how they were intreated, but he ſent them word that he would bring at his comming ouer vnto them, prieſts that ſhould ſaie maſſes and other ſeruice, whether the pope would or not, for he had priuilege ſo to doo. ¶ In Aprill, William Melton archbiſhop of Yorke departed this life, after whome variance roſe in the election of a new gouernour to that church, ſo that two were elected, William la Zouch, and William Killeſbie: but at length William la Zouch tooke place, being the 43 archbiſhop that had ſit in that ſeat. ¶ The earles of Saliſburie and Suffolke, which were left in Flanders by king Edward to helpe the Flemings, ſhortlie after Eſter, or (as other haue) in the time of Lent, were diſcomfited by the garriſon of Liſle, and taken priſoners as they would haue paſſed by that towne, to haue ioined with Iaques Arteueld, meaning to beſiege Tournie; but now by the taking of thoſe two earles that enterpriſe was broken. The duke of Normandie with a great armie entered into Heinault, burning and waſting the countrie, euen to the gates of Ualenciennes and Queſnoy. And thus were they occupied in thoſe parts, whileſt the king of England prepared himſelfe with all diligence to returne into Flanders.

Ad. Merim.

Adam Merimuth.
Iac. Meir.

The earles of Saliſburie & Suffolke taken.

The countrie of Heinault inuaded.

Gaguin.

A great nauie prepared by the French king.

The French king being aduertiſed, that the king of England meant ſhortlie to returne into Flanders with a great power, in purpoſe to inuade the realme of France on that ſide, aſſembled a nauie of foure hundred ſhips vnder the leading of thrée expert capteins of the warres by ſea, as ſir Hugh Kiriell, ſir Peter Bahuchet; and a Geneweis named Barbe Noir, appointing them to the coaſts of Flanders to defend the king of England from landing there, if by any meanes they might. Theſe thrée capteins or admerals came and laie with their ſhips in the hauen of Sluiſe, for that it was ſuppoſed the king of England would arriue there, as his meaning was indéed, wherevpon when his men, ſhips, and prouiſions were once readie in the moneth of Iune, he tooke the ſea with two hundred ſaile, and directing his courſe towards Flanders, there came vnto him the lord Robert Morley, with the north nauie of England, ſo that then he had in all about thrée hundred ſaile, or (as other ſaie) two hundred and thrée ſcore.

The king of England taketh the ſea.

Polydor.
Ia. Meir.

The French nauie laie betwixt Sluiſſe and Blancbergh, ſo that when the king of England approched, either part deſcried other, & therewith prepared them to battell. The king of England ſtaied, till the ſunne which at the firſt was in his face, came ſomewhat weſtward, and ſo had it vpon his backe, that it ſhould not hinder the ſight of his people, and ſo therewith did ſet vpon his enimies with great manhood, who likewiſe verie ſtoutlie incountered him, by reaſon whereof inſued a ſore and deadlie fight betwixt them. The nauies on both ſides were diuided into thrée battels. On the Engliſh part, the earles of Glouceſter, Northampton and Huntington, who was admerall of the fléet that belonged to the cinque ports, and the lord Robert Morley admerall of the northerne nauie had the guiding of the fore ward, bearing themſelues right valiantlie, ſo that at length the Engliſhmen hauing the aduantage, not onlie of the ſunne, but alſo of the wind and tide, ſo fortunatlie, that the French fléet was driuen into the ſtreights of the hauen, in ſuch wiſe that neither the ſouldiers nor mariners could helpe themſelues, in ſomuch that both heauen, ſea, and wind, ſéemed all to haue conſpired againſt the Frenchmen. And herewith manie ſhips of Flanders ioining themſelues with the Engliſh fléet, in the end the Frenchmen were vanquiſhed, ſlaine and taken, their ſhips being alſo either taken, bowged, or broken.

The king of England ſetteth vpon his enimies.

Additions to Triuet.

The victorie of the Engliſh men at the battell of Sluiſe.

When night was come vpon them, there were thirtie French ſhips, that yet had not entred the battell, the which ſought by couert of the night to haue ſtolne awaie, and one of them being a mightie great veſſell, called the Iames of Déepe, would haue taken awaie with hir a ſhip of Sandwich that belonged to the prior of Canturburie: but by the helpe of the earle of Huntington, after they had fought all the night till the next morning, the Engliſhmen at length preuailed, and taking that great huge ſhip of Déepe, found in hir aboue foure hundred dead bodies. To conclude, verie few of the French ſhips eſcaped, except ſome of their ſmaller veſſels, and certeine gallies with their admerall Barbenoir, who in the beginning of the battell got forth of the hauen, aduiſing the other capteins to doo the like, thereby to auoid the danger which they wilfullie imbraced. There died in this battell fought (as ſome write) on midſummer daie, in the yeare aforeſaid, of Frenchmen to the number of 30000, of Engliſhmen about 4000, or (as other haue that liued in thoſe daies) not paſt 400, amongſt whom there were foure knights of great nobilitie, as ſir Thomas Monhermere, ſir Thomas Latimer, ſir Iohn Boteler, and ſir Thomas Poinings.

Additions to Triuet & Merimuth.

The Iames of Déepe.

Barbenoir,
Gaguin.
Aueſburie.
Tho. Walſi.
Adam Merimuth.

Froiſſard.
Ia. Meir.
R. Southw.
The number ſlaine.
Rich. South.

It is ſaid alſo, that the king himſelfe was hurt in the thigh. The two Engliſh ſhips that had béene taken the yéere before, the Edward and the Chriſtopher, were recouered at this time, amongſt other of the French ſhips that were taken there. ¶ Sir Peter Bahuchet was hanged vpon a croſſe pole faſtened to a maſt of one of the ſhips. Through the wilfulneſſe of this man, the Frenchmen receiued this loſſe (as the French chronicles report) bicauſe he kept the nauie ſo long within the hauen, till they were ſo incloſed by the Engliſhmen, that a great number of the Frenchmen could neuer come to ſtrike ſtroke, nor to vſe the ſhot of their artillerie, but to the hurt of their fellows. Howſoeuer it was, the Engliſhmen got a famous victorie, to the great comfort of themſelues, and diſcomfort of their aduerſaries. ¶ The king of England, after he had thus vanquiſhed his enimies, remained on the ſea by the ſpace of thrée daies, and then comming on land, went to Gant, where he was receiued of the quéene with great ioy and gladneſſe.

Rich. South.
The king goeth to Gant.
Froiſſard.

In this meane while had the duke of Normandie beſieged the caſtell of Thuine Leueſques, néere to Cambrie, which was taken by ſir Walter of Mannie, a lord of Heinault, at the firſt beginning of the warres, and euer ſince till that time kept to the king of England his vſe. The earle of Heinault, who had béene of late both in England with king Edward, and alſo in Almaine with the emperour, to purchaſe their aſſiſtance for the defenſe of his countrie againſt the inuaſions of the Frenchmen, was now returned home, and meaning to reſcue ſuch as were beſieged in Thuine, ſent for ſuccours into Flanders, and into Almaine, and in the meane time leuieng ſuch power as he could make with his owne countrie, came therewith to Ualenciennes, whither forthwith reſorted vnto him the earle of Namure with two hundred ſpeares, the duke of Brabant with ſix hundred, the duke of Gelderland, the earle of Bergen, the lord of Ualkenburgh, and diuerſe other, the which togither with the earle of Heinault went and lodged alongſt by the riuer of Leſtault ouer againſt the French hoſt, which kept ſiege (as ye haue heard) vnder

The riuer of Leſtault, or the Scelle.

vnder the conduct of the duke of Normandie before Thuine Leueſques, that is ſituate vpon the ſame riuer.

The Flemings.

Sir Richard Limoſin.

The armies brake vp.

There came alſo to the aid of the earle of Heinault Iaques Arteueld, with his thrée ſcore thouſand Flemings. Now it was thought that they would haue fought yer they had departed in ſunder, but they did not. For after it was knowne how the king of England was arriued in Flanders, and had diſcomfited the French fléet, the duke of Brabant and others thought good to breake vp their enterpriſe for that time, and to reſort vnto the king of England, to vnderſtand what his purpoſe was to doo. Neither were the Frenchmen haſtie to giue battell, ſo that after the capteins of Thuine Leueſques, ſir Richard Limoſin knight an Engliſhman, and two eſquiers, brethren to the erle of Namure, Iohn and Thierrie, had left their fortreſſe void, and were come ouer the riuer by boats vnto the earle of Heinaults campe, the armies on both ſides brake vp and departed, the Frenchmen into France, and the other to Valenciennes, and from thence the princes and great lords drew to Gaunt, to welcome the king of England into the countrie, of whome they were right ioifullie receiued: and after they had communed togither of their affaires, it was appointed by the king, that they ſhould méet him at Willefort in Brabant at a daie prefixed, where he would be readie to conſult with them about his procéedings in his warres againſt his aduerſaries the Frenchmen.

The aſſemblie of the princes at Willeford.

The couenants betwixt the k. of England & his cõfederats

At the day appointed, there came to Willefort the dukes of Brabant, and Gelderland, the earle of Heinault, Gulike, Namure, Blackenheim, Bergen, ſir Robert Dartois earle of Richmond, the earle of Valkenburgh, and Iaques Arteueld, with the other rulers of Flanders, and manie others. Here it was ordeined, that the countries of Flanders, Brabant, and Heinault, ſhould be ſo vnited and knit in one corporation, that nothing ſhould be doone amongſt them in publike affaires, but by common conſent, and if anie warres were mooued againſt anie of them, then ſhould the other be readie to aid them, againſt whome anie ſuch warre was mooued: and if vpon anie occaſion anie diſcord roſe betwixt them for anie matter, they ſhould make an end of it amongſt themſelues; and if they could not, then ſhould they ſtand to the iudgement and arbitrement of the king of England, vnto whome they bound themſelues by oth to kéepe this ordinance and agréement.

Froiſſard.

Tournie furniſhed with a ſtrong power of men.

Tournie beſieged.

The French king being informed that the king of England ment to laie ſiege vnto Tournie, as it was indéed deuiſed at this councell holden at Willefort, tooke order for the furniſhing thereof with men, munition, and vittels in moſt defenſible wiſe. There were ſent to that towne the beſt men of warre in all France, as the earle of Ewe conſtable of France, the yoong earle of Guines his ſonne, the earle of Foiz and his brethren, the earle Amerie de Narbon, with manie other, hauing with them foure thouſand ſouldiers. Sir Godmar du Foie was there before as capteine of the towne, ſo that it was prouided of all things neceſſarie. Howbeit, the king of England (according as it was appointed at the councell holden at Willefort, about the feaſt of Marie Magdalen) departed from Gaunt, and came to Tournie, hauing with him ſeauen earles of his owne countrie, as Darbie, Penbroke, Hereford, Huntingdon, Northampton, Gloceſter, and Arundell, eight prelats, eight and twentie baronets, two hundred knights, foure thouſand men of armes, and nine thouſand archers, beſides other footmen. He lodged at the gate called ſaint Martine, in the waie that is toward Liſle and Dowaie.

The great number of people at the ſiege of Tournie. Ia. Meir.

The earle of Richmond.

Anon after came the dukes of Brabant and Gelderland, the earle of Gulike, the marqueſſe of Blanqueburgh, the marqueſſe of Muſſe, the earls of Bergen, Sauines, and Heinault: alſo Iaques Arteueld, who brought with him about fortie thouſand Flemings. So that there was at this ſiege to the number of ſix ſcore thouſand men, as ſome writers affirme. There was alſo an other armie of Flemings, as of the townes of Ypres, Poppringue, Furnes, Caſſell, of the Chateleinie, & of Bergis, being to the number of fortie thouſand, appointed to make warre againſt the Frenchmen that kept ſaint Omers, and other townes there on the frontiers of Arthois, which armie was led by the earle of Richmond, otherwiſe called the lord Robert Dartois, and by ſir Henrie de Flanders, the which approching one day to ſaint Omers, were ſharplie fought with; for within ſaint Omers at that time laie a ſtrong power of Frenchmen with the duke of Burgoine, the earle of Arminacke and others.

The Frenchmen ſet vpon ŷ Flemings.

The variable fortune of fights.

Additions to Adam Merimuth.

The Flemings were not willing to ſerue, for neither had they any truſt in their capteine the ſaid erle of Richmond, neither would they willinglie haue paſſed out of their owne confines, but onlie to defend the ſame from the inuaſion of their enimies: yet through much perſuaſion, forward they went, diuided into ſundrie battels contrarie to their manner. The enimies perceiuing ſome aduantage, iſſued forth vpon them, and aſſailed them verie ſtoutlie, inſomuch that the earle of Arminacke ſetting vpon them of Ypres, ouerthrew them, and chaſed them vnto a towne called Arques, which they had a little before ſet on fire and burned. An other companie of Frenchmen, ſkirmiſhing with them of Franks, Furnes, and Bergis, put them alſo to the worſe. Contrarilie, thoſe Frenchmen that encountered with the lord Robert Dartois, and them of Bruges whome he led, ſuſteined great loſſe, and were beaten backe into the citie: the duke of Burgoine himſelfe being in no ſmall danger for a time, ſo ſharpe the bickering was betwixt them, and the euent ſo variable. Wherefore it is notablie and fitlie ſaid in this behalfe, that

——*incerti fallax fiducia Martis.* *Sil. Ital. lib. 6.*

Sir Thomas Vthred.

There be that write, that this fight continued from thrée of the clocke till euentide, and that the earle of Richmond was twiſe put to flight, for his people did leaue him in the plaine field: but at length by the aduiſe of ſir Thomas Vthred, whome the king of England had appointed to attend the ſaid earle, with manie Engliſhmen and archers, he aſſembled his people eftſoones togither againe, and ſetting on his enimies. Now when it was almoſt night, néere to the gates of ſaint Omers, he finallie ouercame them, where were ſlaine of the French part fiftéene barons and fourescore knights, beſide a great number of other people. Diuerſe alſo were ſlaine on the earle of Richmonds part at this laſt encounter, and among other an Engliſh knight, that bare armes eſchecked ſiluer and gules.

The earle of Richmond in danger to be ſlaine.

Finallie, as the earle of Richmond returned towards his campe, which laie in the vale of Caſſell, he met with certeine Arteſines and Frenchmen, which had béene chaſing the other Flemings, and though it was late in the euening, that one could not take good view of an other, yet here they fought againe, and ſo diuerſe of the Frenchmen were taken and killed, and amongſt other that were caught, was a knight of Burgoine, named ſir William de Nillie. But when the earle of Richmond and thoſe that were with him came to the place where the campe laie, they found that all the reſidue of the Flemings were fled and gone. And when the ſaid earle came to Caſſell, the people were readie to haue ſlaine him, their former malice towards him being now much increaſed with the euill ſucceſſe of this paſſed enterpriſe, ſo that he was glad to get him thence, and to repaire vnto king Edward, that laie yet at the ſiege before Tournie, during which ſiege manie proper feats of armes were doone betwixt thoſe within and them without: for few daies paſſed without the atchiuing of ſome enterpriſe.

The great armie raiſed by the French king.

Alſo the French king, hauing made his aſſemblie at Arras, and got thither a mightie hoſt, as well out of the empire as of his owne ſubiects, came and lodged at the bridge of Bouuins, thrée leagues from Tournie. There were with him the king of Bohem, the duke of Lorreine, the biſhop of Mentz, the earles of Bar, mount Belliard, & Sauoie, alſo the dukes of Burgogne and Burbone, with a great number of other earles and lords, ſo that the greateſt puiſſance of all France was iudged to be there with the king. Whileſt he laie incamped thus at Bouuins, and the king of England at Tournie, manie exploits were atchiued betwixt their people, who laie not idle, but ſtill rode abroad and oftentimes met, and then that part which was weakeſt paied for the others charges, ſo that manie were ſlaine & taken on both ſides as well of the nobilitie as other. Alſo diuerſe townes were ſacked and burned on the frontiers of France, during this ſiege at Tournie, namelie at the purſuit of the earle of Heinault, as Seclin, S. Amond, Orchies, Landas, and other.

The ladie Iane de Ualois treateth for a peace.

At length at the ſuit of the ladie Iane de Ualois, ſiſter to the French king, and mother to the earle of Heinault, trauelling ſtill betwixt the parties to bring them vnto ſome accord, it was granted that either partie ſhould ſend certeine ſufficient perſons to intreat of the matter, which ſhould méet at a little chappell, ſtanding in the fields called Eſplotin, and hereto alſo was a truce granted for thrée daies. For the Engliſh part were appointed the duke of Brabant, the biſhop of Lincolne, the duke of Gelderland, the earle of Gulike, and ſir Iohn de Heinault lord Beaumont. For the French part, the king of Bohem, Charles erle of Alanſon brother to the French king, the biſhop of Liege, the earle of Flanders, and the earle of Arminacke: and the ladie of Ualois was ſtill among them as a mediatrix, by whoſe meanes chéefelie they at length did agrée vpon a truce to indure for a yeare betwéene all parties and their men, and alſo betwéene them that were in Scotland, in Gaſcoigne, and Poictou.

A truce accorded.

It was agréed alſo by theſe commiſſioners, that there ſhould other commiſſioners of either part foure or fiue méet at Arras at a daie appointed, and thither alſo ſhould the pope ſend his legats, to treat of a perpetuall peace and full agréement to be made betwixt the two kings of England and France. There was alſo conſideration had of the Flemings, ſo that they were releaſed of all ſuch ſummes of monie as they were by anie bonds indangered to paie by forfeiture, or otherwiſe, for anie matter before that time vnto the crowne of France. Alſo they were releaſed of the interdiction and curſſe of the church, and then alſo was their earle reſtored home. It was further accorded, that the French king ſhould reſtore vnto the king of England certeine townes and places in Guien, which in the beginning of theſe warres the earle of Alanſon had taken from the Engliſhmen, as Penne in Agenois, and others. Alſo whereas the French king had ſeized the countie of Pontieu into his hands, which was the dower of quéene Iſabell, the mother of king Edward, he ſhould alſo reſtore the ſame vnto king Edward, to hold it as he did before.

The Flemings releaſed of debts, and of the interdiction.

Polydor.

Reſtitution of townes to the king of England. Gaguin.

The ſiege raiſed from Tournie.

Herevpon was the ſiege raiſed from Tournie, after it had continued there the ſpace of ten wéekes and foure daies. They within ſtood in great danger for lacke of vittels to haue béene conſtreined to the ſurrendring of the towne, if this truce had not béene concluded, which cauſed the French king the ſooner to agrée, in like caſe as the lacke of monie cauſed the king of England to take his truce, which otherwiſe (as was thought) he would not haue doone: ſo that by the violent conſtraint of neceſſitie they were forced thus to doo, againſt which there is no trieng of maiſteries, nor ſtrugling to make it ſtoope and obeie: for

A neceſſitate omnia in ſeruitutem rediguntur.

The earle of Flanders feaſteth the K. of England. Ia. Meir.

The king goeth into Zeland.

Continuation of Triuet.

After he had raiſed his ſiege he went to Gant, and thither came alſo the earle of Flanders being now reſtored home to his countrie, and made the king of England great cheare, feaſting and banketting him right princelie, togither with the quéene. Finallie, after that king Edward had refreſhed himſelfe a while at Gant, he tooke a verie few with him, and came into Zeland; and there taking the ſeas to paſſe ouer into England, he was ſore toſſed by force of outragious ſtormes of wind and weather. Yet at length after thrée daies and thrée nights ſailing, in the night of the feaſt of ſaint Andrew, he came on land at the tower of London about cocke-crowing, and with him the earle of Northampton, the lord Walter de Mannie, the lord Iohn Darcie, the ſonne of the lord Iohn Beauchampe, Giles Beauchampe, with two chapleins that were his ſecretaries, ſir William Killeſbie, and ſir Philip Weſton, beſide a few others.

Aueſburie.

Iudges and other officers committed to the tower.

After his arriuall he ſent for the biſhop of Chicheſter that was lord chancellor, for the biſhop of Couentrie and Lichfield being lord treaſuror, and for ſuch of the iudges as were then in London. The lord chancellor and the lord treaſuror he ſtreightwaies diſcharged of their offices, threatening to ſend them into Flanders, there to remaine as pledges for monie that he there owght, or if they refuſed to go thither, then to képe them priſoners in the towne. But when the biſhop of Chicheſter declared to him the danger of the canon eſtabliſhed againſt ſuch as impriſoned biſhops, he ſuffered them to depart: but the iudges, to wit, Iohn de Stonore, Richard de Willoughbie, William de Shareſhull, and alſo Nicholas or (as other haue) Matthew de la Bech, who was before gardian of his ſonne, and lieutenant of the tower: alſo Iohn de Pultnie, and William de Poole merchants; and the chiefe clerkes of the chancerie, Iohn de ſaint Paule, Michaell de Wath, Henrie de Stretford, and Robert de Chikewell; and of the eſcheker, Iohn de Thorpe, and manie other, were committed to diuerſe priſons, but yet bicauſe they were committed but onelie vpon commandement, they were within a while after deliuered.

New officers made in place of other that were diſcharged.

The lord Wake was alſo committed, but ſhortlie after, he was deliuered to his great honor, as Walſingham writeth. Robert de Bourchier was made lord chancellor, and Richard de Sadington lord treaſuror: all the ſhiriffes of ſhires, and other officers alſo were remoued, and other put in their places, and iuſtices appointed in euerie ſhire, to inquire vpon the defaults of collectors and other officers, ſo that few or none eſcaped vnpuniſhed, howſoeuer they had demeaned themſelues, ſo ſtreictlie thoſe iuſtices procéeded in their commiſſions. The king indeed was ſore offended with thoſe whom he had put in truſt to leuie monie, and to ſée it conueied ouer to him into the low countrie, bicauſe that for want thereof in time of néed, he was conſtreined to take truce with his aduerſarie the French king, and leaue off his enterpriſe, which he was in good forwardneſſe to haue gone through withall, if he had not béene diſappointed of treaſure which he had commanded to be ſent ouer vnto him, which was not doone but kept backe, in whom ſoeuer the fault reſted.

The K. offended with the

There were ſome of his ſecretaries, namelie, ſir William Killeſbie, which ſtirred him to take no ſmall

The archb. of Canturburie.

in all diſpleaſure againſt the archbiſhop of Canturburie Iohn Stratford, who therevpon withdrew him into the priorie of Chriſtes church at Canturburie, and there remaining for a ſeaſon, wrote his mind to the king, exhorting him not to giue too light credit vnto ſuch as ſhould counſell him to haue thoſe in contempt that were faithfull and true to him, for in ſo dooing, he might happilie looſe the loue and good will of his people. Neuertheles, he wiſhed that he ſhould trie out in whoſe hands the wools and monie remained, which were taken vp to his vſe, and that vpon a iuſt accompts had at their hands, it might appeare who were in fault, that he had not monie brought to him, whileſt he laie at ſiege before Tournie, as he had appointed; and that when the truth was knowne, they that were in fault might be worthilie puniſhed. And as for his owne cauſe, he ſignified, that he was readie to be tried by his peeres, ſauing alwaies the ſtate of holie church, and of his order, &c. Further, he beſought the king, not to thinke euill of him, and of other good men, till the truth might be tried, for otherwiſe, if iudgement ſhould be pronounced, without admitting the partie to come to his anſwere, as well the guiltleſſe as the guiltie might be condemned.

1341
The archbiſh. writeth to the king.

Anno Reg. 15.
A letter ſent to the deane of Paules.

The king neuertheleſſe ſtill offended towards the archbiſhop, cauſed Adam biſhop of Wincheſter to indite a letter againſt him, directed from the king to the deane and chapiter of Paules, openlie to be publiſhed by them: the effect whereof was, to burthen the archbiſhop with vnthankfulneſſe, and forgetting of his bounden duetie towards his ſouereigne lord and louing maiſter, namelie, in that where he promiſed the king to ſee him throughlie furniſhed with monie, towards the maintenance of his warres: when it came to paſſe, none would be had, which turned not onelie to the hinderance of the kings whole proceedings, but alſo to his great diſcredit, and cauſing him to run greatlie in debt by intereſt, through borrowing of monie, for the paiment of the wages of his men of warre, when through the archbiſhops negligence, who had the cheefe rule of the land, the collectors and other officers ſlacked their duetie, whereby there was no monie ſent ouer, according to that was appointed: and wheras now, ſince his comming ouer, he had ſent to the archbiſhop to come vnto him, that by his information, he might the better learne who they were that neglected their duetie, he diſobedientlie refuſed to come, pretending ſome feare of bodilie harme, through the malice of ſome that were about the king. Wherevpon, when Rafe lord Stafford, lord ſteward of the kings houſe, was ſent with a ſafe conduct, for him to come in all ſafetie to the court, he flatlie made anſwer that he would not come, except in full parlement.

The archbiſhop refuſeth to come to the court.

Manie other miſdemeanors was the archbiſhop charged with towards the king in that letter, as maliciouſlie ſlandering the king for vniuſt oppreſſion of the people, confounding the cleargie, and greeuing the church with exactions, leuies of monie, tolles and tallages. Therefore, ſith he went about to ſlander the kings roiall authoritie, to defame his ſeruants, to ſtirre rebellion among the people, and to withdraw the deuotion and loue of the earles, lords, and great men of the land from the king: his highneſſe declared, that he meant to prouide for the integritie & preſeruation of his good name (whereof it is ſaid trulie,

Dulcius eſt ære pretioſum nomen habere)

and to meet with the archbiſhops malice. And herewith diuerſe things were reherſed to the archbiſhops reproch, which he ſhould doo, procure, and ſuffer to be doone, by his euill and ſiniſter counſell, whileſt he had the rule of the realme in his hands vnder the king: wherein he had ſhewed himſelfe not onelie an acceptor of gifts, but alſo of perſons, in gratifieng diuerſe that nothing had deſerued ſundrie waies forth, and preſuming to doo raſhlie manie other things to the detriment of the kings roiall ſtate, and hurt of his regall dignitie, and to no ſmall damage of the people, abuſing the authoritie and office to him committed, ſo that if he perſiſted in his obſtinate wilfulneſſe, and rebellious contumacie, the king by thoſe his letters ſignified, that he meant to declare it more apparantlie in due time and place, and therefore commanded the ſaid deane and chapiter of Paules, to publiſh all thoſe things openlie, in places where they thought conuenient, according to their wiſedome giuen to them by God, ſo as he might haue cauſe to commend therein their carefull diligence. ¶ This letter was dated at Weſtminſter the tenth of Februarie, in the fifteenth yeare of his reigne ouer England, and ſecond ouer France.

Where the Londoners would not permit the kings iuſtices to ſit within the citie of London, contrarie to their liberties, the king appointed them to ſit in the tower; and when they would not make anie anſwer there, a great tumult was raiſed by the commons of the citie, ſo that the iuſtices being in ſome perill (as they thought) feigned themſelues to ſit there till towards Eaſter. Wherevpon, when the king could not get the names of them that raiſed the tumult, no otherwiſe but that they were certeine light perſons of the common people, he at length pardoned the offenſe. After this, thoſe iuſtices neither ſat in the tower, nor elſewhere, of all that yeare.

A parlement.

Adam Merimuth.

In the quindene of Eaſter, the king held a parlement at London, in the which, the prelats, earls, barons, and commons, preſented manie petitions; as to haue the great charter of liberties, and the charter of forreſts dulie obſerued, and that they which brake the ſame ſhould be diſcharged of their offices, if they were the kings officers, and that the high officers of the king ſhould be elected and choſen by their peeres in parlement. The king withſtood theſe petitions a certeine time, yet at length he granted to ſome of them; but as concerning the election of his officers, he in no wiſe would conſent, but yet he was contented that they ſhould receiue an oth in parlement, to doo iuſtice to all men in their offices, &c. Vpon which article and others, a ſtatute was made and confirmed with the kings ſeale.

The emperor woone frõ the king of Englands freendſhip.

In the meane while, the French king had with bribes woone Lewes of Bauaria, that named himſelfe emperour, from further fauouring the king of England; in ſo much that, vnder a colourable pretenſe of finding himſelfe greeued, for that the king of England had without his knowledge taken truce with the French king, he reuoked the dignitie of being vicar in the empire, from the king of England, but yet ſignified to him, that where the French king had at his requeſt put the matter in controuerſie betwixt him and the king of England into his hands, to make an end thereof, if it ſo pleaſed the king of England, that he ſhould treat as an indifferent arbitrator betwixt them, he promiſed to doo his indeuour; ſo as he doubted not, but that by his means he ſhould come to a good agreement in his cauſe, if he would follow his aduiſe. And to receiue anſwer hereof, he ſent his letters by one Eberhard a chapleine of his, the reader of the friers heremits to S. Auguſtins order, requeſting the king of England to aduertiſe him by the ſame meſſenger, of his whole mind in that behalfe.

The emperor offereth to be a meane to cõclude a peace.

The kings anſwer.

The king for anſwer, ſignified againe by his letters to the emperour, that for the zeale which he had to make an accord betwixt him and his aduerſarie Philip de Valois, that named himſelfe French king, he could not but much commend him, and for his part he had euer wiſhed, that ſome reaſonable agreement might be had betwixt them: but ſith his right to the realme of France was cleere and manifeſt inough, he purpoſed not to commit it by writing vnto the doubtfull iudgement or arbitrement of anie. And as concerning the agreement which the emperour had made with the French king, bicauſe (as he alledged) it was lawfull for him ſo to doo, ſith without the emperors knowledge he had taken truce with the ſame French king; he ſaid, if the circumſtances were well conſidered, that matter could not miniſter any cauſe to moue him to ſuch agreement: for if the emperour remembred, he had giuen to him libertie at all times to treat of peace, without making the emperour priuie thereto (ſo that without his aſſent, he concluded not vpon any finall peace) which he proteſted that he neuer meant to doo, till he might haue his prouident aduiſe, counſell, and aſſent therevnto. And as concerning the reuoking of the vicarſhip of the empire from him, he tooke it doone out of time; for it was promiſed, that no ſuch reuocation ſhould be made, till he had obteined the whole realme of France, or at the leaſt, the more part thereof. ¶ Theſe in effect were the points of the kings letters of anſwer vnto the emperour. Dated at London the thirtenth of Iulie, in the ſecond yeare of his reigne ouer France, and fifteenth ouer England.

The deceaſſe of the lord Geffrey de Scrope, & of the biſhop of Lincolne.

The queene brought to bed.

This yeare, about Midſummer, or ſomwhat before, at Gant in Flanders, died the lord Geffrey Scrope the kings iuſtice, and Henrie biſhop of Lincolne, two cheefe councellors to the king. The queene after hir returne into England, was this yeare brought to bed in the tower of London of a daughter named Blanch, that died yoong, and was buried at Weſtminſter. ¶ In this meane while, during the warres betwixt France and England, the French king in fauour of Dauid king of Scotland, had ſent men of warre into Scotland, vnder the conduct of ſir Arnold Dandreghen, who was after one of the marſhals of France, and the lord of Garrentiers, with other, by whoſe comfort and helpe, the Scots that tooke part with king Dauid, did indeuor themſelues to recouer out of the Engliſhmens hands, ſuch caſtels and fortreſſes as they held within Scotland, as in the Scotiſh hiſtorie ye ſhall find mentioned, and how about this time, their king the foreſaid Dauid returned forth of France into Scotland by the French kings helpe, who hauing long before concluded a league with him, thought by his friendſhip to trouble the king of England ſo at home, that he ſhould not be at great leiſure to inuade him in France.

The commiſſioners that met at Arras.

But now to tell you what chanced of the meeting appointed at Arras. For the cōmiſſioners that ſhuld there treat of the peace, when the day aſſigned of their meeting was come, there arriued for the king of England the biſhop of Lincolne, the biſhop of Dureſme, the earle of Warwike, the erle of Richmond, ſir Robert Dartois, ſir Iohn of Heinault, otherwiſe called lord Beaumont, and ſir Henrie of Flanders. For the French king, there came the earle of Alanſon, the duke of Burbon, the earle of Flanders, the earle of Blois, the archbiſhop of Sens, the biſhop of Beauuois, and the biſhop of Auxerre. The pope ſent thither two cardinals, Naples and Cleremont; theſe commiſſioners were in treatie fifteene daies, during the which, manie matters were put forth and argued, but none concluded: for the Engliſhmen demanded largelie, and the Frenchmen would depart with nothing, ſauing with the countie of Ponticu, the which was giuen with queene Iſabell in marriage to the king of England. So the treatie brake, the commiſſioners departed, and nothing doone, but onelie that the truce was prolonged for two yeares further.

This truce was prolonged about the feaſt of the decollation of S. Iohn, to indure till Midſummer next following, as the addition to Ad. Merimuth hath.

Thus were the wars partlie appeaſed in ſome part of France, but yet was the truce but ſlenderlie kept in other parts, by reaſon of the duke of Britaine. For whereas contention aroſe betwixt one Charles de Blois, and Iohn earle of Mountfort, about the right to the duchie of Britaine, as in the hiſtorie of France maie more plainelie appeare; the earle of Mountfort, thinking that he had wrong offered him at the French kings hands, who fauoured his aduerſarie Charles de Blois, alied himſelfe with the king of England. And (as ſome write) after he had woone diuerſe cities and townes within Britaine, he came ouer into England, and by doing homage to king Edward, acknowledged to hold it of him, as of the ſoueraigne lord thereof, ſo that he would promiſe to defend him and that duchie againſt his aduerſaries: which the king promiſed him to doo. After this, the French king made ſuch warres againſt this earle of Mountfort, that he was at length taken priſoner in the towne of Naunts, and committed to ſafe keeping within the caſtell of Loure at Paris. But his wife being a ſtout woman, and of a manlie courage, ſtood vp in the quarrell of hir huſband, and preſented a yoong ſonne which ſhe had by him, vnto ſuch capteins and men of warre as ſerued hir huſband, requiring them not to be diſmaid with the infortunate chance of hir huſbands taking; but rather like men of good ſtomachs, to ſtand in defenſe of his right, ſith whatſoeuer happened to him, the ſame remained in that yoong gentleman his ſonne: meaning that although the enimies ſhould deale tyrannicallie with him, & without regard of his nobleneſſe practiſe his ouerthrow; yet there was hope in hir ſon, as increaſe of yeares ſhould miniſter ſtrength and courage, both to be reuenged on his fathers enimies, and to ad an inlargement of glorie and renowne to his preſent honor by practiſes of his proweſſe: which to be ſingular the ſeemelie ſymmetrie or goodlie proportion of his perſon and his iolie countenance ſeemed to teſtifie; for

The occaſion of the warrs of Britaine.

Fortes creantur fortibus, & bonis:
Eſt in iuuencis, eſt in equis patrum
Virtus; nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilæ columbam.

Hor. lib. car. 4. Ode 4.

This counteſſe of Mountfort was ſiſter vnto Lewes earle of Flanders, and named Margaret, and not Claudia (as ſome write.) She was verie diligent in hir buſineſſe, and ſpared no trauell to aduance hir cauſe, ſo that ſhe wan not onelie the harts of the men of warre, but alſo of the people of Britaine, the which fauoured hir huſband, and lamented the miſhap of his taking. She firſt furniſhed ſuch cities, townes, caſtels, and fortreſſes as hir huſband had in poſſeſſion, with men, munition and vittels, as Renes, Dinaunt, Guerand, Hanibout, and others. This doone, ſhe ſent ouer into England, ſir Emerie de Cliſſon, a noble man of Britaine, to require the king of England of ſuccors, with condition, that if it pleaſed him, hir ſonne Iohn ſhould marrie one of his daughters. ¶ The king of England glad to haue ſuch an entrie into France, as by Britaine, thought not to refuſe the offer, & therevpon granted to aid the counteſſe: & forthwith raiſing a power, ſent the ſame ouer into Britaine, vnder the conduct of the lord Walter of Mannie, and others: the which at length, after they had continued long vpon the ſea, by reaſon of contrarie winds, arriued in Britaine; in which meane time, a great armie of Frenchmen were entred into Britaine, and had beſieged the citie of Renes, and finallie woone it by ſurrender, & were now before the towne of Hanibout, which with ſtreict ſiege, and ſore bruſing of the walles, they were neere at point to haue taken, and the counteſſe of Mountfort within it; if the ſuccours of England had not arriued there, euen at ſuch time as the Frenchmen were in talke with them within, about the ſurrender. But after that the Engliſh

Ia. Meir.

Froiſſard.

liſh fleet was ſeene to approch, the treatie was ſoone broken off, for they within had no luſt then to talke anie further of the matter.

The engliſh ſuccour arriued in good time.

Archers.

The lord of Mannie, and the Engliſhmen arriuing at Hanibout thus in time of imminent danger, wherein the counteſſe, and the other within that towne were preſentlie beſet, greatlie recomforted the ſaid counteſſe, as ſhe well ſhewed by hir cheerefull countenance in receiuing them. Shortlie after their arriuall, a certeine number of the Engliſh archers, iſſuing forth, beat the Frenchmen from an engine which they had reared againſt the walles, and ſet fire vpon the ſame engine. To conclude, the Frenchmen liked the Engliſhmen ſo well, that ſhortlie after being wearie of their companie, they raiſed their ſiege to get themſelues further from them: and in an other part of the countrie indeuoured themſelues to win townes and caſtels as they did indeed, hauing their armie diuided into two parts, the lord Charles de Blois gouerning the one part, and a Spaniard called the lord Lewes de Spaine the other (which was the ſame that thus departed from the ſiege of Hanibout, after the arriuall of the Engliſhmen) and then winning the townes of Dinant and Guerand, paſſed into the countrie of Britaine Britonant, and there not farre from Quinpercorentine, were diſcomfited by the Engliſhmen, who followed them thither. Of ſix thouſand Genowaies, Spaniards, and Frenchmen, which the lord Lewes of Spaine had there with him, there eſcaped but a few awaie. A nephue which he had there with him named Alfonſe was ſlaine, howbeit he himſelfe eſcaped, though not without ſore hurts.

Charles de Blois.
Lewes de Spaine.

Britaine Britonant.

Edmund of Langley that was after duke of yorke is borne.
Fabian.

A iuſts and tornie at Dunſtable.

Hanibout beſieged.

This yeare, the fift of Iune queene Philip was deliuered of a ſonne at the towne of Langley, the which was named Edmund, and ſurnamed Langley of the place where he was thus borne. Alſo about the ſame time was a great iuſtes kept by king Edward at the towne of Dunſtable, with other counterfeited feats of warre, at the requeſt of diuerſe yoong lords and gentlemen, whereat both the king and queene were preſent, with the more part of the lords and ladies of the land. ¶The lord Charles de Blois, hauing in the meane time wonne Vannes, and other towns, brought his armie backe vnto Hanibout, and eftſoones beſieged the ſame, and the counteſſe of Mountfort within it. But for ſo much as it was well fortified, and prouided of all things neceſſarie to defend a ſiege, the Engliſhmen being returned thither againe after the ouerthrow of the lord Lewes de Spaine, it could not be eaſilie wonne. At length, by the labour of certeine lords of Britaine, a truce was taken for a time, during the which, the counteſſe of Richmond came ouer into England, to commune with king Edward, touching the affaires of Britaine, who appointed ſir Robert Dartois earle of Richmond, the earles of Saliſburie, Penbroke, and Suffolke, the lords Stafford, Spenſer, and Bourchier, with others, to go with hir ouer into Britaine, who made their prouiſion, ſo that they might take the ſea, to come thither againſt the time that the truce betwixt the counteſſe and the lord Charles de Blois ſhould be expired.

1342
Anno Reg. 16.
The countes of Richmond commeth ouer into Englãd.
An armie ſent into Britaine

Additions to Adam Merimuth, and Nic. Triuet.

There be that write, how the lord Walter de Mannie, tooke a truce indeed with the lord Charles de Blois, to indure till Alhallontide next inſuing, but with condition, that if the king of England were contented therewith, then the ſame to be firme and fullie ratified, otherwiſe not. Wherupon, when about the beginning of Iulie, the ſaid lord Walter came ouer into England, bringing with him the lord of Lions, and other ſuch priſoners as he had taken, and ſignified to king Edward what he had concluded touching the truce, the king liked not thereof, and ſo ſent ouer the earles of Northampton and Deuonſhire, the lord Stafford, and ſir William de Killeſbie his chapleine, and one of his ſecretaries, with fiue hundred men of armes, and a thouſand archers, which taking ſhip, on the vigill of th'Aſſumption of our ladie, ſailed forth towards Britaine. The Frenchmen therfore vnderſtanding that this ſuccour was comming, appointed the lord Lewes of Spaine, ſir Charles Grimaldo, and ſir Antonie Doria, with thrée thouſand Genowaies, and a thouſand men of armes, imbarked in two and thirtie great ſhips, to lie on the ſea in wait to incounter with the Engliſh fleet, as the ſame ſhould approch towards Britaine.

The earle of Northampton and Deuonſhire.

Genowaies reteined in the French kings wages.

The Engliſh men and Genowaies meet and fight on the Seas.

About Eaſter, the counteſſe of Mountford with the Engliſh armie, appointed to attend hir, tooke the ſea at Southampton, and at length met with the lord Lewes of Spaine, and his fléet, where betwixt them was fought a ſore battell. Of the Engliſhmen there were ſix and fortie veſſels, but the lord Lewes of Spaine had nine great ſhips, and of more force than anie of thoſe which the Engliſhmen had, and alſo he had thrée gallies. They began to fight about euenſong time, and continued till that night parted them, and had gone togither againe in the morning, if by a tempeſt that roſe about midnight, the ſame night, they had not béene ſcattered in ſunder. The Spaniards and Genowaies tooke awaie with them foure Engliſh ſhips, which being vittellers, were left behind. And bicauſe the ſame Spaniards and Genowaies were able to abide the ſea better than the Engliſhmen, by reaſon of their great ſhips, they kept the maine ſea; but the Engliſhmen were aduiſed by their mariners to drawe vnto the land, and ſo they did, arriuing at a little hauen, not farre from Vannes, where comming on land, they ſtreightwaie made towards that citie, and beſieged it, not ceaſſing to aſſault it both day and night, till at length they wan it, by giuing the aſſault in two places at once, whileſt an other number of them ſet vpon it in a third place, where was no ſuſpicion, and ſo entred.

Vannes won

After this, the moſt part of the Engliſhmen departed from Vannes, as ſome with the counteſſe, to bring hir vnto Hanibout, and ſome with the earls of Saliſburie, Suffolke, and Cornewall, who went and laid ſiege to Rennes, ſo that the earle of Richmond remained in Vannes, with the lords Spenſer and Stafford, to keepe it, hauing a certeine number of archers and other men of warre with them. The lord Cliſſon, and ſir Henrie de Leon, which were within Vannes, when it was taken by the Engliſhmen, and found means to eſcape, were abaſhed at the matter, that they had ſo loſt the citie, whervpon they ſecretlie aſſembled a great power of men thereabouts, and came againe vnto Vannes, and ſo fiercelie aſſailed the gates and wals, that in the end they entred by more force. The earle of Richmond was ſore hurt, but yet he eſcaped out at a poſterne gate, and the lord Stafford with him, but the lord Spenſer was taken by ſir Henrie de Leon.

Additions to Nic. Triuet.

Other write otherwiſe, both of the landing, and alſo concerning the misfortune of the lord Spenſer, alledging letters ſent from the earle of Northampton (whome the ſame authors repute as generall of that armie into Britaine) directed to the king, in which was ſignified, how that within the octaues of the Aſſumption of our ladie, they arriued on the coaſt of Britaine, néere to the towne and caſtell of Breſt, in the which the dutcheſſe of Britaine with hir children were of the enimies beſieged, both by ſea and land, by ſea with thirtéene great gallies, by land by the lord Charles de Blois, the earls of Sauoie and Foiz. But the gallies perceiuing the Engliſh fleet to be approched vpon them, yer they were aware, ſo that they were compaſſed in, to their great danger, thrée of the ſame gallies fled, and ſo eſcaped, the reſidue got vp into a riuer of the ſame hauen, where they that were abord, left their veſſels and fled to the land, and as well they, as the other that held ſiege before Breſt and ſuch as kept a caſtell there, not farre off, called Goule forreſt, packed awaie without anie more adoo. The Engliſh mariners following the gallies (that were withdrawen vp the riuer) with their ſmall boats and barges, ſet fire on the gallies, and ſo burnt them.

Thus all the Engliſhmen came on land, and leauing the lord Saie capteine in the ſaid caſtell of Goule forreſt, they paſſe forward into the countrie, and comming to a caſtell commonlie called Monſieur Relix, gaue an aſſault thereto, where manie of their men of warre were wounded, and ſir Iames Louell ſlaine. After this, ſtaieng a time for the comming of their confederats, which after a fortnights ſpace came to them on the mondaie, being the morrow after Michaelmas daie, they heard that the lords Charles de Blois was comming in all haſt with a power of thrée thouſand men of armes, twelue hundred Genowaies, & a great multitude of commons to raiſe the ſiege. Wherevpon the earle of Northampton with his armie marched ſoftlie towards them, and choſing a plot of ground conuenient for his purpoſe, fought with his enimies, ſlue and tooke of them at the leaſt thrée hundred men of armes. The earle of Northampton loſt not any noble man in this fight, the lord Edward Spenſer onelie excepted.

But now as touching the earle of Richmont, Froiſſard ſaith, that he comming to Hanibout, after he had thus loſt Vannes, tooke the ſea, and ſailed into England: but by reaſon of being toſſed on the ſeas, his wounds rankled ſo, that ſhortlie after his comming to London he died, & was buried in the church of S. Paule. The king of England was ſore diſpleaſed with his death, and immediatlie after paſſed ouer himſelfe into Britaine with a great armie: and landing there the nine and twentith of Nouember, at the ſame place where the earle of Richmond did land at his arriuall there, not far from Vannes, he went ſtraight and beſieged Vannes, but perceiuing that it would not be wonne but by long ſiege, he left the earle of Arundell, and the lord Stafford to continue the ſiege, whileſt he went to Rennes to aid his people, which ſtill laie at the ſiege thereof. Before the kings arriuall in Britaine, thoſe that were there vnder the earle of Northampton, as the lord Hugh Spenſer, and the lord Richard Talbot, with their retinues, fought with the Frenchmen néere to Morleis, where a few Engliſhmen, ſcarſe fiue hundred, diſcomfited a mightie power of Frenchmen, eſtéemed to be aboue fiftie thouſand, of whome ſome they ſlue, and ſome they tooke. Among other was taken the lord Geffrey de Charnie, accompted for one of the beſt and ſageſt knights in France, whome the lord Richard Talbot tooke and ſent into England.

The king paſſeth ouer into Britaine.

Vannes beſieged.

Additions to Triuet.

An armie of Frenchmen diſcomfited by a few Engliſhmen.

But now as touching the kings doings, we find, that whileſt he remained for this winter ſeaſon in Britaine, his people forraied the countrie foure daies iournie in length, and two daies iournie in bredth. After his comming to Rennes, he ſtaied not paſt fiue daies, but leauing them whome he found there to continue the ſiege, he went himſelfe to Naunts, where he had knowledge, that the lord Charles de Blois was. At his comming thither, he inuironed the citie about with a ſtrong ſiege, & made manie fierce aſſaults to the walles and gates, but could not preuaile, then leauing certeine of his lords there to continue the ſiege, he raiſed with the reſidue, and went to Dinan, which towne with ſore and fierce aſſaults he laſtlie wonne, and after that drew againe towards Vannes, for that he was informed, how the duke of Normandie was comming downe towards him, with an armie of fortie thouſand men. Herevpon he ſent for them that laie at ſiege before Naunts to come vnto him, and ſuffered them at Rennes to kéepe their ſiege ſtill, till they heard other word from him.

Naunts beſieged.

The duke of Normandie with foure thouſand men of armes, and thirtie thouſand other men of warre, comming into Britaine to aid the lord Charles of Blois, was aduertiſed, that the king of England was with the moſt part of all his power withdrawen to Vannes, and there laie at ſiege, ſore conſtreining them within: wherefore he alſo drew thitherwards, and approching to the place, incamped with his armie ouer againſt the king of England, incloſing his field with a great trench. The king of England ſuppoſing he ſhould haue battell, ſent vnto thoſe which laie at ſiege before Rennes, commanding them to come from thence vnto him: ſo that by this meanes all the powers, both of the king of England, and of the duke of Normandie, generall to his father the French king in thoſe warres of Britaine, being aſſembled before Vannes, had fought ſome great and bloudie battell, as was ſuppoſed, for the whole triall of the right of Britaine, if the cardinals of Cleremont and Preneſti, as legats from pope Clement the ſixt, had not taken vp the matter, by concluding a truce betwixt them, for the tearme of thrée yeares.

The duke of Normandie commeth downe into Britaine.

Commiſſioners appointed to treat with theſe cardinals, on the behalfe of the king of England were theſe, Henrie of Lancaſter earle of Derbie, William Bohun earle of Northampton, William Montacute earle of Saliſburie, Rafe lord Stafford, Bartholomew lord Burgheſe, Nicholas lord Cantelow, Reginald lord Cobham, Walter lord of Mannie, Maurice lord Berkeley, and maiſter Iohn Vfford archdeacon of Elie. For the French king, Odo duke of Burgogne, and Piers duke of Burbon were deputed commiſſioners. Such diligence was vſed by the parties, that finallie they agréed vpon this truce of thrée yeares, with certeine articles for meane to conclude ſome finall peace, as that there ſhould be ſent from either king ſome perſonages of their bloud and others, vnto the court of Rome, with ſufficient authoritie, to agrée, confirme, and eſtabliſh vpon all controuerſies and diſſentions betwixt the ſaid kings, according to the agreement of the pope, and ſuch as ſhould be ſo ſent to treat thereof.

Additions to Triuet.

Commiſſioners for the king of England.

Commiſſioners for the French king.

1343

A truce for thrée yeares.

It was further agréed, that they ſhould haue libertie to declare and pronounce their arguments and reaſons before the pope, but not to haue power to decide and giue ſentence, but onlie by waie of ſome better treatie and order of agréement to be made. And theſe commiſſioners were appointed to appeare before the pope, afore the feaſt of ſaint Iohn Baptiſt next inſuing, and the pope to diſpatch the buſineſſe before Chriſtmaſſe after, if by conſent of the ſaid nobles, the terme were not prorogued. And if it ſo were that the pope could make no agréement, yet ſhould the truce indure the prefixed terme, to wit, till the feaſt of S. Michaell the archangell, and for the ſpace of thrée yeares then next inſuing, betwixt the kings of France, England and Scotland, the earle of Heinault and their alies, as the dukes of Brabant, and of Gelderland, alſo the marques of Gullikerland, the lord Beaumont, otherwiſe called ſir Iohn de Heinault, and the people of Flanders, in all their lands and dominions, from the date of the charter made hereof, by all the ſaid terme aforeſaid, to be obſerued, holden and kept. Alſo, the king of Scots, and the earle of Heinault were appointed to ſend certeine perſons, as commiſſioners for them, vnto the ſaid court of Rome.

The conditions of the truce.

This truce was alſo accorded to be kept in Britaine, betwixt the ſaid kings and their adherents, in which countrie, as well as in Guien, and other places, euerie man ſhould remaine in poſſeſſion of that which he held at the time of concluding this truce, ſaue that the citie of Vannes ſhould be deliuered into the hands of the cardinall, to be kept by them in the popes name, during the truce, and then to diſpoſe thereof, as ſhould ſeeme to them good. Manie other articles were compriſed in the charter of this truce, too long heere to rehearſe, all the which were confirmed with the oths of the ſaid dukes of Burgoigne, and Burbone, on the French kings behalfe; and of the earles of Derbie, Northampton and Saliſburie, the lord Burgherſh, and the lord of Mannie, for the king of England. In witneſſe whereof, the ſaid cardinals cauſed the charter to be made, putting thereunto their ſeales, the nineteenth daie of Ianuarie, in the yeare 1343 in preſence of diuerſe prelats, and of the earles of Bullongne, Auſſerre, Sancerre, Iuignie, and Porcien, the lord Miles de Noiers, the lord Ingram de Coucie, and the foreſaid lords, Cantelowe, Cobham, and Berkeley, with manie other lords, barons, nobles, and gentlemen.

Anno Reg. 17.

The king of England returneth by ſea forth of Britaine.

Shipwracke.

When this truce was thus confirmed, manie of the Engliſh armie returned home through France, ſo to paſſe ouer by the narrow ſeas into England, but the king himſelfe, with a few other, taking their ſhips to paſſe by long ſeas, were maruellouſlie tormented by tempeſt, ſo that their ſhips were ſcattered and driuen to take land at diuerſe hauens. The dutcheſſe of Britaine with hir ſonne and daughter, came on land in Deuonſhire. Sir Peers de Veele, and his ſonne ſir Henrie Veele, and ſir Iohn Raine knights, were drowned, togither with the ſhip in which they paſſed. The king eſcaping verie hardlie, landed at Weimouth, and on the fift day of March came to London to the queene. In the quindene of Eaſter, he held a parlement at Weſtminſter, in which he created his eldeſt ſonne Edward prince of Wales. In this parlement were diuerſe matters talked of, and ſpeciallie concerning wools, and of the aſſeſſement of a certeine price of them, more and leſſe, according to the ſeuerall parts of the realme, and of the cuſtomes to be made of them, to wit, three marks and an halfe, for euerie ſacke to be tranſported forth of the realme.

A parlement. The kings eldeſt ſonne created prince of wales.

Ambaſſadors appointed to go to the pope.

Alſo in the ſame parlement were ambaſſadors appointed forth, ſuch as ſhould go to the pope to treat of peace (as in the charter of the truce among other articles it was conteined) whoſe names follow, Iohn biſhop of Exceſter, Henrie de Lancaſter earle of Derbie, Hugh le Diſpenſer lord of Glamorgan, couſins to the king; Rafe lord Stafford, William de Norwich deane of Lincolne, William Truſſell knight, and maſter Andrew de Vfford a ciuillian. Theſe perſons were ſent with commiſſion to the pope, to treat with him, not as pope, nor as iudge, but as a priuat perſon, and a common freend to both parts, to be a meane or mediator, to find out ſome indifferent end of all controuerſie betwixt the parties. The date of their commiſſion was at Weſtminſter, the foure and twentith of Maie, in this ſeauenteenth yeare of the kings reigne.

Moreouer, in this parlement a greeuous complaint was exhibited, by the earles, barons, knights, burgeſſes, and other of the commons, for that ſtrangers, by vertue of reſeruations and prouiſions apoſtolike, got the beſt benefices of this land into their hands, and neuer came at them, nor bare any charges due for the ſame, but diminiſhing the treaſure of the realme, and conueieng it forth, ſore indamaged the whole ſtate. The biſhops durſt not, or would not giue their conſents in exhibiting this complaint, but rather ſeemed to ſtand againſt it, till the king compelled them to giue ouer.

Hereupon, a letter was framed by the lords of the temporaltie and commons, which they directed vnto the pope in all humble manner, beſeeching him to conſider of the derogation doone to the realme of England, by ſuch reſeruations, prouiſions, and collations of benefices, as had beene practiſed here in England. And therefore, ſith the churches of England had beene founded and endowed by noble and worthie men in times paſt, to the end the people might be inſtructed by ſuch as were of their owne language, and that he being ſo farre off, and not vnderſtanding the default, had (like as ſome of his predeceſſors more than in times paſt had beene accuſtomed) granted by diuerſe reſeruations, prouiſions, and collations, the churches and ſpirituall promotions of this land vnto diuerſe perſons, ſome ſtrangers, yea, and enimies to the realme, whereby the monie and profits were caried forth, the cures not prouided for, almes withdrawne, hoſpitalitie decaied, the temples and other buildings belonging to the churches ruinated and fallen downe, the charitie and deuotion of the people ſore diminiſhed, and diuerſe other greeuous enormities thereby growne cleane contrarie to the founders minds: wherefore, vpon due conſideration thereof had, they ſignified to him, that they could not ſuffer ſuch enormities any longer, & therefore beſought him wholie to reuoke ſuch reſeruations, prouiſions, collations, to auoid ſuch ſlanders, miſcheefes, and harmes as might inſue, and that the cures might therewith be committed to perſons meet for the exerciſe of the ſame: further alſo, beſeeching him without delaie, to ſignifie his intention, ſith they meant to imploie their diligence to remedie the matter, and to ſee that redreſſe might be had according to reaſon. The date of theſe letters was in full parlement at Weſtminſter, the eight and twentith of Maie, in the yeare of Grace 1343.

Sir Iohn Shordich ſent to the Pope.

Beſide theſe letters, were other written, and ſent from the king, conteining in ſumme, the tenor of the other aboue mentioned, and one ſir Iohn Shordich, knight a graue perſonage and well ſeene in the law, was appointed to go with the ſame, who comming to Auignion, and there preſenting his letters in the popes priuie chamber, where the pope ſat, with all his cardinals about him, receiued no great courteous welcome, after his letters were once read. And whie? Euen bicauſe the cõtents of the ſame miſliked his mind, tending to the impairing of his vſurped profits & cõmodities from time to time in this land,

Ambitioſus enim ſibi totum vendicat orbem,
Seq; (ſcelus) Chriſto clamitat eſſe parem.

The Popes words to ſir Iohn Shordich.

Now when the knight made anſwer to ſuch words as he heard the pope vtter, and charged him with giuing the deanrie of Yorke vnto one that was reputed the kings enimie, the pope ſaid; Well, it is not vnknowne to vs who made and indited theſe letters, and we know that thou madeſt them not, but there is one that pincheth at vs, and we ſhall puniſh him well inough: we know all. Hereunto he added thus much more, that there was a knight that ſpake defamous words of him, and the church of Rome, wherewith he ſeemed highlie offended. To conclude, he ſaid, that he would anſwer the letters of the king and commons, as touching the points conteined in the ſame. The cardinals, after they had heard theſe things, departed as if they had beene ſore offended and troubled therewith: and the knight taking his leaue of the pope, departed alſo forth of the chamber, and without anie longer abode, got him awaie toward Burdeaux, about other of the kings buſineſſe, doubting leaſt if he had ſtaied longer, he might haue beene kept there againſt his will. The pope ſent anſwer indeed, but neuertheleſſe, the king proceeded in prohibiting ſuch prouiſions, and collations within

Of benefices inhibited by the king.

his realme, on paine of impriſonment and death to the intruders thereby, as after ye ſhall perceiue.

Iuſts in Smithfield.

This yeare about Midſummer, there were ſolemne iuſts proclaimed by the lord Robert Morley, which were holden in Smithféeld, where for challengers, came forth one apparelled like to the pope, bringing with him twelue other in garments like to cardinals, which tooke vpon them to anſwer all commers, for thrée courſes. On the defendants ſide, ran the prince of Wales, with manie earls, barons, knights and eſquires innumerable, ſo that thoſe iuſts continued thrée daies togither, to the great pleaſure of the beholders. ¶ This yeare, king Edward ordeined a certeine new coine of gold, which he named the floren, that is, the penie of ſix ſhillings eight pence, the halfe penie of the value of thrée ſhillings foure pence, and the farthing of the value of twentie pence. This coine was ordeined for his wars in France, the gold whereof was not ſo fine as the noble, which in the fourtéenth yeare of his reigne he had cauſed for to be coined. This yeare, the king cauſed a great number of artificers and labourers to be taken vp, whome he ſet in hand to build a chamber in the caſtell of Windſore, which was called the round table, the flore whereof, from the center or middle point, vnto the compaſſe throughout, the one halfe was (as Walſingham writeth) an hundred foot, and ſo the diameter or compaſſe round about, was two hundred foot. The expenſes of this worke amounted by the wéeke, firſt vnto an hundred pounds, but afterward by reaſon of the wars that followed, the charges was diminiſhed vnto two and twentie pounds the wéeke (as Thomas Walſingham writeth in his larger booke, intituled, the hiſtorie of England) or (as ſome copies haue) vnto 9 pounds. This yéere alſo, W. Montacute earle of Saliſburie conquered the Ile of Man, out of the hands of the Scots, which Ile the king gaue vnto the ſaid earle, and cauſed him to be intituled, and crowned king of Man. ¶ This Ile (as Robert Southwell noteth) was wonne by the Scots, about the ſecond yeare of Edward the ſecond his reigne, who in the yeare before, to wit, anno Chriſti 1307, had giuen the ſame Ile vnto Péers de Gaueſton, whom he had alſo made earle of Cornewall.

1344
Anno Reg. 18.

Th. Walſing.
A chamber built within the caſtell of windſore, called the round table.

I. Stow out of Henrie de Leiceſter.
The Ile of Man.

Moreouer, about the beginning of this eightéenth yeare of his reigne, king Edward held a ſolemne feaſt at his caſtell of Windſore, where betwixt Candlemaſſe and Lent, were atchiued manie martiall feats, and iuſts, tornaments, and diuerſe other the like warlike paſtimes, at the which were preſent manie ſtrangers of other lands, and in the end thereof, he deuiſed the order of the garter, and after eſtabliſhed it, as it is at this daie. There are ſix and twentie companions or confrers of this felowſhip of that order, being called knights of the blew garter, & as one dieth or is depriued, an other is admitted into his place. The K. of England is euer chéefe of this order. They weare a blew robe or mantell, & a garter about their left leg, richlie wrought with gold and pretious ſtones, hauing this inſcription in French vpon it, *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe,* Shame come to him that euill thinketh. This order is dedicated to S. George, as chéefe patrone of men of warre, and therefore euerie yeare doo the knights of this order kéepe ſolemne his feaſt, with manie noble ceremonies at the caſtell of Windſore, where king Edward founded a colledge of canons, or rather augmenting the ſame, ordeined therein a deane with twelue canons ſecular, eight peticanons, and thirtéene vicars, thirtéene clearks, and thirtéene choriſters.

Iuſts & tornies holden at Windſore.

The order of the garter founded.

The knights haue certeine lawes and rules apperteining to their order, amongſt the which this is chéeflie to be obſerued (as Polydor alſo noteth) that they ſhall aid and defend one another, and neuer turne their backes or runne awaie out of the field in time of battell, where he is preſent with his ſoueraigne lord, his lieutenant or deputie, or other capteine, hauing the kings power roiall and authoritie, and where as his banners, ſtandards, or pennons are ſpred. The reſidue of the lawes and rules apperteining vnto this noble order, I doo here purpoſelie omit, for that the ſame in * an other place more conuenient is expreſſed, ſo far as may be thought expedient. But now touching theſe ſix and twentie noble men & knights, which were firſt choſen and admitted into the ſame order, by the firſt founder thereof, this king Edward the third, their names are as followeth.

* Looke in the deſcription of Britaine.

Firſt the ſaid noble prince king Edward the third, the prince of Wales duke of Cornewall and earle of Cheſter his eldeſt ſonne, Henrie duke of Lancaſter, the earle of Warwike, the capitall de Beuch *alias* Buz or Beuſe, Raſe earle of Stafford, William Montacute earle of Saliſburie, Roger lord Mortimer, John lord Liſle, Bartholomew lord Burwaſch or Bergheſech, the lord John Beauchampe, the lord de Mahun, Hugh lord Courtnie, Thomas lord Holand, John lord Graie, Richard lord Fitz Simon, ſir Miles Stapleton, ſir Thomas Walle, ſir Hugh Wrotteſley, ſir Néele Loring, ſir John Chandos, Iames lord Audelie, ſir Otes Holand, ſir Henrie Eme, ſir Sanchet Dabrichcourt, ſir Walter Panell. ¶ Christopher Okland ſpeaking of the firſt inſtitution of this honorable order, dooth ſaie, that after foure daies were expired in the ſaid exerciſes of chiualrie, the king beſides the rich garter which he beſtowed vpon them that tried maiſteries, did alſo giue them a pretious collar of S S. but whether this collar had his firſt inſtitution then with the garter he ſaith nothing, belike it was an ornament of greater antiquitie. Oklands words are theſe as followeth;

In Angl. prælijs ſub Edwardo 3.

———— concertatoribus ampla
Præmia dat princeps, baccatas induit illis
Crura periſcelides, quas vnio miſſus Eous
Commendat, flammis interlucente pyropo.
Præterea ex auro puro, quod odorifer Indus
Miſerat, inſerta donabat iaſpide gemma,
Si formam ſpectes duplicato ex ſygmate torques.

¶ The cauſe and firſt originall of inſtituting this order is vncerteine. But there goeth a tale amongſt the people, that it roſe by this means. It chanced that K. Edward finding either the garter of the quéene, or of ſome * ladie with whom he was in loue, being fallen from hir leg, ſtooped downe and tooke it vp, whereat diuerſe of his nobles found matter to ieſt, and to talke their fanſies merilie, touching the kings affection towards the woman, vnto whome he ſaid, that if he liued, it ſhould come ſo paſſe, that moſt high honor ſhould be giuen vnto them for the garters ſake: and there vpon ſhortlie after, he deuiſed and ordeined this order of the garter, with ſuch a poſie, whereby he ſignified, that his nobles iudged otherwiſe of him than the truth was. Though ſome may thinke, that ſo noble an order had but a meane beginning, if this tale be true, yet manie honorable degrées of eſtates haue had their beginnings of more baſe and meane things, than of loue, which being orderlie vſed, is moſt noble and commendable, ſith nobilitie it ſelfe is couered vnder loue, as the poet Ouid aptlie ſaith,

The occaſion that moued K. Edward to inſtitute the order of the garter.
* The counteſſe of Saliſburie.

Nobilitas ſub amore iacet.

William de Montacute earle of Saliſburie king of Man, and marſhall of England, was ſo bruſed at the iuſts holden here at Windſore (as before ye haue heard) that he departed this life, the more was the pitie, within eight daies after. ¶ The king about the ſame time, to wit, in the quindene of Candlemaſſe, held a councell at London, in the which with good aduiſe and ſound deliberation had vpon the complaint of the commons to him before time made, he gaue

Additions to Adam Merimuth, and Triuet.

out ſtreict commandement, that no man, on paine of impriſonment and death, ſhould in time to come, preſent or induct anie ſuch perſon or perſons, that were ſo by the pope promoted, without the kings agreement, in preiudice of his roiall prerogatiue. Herevpon, he directed alſo writs to all archbiſhops, biſhops, abbats, priors, deanes, archdeacons, officials and other eccleſiaſticall perſons, to whome it apperteined, inhibiting them in no wiſe to attempt anie thing in preiudice of that ordinance, vnder pretext of anie bulles, or other writings, for ſuch manner of prouiſions to come from the court of Rome. Other writs were alſo directed to his ſonne the prince of Wales, and to all the ſhiriffes within the realme, for to arreſt all ſuch as brought into the land any ſuch buls or writings, and to bring them before the kings councell or his iuſtices, where they might be puniſhed according to the treſpaſſe by them committed.

Coine changed.

About the ſame time, the king ordeined a certeine coine of fine gold, and named it the floren, which coine was deuiſed for his warres in France, for the gold thereof was not ſo fine as was the noble, which in the fourteenth yeare he had cauſed to be coined: but this coine continued not long. ¶ After the feaſt of the holie Trinitie, the king held a parlement at London, in the which he asked a tenth of the cleargie, and a fifteenth of the laitie, about which demand there was no ſmall altercation, but at length he had it granted for one yeare. ¶ At the ſame time, the archbiſhop of Canturburie held a conuocation of all the cleargie at London, in the which manie things were in talke about the honeſt demeanor of churchmen, which ſildome is obſerued, as the addition to Nicholas Triuet ſaith. About the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our ladie, the king diſanulled the florens, to the great commoditie of his kingdome, ordeining a greater floren of halfe a marke, and a leſſer of thrée ſhillings foure pence, and the leaſt of all of twentie pence, and theſe were called nobles, and not without cauſe, for they were a noble coine, of faire & fine gold.

1345
Anno Reg. 19.

This yeare, on the ſeauentéenth daie of Nouember, the pope in Auinion created the lord Lewes de Spaine, ambaſſador for the French king, prince of the Iles called *Fortunatæ*, for what purpoſe it was not knowne, but it was doubted, not to be for anie good meaning towards the kingdome of England, the proſperitie whereof, the ſame pope was ſuſpected not greatlie to wiſh. ¶ About the beginning of Lent the ſame yeare, the ſaid pope had ſent an archbiſhop and a biſhop, ambaſſadors to the king, who met them at Oſpring in Kent, and to the end they ſhould not linger long within the realme, he quicklie diſpatched them without effect of their meſſage. ¶ This yeare, ſhortlie after Eaſter, the duke of Britaine, that had béene deteined priſoner by the French king, and eſcaped out of priſon, came ouer into England. ¶ And about the ſame time, the king ordeined the exchange of monies at London, Canturburie, and Yorke, to the great commoditie of his people.

Anesburie.
Ad. Merimuth.
Polychron.

Fiue hundred men of armes, and two thouſand archers ſaith Froiſſard.

Bergerat wonne.

About Midſummer, or (as other haue) Michaelmas, the earle of Derbie, with the earle of Penbroke, the lord Rafe Stafford, the lord Walter de Mannie, the lord Iohn Graie of Codnore, and diuerſe other lords, knights, and eſquires, to the number of fiue or ſix hundred men of armes, and as manie archers, ſailed ouer into Gaſcoine, to aſſiſt the kings ſubiects there againſt the Frenchmen. This earle of Derbie, being generall of the armie, after his arriuall in Gaſcoine, about the beginning of December, wan the towne of Bergerat by force, hauing put to flight the earle of Liſle, as then the French kings lieutenant in Gaſcoine, who laie there with a great power, to defend the paſſage: but being driuen into the towne, and hauing loſt the ſuburbes to the Engliſhmen, he fled out in the night, and ſo left the towne, without anie ſouldiers to defend it, ſo that the towneſmen yéelded it vnto the earle of Derbie, and ſware themſelues to be true liege men vnto the king of England. After this, the earle of Derbie paſſed further into the countrie, and wan diuerſe caſtels and towns, as Lango, le Lake, Moundurant, Monguiſe, Punach, Laliew, Forſath, Pondair, Beaumont in Lallois, Bounall, Auberoch and Liborne, part of them by aſſault, and the reſidue by ſurrender. This doone, he returned to Burdeaux, hauing left capteins and ſouldiers in ſuch places as he had wonne.

Froiſſard.

This yeare, the king ſent foorth a commiſſion vnto certeine perſons in euerie countie within the realme, to inquire what lands and tenements euerie man, aboue fiue pounds of yéerelie reuenues, being of the laie fée, might diſpend; bicauſe he had giuen order, that euerie man which might diſpend fiue pounds and aboue, vnto ten pounds of ſuch yéerelie reuenues in land of the laie fée, ſhould furniſh himſelfe, or find an archer on horſſebacke, furniſhed with armour and weapon accordinglie. He that might diſpend ten pounds, ſhould furniſh himſelfe, or find a demilance or light horſſeman (if I ſhall ſo terme him) being then called a hobler with a lance. And he that might diſpend fiue and twentie pounds, ſhould furniſh himſelfe or find a man at armes. And he that might diſpend fiftie pounds, ſhould furniſh two men at arms. And he that might diſpend an hundred pounds ſhould find thrée men at armes, that is, himſelfe, or one in his ſtéed, with two other. And ſuch as might diſpend aboue an hundred pounds, were appointed to find more in number of men at armes, accordinglie as they ſhould be aſſeſſed, after the rate of their lands which they might yearelie diſpend, being of the laie fée, and not belonging to the church.

Additions to Nic. Triuet.

The duke of Britaine departed this life.

About this ſeaſon, the duke of Britaine, hauing with him the earles of Northampton and Oxenford, ſir William de Killeſbie one of the kings ſecretaries, and manie other barons and knights, with a great number of men of armes, paſſed ouer into Britaine, againſt the lord Charles de Blois, where they tarried a long time, and did little good to make anie accompt of, by reaſon that the duke, in whoſe quarrell they came into thoſe parts, ſhortlie after his arriuall there, departed this life, and ſo they returned home into England. But after their comming from thence, ſir Thomas Dagworth knight, that had béene before, and now after the departure of thoſe lords and nobles, ſtill remained the kings lieutenant there, ſo behaued himſelfe againſt both Frenchmen and Britains, that the memorie of his worthie doings deſerueth perpetuall commendation. Sir Iohn de Heinault lord Beaumont, about the ſame time, changed his cote, and leauing the king of Englands ſeruice, was reteined by the French king.

The lord Beaumont of Heinault forſaketh the K. of England his ſeruice.

The king goeth ouer into Flanders.

Ia. Mair.

In this ninetéenth yeare of king Edward I find, that about the feaſt of the Natiuitie of ſaint Iohn Baptiſt, he ſailed ouer into Flanders, leauing his ſonne the lord Lionell, warden of the realme in his abſence. He tooke with him a great number of lords, knights, and gentlemen, with whome he landed at Sluſe. The cauſe of his going ouer was, to further a practiſe which he had in hand with them of Flanders, the which by the labour of Iaques Arteueld, meant to cauſe their earle Lewes, either to doo homage vnto king Edward; or elſe if he refuſed, then to diſherit him, and to receiue Edward prince of Wales for their lord, the eldeſt ſonne of king Edward.

Froiſſard.

King Edward promiſing to make a dukedome of the countie of Flanders, for an augmentation of honour to the countrie, there came vnto Sluſe to the king, Iaques van Arteueld, and a great number of

A councell holden in the king of Englands ſhip.

other, appointed as councellors for their cheefeſt townes. The king with all his nauie lay in the hauen of Sluſe, where, in his great ſhip called the Catharine, a councell was holden vpon this foreſaid purpoſe: but at length, thoſe of the councellors of the cheefeſt townes miſliked the matter ſo much, that they would conclude nothing, but required reſpit for a moneth, to conſult with all the cōmunaltie of the countries and townes, and as the more part ſhould be inclined, ſo ſhould the king receiue anſwer. The king and Iaques Arteueld would faine haue had a ſhorter daie, and a more towardlie anſwer, but none other could be gotten.

Hereupon the councell brake vp, and Iaques Arteueld tarieng with the king a certeine ſpace, after the other were departed, promiſed him to perſuade the countrie well inough to his purpoſe, and ſuerlie, he had a great gift of eloquence, and had thereby induced the countrie wonderfullie, to conſent to manie things, as well in fauour of king Edward, as to his owne aduancement: but this ſuit which he went now about to bring to paſſe, was ſo odious vnto all the Flemings, that in no wiſe they thought it reaſon to conſent vnto the diſheriting of the earle. At length, when Iaques Arteueld ſhould returne vnto Gant, king Edward appointed fiue hundred Welſhmen to attend him as a gard, for the preſeruation of his perſon, bicauſe he ſaid, that one Gerard Deniſe deane of the weauers, an vnquiet man, maliciouſlie purpoſed his deſtruction.

Ia. Meir.
Welſhmen appointed to Iaques Arteueld for a gard againſt Gerard Deniſe.

Capteins of theſe Welſhmen were Iohn Matreuers, and William Sturine or Sturrie, and ſo with this crue of ſouldiers Arteueld returned vnto Gant, and earneſtlie went in hand with his ſuit in king Edwards behalfe, that either the earle ſhould doo his homage to the king of England to whome it was due; or elſe to forfeit his earledome. Then the foreſaid Gerard, as well of his owne mind, as procured thereto by the authoritie of earle Lewes, ſtirred the whole citie againſt the ſaid Arteueld, and gathering a great power vnto him, came and beſet Arteuelds houſe round about vpon each ſide, the furie of the people being wonderfullie bent againſt him, crieng; “Kill him, Kill him that hath robbed the treſurie of the countrie, and now goeth about to diſherit our “noble earle.

Iacob Arteuelds houſe beſet.

Iaques van Arteueld perceiuing in what danger he was, came vnto a window, and ſpake to that inraged multitude, in hope with faire and courteous words to appeaſe them, but it could not be: wherevpon he ſought to haue fled out of his houſe, but the ſame was broken vp, and ſo manie entred vpon him, that he was found out, and ſlaine by one Thomas Deniſe (as ſome write.) But other affirme, that on a ſundaie in the after noone, being the 17 of Iulie, a cobler, whoſe father this Iaques van Arteueld had ſometime ſlaine, followed him, as he was fleeing into a ſtable where his horſſes ſtood, & there with an ax cloue his head aſunder, ſo that he fell downe ſtarke dead on the ground. And this was the end of the foreſaid Iaques van Arteueld, who by his wiſedome and policie had obteined the whole gouernment of all Flanders. This wofull end was allotted vnto him by deſtinie, whoſe decree nothing is able by any ſhift to auoid, as is notablie ſaid of the poet in this diſtichon;

Froiſſard.
Ia. Meir.

Iacob van Arteueld ſlaine.

M. Pal. in ſcor.

Nil extra fatum eſt, metiturque omnia ſummi
Mens regis, cuius ſine numine fit nihil vſquam.

There were ſlaine alſo ten other perſons that were of his councell, and diuerſe of the Welſhmen in like manner; but the other eſcaped, and got awaie vnto king Edward, as yet remaining at Sluſe, vnto whome thoſe of Bruges, Caſſell, Curtrike, Ypres, Aldenard, and other townes, did afterwards ſend their orators to excuſe themſelues, as nothing guiltie nor priuie to the death of his freend, and their worthie gouernor Iaques van Arteueld, requiring him not to impute the fault vnto the whole countrie, which the raſh and vnaduiſed Gantiners had committed, ſith the countrie of Flanders was as readie now to doo him ſeruice and pleaſure as before, ſauing that to the diſheriting of their earle they could not be agreeable, but they doubted not to perſuade him to doo his homage vnto the king of England, and till then they promiſed not to receiue him. They put the king alſo in hope of a mariage to be had, betwixt the ſonne of their earle, and ſome one of the kings daughters. Herewith the king of England (who was departed from Sluſe, in great diſpleaſure with the Flemings) became ſomewhat pacified in his mood, and ſo renewed the league eftſoons with the countrie of Flanders: but the earle would neuer conſent to doo homage vnto the king of England, but ſtill ſticked to the French kings part, which purchaſed him much trouble, and in the end coſt him his life, as after ſhall appeare.

Ambaſſadors from the good townes in Flanders vnto king Edward.

Froiſſard.

But now to returne vnto the earle of Derbie, whome we left in Gaſcoigne. Ye ſhall vnderſtand, that ſhortlie after he was come backe to Burdeaux, from the conqueſt which he had made of Bergerat, and other townes thereabouts; the earle of Liſle, who (as ye haue heard) was the French kings lieutenant in that countrie, aſſembled an armie of twelue thouſand men, & comming before Auberoch (a towne in Gaſcoigne) beſieged it, ſore preſſing them within, in ſomuch that they were in great danger to haue beene taken, if the earle of Derbie, hauing knowlege in what caſe they ſtood, had not come to their reſcue, who with three hundred ſpeares or men of armes, as we maie call them, and ſix hundred archers, approching neere to the ſiege, laid himſelfe cloſelie within a wood, till the Frenchmen in the euening were at ſupper, & then ſuddenlie ſet vpon them in their campe, and diſcomfited them, ſo that the earle of Liſle was taken in his owne tent, and ſore hurt. There were alſo taken the earle of Valentinois, and other earles, vicounts, and lords of great accompt, to the number of nine, beſides thoſe that were ſlaine. The reſidue were put to flight and chaſed, ſo that the Engliſhmen had a faire iournie, and wan great riches by priſoners and ſpoile of the enimies campe.

Auberoch beſieged.

The French armie diſtreſſed, and the earle of Liſle taken.

After this, the earle of Derbie, being returned to Burdeaux, and hauing put the captiues in ſafe keeping, aſſembled his power, and marching foorth into the countrie, towards the Rioll (a towne in thoſe parts which he meant to beſiege) he wan diuerſe towns and caſtels by the way, as ſaint Baſill, Roch, Million, Montſegure, Aguillon, & Segart. At length he came to the towne of the Rioll, which he beſieged, and laie about it nine weekes yer he could win it, and then was the ſame towne ſurrendered into his hands, but the caſtell was ſtill defended againſt him for the ſpace of, eleuen weekes, at which time being ſore oppreſſed & vndermined, it was yeelded by them within conditionallie, that they ſhould depart onelie with their armour. After this, the earle of Derbie wan Montpeſance, Mauleon, Ville-Franche in Agenois, Miremont, Thomines, the caſtell of Damaſſen, and at length came before the citie of Angoleſme the which made appointment with the earle, that if no ſuccors came from the French king within the ſpace of a moneth, that then the citie ſhould be ſurrendered to the king of Englands vſe: and to aſſure this appointment, they deliuered to the earle foure and twentie of their cheefe citizens as hoſtages.

Towns won by the earle of Derbie.

Angoleſme.

Blaues.

In the meane time, the earle laid ſiege to Blaues, but could not win it. His men rode abroad into the countrie, to Mortaigne, Mirabeau, and Aunay, but wan little, and ſo returned againe to the ſiege of

Blaues. Now when the month was expired, that they of Angoleſme ſhould yeeld, the earle ſent his two marſhals thither, who receiued the homage and fealtie of the citizens, in the king of Englands name, and ſo they were in peace, and receiued againe their hoſtages. At length when the earle of Derbie ſaw that he did but loſe his time in the beſieging of Blaues, which ſir Guiſchart Dangle, and ſir Guilliaume de Rochfort, being capteins within, did ſo valiantlie defend, that he could obteine no aduantage of them, he raiſed his ſiege, and returned vnto Burdeaux, hauing furniſhed ſuch townes as he had woone in that tournie with conuenient gariſons of men to defend them againſt the enimies, and to keepe frontier warre, as they ſhould ſee cauſe.

Froiſſard ſaith they were an hundred thouſand. Gio. Villani writeth that they were a ſix thouſand horſmen and fiftie thouſand footemen, of Frenchmen, Gaſcoignes & Lombardes.

The French king being ſore moued at the conqueſts thus atchiued by the earle of Derbie, raiſed a mightie armie, and ſent the ſame foorth, vnder the leading of his ſonne the duke of Normandie, into Gaſcoigne, to reſiſt the ſaid earle, and to recouer againe thoſe townes which he had woone in thoſe parts. The duke of Normandie being come to Tholouz, where generall aſſemblie was appointed, ſet forward with his armie, and winning by the waie Miremount, and Ville Franche in Agenois; at length came to the citie of Angoleſme, which he inuironed about with a ſtrong ſiege, continuing the ſame, till finallie, the capiteine named Iohn Normell, required a truce to indure for one daie, which was granted, and the ſame was the daie of the Purification of our ladie, on the which, the ſame capiteine, with the ſouldiers of the garriſon departed, and left the citie in the citizens hands. The Frenchmen, bicauſe they had granted the truce to indure for that daie without exception, permitted them to go their waies without let or vexation. The citizens in the morning yeelded the citie to the duke. After this, he wan the caſtell of Damaſſen, Thonins, and Port S. Marie; Thonins by ſurrender, and the other two by force of aſſaults. Then he came to the ſtrong caſtell of Aiguillon, which he beſieged, and laie there at a long ſeaſon. Within was the earle of Penbroke, the lord Walter de Mannie, ſir Franke de Halle, and diuerſe knights and capteins, which defended themſelues, and the place ſo ſtoutlie, that the Frenchmen could win little aduantage at their hands.

Annales de Burgoigne.

1346

Anno Reg. 20.

Angoliſme recouered by the Frenchmen.

Damaſſen. Thonins.

Aiguillon beſieged.

Gio. Villani.

Whileſt the ſiege continued before this fortreſſe, the ſeneſhall of Guien departed from the campe, with eight hundred horſſemen, and foure thouſand footmen, purpoſing to win a caſtell, belonging to a nephue of the cardinall Della Motte, a twelue leagues diſtant from Aiguillon. The archdeacon of Vnfort, owner of that caſtell, went to the Rioll, where the earle of Derbie with his armie as then was lodged, to whome he made ſuit, to haue ſome power of men to reſcue his caſtell. The earle appointed to him a ſufficient number, both of horſſemen, and alſo of Engliſh archers, with whome the ſaid archdeacon rode all the night, and the next morning betimes, being the one and thirtith of Iulie, they came to the caſtell where the Frenchmen were arriued the daie before, and had fiercelie aſſailed the caſtell, dooing their beſt to win it by force. But the Engliſhmen without anie delaie, immediatlie vpon their comming, ſet vpon the Frenchmen, and gaue them ſo ſharpe and fierce battell, that in the end, the Frenchmen were diſcomfited: the ſeneſhall with manie other gentlemen were taken priſoners, beſide thoſe that were ſlaine. To conclude, the number of them that were ſlaine, and taken priſoners in the whole, amounted to foure hundred horſſemen, and two thouſand footmen. Sir Godfrey de Harcourt being conſtreined to flee out of France, to auoid the French kings diſpleaſure, came ouer vnto the king of England, who receiued him verie ioifullie, for he was knowne to be a right valiant and a wiſe perſonage. He was brother to the earle of Harecourt, lord of ſaint Sauiour le Vicount, and of diuerſe other townes in Normandie. A little before that he fell into the French kings diſpleaſure, he might haue doone with the king of France, more than anie other lord within that realme.

The archdecon of Vnfort.

Frenchmen diſcomfited.

Additions to Adam Merimuth.

In this twentith yeare of his reigne, king Edward vpon complaint of the people made againſt purueiours of vittels for his houſhold (the which vnder colour of their commiſſions, abuſed the ſame, in taking vp among the commons all manner of things that liked them, without making paiment for the ſame, further than the ſaid commiſſions did allow them) he cauſed inquirie to be made of their miſdemeanors, and ſuch as were found to haue offended, of whome there was no ſmall number, ſome of them were put to death on the gallowes, and other were fined, ſo to teach the reſt to deale more warilie in their buſineſſe from thenceforth. ¶ About the ſame time, he cauſed all the iuſtices within his dominions to renounce and giue ouer all their penſions, fees, and other bribing benefits and rewards, which they vſed to receiue of the lords and great men of the land, as well prelats, as of them of the temporaltie, to the end that their hands being free from gifts, iuſtice might more freelie haue courſe, and be of them dulie and vprightlie miniſtred. Alſo this yeare in the Lent ſeaſon, the king held a parlement at Weſtminſter, and tooke into his hands all the profits, reuenues, and emoluments, which the cardinals held within this land: for he thought it not reaſon, that they which fauoured the pope and the French king, being his aduerſaries, ſhould inioy ſuch commodities within his realme.

Puruciers puniſhed.

Iuſtices.

A parlement.

Cardinals.

Froiſſard.

The king paſſeth ouer into Normandie.

After this, in the moneth of Iulie following, he tooke ſhipping, and ſailed into Normandie, hauing eſtabliſhed the lord Percie, and the lord Neuill, to be wardens of his realme in his abſence, with the archbiſhop of Yorke, the biſhop of Lincolne, and the biſhop of Dureſme. The armie which he had ouer with him, was to the number of foure thouſand men of armes, and ten thouſand archers, beſide Iriſhmen, & Welſhmen, that folowed the hoſt on foot. The cheefeſt capteins that went ouer with him were theſe. Firſt his eldeſt ſonne Edward prince of Wales, being as then about the age of thirteene yeares, the earles of Hereford, Northampton, Arundell, Cornewall, Huntington, Warwike, Suffolke, and Oxford; of barons the lord Mortimer, who was after erle of March, the lords, Iohn, Lewes, and Roger Beauchampe; alſo the lords Cobham, Mowbraie, Lucie, Baſſet, Barkeley, and Willoughbie, with diuerſe other lords, beſides a great number of knights and other worthie capteins. They landed by the aduiſe of the lord Godfrey of Harecourt, in the Ile of Conſtantine, at the port of Hague ſaint Waſt, neere to ſaint Sauiour le Vicount. The earle of Huntington was appointed to be gouernour of the fleet by ſea, hauing with him a hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers.

Iohn Villani ſaith there were 2500 horſemen, and 30000 footmen and archers, that paſſed ouer with the K. but when he commeth to ſpeake of the battell, he ſeemeth to increaſe the number.

After that the whole armie was landed, the king appointed two marſhals, the lord Godfrey of Harecourt, and the earle of Warwike, and the earle of Arundell was made conſtable. There were ordeined three battels, one to go on his right hand, following by the coaſt of the ſea; and another to march on his left hand, vnder the conduct of the marſhals; ſo that he himſelfe went in the middeſt with the maine armie, and in this order forward they paſſed towards Caen, lodging euerie night togither in one field. They that went by the ſea, tooke all the ſhips they found in their waie, and as they marched foorth thus,

The ordering of the kings armie.

Harflew.

Chierburge.

Mountburge

Carentine.

what by water & land, at length they came to a towne called Harflew, which was giuen vp, but yet neuertheleſſe it was robbed, and much goods found in it. After this they came to Chierburge, which towne they wan by force, robbed it, and burnt part of it, but the caſtell they could not win. Then came they to Mountburge and tooke it, robbed it & burnt it cleane. In this manner they paſſed forth, and burnt manie towns and villages in all the countrie as they went. The towne of Carentine was deliuered vnto them againſt the will of the ſoldiers that were within it. The ſoldiers defended the caſtell two daies, and then yéelded it vp into the Engliſhmens hands, who burnt the ſame, and cauſed the burgeſſes to enter into their ſhips. All this was doone by the battell that went by the ſea ſide, and by them on the ſea togither.

Saint Lo.

On the other ſide, the lord Godfrie of Harecourt, with the battell on the right hand of the king, road forth ſix or ſeuen leagues from the kings battell, in burning and exiling the countrie. The king had with him (beſide thoſe that were with the marſhals) 3000 men of armes, ſix thouſand archers, and ten thouſand men on foot. They left the citie of Conſtance, and came to a great towne called ſaint Lo, a rich towne of draperie, hauing manie wealthie burgeſſes within it: it was ſoone taken and robbed by the Engliſhmen vpon their firſt approch. From thence the king marched ſtreight to Caen, wherein were capteins Raſe earle of Ewe and Guines conſtable of France, & the earle of Tankeruile. Theſe noble men meant to haue kept their defenſes on the walles, gate, bridge, and riuer, and to haue left the ſuburbes void, bicauſe they were not cloſed, but onelie with the riuer: but they of the towne ſaid they would iſſue forth, for they were ſtrong inough to fight with the king of England.

There were ſlaine in all without and within the towne 5000 men, as Gio. Villani writeth.

Peter Legh.

When the conſtable ſaw their good willes, he was contented to follow their deſire, and ſo forth they went in good order, and made good face to put their liues in hazard: but when they ſaw the Engliſhmen approch in good order, diuided into thrée battels, & the archers readie to ſhoot, which they of Caen had not ſéene before, they were ſore afraid, and fled awaie toward the towne without any order or arraie, for all that the conſtable could doo to ſtaie them. The Engliſhmen followed, and in the chaſe ſlue manie, and entered the towne with their enimies. The conſtable, and the earle of Tankeruile tooke a tower at the bridge foot, thinking there to ſaue themſelues, but perceiuing the place to be of no force, nor able long to hold out, they ſubmitted themſelues vnto ſir Thomas Holland. ¶ But here whatſoeuer Froiſſard dooth report of the taking of this tower, and of the yéelding of theſe two noble men, it is to be proued that the ſaid earle of Tankeruile was taken by one ſurnamed Legh, anceſtor to ſir Peter Legh now liuing, whether in the fight or within the tower, I haue not to ſaie: but for the taking of the ſaid earle, and for his other manlike prowes ſhewed here and elſewhere in this iournie, king Edward in recompenſe of his agréeable ſeruice, gaue to him a lordſhip in the countie of Cheſter called Hanley, which the ſaid ſir Peter Legh now liuing dooth inioy and poſſeſſe, as ſucceſſor and heire to his anceſtor the foreſaid Legh, to whom it was ſo firſt giuen.

Caen taken.

But to returne now to the matter where we left. The Frenchmen being entred into their houſes, caſt downe vpon the Engliſhmen below in the ſtréets, ſtones, timber, hot water, and barres of iron, ſo that they hurt and ſlue more than fiue hundred perſons. The king was ſo mooued therewith, that if the lord Godfrie of Harecourt had not aſſwaged his mood, the towne had béene burnt, and the people put to the edge of the ſword: but by the treatie of the ſaid lord Godfrie, proclamation was made, that no man ſhould put fire into any houſe, nor ſlea any perſon, nor force any woman, and then did the townesmen and ſouldiers ſubmit themſelues, and receiued the Engliſhmen into their houſes. There was great ſtore of riches gotten in this towne, and the moſt part thereof ſent into England, with the fléet which the king ſent home with the priſoners, vnder the guiding of the earle of Huntington, accompanied with two hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers.

40000 clothes, as Gio. Villani writeth, were got by the Engliſhmen in one place and other in this iournie.

Louiers.

Giſors.

Vernon.

Gio. Villani.

S. Germans in Laie.

S. Clowd.

When all things were ordred in Caen as the king could deſire, he marched from thence in the ſame order as he had kept before, burning and exiling the countrie. He paſſed by Eureux & came to Louiers, which the Engliſhmen ſoone entred and ſacked without mercie. Then went they forth and left Roan, and came to Giſors, the towne they burnt, but the caſtell they could not get: they burnt alſo Vernon, and at Poiſſie they repared the bridge which was broken, and ſo there they paſſed ouer the riuer of Saine. The power of the Engliſhmen increaſed dailie, by ſuch numbers as came ouer forth of England in hope to win by pillage. Alſo manie gentlemen of Normandie, and other of the French nation, which loued not nor owght any good will vnto the French king, came to the king of England, offering to ſerue him, ſo that there were in his armie foure thouſand horſſemen and fiftie thouſand footmen with the Normans, and of this number there were thirtie thouſand Engliſh archers, as Giouan Villani writeth. The Engliſh marſhals ran abroad iuſt to Paris, and burnt S. Germans in Laie: alſo Mountioy, and S. Clowd, and petie Bullongne by Paris, & the quéenes Burge. In the meane time had the French king aſſembled a mightie armie vpon purpoſe to fight with the Engliſhmen. ¶ The lord Godfrey of Harecourt, as he rode forth with fiue hundred men of armes, and 13 hundred archers, by aduenture incountered with a great number of the burgeſſes of Amiens on horſſebacke, who were riding by the kings commandement to Paris. They were quickelie aſſailed, and though they defended themſelues manfullie for a while, yet at length they were ouercome, and eleuen hundred of them ſlaine in the field, beſide thoſe that were taken. The Engliſhmen had all their cariage and armour. Thus paſſed forth the king of England, and came into Beauuoiſin, and lodged néere vnto the citie of Beauuois one night in an abbeie called Meſſene, and for that after he was diſlodged, there were that ſet fire in the ſame abbeie, without any commandement giuen by him; he cauſed twentie of them to be hanged that were the firſt procurers of that fire.

Beauuois.

Burners executed.

Piqueney.

The French kings armie.

So long the king of England paſſed forward, that finallie he approched néere to the water of Some, the which was large and déepe, and all the bridges broken and the paſſages well kept, wherevpon he cauſed his two marſhals with a thouſand men of armes, & two thouſand archers, to go along the riuer, to the end to find ſome paſſage. The marſhals aſſaied diuerſe places, as at Piqueney, and other where, but they could not find any paſſage vncloſed, capteins with men of warre being ſet to defend the ſame, in ſomuch that the marſhals returned to the king, and declared what they had ſéene and found. At the ſame inſtant time was the French king come to Amiens, with more than a hundred thouſand men, and thought to incloſe the king of England, that he ſhould no waie eſcape, but be conſtreined to receiue battell in ſome place greatlie to his diſaduantage.

The king of England well perceiuing himſelfe in danger, remoued from the place where he was incamped, and marched forward through the countries of Pontiew and Vimew, approching vnto the good towne of Abuile, and at length by one of the priſoners named Gobin de Grace, he was told where he might paſſe with his armie ouer the riuer of Some, at a ford in the ſame riuer, being hard in the bottome, and verie ſhallow at an eb water. The French king vnderſtanding that the K. of England ſought to paſſe the riuer of Some, ſent a great baron of Normandie, one ſir Godmare du Foy, to defend the paſſage of the ſame riuer, with a thouſand men of armes, and ſix thouſand on foot with the Genowaies. This ſir Godmare had with him alſo a great number of them of Mutterell and others of the countrie, ſo that he had in all to the number of twelue thouſand men, one and other, and hearing that the king of England was minded to paſſe at Blanchetake (which was the paſſage that Gobin Agace had informed the king of England of) he came thither. When the Engliſhmen approched, he arranged all his companie to defend the paſſage.

Sir Godmare du Foy.

Gobin Agace

And ſuerlie when the Engliſhmen at the lowe water entered the ford to paſſe ouer, there was a ſharpe bickering, for diuerſe of the Frenchmen incountred the Engliſhmen on horſſebacke in the water, and the Genowaies did them much hurt, and troubled them ſore with their croſbowes: but on the other ſide, the Engliſh archers ſhot ſo wholie togither, that the Frenchmen were faine to giue place to the Engliſhmen, ſo that they got the paſſage and came ouer, aſſembling themſelues in the field, and then the Frenchmen fled, ſome to Abuile, ſome to ſaint Riquier. They that were on foot could not eſcape ſo well as thoſe on horſſebacke, inſomuch that a great number of them of Abuile, Mutterell, Arras, and S. Riquier were ſlaine and taken, for the chaſe indured more than a great league. There were ſlaine in all to the number of two thouſand. When the K. of England had thus paſſed the riuer, he acquitted Gobin Agace, and all his companie of their ranſomes, and gaue to the ſame Gobin an hundred nobles, and a good horſſe, and ſo the king road forth as he did before. His marſhals road to Crotaie by the ſea ſide, and burnt the towne, and tooke all ſuch wines and goods as were in the ſhips and barks which laie there in the hauen.

The Engliſhmen wan the paſſage ouer the water of Some.

Caxton. The number ſlaine. Froiſſard.

Crotoy burnt

One of the marſhals road to the gates of Abuile, and from thence to S. Riquier, and after to the towne of Rue ſaint Eſperit. This was on a fridaie, and both the marſhals returned to the kings hoſt about noone, and ſo lodged all togither about Creſſie in Pontiew, where hauing knowledge that the French king followed to giue him battell, he commanded his marſhals to chooſe a plot of ground, ſomewhat to his aduantage, that he might there abide his aduerſaries. In the meane time the French king being come with all his puiſſance vnto Abuile, and hearing how the king of England was paſſed ouer the riuer of Some, and diſcomfited ſir Godmare du Foy, was ſore diſpleaſed in his mind: but when he vnderſtood that his enimies were lodged at Creſſie, and meant there to abide him, he cauſed all his people to iſſue out of Abuile, and earlie on the ſaturdaie in the morning, anon after ſunne riſing he departed out of the towne himſelfe, and marched towards his enimies. The king of England vnderſtanding that his aduerſarie king Philip ſtill followed him, to giue him battell, & ſuppoſing that the ſame ſaturdaie he would come to offer it, roſe betimes in the morning, and commanded euerie man firſt to call vpon God for his aid, then to be armed, and to draw with ſpeed into the field, that in the place before appointed they might be ſet in order of battell. Beginning his enterpriſe at inuocation or calling vpon God, he was the more fortunate in his affaires, and ſped the better in the progreſſe of his actions, as the iſſue of the warre ſhewed. A notable example to euerie priuat man, to remember to call vpon God when he purpoſeth anie thing, for as the poet ſaith, and that verie chriſtianlie,

——nihil eſt mortalibus ægris
Vtilius, quàm cœleſtem, ſanctéq; pieq;
Orando ſibi quærere opem.

Mar. Pal. in Sag.

Beſide this, he cauſed a parke to be made and cloſed by the wood ſide behind his hoſt, in the which he ordeined that all the carts and carriages ſhould be ſet, with all the horſſes (for euerie man was on foot.) Then he ordeined three battels; in the firſt was the prince of Wales, and with him the earle of Warwike, the lord Godfrey of Harecourt, the lord Stafford, the lord de la Ware, the lord Bourchier, the lord Thomas Clifford, the lord Reginald Cobham, the lord Thomas Holland, ſir Iohn Chandos, ſir Bartholomew de Browaſh, ſir Robert Neuill. They were eight hundred men of armes, and two thouſand archers, and a thouſand of other with the Welſh men. In the ſecond battell was the earle of Northhampton, the earle of Arundell, the lords Ros and Willowbie, Baſſet, S. Albine, Multon, and others. The third battell the king led himſelfe, hauing with him ſeauen hundred men of armes, and two thouſand archers, and in the other battell were to the number of eight hundred men of armes, and twelue hundred archers. Thus was the Engliſh armie marſhalled according to the report of Froiſſard. When euerie man was gotten into order of battell, the king leapt vpon a white hobbie, and rode from ranke to ranke to view them, the one marſhall on his right hand, and the other on his left, deſiring euerie man that daie to haue regard to his right and honour. He ſpake it ſo courteouſlie, and with ſo good a countenance, that euen they which before were diſcomforted, tooke courage in hearing him ſpeake ſuch ſweet and louing words amongſt them. It was nine of the clocke yer euer he had thus viſited all his battels, & thereupon he cauſed euerie man to eat and drinke a little, which they did at their leiſure.

Giouā Villani ſaith, that when they ſhould ioine in battell, the Engliſhmen were 30000. archers Engliſh & Welſh, beſide other footmen with axes & iauelins, and not fullie 4000 horſſemen.

Froiſſard. The kings demeanor before ỹ battell.

The French king, before he approched neere to his enimies, ſent forth foure ſkilfull knights to view the demeanor of his enimies, the which returning againe, made report as they had ſeene, and that forſomuch as they could geſſe, the Engliſhmen ment to abide him, being diuided into three battels, readie to receiue him and his puiſſance, if he went forward in purpoſe to aſſaile them. Here was the French king counſelled to ſtay and not to giue battell that day, but to aduiſe all things with good deliberation and regard, to conſider well how and what way he might beſt aſſaile them. Then by the marſhals were all men commanded to ſtaie, and not to go anie further, they that were formoſt and next to the enimies taried, but they that were behind would not abide but rode forth, and ſaid they would not ſtaie till they were as far as the formoſt: and when they before ſaw them behind come forward, then they marched on alſo againe, ſo that neither the K. nor his marſhals could rule them, but that they paſſed forward ſtill without order, or anie good arraie, till they came in ſight of their enimies: and as ſoone as the formoſt ſaw their enimies, then they reculed backe, whereof they behind had maruell, and were abaſhed, ſuppoſing that the formoſt companie had beene fighting. Then they might haue had roome to haue gone forward, if they had beene minded. The commons, of whome all the waies betwixt Abuile and Creſſie were full, when they ſaw that they were neere their enimies, they tooke their ſwords and cried; Downe with them, Let vs ſlea them all. There was no man, though he were preſent at the iornie, that could imagine or ſhew the truth of the euill order that was among the French

The diſorder among the Frenchmen.

partie, and yet they were a maruellous great number.

The Engliſhmen which beheld their enimies thus approching them, prepared themſelues at leiſure for the battell, which they ſaw to be at hand. The firſt battell, whereof the prince was ruler, had the archers ſtanding in maner of an herſe, and the men of armes in the botome of the battell. The earle of Northampton and the earle of Arundell with the ſecond battell, were on a wing in good order, readie to comfort the princes battell if néed were. The lords and knights of France came not to the aſſemblie togither, for ſome came after, in ſuch haſt and euill order, that one of them troubled another. There were of Genowaies croſbowes to the number of twelue or fiftéene thouſand, the which were commanded to go on before, and with their ſhot to begin the battell; but they were ſo werie with going on foot that morning ſix leagues armed with their croſbowes, that they ſaid to their conſtables; We be not well vſed, in that we are commanded to fight this daie, for we be not in caſe to doo any great feat of armes, we haue more néed of reſt. Theſe words came to the hearing of the earle of Alanſon, who ſaid; A man is well at eaſe to be charged with ſuch a ſort of raſcals, that faint and faile now at moſt néed.

Charles Grimaldi & Anthonie or Othone Doria were capteins of theſe Genowaies, which were not paſt ſix thouſand, as Gio. Villani ſaith.

Polydor.
Froiſſard.

The earle of Alanſon.

Raine and thunder with an eclipſe.

Alſo at the ſame inſtant there fell a great raine, and an eclipſe with a terrible thunder, and before the raine, there came fleing ouer both armies a great number of crowes, for feare of the tempeſt comming: then anon the aire began to wax cleare, and the ſunne to ſhine faire and bright, which was right in the French mens eies, and on the Engliſhmens backs. ¶ When the Genowaies were aſſembled togither, and began to approch, they made a great leape and crie, to abaſh the Engliſhmen, but they ſtood ſtill and ſtirred not at all for that noiſe. Then the Genowaies the ſecond time made an other leape and huge crie, and ſtepped forward a little, and the Engliſhmen remoued not a foot. The third time againe the Genowaies leapt, and yelled, and went forth till they came within ſhot, and fiercelie therwith diſcharged their croſbowes. Then the Engliſh archers ſtept forth one paſe, and let flie their arrowes ſo wholie and ſo thicke togither, that it ſéemed to ſnowe. When the Genowaies felt the arrowes perſing their heads, armes and breaſts, manie of them caſt downe their croſbowes, and cut the ſtrings, and returned diſcomfited. When the French king ſaw them flee awaie, he ſaid: Slea theſe raſcals, for they will let and trouble vs without reaſon.

The Genowaies.

The battell is begun.

Then ye might haue ſéene the men of armes haue daſht in amongſt them, and killed a great number of them, and euer the Engliſhmen ſhot where they ſaw the thickeſt preaſe: the ſharpe arrowes ran into the men of armes, and into their horſſes, and manie fell horſſe and man amongſt the Genowaies, and ſtill the Engliſhmen ſhot where they ſaw the thickeſt preaſe, and when they were once downe they could not recouer againe. The throng was ſuch that one ouerthrew another; & alſo among the Engliſhmen, there were certeine of the footmen with great kniues, that went in among the men of armes, and killed manie of them as they laie on the ground, both earles, barons, knights, and eſquires. The valiant king of Bohem being almoſt blind, cauſed his men to faſten all the reines of the bridels of their horſſes ech to other, and ſo he being himſelfe amongſt them in the formoſt ranke, they ran on their enimies.

The king of Boheme.

The lord Charles of Boheme ſonne to the ſame king and late elected emperour, came in good order to the battell, but when he ſaw how the matter went awrie on their part, he departed and ſaued himſelfe. His father by the meanes aforeſaid went ſo far forward, that ioining with his enimies he fought right valiantlie, and ſo did all his companie: but finallie being entred within the preaſe of their enimies, they were of them incloſed and ſlaine, togither with the king their maſter, and the next daie found dead lieng about him, and their horſſes all tied ech to other. The earle of Alanſon came right orderlie to the battell, and fought with the Engliſhmen, and ſo did the earle of Flanders alſo on his part. Theſe two lords coaſted the Engliſh archers, and came to the princes battell, and there fought right valiantlie a long time. The French king perceiuing where their banners ſtood, would faine haue come to them, but could not, by reaſon of a great hedge of archers that ſtood betwixt them and him. This was a perillous battell and ſore foughten: there were few taken to mercie, for the Engliſhmen had ſo determined in the morning.

The earle of Alanſon.

Certeine Frenchmen and Almaines perforce opened the archers of the princes battell, and came to fight with the men of armes hand to hand. Then the ſecond battell of the Engliſhmen came to ſuccor the princes battell, and not before it was time, for they of that battell had as then inough to doo, in ſomuch that ſome which were about him, as the earle of Northampton, and others ſent to the king, where he ſtood aloft on a windmill hill, requiring him to aduance forward, and come to their aid, they being as then ſore laid to of their enimies. The king herevpon demanded if his ſonne were ſlaine, hurt, or felled to the earth? No (ſaid the knight that brought the meſſage) but he is ſore matched. Well (ſaid the king) returne to him and them that ſent you, and ſaie to them that they ſend no more to me for any aduenture that falleth, ſo long as my ſon is aliue, for I will that this iournie be his, with the honor thereof. With this anſwer the knight returned, which greatlie incouraged them to doo their beſt to win the ſpurs, being half abaſhed in that they had ſo ſent to the king for aid. At length when it drew toward euening, and that the Frenchmen were beaten downe and ſlaine on ech hand, king Philip as it were by conſtreint departed out of the field, not hauing as then paſt thrée ſcore perſons about him, of whome the lord Iohn of Heinault was one, by whoſe perſuaſion he chéerelie conſented to ride his waie for his owne ſafegard, when he ſaw the loſſe was ſuch as on that daie it could not be recouered.

The princes battell preaſed.

The earle of Northampton ſendeth to the king.

The kings anſwer.

The French king departeth out of the field.

The ſlaughter of the Frenchmen was great and lamentable, namelie for the loſſe of ſo manie noble men, as were ſlaine at the ſame battell, fought betwéene Creſſie and Broy on the ſaturdaie next following the feaſt of ſaint Bartholomew being (as that yeare fell) the 26 of Auguſt. Among other which died that daie, theſe I find regiſtred by name as chéefeſt, Iohn king of Boheme, Rafe duke of Loraine, Charles of Alanſo brother germane to king Philip, Charles earle of Blois, Lewes earle of Flanders, alſo the earle of Harecourt, brother to the lord Geffrie of Harecourt, with the earles of Auſſerre, Aumerle, and ſaint Poule, beſide diuerſe other of the nobilitie. The Engliſhmen neuer brake out of their battels to chaſe any man, but kept themſelues togither in their wards and ranks, and defended themſelues euer againſt ſuch as came to aſſaile them. This battell ended about euening.

Great ſlaughter of Frenchmen.

Caxton.
Iac. Meir.
Polydor.
Froiſſard.

Noble men ſlaine.

When the Frenchmen were clearelie ouercome, and thoſe that were left aliue fled and gone, ſo that the Engliſhmen heard no more noiſe of them, king Edward came downe from the hill (on the which he ſtood all that day with his helmet ſtill on his head) and going to the prince, imbraced him in his armes, and kiſſed him, ſaieng; Faire ſonne, God ſend you good perſeuerance in this your proſperous beginning, you

The king of England commeth downe from the hill.

“ haue noblie acquit your ſelfe, you are well worthie to haue the gouernance of a realme committed to your “ hands for your valiant dooings. The prince inclined himſelfe to the earth in honouring his father, as he beſt could. This done, they thanked God togither with their ſouldiers for their good aduenture. For ſo the king commanded, and willed no man to make anie boaſt of his owne power, but to aſcribe all the praiſe to almightie God for ſuch a noble victorie; ſeeming heerein to be affected as Dauid was in the foure and fortith pſalme; for he alſo referreth the happie ſucceſſe of warre, and all victorie, vnto almightie God, and not to the ſtrength of a multitude of men, ſaieng:

Tu nos ab hoſte ſubtrahis, ſternis ſolo
Infenſa nobis agmina.
Non ergo ſemper iure te cantabimus
Noſtræ ſalutis vindicem?

Georg. Buch. paraph. in pſal.

¶ On the ſundaie in the morning, there was ſuch a miſt, that a man could not ſee an acres bredth before him. Then by the kings commandement there departed from the hoſt fiue hundred ſpeares, and two thouſand archers, to trie if they might heare of anie Frenchmen gathered togither in anie place neere vnto them.

On the ſame morning there were departed out of Abuile and S. Requier in Pontiew, the commons of Roan and Beauuais, with other that knew nothing of the diſcomfiture the daie before. Theſe met with the Engliſhmen, ſuppoſing they had beene Frenchmen, and being fiercelie aſſailed of them, after ſore fight, and great ſlaughter, the Frenchmen were diſcomfited and fled, of whome were ſlaine in the hedges ⁊ buſhes, more than ſeuen thouſand men. The archbiſhop of Roan, and the grand prior of France, ignorant alſo of the diſcomfiture the day before, ⁊ ſuppoſing (as they were informed) the French ſhould not haue foughten till that ſundaie, were likewiſe incountred (as they came thitherward) by the Engliſhmen, with whome they fought a ſore battell, for they were a great number, but yet at length they were not able to ſuſteine the puiſſant force of the Engliſhmen, and ſo the moſt part of them were ſlaine, with the ſaid archbiſhop and grand prior, and few there were that eſcaped.

Frenchmen ſlaine the day after the battill.

The archb. of Rouen and the lord grand prior of France ſlaine

On that ſundaie morning, the Engliſhmen met with diuerſe Frenchmen, that had loſt their waie on the ſaturdaie, and wiſt not where the king nor their capteins were become. They were all ſlaine in manner, ſo manie as the Engliſhmen could meet with, inſomuch that of the commons and footmen of the cities and good townes of France (as was thought) there were ſlaine this ſundaie foure times as manie as were ſlaine on the ſaturdaie in the great battell. When thoſe Engliſhmen that were ſent abroad thus to view the countrie, were returned againe, and ſignified to the king what they had ſeene and doone, and how there was no more appearance of the enimies, the king to ſearch what the number was of them that were ſlaine, and vpon the view taken, it was reported vnto him, that there were found dead eleuen princes, foure ſcore baronets, 12 hundred knights, and more than thirtie thouſand other of the meaner ſort. Thus was the whole puiſſance of France vanquiſhed, and that cheeflie by force of ſuch as were of no reputation amongſt them, that is to ſay, the Engliſh archers, by whoſe ſharpe and violent ſhot the victorie was atchiued, to the great confuſion of the French nation. ¶ Of ſuch price were the Engliſh bowes in that ſeaſon, that nothing was able to withſtand them; whereas now our archers couet not to drawe long and ſtrong bowes, but rather to ſhoot compaſſe, which are not meet for the warres, nor greatlie to be feared, though they come into the field.

The king of England with his armie kept ſtill his field, vntill mondaie in the morning, and then diſlodged, and came before Moturell by the ſea, and his marſhals ran towards Hedin. The next daie they road toward Bullongne, ⁊ at Wiſam the king and the prince incamped, and tarried a whole daie to refreſh their people, and on the wedneſdaie being the thirtith day of Auguſt, he came before the ſtrong towne of Calis, and there planted his ſiege, and erected baſtides betweene the towne and the riuer, and cauſed carpenters to make houſes and lodgings of great timber, which were couered with reed ⁊ broome, ſo manie and in ſuch order, that it ſeemed a new towne, and in it was a market place appointed of purpoſe, in the which the market was dailie kept of vittels, ⁊ all other neceſſarie things euerie tueſdaie and ſaturdaie, ſo that a man might haue bought what he would of things brought thither out of England ⁊ Flanders. ¶ But now, forſomuch as we haue ſpoken of this iournie and inuaſion made by king Edward into France, in this nineteenth yeere of his reigne, accordinglie as we haue gathered out of Froiſſard, and diuerſe other authors, I haue thought good to make the reader partaker of the contents of a letter written by a chapleine of the ſaid king, and attendant about him in the ſame iornie, conteining the ſucceſſe of his proceedings after his departure from Poiſſie, which letter is inſerted with others in the hiſtorie of Robert de Auesburie, and Engliſhed by maiſter Iohn Fox as followeth.

Calis beſieged.

A letter of W. Northbourgh the kings *confeſſor deſcribing the kings* voiage into France.

Salutations premiſed. We giue you to vnderſtand, that our ſouereigne lord the king came to the towne of Poiſſie the daie before the Aſſumption of our ladie, where was a certeine bridge ouer the water of Saine broken downe by the enimie, but the king tarried there ſo long, till that the bridge was made againe. And whiles the bridge was in reparing, there came a great number of men at armes, and other ſouldiers well armed, to hinder the ſame. But the earle of Northampton iſſued out againſt them, and ſlue of them more than a thouſand, the reſt fled awaie: thankes be to God. And at another time, our men paſſed the water (although with much trauell) and ſlue a great number of the common ſouldiers of France, about the citie of Paris, and countrie adioining, being part of the French kings armie, and throughlie well appointed: ſo that our people haue now made other good bridges vpon our enimies, God be thanked, without anie loſſe and damage to vs. And on the morrow after the Aſſumption of our ladie, the king paſſed the water of Saine, and marched toward Poiſſie, which is a towne of great defenſe, and ſtronglie walled, and a maruellous ſtrong caſtell within the ſame, which our enimies kept. And when our vauntgard was paſſed the towne, our rergard gaue an aſſault therevnto, and tooke the ſame, where were ſlaine more than three hundred men at arms of our enimies part.

In the Acts and monuments.

part. And the next daie following, the earle of Suffolke, and ſir Hugh Spenſer, marched foorth vpon the commons of the countrie aſſembled and well armed, and in fine diſcomfited them, and ſlue of them more than two hundred, & tooke thrée ſcore gentlemen priſoners, beſide others.

And after that, the king marched toward grand Villiers, and while he was there incamped, the kings vantgard was deſcried by the men at armes of the K. of Boheme: wherbvpon our men iſſued out in great haſt and ioined battell with them, but were inforced to retire. Notwithſtanding, thanks be vnto God, the earle of Northampton iſſued out, and reſcued the horſſemen with the other ſoldiers: ſo that few or none of them were either taken or ſlaine, ſauing onlie Thomas Talbot, but had againe the enimie in chaſe within two leagues of Amiens: of whome we tooke eight, and ſlue twelue of their beſt men at armes: the reſt being well horſſed, tooke the towne of Amiens. After this the king of England marched toward Pountiſe, vpon Bartholomew day, and came to the water of Some, where the French king had laid fiue hundred men at armes, and thrée thouſand footmen, purpoſing to haue kept and ſtopped our paſſage: but thanks be to God, the K. of England and his hoſt entered the ſame water of Some, where neuer man paſſed before, without loſſe of any of our men; and after that incountered with the enimie, and ſlue of them more than 2000, the reſt fled to Abuile, in which chaſe were taken manie knights, eſquiers, & men at armes. The ſame day ſir Hugh Spenſer tooke the towne of Crotaie, where he & his ſoldiers ſlue 400 men at armes, & kept the towne, where they found great ſtore of vittels.

The ſame night incamped the king of England in the forreſt of Creſſie vpon the ſame water, for that the French kings hoſt came on the other ſide of the towne, neere vnto our paſſage: but he would not take the water of vs, & ſo marched toward Abuile. And vpon the fridaie next following, the king being ſtill incamped in the ſaid forreſt, our ſcuriers deſcried the French K. which marched toward vs in foure great battels; and hauing then vnderſtanding of our enimies (as Gods will was) a little before the euening tide, we drew to the plaine field, and ſet our battels in arraie: and immediatlie the fight began, which was ſore and cruell, & indured long, for our enimies behaued themſelues right noblie. But thanks be giuen vnto God, the victorie fell on our ſide, & the king our aduerſarie was diſcomfited with all his hoſt & put to flight: where alſo was ſlaine the king of Boheme, the duke of Loraine, the earle of Alanſon, the earle of Flanders, the earle of Blois, the earle of Harecourt, with his two ſons, the earle of Daumarle, the earle de Neuers, and his brother the lord of Tronard, the archbiſhop of Niſmes, the archbiſhop of Sens, the high prior of France, the earle of Sauoie, the lord of Morles, the lord de Gues, le ſeigneur de Saint Nouant, le ſeigneur de Roſinburgh, with ſix earles of Almaine, and diuerſe other earles, barons, knights, and eſquiers, whoſe names are vnknowne. And Philip de Valois himſelfe, with an other marques, which was called lord elector among the Romans, eſcaped from the battell. The number of the men of armes which were found dead in the field, beſide the common ſoldiers and footmen, were a thouſand, fiue hundred, fortie and two: and all that night the king of England with his hoſt aboad armed in the field, where the battell was fought.

On the next morrow, before the ſunne roſe, there marched towards vs another great hoſt mightie & ſtrong, of the Frenchmen: but the earle of Northampton, and the earle of Norffolke iſſued out againſt them in thrée battels, & after long and terrible fight, them likewiſe they diſcomfited by Gods great helpe and grace (for otherwiſe it could neuer haue béene) where they tooke of knights and eſquiers a great number, and ſlue aboue two thouſand, purſuing the chaſe thrée leages from the place where the battell was fought. The ſame night alſo the king incamped himſelfe againe in the forreſt of Creſſie, and on the morrow marched toward Bullongne, and by the way he tooke the towne of Staples: and from thence he marched toward Calis, where he intendeth to plant his ſiege, and laie his batterie to the ſame. And therfore our ſoueraigne lord the king willeth and commandeth you, in all that euer you may, to ſend to the ſaid ſiege vittels conuenient. For after the time of our departing from Caen, we haue trauelled through the countrie with great perill & danger of our people, but yet alwaies had of vittels plentie, thanks be to God therefore. But now (as the caſe ſtandeth) we partlie néed your helpe to be refreſhed with vittels. Thus fare you well. Written at the ſiege before the towne of Calis, the fourtéenth daie of September.

But now touching the ſiege of Calis, and to returne where we left, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that (as ye haue heard) the Engliſh campe was furniſhed with ſufficient prouiſion of meat, drinke, apparell, munition, and all other things neceſſarie: and oftentimes alſo the ſoldiers made roads and forrais into the borders of France next adioining, as towards Guines, and ſaint Omer, ye euen to the gates of that towne, and ſometime to Bullongne. Alſo the earle of Northampton fetched a bootie out of Arthois, and as he returned toward the hoſt, he came to Terrouan, which towne the biſhop had fortified and manned, deliuering the cuſtodie therof vnto ſir Arnold Dandrehen: for when he heard the Engliſhmen approched, he durſt not tarrie within the citie himſelfe, but got him to ſaint Omers. Sir Arnold ſtood valiantlie to his defenſe, and would not yéeld, till by verie force the Engliſhmen entered the citie, ſlue the ſoldiers, and tooke their capteine the ſaid ſir Arnold priſoner. The citie was put to ſacke, and after ſet on fire. And when the Engliſhmen were departed, there came a number of Flemings from the ſiege, which they had laid

Ia c. Meir.

Terrouan.

Terrouan woon by force.

laid before S. Omers, and began a new ſpoile, and fired ſuch houſes belonging to the canons and other, which the Engliſhmen had ſpared. Thus were thoſe confines in moſt miſerable caſe, for no houſe nor other thing was in ſafegard, but ſuch as were conteined within cloſure of ſtrong townes and fortreſſes.

Froiſſard.

Sir John de Vienne captaine of Calis.

The king of Englands pitie towards the poore.

The king of England would not aſſaile the towne of Calis by giuing anie aſſault to it, for he knew he ſhould but loſe his labour, and waſte his people, it was ſo ſtrong of it ſelfe, and ſo well furniſhed with men of warre. Capteine thereof alſo was one ſir John de Vienne, a valiant knight of Burgoigne, hauing with him diuerſe other right hardie and expert capteins, knights, and eſquiers. When the ſaid ſir John de Vienne ſaw the manner of the Engliſh hoſt, and what the kings intention was, he conſtreined all the poore and meane people to depart out of the towne. The king of England perceiuing that this was doone of purpoſe to ſpare vittels, would not driue them backe againe to helpe to conſume the ſame, but rather pitied them; and therefore did not onelie ſhew them ſo much grace to ſuffer them to paſſe through his hoſt, but alſo gaue them meat and drinke to dinner, and moreouer two pence ſterling to euerie perſon: which charitable déed wan him much praiſe, and cauſed manie of his enimies to praie right hartilie for his good ſucceſſe and proſperitie. A moſt notable example of pitie and compaſſion, teaching other to be in like ſort affected, and alſo to know, that

Spernit cœlorum regem ſpretor miſerorum.

The duke of Normandie ſent for.

The earle of Derbie aſſembleth an armie.

Towns won by the earle of Derbie.

The French king meaning to raiſe the ſiege from Calis, which the king of England kept there, ſent for his ſonne the duke of Normandie, which had line long at the ſiege of Aiguillon, and now by commandement of his father left it ſore againſt his will. In this meane while, the earle of Derbie remained in the citie of Burdeaux, and there had held him during all the time that the ſiege laie before Aiguillon. When he once vnderſtood that the ſiege was raiſed, and that the duke of Normandie had broken vp his campe, he ſent into Gaſcoigne for all knights and eſquires that held of the Engliſh part. Then came to Burdeaux the lord Dalbret, the lord de Leſpare, the lord de Roſam, the lord of Muſident, the lord of Pumiers, and a great ſort more of the lords and nobles of Gaſcoigne, ſo that the earle had twelue hundred men of armes, two thouſand archers, and thrée thouſand other footmen. They paſſed the riuer of Garon, betwixt Burdeaux and Blaie, and tooke their waie to Zanctonge, ſo to go vnto Poictiers, and tooke by the waie the towne of Mirabell by aſſault: they wan alſo the towne and caſtell of Aunaie, Surgieres and Benon. Alſo they tooke Maraunt in Poictow by force, they burnt alſo the towne of Luſignen, but the caſtell they could not win. Moreouer, they did win the bridge, towne, and caſtell of Tailburge, and ſlue all that were found within it, bicauſe a knight of the Engliſh part was ſlaine in the aſſaulting. From thence the earle of Derbie went and laid ſiege to ſaint John Dangelie, which was yéelded to him by compoſition.

The citie of Poictiers won by force.

At Niort he made thrée aſſaults, but could not win it, and ſo from thence he came to Bourge ſaint Mariment, the which was woone by force, and all that were within it ſlaine; and in like manner the towne of Montreuill Bonin was woone, and the moſt part of them within ſlaine, that tooke vpon them to defend it, which were 200 coiners of monie that wrought in the mint, which the French king kept there. From thence he paſſed forward with his hoſt, and finallie came before the citie of Poictiers, which was great and large, ſo that he could not beſiege it but on the one ſide. The third daie after his comming thither, he cauſed the citie to be aſſaulted in thrée places, and the greateſt number were appointed to aſſaile the weakeſt part of the citie. As then there were no expert men of warre within Poictiers, but a great multitude of people vnſkilfull and not vſed to any feats of warre, by reaſon whereof the Engliſhmen entered in at the weakeſt place. When they within ſawe the citie woone, they fled out at other gates, but yet there were ſlaine to the number of ſeauen hundred perſons, for all that came in the Engliſhmens waie were put to the ſword, men, women, and children. The citie was ſacked and rifled, ſo that great ſtore of riches was gotten there, as well of the inhabitants as other that had brought their goods thither for ſafegard of the ſame. The earle of Derbie laie there ten or twelue daies, and longer might haue laine, if his pleaſure had ſo béene, for there was none that durſt go about to diſquiet him, all the countrie trembled ſo at his preſence.

Saint John Dangelie.

The king of Scots inuadeth England. Polydor.

At his departure from Poictiers he left the citie void, for it was too great to be kept: his ſouldiers and men of warre were ſo peſtered with riches, that they wiſt not what to doo therewith: they eſtéemed nothing but gold and ſiluer, and feathers for men of warre. The earle viſited by the waie as he returned homewards to Burdeaux the towne of ſaint John Dangelie, and other fortreſſes which he had woone in going towards Poictiers, and hauing furniſhed them with men, munition, and vittels neceſſarie, at his comming to Burdeaux he brake vp his hoſt, and licencing his people to depart, thanked them for their paines and good ſeruice. All this while the ſiege continued ſtill before Calis, and the French king amongſt other deuiſes which he imagined how to raiſe the K. of England from it, procured the Scots to make warre into England, inſomuch that Dauid king of Scotland, notwithſtanding the truce which yet indured betwixt him and the king of England, vpon hope now to doo ſome great exploit, by reaſon of the abſence of king Edward, intangled thus with the beſieging of Calis, he aſſembled the whole puiſſance of his realme, to the number of fortie or thréeſcore thouſand fighting men (as ſome write) and with them entered into England, burning, ſpoiling, and waſting the countrie, till he came as far as Durham.

The Engliſh lords aſſemble a power to fight with the Scots. Froiſſard.

Tho. Walſ. Froiſſard. The quéenes diligence.

The lords of England that were left at home with the quéene for the ſure kéeping and defenſe of the realme, perceiuing the king of Scots thus boldie to inuade the land, and in hope of ſpoile to ſend forth his light horſſemen to harrie the countrie on ech ſide him, aſſembled an hoſt of all ſuch people as were able to beare armour, both préeſts and other. Their generall aſſemblie was appointed at Newcaſtell, and when they were all togither, they were to the number of 1200 men of armes, thrée thouſand archers, and ſeauen thouſand other, with the Welſhmen, and iſſuing out of the towne, they found the Scots readie to come forward to incounter them. Then euerie man was ſet in order of battell, and there were foure battels ordeined, one to aid another. The firſt was led by the biſhop of Durham, Gilbert de Vinfreuile earle of Anegos, Henrie lord Percie, and the lord Henrie Scroope: the ſecond by the archbiſhop of Yorke, and the lord Rafe Neuill: the third by the biſhop of Lincolne, John lord Mowbraie, and the lord Thomas de Rokebie: the fourth was gouerned by the lord Edward Balioll capteine of Berwike, the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the lord Ros; beſide theſe were W. lord d' Eincourt, Robert de Ogle, and other. The quéene was there in perſon, and went from ranke to ranke, and incouraged hir people in the beſt manner ſhe could, and that doone ſhe departed, committing them and their cauſe to God the giuer of all victorie.

Shortlie herevpon the Scots ſet forward to begin

The Scots fight with axes.

The Engliſh men obteine the victorie.

The king of Scots taken.

gin the battell, and likewiſe did the Engliſhmen, and therewith the archers on both parts began to ſhoot: the ſhot of the Scots did little hurt, but the archers of England ſore galled the Scots, ſo that there was an hard battell. They began at nine of the clocke, and continued ſtill in fight till noone. The Scots had ſharpe and heauie axes, & gaue with the ſame great and mightie ſtrokes, howbeit finallie the Engliſhmen by the helpe of God obteined the victorie, although they loſt manie of their men. There were diuerſe of the nobles of Scotland ſlaine, to the number of ſeuen earles, beſide lords. The king was taken in the field ſore wounded, for he fought valiantlie. He was priſoner to an eſquier of Northumberland, who as ſoone as he had taken him, rode out of the field with him, accompanied onelie with eight of his ſeruants, and reſted not till he came to his owne caſtell where he dwelled, being thirtie miles diſtant from the place of the battell.

Hect. Boetius. Ri. Southwell. Fabian. Froiſſard.

Neuils croſſe.

There was taken alſo beſide him, the earles of Fife, Sutherland, Wighton, and Menteth, the lord William Douglas, the lord Veſcie, the archbiſhop of S. Andrewes, and another biſhop, with ſir Thomelin Foukes, and diuerſe other men of name. There were ſlaine of one and other to the number of 15 thouſand. This battell was fought beſide the citie of Durham at a place called Neuils croſſe, vpon a ſaturdaie next after the feaſt of ſaint Michaell, in the yeare of our Lord 1346. Of this ouerthrow Chriſtopher Okland hath verie commendablie written, ſaieng,

In Angl. prælijs ſub Edwardo 3.

——— haud omine dextro
Iam Scotus intulerat vim Dunelmenſibus agris,
Cùm formidandum ſæuus bellum inſtruit Anglus,
Aggrediturque hoſtem violantem fœdera ſacra.
Nominis incerti Scoticæ plebs obuia gentis
Sternitur, & triſti gladio cadit impia turba,
Fruſtrà obluctantur Scotiæ comitéſque ducéſque,
Quorum pars iacet occumbens; pars cætera capta
Captiuum corpus dedit vincentibus, auro
Et pacto pretio redimendum, bellicus vt mos
Poſtulat. At Dauid Scotiæ rex captus ad vrbem
Londinum fidei pendens digniſſima fractæ
Supplicia, adductus celebri concluditur arce.
Exiguus numerus volucri pede ſiſus equorum
Effugit in patriam, teſtis certiſſimus Anglos
Deuiciſſe ſuos, & triſtia funera narrant.

Hect in Scotland.

Hector Boet.

Countries of Scotlād ſubdued by the Engliſhmen. Froiſſard.

¶ He that will ſée more of this battell, may find the ſame alſo ſet forth in the Scotiſh hiſtorie, as their writers haue written thereof. And for ſomuch as by the circumſtances of their writings, it ſhould ſéeme they kept the remembrance of the ſame battell perfectlie regiſtred, we haue in this place onelie ſhewed what other writers haue recorded of that matter, and left that which the Scotiſh chronicles write, to be ſéene in the life of king Dauid, without much abridging therof. The Engliſhmen after this victorie thus obteined, tooke the caſtels of Roxburgh and Hermitage, and alſo without any reſiſtance ſubdued the countries of Anandale, Galloway, Mers, Tiuidale, and Ethrike forreſt, extending their marches forth at that time vnto Cokburnes Peth, and Sowtray hedge, and after vnto Trarlinlips, and croſſe Caue.

John Copland refuſeth to deliuer the K. of Scots.

John Copland rewarded.

The quéene of England being certeinelie informed that the king of Scots was taken, & that John Copland had conueied him out of the field, no man vnderſtood to what place, ſhe incontinentlie wrote to him, commanding him forthwith to bring his priſoner king Dauid vnto hir preſence: but John Copland wrote to hir againe for a determinate anſwer, that he would not deliuer his priſoner the ſaid king Dauid vnto any perſon liuing, man or woman, except onelie to the king of England, his ſouereigne lord and maſter. Herevpon the quéene wrote letters to the king, ſignifieng to him both of the happie victorie chanced to his people againſt the Scots, and alſo of the demeanor of John Copland, in deteining the Scotiſh king. King Edward immediatlie by letters commanded John Copland to repaire vnto him where he laie at ſiege before Calis, which with all conuenient ſpéed he did, and there ſo excuſed himſelfe of that which the quéene had found hirſelfe gréeued with him, for deteining the king of Scots from hir, that the king did not onelie pardon him, but alſo gaue to him fiue hundred pounds ſterling of yearelie rent, to him & to his heires for euer, in reward of his good ſeruice and valiant prowes, and made him eſquire for his bodie, commanding him yet vpon his returne into England to deliuer king Dauid vnto the quéene, which he did, and ſo excuſed himſelfe alſo vnto hir, that ſhe was therewith ſatiſfied and contented. Then the quéene, after ſhe had taken order for the ſafe kéeping of the king of Scots, and good gouernement of the realme, tooke the ſea and ſailed ouer to the king hir huſband ſtill lieng before Calis.

Ia. Meir. The Flemings.

Froiſſard.

1347 Anno Reg. 21.

The earle of Flanders conſtreined to promiſe mariage to the king of Englands daughter.

Whileſt Calis was thus beſieged by the king of England, the Flemings which had latelie before beſieged Betwine, and had raiſed from thence about the ſame time that the battell was fought at Creſſie, now aſſemble togither againe, and doing what damage they might againſt the Frenchmen on the borders, they laie ſiege vnto the towne of Aire. Moreouer, they wrought ſo for the king of England (earneſtlie requiring their fréendſhip in that behalfe) that their ſouereigne lord Lewes earle of Flanders being as then about fiftéene yeares of age, fianced the ladie Iſabell daughter to the king of England, more by conſtraint indéed of his ſubiects, than for any good will he bare to the king of England: for he would often ſaie, and openlie proteſt, that he would neuer marrie hir whoſe father had ſlaine his: but there was no remedie, for the Flemings kept him in maner as a priſoner, till he granted to follow their aduiſe. But the ſame wéeke that the mariage was appointed to be ſolemnized, the earle as he was abroad in hawking at the hearon, ſtale awaie and fled into France, not ſtaieng to ride his horſſe vpon the ſpurs till he came into Arthois, and ſo diſhonorablie diſappointed both the king of England, and his owne naturall ſubiects the Flemings, to their high diſpleaſure.

The lord Charles de Blois taken priſoner.

Sir Thomas Dagworth. Froiſſard.

Sir John Hartille an Engliſh knight was alſo there with him.

While the king laie thus before Calis, diuerſe lords and knights came to ſée him out of Flanders, Brabant, Heinault, and Almaigne. Amongſt other came the lord Robert of Namur, and was reteined with the king as his ſeruant, the king giuing him thrée hundred pounds ſterling of yearelie penſion out of his coffers to be paid at Bruges. During the time that the ſiege thus continued before Calis, the lord Charles de Blois, that named himſelfe duke of Britaine, was taken before a caſtell in Britaine, called la Roch Darien, and his armie diſcomfited, chéeflie by the aid of that valiant Engliſh knight ſir Thomas Dagworth, who had béene ſent from the ſiege of Calis by king Edward to aſſiſt the counteſſe of Montfort and other his fréends againſt the ſaid Charles de Blois, that with a gret armie of Frenchmen and Britains, had the ſame time beſieged the ſaid caſtell of Roch Darien, cõſtreining them within in ſuch forceable maner, that they ſtood in great néed of preſent ſuccors. The ſaid ſir Thomas Dagworth aduertiſed hereof, with thrée hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers of his owne retinues, beſide certeine Britaines, approched to the ſiege, and on the 20 of June earlie in the morning, a quarter of an houre before day, ſuddenlie ſet vpon the enimies, who hauing knowledge of his comming, were readie to receiue him as the day before, but being now ſurpriſed thus on the ſudden, they were greatlie amazed: for they that were within Roch Darien, as ſoone as the appearance of daie had diſcouered the matter vnto them, ſo that they might know their freends from their enimies, they iſſued foorth, and holpe not a litle to the atchiuing of the victorie, which was cleerelie obteined before ſunne-riſing, and the French armie quite diſcomfited, greatlie to the praiſe of the ſaid ſir Thomas Dagworth and his companie, conſidering their ſmall number, in compariſon of their aduerſaries, who were reckoned to be twelue hundred good men of armes, knights, and eſquiers, beſide ſix hundred other armed men, two thouſand croſſebowes, ſix hundred archers of the countrie of Britaine, and footmen of commons innumerable.

There were taken, beſides the lord Charles de Blois naming himſelfe duke of Britaine, diuerſe other lords and men of name, as monſieur Guie de la Vaall ſonne and heire to the lord la Vaall, which died in the battell, the lord of Rocheford, the lord de Beaumanour, the lord of Loiacke, with other lords, knights, and eſquiers, in great numbers. There were ſlaine the ſaid lord de la Vaall, the Vicount of Rohan, the lord of Chaſteau Brian, the lord de Malleſtreit, the lord de Quintin, the lord de Rouge, the lord of Dereuall and his ſonne, ſir Rafe de Montford, and manie other worthie men of armes, knights and eſquiers, to the number of betwixt ſix and ſeuen hundred, as by a letter written by the ſaid ſir Thomas Dagworth, and regiſtred in the hiſtorie of Robert de Auesburie dooth appeare.

Fabian.

The French king aſſembleth an armie Froiſſard.

In this meane while, king Philip hauing dailie word how the power of his enimie king Edward did increaſe by aid of the Eaſterlings and other nations, which were to him alied, and that his men within Calis were brought to ſuch an extreme point, that without ſpeedie reſcue they could not long keepe the towne, but muſt of force render it ouer into the hands of his ſaid enimie, to the great preiudice of all the realme of France, after great deliberation taken vpon this ſo weightie a matter, he commanded euerie man to meet him in their beſt arraie for the warre, at the feaſt of Pentecoſt in the citie of Amiens, or in thoſe marches. At the daie and place thus appointed, there came to him Odes duke of Burgoigne, and the duke of Normandie eldeſt ſonne to the king, the duke of Orleance his yoongeſt ſonne, the duke of Burbon, the earle of Fois, the lord Lois de Sauoie, the lord Iohn of Heinalt, the earle of Arminacke, the earle of Forreſt, and the earle Valentinois, with manie others.

The Flemings beſiege Aire.

la. Meir.

The French K. commeth towards Calis.

These noble men being thus aſſembled, they tooke councell which waie they might paſſe to giue battell to the Engliſhmen: it was thought the beſt waie had beene through Flanders, but the Flemings in fauor of the king of England denied, not onelie to open their paſſages to the Frenchmen, but alſo had leuied an armie of an hundred thouſand men of one and other, and laid ſiege to Aire, and burnt the countrie all about. Wherepon there were manie ſharpe bickerings and ſore incounters betwixt the Flemings and ſuch Frenchmen as king Philip ſent foorth againſt them both, now, whileſt the French armie laie about Amiens, and alſo before, during all the time that the ſiege lay at Calis. For all the French towns vpon the frontiers were ſtuffed with ſtrong garriſons of ſouldiers, as Liſle, ſaint Omers, Arras, Bullongne, Aire and Monttreuill, and thoſe men of war were euer readie vpon occaſion to attempt ſundrie exploits. After this, when the armie of the Flemings was broken vp, and returned home, or rather diuided into parts, and lodged along on the frontiers, the French king with two thouſand men one and other came forward, taking his way through the countrie called la Belme, and ſo by the countrie of Frankeberge, came ſtreight to the hill of Sangate, betwixt Calis and Wiſant.

The earle of Derbie.

The king of England had cauſed a ſtrong caſtell to be made betweene the towne of Calis and the ſea, to cloſe vp that paſſage, and had placed therein three ſcore men of armes, and two hundred archers, which kept the hauen in ſuch ſort that nothing could come in nor out. Alſo conſidering that his enimies could come neither to ſuccour the towne, nor to annoie his hoſt, except either by the downes alongſt the ſea ſide, or elſe aboue by the high waie, he cauſed all his nauie to drawe alongſt by the coaſt of the downes, to ſtop vp that the Frenchmen ſhould not approch that waie. Alſo the erle of Derbie being come thither out of Guien, was appointed to keepe Newland bridge, with a great number of men of armes and archers, ſo that the Frenchmen could not approch anie waie, vnleſſe they would haue come through the mariſhes, which to doo was not poſſible.

The requeſt of the French lords to the king of England.

His anſwer.

Fifteene hundred of the commons of Tournie wan a tower, which the Engliſhmen had made and kept for the impeachment of the Frenchmens paſſage by the downes, but that notwithſtanding, when the marſhals of France had well viewed all the paſſages and ſtreicts through the which their armie muſt paſſe, if they meant to fight with the Engliſhmen, they well perceiued that they could not come to the Engliſhmen to giue them battell, without the king would loſe his people, wherevpon (as Froiſſard ſaith) the French king ſent the lord Geffrey de Charnie, the lord Euſtace de Ribaumont, Guie de Neele, and the lord de Beauiew vnto the king of England, which required him on their maiſters behalfe to appoint certeine of his councell, as he would likewiſe appoint certeine of his, which by common conſent might aduiſe betweene them an indifferent place for them to trie the battell vpon: wherevnto the king of England anſwered, That there he was and had beene almoſt a whole yeare, which could not be vnknowne to his aduerſarie their maiſter, ſo that he might haue come ſooner if he would: but now, ſith he had ſuffered him there to remaine ſo long, without offer of battell, he meant not to accompliſh his deſire, nor to depart from that, which to his great coſt he had brought now at length to that point, that he might eaſilie win it. Wherefore if the French K. nor his hoſt could not paſſe thoſe waies which were cloſed by the Engliſh power, let them ſeeke ſome other paſſage (ſaid he) if they thinke to come hither.

Cardinals ſent to intreat of peace.

They depart.

The French K. returneth into France.

The conditions of the ſurrender of Calis.

In this meane while came two cardinals frõ pope Clement, to treat a peace betwixt the two kings, wherevpon commiſſioners were appointed, as the dukes of Burgoigne and Burbone, the lord Lewes de Sauoie, and the lord Iohn de Heinault, otherwiſe called lord Beaumont, on the French part: and the earles of Derbie and Northampton, the lord Reginald Cobham, and the lord Walter de Mannie, on the Engliſh part. Theſe commiſſioners and the legates (as intreators betweene the parties) met and communed three daies togither, but agreed not vpon anie concluſion, and ſo the cardinals departed; and the French king perceiuing he could not haue his purpoſe, brake vp his hoſt and returned to France, bidding Calis farewell. After that the French king with his hoſt was once departed from Sangate, without miniſtring anie ſuccour to them within the towne, they began to ſue for a parlee, which being granted, in the end they were contented to yeeld, and the king granted to receiue them and the towne on theſe conditions; that ſix of the cheefe burgeſſes of the towne ſhould come foorth bareheaded, barefooted, and barelegged, and in their ſhirts, with halters about their necks, with the keies of the towne and caſtell in their hands, to ſubmit themſelues ſimplie to the kings will, and the reſidue he was contented to take to mercie.

Six burgeſſes of Calis preſented to the king.

The queene obteined their pardon.

This determinate reſolution of king Edward being intimated to the commons of the towne, aſſembled in the market place by the ſound of the common bell before the capteine, cauſed manie a wéeping eie amongſt them: but in the end, when it was perceiued that no other grace would be obteined, ſix of the moſt wealthie burgeſſes of all the towne agréed to hazard their liues for the ſafegard of the reſidue, and ſo according to the preſcript order deuiſed by the K. they went forth of the gates, and were preſented by the lord Walter de Mannie to the king, before whom they knéeled downe, offered to him the keies of the towne, and beſought him to haue mercie vpon them. But the king regarding them with a fell countenance, commanded ſtreight that their heads ſhould be ſtriken off. And although manie of the noble men did make great intreatance for them, yet would no grace be ſhewed, vntill the quéene being great with child, came and knéeled downe before the king hir huſband, and with lamentable chéere & wéeping eies intreated ſo much for them, that finallie the kings anger was aſwaged & his rigor turned to mercie (for

Flectitur iratus voce rogante Deus)

ſo that he gaue the priſoners vnto hir to doo hir pleaſure with them. Then the quéene commanded them to be brought into hir chamber, and cauſed the halters to be taken from their necks, clothed them anew, gaue them their dinner, and beſtowing vpon ech of them ſix nobles, appointed them to be conueied out of the hoſt in ſafegard, and ſet at libertie.

Calis yéelded to the king of England.

Calis made a colonie of Engliſhmen.

The quéene brought to bed in the caſtell of Calis.
Polydor.

Thus was the ſtrong towne of Calis yéelded vp into the hands of king Edward, the third of Auguſt, in the yeare 1347. The capteine the lord Iohn de Vienne, and all the other capteins and men of name were ſtaied as priſoners, and the common ſoldiers and other meane people of the towne were licenced to depart and void their houſes, leauing all their armor and riches behind them. The king would not haue any of the old inhabitants to remaine in the towne, ſaue onlie a prieſt, and two other ancient perſonages, ſuch as beſt knew the cuſtomes, lawes and ordinances of the towne. He appointed to ſend ouer thither amongſt other Engliſhmen, there to inhabit, 36 burgeſſes of London, and thoſe of the wealthieſt ſort, for he meant to people the towne onelie with Engliſhmen, for the better and more ſure defenſe thereof. The king and quéene were lodged in the caſtell, and continued there, till the queene was deliuered of a daughter named Margaret.

Caxton.
Ia. Meir.
A truce.

women hard to agrée.

Sir Amerie de Pauie.

The cardinals, of whome ye heard before, being come as legats from pope Clement to moue communication of peace, did ſo much in the matter, that a truce was granted betwixt the realme of England & France, for the terme of twelue moneths, or two yeares (as Froiſſard ſaith.) But the Engliſh chronicle and Iacobus Meir ſéeme to agrée, that this truce was taken but for nine moneths, though afterwards the ſame was proroged. To the which truce all parties agréed, Britaine excepted, for the two women there would not be quieted, but ſtill purſued the war the one againſt the other. After that this truce was accorded, the king with the quéene his wife returned into England, and left as capteine within Calis one ſir Amerie of Pauie an Italian knight, or (as other bookes haue) he was but capteine of the caſtell, or of ſome one of the towers of that towne, which ſéemeth more like to be true, than that the king ſhould commit the whole charge of the towne vnto his gouernement, being a ſtranger borne, and therefore Iacobus Meir is the more to be credited, that writeth how ſir Amerie of Pauie was left but in charge with the caſtell onelie, and that the towne was committed to the kéeping of the lord Iohn Beauchampe, and Lewes his brother.

1348
Thom. Walſ.

Anno Reg. 22.
Great raine.

1349
Anno Reg. 23.
A great mortalitie.

Dearth.

But now that there was a peace thus concluded betwixt the two kings, it ſéemed to the Engliſh people that the ſunne brake forth after a long cloudie ſeaſon, by reaſon both of the great plentie of althings, and remembrance of the late glorious victories: for there were few women that were houſekéepers within this land, but they had ſome furniture of houſhold that had béene brought to them out of France, as part of the ſpoile got in Caen, Calis, Carenten, or ſome other good towne. And beſide houſhold ſtuffe, the Engliſh maides and matrones were bedecked and trimmed vp in French womens iewels and apparell, ſo that as the French women lamented for the loſſe of thoſe things, ſo our women reioiſed of the gaine. In this 22 yeare, from Midſummer to Chriſtmaſſe for the more part it continuallie rained, ſo that there was not one day and night drie togither, by reaſon whereof great flouds inſued, and the ground therewith was ſore corrupted, and manie inconueniences inſued, as great ſickenes, and other, in ſomuch that in the yeare following in France the people died wonderfullie in diuerſe places. In Italie alſo, and in manie other countries, as well in the lands of the infidels, as in chriſtendome, this grieuous mortalitie reigned to the great deſtruction of people. ¶ About the end of Auguſt, the like death began in diuerſe places of England, and eſpeciallie in London, continuing ſo for the ſpace of twelue moneths following. And vpon that inſued great barrenneſſe, as well of the ſea, as the land, neither of them yéelding ſuch plentie of things as before they had doone. Whervpon vittels and corne became ſcant and hard to come by.

A practiſe to betraie Calis.

About the ſame time died Iohn Stretford archbiſhop of Canturburie, after whome ſucceeded Iohn Vfford, who liued not in that dignitie paſt ten moneths, and then followed Thomas Bredwardin, who deceaſſed within one yeare after his conſecration, ſo that then Simon Iſlep was conſecrated archbiſhop by pope Clement the ſixt, being the 53 archbiſhop that had ſit in that ſeat. Within a while after, William archbiſhop of Yorke died: in whoſe place ſucceeded Iohn Torſbie, being the 44 archbiſhop that had gouerned that church. Moreouer in this 23 yeare of king Edwards reigne, the great mortalitie in England ſtill continuing, there was a practiſe in hand for recouering againe of Calis to the French kings poſſeſſion. The lord Geffrie of Charnie lieng in the towne of S. Omers, did practiſe with ſir Amerie de Pauie, to be receiued into the towne of Calis by the caſtell, ſecretlie in the night ſeaſon. The Italian gaue eare to the lord Geffrie his ſute; and to make few words, couenanted for the ſumme of twentie thouſand crownes to betraie the towne vnto him, in ſuch ſort as he could beſt deuiſe.

Diuerſitie in writers.

Fabian.

Froiſſard.

The king ſecretlie paſſed ouer to Calis.

¶ Here writers varie: for Froiſſard ſaith that king Edward had information thereof, before that ſir Amerie de Pauie vttered the thing himſelfe; but the French chronicles, and alſo other writers affirme, that the Italian aduertiſed the king of all the drift and matter betwixt him & the lord Geffrie of Charnie, before he went through with the bargaine. But whether by him or by other, truth it is the king was made priuie to the matter at Hauering Bower in Eſſex (where he kept the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe) & therevpon departing from thence, he came to Douer, and the daie before the night of the appointment made for the deliuerie of the caſtell of Calis (hauing ſecretlie made his prouiſion (he tooke ſhipping, and landed the ſame night at Calis, in ſo ſecret maner, that but few of the towne vnderſtood of his arriuall, he brought with him out of England thrée hundred men of armes, and ſix hundred archers, whom he laid in chambers and towers within the caſtell, ſo cloſelie that few or none perceiued it, the maner he knew by ſir Amerie de Pauie his aduertiſements (accordinglie as it was agréed betwixt them) that the lord Geffrie of Charnie was appointed to come and enter the towne that night, for the king had commanded ſir Amerie to procéed in merchandizing with the ſaid lord Charnie, and onelie to make him priuie of the day & houre in the which the feat ſhould be wrought.

The lord Geffrie de Charnie.

The lord Geffrie de Charnie being couenanted that he ſhould be receiued into Calis the firſt night of the new yeare, departed from S. Omers, where he had aſſembled fiue hundred ſpeares, the laſt day of December toward night, and ſo in ſecret wiſe he paſſed forth, till about the middeſt of the next night after, he approched neere to Calis, and ſending an hundred men of armes to take poſſeſſion of the caſtell, and to paie the Italian his twentie thouſand crownes, came to the poſterne of the caſtell, where ſir Amerie de Pauie hauing let downe the poſterne bridge, was readie to bring them in by the ſame poſterne, and ſo the hundred men of armes entered, and ſir Edward de Kentie deliuered to the Italian his twentie thouſand crownes in a bag, who when he had caſt the crownes into a coffer (for he had no leiſure to tell them) he brought the Frenchmen into the dungeon of the caſtell, as it were to poſſeſſe them of the chéefeſt ſtrength of the fortreſſe. Within this dungeon or tower was the king of England cloſelie laid, with two hundred men of armes, who iſſued out with their ſwords and axes in their hands, crieng Mannie to the reſcue, for the king had ſo ordeined, that both he and his ſonne ſhould fight vnder the banner of the lord Walter de Mannie, as chéefe of that enterpriſe.

1350

Sir Edward de Kentie.

The king crieth Mannie to the reſcue.

Then were the Frenchmen greatlie abaſhed, in ſuch wiſe, that perceiuing how no defenſe might aduance them, they yéelded themſelues without any great ſhew of reſiſtance. Herewith the Engliſhmen iſſued out of the caſtell into the towne, and mounted on horſſebacke, for they had the French priſoners horſſes, and then the archers road to Bullongne gate, where the lord Geffrie was with his banner before him of gules thrée ſcutchens ſiluer. He had great deſire to be the firſt that ſhould enter the towne: but ſhortlie the king of England with the prince his ſon was readie at the gate, vnder the banner of the lord Walter de Mannie to aſſaile him. There were alſo other banners, as the earles of Stafford and Suffolke, the lord Iohn Montacute brother to the earle of Saliſburie, the lord Beauchampe, the lord Berkley, and the lord de la Ware. Then the great gate was ſet open, and they all iſſued forth crieng Mannie to the reſcue. The Frenchmen perceiuing that they were betraied, alighted from their horſſes, and put themſelues in order of battell on foot, determining to fight it out like valiant men of war. The king perceiuing this, cauſed his people likewiſe to be ſet in order of battell, & ſent thrée hundred archers to Newland bridge, to diſtreſſe thoſe Frenchmen, which he heard ſhould be there. This was earelie in the morning but incontinentlie it was daie: the Frenchmen kept their ground a while, and manie feats of armes were doone of both parts, but the Engliſhmen euer increaſed out of Calis, and the Frenchmen diminiſhed, ſo that finallie they were ouercome, as well in the one place, as in the other.

The earles of Stafford and Suffolke, the lords Montacute, Berkley and la Ware.

The Frenchmen alight on foot.

Sir Euſtace de Ribaumont a right valiant knight.

It chanced that in the hoteſt of the fight, the king was matched with ſir Euſtace de Ribaumont, a right ſtrong and hardie knight. There was a ſore incounter betwixt him and the king, that maruell it was to behold them. At length they were put aſunder, for a great companie of both parts came that waie, and there fought fiercelie togither. The Frenchmen did behaue themſelues right valiantlie, and eſpeciallie ſir Euſtace de Ribaumont: he ſtrake the king that daie twiſe vpon his knées, but finallie he was taken priſoner by the king himſelfe. The lord Geffrie of Charnie was alſo taken priſoner, and wounded right ſore, but the king of his noble courteſie cauſed him to be dreſſed by ſurgions, and tenderlie looked vnto. There were ſlaine, ſir Henrie de Blois, and ſir Pepin de la Ware, with other, to the number of ſix hundred. Monſieur de Memorancie eſcaped with great danger. Froiſſard ſaieth, that this battell was fought in the yeare 1348, vpon the laſt of December, towards the next morning being Newyeares daie: but (as Aueſburie & Walſingham haue, who begin the yeare at our ladie day) this enterpriſe chanced 1349, and ſo conſequentlie in the 23 yeare of this kings reigne. All the priſoners were brought to the caſtell of Calis, where the K. the next night gaue them a ſupper, & made them right hartie cheare, and gaue to ſir Euſtace de Ribaumont a rich chaplet of pearles, which he then did weare on his owne head, in token that he had beſt deſerued it for his manfull prowes ſhewed in the fight; & beſide that in fauour of his tried valiancie, he acquit him of his ranſome, and ſet him at libertie. This fact of the king was roiall in déed, and his clemencie greatlie to be commended; & therfore it is well ſaid to this purpoſe,

He is taken priſoner by the king of England.

The lord Geffrie de Charnie is taken.

Sir Euſtace de Ribaumont.

Gloria conſequitur reges ſic bella gerentes,
Sic certare parit decus immortale duello.

Anno Reg. 24. The death ceaſſeth. Aueſdurie.

About the end of Auguſt the death in London ceaſſed, which had bin ſo great & vehement within that citie, that ouer & beſide the bodies buried in other accuſtomed burieng places (which for their infinit number cannot be reduced into account) there were buried that yeare dailie, from Candlemaſſe till Eaſter, in the Charterhouſe yard of London, more than two hundred dead corpſes. Alſo this yeare, by the earneſt ſute of the two cardinals which were ſent (as ye haue heard) from pope Clement the ſixt, a peace was concluded for one yeare. There met néere vnto Calis for the treatie of this peace, the foreſaid two cardinals, as mediators; and for the king of England, the biſhop of Norwich treaſuror and high chancellor of the realme, with others came thither as commiſſioners; and in like maner for the French king, there appeared the biſhop of Lion, and the abbat of S. Deniſe. ¶ This yeare in Auguſt died Philip de Valois the French king. Here is to be noted, that all thoſe that were borne, after the beginning of that great mortalitie whereof ye haue heard, wanted foure chéeke téeth (when they came to the time of growth) of thoſe 32 which the people before that time commonlie vſed to haue, ſo that they had but 28. In this 24 yeare of this kings reigne, there was a combat fought in liſts within the kings palace of Weſtminſter, betwixt the lord Iohn, baſtard ſonne to Philip king of France, & a knight of the towne of Ypres in Flanders; but the baſtard had the vpper hand, and vanquiſhed his aduerſarie. ¶ About the feaſt of the decollation of ſaint Iohn Baptiſt, king Edward aduertiſed of a fléet of Spaniards returning forth of Flanders, that was laden with clothes and other riches, aſſembled a conuenient power of men of armes and archers, & at Sandwich tooke the ſea with them, ſailing forth, till vpon the coaſt of Winchelſie he met with the Spaniards, and there aſſailed them; ſo that betwixt him and thoſe Spaniards, there was a ſore fight, and long continued, to the great loſſe of people on both parts; but in the end, the bright beame of victorie ſhone vpon the Engliſh ſailes, ſo that all the Spaniards were ſlaine, for they were ſo proud and obſtinat (as Walſingham affirmeth) that they would not yéeld, but rather choſe to die, & ſo they did indéed,

Commiſſioners méet to talke of peace.

Men borne with fewer téeth than in times paſt. Caxton. Tho. Walſin. Polychron.

A combat.

Aueſburie. Thom. Walſ.

A Spaniſh fléet. Spaniards vanquiſht by the K. of England by ſea.

Thom.Walſ.
Auesburie.

either on the Engliſhmens weapons points, or elſe were they drowned there in the ſea, ſix and twentie of their ſhips were taken, in the which was found great ſtore of good ware and riches. And ſo the king thought himſelfe well reuenged of the Spaniards, which in the laſt yeare about Alhallontide, had entred into the riuer of Garons, as it runneth vp towards Burdeaux, and there finding manie ſhips fraught with wines, ſlue all the Engliſhmen they found aboord, and tooke awaie the ſhips with them: which iniurie moued the king to enterpriſe this exploit now at this time againſt them.

Froiſſard.
Sir Thomas Dagworth ſlaine.
Ambaſſadors ſent to the pope.

About the beginning of Auguſt, ſir Raoull de Cahors, and diuerſe other knights and eſquiers, to the number of ſix ſcore men of armes, fought before a caſtell called Auleon, with ſir Thomas Dagworth, and there ſlue the ſame ſir Thomas, and to the number of one hundred men of armes with him. There were ſent ſolemne meſſengers this yeare vnto Auignion, for the eſtabliſhing of a peace, mentioned betwixt the king of England and France, at the ſute of the pope, ſo that king Edward ſhould haue reſigned his title and claime to the crowne of France, and the French king ſhould haue giuen ouer vnto him the whole duchie of Guien, to hold the ſame freelie, without knowledging of reſort or ſuperioritie, or dooing any manner of homage for the ſame: but ſuch delaies were made, and the ſute ſo prolonged by the pope, that the erale of Derbie, who with others was ſent to him about this matter, returned without ſpeed of his purpoſe for the which he went.

Anno Reg.25.
1351
Froiſſard.

In the fiue and twentith yeare of king Edwards reigne, the Frenchmen hauing laid ſiege vnto the towne of ſaint Iohn Dangeli, the lord Dalbrets ſon, hauing aſſembled ſix hundred men of armes, Gaſcoigns and Engliſhmen, meant to worke ſome feat for reliefe of them within, wher vpon, as he was marching through the countrie of Xainctonge neere vnto Xaincts the eighth of Aprill, or (as other haue) the firſt, he was incountered by the lord Guie de Neell, one of the marſhals of France, & other French lords, where at length, the Frenchmen were diſcomfited, manie alſo ſlaine, and diuerſe taken priſoners, of which number was the ſaid marſhall, with his brother the lord William, and ſir Arnold de Dandrehen, beſide others, to the number of 300 men of armes, but yet the ſiege remained, till for want of vittels the towne was rendered to the Frenchmen.

The caſtell of Guines wonne.
Polydor.

The ſame yeare in October, an Engliſh archer of the gariſon of Calis, named Iohn of Dancaſter, by licence of the lord deputie of Calis, tooke with him threeſcore perſons men of armes and archers, and in the night that goeth before the feaſt daie of S. Vincent, in the laſt quarter of the ſame night, he comming to the caſtell of Guines, found as well the watch as others faſt aſleepe, wherevpon he paſſed a water that adioined to the caſtell, wading vp to the girdle, and ſo came to the wall, where he & his companie rearing vp ladders, mounted by the ſame ſo ſecretlie, that ſlaieng the watch, being not paſt three or foure perſons that were on the wals, they entred the caſtell, and finding the Frenchmen aſleepe, ſlue thoſe that vpon their wakening made any defenſe, and tooke the reſidue, whome they ſuffered to depart: and by this meanes they wan the caſtell, finding great ſtore of vittels within, and ſo as they found it, they kept it to the king of Englands vſe. The French hiſtories declare, that one Guilliam de Beauconroy that was capteine of this caſtell, betraied the place to the Engliſhmen, for a ſumme of monie, and when the French king required reſtitution bicauſe the truce was not yet expired, he was ſhifted off with this forged anſwer, that nothing was excepted by the aſſurance of the truce, concerning things that ſhould be bought and ſold. The Frenchman that betraied it, was ſhortlie after put to execution at Amiens.

Grotes and halfe grotes firſt coined.

In this yeare were the firſt peeces of ſiluer called grotes and halfe grotes of foure pence & two pence the peece ſtamped, by the kings appointment, through the counſell of William de Edington biſhop of Wincheſter lord treaſuror. Before that time, there were no other coines, but the noble, halfe noble, and quarter noble, with the peeces of ſiluer called ſterlings. Bicauſe theſe new peeces wanted of the weight of the old ſterling coine, the prices as well of vittels as of other wares, did dailie riſe, and ſeruants and workemen waxing more craftie than before time they had beene, demanded great wages.

1352
Anno. Reg.26.
Mouron.

¶ This yeare, vpon the euen of the Aſſumption of our ladie, ſir Iohn Bentlie knight, as then lord warden of Britaine, fought with the lord Guie de Neell, marſhall of France (latelie ranſomed out of captiuitie) in the parts of Britaine, neere to a place called Mouron, betwixt Rennes and Ploremell, where the ſaid marſhall was ſlaine, togither with the lord of Briquebeke the Chateline of Beauuais, and diuerſe other both Britains and Frenchmen.

1353
Anno Reg.27.
Tho.Walſi.
In the printed booke of ſtatutes it ſhould appeare, that this parlement was rather holden in the 25 yeare of this kings reigne.
Statutes for making of clothes.
Weares and milles.

In the ſeuen and twentith yeare of his reigne, K. Edward held a parlement at Weſtminſter, after the feaſt of Eaſter, in which an ordinance was deuiſed, what wages ſeruants and laborers ſhould be allowed, prohibiting them to receiue aboue the rate which they were accuſtomed to take before the yeare of the great mortalitie. Seruants and laborers were in deed growen to be more ſubtill than before time they had beene; but by reaſon of the prices of things were inhanced, it is like they demanded greater wages than they had doone before time: and one cauſe of the dearth was imputed to the new coine of monie, being of leſſe weight in the value thereof, than before it had beene, ſo that the biſhop of Wincheſter being lord treaſuror, who had counſelled the king to ordeine thoſe grotes and halfe grotes, was euill ſpoken of amongſt the people. In this parlement there were ſtatutes alſo made, that clothes ſhould in length and in breadth through the realme, beare the ſame aſſiſe, as was ordeined in the parlement holden at Northampton. Alſo, that all weares, milles, and other lets, ſhould be remoued forth of riuers, that might be any hinderance of ſhips, boats, or lighters to paſſe vp and downe the ſame. But theſe good ordinances tooke little or none effect, by reaſon of bribes that walked abroad, and freendſhip of lords and great men, that ſought rather their owne commoditie, than the common-wealths.

Creations of noble men.
The lord Charles of Blois.

Shortlie after the feaſt of Pentecoſt, the earle of Derbie and Lancaſter was made duke of Lancaſter, and Rafe lord Stafford was created earle of Stafford. Whereas there had beene a treatie betwixt the lords of Britaine, and the king of England, not onelie for the deliuerance of the lord Charles de Blois, but alſo for the matching of his eldeſt ſonne in mariage with one of king Edwards daughters, and ſo to inioy the dukedome in peace: this matter was ſo far forwards, that in the yeare laſt paſſed, the ſaid lord Charles, leauing two of his ſonnes and a daughter in pledge for the paiment of fortie thouſand florens, agreed vpon for his ranſome; he was permitted to returne into Britaine to prouide that monie: and withall, to procure a diſpenſation, that his eldeſt ſonne might marrie with one of K. Edwards daughters, notwithſtanding that otherwiſe they were within the degrees of conſanguinitie, prohibiting them to marrie. Herevpon this yeare about Michaelmas, he returned into England with the ſame diſpenſation: but bicauſe about the ſame time the Britains had taken by ſtealth an Iland with a caſtell therein, that the Engliſhmen had kept, & put all thoſe which they found therein, to the ſword, the ſaid lord Charles, otherwiſe duke of Britaine, loſt the kings fauour, ſo that he would heare no more of anie ſuch aliance, by waie of marriage, as had bæne communed of before: by reaſon whereof the Britiſh lords, that were in great number come ouer with the lord Charles de Blois, were conſtreined to returne home, without atchiuing anie part of their purpoſe, leauing the ſaid lord Charles and his children behind them ſtill héere in England.

Debate betwixt the dukes of Brunſwike & Lancaſter.

On the fourth day of September, the duke of Brunſwike and the duke of Lancaſter ſhould haue fought a combat in Paris, about words the duke of Lancaſter ſhould ſpeake, in derogation of the duke of Brunſwikes honor, for the which the ſaid duke had appealed him in the court of France: but when they were readie to haue tried it, and were on horſſebacke with their ſpeares in hand within the liſts, at point to haue runne togither, the French king cauſed them to ſtaie, and taking on him the matter, made them fréends, and agréed them. This yeare the king by aduiſe of his councell remoued the mart or ſtaple of wools from the townes in Flanders, and cauſed the ſame to be kept at Weſtminſter, Chicheſter, Lincolne, Briſtowe, Canturburie and Hull. This was done in deſpite of the Flemings, bicauſe they held not the couenants and agréements which they had made with the king, in the life time of Jaques Arteueld, by whoſe prouiſion the ſaid mart or ſtaple had béene kept in ſundrie townes in Flanders, to their great aduantage and commoditie.

Auesburie. Tho. Walſi. affirmeth that this remouing of the ſtaple of wols was the 28 yeare of K. Edwards reigne.

Fabian.

Sir walter Bentl e committed to the tower.

Sir Walter Bentlie, vpon his comming ouer forth of Britaine, where he had béene the kings lieutenant, was committed to the tower, where he remained priſoner for the ſpace of twelue moneths, bicauſe he refuſed to deliuer vp the caſtels within his gouernement, vnto ſir John Auenell knight, being appointed to receiue the ſame, to the vſe of the lord Charles de Blois, at the ſame time when the treatie of agréement was in hand, betwixt the king, and the ſaid lord Charles. But after, when it was perceiued what damage might haue inſued by deliuerie of thoſe caſtels, ſir Walter was ſet at libertie vpon ſuerties yet they were bound for his forth comming, and that he ſhould not depart the realme: at length, he was receiued againe into the kings fauour. In the ſummer of this ſeauen and twentith yeare, was ſo great a drought, that from the latter end of March, fell little raine, till the latter end of Julie, by reaſon whereof, manie inconueniences inſued: and one thing is ſpeciallie to be noted, that corne the yeare following wared ſcant, and the price began this yeare to be greatlie inhanced. Alſo béeues and muttons wared déere for the want of graſſe, and this chanced both in England and France, ſo that this was called the déere ſummer. The lord William duke of Bauiere or Bauarie, and earle of Zeland, brought manie ſhips into London, fraught with rie, for reléefe of the people, who otherwiſe had, through their preſent pinching penurie, if not vtterlie periſhed, yet pittifullie pined.

A great drought.

A dearth.

Caxton. Corn brought out of Zeland.

1354 Anno Reg. 28. Thom. Walſ. Aueſburie.

In the eight and twentith yeare of king Edwards reigne, vpon a treatie that was holden by commiſſioners, appointed by the two kings of England and France, after Eaſter, they were in maner fullie agréed vpon a peace, ſo that nothing wanted, but putting vnto their ſeales. In the articles whereof it was conteined, that the king of England ſhould inioy all the lands of his dutchie of Aquitaine, without holding the ſame of anie by homage, or reſort, and in conſideration thereof he ſhould reſigne all his claime to the crowne of France. Héerevpon were ambaſſadors ſent from either king, vnto the pope, and a truce taken, to indure till the feaſt of ſaint John Baptiſt in the yeare next following. Ambaſſadors for the king of England were theſe: Henrie duke of Lancaſter, John earle of Arundell, the biſhops of Norwich and London, and the lord Guie de Brian. For the French king, the archbiſhop of Rouen lord chancellor of France, the duke of Burbon, and others: but when the matter came to be heard before the pope about Chriſtmaſſe, all went to ſmoke that had béene talked of: for the Frenchmen denied that the articles were drawne according to the meaning of their commiſſioners, and the pope alſo winked at the matter, ſo that the Engliſh ambaſſadors (when they ſaw that nothing would be concluded) returned home all of them) the biſhop of Norwich excepted who departed this life there) and ſo their iournie came to none effect.

A truce betwixt England and France.

Ambaſſadors to the pope.

1355 Anno Reg. 29. Debate betwixt the ſcholers & townesmen of Oxenford.

This yeare, the tenth of Februarie, there roſe a ſore debate betwixt the ſcholers and townesmen of Oxenford. The occaſion roſe by reaſon of the falling out of a ſcholer with one that ſold wine: for the ſcholer perceiuing himſelfe euill vſed, powred the wine on the drawers head, knocking the pot about his pate, ſo as the bloud ranne downe by his eares. Héerevpon began a ſore fraie betwixt the ſcholers and townesmen, which continued for the moſt part of two daies togither. There were twentie townesmen ſlaine, beſide thoſe that were hurt: but at length, there came a great number of countrimen forth of the villages next adioining, to aid the townesmen, entring the towne with a blacke banner, and ſo fiercelie aſſailed the ſcholers, that they were conſtreined to fleé to their houſes and hoſtels, but their enimies purſuing them, brake vp their dores, entered their chambers, ſlue diuerſe of them, and threw them into priuies, tare their bookes, and bare awaie their goods. The ſcholers héerewith tooke ſuch diſpleaſure, that they departed the Uniuerſitie: thoſe of Merton colledge, and other the like colledges onelie excepted.

The biſhop of Lincolne inhibited préeſts to celebrate diuine ſeruice in preſence of anie laie man within that towne of Oxenford; and the king ſending his iuſtices thither, to take knowledge of this diſorderlie riot, there were diuerſe, both of the townesmen and ſcholers indited, and certeine of the burgeſſes committed to ward. ¶ This yeare, the firſt ſundaie in Lent, the king held a roiall iuſtes at Woodſtoke, for ioy of the quéenes purifieng, after the birth of hir ſixt ſonne, the lord Thomas, whome the biſhop of Durham (named Thomas) held at the fontſtone: he was borne the ſeauenth of Januarie laſt paſt. In the parlement holden at Weſtminſter this yeare after Eaſter, the king tooke vpon him to make an end of the quarrell betwixt the ſcholers and townesmen of Oxenford, and ſauing to euerie man his right, pardoned the ſcholers of all tranſgreſſions: and this he ſignified into euerie ſhire, by writs directed to the ſhiriffes, they to proclame the ſame for more notice of the thing. And ſo in the ſummer following, the Uniuerſitie began againe to flouriſh, ſtudents reſorting thither from each ſide, and falling afreſh to their academicall exerciſes, which they néeded not to haue diſcontinued, if either partie, I meane the townesmen or ſcholers, would haue tolerated and borne one with another, and not ſo raſhlie haue vndertaken the reuenge of one anothers wrath and iniurie; but,

Oderunt pacem ſtulti & certamina quærunt.

Thom. Walſ. Aueſburie. The quarrell appeaſed betwixt the ſcholers and townesmen of Oxenford.

In this parlement, the proceſſe of the iudgement had and made againſt Roger Mortimer, late earle of March, was reuoked, adnihilated, and made void, ſo that the lord Roger Mortimer was reſtored to the title and poſſeſſions of the earledome of March, as couſine and heire to his grandfather the ſaid erle of March. Moreouer, to this parlement came the biſhop of Carpentras, and the abbat of Clugnie, being ſent from pope Innocent the ſixt, to make ſute to haue the truce prorogued betwixt the two kings, of England and France, to whome the king himſelfe in perſon, made this reſolute anſwer, that he would not agrée to anie longer truce; for that, when diuerſe times, at the Frenchmens ſute, he had conſented to haue truce by mediation of two cardinals, ſent to him about the ſame matter, his aduerſaries in the meane time, whileſt ſuch truces indured, had doone much harme and damage by ſubtill practiſes to perſons and places beyond the ſea, that were vnder his rule and gouernement, yet he ſaid he would deliberate héereof with his councell, and after intimate his pleaſure to the pope, and to them of France by meſſengers which he would ſend ouer for that purpoſe: and ſo theſe ambaſſadors within foure daies after their comming, were thus diſpatched with anſwer. Herewith in this parlement it was ordeined, that the prince of Wales, being as then about foure and twentie yeares of age, ſhould paſſe ouer into Gaſcoigne, and haue with him a thouſand men of armes, and two thouſand archers, with a great number of Welſhmen.

Auesburie. A nauie prepared.

About the ſame time the king cauſed fortie ſhips to be prouided, rigged, and made readie at Rutherhithe, furniſhed with vittels for one quarter of a yéere, and euerie of the ſaid ſhips had principall ſtreamers of the duke of Lancaſters armes, who was appointed with a great power of choſen men of armes and archers to paſſe to the ſea with the ſame ſhips, but few or none of his companie knew whither; horſſes they had none. He had with him two of the kings ſonnes, Lionell of Antwerpe, and Iohn of Gant, the elder of them being about ſixtéene yeares of age. Alſo, there went with him the earles of Northampton, March, and Stafford, beſide manie lords, barons, & knights. On the tenth of Iulie, he made ſaile to Gréenewich, and there and at Sandwich he ſtaied, till the Aſſumption of our ladie, the wind for the moſt part continuing all that while at weſt and ſouth, contrarie to his iournie, as it might appeare. At length with much difficultie he came to Winchelſie, & after to the Wight. It was thought, that the dukes purpoſe was to paſſe into Normandie, to ioine with the king of Nauarre, who was at variance with the French king. But after it was knowen by eſpials that they were made fréends, the duke of Lancaſter doubting crooked meaſures, and hauing with him no horſſemen, returned home without further attempt.

The duke of Lancaſter.

Record.Tur.

On ſaint Kenelmes daie being fridaie, and the 17 of Iulie, maſter Humfrie Carleton profeſſor of diuinitie, and Iohn Carleton the yoonger, doctor of the lawes, on the behalfe of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, and Iohn ſaint Frideſwide maior, Iohn Bereford, and Iohn Norton, burgeſſes of the ſaid towne of Oxford, on the behalfe of the communaltie of the ſame towne, came before the kings councell at Weſtminſter in the councell chamber there, néere to the excheker, where the allegations on both parties being heard, and vpon requeſt made, that it might pleaſe his maieſties councell, according to the ſubmiſſions by both parties made vnto the king and to his councell, to take order in the matter in controuerſie betwixt them, concerning the late tumult and buſineſſe which had chanced in the ſaid towne, by the diſorder of the communaltie of the ſame, in breaking downe, and burning vp of houſes, in taking awaie the bookes and other goods of the ſaid maſters and ſcholers, & in committing other tranſgreſſions. The councell hauing conſideration thereof, to auoid the decaie that might haue inſued to the ſaid towne, made this end betwixt them, that the ſaid towne (Iohn Bereford, being in the kings priſon, and Robert Lardiner onelie excepted) ſhould be bound to paie vnto the ſaid maſters and ſcholers, damnified in the ſaid tumult and buſineſſe, for amends, and reformation of iniuries and loſſes ſuſteined (death and maime excepted) two hundred and fiftie pounds, beſide the goods taken and borne awaie, to be reſtored againe, and this monie to be paid to the ſaid chancellor, maſters and ſcholers, on that ſide the mondaie next before the feaſt of ſaint Iames, or elſe ſufficient ſuerties put in for the paiment thereof, at certeine termes, as the parties ſhould agrée vpon: and in reſpect thereof, the ſaid Iohn Bereford, and Iohn Norton, ſhall be releaſſed out of priſon of the Marſhalſea, at the baile of the ſaid maior, and of Robert de Menkes, and Iohn Dimmoks, till the next ſeſſions of gaole deliuerie, with condition, that the ſaid ſummes of monie be paid, or ſuerties put in for the paiment thereof, as before is ſaid, or elſe the bodies of the ſaid Iohn Bereford, & Iohn de Norton, ſhall be returned to the ſaid priſon, within thrée daies after the feaſt of Peter ad Vincula, there to remaine in manner as before they did.

The end and award made of the quarrell betwixt the Vniuerſitie and townes-men of Oxford.

It was alſo ordeined by the councell, with the aſſent of the ſaid Humfrie and Iohn Carleton, that all and euerie manner of perſons of the ſaid towne of Oxford, and the ſuburbes of the ſame, indited and arreigned of the fellonies and tranſgreſſions before mentioned, that ſhould yéeld themſelues to the kings priſon to be tried by law, and alſo all other that were at that preſent in priſon, which the ſaid Humfrie and Iohn de Carleton ſhould name (Iohn de Bereford and Robert Lardiner excepted) might be let to baile, vpon ſufficient ſuerties, that ſhould vndertake for them, bodies for bodies, to appeare at the next ſeſſions of gaole deliuerie, there to be tried, according to the order of law. And further it was ordered, that all ſuch goods and cattels as were taken and carried awaie from the ſaid maſters and ſcholers in the ſaid tumult and buſineſſe, by the men of the ſaid towne and ſuburbes, in whoſe hands, and in what places ſoeuer within the ſaid towne and ſuburbes, by inquiſitions, informations, or other meanes, they ſhould or might be found, ſhould be deliuered to the ſaid chancellor, and procurators of the ſaid Vniuerſitie, to be by them reſtored vnto thoſe perſons, to whome they belonged. This was the effect of the order taken at that daie and place, before the reuerend fathers, Iohn archbiſhop of Yorke primat and chancellor of England, William biſhop of Wincheſter lord treaſuror, Thomas de Brembre lord kéeper of the priuie ſeale, and Dauid de Wollore maſter of the rolles, Henrie de Ingelbie clearke, and other of the kings councell then and there preſent.

Tho.Walſ. The prince of Wales goeth ouer into Gaſcoigne.

The prince of Wales (as ye haue heard) being appointed to paſſe ouer into Gaſcoigne, ſet forward from London the laſt daie of Iune, and comming to Plimmouth, where his nauie was appointed to be made readie, he ſtaied there, for want of conuenient wind and weather a long time after. Finallie, hauing with him the earles of Warwike, Suffolke, Saliſburie & Oxford, alſo the lord Iohn Chandois, ſir Robert Knols, ſir Franke de Hall, the lord Iames Audelie, with diuerſe other of the nobilitie, and of men of armes and archers a great number, then in parlement to him aſſigned, he firſt ſet from Plimmouth on the daie of the Natiuitie of our ladie. They were in all thrée hundred ſaile, and finding the wind proſperous, they paſſed ouer into Gaſcoigne, where of the Gaſcoignes they were ioifullie receiued. In Auguſt, the Engliſhmen that were in Britaine, warring againſt the Frenchmen, that tooke part with the lord Charles de Blois, ſlue manie of them, & tooke the lord of Beaumanor, the vicount of Roan, and diuerſe other. ¶ This yeare alſo, about Michaelmaſſe, the king hauing ſummoned an armie to be

readie

The citie of London.

readie at Sandwich, paſſed ouer to Calis with the ſame. There went ouer with him his two ſonnes, Lionell of Antwerp earle of Vlſter, and Iohn of Gant earle of Richmond. He found at Calis a thouſand men of armes that came to ſerue him for wages, forth of Flanders, Brabant, and Almaigne, ſo that he had about thrée thouſand men of armes, and two thouſand archers on horſebacke, beſide archers on foot a great number. The citie of London had ſent to him fiue hundred men of armes, and fiue hundred archers all in one ſute or liuerie, at their owne coſts and charges. On the ſecond of Nouember, he ſet from Calis, marching forth towards ſaint Omers, waſting the countrie by the waie as he paſſed.

The king inuadeth Fra͂ce. The lord Bouſicant.

Froiſſard. The king for want of vittels returneth

Auesburie.

The French king being at the ſame time within the towne of ſaint Omers, ſent the lord Bouſicant vnto the king of England, that vnder colour of communication, he might view the kings power, who made ſuch report thereof, vpon his returne backe to the French king, that he determined not to fight with the king of England, but rather to paſſe before him, and ſo to deſtroie vittels, that for want thereof, the king of England ſhould be conſtreined to returne. And as he determined, ſo it came to paſſe, for the vittels were ſo cut off, that the Engliſhmen for thrée full daies togither, dranke nothing but water. When therefore king Edward had followed his enimies ſo farre as Heiden, where he brake the parke, and burnt the houſes within and about the parke, although he entered not into the towne nor caſtell, at length, for default of vittels, he returned backe, and came againe to Calis on ſaint Martins day, being the tenth after his ſetting forth from thence.

The conſtable of France demandeth battell.

The anſwer made to him.

Berwike taken by Scots

The morrow after being thurſdaie, and the twelfe of Nouember, the conſtable of France, and other Frenchmen, came to the end of the cauſie of Calis, with letters of credence, offering battell on tueſdaie next following vnto the king of England, in preſence of the duke of Lancaſter, the earles of Northampton, and the lord Walter de Mannie, who in the kings behalfe declared to the conſtable, that the king of England, to eſchew ſhedding of bloud, would fight with the French king bodie to bodie, ſo to trie their right: and if he liked not of that match, then if he would chooſe thrée or foure knights to him that were néereſt to him in bloud, he ſhould chooſe the like number. But when this offer would not be accepted, the Engliſh lords offered battell the next day, being fridaie, or elſe on ſaturdaie following, at the Frenchmens choice: but the conſtable of France and his companie, continuing in their firſt offer, refuſed both thoſe daies. Then the Engliſh lords accepted the daie by them aſſigned, with condition, that if they brought not king Edward to giue battell that day, they would yéeld themſelues priſoners, ſo that the Frenchmen would likewiſe vndertake for their king. The conſtable hauing no anſwer readie, ſtaied a while, and after flatlie refuſed to make any ſuch couenant. Finallie, when the Engliſh lords perceiued their aduerſaries, not to meane battell, as their words at the firſt pretended, they brake off, and both parties returned home. The king of England ſtaied till the tueſdaie, and paid the ſtrangers their wages, and ſo came backe into England. On the ſixt of Nouember, whileſt the king was thus abroad in Picardie, the Scots verie earlie in the morning of that daie, came priuilie to Berwike, entred by ſtealth into the towne, and ſleaing thrée or foure Engliſhmen, tooke it, with all the goods and perſons within it, thoſe excepted, which got to the caſtell.

A parlement.

The procéedings of the prince of wales in Aquitaine.

In a parlement ſummoned this yeare, the mondaie after the feaſt of ſaint Edmund the king, the lords and commons granted to king Edward fiftie ſhillings of euerie ſacke of wooll, that ſhould be caried ouer the ſea, for the ſpace of ſix yeares next inſuing. By this grant it was thought, that the king might diſpend a thouſand markes ſterling a day, ſuch vent of wools had the Engliſh merchants in that ſeaſon. ¶The parlement being ended, the king about S. Andrews tide ſet forward towards Scotland, and held his Chriſtmaſſe at Newcaſtell. About which time by letters ſent from the prince, the king was aduertiſed of his procéedings after his arriuall in Gaſcoigne, where being ioifullie receiued of the nobles, and other the people of that countrie (as before yée haue heard) he declared to them the cauſe of his thither comming, and tooke aduiſe with them how to procéed in his buſineſſe; and ſo about the tenth of October, he ſet forward to paſſe againſt his enimies, firſt entring into a countrie called Iuliake, which togither with the fortreſſes yéelded to him, without anie great reſiſtance. Then he rode through the countie Armignac, waſting and ſpoiling the countrie, and ſo paſſed through the lands of the vicounts de la Riuiere, and after entered into the countie de l'Eſtrac, and paſſing through the ſame, came to the countie of Commiges, finding the towne of S. Matain void, being a good towne & one of the beſt in that countrie.

Carcaſſon.

Narbonne.

Two biſhops ſent from the pope to the prince of wales,

After this, he paſſed by the land of the earle of Liſle, till he came within a league of Tholouſe, where the earle of Armignac, being the French kings lieutenant in thoſe parts, and other great lords and nobles were aſſembled. The prince with his armie tarried there two daies, and after paſſed ouer the riuer of Garonne, and after ouer an other riuer thereabouts, a league aboue Tholouſe, lodging that night a league on the other ſide of Tholouſe: and ſo they paſſed thorough Tholouſe, dailie taking townes & caſtels, wherein they found great riches, for the countrie was verie plentifull. Vpon Alhallowes éeuen, they came to caſtell Naudarie, and from thence they tooke the waie to Carcaſſon, into the which a great number of men of armes and commons were withdrawne. But vpon the approch of the Engliſhmen, they ſlipt awaie, and got them to a ſtrong caſtell that ſtood néere at hand. The third day after, the Engliſhmen burnt the towne, and paſſing forth, trauerſed all the countrie of Carcaſſonois, till they came to the towne of Narbonne. The people there were fled into the caſtell, in which the vicount of Narbonne was incloſed, with fiue hundred men of arms. The prince ſtaied there two daies. The pope ſent two biſhops towards the prince, to treat with him of peace, but bicauſe the prince would not hearken to anie treatie without commiſſion from his father, they could not get anie ſafe conduct to approch néerer.

The prince hauing aduertiſments héere, that his enimies were aſſembled, and followed him, he turned backe to meet them, but they had no will to abide him: for although the earle of Armignac, the conſtable of France, the marſhall Cleremont, and the prince of Orange, with diuerſe other néere to Tholouſe, made ſome ſhew to impeach the prince his paſſage, yet in the end they withdrew, not without ſome loſſe, for the lord Bartholomew de Burwaſch *aliàs* Burgherſch, ſir Iohn Chandois, the lord Iames Audeley, and ſir Thomas Felton, being ſent forth to view them, ſkirmiſhed with two hundred of their men of armes, and tooke of them fiue and thirtie. After this, they had no mind to abide the Engliſh power, but ſtill ſhranke awaie, as the prince was readie to follow them, and ſo he perceiuing that the Frenchmen would not giue him battell, he withdrew towards Burdeaux, after he had ſpent eight wéekes in that his iournie, and ſo comming thither, he wintered there, whileſt his capteins in the meane time tooke diuerſe townes and caſtels abroad in the countrie. ¶And now to the end yée may haue more plaine information of the princes doings in thoſe parties, I haue thought good to make you partakers of a letter or two, written by ſir Iohn Winkefield knight, attendant on the prince there in Gaſcoigne.

The copie of ſir Iohn Winke*fields letters.*

MY lord, as touching the newes in theſe parts, may it pleaſe you to vnderſtand, that all the earles, barons, baronets, knights, and eſquiers, were in helth at the making hereof, and my lord hath not loſt either knight or eſquier in this voiage, except the lord Iohn Liſle, who was ſlaine after a ſtrange maner with a quarrell, the third day after we were entered into our enimies countries, he died the fiftenth of October. And pleaſe it you to vnderſtand, that my lord hath ridden through the countrie of Arminac, and hath taken many fenſed townes, and burnt and deſtroied them, except certeine which he hath fortified. After this, he marched into the vicountie of Rouergne, where he tooke a good towne named Pleaſance, the chiefeſt towne of that countrie, which he hath burnt and deſtroied, with the countrie round about the ſame. This doone, he went into the countie d'Aſtrike, wherin he tooke manie townes, waſted and deſtroied all the countrie. After this, he entred into the countie of Cominge, and tooke manie townes there, which he cauſed to be deſtroied & burnt, togither with all the countrie abroad. He tooke alſo the towne of S. Matan, which is the cheefeſt towne of that countrie, being as large in compaſſe as Norwich.

Afterward, he entered into the countie of Liſle, and tooke the moſt part of the fenſed townes therin, cauſing diuerſe of them to be burnt and deſtroied as he paſſed. And after entring into the lordſhip of Tholouſe, we paſſed the riuer of Girond, and an other a league aboue Tholouſe, which is verie great: for our enimies had burnt all the bridges, as well on the one ſide of Tholouſe, as the other, except the bridges within Tholouſe, for the riuer runneth through the towne. And the conſtable of France, the marſhall Cleremont, and the earle of Arminac, were with a great power within the towne the ſame time. And Tholouſe is a great towne, ſtrong, faire, and well walled, and there was none in our hoſt that knew the foord there: but yet by the grace and goodneſſe of God we found it. So then we marched through the ſeigniorie of Tholouſe, & tooke manie good townes incloſed, and burnt and deſtroied them, and all the countrie about.

Then we entred into the ſeigniorie of Carcaſon, and we tooke manie good towns, before we came to Carcaſon, which towne we alſo tooke, which is greater, ſtronger, & fairer than Yorke. And as well this towne as all other townes in the countrie were burnt and deſtroied. And after we had paſſed by manie iournies through the countrie of Carcaſon, we came into the ſeigniorie of Narbon, and we tooke manie townes, and waſted them, till we came to Narbon, which towne was holden againſt vs, but it was woone by force, and the ſaid towne is little leſſe than London, and is ſituat vpon the Greekiſh ſea, for that the diſtance from the ſaid towne vnto the Greekiſh ſea is not paſt two leagues, and there is an hauen and a place to arriue at, from whence the water cōmeth vp to Narbon. And Narbon is not but eleuen leagues diſtant from Mountpellier, & eighteene from Eguemortz, & thirtie from Auignion. And may it pleaſe you to vnderſtand, that the holie father ſent his meſſengers to my lord, that were not paſt ſeuen leagues frō him, and they ſent a ſergeant at armes, that was ſergeant at armes attendant on the doore of our holie fathers chamber, with their letters to my lord, praieng him to haue a ſafe conduct to come to declare to his highneſſe their meſſage from the holie father, which was to treat betwixt my L. and his aduerſaries of France: and the ſaid ſergeant was two daies in the hoſt before my lord would ſee him, or receiue his letters. And the reaſon was, bicauſe he had vnderſtanding, that the power of France was come forth of Tholouſe toward Carcaſon, ſo that my lord was driuen to turne backe towards them ſuddenlie, and ſo did.

He meaneth the Mediterrane ſea.

On the third daie when we ſhould haue come vpon them, they had knowlege giuen before day, and ſo retiring, got them to the mounteins, haſting faſt toward Tholouſe; and the countrie people that were their guides to lead them that waie, were taken as they ſhould haue paſſed the water. And bicauſe the popes ſergeant at armes was in my keeping, I cauſed him to examine the guides that were ſo taken; and for that the guide which was thus examined, was the conſtables guide, and his countrieman, he might well ſee and know the countenance of the Frenchmen vpon this examining him. And I ſaid to the ſame ſergeant, that he might well declare to the pope, and to all them of Auignion, that which he had heard or ſeene. And as touching the anſwer which my lord made to them that were ſent to treat with him, you would be well apaid if you vnderſtood all the maner; for he would not ſuffer in any wiſe that they ſhuld come neerer vnto him. But if they came to treat of any matter, he would that they ſhould ſend to the king his father: for my lord himſelfe would not doo any thing therin, except by commandement from my lord his father.

And of my lords turning backe to follow after his enimies, and of the paſſage of the riuer of Garonne, and of the taking of caſtels and townes in this iournie, and of other things which he hath doone againſt his enimies in purſuit of them in this iournie, being things right worthie and honorable, as manie know verie well, in like maner as ſir Richard Stafford, & ſir William Burton can more plainelie declare, than I to you can write, for it were too much to put in writing. And my lord rode thus abroad in the countrie of his enimies eight whole weekes, and reſted not paſt eleuen daies in all thoſe places where he came. And know it for certeine, that ſince this warre began againſt the French king he had neuer ſuch loſſe or deſtruction as he hath had in this iournie: for the countries and good townes which were waſted at this iournie, found to the king of France euerie yeare more to the maintenance of his warre than halfe his realme hath doon beſide, except the exchange of his monie which he maketh euerie yeare, and the aduantage and cuſtome which he taketh of them of Poictou, as I can ſhew you by good remembrances, which were found in diuerſe townes in the receiuers houſes: for Carcaſon and le Moignes, which is as great as Carcaſon, and two other townes in the coaſts of Carcaſon, found to the king of France yeerelie wages for a thouſand men of armes: and beſide that 100000 old crowns to mainteine the war.

And know you, that by the remembrances which we found, that the townes in Tholouſe which are deſtroied, and the townes in the countrie of Carcaſon, and the towne of Narbonne and Narbonnois did find euerie yeare with the ſums aforeſaid, in aid of his war, foure hundred thouſand old crownes, as the burgeſſes of the great townes & other people of the countrie which ought to know it, haue told vs. And ſo by Gods aſſiſtance if my lord had wherewith to mainteine this warre, and to make the kings profit and his owne honor, he ſhould well inlarge the Engliſh marches, and gaine manie faire places: for our enimies are greatlie aſtonied. And at the making heereof, my lord hath appointed to ſend all the earles and baronets to abide in certeine places on the marches, to make roads, and to annoie his enimies. Now my lord, at this preſent I know none other newes to ſend, but you may by your letters command me as yours to my power. My right honorable lord, God grant you good life, ioy, and health, long to continue. Written at Burdeaux, the tueſdaie next before Chriſtmaſſe.

The tenor of an other letter written by *ſir Iohn Wingfield, directed to ſir Richard Staf*ford knight, who had beene in Gaſcoigne, *and there leauing his familie, was now returned* into England.

1356

RIght deare ſir, and right louing freend, touching newes after your departure, you may vnderſtand, that there be taken and yeelded fiue townes incloſed, to wit, port ſaint Marie, Cleirac, Tonings, Burgh, ſaint Pierre, Chaſtiell Sacret or Satrat and Braſſake. Alſo ſeauenteene caſtels, to wit, Coiller, Buſet, Lemnake, two caſtels called Boloines, which ioine the one neere ſo the other, Mounioy, Vireſch, Frechenet, Mountender, Pudeſchales, Mounpoun, Montanac, Valeclare, Cenamont, Leiſtrake, Plaſſac, Cont Deſtabliſon, and Mounriuell. And will it pleaſe you to know that my lord Iohn Chandois, my lord Iames Audeley, and your men that are with them, and the other Gaſcoignes that are in their companie, & my lord Baldwine Butetort, & that companie, & my lord Reignald Cobham, tooke the ſaid towne, which is called Chaſtiell Sacret or Satrat, by aſſault: and the baſtard of Liſle which was capteine of the ſaid towne was alſo ſlaine there, as they aſſaulted it, being ſtriken with an arrow thorough the head: and my lord Reignold is returned backe toward Languedocke: and my lord Baldwin towards Braſſacke, with their companies: and the lords Iohn & Iames, and thoſe of their companie remaine in Chaſtiell Satrat, and haue vittels plentie of all ſorts to ſerue them betweene this and Midſummer, except freſh fiſh and cabages as they haue certified vs by letters, wherefore yee need not take care for your men.

And there be in that towne more than three hundred glaiues, and three hundred yeomen, and a hundred and fiftie archers. And they haue rid before Agen, and burnt and deſtroied all their milles, and haue burnt and broken downe all their bridges that lie ouer Garon, and haue taken a caſtell without the ſame towne, and haue fortified it. And monſieur Iohn Darminake, and the seneſhall of Agenois, which were in the towne of Agen, would not once put forth their head, nor anie of their people, and yet haue they beene twiſe before that towne. And monſieur Buſgaud was come, and monſieur Ernald de Spaine, and Grimoton de Chambule, with three hundred glaiues, and three ſergeants Lombards, and they are in the towne of Muſchacke, which is in Creſſie, and it is but a mile from Chaſtiell Satrat or Sacret, and a league from Breſſake, and yee may well thinke that there will be good companie one with another.

Buſcicault

And further may it pleaſe yee to know, that monſieur Bartholomew is at Coniake with ſix ſcore men of armes of my lords houſe, & ſix ſcore archers, & the capitall de Buche or Beuf, the L. Monferrant, & the L. of Crotonie, which haue with them 300 glaiues, & ſix ſcore archers, and two hundred ſergeants, beſide them which are in Tailbourgh, Tanney, and Rochford, ſo that when they are togither, they may be well ſix hundred glaiues, and at the making heereof, they were vpon a iournie towards Aniou and Poictou, and the earles of Suffolke, Oxford, and Saliſburie, the lord of Muſeden, monſieur Ellis de Pomiers, and other Gaſcoignes, with the which are well more then fiue hundred glaiues, and two hundred ſergeants, and three hundred archers, and they were at the making

The capitall de Beuf.

hereof toward the parties of Noſtredame de Rochemade, and haue beene forth aboue twelue daies, and were not returned at the ſending of theſe preſents. My lord Iohn Chandois, my lord Iames, and my lord Baldwin, and thoſe which be in their companie are alſo forth vpon a iournie toward their parties; my lord Reinold and thoſe of the houſhold, with the Gaſcoigns which be in their companie, are alſo forth vpon a iournie towards their parties.

The earle of Warwike hath beene at Tonings & Clerake, to take thoſe towns, and at the making hereof was gone towards Mermande to deſtroie their vines, and all other things which he can deſtroie of theirs. My lord is at Leiborne, and the lord of Pomiers at Fronſak, which is but a quarter of a leage from Leiborne: and my lords people lie as well at ſaint Milion, as at Leiborne, and monſieur Berard de Bret is there with him, and my lord looketh for newes which he ſhould haue, and according to the news that he ſhall haue, he will behaue himſelfe: for as it ſeemeth, he ſtandeth much on his honor. At the making hereof, the earle of Arminac was at Auignion, and the king of Aragon is there alſo: & of all other parleis which haue beene in diuerſe places (wherof you know) I can not certifie you at the making herof. Right deere ſir, other thing I can not ſend vnto you, but that you remember your ſelfe to ſend newes to my lord prince as ſoone as in anie wiſe you may, and ſo the Lord grant you good life and long. Written at Leiborne the 21 of Ianuarie.

¶ Theſe letters haue I thought good to make the reader partaker of, as I find them in the chronicle of Robert Auesburie, to the end ye may perceiue how other writers agree therewith, ſith the ſame letters may ſerue as a touchſtone to trie the truth of the matter. And ſo now I will returne to ſpeake of the kings doings in the north part where we left him. On the fourteenth of Ianuarie K. Edward hauing his armie lodged neere the towne of Berwike, and his nauie readie in the hauen to aſſaile the Scots that were within the towne, he entered the caſtell which the Engliſhmen had in their hands, the lord Walter de Mannie being their capteine, who had gotten certeine miners thither from the forreſt of Deane, and other parts of the realme, which were buſie to make paſſage vnder the ground by a mine, through which the Engliſhmen might enter into the towne. Hereupon, when the Scots perceiued in what danger they ſtood, and knew that they could not long defend the towne againſt him, they ſurrendered it into his hands without further reſiſtance.

In the Scotiſh hiſtories it is recorded, that when thoſe which were within the towne of Berwike, heard how that an armie of Engliſhmen came to the ſuccours of the caſtell, they raced the walles and burnt the houſes of the towne, and ſo departed with all the ſpoile which they had gotten there. But howſoeuer it was, king Edward being againe poſſeſſed of the towne, he ſet men a worke to repare it, and paſſing forth to Roxburge, there met with him the rightfull king of Scots Edward Balioll, who transferred & reſigned all the right, title and intereſt, which he had or might haue to the crowne and realme of Scotland into king Edwards hands: which reſignation he confirmed by his letters patents thereof made and giuen vnder his hand and ſeale, dated the 25 of Ianuarie 1356, requiring king Edward to perſeuere in purſute of his title to the vttermoſt.

Hector Boet.

Anno Reg. 30.

The reſignation of the realme of Scotland made by the Balioll.

King Edward hauing thus receiued the reſignation and releaſe of the crowne of Scotland, marched forth with his armie, till he came to Hadington, burning and deſtroieng the countrie on ech ſide round about him, as he paſſed. And whileſt he laie there, abiding for his ſhips, his men of warre were not idle, but ranged abroad in the countrie, and did all the damage to their enimies that they could deuiſe. At length his armie which he had at the ſame time on the ſea, arriued on that coaſt, and landing, ſpoiled a church of our ladie, called the White kirke: but being returned to their ſhips, there aroſe ſuch a tempeſt and vehement north wind, that manie of their veſſels ruſhing and beating againſt the banks and ſands, were drowned togither with the men that were within them, for diſpleaſure whereof king Edward fell to the ſpoile of the countrie againe, not ſparing one place more than another: by reaſon wherof, as well abbeis as all other churches and religious houſes both in Hadington, in Edenborough, and thorough all other the parts of Louthian, whereſoeuer he came, were defaced and put to ſacke. At length when he had accompliſhed his will, and ſo ſet things in order, he returned backe into England with the foreſaid Edward Balioll in his companie, whome he kept with him, for doubt leaſt he ſhould reuolt, and procure ſome new trouble. In the moneth of Iulie the duke of Lancaſter being ſent to the aid of the K. of Nauarre, came into Conſtantine, which is a portion of Normandie, & there ioined with the lord Philip of Nauarre, brother to the king of Nauarre, and with the lord Godfrie de Harecourt, the which being returned into France, and reſtored to the French kings fauour, was latelie againe reuolted, vpon diſpleaſure taken for the death of his nephue the lord Iohn de Harecourt, as in the French hiſtories ye may read more at large. They were in all about the number of foure thouſand fighting men, and being aſſembled togither, they went to Liſcur, to Orbec, to Ponteau, & reſcued the caſtell there, which had beene beſieged by the lord Robert de Hotetot maſter of the croſſebowes in France, more than two moneths: but now hearing that the Engliſhmen and Nauarrois approched, he departed from thence, leauing behind him for haſt his engins and artillerie.

K. Edward ſore afflicted the Scots.

The duke of Lancaſter ſent to aid the king of Nauarre.

Paulus Aemilius.

Froiſſard.

The caſtell of Orbec reſcued.

The duke of Lancaſter paſſed forward vnto Bretueill, which he cauſed to be relieued and furniſhed with neceſſarie things as was conuenient. And then leauing the citie of Eureux, which was as then in the Frenchmens hands, latelie yeelded to them after a long ſiege, he went forward with the lord Philip de Nauarre in companie till they came to Vernueill in Perch, and there tooke both the towne and caſtell, and robbed the towne and burnt a great part therof. The French king, who had aſſembled a mightie armie, being aduertiſed of theſe matters, haſted forward towards the duke of Lancaſter, fullie purpoſing to giue him battell. The duke and the lord Philip de Nauarre, hauing knowledge that the French king followed them, withdrew towards the towne of the Eagle, and the king ſtill went after them, till he came to Tuebeuf two leages from the towne of the Egle, and there it was ſhewed to him that he could not follow his enimies any further, by reaſon of the thicke forreſts, which he could not paſſe without great danger of his perſon and loſſe of his people. Then returned he with all his hoſt, and tooke from the Nauarrois the caſtell of Thilliers, and alſo the caſtell of Bretueill, which was yeelded to him after two moneths ſiege.

The citie of Eureux yeelded to the Frenchmen.

Vernueill.

The French K. commeth to giue the duke of Lancaſter battell.

About

Froiſſard.
The prince of wales inuadeth ẏ French dominions.

About the ſame time, that is to ſaie, in Julie, the prince of Wales, hauing aſſembled an armie of men of warre, to the number of eight thouſand, entred into the French dominions, and firſt paſſing through Auuergne, at length he came into the countrie of Berrie, waſting and burning the townes and villages as he went, taking eaſie iournies for the better releefe of his people, and deſtruction of his enimies: for when he was entered into anie towne that was ſufficientlie ſtored of things neceſſarie, he would tarie there two or thrée daies to refreſh his ſoldiers and men of warre, and when they diſlodged, they would ſtrike out the heads of the wine veſſels, and burne the wheat, oates and barlie, and all other things which they could not take with them, to the intent their enimies ſhould not therewith be ſuſteined and nouriſhed.

The citie of Burges.
Iſſoldune aſſaulted.
Vierzon wonne.
The paſſages ſtopped.

After this, they came before the citie of Burges, and there made a great ſkirmiſh at one of the gates, and there were manie feats of armes doone. The hoſt departed from thence, without dooing anie more, and comming to a ſtrong caſtell called Iſſoldune, they fiercelie aſſailed it, but could not win it: the gentlemen within defended the walles and gates ſo manfullie. Then paſſed they forward, and came to Vierzon, a great towne and a good caſtell, but it was nothing ſtronglie fortified; and therefore was it woone perforce, the people within it being not ſufficient to reſiſt the valiant puiſſance of the Engliſhmen. Here they found wine and other vittels in great plentie, and hervpon they taried there thrée daies to refreſh themſelues at eaſe. But before they departed, the prince had aduertiſement giuen him that the French king was come to Chartres, with an huge aſſemblie of men of warre, and that all the townes and paſſages aboue the riuer of Loire were cloſed and kept. Then was the prince counſelled to returne and paſſe by Touraine and Poictow, and ſo that waie to Burdeaux.

The prince returneth.

The prince following their aduiſe that thus counſelled him, ſet forward toward Remorentine. The French king had ſent into that countrie to kéepe the frontiers there, the lord of Craon, the lord Bouciquault, and the heremit of Chaumount, the which with thrée hundred men of armes had followed the Engliſhmen ſix daies togither, and could neuer find anie conuenient occaſion to ſet vpon them: for the Engliſhmen gouerned themſelues ſo ſagelie, that their enimies could not lightlie aſſaile them, but to their owne diſaduantage. One day the Frenchmen laid themſelues cloſelie in an ambuſh néere to the towne of Remorentine, at a maruellous ſtreict paſſage, by which the Engliſhmen muſt néeds paſſe.

Remorentine.

On the ſame daie there were departed from the princes battell, by licence of the marſhals, certeine capteins, Engliſhmen and Gaſcoignes, as the lord Bartholomew de Burgherſce or Burwaſche (as ſome write him) the lord of Mucident Gaſcongne, monſieur Petiton de Courton, the lord de la Ware, the lord Baſſet, ſir Daniell Paſſelew, ſir Richard Ponchardon, ſir Noell Loring, the yoong lord Spenſer, and two of the Danbreticourts, ſir Edward, and an other, who hauing with them two hundred men of armes, went forth to run before Remorentine, that they might view the place. They paſſed forth alongſt by the Frenchmen which laie in ambuſh, as yée haue heard, and they were not aduiſed of them, and they were no ſooner paſſed, but that the Frenchmen brake out, and galloped after the Engliſhmen with great randon, hauing their ſpeares in their reſts.

A ſkirmiſh.
The Frenchmen fled.
The prince lodgeth in the towne of Remorentine.

The Engliſhmen and the Gaſcoignes hearing horſſes to come galloping after them, turned, and perceiuing them to be their enimies, ſtood ſtill to abide them. The Frenchmen couragiouſlie gaue the charge, and the Engliſhmen as valiantlie defended them, ſo that there inſued a great ſkirmiſh, which continued a long while, ſo that it could not be eaſilie iudged who had the better, nor on which ſide the fortunate iſſue of the preſent conflict would then fall (for —— *mutabilis alea Martis*) till that the battell of the Engliſh marſhals approched, the which when the Frenchmen ſaw comming by a wood ſide, they fled ſtreightwaies towards Remorentine, and the Engliſhmen followed in chaſe ſo faſt as their horſſes might beare them, and entered the towne with the Frenchmen: but the French lords and the one halfe of their companie got into the caſtell, and ſo ſaued themſelues. The prince hearing what had happened, came into the towne, and there lodged that night, ſending ſir John Chandois to talke with the capiteines of the caſtell, to know if they would yéeld: and bicauſe they refuſed ſo to doo, on the next morrow he cauſed his people to giue an aſſault to the place, which continued the moſt part of the day, but yet miſſing their purpoſe, he commanded that they ſhould draw to their lodgings, and reſt them for that night.

The caſtell of Remorentine aſſaulted.
It is ſet on fier.
They within ſubmitted themſelues.
The French king foloweth the prince of wales.

In the morning as ſoone as the ſunne was vp, the marſhals cauſed the trumpets to ſound, and thoſe that were appointed to giue the aſſault againe, prepared themſelues to it. The prince himſelfe was preſent perſonallie at this aſſault, ſo that the ſame was inforced to the vttermoſt: but when they ſaw that by aſſaults they could not win the caſtell, they deuiſed engines, wherewith they caſt wild fire into the baſe court, and ſo ſet it on fire, which increaſed in ſuch vehement ſort, that it tooke into the couering of a great tower, which was couered with reed: and then they within perceiuing they muſt either yéeld or periſh with fire, came downe and ſubmitted themſelues to the prince, who as priſoners receiued them. The caſtell of Remorentine being thus woone and defaced with fire, the prince left it void, and marched forth with his armie as before, deſtroieng the countrie, and approched to Aniou and Touraine. The French king came forwards toward the prince, and at Ambois heard how the prince was in Touraine, meaning to returne through Poictow. He was dailie aduertiſed of the princes dooings by ſuch as were appointed to coaſt him euer in his iournie.

Froiſſard.
Seuen thouſand choſen men ſaith Tho. Walſi.
Chauignie.

Then came the king to Haie in Touraine, and his people were paſſed the riuer of Loire at ſundrie paſſages, where moſt conuenientlie they might. They were in number twentie thouſand men of armes; of noble men there were ſix and twentie, dukes and earles, beſide a great number of other lords and barons: the foure ſonnes of the king were there, as the lord Charles duke of Normandie, the lord Lewes after duke of Aniou, the lord John after duke of Berrie, and the lord Philip which was after duke of Burgongne. The French king doubting leaſt the prince ſhould eſcape by ſpéedie iournies out of his countrie, before he could come to giue him battell, remooued to Chauuignie, and there paſſed the riuer of Creuſe by the bridge, ſuppoſing that the Engliſhmen had béene before him, but they were not. Some of the Frenchmen taried behind at Chauuignie for one night, and in the morning followed the king. They were about two hundred men of armes vnder the leading of the lord Craon, the lord Raoull de Coucie, and the earle of Joignie. They chanced to incounter with certeine of the auaunt currours of the Engliſh armie, which remooued that day from a little village faſt by. Thoſe Engliſhmen were not paſt thrée ſcore men of armes, but well horſſed, and therefore perceiuing the great number of the Frenchmen, they fled towards the princes battell, which they knew was not farre off. Capteins of the Engliſhmen were two knights of Heinault, the lord Euſtace Dambreticourt, and the lord John of Guiſtelles.

The lord Raoull de Coucie taken.

Frenchmen diſtreſſed.

The Frenchmen beholding them in this wiſe to flée, rode after amaine, and as they followed in chaſe, they came on the princes battell before they were aware. The lord Raoull of Coucie went ſo far forward with his banner, that he entred vnder the princes banner, and fought right valiantlie, but yet he was there taken, and the earle of Joignie, alſo the vicount of Bruce, the lord Chauuignie, and diuerſe other, ſo that the moſt part of thoſe Frenchmen were either taken or ſlaine, and verie few eſcaped. The prince vnderſtood by the priſoners, that the French king was ſo farre aduanced forward in purſute of him, that he could not auoid the battell. Then he aſſembled his men togither, and commanded them to kéepe order, and ſo rode that day being ſaturdaie from morning till it was toward night, & then came within two leagues of Poictiers: and herewith ſending forth certeine capteins, to ſearch if they could heare where the king was, he incamped himſelfe that night in a ſtrong place amongſt hedges, vines, and buſhes. They that were ſent to diſcouer the countrie, rode ſo far, that they ſaw where the French king with his great battell was marching, and ſetting vpon the taile of the Frenchmen, cauſed all the hoſt to ſtir: whereof knowledge being giuen to the king, the which as then was entring into Poictiers, he returned againe, and made all his hoſt to doo the like, ſo that it was verie late yer he and his people were beſtowed in their lodgings that night. The Engliſh currours returning to the prince, declared what they had ſéene and doone. So, that night, the two armies being lodged within a ſmall diſtance either of other, kept ſtrong and ſure watch about their campes.

The ordering of the French battell.

On the morrow after being ſundaie, and the eightéenth daie of September, the French king cauſed his hoſt to be diuided into thrée battels or wards, and in each of them were ſixtéene thouſand armed men, all muſtered and paſſed for armed men. The firſt battell was gouerned by the duke of Orleance, wherein were ſix and thirtie banners, and twiſe as manie penons. The ſecond was led by the duke of Normandie and his brethren, the lord Lewes & the lord John. The third the French king himſelfe conducted. And while theſe battels were ſetting in arraie, the king cauſed the lord Euſtace de Ribaumount, and two other noble men to ride on before, to ſée the dealing of the Engliſhmen, and to aduiſe of what number they were. Thoſe that were thus ſent, rode forth and beheld the order of the Engliſhmen at good leiſure: and returning, infourmed the king, that as they could iudge, the enimies were about two thouſand men of armes, foure thouſand archers, and fiftéene hundred of others, and that they were lodged in ſuch a ſtrong place, and ſo well fenſed with ditches and hedges, that it would be hard aſſaulting them therein.

The cardinal of Piergort.

The prince of wales contented to come to a treatie.

The cardinall of Piergort the popes legat, as then lieng in the citie of Poictiers, came that morning to the king, and required him to abſteine from battell, till he might vnderſtand whether the prince would condeſcend vnto ſuch conditions of peace as he himſelfe ſhould thinke reaſonable, which if it might be brought to paſſe, the ſame ſhould be more honorable for him, than to aduenture ſo manie noble men as were there with him at that preſent in hazard of battell. The king was contented that the cardinall ſhould go to the prince, and ſée what he could doo with him. The cardinall rode to the prince, and talked with him till he was contented to come to a treatie. The cardinall returned to the French king, and required of him that a truce might be granted till the next daies ſun-riſing: which truce obteined, he ſpent that daie in riding to and fro betwixt them.

The offer of the prince of Wales.

The French kings preſumptuous demand.

The prince offered to render into the kings hands all that he had woone in that voiage, as well townes as caſtels, and alſo to releaſe all the priſoners, which he or any of his men had taken in that iournie: and further he was contented to haue béene ſworne not to beare armour againſt the French king within the terme of ſeuen yeares next following. But the French king would not agrée thereunto: the vttermoſt that he would agrée vnto, was this, that the prince and an hundred of his knights ſhould yéeld themſelues as priſoners vnto him, otherwiſe he would not haue the matter taken vp. But it was the French kings hap after (notwithſtanding his hautines) to be taken captiue, as Okland noteth, ſaieng,

——— *ſeruilia ſub iuga miſſus*
Diſceret vt domino regi parêre Britanno.

But the prince in no wiſe cold be brought to any ſuch vnreaſonable conditions, and ſo the cardinall could not make them fréends, although he trauelled earneſtlie betwixt them all that daie. When it drew towards night, he returned toward Poictiers.

The Engliſhmen fortifie their campe.

The cardinall trauelled in vaine.

The Engliſhmen were not idle, whileſt the cardinall was thus in hand to bring the parties to ſome good agréement, but caſt great ditches, and made hedges, and other fortifications about the place where their archers ſtood, and on the next morning, being mondaie, the prince and his people prepared themſelues to receiue battell, as they had doone before, hauing paſſed the day before and that night in great defect of neceſſarie things, for they could not ſtir abroad to fetch forrage or other prouiſions without danger to be ſurpriſed of their enimies. The cardinall came againe earlie in the morning vnto the French king, and found the French armie readie in order of battell by that time the ſunne was vp, and though he eftſoones fell in hand to exhort the king to an agréement, yet it would not be. So he went to the prince, and declared to him how he could doo no good in the matter, and therefore he muſt abide the hazard of battell for ought that he could ſée: wherewith the prince was content, and ſo the cardinall returned vnto Poictiers.

Tho. Walſ. A propheſie of a prelate.

¶ Here is to be remembred, that when (as Thomas Walſingham writeth) this cardinall of Piergort was ſent from the pope to trauell betwixt the parties for a peace to be had, and that the pope exhorted him verie earneſtlie to ſhew his vttermoſt diligence and indeuour therein: at his ſetting forth to go on that meſſage, the ſaid cardinall (as was ſaid) made this anſwer: Moſt bleſſed father (ſaid he) either we will perſuade them to peace and quietneſſe, either elſe ſhall the verie flintſtones crie out of it. But this he ſpake not of himſelfe, as it was ſuppoſed, but being a prelate in that time, he propheſied what ſhould follow; for when the Engliſh archers had beſtowed all their arrowes vpon their enimies, they tooke vp pebles from the place where they ſtood, being full of thoſe kind of ſtones, and approching to their enimies, they threw the ſame with ſuch violence on them, that lighting againſt their helmets, armor, and targets, they made a great ringing noiſe, ſo that the cardinals propheſie was fulfilled, that he would either perſuade a peace, or elſe the ſtones ſhould crie out thereof.

The exhortation of the prince.

The worthie prince like a couragious chiefteine, when he ſaw that he muſt néeds fight, required his people not to be abaſhed at the great number of their enimies, ſith the victorie did not conſiſt in the multitude of men, but where God would ſend it: and if it fortuned that the iournie might be theirs and his, they ſhould be the moſt honored people of the world: and if they ſhould die in that righteous quarrell, he had the king his father and alſo his brethren, in like caſe as they had fréends and kinſmen, that would ſéeke their reuenge. And therefore he deſired them that

---

that daie to t
warre: and fo
George, they
Theſe or the li
ſpeake, which g
There we
folke, Saliſbu
Spenſer, Aud
Ware, Bradet
diuerſe other:
was much cou
chard of Penb
valiant eſquir
of Gaſcoigne,
of Prumes,
Roſen, Monſe
ſtrad or Leſca
ſtace Daubret
ther ſtranger
the number of
the which (as
archers: thou
fore) reporteth
in one place ſ
thouſand.
The French
thouſand fight
thrée thouſand
torie, as anie
ſidering his g
number of his
atlie after tha
his battels to
place where th
their enimies,
were certeine
thrée hundred,
appointed to
chers, but the
ſed about wit
men of the F
feat, and bei
Engliſh bow
man, ſo that t
was the duk
France, the
Arnold Dand
within a whil
gither with th
whom in the f
to performe a
firſt ſetters o
There was
ſoner, and the
the noble pro
breaking thro
ſlaughter of
parant. The
Warwike a
earneſtlie, an
the prince hi
a noble chéeft
pert ſouldiou
hardie warri
ther was this
brought to e
ſtinate earne
the Engliſh
the multitud
ſtill vpon the
Finallie,
ſted: for the
an other, an
were behind,

Noble men with the prince of wales.

The capitall de Beuf.

The number of the prince his armie.

The number of the French.

The battell is begun.

The force of the Engliſh archers.

The lord James Audeley.

Tho. Walſi. The earles of Warwike and Suffolke.

that daie to ſhew themſelues like valiant men of warre: and for his part he truſted in God and ſaint George, they ſhould ſee in his perſon no default. Theſe or the like words did this moſt gentle prince ſpeake, which greatlie comforted all his people.

Noble men with the prince of wales.

There were with him of earles, Warwike, Suffolke, Saliſburie, Stafford; of lords, Cobham, Spenſer, Audeley, Berkley, Baſſet, Warren, de la Ware, Bradeſton, Burwaſch, Felton, Mallow, and diuerſe other: alſo ſir Iohn Chandois, by whome he was much counſelled, ſir Richard Stafford, ſir Richard of Penbruche, and manie other knights and valiant eſquires of England. Moreouer, there was of Gaſcoigne, the capitall of Buz or Beuf, the lords of Prumes, Burguenrie, Chaumount, de Leſpare, Roſen, Monferant, Landuras, the Souldich of Leſtrad or Leſcard, and other: and of Heinault, ſir Euſtace Daubreticourt, ſir Iohn de Guiſtelles, and other ſtrangers. All the princes companie paſſed not the number of eight thouſand men one and other, of the which (as Iacobus Meirc ſaith) thrée thouſand were archers: though Froiſſard (as I haue rehearſed before) reporteth the number of archers to be more, as in one place ſix thouſand, and in an other place foure thouſand.

The capitall de Beuf.

The number of the prince his armie.

The number of the French.

The French king hauing in his armie thrée ſcore thouſand fighting men, whereof there were more than thrée thouſand knights, made ſo ſure account of victorie, as anie man might of a thing not yet had, conſidering his great puiſſance, in regard to the ſmall number of his aduerſaries: and therefore immediatlie after that the cardinall was departed, he cauſed his battels to march forward, and approching to the place where the Engliſhmen ſtood readie to receiue their enimies, cauſed the onſet to be giuen. There were certeine French horſſemen, to the number of thrée hundred, with the Almains alſo on horſſebacke appointed to breake the arraie of the Engliſh archers, but the archers were ſo defended and compaſſed about with hedges and ditches, that the horſſemen of the French part could not enter to doo their feat, and being galled with the ſharpe ſhot of the Engliſh bowes, they were ouerthrowne horſſe and man, ſo that the vaward of the Frenchmen, wherein was the duke of Athens, with the marſhals of France, the lord Iohn de Clermont, and the lord Arnold Dandrehen or Odenhen, began to diſorder within a while, by reaſon of the ſhot of the archers, togither with the helpe of the men of armes, amongſt whom in the forefront was the lord Iames Audeley, to performe a vow which he had made, to be one of the firſt ſetters on.

The battell is begun.

The force of the Engliſh archers.

The lord Iames Audeley.

There was the lord Arnold Dandrehen taken priſoner, and the lord Iohn de Clermont ſlaine, ſo that the noble proweſſe of the ſaid lord Iames Audeley, breaking through the Frenchmens battell with the ſlaughter of manie enimies, was that day moſt apparant. The loiall conſtancie of the noble earles of Warwike and Suffolke, that fought ſo ſtoutlie, ſo earneſtlie, and ſo fiercelie, was right manifeſt. And the prince himſelfe did not onelie fulfill the office of a noble chéefteine, but alſo of a right valiant and expert ſouldiour, attempting what ſoeuer any other hardie warriour would in ſuch caſes haue done. Neither was this battell quicklie diſpatched, nor eaſilie brought to end; but it was fought out with ſuch obſtinate earneſtneſſe, that thrée times that daie were the Engliſhmen driuen to renew the fight, through the multitude of enimies that increaſed and came ſtill vpon them.

Tho. Walſi. The earles of Warwike and Suffolke.

Finallie, the marſhals battell was quite diſcomfited: for the Frenchmen and Almains fell one vpon an other, and could not paſſe forth; and thoſe that were behind, & could not get forward, reculed backe: and while the marſhals battell being on horſſebacke thus aſſailed the Engliſh armie with great diſaduantage, and was in the end beaten backe, the two battels of the dukes of Normandie and Orleance came forward, and likewiſe aſſailed the Engliſhmen, but could not preuaile. The archers ſhot ſo fercelie, that to conclude, the Frenchmen behind, vnderſtanding the diſcomfiture of the marſhals battell, and how their fellowes before could not enter vpon their enimies, they opened and ran to their horſſes, in whome they did put more truſt for their ſafegard by galloping on them awaie, than in their manlike hands, for all their late brauerie and great boaſts. One thing ſore diſcouraged the Frenchmen, and that was this: beſide thoſe Engliſhmen that were within the cloſure of their campe, there were certeine men of armes on horſſebacke, with a number of archers alſo on horſſebacke, appointed to coaſt vnder the couert of a mounteine, adioining to the place, where they thought to ſtrike into a ſide of the duke of Normandies battell, ſo that with the terrour hereof, and with the continuall ſhot of the Engliſh archers, the Frenchmen not knowing where to turne themſelues, ſought to ſaue their liues by flight.

The marſhals battell put to yͤ worſt

The Frenchmen ſéeke to ſaue themſelues by flight. Polydor.

The prince of Wales, perceiuing how his enimies (for the more part of them) were fléeing awaie as men diſcomfited, ſent out his horſſemen as well on the one hand as on the other, and he himſelfe with his whole power of footmen ruſhed forth, and manfullie aſſailed the maine battell of the Frenchmen, where the king himſelfe was, who like a valiant prince would not flée, but fought right manfullie: ſo that if the fourth part of his men had doone halfe their parts as he did his, the victorie by likelihood had reſted (as Froiſſard ſaith) on his ſide: but he was forſaken of his thrée ſonnes, and of his brother the duke of Orleance, which fled out of the battell with cleare hands. Finallie, after huge ſlaughter made of thoſe noblemen, and other which abode with him euen to the end, he was taken, and ſo likewiſe was his yongeſt ſonne Philip, and both put in great danger to haue béene murthered after they were taken, by the Engliſhmen and Gaſcoignes, ſtriuing who ſhould haue the king to his priſoner, where in déed a knight of Flanders or rather Artois, borne in ſaint Omers, called ſir Deniſe Morbecke, tooke him, but he was ſtraightwaies taken from the ſame ſir Deniſe by other that came in the meane ſeaſon, better prouided (béelike) of ſtrength, and lead him awaie vnreſiſted.

Froiſſard. The valiancie of the French king.

The French king taken.

Ia. Meir. Sir Deniſe Morbecke. Froiſſard.

There were ſlaine in this battell, of noblemen, the dukes of Burbon and Athens, the marſhall Clermont, ſir Geffrey Charnie that bare the chéefe ſtandert of France, the biſhop of Chaalons, ſir Euſtace de Ribaumont, with diuerſe other to the number of eight hundred lords, knights, and gentlemen of name. In all there died on the French part ſix thouſand of one and other. The chaſe was continued euen to the gates of Poictiers, and manie ſlaine and beaten downe in the ſtréet before the gates, which the citizens had cloſed, for doubt leaſt the Engliſhmen ſhould enter with them that fled thither for ſafegard. There were taken beſide the king and his ſonne, the lord Iaques de Burbon earle of Ponthieu, brother to the duke of Burbon that was ſlaine there, the erle of Ew, the lord Charles his brother earle of Longuile, the archbiſhop of Sens, the earles of Vandoſme, Saleſbruch, Ventadore, Tankeruille, Eſtampes, and Dampmartine: alſo Archembald Dowglas a noble man of Scotland, ſonne to the honorable lord William Dowglas that was killed in Spaine, the marſhall Dandrehen or Odenhen (as Iacobus Meir ſaith) with others to the number of ſeuentéene hundred earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen, beſide thoſe of the meaner ſort; ſo that the Engliſhmen

Noblemen ſlaine.

Ia. Meir.

Polydor. The chaſe.

Froiſſard. Annales de France.

Archembald Douglas take

Iacob. Meir.

Priſoners taken.

had twiſe as manie priſoners as they themſelues were in number: and therefore it was deuiſed amongſt them, to put the moſt part of their priſoners to ranſome there in the field, and ſo they did for doubt of further danger, the multitude being ſo great as it was.

The battell of Poictiers when it was.

The prince ſuppeth the priſoners.

Thus was the prince of Wales victor in that notable battell fought in the fields of Beauuoir and Malpertuſe, two leagues from Poictiers, the nineteenth day of September being monday, in the yeere a thouſand, three hundred, fiftie and ſix, which began in the morning and ended at noone. But bicauſe the Engliſhmen were ſcattered abroad in chaſe of their enimies, the princes banner was ſet vp in a buſh, to draw all his men togither. It was almoſt night yer they were all returned from the chaſe. The prince made a great ſupper in his lodging that night to the French king, and to the moſt part of his nobles that were taken priſoners, and did all the honour that he could deuiſe to the king. And where he perceiued by his cheere and countenance, that his heart was full of penſiue greefe, carefull thought and heauineſſe, he comforted him in the beſt maner that he might, and ſaid to him: as followeth.

The meeke and comfortable oration *of the Engliſh prince to the French* king being taken priſoner.

Moſt noble king, there is no cauſe wherefore your grace ſhould be penſiue, though God this day did not conſent to follow your will. For your noble prowes and dignitie roiall, with the ſupreme type of your kinglie maieſtie, remaineth whole and inuiolate, and what ſoeuer may rightlie be called yours; ſo that no violent force of time ſhall blot out or diminiſh the ſame. The almightie God hath determined that the chance of war ſhall reſt in his diſpoſition and will, as all other things. Your elders haue atchiued both by land & ſea manie noble enterpriſes. The whole compaſſe of Europe, all the eaſt parts of the world, all places and countries, both far & neere, are full of monuments, witneſſing the noble victories atteined by the French people.

The cauſe of godlie liuing and religion, the dignitie and preheminence of chriſtianitie hath beene defended and augmented by you, againſt the moſt mightie and puiſſant capteins of the infidels, enimies to the ſaid chriſtian religion. All ages ſhall make mention of your worthie praiſes, no nation there is but ſhall confeſſe it ſelfe bounden at one time or other for benefits receiued at your hands; nether is there any people but ſuch as hope to be hereafter bounden to you for reliefe and benefits, to proceed from you in time to come. One or two battels happilie haue chanced among ſo manie triumphs otherwiſe than you would haue wiſhed; chance would it ſhould be ſo, which may infeeble and make weake the power of horſſes, armor, and weapon: your inuincible courage and roiall magnanimitie lieth in your power to reteine: neither ſhall this day take any thing from you or yours. And this realme of France which hath procreat and brought forth and noriſhed ſo many of my noble progenitors, ſhall perceiue my good meaning towards hir, as not forgetfull of mine elders, and toward your maieſtie (if you will vouchſafe that I ſhould glorie of that name) a moſt humble kinſman. There are manie occaſions of loue and freendſhip betwixt you and my father, which I truſt ſhall take place, for I know all his thoughts and inward meanings: you ſhall agree and come to an atonement right eaſilie togither, & I praie God he neuer take me for his ſonne, except I haue you in the ſame degree of honor, reuerence, and faithfull loue, which I owe towards him.

The French king thanketh the prince.

The prince returneth to Burdeaux. Froiſſard.

The lord Audelie rewarded.

The king (as reaſon would) acknowledged this to proceed of great courteſie ſhewed toward him in the prince, and thanked him accordinglie. And the prince performing in deed that which he ſpake with word, ceaſſed from further vſing of fire, or other indamaging of the French dominions, and taking his waie through the countries of Poictou and Xaintonge, by eaſie iournies, he and his people came to Blaie, and ſo paſſed ouer the water to Burdeaux in good ſafetie with all their riches and priſoners. The prince gaue to the lord James Audelie (who had receiued in the battell manie ſore wounds) fiue hundred marks of yearelie reuenues aſſigned forth of his lands in England. The which gift the knight granted as freelie as he had receiued it vnto foure of his eſquiers, which in the battell had beene euer attendant about his perſon, without whoſe aid & valiant ſupport, he knew well that he had beene ſlaine ſundrie times in the ſame battell by his enimies, and therefore thought it a dutie of humanitie and gratitude to make them amends with ſome temporall recompenſe, that had ſaued his life, than the which nothing is more deere, nor of greater price in the world, as the poet ſaith,

———*nihil eſt vita pretioſius ipſa.*

When the prince heard that he had ſo doone, he meruelled what his meaning was therby, and cauſed him to be brought before his preſence, and demanded of him wherefore he had ſo lightlie giuen awaie that reward which he had beſtowed vpon him, and whether he thought that gift too meane for him or not. The lord Audelie ſo excuſed himſelfe in extolling the good ſeruice doone to him by his eſquiers, through whome he had ſo manie times eſcaped the dangers of death, that the prince did not onelie confirme the reſignation of the fiue hundred marks giuen to the eſquiers, but alſo rewarded the lord Audelie with ſix hundred marks more of like yearelie reuenues, in maner and forme as he had receiued the other.

Bonfiers.

1357
Anno Reg. 31.
Additions to Adam Merimuth.

The prince bringeth the French king ouer into England.

When the newes of this great victorie came into England of the ouerthrow of the Frenchmen, and taking of the French king, ye may be ſure there was great ioy ſhewed by outward tokens, as bonfiers made, feaſts and bankets kept, through the whole realme. Likewiſe the Gaſcoignes and Engliſhmen being come to Burdeaux, made great reuell and paſtime there, ſpending freelie that gold and ſiluer which they had woone in the battell of Poictiers, and elſewhere in that iournie. ¶ This yeare in Aprill the prince of Wales tooke ſhipping with his priſoners at Burdeaux, and on the fift of Maie arriued at Plimmouth. On the foure and twentith day of Maie he was with great honour ioifullie receiued of the citizens into the citie of London, and ſo conueied to the palace of Weſtminſter, where the king ſitting in Weſtminſter hall, receiued the French king, and after conueied him to a lodging appointed for him, where he laie a ſeaſon; but after he was remoued to the Sauoie, which was at that time a goodlie houſe, perteining to the duke of Lancaſter, though afterwards it was burnt and deſtroied by Wat Tiler, Iacke Straw, and their companie. In this place the French king laie, and kept houſe a long time after.

Iuſts holden in Smithfield

In the winter following were roiall iuſtes holden in Smithfield, at the which were preſent the kings of England, France, and Scotland, with manie great eſtates of all their thrée kingdoms, of the which the more part of the ſtrangers were as then priſoners. It was reported, that the French king could not ſo diſſemble nor cloake his inward thought, but that there appeared ſome tokens of gréefe in his countenance, whileſt he beheld theſe warlike paſtimes. And when the king of England, & his ſonne prince Edward with comfortable words required him after ſupper to put all penſiue cares out of his fantaſie, and to be merrie and ſing as other did, he ſhould make this anſwer with a ſmiling countenance, alluding to the complaint of the Iſraelits in time of their captiuitie vnder the gentiles, & ſaieng,

The French K. ſorowfull.

Quomodo cantabimus canticum in terra aliena?

Pſalm. 137.

Thom. Walſ.
Froiſſard.

Cardinals ſent into England.

About the ſame time there came ouer into England two cardinals, the one called Taliran being biſhop of Alba (commonlie named the cardinall of Pierregort) and the other named Nicholas intituled cardinall of S. Vitale or (as Froiſſard ſaith) of Dargell, they were ſent from pope Innocent the ſixt, to intreat for a peace betwixt the kings of England and France: but they could not bring their purpoſe to anie perfect concluſion, although they remained here for the ſpace of two yeares: but yet onelie by good means they procured a truce betwéene the ſaid kings, and all their aſſiſtants, to indure from the time of the publication thereof, vnto the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt, which ſhould be in the yeare 1359: out of the which truce was excepted the L. Philip of Nauarre, and his alies, the counteſſe of Montfort, and the whole duchie of Britaine.

A truce for two yeares.

The French king remoued to windſor.

Anon after, the French king was remoued from the Sauoie vnto the caſtell of Windſor with all his houſhold, and then he went on hunting and hawking there about at his pleaſure, and the lord Philip his ſonne with him, all the reſidue of the priſoners abode ſtill at London, but were ſuffered to go vp and downe, and to come to the court when they would. In the ſame yeare the duke of Lancaſter beſieged the citie of Rennes in Britaine, in the title of the counteſſe of Richmond, & hir yong ſonne Iohn of Montfort, that claimed to be duke of Britaine. Thoſe that were within the citie, as the vicount of Rohan, and Berthram de Claiquin (who as then was a luſtie yong bacheler) and others defended themſelues manfullie for a time, but yet at length they were compelled to render the citie into their enimies hands.

Rennes beſieged.

Tho. Walſi.

About the ſame time two Franciſcane friers were burnt at London, for matters of religion. ¶ Moreouer quéene Iſabell, mother vnto king Edward the third, departed this life the ſeauen and twentith daie of Auguſt, and was buried the ſeauen and twentith daie of Nouember, in the church of the friers minors at London, not yet dedicated. ¶ Dauid king of Scotland, ſhortlie after the truce was concluded betwixt England and France, was ſet at libertie, paieng for his ranſome the ſumme of one hundred thouſand marks (as Fourdon ſaith) but whether he meaneth Scotiſh or ſterling monie, I cannot ſaie. He alſo was bound by couenant now vpon his deliuerance, to cauſe the caſtels in Nideſdale to be raiſed, which were knowne to be euill neighbors to the Engliſh borderers, as Dunfriſe, Dalſwinton, Morton, Dunſdere, and nine other.

Fourdon.
The king of Scots ranſomed.

Polydor.

His wife quéene Ione made ſuch earneſt ſute to hir brother king Edward for hir husbands deliuerance, that king Edward was contented to releaſe him vpon the paiment of ſo ſmall a portion of monie, and performance of the couenants, for the raiſing of thoſe caſtels; although Froiſſard ſaith, that he was couenanted to paie for his deliuerance within the tearme of ten yeares, fiue hundred thouſand nobles, and for ſuertie of that paiment to ſend into England ſufficient hoſtages, as the earles of Dowglas, Murrey, Mar, Sutherland, and Fiffe, the baron of Veſcie, and ſir William Camoiſe. Alſo he couenanted neuer to weare armour againſt king Edward, within his realme of England, nor to conſent that his ſubiects ſhould ſo doo: and further ſhould vpon his returne home, doo the beſt he could to cauſe the Scots to agrée that their countrie ſhould hold of him in fée, and that he and his ſucceſſours, kings of Scotland, ſhould doo homage to the king of England, and his ſucceſſors for the realme of Scotland.

Froiſſard.

1358
Anno Reg. 32.

In this two and thirtith yeare, as witneſſeth the French chronicles, ſir Robert Knolles, Iames Pipe, and one Thomlin Foulke, with other capiteins and men of warre as ſouldiours to the king of Nauarre vpon the tenth day of March earlie in the morning ſcaled the walles of the citie of Auxerre, and behaued them ſo manfullie, that they were maiſters of the towne before the ſunne was vp. They got excéeding much by the ſpoile of that citie, and by ranſoming the priſoners which they tooke there. At length after they had remained eight daies in that citie, and taken their pleaſures of all things within it, they wrought ſo with the citizens, that to haue poſſeſſion of their citie againe, and to haue it ſaued from fire, they agréed to giue to ſir Robert Knolles, and to his companie, fiftie thouſand motons of gold, which amounted to the ſumme of twelue thouſand and fiue hundred pounds ſterling or there about; and yet was it agréed, that the Engliſhmen ſhould burne the gates, and throw downe the walles in diuers places. In Aprill next inſuing, the towne of Daubignie ſir le Metre was likewiſe wonne by the Engliſhmen; and the ſecond daie of Maie Chaſtelon ſir Loigne was taken by the ſaid ſir Robert Knolles, and put to ſacke as the other were. From thence they went to Newcaſtell vpon Loire. Thus did the Engliſhmen and other, in title of the K. of Nauarre, greatlie indamage the realme of France, dailie winning townes and caſtels, ranſoming the people, and waſting the countries in moſt miſerable wiſe, as in the hiſtorie of France you may read more at large.

Annales de France.

The citie of Auxerre taken by ſir Robert Knolles.

Daubignie le Metre.
Chaſtelon.

Newcaſtell vpon Loire.

In this meane while there was talke of peace betwixt the king of England, and the king of France, and articles thereof drawne in this forme, that the whole countries of Gaſcoine, Guien, Poictou, Touraine, Xainctonge, Piergourd, Quercie, Limoſin, Angoliſmois, Calis, Guines, Bullogne, and Ponthieu, ſhould remaine to the king of England wholie without doing homage or paieng anie reléeſe for the ſame: but on the other part, he ſhould renounce all his right, which he might by anie manner of meane claime to the countries of Normandie, Aniou, or Maine. And further, that the French king ſhould paie a certeine ſumme of monie for his ranſome, and deliuer ſufficient pledges for the ſame, and ſo depart into France. Theſe articles were ſent ouer into France, that the thrée ſtates there might confirme them, which they refuſed to doo. Wherevpon when the truce ended, the warres were againe reuiued. ¶ The king held this yéere the feaſt of S. George at Windſor, in more ſumptuous manner than euer it had béene kept before.

Talke of a peace, and articles thereof drawne.
Caxton.

In the ſame yeare alſo, frier Iohn Liſle biſhop of

Thom. Walſ.

The biſhop of Elie.

Excommunication.

Such as deliuered the popes letters hanged.

Elie, being (as he tooke it) ſomewhat wronged by the ladie Blanch de Wake, and other that were of hir counſell, when the laſt yeare againſt the kings will vnto the popes court, where exhibiting his complaint, he cauſed the pope to excommunicate all his aduerſaries, ſending to the biſhop of Lincolne and other of the cleargie, that if they knew any of them ſo excommunicated to be dead and buried, they ſhould draw them out of their graues: which was doone. And bicauſe ſome of thoſe that were excommunicated were of the kings councell, the king tooke ſuch diſpleaſure therewith, that he gréeuouſlie diſquieted the prelats. Wherevpon there were ſent from the court of Rome on the behalfe of the biſhop of Elie, certeine perſons, which being armed, met the biſhop of Rocheſter lord treaſuror, deliuering to him letters from the pope, the contents of the which were not knowen, and forthwith they ſhranke awaie: but the kings ſeruants made ſuch purſute after them, that ſome of them they tooke, and bringing them before the kings iuſtices, vpon their arreignement they were condemned, and ſuffered death on the gallowes.

Diſcord betwixt prieſts and friers.

Th. Walſing.
John of Gant married.

1359
Anno Reg. 33.

Windſore caſtell repared.
Additions to Triuet.

A ſolemne iuſts at London.

Caxton.
The K. with his foure ſons are of the chalengers part.

The French K. remoued.
He departed frō Hertford the 29 of Iulie.
Polydor.

Great diſcord roſe alſo about this time, or rather afore, betwixt the cleargie, and the foure orders of friers, as in the booke of acts & monuments ſet forth by maſter John Fox ye may read more at large. In this yeare John of Gant earle of Richmond, ſonne to the king, the ninetéenth day of Maie married the ladie Blanch daughter to Henrie duke of Lancaſter at Reading; and bicauſe they were couſins within the degrées of conſanguinitie, forbidden by the church lawes to marrie, a diſpenſation was procured of the pope to remoue that obſtacle and let. In this yeare the king ſet workemen in hand to take downe much old bildings belonging to the caſtell of Windſore, and cauſed diuerſe other faire and ſumptuous works to be erected and ſet vp, in and about the ſame caſtell, ſo that almoſt all the maſons and carpenters that were of any accompt within this land, were ſent for and imploied about the ſame works, the ouerſéer thereof was William Wickham the kings chaplein, by whoſe aduiſe the king tooke in hand to repare that place, the rather in déed bicauſe he was borne there, and therefore he tooke great pleaſure to beſtow coſt in beautifieng it with ſuch buildings, as may appeare euen vnto this daie. Moreouer, this yeare in the Rogation wéeke was ſolemne iuſts enterpriſed at London, for the maior and his foure and twentie brethren as challengers did appoint to anſwer all commers, in whoſe name and ſtéed the king with his foure ſonnes, Edward, Lionell, John, and Edmund, and ninetéene other great lords, in ſecret manner came and held the field with honor, to the great pleaſure of the citizens that beheld the ſame. ¶ Ye haue heard how the Frenchmen refuſed the peace, which was accorded betwirt K. Edward & their king, as then priſoner here in England. Wherupō K. Edward determined to make ſuch warre againſt the realme of France, that the Frenchmen with all their harts ſhould be glad to condeſcend and agrée to reaſon: and firſt he commanded all manner of Frenchmen (other than ſuch as were priſoners) to auoid out of England. He alſo appointed the French king to be remoued from the caſtell of Hertford, where he then remained, vnto the caſtell of Somerton in Lincolneſhire, vnder the gard and conduct of the lord William Deincourt, being allowed fourtie ſhillings the day for the wages of two and twentie men at armes, twentie archers, & two watchmen: as thus, for himſelfe and ſir John Kirketon baronets, either of them foure ſhillings the daie; for thrée knights, ſir William Colleuill (in place of the lord Robert Colleuill, that could not trauell himſelfe by reaſon of ſickneſſe) ſir John Deincourt, and ſir Saer de Rochfort, ech of them two ſhillings the daie; ſeuentéene eſquiers ech of them twelue pence the day, eight archers on horſſe backe euerie of them ſix pence the day, and twelue archers on foot thrée pence, and the two watchmen either of them ſix pence the day, which amounteth in the whole vnto nine and thirtie ſhillings the day; and the od twelue pence was allowed to the ſaid lord Deincourt to make vp the ſumme of 40 ſhillings. ¶ This haue I noted the rather, to giue a light to the reader to conſider how chargeable the reteining of men of war in theſe daies is, in reſpect of the former times. But now to our purpoſe.

The king prepareth to make a iournie into France.
Froiſſard.
The duke of Lancaſter.

Braie aſſaulted.

The king meaning to paſſe ouer himſelfe in perſon into France, cauſed a mightie armie to be muſtered and put in a readineſſe, and ſent before him the duke of Lancaſter ouer to Calis with foure hundred ſpeares, and two thouſand archers, where the ſaid duke ioined with ſuch ſtrangers as were alreadie come to Calis in great numbers, and togither with them entered into the French dominions, and paſſing by ſaint Omers & Bethune, came to Mount ſaint Eloie, a goodlie abbeie and a rich, two leagues diſtant from Arras, and there the hoſt tarried foure daies, and when they had robbed and waſted all the countrie thereabout, they rode to Braie, and there made a great aſſault, at the which a baronet of England was ſlaine with diuerſe other. When the Engliſhmen ſaw they could win nothing there, they departed, and following the water of Some, came to a towne called Cherſie, where they paſſed the riuer, and there tarried Alhallowen daie, & the night following.

The kings arriuall at Calis.

Froiſſard.

Polydor.

Froiſſard.

On the ſame daie the duke of Lancaſter was aduertiſed, that the king was arriued at Calis the ſeuentéenth daie of October, commanding him by letters to draw towards him with all his companie. The duke according to the kings commandement obeied, and ſo returned toward Calis. The king being there arriued with all his power, tooke counſell which way he ſhould take. Some aduiſed him firſt to inuade Flanders, and to reuenge the iniurious dealing of the earle and the Flemings: but he would not agrée to that motion, for he purpoſed fullie either by plaine force to make a conqueſt of France, or elſe vtterlie to deſtroie and waſt the countrie throughout with fier and ſword. Herevpon he ſet forwards the fourth of Nouember, and paſſing through the countries of Arthois, and Uermendois, he came before the citie of Reimes. There went ouer with him in this iournie, & with the duke of Lancaſter, his foure ſonnes, Edward prince of Wales, Lionell earle of Ulſter, John earle of Richmond, and the lord Edmund his yoongeſt ſonne. Alſo there was Henrie the ſaid duke of Lancaſter, with the earles of March, Warwike, Suffolke, Hereford (who alſo was earle of Northampton) Saliſburie, Stafford, and Oxford, the biſhops of Lincolne, and Durham, and the lords Percie, Neuill, Spenſer, Kirdiſton, Roſſe, Mannie, Cobham, Mowbray, de la Ware, Willoughbie, Felton, Baſſet, Fitz Water, Charleton, Audelie, Burwaſch, and others, beſide knights and eſquiers, as ſir John Chandois, ſir Stephan Goſſanton, ſir Nowell Loring, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir John Liſle, ſir Richard Pembruge, and others.

Reimes beſieged.

1360

The ſiege was laid before Reimes about ſaint Andrewes tide, and continued more than ſeuen wéekes: but the citie was ſo well defended by the biſhop and the earle of Porcien, and other capiteins within it, that the Engliſhmen could not obteine their purpoſe, and ſo at length, when they could not haue forrage nor other neceſſarie things abroad in the countrie for to ſerue their turne, the king raiſed his field, and departed with his armie in good order of battell, taking the way through Champaigne, and ſo paſſed by Chaalons, and after to Merie on the riuer of

Anno Reg. 34.
Tonnere wonne.

Seine. From Merie he departed and came vnto Tonnere, which towne about the beginning of the foure and thirtith yeare of his reigne was wonne by aſſault, but the caſtell could not be wonne, for there was within it the lord Fiennes conſtable of France, and a great number of other good men of war, which defended it valiantlie.

Guillon.
Flauignie.
The number of carriages.

After the king had reſted there fiue daies, and that his men were well refreſhed with the wines and other ſuch things, which they found in that towne in good plentie, he remooued and drew towards Burgognie, comming to a towne called Guillon or Aguillon, where he lay from Aſhwedneſday vnto Midlent, hauing good prouiſion of all maner of vittels by the means of an eſquier of his called Iohn Alanſon, which had taken the towne of Flauignie not farre thence, wherein was great ſtore of bread and wine and other vittels: and ſtill the marſhals rode forth, and oftentimes refreſhed the hoſt with new prouiſion. The Engliſhmen had with them in their carriages, tents, pauillions, milles, ouens, and forges; alſo boates of leather cunninglie made and deuiſed, able to receiue thrée men a péece, and to paſſe them ouer waters and riuers. They had at the leaſt ſix thouſand carts with them, and for euerie cart foure horſſes which they had out of England.

Caxton. Additions to Ad. Merimuth.
Winchelſie burnt by the French.
A Compoſitiō made to ſpare the countrie of Burgognie.

In this meane while, the Frenchmen made certeine veſſels forth to the ſea, vnder the gouernance of the earle of S. Paule, the which vpon the fiftéenth daie of March landed earlie in the morning at Winchelſie, and before ſunne riſing entred the towne, and finding the inhabitants vnprouided to make anie great reſiſtance, fell to and ſacked the houſes, ſlue manie men, women and alſo children, and after ſet fier on the towne; and vpon knowledge had that the people of the countrie next adioining were aſſembled, and comming to the reſcue, he cauſed his men to draw to their ſhips, and ſo they taking their pillage and ſpoile with them, got them abord, not without ſome loſſe of their companie, which were ſlaine in the towne by ſuch as reſiſted their violence. Whileſt the king laie at Aguillon, there came to him Anſcaume de Salilans chancellor of Burgognie, Iaques de Vienne, and other lords of the countrie, being ſent from their duke, to agrée with the king for the ſparing of the lands and ſeigniories apperteining to the duchie of Burgognie.

Franks hath Paradine, in Les Annales de Burgognie. Froiſſard.
The king of England draweth towards Paris

The chancellor, and the other Burgognian lords found the king ſo agréeable to their requeſt, that a compoſition was made betwixt him and the countrie of Burgognie, ſo that he ſhould make to them an aſſurance for him, and all his people, not to ouerrun or indamage that countrie, during the ſpace of thrée yeares, and he to haue in readie monie the ſumme of two hundred thouſand florens of gold, which of ſterling monie amounted to the ſumme of fiue and thirtie thouſand pounds. When this agréement was ingroſſed vp in writing, and ſealed, the king diſlodged, and all his hoſt, taking the right waie to Paris, and paſſing the riuer of Yonne, entered into Gaſtinois, and at length by eaſie iournies, vpon a tueſdaie being the laſt of March in the wéeke before Eaſter, he came and lodged betwéene Mont le Herie, and Chartres, with his people in the countrie there abouts.

A treatie.

Here the duke of Normandie made meanes for a treatie of peace, which was laboured by a frier called Simon de Langres prouinciall of the friers Iacobins and the popes legat: he did ſo much, that a treatie was appointed to be holden on good fridaie in the Malederie of Longegimew, where appeared for the king of England the duke of Lancaſter, the erls of Warwike and Northampton, with ſir Iohn Chandois, ſir Walter de Mannie, and ſir William Cheinie knights: and for the French king thither came the earle of Eu conſtable of France, and the marſhall Bouciquaut, with other; but their treatie came to none effect: wherfore the king vpon the tueſdaie in the Eaſter wéeke remooued néerer vnto Paris, and vpon the fridaie following, being the tenth of Aprill, by procurement of the abbat of Clugnie newlie come from pope Innocent the ſixt, the foreſaid commiſſioners eftſoones did méet to treat of an agréement, but nothing they could conclude, the parties in their offers and demands were ſo farre at ods.

The Engliſh men before Paris.
Polydor. The ſuburbs of Paris burnt.
Froiſſard. The biſhop of Beauuois.

Vpon the ſundaie next following, a part of the kings hoſte came before the citie of Paris, and imbattelled themſelues in a field faſt by ſaint Marcilles, abiding there frō morning till thrée of the clocke in the after noone, to ſée if the Frenchmen would come forth to giue battell: but the French would not taſte of that veſſell. For the duke of Normandie (well conſidering what loſſe had inſued within few yeares paſt vnto the realme of France, by giuing battell to the Engliſhmen, and taught by late triall and féeling of ſmart to dread imminent danger, for

Vulneribus didicit miles habere metum)

would not ſuffer anie of his people to iſſue forth of the gates, but commanded them to be readie onelie to defend the walles and gates, although he had a great power of men of warre within the citie, beſide the huge multitude of the inhabitants. The Engliſhmen to prouoke their enimies the ſooner to ſaile forth, burnt diuerſe parts of the ſuburbs, and rode euen to the gates of the citie. When they perceiued that the Frenchmen would not come forth, about thrée of the clocke in the afternoone they departed out of the field and withdrew to their campe, and then the king and all the Engliſh hoſt remooued towards Chartres, and was lodged at a place called Dones. Thither came to him the biſhop of Beauuois then chancellor of Normandie, with other, and ſo handled the matter with him, that a new daie of treatie was appointed to be holden at Bretignie, which is little more than a mile diſtant from Chartres, vpon the firſt day of Maie next inſuing.

A new treatie
The duke of Lancaſter perſuadeth the king to agrée.

In which daie and place appointed, the foreſaid duke of Lancaſter, and the ſaid earles and other commiſſioners met with the ſaid biſhop, and other French lords and ſpirituall men to him aſſociate, on the behalfe of the duke of Normandie then regent of France, to renew the former communication of peace, in full hope to bring it to a good concluſion; bicauſe king Edward began to frame his imagination more to accord with his aduerſaries, than he had doone of late, chéefelie for that the duke of Lancaſter with courteons words and ſage perſuaſions, aduiſed him not to forſake ſuch reaſonable conditions as the Frenchmen were contented now to agrée vnto, ſith that by making ſuch manner of warre as he had attempted, his ſouldiers onelie gained, and he himſelfe loſt but time, and conſumed his treaſure: and further he might warre in this ſort all the daies of his life, before he could atteſne to his intent, and looſe perhaps in one daie more than he had gained in twentie yeares.

An hideous ſtorme & tempeſt of wether

Such words ſpoken for the wealth of the king and his ſubiects, conuerted the kings mind to fanſie peace, namelie by the grace of the Holie-ghoſt chéefe worker in this caſe. For it chanced on a daie, as he was marching not farre from Chartres, there came ſuch a ſtorme and tempeſt of thunder, lightening, haile and raine, as the like had neuer béene ſéene by anie of the Engliſh people. This ſtorme fell ſo hideous in the kings hoſt, that it ſéemed the world ſhould haue ended: for ſuch vnreaſonable great ſtones of haile fell from the ſkie, that men and horſſes were ſlaine therewith, ſo that the moſt hardie were abaſhed. There periſhed thouſands thereby, as ſome haue written. Then the king remembring what reaſonable offers of agreement he had refuſed, vpon remorſe of conſcience (as by ſome writers ſhould appeare) aſked forgiueneſſe of the damage doone by ſword and fire in thoſe parts, and fullie determined to grant vnto indifferent articles of peace, for releaſe of the chriſtian inhabitants of that land: and ſo ſhortlie after, by the good diligence of the commiſſioners on both parts, an vnitie and finall peace was accorded, the conditions whereof were compriſed in fortie and one articles, the chiefe whereof in effect were theſe.

A peace concluded.

The articles.

Fabian. Froiſſard.

1 Firſt that the king of England ſhould haue and enioy (ouer and beſide that which he held alreadie in Gaſcoigne and Guien) the caſtell, citie, and countie of Poictiers, and all the lands and countrie of Poictou, with the fee of Touars, and the lands of Belleuille; the citie and caſtell of Xaintes, and all the lands and countrie of Xaonctonge on both ſides the riuer of Charent, with the towne and fortreſſe of Rochell, with their appurtenances; the citie and caſtell of Agent, and the countrie of Agenois; the citie and caſtell of Piergort, and all the land and countrie of Periguenr; the citie and caſtell of Limoges, and all the lands and countrie of Limoſin; the citie and caſtell of Cahors, and the lordſhip of Cahorſin; the caſtell and countrie of Tarbe; the lands countrie and countie of Bigorre; the countie, countrie, and lands of Gaure; the citie and caſtell of Angoleſme; and the countie, land, and countrie of Angoleſmois; the citie, towne and caſtell of Rodair; and all the countie, and countrie of Rouergne; and if there were in the duchie of Guien any lords, as the earles of Foiz, Arminacke, Liſle, and Perigueux, the vicounts of Carmain, and Limoges, or other holding any lands within the foreſaid bounds, it was accorded that they ſhould doo homage and other cuſtomarie ſeruices due for the ſame vnto the king of England.

Homages and ſeruices.

2 It was alſo agreed, that Calis and Guines, with the appurtenances, the lands of Montreuill on the ſea with the countie of Ponthieu, wholie and entirelie ſhould remaine vnto the king of England. All the which countries, cities, townes, and caſtels, with the other lands and ſeigniories, the ſame king ſhould haue and hold to him and his heires for euer, euen as they were in demaine or fee, immediatlie of God, and free without recognizing any maner ſouereingtie to any earthlie man. In conſideration whereof, king Edward renounced all ſuch claimes, titles and intereſt as he pretended vnto any part of France, other than ſuch as were compriſed within the charter of couenants of this peace firſt agreed vpon at Bretignie aforeſaid, and after confirmed at Calis, as appeareth by the ſame charter dated there the foure & twentith daie of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1360.

The date of the charter of the peace.

The French kings ranſome.

3 It was alſo couenanted, that the French king ſhould paie vnto the king of England thirtie hundred thouſand crownes in name of his ranſome: for aſſurance of which paiment, & performance of all the couenants afore mentioned, and other agreed vpon by this peace, the dukes of Orleance, Aniou, Berrie, and Burbon, with diuerſe other honorable perſonages, as earles, lords, and burgeſſes of euerie good towne, ſome were appointed to be ſent ouer hither into England to remaine as hoſtages.

Hoſtages.

The French not to aid the Scots.

4 It was further agreed, that neither the French king nor his ſucceſſors ſhould aid the Scots againſt the king of England or his ſucceſſors; nor that king Edward nor his heirs kings of England ſhould aid the Flemings againſt the crowne of France.

Britaine.

5 And as for the title or right of the duchie of Britaine, which was in queſtion betweene the earles of Blois and Mountfort, it was accorded, that both kings being at Calis, the parties ſhould be called before them, and if the two kings could not make them freends, then ſhould they aſſigne certeine indifferent perſons to agree them, and they to haue halfe a yeeres reſpit to end the matter: and if within that terme thoſe that ſhould be ſo appointed to agree them, could not take vp the matter betwixt the ſaid earles, then either of them might make the beſt purchaſe for himſelfe that he could, by helpe of freends, or otherwiſe: but alwaies prouided, that neither of the kings nor their ſonnes ſhould ſo aid the ſaid earles, whereby the peace accorded betwixt England and France, might by any meanes be broken or infringed. Alſo, to whether of the ſaid earles the duchie of Britaine in the end chanced to fall by ſentence of iudges, or otherwiſe, the homage ſhould be doone for the ſame vnto the French king.

All theſe ordinances, articles and agreements, with manie mo (which here would be too long to rehearſe) were accorded and ratified by the inſtruments and ſeales of the prince of Wales on the one part, and of the duke of Normandie regent of France on the other part, as by their letters patents then ſealed further appeared, bearing date, the one at Loures in Normandie the ſixteenth daie of Maie in the yeare of Grace 1360, and the other at Paris the tenth day of the ſame moneth, and in the yeare aforeſaid. Ouer & beſide this, both the ſaid princes tooke on them a ſolemne oth, to ſee all the ſame articles and couenants of agreement throughlie kept, mainteined and performed. This doone, king Edward imbarked himſelfe with his foure ſonnes and the moſt part of his nobles at Hunfleu the twentith daie of Maie, and ſo ſailed into England, leauing behind him the earle of Warwike to haue the gouernement of all the men of warre which he left behind him, either in Guien or in any other place on that ſide the ſea.

The king of England returneth home. The earle of Warwike.

Tho. Walſin. The French king goeth ouer to Calis.

There died in this iournie diuerſe noble men of this land, as the earles of March and Oxford, the lord Iohn Graie then ſteward of England, and the lord Geffrie de Saie, with diuerſe other. The eight of Iulie next inſuing, the French king hauing licence to depart, landed at Calis, and was lodged in the caſtell there abiding till the king of England came thither, which was not till the ninth day of October next after. On the foure and twentith daie of October, both the kings being in two trauerſes and one chappell at Calis, a maſſe was ſaid before them, and when they ſhould haue kiſſed the pax, either of them in ſigne of greater freendſhip kiſſed the other, & there they were ſolemnelie ſworne to mainteine the articles of the ſame peace; and for more aſſurance thereof, manie lords of both parts were likewiſe ſworne to mainteine the ſame articles to the vttermoſt of their powers. Whileſt theſe kings laie thus at Calis, there was great banketting and cheere made betwixt them.

The kings receiue a ſolemne oth to ſee the peace performed.

The duke of Normandie.

Alſo the duke of Normandie came from Bullongne to Calis, to viſit his father, and to ſee the king of England, in which meane time two of king Edwards ſonnes were at Bullongne. Finallie, when theſe two kings had finiſhed all matters in ſo good order and forme that the ſame could not be amended nor corrected, and that the French king had deliuered his hoſtages to the king of England, that is to ſaie, ſix dukes, beſide earles, lords, and other honorable perſonages, in all to the number of eight and thirtie: on the morrow after the taking of their oths, that is to ſaie on the fiue and twentith daie of October, being ſundaie, the French king was freelie deliuered, and the ſame daie before noone he departed from Calis, and rode to Bullongne. The king of England brought him a mile foreward on his waie, and then tooke leaue of him in moſt louing maner. The prince atten-

The number of the French hoſtages.

attended him to Bullongne, where both he and the duke of Normandie with other were eftſoons ſworne to hold and mainteine the foreſaid peace without all fraud or colourable deceit: and this doone, the prince returned to Calis. Thus was the French king ſet at libertie, after he had béene priſoner here in England the ſpace of foure yeares, and as much as from the ninetéenth daie of September, vnto the fiue and twentith of October. When the king of England had finiſhed his buſineſſe at Calis, according to his mind, he returned into England, and came to London the ninth daie of Nouember.

The French king ſet at libertie.

¶Thus haue yée hard the originall begining, the proceſſe, and iſſue of ſundrie conflicts and battels, and ſpeciallie of two, one of Iohn the French king vnluckilie attempted againſt England; the other of Dauid the Scotiſh king as vnfortunatlie ended. For both kings were ſubdued in fight, vanquiſhed, and taken priſoners; with a great number of their noblemen, whereas they were in hope to haue gone awaie with the conqueſt, and to haue had renowme for their reward. Of which ouerthrow giuen to both theſe kings, with the clemencie of king Edward (in whoſe hands though their liues laie to be diſpoſed as he liſt, yet he was ſo far from violating the ſame, that he ſhewed himſelfe a woonderfull fauourer of their eſtates, and in fine not onelie put them to their reaſonable ranſoms, but reſtored them to their roialties, from the which their ſiniſter lot had depoſed them) Chriſtopher Okland hath left this remembred:

In Angl. prel. ſub Edwardo. 3.

Plantageneta duos reges iam illuſtris habebat
Captiuos, tenuit comites cuſtodia mitis
Multos ambabus claro regionibus ortos
Sanguine, quos ſæuo bello cepere Britanni.
Attamen Eduardi viguit clementia regis
Tanta, & tanta animo virtus innata ſedebat,
Vt pretio & pacto dimitteret ære redemptos
In patriam ad propriæ conſanguinitatis amicos.

Strange woonders.

In this foure and thirtith yeare of king Edward, men and cattell were deſtroied in diuerſe places of this realme, by lightening and tempeſt; alſo houſes were ſet on fier and burnt, and manie ſtrange and woonderfull ſights ſéene. ¶The ſame yeare Edward prince of Wales married the counteſſe of Kent, which before was wife vnto the lord Thomas Holland: and before that, ſhe was alſo wife vnto the erle of Saliſburie, and diuorſed from him, and wedded to the ſame lord Holland. She was daughter vnto Edmund earle of Kent, brother to king Edward the ſecond, that was beheaded in the beginning of this kings reigne, as before yée haue heard. And bicauſe the prince and ſhée were within degrées of conſanguinitie forbidden to marrie, a diſpenſation was gotten from the pope to remooue that let. In this yeare alſo was a great death of people (namelie of men, for women were not ſo much ſubiect thereto.) This was called the ſecond mortalitie, bicauſe it was the ſecond that fell in this kings daies.

A great death.

Hen. Marl.
The primat of Ardmach departed this life.

This yeare alſo by the death of Richard fitz Rafe primat of Ardmach, that departed this life in the court of Rome; and alſo of Richard Kilminton deceaſſed here in England, the diſcord that had continued for the ſpace of thrée or foure yeares betwixt them of the cleargie on the one part, and the foure orders of friers on the other part, was now quieted and brought to end. Moreouer, this yeare appeared two caſtels in the aire, of the which the one appeared in the ſoutheaſt, and the other in the ſouthweſt, out of which caſtels about the houre of noone ſundrie times were ſéene hoſts of armed men (as appeared to mans ſight) iſſuing forth, and that hoſt which ſailed out of the caſtell in the ſoutheaſt ſéemed white, and the other blacke. They appeared as they ſhould haue fought either againſt other, and firſt the white had the vpper hand, and after was ouercome, and ſo vaniſhed out of ſight.

1361
Additions to Triuet, and Adam Merimuth.
A ſtrãge ſight in the aire.

Froiſſard.

About the ſame time, the ſouldiors, which were diſcharged in France and out of wages, by the breaking vp of the warres, aſſembled togither, and did much hurt in that realme, as in the French hiſtories yée may read. Their chéefe leaders were Engliſhmen and Gaſcoignes ſubiects to the king of England. The king aſſembled the ſtates of his realme in parlement at Weſtminſter in the feaſt of the Conuerſion of S. Paule, and there was declared vnto them the tenor and whole effect of the peace concluded betwixt England and France, wherewith they were greatlie pleaſed, and herevpon the nobles of the realme, and ſuch Frenchmen as were hoſtages, came togither at Weſtminſter church on the firſt ſundaie of Lent next following: and there ſuch as were not alreadie ſworne, receiued the oth for performance of the ſame peace, in a right ſolemne manner, hauing the tenour of their oths written in certeine ſcrols; and after they had taken their oths vpon the ſacrament and maſſe booke, they deliuered the ſame ſcrols vnto certeine notaries appointed to receiue and regiſter the ſame.

Anno Reg. 35.
A parlement.

Caxton.

The mortalitie yet during, that noble duke Henrie of Lancaſter departed this life on the éeuen of the Annunciation of our ladie, and was buried at Leiceſter. ¶Iohn of Gant the fourth ſon to the king, who had married his daughter the ladie Blanch, as before yée haue heard, ſuccéeded him in that dutchie as his heire in right of the ſaid ladie. The ſame yéere alſo died the lord Reginold Cobham, the lord Walter fitz Warren, and thrée biſhops, Worceſter, London, and Elie. This yeare vpon the fiftéenth day of Ianuarie there roſe ſuch a paſſing wind, that the like had not béene heard of in manie yéeres before. It began about euenſong time in the ſouth, and that with ſuch force, that it ouerthrew and blew downe ſtrong and mightie buildings, as towers, ſtéeples, houſes and chimnies. This outragious wind continued thus for the ſpace of ſix or ſeauen daies, whereby euen thoſe buildings that were not ouerthrowne and broken downe, were yet ſo ſhaken, that they without repairing were not able long to ſtand. After this followed a verie wet ſeaſon, namelie in the ſummer time and harueſt, ſo that much corne and haie was loſt and ſpoiled, for want of ſeaſonable weather to gather in the ſame.

Tho. Walſi.
Adam Merimuth.

1362

Caxton.

A mightie wind.

Anno Reg. 36.

The lord Lionell the kings ſonne went ouer into Ireland, to be deputie to his father there, and was created duke of Clarence, and his brother Edmund was created earle of Cambridge; alſo Edward prince of Wales was by his father king Edward inueſted duke of Guien, and did homage vnto his father for the ſame, in like manner and forme as his father and other kings of England were accuſtomed to do for the ſaid dutchie to the kings of France. And afterwards about the feaſt of Candlemaſſe next inſuing, the ſaid prince ſailed into Gaſcoigne, and arriued at Burdeaux, taking vpon him the gouernment and rule of the countrie. Moreouer this yeare, the fiue firſt daies of Maie, were kept roiall iuſts in Smithfield by London, the king and quéene being preſent, with a great multitude of the nobles and gentlemen of both the realms of England and France; at which time came hither Spaniards, Cipriots, and Armenians, requiring aid of the king againſt the infidels, that ſore moleſted their confines. ¶The ſtaple of wols was this yeare remooued to Calis.

Creations of the kings ſonnes to degrées of honor.
Hen. Marle.

The prince of Wales paſſeth ouer into Guien.
Thom. Walſ.
Additions to Ad. Merim.
A iuſts in Smithfield.
The Staple of wools remoued to Calis.

A parlement.

Alſo the ſixtéenth of October, a parlement began, that was called at Weſtminſter, which continued till the feaſt daie of S. Brice, on which daie, the king at that time fiftie yeares then paſt, was borne; wherevpon, as it were in the yeare of his iubile, he ſhewed him-

A pardon.

A ſtatute againſt purueiers.

A ſubſidie.

himſelfe more gratious to his people, granting pardon to offendors, and reuoking outlawes. Moreouer, it was ordeined in this parlement, that no maner of perſon, of what eſtate or degrée ſoeuer he was, the king, the quéene, and dukes onelie excepted, ſhould haue any purueiers of vittels, nor ſhould take vp any thing without readie paiment, and thoſe that from thenceforth did contrarie to this ordinance, ſhould be extremelie puniſhed. There was granted to the king in this parlement ſix and twentie ſhillings eight pence of euerie ſacke of wooll that was to be tranſported ouer the ſea, for thrée yeares next inſuing.

Lawiers to plead their caſes in Engliſh.

Caxton.

Schoolemaſters to teach ſcholers to conſtrue their leſſons in Engliſh.

Furthermore, at the ſute of the commons it was ordeined and eſtabliſhed by an act in this parlement deuiſed, that men of law ſhould plead their cauſes, and write their actions and plaints in the Engliſh toong, and not in the French, as they had béene accuſtomed to doo, euer ſince the Conquerors time. It was ordeined alſo, that ſchoolemaſters ſhould teach their ſcholers to conſtrue their leſſons in Engliſh, & not in French, as before they had béene vſed. The K. ſhewed ſo much curteſie to the French hoſtages, that he permitted them to go ouer to Calis, and there being néere home, to purchaſe friendſhip, by oft calling on their fréends for their deliuerance. They were ſuffered to ride to and fro about the marches of Calis, for the ſpace of foure daies togither, ſo that on the fourth daie before ſunne ſetting, they returned into Calis againe. The duke of Aniou turning this libertie to ſerue his owne turne, departed from thence, and went home into France, without making his fellowes priuie to his purpoſe.

1363

Anno Reg. 37.

Thom. Walſ.

Additions to Adam Merimuth.

A ſtatute of araie againſt coſtlie apparell.

Thrée kings come into England about buſineſſe with K. Edward.

This yeare a parlement was called by the king, which began the ninth of October, from the which none of the noble men could obteine licence to be abſent. In this parlement all rich ornaments of gold and ſiluer vſed to be worne in kniues, girdels, ouches, rings, or otherwiſe, to the ſetting forth of the bodie, were prohibited, except to ſuch as might diſpend ten pounds by yeare. Morouer that none ſhould weare any rich clothes or furres, except they might diſpend an hundred pounds by yeare. ¶ Moreouer it was enacted, that labourers and huſbandmen ſhould not vſe any deintie diſhes, or coſtlie drinks at their tables. But theſe, and ſuch other acts as were deuiſed and eſtabliſhed at this parlement, tooke none effect, as after it appeared. In this yeare, there came into England to ſpeake with king Edward concerning their weightie affaires, thrée kings, to wit, the king of France, the king of Scotland, & the king of Cypres: they were honorablie receiued, and highlie feaſted.

1364

Anno. Reg. 38.

The death of the French king,

Fabian.

The king of Scotland, and the king of Cypres after they had diſpatched their buſineſſe for the which they came, turned backe againe; but the French king fell ſicke, and remained here till he died, as in the next yeare ye ſhall heare. He arriued here in England, about the latter end of this yeare, and came to Eltham (where king Edward as then laie) on the foure and twentith day of Ianuarie, and there dined. After diner, he tooke his horſſe and rode toward London, and vpon Blacke heath, the citizens of London clad in one kind of liuerie, and verie well horſſed, met him, and conueied him from thence through to London, to the Sauoy, where his lodging was prepared. About the beginning of March, in this eight and thirtith yeare, the forenamed French king fell into a gréeuous ſickeneſſe, of the which he died the eight day of Aprill following. His corps was conueied into France, and there buried at S. Deniſe: his exequies were kept here in England in diuerſe places right ſolemnelie, by king Edwards appointment.

The battell of Aulroy.

Froiſſard.

This yeare, by reaſon of an extreme ſore froſt, continuing from the ſeuen and twentith day of September laſt paſſed, vnto the beginning of Aprill, in this eight and thirtith yeare (or rather from the ſeuenth day of December till the nineteenth day of March, as Walſingham and other old writers doo report) the ground laie vntild, to the great hinderance and loſſe of all growing things on the earth. This yeare on Michaelmaſſe day, before the caſtell of Aulroy, not far diſtant from the citie of Vannes in Britaine, a ſore battell was fought betwixt the lord Charles de Blois, and the lord Iohn of Mountford. For when there could be no end made betwixt theſe two lords, touching their title vnto the duchie of Britaine, they renewed the wars verie hotlie in that countrie, and procured all the aid they might from each ſide. The king of France ſent to the aid of his couſine Charls de Blois a thouſand ſpeares; and the earle of Mountford ſent into Gaſcoigne, requiring ſir Iohn Chandois, and other Engliſhmen there to come to his ſuccour. Sir Iohn Chandois gladlie conſented to this requeſt, and therevpon got licence of the prince, and came into Britaine, where he found the earle of Mountford at the ſiege of the foreſaid caſtell of Aulroy. In the meane time, the lord Charles de Blois, being prouided of men, and all things neceſſarie to giue battell, came and lodged faſt by his enimies.

Thrée thouſand and ſix hundred fighting men, as Walſing. ſaith.

The earle of Mountford aduertiſed of his approch, by the aduiſe of ſir Iohn Chandois and other of his capteins, had choſen out a plot of ground to lodge in, and meant there to abide their enimies. With the lord Charles of Blois was that valiant knight ſir Berthram de Cleaquin or Gueſclin (as ſome write him) by whoſe aduiſe there were ordeined thrée battels, and a reregard, and in each battell were appointed a thouſand of good fighting men. On the other part, the earle of Mountford diuided his men likewiſe into thrée battels and a reregard. The firſt was led by ſir Robert Knols, ſir Walter Hewet, and ſir Richard Bruſle or Burlie. The ſecond by ſir Oliuer de Cliſſon, ſir Euſtace Daubreticourt, and ſir Mathew Gournie. The third the earle of Mountford himſelfe guided, and with him was ſir Iohn Chandois aſſociat, by whom he was much ruled: for the king of England, whoſe daughter the earle of Mountford ſhould marie, had written to ſir Iohn Chandois, that he ſhould take good héed to the buſineſſe of the ſaid earle, and order the ſame as ſagelie as he might deuiſe or imagine.

The worthie actiuitie of the Engliſh archers.

In ech of theſe thrée armies were fiue hundred armed men, and foure hundred archers. In the reregard were appointed fiue hundred men of warre, vnder the gouernance of ſir Hugh Caluerlie. Beſide ſir Iohn Chandois, & other Engliſhmen recited by Froiſſard, there was the lord William Latimer, as one of the chiefe on the earle of Mountfords ſide. There were not paſt ſixtéene hundred good fighting men on that ſide, as Thomas Walſingham plainelie writeth. Now when the hoſts were ordred on both ſides (as before we haue ſaid) they approched togither, the Frenchmen came cloſe in their order of battell, and were to the number of fiue and twentie hundred men of armes, after the manner of that age, beſide others. Euerie man had cut his ſpeare (as then they vſed, at what time they ſhould ioine in battell) to the length of fiue foot, and a ſhort ax hanging at his ſide. At the firſt incounter, there was a ſore battell, and trulie the archers ſhot right fiercelie, howbeit their ſhot did litle hurt to the Frenchmen, they were ſo well armed and furniſhed: the archers perceiuing that (being big men and light) caſt awaie their bowes, and entered in amongſt the Frenchmen that bare the axes, and plucked them out of their hands, wherwith they fought after right hardlie. There was doone manie a noble feat of armes, manie taken, and reſcued againe.

Againſt the earle of Montfords battell, fought the battell which the lord Charles de Blois ruled, and at the firſt, the earle of Montfords part was ſore oppreſſed, and brought out of order in ſuch ſort, that if ſir Hugh Caluerlie had not in time releeued them, the loſſe had runne on that ſide, but finallie ſo long they fought, that all the battels aſſembled and ioined each to other, except the reregard of the Engliſhmen, whereof (as is ſaid) ſir Hugh Caluerlie was cheefe. He kept alwaies his battell on a wing, and euer ſuccoured where he ſaw need. At length, the Frenchmen not able to indure the valiant doings of their aduerſaries, began to breake. Firſt the earle of Auxerres batell was diſcomfited, and put to flight, and the ſaid earle ſore wounded, and taken priſoner, but the battell of ſir Berthram de Cleaquin as yet ſtood manfullie at defenſe, howbeit at length the Engliſhmen perforce opened it, and then was the ſaid ſir Berthram taken priſoner, vnder the banner of ſir Iohn Chandois.

Sir Hugh Caluerlie.

The earle of Auxerre takẽ priſoner.

Sir Berthrã de Cleaquin.

Heerewith alſo, all the other battels of the Frenchmen and Britaines, on the part of the lord Charles de Blois, were cleane diſcomfited, and put out of araie, ſo that ſuch as reſiſted, and ſtood at defenſe, were ſlaine and beaten downe, and amongſt others, the lord Charles was there ſlaine himſelfe, and all other either taken or ſlaine, except thoſe that eſcaped by flight, amongſt the which there were not manie of the nobilitie. For (as Thomas Walſingham ſaith) there were ſlaine about a thouſand men of armes, and there were taken two earles, ſeuen and twentie lords, and fifteene hundred men of armes. The chaſe was followed to the citie of Reimes, eight great leagues from the place where the battell began. After this victorie, the earle of Montford conquered manie townes and caſtels in Britaine, whereof the French king being aduertiſed, ſent his brother the duke of Anion, vnto the wife of the lord Charles of Blois now deceaſſed, to comfort hir in ſuch an heauie caſe, and to take order for things as ſhould be thought expedient, vntill further prouiſion might be made.

Shortlie after, there were ſent vnto the earle of Montford, the archbiſhop of Reimes, the marſhall Bouciquault, and the lord of Cran, as commiſſioners, to commune with him of a finall agreement. Wherevpon, after he had ſignified the matter vnto the king of England, and vnderſtood his pleaſure therein, this treatie was ſo handled, that peace thereof followed, and the parties were agreed in the moneth of Aprill next inſuing. ¶ This yeare (as ſome haue written) king Edward finiſhed his warres vpon S. Stephans daie, and began the foundation of S. Stephans chappell at Weſtminſter in memorie thereof, which chappell was afterwards finiſhed by king Richard the ſecond that ſucceeded him. ¶ In the nine and thirtith yeere of king Edwards reigne, and in the moneth of Februarie, in the citie of Angoleſme, was borne the firſt ſonne of prince Edward, and was named after his father, but he departed this life the ſeuenth yeare of his age.

Ambaſſadors ſent to ẏ earle of Montford.

The variance for Britaine compounded.

Fabian.

1365

Anno Reg. 39. Fabian.

Tho. Walſ.

Alſo this yeare, the ſeuen and twentith of Iulie, Ingeram de Guines lord de Coucie a Frenchman, married the ladie Iſabell daughter to K. Edward. The ſolemnization of the marriage feaſt was kept at Windſor in moſt roiall and triumphant wiſe. The ſaid lord Coucie was created earle of Bedford, with an yeerelie annuitie of thirtie markes, going foorth of the iſſues and profits of that countie, ouer and beſide a thouſand marks by yeare, aſſigned to him and his ſaid wife, and to the heires male of their bodies begotten, to be paid forth of the excheker. About this time, there was a treatie alſo for marriage to be had, betwixt the lord Edmund earle of Cambridge, and the ladie Margaret, daughter and heire to the earle of Flanders, which treatie went ſo far, that the earle came ouer to Douer, where the king was readie to receiue him, and there the earle promiſed by words of affiance, to giue his ſaid daughter vnto the ſaid lord Edmund in marriage: and after that the earle had beene at Douer, the ſpace of three daies, paſſing the time in great ſolace and banketting, when he had finiſhed his buſineſſe, he returned backe againe into his countrie.

The lord Coucie marieth the king of Englands daughter. Polychron.

Froiſſard. Ia. Mair.

A treatie of mariage for the earle of Cambridge.

The earle of Flanders.

Whileſt the king was thus at Douer with the earle of Flanders, the lord Latimer came from the lord Iohn de Montford, to vnderſtand his pleaſure, touching the offers that were made for peace, vpon whoſe returne with anſwer, the peace was concluded as before yee haue heard. This yeare was Peter king of Caſtile chaſed out of his realme, by his baſtard brother Henrie, which was aided in that enterpriſe by ſir Berthram de Cleaquin latelie deliuered, and other Frenchmen; ſo that the ſaid Henrie was crowned at Burgus, vpon Eaſter daie: wherefore the ſaid Peter was conſtreined to flee, and ſo came to Burdeaux to ſue for aid at the hands of the prince of Wales. This yeare by the kings commandement, a reſtraint was ordeined, that Peter pence ſhould not be from thenceforth anie more gathered within this realme, nor anie ſuch paiment made at Rome, which had beene vſed to be paid there, euer ſince the daies of Ine, king of Weſtſaxons, which ordeined this paiment toward the maintenance of a ſchoole for Engliſh ſcholers. But howſoeuer this paiment was abrogated at this time by king Edward, it was after renewed againe, and the monie gathered in certeine ſhires of this realme, till the daies of king Henrie the eight, ſo greatlie preuailed the vſurped power of that beaſt of Rome, which had poiſoned the princes of the world with the dregs of his abhomination, whoſe glorie ſhall end in ſhame, his honor turne to horror, and his ambitious climing vp aloft aboue all principalitie (to be compeere with God) ſhall haue an irrecouerable ruine; as long agone, and of late likewiſe hath beene and now is propheſied of him, that he may readilie read his owne downefall into hell:

In rapidas acherontis aquas, qui gloria mundi
Papa fuit, lapſu corruet ille graui:
Corruet vt rapidum deſcendit ab æthere fulmen,
Corruet in ſtygios tempus in omne lacus.

The lord Latimer.

The king of Caſtile chaſed out of his realme. Froiſſard.

Peter pence.

Ine king of Weſtſaxons.

In this yeare fell great abundance of raine in the time of haie harueſt, ſo that much corne and haie was loſt. ¶ There was alſo ſuch fighting amongſt ſparrowes in that ſeaſon, that they were found dead on the ground in great numbers. Alſo, there followed great mortalitie of people, the ſickneſſe being ſo ſharpe and vehement, that manie being in perfect health ouer night when they went to bed, were found dead in the morning. Alſo, manie died of the ſmall pocks, both men, women, and children. ¶ Moreouer this yeare, Simon Iſlep archbiſhop of Canturburie departed this life, and Simon Langham biſhop of Elie ſucceeded in his place. This yeare at Burdeaux, was borne the ſecond ſonne of prince Edward named Richard, on the third daie of Aprill; his godfather at the fontſtone was Iames K. of Maiorke. ¶ Peter the king of Spaine, who (as yee haue heard) was expelled out of his realme by his baſtard brother, made ſuch earneſt ſute to the prince of Wales for aid to be reſtored home, that finallie the prince aduertiſing his father king Edward of the whole matter, by aduiſe from him, determined to bring home the ſaid king Peter, and to reſtore him againe to his kingdome, by force of armes, in deſpite of all his aduerſaries.

A rainie harueſt. Caxton.

Death.

K. Richard the ſecond borne.

Froiſſard.

The prince indeed was verie deſirous to take this enterpriſe vpon him, both of a certeine pitifull affection

tion to relieue the miſerable ſtate of king Peter, and alſo of an ardent deſire which he had to purchaſe a glorious fame thorough martiall déeds, and noble acts of chiualrie. Therfore hauing this occaſion to imploie his time in ſuch exerciſes, and now commanded thereto of his father, he was excéedinglie glad in his mind, and with all ſpéed that might be, made his prouiſion both of a ſufficient armie of men of warre, and alſo of all other things neceſſarie for the furniture of ſuch an enterpriſe: but firſt, he tooke good aſſurance of king Peter, for the paiment of the ſoldiers wages: ſo the king left at Baionne thrée of his daughters, Beatrice, Conſtance, and Iſabell as pledges, for performance of all the couenants agréed betwixt him and the prince.

1367
Anno Reg. 41.

The prince ſetteth forward towards Spaine.

He entreth into Nauarre.

Thus when the prince, by the aduiſe and counſell of ſir Iohn Chandois, and ſir Robert Knols (by whome he was much ruled) had taken direction in his buſineſſe, for that his iournie into Spaine, in each condition as was thought behoouefull, he with the king of Spaine in his companie, paſſed foorth with a puiſſant armie, and came to the ſtreicts of Ronceualle, at the entrie into Nauarre, and obteining ſo much fréendſhip of the king of Nauarre, as to haue the paſſages of his countrie opened, they entered into his realme through the ſame, as fréends, without finding anie reſiſtance. In this meane time, Henrie king of Spaine, hauing knowledge that the prince of Wales was thus comming againſt him, to reſtore his brother king Peter to his former degrée, by aduiſe of ſir Berthram de Cleaquin, got a great number of ſoldiers out of France, by whoſe aid he might the better defend himſelfe againſt his enimies.

The king of Nauarre taken by the Frenchmen.

Sir Martin de Care.

Saint Muchaule.

Now it chanced, that whileſt the prince of Wales was paſſing thorough Nauarre, toward the entrie of Spaine, certeine of thoſe Frenchmen, vnder the leading of ſir Oliuer Mannie, tooke the king of Nauarre priſoner, as he was riding from one towne to an other. Manie maruelled at that chance, and ſome there were that thought he ſuffered himſelfe to be taken for a cautele, bicauſe he would not aid the prince of Wales anie further, nor conduct him through his realme, as he had promiſed to doo. But the prince nothing diſmaid herewith, paſſed forward, by the guiding of a knight of Nauarre, called ſir Martin de Care, and finallie came to the confines of Spaine, and lodged at Victoria, not far from his enimies. For king Henrie of Spaine, vnderſtanding which waie the prince drew, came forward to incounter him, and pight downe his field, not far from the borders of his realme, at a place called ſaint Muchaule: and thus were both the hoſts lodged within a ſmall diſtance the one againſt the other.

The king of Spaine ſendeth to the prince.

Victoria.
Viana.

Polydor.

King Henrie had ſent to the prince an herauld of armes with a letter, requiring to know of him for what cauſe he moued warre againſt him, ſith he had neuer offended him. The prince taking deliberation for anſwer of this letter, kept the meſſenger with him, and perceiuing that king Henrie came not forward, but laie ſtill at ſaint Muchaule, ſtronglie incamped, he remoued from Victoria, and came to a towne called Viana, where he ſtaied two daies to refreſh his people, and after went forward, and paſſed the riuer which diuideth the realmes of Caſtile and Nauarre, at the bridge of Groigne. King Henrie aduertiſed hereof, departed from ſaint Muchaule, and came before the towne of Nauarret, ſituat on the ſame riuer. Not manie daies before the prince paſſed the riuer at Groigne, king Henrie had ſent foorth two of his brethren, the earle Dom Teille, and the lord Sanches, with ſix hundred horſſemen, to view the princes hoſt.

Sir William Felton ſlaine. Froiſſard.

They chanced to incounter two hundred Engliſh horſſemen, whom after long and ſharpe fight they diſtreſſed, & ſlue ſir William Felton, one of the chiefe leaders of thoſe Engliſhmen, and tooke ſir Thomas Felton his brother, ſir Hugh Haſtings, and diuerſe other, both knights and eſquiers. Whether that king Henrie was greatlie incouraged by this good lucke in the beginning, or that he truſted through the great multitude of his people, which he had there with him, to haue the vpper hand of his enimies, true it is, that he coueted ſore to giue them battell; and although he might haue wearied the prince, and conſtreined him for want of vittels to haue returned, or to haue fought with him at ſome great aduantage, if he had deferred the battell, as the marſhall of France Dandrehen gaue counſell, yet he would néeds fight in all the haſt, and therefore did thus approch his enimies.

The prince perceiuing that his aduerſarie came forward to incounter him, diſpatched the herauld with an anſwer to the letter which he had of him receiued, conteining in effect, that for great conſiderations, he had taken vpon him to aid the rightfull K. of Spaine, chaſed out of his realm by violent wrong, and that if it might be, he would gladlie make an agréement betwixt them; conditionallie, that king Henrie of neceſſitie muſt then forſake the adminiſtration, and all the title of the kingdome of Spaine, which by no rightfull meane he could inioy, and therefore if he refuſed thus to doo, he was for his part reſolued how to procéed. The herauld departed with this anſwer, and came therewith vnto king Henrie, and deliuered it vnto him, as then lodged with his puiſſant armie at Nauarre, ſo that then both parties prepared themſelues to battell.

The number of the princes armie.

The chiefteins of the ſame armie.

The prince hauing with him thirtie thouſand men of Engliſhmen, Gaſcoignes, and other ſtrangers, ordeined thrée battels, of the which, the firſt was led by the duke of Lancaſter, and with him was ſir Iohn Chandois conſtable of Guien, ſir William Beauchampe ſon to the earle of Warwike, the lord Dalbret, ſir Richard Dangle, and ſir Stephan Couſenton, marſhals of Guien, & diuerſe other. The middle ward was gouerned by the prince, and with him was the foreſaid Peter king of Spaine, and diuerſe other lords and knights of England, Poictou, and other countries, as the vicounts of Chatelareault and Rochcort, the lords of Partnie, Pinan, Taneboton, and others, ſir Richard Pontchardon, ſir Thomas Spenſer, ſir Iohn Orendon, and a great ſort more, whoſe names it would be too long to rehearſe. The rereward was vnder the gouernance of the king of Malorques, & with him were aſſociat the earls of Arminacke, Dalbreth, Piergort, Gominges, the captoll of Bueſz, ſir Robert Knols, and manie other valiant lords, knights, and eſquiers.

The order of the Spaniards.

On the ſecond day of Aprill, the prince with his battell thus ordered, remoued from Groigne, and marching that day two leagues forward, came before Nauarret, and there tooke his lodging, within a ſmall diſtance from his enimies, ſo that both parties prepared to giue battell the next day in the morning, commanding that euerie man at the ſounding of the firſt trumpet, ſhould apparell themſelues, that they might be readie vpon the next ſound to be ſet in order of battell, and to go againſt their enimies. The Spaniards verie earlie in the morning drew into the field, and ordeined thrée battels in this wiſe. The firſt was led by ſir Berthram de Cleaquin, wherein were all the Frenchmen and other ſtrangers, to the number of foure thouſand knights and eſquiers, well armed and appointed, after the maner of France. In the ſecond battell was the earle Dom Tielle, with his brother the lord Sanches, hauing with them fiftéene thouſand men on foot, and on horſſebacke. The third battell and the greateſt of all was gouerned by king Henrie

The number of ÿ Spaniſh armie.

Henrie himſelfe, hauing in that battell ſeuen thouſand horſſemen, and thréeſcore thouſand footmen, with croſſebowes, darts, ſpeares, lances, and other abillements of war: ſo in all thrée battels he had foureſcore and ſix thouſand men on horſſebacke and on foot.

The duke of Lancaſter.

The capitall of Beuf.

The prince of Wales, at the breaking of the daie was readie in the field with his people arranged in order of battell, and aduanced forward with them toward his enimies, an hoſting pace; and as they paſſed a little hill, they might ſée as they were deſcending downe the ſame, their enimies comming likewiſe towards them, in good order of battell. When they were approached néere togither, and readie to ioine, the duke of Lancaſters battell incountered with the battell of ſir Berthram de Cleaquin, which two battels verie eagerlie aſſailed each other, ſo that there was betwixt them a ſore conflict, and well continued. The erle Dom Teille, and his brother the lord Sanches, vpon the firſt approach of the princes battell towards them, fled out of the field, and with them two thouſand ſpeares, ſo that the reſidue of their battell were ſhortlie after diſcomfited, for the capitall of Buz otherwiſe Beuf, and the lord Cliſſon, came vpon them on foot, and ſlue and hurt manie of them, ſo that they brake their arraie, and fled to ſaue themſelues.

The archers.

King Peter.

This chance diſcomforted the hearts of the Spaniards right ſore, but yet king Henrie like a valiant gentleman came forward, and incouraged his men all that he might, ſo that there was a cruell battell, and well foughten a long time. For the Spaniards with ſlings caſt ſtones in ſuch fierce manner, that they claue therewith manie an helmet and baſſenet, hurt manie, and ouerthrew them to the earth. On the other part, the Engliſh archers ſhot freſhlie at their enimies, galled and ſlue the Spaniards, and brought them to great confuſion: yet king Henrie nothing abaſhed herewith, whereſoeuer he perceiued his men to ſhrinke, thither he reſorted, calling vpon them, and exhorting them to remember their eſtimations and duties, ſo that by his diligence and manfull incouragement, thriſe that daie did he ſtaie his people, being at point to giue ouer, and ſet them in the faces of his enimies againe. Neither did the ſouldiers alone manfullie behaue themſelues, but the capteins alſo ſtoutlie laid about them. King Peter like a lion preſſed forward, coueting to méet with his brother Henrie, that he might ſéeke his reuenge on him with his owne hands. Cruell was the fight, and tried throughlie with moſt eger and fierce minds.

The Spaniards put to flight.

At length, when the Spaniards were no longer able to ſuſteine the force and violence of the Engliſhmen, Gaſcoignes, & other which were there againſt them, they brake their arraie, and fled; ſo that neither the authoritie nor bold exhortation of king Henrie, could cauſe them to tarrie anie longer: wherevpon, when he ſaw himſelfe forſaken of his people, and that few abode with him to reſiſt his enimies, he alſo to ſaue himſelfe fled out of the field, being fullie perſuaded, that if he had béene taken, no ranſome ſhould haue ſaued his life. The battell that was beſt fought, and longeſt held togither, was that of the ſtrangers, which ſir Berthram de Cleaquin led. For if the Spaniards had doone halfe their parts as well as the Frenchmen, & other in this battell, the matter had gone harder againſt the Engliſhmen than it did: yet finallie, by the noble courage of the duke of Lancaſter, and the valiant proweſſe of ſir Iohn Chandois, ſir Hugh Caluerlie, & others, the Frenchmen were put to flight, and their battell quite diſcomfited. The ſlaughter in this battell was great, both of them that were ſlaine in the field, and of thoſe that were drowned in the riuer that runneth by the towne of Nauarret.

The number ſlaine at this battell at Nauarret.

Fabian.

Caxton.

Froiſſard.

Caxton.

After that the battell was ended, and that ſuch as had followed the chaſe were returned, the prince cauſed the fields to be ſearched, to vnderſtand what number had béene ſlaine in the battell: they that were appointed to take the view, vpon their returne reported, that there was dead of men of armes fiue hundred and thréeſcore, and of commons about ſeauen thouſand, and fiue hundred of the Engliſh part: there were ſlaine of men of name, but foure knights, two Gaſcoignes, one Almaine, and the fourth an Engliſhman, and of other meane ſouldiers, not paſt fortie (as Froiſſard ſaith.) But others affirme, that there were ſlaine of the princes part about ſixtéene hundred; which ſhould ſéeme to be more like a truth, if the battell was fought ſo ſore and fiercelie, as Froiſſard himſelfe doth make report. Howbeit, there be that write, how the duke of Lancaſter wan the field by great fortune and valiancie, yer the prince came néere to his enimies. But howſoeuer it was, the Engliſhmen obteined the victorie in this battell, fought on a ſaturdaie being the third of Aprill, in the yeare 1367. There were taken priſoners, to the number of two thouſand, and amongſt them the erle of Dene, ſir Berthram de Cleaquin, the marſhall Dandrehen or Odenhen, and manie other men of name.

Froiſſard.

After the battell, king Peter went to Burgus, and was receiued into the citie, and ſhortlie after, that is to ſay, on the wedneſdaie folowing, the prince came thither, and there held his Eaſter with king Peter, and tarried there aboue thrée wéekes. In the meane time, they of Aſturgus, Toledo, Liſbone, Cordoua, Galice, Siuill, and of all other places of the kingdome of Spaine, came in, and did homage vnto king Peter, promiſing him to be true to him euer after: for they ſaw that reſiſtance would not auaile ſo long as the prince ſhould be in the countrie. After this, the prince was in hand with king Peter, for the ſouldiers wages, by whoſe aid he was thus reſtored into his former eſtate. King Peter went vnto Siuill, to make ſhift for monie accordinglie, promiſing to returne againe, within a few wéekes, and to ſée euerie man paid, according as he had couenanted. For when he was driuen out of his realme, and came to Burdeaux to craue aid of the prince, he promiſed, that ſo ſoone as he ſhould be reſtored to his kingdome, he would ſée the ſouldiers contented of their wages, and bound himſelfe thereto, both by his oth and writing giuen vnder his ſeale. But when he obteined his purpoſe, he forgat all fréendlie dutie, and was ſo farre from performing his promiſe, that he cloaked his ill meaning with a feigned tale, and ſent the prince a meſſage ſpiced with hypocriſie and vnthankfulneſſe, two foule faults in a priuat man, much more odious in a prince and great ſtate, as the poet wiſelie and truelie ſaith in this diſtichon:

Omne animi vitium tantò conſpectius in ſe
Crimen habet, quantò maior qui peccat habetur.

King Peters diſſimulation.

The prince tarried for the returne of king Peter, both wéekes and moneths, but could not heare anie tidings of him. He therefore ſent vnto him, to vnderſtand the cauſe of the ſtaie: his anſwer was, that he had prouided monie, and ſent it by certeine of his men toward the prince, but the companions that ſerued vnder the prince, had met with it by the way, and taken it from them that had the conueiance of it: he therefore required the prince to rid the realme of thoſe ſnaphances, and to leaue behind him ſome of his officers, to whome in name of him he would make paiment of ſuch monie as was due. This anſwer pleaſed not the prince, but there was no remedie, for other at that preſent he could not haue, for anie likeliehood he ſaw: and therefore, taking order with king Peter how the paiment ſhould be made, he prepared to returne into Gaſcoigne. The order therefore taken betwixt them, was this. Within foure moneths next inſuing, king Peter ſhould paie the one halfe of the wages due to the ſoldiers for this iournie, vnto ſuch as the prince ſhould leaue behind him to receiue the ſame, and the other halfe within one yeare.

Tho. Walſi.

The prince put to his ſhifts for default of paie.

The prince was compelled to breake his plate, and to make monie thereof to paie his ſoldiers, namelie, the companions, which he had called forth of France, ſo that he left himſelfe bare of all riches, to kéepe touch with them, although king Dampeter failed in his promiſe each waie forth. For where the prince ſhould haue had in recompenſe towards his charges, the countie of Algezara, and other lands, by the ſaid Dampeters aſſignement, ſo that he ſent one of his knights to take ſeizine of the ſame lands, he was neuertheles diſapointed, for he could not come by any peaceable poſſeſſion of thoſe lands, and ſo returned greatlie impouer iſhed, hauing ſpent in this iournie all that he could make. In the meane time the baſtard Henrie, hauing eſcaped out of the field by flight, got him into France, and there through fauor of the duke of Aniou, ſo purchaſed for himſelfe, that he got togither a certeine number of Britains and other ſoldiers, & comming to the frontiers of the princes land in Gaſcoigne, got a towne in Bigore, called Bannieres, and made war vpon the princes ſubiects.

The prince returneth into Gaſcoigne.

The prince obteining paſſage for himſelfe and his men, of the kings of Aragon and Nauarre, returned to Burdeaux, and then did the baſtard Henrie forſake his garriſon at Bannieres, and went into Arragon, and there got the king of Arragons aſſiſtance: & finallie, in the yeare 1369, returning into Spaine, recouered the kingdome, and ſlue his brother king Peter, as in the hiſtorie of Spaine it may appeare, which for that it apperteineth not to this hiſtorie of England, I doo here paſſe ouer. This yeare, in the moneth of March, appeared a blaſing ſtarre, betwixt the north and weſt, whoſe beames ſtretched towards France as was then marked, threatning (as might be thought) that within a ſmall time after it ſhould againe be wrapped and ſet on fire with new troubles of warre, and euen then, that countrie was not in quiet, but harried in diuerſe parts, by ſuch ſoldiers as had béene with the prince in Spaine, & were now out of wages. The leaders of which people were for the more part Engliſhmen and Gaſcoignes, as ſir Robert Briquet, ſir Iohn Treſmelle, Robert Cenie, ſir Gaollard Vigier, the bourge of Bertueill, the bourge Camois of Cominges, as Deniſe Sauage thinketh, the bourge of Leſpare, Nandon or Nawdon of Bargerant, Bernard de la Salle, Ortigo, Lamut, and manie other.

1368
Anno Reg. 42.
A blaſing ſtarre.
Polychron.
Polydor.

Froiſſard.

The duke of Clarence goeth into Italie.

The ladie Violant.

In this 42 yeare of king Edwards reigne, his ſecond ſon the lord Lionell duke of Clarence and earle of Vlſter paſſed the ſea, with a noble companie of lords, knights, and gentlemen, and went thorough France into Lombardie, there to marrie the ladie Violant, daughter to the duke of Millane. He was honorablie receiued in all places where he came, and ſpeciallie at Paris, by the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie, the lord Coucie and other, the which brought him to the court, where he dined and ſupped with the king, and lodged within the palace. On the next day he was had to a place where the quéene lodged, and dined with hir, and after was conueied to the court againe, and ſupped that night with the king, and on the morrow following, he toke his leaue of the king and quéene the which gaue to him great gifts, and likewiſe to the noble men of England that came ouer with him, to the value of twentie thouſand florens and aboue: he was conueied from place to place, with certeine of the French nobilitie, till he came to the borders of the realme, and then entring into Sauoy, he came to Chamberie, where the earle of Sauoy was readie to receiue him, and there he remained foure daies, being highlie feaſted amongſt the ladies and damoſels: and then he departed, and the earle of Sauoy brought him to Millane, to doo him the more honor, for his ſiſter was mother to the bride, which the duke ſhould marrie.

His interteinement in Sauoy.

His receiuing into Millane.

Corio in the hiſtorie of Millane.

To ſpeake of the honorable receiuing of him into the citie of Millane, and of the great feaſt, triumph, and banketting, and what an aſſemblie there was in Millane of high eſtates, at the ſolemnizing of the mariage betwixt him and the ſaid ladie Violant, it were too long a proceſſe to remember. The gifts that the father of the bride, the lord Galeas gaue vnto ſuch honorable perſonages as were there preſent, amounted in value to an ineſtimable ſumme. ¶ The writers of the Millane hiſtories affirme, that this mariage was celebrated on the fiftéenth daie of Iune, in the yeare 1367, which being true, the ſame chanced in the 41 yeare of this kings reigne, and not in this 42 yeare, though other authors agrée, that it was in the yeare 1368. But to returne to other doings where we left.

Ia. Meir.
Froiſſard.
Caxton.

Froiſſard.

Ye haue heard how the prince of Wales could get no monie of the king of Spaine, for the wages of his men of warre, which he had reteined to ſerue him in the reducing of the ſaid king home into his countrie: wherfore the prince hauing béene at great charges in that iournie, was neither able to ſatiſfie them, nor mainteine his owne eſtate, without ſome great aid of his ſubiects, and therefore he was counſelled to raiſe a ſubſidie called a fuage, through all the countrie of Aquitaine, to run onelie for the ſpace of fiue yeares. To this paiment, euerie chimnie or fire muſt haue béene contributorie, paieng yearely one franke, the rich to haue borne out the poore. And to haue this paiment granted, all the eſtates of the countrie were called togither at Niort. The Poictouins, and they of Xaintonge, Limoſin, Rouergne, and of Rochell, agréed to the princes requeſt, with condition, that he ſhould kéepe the courſe of his coine ſtable, for the terme of ſeuen yeares.

The prince of Wales conſtreined to burden his ſubiects with a ſore ſubſidie.

Coine not to be inhanced nor abaſed.

But diuerſe of the other parts of Guien refuſed that ordinance, as the earles of Arminake, and Cominges, the vicount of Carmaigne, the lords Dalbret, de la Barde, Cande, Pincornet, and diuerſe other great barons: but yet to depart quietlie from the aſſemblie, they required a time to take better aduiſe, and ſo they repairing into their countries, determined neither to returne againe according to their promiſes, nor to ſuffer any fuage to run amongeſt them at all, and were ſo much offended with the motion, that they ſought occaſion forthwith to reuolt from the Engliſh obeiſance and ſubmiſſion, knowing that

Paſtores tondere boni haud deglubere cultris
Villoſum aſſueſcunt pecus.

The demand of this fuage the cauſe of the Gaſcoignes reuolting to the French king.

And therefore diuerſe lords of them went to the French king, and there exhibited into the chamber of the péeres of France, their complaints of the grieuous impoſitions & wrongs, which the prince went about to laie vpon them, affirming that their reſort ought of ſpeciall duty to be to the crowne of France, and to the king there, as to their lord Peramount. The French king, who would not ſéeme to breake the peace betwéene him and the king of England, diſſembled the matter, and told them that he would peruſe the tenor of the charters and letters of the peace, and ſo far forth as he might by permiſſion of the ſame, he would be glad to doo them good. The earles of Arminake, Perigourd, Cominges, and the lord Dalbret, with other that were come thither about this matter, were contented with this anſwer, and ſo ſtaied in France, till they might vnderſtand further, both of the French kings mind, and of the princes dooings. ¶ This yeere in October, was Simon Langham archbiſhop of Canturburie elected to the dignitie of a cardinall, and then William Witleſlie, biſhop of Worceſter, was remooued vnto the ſée of Canturburie.

The earle of Saint Paule

About the ſame time, the earle of ſaint Paule, one of the hoſtages in England, ſtale from hence, without taking any leaue, or ſaieng farewell. At his comming into France, he greatlie furthered the ſute of the lords of Gaſcoigne, & finallie ſo much was doone on their behalfe, that the French king was contented that the prince of Wales ſhould be appealed, and ſummoned to appeare before the French king as iudge in that point, for reformation of the wrongs which he offered to them that had made their reſort vnto him, as reaſon was they ſhould. This appeale was written, and dulie examined.

1369.

The prince of wales appealed to appeare.

The tenor of the ſaid prince of Wales *his appeale or ſummons of appearance before the French king, &c.*

CHarles by the grace of God king of France, to our nephue the prince of Wales and Aquitaine, ſend gréeting. So it is, that diuerſe prelats, barons, knights, vniuerſities, communalties, and colledges of the marches and limits of the countrie of Gaſcoigne, and the dwellers and inhabitants in the bounds of our realme, beſides diuerſe other of the duchie of Aquitaine, are reſorted, and come to our court, to haue right of certeine gréefes, and vnlawfull troubles, which you, by vnaduiſed counſell, and ſimple information, haue purpoſed to doo vnto them, whereof we greatlie maruell. Therfore, to withſtand, and to redreſſe ſuch things, we are ſo conioined to them, that we haue thought good, by our roiall power, to command you to repaire to our citie of Paris, in proper perſon, and there to ſhew and preſent your ſelfe before vs, in the chamber of our péeres, that you may be conſtreined to doo right to your people, concerning the gréefes which they alledge that you are about to oppreſſe them with, who claime to haue their reſort into our court: and that you faile not thus to doo, in as ſpéedie manner as yée can, immediatlie vpon the ſight and hearing of theſe preſent letters. In witneſſe whereof, we haue to the ſame ſet our ſeale. Yeuen at Paris, the fiue and twentith day of Ianuarie.

Anno Reg. 43.

The princes anſwer to the meſſenger.

Theſe letters were giuen to a knight and a clerke, to beare and preſent to the prince, which according to that they had in charge, went to Burdeaux, and there getting licence to come before his preſence, they read the letters, wherewith he was not a little chafed, and openlie told them for a plaine anſwer, that he meant to accompliſh the French kings requeſt, for his comming to Paris, but that ſhould be with his helmet on his head, and thréeſcore thouſand armed men, to beare witneſſe of his appearance. The meſſengers perceiuing the prince to be ſore offended with their meſſage, got them awaie, without taking their leaue: but before they were paſſed the limits of the Engliſh dominion, they were ſtaied by commandement of the prince, and committed to priſon, within the citie of Agen.

The duke of Berrie.

About the ſame time, the duke of Berrie returned into France, hauing licence of king Edward for an whole yeare; but he bare himſelfe ſo wiſelie, that he returned not againe at all: for he excuſed himſelfe, till time that the warre was open. In like manner, the more part of all the other hoſtages, by one meane or other were returned into France, and ſome indéed were deliuered vpon their ranſomes, or other conſiderations, ſo that the French king being deliuered of that obſtacle, was the more readie to breake with the king of England, and therefore vpon knowledge had of the princes anſwer, to thoſe that he ſent with the appeale, by ſuch of the meſſengers ſeruants as were returned, and declared how their maiſters were delt with, he couertlie prepared for the warre.

The lord Chandois.

Chimniage.

The lord Iohn Chandois, and other of the princes councell foreſaw what would inſue of leauieng the fuage, and therefore counſelled the prince, not to procéed any further in it. But he hauing onlie regard to the reléefe of his ſouldiers and men of warre, would néeds go forward with it. ¶ Indéed, if he might haue brought it to paſſe, as it was denied, that euerie houſholder ſhould haue paid a franke for chimniage, the ſumme would haue growne to twelue hundred thouſand frankes by the yeare, which had béene a great reléefe, and that made him the more earneſt, bicauſe he might haue béene able ſo to haue paid his debts.

Now, when it was perceiued certeinlie that open rebellion would therof inſue, and that king Edward was certified of the whole ſtate of the matter, and how diuerſe of the lords of Aquitaine were withdrawne vnto the court of France, in manner as before yée haue heard, he deuiſed a letter, which he cauſed to be publiſhed through all the parts of Aquitaine the effect whereof was this; That where the people of that countrie found themſelues gréeued for ſuch exactions as were demanded of them, he meant therefore vpon examination of their iuſt complaints, to ſée their wrongs redreſſed. And further, he was contented to pardon all ſuch as were withdrawne to the French king, ſo that within a moneths ſpace they would returne home; requiring them, that in no wiſe they ſhould ſtirre anie ſeditious tumult, but to remember their oths of allegiance, and to continue in the ſame, according to their bounden duties; and as for him, he would be readie to ſée them eaſed, that would ſhew by plaine proofe how they had béene otherwiſe gréeued than reaſon might beare. This was his meaning, and this was the aduiſe of all his councellours.

A letter publiſhed by the prince to appeaſe the Gaſcoignes.

Ia. Meir.

But this courteous letter little auailed, for dailie the Gaſcoignes reuolted from the prince, and turned to the French part. Moreouer, another occaſion of grudge chanced to renew the malice betwixt the K. of England, and the French king. For whereas yée haue heard, that the earle of Flanders had affianced his daughter and heire to the lord Edmund of Langlie, earle of Cambridge, a ſhift was made, namelie by the earles mother the counteſſe of Arthois, who was all French, that notwithſtanding the ſame affiance, ſhe was married to Philip duke of Burgognie, who was ſurnamed the Hardie, by this occaſion, as I. Meir ſaith. It chanced, that whileſt he was priſoner in England with his father, he was vpon a time appointed to wait at the table, where his father and the king of England ſat togither at meat. And bicauſe a noble man of England that was appointed likewiſe to attend at the ſame table, ſerued firſt the king of England before the king of France, this Philip vp with his fiſt, and tooke the Engliſh lord a blow on the eare, ſaieng; Wilt thou ſerue the king

Philip duke of Burgognie marieth yͤ erle of Flanders daughter.

The cauſe of his ſurname le Hardie.

of England firſt, where the French king ſitteth at the ſame table? The Engliſhman out with his dagger, & would haue ſtriken the ſaid Philip, but the king of England ſtreictlie charged him to the contrarie, and praiſing the déed of the yong ſtripling, ſaid vnto him, *Vous eſtes Philip le hardie,* Thou art (ſaid he) the hardie Philip. And ſo from that daie he bare that name euer after. There be other that ſaie, how he toke that ſurname, bicauſe in the batell of Poictiers he abode ſtill with his father till the end of the battell, without ſhewing any token of feare, or faintnes of courage.

The earles of Arminacke & Perigord.
Froiſſard.

The earles of Arminacke and Perigord, with the other lords of Gaſcoigne, that had made their appeale (as ye haue heard) to the chamber of the péeres of France, when they vnderſtood that the prince had impriſoned the meſſengers, that brought to him the French kings letters, began to make warre on the princes lands. The firſt enterpriſe they made, was the diſcomfiting of the lord Thomas Wake ſeneſhall of Rouergne, as he was riding from Agen vnto the citie of Rodais, with thréeſcore ſpears, and two hundred archers in his companie. Alſo the French king being now prouided for the war, and vnderſtanding the minds of the people within certeine towns vnder the dominion of the Engliſhmen, in his high court of parlement holden at Paris, procéeded in iudgement vpon the appellation before made by the earles of Arminacke, Perigord, and others, againſt prince Edward. And moreouer he ſent ouer into England the earle of Saliſburch, and a knight called ſir William Dorman, to ſignifie to the king of England, how he thought himſelfe not honorablie vſed, & that the king of England did but ſlenderlie kéepe the couenants of the peace, conſidering that he did not find meanes to reforme ſuch of his ſubiects Engliſhmen and Gaſcoignes, as dailie robbed and waſted the countries & lands belonging to the crowne of France.

The L. wake diſcomfited.

Fabian.
The French king procéedeth againſt the prince in iudgement of the appeale.
Froiſſard.

Theſe ambaſſadors were ſtaied for the ſpace of two moneths, & ſtill they complained of the wrongs that the Engliſhmen had doone, contrarie to the couenants of the peace, but the king made ſmall account thereof, bicauſe he perceiued it was a forged matter that they alledged, and ſo in the end ſent them awaie. At Douer being vpon their returne, there met them a Britaine that was comming with letters of defiance to the king of England from the French king, and as he had in commandement, he declared to them the effect of his meſſage, wherevpon with all ſpéed they paſſed ouer to Bullongne, and were glad they had ſo eſcaped. The Britaine came to the court, and deliuered the defiance to the king, according to the inſtructions which he had receiued. When the king had heard the letters read, and perceiued by good view taken of the ſeale and ſignet, that the ſame were of authoritie, he licenced the meſſenger to depart, and fell in councell with the péeres of his realme, what he ſhould doo in ſo weigthie a matter. Wherevpon it was thought neceſſarie by them, that he ſhould aſſemble his court of parlement, and ſo he did. In the which (vpon declaration made how iniuriouſlie the French king after manie wrongfull dealings had now broken the peace, and ſent his defiance vnto the king in ſo deſpitefull wiſe as might be) there was granted towards the maintenance of the warre thus begun, thrée fiftéens of the temporaltie, and thrée diſmes of the ſpiritualtie, to be paied in thrée yeares.

The French king ſent to defie the king of England.

Polydor.
A parlement aſſembled.
Thrée fiftéens and thrée tenths granted.
Fabian.
Froiſſard.

At the ſelfe ſame time that the defiance was made to the king here in England, the earle of S. Paule, and Guie de Chatillon maſter of the croſbowes in France, entered into the countie of Ponthieu, toke Abuile, and an Engliſh knight called ſir Nicholas Louaigne ſeneſhall of that countrie vnder the king of England, as then being within it. They toke alſo ſaint Valerie, Crotoie, Rue, Pont ſaint Renie, and to be ſhort, reduced the whole countrie of Ponthieu vnder the French obeiſance, which had remained in poſſeſſion of the Engliſhmen for the ſpace of a hundred and twelue yeares, euer ſince Edward the firſt had the ſame aſſigned to him in name of a dowrie, with his wife quéene Elianor, ſiſter to Alfonſe K. of Caſtile. And yet were the people of that countrie readie now to reuolt to the French dominion, notwithſtanding their former long continued obeiſance to the Engliſhmen: for otherwiſe could not the Frenchmen ſo eaſilie haue come to their purpoſe, but that the people were couenanted before to receiue them, and betraie thoſe few Engliſhmen that were amongſt them.

Sir Nicholas Louaigne taken.

The countie of Ponthieu taken by the French king.

About the ſame time alſo, it fell ſo ill for the Engliſhmen, that the prince of Wales was troubled with a ſore ſickeneſſe, that had continued long with him, euer ſince his being in Spaine, by reaſon whereof his enimies were the more bold to make attempts againſt him, and dailie went about to allure and intiſe his ſubiects of the marches of Guien to reuolt from him, in ſomuch that the citie of Cahors, and diuerſe other townes thereabout turned to the French part. Thus was the peace which had béene ſo ſuerlie made, and with ſo manie ſolemne oths confirmed, violated and broken, and the parties fallen togither by the eares againe in ſundrie places, and namelie in Aquitaine, where ſundrie armies were abroad in the fields, diuers ſieges laid, manie townes taken, often incounters and ſkirmiſhes made, ſometime to the loſſe of the one part, and ſometime of the other, and the countries in the meane time harried and ſpoiled, that maruell it is to conſider, and too long a proceſſe it ſhould be to rehearſe the tenth part of ſuch chances as dailie happened amongſt them, ſo that it might well haue béene ſaid of that ſore & tumultuous time:

The prince of wales diſeaſed with ſickneſſe.

The citie of Cahors reuolteth.

O quàm difficiles ſunt ſint pace dies.

King Edward ſent ouer into Gaſcoigne the earls of Cambridge and Penbroke, with a certeine number of men of armes and archers, the which arriuing in Britaine, paſſed through that countrie by licence of the Duke, and came to the prince as then lieng at Angoleſme in Poictou, by whom they were ſent to ouerrun the earle of Perigords lands, and ſo they did, and after laid ſiege to Burdille, hauing with them about thrée thouſand men one and other. There came with them forth of England foure hundred men of armes, foure hundred archers, and (as Froiſſard ſaith) beſide their capteins, theſe earles which he nameth, to wit, the lord of Labeſtone (or rather Bradſtone as I take it) ſir Brian Stapleton, ſir Thomas Balaſter, and ſir Iohn Triuet. Whileſt the ſaid earles went thus to make warre againſt the earle of Perigord, ſir Hugh Caluerlie with two thouſand men of warre was ſent alſo to ouerrun the lands of the earle of Arminacke, and of the lord Dalbret; ſir Iohn Chandois laie in the marches of Tholouſe at Mountaubon, & afterwards beſieged Terrieres, and in the end wan it; and ſo likewiſe did the earles of Cambridge and Penbroke win Burdille, by reaſon of a ſaillie that they within made forth, and paſſed ſo far from their fortreſſe, that the Engliſhmen got betwixt them and home.

Succors ſent into Gaſcoigne.

Burdille beſieged.

Sir Hugh Caluerlie.

Sir Iohn Chandois.

Burdille wonne.

Sir Robert Knols came from ſuch lands as he had in Britaine, to ſerue the prince now in theſe warres of Gaſcoigne, and was by him made chéefe gouernor of all his men of warre, who bare himſelfe right worthilie in that charge. The firſt iournie which he made at that time, was into Quercie, hauing with him beſide his owne bands, certeine knights of the princes retinue, as ſir Richard Ponchardon, ſir Stephan Gouſenton, ſir Noell Loring, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir

Sir Robert Knols.

John Triuet, ſir Thomas Spenſer, ſir Thomas Balaſter, ſir Nicholas Bond, ſir William le Moine ſeneſchall of Aigenois, ſir Baldwin de Freuille, and others. At their comming into Quercie, they beſieged a ſtrong fortreſſe called Durmell, within the which were diuerſe capteins of the companions, as Aimon d'Ortigo, the little Mechin, Jaques de Bray, Perot de Sauoie, and Arnaudon de Pons, the which ſo valiantlie defended the place, that although the lord Chandois, accompanied with ſir Thomas Felton, the capitall of Beuſ, ſir John de Pommiers, ſir Thomas Percie, ſir Euſtace Daubreticourt, and others came with their retinues from Montaubon, to reenforce that ſiege, yet could they not obteine their purpoſe, but raiſing from thence after fiue weekes ſiege (conſtreined thereto through want of vittels) they marched ſtreight to a towne called Domme, which they beſieged, hauing in their armie fifteene hundred men at armes, beſide two thouſand archers and brigands, ſo called in thoſe daies, of an armor which they ware named brigandines, vſed then by footmen, that bare alſo targets, or pauoiſſes, and certeine darts or iauelines to throw at their enimies.

Be Gerard.

The towne and caſtell of Domme were ſo ſtrong of themſelues, and ſo well prouided of men of warre that were appointed to the gard of the ſame, with the lord thereof called ſir Robert de Domme, that after the Engliſh capteins perceiued they ſhould but loſe time to linger about the winning of that towne, they raiſed their ſiege, and marching further into the countrie, wan Gauaches, Freins, Rochmador, and Ville Franche, vpon the marches of Toulouzain, greatlie to the diſpleaſure of the duke of Aniou that lay at the ſame time in the citie of Toulouze, & could not remedie the matter. ¶ But to recite euerie particular enterpriſe, as the ſame was atchiued by the Engliſh capteins and men of warre in that ſeaſon, it ſhould be more than the purpoſe of this volume might permit, and therefore I paſſe ouer diuerſe things, which I find regiſtred by Froiſſard and other writers, onelie aduertiſing you, that as the Engliſhmen thus made ſore warres againſt their aduerſaries abroad in thoſe quarters: ſo the Frenchmen on the other part had aſſembled great numbers of men of warre, not onelie to defend their frontiers, but alſo by inuaſions to win from the Engliſhmen towns and caſtels, and to waſt ſuch countries as would not turne to their ſide. Thus were all thoſe countries in troubles of warre.

Aquitaine full of warre.

The two kings alſo of England and France, ſignified to their neighbours the cauſes of this warre, laieng the fault either to other, and excuſing themſelues as cleare and innocent therein. Edward duke of Gelderland, nephue to the king of England, as ſonne to his ſiſter, and the duke of Gulike couſine to the kings children by their mother that was daughter to the earle of Heinault, tooke great deſpite that the French king had broken the peace, as they were throughlie perſuaded; and that he had defied king Edward (as before ye haue heard.) Wherevpon they ſent their defiance vnto the French king, threatning to be reuenged on him to the vttermoſt of their powers. Duke Albert of Bauier, was once minded alſo to haue aided king Edward in this warre: but afterwards ſuch perſuaſions were vſed on the French kings part, that he choſe to remaine as neuter betwixt them both, refuſing to take anie part.

The duke of Bauier.

Among the ſouldiers alſo called companions, which ſerued the prince in this ſeaſon, there were three capteins, right hardie and verie expert men of warre, Ortigo, Bernard de Wiſke, & Bernard de la Sale. Theſe three remaining as then in Limoſin, hearing that the duke of Burbons mother, which was alſo mother to the French queene, laie within the caſtell of Belleperch in Burbonnois, with a ſmall companie about hir, rode thither in one daie and a night, ſo that in the morning they approched the caſtell, ſcaled it, and tooke it, with the ladie within it. And though they were after beſieged in the ſame caſtell by the duke of Burbon and other Frenchmen, yet they defended it, till the earls of Cambridge and Penbroke, with fifteene hundred ſpeares, and three thouſand of other men of warre, came and offered the Frenchmen battell, lodging afore them fifteene daies. And when they perceiued that the Frenchmen would not iſſue out of the baſtide (in which they laie) to giue battell, the earles of Cambridge and Penbroke cauſed all them within the caſtell to come forth, and to bring with them the duches of Burbon, whome they led awaie in ſight of hir ſonne, leauing the caſtell void and free for him to enioy.

The duke of Burbons mother taken.

The French king prouided a great number of ſhips to aſſemble togither at Harflew, and leuied a great power of men, minding to beſtow them aboord in the ſame ſhips, that they might ſaile into England, and make warre againſt king Edward in his owne countrie. Cheefteine of this armie ſhould haue beene his brother the duke of Burbon, but this iournie was broken, for the Frenchmen were eaſed of the paine to come to ſeeke the Engliſhmen at home in England, they comming ouer into France, and profering them battell euen at their owne doores. For the king of England hauing leuied a power of archers, and other men of warre, ſent them ouer vnder the leading of his ſonne the duke of Lancaſter. There went with him in this iournie, the earles of Hereford and Saliſburie, the lord Ros, the lord Baſſet, the lord Willoughbie, the lord de la Ware, the lord de la Pole, the lord Walter of Mannie, the lord Henrie Percie, the lord Thomas Grantſon, ſir Alane Burhul, ſir Richard Sturrie, & diuerſe other. They went ouer about Midſummer. And after they had reſted a little, the duke ſet forward and roded forth into the countrie, ſpoiling and harrieng the ſame, and when he ſaw time, returned againe to Calis.

The French king prepareth a nauie.

The duke of Lancaſter ſet into France with an armie.

The French king being at Roan, heard of the arriuall of this armie at Calis, and that his countrie of Picardie was in great danger: he changed his purpoſe therefore of ſending an armie into England, and with all ſpeed appointed that his power ſhould with his brother the duke of Burgognie turne toward Calis, to reſiſt the duke of Lancaſter. Herevpon when the duke of Lancaſter heard that the duke of Burgognie was thus comming toward him, he iſſued forth of Calis, and comming into the vallie beneath the hill of Turneham, there tooke his field, and fortified the place with ſtrong hedges and rampiers, the better to be able to reſiſt his enimies if they would aſſaile him. The duke of Burgognie came ſtill forward, till he approched verie neere to the duke of Lancaſters campe, and pight downe his field aloft vpon the hill of Turneham, ſo that the fronts of both hoſts were within leſſe than a mile either of other.

The duke of Lancaſter fortifieth his campe.

The duke of Burgognie.
Fabian.
Froiſſard.

There was come to the duke of Lancaſter a knight of the marches of Almaine, called ſir Robert de Namur with an hundred ſpeares: but yet the duke of Lancaſters hoſt was but one handfull of men, in reſpect of the huge number of the French armie, wherin were (as Froiſſard writeth) foure thouſand knights beſide others. But yet for all his great puiſſance and number of men, he would not aduenture to aſſaile the Engliſhmen in their lodgings, as it was thought he would haue doone, but kept himſelfe and his men vpon the hill, from the foure and twentith of Auguſt, vnto the twelfth of September, and then diſlodged not much to his honour, howſoeuer writers doo ex-

Sir Robert de Namur.

Caxton.

The earle of Warwike.

cuſe it, declaring how his brother had giuen him ſtreight commandement, that in no wiſe he ſhould fight with the Engliſhmen: and that when he had ſent to his brother for commiſſion either to fight, or to remoue, he was commanded to turne with all ſpéed vnto Paris, and to breake vp his armie for that time. Some there be that write, how that after both theſe hoſtes had lien the one againſt the other a long ſpace, to the reproofe of both chiefteins, it chanced that the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike came thitherward by ſea, to be at the battell, which he heard would ſhortlie follow betwéene the two armies: but yer he was come to land, the Frenchmen for feare durſt no longer abide, but ſecretlie in the night departed and fled towards Heſdin, and ſo to Paris, for the which their flight, the duke of Burgognie was after blamed of his brother the French king.

Froiſſard.
The quéene of England departeth this life.

In this meane while, that is to ſaie, on the euen of the Aſſumption of our ladie, died that noble princeſſe, the ladie Philip quéene of England. It is ſaid that when ſhe perceiued that ſhe muſt néeds depart out of this tranſitorie life, ſhe deſired to ſpeake with the king hir huſband, and when he was come to hir with a ſorowfull hart to ſée hir in that ſtate, ſhe tooke him by the hand, and after courteous words of induction, ſhe required of him to grant hir thrée requeſts.

Hir thrée petitions to the king.

1 The firſt requeſt was, that all ſuch merchants, and other men, with whom ſhe had bargained in any condition, might be anſwered of all ſuch debts as ſhe owght them, whether they dwelled on this ſide the ſea or beyond.

2 The ſecond requeſt was, that all ſuch ordinances and promiſes, as ſhe had made to churches, as well within this realme, as in the parts of the further ſide the ſea, might be performed.

3 The third requeſt was, that it might pleaſe him to chooſe out none other ſepulchre when God ſhould call him out of this world, but beſide hir at Weſtminſter.

The praiſe of quéene Philip.
The quéenes colledge.

This quéene, to traine the Engliſh youth vnto vertuous conuerſation, ⁊ to giue occaſion that they might be brought vp in learning and good inſtructions, founded a colledge at Oxford, furniſhing it with goodlie buildings, and a church, that they might both ſerue God, and profit in their ſtudies, whereupon it is called the quéenes colledge euen to this daie.

The duke of Lancaſter maketh a iournie into France.
S. Riquier.

But now to returne to the duke of Lancaſter. Ye ſhall vnderſtand that after the departure of the French armie beſide the hill of Turneham, the ſaid duke returned to Calis, and there refreſhed himſelfe and his people the ſpace of thrée daies. And then he ſet forward againe, ⁊ with him as marſhals of the hoſt, was the earle of Warwike, and the lord Roger Beauchampe, with the lords and knights before remembred. They tooke their iournie to S. Omers, and by Turwin, and then through the countie of ſaint Paule, ſtill burning the countrie as they went. They rode not paſt thrée or foure leages in a daie, and kéeping on their waie, they came by ſaint Riquier, and at the planches vnder Abuile paſſed the riuer of Some, and then entred into the countrie of Vimew, in purpoſe to go vnto Harflew, and there to burne the French kings nauie. Thus paſſing forward thorough Vimew, and the countie of Ewe, they entered into the archbiſhoprike of Roan, and marching forth by Déepe, came vnto Harflew: but the earle of ſaint Poule, and the lord of Fiennes conſtable of France which had coaſted the Engliſh armie in all this iournie, with a great power of men, was gotten before them, and entred into this towne, ſo that they knew how they ſhould but loſe their paine, if they did aſſaile it, and ſo therefore after they had lien before it thrée daies, on the fourth day they diſlodged, ⁊ went backe againe towards Calis, returning through the countrie of Ponthieu, and before Abuile chanced to incounter a number of Frenchmen, which gaue to the duke battell. In the which was taken ſir Hugh de Chatellon, maſter of the croſbowes of France, with other knights, eſquiers, and burgeſſes of that towne, and about ſixtéene ſcore of the French part ſlaine.

Fabian.
The maſter of the croſbowes of France taken.

Froiſſard.

There be that write otherwiſe herof, ſhewing how the ſaid ſir Hugh Chatellon was taken by an ambuſh laid by ſir Nicholas Louaine, as the ſame ſir Hugh was come forth of the towne, with not paſt ten or twelue with him, to ſée how the paſſage of Rowraie was kept by them that had charge thereof. How ſoeuer it came to paſſe, taken he was, ⁊ brought to the duke of Lancaſter, that reioiſed greatlie of that good hap: and ſo marching forward, he paſſed the riuer at Blanchetaque, and drew towards the towne of Rew on the ſea ſide, and ſo to Montreuill, and finallie to Calis. Then were the ſtrangers licenced to depart: and bicauſe it was far in the winter, as about ſaint Martines tide, the duke and the moſt part of his armie returned into England. In this yeare chanced the third mortalitie, which was excéeding great both of men and beaſts, that the like had not béene heard of. And amongſt other people that periſhed of that peſtilentiall ſickeneſſe, that worthie knight and noble capteine the earle of Warwike died at Calis in the moneth of Ianuarie, after his returne from Harflew. ¶ The countrie of Aquitaine was full of trouble in this meane time, either part ſéeking to grieue other to the vttermoſt of their powers. ¶ John Haſtings earle of Penbroke, hauing with him certeine bands of men of warre, recouered diuerſe towns and caſtels in thoſe parts: but when he perceiued how the enimies that were not far from the place where he was lodged, ſhewed maniſeſt tokens of feare, in marching one while vncerteinelie forward, and an other while fetching great compaſſes about, he ſomewhat at vnwarilie ſetting vpon them in their campe, was diſcomfited and put to flight, ſo that getting him into a place of the Templers, that was cloſed about with a wall, he remained there in great danger to be taken priſoner of his enimies that aſſailed him, if the lord John Chandois ſeneſchall of Poictou had not come to the reſcue, and pledged him forth.

The third mortalitie.
Caxton.
Polychron.
The earle of Warwike departeth this life.

1370

Polydor.

Froiſſard.

Thom. Wals.
Sir John Chandois ſlaine.
Froiſſard.

But ſhortlie after, the ſaid lord Chandois was ſlaine by the enimies (whom firſt he had ouercome) whileſt without good aduiſe he put off his helmet, and ſo receiuing a ſtroke with a glaiue that entered into his head, betwixt his noſe and his forhead, he neuer after ſpake word, not liuing paſt a day and a night after he was hurt. The death of this right famous, wiſe, and valiant knight, was bewailed as well of the Frenchmen as Engliſhmen. The French king himſelfe, when he heard that he was ſlaine, greatlie lamented the miſhap, affirming that now he being dead, there was not any left aliue able to agrée the kings and realmes of England and France: ſo much was he feared, eſteemed, and beloued of all men. But alas what auailed all their mourning and lamenting againſt the neceſſitie of death, ſith we know that

Eſt commune mori, mors nulli parcit honori.

Sir Thomas Percie.
A dearth.
Hen. Marle.

After he was thus ſlaine, ſir Thomas Percie was made ſeneſchall of Poictou. By reaſon of the great wet and raine that fell this yeare in more abundance than had béene accuſtomed, much corne was loſt, ſo that the price thereof was ſore inhanced, in ſo much that wheat was ſold at thrée ſhillings foure pence the buſhell. But as concerning the death, the weſt parts of the realme was ſoreſt afflicted with this mortalitie, and namelie at Oxford there died a great number of ſcholers.

Somewhat before this time, the ladie Blanch

daughter

The duches of Lancaſter. Fabian.

daughter to Henrie duke of Lancaſter, departed this life, and was buried on the north ſide of the high altar in the cathedrall church of ſaint Paule within the citie of London, where hir huſband John of Gant was after alſo interred. She ordeined for hir huſband and for hir ſelfe a ſolemne obit to be kept yearelie in that church, where the maior being preſent with the ſhiriffes, chamberlaine, and ſword-bearer, ſhould offer each of them a pennie, and the maior to take vp a pound, the ſhiriffes either of them a marke, the chamberleine ten ſhillings, and the ſword-bearer ſix ſhillings eight pence, and euerie other of the maiors officers two and twentie pence, and the number of eight officers belonging vnto the ſhiriffes (and by them to be appointed) eight pence a péece. ¶ This yeare was granted to the king in parlement aſſembled at Weſtminſter of the ſpirituall mens liuings a tenth for the ſpace of thrée yeares, and a fiftéenth of the temporaltie during the ſame tearme.

Polychrõn. Anno Reg. 44. Froiſſard. Polychron.

Sir Robert Knolles with an armie ſent into France.

This yeare, after that the king had gotten togither a great ſumme of monie, as well by borowing of the clergie as of the laitie, he leuied an armie, & ſent the ſame ouer to Calis about Midſummer, vnder the gouernance of that worthie chéefteine ſir Robert Knolles, accompanied with the L. Fitz Walter, the lord Granſon, ſir Alaine Burhull, ſir John Bourchier, ſir William Neuille, ſir Geffrey Wourſeley, and diuerſe other noblemen, knights, and worthie capteins. About the ſame time, the king of England concluded an abſtinence of warre with the Scots for the tearme of nine yeares, yet ſo that the Scots might arme themſelues, and at their pleaſure ſerue and take wages, either of the Engliſh or French, by reaſon whereof, ſir Robert Knolles had in his companie an hundred ſpeares of the realme of Scotland.

Truce with Scots.

When this armie had lien and reſted in Calis about the ſpace of ſeauen daies, ſir Robert Knolles cauſed euerie man to depart the towne, and to take the fields, marching the firſt daie néere to the caſtell of Fiennes, and there lodged for that night. The whole number of this armie was not aboue twelue thouſand men. Froiſſard ſaith, they were but fiftéene hundred ſpeares, & foure thouſand archers. Within the caſtell of Fiennes was the conſtable of France, that was lord thereof, with ſuch a number of ſouldiers and men of warre, that the Engliſhmen thought they ſhould but loſe their labour to aſſaile it. And ſo they paſſed forth by Turrouane, and toward Arras, riding not paſt foure leages a daie, bicauſe of their cariages and footmen. They tooke their lodging euer about noone, and laie néere vnto great villages.

Iac. Meir. The number of men of war in this armie. Froiſſard.

The French king had furniſhed all his townes and fortreſſes in Picardie with ſtrong garriſons of ſouldiers, to defend the ſame againſt all chances that might happen either by ſiege or ſudden aſſault. The Engliſhmen therefore thought not good to linger about the winning of anie of the ſtrong townes, but paſſed by them, waſting or ranſoming the countries. At Arras they ſhewed themſelues before the barriers, and when none would iſſue to ſkirmiſh with them, they ſet fier on the ſuburbs, & departed. From thence they tooke the waie by Baupalmes, and ſo came into Vermendois, and burnt the towne of Roy. Then went they to Han in Vermendois, into the which all the people of the countrie were withdrawne, with ſuch goods as they might carie with them. And in like manner had thoſe doone which inhabited about S. Quintine, Peronne, and other ſtrong townes, ſo that the Engliſhmen found little abroad, ſauing the barnes full of corne for it was after harueſt.

The ſuburbs of Arras burnt.

The towne of Roy burnt.

The French mẽ withdraw into their fortreſſes & ſtrõg townes.

Thus they rode faire and eaſilie, two or thrée leages a daie, and ſometime to recouer monie of their enimies, they would compound with them within ſtrong townes, to ſpare the countrie from burning and deſtruction, for ſuch a ſumme as they agréed vpon, by which meanes ſir Robert Knolles got in that voiage aboue the ſumme of an hundred thouſand frankes. For the which he was after accuſed to the king of England, as one that had not dealt iuſtlie in ſo doing. In this ſort paſſing the countrie, they came before Noion, and after they had reſted a while afore the towne, they went forth waſting and burning the countrie, and finallie paſſed the riuer of Marne, and ſo entered into Champaigne, and paſſed the riuer of Aube, and alſo diuerſe times they paſſed to and fro ouer the riuer of Saine: at length drawing toward Paris, and comming before that citie, they lodged there in the field a day and two nights, and ſhewed themſelues in order of battell before the citie. This was on the twentie fourth daie of September.

The Engliſhmen before Paris.

The French king was at the ſame time within the citie, & might behold out of his lodging of S. Paule, the fiers and ſmokes that were made in Gaſtenois, through burning the townes and villages there by the Engliſhmen, but yet he would ſuffer none of his people to go forth of the citie, although there was a great power of men of warre within the citie, both of ſuch as had coaſted the Engliſh armie in all this iournie, and alſo of other which were come thither by the kings commandement, beſide the burgeſſes, and inhabitants of the citie. When ſir Robert Knolles perceiued that he ſhould haue no battell, he departed and drew toward Aniou, where they wan by ſtrength the townes of Vaas and Rueſlie. But now in the beginning of winter, there fell ſuch diſcord amongſt the Engliſh capteins, through couetouſneſſe and enuie, that finallie they diuided themſelues in ſunder, greatlie to the diſpleaſure of ſir Robert Knolles their generall, who could not rule them.

Thom. Walſ. Sir Simon Minſterworth.

There was a knight among them named ſir John Minſterworth, that had the leading of one wing of this armie, a good man of his hands (as we call him) but peruerſe of mind, and verie deceitfull, and to ſir Robert Knolles (to whome he was much beholden) moſt vnfaithfull. This knight, perceiuing the wilfull minds of certeine yong lords and knights there in the armie, that repined at the gouernement of ſir Robert Knolles, as the Romans did ſometime at the gouernance of Camillus (the chéefe of whome were the lord Grantſon, the lord Fitz Walter, and others) did his beſt to pricke them forward, ſounding them in the eare, that it was a great reproch for them being of noble parentage, to ſerue vnder ſuch an old raſcall as he was, ech of them being able to guide their enterpriſe of themſelues, without his counſell, by which flattering of them, and diſgracing of him, the ſaid Minſterworth did much miſchéefe, for

Lingua loquax, odioſa, procax, parit omne moleſtum.

Bermondſey.

Sir Robert Knolles borne in Cheſhire.

Indéed this ſir Robert Knolles was not deſcended of anie high linage, but borne in the countie of Cheſter of meane ofſpring, neuertheleſſe through his valiant proweſſe, and good ſeruice in warre, growne to ſuch eſtimation, as he was reputed worthie of all honour due to a noble and ſkilfull warriour, ſo that it was thought the king could not haue made his choiſe of one more able or ſufficient to ſupplie the roome of a chéefteine, than of him: but yet, although this was moſt true, his aduiſe could not be heard, nor the authoritie appointed him by the king beare anie ſwaie. For where he counſelled that they ſhould now vpon the approching of winter draw forth of France into Britaine, and there remaine for the winter ſeaſon, they would not ſo agrée, nor obeie his will. Whervpon it came to paſſe, that ſir Berthram de Cleaquin, at that time newlie made conſtable of France, vnderſtanding this diuiſion to grow amongſt the Engliſhmen,

Sir Robert Knolles counſell not followed.

Diſcord what commeth of it. Caxton.

liſhmen, and that they were diuided into parts, ſet vpon them ſo much to their diſaduantage, that he diſtreſſed them, and tooke or ſlue the more part of them: but ſir Robert Knols with the flower of the archers and men of warre went into Britaine, and there ſaued himſelfe, and thoſe that followed him. ¶ Here you may ſée, how thoſe that before through amitie and good agréement were of ſuch force as their enimies durſt not once aſſaie to annoie them, now by ſtrife and diſſention among themſelues were ſlaine or taken by the ſame enimies, and brought to confuſion. To which purpoſe it is properlie and trulie ſaid,

Lis odium gignit, charos concordia ſtringit.

Froiſſard. The citie of Limoges beſieged.

In this meane time that ſir Robert Knols made this voiage through the realme of France, the prince of Wales laid ſiege to the citie of Limoges, which was reuolted to the Frenchmen. There were with him at the laieng of this ſiege, his brethren, the duke of Lancaſter, and the earle of Cambridge, ſir Guichard Dangle, ſir Lois de Harecourt, the lord of Pons, the lord of Partenaie, the lord of Pinane, the lord of Tannaibouton, ſir Perciuall de Coulongne, ſir Geffrie de Argenton, Poictouins: and of Gaſcoignes, the lord of Mountferrant, the lord de Chaumount, the lord de Longueren, ſir Aimerie de Tharſe, the lords of Pommiers, Mucident de l'Eſparre, the Souldich de Leſtrade, the lord of Gerond, and manie other: of Engliſhmen there were, ſir Thomas Percie, the lord Ros, the lord William Beauchampe, ſir Michaell de la Pole, ſir Stephan Goulſenton, ſir Richard Pontchardon, ſir Baldwin Freuille, ſir Simon Burlie, ſir Dangouſſe, ſir Iohn Deuereux, ſir William Menille or (as ſome copies haue) Neuille, and manie other. There was alſo ſir Euſtace Dambreticourt, and of the companions, ſir Perducas Dalbreth, who in the beginning of theſe warres being turned French, was by the perſuaſion of ſir Robert Knols procured to returne againe to the princes ſeruice before the ſiege of Durmelle.

Limoges taken by force.

The prince being thus accompanied with theſe worthie capteins and men of armes, to the number of twelue hundred, beſide a thouſand archers and other footmen, indeuored by all waies he could deuiſe to indamage them within. In the end he cauſed the walles to be vndermined, and quite reuerſed into the ditch, & then giuing aſſault, entered by the breach, and made an huge ſlaughter of them within, in ſomuch that of men, women, and children (for none were ſpared in reſpect of age or ſex) there were ſlaine and beheaded that daie aboue thrée thouſand. The biſhop with certeine knights and capteins were taken and had their liues granted, though the biſhop was in great danger to haue loſt his head, bicauſe he was a chéefe dooer in yéelding the citie before vnto the Frenchmen.

Polydor. Froiſſard.

Whileſt the prince laie at ſiege before Limoges (a litle before he wan it) thither came to him his brethren, the duke of Lancaſter, and the earle of Cambridge, the lord Ros, ſir Michaell de la Pole, ſir Robert Rous, ſir Iohn Saintlo, and ſir William Beauchampe, with a faire number of men of war, ſpears, and archers. The prince then after he had wonne Limoges, and executed ſome crueltie there to the terrour of other; his maladie which ſtill continued vpon him, rather increaſed than diminiſhed, ſo that he was aduiſed by phyſicians to returne into England, in hope that change of aire ſhould reſtore him to health. For the which conſideration and other cauſes of buſineſſe which he had to doo with his father, touching certeine weightie affaires he tooke the ſea, and came ouer into England, leauing the gouernement of Aquitaine vnto his brother the duke of Lancaſter, as his lieutenant there: he landed at Plimmouth in the beginning of Ianuarie.

The prince returned into England. Thom. Walſ.

The king of Nauarre commeth ouer into England.

Polydor.

Moreouer in this 44 yeare of king Edward, the king of Nauarre came ouer into England, and at Claringdon found the king, and there talked with him of ſuch matters as they had to conclude betwixt them two. But for that the king of Nauarre could not aſſure the king of ſuch couenants as ſhould haue paſſed betwixt them two, it was not thought méet by the kings councell to worke too far vpon his bare word, that had before time ſhewed apparant prooues of his inconſtant dealing. And ſuerlie this doubt aroſe not without cauſe, as his doings ſhortlie after declared: for although he ſéemed now at this preſent to be a verie enimie to the French king, yet ſhortlie after he was reconciled to him againe, and became his great fréend for the time it laſted. This yeare in the moneth of Februarie was a parlement called, in the which there was demanded of the ſpiritualtie a ſubſidie of fiftie thouſand pounds, and as much of the laitie. The temporall men ſoone agréed to that paiment, but the cleargie excuſed themſelues with faire words and ſhifting anſwers: in ſomuch that the king tooke diſpleſure with them, and depoſed certeine ſpirituall men from their offices of dignitie, as the chancellor, the priuie ſeale, the treaſuror, and ſuch others, in whoſe roomes he placed temporall men.

The king of Nauars conſtancie ſuſpected. Froiſſard.

1371 Anno Reg. 45. Caxton.

A ſubſidie.

Spirituall men depoſed.

Cardinals appointed to treat of peace.

The biſhop of Wincheſter, and the biſhop of Beauuois being both cardinals, were put in commiſſion by pope Gregorie the eleuenth to treat betwixt the kings of England and France for a peace. But albeit they did their indeuour therein, and mooued both kings to the vttermoſt of their powers, yet their motions tooke none effect, and therefore was the warre purſued to the vttermoſt betwixt the parties, & namelie in Aquitaine, where the fortreſſes were ſo intermedled one with an other, ſome Engliſh, and ſome French, that one knew not how to beware of an other, nor to auoid the danger, ſo that the countrie of Poictou and other the marches thereabout were in great tribulation. Sir Robert Knols, ſir Thomas Spenſer, ſir Iohn Triuet, and ſir Hugh Haſtings, diuiding their powers inſunder, went to recouer townes, ſome in one quarter, and ſome in an other, and certeine they aſſaied, but preuailed not: the inhabitants doubting to be puniſhed for their vntruths, made ſuch ſtout reſiſtance.

Polydor.

After this, the duke of Lancaſter appointed ſir Robert Knols to repaire againe to Calis, and by the waie (if occaſion ſerued) to attempt the recouerie of Ponthieu. Sir Robert taking his iournie through France by Paris, came into the marches of Picardie: and bicauſe in compariſon to this man, all the Engliſh capteins were litle feared of the Frenchmen, ſir Berthram de Cleaquin, the conſtable of France, leauing the fortreſſes in the marches of Aquitaine ſufficientlie ſtuffed with men of warre and munition, followed ſir Robert Knols, ſtill readie to aſſaile the hindermoſt companies, or elſe to ſet on the ſides of his enimies. So that there chanced manie ſkirmiſhes betwixt them, & manie men were ſlaine on both parts; but at length, when ſir Robert Knols ſaw no likelihood to atchiue his purpoſed intent in recouerie of the townes of Ponthieu, as Abuile and other, he drew ſtreight to Calis, and the conſtable retired backe into France.

The feare which the enimies had of ſir Ro. Knols.

Sir Berthram de Cleaquin.

1372 Anno Reg. 46.

In this 46 yeare, ſir Robert Aſhton was ſent into Ireland as lord deputie there, and in the ſame yeare, the duke of Lancaſter being as then a widower, maried the ladie Conſtance eldeſt daughter to Peter king of Spaine, which was ſlaine by his baſtard brother Henrie (as before ye haue heard.) ¶ Alſo the lord Emund earle of Cambridge maried the ladie Iſabell, ſiſter to the ſame Conſtance. ¶ Their other ſiſter named Beatrice, affianced to Don Ferdinando, ſon to Peter king of Portingale, was departed this life liſe a little before this time at Baionne, where they were all three left as hoſtages by their father, when the prince went to bring him home into his countrie (as before yee may read.) Froiſſard writeth, that the duke married the ladie Conſtance in Gaſcoigne, and that ſhortlie after he returned into England with his ſaid wife and hir ſiſter, leauing the capitall de Bueſſz, and other lords of Gaſcoigne and Poictou in charge with the rule of thoſe countries. By reaſon of that marriage, the duke of Lancaſter, as in right of his wife being the elder ſiſter, cauſed himſelfe to be intitoled king of Caſtile, and his ſaid wife queene of the ſame realme.

The earle of Hereford being ſent to the ſea, with certeine ſhips of warre, was incountered by the Flemiſh fleet, before an hauen in Britaine called the Baie, where was fought a ſore battell, and long continued for the ſpace of three houres: howbeit finallie the victorie abode with the Engliſhmen, notwithſtanding that the Flemings were more in number, and better prouided for the matter. There were taken of them fiue and twentie ſhips, with their Admerall John Peterſon. They had beene at Rochell for wine, and now were come to the Baie for ſalt vpon their returne homeward, and hearing that the Engliſhmen would come that waie, ſtaied for them, and firſt gaue the onſet. For yee muſt remember, that by reaſon that the earle of Flanders had married his daughter to the duke of Burgognie, which he had firſt promiſed to the earle of Cambridge, there was no perfect freendſhip betwixt the realme of England, and the countries of the ſaid earle of Flanders.

Sir Guichard Dangle made knight of the Garter.
Polydor.
Caxton.

Sir Guichard Dangle a knight of Poictou, that was come ouer with the duke of Lancaſter, to procure the king to ſend ſome new aid into Aquitaine, was for his approoued vallancie and tried truth to the king of England, made knight of the garter. And moreouer at his inſtance the king rigged a nauie of ſhips, and appointed the earle of Penbroke as generall, to ſaile with the ſame into Aquitaine, and there to remooue the ſiege which the Frenchmen had laid to Rochell. The earle according to his commiſſion tooke the ſea with a fleet of fortie ſhips prepared for him: but yer he could enter the hauen of Rochell, he was aſſailed by an huge fleet of Spaniards, and there vanquiſhed, taken priſoner, & led into Spaine. The Spaniards had for capteins foure ſkilfull warriours, Ambroſe Bouquenegre, Cabeſſe de Vake or Vakadent, Dom Ferand du Pion, and Rodigo de la Rochell, who had vnder their gouernement fortie great carrauels, and thirteene trim barkes throughlie furniſhed and appointed with good mariners and men of warre.

The earle of Penbroke ſent into Guien.

Froiſſard.

The earle of Penbroke had with him nothing the like number of ſhips, nor men: for (as Froiſſard writeth) he had not paſt two and twentie knights with him, or (as other haue) not paſt twelue, being for the more part of his owne retinue or houſhold: and yet thoſe few Engliſhmen and Poictouins that were there with him, bare themſelues right valiantlie, and fought it out to the vttermoſt. There were ſlaine ſir Simon Houſſagre, ſir John de Mortague, and ſir John Tuchet; and there were taken priſoners, beſides the earle himſelfe, ſir Robert Buffort, ſir John Curſon, ſir Othes de Grandſon, ſir Guichard Dangle, the lord of Pinane, ſir John de Griueres, ſir Jaques de Surgieres, the lord of Tannaibouton, ſir John de Hardane, and others. This battell was fought on Midſummer euen, in this ſix and fortith yeare of king Edwards reigne. The earle had (as Froiſſard writeth) treaſure with him, to haue waged three thouſand men of warre, which neuer did anie man good, for (as he was informed) the ſhip wherein he was aboord, periſhed with diuerſe other being burnt or ſunke. ¶ The Engliſh writers ſaie, that it was no maruell though this miſhap chanced vnto him, bicauſe he had in parlement ſpoken againſt men of the church, in giuing counſell that they might be conſtreined to paie greeuous ſubſidies, towards the maintenance of the kings warre, and that no leſſe heauie paiments and ſubſidies ſhould be impoſed vpon them, than vpon the ſecular ſort. Wherein he ſeemed to bewraie a malicious mind againſt the clergie, who as in no age they haue wanted foes, ſo in his time they found few freends, being a generation appointed and ordeined in their cradels to be contemned of the world, ſpeciallie of great men, of whoſe fauour and goodwill it is truelie & rightlie ſaid,

These foure laſt remembred came forth of Rochell to aid the earle.

Gratia magnatum neſcit habere ſtatum.

By reaſon of this miſfortune thus happened to the Engliſh fleet, the Frenchmen recouered manie townes and caſtels out of the Engliſhmens hands, in the countries of Poictou, Xaintonge, Limoſin, and other the marches of Aquitaine.

Froiſſard.
Yuans a Welſh gentleman.

About the ſame time the French king ſent foure thouſand men to the ſea, vnder the guiding of one Yuans a baniſhed Welſh gentleman, the which landing in the Ile of Gerneſey, was incountered by the captein of that Ile called ſir Edmund Rous, who had gathered eight hundred men of his owne ſouldiers togither, with them of the Ile; and boldlie gaue battell to the Frenchmen: but in the end the Engliſhmen were diſcomfited, and foure hundred of them ſlaine, ſo that ſir Edmund Rous fled into the caſtell of Cornet, & was there beſieged by the ſaid Yuans, till the French king ſent to him to come backe from thence, and ſo he did, leauing the caſtell of Cornet, and ſir Edmund Rous within it as he found him. The Frenchmen this yeare recouered the citie of Poictiers, Rochell alſo, and the moſt part of all Poictou, and finallie laid ſiege to Towars in Poictou, wherein a great number of the lords of that countrie were incloſed, the which fell to a compoſition with the Frenchmen to haue an abſtinence of warre for themſelues, and their lands, till the feaſt of ſaint Michaell next inſuing, which ſhould be in the yeare 1362. And in the meane time they ſent to the king of England their ſoucreigne lord, to certifie him what conditions they had agreed vnto, that if they were not aided by him, or by one of his ſonnes within the ſaid tearme, then they to yeeld them and their lands to the obeiſance of the French king.

Sir Edmund Rous.

The proſperous ſucceſſe of the French men in Poictou.

Not long before this, the capitall of Bueſſz was taken priſoner, and ſir Thomas Percie, with diuerſe other Engliſhmen and Gaſcoignes before Soubiſe by ſir Yuans of Wales and other French capteins, ſo that the countries of Poictou and Xaintonge were in great danger to be quite loſt, if ſpeedie ſuccours came not in time. Whervpon king Edward aduertiſed of that agreement which they within Towars had made, raiſed an armie, rigged his ſhips, and in Auguſt tooke the ſea, purpoſing to come before the day aſſigned, to the ſuccours of that fortreſſe: but the wind continued for the ſpace of nine weekes ſo contrarie vnto his intent, that he was ſtill driuen backe and could not get forward toward the coaſt of Rochell, where he thought to haue landed, ſo that finallie when the daie of reſcuing Towars came, he nor anie of his ſonnes could appeare in thoſe parts, and ſo to his great diſpleaſure he returned home, and licenced all his people to depart to their houſes. By this means was Towars deliuered to the Frenchmen, which ceaſſed not in ſuch occaſions of aduantage to take time, and follow the ſteps of proſperous fortune.

Towars in danger to be loſt.

Th. Walſing.

1373
Anno Reg. 47.
The duke of Britaine.

About this ſeaſon the duke of Britaine being ſore diſpleaſed in his mind, that the Engliſhmen ſuſteined

ned daſlie loſſes in the parts of Aquitaine, would gladlie haue aided their ſide, if he might haue got the nobles of his countrie to haue ioined with him, but the lords Cliſſon and de la Vale, with the vicount of Roan, and other the lords and barons of Britaine, ſo much fauoured the French king, that he perceiued they would reuolt from him, if he attempted any thing againſt the Frenchmen. He therefore meaning by one way or other to further the king of England his quarell, and fearing to be attached by his owne ſubiects, and ſent to Paris, diſpatched meſſengers to K. Edward, requiring him to ſend ſome power of men of warre into Britaine, to defend him againſt the malice of ſuch as were altogither French and enimies to England.

The lord Neuill ſent into Britaine.

King Edward forthwith ſent ouer the lord Neuill, with foure hundred men of armes, and as manie archers, the which arriuing at ſaint Matthewes de fine Poterne, remained there all the winter. Wherevpon the Britaines being ſore offended therewith, cloſed their townes and fortreſſes againſt their duke, and ſhewed much euill towards him. The conſtable of France ſir Berthram de Cleaquin, laieng ſiege to the towne and caſtell of Sireth in Poictou, diſcomfited a number of Engliſhmen that came to raiſe his ſiege, by meanes whereof he got not onelie Sireth, but alſo Niort, Lucignen, and all other the townes and fortreſſes which the Engliſhmen held till that day within Poictou, Xaintonge, and Rochellois. Shortlie after this, the conſtable returned into France, and was appointed by the king there to go with an armie of men of warre into Britaine, and there to take into his hands all ſuch townes and fortreſſes as belonged to the duke of Britaine, bicauſe he had alied himſelfe with the king of England, and receiued Engliſhmen into his countrie, to the preiudice of the realme of France.

Engliſhmen diſcomfited by the conſtable of France.

Townes wonne by him.

The conſtable of Frāce ſent into Britaine

Sir Robert Knols.

The duke being aduertiſed of the conſtables comming, was counſelled by ſir Robert Knols (whom the king of England had ſent to aid him) that he ſhould paſſe ouer into England, and there to be a ſuter in his owne cauſe for more aid to be ſent into Britaine, to reſiſt the Frenchmen that now ſought to bring the whole countrie into their poſſeſſion. The duke inclining to this aduiſe, went ouer into England, and in the meane time the conſtable came and wan the moſt part of all the townes and fortreſſes of that duchie, except Breſt, where ſir Robert Knols was, and certeine other. The earle of Saliſburie with a great nauie of ſhips, well furniſhed with men of armes and archers, laie vpon the coaſt of Britaine all that time, and greatlie comforted them within Breſt, in ſomuch that he came on land, and offered battell to the conſtable if he would haue come forward & receiued it.

The duke of Britaine cōmeth ouer into England.

The earle of Saliſburie.

Polydor. The duke of Lancaſter ſent ouer into France with an armie.

In the moneth of Iulie in this ſeuen and fourtith yeare of king Edwards reigne, the duke of Lancaſter was ſent ouer vnto Calis with an armie of thirtie thouſand men (as ſome write) but as Froiſſard ſaith, they were but thirteene thouſand, as three thouſand men of armes, and ten thouſand archers. This voiage had beene in preparing for the ſpace of three yeares before. The duke of Britaine was there with them, and of the Engliſh nobilitie, beſide the duke of Lancaſter that was their generall, there were the earles of Warwike, Stafford and Suffolke, the lord Edward Spenſer that was conſtable of the hoſt, the lords Willoughbie, de la Pole, Baſſet, and diuerſe others. Of knights, ſir Henrie Percie, ſir Lewes Clifford, ſir William Beauchampe, the Chanon Robertſart, Walter Hewet, ſir Hugh Caluerlie, ſir Stephan Couſington, ſir Richard Ponchardon, and manie other.

Ia. Meir. Froiſſard.

Noble men that went with him in that iournie.

When they had made readie their cariages and other things neceſſarie for ſuch a iournie which they had taken in hand, that is to ſay, to paſſe through the realme of France vnto Burdeaux, they ſet forward, hauing their armie diuided into three battels. The earles of Warwike and Suffolke did lead the foreward: the two dukes of Lancaſter and Britaine, the middle ward or battell, and the rereward was gouerned by the lord Spenſer conſtable of the hoſt. They paſſed by S. Omers, by Turrouane, and coaſted the countrie of Arthois, and paſſed the water of Some at Corbie. They deſtroied the countries as they went, and marched not paſt three leages a day. They aſſailed none of the ſtrong townes, nor fortreſſes. For the French king had ſo ſtuffed them with notable numbers of men of warre, that they perceiued they ſhould trauell in vaine about the winning of them. At Roy in Vermandois, they reſted them ſeuen daies, and at their departure ſet fire on the towne, bicauſe they could not win the church which was kept againſt them. From thence they drew towards Laon, and ſo marched forward, paſſing the riuers of Yſare, Marne, Saine, and Yonne. The Frenchmen coaſted them, but durſt not approch to giue them battell.

They paſſe through the countrie without aſſaulting any townes.

Fabian.

Neere to Ribaumount, about 80 Engliſhmen of ſir Hugh Caluerlies band were diſtreſſed by 120 Frenchmen: & likewiſe beſide Soiſſons, 120 Engliſh ſpeares, or (as other writers haue) fiftie ſpeares, and twentie archers were vanquiſhed by a Burgonian knight called ſir Iohn de Vienne, that had with him three hundred French ſpeares. Of more hurt by anie incounters I read not that the Engliſhmen ſuſteined in this voiage. For the Frenchmen kept them aloofe, and meant not to fight with their enimies, but onelie to keepe them from vittels, and fetching of forrage abroad, by reaſon whereof the Engliſhmen loſt manie horſſes, and were in deed driuen to great ſcarſitie of vittels. When they had paſſed the riuer of Loire, and were come into the countrie of Berrie, they vnderſtood how the Frenchmen laid themſelues in ſundrie ambuſhes to diſtreſſe them, if they might eſpie the aduantage: but the duke of Lancaſter placing his light horſſemen, with part of the archers in the foreward, and in the battell the whole force of his footmen with the men at armes, diuided into wings to couer that battell, wherein he himſelfe was, the reſidue of the horſſemen with the reſt of the archers he appointed to the rereward, and ſo cauſing them to keepe cloſe togither, marched forth till he came into Poictou, & then in reuenge of the Poictouins that had reuolted from the Engliſh obeiſance, he began a new ſpoile, killing the people, waſting the countrie, and burning the houſes and buildings euerie where as he paſſed, & ſo finallie about Chriſtmaſſe came to Burdeaux.

The Frenchmen meant not to fight with the Engliſhmen.

Polydor.

The order of the duke of Lancaſters armie in marching.

He cōmeth to Burdeaux. Froiſſard.

The archb. of Rauenna ſent from the pope.

Whileſt the duke of Lancaſter was thus paſſing through the realme of France, pope Gregorie the eleuenth ſent the archbiſhop of Rauenna and the biſhop of Carpentras as legats from him, to treat for a peace betwixt the realms of England and France. They rode to & fro betwixt the French king and his brethren, and the duke of Lancaſter: but the duke and the Engliſhmen kept on their waie, and ſo finallie keeping forwards about Chriſtmaſſe came to Burdeaux. The legats purſued their treatie, but the parties were ſo hard, that no reaſonable offers would be taken. The two dukes of Lancaſter and Britaine laie in Burdeaux all the reſidue of the winter, and the Lent following. The ſame yeare that the duke of Lancaſter made this iournie thorough France, the king of England ſent certeine ambaſſadors to the pope, requiring him not to meddle with the reſeruations of benefices within his realme of England, but that thoſe which were elected biſhops might inioy their ſees, and be confirmed of their metropolitane,

Caxton. Meſſengers ſent to the pope about reſeruations of benefices.

tropolitane and archbiſhop, as of ancient time they had beene accuſtomed.

The pope would not at that preſent determine anie thing herein, but commanded them that were ſent, that they ſhould certifie him againe of the kings pleaſure and further meaning, in thoſe articles and other touching him and his realme. Alſo this yeare it was decreed in parlement, that cathedrall churches might inioy the right of their elections, and that the king ſhould not hinder them that were choſen, but rather helpe them to their confirmations. ¶ In the ſame parlement was granted to the king a diſme of the cleargie, and a fifteenth of the laitie. ¶ Moreouer at the ſute of the popes legats, a reſpit of war was granted betwixt the kings of England and France, but ſo that the Engliſhmen loſt in Gaſcoine a great number of caſtels and townes, by reaſon of a compoſition made before, that if they were not reſcued by the middeſt of Auguſt, they ſhould then yeeld themſelues French: and bicauſe the truce was agreed vpon to indure till the laſt of Auguſt, the Engliſhmen tooke no heed to the matter. It was further agreed vpon, that in the beginning of September, there ſhould meet in the marches of Picardie, the duke of Lancaſter, and other of the Engliſh part, as commiſſioners to intreat of peace; and the duke of Aniou and other on the French part, the popes legat to be there alſo as mediator. When this agreement was thus accorded, the duke of Lancaſter, and the duke of Britaine, with the earls of Warwike, Suffolke and Stafford, the lords Spenſer, Willoughbie and others, tooke the ſea at Burdeaux the eight of Iulie, and returned into England.

Cathedrall churches.

Cõmiſſioners appointed to meet and commune of peace

This yeare the fifth of Iune, died William Witteſey archbiſhop of Canturburie, after whoſe death the monks choſe to that ſee the cardinall of Wincheſter, with which election the king was nothing contented, ſo that after much monie ſpent by the monks to obteine their purpoſe, at length they were diſappointed, and doctor Simon Sudberie was admitted to that dignitie, who before was biſhop of London, being the ſeauen and fiftith archbiſhop that had ruled that ſee. He was choſen by the appointment of the king, and conſent of the pope. For alredie was that decree worne out of vſe, whereby the elections of biſhops haue reſted in the voices of them of the cathedrall church: for not onelie this Simon archbiſhop of Canturburie, but other alſo were ordeined biſhops from thenceforth, by the will and authoritie of the popes and kings of this realme, till at length it came to paſſe, that onelie the kings inſtituted biſhops, and the biſhops ordeined other gouernours vnder them of meaner degrees.

Death of the archb. of Can.

Simon Sudberie elected archbiſhop.

Thus the popes within a while loſt all their authoritie, which they had before time within this relme in the appointing of biſhops, and other rulers of churches; and in like manner alſo they loſt ſhortlie after their authoritie of leuieng tenths of ſpirituall promotions, the which they in former times had vſed, to the great detriment of the realme, which loſt nothing by this new ordinance: for the Engliſh people were not compelled afterwards to depart with their monie vnto ſtrangers, ſo largelie as before, to content the greedineſſe of that corruorant generation of Romaniſts, whoſe inſatiable deſires would admit no ſtint, as infected with the dropſie of filthie auarice, for

Omnia des cupido, ſua non perit inde cupido,
Quò plus ſunt potæ plus ſitiuntur aquæ.

This reſtraining reformation concerned the benefit of the whole land verie much: for K. Edward the third was the firſt that cauſed an act to be made, that none vnder a great penaltie ſhould ſeeke to obteine anie ſpirituall promotions within this realme of the pope, or bring anie ſutes to his court, except by waie of appeale: and that thoſe that were the aiders of any ſuch offendors againſt this act, ſhould run in danger of the ſame paine, which act by thoſe kings that ſucceeded was not onelie commanded to be kept, but alſo confirmed with new penalties, and is called the ſtatute of Premunire.

The begining of the ſtatute of Premunire

Caxton.

1375
Anno Reg. 49.

About Candlemaſſe there met at Bruges as commiſſioners for the king of England, the duke of Lancaſter, the earle of Saliſburie, and the biſhop of London. For the French king, the dukes of Aniou, and Burgognie, the earle of Salebruce, and the biſhop of Amiens with others. Finallie, when they could not agree vpon anie good concluſion for peace, they accorded vpon a truce, to indure to the firſt of Maie next inſuing in all the marches of Calis, and vp to the water of Some; but the other places were at libertie to be ſtill in warre: by report of other writers, the truce was agreed vpon to continue till the feaſt of All ſaints next inſuing. About the ſame time that the foreſaid commiſſioners were at Bruges intreating of peace, the duke of Britaine did ſo much with his father in law king Edward, that about the beginning of Aprill he ſent ouer with him into Britaine the earles of Cambridge, March, Warwike, and Stafford, the lord Spenſer, ſir Thomas Holland, ſir Nicholas Camois, ſir Edward Twiford, ſir Richard Ponchardon, ſir Iohn Leſſelles, ſir Thomas Grandſon, ſir Hugh Haſtings, and diuerſe other worthie capteins with a power of three thouſand archers, and two thouſand men of armes, all verie well furniſhed to fight.

The commiſſioners meet at Bruges.

A truce taken betwixt England & Frãce.

Fabian.

Froiſſard.

Tho. Walſ.
An armie ſent ouer into Britaine with the duke.

They landed at ſaint Matthews or Mahe de fine Poterne, where they tooke the caſtell by force, and the towne by ſurrender. From thence they went to Pole de Lion, and wan it likewiſe by force of aſſault, and then went to Brieu de Vaux, a towne ſtronglie fenſed, and well manned. In hope yet to win it, the duke of Britaine and the Engliſh lords laid ſiege to it, but hearing that an Engliſh knight, one ſir Iohn Deureux was beſieged in a fortreſſe which he had newlie made, by the vicount of Roan, the L. Cliſſon, and other of the French part, they raiſed from Brieu de Vaux, and haſted forward to the ſuccor of ſir Iohn Deureux, erneſtlie wiſhing to find their enimies in the field, that they might giue them battell: but the Britiſh lords hearing that the duke and the Engliſhmen approched, made no longer abode, but got them with all ſpeed vnto Campellie a towne of great ſtrength not farre off, and therein cloſed themſelues for their more ſafetie. The duke of Britaine hearing that they were fled thither, followed them, and laid ſiege round about the towne, inforcing himſelfe to obteine the place, and ſo had doone in deed by all likelihood verie ſhortlie, if at the ſame time, by reaſon of a truce taken for twelue moneths, he had not beene commanded by the duke of Lancaſter, without delaie to ceaſſe his war, and breake vp his campe: as he did.

Towns won

Sir Iohn Deureux.

This truce was cõcluded to indure from midſummer in this 1375, vnto midſummer in ẏ yeare next inſuing.
Tho. Walſi.

There were ſundrie meetings of the commiſſioners for this treatie of peace, and ſtill they tooke longer time for continuance of the truce. And bicauſe that Britaine and all the other countries of France (as ſhould ſeeme) were included in this truce, it ſeemeth that this was ſome ſecond truce, and not the firſt truce, which included onelie the marches of Calis, and thoſe parts vp to the water of Some. But howſoeuer it was, the duke of Britaine being in a great forwardneſſe to haue recouered his duchie out of the Frenchmens hands, and to haue reduced his rebellious ſubiects vnder due obeiſance againe, was now by this truce concluded out of time, greatlie diſappointed, and ſo brake vp his ſiege from before Campellie, and ſent home the Engliſh armie. He went himſelfe to Aulroie, where his wife was; and taking

The duke of Britaine diſappointed by the truce.

order for the fortifieng and keeping of thoſe places, which were in his poſſeſſion, he came backe againe into England, and brought his wife with him.

A litle before the concluding of this truce, the Engliſhmen and others within the fortreſſe of ſaint Sauiour le vicount, in the Ile or rather Cloſe (as they call it) of Conſtantine, which had béene long beſieged, made a compoſition, that if they were not reſcued by a certeine daie, then ſhould they yéeld vp the place to the Frenchmen. Now bicauſe this truce was agréed before the daie appointed for the reſcue of that place, with condition that either part ſhould inioy and hold that which at that preſent they had in poſſeſſion, during the terme of the truce; the Engliſhmen thought that ſaint Sauiour le vicount ſhould be ſaued by reaſon of that treatie: but the Frenchmen to the contrarie auouched, that the firſt couenant ought to paſſe the laſt ordinance. So that whẽ the daie approched, the French king ſent thither ſix thouſand ſpeares, knights, and eſquiers, beſide other people: and bicauſe none appeared to giue them battell, they had the towne deliuered to them.

S. Sauiour le vicount yéelded.

Thom. Walſ.
Fabian.

¶ In this 49 yeare of K. Edwards reigne, a great death chanced in this land, and in diuerſe other countries, ſo that innumerable numbers of people died and periſhed of that contagious ſickeneſſe. Amongſt other the lord Edward Spenſer died the ſame yeare, a man of great renowme and valiantneſſe. Alſo the earle of Penbroke, hauing compounded for his ranſome, as he was vpon his returne from Spaine, comming homewards through France, he fell ſicke, and being brought in an horſſelitter to Arras, he died there, on the 16 daie of Aprill, leauing a ſonne behind him not paſt two yeares of age, begot of the counteſſe his wife called Anne, daughter vnto the lord Walter de Mannie. Polydor miſtaking the matter, ſaith that Marie the counteſſe of Penbroke, who builded Penbroke hall in Cambridge, was wife to this John Haſtings earle of Penbroke, whereas in déed ſhe was wife to his anceſtor Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke (as Iohn Stow in his ſummarie hath trulie noted.) She was daughter to Guy earle of ſaint Pole, a worthie ladie and a vertuous, tendering ſo much the wealthfull ſtate of this land (a great part wherof conſiſteth in the good bringing vp of youth, and training them to the knowledge of learning) that for maintenance of ſtudents ſhe began the forſaid commendable foundation, about the yeare of Chriſt 1343, vpon a plot of ground that was hir owne, hauing purchaſed licence thereto of the king, to whom ſhe was of kin.

The lord Spenſer departeth this life.
Polydor.
The earle of Penbroke deceaſſeth.

Iohn Stow.

During that gréeuous mortalitie and cruell peſtilence before remembred, the pope at the inſtant requeſt of the Engliſh cardinals, granted vnto all thoſe that died in England, being ſhriuen and repentant of their ſinnes, cleane remiſſion of the ſame, by two buls incloſed vnder lead. The duke of Lancaſter about the feaſt of All ſaints met with the French commiſſioners againe at Bruges. There was with him the duke of Britaine, the earle of Saliſburie, and the biſhop of London. For the French king there appéered the duke of Burgognie, the earle of Salebruch, and the biſhop of Amiens. And at ſaint Omers laie the duke of Aniou, the archbiſhop of Rauenna; and the biſhop of Carpentras tooke great paine to go to and fro betwéene the parties: but they were ſo far at ods in their demands, and as it were of ſet purpoſe on the French behalfe, that no good could be doone betwixt them. The French king required to haue Calis raced, and to haue againe fourtéene hundred thouſand franks, which were paid for the ranſome of king John. The king of England demanded to haue all the lands reſtored to him in Gaſcoigne and Guien cléerelie exempt of all reſorts. So when nothing could be concluded touching a finall peace, the truce was renewed to indure till the feaſt of S. John Baptiſt next inſuing, which ſhould be in the yeare 1376.

Froiſſard.
Commiſſioners eftſoones met to common of peace.

The demãds on both parts.

1376
Anno Reg. 50.
A parlement.

In this fiftith yeare, king Edward aſſembled his high court of parlement at Weſtminſter, in the which was demanded a ſubſidie of the commons for the defenſe of the kings dominions againſt his enimies. Wherevnto anſwer was made by the common houſe, that they might no longer beare ſuch charges, conſidering the manifold burthens by them ſuſteined in time paſt. And further they ſaid, it was well knowne the king was rich inough to withſtand his enimies, if his monie and treaſure were well imploied: but the land had béene of long time euill guided by euill officers, ſo that the ſame could not be ſtored with chaffer, merchandize, or other riches. The commons alſo declared whom they tooke and iudged to be chéefe cauſer of this diſorder, as the duke of Lancaſter, & the L. Latimer lord chamberleine to the king; alſo dame Alice Perers, whom the king had long time kept to his concubine; and alſo one named ſir Richard Sturrie, by whoſe ſiniſter meanes and euill counſell the king was miſled, and the land euill gouerned. Wherefore the commons by the mouth of their ſpeaker ſir Péers de la Mere, required that thoſe perſons might be remooued from the king, and other more diſcréet ſet in their roomes about his perſon, and ſo put in authoritie, that they might ſée to his honour and weale of the realme, more than the other had doone before them.

The lord Latimer.
Dame Alice Perers.
Sir Richard Sturrie.

The requeſt of the commons.

This requeſt of the commons by ſupport of the prince was allowed, and granted, ſo that the ſaid perſons and other of their affinitie were commanded to depart the court, and other (ſuch as were thought méet by the prince, and the ſage péeres of the realme) were placed in their ſtéeds. ¶ Shortlie after, the commons granted to the king his whole requeſt, ſo that he had of euerie perſon, man and woman, being aboue the age of fourtéene yeares, foure pence, poore people that liued of almeſſe onelie excepted. ¶ Likewiſe the cleargie granted, that of euerie beneficed man, the king ſhould haue twelue pence, and of euerie prieſt not beneficed foure pence (the foure orders of friers onelie excepted.) But yer this monie could be leuied, the king was conſtreined to borrow certeine great ſummes in ſundrie places, and therefore he ſent to the citie of London for foure thouſand pounds. And bicauſe Adam Staple the maior was not diligent in furthering that lone, he was by the kings commandement diſcharged on the 22 daie of March, and Richard Whitington mercer choſen in his place.

The blacke prince departeth this life.

On the eight of June being Trinitie ſundaie (the parlement yet continuing) that noble and famous prince Edward the kings ſonne departed this life within the kings palace at Weſtminſter. His bodie was conueied to Canturburie with great ſolemnitie, and there honorablie buried. He died in the 46 yeare of his age: a prince of ſuch excellent demeanour, ſo valiant, wiſe and politike in his doings, that the verie and perfect repreſentation of knighthood appeared moſt liuelie in his perſon, whileſt he liued, ſo that the loſſe of him ſtroke a generall ſorrow into the harts of all the Engliſh nation. For ſuch was his towardneſſe, or rather perfection in princelie gouernement, that if he had liued and atteined to the crowne, euerie man iudged that he would ſuerlie haue excéeded the glorious renowme of all his anceſtors. This princes death is bréefelie touched by C. Okland, who (after mention made of the great victories atchiued by his father the king againſt his enimies, and concluding him to be verie happie and fortunate in the iſſue of his attempts) ſaith

Polydor.
He is buried at Canturburie.

——*inclytus ille monarcha*
Vndiq; ter fœlix, niſi quòd trux Atropos occat
Ante diem gnati fatalia ſtamina vitæ.

Froiſſard.

The French king kept his obſequie in moſt reuerend wiſe, in the chapell of his palace at Paris. After his death, the king called to him againe the foreſaid perſons, that had béene from him remóoued, and the ſaid ſir Peers de la Mere that was ſpeaker in the parlement (as before yée haue hard) for his eloquence ſhewed in reprouing the miſgouernment of the ſaid perſons (and namelie of the ſaid dame Alice Peres) was now committed to priſon within the caſtell of Notingham. About the ſame time the truce was againe prolonged till the firſt daie of Aprill next following. ¶ King Edward, after the deceaſſe of his ſonne prince Edward, created the lord Richard, ſonne to the ſaid prince, as heire to him, prince of Wales, and gaue to him the earledomes of Cheſter & Cornewall. ¶ Moreouer, bicauſe the king wared féeble and ſicklie through langor (as ſome ſuppoſe) conceiued for the death of his ſonne, he appointed the rule of the relme to his ſonne the duke of Lancaſter, ordeining him as gouernour vnder him, and ſo he continued during his fathers life.

Sir Peers de la Mere.
Fabian.

The truce prolonged.
Polydor.

Polydor.

A riot.
Caxton.

A great riot happened betwixt the ſeruants of the earle of Warwike, and the tenants of the abbat of Eueſham, ſo that manie of the ſaid abbats ſeruants were ſlaine and hurt. The fiſh-ponds and warrens belonging to the abbie were broken and ſpoiled, ſo that greater hurt would haue followed thereof, if the kings letters had not béene ſent downe to the earle, commanding him to ſtaie his men from ſuch miſdemeanours. All the nobles of the realme were cauſed to ſweare, that after the kings deceaſe they ſhuld admit and mainteine Richard prince of Wales for their king and ſouereigne lord. And vpon Chriſtmaſſe day, the king cauſed him to ſit at his table aboue all his owne children, in high eſtate, as repreſenting the perſonage of the heire apparant to the crowne.

The nobles ſworne to the prince of wales.

1377
Anno Reg. 51.
Froiſſard.
Comiſſioners ſet to Bruges

This yeare being the one and fiftith and laſt of king Edwards reigne, there were ſent againe to Bruges as commiſſioners to treat of peace on the part of king Edward, John lord Cobham, the biſhop of Hereford, and the maior of London. And for the French part thither came the earle of Salebruch, monſieur de Chatillon, and Phillibert Leſpoit. And ſtill the two legats were preſent as mediatours betwixt the parties, móouing a mariage to be had, betwixt Richard prince of Wales, and the ladie Marie, daughter to the French king. But they departed in ſunder for this time without anie concluſion. But ſhortlie after in Lent following, there was a ſecret méeting appointed to be had at Montreuill by the ſea, whither came from the king of England, ſir Richard Dangle a Poictouine, ſir Richard Stan, & Geffrie Chaucer. For the French king there appeared the lord Coucie, and others. Theſe commiſſioners treated a long ſeaſon concerning the mariage, and when they had vnderſtanding and felt each others meaning, they departed and made report of the ſame to their maiſters. The truce was againe prolonged till the firſt daie of Maie.

Cõmiſſioners ſent to Montreuill.

The truce eftſoones prolonged.

And in the meane time, the earle of Saliſburie, the biſhop of ſaint Dauie lord chancellour of England, and the biſhop of Hereford went ouer to Calis. In like caſe the lord of Coucie, and ſir William Dorman chancellor of France came to Montreuill. But they durſt not méet at anie indifferent place on the frontiers, for the doubt that either partie had of other, for anie thing the legats could ſaie or dóo. Thus theſe commiſſioners abode in that ſtate till the truce was expired. And when the warre was open, then ſir Hugh Caluerlie was ſent ouer to Calis, to remaine vpon ſafe kéeping of that towne, as deputie there. The earle of Saliſburie, and the other commiſſioners returned into England, and with them the duke of Britaine. On the twelfth day of Aprill this yeare, one ſir John Minſterworth knight, was drawne, hanged, headed, and quartered at Tiborne, being firſt condemned and adiudged to ſuffer that execution before the maior of London, and other the kings iuſtices in the Guildhall, for treaſon by him committed, in defrauding ſouldiers of their wages: for where he had receiued great ſummes of monie to make paiment thereof to them, he reteined the ſame to his owne vſe.

Sir Hugh Caluerlie lieutenant of Calis.

Tho.Walſi.
Fabian.
Sir John Minſterworth beheaded.

Thom. Walſ.

Moreouer (as in the fortie foure yeare of this king yée haue heard) he was the chéefe procurer and ſetter forward of the diſſention that roſe in the armie, which vnder the leading of ſir Robert Knolles was ſent into France. And when in that iournie he had loſt moſt of his men, and was eſcaped himſelfe into England, he laid all the blame on ſir Robert Knolles, accuſing him to the king of heinous treaſon; ſo as the king tóoke no ſmall diſpleaſure againſt the ſaid ſir Robert, inſomuch that he durſt not returne into England, till he had pacified the kings wrath with monie, and that the knowne fidelitie of the man had warranted him againſt the malicious and vntrue ſuggeſtions of his enimies. Wherevpon the ſaid Minſterworth perceiuing his craft to want the wiſhed ſucceſſe, he fled to the French king, and conſpiring with him to annoie the realme of England by bringing the Spaniſh nauie to inuade the ſame, at length he was taken in the towne of Pampilona in Nauarre, and brought backe into England, where he taſted the deſerued fruit of his contriued treaſon (as before yée haue heard.)

Thom.Walſi.
John wiclife.

About this ſeaſon, there roſe in the vniuerſitie of Oxenford a learned man John Wiclife, borne in the north parts, who being a ſecular préeſt, and a ſtudent in diuinitie, began to propone certeine concluſions greatlie contrarie to the doctrine of the church in thoſe daies eſtabliſhed, ſpeciallie he argued againſt móonks, and other men of religion that inioied great riches, and large poſſeſſions. There were diuerſe that gaue góod eare to him, inſomuch that ſundrie learned men of that vniuerſitie preached and ſet foorth the doctrine that he taught. ¶ Amongſt other articles which they held, theſe were the chéefe and principall.

The chéefeſt articles preached by Wiclife.

1 That the ſacrament of the altar, after conſecration, was not the bodie of Chriſt, but a figure thereof.

2 That the church of Rome was no more head of the vniuerſall church than any one other, nor more authoritie was giuen by Chriſt vnto Peter, than to anie other of the apoſtles, and that the pope had no more power in the keies of the church than anie other préeſt whatſoeuer.

3 That temporall lords might both lawfullie and meritoriouſlie take the temporall góods and reuenues from the church, if it offended; and if anie temporall lord knew the church to offend, he was bound vnder paine of damnation to take from it the temporalties.

4 That the goſpell is ſufficient in this life to direct by rule euerie chriſtian man.

5 That all other rules of ſaints, vnder the obſeruing whereof diuers religious dóo liue, ad no more perfection to the goſpell, than waſhing ouer with lime dooth the wall.

6 That the pope, nor anie other prelat of the church, ought to haue anie priſons wherein to puniſh offendors.

Theſe and manie other opinions did theſe men hold and mainteine, and diuerſe lords and great men of the land fauoured their cauſe. But when theſe concluſions were brought before the pope, he condemned the number of 23 of thoſe articles as vaine and hereticall, directing his buls to the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and to the biſhop of London, that they ſhould cauſe the ſaid Wiclife to be apprehended, and examined vpon the ſaid concluſions, which they did in preſence of the duke of Lancaſter, and the lord Percie, and hearing his declaration, commanded him to ſilence, and in no wiſe to deale with thoſe matters from thenceforth, ſo that for a time, both he and his fellowes kept ſilence: but after at the contemplation of diuerſe of the temporall lords, they preached and ſet forth their doctrine againe.

Wiclife & his felowes mainteined by certeine lords.

The ſame day that Wiclife was conuented thus at London, before the biſhops and other lords, thorough a word ſpoken in reproch by the duke of Lancaſter vnto the biſhop of London, ſtreightwaies the Londoners getting them to armour, meant to haue ſlaine the duke, & if the biſhop had not ſtaid them, they had ſuerlie ſet fire on the dukes houſe at the Sauoie: and with much adoo might the biſhop quiet them. Among other reprochfull parts which in deſpite of the duke they committed, they cauſed his armes in the publike ſtréet to be reuerſed as if he had béene a traitor, or ſome notorious offendor. The duke and the lord Henrie Percie, whom the citizens ſought in his owne houſe to haue ſlaine him, if he had béen found, hearing of this riotous ſtur and rebellious commotion, forſooke their dinner and fled to Kenington, where the lord Richard, ſonne to the prince, togither with his mother then remained, exhibiting before their preſence, a grieuous complaint of the opprobrious iniuries doone vnto them, by the wilfull outrage of the Londoners. For this and other cauſes, the citizens were ſore hated of the duke, in ſo much that he cauſed the maior & aldermen that then ruled to be diſcharged of their roomes, and other put in their places.

The duke of Lancaſter in danger by the Londoners.

The lord Percie.

The king being more grieuouſlie vexed with ſickneſſe from daie to daie, either increaſing by the courſe therof, or renewed by ſome new ſurfet, finallie this yeare departed out of this tranſitorie life at his manour of Shéene, now called Richmond, the 21 daie of Iune, in the yeare of our Lord 1377, after he had liued 65 yeares, & reigned fiftie yeares, foure moneths, & 28 daies. His corpſe was conueied from Shéene by his foure ſonnes, namelie Lionell duke of Clarence, Iohn of Gant duke of Lancaſter, Edmund of Langlie duke of Yorke, and Thomas of Woodſtoke earle of Cambridge, with other nobles of the realme, and ſolemnelie interred within Weſtminſter church, with this epitaph in his memoriall:

Tho. Walſi.
The deceaſſe of K. Edward the third.

Fabian, pag. 262, 263.

Hic decus Anglorum, flos regum præteritorum,
Forma futurorum, rex clemens, pax populorum,
Tertius Edwardus, regni complens iubileum,
Inuictus pardus, pollens bellis Machabeum.

His iſſue.

He had iſſue by his wife quéene Philip 7 ſonnes, Edward prince of Wales, William of Hatfield that died yoong, Lionell duke of Clarence, Iohn of Gant duke of Lancaſter, Edmund of Langlie earle of Cambridge & after created duke of Yorke, Thomas of Woodſtoke erle of Buckingham after made duke of Gloceſter, and an other William which died likewiſe yoong. He had alſo thrée daughters, Marie that was maried to Iohn of Mountford duke of Britaine, Iſabell wedded to the lord Coucie earle of Bedford, and Margaret coupled in mariage with the earle of Penbroke.

His praiſe.

This king, beſides other his gifts of nature, was aided greatlie by his ſéemelie perſonage. He had a prouident wit, ſharpe to conceiue and vnderſtand: he was courteous and gentle, dooing all things ſagelie and with good conſideration, a man of great temperance and ſobrietie. Thoſe he chiefelie fauoured and aduanced to honour, and roomes of high dignitie, which excelled in honeſt conuerſation, modeſtie, and innocencie of life, of bodie well made, of a conuenient ſtature, as neither of the higheſt nor loweſt ſort: of face faire and manlike, eies bright and ſhining, and in age bald, but ſo as it was rather a ſéemelineſſe to thoſe his ancient yeares than any diſfiguring to his viſage; in knowledge of martiall affaires verie ſkilfull, as the enterpriſes and worthie acts by him atchiued doo ſufficientlie witneſſe.

His proportion of bodie.

In what eſtimation he was had among ſtrangers it may appeare, in that he was not onelie made vicar of the empire by the emperour Lewes of Bauiere, but alſo after the deceaſe of the ſame emperour, diuerſe of the electours, as Lewes marques of Brandenbourgh, Robert or Rupert count Palatine of the Rhene, and the yoong duke of Saxonie, with Henrie archbiſhop of Mentz, elected him to ſuccéed in place of the ſaid emperour Lewes. Neuertheleſſe, he giuing them hartie thanks for the honour which they did vnto him herein, refuſed to take the charge vpon him, alledging that he could not haue time to ſupplie the roome, by reaſon of the warres that he had in France, to recouer his right which he had to that realme.

This is noted by writers to be a token of great wiſedome in this noble king, that would not go about to catch more than he might well gripe. Examples of bountious liberalitie, and great clemencie he ſhewed manie, and the ſame verie notable; ſo that in maner he alone amongſt all other kings was found to be one, ſubiect to none, or at the leaſt, to verie light and ſmall faults. But yet he was not void of euill haps: for whereas, during the terme of fortie yeares ſpace he reigned in high felicitie, and as one happie in all his dooings: ſo in the reſt of his time that followed, he felt a wonderfull change in fortune (whom writers compare to the moone for hir variableneſſe, and often alterations, as neuer at a ſtaie, ſaieng,

Vultus fortunæ variatur imagine lunæ,
Creſcit, decreſcit, in eodem ſiſtere neſcit)

ſhewing hir ſelfe froward to him in moſt part of his procéedings: for ſuch is the ſtate of this world, ſeldome dooth proſperitie continue, and guide the ſterne of our worldlie dooings, as it well appeared by this noble prince. For in the firſt yeares of his reigne, after he once began to gouerne of himſelfe, he recouered that which had béene loſt in Scotland, by great victories obteined againſt his aduerſaries in that land, and paſſed further into the ſame, than euer his grandfather king Edward the firſt had doone before him, ſubduing the countrie on each hand, ſo that he placed gouernors, and beſtowed offices, lands, and liuings in that realme at his pleaſure.

Proſperitie vnſtable.

¶ Amongſt other (as I remember) there is yet remaining a charter vnder his great ſeale conteining a grant made vnto Iohn Eure and his heires for his good ſeruice doone in thoſe parts, of a manour called Ketnes in the countie of Forfar (which lieth in the north of Scotland) with a market euerie mondaie, and a faire for thrée daies togither at Michaelmaſſe, as the euen, the daie, and the morrow after. Alſo he granted to the ſame Iohn Eure, frée warren thoroughout the ſame lordſhip. This Iohn Eure was anceſtor vnto the lord Eure that now liueth, who hath the ſame charter in his poſſeſſion. ¶ As for this kings victories in France, the ſame were ſuch as might ſéeme incredible, if the conſent of all writers in that age confirmed not the ſame. But as theſe victories were glorious, ſo yet they proued not ſo profitable in the end: for whereas he had ſore burdened his ſubiects with taſkes and ſubſidies, at length they wared wearie, and began to withdraw their forward minds to helpe him with ſuch ſummes

Iohn Stow vpon conference referreth this to the laſt yeare of king Edward the firſt.

as had beene requiſit for the maintenance of the warres, which the Frenchmen prolonged of purpoſe, and refuſed to trie their fortune any more in pight fields, wherby when he was conſtreined to be at continuall charges in ſuch lingering warres, to defend that which he had erſt gotten by force, and couenants of the peace; the ſinewes of warre, to wit monie, began to faile him, and ſo the enimies recouered a great part of that which before time they had loſt, both on the further ſide the ſeas, and likewiſe in Scotland.

This muſt needs be a great greefe vnto a prince of ſuch a ſtout and valiant ſtomach, namelie ſith he had beene ſo long time before accuſtomed to find fortune ſtill ſo fauourable vnto him in all his enterpriſes. But finalie the thing that moſt greeued him, was the loſſe of that moſt noble gentleman, his deere ſonne prince Edward, in whom was found all parts that might be wiſhed in a worthie gouernour. But this and other miſhaps that chanced to him now in his old yeares, might ſeeme to come to paſſe for a reuenge of his diſobedience ſhewed to his father in vſurping againſt him, although it might be ſaid, that he did it by conſtreint, and through the aduiſe of others. But whether the remorſe hereof, or of his other offenſes moued him, it may ſeeme (as ſome write) that the conſideration of this worlds mutabilitie, which he tried to the full, cauſed him (as is thought) to haue in mind the life in the world to come, and therefore of a pure deuotion founded the church and colledge of ſaint Stephan at Weſtminſter, and another at Cambridge called The kings hall, giuing therevnto lands and reuenues, to the maintenance of them that would giue themſelues vnto learning.

Mines of gold & ſiluer.

Towards the maintenance of his warres, and furniſhing forth of ſuch other charges and expenſes as he tooke in hand to beare out, he had ſome helpe by the ſiluer mines in Deuonſhire and Cornewall, in like manner as his grandfather king Edward the firſt had. For one Matthew Crowthorne keeper of his mines in thoſe parts, yeelded diuerſe accounts of the iſſues and profits of the ſame, betweene the ſecond and fifteenth yeare of his reigne, as well for the ſiluer as for the lead, after the ſiluer was fined from it. Alſo Iohn Moneron ſucceeding in the ſame office, accomptant of the profits of the ſame mines, from Michaelmaſſe in the nineteenth yeare of his reigne, vnto the ſecond of Nouember in the three and twentith yeare, yeelded vpon his accounts, both the ſiluer and the lead thereof remaining. Moreouer he let by indenture in the two and thirtith yeare of his reigne, vnto Iohn Ballancer, and Walter Goldbeater, his mines of gold, ſiluer, and copper, in the countie of Deuonſhire, for terme of years. There is an account thereof remaining, and by the ſame (as it appeareth) was anſwered for the firſt yeare twentie markes. The ſecond yeare the patentees died, and the king then diſpoſed the ſame to others. In the eight and twentith yeare of his reigne, he committed by indenture his ſaid mines in Deuonſhire, to one maſter Iohn Hanner, and one Herman Raineſthorpe of Boheme, minors, yeelding to the king the tenth part of the oare, as well of the gold and ſiluer, as of the lead and copper that ſhould be gotten forth of the ſaid mines.

In this kings daies, there liued manie excellent men, both in learning, in vertue, and in martiall proweſſe, as partlie is touched in this diſcourſe of his reigne; and firſt, the ſaid noble and moſt valiant king, the prince of Wales his ſonne ſurnamed the blacke prince, the duke of Lancaſter Iohn of Gant ſonne to the king, and his father in law duke Henrie, Edmund earle of Cambridge, and after duke of Yorke; the earles of Warwike, Huntington, Saliſburie, Stafford, Northampton, Arundell and others; the lord Reginald Cobham, the lord Baſſet, the lord Thomas Holland, the lord Walter de Mannie and Henuier, the lord Edward Spenſer, the lord Iohn Chandois, the lord Iames Audeley, Sir Iohn Copland, ſir Thomas Felton, ſir Robert Knolles, who (as I haue ſaid) being borne in Cheſhire of meane parentage, through his manlie proweſſe, and moſt ſkilfull experience in the warres, grew to be right famous.

Moreouer, ſir Hugh Caluerlie borne in the ſame ſhire, the capitall de Beuſe a Gaſcoigne, ſir Thomas Percie, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir Baldwine Freuill, ſir Iohn Harleſton, ſir Iames Pipe, ſir Thomas Dagworth, & that valiant Engliſh knight ſir Iohn Hawkewood, whoſe fame in the parts of Italie ſhall remaine for euer, where (as their hiſtories make mention) he grew to ſuch eſtimation for his valiant atchiued enterpriſes, that happie might that prince or common-wealth accompt themſelues, that might haue his ſeruice, and ſo liuing there in ſuch reputation, ſomtimes he ſerued the pope, ſomtimes the lords of Millane, now this prince or common-wealth, now that, and other whiles none at all, but taking one towne or other, would keepe the ſame, till ſome liking enterteinment were offered, and then would he ſell ſuch a towne, where he had thus remained, to them that would giue him for it according to his mind. Barnabe lord of Millane gaue vnto him one of his baſe daughters in marriage, with an honorable portion for hir dower.

This man was borne in Eſſex (as ſome write) who at the firſt became a tailor in London, & afterwards going to the warres in France, ſerued in the roome of an archer, but at length he became a capteine and leader of men of war, highlie commended and liked of amongſt the ſouldiers, in ſo much that, when by the peace concluded at Bretignie, in the yeare 1360, great numbers of ſoldiers were diſcharged out of wages, they got themſelues togither in companies, and without commandement of any prince, by whoſe authoritie they might make warre, they fell to of themſelues, and ſore harried and ſpoiled diuerſe countries in the realme of France, as partlie yee haue heard: amongſt whome this ſir Iohn Hawkewood was one of the principall capteins, & at length went into Italie, to ſerue the marques of Montferrato, againſt the duke of Millane: although I remember that ſome write, how he came into that countrie with the duke of Clarence, but I thinke the former report be true: but it may well be, that he was readie to attend the ſaid duke at his comming into Italie. And thus much concerning ſuch famous capteins as ſerued this noble king Edward the third, although for breefeneſſe I paſſe ouer diuerſe other, no leſſe famous and worthie for their high manhood and tried valiancie to be remembred, than theſe afore mentioned.

Of learned men, theſe we find by Iohn Bale regiſtred in the Centuries; Iohn Baconthrop borne in Blackney in Northfolke, a frier Carmelite, and prouinciall of his order, ſo excellentlie learned, as well in diuinitie, as in both the ciuill and canon lawes, that he proceeded doctor in either facultie at Oxenford and Paris, and wrote diuerſe treatiſes, to his high and ſingular commendation; William Ockam, Iohn Bloxham a Carmelite frier, Nicholas Triuet borne in Northfolke, ſonne to ſir Thomas Triuet knight, & one of the kings iuſticiers, proued excellentlie learned, and wrote diuerſe treatiſes, and amongſt other, two hiſtories, and one booke of annales, he was by profeſſion a blacke frier, and departed this life about the ſecond yeare of this king

Edward the third, in the yeare of Chriſt 1328; William Alnewike borne in Northumberland, in the towne whereof he tooke name, a frier Minor; John Tanet borne in the Ile of Tanet, an excellent muſician, and a monke in Canturburie; Hugh of ſaint Neot, a Carmelite frier in Hertfordſhire, a notable diuine as thoſe daies gaue; William Alton borne in Hampſhire, a blacke frier and a diuine.

Furthermore, Richard Stradley borne in the marches of Wales, a monke and a diuine, writing certeine treatiſes of the ſcripture; William Herbert a Welſhman and a frier Minor, wrote alſo certeine goodlie treatiſes of diuinitie; Richard Comington a frier of the order of the Cordeliers, a preacher, and a writer of diuinitie; William Exeter a doctor of diuinitie, and a prebendarie canon in Exeter, whereas it is thought he was borne; Lucas Boſden a weſterne man, and by profeſſion a Carmelite frier; Thomas Walleis a Dominike frier, a great diuine, as by ſuch bookes as he wrote it may appeare; Thomas Pontius a monke of Canturburie, John Ridewall a graie frier, Henrie Coſteſay or Coſſey a frier Minor, Geffrie Aleuant borne in Yorkeſhire, a frier Carmelite; John Euerſden, a monke in Burie in Suffolke, an hiſtoriographer; Simon Burneſton, a doctor of the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, and prouinciall of the friers Dominike or blacke friers, as they called them here in England; Walter Burlie a doctor of diuinitie, who in his youth was brought vp, not onlie in Martine college in Oxford, but alſo in the Vniuerſities and ſchooles abroad beyond the ſeas, in France and Germanie, & afterwards for his wiſedome, good demeanor & learning, he was reteined with the biſhop of Vlmes in Suabenland, a region in high Germanie.

Amongſt other treatiſes which he compiled, being manie, and namelie of naturall philoſophie, he wrote a commentarie of the ethikes of Ariſtotle, and dedicated the ſame vnto the ſaid biſhop, a worke which hath beene highlie eſteemed, not onelie in the Vniuerſities of Italie, Germanie and France, but alſo here in our Vniuerſities of England. To conclude, ſuch was the fame of this doctor Burlie, that when the ladie Philip, daughter to the earle of Henault ſhould come ouer into England to be married to king Edward, this doctor Burlie was reteined by hir, and appointed to be hir almoner, and ſo continued in great eſtimation, in ſo much that after Edward prince of Wales, eldeſt ſonne to king Edward commonlie called the blacke prince, was borne, and able to learne his booke, the ſaid Burlie among other was commanded to be one of his inſtructors.

By reaſon hereof, ſir Simon Burlie, of whom I haue made ſome mention heretofore in this kings life, and more intend to ſpeake, as occaſion ſerueth in the next king, being ſonne to ſir John Burlie, neere kinſman to the ſaid doctor Burlie, was admitted among other yoong gentlemen, to be ſchoolefelow with the ſaid prince, by occaſion whereof he grew in ſuch credit and fauour with the ſaid prince, that afterwards when his ſon Richard of Burdeaux, that ſucceeded king Edward his father, was borne, the ſaid prince for ſpeciall truſt and confidence which he had in the ſaid ſir Simon Burlie, cōmitted the gouernance & education of his ſon the ſaid Richard vnto him, whereby he was euer after highlie in fauour with the ſaid Richard, and no leſſe aduanced by him, when he came to inioy the crowne of this realme.

But now to other learned men of that age. John Barwike a frier Minor, and reader to his fellowes of that order in Oxford; William Notingham, Roger Olacton, borne in Huntingtonſhire, an Auguſtin frier; John Poleſteed borne in Suffolke, a Carmelite frier in Ipſwich or Gippeſwich as they write it; Walter Kingham a frier alſo of the order of thoſe Dominikes, which they called pied friers; Roger of Cheſter a monke of that citie and an hiſtoriographer; Thomas de Hales a frier Minor, Robert Eliphat a graie frier, Geffrie Grandfield an Auguſtine or blacke frier, Hugh Wirlie a Carmelite frier of Norwich, William Eincourt a blacke frier of Boſton, Hugh Ditton borne in Cambridgeſhire a frier preacher, Adam Carthuſianus a doctor of diuinitie, John Luttrell an excellent philoſopher and well ſeene in the mathematicals, Walter Cotton and Thomas Eckleſton both graie friers, John Folſham a Carmelite frier in Norwich, Benet of Northfolke, William Southhampton ſo called of the towne where he was borne, a blacke frier.

Moreouer, John Burgh a monke wrote an hiſtorie, and certeine homilies; Adam Nidzard a maſter of art, Edmund Albon, Robert Counton a graie frier, William Liſſie a frier Minor, John Kepingale borne in Lincolneſhire a Carmelite or white frier, as they called them; Chriſtopher Mothuſenſis a blacke frier, Richard Aungeruile borne in Suffolke, who was biſhop of Dureſme, and lord chancellor of England; John Manduith, Walter Heminford a canon of Giſborne an hiſtoriographer, John Olnie borne in Gloceſterſhire, in an Ile ſo called, whereof he tooke his ſurname a Chartreux monke; Thomas Staueſhaw a frier Minor in Briſtow, Robert of Leiceſter taking that ſurname of the towne where he was borne, a Franciſcane or graie frier; John of Northhampton borne in that towne, and a Carmelite frier, an excellent mathematician.

Adde to the foreſaid learned men, Robert Worſop borne in Yorkeſhire, and a blacke frier in Tickill; William Bruniard a blacke frier, Richard Chicheſter, a monke of Weſtminſter wrote an excellent chronicle, beginning the ſame at the comming in of the Saxons, about the yeare of our Lord 449, and continued it till the yeare 1348; Richard Rolle *alias* Hampole an excellent diuine wrote many treatiſes; John Guent a Welſhman, a Franciſcane frier, and prouinciall of the order; Rodulph Radiptorius a frier Minor, Robert Holcoth a blacke frier, borne in Northampton, excellentlie learned, and wrote manie works, both of diuinitie and other arguments; William Miluerlie a logician or rather a ſophiſter, John Teukeſburie, Thomas Bradwardin borne in Hartfield, a towne within the dioceſſe of Chicheſter, archbiſhop of Canturburie ſucceeding John Offord, he wrote againſt the Pelagians; Richard Wetherſet, William Breton a graie frier, a Welſhman borne, as Bale ſuppoſeth; John of ſaint Faith, borne in Northfolke, a Carmelite frier of Brumham.

Furthermore, John Goodwicke borne alſo in Northfolke, an Auguſtine frier of Lin; William Rothwell a blacke frier, Geffrie Waterton monke of Burie, Richard Fitz Rafe, whom ſome take to be an Iriſhman, but a ſtudent in Oxford, and ſcholer to John Baconthorpe profited highlie, & wrote manie treatiſes, he was firſt archdeacon of Lichfield, and after chancellor of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, and at length archbiſhop of Ardmachan in Ireland; Richard Kilington a doctor of diuinitie, William Griſant a notable phyſician, ſurnamed of the countrie where he was borne Anglicus, he led the later end of his life at Marſeilles in Prouance, & had a ſon that was abbat of the regular canons of that citie, who at length was aduanced to gouerne the ſee of Rome, & named Vrbane the fift; John Paſchall borne in Suffolke, a Carmelite frier in Gippeſwich, and by K. Edward the third preferred to the biſhoprike of Landaffe; Adam Woodham a frier Minor, Simon Henton a blacke frier, William de Pagula; of John Wicliffe ye haue heard before.

Pope Vrban the fift.

Moreouer, Geffrie Hardebie a blacke frier of Leiceſter, William Binham, Roger Counwey a Welſhman borne in Counwey a grey frier, Richard Billingham, William Doroch a lawier, John Billingworth an excellent philoſopher, aſtronomer, and phyſician; William of Couentrie a frier Carmelite, profeſſed and borne in the ſame citie; Ranulfe Higden a moonke of Cheſter and borne in thoſe parts, an hiſtoriographer; John Eaſtwood *alias* Aſchenton an excellent philoſopher, Thomas Ratclife borne in Leiceſter, and an Auguſtine frier in Leiceſter towne; Bartholomew Glanuille deſcended of noble parentage, as of the linage of thoſe Glanuilles that were ſometimes earles of Suffolke, as Bale ſaith; Robert Computiſta a moonke of Burie, John Wilton a moonke of Weſtminſter, Simon Wichingham a frier Carmelite of Norwich, John Deir a northerne man borne a notable diuine.

Furthermore, Simon Iſlep, founder of Canturburie colledge in Oxenford, wrote diuerſe treatiſes, he was archbiſhop of Canturburie, as before yee haue heard; George Chadley, John of Tinmouth vicar of that towne in the biſhoprike of Durham, Peter Babion, Walter Wiborne or Wimborne, Nicholas de Lin borne in the towne of that name in Northfolke, a Carmelite frier by profeſſion, but as excellent an aſtronomer as was in thoſe daies: John Ridington borne in Lincolneſhire a frier minor in Stafford, Adam a moonke of the Ciſteaux order, Roger Wihelpedale a mathematician, Simon de Feuerſham parſon of Birton in Kent, Matthew Weſtmonaſterienſes, who wrote the booke called *Flores hiſtoriarum*; John Elin a Carmelite borne in Northfolke, liued in theſe daies, but departed this life in king Richard the ſeconds daies; Thomas de Sturey an Auguſtine frier, Sertorious Gualenſis a Welſhman borne.

Moreouer, Simon de Tunſteed a gray frier, borne in Northfolke, prouinciall of the gray friers in England; Thomas Stubs borne in Yorkeſhire a blacke frier, Robert Langland a ſecular preeſt borne in Salopſhire in Mortimers Cliberie, Lewes Kaerleon a Welſhman an excellent aſtronomer and mathematician, John Garanſon, Nicholas Durham a Carmelite frier of Newcaſtell, William Fleet an heremite wrote ſundrie treatiſes, exhorting his countrimen of England to repentance, to auoid the vengeance elſe likelie to come; John Stafford a frier minor, borne in Stafford, whereof he tooke name; Thomas Rugſteed a blacke frier, Rafe Stride an excellent logician, William de ſancta Fide, or of ſaint Faith, ſo called of the towne in Northfolke, where he was borne, a Carmelite frier.

To conclude, John Mandeuille knight, that great traueller, liued in thoſe daies, and departed this life at Liege, the ſeuenteenth of Nouember, in the yeare 1372. Thomas of Douer a moonke of the abbeie there, Henrie Knighton wrote an hiſtorie intituled *De geſtis Anglorum*, John Stokes borne in Suffolke an Auguſtine frier, John Hornebie a frier Carmelite of Boſton, Henrie Bederike or (as other rather will) of Burie an Auguſtine frier, Simon Alcocke a diuine, Utred Balton borne in the marches of Wales a moonke of Durham, William Jordan an Auguſtine frier, John Hilton a frier minor, William de Lincolne a Carmelite, borne and profeſſed in that citie, whereof he tooke his ſurname; Adam Sarlingham a frier of the ſame order, but borne in Northfolke; Simon Mepham a prebend of Chicheſter, and a great diuine; John Bamton a Carmelite, and ſtudent in Cambridge; John Wichingham a gray frier: and diuerſe other, which for that we are not certeine in what age they liued, we here paſſe ouer.

Thus farre Edward the third, ſonne to Edward the ſecond and queene Iſabell.

Richard the ſecond, the ſecond ſonne to Edvvard prince of Wales.

Anno Reg. 1.
1377

Fabian.

RIchard, the ſecond of that name, and ſonne to prince Edward, called the blacke prince, the ſonne of king Edward the third, a child of the age of eleuen yeares, began to reigne ouer the realme of England the two and twentith daie of June, in the yeare of the world 5344, of our Lord 1377, after the conqueſt 310, about the two and thirtith yeare of the emperour Charles the fourth, and in the foureteenth yeare of Charles the fift king of France, and about the ſeuenth yeare of the reigne of Robert the ſecond king of Scotland: he was named Richard of Burdeaux, bicauſe he was borne at Burdeaux in Gaſcoigne, whileſt his father ruled there. The day before it was vnderſtood, that his grandfather king Edward was departed this life, being the one and twentith of June (on which daie neuertheleſſe he deceaſſed) the citizens of London hauing certeine knowledge that he could not eſcape his ſickneſſe, ſent certeine aldermen vnto Kingſton, where the prince with his mother the princeſſe then laie, to declare vnto the ſaid prince their readie good wils, to accept him for their lawfull king and gouernour, immediatlie after it ſhould pleaſe God to call to his mercie his grandfather, being now paſt hope of recouerie of health. Wherefore they

Thom. Walſ.

The Londoners ſent to K. Richard, commending themſelues to his fauour before ỹ death of K. Edward.

beſought him, to haue their citie recommended vnto his good grace, and that it would pleaſe him to viſit the ſame with his preſence, ſith they were readie in all ſorts to honour and obeie him, and to ſpend both liues and goods in his cauſe, if need required.

Moreouer, they beſought him, that it might pleaſe his grace to make an end of the diſcord betwixt the citizens, and the duke of Lancaſter, which through the malice of ſome had beene raiſed, to the commoditie of none, but to the diſcommoditie of diuerſe. When John Philpot, one of the foreſaid aldermen, that had the words in all their names, had ended his oration, he was anſwered by the prince and his councell, that he would indeuour himſelfe in all things to ſatiſfie their requeſts, and ſo were they ſent home to bring a ioifull anſwer of their meſſage to the citie. The morrow after, there were ſent to London from the king, the lord Latimer, ſir Nicholas Bond, ſir Simon Burlie, ⁊ ſir Richard Adderburie, knights; to bring them ſorrowfull newes of the aſſured death of king Edward, who (as we haue ſaid) deceaſſed the day before; but comfortable newes againe, of the great towardlineſſe and good meaning of the yoong king, who promiſed to loue them and their citie, and to come to the ſame citie, as they had deſired him to doo. And further, that he had ſpoken to the duke of Lancaſter in their behalfe, and that the duke had ſubmitted himſelfe to him in all things touching the cauſe; whervpon the kings pleaſure was, that they ſhould likewiſe ſubmit themſelues, and he would doo his indeuor, that an agreement might be had to the honor of the citizens, and profit of the citie.

John Philpot.

The duke of Lancaſter ⁊ the Lōdoners ſubmit their quarels to the kings order.

The citizens liked not of this forme of proceeding in the dukes matter, bicauſe the king was yoong, and could not giue order therein, but by ſubſtitutes: yet at length with much adoo, they were contented to ſubmit themſelues, as the duke had doone before, though not, till that the knights had vndertaken vpon their oth of fidelitie and knighthood, that their ſubmiſſion ſhould not redound to the temporall or bodilie harme of any of them, conſenting to the kings will in this point. And ſo with this caution they tooke their iournie towards Sheene, where they found the new K. with his mother, the duke of Lancaſter ⁊ his brethren, vncles to the king, and diuerſe biſhops, about the bodie of the deceaſſed king. When it was knowen that the Londoners were come, they were called before the king, by whom the matter was ſo handled, that the duke and they were made freends. After this, when the king ſhould ride through the citie towards the coronation, the ſaid duke and the lord Percie riding on great horſes before him, as by vertue of their offices appointed to make way before, vſed themſelues ſo courteouſlie, modeſtlie, and pleaſantlie, that where before they two were greatlie ſuſpected of the common people, by reaſon of their great puiſſance in the realme, and huge rout of reteiners, they ordered the matter ſo, that neither this day, nor the morrow after, being the day of the kings coronation, they offended any maner of perſon, but rather by gentle and ſweet demeanour they reclaimed the harts of manie, of whome before they were greatlie had in ſuſpicion, and thought euill of. ¶But now, ſith we are entred into the matter of this kings coronation, we haue thought good breefelie to touch ſome particular point thereof (as in Thomas Walſingham we find it) though nothing ſo largelie here, as the author himſelfe ſetteth it forth, bicauſe the purpoſe of this worke will not ſo permit.

The maner ⁊ order of the kings coronation.

The king, in riding thorough the citie towards Weſtminſter, on the 15 daie of Julie being wedneſdaie, was accompanied with ſuch a traine of the nobilitie and others, as in ſuch caſe was requiſite. Sir Simon Burlie bare the ſword before him, and ſir Nicholas Bond lead the kings horſſe by the bridle on foot. The noiſe of trumpets and other inſtruments was maruellous, ſo that this ſeemed a day of ioy and mirth, a day that had beene long looked for, bicauſe it was hoped, that now the quiet orders and good lawes of the land, which thorough the ſlouthfulneſſe of the aged king deceaſſed, and couetouſneſſe of thoſe that ruled about him, had beene long baniſhed, ſhould now be renewed and brought againe in vſe. The citie was adorned in all ſorts moſt richlie. The water conduits ran with wine for the ſpace of three houres togither. In the vpper end of Cheape, was a certeine caſtell made with foure towers, out of the which caſtell, on two ſides of it, there ran forth wine abundantlie. In the towers were placed foure beautifull virgins, of ſtature and age like to the king, apparelled in white veſtures, in euerie tower one, the which blew in the kings face, at his approching neere to them, leaues of gold; and as he approched alſo, they threw on him and his horſſe florens of gold counterfeit.

When he was come before the caſtell, they tooke cups of gold, and filling them with wine at the ſpouts of the caſtell, preſented the ſame to the king and to his nobles. On the top of the caſtell, betwixt the foure towers, ſtood a golden angell, holding a crowne in his hands, which was ſo contriued, that when the king came, he bowed downe ⁊ offered to him the crowne. But to ſpeake of all the pageants and ſhewes which the citizens had cauſed to be made, and ſet forth in honour of their new king, it were ſuperfluous; euerie one in their quarters ſtriuing to ſurmount other, and ſo with great triumphing of citizens, and ioy of the lords and noble men, he was conueied vnto his palace at Weſtminſter, where he reſted for that night. The morrow after being thurſdaie, and the 16 day of Julie, he was fetcht to the church with proceſſion of the biſhops and monks, and comming before the high altar, where the pauement was couered with rich clothes of tapiſtrie, he there kneeled downe and made his praiers, whileſt two biſhops ſong the Letanie, which being finiſhed, the king was brought to his ſeat, the queere ſinging an antheme, beginning, *Firmetur manus tua.*

That doone, there was a ſermon preached by a biſhop touching the dutie of a king, how he ought to behaue himſelfe towards the people, and how the people ought to be obedient vnto him. The ſermon being ended, the king receiued his oth before the archbiſhop and nobles: which doone, the archbiſhop hauing the lord Henrie Percie lord marſhall going before him, turned him to euerie quarter of the church, declaring to the people the kings oth, and demanding of them, if they would ſubmit themſelues vnto ſuch a prince ⁊ gouernor, and obeie his commandements: and when the people with a lowd voice had anſwered that they would obeie him, the archbiſhop vſing certeine praiers, bleſſed the king; which ended, the archbiſhop came vnto him, and tearing his garments from the higheſt part to the loweſt, ſtripped him to his ſhirt. Then was brought by earles, a certeine couerture of cloth of gold, vnder the which he remained, whileſt he was annointed.

The archbiſhop (as we haue ſaid) hauing ſtripped him, firſt annointed his hands, then his head, breſt, ſhoulders, and the ioints of his armes with the ſacred oile, ſaieng certeine praiers, and in the meane time did the queere ſing the antheme, beginning, *Vnxerunt regem Salomonem, &c.* And the archbiſhop added another praier, *Deus Dei filius, &c.* Which ended, he and the other biſhops ſong the hymne, *Veni creator ſpiritus,* the king kneeling in a long veſture, ⁊ the archbiſhop with his ſuffraganes about him. When the hymne was ended, he was lift vp by the archbiſhop, and clad firſt with the coate of ſaint Edward, and after with his mantell, a ſtoale being caſt about his necke, the archbiſhop in the meane time ſaieng certeine praiers appointed for the purpoſe. After this, the archbiſhop and biſhops deliuered to him the ſword, ſaieng, *Accipe gladium, &c.*

When that praier was ended, two earles girded him with the ſword, which doone, the archbiſhop gaue to him bracelets, ſaieng, *Accipe armillas, &c.* After this, the archbiſhop did put vpon him an vppermoſt veſture, called a pall, ſaieng, *Accipe pallium, &c.* In the meane time, whileſt the archbiſhop bleſſed the kings crowne, he to whoſe office it apperteined, did put ſpurs on his heeles. After the crowne was bleſſed, the archbiſhop ſet it on his head, ſaieng, *Coronet te Deus, &c.* Then did the archbiſhop deliuer to him a ring, with theſe words, *Accipe annulum, &c.* Immediatlie herewith came the lord Furniuall by vertue of his office, offering to him a red gloue, which the archbiſhop bleſſed, and putting it on his hand, gaue to him the ſcepter, with theſe words, *Accipe ſceptrum, &c.* Then did the archbiſhop deliuer to him in his other hand a rod, in the top whereof ſtood a doue, with theſe words, *Accipe virgam virtutis, &c.* After this the archbiſhop bleſſed the king, ſaieng, *Benedicat de Deus, &c.*

Theſe things doone, the king kiſſed the biſhops and abbats, by whome he was lead afterwards vnto his ſeat, the biſhops beginning to ſing (*Te deum*) which ended, the archbiſhop ſaid to him, *Sta & retine amodò locum, &c.* When theſe things were finiſhed, they began maſſe, the biſhop of Worceſter read the epiſtle, and the biſhop of Elie the goſpell. At the offertorie, the king roſe from his ſeat, and was brought to offer. He therfore offered firſt his ſword, and after ſo much gold as he would, but no leſſe than a marke, by reaſon of the cuſtome; for more he might offer to God and S. Peter, but leſſe he could not. After this, he offered bread and wine, with which he and the archbiſhop did after communicate. This doone, the earle, to whome it apperteined to beare the ſword before the king, redeemed the ſword which the king had offered with monie, and receiuing the ſame, bare it afore the king. When maſſe ſhould be ſoong, the king was brought againe to the altar, & there kneeling downe, and ſaieng *Confiteor* to the archbiſhop, did communicate, and ſo was brought backe to his ſeat. The wardens of the cinque ports by their office, as well in time of the proceſſion, as when he was annointed alſo at maſſe time, and as he returned from the church to the palace to dinner, held ouer him a large canopie of blew veluet, faſtened vnto foure ſtaues at the foure corners.

In the meane time, ſir John Dimmocke that claimed to be the kings champion, had beene at the kings armorie and ſtable, where he had choſen according to his tenure, the beſt armour ſaue one, and the beſt ſteed ſaue one: albeit, ſir Baldwine Freuill claimed the ſame office, but could not obteine it; ſo that the ſaid ſir John Dimmocke hauing armed himſelfe, and being mounted on horſſebacke, came to the abbeie gates, with two riding before him, the one carrieng his ſpeare, and the other his ſhield, ſtaieng there till maſſe ſhould be ended. But the lord Henrie Percie lord marſhall, appointed to make waie before the king with the duke of Lancaſter lord Steward, the lord Thomas of Woodſtoke lord conſtable, and the lord marſhals brother ſir Thomas Percie, being all mounted on great horſſes, came to the knight, and told him, that he ought not to come at that time, but when the king was at dinner, and therefore it ſhould be good for him to vnarme himſelfe for a while, and take his eaſe and reſt, till the appointed time were come.

The knight did as the lord marſhall willed him, and ſo after his departure, the king hauing thoſe lords riding afore him, was borne on knights ſhoulders vnto his palace, and ſo had to his chamber, where he reſted a while, being ſomewhat faint with trauell, and tooke a ſmall refection. After this, comming into the hall, he created foure new earles, before he ſat downe to meat; to wit, his vncle the lord Thomas de Woodſtoke earle of Buckingham, to whome he gaue a thouſand marks a yeare out of his treaſurie, till he prouided him of lands to the like value. The lord Guiſhard de Engoleſme, that had beene his tutor, was created earle of Huntington, to whome he gaue likewiſe a thouſand marks annuitie, till he were prouided of lands of like value. The lord Mowbraie was created earle of Nottingham, and the lord Henrie Percie earle of Northumberland. He made alſo nine knights the ſame daie.

To ſhew what roiall ſeruice was at this feaſt, it paſſeth our vnderſtanding to deſcribe: but to conclude, the fare was exceeding ſumptuous, and the furniture princelie in all things, that if the ſame ſhould be rehearſed, the reader would perhaps doubt of the truth therof. ¶In the midſt of the kings palace was a marble piller raiſed hollow vpon ſteps, on the top whereof was a great gilt eagle placed, vnder whoſe feet in the chapiter of the piller, diuers kinds of wine came guſhing forth at foure ſeuerall places all the daie long, neither was anie forbidden to receiue the ſame, were he neuer ſo poore or abiect. On the morrow after the coronation, there was a generall proceſſion of the archbiſhop, biſhop, and abbats then preſent, with the lords, and a great multitude of people, to praie for the king and the peace of the kingdome.

At the going forth of this proceſſion, the biſhop of Rocheſter preached, exhorting them, that the diſſentions and diſcords which had long continued betwixt the people and their ſuperiours, might be appeaſed and forgotten, prouing by manie arguments, that the ſame highlie diſpleaſed God. He admoniſhed the lords, not to be ſo extreme and hard towards the people. On the other part, he exhorted the people in neceſſarie cauſes, for the aid of the king and realme, cheerefullie, and without grudging, to put to their helping hands, according to their bounden duties. He further exhorted thoſe in generall that were appointed to be about the king, that they ſhould forſake vice, and ſtudie to liue in cleaneſſe of life and vertue. For if by their example the king were trained to goodneſſe, all ſhould be well; but if he declined through their ſufferance from the right waie, the people and kingdome were like to fall in danger to periſh. After the ſermon and proceſſion were ended, the lords and prelats went to their lodgings.

But now, bicauſe the Engliſhmen ſhould haue their ioies mingled with ſome ſorrowes, it chanced that the Frenchmen (which about the ſame time that the kings grandfather departed this life, were waſting on the ſeas) within ſix or ſeauen daies after his deceaſſe, burnt the towne of Rie. Wherevpon, immediatlie after the coronation, the earles of Cambridge and Buckingham were ſent with a power vnto Douer, and the earle of Saliſburie vnto Southampton: but in the meane time, to wit, the one and twentith of Auguſt, the Frenchmen entring the Ile of Wight, burnt diuerſe townes in the ſame. And though they were repelled from the caſtell, by the valiant manhood of ſir Hugh Tirrell capteine thereof, who laid no ſmall number of them on the ground; yet they conſtreined the men of the Ile to giue them a thouſand marks of ſiluer to ſaue the reſidue of their houſes and goods, and ſo they departed from thence, ſailing ſtill along the coſts, and where they ſaw aduantage, ſet on land, burning ſundrie towns neere to the ſhore, as Porteſmouth, Dartmouth, and Plimmouth.

Froiſſard.
Rie burnt by yͤ Frenchmen

Tho. Walſ.
The Frenchmen ſpoile the Ile of wight.
Sir Hugh Tirrell.

Froiſſard.
Tho. Walſi.
Portſmouth, Dartmouth, & Plimmouth, burnt by the French.

Haſtings burnt.

An ouerthrow giuen by the Frẽch to the Engliſhmen.

They made countenance alſo to haue ſet on Southhampton, if ſir John Arundell, brother to the earle of Arundell had not beene readie there with a number of men of armes and archers, by whom the towne was defended, and the eninies chaſed to their ſhips. From thence the Frenchmen departed, and ſailing towards Douer, burnt Haſtings; but Winchelſie they could not win, being valiantlie defended by the abbat of Battell, and others. After this, they landed one day not far from the abbeie of Lewes, at a place called Rottington, where the prior of Lewes, and two knights, the one named ſir Thomas Cheinie, and the other ſir John Falleſlie, hauing aſſembled a number of the countrie people, incountred the Frenchmen, but were ouerthrowen; ſo that there were ſlaine about an hundred Engliſhmen; and the prior, with the two knights, and an eſquier called John Brokas, were taken priſoners, but yet the Frenchmen loſt a great number of their owne men at this conflict, and ſo with their priſoners retired to their ſhips and gallies, and after returned into France.

Polydor.

The duke of Lancaſter & the earle of Cambridge appointed protectors.

But now touching the dooings about the new K. You ſhall vnderſtand, that by reaſon of his yoong yeares, as yet he was not able to gouerne himſelfe, and therefore John duke of Lancaſter, and Edmund earle of Cambridge, with other péeres of the realme, were appointed to haue the adminiſtration. He was of good diſpoſition and towardneſſe, but his age being readie to incline which way ſoeuer a man ſhould bend it, thoſe that were appointed to haue the gouernement of his perſon, did what laie in them now at the firſt, to kéepe him from all maner of light demeanor. But afterwards, when euerie one began to ſtudie more for his owne priuate commoditie, than for the aduancement of the common-wealth, they ſet open the gates to other, which being readie to corrupt his good nature, by little and little grew familiar with him, and dimming the brightneſſe of true honour, with the counterfeit ſhine of the contrarie, ſo maſkered his vnderſtanding, that in the end they brought him to tract the ſteps of lewd demeanor, and ſo were cauſers both of his and their owne deſtruction. This ſéemeth to be touched by C.Okland, who ſpeaking of the death of the old king and the erection of the new, ſaith of him according to our annales, as followeth:

In Angl. prel.

Vndecimum puer hic nondum tranſegerat annum,
Cùm iuuenile caput geſſit diademate cinctum.
Qui poſtquam princeps iuſtis adoleuerat annis,
Dicere non facile eſt quantum diſtaret auitis
Moribus atque animo, fuit hic quàm diſpare mente,
Diſsimili ingenio claræ matrique patrique.

Froiſſard.

Berwike caſtell woone by the Scots.

Berwike caſtell recouered by the Engliſhmen.

The Frenchmen not ignorant of ſuch miſchéefes as were like to grow in England, ſuffered no time to paſſe, but tooke occaſions of aduantage when they were offered. ¶ Among other enterpriſes I find, that ſhortlie after the deceaſſe of king Edward, the duke of Burgognie wan Arde, and two or thrée other fortreſſes in thoſe marches. The Scots this yeare alſo wan the caſtell of Berwike by ſtealth one morning, but ſhortlie vpon knowledge had, the earles of Northumberland and Notingham, the lords Neuill, Lucie, Graiſtoke, & Stafford, with other lords, knights, and eſquiers, came with their powers in all haſt thither, and entring the towne, beſieged the caſtell, and finallie, aſſaulting them that kept it, wan it of them by force, and ſlue all thoſe Scotiſhmen which they found within it, except Alexander Ramſie their capteine. When the Engliſhmen had thus recouered the caſtell, they entered into Scotland, in hope to find the Scots, and to fight with them whom they knew to be aſſembled.

An ouerthrow giuen by the Scots to the Engliſhmen.

The Engliſh hoſt was thrée thouſand men of armes, & ſeuen thouſand archers, but they ſent foorth ſir Thomas Muſgraue with thrée hundred ſpeares, and thrée hundred archers, to Meuros, to trie if he might vnderſtand any thing of the Scots in thoſe parts, with whom the earle Dowglas, hauing with him ſeuen hundred ſpeares, and two thouſand of other called yomen with glaiues and other weapons, incountered by chance and diſtreſſed him & his companie. Sir Thomas Muſgraue himſelfe, and ſir ſcore other, were taken priſoners, beſides thoſe that were ſlaine, the reſidue eſcaped by flight, making the beſt ſhift they could for themſelues. The lord Neuill, ſir Thomas Triuet, ſir William Scrope, and diuerſe other valiant capteins of England, were ſent into Gaſcoigne this yeare, which firſt landed at Burdeaux, on the euen of the Natiuitie of our ladie, where after they had reſted them a while, they went and raiſed the ſiege, which the Frenchmen had held before Mortaigne in Poictou a long time before.

The ſiege of Mortaigne raiſed.

Gouernour of this ſiege at the firſt, was Yuan or Owen of Wales, but he was murthered one morning as he ſat alone viewing the caſtell, and combing his head, by one of his owne countriemen, which vnder colour to ſerue him, was become with him verie familiar. This Owen or Yuan whether ye will (for all is one) was ſonne to a noble man of Wales, whom K. Edward had put to death for ſome offenſe by him committed, where this Yuan got him into France, being as then verie yoong, and was brought vp in the French court, and prooued an expert man of warre, ſo that great lamentation was made for his death by the Frenchmen. But the Engliſhmen, although they miſliked the maner of his death, yet they were not greatlie ſorrowfull for the chance, ſith they were rid thereby of an extreame enimie.

After that the Engliſhmen had raiſed the Frenchmen from the ſiege of Mortaigne, they returned to Burdeaux, and after recouered ſundrie caſtels and fortreſſes in the marches of Burdelois, and about Baionne. Alſo they aided the king of Nauarre, againſt the king of Caſtile, and made a road into the confines of Caſtile. But ſhortlie after, a peace was concluded betwixt thoſe two kings, ſo that the lord Charles of Nauarre ſhould marrie the daughter of the king of Caſtile vpon certeine conditions: and ſo the Engliſhmen had their wages trulie paid them to their full contentation, and therevpon returned.

A parlement. Thom. Walſ.

About Michaelmaſſe began a parlement that was ſummoned at Weſtminſter, which continued till the feaſt of ſaint Andrew. In this parlement the foreſaid ſir Peter de la Mere and other the knights that had béene ſo earneſt againſt dame Alice Peres in the laſt parlement holden by king Edward the third, ſo proſecuted the ſame cauſe now in this parlement, that the ſaid dame Alice Peres was baniſhed the realme, and all hir goods moueable and vnmoueable forfeited to the king, bicauſe contrarie to that ſhe had promiſed by oth in the ſaid laſt parlement, ſhe had preſumed to come within the court, and to obteine of the king what ſoeuer was to hir liking.

Two citizens of London appointed to kéepe the ſubſidie granted by parlement.

Sir Hugh Caluerlie a valiant capteine.

There were two tenths granted by the clergie to the king in this parlement, and two fiftéenes of the temporaltie, to be paid the ſame yeare; and two citizens of London, William Walworth, and John Philpot were appointed to haue the kéeping of that monie, to the end it might be imploied to the kings neceſſarie vſes, for the defenſe of the realme. Sir Hugh Caluerlie being deputie of Calis, comming one morning to Bullongne, burnt certeine ſhips which laie there in the hauen, to the number of ſix and twentie, beſides two proper barkes, being veſſels of no ſmall accompt: and hauing ſpoiled and burnt the moſt part of the baſe towne, he returned to Calis with a great rich bootie of goods and cattell.

Alſo, where the caſtell of Marke, in abſence of the

Marke caſtell recouered by ſir Hugh Caluerlie, the ſame daie it was loſt.

capteine ſir Robert de Salle, that was gone ouer into England, was loſt through negligence of them that were left in charge within it; the ſame ſir Hugh Caluerlie made ſuch ſpeed in the matter, that he recouered it againe the ſame daie it was loſt, by force of aſſault, taking the Frenchmen priſoners that were gotten into it, and hanging certeine Picards ſtipendarie ſoldiers in the ſaid caſtell, vnder the ſaid ſir Robert de Salle, for that whileſt the Engliſhmen were gone forth, to ſee the ſhooting of a match which they had made amongſt themſelues, a little off from the caſtell, thoſe Picards being left within, ſhut the gates againſt them, and receiued in the Frenchmen, with whome they had practiſed in treaſon, keeping the Engliſhmen forth, to whome the ſafe keeping of that caſtell was committed.

1378

John Wickliffe.

This yeare was a bull ſent from the pope vnto the vniuerſitie of Oxenford, to apprehend John Wickliffe, parſon of Lutterworth in Leiceſterſhire, within the dioceſſe of Lincolne. Alſo, there were other bulles to the ſame effect, ſent vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and to the biſhop of London. Likewiſe to the king were letters directed from the pope, to require his fauour againſt the ſaid Wickliffe, ſo greeuouſlie was the pope incenſed againſt him, and not without cauſe, for if his concluſions in doctrine tooke effect, he well perceiued his papiſticall authoritie would ſhortlie decaie. As for the popiſh cleargie, to them not onelie the ſect but alſo the name of Wickliffe was ſo odious, that in recording his opinions and ſectaries, they exceed the bounds of all modeſtie, aggrauating ſuch reports as they infer concerning him or his with more than hyperbolicall lies: as appeereth by that long and tedious diſcourſe which he wrote, that compiling certeine annales intituled *De euentibus Angliæ*, prefixeth this verſe in the front of his volume, in letters of red vermilon, as deſiring to haue his name notoriouſlie knowne to the world;

Autoris nomen capitales litteræ pandunt:

Hen. de Knighton canon. abbat. Leiceſt. in anna. lib. de Rich. ſecundo.

He (I ſay) in that copious treatiſe hauing ſpoken as maliciouſlie & viperouſlie as he might both of Wickliffes life, which he concludeth to be lewd; of his opinions, which he auoucheth to be hereticall; and of his fauourers and followers, to whom (at his pleaſure) he giueth vnreuerent epithets (all which to proſecute at length, as by him they are in ample ſort laid downe, would but detect the mans malignitie, and procure an ouerthrow of credit to be attributed vnto his declarations) he maketh vp his mouth with a triſtichon of poeticall imitation, to bring Wickliffe and his adherents into perpetuall obloquie and defamation, ſaieng as followeth in verſe and proſe;

Si totum membrana ſolum, calamus nemus omne,
Et Thetis encauſtum, ſcriptor & omnis homo,
Iſtorum facinus ſcribere non poterunt.

Maledictus conuentus eorum, quoniam pertinax, propterea Deus deſtruat eos, in finem euellat, & emigrare faciat de tabernaculis fidelium ſuorum, & radicem eorum de terra regni; & hoc videant iuſti, & lætentur; vt dicere poſſint; Ecce populus qui ſe exaltauit ſuper electos doctores Domini, & ſperauit in multitudine vanitatis ſuæ: confundantur & pereant cum doctrina eorum in æternum, &c.

But of Wickliffes life and doctrine to read at large, I remit the reader to the acts and monuments of the church, publiſhed by maiſter Iohn Fox: and now will we returne to matters of ſtate and policie.

The nauie ſetteth forth, and is beaten backe by tempeſt.

There went forth this yeare a verie great nauie of ſhips to the ſea, vnder the guiding of the earle of Buckingham, the duke of Britaine, the lord Latimer, the lord Fitz Walter, ſir Robert Knolles, and other valiant capteins, meaning to haue intercepted the Spaniſh fleet that was gone to Sluſe in Flanders, but thorough rage of tempeſt, and contrarie winds, they were driuen home, although twiſe they attempted their fortune: but ſir Hugh Caluerlie, deputie of Calis, ſlept not his buſineſſe, dooing ſtill what diſpleaſures he could to the Frenchmen.

Exploits doone by ſir Hugh Caluerlie.

Shortlie after Chriſtmaſſe, he ſpoiled the towne of Eſtaples the ſame daie the faire was kept there, to which a great number of merchants of Bullongne were come to make their markets, but the ſellers had quicke vtterance, for that that might eaſilie be caried awaie, the Engliſhmen laid hands on, and cauſed the owners to redeeme the reſidue with great ſums of monie, which they vndertooke to paie; or elſe ſir Hugh threatned to haue burnt all that was left, togither with the houſes.

The duke of Lancaſter miſliking the maners of the court, getteth himſelfe home to yᵉ caſtell of Killingworth

Yee haue heard, how at the firſt the duke of Lancaſter was one of the cheefe about the yoong king in gouernement of his perſon and realme, who prudentlie conſidering, that ſith there muſt needs be an alteration in the ſtate, & doubting leaſt if any thing chanced otherwiſe than well, the fault and blame might be cheefelie imputed to him, and thanks (howſoeuer things went) he looked for none, he gaue therefore the ſlip, obteining licence of the king to depart, and ſo got him home to his caſtell of Killingworth, permitting other to haue the whole ſwaie: for before his departure from the court, there were with his conſent ordeined ſuch as ſhould be attending on the kings perſon, and haue the rule and ordering of matters perteining to the ſtate, as William Courtnie, then biſhop of London (though ſhortlie after remooued to the archbiſhops ſee of Canturburie) Edmund Mortimer earle of March, & diuerſe other, of whome the people had conceiued a good opinion: but yet bicauſe the biſhop of Saliſburie, and the lord Latimer were admitted amongſt the reſidue, the commons murmured greatlie againſt them.

The earle of Northumberland reſigned his office of lord marſhall, in whoſe place ſucceeded ſir John Arundell, brother vnto the earle of Arundell. ¶ The duke of Lancaſter, although retired from the court, yet deſirous to haue the monie in his hands that was granted the laſt parlement, at length obteined it, vpon promiſe to defend the realme from inuaſion of all enimies for one yeares ſpace: he therefore prouided a great nauie to go to the ſea, hiring nine ſhips of Baionne, to aſſiſt his enterpriſe herein, the which in making ſaile hitherwards, incountred with the Spaniſh fleet, and tooke fouretéene veſſels laden with wines and other merchandize. But in the meane time, one Mercer a Scotiſhman, with certeine ſaile of Scots, Frenchmen, and Spaniards, came to Scarburgh, and there tooke certeine ſhips, and led them awaie to the ſea, as it were in reuenge of his fathers impriſonment, named John Mercer, who before being caught by certeine ſhips of the north parts, and deliuered to the earle of Northumberland, was committed to priſon within the caſtell of Scarburgh.

John Philpot Alderman of London ſetteth forth a fleet at his own charges, to recouer certeine Engliſh ſhips taken by the Scots.

John Philpot that worſhipfull citizen of London, lamenting the negligence of them that ſhould haue prouided againſt ſuch inconueniences, made forth a fleet at his owne charges, ſtronglie furniſhed with men of warre and munition neceſſarie: the men of warre meeting with the ſame Mercer, accompanied with his owne ſhips, and fifteene other Spaniards that were newlie ioined with him, ſet vpon them, and ſo valiantlie behaued themſelues, that they tooke the ſaid Mercer with all them that were then in his companie, ſo recouering againe the ſhips that were taken from Scarburgh, beſides great riches which were found aboord, as well in the fifteene Spaniſh ſhips, as the other that were of the old retinue, belonging to the ſame Mercer. John Philpot was afterwards blamed of the lords, for preſuming thus far, as to ſet forth a nauie of men of warre, without the aduiſe of the kings councell: but he made his anſwer in ſuch wiſe vnto the earle of Stafford, and others that laid the fault to his charge, that he was permitted to depart, without further trouble for that matter.

Chierburg deliuered to the Engliſhmen.

Additions to Adam Merimuth.

Before all ſuch prouiſion as the duke of Lancaſter prepared for his iournie to the ſea could be readie, the earles of Saliſburie and Arundell ſailed ouer into Normandie, where, by ſuch compoſition as was taken betwixt the king of England and the king of Nauarre, who of new was become enimie to the French king, the towne of Chierburg was deliuered vnto the ſaid earles, who ſending knowledge thereof backe into England, there were ſent ouer ſuch as ſhould haue in charge the kéeping of that towne; and ſo the two earles returned. ¶ We find, that the king of Nauarre, hauing béene héere in England with the king and his councell, had agréed with the king for a certeine yearelie rent, to demiſe vnto him the ſaid fortreſſe of Chierburg, whereby the Engliſhmen might haue frée entrie into Normandie, when they would, as well to aid the king of Nauarre in his neceſſitie, as to worke anie enterpriſe that ſhould be thought expedient to the aduantage of the king of England as occaſion ſerued. But the obteining of poſſeſſion of Chierburg brought not ſo much ioy to the Engliſh nation, as the miſhap that happened at the going forth of the ſaid earles did cauſe lamentation and heauineſſe.

The Engliſh name is ouermatched and ouercome by the Spaniſh fléet.

For vpon the firſt entring into the ſea, it fortuned that ſir Philip, and ſir Peter Courtenie, diſcouered a certeine number of ſhips that were enimies, and vndiſcréetlie entered amongſt them, there ſuddenlie came vpon them the Spaniſh fléet, ſo that the Engliſh ſhips that were in companie with the ſaid Philip and ſir Peter, were not able to make their partie good, in ſomuch that finallie after that ſir Philip had loſt diuerſe of his men that were there ſlaine, he got awaie by flight himſelfe, though gréeuouſlie wounded, but ſir Peter was taken priſoner with a few other knights that were with him; and the moſt part of all the valiant eſquiers of Summerſetſhire & Deuonſhire, being there abroad with him, were ſlaine and drowned, which was eſtéemed no ſmall loſſe to the whole common-wealth.

Rokeſburgh burnt by the Scots.

Thus were the Engliſhmen occupied in this firſt yeare of king Richard with troubles of warre, and not onelie againſt the Frenchmen, but alſo againſt the Scots. For euen in the beginning of the ſame yeare, the Scots burnt Rokeſburgh, in reuenge whereof the new earle of Northumberland entered Scotland with ten thouſand men, and ſore ſpoiled the lands of the earle of March for the ſpace of thrée daies togither; bicauſe the ſaid earle of March was the chéefe author and procurer of the burning of Rokeſburgh, & ſo for that time th'Engliſhmen were well reuenged of thoſe enimies. But at an other time, when the Northerne men would néeds make a road into Scotland, entring by the weſt borders, they were incountered by the Scots and put to flight, ſo that manie of them being ſlaine, the Scots tooke the more courage to inuade the borders, till at length, Edmund Mortimer earle of March came at the daie of truce, and tooke an abſtinence of warre betwixt both nations for the time, though the ſame continued not long..

Anno Reg. 2.

The duke of Lācaſter saileth into Britaine with a great power.

Additions to Adam Merimuth.

Anon after Midſummer, the duke of Lancaſter with a ſtrong power tooke the ſea, and landing in Britaine, beſieged the towne of ſaint Mallo de Liſle, a fortreſſe of great importance. There went ouer with him the earles of Buckingham, Warwike, Stafford, and diuerſe other of the Engliſh nobilitie, the which made their approches, and fiercelie aſſailed the towne, but it was ſo valiantlie defended, that in the end, the duke with his armie raiſed from thence, and returned without atchiuing his purpoſe. ¶ About the ſame time, there was a notable and hainous murther committed within ſaint Peters church at Weſtminſter, by occaſion of variance betwéene the lord Latimer and ſir Rafe Ferrers on the one partie, and two eſquiers, the one called Robert Hall and the other Iohn Shakell on the other partie, about a priſoner which was taken at the battell of Nazers in Spaine, called the earle of Deane, who (as ſome write) was taken by one ſir Franke de Hall at the ſaid battell; and bicauſe he remained in his hands at the death of the ſaid ſir Franke, he bequeathed him vnto his ſonne the ſaid Robert Hall eſquier.

Hall & Shakerlie hath Grafton.

Polydor.

Thom. Walſ.

But as other write, the ſaid earle was taken by the ſaid Robert Hall himſelfe & Iohn Shakell iointlie, and iudged to be their lawfull priſoner, by the ſentence of the prince of Wales, and ſir Iohn Chandois that was maſter to the ſaid eſquiers. Wherevpon afterwards the ſaid earle obteined ſo much fauor, that by leauing his ſonne and heire in gage for his ranſome, he returned into Spaine, to prouide monie to diſcharge it; but he was ſo ſlow in that matter, after he was at libertie, that he departed this life before he made any paiment, and ſo his lands fell to his ſonne that remained in gage for the monie with the two eſquiers. Wherevpon it happened afterwards, that the duke of Lancaſter, deſirous to haue the yoong earle in his hands (in hope through his meanes the better to accompliſh his enterpriſe which he meant to take in hand againſt the king of Caſtile, for the right of that kingdome) procured his nephue king Richard to require the ſaid earle of Deane, at the hands of the ſaid eſquiers.

But they refuſed to deliuer him, kéeping their priſoner forth of the waie, ſo that none wiſt were he was become: the eſquiers therefore were committed to the tower, out of the which they eſcaped vnto Weſtminſter, and there regiſtred themſelues for ſanctuarie men. The duke of Lancaſter was herewith ſore offended, and their enimies the ſaid lord Latimer and ſir Rafe Ferrers tooke counſell togither, with ſir Alane Borhull and others, how they might be reuenged of this deſpite. This ſir Alane Borhull was conſtable of the tower, and therefore it gréeued him not a little, that the eſquiers had broken from him, and kept themſelues thus at Weſtminſter, vnder protection of that priuileged place. Herevpon it was concluded, that ſir Rafe Ferrers, and the ſaid Alane Borhull, taking with them certeine men in armour, to the number of fiftie perſons, ſhould go and fetch them by force from Weſtminſter, vnto the tower againe.

The morrow therefore after ſaint Laurence daie, being the eleuenth of Auguſt, theſe two knights accompanied with certeine of the kings ſeruants and other, to the number afore mentioned, came into the church at Weſtminſter, whileſt the ſaid eſquiers were there hearing of high maſſe, which was then in celebrating; and firſt laieng hands vpon Iohn Shakell, vſed the matter ſo with him, that they drew him forth of the church, and led him ſtreight to the tower. But when they came to Robert Hall, and fell in reaſoning with him, he would not ſuffer them to come within his reach, and perceiuing they meant to take him by force, he drew out a falcheon or ſhort ſword which he had girt to him, and therewith laid ſo fréelie about him, trauerſing twiſe round about the moonks quier, that till they had beſet him on ech ſide, they could doo him no hurt.

A cruell murther in Weſtminſter church.

Howbeit, at length when they had got him at that aduantage, one of them claue his head to the verie braines, and an other thruſt him through the bodie behind with a ſword, and ſo they murthered him among them. They ſlue alſo one of the monkes that would haue had them to haue ſaued the eſquiers life. Much adoo was about this matter, for the breaking thus of the ſanctuarie, in ſomuch that the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and fiue other biſhops his ſuffragans, openlie pronounced all them that were preſent at this murder accurſſed, and likewiſe all ſuch as aided or counſelled them to it, cheeflie and namelie ſir Alane Borhull, and ſir Rafe Ferrers, capteins and leaders of them. The king, the queene, and the duke of Lancaſter were yet excepted by ſpeciall names. The biſhop of London a long time after, euerie ſundaie, wedneſdaie, and fridaie, pronounced this excommunication in the church of S. Paule at London.

The duke of Lancaſter (though excepted in the ſame) yet in behalfe of his freends was not a little offended with the biſhops dooings, in ſo much that in a councell holden at Windſore (to the which the biſhop of London was called, but would not come, nor yet ceaſſe the pronouncing of the curſſe, albeit the king had requeſted him by his letters) the duke ſaid openlie, that the biſhops froward dealings were not to be borne with, but (ſaith he) if the king would command me, I would gladlie go to London, and fetch that diſobedient prelat, in deſpite of thoſe ribaulds (for ſo he termed them) the Londoners. Theſe words procured the duke much euill will, as well of the Londoners, as of other: for it was commonlie ſaid, that whatſoeuer had beene doone at Weſtminſter, concerning the murther there committed in the church, was doone by his commandement.

A parlement at Glouceſter.

About the feaſt of S. Luke, a parlement was holden at Glouceſter, for the diſpleaſure (as was thought) which ſome of the councell had conceiued againſt the Londoners, or rather (as ſome tooke it) for feare of them, leaſt if any thing were doone contrarie to their minds, they ſhould be about to hinder it, if the parlement had beene kept neere them: for manie things (as ſome iudged) were meant to haue beene put foorth and concluded in this parlement, albeit few in effect came to paſſe of thoſe matters that were ſurmiſed, ſauing that it was inacted, that the king ſhould haue a marke of the merchants for euerie ſacke of their woolles, for this preſent yeare; and for euerie pounds worth of wares that was brought in from beyond the ſeas, and here ſold, ſix pence of the buiers. ¶ Alſo, certeine priuileges were granted in this parlement to merchant-ſtrangers, that they might buie and ſell in groſſe, or by retaile within this realme, as in the printed booke of ſtatutes it appeareth.

The pope ſendeth to the king for aid.

This yeare came meſſengers from the new elected pope Urbane, with letters to require the kings aſſiſtance and aid againſt ſuch cardinals as he named ſchiſmatikes, that had elected an other pope whome they named Clement, which cardinals ſent likewiſe their meſſengers with letters, to beſeech the king to aid them with his fauourable aſſiſtance: but through perſuaſion of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, Urbans requeſt was granted, and Clements reiected. About the ſame time, to wit, on thurſdaie before the feaſt of S. Andrew th'apoſtle, the Scots by ſtelth entred by night into the caſtell of Berwike, and ſlue ſir Robert Bointon, a right valiant knight, that was conſtable thereof, permitting his wife, children, and ſeruants to depart, with condition, that within three weekes next inſuing, they ſhould either paie them three thouſand marks, or elſe yeeld their bodies againe to priſon.

Berwike caſtell wonne by the Scots.

The morrow after, the ſame Scots fetched a great bootie of cattell out of the countries next adioining, but immediatlie after the earle of Northumberland being aduertiſed hereof, haſted thither with foure hundred armed men, and aſſaulting the caſtell on ech ſide, after two houres defenſe, wan it, ſlaieng of the defendants about eight and fortie, reſeruing onelie one of the whole number aliue, that he might informe the Engliſhmen thoroughlie of the Scotiſhmens purpoſes. At this enterpriſe was the earle of Northumberlands eldeſt ſonne, ſpreading there firſt his banner, and dooing ſo valiantlie, that he deſerued ſingular commendation; as likewiſe did ſir Alane de Heton, and ſir Thomas de Ilderton, with thoſe of the ſurname of the Herons, euerie of theſe hauing their quarters aſſigned to aſſault. Thus was the caſtell recouered the ninth daie after the Scots had entered the ſame, ſo that they enioied not long that victorious exploit.

Alexander Ramſie was onlie ſaued as Froiſſard ſaith

Berwike caſtell recouered by the earle of Northumberland.

And bicauſe this enterpriſe was taken in hand againſt the couenant of the truce, the earle of Northumberland, before he attempted to recouer the caſtell, ſent to the earle of March in Scotland, to vnderſtand if he would auow that which his countrimen had doone, touching the winning of that caſtell, who ſent him knowledge againe, that he neither vnderſtood of their enterpriſe, nor would be partaker with them therein: but if it ſo pleaſed the earle of Northumberland, he would come himſelfe, and helpe to recouer it to the K. of Englands vſe, out of thoſe Scotiſhmens hands, which without publike authoritie had made that exploit. This yeare, ſir Robert Rous, capteine of Chierburg, was called home, after he had taken ſir Oliuer de Cliſſon, and atchiued manie other worthie aduentures againſt the kings enimies. In his place was ſent ſir Iohn Herleſton, to remaine vpon the gard of that caſtell. Alſo, ſir Hugh Caluerlie, deputie of Calis, that had ſo valiantlie borne himſelfe againſt the Frenchmen, was likewiſe diſcharged; and comming home, was made admerall, being ioined in commiſſion in that office with ſir Thomas Percie.

Sir Robert Rous a valiãt capteine.

1379

Sir William Montacute earle of Saliſburie was ſent ouer to Calis, to be the kings lieutenant there, who ſhortlie after his comming thither fetcht a great bootie of cattell out of the enimies countrie adioining, ſo that Calis was furniſhed with no ſmall number of the ſame. ¶ Sir Hugh Caluerlie, and ſir Thomas Percie, going to ſea, tooke ſeauen ſhips laden with merchandize, and one ſhip of warre. ¶ The archbiſhop of Caſſils in Ireland, returning from Rome, brought with him large authoritie of binding and looſing, granted to him by pope Urbane, in fauour of whome at his comming to London, in a ſermon which he preached, he declared to the people, how the French king, holding with the antipape Clement, was denounced accurſſed; and therefore now was the time for Engliſhmen to make warre in France, hauing ſuch occaſion, as greater could not be offered; ſpeciallie, ſith it was like that the excommunicated king ſhould haue no courage to make reſiſtance. This is I will not ſaie the diuinitie (for what heauenlineſſe can there be in ſuch damnable doctrine, to ſet people together by the eares?) of the Romaniſts; ſo farre off are they from the ſtudie of peace and concord betwixt man and man, that they ſet whole monarchies and empires vp to the mid leg in ſtreams of bloud, imitating their great grandfather ſathan, who hath beene a makebate and a murtherer from the beginning: renouncing the footſteps of Chriſt with open mouth, and forſwering to follow him either in demeanour or doctrine, and therefore;

Quis niſi mentis inops, vt ſanctum tale probabit?
Hæccine mens Chriſti? Talia nulla docet.

In a parlement holden at Weſtminſter this yeare after Eaſter, it was ordeined, that the priuileges and immunities of the abbeie of Weſtminſter ſhould remaine whole and inuiolate; but yet there was a prouiſo againſt thoſe that tooke ſanctuarie, with purpoſe to defraud their creditors, that their

The ſanctuarie at Weſtminſter confirmed by parlement.

A ſubſidie to be paid by the great men, & the commons goſ.ꝛc.

lands & goods ſhuld be anſwerable to the diſcharging of their debts. In the ſame parlement was granted to the king a ſubſidie, to be leuied of the great men of the land. To the end the commons might be ſpared, the dukes of Lancaſter and Britaine paid twentie markes, euerie earle ſix marks, biſhops and abbats with miters as much, and euerie monke thrée ſhillings foure pence: alſo, euery iuſtice, ſhiriffe, knight, eſquier, parſon, vicar, and chapleine, were charged after a certeine rate, but not any of the commons that were of the laitie.

Anno Reg.3. A notable exploit doone by ſir John Harleſton.

Ye haue heard how ſir John Harleſton was ſent to Chierburg as capteine of that fortreſſe, who iſſuing abroad on a day, with ſuch power as he might take forth, leauing the fortreſſe furniſhed, came to a place, where within a church and in a mill, the Frenchmen had laid vp, as in ſtorehouſes, a great quantitie of vittels, for prouiſion; which church and mill the Engliſhmen aſſaulted ſo valiantlie, that notwithſtanding there were within a good number of the enimies, that did their beſt to defend themſelues, yet at length they were taken, and ſir John Harleſton with his companie, returned with the vittels towards Chierburg, but by the way they were incountred by one ſir William de Bourds, whome the French king had appointed to lie in Mountburg with a ſtrong power of men of war, to countergarriſon Chierburg.

Herevpon inſued a ſore conflict, and manie an hardie man was beaten to the ground. And although it ſéemed that the Engliſhmen were ouermatched in number, yet they ſtucke to it manfullie. Their capteine ſir John Harleſton, fighting in the formoſt preſſe, was felled, and laie on the ground at his enimies féet in great hazard of death. The Engliſhmen neuertheleſſe continued their fight, till at length ſir Geffrie Worſlie, with a wing of armed footmen with axes, came to the reſcue (for to that end he was left behind, of purpoſe to come to their aid if néed required) with whoſe comming the Frenchmen were ſo hardlie handled, that to conclude, they were broken inſunder, beaten downe and wholie vanquiſhed: there were of them ſlaine aboue ſix ſcore, and as manie taken priſoners, among which number was their chéefe capteine ſir William de Bourdes taken, and brought to Chierburg with the reſidue, and there put in ſafe kéeping. This exploit was atchiued by the Engliſhmen, on ſaint Martins day in winter, in this third yeare of king Richard his reigne.

Sir John Clearke a valiant capteine.

But leaſt any ioy ſhould come to the Engliſh people in that ſeaſon, without ſome mixture of gréefe, one ſir J. Clearke a right valiant knight, & fellow in armes with ſir Hugh Caluerlie, chanced this yeare to lie in garriſon in a caſtell in Britaine, where was an hauen, & diuerſe Engliſh ſhips lieng in the ſame, whereof the French gallies being aduertiſed, came thither, to ſet thoſe ſhips on fire, appointing one of their gallies firſt to attempt the feat, and if fortune ſo would, to traine the Engliſhmen forth, till they ſhould fall into the laps of foure other gallies which they laid as it had béene in ambuſh. Now as the enimies wiſhed ſo it came to paſſe, for the Engliſhmen perceiuing their veſſels in danger to be burnt of the enimies, ran euerie man abord to ſaue the ſhips and goods within them; and amongſt the reſt, ſir John Clearke their capteine, meaning to take ſuch part as his men did, got abord alſo, and ſtreight falling in purſute of the gallie that withdrew for the purpoſe aforeſaid, the Engliſhmen were ſhortlie incloſed with the other gallies before they were aware, not knowing what ſhift to make to auoid the preſent danger.

A policie.

Sir John Clearke, perceiuing how the caſe ſtood, laid about him like a giant, cauſing his companie ſtill to draw backe againe, whileſt he reſiſting the enimies, did ſhew ſuch proofe of his valiancie, that they were much aſtoniſhed therewith. To be ſhort, he ſo manfullie behaued himſelfe, that the moſt part of his companie had time to recouer land; but when he that had thus preſerued others ſhuld leape forth of the ſhip to ſaue himſelfe, he was ſtriken in the thigh with an ax, that downe he fell, and ſo came into the enimies hands, being not able to recouer that hurt, for his thigh was almoſt quite cut off from the bodie, ſo that he died of that and other hurts preſentlie, leauing a remembrance behind him of manie worthie acts through his valiancie atchiued, to his high praiſe and great commendation. The barke of Yorke was alſo loſt the ſame time, being a proper veſſell; and now taken ſuddenlie, ſanke with all that were abord in hir, both Engliſhmen, and the enimies alſo that were entered into hir, thinking to carrie hir awaie.

The duke of Britaine reſtored to his dukedome.

About the ſame time the duke of Britaine returning into his countrie, vnder the conduct of ſir Thomas Percie and ſir Hugh Caluerlie, landed at a hauen not far from ſaint Malo, the fourth day of Auguſt, being receiued with vnſpeakeable ioy of the Britaines, as well lords as commons, ſo that the louing harts which they bare towards him, might well appeare, although the loue which he bare to the king of England had cauſed his ſubiects, in fauor of France, to kéepe him manie yeares forth of his dukedome as a baniſhed prince, but at length, they being ouercome with irkeſomneſſe of his long abſence, with generall conſent ſent for him home, ſo that there were but few of the Britiſh nobilitie that withdrew their dutifull obedience from him, and thoſe were onlie ſuch as firmelie linked in ſeruice with the French king, were loth to forgo ſuch roomes and dignities as vnder him they inioied; namelie, the conſtable of France, ſir Berthram de Cleaquin, the lord Cliſſon, the lord de Rohen, and the lord Rochfort, and certeine others.

Sir Hugh Caluerlie.

The lord de la Vall amongſt other, came to him (as we find in Thomas Walſingham) offering him his ſeruice as well as the reſidue. At his landing, he was likelie to haue loſt all ſuch furniture, as well of vittels, apparell, hangings, bedding, armour, and other things, which either he or his traine had brought with them. For the French gallies eſpieng their time, immediatlie as he and his companie were ſet on land, before the ſhips in which the ſaid furniture was fraught, could enter the hauen, which was ſomewhat ſtreight and narrow, came vpon them, and had them at ſuch aduantage, that if ſir Hugh Caluerlie with his archers had not cauſed the maiſter of his ſhip, euen againſt his will to returne againe to the reſcue, the gallies had taken and gone awaie with the other ſhips; but through the manfull prowes of ſir Hugh, the gallies were repelled, & the ſhips ſaued: for according to his wonted valiancie he would not returne, till he ſaw all other in ſafetie, & then defending himſelfe ſo well as he might, withdrew into the hauen, and landed ſafelie with the reſidue.

An hainous murther of a merchant ſtranger.

About the ſame time was an hainous murther committed in London, of a merchant Genowes, whom certeine Engliſh merchants vpon ſpite and enuie, which they bare towards him, cauſed to be ſlaine one euening in the ſtréet before his own gates. The cauſe that mooued the merchants ſo to procure his death was, for that he vndertooke to furniſh this land, hauing the ſtaple allowed him at Southhampton, of all ſuch wares as came forth of Leuant, ſo plentifullie as was to be had in any place in all the weſt parts of chriſtendome. In the ſummer of this yeare, a greeuous mortalitie afflicted the north parts of this land, ſo that the countrie became almoſt deſolate. And to the increaſe of that miſerie, the Scots thinking the time to ſerue their turne, inuaded the borders, and moſt cruellie harried, robbed, and ſpoiled

Great death in the north countrie.

Great ſpoile by the Scots in the death time.

the

An.Reg.3.

the ſame, not letti
murthering of th
not made awaie b
The number of ca
out of the land w
ſwine which they
uer medled with t
ſent.

Before the Sc
land, whileſt the
calling to certein
of them how it ca
reigned amongſt
plaine, and ſimp
trulie they knew
were hid from th
they knew, that
that chanced vnto
God, to the end t
they might learn
liues. The Scots
ter this land, vn
liſhmen had told
the grace of God
euerie morning,
rie familie, as;
reſidue. Then beg
Mango, ſaint R
this daie fra Go
Engliſhmen die
miſconſtruing th
their owne deſtr
for their brutiſh
the miſerable cr
ſpared in time o
feared, leaſt in a
verie words of t

About the ſa
ſet at libertie, th
priſoner, giuing
and lands to the
When he ſhould
him to the king,
ſtrange and wo
it was knowne
ued him in all t
uer vtter himſel
uing ſerued him
priſon, and out o
ther maiſter wa
vttered himſelf
ſuch honorable
had béene requi
red conſtancie
commended an
of all men.

A notable example of a faithfull priſoner.

About the fe
of king Richar
of men, that ſh
the aid of the d
Arundell, ſir H
ſir William C
mas Baneſter
too long to rehe
lie to haue doo
no ſooner on th
hideous tempe
ked preſentlie
red here and th
The ſhip whe
chanced to be c
driuen to forſa
ken in péeces
gainſt the roc

The Engliſh nauie ſcattered by a terrible tempeſt.

the ſame, not letting paſſe any part, of moſt cruell murthering of the people that were left aliue, and not made awaie by that ſore contagious ſickneſſe. The number of cattell was infinite which they droue out of the land with them, not ſparing heards of ſwine which they tooke at this time, where they neuer medled with that kind of cattell before that preſent.

Before the Scots made this iournie into England, whileſt the mortalitie was moſt in force, they calling to certeine of the Engliſh borderers, aſked of them how it came to paſſe, that ſo great a death reigned amongſt them. The Engliſhmen, as good, plaine, and ſimple meaning men, told them, that trulie they knew not the cauſe, for Gods iudgements were hid from them in ſuch behalfe. But one thing they knew, that all calamitie, death, and aduerſitie that chanced vnto them, came by the ſpeciall grace of God, to the end that being puniſhed for their ſinnes, they might learne to repent and amend their wicked liues. The Scots hearing this, when they ſhould enter this land, vnderſtanding lewdlie what the Engliſhmen had told them concerning the diſeaſe, and the grace of God, deuiſed a bleſſing forſooth to be ſaid euerie morning, of the moſt ancient perſon in euerie familie, as; *Benedicite*, ſaid he: *Dominus*, ſaid the reſidue. Then began he againe, ſaieng; God and ſaint Mango, ſaint Romane and ſaint Andro, ſhield vs this daie fra Gods grace, and the fewle death that Engliſhmen dien vpon. Thus the ſenſeleſſe men miſconſtruing this word the grace of God, praied for their owne deſtruction, which if not in this world, yet for their brutiſh crueltie vſed at that preſent, againſt the miſerable creatures, whom the hand of God had ſpared in time of that greeuous mortalitie, it is to be feared, leaſt in another world it came to them, as the verie words of their praiers imported.

About the ſame time, Iohn Schakell eſquier was ſet at libertie, the king compounded with him for his priſoner, giuing fiue hundred marks in redie monie, and lands to the value of a hundred marks by yeare. When he ſhould bring foorth his priſoner, and deliuer him to the king, this is to be noted, as a thing verie ſtrange and woonderfull. For when he ſhould appeare, it was knowne to be the verie groome that had ſerued him in all the time of his trouble, and would neuer vtter himſelfe what he was before that time, hauing ſerued him as an hired ſeruant all that while in priſon, and out of priſon, in danger of life, when his other maiſter was murthered, where, if he would haue vttered himſelfe, he might haue beene enterteined in ſuch honorable ſtate, as for a priſoner of his degree had beene requiſit, ſo that the faithfull loue and aſſured conſtancie in this noble gentleman was highlie commended and praiſed, and no leſſe maruelled at of all men.

A notable example of a faithfull priſoner.

About the feaſt of S. Nicholas, in this third yeare of king Richards reigne, there went to ſea an armie of men, that ſhould haue paſſed ouer into Britaine, to the aid of the duke there, vnder the conduct of ſir Iohn Arundell, ſir Hugh Caluerlie, ſir Thomas Percie, ſir William Elmham, ſir Thomas Morews. ſir Thomas Baneſter, & manie other knights and eſquires, too long to rehearſe, a ſufficient power vndoubtedlie to haue doone a great enterpriſe: but they were no ſooner on the ſea, but ſuddenlie there aroſe ſuch an hideous tempeſt of wind and ſtormes, that they looked preſentlie to be all caſt awaie, they were ſcattered here and there, and driuen they wiſt not whither. The ſhip wherein ſir Iohn Arundell was aboord, chanced to be caſt on the coaſt of Ireland, and there driuen to forſake his ſhip, that was readie to be broken in peeces by rage of waues, beating it there againſt the rocks: he was drowned before he could win to land, in an Ile, neere to the which they had thruſt in the ſhip.

The Engliſh nauie ſcattered by a terrible tempeſt.

To the like end came ſir Thomas Baneſter, ſir Nicholas Trumpington, and ſir Thomas Dale, impeaching each others, as they leapt foorth of the ſhip: alſo one Muſard an eſquire, a moſt ſeemelie perſonage and a bold; and an other eſquier named Denioke, being almoſt out of danger, were fetched awaie by the ſurges of the ſea, and ſo periſhed, with manie other. Robert Ruſt a cunning ſeaman, belonging to Blacknie in Northfolke, & maiſter of the ſhip wherein ſir Iohn Arundell was imbarked, was the firſt that got to land, giuing example to others how to ſhift for themſelues. But when he ſaw his cheefe capteine, the ſaid ſir Iohn Arundell got foorth to the ſands, and as one thinking himſelfe paſt all danger, to ſhake his wet garments about him; the ſaid Ruſt waieng the dangerous ſtate wherein the ſaid ſir Iohn Arundell yet ſtood, came downe, and raught to him his hand, inforſing himſelfe to plucke him to the ſhore: but whileſt he tooke care for an other mans ſafetie, and neglected his owne, he loſt his life, and ſo they both periſhed togither; for through a mightie billow of the raging ſeas, they were both ouerthrowne, and with returning of the waues backe, drawne into the deepe, ſo that they could neuer recouer foot-hold againe, but were drowned.

The ſaid Ruſt was much lamented, bicauſe he was not onelie knowne to be a ſkilfull maiſter, but alſo counſelled the ſaid ſir Iohn Arundell in no wiſe to go to ſea, at what time he would needs ſet forward, forſing the ſaid Ruſt and the marriners to hoiſt vp ſailes and make awaie. They that ſcaped to land in that Ile, found nothing there to releeue their miſeries, but bare ground, ſo that diuerſe ſtarued through cold, wanting fier and other ſuccour: the reſidue that were luſtie and wiſe withall, ran vp and downe, and ſometime wreſtling, and otherwiſe chafing themſelues, remained there in great miſerie, from the thurſdaie, till ſundaie at noone next inſuing. At what time, when the ſea was appeaſed and waxen calme, the Iriſhmen that dwelled ouer againſt this Ile on the maine, came and fetched them thence, and releeued them the beſt they could, being almoſt dead, through trauell, hunger, and cold.

The ſaid ſir Iohn Arundell loſt not onelie his life, but all his furniture and apparell for his bodie, which was verie ſumptuous, ſo that it was thought to ſurmount the apparell of any king. For he had two and fiftie new ſutes of apparell of cloth of gold or tiſſue, as was reported, all the which, togither with his horſſes & geldings, amounting to the value of ten thouſand marks, was loſt at the ſea. And beſides this, there were loſt at the ſame time fiue and twentie ſhips, with men, horſſes, and other riches, which attended him in that voiage. Yet ſir Thomas Percie, and ſir Hugh Caluerlie, with ſir William Elmham, and certeine others eſcaped, but cruellie tormented with vnmercifull tempeſt: and before ſir Thomas Percie could get to land, after the ſea was quieted, he was aſſaulted by a Spaniard, againſt whome he ſo defended himſelfe, that in the end he tooke the Spaniſh veſſell, and brought hir, with all that he found aboord in hir, vnto the next ſhore, and ſold the ſame for an hundred pounds, and without long delaie, tooke the ſea, & paſſed ouer to Breſt, of which fortreſſe he was capteine, iointlie with ſir Hugh Caluerlie, and therefore doubting leaſt ſome inconuenience might chance thereto now in both their abſence, he made the more haſt, not taking reſt till he came thither, notwithſtanding his paſſed painefull trauels. Sir Hugh Caluerlie was neuer in his life in more danger of death, than at that time: for all that were in his ſhip (as Froiſſard writeth) were drowned, ex-

cept

The exceſſe and ſumptuous apparell, of ſir Iohn Arundell.

There were drowned aboue a thouſand men in one place and other, as the additions to Ad. Merimuth doo teſtifie.

cept himſelfe & ſeauen mariners. We find, that there were drowned in one place & other, aboue a thouſand Engliſhmen in that moſt vnluckie voiage. ¶ Some writers impute this calamitie to light on the ſaid ſir Iohn Arundell & his companie, for the laſciuious and filthie rule which they kept before their ſetting forth, in places where they laie, till their prouiſion was readie; who not content with that which they did before they tooke ſhip, in rauiſhing mens wiues, maids and daughters, they caried them abord, that they might haue the vſe of them whileſt they were vpon the ſea,

Outragious wickedneſſe iuſtlie puniſhed.

(Sæua libido furens, quid non mortalia cogis
Pectora? Quidne tuo non eſt violabile telo?)

and yet when the tempeſt roſe, like cruell and vnmercifull perſons they threw them into the ſea, either for that they would not be troubled with their lamentable noiſe and crieng, or for that they thought ſo long as they had ſuch women abord with them (whome they had abuſed ſo long) God would not ceaſſe the rage of the tempeſt. But it ſhould appeare that this tempeſt was generall, for where the Spaniſh and French fleets were abroad at the ſame time, being aſſembled togither to annoie the coaſts of this land, their ſhips were likewiſe toſſed and turmoiled, ſo as no ſmall number of them were loſt, in ſo much that the damage which they ſuſteined, was thought far to paſſe that which hapned to the Engliſh nauie.

1380

Sir Iohn Deuereux made deputie of Calis.

The earle of Warwike elected protector.

In this yeare about Chriſtmaſſe, ſir William de Montacute earle of Saliſburie, after he had remained twelue moneths ſpace at Calis, the kings lieutenant there was called home, & ſir Iohn Deuereux a right valiant knight, and an old man of warre, was ſent thither in his place. ¶ Alſo, ſir Iohn Harleſton was called home from Chierburg, and ſir William Windeſhore a noble knight was ſent thither to be capteine of that fortreſſe. ¶ After the Epiphanie, was a parlement called at London, which continued till the beginning of the kalendes of March. ¶ Alſo whereas the yeare before there had beene certeine biſhops, earles, barons, and iuſtices appointed, to haue the gouernement and rule about the king; now at the requeſt of the lords and commons in this parlement aſſembled; the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike was choſen to remaine continuallie with the king, as cheefe gouernour, both of his perſon, and to giue anſwer to all ſtrangers that ſhould come hither about any buſineſſe whatſoeuer, and further to haue the rule and order of all things, in lieu of thoſe that were choſen thereto before: it was perceiued that they had ſought to inrich themſelues, & had doone little to the aduancement of the kings honor, or ſtate of the common-wealth, but rather emptied the kings cofers.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie made lord chancellour.

The kings halfe ſiſter married the earle of ſaint Paule.

In this parlement alſo, the lord Richard Scrope gaue ouer the office of chancellor, and Simon Sudburie archbiſhop of Canturburie tooke it vpon him. ¶ In this parlement was granted a tenth by the cleargie, and a fifteenth by the laitie, with condition that from henceforth, to wit, from the kalends of March, to the feaſt of S. Michaell, which then ſhould be in the yeare 1381, there ſhould be no more parlements, but this condition was not performed, as after appeared. In the octaues of Eaſter, the lord Waleran earle of ſaint Paule married the kings halfe ſiſter, the ladie Ione de Courtnie: the ſolemnization of this marriage was holden at Windſore, with great triumphing. ¶ The princeſſe that was mother to the bride, was greatlie againſt the marriage, but the bride hir ſelfe had ſuch a liking to the earle, that the king was contented that they ſhould match togither, and ſet him free of his ranſome which he ſhould haue paid, for that he had beene taken priſoner in the marches of Calis, and further, gaue with his ſiſter by waie of endowment, the towneſhip and manour of Bieſleet.

A combat betwixt ſir Iohn Anneſlie and Thomas Katrington.

On the ſeuenth of Iune, a combat was fought afore the kings palace at Weſtminſter, on the pauement there, betwixt one ſir Iohn Anneſlie knight, and one Thomas Katrington eſquier: the occaſion of which ſtrange and notable triall roſe hereof. The knight accuſed the eſquier of treaſon, for that where the fortreſſe of ſaint Sauiour within the Ile of Conſtantine in Normandie, belonging ſometime to ſir Iohn Chandois, had beene committed to the ſaid Katrington, as capteine thereof, to keepe it againſt the enimies, he had for monie ſold and deliuered it ouer to the Frenchmen, where he was ſufficientlie prouided of men, munition and vittels, to haue defended it againſt them; and ſith the inheritance of that fortreſſe and landes belonging thereto, had apperteined to the ſaid Anneſlie in right of his wife, as neereſt couſine by affinitie vnto ſir Iohn Chandois, if by the falſe conueiance of the ſaid Katrington, it had not beene made awaie, and alienated into the enimies hands: he offered therefore to trie the quarrell by combat, againſt the ſaid Katrington, wherevpon was the ſame Katrington apprehended, and put in priſon, but ſhortlie after ſet at libertie againe.

Whileſt the duke of Lancaſter, during the time that his father king Edward laie in his laſt ſickeneſſe, did in all things what liked him, & ſo at the contemplation of the lord Latimer (as was thought) he releaſed Katrington for the time, ſo that ſir Iohn Anneſlie could not come to the effect of his ſute in all the meane time, till now. Such as feared to be charged with the like offenſes ſtaied the matter, till at length, by the opinion of true and ancient knights it was defined, that for ſuch a forren controuerſie that had not riſen within the limits of the realme, but touched poſſeſſion of things on the further ſide the ſea, it was lawfull to haue it tried by battell, if the cauſe were firſt notified to the conſtable and marſhall of the realme, and that the combat was accepted by the parties. Herevpon was the daie and place appointed, and all things prouided readie, with liſts railed and made ſo ſubſtantiallie, as if the ſame ſhould haue indured for euer. The concourſe of people that came to London to ſee this tried, was thought to exceed that of the kings coronation, ſo deſirous men were to behold a ſight ſo ſtrange and vnaccuſtomed.

Triall by combat in ſuch caſe lawfull.

The order of the combat.

The king, his nobles, and all the people being come togither in the morning of the daie appointed, to the place where the liſts were ſet vp, the knight being armed and mounted on a faire courſer ſeemelie trapped, entered firſt as appellant, ſtaieng till his aduerſarie the defendant ſhould come. And ſhortlie after was the eſquier called to defend his cauſe in this forme: Thomas Katrington defendant, come and appeare to ſaue the action, for which ſir Iohn Anneſlie knight and appellant hath publikelie and by writing appealed thee. He being thus called thriſe by an herald at armes, at the third call did come armed likewiſe; and riding on a courſer trapped with traps imbrodered with his armes, at his approching to the liſts he alighted from his horſſe, leſt according to the law of armes the conſtable ſhould haue chalenged the horſſe if he had entered within the liſts. But his ſhifting nothing auailed him, for the horſſe after his maiſter was alighted beſide him, ran vp & downe by the railes, now thruſting his head ouer, and now both head & breaſt, ſo that the earle of Buckingham, bicauſe he was high conſtable of England, claimed the horſſe afterwards, ſwearing that he would haue ſo much of him as had appeared ouer the railes, and ſo the horſſe was adiudged vnto him.

The earle of Buckingham claimeth the horſſe.

But now to the matter of the combat (for this challenge of the horſſe was made after, as ſoone as the eſquier was come within the liſts) the indenture

was brought forth by the marſhall and conſtable, which had béene made and ſealed before them, with conſent of the parties, in which were conteined the articles exhibited by the knight againſt the eſquier, and there the ſame was read before all the aſſemblie. The eſquier (whoſe conſcience was thought not to be cleare, but rather guiltie, and therefore ſéemed full of troubleſome and grudging paſſions, as an offendor alreadie conuinced; thought (as full well he might)
Multa miſer timeo, quia feci multa proterue)
went about to make exceptions, that his cauſe by ſome means might haue ſéemed the ſounder. But the duke of Lancaſter hearing him ſo ſtate at the matter, ſware, that except according to the conditions of the combat, and the law of armes, he would admit all things in the indentures compriſed, that were not made without his owne conſent, he ſhould as guiltie of the treaſon forthwith be had forth to execution. The duke with thoſe words wonne great commendation, and auoided no ſmall ſuſpicion that had béene conceiued of him as parciall in the eſquiers cauſe. The eſquier hearing this, ſaid, that he durſt fight with the knight, not onelie in thoſe points, but in all other in the world whatſoeuer the ſame might be: for he truſted more to his ſtrength of bodie, and fauour of his fréends, than to the cauſe which he had taken vpon him to defend. He was in déed a mightie man of ſtature, where the knight among thoſe that were of a meane ſtature was one of the leaſt. Fréends to the eſquier, in whom he had great affiance to be borne out through their aſſiſtance, were the lords Latimer and Baſſet, with others.

The eſquire is ouerthrowne.

Before they entered battell, they tooke an oth, as well the knight as the eſquier, that the cauſe in which they were to fight, was true, and that they delt with no witchcraft, nor art magike, whereby they might obteine the victorie of their aduerſarie, nor had about them any herbe or ſtone, or other kind of experiment with which magicians vſe to triumph ouer their enimies. This oth receiued of either of them, and therewith hauing made their praiers deuoutlie, they began the battell, firſt with ſpeares, after with ſwords, and laſtlie with daggers. They fought long, till finallie the knight had bereft the eſquier of all his weapons, and at length the eſquier was manfullie ouerthrowne by the knight. But as the knight would haue fallen vpon the eſquier, through ſweat that ran downe by his helmet his ſight was hindered, ſo that thinking to fall vpon the eſquier, he fell downe ſideling himſelfe, not comming néere to the eſquier, who perceiuing what had happened, although he was almoſt ouercome with long fighting, made to the knight, and threw himſelfe vpon him, ſo that manie thought the knight ſhould haue béene ouercome: other doubted not but that the knight would recouer his féet againe, and get the victorie of his aduerſarie.

The king in the meane time cauſed it to be proclamed that they ſhould ſtaie, and that the knight ſhould be raiſed vp from the ground, and ſo meant to take vp the matter betwixt them. To be ſhort, ſuch were ſent as ſhould take vp the eſquier; but comming to the knight, he beſought them, that it might pleaſe the king to permit them to lie ſtill, for he thanked God he was well, and miſtruſted not to obteine the victorie, if the eſquier might be laid vpon him, in manner as he was earſt. Finallie, when it would not be ſo granted, he was contented to be raiſed vp, and was no ſooner ſet on his féet, but he chéerfullie went to the king, without anie mans helpe, where the eſquier could neither ſtand nor go without the helpe of two men to hold him vp, and therefore was ſet in his chaire to take his eaſe, to ſée if he might recouer his ſtrength.

The knight at his comming before the king, beſought him & his nobles, to grant him ſo much, that he might be eftſoones laid on the ground as before, and the eſquier to be laid aloft vpon him: for the knight perceiued that the eſquire through exceſſiue heat, and the weight of his armor, did marueloulſie faint, ſo as his ſpirits were in manner taken from him. The king and the nobles perceiuing the knight ſo couragiouſlie to demand to trie the battell forth to the vttermoſt, offring great ſummes of monie, that ſo it might be donne, decréed that they ſhould be reſtored againe to the ſame plight in which they laie when they were raiſed vp: but in the meane time the eſquire fainting, and falling downe in a ſwoone, fell out of his chaire, as one that was like to yéeld vp his laſt breath preſentlie among them. Thoſe that ſtood about him caſt wine and water vpon him, ſéeking ſo to bring him againe, but all would not ſerue, till they had plucked off his armor, & his whole apparell, which thing prooued the knight to be vanquiſher, and the eſquier to be vanquiſhed.

The eſquier fainteth.

The knight is iudged the vanquiſher.

After a little time the eſquier began to come to himſelfe, and lifting vp his eies, began to hold vp his head, and to caſt a ghoſtlie looke on euerie one about him: which when it was reported to the knight, he commeth to him armed as he was (for he had put off no péece ſince the beginning of the fight) and ſpeaking to him, called him traitor, and falſe periured man, aſking of him if he durſt trie the battell with him againe: but the eſquier hauing neither ſenſe nor ſpirit whereby to make anſwer, proclamation was made that the battell was ended, and euerie one might go to his lodging. The eſquier immediatlie after he was brought to his lodging, and laid in bed, began to wax raging wood, and ſo continuing ſtill out of his wits, about nine of the clocke the next day he yéelded vp the ghoſt. ¶ This combat was fought (as before yée haue heard) the ſeuenth of Iune to the great reioiſing of the common people, and diſcouragement of traitours.

About the ſame time, or rather ſomewhat before, the lord Oliuer de Cliſſon, with a number of ſhips and gallies of France and Spaine, tooke the ſea, and comming on the coaſt of England, landed in diuerſe places of the weſt countrie, and alſo in the ſouth parts, ſpoiling and burning ſundrie townes, taking ſuch ſhips and veſſels as they might laie hold vpon, and ſo continued to indamage the Engliſh people that inhabited néere to the ſea ſide, all that ſummer following. ¶ In the beginning of the fourth yeare of this king, Thomas of Woodſtoke earle of Buckingham, vncle to the king, with an armie of ſeauen or eight thouſand men of armes and archers, was ſent ouer to Calis, that he might inuade France, and paſſe through the ſame to come into Britaine vnto the aid of the duke there. ¶ You haue heard how the French king had ſeized into his hands the more part of the duchie of Britaine, bicauſe that the duke had ioined himſelfe in league with the king of England: but yet there were diuerſe of the good townes, and alſo manie of the barons and nobles of the countrie which kept themſelues as neuters a long ſeaſon; but at length, longing to ſée the returne of their naturall lord and duke, ſent for him into England, requiring him to repaire home, and to ſée to the quieting of the troubled ſtate of his countrie.

The French men ſpoile & burne diuerſe townes in the weſt countrie.

Anno Reg. 4.

Froiſſard.

The earle of Buckingham ſent into Britaine to aid the duke againſt the French king.

The duke being thus earneſtlie deſired to returne home, by the aduiſe of the king of England and his councell, granted to their requeſt that had ſo inſtantlie required him, both by letters and ſufficient meſſengers: whervpon he tooke the ſea, and ſailing forth, arriued in Britaine, hauing with him ſir Robert Knolles, and a certeine number of Engliſhmen both armed men and archers (as before yée haue heard.) The king alſo promiſed to ſend him a new ſupplie verie ſhortlie, which was not forgotten. But fortune was ſo contrarie, that ſir Iohn Arundell generall of thoſe that were ſent, and manie of his companie, were drowned by force of tempeſt, and the other driuen backe againe into England (as before ye haue heard.) In the meane time, though the duke of Britaine with aid of his ſubiects, did manfullie defend his townes and countrie againſt the Frenchmen, yet he was in doubt to be oppreſſed by the great puiſſance of the Frenchmen, if aid came not the ſooner. Which being ſignified ouer into England, mooued the king and his councell to appoint the earle of Buckingham to take vpon him this voiage. He landed at Calis thrée daies before the feaſt of Marie Magdalene.

There went ouer with him in that armie, the earls of Stafford and Deuonſhire, the lord Spenſer conſtable of the hoſt, the lord Fitz Walter marſhall, the lord Baſſet, the lord Bourchier, the lord Ferrers, the lord Morlie, the lord Darcie, ſir William Windſore, ſir Hugh Caluerlie, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir Hugh de la Sente, ſir Thomas Percie, ſir Thomas Triuet, ſir Hugh Tirell, ſir William Farrington, ſir Iohn and ſir Nicholas Daubriticourt, Thomas Camois, Rafe Neuill ſonne to the lord Neuill, ſir Henrie baſtard Ferrers, ſir Hugh Broe, ſir Geffrie Wourſlie, ſir William Clinton, ſir Iuon Fitz Warren, and diuerſe other. After they had reſted them at Calis two daies, they remooued the third day out of the towne, and came to Marqueignes, where they remained thrée daies, till all their companie, cariages, and prouiſions were come to them out of Calis: from thence they remooued and came before Arde, where the earle of Buckingham made knights theſe that follow: the earle of Deuonſhire, the lord Morlie, the ſon of the lord Fitz Walter, ſir Roger Strange, ſir Iohn Ipre, ſir Iohn Colle, ſir Iames Tirell, ſir Thomas Ramſton, ſir Iohn Neuill, and ſir Thomas Ros or Roſlie, as ſome copies haue. Theſe perſons were made knights, bicauſe they went in the vaward, which was ſent to win a ſtrong houſe called Follant, which the owner had fortified againſt them. But though he defended himſelfe manfullie for a time, yet in the end both he and all his companie were taken priſoners.

Knights made by the earle of Buckingham at his entrie into France.

After this the duke paſſed by ſaint Omers, ſhewing himſelfe (about a mile off) with his hoſt in order of battell aloft vpon a mounteine. Some of the Engliſhmen rode to the barriers, requiring that ſome of them within would come forth and breake ſtaues with them, but they could not be anſwered. The ſame day that the Engliſhmen thus came before S. Omers, the earle of Buckingham made againe new knights, as ſir Rafe Neuill, ſir Bartholomew Bourchier, ſir Thomas Camois, ſir Foulke Corbet, ſir Thomas Danglure, ſir Rafe Petipas, ſir Lewes ſaint Albine, and ſir Iohn Paulie or rather Paulet. Theſe Engliſhmen rode through the countrie, demanding iuſts and déeds of armes, but they could not be anſwered. In déed the townes of the frontiers were well repleniſhed and ſtuffed with men of war, and ſtill were the Engliſhmen coaſted, but they kept themſelues ſo cloſe togither, without breaking their order, that their enimies could find them at none aduantage.

Knights againe made.

The iournie of the Engliſh armie through France.

They paſſed by Tirwine and by Betwine, where they lodged one day. They made but eaſie iournies, and ſéemed to require nothing but battell. They paſſed by Arras, by Miramont, and ſo to Clerie on the water of Some, and taried there thrée daies, and in other places about in that countrie. The fourth day they diſlodged, and drew towards Cambraie, and ſo to S. Quintines, & after vp towards Reimes. They found little riches, and ſmall ſtore of vittels abroad in the countrie, for the French king had abandoned all to his men of warre, who either waſted or conueied all things of any value into the fortreſſes and walled townes. The Engliſhmen therefore ſent to them of Reimes, requiring to haue ſome vittels ſent to the hoſt, for the which they would ſpare the countrie from waſting: but they of Reimes would not conſent herevnto. Wher'vpon the Engliſhmen began to light them ſuch candels, as their eies within the citie aked to behold the ſame a far off.

Moreouer, the Engliſhmen approched ſo néere to the walles and diches of the citie, that they brought awaie twentie thouſand head of cattell, which the citizens had gotten within the compaſſe of their diches; and further ſent to them within, that if they would not ſend bread and wine forth to vittell the hoſt, in that behalfe they would burne all their corne: for doubt whereof, the citizens ſent forth to the hoſt ſix charets laden with as much bread and wine as they might carie. Thus was their corne ſaued from deſtruction, and the Engliſhmen by ſoft and eaſie iournies drew towards the citie of Trois, in the which was the duke of Burgognie, with the dukes of Burbon and Bar, the earle of Ewe, the lord Coucie, ſir Iohn de Vien high admerall of France, and a great number of others of the French nobilitie. They had made a baſtide without the towne able to receiue a thouſand men of armes, but vpon the Engliſhmens approch to aſſault it, they did forſake that ſtrength, and withdrew to the towne. Sir Thomas Triuet was here made a baronet. Alſo there were certeine new knights made, as ſir Peter Berton, ſir Iohn and ſir Thomas Paulie or Paulet, ſir Iohn Stingulie, ſir Thomas Dortingues, ſir Iohn Waſſecoque, ſir Thomas Braſie, ſir Iohn Brauin, ſir Henrie Vernier, ſir Iohn Coleuile, ſir William Euerat, ſir Nicholas Stingulie, and ſir Hugh Lunit.

The citizens of Reimes ſaue their corne fields from deſtroieng by ſending vittels to the Engliſh hoſt.

Sir Thomas Triuet created a baronet.

Knights created.

Verne or Vernon.

The Engliſh hoſt perceiuing the Frenchmen to withdraw into the towne, drew togither, and ſtood in order of battell for the ſpace of two houres, and then returned to their lodgings. The next day they remooued to Maillerois le vicount néere vnto Sens, and there they remained two daies, and after drew into Gaſtinois, and ſo into Beauſe. They were coaſted all the waie by a great power of men of war, as manie or more in number as they were themſelues. But the French king being a politike prince, wiſelie conſidered what loſſes the realme of France had ſuſteined afore time, by giuing battell to the Engliſhmen, and therefore was fullie reſolued, that in no wiſe he would giue licence to his people to fight with the earle of Buckingham; but thought better (as he had learned by good experience) to kéepe his townes cloſe againſt his enimies, and ſo in the end to wearie them, than by giuing battell to put things in hazard, whereas he knew they could not take from him his countries by this kind of warre, though they ſore indamaged the ſame for a time.

The policie of the French king.

There chanced manie ſmall ſkirmiſhes amongſt thoſe that rode forth to diſcouer the countrie, but no notable incounter at all. For the Engliſhmen in thoſe daies were cats not to be catched without mittens (as Iacob Meir in one place ſaith) & againe the French men were as warie how they aduentured to come néere them, peraduenture for feare, as in the reigne of king Edward the 3, as C.O. noteth, ſaieng,

Contra aciem magnam tremebundo corde Valeſius
In campum adiunctum & vicina coëgerat arua,
Non tamen Angligenas aduerſum eſt auſus aperto
Tendere Marte feris confligere fortiter armis.

In Angl. prælii ſub Edwardo 3.

Onelie they ſought how to incloſe them vp in the countrie, and to famiſh them, that they might then fight with them at ſome great aduantage; but ſtill the Engliſh hoſt paſſed forward, holding on their

voiage

The death of Charles the 5 French king.

voiage towards Britaine by Vandoſme, Pont Volaine, and ſo ouer the riuer of Sartre. In this meane while the French king Charles the fift was taken with a ſore ſickneſſe, whereof he departed this life the ſame daie that the Engliſh armie paſſed ouer the riuer of Sartre, which was on the ſix and twentith of September, his brethren the dukes of Aniou, Berrie, Burbon, and Burgognie were at Paris with him at the houre of his death, where as a little before they had béene abroad in the countrie with their powers, to defend the cities and townes of importance againſt the Engliſhmen, and meant indéed (if they could haue eſpied their aduantage, and gotten licence thereto of the king) to haue giuen their enimies battell. But now they were otherwiſe occupied: howbeit they had left their men abroad in the countrie to coaſt the Engliſhmen as they had doone before. All the French power was aſſembled in the citie of Mans, vnder the leading of the duke of Bar, the lord Coucie, and others.

Tho.Walſi.

The French and Spaniſh gallies chaſed from the coaſt of England to Kingſale in Ireland and there vanquiſhed.

In this meane while that the earle of Buckingham was paſſing through the realme of France, the French and Spaniſh gallies did much miſchéefe on the coaſt of England: but about the latter end of Iune, by a fléet of Engliſhmen of the weſt countries part of them were forced to retire, and take harbour in an hauen in Ireland called Kingſale, where being aſſailed of the Engliſhmen and Iriſhmen, they were vanquiſhed; ſo that to the number of foure hundred of them were ſlaine, and their chéefe capteins taken, as Gonſalue de Verſe, and his brother Iohn Martin de Motrigo, Turgo lord of Morants; alſo the lord of Reith, Péers Martin of Vermew, Iohn Modit of Vermew, the ſeneſhall of Wargarie, the ſeneſhall of S. Andrew, Cornelis of S. Sebaſtiano, Paſchale de Biſkey, Iohn Martinis, Sopogorge of S. Sebaſtiano, and diuerſe other.

Diuerſe townes on the Engliſh coſts deſtroied and burnt.

The abbat of Battell in reſcuing Winchelſie is put to flight.

Graueſend burnt.

There were taken foure of their barges with a ballenger, and one and twentie Engliſh veſſels recouered, which they had robbed and taken awaie from their owners. There ſcaped yet foure of their notable capteins frō the hands of our men, Martin Grantz, Iohn Peris Mantago, Iohn Huſce Gitario, and one Garcias of S. Sebaſtiano, ſo that the malice of thoſe robbers ceaſed not. For they with the French gallies ſtill lieng on the ſeas, when they eſpied anie aduantage, would land their people, and doo what miſchéefe they could, in taking preies, and burning townes and villages, although now and then they came ſhort to their veſſels againe, loſing ſometimes an hundred, ſometimes fourеſcore that were ouertaken by the Engliſhmen that came foorth againſt them. But among other inuaſions which they made this ſummer on the coaſts, we find that they burnt the towne of Winchelſie, & put the abbat of Battell to flight with his people, comming to ſuccor that towne and tooke one of his monks that was there in armor with the abbat. ¶ Some write alſo, that they burnt Rie, Haſtings, and Portſmouth. Finallie, their boldneſſe ſo farre increaſed, that in Auguſt they entring with their gallies into the riuer of Thames, came vp to Graueſend, where they burnt the moſt part of the towne, and on the other ſide of the riuer, as well in Eſſex as Kent, they burnt and ſpoiled diuerſe places, and with their priſoners and booties returned without receiuing anie hurt, bringing with them to France, both rich ſpoiles and good priſoners.

The Engliſh hoſt entreth into Britaine

But to returne to the earle of Buckingham where we left. The Engliſh armie drew ſtill towards Britaine, but with ſo ſmall doubt of their aduerſaries, that they laie thrée or foure daies ſometimes ſtill in one place. At their approching to the marches of Britaine, they came to Vitrie, a towne ſituate at the firſt entring into that countrie, and from thence went to Chateau Briant, and there reſted, whither came to them certeine knights ſent from the duke of Britaine, which ſignified to the erle of Buckingham what the dukes meaning was. Indéed by the death of the French king, the dukes malice was greatlie abated towards the Frenchmen, ſo that he had not much paſſed if the Engliſhmen had béene at home againe. Moreouer, his townes were not determined to receiue the Engliſhmen, as enimies to the crowne of France: ſo that he was in a perplexitie how to order his buſineſſe. At length, to ſhew himſelfe a ſtedfaſt fréend to the Engliſhmen, and one that was no changeling, he determined by their ſupport, to force all thoſe to allow the league which he had eſtabliſhed with the Engliſhmen, who had denied to beare armour againſt the crowne of France. And firſt, bicauſe they of Naunts were the ringleaders of that rebellious demeanour, he appointed firſt to beſiege their citie. They hauing knowledge thereof, ſent into France for aid.

Naunts beſieged by the Engliſhmen.

The ſiege at Naunts broken vp.

The dukes of Aniou, Berrie, Burgognie, and Burbon, brethren to the late king, and vncle to his ſonne the yoong king, hauing the gouernance of the realme vnder him, ſent ſix hundred ſpeares with all ſpéed to ſtrengthen them of Naunts, which defended the citie in ſuch wiſe from the puiſſance of the Engliſhmen, who enuironed the ſame with a ſtrong ſiege, that in the end, bicauſe the duke came not to them (according to his promiſe) the ſiege was raiſed the morrow after New yeares daie, two moneths and foure daies after the ſame was firſt laid. The duke of Britaine would gladlie haue come to the ſiege of Naunts, in ſtrengthening of the Engliſh hoſt, but he could not perſuade his lords to aid him in anie ſuch enterpriſe. And therefore now that the earle of Buckingham had broken vp his ſiege, he cauſed him to be lodged in the citie of Vannes, & his men abroad in the countrie, ſome here, and ſome there, acquiting himſelfe as well towards them as he might.

A peace betwixt the French king and the duke of Britaine.

The articles of the peace.

But ſuerlie the hearts of the Britains were wonderfullie changed, and in no wiſe would conſent to haue anie warre with the Frenchmen, if anie reaſonable peace might be concluded. For manie that hated the father, bare good will and heartie loue towards the ſonne, whoſe yoong yeares and great towardneſſe allured the hearts of manie to wiſh him well. Hervpon was meanes made for a peace, which by the duke of Aniou his conſent (who bare the greateſt rule in France in that ſeaſon) a finall accord was made, betwixt the yoong king and the duke of Britaine, ſo that the duke ſhould come and doo his homage vnto the French king, and ſweare to be true and faithfull vnto him: alſo that he ſhould rid the Engliſhmen out of his countrie, and helpe them with ſhips and veſſels to tranſport them home into England.

The earle of Buckingham returned into England.

The earle of Buckingham, when he vnderſtood of this peace, was not a little diſpleaſed in his mind, conſidering that the duke of Britaine had delt ſo vniuſtlie with him and his nephue the king of England. But the duke ſtill excuſed him by his ſubiects, as though if he had not thus agréed, he ſhould haue béene in danger to haue loſt his heritage of that countrie. Finallie, the earle after he had ſhips prouided for his paſſage, the eleuenth of Aprill departed out of Vannes, and came to the hauen where his ſhips laie, and ſo went aboord in like maner as other of his men did from other hauens, and ſhortlie after (when the wind ſerued) tooke the ſea, and returned into England, ſore diſpleaſed with the duke of Britaine for his great vntruth and diſſimulation (as he tooke it) notwithſtanding all excuſes to cloake the matter by him alledged.

Whileſt the Engliſhmen were thus occupied in warres againſt the Frenchmen (as before ye haue heard) the Scots could not reſt in quiet, but in reuenge for a ſhip, which the townesmen of Newcaſtell and Hull had taken on the ſea, knowing them to be pirates, determined to doo what miſcheefe they could vnto the Engliſh borders: for the loſſe of that ſhip grieued them, bicauſe it was eſteemed to be verie rich, the goods that were in it being valued at ſeuen thouſand marks. Herevpon the Scots entring by the weſt borders, inuaded & ſpoiled the countries of Weſtmerland and Cumberland, and comming into the forreſt of Inglewood, they tooke awaie with them ſuch a number of beaſts and cattell, that they were reckoned at fourtie thouſand heads of one and other. Beſides this, they cruellie ſlue all ſuch as they could laie hands vpon, and burnt vp all the townes, villages, and houſes as they paſſed: and not content herewith, they ſtale vpon the towne of Penreth, when the faire was kept there, ſlaieng, taking, and chaſing awaie the people, and after gathering togither all the goods and riches there found, tooke it awaie with them, whereof there was ſuch plentie as might haue ſatiſfied the couetons deſire of a moſt greedie armie. They returned by Carleil, but hearing that there were gotten into it a great number of men out of the countries adioining, they durſt not ſtaie to make any attempt againſt that towne, but compaſſed their waie to eſcape with their booties home into their countrie, which they did, although they loſt ſome of their companie as they paſſed by an ambuſhment of certeine archers of Weſtmerland and Cumberland, that were laid for them of purpoſe. When the earle of Northumberland would haue gone forth to reuenge thoſe iniuries doone to the countrie by the Scots, he was written to from the king and his councell, to forbeare till the daie of truce, at what time it might be knowen what was further to be doone in the matter.

The Scots inuade the Engliſh borders and ſpoile whole countries carieng awaie great booties.

About Michaelmaſſe the duke of Lancaſter, the earles of Warwike, and Stafford, with other lords and men of honor, hauing with them a great power of ſouldiers and men of warre, went into the north parts, and comming to the borders, they laie there till they had conſumed no ſmall ſummes of monie, and indamaged the countrie as much as if the Scotiſh armie had inuaded the ſame. The good they did, was, that after long treatie with the Scotiſh commiſſioners, a truce was agreed vpon till Eaſter following, which being concluded, they returned home without any more adoo. For the ſpace of halfe a ſcore yeares togither now laſt paſt, the Engliſhmen euerie yeare had one or two ſuch treaties with the Scots about the incurſions and rodes which they yearelie made into the Engliſh borders, ſore indamaging the inhabitants of thoſe north parts of the realme, notwithſtanding any truce or abſtinence of warre that might be concluded.

An armie lingering in the north parts greatlie impoueriſheth the countrie.

Additions to Adam Merimuth.

Whileſt the armie (as ye haue heard) laie idle in the north parts, there were certeine letters found by a poore man about London, who deliuered them vnto the worthie citizen Iohn Philpot, who calling vnto him certeine other worſhipfull citizens, opened one of them, in which was conteined matter of high treaſon: and perceiuing by the ſeale that it belonged vnto ſir Raſe Ferrers knight, one of the kings priuie councell, deliuered that letter with foure other letters cloſed with the ſame ſeale, firſt to the lord chancellor, and after to the king, the which being read and the ſeale knowne to be the ſaid ſir Raſe Ferrers his ſeale, manie greatlie maruelled that ſo ancient a knight, and one in whom ſo great truſt was put, ſhould go about any ſuch treaſons.

Treaſon in letters written by ſir Raſe Ferrers to certeine French lords.

One of the letters was directed to ſir Bertram de Cleaquin, an other to the lord de la Riuer the chamberlaine of France, an other to the lord Cliſſon, and an other to the patrone of the gallies, and to the capteine of the armie of Frenchmen and Spaniards, which at the ſame time waſting alongſt the coaſts, did much hurt in diuerſe places of the land. Forthwith the ſaid Philpot and others were ſent in poſt from the king to the duke of Lancaſter, that forſomuch as the ſaid ſir Raſe Ferrers was then in the north parts with him, intreating with the Scots, he ſhould arreſt him and put him in ſafe keeping, which commandement the duke did accompliſh, and committed him to be ſafelie kept in the caſtell of Dureſme, but ſhortlie after in the next parlement he was ſet at libertie, foure barons being bound for his forth comming, till time that he might more euidentlie declare his innocencie.

About the feaſt of S. Martine, was a parlement holden at Northampton to the more trouble of them that came to it, bicauſe in that ſeaſon of the yeare they were conſtreined to come where there was no ſtore of fewell to make them fiers: and beſide that, lodgings were verie ſtreict for ſo great a multitude. But the cauſe that mooued the councell to appoint this parlement there, was to the end that they might the more freelie proceed to the triall of Iohn Kirkbie a citizen of London, that had murthered the Genowais (as before ye haue hard) which Kirkbie was condemned at this parlement, and drawne and hanged in the ſight of the Londoners that were come thither, which execution if it ſhould haue beene doone at London, the lords doubted leaſt ſome tumult might haue beene raiſed by the citizens, who were reckoned in thoſe daies verie raſh and preſumptuous in their doings.

A parlement at Northampton.

Iohn Kirkbie executed for murthering a merchant ſtranger.

But now to the effect of this parlement. There was a new and ſtrange ſubſidie or taſke granted to be leuied for the kings vſe, and towards the charges of this armie that went ouer into France with the earle of Buckingham; to wit, of euerie preeſt ſecular or regular ſix ſhillings eight pence, and as much of euerie nunne, and of euerie man & woman married or not married being 16 yeares of age (beggers certenlie knowne onlie excepted) foure pence for euerie one. Great grudging & manie a bitter curſſe followed about the leuieng of this monie, & much miſcheefe roſe thereof, as after it appeared. ¶ In this fourth yeare of king Richards reigne, immediatlie after Chriſtmaſſe, Thomas Brantingham biſhop of Exceter and lord treaſuror, was diſcharged of his office of treaſurorſhip, and ſir Robert Hales lord of S. Iohns was aduanced in his place, a right noble and manlie knight, but not beloued of the commons.

A greeuous ſubſidie.

Twelue pec as ſome haue.

1381

Thom. Wal.

About this time did Iohn Wicliffe chieflie ſet forth his opinion touching the ſacrament of the altar, denieng the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, and that it ought not in any wiſe to be worſhipped in ſuch ſort as the church of Rome then did teach. ¶ There were ambaſſadors ſent into Germanie, to treat with the emperour for a marriage to be had, betwixt the king of England, and the emperours ſiſter. About the beginning of March they returned, bringing with them the cardinall, intituled of ſaint Praxed, and the duke of Tarſilia, and other nobles that came from the emperor, to treat with the king & his councell about the ſame marriage. This cardinall, whether he paſſed the bounds of his commiſſion and authoritie to him granted by the pope (as ſome write) or whether he was furniſhed with ſuch faculties, he was very liberall in beſtowing of them abroode on all ſuch as would come with monie. Indulgences, which the pope had vſed onelie to reſerue for himſelfe to beſtow, this man granted the ſame liberallie, both biennals and triennals. He gaue alſo letters confeſſionall,

Wicliffes opinion.

The cardinall of Praxed.

Triennals.

All for monie.

ſionall, to all thoſe that would paie for them, admitting aſwell beneficed men as other, to be the popes chapleins. He made notaries for monie, and denied not altars portatiue to anie that would pay for them.

He receiued fortie pounds, beſides other gifts, of the moonks of the Ciſteaux order, to grant to them a generall licence to eat fleſh indifferentlie, as well abroad, as they had béene accuſtomed to doo at home within their monaſteries. To thoſe that were excommunicate he gaue abſolution: thoſe that had vowed to go in pilgrimage to Rome, to the holie land, or to ſaint James, he would not firſt releaſe them, till he had receiued ſo much monie, according to the true valuation, as they ſhould haue ſpent in their iornies: and to be bréefe, nothing could be aſked, but for monie he was readie to grant it. And when he was requeſted to ſhew by what power he did all theſe things, with great indignation he anſwered, that he would let them vnderſtand at Rome, if they would néeds know the authoritie which he had. At length his males were ſo filled with ſiluer, that his ſeruants diſdained to make them anie anſwer, except they brought gold ſaieng; Bring vs gold, for we are full of your ſiluer. But at his departure he tooke all awaie with him, both gold and ſiluer in ſuch abundance as was maruellous. This hath béene the practiſe of the Romaniſts from time to time, wherevpon grew this common byword (taxing the polling and ſhauing ſhifts of that execrable ſée, gaping gulfe, and inſatiable ſea)

Curia Romana non quærit ouem ſine lana.

But now to returne to other matters concerning the ſtate of the realme. After the returne of the earle of Buckingham, it was ordeined by aduiſe of the councell, that the duke of Lancaſter ſhould eftſoones go as ambaſſador from king Richard into Scotland, to ſée if he might renew the truce (which ſhortlie would haue béene expired) for thrée yéeres longer. Alſo whereas there was variance and open war mainteined, betwixt John king of Caſtile, and John king of Portingale, the earle of Cambridge, the lord William de Beauchampe, the lord Botreux, and ſir Mathew Gournie, were ſent into Portingale with fiue hundred armed men, and fiue hundred archers to aid the king of Portingale againſt the king of Caſtile, who was ſonne to the baſtard Henrie: for the duke of Lancaſter reioiſed greatlie, that he might haue ſuch a fréend as the king of Portingale, to ioine with him in aid againſt the king of Caſtile; meaning (as ſoone as opportunitie would ſerue) to go ouer with an armie to chalenge his right, and purſue his claime to the crowne of Caſtile and Leon, againſt the vſurper, in right of his wife quéene Conſtance, eldeſt daughter to the late lawfull king Peter, whom Henrie the baſtard as before (yée haue heard) did ſtill perſecute, till he had bereft from him both his life and kingdome.

An armie ſent into Portingale to aid the king there againſt the K. of Caſtile.

It was meant therefore that if the duke of Lancaſter could compaſſe his purpoſe, for the which he went at that time into Scotland, to the honour of the king and realme, then ſhould he ſhortlie after follow his brother of Cambridge with a great power, to trie what chance God would ſend to him, againſt his aduerſarie the king of Caſtile. ¶ In the meane time other incidents fell within the realme in the fourth yeare of king Richard, ſore to the diſquieting of the ſame, and vtter diſappointing for that time of the duke of Lancaſters intent. The commons of the realme ſore repining, not onelie for the pole grotes that were demanded of them, by reaſon of the grant made in parlement (as yée haue heard) but alſo (as ſome write) for that they were ſore oppreſſed (as they tooke the matter) by their land-lords, that demanded of them their ancient cuſtomes and ſeruices, ſet on by ſome diueliſh inſtinct & perſuaſion of their owne beaſtlie intentions, as men not content with the ſtate wherevnto they were called, roſe in diuerſe parts of this realme, and aſſembled togither in companies, purpoſing to inforce the prince to make them frée, and to releaſe them of all ſeruitude, whereby they ſtood as bondmen to their lords and ſuperiours.

The cōmons by reaſon of the great ſubſidie and other oppreſſions riſe in diuerſe parts of the realme.

Villaines.

Where this rebellion of the commons firſt began, diuerſe haue written diuerſlie. One author writeth, that (as he learned by one that was not farre from the place at that time) the firſt beginning ſhould be at Dertford in Kent: for when thoſe pole ſhillings, or rather (as other haue) pole grotes, were to be collected, no ſmall murmuring, curſſing, and repining among the common people roſe about the ſame, and the more indéed, through the lewd demenour of ſome vndiſcréet officers, that were aſſigned to the gathering thereof, inſomuch that one of thoſe officers being appointed to gather vp that monie in Dertford aforeſaid, came to the houſe of one John Tiler, that had both ſeruants in his houſe, and a faire yong maid to his daughter. The officer therefore demanding monie for the ſaid Tiler and for his wife, his ſeruants, and daughter, the wife being at home, and hir huſband abroad at worke in the towne, made anſwer that hir daughter was not of age, and therefore ſhe denied to paie for hir.

The beginning of the rebellion at Detford in Kent.

Now here is to be noted, that this monie was in common ſpéech ſaid to be due for all thoſe that were vndergrowne, bicauſe that yoong perſons as well of the man as of the womankind, comming to the age of fouretéene or fiftéene yeares, haue commonlie haire growing foorth about thoſe priuie parts, which for honeſties ſake nature hath taught vs to couer and kéepe ſecret. The officer therefore not ſatiſfied with the mothers excuſe, ſaid he would féele whether hir daughter were of lawfull age or not, and therewith began to miſuſe the maid, and ſearch further than honeſtie would haue permitted. The mother ſtreightwaies made an outcrie, so that hir huſband being in the towne at worke, and hearing of this adoo at his houſe, came running home with his lathing ſtaffe in his hand, and began to queſtion with the officer, aſking who made him ſo bold to kéepe ſuch a rule in his houſe: the officer being ſomewhat preſumptuous, and highminded, would foorthwith haue flowne vpon this Tiler; but J. Tiler auoiding the officers blow, raught him ſuch a rap on the pate, that his braines flue out, and ſo preſentlie he died.

Great noiſe roſe about this matter in the ſtréets, and the poore folks being glad, euerie man arraied himſelfe to ſupport John Tiler, & thus the commons drew togither, and went to Maideſtone, and from thence to Blackheath, where their number ſo increaſed, that they were reckoned to be thirtie thouſand. And the ſaid John Tiler tooke vpon him to be their chéefe capteine, naming himſelfe Jacke Straw. ¶ Others write, that one Thomas Baker of Fobhings was the firſt that procured the people thus to aſſemble togither: and that one of the kings ſeruants named John Leg, with thrée of his fellowes, practiſed to féele yoong maids whether they were vndergrowne (as yée haue hard the officer did at Dertford) which diſhoneſt and vnſéemelie kind of dealing did ſet the people ſtreight in ſuch a rage and vprore, that they cared not what they did to be reuenged of ſuch iniuries.

But Thomas Walſingham affirmeth, that the firſt ſparkes of this rebellion kindled in Eſſex, where the inhabitants of two townes onelie at the firſt, that were the authors and firſt ſtirrers of all this miſchéefe, did ſend vnto euerie little towne about, that all manner of men, as well thoſe that were aged, as others that were in their luſtieſt time and youthfull

The cōmōs of Eſſex begin the commotiō as Wal. ſaith.

yeares,ſhould come to them with ſpéed,ſetting all excuſes apart, in their beſt arraie and furniture for warre, threatening to ſuch as came not, that their goods ſhould be ſpoiled, their houſes burnt or caſt downe, and they to loſe their heads when they were taken. The terror of this threatning cauſed the ignorant people to flocke to them by heaps, leauing all their buſineſſe,letting plough and cart ſtand, forſaking wife,children, and houſes, ſo that in a ſhort time there were fiue thouſand gotten togither of thoſe commons and huſbandmen, of which number manie were weaponed onelie with ſtaues, ſome with ruſtie ſwords and billes, and other with ſmokie bowes, more ruddie than old yuorie, not hauing paſt two or thrée arrowes,and the ſame haplie with one feather a péece.

The armor of ẏ Eſſex rebels

Among a thouſand of thoſe kind of perſons, yée ſhould not haue ſéene one well armed: and yet by reaſon of their multitude, when they were once got togither,they thought the whole relme had not béene able to reſiſt them; and ſuppoſed that they could with facilitie(in reſpect of the aduerſe part)make the ſtates of the land ſtoope to them, and by their permiſſion to reteine or compulſion to reſigne their roomes of dignitie. But the fond conceited rowt conſidered not the euent of this inſurrection, that the worſt would be their owne; for the old ſaieng is true, namelie,

Læditur a ſtimulo quicunq; fricatur ab illo.

Moreouer, to make their part the ſtronger, theſe Eſſexmen ſent ouer into Kent, aduertiſing the people there of their enterpriſe, and therefore willed them to make them readie to ioine with them for their obteining of libertie, and reforming of the euill cuſtoms of the realme. Whether the Kentiſhmen through perſuaſions of their neighbors of Eſſex, by occaſion of that which had chanced at Dertford (as before yée haue heard)or(as it may be)the ſame chancing at that ſelfe time, they being mooued as well by the one as the other, vp they got (as yée haue heard) and gathering their power out of the next quarters adioining,by the like policie which had béene practiſed by the Eſſexmen, they ſtirred vp the moſt part of the countrie to ioine with them, and forthwith ſtopping the waie that led to Canturburie, and arreſting all ſuch as paſſed by the ſame,they cauſed them to ſweare that they ſhould be true to king Richard, and to the commons, & neuer to receiue anie king that ſhould be called Iohn. And this was for the enuie which they bare to Iohn of Gant the duke of Lancaſter, who in right of his wife Conſtance, that was daughter to king Peter of Caſtile, did name himſelfe king of Caſtile.

The oth miniſtred by the rebels to all paſſengers.

Alſo they cauſed them to ſweare that they ſhould be readie to come to them whenſoeuer they ſent for them, and induce all their neighbours to take part with them. And further,that they ſhould neuer yéeld to anie tax to be leuied in the realme, except a fiftéenth onelie. Thus it came to paſſe, that after it was ſpred abroad what ſtur theſe Eſſex and Kentiſhmen kept; the commons alſo in the counties of Suſſex, Hertford,Cambridge,Suffolke, and Norffolke,and other ſhires about, buſtled vp and ran togither on heapes, ſo that the number of thoſe vnrulie people maruellouſlie increaſed,in ſuch wiſe as now they feared no reſiſtance,and therefore began to ſhew proofe of thoſe things which they had before conceiued in their minds,beheading all ſuch men of law, iuſtices, and iurors,as they might catch,and laie hands vpon, without reſpect of pitie,or remorſe of conſcience, alledging that the land could neuer enioy hir natiue and true libertie, till all thoſe ſorts of people were diſpatched out of the waie.

The commōs of other ſhires hearing of the ſtur in Kent & Eſſex, riſe in like maner.

Lawiers, iuſtices & iurors brought to blockam feaſt by the rebels.

This talke liked well the eares of the common vplandiſh people,and by the leſſe conueieng the more, they purpoſed to burne and deſtroie all records, euidences,court-rolles, and other minuments, that the remembrance of ancient matters being remooued out of mind,their landlords might not haue whereby to chalenge anie right at their hands. Their number ſtill increaſed: for all ſuch as were in debt or danger of law for their miſdemeanors and offenſes, came out of all coaſts vnto them, ſo that when the Eſſexmen, and other of the hither ſide the Thames, were paſſed ouer and ioined with the Kentiſhmen, & thoſe that were aſſembled on that ſide the riuer vpon Blackheath; they were eſtéemed to be an hundred thouſand, hauing diuerſe capteins beſides the ſaid Iacke Straw, as William Wraw, Wat Tiler, Iacke Shéepheard,Tom Milner, and Hob Carter. Whileſt they were lodged on Blackheath, the king ſent to them certeine knights,to vnderſtand of them the cauſe of their gathering thus togither, to whome anſwer was made, that they were come togither to ſpeake with the king, about certeine cauſes and buſineſſe, & therefore they bad the meſſengers returne, and declare to the king that there was no remedie but he muſt néeds come and ſpeake with them.

The next way to extinguiſh right.

An huge number of ẏ rebels

Fabian.

Capteins of the Eſſex and Kentiſh rebels

The rebels ſend to the k. to come ſpeak with them.

When this tale was told to the king, there were ſome that thought it beſt that he ſhould go to them, and know what their meaning was: but Simon de Sudburie the archbiſhop of Canturburie, that was lord chancellor, and alſo ſir Robert Hales lord of S. Iohns,and as then lord treaſuror,ſpake earneſtlie againſt that aduiſe, and would not by anie meanes that the king ſhould go to ſuch a ſort of barelegged ribalds; but rather they wiſhed that he ſhould take ſome order to abate the pride of ſuch vile raſcals. After the commons vnderſtood that the king would not come to them, by reaſon of the contrarie aduiſe giuen to him by thoſe two perſons, the lord chancellor and the lord treaſuror, they were maruellouſlie mooued againſt them, and ſware that they would not reſt till they had got them, & chopped off their heads, calling them traitors to the king and realme.

Ill councell.

Neuertheleſſe there be that write,that the king(to cut off the branches of ſuch miſchéefe now in the firſt budding thereof)to ſatiſfie in part the deſire of thoſe rude people, went downe the riuer in his barge to Rethereth,and there néere the ſhore kéeping himſelfe ſtill on the water, talked with a great number of them that came downe to the riuer ſide. But, forſomuch as he would not come foorth of his barge to them on land, which they ſéemed moſt to deſire, they were in a great rage, and ſo for that they could not haue him amongſt them (as they wiſhed) in furious wiſe they ran to the citie, and at the firſt approach, they ſpoiled the burrough of Southwarke, brake vp the priſons of the Marſhalſea, & the Kings bench, ſet the priſoners at libertie, & admitted them into their companie.

Froiſſard.

The rebels ſpoile Southwarke, and ſet all priſoners at large.

This was on Corpus Chriſti daie, as the ſame authors write, that the king ſhould thus talke with them: but their firſt entring into Southwarke,was on Corpus Chriſti euen, as Thomas Walſingham ſaith, paſſing at their pleaſure to and fro the bridge all that night: for although the lord maior,and other of the beſt citizens would gladlie haue cloſed the gates againſt them,yet they durſt not doo it,for feare of the commons of the citie, who ſéemed to fauour the cauſe of the rebels ſo apparantlie,that they threatned to kill both the lord maior, & all other that would take vpon them to ſhut the gates againſt the commons. The Londoners liked better of the commons, for that they proteſted the cauſe of their aſſembling togither,was not but to ſéeke out the traitors of the realme, and when they had found them foorth,and puniſhed them according to that they had deſerued,they ment to be quiet. And to giue the more

credit

The cōmons of London fauourers of the rebels.

All rebels pretend reformatiō but intend purpoſe deſtruction both of king and countrie.

credit to their ſaiengs, they ſuffered none of their companie to rob or ſpoile, but cauſed them to paie for that they tooke.

On the morrow being Corpus Chriſti day, on the which day it is reported that the king ſhould talke with them at Rethereth (as before ye haue heard) after that they ſaw that they could not haue him to come and talke with them on land, as they wiſhed, and that now they had filled their heads full with the fume of ſuch wines as they dranke in euerie mans celler that was ſet open for them, enter who would: they fell in talke with the Londoners of manie lewd deuiſes, as of the apprehending of traitors, and ſpeciallie concerning ſuch miſliking as they had of the duke of Lancaſter, whom they hated aboue all other perſons. And hereupon agreeing in one mind, after diuerſe other of their outragious doings, they ran the ſame day to the ſaid dukes houſe of the Sauoie, to the which in beautie and ſtatelineſſe of building, with all maner of princelie furniture, there was not any other in the realme comparable, which in deſpite of the duke, whom they called traitor, they ſet on fire, and by all waies and means indeuoured vtterlie to deſtroie it.

The Sauoie the duke of Lancaſters houſe burnt by the rebels.

The ſhamefull ſpoile which they there made was wonderfull, and yet the zeale of iuſtice, truth, and vpright dealing which they would ſeeme to ſhew, was as nice and ſtrange on the other part, ſpeciallie in ſuch kind of miſgouerned people: for in that ſpoiling of the dukes houſe, all the iewels, plate, and other rich and ſumptuous furniture which they there found in great plentie, they would not that any man ſhould fare the better by it of a mite, but threw all into the fire, ſo to be conſumed; and ſuch things as the fire could not altogither deſtroie, as plate and iewels, they brake and craſhed in peeces, throwing the ſame into the Thames. One of them hauing thruſt a faire ſiluer peece into his boſome, meaning to conueie it awaie, was eſpied of his fellowes, who tooke him, and caſt both him and the peece into the fire; ſaieng they might not ſuffer any ſuch thing, ſith they profeſſed themſelues to be zealous of truth and iuſtice, and not theeues nor robbers.

Strange dealing of the rebels.

The iuſtice of the rebels.

There were 32 of them, that being gotten into the celler of the Sauoie, where the dukes wines laie, dranke ſo much of ſuch ſweete wine as they found there, that they were not able to come forth, but with ſtones & wood that fell downe as the houſe burned, they were cloſed in, ſo that out they could not get. They laie there ſhowting & crieng ſeuen daies togither, and were heard of manie, but none came to helpe them, and ſo finallie they periſhed. Now after that theſe wicked people had thus deſtroied the duke of Lancaſters houſe, and done what they could deuiſe to his reproch; they went to the temple, and burnt the men of lawes lodgings, with their bookes, writings, and all that they might lay hand vpon. Alſo the houſe of ſaint Iohns by Smithfield they ſet on fire, ſo that it burned for the ſpace of ſeuen daies togither. On Friday a great number of them, eſteemed to 20 thouſand, went to the manor of Heiburie that belonged vnto the lord of ſaint Iohns, and ſetting fire on it, ſought vtterlie to deſtroie the whole buildings about it.

The lawiers lodgings in the temple burnt by the rebels.

They were now diuided into three parts, one vnder the leading of Iacke Straw, tooke in hand to ruinate that houſe, and an other number of them lay on mile end greene, and the third companie kept vpon the tower hill, and would not ſuffer anie vittels to be conueied into the tower, where the king at that time was lodged, and was put in ſuch feare by thoſe rude people, that he ſuffered them to enter into the tower, where they ſought ſo narowlie for the lord chancelor, that finding him in the chappell, they drew him forth togither with the lord treaſuror, and on the tower hill without reuerence of their eſtates and degrees, with great noiſe and fell cries, they ſtroke off their heads. There were alſo beheaded at the ſame time by thoſe rude people, one of the kings ſeruants that was a ſergeant at armes called Iohn Leg, who had vſed himſelfe ſomewhat extremelie in gathering vp of the pole monie, as by one writer it appeareth. Alſo to make vp the meſſe, they beheaded a Franciſcane Frier, whom they had taken there at the ſame time, for malice of the duke of Lancaſter, bicauſe he was verie familiar with him. ¶ Some write that this frier was confeſſor, and other ſay that he was phyſician to the king; but whatſoeuer he was, the commons chopped off his head, to beare the other companie, not ſparing for anie reſpect that might be alledged in any of their behalfes.

The lord chācellor and the lord treaſuror drawne out of the tower and put to death by the rebels.

Thom. Walſ.

On the ſame day alſo they beheaded manie others, as well Engliſhmen as Flemings, for no cauſe in the world, but onelie to ſatiſfie the crueltie of the commons, that then were in their kingdome, for it was a ſport to them, when they gat any one amongſt them, that was not ſworne to them, and ſeemed to miſlike of their doings, or if they bare but neuer ſo little hatred to him, ſtreightwaies to plucke of his hood, with ſuch a yelling noiſe as they tooke vp amongſt them, and immediatlie to come thronging into the ſtreets, and ſtrike off his head. Neither had they any regard to ſacred places; for breaking into the church of the Auguſtine friers, they drew forth thirteene Flemings, and beheaded them in the open ſtreets; and out of the pariſh churches in the citie, they tooke forth ſeuenteene, and likewiſe ſtroke off their heads, without reuerence either of the church or feare of God.

The raging rebels make a paſtime to kill men.

No reſpect of place with the rebels.

But they continuing in their miſcheefous purpoſe, ſhewed their malice ſpeciallie againſt ſtrangers, ſo that entring into euerie ſtreet, lane, and place, where they might find them, they brake vp their houſes, murthered them which they found within, and ſpoiled their goods in moſt outragious manner. Likewiſe they entered into churches (as before ye haue heard) into abbeies, monaſteries, and other houſes, namelie of men of law, which in ſemblable ſort they ranſacked. They alſo brake vp the priſons of newgate, and of both the counters, deſtroied the books, and ſet priſoners at libertie, and alſo the ſanctuarie-men of ſaint Martins le grand. And ſo likewiſe did they at Weſtminſter, where they brake open the eſchequer, and deſtroied the ancient bookes and other records there, doing what they could to ſuppreſſe law, and by might to beate downe equitie and right, as it is ſaid,

Tunc ius calcatur violentia cum dominatur.

The outragious dealing of the rebels.

They that entered the tower, vſed themſelues moſt preſumptuouſlie, and no leſſe vnreuerentlie againſt the princeſſe of Wales, mother to the king: for thruſting into hir chamber, they offered to kiſſe hir, and ſwaſht downe vpon hir bed, putting hir into ſuch feare, that ſhe fell into a ſwoone, and being taken vp and recouered, was had to the water ſide, and put into a barge, & conueied to the place called the queenes wardrobe, or the tower riall, where ſhe remained all that day and the night following, as a woman halfe dead, till the king came to recomfort hir. It was ſtrange to conſider, in what feare the lords, knights & gentlemen ſtood of the cruell proceedings of thoſe rude & baſe people. For where there were ſix hundred armed men, and as manie archers in the tower at that preſent, there was not one that durſt gaineſaie their doings.

Finallie, when they had eaſed their ſtomachs, with the ſpoiling, burning, and defacing of ſundrie places, they became more quiet, and the king by the aduiſe of ſuch as were then about him, vpon good deliberation of counſell, offered to them pardon, and his peace,

The king offereth the rebels pardon.

peace, with condition that they ſhould ceaſe from burning and ruinating of houſes, from killing and murthering of men, and depart euerie man to his home without more adoo, and there to tarrie for the kings charters confirmatorie of the ſame pardon. The Eſſexmen were content with this offer, as they that were deſirous to ſee their wiues and children, being waxen wearie of continuall trauell and paines which they were conſtreined to take. The king went forth vnto Mile end, and there declared vnto the commons that they ſhould haue charters made to them of his grant, to make them all frée. And further that euerie ſhire, towne, lordſhip and libertie ſhould haue banners of his armes deliuered vnto them, for a confirmanion of his grant. Hereupon they ſéemed well appeaſed, and the king rode to the quéenes wardrobe, otherwiſe called the tower roiall, to viſit his mother, and ſo did comfort hir ſo well as he could, and taried with hir there all night.

Froiſſard.

The Eſſexmen ſatiſfied with the kings promiſes, immediatlie departed homeward; howbeit they appointed certeine of their companie to remaine ſtill and tarie for the kings charters. The Kentiſhmen alſo remained, and were as buſie in maner the next day being ſaturdaie, in all kind of miſchiefous dealings, as they had béene before, to wit, in murthering of men, ouerthrowing and burning of houſes. The king therefore ſent vnto them ſuch as declared in what ſort their fellowes were gone home well ſatiſfied, & from thenceforth to liue in quiet, and the ſame forme of peace he was contented to grant to them, if it liked them to accept the ſame. Hereupon their chéefe capteine Wat Tiler, a verie craftie fellow, and indued with much wit (if he had well applied it) ſaid, that peace indéed he wiſhed, but yet ſo, as the conditions might be indited to his purpoſe.

The wicked purpoſe of the rebels.

He was determined to driue off the king and his councell (bicauſe he was of greater force than they) with cauils and ſhifts till the next daie, that in the night following he might the more eaſilie haue compaſſed his reſolution, which was, hauing all the poorer ſort of the citie on his ſide, to haue ſpoiled the citie, and to ſet fire in foure corners of it, killing firſt the king and the lords that were about him: but he that reſiſteth the proud, and giueth his grace to the humble, would not permit the vngratious deuiſes of the naughtie and lewd lozzell to take place, but ſuddenlie diſappointed his miſchéefous drift. For whereas diuerſe formes of charters had béene drawne according to the effect of the agréement with the Eſſexmen, and none of them might pleaſe this lordlie rebell, at length the king ſent to him one of his knights called ſir John Newton, to requeſt him to come to him, that they might talke of the articles which he ſtood vpon to haue inſerted in the charter, of the which one was to haue had a commiſſion to put to death all lawiers, eſcheaters, and other which by any office had any thing to doo with the law; for his meaning was that hauing made all thoſe awaie that vnderſtood the lawes, all things ſhould then be ordered according to the will and diſpoſition of the common people. It was reported in déed, that he ſhould ſaie with great pride the day before theſe things chanced, putting his hands to his lips, that within foure daies all the lawes of England ſhould come forth of his mouth. The wretches had vtterlie forgotten all law, both diuine and humane; otherwiſe they would haue béene content to liue vnder law, and to doo vnto others as they would be doone vnto, as the verie law of nature (than which there cannot be a better guide) teacheth,

The rebels would haue all law aboliſhed.

Quod tibi vis fieri mihi fac, quod non tibi, noli,
Sic potes in terris viuere iure poli.

Arrogant and prou words of a villen.

When therefore the ſaid ſir John Newton called vpon him to come awaie to the king, he anſwered as it were with indignation: If thou (ſaith he) haſt ſo much haſt to returne to the king, thou maiſt depart, I will come at my pleaſure. When the knight therefore was come from him, he followed indéed, but ſomwhat ſlowlie. And when he was come néere to the place in Smithfield where the king then was, with certeine lords and knights, & other companie about him, the ſaid ſir John Newton was ſent to him againe, to vnderſtand what he meant. And bicauſe the knight came to him on horſſebacke, & did not alight from his horſſe, Wat Tiler was offended, & ſaid in his furie, that it became him rather on foot than horſſebacke to approach into his preſence. The knight not able to abide ſuch preſumptuous demeanour in that proud and arrogant perſon, ſhaped him this anſwer: It is not amiſſe that I being on horſſebacke, ſhould come to thée ſitting on horſſebacke.

With which words Wat Tiler taking indignation, drew out his dagger, menacing to ſtrike the knight, calling him therewith traitor: the knight diſdaining to be miſuſed at the hands of ſuch a ribald, told him that he lied falſelie, and with that plucked forth his dagger. Wat Tiler being among his men, ſhewed that he would not beare that iniurie, and forthwith made towards the knight to run vpon him. The king perceiuing the knight in danger, bad him alight from his horſſe, and deliuer his dagger to Wat Tiler: but when that would not pacifie his proud and high mind, but that he would néeds flée vpon him, the maior of London William Walworth, and other knights and eſquiers that were about the king, told him that it ſhould be a ſhame for them all, if they permitted the knight in their preſence before the eies of their prince ſo to be murthered: wherfore they gaue counſell to ſuccor him forthwith, and to apprehend the vile naughtie ribald. The king though he was but a child in yeares, yet taking courage to him, commanded the maior to arreſt him. The maior being a man of incomparable boldneſſe, forthwith rode to him and arreſted him, in reaching him ſuch a blow on the head, that he ſore aſtonied him therewith: and ſtreightwaies other that were about the king, as John Standiſh an eſquier, and diuers more of the kings ſeruants drew their ſwords, and thruſt him through in diuerſe parts of his bodie, ſo that he fell preſentlie from his horſſe downe to the earth, and died there in the place.

William Walworth maior of London ſtout couragious man.

The death of Wat Tiler capteine of the rebels.

When the commons beheld this, they cried out; Our capteine is traitorouſlie ſlaine, let vs ſtand togither and die with him: let vs ſhoot and reuenge his death manfullie: and ſo bending their bowes, made them readie to ſhoot. The king ſhewing both hardineſſe and wiſedome at that inſtant, more than his age required, ſet his ſpurs to his horſſe, and rode to them, ſaieng; What is the matter my men, what meane you? Will you ſhoot at your king? Be not troubled nor offended at the death of a traitor and ribald; I will be your king, capteine and leader, follow me into the fields, and you ſhall haue all things that you can deſire. This did the king, to the end he might appeaſe them, leaſt they ſhould haue ſet fire on the houſes there in Smithfield, and haue attempted ſome further miſchéefe, in reuenge of the diſpleaſure which they tooke for the death of their chéefe leader. They moued with theſe the kings words, followed him and the knights that were with him, into the open fields, not yet reſolued whether they ſhould ſet vpon the king and ſlea him, or elſe be quiet, and returne home with the kings charter.

The king perſuadeth the rebels.

In the meane time, the lord maior of London was returned into the citie, with one man onelie attending vpon him, and cried to the citizens; Oh yée good and vertuous citizens, come forth out of hand, and helpe your king readie to be ſlaine, & helpe me your

Vehement words of the maior of London to the citizens.

zens crieng for aid againſt the rebels.

maior ſtanding in the ſame perill; or if yée will not helpe me for ſome faults committed by me againſt you, yet forſake not your king, but helpe and ſuccour him in this preſent danger. When the worſhipfull citizens and other, that in their loiall hearts loued the king, had heard theſe words, incontinentlie they put themſelues in ſtrong and ſure armor, to the number of a thouſand men, and gathering themſelues togither into the ſtréets, tarried but for ſome lord or knight that might conduct them to the king: and by chance there came vnto them ſir Robert Knolles, whome all of them requeſted that he would be their leader, leaſt comming out of arraie and order, they might the ſooner be broken, who willinglie led one part of them, and certeine other knights led other of them, clad in faire bright armour vnto the kings preſence. The king with the lords, knights and eſquires, not a little reioiſed at the comming of thoſe armed men, and ſtreightwaies compaſſed the commons about, as they had béene a flocke of ſhéepe that ſhould haue béene cloſed within ſome fold, till it pleaſed the ſhéepheard to appoint forth, which ſhould be thruſt into paſture, and which taken to go to the ſhambels.

In armie without a capteine.

The rebels quite diſcouraged threw downe their weapons at the comming of the Londoners in aid of the king.

There was to be ſéene a maruellous change of the right hand of the lord, to behold how they throwing downe ſtaues, bils, axes, ſwords, bowes and arowes, humblie began to ſue for pardon, which a little before gloried to haue the life of the king and his ſeruants wholie and altogither in their hands, power, and diſpoſition. The poore wretches ſought to hide themſelues in the corne that grew in the fields, in ditches, hedges, and dennes, and wheresoeuer they might get out of the way, ſo to ſafe gard their liues. The knights that were with the king would gladlie haue béene dooing with them, and requeſted licence of him to ſtrike off the heads of ſome one or two hundred of them, that it might be a witneſſe in time to come, that the force of the order of knighthood was able to doo ſomewhat againſt the carters and ploughmen: but the king would not ſuffer them, alledging that manie of them were come thither by compulſion, and not of their owne accord, and therfore it might come to paſſe that thoſe ſhould die for it, that had nothing offended: but he commanded that there ſhould be proclamation made in London, that the citizens ſhould haue no dealings with them, nor ſuffer anie of them to come within the citie that night, but to cauſe them to lie without doores.

Abraham Fleming out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leiceſter abbeie.

¶ In the report of this commotion chronographers doo ſomewhat varie, as by this preſent extract out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leceiſter abbeie, liuing at the time of this tumult may appeare: which Abraham Fleming hath faithfullie and trulie tranſlated out of the annales of the ſaid canon written in parchment in old Latine letters, as followeth. Upon a ſaturdaie, theſe malcontents [to wit, Thomas Baker the firſt moouer but afterwards the principall leaders, Iacke Straw, Iacke Miler, Iacke Carter, Iacke Trewman, and their trecherous traine] met togither in Smithfield, whither alſo the king repaired in the morning, who although in yeares he was but yoong, yet in wiſedome and diſcretion he was well growne. The ringleader of this tumultuous rowt, whoſe right name was Wat Tiler, which he had now changed into Iacke Straw, approched néere the king, in ſo much that he might in a maner touch him, being the mouth of all the reſidue, and hauing in his hand a drawne dagger, which he toſſed from hand to hand, boy-like plaieng with it, & watching due time therewith, if not to ſtab, yet ſuddenlie to ſmite the king, if he denied their requeſts. Wherevpon they that were next and about the king were greatlie affeard, leaſt his pretended miſchéefe ſhould come to paſſe.

Now he craued of the king that all warrens, waters, parks and woods ſhould be common, ſo that as well poore as rich might fréelie in any place whereſoeuer practiſe fiſhing in ponds, pooles, riuers, or any waters, and might hunt déere in forreſts and parkes, and the hare in the fields, with diuerſe other requeſts, which he would haue granted without contradiction or gainesaieng, and exerciſe without controlment. Now when the king in the grant hereof by deliberation vſed ſome delaie, Iacke Straw drew néerer vnto him, and ſpeaking vnto him certeine thretening words, tooke hold of the horſſes bridle whereon the king rode, vpon what preſumptuous enterpriſe I wot not. Which Iohn Walworth a burgeſſe of London beholding, and fearing preſent death to hang ouer the kings head, caught a weapon in his hand, and therwith thruſt Iacke Straw through the throte, which when another that was by being an eſquier, named Rafe Standiſh did ſée, with his weapon alſo ran him through the ſides; in ſo much that he fell flat on his backe to the ground, and beating with his hands to and fro a while, at laſt he gaue vp his vnhappie ghoſt.

Then a great clamor and lamentable outcrie was made, and heard a great while togither, ſaieng; Our guide is dead, our capteine is dead. And indéed ſo he was, being dragged by the hands and féet in a vile and contemptible ſort into ſaint Bartholomewes church hard by. Then did manie of the vnrulie multitude withdraw themſelues, and vaniſhing awaie betooke them to their héeles, being about the number (as it was thought) of ten thouſand. Then the king minding to make amends and to requite receiued courteſie, knighted the ſaid Iohn Walworth, & Rafe Standiſh, with foure burgeſſes more of the citie, namelie Iohn Philpot, Nicholas Brembre, Iohn Laund, and Nicholas Twifield, girding them about the waſt with the girdle of knighthood, which was the maner of their graduating. Then the king hauing ordeined and made the foreſaid ſix knights, commanded that the reſidue of the curſſed crue ſhould depart and get them into the field, that méeting togither in a companie, he might fall vnto a treatie of agréement with them.

The rowt being there aſſembled, behold a multitude of armed men ran ruſling out of the citie, ſir Robert Knols being their capteine, who with theſe his ſoldiers compaſſed & hedged in the poore caitiues diſtreſſed in the field like ſhéepe that haue loſt their ſhéepheard. Then the king of his accuſtomed clemencie, being pricked with pitie, would not that the wretches ſhould die, but ſpared them being a raſh and fooliſh multitude, and commanded them euerie man to get him home to his owne houſe; howbeit manie of them, at the kings going awaie ſuffered the danger of death. In this miſerable taking were reckoned to the number of twentie thouſand. Thus ſaith Knighton, not as an eie-witneſſe, but as taught by heare-ſaie, whereby he compiled the greateſt part of his annales, as he himſelfe confeſſeth, ſéeming ſorrie that he was ſo conſtreined, as by part of the octaſtichon at the foot of the firſt page, intituled *Lamentum compilatoris*, appeareth in maner and forme following:

Sum cæcus factus ſubita caligine tactus,
Nec opus inceptum iam corrigo forſan ineptum,
Me metuo dubium pro veris ſæpe locutum,
Plus audita loquor quàm mihi viſa ſequor, &c.

All the foreſaid villanies notwithſtanding againſt the king and the ſtate, tending wholie to the ſubuerſion of law and ciuill gouernement, albeit the wretches deſerued no ſparke of fauour, but extreame ſeueritie of iudgement to be executed vpon them; yet (as yée haue heard) beſides the great clemencie of the king, exhibited vnto them in remitting their offenſe, and acquiting them from the rigor of the law, he granted and gaue to them the charter, which they had requeſted, faire written and ſealed, to auoid a greater miſchiefe, & commanded it for a time to be deliuered them, knowing that Eſſex and Kent were not ſo pacified, but that if they were not the ſooner contented, and that partlie after their minds, they would vp againe. The tenor of the charter which was gotten thus by force of the king was as followeth.

The forme of the kings charter
of Manumiſsion.

The like there was granted to them of other countries as well as to theſe of Hertfordſhire in yͤ ſame forme, the names of the counties changed.

RIchardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ: omnibus balliuis & fidelibus ſuis, ad quos præſentes litteræ peruenerint, ſalutem. Sciatis quòd de gratia noſtra ſpeciali manumiſimus vniuerſos ligeos & ſingulos ſubditos noſtros & alios comitatus Hertfordiæ, & ipſos & eorum quemlibet ab omni bondagio exuimus, & quietos facimus per præſentes, ac etiam perdonamus eiſdem ligeis ac ſubditis noſtris omnimodas felonias, proditiones, tranſgreſsiones, & extortiones, per ipſos vel aliquem eorum qualitercúnque factas ſiue perpetratas, ac etiam vtlagariam & vtlagarias, ſi qua vel quæ in ipſos, vel aliquem ipſorum fuerit vel fuerint hijs occaſionibus promulgata vel promulgatæ, & ſummam pacem noſtram eis & eorum cuilibet inde concedimus. In cuius rei teſtimonium, has litteras noſtras fieri fecimus patentes. Teſte meipſo apud London 15 die Iunij. Anno regni noſtri quarto.

The towneſmen of ſaint Albons not yet quieted.

The commons hauing obteined this charter departed home, but ceaſſed not from their riotous demeanour in ſundrie parts of the realme, and eſpeciallie at ſaint Albons, where after the towneſmen were returned home, they kept ſuch a coile againſt the abbat and monks, to haue certeine ancient charters deliuered them that concerned their liberties, and to haue ſuch new made and deliuered to them as might ſerue their purpoſe; that bicauſe ſuch old charters as they requeſted were not to be had, the abbat and monks looked euerie houre when their houſe ſhould be ſet on fire and burnt ouer their heads. The prior and certeine other as well monks as laie men that were ſeruants to the abbat, fled for feare of the rage of thoſe miſgouerned people, knowing that they hated them deadlie, and therefore looked for no courteſie at their hands. They had obteined the kings letters vnto the abbat, commanding him to deliuer vnto them ſuch charters as they had giuen information to be remaining in his hands, ſo that vnder colour thereof, they called for thoſe writings in moſt importunate wiſe, threatning ſore, if they were not brought to light, vtterlie to deſtroie the houſe by ſetting it on fire.

But to ſpeake of all the vnrulie parts of thoſe vnrulie people, it were too long a proceſſe: yet at length after they vnderſtood how their grand capteine and cheefe ringleader Wat Tiler was ſlaine, they began ſomewhat to aſſwage their preſumptuous attempts, the rather for that there came a knight with the kings letter of protection in behalfe of the abbat and his houſe, and yet they were not ſo calmed, but that they continued in requiring to haue charters made to them by the abbat, of the like forme and effect to that which the king had made, concerning the infranchiſing them from bondage, whereby they that obteined ſuch charters tooke themſelues to be diſcharged of all ſeruices and accuſtomed labors, ſo that they meant not to doo any further works, nor yeeld ſuch cuſtomes as before time they vſuallie had beene accuſtomed to doo and yeeld vnto their land lords.

Neither did the towneſmen of S. Albons, and the tenants of other townes and villages thereabout, that belonged to the abbeie of S. Albons, thus outragiouſlie miſdemeane themſelues, but euerie where elſe the commons kept ſuch like ſtur, ſo that it was rightlie called the hurling time, there were ſuch hurlie burlies kept in euerie place, to the great danger of ouerthrowing the whole ſtate of all good gouernment in this land. For euen the ſelfe ſame ſaturdaie after Corpus Chriſti day, in Suffolke there were got togither to the number of fiftie thouſand men, by the ſetting on of Iohn Wraw, a naughtie lewd prieſt, that had beene firſt among the Eſſexmen at London, and was ſent downe in all poſt haſt from Wat Tiler, to ſtir the commons in thoſe parts to commit the like miſcheefe as he had ſeene begun about London. Theſe fellowes therfore, after they were aſſembled togither, fell to the deſtroieng of the manors and houſes of men of law, & ſuch lawiers as they caught, they ſlue, and beheded ſir Iohn Cauendiſh lord chiefe iuſtice of England, and ſet his head vpon the pillorie in the market place in S. Edmundſburie.

The hurling time.

The outragious dealings of the Suffolke rebels.

Sir Iohn Cauendiſh lord chiefe iuſtice beheaded.

The prior of S. Edmundſburie ſlaine.

Alſo ſir Iohn of Cambridge the prior of ſaint Edmundſburie, as he would haue fled from them, was taken not far from Mildenhale, and likewiſe beheaded, his bodie being left naked in the open field, and no man preſuming to burie it, during the ſpace of fiue daies, for feare of the cruell commons. His head was ſet vpon a pole, and caried before Iohn Wraw and other of thoſe wicked people; the which comming to Burie, and entring the towne in maner of a proceſſion, when they came into the market place where the pillorie ſtood, as it were in token of the old friendſhip betwixt the lord chiefe iuſtice, and the ſaid prior, they made ſport with their heads, making them ſometime as it were to kiſſe, other whiles to ſound in either others eare. After they had taken their paſtime inough herewith, they ſet both the heads againe aloft vpon the pillorie. After this, they beheaded an other monke called Dan Iohn de Lakinghulth, whoſe hed was likewiſe ſet by the other two vpon the pillorie. Moreouer, they cauſed the monks to come foorth and bring vnto them all ſuch obligations, in which the towneſmen ſtood bound vnto the monaſterie for their good abearing; likewiſe ſuch charters of liberties of the towne of Burie, which king Cnute the founder of the ſaid monaſterie, and his ſucceſſors had granted to the ſame: which writings when they had brought foorth, and proteſted that they knew of no more, the commons would ſcarſelie beleeue them, and therefore called the towneſmen foorth, and bad them ſee if that there were all ſuch writings as they thought ſtood with their aduantage to haue brought to light. The towneſmen feigned as though they had beene ſorie to ſee ſuch rule kept againſt the monks, where in deed they had ſet the commons in hand with all theſe things. To conclude, the commons tooke this order with the monks, that if the towneſmen might not obteine their ancient liberties, by the hauing of thoſe writings, they ſhould declare what the ſame liberties were, which they were woont to inioy, and the abbat of Burie, Edmund Brumfield, being then in priſon at Notingham whom they purpoſed to deliuer (ſo that he ſhould celebrat diuine ſeruice in his monaſterie on Midſummer daie next) within fourtie daies after his comming home, ſhould confirme with his ſeale ſuch charter as was to be deuiſed and made concerning the ſame liberties of the ſaid towneſmen, and the couent ſhould likewiſe put therevnto their common ſeale.

This Edmund Brumfield was committed to priſon by the K. for his preſumptuous intruſion into the abbacie of Burie.

Moreouer, they conſtreined the monks to deliuer vnto the towneſmen, a croſſe and a chalice of fine gold, and other iewels that belonged to the abbeie, being in value aboue the worth of a thouſand pounds in monie, the which was to remaine in the hands of the townſmen, vpon this condition, that if Edmund Brumfield being deliuered out of priſon inioied the dignitie of abbat there, and with all put his ſeale togither with the couent ſeale within the time limited, vnto a writing that ſhould conteine the liberties of the towne, that then the ſame croſſe, chalice, and other iewels ſhould be reſtored vnto the monaſterie, or elſe the ſame to remaine for euer to the towneſmen as forfeited. Such were the dooings of thoſe rebels in and about the towne of Burie: and the like diſorders & breach of peace followed by the commotions of the commons in Cambridgeſhire, and in the Ile of Elie, reſembling the others in ſlaughters of men, deſtroieng of houſes, and all other ſorts of miſcheefe.

John Litteſter capteine of þ Norfolke rebels.

In like maner in Norffolke there was aſſembled an huge number of thoſe vnrulie countrie people, which vnder the guiding of a dier of cloth, commonlie called John Litteſter, that had dwelt in Norwich, attempted and did all ſuch vngratious feats, as they had heard that other did in other parts of the realme, yea and greater alſo, putting forth their hands vnto rapine and robberie. And whereas they were wholie conſpired togither, and bent to commit all kind of miſcheefe, yet eſteeming their owne authoritie to be ſmall, they purpoſed to haue brought William Vfford earle of Suffolke into their felowſhip, that if afterwards they might happilie be impeached hereafter, for ſuch their naughtie and moſt wicked dooings, they might haue had ſome ſhadow or colour, as it were through him, whie they had delt in ſuch vnrulie ſort. But the earle aduertiſed of their intention, ſuddenlie roſe from ſupper, and got him awaie by vnknowne waies, ſtill fleeing from the commons, till at length he got to S. Albons, and ſo from thence to the king.

The earle of Suffolke eſcapeth from the rebels.

The Norfolk rebels compell the noblemen & gentlemen to be ſworne to them.

Sir Robert Salle ſlaine by one of his own villains.

The commons miſſing of their purpoſe for the hauing of him, laid hold vpon all ſuch knights and other gentlemen as came in their waie, and were found at home in their houſes, compelling them to be ſworne to them, and to ride with them through the countrie, as the lord Scales, William lord Morlie, ſir John Brewes, ſir Stephan Hales, and ſir Robert Salle: which ſir Robert continued not long aliue among them, for he could not diſſemble as the reſidue, but began to reprooue openlie their naughtie dooings, for the which he had his braines daſht out by a countrie clowne, one that was his bondman, and ſo he ended his life, who if he might haue come to haue tried his manhood and ſtrength with them in plaine battell, had beene able to haue put a thouſand of thoſe villaines in feare, his valiancie and prowesſe was ſuch. The reſidue taught by his example that they muſt either diſſemble or die for it, were glad to currie fauour, praiſing or diſpraiſing all things as they ſaw the commons affected, and ſo comming into credit with their cheefteine John Litteſter, that named himſelfe king of the commons, they were preferred to ſerue him at the table, in taking the aſſaie of his meats and drinks, and dooing other ſeruices, with kneeling humblie before him as he ſat at meat, as ſir Stephan Hales who was appointed his caruer, and others had other offices aſſigned them.

The capteine of the Norfolke rebels forceth the noblemen and gentlemen to ſerue him at the table.

At length, when thoſe commons began to wax wearie of taking paines in euill dooings, they tooke counſell togither, and agreed to ſend two knights, to wit, the lord Morlie, and ſir John Brewes, and three of the commons, in whom they put great confidence, vnto the king, to obteine their charter of manumiſſion and infranchiſing, and to haue the ſame charter more large than thoſe that were granted to other countries. They deliuered great ſummes of monie vnto thoſe whome they ſent, to beſtow the ſame for the obteining of pardon, and ſuch grants as they ſued for, which monie they had got by force of the citizens of Norwich, to ſaue the citie from fire and ſacking. Theſe knights as they were on their iournie, at Ichingham not farre diſtant from Newmarket, not looking for anie ſuch thing, met with ſir Henrie Spenſer biſhop of Norwich, a man more fit for the field than the church, & better ſkilled (as may appeere) in arms than in diuinitie. This biſhop had aduertiſements at his manor of Burlie neere to Okam in the parties about Stamford, of the ſturre which the commons in Norffolke kept, and thervpon reſolued ſtreightwaies to ſee what rule there was holden. He had in his companie at that time, not paſſing eight lances, and a ſmall number of archers.

A warlike biſhop.

The biſhop meeting thus with the knights, examined them ſtreightwaies if there were anie of the traitours there with them. The knights at the firſt were doubtfull to bewraie their aſſociats: but at laſt imboldened by the biſhops words, declared that two of the cheefe dooers in the rebellion were there preſent, and the third was gone to prouide for their dinner. The biſhop ſtreightwaies commanded thoſe two to be made ſhorter by the head, and the third he himſelfe went to ſeeke, as one of his ſheepe that was loſt; not to bring him home to the fold, but to the ſlaughter-houſe, as he had well deſerued (in the biſhops opinion) ſith he had ſo miſcheefouſlie gone aſtraie, and alienated himſelfe from his dutifull allegiance. Theſe perſons being executed, and their heads pight on the end of poles, and ſo ſet vp at Newmarket, the biſhop with the knights tooke their waie with all ſpeed towards Northwalſham in Norffolke, where the commons were purpoſed to ſtaie for anſwer from the king: and as he paſſed through the countrie, his number increaſed, for the knights and gentlemen of the countrie, hearing how their biſhop had taken his ſpeare in hand, and was come into the field armed, ioined themſelues with him.

Spenſer biſh. of Norwich goeth as capteine againſt the rebels.

The fortifieng of the rebels campe.

When therefore the biſhop was come into the place where the commons were incamped, he perceiued that they had fortified their campe verie ſtronglie with ditches, and ſuch other ſtuffe as they could make ſhift with, as dores, windowes, bords, & tables, and behind them were all their cariages placed, ſo that it ſeemed they meant not to flie. Herewith the biſhop being chafed with the preſumptuous boldneſſe of ſuch a ſort of diſordered perſons, commanded his trumpets to ſound to the battell, and with his ſpeare in the reſt, he charged them with ſuch violence, that he went ouer the ditch, and laied ſo about him, that through his manfull dooings, all his companie found means to paſſe the ditch likewiſe, and ſo therewith followed a verie ſore and terrible fight, both parts dooing their beſt to vanquiſh the other. But finallie the commons were ouercome, and driuen to ſeeke their ſafegard by flight, which was ſore hindered by their cariages that ſtood behind them, ouer the which they were forced to clime and leape ſo well as they might. John Litteſter and other cheefe capteins were taken aliue. The biſhop therefore cauſed the ſaid Litteſter to be arreigned of high treaſon, and condemned, and ſo he was drawne, hanged, and headed according to the iudgement.

The biſhop is the firſt man that chargeth the rebels in their campe.

The Norfolke rebels vanquiſhed.

The biſhop heard his confeſſion, and by vertue of his office abſolued him: and to ſhew ſome parcell of ſorrowing for the mans miſchance, he went with him to the galowes. But it ſeemed that pitie wrought not with the biſhop, to quench the zeale of iuſtice: for he cauſed not Litteſter onelie to be executed, but ſought for all other that were the cheefe dooers in that rebellion, cauſing them to be put vnto death, and ſo by that meanes quieted the countrie. ¶ To recite what was doone in euerie part of the realme in time of thoſe helliſh troubles, it is not poſſible: but this is to be conſidered, that the rage of the commons was vniuerſallie ſuch, as it might ſeeme they had generallie conſpired togither, to doo what miſcheefe they could deuiſe. As among ſundrie other, what wickedneſſe was it, to compell teachers of children in grammar ſchooles to ſweare neuer to inſtruct any in their art? Againe, could they haue a more miſcheefous meaning, than to burne and deſtroie all old and ancient monuments, and to murther and diſpatch out of the waie all ſuch as were able to commit to memorie, either any new or old records? For it was dangerous among them to be knowne for one that was lerned, and more dangerous, if any men were found with a penner and inkhorne at his ſide: for ſuch ſeldome or neuer eſcaped from them with life.

Anno Reg. 5.

But to returne to ſaie ſomewhat more concerning the end of their rebellious enterpriſes, you muſt vnderſtand, how after that Wat Tiler was ſlaine at London in the preſence of the king (as before ye haue heard) the hope and confidence of the rebels greatlie decaied: and yet neuertheleſſe, the king and his councell being not well aſſured, granted to the commons (as ye haue heard) charters of manumiſſion and infranchiſement from all bondage, and ſo ſent them awaie home to their countries: and forthwith here vpon he aſſembled an armie of the Londoners, and of all others in the countries abroad that bare him good will, appointing none to come, but ſuch as were armed and had horſſes, for he would haue no footmen with him. Thus it came to paſſe, that within three daies he had about him fourtie thouſand horſſemen, as was eſteemed; ſo that in England had not beene heard of the like armie aſſembled togither at one time. And herewith was the king aduertiſed, that the Kentiſhmen began eftſoones to ſtir; wherewith the king and the whole armie were ſo grieuouſlie offended, that they meant ſtreight to haue ſet vpon that countrie, and to haue wholie deſtroied that rebellious generation. But thorough interceſſion made by the lords and gentlemen of that countrie, the king pacified his mood, and ſo reſolued to proceed againſt them by order of law and iuſtice, cauſing iudges to ſit and to make inquiſition of the malefactors, and eſpeciallie of ſuch as were authors of the miſcheefes.

The capteine once ſlaine the ſoldiers faint.

An armie of fortie thouſand horſſemen.

The Kentiſhmen eftſoones rebell.

And about the ſame time did the maior of London ſit in iudgement, as well vpon the offendors that were citizens, as of other that were of Kent, Eſſex, Southſex, Norffolke, Suffolke, and other counties, being found within the liberties of the citie; and ſuch as were found culpable, he cauſed them to loſe their heads, as Iacke Straw, Iohn Kirkbie, Alane Tredera, and Iohn Sterling, that gloried of himſelfe, for that he was the man that had ſlaine the archbiſhop. This fellow (as it is written by ſome authors) ſtreight waies after he had doone that wicked deed, fell out of his wits, and comming home into Eſſex where he dwelt, tied a naked ſword about his necke, that hong downe before on his breſt, and likewiſe a dagger naked, that hanged downe behind on his backe, and ſo went vp and downe the lanes ⁊ ſtreets about home, crieng out, and proteſting, that with thoſe weapons he had diſpatched the archbiſhop; and after he had remained a while at home, he came to London againe, for that he ſhuld receiue (as he ſaid) the reward thereof of the act which he had committed: and ſo indeed, when he came thither, and boldlie confeſſed that he was the man that had beheaded the archbiſhop, he loſt his head in ſteed of a recompenſe: and diuerſe other both of Eſſex and Kent, that had laid violent hands vpon the archbiſhop came to the like end at London, where they did the deed, being bewraied by their owne confeſſions.

Iack Straw and his adherents executed.

Here is to be remembred, that the king, after the citie of London was deliuered from the danger of the rebels (as before ye haue heard) in reſpect of the great manhood, and aſſured loialtie which had appeared in the maior, and other of the aldermen, for ſome part of recompenſe of their faithfull aſſiſtance in that dangerous ſeaſon, made the ſaid maior William Walworth knight, with fiue other aldermen his brethren, to wit, Nicholas Bramble, Iohn Philpot, Nicholas Twiford, Robert Laundre, and Robert Gaſton, alſo Iohn Standiſh, that (as ye haue heard) holpe to ſlaie Wat Tiler. Moreouer, the king granted, that there ſhould be a dagger added to the armes of the citie of London, in the right quarter of the ſhield, for an augmentation of the ſame armes, and for a remembrance of this maior his valiant act, as dooth appeare vnto this daie; for till that time, the citie bare onelie the croſſe, without the dagger.

The maior and fiue aldermen knighted.

The armes of London augmented, by additiō of the dagger.

Although the kings authoritie thus began to ſhew it ſelfe, to the terror of rebels; yet the commons of Eſſex eftſoones aſſembled themſelues togither, not far from Hatfield Peuerell, and ſent to the king to know of him if his pleaſure was, that they ſhould inioy their promiſed liberties: and further, that they might be as free as their lords, and not to come to any court, except it were to the great leet, twiſe in the yeare. When the king heard ſuch preſumptuous requeſts, he was in a great chafe, ⁊ diſpatched the meſſengers awaie, with a ſore threatning anſwer, ſaieng that bondmen they were, and bondmen they ſhould be, and that in more vile manner than before, to the terrible example of all other that ſhould attempt any the like diſorders: and forthwith, the earle of Buckingham, and the lord Thomas Percie, brother to the earle of Northumberland, were ſent with an armie to repreſſe thoſe rebels, whome they found fortified within woods, hedges and ditches verie ſtronglie, but with ſmall adoo they were put to flight, ⁊ about fiue hundred of them ſlaine; the reſidue ſaued themſelues as well as they might, by ſuccour of the woods. There were eight hundred horſſes alſo taken, which thoſe rebels had there with them, to draw and carrie their baggage.

The cōmons of Eſſex rebell afreſh.

The rebels Eſſex are ſcattered ⁊ ſlain.

Thoſe of the rebels that eſcaped, were not yet ſo tamed by that ouerthrow, but that aſſembling themſelues togither in a rowt, they made towards Colcheſter: and comming thither, would haue perſuaded the townſmen to haue ioined with them in a new rebellion. But when they could not bring their purpoſe to paſſe, they marched towards Sudburie. The lord Fitz Walter, and ſir Iohn Harleſton, vnderſtanding which waie they tooke, followed them with a companie of armed men, and ſuddenlie ſetting vpon them as they were making their proclamations, ſlue of them ſo manie as it liked them, and the other they ſaued, and ſuffered to depart, or elſe committed them to priſon. After this, the king came to Hauering at the bowre, and from thence to Chelmiſford, where he appointed ſir Robert Triſilian to ſit in iudgement of the offendors and rebels of that countrie, wherevpon an inqueſt being choſen, a great number were indited, arreigned, ⁊ found giltie, ſo that vpon ſome one gallowes there were nine or ten hanged togither.

Fabian.

The rebels executed in euerie lordſhip.

In euerie countrie were like inquiries made, and the cheefe offendors apprehended and put to death in euerie lordſhip through the realme, where anie of them were detected, by ten, twelue, twentie, thirtie, yea and in ſome places by fortie at once; ſo that the whole number grew to fifteene hundred and aboue. At the firſt, when the kings iuſtices began to ſit in Eſſex, Kent, and at London, by reaſon of the multitude that were to be executed, they onelie chopped off their heads, but afterwards when that kind of death ſeemed too cloſe and ſecret for ſo open offenſes, they proceeded according to the accuſtomed law of the realme, by condemning them to be drawne and hanged, and according ther'vnto they were executed. In the meane time, the king by the aduiſe of his councell, directed his letters reuocatorie into euerie countie there, to be proclamed in euerie citie, borrow, towne, and place, as well within the liberties as without; by the which letters he reuoked, made void and fruſtrate his former letters of infranchiſing the bondmen of his realme, and commanded that ſuch as had the ſame letters, ſhould without delaie bring them in, and reſtore them to him and his councell to be cancelled, as they would anſwer vpon their faith and allegiance which they owght to him, and vpon paine of forfeiting all that they had. The date of which letters reuocatorie was at Chelmeſford, the ſecond daie of Iulie, in the fift yeare of his reigne.

The king calleth in his letters of infranchiſing granted to the bondmen.

The king remoueth to S. Albons.

When the king had quieted the countie of Eſſex, and puniſhed ſuch as were the cheefe ſturrers of that wicked commotion in thoſe parts, he went to ſaint Albons, to ſee iuſtice doone vpon ſuch as had demeaned themſelues moſt preſumptuouſlie againſt the kings peace in that towne, namelie againſt the abbat and his houſe, who ſought to defend themſelues vnder a colour of freendſhip, that they truſted to find in ſome perſons about the king. But that truſt deceiued them, and procured the more diſpleaſure againſt them, for that they would not ſue for fauour at the abbats hands in time, by ſubmitting themſelues vnto his will and pleaſure. To be breefe, the king came thither with a great number of armed men and archers, and cauſed his iuſtice ſir Robert Triſilian to ſit in iudgement vpon the malefactors, that were brought thither from Hertford gaile.

Iohn Ball.

Thither was brought alſo to the king from Couentrie, Iohn Ball preeſt, whome the citizens of Couentrie had taken, and now here at ſaint Albons they preſented him to the kings preſence, wherevpon he was arreigned and condemned, to be drawne, hanged, and headed for ſuch notable treaſons as he was there conuicted of. He receiued iudgement vpon the ſaturdaie the firſt daie that the ſaid ſir Robert Triſilian ſat in iudgement, but he was not executed till the mondaie following. This man had beene a preacher the ſpace of twentie yeares, and bicauſe his doctrine was not according to the religion then by the biſhops mainteined, he was firſt prohibited to preach in anie church or chappell; and when he ceaſſed not for all that, but ſet foorth his doctrine in the ſtreets & fields where he might haue audience, at length he was committed to priſon, out of the which he propheſied that he ſhould be deliuered with the force of twentie thouſand men, and euen ſo it came to paſſe in time of the rebellion of the commons.

Iohn Ball his propheſie.

When all the priſons were broken vp, and the priſoners ſet at libertie, he being therefore ſo deliuered, followed them, & at Blackeheath when the greateſt multitude was there got togither (as ſome write) he made a ſermon, taking this ſaieng or common prouerbe for his theame, wherevpon to intreat,

Iohn Ball his ſermon to the rebels.

When Adam delu'd, and Eue ſpan,
Who was then a gentleman?

and ſo continuing his ſermon, went about to prooue by the words of that prouerbe, that from the beginning, all men by nature were created alike, and that bondage or ſeruitude came in by iniuſt oppreſſion of naughtie men. For if God would haue had anie bondmen from the beginning, he would haue appointed who ſhould be bond & who free. And therefore he exhorted them to conſider, that now the time was come appointed to them by God, in which they might (if they would) caſt off the yoke of bondage, & recouer libertie. He counſelled them therefore to remember themſelues, and to take good hearts vnto them, that after the manner of a good huſband that tilleth his ground, and riddeth out thereof ſuch euill weeds as choke and deſtroie the good corne, they might deſtroie firſt the great lords of the realme, and after the iudges and lawiers, queſtmongers, and all other whom they vndertooke to be againſt the commons, for ſo might they procure peace and ſuertie to themſelues in time to come, if diſpatching out of the waie the great men, there ſhould be an equalitie in libertie, no difference in degrees of nobilitie, but a like dignitie and equall authoritie in all things brought in among them.

When he had preached and ſet foorth ſuch kind of doctrine, and other the like fond and fooliſh toies vnto the people, they extolled him to the ſtarres, affirming that he ought to be archbiſhop and lord chancellour, where he that then enioied that roome, meaning ſir Simon de Sudburie that then was aliue, was a traitor to the king and realme, and worthie to loſe his head, whereſoeuer he might be apprehended. Manie other things are reported by writers of this Iohn Ball, as the letter, which vnder a kind of darke riddle he wrote to the capteine of the Eſſex rebels, the copie whereof was found in one of their purſſes that was executed at London.

The tenor of the ſaid ſeditious *preeſts letter.*

IOhn Scheepe S. Marie preeſt of Yorke, and now of Colcheſter, greeteth well Iohn nameleſſe, and Iohn the Miller, and Iohn Carter, & biddeth them that they beware of guile in Bourrough, & ſtand togither in Gods name, & biddeth Piers ploughman go to his worke, and chaſtiſe well Hob the robber, & take with you Iohn Trewman and all his fellowes, and no mo. Iohn the Miller ẏ ground ſmall, ſmall ſmall, the kings ſonne of heauen ſhall paie for all. Beware or yee be wo, know your freend from your fo, haue inough and ſaie ho, and doo well and better, flee ſinne and ſeeke peace, and hold you therein, and ſo biddeth Iohn Trewman and all his fellowes.

This letter he confeſſed himſelfe to haue written, as Thomas Walſingham affirmeth, with manie other things which he had doone and committed, to the diſquieting of the realme, for the which he was drawne, hanged, and beheaded at ſaint Albons, the fifteenth of Iulie, being monday, in this fift yeare of king Richards reigne. On the ſame daie, the kings iuſtice ſir Robert Triſilian ſat vpon the rebels of ſaint Albons, and other of the countrie of Hertford, afore whome, by ſuch policie as he vſed, there were a great number indicted, and diuerſe being arreigned, were found guiltie, as William Grindecob, William Cadindon, Iohn Barbor, and certeine others, which were hanged and drawne, to the number of fifteene perſons in all; diuerſe cheefe men of the towne were committed to priſon, as Richard Wallingford, Iohn Garleeke, William Berewill, Thomas Putor and others of the countrie about. There were committed to priſon to the number of fourescore perſons, the which neuertheleſſe, by the kings pardon, were releaſed and diſmiſſed.

Iohn Ball executed at S. Albons.

The hatred which the towneſmen had conceiued againſt the abbat and conuent of S. Albons, was ſuerlie great,and manie deuiſes they had to haue ſaued;thoſe that were executed. And where as well the towneſmen, as other of the abbats and conuents tenants, both of Hertfordſhire, and Buckinghamſhire,had gotten of the abbat and conuent letters of diſcharge,from dooing anie bound ſeruice, the king directed his letters vnto certeine commiſſioners, as to Iohn Ludowicke, Iohn Weſtwicombe, Iohn Kenting, Richard Perers, Walter Saunford, Richard Gifford, Thomas Eidon, and William Eccleſhall, commanding them to cauſe proclamation to be made in all ſuch townes and places as were thought neceſſarie, through the whole countries of Buckingham and Hertford, that all and euerie perſon and perſons that ought and had beene accuſtomed to doo or yeeld anie manner of ſeruices, cuſtomes,or duties,whether they were bondmen or free,vnto the ſaid abbat and couent of S.Albons, ſhould doo and yeeld the ſame ſeruices,cuſtomes, and duties, in ſuch like forme & manner,as they had beene vſed to doo,before the time of the late troubles,& not to chalenge or claime any libertie or priuilege which they inioied not before the ſame troubles, vpon their faith & allegiance in which they ſtood bound to him,and vpon paine to forfeit all that they might forfeit: and in caſe anie were found to doo contrarie therevnto, the ſame commiſſioners had authoritie, and were commanded to arreſt and impriſon them,till for their further puniſhment,order might be taken and agreed vpon in that behalfe accordinglie.

The king calleth in by proclamation all ſuch letters of manumiſſion,as the abbat of ſaint Albons had granted to his bondmen.

On ſaint Margarets daie, the king being readie to take his iournie to Berkhamſteed,in the great court of the abbeie of S. Albons had all the commons of the countie of Hertford before him,that had ſummons there to appeare, all that were betwixt fifteene and threeſcore yeeres of age, where they tooke an oth togither from thenceforth, to be faithfull ſubiects vnto him, and neuer to riſe or make anie commotion,to the diſturbance of his peace; and rather to die, than to conſent vnto anie rebellious perſons, whome they ſhould to the vttermoſt of their powers doo their beſt, to apprehend and deliuer them to the kings priſon,that they might be foorth comming. After they had receiued this oth, they were licenced to depart,and the king rode to Berkhamſteed, where he remained for a time,and went to Eſthamſteed to recreate himſelfe with hunting, where he was informed, that thoſe which were hanged at S.Albons, were taken from the gallowes, and remooued a good waie from the ſame: with which preſumption he was ſo ſtirred,that he ſent foorthwith his letters to the bailiffes of the towne of S.Albons,commanding them vpon the ſight of the ſame, to cauſe cheines to be made, and to bring the ſaid bodies backe vnto the gallowes, and to hang them in thoſe chaines vpon the ſame gallowes, there to remaine, ſo long as one peece might ſticke to another, according to the forme of the iudgement giuen. The teſt of this writ thus directed to the bailiffes of ſaint Albons, was at Eſthamſteed the third of Auguſt, in the fift yeare of this kings reigne,and in the yeare of our lord a thouſand three hundred foure ſcore and one.

The commõs of Hertfordſhire ſworne to the king.

The towneſmen of S. Albons durſt not diſobeie the kings commandement,and ſo hanged vp againe in chaines the dead bodies of their neighbors,greatlie to their ſhame and reproch, when they could get none other for anie wages to come neere the ſtinking carcaſſes, but that they were conſtreined themſelues to take in hand ſo vile an office. And ſuch was the end of the tumults at S.Albons, where as well as in other places,the vnrulie commons had plaied their parts. To conclude and make an end of theſe diueliſh troubles, to the end it may appeare,in what danger as well the K. as the whole ſtate of the realme ſtood, by the miſcheefous attempts of the vnrulie people, I haue thought good to declare the confeſſion of Iacke Straw one of their cheefe capteins (and next in reputation amongſt them vnto Wat Tiler) when he came to be executed in London, according to iudiciall ſentence paſſed againſt him.

¶ At the ſame time(ſaid he)that we were aſſembled vpon Blackeheath, and had ſent to the king to come vnto vs, our purpoſe was to haue ſlaine all ſuch knights,eſquiers,and gentlemen,as ſhould haue giuen their attendance thither vpon him:and as for the king, we would haue kept him amongſt vs, to the end that the people might more boldlie haue repaired to vs,ſith they ſhould haue thought, that whatſoeuer we did, the ſame had beene doone by his authoritie. Finallie,when we had gotten power inough,that we needed not to feare anie force that might be made againſt vs,we would haue ſlaine all ſuch noble men, as might either haue giuen counſell, or made anie reſiſtance againſt vs, ſpeciallie the knights of the Rhodes; and laſtlie we would haue killed the king and all men of poſſeſſions, with biſhops,monks,chanons,and parſons of churches, onelie friers Mendicants we would haue ſpared, that might haue ſufficed for miniſtration of the ſacraments. And when we had made a riddance of all thoſe, we would haue deuiſed lawes,according to the which the ſubiects of this realme ſhould haue liued, for we would haue created kings,as Wat Tiler in Kent, and other in other countries. But bicauſe this our purpoſe was diſappointed by the archbiſhop of Canturburie, that would not permit the king to come to vs, we ſought by all meanes to diſpatch him out of the waie, as at length we did. Moreouer,the ſame euening that Wat Tiler was killed,we were determined, hauing the greateſt part of the commons of the citie bent to ioine with vs, to haue ſet fire in foure corners of the citie,and ſo to haue diuided amongſt vs the ſpoile of the cheefeſt riches that might haue beene found at our pleaſure. And this(ſaid he) was our purpoſe,as God may helpe me now at my laſt end.

The confeſſion of Iacke Straw at the time of his death.

Thus may you ſee, after what ſort they were conſpired to the deſtruction of the realme, and to haue aduanced and inriched themſelues; not conſidering or foreſeeing the euill ſucceſſe of their tumultuous broile,and that it would tend but little to their profit in the end,by a common ſpoile to amend their ſtate, and to become mightie and rich with goods euill gotten,which though for a time(if lucke had ſerued them to haue poſſeſſed)they had enioied, yet could they not long proſper nor bring good vnto the poſſeſſors: for

Non habet euentus ſordida præda bonos.

And leſt this one mans confeſſion might ſeeme inſufficient, diuerſe other of them confeſſed the ſame, or much what the like in effect, when they ſaw no remedie but preſent death before their eies. To declare the occaſion whie ſuch miſcheefes happened thus in the realme,we leaue to the iudgement of thoſe that may coniecture a truth thereof, by conferring the manners of that age & behauiour of all ſtates then, ſith they that wrote in thoſe daies, may happilie in that behalfe miſſe the trueth, in conſtruing things according to their affections. But truelie it is to be thought, that the faults, as well in one degree as an other, ſpeciallie the ſinnes of the whole nation,procured ſuch vengeance to riſe, whereby they might be warned of their euill dooings, and ſeeke to reforme the ſame in time conuenient. But as it commeth ſtill to paſſe, when the danger is once ouerſhot, repentance likewiſe is put ouer,and is no more regarded, till an other ſcourge commeth eftſoones to put men in remembrance of their duetie; ſo in like manner(as ſeemeth)it chanced in this kings daies, as by

that

The cauſes of the late tumults.

that which followeth may more plainelie appeare.

A truce with Scotland.
Tho. Walſi.
Froiſſard.

The capteine of Berwike will not ſuffer the duke of Lancaſter to enter into the towne.

In this meane time that theſe troubles were at the hotteſt in England, the duke of Lancaſter being in Scotland, ſo behaued himſelfe (in the treatie which he had in hand with the Scots) diſſembling the matter ſo, as if he had not vnderſtood of any trouble in England at all, that finallie before the Scots had knowledge thereof, a truce was concluded to indure for two yeares, or (as other haue) for three yeares. When he had made an end there, and that all things were agreed vpon and paſſed, for the confirmation of that accord, he returned to Berwike, but at his comming thither, the capteine ſir Matthew Redman would not ſuffer him to enter the towne, bicauſe of a commandement giuen to him from the earle of Northumberland, lord warden of the marches: wherefore the duke was glad to returne into Scotland againe, obteining licence of the Scots to remaine amongſt them, till the realme of England was reduced to better quiet. Hervpon, the commons in England that fauored him not, tooke occaſion to report the worſt of him that might be deuiſed, calling him now in time of their rebellious commotions, a traitor to the realme, declaring that he had ioined himſelfe to the Scots, and meant to take part with them againſt his owne natiue countrie.

The king indeed had ſent commandement, during the time of the rebellious troubles, vnto the earle of Northumberland, that he ſhould haue good regard to the ſafe keeping of all the townes & caſtels vnder his rule, & not to ſuffer any perſon to enter the ſame, hauing forgotten to except the duke of Lancaſter being then in Scotland: wherevpon the duke tooke no ſmall diſpleaſure with the earle of Northumberland, as after he well ſhewed at his comming home. But before he returned forth of Scotland, he wrote to the king to vnderſtand his pleſure, in what ſort he ſhould returne, humbling himſelfe in ſuch wiſe, as he made offer to come with one knight, one eſquier, and a groome, if it ſhould pleaſe the king ſo to appoint him; or if it ſo were that by his preſence it was thought the realme was like to fall in any trouble, he was readie to depart into exile, neuer to returne into his countrie againe, if ſo be that through his abſence the king and realme might inioy peace and quietneſſe.

The duke of Lancaſter chargeth the earle of Northumberland with ſundrie crimes.

The king hearing ſuch offers, wrote to him, that his pleaſure was to haue him to returne home, with all his whole traine; and if the ſame were not thought ſufficient to gard him, he ſhould take of euerie towne by the which he paſſed, a certeine number of men to attend him vnto the next towne for his ſafegard, and ſo it was doone, the king ſending him commiſſion to that effect, and thus comming to the court, he was of the king right honorablie receiued. Within few daies after his comming, he exhibited a grieuous complaint againſt the earle of Northumberland, for abuſing him in diuerſe ſorts, in time of the late troubles, ſo as his honour was greatlie thereby touched, for which the earle was ſent for, and commanded to come vnto Berkhamſteed, where all the lords in maner of the land were aſſembled in councell.

The duke of Lancaſter & the earle of Northumberland come to the parlement with great troops of armed men.

The Londoners, freends to the earle of Northumberland.

Here, after the duke had laid diuerſe things to the earles charge, for his diſobedience, vnfaithfulneſſe, and ingratitude; the earle after the manner of his countrie, not able to forbeare, brake out into reprochfull words againſt the duke, although he was commanded by the king to ceaſſe, where the duke kept ſilence in humble maner, at the firſt word, when the K. commanded him to hold his peace, ſo that by reaſon of the earles diſobedience in that behalfe, he was arreſted. But yet the earls of Warwike and Suffolke vndertaking for his appearance at the next parlement, he was ſuffered to depart, and ſo the councell brake vp. About the feaſt of All ſaints the parlement began, to the which the duke of Lancaſter came bringing with him an exceeding number of armed men, and likewiſe the earle of Northumberland with no leſſe companie came likewiſe to London, & was lodged within the citie, hauing great friendſhip ſhewed towards him of the citizens, who promiſed to aſſiſt him at all times, when neceſſitie required, ſo that his part ſeemed to be ouerſtrong for the duke, if they ſhould haue come to anie triall of their forces at that time.

The lords ſit in armour in the parlement houſe.

The K. maketh an agreemēt betweene the duke of Lancaſter & the earle of Northumberland.

The duke laie with his people in the ſuburbs, and euerie daie when they went to the parlement houſe at Weſtminſter, both parts went thither in armour, to the great terror of thoſe that were wiſe and graue perſonages, fearing ſome miſchiefe to fall forth of that vnaccuſtomed manner of their going armed to the parlement houſe, contrarie to the ancient vſage of the realme. At length, to quiet the parties and to auoid ſuch inconueniences, as might haue growen of their diſſention, the king tooke the matter into his hands, and ſo they were made freends, to the end that ſome good might be doone in that parlement, for reformation of things touching the ſtate of the realme, for which cauſe it was eſpeciallie called: but now after it had continued a long time, and few things at all concluded, newes came that the ladie Anne ſiſter to the emperour Wenſlaus, & affianced wife to the king of England, was come to Calis, wherevpon the parlement was proroged till after Chriſtmas, that in the meane time the marriage might be ſolemnized, which was appointed after the Epiphanie: and forthwith great preparation was made to receiue the bride, that ſhe might be conueied with all honor vnto the kings preſence.

The emperours ſiſter affianced to K. Richard, is receiued at Douer.

A water-ſhake.

1382

The kings marriage with the emperors ſiſter.

Such as ſhould receiue hir at Douer repaired thither, where at hir landing, a maruellous and right ſtrange woonder happened; for ſhe was no ſooner out of hir ſhip, and got to land in ſafetie with all hir companie, but that forthwith the water was ſo troubled and ſhaken, as the like thing had not to any mans remembrance euer beene heard of: ſo that the ſhip in which the appointed queene came ouer, was terriblie rent in peeces, and the reſidue ſo beaten one againſt an other, that they were ſcattered here and there after a woonderfull manner. Before hir comming to the citie of London, ſhe was met on Blackheath by the maior and citizens of London in moſt honorable wiſe, and ſo with great triumph conueied to Weſtminſter, where (at the time appointed) all the nobilitie of the realme being aſſembled, ſhe was ioined in marriage to the king, and crowned queene by the archbiſhop of Canturburie, with all the glorie and honor that might be deuiſed. There were alſo holden for the more honour of the ſame marriage, ſolemne iuſtes for certeine daies togither, in which, as well the Engliſhmen as the new queenes countriemen ſhewed proofe of their manhood and valiancie, whereby praiſe & commendation of knightlie proweſſe was atchiued, not without damage of both the parties.

After that the ſolemnitie of the marriage was finiſhed, the parlement eftſoones began, in the which many things were inacted, for the behoofe of the commonwealth. And amongſt other things it was ordeined, that all maner manumiſſions, obligations, releaſſes, and other bonds made by compulſion, dures, and menace, in time of this laſt tumult and riot againſt the lawes of the land, and good faith, ſhould be vtterlie void and adnihilated. And further, that if the kings faithfull liege people did perceiue any gathering of the cōmons in ſuſpected wiſe, to the number of ſix or ſeauen, holding conuenticles togither, they ſhould not ſtaie for the kings writ in that behalfe for their warrant, but forthwith it ſhould be lawfull for them to apprehend ſuch people, aſſembling togither, and to laie them in priſon, till they might anſwer their doings. Theſe and manie other things were eſtabliſhed in this parlement, of the which, the moſt part are ſet forth in the printed booke of ſtatutes, where ye may read the ſame more at large.

In time of this parlement William Vfford the earle of Suffolke, being choſen by the knights of the ſhires, to pronounce in behalfe of the commonwealth, certeine matters concerning the ſame: the verie daie and houre in which he ſhould haue ſerued that turne, as he went vp the ſtaires, towards the vpper houſe, he ſuddenlie fell downe and died in the hands of his ſeruants, buſie about to take him vp, whereas he felt no gréefe of ſickeneſſe when he came into Weſtminſter, being then and before merrie and pleaſant inough, to all mens ſights. Of his ſudden death, manie were greatlie abaſhed, for that in his life time, he had ſhewed himſelfe courteous and amiable to all men. ¶ The parlement ſhortlie thervpon tooke end, after that the merchants had granted to the king for a ſubſidie certeine cuſtomes of their wools, which they bought and ſold, called a maletot, to endure for foure yeares. ¶ The lord Richard Scrope was made lord chancellor, & the lord Hugh Segraue lord treaſuror.

The ſudden death of the earle of Suffolke.

About the ſame time, the lord Edmund Mortimer earle of March, the kings lieutenant in Ireland, departed this life, after he had brought in manner all that land to peace and quiet, by his noble and prudent gouernement. In this ſeaſon, Wicliffe ſet forth diuerſe articles and concluſions of his doctrine, which the new archbiſhop of Canturburie, William Courtneie, latelie remoued from the ſée of London, vnto the higher dignitie, did what he could by all ſhifts to ſuppreſſe, and to force ſuch as were the ſetters forth and mainteiners thereof, to recant, and vtterlie to renounce. What he brought to paſſe, in the booke of acts and monuments ſet forth by maiſter I. Fox, ye may find at large. The tueſday next after the feaſt of ſaint John Port latine, an other parlement began, in which at the earneſt ſute and requeſt of the knights of the ſhires, John Wraie prieſt that was the chiefe dooer among the commons in Suffolke, at Burie, and Mildenhall, was adiudged to be drawen, and hanged, although manie beléeued, that his life ſhould haue béene redéemed for ſome great portion of monie.

The earle of March his good ſeruice whileſt he was deputie in Ireland.

Wicliffes doctrine.

John Wraie.

A lewd fellow that tooke vpon him to be ſkilfull in phyſicke and aſtronomie, cauſed it to be publiſhed thorough the citie of London, that vpon the Aſcenſion euen, there would riſe ſuch a peſtilent planet, that all thoſe which came abroad forth of their chambers, before they had ſaid fiue times the Lords praier, then commonlie called the Pater noſter, and did not eate ſomewhat that morning, before their going forth, ſhould be taken with ſickneſſe, & ſuddenlie die thereof. Manie fooles beléeued him, and obſerued his order; but the next day, when his preſumptuous lieng could be no longer faced out, he was ſet on horſſebacke, with his face towards the taile, which he was compelled to hold in his hand in ſtéed of a bridle, and ſo was led about the citie, with two iorden pots about his necke, and a whetſtone, in token that he had well deſerued it, for the notable lie which he had made.

A coleprophet ſerued aright.

About the ſame time, certeine Engliſh ſhips of Rie, and other places, went to the ſea, and méeting pirats, fought with them, and ouercame them, taking ſeuen ſhips, with thrée hundred men in them. One of thoſe ſhips had béene taken from the Engliſhmen afore time, and was called the falcon, belonging to the lord William Latimer. They were all richlie laden with wine, wax, and other good merchandize. This yeare the maior of London John de Northampton, otherwiſe called John de Comberton, did puniſh ſuch as were taken in adulterie, verie extremelie: for firſt he put them in the priſon, called the tunne, that then ſtood in Cornehill, and after cauſed the women to haue their haire cut, as théeues in thoſe daies were ſerued that were appeachers of others, and ſo were they led about the ſtréets with trumpets & pipes going before them. Neither were the men ſpared more than the women, being put to manie open ſhames and reproches. But bicauſe the puniſhment of ſuch offenſes was thought rather to apperteine vnto the ſpirituall iuriſdiction, than to the temporall, the biſhop of London, and other of the cleargie, tooke it in verie euill part: but the maior being a ſtout man, would not forbeare, but vſed his authoritie héerein to the vttermoſt.

Ships of Rie win a good prize.

John de Northampton maior of London, a ſtreict puniſher of adulterie in his time.

About the ſame time alſo, when the archbiſhop of Canturburie ſate in iudgement vpon a proceſſe that was framed againſt one John Aſton, a maiſter of art, that was an earneſt follower of Wicliffes doctrine, the Londoners brake open the doores, where the archbiſhop with his diuines ſate, and cauſed them to giue ouer, ſo that they durſt procéed no further in that matter. The ſame yéere were the fiſhmongers of London ſore diſquieted by the foreſaid maior, who ſought to infringe their liberties, granting licence to forreners to come and ſell all manner of fiſh, as fréelie and more fréelie than any of the companie of fiſhmongers: for they might not buie it at the forreners hands to ſell it againe by any meanes, and ſo that companie which before had béene accompted one of the chiefeſt in the citie, was now ſo brought downe, as it ſéemed to be one of the meaneſt, being compelled to confeſſe, that their occupation was no craft, nor worthie ſo to be accompted amongſt other the crafts of the citie.

The Londoners fauourers of wicliffes doctrine.

The fiſhmongers ſore troubled by the maior.

In this yeare, the one and twentith of Maie being wedneſdaie, a great earthquake chanced about one of the clocke in the after noone; it was ſo vehement, and namelie in Kent, that the churches were ſhaken therewith in ſuch wiſe, that ſome of them were ouerthrowen to the ground. On the ſaturdaie after, being the foure and twentith day of Maie, earelie in the morning, chanced an other earthquake, or (as ſome write) a waterſhake, being of ſo vehement & violent a motion, that it made the ſhips in the hauens to beat one againſt the other, by reaſon wherof they were ſore bruſed by ſuch knocking togither, to the great woonder of the people, who being amazed at ſuch ſtrange tokens, ſtood a long time after in more awe of Gods wrath and diſpleaſure than before, for theſe ſo ſtrange and dreadfull woonders thus ſhewed amongſt them: howbeit when theſe terrors were forgotten, they followed their former diſſolutenes, from the which for a time they were withdrawne through feare of Gods heuie hand hanging ouer their heads; but afterward like ſwine they wallowed afreſh in their puddels of polluſions, & as dogs licked vp their filthie vomit of corruption and naughtineſſe, for

Sordida natura ſemper ſequitur ſua iura.

A great earthquake.

Churches ouerthrowne by the earthquake.

A waterquake.

About this ſeaſon, the lord Richard Scroope lord chancellor was depoſed from that roome, and the king receiuing the great ſeale at his hands, kept it a certeine time, and ſealed therewith ſuch grants and writings as it pleaſed him: at length, it was deliuered to Robert Braibrooke biſhop of London, who was made lord chancellor. The cauſe why the lord Scroope was remoued from that dignitie, was this. When the king vpon certeine reſpects had granted certeine gentlemen the lands and poſſeſſions that belonged to the late earle of March, and other that were deceaſſed (which he, during the time of their heires minorities, ought to inioy by the lawes of the

realme)

Anno Reg. 6.

The biſhop of Londō made lord chancellor in the lord Scrope his roome.

realme) the ſaid lord chancellor refuſed to ſeale ſuch grants, alledging that the king being greatlie in debt, which he was to diſcharge, ſtood in néed of ſuch profits himſelfe, and therefore (as he ſaid) he tooke not them for faithfull ſeruants, nor dutifull ſubiects to his grace, that reſpecting their owne priuat commoditie more than his or the realmes, did ſue for ſuch grants at his hands, aduiſing them to hold themſelues contented with ſuch other things, as it had pleaſed or might pleaſe the king to beſtow vpon them: for ſuerlie he would not conſent, that they ſhould inioy ſuch gifts as thoſe were. They that were thus reiected, made their complaint in ſuch ſort to the king, that he taking diſpleaſure with the ſaid lord Scrope, depoſed him from his office, to the great offenſe both of the nobles and commons, by whoſe conſent he was preferred vnto that dignitie.

A new rebellion intended in Norffolke is bewraied by one of the conſpiracie before it burſt out.

About Michaelmaſſe this yeare, certeine naughtie diſpoſed perſons in Norffolke, not warned by the ſucceſſe of the late rebellion, went about a new commotion, intending to murther the biſhop of Norwich, and all the nobles and gentlemen of that countrie. And to bring their wicked purpoſe the better to paſſe, they determined to haue aſſembled togither at S. Faithes faire, and to haue compelled all thoſe that ſhould haue béene preſent at the ſame faire, to haue taken part with them, or elſe to haue loſt their liues: and this being doone, they would haue taken S. Benets abbeie at Holme, which they would haue kept for a fortreſſe, to haue withdrawne into vpon anie force that had béene againſt them. But yer they could bring their purpoſe to paſſe, one of the conſpiracie bewraieng the matter, they were taken, & loſt their heads at Norwich, for their malicious deuiſes.

The cōmiſſioners of Flanders reiected for want of ſufficient authoritie.

An act againſt the fiſhmongers within the citie of London.

About the ſame time a parlement was called, to the which certeine commiſſioners from the countrie of Flanders came, to treat of certeine agréements betwixt the king and realme, and the ſtates of their countrie: but bicauſe thoſe that came ouer at this time, ſéemed not ſufficient to conclude ſuch treatiſe as then was in hand, they were ſent backe to fetch other more ſufficient, as from euerie towne in Flanders ſome ſuch as might haue full authoritie to go through, and confirme the agréements then in hand. In this parlement, the maior of London, with a great part of the commoners of the citie, vpon ſuggeſtion by them made againſt the fiſhmongers, for vſing great deceit in vttering of their fiſhes, obteined to haue it inacted, that from thenceforth, none of that companie, nor anie of the vinteners, butchers, groſſers, or other that ſold anie prouiſion of vittels, ſhould be admitted maior of the citie; and ſo by this ſhift they ſought to cut off all meanes from the fiſhmongers to recouer againe their old former degrée. And bicauſe it was knowne well inough of what authoritie ſir Iohn Philpot knight was within the citie, and that he fauoured thoſe whome the lord maior the ſaid Iohn de Northampton fauoured not, he was put off from the bench, and might not ſit with them that were of the ſecret councell in the cities affaires, whereas neuertheleſſe he had trauelled more for the preſeruation of the cities liberties than all the reſidue. Sir Henrie Spenſer biſhop of Norwich, receiued buls a little before this preſent from pope Vrbane, to ſigne all ſuch with the croſſe, that would take vpon them to go ouer the ſeas with him, to warre againſt thoſe that held with the antipape Clement, that tooke himſelfe for pope, and to ſuch as would receiue the croſſe in that quarrell; ſuch like beneficiall pardons were granted by pope Vrbane, as were accuſtomablie granted vnto ſuch as went to fight againſt the Infidels, Turkes, and Saracens, to wit frée remiſſion of ſinnes, and manie other graces. The biſhop of Norwich that had the diſpoſing of the benefits granted by thoſe buls, to all ſuch as either would go themſelues in perſon, or elſe giue anie thing toward the furtherance of that voiage, & maintenance of them that went in the ſame, ſhewed thoſe buls in open parlement, & cauſed copies to be written forth, & ſent into euerie quarter, that his authoritie & power legantine might be notified to all men, for the better bringing to paſſe of that he had in charge. And truelie it ſhould appeare, there wanted no diligence in the man to accompliſh the popes purpoſe: and on the other part yée muſt note, that the priuileges which he had from the pope, were paſſing large, ſo that as the matter was handled, there were diuerſe lords, knights, eſquires, and other men of warre in góod numbers, that offered themſelues to go in that voiage, and to follow the ſtandards of the church with the biſhop, and no ſmall ſummes of monie were leuied and gathered amongſt the people, for the furniſhing foorth of that armie, as after yée ſhall heare.

Remiſſion of ſins granted to as manie as would fight againſt Clement the antipape.

The earle of Cambridge returneth out of Portingale.

In this meane time the earle of Cambridge returned home from Portingale, whither (as yée haue heard) he was ſent the laſt yeare, and promiſe made, that the duke of Lancaſter ſhould haue followed him; but by reaſon of the late rebellion, and alſo for other conſiderations, as the warres in Flanders betwixt the erle and them of Gaunt, it was not thought conuenient that anie men of warre ſhould go foorth of the realme: and ſo the king of Portingale not able of himſelfe to go through with his enterpriſe againſt the king of Spaine, after ſome ſmall exploits atchiued by the Engliſhmen, and other of the earle of Cambridge his companie, as the winning of certeine fortreſſes belonging to the king of Caſtile, and that the two kings had laine in field, the one againſt the other by the ſpace of fiftéene daies without battell, the matter was taken vp, and a peace concluded betwixt them, ſore againſt the mind of the earle of Cambridge, who did what in him laie, to haue brought them to a ſet field: but when there was no remedie, he bare it ſo patientlie as he might, and returned home with his people, ſore offended (though he ſaid little) againſt the king of Portingale, for that he dealt otherwiſe in this matter than was looked for. He had affianced his ſonne, which he had by the daughter of Peter, ſometime king of Caſtile, vnto the king of Portingales daughter, now in the time of his being there: but although he was earneſtlie requeſted of the ſaid king, he would not leaue his ſonne behind him, but brought him backe with him againe into England (togither with his mother) doubting the ſlipperie faith of thoſe people.

The earle of Cambridge his ſon affianced to the king of Portingals daughter.

1382

In the Lent ſeaſon of this ſixt yeare of king Richards reigne, an other parlement was called at London, in the which there was hard hold about the buls ſent to the biſhop of Norwich from pope Vrbane, concerning his iournie that he ſhould take in hand againſt the Clementines (as we may call them, for that they held with pope Clement) whome the Vrbaniſts (that is, ſuch as held with pope Vrbane) tooke for ſchiſmatikes. Diuerſe there were, that thought it not góod that ſuch ſummes of monie ſhuld be leuied of the kings ſubiects, and the ſame togither with an armie of men to be committed vnto the guiding of a prelat vnſkilfull in warlike affaires. Other there were that would néeds haue him to go, that the enimies of the church (as they tooke them) might be ſubdued.

Clementines.
Vrbaniſts.

And although the more part of the lords of the vpper houſe, and likewiſe the knights and burgeſſes of the lower houſe were earneſtlie bent againſt this iournie; yet at length thoſe that were of the contrarie mind, preuailed; & ſo it was decréed, that it ſhould forward, and that the ſaid biſhop of Norwich ſhould haue the fiftéenth granted to the king in the laſt parlement, to paie the wages of ſuch men of warre as ſhould go ouer with him: for ſoldiers without monie paſſed not much of pardons, no not in thoſe daies, except at the verie point of death, if they were not aſſured how to be anſwered of their wages, or of ſome other conſideration wherby they might gaine. ¶ The tenth that was granted afore by the biſhops at Oxford, was now in this ſame parlement appointed to remaine to the king for the kéeping of the ſeas, whileſt the biſhop ſhould be forth of the realme in following thoſe wars.

The croſſed ſouldiers.

Theſe things being thus appointed, the biſhop ſent forth his letters firmed with his ſeale into euerie prouince and countrie of this land, giuing to all parſons, vicars, and curats, through this realme, power and authoritie to heare the confeſſions of their pariſhioners, and to grant vnto thoſe that would beſtow any parcell of their góods, which God had lent them towards the aduancing of the iournie to be made by the croſſed ſouldiers againſt pope Vrbans enimies, the abſolution and remiſſion of all their ſinnes by the popes authoritie, according to the forme of the bull before mentioned. The people vnderſtanding of ſo great and gratious a benefit (as they tóoke it) thus offered to the Engliſh nation, at home in their owne houſes, were deſirous to be partakers thereof, and thoſe that were warlike men, prepared themſelues to go forth in that iournie with all ſpéed poſſible. The reſidue that were not fit to be warriors, according to that they were exhorted by their confeſſors, beſtowed liberallie of their góods to the furtherance of thoſe that went: and ſo, few there were within the whole kingdome, but that either they went, or gaue ſomewhat to the aduancing forth of the biſhop of Norwich his voiage.

The capteins that wẽt with the biſhop of Norwich againſt the antipape.

Froiſſard.

This biſhop choſe diuerſe to be aſſociat with him, as capteins that were expert in warlike enterpriſes. The firſt and principall was ſir Hugh Caluerlie an old man of warre, and one that in all places had borne himſelfe both valiantlie and politikelie; next vnto him was ſir William Farington, who ſtoutlie ſpake in the biſhops cauſe, when the matter came in queſtion in the parlement houſe, touching his going ouer with this croiſie. Beſides theſe, there went diuerſe noble men and knights of high renowme, as the lord Henrie Beaumount, ſir William Elmham, and ſir Thomas Triuet, ſir Iohn Ferrers, ſir Hugh Spenſer the biſhops nephue by his brother, ſir Mathew Redman capteine of Berwike, ſir Nicholas Tarenſon or Traiton, ſir William Farington, and manie other of the Engliſh nation: & of Gaſcogne there went le ſire de Chaſteauneuf, and his brother ſir Iohn de Chaſteauneuf, Raimund de Marſen, Guillonet de Paux, Gariot Vighier, Iohn de Cachitan, and diuerſe other. Sir Iohn Beauchampe was appointed marſhall of the field, but bicauſe he was at that preſent in the marches of the realme towards Scotland, he was not readie to paſſe ouer when the biſhop did. The duke of Lancaſter liked not well of the biſhops iournie, for that he ſaw how his voiage that he meant to make into Spaine was hereby for the time diſappointed, and he could haue béene better contented (as appeareth by writers) to haue had the monie imploied vpon the warres againſt the king of Caſtile that was a Clementine, than to haue it beſtowed vpon this voiage, which the biſhop was to take in hand againſt the French king, and other in theſe néerer parts. Here vpon there were not manie of the nobilitie that offered to go with the biſhop.

The ſtatute againſt fiſhmongers repealed, they are reſtored to their liberties.

But to ſaie ſomewhat of other things that were concluded in this laſt parlement, we find, that the fiſhmongers, which through meanes of the late lord maior Iohn of Northampton and his complices were put from their ancient cuſtomes and liberties, which they inioied aforetime within the citie, were now reſtored to the ſame againe, ſauing that they might not kéepe courts among themſelues, as in times paſt they vſed, but that after the maner of other crafts and companies, all tranſgreſſions, offenſes, and breaches of lawes and cuſtomes by them committed, ſhould be heard, tried, and reformed in the maiors court. ¶ All this winter the matter touching the gathering of monie towards the croiſie, was earneſtlie applied, ſo that there was leuied what of the diſme, and by the deuotion of the people for obteining of the pardon, ſo much as drew to the ſumme of fiue and twentie thouſand franks.

The biſhop of Norwich ſetteth forward with his armie.

When the biſhop therefore had ſet things in góod forwardneſſe for his iournie, he drew towards the ſea ſide, and was ſo deſirous to paſſe ouer, and to inuade his aduerſaries, that although the king ſent to him an expreſſe commandement by letters to returne to the court, that he might conferre with him before he tóoke the ſeas; yet excuſing himſelfe, that the time would not then permit him to ſtaie longer, he paſſed ouer to Calis, where he landed the 23 of Aprill, in this ſixt yeare of king Richards reigne. The armie to attend him in this iournie, roſe to the number of two thouſand horſſemen, and fiftéene thouſand fóotmen (as ſome write) though other ſpeake of a far leſſer number. But it ſhould ſéeme that they went not ouer all at one time, but by parts, as ſome before the biſhop, ſome with him, and ſome after him.

Polydor.

Froiſſard. 500 ſpeares & 115 other.

Now when he and the capteins before named, were come ouer to Calis, they tóoke counſell togither into what place they ſhould make their firſt inuaſion; and bicauſe their commiſſion was to make warre onelie againſt thoſe that held with pope Clement, the more part were of this mind, that it ſhould be moſt expedient for them to enter into France, and to make warre againſt the Frenchmen, whom all men knew to be chiefe mainteiners of the ſaid Clement. But the biſhop of Norwich was of this opinion, that they could not dóo better than to inuade the countrie of Flanders, bicauſe that a litle before, earle Lewes hauing intelligence that king Richard had made a confederacie with them of Gaunt, had on the other part expelled all Engliſhmen out of his dominions and countries, ſo that the merchants which had their góods at Bruges, and other places in Flanders, ſuſteined great loſſes. Howbeit there were that replied againſt the biſhops purpoſe herein, as ſir Hugh Caluerlie and others; yet at length they yéelded thereto, and ſo by his commandement they went ſtreight to Grauelin, the 21 day of Maie, and immediatlie wan it by aſſault. Wherevpon Bruckburge was yéelded vnto them, the liues and góods of them within ſaued. Then went they to Dunkirke, & without any great reſiſtance entred the towne, and wan there excéeding much by the ſpoile, for it was full of riches, which the Engliſhmen pilfered at their pleaſure. The earle of Flanders lieng at Liſle was aduertiſed how the Engliſhmen were thus entered his countrie, wherevpon he ſent ambaſſadors vnto the Engliſh hoſt, to vnderſtand why they made him warre that was a right Vrbaniſt.

The biſhop of Norwich inuadeth Flanders.

Ia. Meir.

Dunkirke woon & ſacked by the Engliſhmen.

The earle of Flãders ſendeth to the biſh. of Norwich to know the cauſe of his inuaſion of Flanders.

The biſhop of Norwich for anſwer, declared to them that were ſent, that he tóoke the countrie to apperteine to the French king, as he that had of late conquered it, whom all the whole world knew to be a Clementine, or at the leaſt he was aſſured that the countrie thereabouts was of the inheritance of the ladie of Bar, which likewiſe was a Clementine: and therefore, except the people of that countrie would come and ioine with him to go againſt ſuch as were knowne to be enimies to pope Vrbane, he would ſuerlie ſéeke to deſtroie them. And whereas the earls ambaſſadors required ſafe conduct to go into England

land by Calis, to vnderſtand the kings pleaſure in this mater, the biſhop would grant them none at all; wherefore they went backe againe to the earle their maiſter with that anſwer.

The Engliſhmen after the taking and ſpoiling of Dunkirke, returned to Grauelin and Bruckburge, which places they fortified, and then leauing garriſons in them, they went to Mardike, and tooke it, for it was not cloſed. In the meane time, the countriemen of weſt Flanders roſe in armour, and came to Dunkirke, meaning to reſiſt the Engliſhmen: whereof when the biſhop was certified, with all ſpéed he marched thither, and comming to the place where the Flemings, to the number of more than twelue thouſand were ranged without the towne, he ſent an herald vnto them to know the truth, of whether pope they held; but the rude people, not vnderſtanding what apperteined to the law of armes, ran vpon the herald at his approching to them, and ſlue him before he could begin to tell his tale.

The herald of armes ſent to ẏ Flemings by the biſhop of Norwich is ſlaine.

The Engliſhmen herewith inflamed, determined either to reuenge the death of their herald, or to die for it, and therewith ordered their battels readie to fight, and being not aboue fiue thouſand fighting men in all, the biſhop placed himſelfe amongſt the horſſemen, and ſet the footmen in a battell marſhalled wedgewiſe, broad behind and ſharpe before, hauing with them a banner wherein the croſſe was beaten. The archers were ranged on either ſide: the ſtandard of the church went before, the field gules, and two keies ſiluer, ſignifieng that they were ſouldiors of pope Vrbane. Moreouer, the biſhop had his penon there ſiluer and azure quarterlie, a freat gold on the azure, a bend gules on the ſiluer: and bicauſe he was yongeſt of the Spenſers, he bare a border gules for a difference. At the approching of the battels togither the trumpets blew vp, and the archers began to ſhoot againſt the battell of the Flemings, the which valiantlie defended themſelues, & fought egerlie a long time, but at length they were ſo galled with arrowes which the archers ſhot at them a flanke, that they were not able to indure, but were compelled to giue backe.

Thom. Walſ.

The order of the biſhop of Norwich his battell againſt the Flemings

They were diuided into two battels, a vaward, and a rereward. When the vaward began to ſhrinke, the rereward alſo brake order, and fled, but the Engliſhmen purſued them ſo faſt, that they could not eſcape, but were ouertaken and ſlaine in great numbers. Some ſaie, there died of them in the battell and chaſe fiue thouſand, ſome ſix thouſand; and others write, that there were nine thouſand of them ſlaine: and Thomas Walſingham affirmeth twelue thouſand. Manie of them fled into the towne of Dunkirke for ſuccour, but the Engliſhmen purſued them ſo egerlie, that they entered the towne with them, and ſlue them downe in the ſtréets. The Flemings in diuerſe places gathered themſelues togither againe as they fled, and ſhewed countenance of defenſe, but ſtill they were driuen out of order, and brought to confuſion. The préeſts and religious men that were with the biſhop fought moſt egerlie, ſome one of them ſlaieng ſixtéene of the enimies.

The Flemings diſcomfited by ẏ Engliſhmen.

Iac.Meir.

Froiſſard.

Tho.Walſi.

Préeſts and religious men hardy ſoldiers

Iacob.Meir.

There died of Engliſhmen at this battell about foure hundred. The Flemings had no horſſemen amongſt them, nor anie number of gentlemen, for they ſtood in ſuch dread of Engliſh bowes, that they durſt not come to anie battell with them, but kéeping themſelues out of danger, ſet the commons of the countrie in hand to trie what they againſt the Engliſhmen were able to doo without them. This battell was fought vpon a mondaie being the fiftéenth of Maie. The countrie was put in a wonderfull feare by this ouerthrow, ſo that the townes and fortreſſes were in great doubt, and ſome yeelded themſelues to the Engliſhmen, as Berghen and others; ſome were woone by force, as the caſtell of Drinchan, and the towne of S. Venant. To be ſhort, the Engliſhmen became maiſters of all the countrie alongſt the ſea ſide, euen from Grauelin to Sluis, and got ſuch riches by pillage and ſpoile, as they could not wiſh for greater. They preuailed ſo much, that they wan in maner all the cloſe towns within the bailiffeweekes of Caſſell, of Popering, Meſſines, and Furneis, with the townes of Newport, Blankberke, and diuerſe other.

The Engliſhmē ſubdue diuerſe towns in Flanders, and ſpoile the countrie.

Alſo entring into the woods Nepſe and Rutholt, they found a great bootie of ſheepe and beaſts, and tooke a great ſort of priſoners of the countrie people, which were fled into thoſe woods for feare of the enimies: but the Engliſhmen, plaieng the part of good bloudhounds, found them out, & ſent all their booties and preie vnto Grauelin and Bruckburge. On the eight daie of Iune they came before the towne of Ypres, and laid ſiege thereto, whereat they continued the ſpace of nine wéekes. Thither came to their aid twentie thouſand Gauntiners vnder the leading of Francis Akreman, Peter Wood, and Peter Winter: ſo that they within Ypres were ſtreictlie beſieged, but there were within it in garriſon diuerſe valiant knights & capteins, which defended the towne right manfullie: it was fenſed with a mightie rampire, and a thicke hedge, trimlie plaſhed and woond with thornes, as the manner of fortifieng townes was in ancient time amongſt them in that countrie (as Strabo witneſſeth.)

The towne of Ypres beſiged.

The maner of fortifieng townes in old time.

During the time that the ſiege laie before Ypres, the Engliſhmen ſwarmed abroad in the countrie, for when it was once knowne what good ſucceſſe the firſt companie that went ouer had found, there came dailie foorth of England great numbers to be partakers of the gaine. Sir Iohn Philpot that fauoured the biſhops iournie, prouided them of veſſels for their paſſage, till the biſhop vnderſtanding that the more part of thoſe that came thus ouer were vnarmed, and brought nothing with them from home, but onelie ſwords, bowes and arrowes, did write vnto the ſaid ſir Iohn Philpot, that he ſhould ſuffer none to paſſe the ſeas, but ſuch as were men able and likelie to doo ſeruice: where a great number of thoſe that were come to him, were fit for nothing but to conſume vittels, much like the popiſh ſhauelings and the Romiſh raſcalitie, of whome the like is ſpoken thus:

Hope of gaine incourageth the ſoldier.

Nos numerus ſumus & fruges conſumere nati.

The multitude of Engliſhmen and Gauntiners at this ſiege was great, ſo that diuerſe ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixt them, and ſuch as were appointed by the earle to lie in garriſons about in the countrie againſt them: but ſtill the victorie abode on the Engliſh ſide. Alſo there was an Engliſh préeſt, one ſir Iohn Boring that went to Gaunt with fiue hundred Engliſh archers, by whoſe aid Arnold Hans one of the capteins of Gaunt ouercame his enimies in battell, which were laid in a caſtell néere to the hauen of Alloſt, and ſtopped that no vittels might ſafelie come out of Holland or Zeland to be conueied to Gaunt. The earle of Flanders was not well contented in his mind, that the Engliſhmen were thus entred into his countrie, and therefore earneſtlie laboured to the duke of Burgognie(that had married his daughter, and ſhould be heire of all his dominions and ſeigniories after his deceaſſe) to find ſome remedie in the matter.

Ia.Meir.

Anno Reg. 7.

The duke, whome the matter touched ſo néere, did ſo much with his nephue the French king, that eftſoones he raiſed his whole puiſſance, and came downe into Flanders, ſo that the Engliſhmen perceiuing themſelues not of power to incounter with this huge and mightie armie, were conſtreined after a great aſ-

The ſiege at Ypres broken vp.

Newport ſacked and burnt by the Engliſhmen and Gauntiners.

ſault, which they gaue the eight of Auguſt, to raiſe their ſiege from Ypres the mondaie after, being S. Laurence daie, and to withdraw into Bruckburge, Berghen, Dirmew, Newport, Caſſell, Dunkirke, Grauelin, and other places which they had woon. But at Newport the townesmen ſet vp the earles banner, and aſſailing thoſe that were come into the towne, ſlue diuerſe of them. The Engliſhmen being ſore offended therewith, came running thither with certeine Gauntiners, and made great ſlaughter of them that had ſo murthered their fellowes. The towne was ſacked, and all the goods aſwell church iewels as other were ſent awaie, partlie by ſea into England, and partlie by waggons vnto Berge. After this, they ſet fire in more than thirtie places of the towne, ſo that there remained nothing vnburnt. The Engliſhmen & Gauntiners that were withdrawne into Berge, got togither all the waggons in the countrie about, placing the ſame vpon the diches and rampiers, to fortifie the ſame againſt their enimies.

Thom.Walſ.

A couragious & warlike biſhop.

Some write, that after the breaking of the ſiege at Ypres, the biſhop of Norwich would gladlie haue perſuaded the lords and knights that were there with him, to haue entred into Picardie, and there to haue offered the French king battell, before his whole puiſſance had béene aſſembled: but ſir Thomas Triuet and ſir William Elmham with other, would in no wiſe conſent therevnto, ſo that the biſhop taking with him ſir Hugh Caluerlie, that did neuer forſake him, bad the other farewell; and firſt making a road into Picardie, he after withdrew into Grauelin, whiles the other went to Bruckburge. But by Froiſſard, and other writers it appeareth, that ſir Hugh was certeinlie at Berge, with other that were retired thither, in purpoſe to defend it againſt the French king, who ſtill followed them, and recouered diuerſe places out of their hands by force, as Mont Caſſell, the caſtell of Crincham, and other. Alſo at his comming to Berghen, the ſaid ſir Hugh Caluerlie, and other that were within it, perceiuing that they were not able to defend it againſt ſuch a puiſſance as the French king had there with him, being greater than euer ſir Hugh Caluerlie that ancient capteine wold haue thought that France had béene able to haue ſet forth, departed, and left the towne to be ſpoiled of the Britons, and other French ſouldiers, which executed there all kinds of crueltie. The more part of the Engliſhmen went to Bruckburge, but ſir Hugh Caluerlie went to Grauelin, and ſo to Calis, as one ſore diſpleaſed in his mind, for that his counſell could not be regarded in all this voiage, which if it had béene followed, would haue brought it to a better iſſue than now it was, as was ſuppoſed.

The French king with his huge armie driueth the Engliſhmen out of Flanders.

Bruckburge yeelded to the French.

The duke of Britaine a friend to the Engliſhmen.

The French king following the tract of good fortune, that guided his ſterne, marched forth to Bruckburge, ſo that the vaward of his armie came before that towne on Holie rood daie in September, vnder the leading of the earle of Flanders, the duke of Britaine, the lord Oliuer de Cliſſon high conſtable of France, and the lord Waleran earle of S. Paule, the which demeaned themſelues in ſuch ſort, that although the Engliſhmen within valiantlie defended the Frenchmens aſſault; yet the third daie after the Frenchmens comming thither, the Engliſhmen by compoſition that they might depart with bag and bagage, yéelded vp the towne, which on the nineteenth of September being ſaturdaie, as that yeare came about, was abandoned to the French ſouldiers, to rifle and ſpoile at their pleaſure, in the which feat the Britons bare the bell awaie, dooing more miſchéefe vnto the poore inhabitants, than with toong can be recited. The duke of Britaine holpe greatlie to make the compoſition, that the Engliſhmen might depart in ſafetie: for the which dooing he was in great hatred and obloquie of the ſouldiers, who affirmed that he was not onelie a friend to the Engliſhmen, but an enimie to his countrie, and a traitour to the common-wealth.

Grauelin fortified by the Frenchmen for a countergariſon to Calis.

Thom.Walſ.

The Engliſhmen comming to Grauelin, ſet it on fire, and departed ſtreight to Calis, leauing the countrie of Flanders to the Frenchmen, and ſo returned into England, where they were not greatlie commended for their ſeruice, but were put ſo farre in blame, that ſir Thomas Triuet, & ſir William Elmham were committed to priſon within the tower of London, as men ſuſpected of euill dealing in the deliuerie of Bruckburge and Grauelin to the Frenchmens hands: for immediatlie after that they had left Grauelin, the Frenchmen came thither, and fortified it for a countergariſon to Calis. ¶ There be that write how the French king offered to giue the biſhop of Norwich fiftéene thouſand marks to race the towne of Grauelin, and ſo to leaue it vnto him, the biſhop hauing libertie with all his people and goods to depart in ſafetie. The biſhop required to haue libertie for certeine daies, to make herevnto a full and deliberate anſwer; which was granted, and in the meane time he ſent into England to aduertiſe the king in what ſtate he ſtood, and how the French king laie before him with a mightie armie: and therefore if he meant euer to trie battell with the Frenchmen, now was the time.

The king & queene in progreſſe.

A great hea ſoone cooled.

In the ſame ſummer, the king with the quéene went abroad in progreſſe, viſiting in their waie the rich abbeis of the realme, as Burie, Thetford, Norwich, & other; going about a great part of the realme. And when theſe newes came to him from the biſhop of Norwich, he was at Dauentrie in Northamptonſhire, and being the ſame time at ſupper, he put the table from him, and riſing with all haſt, got him to horſbacke, and rode in poſt that night, changing horſſe diuerſe times, with ſuch ſpéed that he came to S. Albons about midnight, and making no ſtaie there longer than he had borowed the abbats gelding, haſted forth till he came to Weſtminſter: ſo that it appeared he would neuer haue reſted till he had paſſed the ſea, and giuen battell to the Frenchmen. But after his comming to Weſtminſter, wearied with that haſtie iournie, he got him to bed, and liked ſo well of eaſe, that he thought good to ſend a lieutenant in his ſtead to paſſe the ſeas, to deliuer the biſhop from danger of his enimies.

The biſhop of Norwich returned into England out of Flanders.

Herevpon was the duke of Lancaſter ſent for, that he might with ſuch power as was readie to paſſe the ſeas, go ouer with the ſame, and giue battell to the French king: but he protracted time, till the reſpit granted to the biſhop to make anſwer was expired, and ſo the biſhop when he ſaw no ſuccour come forth of England, raced the towne as the couenant was: but monie he would not or did not receiue, bicauſe he thought in ſo dooing he ſhould offend the councell. At his comming backe into England, he found the duke of Lancaſter at the ſea ſide with a great power of men readie to haue come ouer: although ſome thought that he deferred time of purpoſe, for that he miſliked of the biſhops whole enterpriſe; and now bicauſe it had thus quailed, he blamed the biſhop for his euill gouernement therein: but ſir Hugh Caluerlie he reteined with him a time, dooing him all honour, by reaſon of the old approoued valiancie, that had béene euer found in him. And this was the end of the biſhop of Norwich his iournie.

Warke caſtell burnt by the Scots.

The Scots in the meane while ſate not ſtill, but made roades into England, tooke and burnt the caſtell of Warke. Moreouer, whileſt the ſiege laie before Ypres, the Frenchmen armed certeine veſſels, and ſent them to the ſea, namelie fiue balengers, as well to intercept ſuch as ſhould paſſe betwéene England

land and Flanders, as alſo to ſtop ſuch as were appointed to go ouer into Gaſcoine, that were ſoldiers alſo of the croiſie, appointed thither vnder the leading of the lord Britrigale de la Bret, and certeine others. When they of Porteſmouth vnderſtood that theſe fiue ſhips were abroad, they made forth to the ſea, and meeting with their aduerſaries, fought with them a ſore & cruell battell, and in the end ſlue all the enimies, nine excepted, and tooke all their veſſels. Another fleet of Engliſhmen tooke eight French ſhips, which had abord 1500 tuns of good wines, that comforted the Engliſhmen greatlie.

Diuerſe French ſhips taken by the Engliſhmen.

A parlement at London.

About the feaſt of All ſaints was a parlement holden at London, in which was granted to the king one moitie of a fifteenth by the laitie, and ſhortlie after a moitie of a tenth by the cleargie. Moreouer, the king tooke into his hands the temporalties that belonged to the biſhop of Norwich, bicauſe he obeied not the kings commandement when he was ſent for at the time when he tooke the ſeas to paſſe into Flanders. The knights alſo that had not ſhewed ſuch obedience to the biſhop as was requiſit in that iornie, were committed to priſon; but ſhortlie after they were ſet at libertie vpon ſuerties that vndertooke for them. ¶ It was alſo decreed in this parlement, that the erle of Buckingham the kings vncle ſhould go to the borders againſt Scotland, with a thouſand lances, and two thouſand archers, to repreſſe the preſumptuous attempts of the Scots, who aduertiſed thereof, ſent ambaſſadors to treat of peace; but they were diſpatched home againe, without obteining that which they came to ſue for.

The temporalties of the biſhoprike of Norwich ſeized into the kings hands for the biſhops diſobedience.

A treatie of peace betweene England and France.

At the motion and inſtance of the duke of Britaine, immediatlie vpon the returne of the Engliſh armie out of Flanders, there was a meeting of certeine commiſſioners in the marches of Calis, at a place called Lelleghen, for the treatie of a peace to be concluded betwixt the two realmes of England and France. There appeared for king Richard, the duke of Lancaſter, and his brother the erle of Buckingham, ſir Iohn Holland brother to the king, ſir Thomas Percie, and a biſhop. For the French king, thither came the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie, the biſhop of Laon, and the chancellor of France. There were alſo the duke of Britaine, and the earle of Flanders. Alſo there came a biſhop with other commiſſioners from the king of Spaine: for the Frenchmen would doo nothing, except the king of Spaine might be alſo compriſed in the treatie and concluſion. They were three weekes in commoning of an agreement: but when nothing elſe could be brought to paſſe, they concluded a truce to indure till the feaſt of S. Michaell, which ſhould be in the yeare 1384.

A truce taken betweene England and France.

The earle of Flanders was iudged moſt in blame, for that no peace could be accorded, bicauſe he would not that the Gauntiners ſhould be compriſed therin, but the Engliſhmen would not agree either to truce or peace, except regard might be had of the Gauntiners, as their freends and alies. The kings of Spaine and Scotland were compriſed in this truce as confederats to the Frenchmen, which ſhould haue ſignified the ſame into Scotland, but did not, till great harme followed through negligence vſed in that matter, as after yee ſhall perceiue. ¶ The ſame yeare in the night of the feaſt of the Purification of our ladie, great lightenings and thunders chanced, which put manie in no ſmall feare, ſo huge and hideous was that tempeſt. Shortlie after, there roſe no ſmall adoo in the citie of London about the election of their maior: for ſuch as fauoured the late maior Iohn de Northampton, otherwiſe called Iohn de Comberton, ſtood againſt ſir Nicholas Brambre knight that was choſen to ſucceed the ſaid Iohn de Northampton, inſomuch that a ſhoomaker who was one of the ſame Iohn de Northamptons partakers, preſumed through a number of voices that were readie to fauour him, to take vpon him as maior: but through the counſell of ſir Robert Knolles knight, he was ſuddenlie apprehended, drawne, and beheaded, as a rebell and troubler of the kings peace.

Tho. Walſin.

Great contention about the election of the maior of London.

Sir Robert Knolles.

In the Lent ſeaſon, the duke of Lancaſter with his brother the earle of Buckingham went towards the borders, hauing with him a mightie power of knights, eſquiers, and archers, and after he had remained a certeine time vpon the borders, about Eaſter he entered Scotland, and comming within three miles of Edenburgh, he ſtaied there three daies, in which meane time the Scots conueied all their goods out of the towne ouer the water of Firth: ſo that when the armie came thither, they found nothing but bare walles, which greeued the ſoldiers not a little. The Scots would not come forth to giue anie battell to the Engliſhmen, but got them into woods and mounteines, or elſe paſſed ouer the riuer of Firth, ſuffering the Engliſhmen to fight with the vehement cold wether that then ſore annoied thoſe parts, in ſo much that on Eaſter daie at night, through ſnow that fell, and ſuch extreame cold and boiſterous ſtormes as ſore afflicted the armie, being incamped within the compaſſe of a mariſh ground for their more ſuertie: there died aboue fiue hundred horſſes, to let paſſe the loſſe of men that periſhed at the ſame time, of whom we make no mention. To conclude, after the duke and his brother the earle had remained a time thus in Scotland, and burned certeine townes, they returned into England.

The duke of Lancaſter inuadeth Scotland with an armie.

Edenburgh left deſolate.

Great death of horſſes and men in the Engliſh hoſt, by reaſon of extreme cold.

A parlement at Saliſburie.

About the ſame time, to wit, in the quindene of Eaſter, a parlement of the nobles was holden at Saliſburie, during the which an Iriſh frier of the order of the Carmelits, being a bacheler in diuinitie, exhibited to the king a bill againſt the duke of Lancaſter, charging him with heinous treaſons: as that he meant vpon a ſudden to deſtroie the king, and to vſurpe the crowne, ſhewing the time, the place, and circumſtances of the whole contriued matter. The king being yoong both in yeares and diſcretion, when he had heard the friers information, called two of his chapleins vnto him, one ſir Nicholas Slake, and an other, and aſked their aduiſe what they thought good to be doone in ſuch a weightie cauſe. Now as they were buſie in talke about the ſame, the duke of Lancaſter came into the kings chamber after his wonted manner, not vnderſtanding anie thing of the matter whereof they were in talke. The king with a ſterne countenance beheld the duke, not dooing him the honor that he was accuſtomed. The duke ſuſpecting that the king had ſomewhat in his head that touched his perſon, withdrew. In the meane time thoſe two that were thus in counſell with the king, fearing happilie the dukes power, or elſe vpon good will they bare towards him, perſuaded the king that in anie wiſe he ſhould call him, to ſee and heare what was laid to his charge.

An Iriſh frier appeacheth the duke of Lãcaſter of treaſon.

The duke, after he had read the bill of his accuſation, made ſuch anſwer, and ſo excuſed himſelfe in declaring his innocencie, that the king gaue credit to his words, and receiued his excuſe. Herewith the duke beſought the king, that the frier might be kept in ſafe gard, till the time came that he might purge himſelfe of that he had charged him with; and that the lord Iohn Holland the kings halfe brother might haue the cuſtodie of him, till the day appointed that the duke ſhould come to his full triall. The night before which day, the ſaid lord Holland, and ſir Henrie Greene knight, came to this frier, and putting a cord about his necke, tied the other end about his priuie members, & after hanging him vp from the ground, laid a ſtone vpon his bellie, with the weight whereof,

A miſerable & cruell torture.

and peiſe of his bodie withall, he was ſtrangled and tormented, ſo as his verie backe bone burſt in ſunder therewith, beſides the ſtraining of his priuie members: thus with thrée kind of tormentings he ended his wretched life. On the morow after, they cauſed his dead corps to be drawne about the towne, to the end it might appeare he had ſuffered worthilie for his great falſhood & treaſon. Which extreame puniſhment and exquiſite kind of execution, had it not béene meritoriouſlie inflicted vpon ſo impudent an offendor, had deſerued perpetuall record of vnaccuſtomed crueltie, with this vehement exclamation,

O fera barbaries æuo non nota priori,
Sed nec apud ſæuos inuenienda Scythas.

A rode into Scotland.

But now to the parlement. At length, when the K. had obteined of the laitie a grant of an halfe fiftéenth the ſame parlement was diſſolued. In the ſummer following the borderers of England and Scotland made rodes ech into others countries, to the great diſquieting of both the realmes. Among other rodes that the Engliſhmen made, ſhortlie after Eaſter (as Froiſſard ſaith) the earles of Northumberland and Notingham, raiſing an armie of 2000 ſpeares, and ſix thouſand archers, entered Scotland by Rockeſburgh, burnt the countrie euen to Edenburgh, and ſo returned without damage. In the meane time came meſſengers from the French king, to aduertiſe the Scots of the concluſion of the truce. But the Scots prouoked with this laſt inuaſion made by the Engliſhmen into their countrie, would not heare of any truce, till they had in part reuenged their diſpleſure vpon the Engliſhmen: and ſo with certeine men of armes of France, that latelie before were come thither, not yet vnderſtanding of any truce, they roded into Northumberland, doing what miſchiefe they might: ſo that for the ſummer ſeaſon of this yeare, either part ſought to indamage other (as Walſingham ſaith) though Froiſſard writeth, that through the earneſt trauell of the meſſengers that came to intimate the abſtinence of war taken, the parties now that their ſtomachs were well eaſed with the interchange of indamaging either others confins, agréed to be quiet, and ſo the truce was proclamed in both realmes, and accordinglie obſerued.

One miſchief aſketh another.

Anno Reg. 8. The duke of Lãcaſter ſent into France to treat of a peace.

About the beginning of Auguſt in the eighth yéere of this kings reigne, the duke of Lancaſter went ouer againe into France, to treat of peace; but after he had remained there a long time, & ſpent no ſmall ſtore of treaſure, he returned with a truce, to indure onelie till the firſt daie of Maie then next inſuing. While the duke of Lancaſter was forth of the relme, Iohn de Northampton, that had borne ſuch rule in the citie of London, whileſt he was maior, and alſo after (as partlie ye haue heard) was accuſed by a chapleine (that he had in his houſe) of ſeditious ſturs, which he went about, ſo that being arreigned thereof, he was in the end condemned to perpetuall priſon, and the ſame not to be within the ſpace of one hundred miles at the leaſt of the citie of London. All his goods were confiſcated, and ſo he was ſent to the caſtell of Tintagill in Cornewall, and the kings officers ſeized vpon his goods & cattels. ¶ About the feaſt of ſaint Martine, a parlement was called at London, in which, monie was demanded of the cleargie and temporaltie, towards the maintenance of the kings wars.

Iohn de Northampton late maior of London cõdemned to perpetuall priſon and all his goods confiſcated.

A combat.

During this parlement alſo, a combat was fought within liſts betwixt an Engliſh eſquier, named Iohn Walſh, and an eſquier of Nauarre that accuſed the ſaid Walſh of treaſon, though not iuſtlie, but moued through diſpleaſure, conceiued of an iniurie doone to him by the ſame Walſh, whileſt he was vnder capteine or vicedeputie (as we may call him) of Chierburgh, in abuſing the Nauarrois wife. Wherevpon when the Nauarrois was vanquiſhed and confeſſed the truth, he was adiudged by the king to be drawne vnto the place of execution and hanged, notwithſtanding that the quéene and diuerſe other made ſute for him. ¶ Henrie Knighton maketh report hereof in ſomewhat a differing maner: but the iſſue of his tale falleth out to be like to the other. On a wedneſdaie (ſaith he) at S. Andrews tide, Iohn Walliſe of Grimſbie fought in liſts with Martilet of Nauarre eſquier, at Weſtminſter, in preſence of K. Richard & of Iohn the good duke of Lancaſter: in ſo much that the ſaid Iohn Walliſe ſlue his aduerſarie, wherevpon at the kings cõmandement being made knight, he was inriched with manie gifts, as well of the kings and the dukes beſtowing, as alſo of other great men and péeres of the realme. As for Martilet, after he was ſlaine, he was preſentlie drawne, hanged, and headed.

The appellant being vanquiſhed, is adiudged to be hanged. Abraham Fleming out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leiceſter abbeie.

Furthermore before the ſaid parlement was diſſolued, newes came forth of the north parts, that the Scots had wonne the caſtell of Berwike: for which the earle of Northumberland, that was capteine thereof, was put in high blame, for that he had not committed the kéeping thereof to more circumſpect perſons. The duke of Lancaſter, who bare no good will to the ſaid earle, was well appaid that he had ſo good matter to charge his aduerſarie withall, ſo that through his meanes the earle of Northumberland was ſore accuſed, and had much adoo to eſcape the danger of being reputed a traitor. Wherevpon great occaſion of malice and diſpleaſure grew betwixt thoſe two noble perſonages, as after it well appeared. But howſoeuer the matter was handled, the earle was licenced by the king to go into his countrie, and ſéeke to recouer poſſeſſion of the caſtell thus latelie loſt. Wherevpon raiſing an armie, & beſieging the Scots that were within the caſtell, he ſo conſtreined them, that for the ſumme of 2000 marks they ſurrendred the fortreſſe into his hands, their liues and goods ſaued: and ſo the earle of Northumberland recouered the caſtell out of the Scotiſhmens hands, being taught to commit it to more warie kéepers than the other before.

Berwike caſtell wonne by the Scots.

Berwike caſtell recouered by the earle of Northumberland.

1385

The king being incenſed againſt the duke of Lancaſter, meant that he ſhould haue béene arreſted and arreigned of certeine points of treaſon before ſir Robert Triſillian chéefe iuſtice (as Thomas Walſingham ſaith) and peraduenture there might be ſome ſuch report, that ſuch was the kings meaning: but yet how this may ſtand, conſidering he was to be tried by his péeres, in caſe that any the like matter had béene pretended, I ſée not. But how ſoeuer it was, he being warned thereof by ſome of the councell, got him to his caſtell of Pomfret, which he fortified, and banded himſelfe ſo with his fréends, that it appeared he would defend his cauſe with force of armes, rather than to come to his triall by order of law afore ſuch a iudge: and by reaſon hereof, it was greatlie doubted, leaſt ſome ciuill warre would haue broken forth. But through the earneſt labour of the kings mother, that (notwithſtanding hir indiſpoſition of bodie to trauell, by reaſon of hir corpulencie) riding to and fro betwixt them, made an agréement betwixt the king hir ſonne, and the duke, to hir great comfort and contentation of mind, and no leſſe ſuertie of quietneſſe to the whole realme.

The duke of Lancaſter getteth him to his caſtell of Pomfret, and fortifieth it.

The princeſſe of Wales maketh an atonement betwéene the king and the duke of Lancaſter.

About the ſame time the French king had a great fléet of ſhips in Flanders, ſo that it was doubted leaſt he meant ſome inuaſion into England. Wherevpon there was ſent to the ſea the lord of S. Iohns, and ſir Thomas Percie with a ſtrong nauie, but they did no good, ſuffering the French fléet diuerſe times to paſſe by them, and not once offering to ſet vpon them. But the ſhips of Porteſmouth & Dertmouth,

beſtirred

The ſhips of Portſmouth & Dartmouth did better ſeruice than the kings great nauie.

beſtirred themſelues better: for entering into the riuer of Saine, they drowned foure of their enimies ſhips, and tooke other foure, with a barke of the lord Cliſſons, one of the faireſt that was to be found either in France or England. In theſe veſſels the Engliſhmen had a rich preie of wines, and other merchandizes. ¶The king vpon ſome occaſion tooke great diſpleaſure againſt William Courtnie archbiſhop of Canturburie, ſo ſtorming againſt him, as few durſt ſpeake anie thing in his excuſe. The lord chancellor Michaell de la Poole ſeeming to fauour his cauſe, was likelie to haue run in high diſpleaſure. Sir Thomas Triuet, and ſir John Deuereux intreating for him, were ſore rebuked at his hands. Yet at length, after that the archbiſhop was withdrawne, and had kept him cloſe for a time, he was thorough mediation of ſome freends reconciled to the kings fauour.

Iac.Meir. Froiſſard.

The French king aideth Scots againſt Engliſhmen.

The Scots inuade the frontiers of England.

Anno Reg.9.

The K. goeth with an armie againſt the Scots.

Variance betweene ſir John Hollands ſeruãts and the lord Richard Stafford.

About the ſame time the French king ſent into Scotland the admerall of France, with a thouſand men of armes, knights, and eſquiers, beſides croſſebowes and other to ioine with the Scots, and to make warres in England. The Scots incouraged with this new aid, ſent to them out of France, leuied a power, & ſo togither with the Frenchmen, entered into the Engliſh confines, and began to rob & ſpoile, and further tooke certeine caſtels and houſes of defenſe. The king of England aduertiſed hereof, aſſembled an huge power of men of warre, and firſt ſent before him the duke of Lancaſter with part of the armie, and afterward followed himſelfe, with all conuenient ſpeed that might be. At his comming into the parts about Yorke, he was informed that the Scots and Frenchmen were withdrawne vpon the duke of Lancaſters approch towards them, but the king thought to keepe on his iournie. Whileſt he was lodged in thoſe parts, a great miſchance happened, by reaſon of variance that fell betwixt certeine perſons of the retinue of ſir John Holland brother vnto the earle of Kent and halfe brother to the king, and other of the retinue of the lord Richard Stafford ſonne to the earle of Stafford.

The lord Richard Stafford ſlaine by ſir John Holland.

The cauſe of their falling out was about a knight of Boheme, called ſir Miles, that was come to ſee the queene. This knight kept companie moſt an end with the lord Richard Stafford: and chancing to be at words with two of ſir John Hollands ſeruants, there came two archers perteining to the lord Stafford, which blamed them, that were ſo about to miſuſe the ſtranger in words, as they tooke it: the ſtrife hereby grew to that point in the end, that one of the archers ſhot at one of ſir John Hollands ſeruants, and ſlue him. This miſhap being reported to ſir John Holland, ſet him in ſuch a furie (by reaſon of the loue which he had to his ſeruant) that immediatlie he ruſhed forth of his lodging, to reuenge his death, and through miſfortune meeting with the lord Stafford, ſlue him, and doubting in what ſort his deed might be taken, fled ſtreight vnto Beuerlie, and there tooke ſanctuarie. The erle of Stafford tooke this miſaduenture right heauilie, as reaſon was: yet bicauſe he would not trouble the hoſt, nor diſappoint the iournie which they had in hand, vpon the kings promiſe that he would doo vpright iuſtice in the matter, as ſhould be thought meet and conuenient, he bare his greefe ſo patientlie as he might, ſo that he wan himſelfe much praiſe for his wiſedome therein ſhewed.

Hect. Boetius.

Edenburgh burnt by king Richard.

The king aduancing forwards with his armie, came to the borders, and entring into Scotland, paſſed thorough Mers and Louthian, waſting and ſpoiling all the townes, houſes and villages in his waie. The abbeies of Melros, Driburgh, and Newbottell were burnt, and thoſe moonks and other people that were found in the ſame were ſlaine. At his comming to Edenburgh, he found all the people fled out of the towne, but the houſes and buildings he conſumed with fire, togither with the church of ſaint Giles. At the humble ſute of his vncle the duke of Lancaſter, Holie rood houſe was preſerued from hurt, for that the ſame duke in time of the rebellion of the commons here in England, was lodged in that houſe, and found much gentleneſſe and freendſhip in the abbat and conuent; ſo that he could doo no leſſe than requite them with kindneſſe, at whoſe hands he found kindneſſe; for we are bound in conſcience to tender them by whome we haue beene benefited (vnleſſe we will be counted vnciuill, according to the old adage)

Arbor honoretur cuius nos vmbra tuetur.

The French admerall perſuadeth the Scots to fight with the Engliſh hoſt.

Cumberland ſore ſpoiled by the Scots.

Thus when the king had reuenged the diſpleaſure afore receiued at the Scots and Frenchmens hands, (and remained in Edenburgh fiue daies) he returned without proffer of battell, or anie notable incounter. The admerall of France was earneſtlie in hand with the Scotiſh lords to perſuade them to haue giuen battell to the Engliſh armie, till he and diuers other knights of France were brought to the top of a mounteine, from whence they might behold all the Engliſh armie, as the ſame paſſed vnderneath them by a paſſage that laie by the foot of that mounteine: for after that they had viewed the puiſſance of the Engliſhmen, and (as neere as they could) numbered them, they had no ſuch eger minds to fight with them as before, for they eſteemed them to be ſix thouſand men of armes, and threeſcore thouſand archers, and other men of warre; where the Scots and Frenchmen were not paſt a thouſand ſpeares, and thirtie thouſand of all other ſorts, and the moſt part of thoſe but euill armed. Therefore they determined vpon an other point, which was, to inuade England in an other quarter, whileſt the Engliſhmen burnt vp their countrie, and ſo they ſet forward towards the weſt borders, and paſſing ouer the mounteins that diuide Northumberland from Scotland, they entered into Cumberland, dooing much hurt in the lands that belonged to the lord Mowbraie, to the earles of Notingham, and Stafford, to the baron of Graiſtocke, and to the Muſgraues.

Carleill aſſalted by the Scots.

Good counſell neglected.

Laſtlie, they came to Carleill, and boldlie aſſalted the citie: but ſir Lewes Clifford, and ſir Thomas Muſgraue, Dauie Holgraue, and diuerſe other worthie capteins being within it, ſo defended the walles and gates, that their enimies got ſmall aduantage: and finallie hearing that the Engliſh armie was returning homewards, the Scots and Frenchmen drew backe into Scotland, doubting to be incloſed by the Engliſhmen, as they had beene in deed, if the duke of Lancaſter and his brethren (vncles to the king) might haue beene beleeued, who counſelled the king to purſue the enimies, and ſtop the paſſages through which they muſt needs paſſe in their comming backe. But the earle of Oxenford being moſt in fauour and credit with the king in thoſe daies, as one that ruled all things at his pleaſure, did aduiſe him to the contrarie, by putting him in beleefe (as was ſaid) that his vncles went about to bring him in danger to be loſt and ſurpriſed of his enimies, whervpon he tooke the next way home, and ſo brake vp his iournie.

Polydor.

A noble reuenge.

When the Scots and Frenchmen were returned into Scotland, the Scotiſh king hauing conceiued a iuſt diſpleaſure towards the French admerall, for that by his meanes the realme of Scotland had ſuſteined ſuch damage in that ſeaſon, cauſed him and his Frenchmen to be deſpoiled of the moſt part of their goods, and ſent them ſo awaie out of his countrie, that the Scots might receiue ſome comfort by thoſe warres. In this yeare was the battell of Algeberota in Portingale, where king John of Portin-

There were 600 Engliſhmẽ who with their bowes did great ſeruice as by one author it appeareth.

gale diſcomfited a great hoſt of Spaniards and Frenchmen by the helpe and policie of certeine Engliſhmen which he had there with him, vnder the leading of two eſquiers Norberie and Hartell. There were ſlaine diuers earls & great lords of Spaniards, but for that our writers do not rightlie note the Spaniſh names, but write them corruptlie as ſtrangers vſe to doo, we here omit them. The king of Portingale (after this victorie obteined againſt his enimies) ſent ſix gallies vnto the king of England to aid him againſt his aduerſaries, the which were well receiued and highlie made of by the Londoners and other, ſo that the Portingales had no cauſe to repent of their comming hither.

The king of Portingale ſendeth ſix gallies to K. Richards aid.

The French king this yeare beſieged and wan the towne of Dam, after he had béene at great charges about it. Whileſt his nauie returned from Scluis, where the ſame had laien at anchor a long time, the ſhips by tempeſt were ſcattered & wether-driuen, ſo that in the feaſt daie of the exaltation of the croſſe, two of their gallies, a great ſhip, a barge, and ſeauen balengers were caſt on ſhore about Calis, & the Caliſians tooke fiue hundred Frenchmen and Normans that eſcaped to land. An other day 72 French ſhips (as they were comming from Scluis, to paſſe by Calis, were met with by them of Calis, who behaued themſelues ſo manfullie, that they tooke 18 of thoſe French ſhips, and a great barke, in which thrée ſcore armed men were ſlaine before it could be taken. Within thrée daies after this, the Caliſians met 45 other French ſhips, and after ſix houres fight obteined the victorie, taking thrée of the moſt principall veſſels, whereof one being a hulke of Eaſtland was hired by the Normans, to gard the reſidue. The other two that were taken were of ſuch mold, that they could not enter into the hauen at Calis, and therefore were ſent to Sandwich, the one of them being a new ſhip, which the lord Cliſſon had bought at Scluis, paieng for hir 3000 franks. ¶Henrie Knighton ſaith it was priſed or valued at 20000 florens, it was ſo tall, big, and large a veſſell; and therefore of great capacitie.

A good victorie of them of Calis againſt the French fleet.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leiceſter abbeie.

The Caliſians & others make a rode into France & win great booties.

On ſaint Deniſe daie the ſoldiors of Calis and other Engliſh fortreſſes thereabouts, made a ſecret iournie into France, and got a bootie of foure thouſand ſhéepe, and thrée hundred head of great cattell, which they droue towards their holds; and as the lord de Rambures gouernour of Bullongne would haue recouered the preie, he was vnhorſſed with the rencounter of an Engliſh ſpeare, and being relieued by his companie, and mounted againe, withdrew himſelfe, not attempting to trie any further maſteries, and ſo the Engliſhmen ſafelie paſſed forth with their bootie of cattell, and aboue a hundred good priſoners which they had taken at this rode. In this 9 yeare about the feaſt of S. Martine, the king called his high court of parlement at Weſtminſter, in the which amongſt other things there concluded, he created two dukes, a marques, and fiue earles. Firſt Edmund Langlie earle of Cambridge the kings vncle was created duke of Yorke, Thomas of Woodſtoke his other vncle earle of Buckingham was created duke of Gloceſter, Robert Véere earle of Oxford was made marques of Deuelin, Henrie of Bollingbrooke ſonne and heire to Iohn of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter was created earle of Derbie: Edward Plantagenet ſonne and heire to the Duke of Yorke was made earle of Rutland, Michaell lord de la Poole chancellor of England was created earle of Suffolke, & ſir Thomas Moubraie earle of Notingham was made earle marſhall.

Fabian.

Creation of dukes and earles at the parlement.

Henrie of Bollingbrooke earle of Derbie afterwards king.

The lord Mortimer erle of March proclaimed heire apparant to the crowne.

Alſo by authoritie of this parlement, Roger lord Mortimer earle of March, ſonne and heire of Edmund Mortimer earle of March, and of the ladie Philip eldeſt daughter and heire vnto Lionell duke of Clarence, third ſonne to king Edward the third, was eſtabliſhed heire apparant to the crowne of this realme, and ſhortlie after ſo proclaimed. The which earle of March, anon after the end of the ſame parlement, ſailed into Ireland to his lordſhip of Vlſter, whereof he was owner by right of his ſaid mother; but whileſt he remained there to pacifie the rebellions of the wild Iriſh, a great number of them togither aſſembled, came vpon him and ſlue him, togither with the moſt part of his companie. This Roger earle of March had iſſue Edmund, Roger, Anne, Ales, & Eleanor, which Eleanor was made a nunne. The two ſonnes died without iſſue, and Anne the eldeſt of the daughters was married to Richard earle of Cambridge, ſonne vnto Edmund of Langlie before remembred: the which Richard had iſſue by the ſaid Anne, a ſon called Richard, that was after duke of Yorke, and father to king Edward the fourth; alſo a daughter named Iſabell, afterwards married to the lord Bourchier. This Richard earle of Cambridge was put to death by Henrie the fift, as after ye ſhall heare.

The earle of March ſlaine by the wild Iriſh.

The iſſue of the foreſaid earle of March.

Moreouer, in this yeare Henrie of Bollingbrooke earle of Derbie married the daughter and heire of Humfrie Bohun earle of Hereford, in whoſe right he was after made duke of Hereford, and by hir he had iſſue Henrie that after him was king of this relme, the ladie Blanch duches of Bar, and the ladie Philip married to the king of Denmarke: alſo Thomas duke of Clarence, Iohn duke of Bedford, and Humfrie duke of Gloceſter. ¶The Gauntiners ſtill mainteined warre againſt the earle of Flanders during his life, and after his deceaſſe againſt Philip duke of Burgogne, by ſuch aid and comfort as they had from time to time of the king of England, till finallie this yeare about the eighteenth daie of December, a peace was concluded betwixt the ſaid duke and the towne of Gaunt: and ſir Iohn Bourchier that had laine a long ſeaſon there, as capteine vnder the K. of England, and Peter de Bois one of the chéefe capteins of the Gauntiners (before the concluding of this peace) were ſafelie conducted to Calis by vertue of the duke of Burgogne his ſafe conduct, and ſo they came ouer into England, and the king gaue vnto Peter de Bois a penſion of an hundred marks ſterling, yearelie to be paid to him out of the ſtaples of the wolles in London.

Froiſſard.

This yeare king Richard holding his Chriſtmaſſe at Eltham, thither came to him Leo king of Armenia, whoſe countrie and realme being in danger to be conquered of the Turks, he was come into thoſe weſt parts of chriſtendome for aid and ſuccour at the hands of the chriſtian princes here. The king honorablie receiued him, and after he had taken counſell touching his requeſt, he gaue him great ſummes of monie and other rich gifts, with a ſtipend (as ſome write) of a thouſand pounds yearely to be paid to him during his life. After he had remained here two moneths ſpace, he tooke leaue of the king and departed. The chiefeſt point of his errand was, to haue procured a peace betwixt the two kings of England and France, but deſtinie would not permit ſo good a purpoſe to take effect: for the hatred which either nation bare to other, would not ſuffer their loftie minds to yéeld in any one point, further than ſéemed good in their owne opinions.

The king of Armenia commeth into England for aid againſt the Turks.

Thom. Walſ.

Thom. Walſ. Froiſſard. Ia. Meir.

1386

The duke of Lancaſter goeth into Spaine with an armie.

In this ninth yeare of king Richard (though by other writers it ſhould ſéeme to be rather in the yeare following) the duke of Lancaſter with a great power of men of warre went into Spaine, and lead with him thither his wife the ladie Conſtance, & a daughter which he had by hir named Katharine, and two other daughters which he had by his former wife. He had béene about the preparing of an armie, and all furniture neceſſarie for this iournie two or thrée yéeres before, and therefore hauing now ſeauen gallies and eightéene ſhips ſent to him out of Portingale (which arriued at Briſtow) he cauſed all ſuch veſſels as he had prouided to reſort likewiſe thither, where making his generall aſſemblie, when all his men of warre were come togither, he beſtowed them aboord, with all their horſſes and purueiances, and cauſing ſailes to be hoiſſed vp, ſet forward on his long wiſhed iournie. This was in the moneth of Maie, when the ſeas were calme, the aire ſwéet, and the winds pleaſant and agréeable to his purpoſe. He appointed for admerall of his whole fléet ſir Thomas Percie; and ſir Iohn Holland that was after created earle of Huntington and had married one of his daughters was ordeined conſtable of the hoaſt; and ſir Thomas Moreaux hauing married his baſtard daughter was one of his marſhals.

There were that attended him in this iournie manie other lords and knights of honor, as the lord Lucie, the lord Talbot, the lord Baſſet, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Fitz Walter, the lord Poinings, the lord Bradſton, the lord of Põmiers a Gaſcoigne, the lord Yonne fitz Warren, Henrie lord Beaumont, William lord Beauchampe, ſir Richard Burlie that was another of the marſhals of the armie, ſir Hugh Spenſer, ſir William Windſore, ſir Iohn Daubreticourt, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir William Farrington, ſir Thomas Treſham, ſir Mauburin de Liniers, ſir Thomas Worceſter, ſir Iohn Sowtrie, ſir Robert Clinton, ſir Philip Tirrell, ſir Lewes Rocheſter, Huguelin Caluerlie, Dauid Holgraue, Thomas Alerie, Hobequin Beauceſter, and diuerſe other: they were in all to the number of fiftéene hundred men of armes, whereof a thouſand at the leaſt were knights and eſquiers, beſides foure thouſand archers, and other men of warre, ſo perfectlie appointed and arraied, as could be thought méet and conuenient. Of this choſen companie attendant vpon the duke of Lancaſter, & of this his voiage into Spaine, the ſaid C. Okland ſpeaketh no leſſe trulie & according to the report of our annales, than honorablie:

In Angl. prælij.

Ocyus inſtructa pro bello claſſe futuro,
Milite ſtipatus generoſo traijcit æquor
Fluctiſonum, cum vxore pia natiſq; duabus, &c.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leiceſter abbeie.

¶Henrie Knighton reporteth of this voiage as followeth, in ſomewhat a differing ſort from this alreadie laid downe. On Eaſter daie (ſaith he) Iohn the duke of Lancaſter with his wife came to the king, to take their leaue; to the which duke the king gaue a crowne of gold, and the quéene likewiſe gaue an other crowne of gold to the ducheſſe. Beſides this, the king commanded his people that they ſhould call him king of Spaine, and doo him honour in all things. He had with him a power of 20000 choſen men; of which number noted in the marſhals bill or ſcroll, 2000 were men of armes, and 8000 were archers.

Thom. Walſ. The duke of Lancaſter landeth at Breſt and winneth two baſtides from the Frenchmen.

As they paſſed by Britaine, they landed at Breſt, the capteine whereof, at that time named ſir Iohn Roche, finding himſelfe greatlie annoied by the Frenchmen that were lodged in two baſtides erected before the caſtell, declared to the duke in what ſtate he ſtood. Wherevpon he cauſed the ſaid baſtides to be aſſailed, which was doone by the lord Fitz Walter, and others, who bare themſelues ſo manfullie, that the baſtides were woone, broken downe, and a great preie with priſoners obteined, although not without loſſe of diuerſe valiant perſonages. Thus were they within Breſt caſtell deliuered of their vnfréendlie neighbours by the duke of Lancaſter and his people. Who hauing doone their feat tooke the ſeas, and ſailed forth till they came on the coaſts of Gallis, where on S. Laurence euen, they arriued in the hauen of Groigne, otherwiſe called Coron, and there they vnſhipped all their prouiſions, determining to inuade the countrie on that ſide.

Anno Reg. 10. The duke of Lancaſter landeth at Groigne. Froiſſard.

Le Groigne Corone.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leiceſter abbeie.

¶ Héere, bicauſe it is not vnprofitable to know the abſolute truth of things doone, by the collection of writers, I haue tranſlated the beſéeging of Breſt, as the ſame is ſet downe by Henrie Knighton in his annales, in a larger and more ample ſort, with a fuller certificat of circumſtances than hath hitherto béene declared. At the ſame time (ſaith he) the duke of Britaine had laid ſiege both by ſea and land, to a certeine towne in Britaine, in old time ſubiect to the king of England, which was called Breſt, with a great multitude of Frenchmen and Britains. Now on the twelfth of the kalends of Iulie, he began to build a fort before the ſaid towne of Breſt, of a woonderfull bigneſſe, the walles thereof being ten foot thicke, and ſeauen towres about it, A thouſand workemen did worke daie by daie vpon it, and to defend the ſaid workemen (that they might not be hindered in their buſineſſe by the citizens) ten thouſand fighting men were appointed. So that this fort was begun and ended in ninetéene daies ſpace, and called the Doouehouſe, bicauſe a doouehouſe ſtood in the ſame place before. Furthermore he ſtored this fort with all neceſſaries, as vittels, armour, guns, and other engins, and he placed therin as capteine of the warriors the lord Iohn Maletret with a hundred and fiftie armed men, and as manie other ſoldiors, the whole number being thrée hundred.

The good duke of Lancaſter hauing knowledge hereof, directed his fléet or nauie towards the hauen of Breſt, where when he had arriued, they all fled from the ſiege, both by ſea and land, thoſe onlie, which were in the fort, remaining behind. Now the prior of S. Iames in Calis deſired the good duke that he might giue the firſt aſſault againſt the fort; who taking the repulſe with his retinue, he ceaſed and gaue ouer. In like ſort did manie more giue the aſſault to the ſame for the ſpace of two daies and more: inſomuch that ſome digging vnder the wals, and vndermining the foundations of one towre, the ſame fell downe vpon ſir Robert Swinarton a valiant knight of Staffordſhire, and manie more, among whome was Iohn de Bolton a couragious gentleman and an eſquire by degrée of Yorkeſhire. As for thoſe that were vpon the towre, they alſo came tumbling downe, and were preſentlie ſlaine.

In the meane time the lord Maletret gardian of the fort, ſent word to the duke of Lancaſter, that he would yéeld and ſurrender the hold into his hands vpon condition, that he and all his might fréelie depart with ſuch armour, goods, chatels and victuals as they had repoſed and laid vp in ſtore for their neceſſarie prouiſion: wherevnto the good duke (as he was alwaies good) verie gentlie agréed; vpon condition alſo, that before their departure, they ſhould ruinate the ſaid fort, and laie it euen with the ground; and ſhould likewiſe allow and paie him towards his coſts and charges defraied in the ſiege of the ſame, twentie thouſand ſcutes of gold. Then might you ſée the people flocking from all parts of the countrie, ſome with beires, ſome with cabbins, ſome with carts, and ſome with crutches to fetch awaie the dead and the wounded: in ſo much that there was not one, either ſlaine outright, or deadlie maimed, for whome his fréends did not mone and lament. Yea, the lord Maletret himſelfe was ſo mangled and hurt, that he could not go on his legs, but as he leaned on mens ſhoulders, and was borne vp on either ſide. It was reported, that manie dead bodies were hidden in heaps of ſalt, to the end that the Engliſhmen ſhould not glorie and triumph in the multitude of the ſlaine, of whome [in ſight] the number amounted to aboue

150. Thus farre goeth Henrie Knighton, whoſe report giueth no ſmall light to the matter vnder hand. After the duke had remained a moneth at Groigne, he went to Compoſtella, and there ſoiourned for a ſeaſon, during the which, his conſtable ſir Iohn Holland woone diuerſe townes and fortreſſes which the enimies kept: diuerſe yéelded to the duke with better will, for that the ducheſſe his wife was there with him, whom they knew to be right inheritour to the realme. ¶ At Mouſon a towne on the confines betwixt Spaine and Portingale, the king of Portingale and the duke of Lancaſter met, where they communed and tooke counſell togither for the more ſpéedie procéeding in their enterpriſe againſt their aduerſaries of Caſtile. Alſo there was a mariage concluded betwixt the ſaid king of Portingale, and the ladie Philip daughter to the ſaid duke, which marriage ſhortlie after was wholie conſummated, the ſaid ladie being firſt married by procuration at Compoſtella, and after ſent into Portingale right honorablie accompanied.

Philip the dude of Lancaſters daughter married to the king of Portingale.

The duke continued at Compoſtella all the winter ſeaſon, till towards March, and then (according to appointment taken betwixt him, and the king of Portingale, at their being togither at Mouſon, for their iournie to be made into Caſtile) the ſaid king aſſembled an armie of a thouſand men of armes, and ten thouſand other ſouldiers, with the which entring the confines of Caſtile, he firſt tooke the towne of Feroule, and after ioining with the duke, who had in the meane while by his marſhall taken the towns of Ruelles, Ville Lopes, Pouncenoide, Dighos, Baionne in la Maroll, Ribadan, Maures, Beſanſes, and Orens, with others in the countrie of Gallis, they marched foorth with their whole powers both togither, and paſſing ouer the riuer of Dure, entered into the countrie de Campo.

The king of Portingale & the duke of Lancaſter ioining their armes togither inuade Caſtile.

¶ Here the Engliſh writers make mention of a battell, which the conſtable of Caſtile ſhould giue to the duke, and that the victorie remained on the dukes ſide, and the Spaniards chaſed out of the field. But Froiſſard (who liued in thoſe daies, and learned that which he wrote of thoſe that were with the duke in his iournie) maketh no remembrance of any ſuch thing, but that contrarilie the king of Caſtile folowing the aduiſe of ſuch Frenchmen as were ſent into Spaine to aid him, cauſed all the riches of the countrie to be brought into the walled townes and fortreſſes, which he ſtuffed with men of warre, to defend them from the Engliſhmen and Portingales; and further to cut off their vitels, and to kéepe them from hauing forrage abroad in the countrie, vnleſſe ſuch as were ſent were garded with the greater troops for their ſuertie and defenſe.

Variance amongſt writers.

Thus beſtowing the moſt part of all ſuch men of warre, both Frenchmen and Spaniards, as he could make in places moſt conuenient for that purpoſe, he fullie determined not to giue battell till his enimies had wearied themſelues in keeping of the fields, and that a new power was come to his aid out of France, which he dailie looked for. By which means it came to paſſe, that the Engliſhmen not vſed to ſuch hot aire as they found in thoſe parts in that ſeaſon of the yeare (for it was about Midſummer) fell dailie into manie perillous diſeaſes, whereof no ſmall number died; and other became ſo faint, that they were not able to helpe themſelues, that to conſider the miſerie in which they were, it would haue rued the harts of their verie foes. Herevpon was the duke conſtreined to fall to a communication for a peace, which in the end was accorded, though not at this inſtant.

Great death in the Engliſh hoſt in Spaine by reaſon of the great heat of that countrie.

Howbeit a truce was granted, in ſuch wiſe as it might be at the Engliſhmens choiſe to returne into their countrie, either by ſea or by land, thorough France. Such as paſſed through Spaine to France, had ſafe conducts ſealed and ſigned by the king of Spaine; but ſcarſe the halfe of thoſe that came out of England with the duke, returned thither againe, they died ſo faſt, aſwell after the breaking vp of their campe, as before. Amongſt other, there died before the breaking vp of the campe, one of the greateſt barons of all the companie, named the lord Fitz Walter; and afterwards within the towne of Ville Arpent, there died (as Froiſſard ſaith) thrée great barons of England, and men of great poſſeſſions: ſir Richard Burlie a knight of the garter, who had béene as it were high marſhall of the armie, the lord Poinings, and ſir Henrie Percie couſine germane to the earle of Northumberland.

Froiſſard. The lord Fitz walter.

I thinke that none of theſe thrée were barons but onlie the lord Poinings.

In the towne of Noie deceaſſed ſir Mauburin de Liniers a Poictouin, and in the towne of Ruelles died the lord Talbot, and ſo here and there (ſaith Froiſſard) there died in all twelue great lords, foure ſcore knights, two hundred eſquiers, and of the meaner ſort of ſouldiers aboue fiue hundred. After that the armie was broken vp, the duke of Lancaſter and the ducheſſe his wife went into Portingale, and there remained a ſeaſon, and then taking the ſea, ſailed to Baionne in the marſhes of Gaſcoigne, where he reſted a long time after. ¶ In this meane while, there was communication and offers made for a marriage to be had betwixt the duke of Berrie, vncle to the French king; and the ladie Katharine daughter to the duke of Lancaſter, and of the ducheſſe his wife the ladie Conſtance.

The duke of Lancaſter returneth out of Portingale into Gaſcoigne.

When the king of Spaine vnderſtood of that treatie, he began to doubt, leaſt if that marriage tooke place, it might turne to his diſaduantage; and therefore to be at quietneſſe with the duke of Lancaſter, whoſe puiſſance he doubted, and whoſe wiſedome he perfectlie vnderſtood, by politike meanes and earneſt ſute, at length concluded a peace with him on this wiſe; That his eldeſt ſon Henrie ſhould haue in mariage the ladie Katharine daughter to the duke of Lancaſter, begot on his wife the ducheſſe Conſtance, and be intituled prince of Auſturgus. In conſideration of which marriage to be had, and all claimes to ceaſſe, which the duke in right of his wife might challenge or pretend; it was agréed, that the ſaid duke ſhould receiue yearlie the ſumme of ten thouſand marks, to be paid to him, or to his aſſignes in the citie of Baionne in Gaſcoigne, during the terme of the liues of the ſaid duke and ducheſſe; and further to haue in hand the ſumme of two hundreth thouſand nobles. ¶ Henrie Knighton in his relation of this compoſition betwéene theſe perſons of great eſtate, dooth ſay, that it was told him by one of the good duke of Lancaſters owne houſhold, and attendant vpon him in this voiage into Spaine, that the Spaniſh king did ſend ſeuen and fourtie mules loden with coffers full of gold for the ſecond paiment where vpon they were agréed. As touching the firſt paiment (ſaith Knighton) I aſked no queſtion of the partie. So that (beſides the annuitie, which mine author reporteth to be 16000 marks, during the parties liues iointlie, and 12000 marks, if it fortuned that the dukes daughter ſhould ſuruiue and outliue hir husband) it ſhould ſéeme there were other large allowances, which if they were (as it is likelie) after this rate, it was a right roiall munificence. And to this report of Knighton dooth Ch. Okland make a kind of alluſion, who ſpeking of the conditions of peace betwéene the duke of Lancaſter, and the king of Spaine, ſaith:

A marriage concluded betwéene the prince of Spaine, and the duke of Lancaſters daughter.

Fabian.

Ab. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leiceſter abbeie.

Cauſæ diffidens extemplò Hiſpanus, agebat
De pace, acceptis & conditionibus, offert
Argenti ac auri plauſtrorum protinus octo
Iuſtum onus, argentique decem ſoluenda quotannis
Millia nummorum, &c.

In Angl. prælijs ſub Rich. 2.

The aforeſaid agreement and marriage was not concluded, till about the thirteenth yeare of king Richards reigne, ſo that in the meane while manie incidents chanced in England and in other regions, which in their time and places ſhall be touched, as to purpoſe ſerueth.

Iacob. Meir. Froiſſard.

And firſt it is not to be forgotten, that the Frenchmen neuer ſhewed more vanitie than they did this yeare, ſince the linage of the Capetes began firſt to rule in France. All the ſhips that they could prouide from the confines of Spaine, vnto the mouth of the Rhene, all alongſt the coaſt, they aſſembled at Sluis and thereabouts, and made ſo great preparation for the warre, that the like had not beene heard of (meaning, as they boaſted, and made their vants) to paſſe ouer into England, and to deuoure the whole countrie, in dooing ſacrifice to the ſoules of their elders with the bloud of the Engliſh people. Howbeit theſe words were wind, & to them accorded the prouerbe,

Parturiunt montes, naſcetur ridiculus mus.

A mightie great nauie of French ſhips at Sluis purpoſing to inuade Englãd.

There were numbred in the moneth of September about Sluis, Dam, and Blankberke 1287 ſhips, beſides thoſe which were rigged in Britaine by the conſtable, who had cauſed an incloſure of a field to be made of timber, like railes or barriers, that when they were landed in England, they might therewith incloſe their field, and ſo lodge more at ſuertie, and when they remooued, it was ſo made with ioints, that they might take it vp in peeces and eaſilie conueie it with them.

The deſcription of the incloſure.

This incloſure or wall of wood was twentie foot in heigth, and conteined in length or in compaſſe, when it was ſet vp, three thouſand paſes, and at the end of euerie twelue paſes ſtood a turret able to receiue ten men, that was higher than the reſt of the wall by ten foot at the leaſt. There were appointed to haue paſſed ouer in thoſe ſhips twentie thouſand men of armes, twentie thouſand croſbowes, and twentie thouſand other men of warre. To haue ſeene the great apparell, furniture and prouiſion, the ſhipping, truſſing, bearing, and carrieng to and fro of things needfull for this iournie, a man might haue merueled; for ſuerlie the like hath ſildome beene remembred. All that was doone there on that ſide the ſea by the Frenchmen, was notified into England, ſo that the Frenchmen were not more occupied to prepare themſelues to inuade England, than the Engliſhmen were to make themſelues readie to defend their countrie from all danger of enimies; ſo that euerie hauen towne, eſpeciallie alongſt the weſt, ſouth, and eaſt coaſts, were kept and warded with notable numbers of armed men and archers.

Thom. Walſ.

Tho. Walſi.

The prouiſion of ye Engliſhmen to reſiſt ye great power of Frenchmen.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leiceſter abbeie.

¶ Notwithſtanding the great confidence which the French king repoſed in the fortification which he had imbarked, thinking thereby to haue wrought great wonders, to the diſcomfiture of the Engliſh: yet (contrarie to his expectation) it ſo fortuned, that about Michaelmas, the lord William Beauchampe capteine of Calis tooke two ſhips; whereof one was loden with a peece of the ſaid incloſure or wall of wood, and in the ſame ſhip was the maiſter carpenter of the incloſure, being an Engliſhman borne, but baniſhed his countrie before that time for ſome offenſe. He alſo tooke another ſhip, wherein were engins, guns, gunpowder & other inſtruments of war. Not long after this, two more ſhips were taken likewiſe, whoſe burthen was parcels of the foreſaid frame or incloſure: ſo that three ſhips were met withall and ſeized vpon, each of them loden with one kind of ſtuffe. Whereof king Richard hearing, he cauſed the ſaid incloſure to be reared and ſet vp about Winchelſie towne. In the meane while, namelie in September, the foreſaid armie came into Flanders, and arriued at the hauen of Sluis, intending to make their progreſſe into England: but by prolonging of the time there, they were driuen to great diſtreſſe and want of vittels: for it was reported that a loafe of bread, ſold in England for a penie, was ſold there for eighteene pence; and a hens eg for a penie: ſo that in the end of Nouember they returned to France, miſſing their purpoſe as much as if they had neuer ment it.

There were readie within the realme at that ſeaſon, in one part and other 100000 archers, and ten thouſand men of armes, beſides thoſe that were gone into Spaine with the duke of Lancaſter. All this preparation laſted for the more part of the ſummer, euen till the beginning of winter: and ſtill the French king that was come downe into Flanders, ſtaied for the comming of his vncle the duke of Berrie: who at length in the moneth of Nouember came to Sluis, hauing protracted time, of purpoſe, that he might by the excuſe of winter, cauſe this iornie to be put off till another ſeaſon. Wherin he ſhewed more wit than all the councellors which the French king had about him: for if he had not politikelie ſhifted off the matter, the king had landed here in England, to the great danger of his perſon and loſſe of his people. And yet if we ſhall beleeue writers that liued in thoſe daies, by reaſon of the brute that was ſpred through the realme, of that huge preparation which the French king made to inuade this land, no ſmall feare entered into the harts of manie, namelie of the Londoners, who (as if the enimies had beene alredie landed) beſtirred them, in making what prouiſion they might for their defenſe, though it ſeemed by their manner of dooings, they ſtood in doubt leaſt the whole realme had not beene able to make ſufficient reſiſtance.

The Londoners ſpeciallie afraid of the Frẽch forces.

Diſſention among the noblemen.

In deed diuerſe were the more afraid, for that they perceiued how the barons and great lords agreed not in manie points among themſelues, and ſo being not of one mind, the wiſer ſort doubted leaſt through their diſagreeing in that troubleſome time, ſome danger might grow to the ſtate of the whole realme. Notwithſtanding, no ſmall number of others wiſhed nothing more, than that the French king in going forward with his purpoſe, might haue come ouer, not doubting but that he ſhould haue found ſuch a welcome, as would haue beene little to his eaſe. About the feaſt of ſaint Michaell, a parlement was called and holden at London, and withall great numbers of men of armes & archers were appointed to come and lie about London, that they might be readie to march forthwith againſt the enimies whenſoeuer it chanced them to land. Thus all the townes and villages twentie miles in compaſſe round about London, were full of men of armes and archers, lieng as it had beene in campe; and wanting both vittels and monie, they were driuen to ſpoile and to take by violence what they might get. At length, after they had laine thus to ſmall purpoſe a long ſeaſon, they were licenced to depart home, with commandement to be readie to returne againe vpon the firſt ſummons. Manie of them were conſtreined through neceſſitie, to ſell their horſſes, and armour, and ſome to ſpoile and to rob as they went homewards, not ſparing what they might laie their hands vpon. Although the men of warre were diſmiſſed home, the parlement yet continued, and the lords ſtill remained at London, hearkening ſtill for the French kings comming.

Froiſſard.

Tho. Walſin. A parlement at London.

Robert Weer marqueſſe of Dubline created duke of Ireland.

The lord Robert Weer earle of Oxenford, whome the king in the laſt parlement had made marqueſſe of Dubline, was now in this parlement created duke of Ireland: the other lords ſore enuieng ſo high preferment in a man that ſo little deſerued, as they tooke it. For by reaſon of the kings great affection which he bare not onelie to this noble man, but alſo to the lord Michaell de la Poole, whom he had latelie created earle of Suffolke, and after aduanced him to the office of lord chancellor (as before ye haue heard) not onelie the lords, but alſo the commons ſore grudged at ſuch their high preferrement, in ſomuch that in this preſent parlement, the knights & burgeſſes in the lower houſe, exhibited a bill againſt the lord chancellor, of diuerſe crimes which they laid to his charge, and ſo vſed the matter, with the helpe of the lords, that in the end in ſome reſpect they had their willes againſt him, contrarie to the kings mind, as after may appeare.

And where the king had demanded a reliefe of monie towards the maintenance of his eſtate, and charges of the warres, it was anſwered, that he néeded not any tallage of his ſubiects, ſith he might furniſh himſelfe with ſuch a ſumme at the hands of the ſaid earle, that was iuſtlie indebted vnto him therein, as they were able well to proue. But the king was nothing herewith contented, conceiuing no ſmall diſpleaſure, aſwell againſt them of the lower houſe, as againſt the lords in the vpper, for fauouring them in the lower, in matters that went ſo ſore againſt his mind. Herevpon (as was ſaid, whether trulie or otherwiſe, the lord knoweth) by a conſpiracie begun betwixt the king & ſuch as were moſt in fauour with him, it was deuiſed, that the duke of Gloceſter (as principall(and ſuch other lords as fauored the knights and burgeſſes in their ſute, againſt the earle of Suffolke, and were otherwiſe againſt the king in his demand of monie, ſhould be willed to a ſupper in London, there to be murthered.

But the duke comming by ſome meanes to vnderſtand of this wicked practiſe, had no deſire to take part of that ſupper, where ſuch ſharpe ſauce was prouided, and withall gaue warning to the reſidue, that they likewiſe ſhould not come there, but to content themſelues with their owne ſuppers at their lodgings. It was ſaid, that ſir Nicholas Brember, who had béene maior the yeare before, had promiſed his aſſiſtance in the execution of this horrible fact: but thorough the commendable conſtancie of Richard Exton that was maior this yeare, being mooued by the king for his furtherance therein, and denieng flatlie to conſent to the death of ſuch innocent perſons, that heinous practiſe was omitted. This matter being brought to light, the hatred and malice which men bare to ſuch councellors of the king greatlie increaſed, and the duke of Gloceſter and ſuch as withſtood the king, dailie grew more and more into the peoples fauour.

Richard Exton iuſtlie cõmended.

A ſubſidie granted and appointed to be ſpent according to yͤ diſcretion of the nobilitie.

Howbeit at length, through the earneſt ſute of ſome of the great lords, there was granted to the king halfe a tenth and halfe a fiftéenth, which ſhould not be ſpent at the pleaſure of the prince, but by the order and appointment of the ſaid lords, & ſo at length the earle of Arundell was appointed to receiue it, to furniſh him with a nauie to the ſeas. But before this paiment might be granted, there was much adoo, & hard hold: for where the ſaid earle of Suffolke then lord chancellor, at firſt had demanded of the commons in the kings name, foure fiftéens (for with leſſe (ſaid he) the king could not mainteine his eſtate and the warres which he had in hand) the whole bodie of the parlement made anſwer thereto, that without the king were preſent (for he was then at Eltham) they could make therein no anſwer at all: and herewith they tooke occaſion at length to ſay further, that except the ſaid earle of Suffolke were remooued from the office of chancellorſhip, they would meddle no further with any act in this parlement, were it neuer of ſo ſmall importance.

The king being aduertiſed hereof, ſent againe to the commons, that they ſhould ſend vnto Eltham (where he laie) fortie of the wiſeſt and beſt learned of the common houſe, the which in the name of the whole houſe ſhould declare vnto him their minds. And then the houſe was in no ſmall feare, by reaſon of a brute that was raiſed, how the king ſought meanes to intrap and deſtroie them that followed not his purpoſe. Herevpon aſwell the lords of the vpper houſe as the commons of the lower aſſembled togither, and agréed with one conſent, that the duke of Gloceſter, and Thomas Arundell biſhop of Elie, ſhould in the name of the whole parlement be ſent to the king vnto Eltham: which was doone, and the king was well contented that they ſhould come: When they came before his preſence, with humble reuerence they declared their meſſage, which conſiſted in theſe points: That the lords and commons aſſembled at that preſent in parlement, beſought him of his lawfull fauour, that they might liue in peace and tranquillitie vnder him.

Diſſention betweene the king and the parlement houſe.

The duke of Gloceſter and the biſhop of Elie ſent to yͤ K. at Eltham frõ the whole bodie of the parlement.

Their requeſts to the king.

They further declared, that one old ſtatute and laudable cuſtome was approued, which no man could denie, that the king once in the yeare might lawfullie ſummon his high court of parlement, and call the lords and commons therevnto, as to the higheſt court of his realme, in which court all right and equitie ought to ſhine as the ſunne being at the higheſt, whereof poore and rich may take refreſhing; where alſo reformation ought to be had of all oppreſſions, wrongs, extortions, & enormities within the realme; and there the king ought to take counſell with the wiſe men of his realme, for the maintenance of his eſtate, and conſeruation of the ſame. And if it might be knowen that any perſons within the realme or without, intended the contrarie; there muſt alſo be deuiſed how ſuch euill wéeds may be deſtroied. There muſt alſo be ſtudied and foreſéene, that if any charge doo come vpon the king and realme, how it may be honorablie borne and diſcharged.

And oftener if néed require.

The cauſes & conditions of a parlement.

Further, they declared that till that preſent, his ſubiects (as was thought) had louinglie demeaned themſelues towards him, in aiding him with their ſubſtance to the beſt of their powers, & that their deſire was to vnderſtand how thoſe goods were ſpent. And further they ſaid, they had one thing to declare vnto him, how that by an old ordinance it was enacted, that if the king ſhould abſent himſelfe fourtie daies, not being ſicke, and refuſe to come to the parlement, without regard to the charges of his people, and their great paines, they then may lawfullie returne home to their houſes: and therefore ſith he had béene abſent a long time, and yet refuſed to come among them, it was greatlie to their diſcomfort. To this the king (as we find) made this anſwer: Well, we doo perceiue that our people and commons go about to riſe againſt vs: wherefore we thinke we cannot doo better than to aſke aid of our couſine the French king, and rather ſubmit vs vnto him than to our owne ſubiects.

Abſence of the king from the parlement for the ſpace of 40 daies.

The kings anſwer.

The lords anſwered, that it ſhould not be good for him ſo to doo, but a waie rather to bring him into extreame danger, ſith it was plaine inough, that the French king was his ancient enimie and greateſt aduerſarie, who if he might once ſet foot in the realme of England, he would rather deſpoile and diſpoſſeſſe the king of his kingdome, than put his helping hand to relieue him. He might (they ſaid) call to remembrance, how his noble progenitour king Edward the third, his grandfather, and prince Edward his father had trauelled in heat and cold, with great anguiſh and troubles inceſſantlie, to make a conqueſt of France, that rightfullie apperteined vnto them, and now to him, in which wars he might likewiſe remember how manie lords, noble men, and good commons of both realmes had loſt their liues, and what charges both the realmes likewiſe bare in mainteining thoſe warres: and now (the more pitie) greater burthens were laid vpon the necks of the Engliſh ſubiects for the ſupportation of his charges, by reaſon whereof, they were ſo low brought (ſaid they) that they haue not to paie their rents, and ſo by ſuch meanes was his power decaied, his lords brought behind hand, and all his people ſore impoueriſhed. And as that king cannot be poore that hath rich people, ſo cannot he be rich that hath poore commons. And as he tooke hurt by ſuch inconueniences chancing through euill councellors that were about him, ſo the lords and noblemen ſuſteined no leſſe hurt each one after his eſtate and calling. And if remedie were not in time prouided through his helping hand, the realme muſt needs fall in ruine, and the default ſhould be imputed to him and to thoſe his euill councellors.

Wealth of the people is the glorie of the prince and ſuertie of his reigne.

By theſe and the like perſuaſions the king was induced to come to the parlement, and according to his appointment he came indeed. Soone after his comming was John Fortham biſhop of Durham diſcharged of his office of lord treaſuror, and in his place was appointed one John Gilbert biſhop of Hereford, that was a frier of the order of preachers, a man more eloquent than faithfull, as ſome reported of him. Alſo the earle of Suffolke was diſcharged of his office of lord chancellor, and Thomas Arundell biſhop of Elie placed in his roome, by whole conſent of parlement. The ſame earle of Suffolke was charged with manie & verie great enormious crimes, frauds, falſhoods, and treſons, which he had practiſed, to the great preiudice of the king and realme, and therevpon was committed to ward in the caſtell of Windſore. Notwithſtanding they adiudged him not to death (as ſome write) nor diſgraded him of the honor of knighthood, but condemned him to paie a fine of twentie thouſand marks, and alſo to forfeit one thouſand pounds of yeerelie rents which he had purchaſed.

Change of officers by the parlement.

The earle of Suffolke greeuouſlie charged by the parlement houſe for ſundrie offenſes.

But other write, that notwithſtanding the king was ſore offended for the accuſations brought againſt the ſaid earle of Suffolke and others, whome he loued, and was loth to heare anie euill of: yet he was conſtreined at length, after he had ſhifted off the matter by ſundrie deuiſes, to appoint certeine perſons with full power and authoritie to heare, and in iudgement to determine thoſe matters. The duke of Gloceſter therfore, and the earle of Arundell were appointed as iudges; which (whileſt the king as yet was abſent, who got him forth of the waie of purpoſe, bicauſe he would not be preſent at the condemnation of thoſe whome he moſt entierlie loued and fauoured) went earneſtlie in hand with their buſineſſe, and ſo at length (as Walſingham ſaith) the earle of Suffolke was conuicted, & found giltie of ſundrie crimes, treſpaſſes, and naughtie parts: for which it was thought that he deſerued to loſe his life & goods, but yet he was ſuffered (as the ſame Walſingham ſaith) to go abroad vnder ſuertie, certeine great men being bound for him in great ſums of monie. But what order ſoeuer was taken for the puniſhment of him, ſure it is he was diſplaced from his office of chancellorſhip, as before yee haue heard.

Furthermore, the lords, and other eſtates in this parlement, conſidering that through couetouſneſſe of the new depoſed officers, the kings treaſure had beene imbezeled, lewdlie waſted, & prodigallie ſpent, nothing to his profit: there were in this parlement thirteene lords choſen, to haue ouerſight vnder the king of the whole gouernment of the realme, as by their commiſſion in the ſtatutes of the tenth yeare of this king it doth in the booke of ſtatutes at large appeare. Of thoſe thirteene there were three of the new officers named, as the biſhop of Elie lord chancellor, the biſhop of Hereford lord treaſuror, and Nicholas abbat of Waltham lord keeper of the priuie ſeale: the other ten were theſe, William archbiſhop of Canturburie, Alexander archbiſhop of Yorke, Edmund Langlie duke of Yorke, Thomas duke of Gloceſter, William biſhop of Wincheſter, Thomas biſhop of Exceſter, Richard earle of Arundell, Richard lord Scroope, and John lord Debereux. But this participation of the gouernement fell out to be inconuenient, as by proceſſe of the ſtorie ſhall appeare, euen to thoſe vnto whome it was allotted: ſo that no ſmall a doo happened among them and their partakers: according to the old prouerbe, which ſaith;

Thirteene lords appointed by parlement to haue the gouernement of the realme vnder the king.

Væ ſibi quando canes veniunt os rodere plures.

Moreouer, at the kings inſtance and earneſt ſute it was granted, that Robert de Veer late marqueſſe of Dubline, and now newlie created duke of Ireland, ſhould haue and receiue to his owne vſe thirtie thouſand marks, that the Frenchmen were to giue for the heires of the lord Charles de Blois, that remained here in England, which Charles in times paſt chalenged as his rightfull inheritance the dutchie of Britaine, againſt the earle of Montfort. This grant was made to the duke of Ireland, with condition, that being furniſhed with this monie, he ſhould paſſe ouer into Ireland, before the next Eaſter, there to recouer ſuch lands as the king had giuen to him. For aſwell the lords as the commons were ſo deſirous to haue him gone, that they wiſhed the realme rather to ſpare ſo much treaſure, than to haue his preſence about the king, to allure him to follie. The ſame time the king of Armenia ſued for a ſafe conduct to come againe ouer into this land, to ſpeake with the king as it had been about the mouing of ſome peace betwixt the two realms of England and France; but ſith his meaning was ſuſpected to be to no good end, but to benefit himſelfe by receiuing of ſome great gifts at the kings bountifull hands, his ſute was not granted.

The king of Armenia ſueth for a ſafe conduct to come into England which is denied him.

In this meane time alſo, whileſt the French king with ſuch a companie of dukes, earls and other lords, as had not beene heard of, ſtill continued in Flanders, ſtaieng as well for a conuenient wind, as for the comming of the duke of Berrie; it chanced that certeine Engliſh ſhips, as they waſted the ſeas, met with two of the French ſhips, that were ſailing towards Sluis, and fighting with them, tooke them, and brought them both to Sandwich. There was found aboord the ſame ſhips, a maiſter gunner, that ſometime had ſerued the Engliſhmen at Calis, when ſir Hugh Caluerlie was lieutenant there; alſo diuerſe great guns and engins to beat downe wals were found and taken in the ſame ſhips, with a great quantitie of powder that was more worth than all the reſt.

Two of the Frẽch kings ſhips taken with a great prize in them.

Guns were inuented little more than ſix yeares before this time, to wit, An. 1380.

About the ſame time, or rather ſomewhat before, the Engliſhmen alſo tooke certeine hulks and ſix carikes of the Genowais, laden with great riches: but bicauſe they were merchants, they found ſuch fauor at the kings hands through means of Michaell de la Poole then lord chancellor (whome they had made their freend) that they had their veſſels and all their goods reſtored, and ſtreightwaies they paſſed with the ſame vnto Sluis, where the enimies laie, to make ſale of their wares there. Wherevpon much murmuring roſe among the kings ſubiects, taking it in euill part, that they ſhould be ſuffered ſo to go their waies to releeue the enimies of the realme, with ſuch goods as were once brought into the Engliſhmens poſſeſſion, and ſpeciallie the lord chancellor was verie euill thought of, for ſhewing ſo much fauour vnto thoſe ſtrangers.

Reſtitution of merchants goods taken.

The French fleet ſetting forward towards England is driuen backe by contrarie winds.

The French king ſtill remaining in Flanders, tarieng for the comming of the duke of Berrie, and alſo for a conuenient wind, at length on the euen of All ſaints, the wind came about very fauourablie for the Frenchmens purpoſe: wherevpon they weied anchors, and lanched from the hauen of Sluis, but they were not paſt twentie miles forward on their way, when the wind ſuddenlie turned contrarie to their courſe againe, and brought them backe with ſuch violence, that diuerſe of them as they ſhould enter the hauen, were broken and bruſed, and ſo by this occaſion, and the counſell of the duke of Berrie togither, the French king brake vp his iournie for that yeare, and returned into France. ¶ Ye haue heard what was doone by the ſtates aſſembled in parlement againſt the earle of Suffolke, whom the moſt part of the realme ſo greatlie hated, but yet neuertheleſſe, the king had ſuch an affection towards him, that immediatlie after the parlement was diſſolued, he vndid all that had béene enacted againſt him, receiuing him into more familiaritie than before, and cauſed him to continue with the duke of Ireland, and Alexander Neuill archbiſhop of Yorke, which two lords trauelled moſt earneſtlie to moue the king againſt the other lords, and to diſannull all that had béene doone in the laſt parlement.

The kings inordinate affection towards the duke of Ireland and the earle of Suffolke.

There increaſed therefore in the king an inward hatred, which he conceiued againſt the lords, theſe men putting into his eare, that he was like no king but rather reſembled the ſhadow of one; ſaieng, it would come to paſſe that he ſhould be able to doo nothing of himſelfe, if the lords might inioy the authoritie which they had taken vpon them. The king gaue credit to theſe tales, and therefore had the lords in great gelouſie, notwithſtanding they were thought to be his moſt true and faithfull ſubiects, and the other craftie, deceitfull, and vntruſtie; but ſuch an affection had the king to them, that no informations, nor accuſations, though neuer ſo manifeſtlie prooued, could bring them out of his fauour, in ſo much as at the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe next following, he cauſed the earle of Suffolke to ſit with him at his owne table, in robes accuſtomablie appointed for kings to weare, and not for meaner eſtates, which was much noted, and no little increaſed the enuie againſt him.

1387

The earle of Arundell goeth to the ſea with 500 men of armes and a thouſand archers as Froiſſard noteth.

About the beginning of March in this tenth yéere, Richard earle of Arundell, being appointed lord admerall, & Thomas Mowbraie earle of Notingham, the earle of Deuonſhire, and the biſhop of Norwich (as Froiſſard ſaith) went to the ſea with a warlike power of men of armes and archers, ſo well trimmed and appointed as was poſſible. For the lord admerall vnderſtanding that the duke of Gloceſter, and manie other noblemen would ſée the muſter of his men, vſed all diligence, and ſpared for no coſts, to haue the moſt choiſeſt and pikedſt fellowes that might be gotten, not following the euill example of others in times paſt, which receiued tag and rag to fill vp their numbers, whom they hired for ſmall wages, and reſerued the reſidue to their purſſes. And when to the aduancement of the realms commoditie they ſhould haue incountered the enimies, they ſhifted off all occaſions thereto, and onelie prolonged time, without atchiuing any enterpriſe auaileable, to the end they might receiue the whole wages, and kéepe themſelues from danger, which they ſhould hardlie haue auoided, when they had not about them ſuch able men as were like to match the enimies: but the earle of Arundell contrarilie got the ableſt men he might, not ſparing his owne purſſe, to the end that by their ſeruice he might atchiue ſome worthie enterpriſe, to redound vnto the commoditie of his countrie.

A great abuſe in choiſe of ſouldiers.

After the duke of Gloceſter had beheld ſo faire and choſen a power of men of warre, they were ſtreightwaies appointed to get them on ſhipbord, & ſo being imbarked, the whole nauie paſſed forth to the Thams mouth, where they ſtaied to watch for the fléet of Flanders, that was readie to come from Rochell with wines. At length, vpon a ſundaie, being the euen of the Annuntiation of our ladie, the Flemiſh fléet was diſcouered a good way off, by one that was mounted into one of the tops of a ſhip of the Engliſh fléet. The earle of Arundell greatlie reioiſing at thoſe newes, forthwith with his whole fléet made to the ſea. When the Flemings approched néere to our nauie, they made ſaile, as if they would ſet vpon the ſame; and our men of purpoſe made countenance as if they would haue retired, as miſtruſting themſelues to be able to match their aduerſaries, who coueting rather a ſafe paſſage than battell, paſſed by: but the Engliſhmen hauing once got the wind fit for their purpoſe, ſuddenlie ſet vpon the Flemiſh ſhips, and fought with them right fiercelie: at length, after a ſore conflict which indured foure houres, the victorie fell to the Engliſhmen.

A good policie.

A great victorie of the Engliſh nauie againſt the Flemiſh fléet.
Ia. Meir.
Tho. Walſ.

There were taken fourescore ſhips, with diuerſe capteins and men of armes, namelie their chiefe admerall, named Iohn Buicke, a perfect good ſeaman, and one that had aforetime doone much hurt to the Engliſh nation. Diuerſe of their ſhips were bouged, and ſome eſcaped from the battell. But the earle of Arundell purſued them ſo egerlie for the ſpace of two daies togither, that at length he tooke them, and brought them backe to his nauie, ſo that what in the battell and in the chaſe, there were taken of great and ſmall, to the number of an hundred veſſels, all fraught with wines, ſo that there was found aboord the ſame nine thouſand tuns, or rather (as other ſaie) ninetéene thouſand, which togither with the veſſels were ſtreight ſent vnto Orwell hauen, and to other hauens abroad in the realme, beſide that which fell to the kings ſhare, as due to him by his prerogatiue. Part of the Flemiſh fléet eſcaping (as before ye haue heard) was purſued vnto the hauen of Sluis and Blankerke.

Ia. Meir.
Thom. Walſ.

The citizens of Middleburgh came to the earle, and requeſted him that they might buie thoſe wines of him, and paie for the ſame after the rate of an hundred ſhillings the tunne, alledging how they were the kings fréends, and ſtood in néed of wines: but the earle of Arundell, thinking it more reaſon that thoſe which had borne the charges of his iournie, to wit, the commons of the realme of England ſhould haue the commoditie thereof than any other, he denied their ſute. But yet to ſhew them ſome pleaſure as his fréends, he gaue them twentie tuns to make merrie with. As for that which fell to the earles ſhare, he vſed ſuch bountifulneſſe in beſtowing it among his fréends, that he left not to himſelfe ſo much as one tunne. He wan therefore no ſmall praiſe, that forbearing his owne commoditie, which he might haue reaped in ſelling thoſe wines to ſtrangers, he had more regard to the profit of the commons, whereby they might vnderſtand, that that which they had laid forth towards the ſetting forward of his iournie, was not altogither loſt nor caſt awaie. By this meanes (beſides the commendation which he drew to himſelfe) he alſo wan the harts & good will of the people, whoſe fréendſhip is purchaſed by gifts and good déeds, ſith they make profit the metrod of amitie, & bound in beneuolence with receiued benefits, as the poet ſaith,

The liberalitie of the earle of Arundell.

Vulgus amicitias vtilitate probat.

All the countrie of Flanders néere to the ſea coaſts, was in great feare: for the Engliſhmen landed, and euerie day went abroad into the countrie, burning diuerſe townes and villages, as Mude, Oſtburge, Houckam, Monachacedam, & others. And at length, after they had taken their pleaſure in the countrie,

Diuers rodes made into Flanders by the Engliſhmen, & great ſpoile doone.

for the ſpace of ten daies togither, they hoiſſed vp ſailes, and returned with all their preie and booties, which being ſold, and vttered abroad in the realme, made wine ſo plentifullie here in England, that it was ſold for thirteene ſhillings foure pence the tun, and twentie ſhillings the beſt and choiſeſt. The earle of Arundell not ſatiſfied with this happie atchiued enterpriſe, but minding to doo more ſeruice to the benefit of his countrie, gathered his ſhips together, and hiring new ſouldiers to ſupplie the roomes of them that were hurt, maimed, or ſlaine, turned his ſailes towards the caſtell of Breſt, which ſeemed to be a keie to the leſſe Britaine, and being (as yee haue heard) in the Engliſhmens poſſeſſion, the Frenchmen were about to raiſe vp and build farre greater and ſtronger baſtillions, than thoſe were that the duke of Lancaſter had taken and deſtroied, as he ſailed forward on his iournie toward Spaine.

wine ſold for thirteene ſhillings foure pence the tun.

The earle of Arundell ſaileth into Britaine with a great power.

One of theſe two new baſtiles the earle of Arundell woone by force from them that kept it: and bicauſe it ſeemed neceſſarie to be kept for a defenſe to the caſtell, if it were in the Engliſhmens hands, he committed it to the cuſtodie of certeine Engliſhmen. The other being not yet finiſhed, but begun in ſumptuous wiſe to be builded, he ſet on fire and burned. This doone, furniſhing the gariſon with ſufficient vittels and munition to ſerue them for one whole yeare, he returned home into England, with great praiſe and commendation of the commons for his doings. But the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, ſir Simon de Burlie, and ſir Richard Sturrie, that ſtill continued about the king, ſeemed rather to enuie the earle of Arundels good name, than otherwiſe to commend him and others to the king, that had beene forth in that iournie, in ſo much that when the earle of Nottingham, otherwiſe called earle Marſhall, that had beene euer the kings plaifellow, and of equall age to him, came now to the court, hoping to be right welcome, and to receiue great thankes at the kings hands, he had no good countenance ſhewed vnto him, neither of the king, nor of the duke of Ireland, who diſdaining once to talke with him, ſeemed to enuie the worthie prowesse in other, which he knew defectiue and wanting in himſelfe.

Enuie þ follower of vertue & prowesse

Shortlie after, by the counſell of thoſe lords and knights that remained about the king, the lord Henrie Percie, ſonne to the earle of Northumberland, was ſent to the ſeas, to beate backe the attempts of the enimies, but he was ſlenderlie appointed to atchiue anie great enterpriſe. This was doone of ſome enuious purpoſe, bicauſe he had got a name amongeſt the common people, to be a verie hardie and valiant gentleman, as well among Engliſhmen, as Scots. But he either ignorant, or not much waieng of that which they craftilie had imagined againſt him, boldlie and valiantlie executed the buſineſſe inioined him, and hauing remained abroad, during the whole time of his appointed ſeruice, returned ſafelie home. ¶ About the ſame time, a frier Carmelite, named Walter Diſſe, that had beene confeſſor to the duke of Lancaſter, obteined in fauour of the ſame duke, at pope Vrbans hands, certeine faculties, to be diſtributed to ſuch as would praie & paie for them. Among other of thoſe faculties, one was, to make all thoſe whome he thought good, the popes chapleines, according to forme of law, and the cuſtome vſed in the court of Rome.

The lord Percie ſent to the ſeas.

Now bicauſe ſuch as obteined this fauour, inioied great liberties, manie were glad to beſtow largelie, to be ſo preferred, the frier being redie to admit thoſe that offered moſt. Among other, one Peter Pateſhull, a frier of the Auguſtines order, was made by him the popes chapleine, a man not vnlearned, and one that fauoured Wicliffes doctrine, and therevpon forſaking his priuate profeſſion, gaue himſelfe to a publike trade of life, which might ſeeme to him more holie, commendable, and ſure. Heerevpon, he tooke vpon him to preach againſt his owne order, namelie in a ſermon which he made in ſaint Chriſtophers church in London. He inueied ſo earneſtlie againſt the abuſes and heinous crimes which the friers, ſometimes his brethren, vſed to put in practiſe, that it was an horror to heare. There were preſent an hundred at the leaſt of Wicliffes opinion at his ſermon. Now in the meane while that he ſo laid forth what he knew againſt his late brethren, ſome perſons there were that ran to the Auguſtine friers, and declared the whole matter; wherevpon a dozen of the hardieſt and luſtieſt fellowes among them came to the church, where this Pateſhull was preaching, and hearing what was ſaid, they began to be ſore mooued, inſomuch that one of them more zealous in his religion than the other, ſtepped forth, and gaineſaid thoſe things which the preacher proponed.

Frier Pateſhull forſaking his profeſſion, preacheth openlie againſt his owne order.

Wickleuiſts.

When the Wicleuiſts perceiued this, they ſet vpon him that ſo diſquieted the congregation, and laieng hands on him, threw him downe, trode him vnder their feet, and lent him manie a good buffet: and chaſing all the other friers awaie, they were fullie bent to haue killed them, and ſet their houſe on fier, crieng out with lowd voices; Let vs deſtroie theſe murtherers, let vs burne theſe Sodomits, and hang vp ſuch traitors of the king and realme. And running thus with ſuch a furious noiſe and outrage, they purpoſed verelie to haue ſet fire on the friers lodgings, but that through the humble praier of frier Thomas Aſhborne, and one that was his fellow, being reputed for two good men, and doctors of diuinitie, they were ſtaied. The comming alſo of one of the ſhiriffes of London holpe much to appeaſe them, ſo that by his perſuaſion, they returned home to their houſes. But Peter Pateſhull, being mainteined among them, was counſelled, ſith he was interrupted in his ſermon, to ſet downe in writing all ſuch matters as he was about to intreat of, & what he knew further. He therefore deuiſed a libell, in which he accuſed diuerſe of his brethren, of murthering ſundrie of their fellowes.

A libell by frier Pateſhull againſt his brethren.

And for more proofe to be giuen to his ſaiengs, he told the names of them that were made awaie, and the names alſo of the murtherers, and ſhewed where thoſe that were murthered were buried. He affirmed further, that the ſaid friers his brethren of late, were Sodomits and traitors, both to the king and realme, and manie other things he declared (too too bad) in that his writing or libell which he faſtned vpon the church doore of S. Paule in London, that the more confuſion might thereby redound vnto his late brethren, the friers aforeſaid. In the beginning of the ſame libell he proteſted, that he was got forth of the diuels dungeon, and through the grace of God eſcaped from amongſt wicked and filthie perſons; by reaſon whereof, and for that he was an auoucher of the veritie, he ſaid, he was ſure to ſuffer great aduerſities at the friers hands, if they might laie hold on him. But he thanked pope Vrbane, for that through his grant he had obteined ſuch libertie, that by help of his freends, he might lawfullie withdrawe himſelfe from the hands of his enimies.

There were diuerſe men of good worſhip that mainteined this Pateſhull, and cauſed a tranſcript of this libell to be written forth, affirming all to be true that was therein mentioned. Amongſt other that thus fauoured this cauſe, were diuerſe knights, as ſir William Neuill, Sir Lewes Clifford, ſir Iohn Clanbowe, ſir Richard Sturrie, and ſir Thomas Latimer, and the cheefeſt of all was one ſir Iohn Montacute,

The fauourers of frier Pateſhull.

tacute, who cauſed all the images to be taken downe and ſet aſide in corners, which Iohn Aubreie, and his ſucceſſour ſir Alane Burhull, or any their anceſtors had ſet vp in their chappell of Cheneleie. ¶ About the ſame time, the duke of Ireland ſought to be diuorſed from his lawfull wiſe, a trim yoong ladie, daughter to the ladie Iſabell, that was one of king Edward the third his daughters; and tooke to wiſe one Lancegrone a Bohemer one of the quéenes maids; by reaſon whereof, great occaſion of ſlander and reproch grew, and diuerſe lords, ſpeciallie the duke of Gloceſter, that was vncle to the ladie that was forſaken, tooke great diſpleaſure herewith. But ſith the king allowed of all the duke of Irelands dooings, the duke of Gloceſter diſſembled ſuch iniuries doone to his néece for the time, till opportunitie might ſerue to reuenge the ſame.

The duke of Ireland vnderſtood all theſe things, and therefore was the more circumſpect for his owne ſafetie, and ſtudied how by ſome meanes he might diſpatch the duke of Gloceſter out of the waie, as the man whom he moſt feared; leaſt his life ſhould be his deſtruction, by one means or other. Eaſter was now paſt, the time (as ye haue heard) appointed before the which the duke of Ireland ſhould haue tranſported ouer into Ireland, & yet was he not ſet forward. But leaſt ſomewhat might be thought in the matter, and for feare of ſome ſtir to be raiſed by the lords of the realme, that wiſhed him gone, according to the order preſcribed at the laſt parlement, the king as it were to bring him to the water ſide, went with him into Wales, where being out of the waie, they might deuiſe how to diſpatch the duke of Gloceſter, the earles of Arundell, Warwike, Derbie, and Notingham, with others of that faction. There were with the king, beſide the duke of Ireland, Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke, Robert Triſilian lord chiefe iuſtice, and diuers other, which doubtfull of their owne ſafegards did what they could (as writers report) to moue the king forward to the deſtruction of thoſe noblemen. After the king had remained in thoſe parties a good while, he returned, and brought the duke of Ireland backe with him againe ſo that it ſéemed his voiage into Ireland was now quite forgotten.

Diſſention betwixt the king & the nobles.

1388
Anno Reg. 11.

Grafton.

About the ſame time, Robert Triſilian lord chiefe iuſtice of England came to Couentrie, and indicted there two thouſand perſons. The king and the quéene came to Grobie, and thither came by his commandement the iuſtices of the realme. There were alſo with him at the ſame time, Alexander archb. of Yorke, Robert Veere duke of Ireland, Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke, Robert Triſilian, & his fellowes; of whom it was demanded, if by the lawes of the realme the king might reuoke the ordinances made in the laſt parlement, to the which he had giuen his conſent in manner by conſtraint; and they made anſwer that he might. Then were the iuſtices commanded to come vnto Notingham, where the king appointed to méet them, and thither he came according to his appointment, and held a ſolemne councell in the caſtell of Notingham, the morrow after S. Bartholomews day.

Certeine queſtions in law demanded of the iuſtices.

A councell holden at Notingham.

In this councell were the aforeſaid archbiſhop of Yorke, the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, Robert Triſilian iuſtice, Robert Bramble iuſtice, and ſundrie other, all which iuſtices were commanded to ſet their hands vnto the queſtion vnder written, that by meanes thereof, thoſe perſons that were about the king thought they might haue good occaſion to put the duke of Gloceſter, and other lords that were his complices vnto death, which in the laſt parlement were ordeined to haue the gouernance of the realme, and all ſuch as were conſenting to the ſame. Diuerſe of the iuſtices refuſed to ſubſcribe, but yet they were conſtreined to doo as the reſt did, among the which was Iohn Belknap, who vtterlie refuſed, till the duke of Ireland, and the earle of Suffolke compelled him thereto; for if he had perſiſted in the refuſall, he had not eſcaped their hands, and yet when he had ſet to his ſeale, he burſt out into theſe words; Now (ſaid he) here lacketh nothing but a rope, that I might receiue a reward worthie for my deſert, and I know, if I had not doone this, I might not haue eſcaped your hands, ſo that for your pleaſures and the kings I haue doone it, and deſerued thereby death at the hands of the lords. Which indéed ſhortlie followed, for in the next parlement he was condemned and executed. All this remained in record.

Iuſtice Belknap compelled to ſubſcribe.

Iuſtice Belknaps words.

An act of councell touching this *matter, in manner as followeth.*

Memorandum that on the fiue and twentith day of Auguſt, in the 11 yeare of the reigne of king Richard the ſecond, at the caſtell of Notingham aforeſaid, Robert Triſilian lord chiefe iuſtice of England, Robert Belknap lord chiefe iuſtice of the cōmon pléas, Iohn Holt, Roger Fulthorpe, & William Borough, knights and aſſociats of the ſaid Robert Belknap, and Iohn Lockton one of the kings ſergeants at the law, being perſonalie required in preſence of the lords and other witneſſes vnder written by our ſaid ſoueraigne lord the king, in that faith and allegiance in which to him they were bounden, that they ſhould trulie anſwer to certeine queſtions vnderwritten, and vpon the ſame by their diſcretions, to ſaie the law.

Additions to Polychron.

1 Firſt, it was aſked of them, whether the new ſtatute, ordinance, and commiſſion made in the laſt parlement held at Weſtminſter, be hurtfull to the kings prerogatiue. Whereunto all of one mind anſwered, that they were hurtfull, and ſpeciallie bicauſe they be againſt the kings will.

Queſtions in law demanded of the iuſtices.

2 Item, it was inquired of them, how they ought to be puniſhed, that procured the ſaid ſtatute, ordinance, and commiſſion to be made. Whereunto with one aſſent they anſwered, that they deſerued death, except the king of his grace would pardon them.

3 Item, it was inquired, how they ought to be puniſhed, which moued the king to conſent to the making of the ſaid ſtatute, ordinance, and commiſſion. Whereunto they anſwered, that vnleſſe the king would giue them his pardon, they ought to loſe their liues.

4 Item, it was inquired of them what puniſhment they deſerued, that compelled the king to the making of that ſtatute, ordinance and commiſſion. Whereunto they gaue anſwer, that they ought to ſuffer as traitors.

5 Item, it was demanded of them how they ought to be puniſhed that interrupted the king ſo, that he might not exerciſe thoſe things that apperteined to his regalitie and prerogatiue. Whereunto anſwer was made, that they ought to be puniſhed

niſhed as traitors.

6 Item, it was inquired of them, whether that after the affaires of the realme, and the cauſe of the calling togither of the ſtates of the parlement, were once by the kings commandement declared and opened, and other articles on the kings behalfe limited, vpon which the lords and commons of the realme ought to intreat and proceed; if the lords neuertheles would proceed vpon other articles, and not meddle with thoſe articles which the king had limited, till time the king had anſwered the articles propoſed by them, notwithſtanding the king inioined them to the contrarie: whether in this caſe the king might rule the parlement, and cauſe them to proceed vpon the articles by him limited, before they proceeded any further? To which queſtion it was anſwered, that the king ſhould haue in this part the rule, for order of all ſuch articles to be proſecuted, vntill the end of the parlement. And if any preſumed to go contrarie to this rule, he was to be puniſhed as a traitor.

7 Item, it was asked, whether the king when ſoeuer it pleaſed him might not diſſolue the parlement, and command the lords and commons to depart from thence or not? Whereunto it was anſwered that he might.

8 Item, it was inquired, that for ſomuch as it was in the king to remooue ſuch iuſtices and officers as offend, and to puniſh them for their offenſes; whether the lords commons might, without the kings will, impeach the ſame officers and iuſtices, vpon their offenſes in parlement or not? To this anſwer was made, that they might not, and he that attempted contrarie, was to ſuffer as a traitor.

9 Item, it was inquired, how he is to be puniſhed, that mooued in the parlement, that the ſtatute wherin Edward, the ſonne of king Edward, great grandfather to the king that now is, was indicted in parlement, might be ſent for; by inſpection of which ſtatute, the ſaid new ſtatute or ordinance and commiſſion were conceiued, and deuiſed in the parlement?

To which queſtion, with one accord, as in all the reſidue they anſwered, that as well he that ſo ſummoned, as the other, which by force of the ſame motion, brought the ſaid ſtatute into the parlement houſe, be as publike offendors and traitors to be puniſhed.

10 Item, it was inquired of them, whether the iudgement giuen in the parlement againſt Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke, were erronious and reuocable, or not?

To which queſtion likewiſe with one aſſent they ſaid, that if the ſame iudgement were now to be giuen, the iuſtices and ſergeant aforeſaid would not giue the ſame: bicauſe it ſeemed to them, that the ſaid iudgement is reuocable and erronious in euerie part.

In witneſſe of the premiſſes, the iuſtices & ſergeant aforeſaid to theſe preſents haue ſet their ſeals, theſe being witneſſes; Alexander archbiſhop of Yorke, Robert archbiſhop of Dubline, Iohn biſhop of Durham, Thomas biſhop of Cheſter, Iohn biſhop of Bangor, Robert duke of Ireland, Michaell erle of Suffolke, Iohn Ripon clearke, and Iohn Blake.

Thom. Walſ.

Now beſide theſe iuſtices and ſergeant, there were called at that preſent vnto Notingham, all other iuſtices of the realme, and the ſhiriffes. Alſo, diuerſe of the citie of London, which the king knew would incline to his will, the rather; for that ſome of them, hauing aforetime confeſſed treaſon againſt the king by them imagined, and obteining pardon for the ſame, were readie at his commandement, to recompenſe ſuch fauour, in the accompliſhment of whatſoeuer they knew might ſtand with his pleaſure. Hereupon, they being impanelled to inquire of certeine treaſons that were ſuppoſed to be committed by the lords, which in the laſt parlement had ſo cauſed things to paſſe, contrarie to the kings pleaſure, indicted the ſame lords of manie crimes informed againſt them. ¶ The Londoners indeed were euill reported of in thoſe daies, by ſome writers, for their vnſtableneſſe, one while holding on the kings part, and with ſuch as were cheefe in counſell about him; and an other while on the lords ſide that were of a contrarie faction: according as the ſtreame of their affections draue them, and as they were carried awaie perforce by the floud of their variable willes, whereby they were diuided into differing paſſions, as they were aſſaulted by ſundrie and vncerteine deſires: which is the nature of the people, as the poet noteth, ſaieng:

The lords indicted of diuerſe offenſes.

Scinditur incertum ſtudia in contraria vulgus.

But now, as concerning the cauſe whie the ſhiriffes were called hither, it was cheeflie to vnderſtand what power of men they might aſſure the king of, to ſerue him againſt the lords and barons, whome he tooke to be his enimies: and further, that where he meant to call a parlement verie ſhortlie, they ſhould ſo vſe the matter, that no knight might be choſen, but ſuch as the king and his councell ſhould name. But anſwer was made hereunto by the ſhiriffes, that the lords were ſo highlie beloued of the commons, that it laie not in their powers to aſſemble any great forces againſt the lords; and as for chooſing the knights of the ſhires, they ſaid that the commons would vndoubtedlie vſe their ancient liberties, and priuileges, in chooſing ſuch as they thought meeteſt. But yet, after that the indictments were found, according to the deſire of the king and his councellors, and that thoſe which had beene called about this matter, were licenced to depart home; the king and the duke of Ireland ſent meſſengers into euerie part of the realme, to reteine men of warre to aſſiſt them in the quarell againſt the lords, if need were. Manie made anſwer, that ſith they knew the lords to be faithfull and loiall to the king, euen from the bottome of their hearts, and were readie to ſtudie, to deuiſe, and to doo all things that might tend to his honor, and wealth of the realme; they might not by anie meanes beare armour againſt them. But a great number of other, that tooke it that they were reteined for a good and neceſſarie purpoſe, promiſed to be readie, whenſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe the king to ſend for them.

Why the ſhiriffes of all ſhires were ſent for to the court.

Soldiers reteined on all ſides by the king againſt the lords.

The lords being in this meane while aduertiſed of theſe doings, were ſtriken with great heauineſſe, for that not knowing themſelues (as they tooke it) giltie of anie offenſe, the king ſhould thus ſeeke their deſtruction. Herewith the duke of Gloceſter, meaning

to

The duke of Gloceſters proteſtation vpon his oth.

to mitigate the kings diſpleaſure, receiued a ſolemne oth before the biſhop of London, and diuerſe other lords, proteſting by the ſame oth, that he neuer imagined, nor went about any thing, to the kings hinderance, but to his power had alwaies doone what he might to aduance the kings honor, proſperous ſtate and good liking, except onelie that he had giuen no good countenance to the duke of Ireland, whom the king ſo much loued. And ſuerlie for that the ſaid duke had diſhonored his kinſwoman, and the kings alſo, he was firmelie determined to reuenge that iniurie vpon him; and herewith he beſought the biſhop of London to declare what his words were vnto the king.

Stout words of the biſhop of London.

The biſhop comming to the king, made report of the duke of Gloceſters proteſtation, confirmed with his oth, in ſuch wiſe, as the king began ſomewhat to be perſuaded that it was true. But when the earle of Suffolke perceiued that, fearing leaſt the reconciliation of the king and the duke his vncle ſhould turne to his vndoing, he began to ſpeake againſt the duke, till the biſhop bad him hold his peace; and told him, that it nothing became him to ſpeake at all. And when the earle aſked why ſo; Bicauſe (ſaid the biſhop) thou waſt in the laſt parlement condemned for an euill perſon, and one not worthie to liue, but onelie it pleaſeth the king to ſhew thée fauour. The king offended with the biſhops preſumptuous words, commanded him to depart & get him home to his church, who forthwith departed, and declared to the duke of Gloceſter what he had heard and ſéene. Herevpon, the great miſliking that had béene afore time betwixt the king and the lords, was now more vehementlie increaſed, the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, the archbiſhop of Yorke, the lord chiefe iuſtice Robert Triſilian, and others, ſtill procuring, ſtirring, and confirming the kings heauie diſpleaſure againſt the lords.

The lords confer how to preuẽt the perils pretended againſt them.

The earle of Northumberland ſent to apprehend the earle of Arundell.

The duke of Gloceſter conſidering to what concluſion theſe things tended, came ſecretlie to conference with the earles of Arundell, Warwike, and Derbie, who were in like danger, if they prouided not more ſpéedilie for their ſafetie, wherevpon he diſcouered to them the perill wherein they all ſtood in common, ſo that when they weied what was the moſt expedient meane to ſafe gard their liues, they gathered their power togither, determining to talke with the king with their armour vpon their backes, for their more ſuertie, as well concerning his pretenſe to bring them to their deaths, as for the fauour which he bare to thoſe whom they reputed to be traitors, both to him, and to the whole ſtate of the realme, whereby the ſame could not auoid ſpéedie ruine, if remedie were not the ſooner prouided. The king on the other part tooke aduiſe, how he might apprehend theſe lords (whom he tooke to be plaine traitors) ech one apart, before they might gather their ſtrengths about them; and firſt, he ſent the earle of Northumberland and others, vnto the caſtell of Reigate, to take the earle of Arundell, who laie there at that preſent. But howſoeuer it fortuned, the earle of Northumberland came backe, and failed to accompliſh that which he had in commandement.

The earle of Arundell ioineth with the other lords.

After this, a great number were ſent by night, to haue laid hands on him, and to haue brought him to the kings preſence; or in caſe he reſiſted, to haue ſlaine him, if by any meanes they might: but he being warned by a meſſenger, that came to him from the duke of Gloceſter, conueied himſelfe awaie, and with ſuch bands as he had got togither, rode all that night, ſo that in the morning hauing paſſed thirtie miles, not without great trauell, and all ſpéed poſſible, he was in the morning aduanced to Haringie parke, where he found the duke of Gloceſter, and the earle of Warwike, with a great power of men about them. ¶ At the ſame time the king was about to ſet forward towards Canturburie, there to performe ſome vow of pilgrimage, which he had vndertaken to make vnto the ſhrine of Thomas Becket. But a brute was raiſed, and a ſlander (belike) contriued, to bring him in further hatred of his ſubiects, that he meant to ſteale ouer into France, vnto the French king, hauing promiſed to deliuer vp into his hands the towne of Calis, with the caſtell of Guines, and all the fortreſſes which his predeceſſors had poſſeſſed in thoſe parties, either by right from their anceſtors, or by warlike conqueſt.

Councell taken how to deale againſt the lords.

Howbeit this his iournie to Canturburie was ſuddenlie ſtaied, vpon knowledge had of the gathering togither of the lords in Haringie parke, wherewith the king being ſore amazed, called togither ſuch as he truſted, to vnderſtand what their opinion was of the matter; and vnderſtanding that the purpoſed intention of the lords, for which they were ſo aſſembled, was to this end (as they pretended) to bring him vnto a better trade of life, and more profitable order of gouernement, he was ſtreight ſtriken with no ſmall feare, demanding of them their aduiſe, what was beſt for him to doo in ſuch troubleſome ſtate of things. Some were of this mind, that it ſhould be beſt to ſéeke to appeaſe the lords with faire promiſes, aſſuring them, that they ſhould haue their deſires. Other thought it better to aſſemble the kings friends, and ioining them with the Londoners, to go forth and trie the hazard of battell with the lords. Among them that were of this mind, the archbiſhop of Yorke was the chiefeſt. But other that were thought to vnderſtand more of the world than he did, iudged it not wiſedome ſo to doo, conſidering that if the king loſt the field, then ſhould great harme and diſhonor follow; and if the victorie fell to his ſide, yet could he gaine naught, but loſe a great number of his ſubiects.

The lords ſend meſſengers to the king.

This was in Nouember, at what time the king, vpon his returning from Canturburie, meant to haue holden a parlement; but through thoſe ſtirs, neither his iournie to Canturburie, nor the parlement went forward: yet he cauſed order to be giuen, that no citizen of London ſhould ſell to the duke of Gloceſter, the earle of Arundell, or any other of the lords, any armour, bowes, arrowes, or other munition, or matter that might tend to the furniture of warre, vpon a great paine. But notwithſtanding, the lords went forward with their buſineſſe; and before they approched the citie of London, they ſent to the king the archbiſhop of Canturburie, the lord Iohn Louell, the lord Cobham, and the lord Iohn Deuereux, requiring to haue deliuered vnto them ſuch as were about him, that were traitors and ſeducers both of him and the realme, that ſought nothing elſe, but to trouble both poore and rich, and to ſow diſcord and variance betwixt the king and his nobles. And further, they declared that their comming was for the honor and wealth both of the king and realme.

A raſh anſwer of the maior of London.

But the king being ruled altogither by the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, and two or thrée other, was fullie perſuaded that the lords intended to bring him vnder their gouernement, and therfore he was counſelled to make the French king his ſure friend in all vrgent neceſſities. And to be aſſured of him, it was reported, that thoſe councellors aduiſed him to render vp into the French kings hands the towne of Calis, and all that he had elſe in poſſeſſion, on the further ſide of the ſea. Howſoeuer this matter went, truth it is, that the king ſent for the maior of London, requiring to know of him how manie able men they thought the citie could make. The maior anſwered, that he thought verely the citizens might make in time of néed, fiftie thouſand men, within an houres reſpit. Well ſaid the king, then I beſéech you go and proue what will be doone. But when the maior began to attempt the matter, he was anſwered generallie, that they would neuer fight againſt the kings fréends, and defenders of the realme (as indéed they tooke the lords to be) but againſt the enimies of the king and realme they would alwaies be readie to fight, and ſhew what reſiſtance they were able. This anſwer the maior reported to the king.

The Londoners refuſe to fight againſt the lords.

The earle of Northumberlands and the lord Baſſets words to the king in the behalfe of the lords.

At the ſame time there was about the king the lord Rafe Baſſet, who ſaid thus to the king flatlie and plainelie: Sir, I haue béene, and euer will be your true liege man, and my bodie and goods ſhall euer be at your graces commandement, in all iuſtice and trueth. But neuertheleſſe, hereof I aſſure you, that if my hap be to come into the field, I will without faile alwaies follow the true part; and it is not I that will aduenture to haue my head broken for the duke of Irelands pleaſure. Likewiſe, the earle of Northumberland, being at that time in the court, ſpake theſe words to the king; Sir, there is no doubt but theſe lords, who now be in the field, alwaies haue béene your true and faithfull ſubiects, and yet are, not intending to attempt anie thing againſt your ſtate, wealth, & honor. Neuertheleſſe, they féele themſelues ſore moleſted and diſquieted, by the wicked deuiſes of certeine perſons about you, that ſéeke to oppreſſe them. And verelie without faile, all your realme is ſore gréeued therewith, both great and ſmall, as well lords as commons; and I ſée not the contrarie, but they mind to aduenture their liues with the lords that are thus in armes, ſpeciallie in this caſe, which they reckon to be yours and your realmes. And ſir, now yée be in the chéefe place of your realme, and in the place of your coronation, order your ſelfe now therefore wiſelie and like a king. Send to them to come before your preſence in ſome publike place, where they may declare vnto you the intent and purpoſe of their comming, accompanied with ſo great a number of people into theſe parts, and I beléeue it verelie, they will ſhew ſuch reaſons that you will hold them excuſed.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the lord chancellor biſhop of Elie, and other of the biſhops alſo there preſent, affirmed the earles aduiſe to be good. And the king conſidering wiſelie the caſe as it ſtood, began to be appeaſed, and accorded to follow their aduiſe, deſiring the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the biſhop of Elie, to aduertiſe them of his pleſure, which was, that he willed them to come to him to Weſtminſter, on ſundaie then next following; and ſo they repairing to the lords, made report to them of the kings mind and purpoſe. But the duke of Gloceſter, and the other lords, were ſo fullie bent in their opinion, that they ſwore all whole togither, that they would neuer giue ouer their enterpriſe, ſo long as they had a penie to ſpend, in maintenance of their cauſe: and if it chanced anie of them to depart this life, the ouerliuers ſhould perſiſt therein, vntill the time that they had brought their purpoſe to ſome good effect.

The lords take an oth togither, to proſecute their purpoſed enterpriſe.

The lords ſéeke the fauour of the Londoners.

And bicauſe they doubted leaſt the king might ſtirre the citie of London againſt them, they determined firſt to aduertiſe the maior and the citie, how their comming was onlie to reforme certeine great enormities, which they ſet downe in writing, & ſent it to the maior and citizens, beſéeching them of their fauour and counſell therin. This doone, they determined yet to kéepe their daie on the ſundaie following, to appeare before the kings preſence: but this was not got of them, till that the lord chancellor, with diuerſe other noblemen of good credit, had vndertaken vpon their oths for the kings behalfe, that no fraud nor deceipt, no perill nor euill pretenſe ſhould be put in practiſe againſt the lords, wherby they might come to loſſe either of life, limme, or goods, or otherwiſe, through the kings means; but that if he ſhould go about anie ſuch things, the ſaid lord chancellor, and other the mediators ſhould forwarne the lords therof.

Thom. Walſ.

An ambuſh at Mewes.

When therefore the lords were readie, according to couenant, to come vnto Weſtminſter, they were ſecretlie aduertiſed, that there was an ambuſh laid in a place called the Mewes, and ſo they ſtaied, and came not at the appointed houre. Where vpon, when the king demanded, how it fortuned that the lords kept not promiſe, the biſhop of Elie lord Chancellor made him this anſwer; Bicauſe ſaith he, there is an ambuſh of a thouſand armed men or more laid in ſuch a place (and named it) contrarie to couenant, and therefore they neither come nor hold you for faithfull of your word. The king hearing this, was aſtonied, and ſaid with an oth, that he knew of no ſuch thing, & withall ſent to the ſhiriffes of London, commanding them to go to the Mewes, and (vpon ſearch made) if they found anie force of men there aſſembled, to take and kill all ſuch as they could laie hands vpon. But ſir Thomas Triuet, and ſir Nicholas Brambre, knight, that had in déed aſſembled ſuch a number of men, when they vnderſtood what order the king had giuen therein, they ſent their men backe to London.

The lords, after this, receiuing a ſafe conduct from the king, and perceiuing all to be ſafe and cleare, came vnto Weſtminſter with a ſtrong power of men about them. The king, when he heard they were come, apparelled himſelfe in his kinglie robes, and with his ſcepter in hand came into the great hall at Weſtminſter. The lords as ſoone as they had ſight of him, made to him their humble obeiſance, & went forth till they came to the nether ſteps, going vp to the kings ſeat of ſtate, where they made their ſecond obeiſance; & then the king gaue them countenance to come néerer to him, & they ſo did, knéeling downe before him, & forthwith he roſe from his place, and louinglie welcomming them, tooke each of them by the hand, and that doone ſate him downe againe. Herewith the biſhop of Elie lord chancellor, as mouth to the king, declared vnto theſe lords in effect as followeth. My lords (ſaid he) our ſoueraigne lord the king, hearing that you were aſſembled in Haringie parke, in other maner than was conuenient, would not forthwith run vpon you with force to deſtroie you, as he might eaſilie haue doone, if he had not wiſhed your ſafetie; for no man doubteth, but if his pleaſure had béene to gather an armie, he might haue had more people than you could haue got to haue taken part with you againſt him, and ſo happilie much bloud might haue béene ſpilt, which thing certeinlie our ſoueraigne lord the king vtterlie abhorreth: and therefore vſing patience and mildneſſe, he hath rather choſen to talke with you in peaceable wiſe, that he may vnderſtand the cauſe whie yée haue aſſembled ſo great a number of people togither.

The lords come before the kings preſence in Weſtminſter hall.

The lord chancellor ſpeaketh for the king to the lords.

The anſwer of the lords & their gréefes.

The lords for anſwer héere vnto ſaid, that they aſſembled their forces togither, for the profit both of the king and realme, and ſpeciallie to take awaie from him ſuch traitors as remained continuallie about him; to wit, Robert de Véer duke of Ireland, Alexander Neuill archbiſhop of Yorke, Michaell de la Poole erle of Suffolke, Robert Triſilian that falſe iuſtice, and ſir Nicholas Brambre that diſloiall knight of London: for ſo they tearmed them all. And to proue their accuſations true, they threw downe their gloues, proteſting by their oths to proſecute it by battell. Naie (ſaith the king) not ſo, but in the next parlement, which we doo appoint before hand to begin the morow after the Purification of our ladie, both they and you appearing, ſhall receiue (according to law) all that which reaſon ſhall appoint. And now to you

my

The king reproueth the lords doings.

my lords I ſpeake, by what meane or by what reaſon durſt you ſo preſumptuouſlie take vpon you within this my land to riſe thus againſt me? Did you thinke to feare me with ſuch your preſumptuous boldneſſe? Haue I not armed men ſufficient to haue beaten you downe, compaſſed about like a ſort of deere in a toile? If I would: trulie in this behalfe I make no more account of you, than of the vileſt ſkullions in my kitchen.

The king taketh both parties into his protection.

When he had ſaid theſe words, with much more, he lift vp the duke of Gloceſter that all this while knéeled afore him, and commanded the reſidue to riſe alſo. After this, he led them courteouſlie to his chamber, where they ſate and dranke togither. And finallie it was concluded, that they ſhould all méet togither againe at the next parlement, and ech one to receiue according to iuſtice: and in the meane time the king tooke aſwell the duke of Gloceſter, as the duke of Ireland into his protection, ſo that neither part in the meane time ſhould hurt the other, nor preſume to make any gathering of people vntill the time prefixed: and ſo this councell brake vp, and the lords departed. Theſe things yet were doone in abſence of the forenamed perſons whom the lords accuſed, for they durſt not appeare in preſence of the lords; for if they had béene eſpied, they had ſmarted for it, as was thought, without any reſpect that would haue béene had of the kings preſence. And now, for ſomuch as it ſhould be well knowne through all the citie, that theſe lords had nothing offended him with their comming, the king cauſed a proclamation to be made, the tenour whereof was as followeth.

Grafton.

A proclamation clearing the *lords of treaſon.*

RIchard by the grace of God, &c. We will that it be knowne to all our liege people throughout our realme of England, that whereas Thomas duke of Gloceſter, Richard earle of Arundell, & Thomas earle of Warwike, haue béene defamed of treaſon by certeine of our councellors; we as it apperteineth, diligentlie ſearching the ground & cauſe of this defamation, find no ſuch thing in them, nor any ſuſpicion thereof: wherefore we declare the ſame defamation to be falſe, and vntrue, and doo receiue the ſame duke and earles into our ſpeciall protection. And bicauſe theſe accuſers ſhall be notoriouſlie knowne, their names are Alexander archbiſhop of Yorke, ſir Robert Veere duke of Ireland, Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke, Robert Triſilian lord chiefe iuſtice, and ſir Nicholas Brambre of London knight, who in like caſe ſhall remaine till the next parlement, and there ſhall ſtand to their anſwers. But in the meane time we likewiſe take them into our protection, ſtreictlie charging and commanding, that no maner of perſon charge any of the forenamed, either priuilie or apertlie, in word or déed, to hurt them, or cauſe any hurt to be doone to them, but all quarels & demands againſt them to be remitted, vntill the next parlement prefixed.

Now to haue all things in more perfect readineſſe and remembrance when the eſtates ſhould be aſſembled, certeine of the lords were appointed to ſit in the meane time, to deuiſe how they might procéed orderlie in redreſſe of ſuch matters, as ſéemed to require ſome ſpéedie reformation: neither did they thinke it good to depart in ſunder, for feare to be intrapped through the malicious practiſe of their aduerſaries. Which doubt of theirs ſeemed afterwards to ſtand them in ſtéed of great wiſedome. For immediatlie after, their ſaid aduerſaries came to the king, and declared how they were dailie in danger of their liues, by reaſon of the malice which the lords had conceiued againſt them onelie for the kings ſake, and not for any matter of their owne. And whereas the king had promiſed that they ſhould appeare at the next parlement, which was at hand, they told him plainelie that they neither durſt nor would put their bodies in ſuch manifeſt danger. The king conſidering hereof, withdrew himſelfe from the companie of the lords that were aſſigned to ſit at London, to deliberate of matters that were to be talked of and ordered in the parlement; and ſo that councell was deferred and laid aſide: and the kings councellors that ſtood in danger of their liues through the malice of the lords confederated with the duke of Gloceſter, got them from the court, and withdrew ſome into this place and ſome into that.

The earle of Suffolke fléeth ouer to Calis.

Among other the earle of Suffolke fled ouer vnto Calis in ſecret wiſe, by the helpe of a knight called ſir William Hoo, who holpe to conueie him thither. He had changed his apparell, and ſhauen his beard, and ſo diſguiſed, counterfeited himſelfe to be a poulter, and to ſell certeine foule which he had gotten, by which means he was not knowne, till at length comming to the gates of the caſtell (wherof his brother ſir Edmund de la Poole was capteine) he diſcouered to him (ſcarſelie knowing who he was, by reaſon he was ſo diſguiſed) the whole occaſion of his repairing thither, requiring him to kéepe his counſell, and that he might remaine with him in priuie maner for a time, till he might heare more how things went in England, from whence he was thus fled, to auoid the bloudie hands of his enimies, that ſought his life. His brother doubting what might be laid to his charge if he ſhuld conceale this matter from the lord William Beauchampe lord deputie of the towne, ſtreightwaies aduertiſed him thereof, who tooke order that the earle ſhould forthwith be ſent backe againe into England to the king, who receiued him with ſmall thanks to them that brought him ouer, ſo that (as ſome write) his brother being one, was committed to priſon for diſcloſing him. But yet bicauſe it ſhould not ſéeme that he impriſoned him for that cauſe, he was ſhortlie after ſet at libertie, and returned againe to his charge at Calis. The earle was alſo permitted to go whither he would, although the king had vndertaken to preſent him and others at the next parlement to anſwer their offenſes, as the ſame might be laid to their charge.

Grafton.

¶ But here it may be doubted by the vncerteintie of writers, whether the earle of Suffolke thus fled ouer to Calis, before the iournie at Ratcote bridge, or after. But whether it chanced either after or before, it is certeine that ſince the time that the lords had forced the king to promiſe to exhibit him and others at the next parlement to abide their trials, he durſt not openlie remaine in the court, but taking leaue of the king departed from him. Wherevpon the king being out of quiet for the abſence of him and other his beſt beloued councellors, whom he ſo much eſtéemed, and namelie of the duke of Ireland, and the ſaid earle of Suffolke, he appointed one Thomas Molineux conſtable of the caſtell of Cheſter, a man of high valiantie, and great power in the parties of Cheſhire and Lancaſhire, to raiſe an armie of men, with the aſſiſtance of the ſhiriffe of Cheſhire, to whom his commiſſion

A commiſſion to the ſhiriffe of Cheſhire to ſafe conduct the duke of Ireland to the kings preſence.

miſſion of authoritie in that behalfe, vnder the great ſeale was directed, to the end that they might conueie the duke of Ireland in all ſafetie vnto the kings preſence.

The ſhiriffe hauing receiued this commiſſion, togither with the foreſaid Thomas Molineux raiſed a power, and ſuch as refuſed to ſerue, in reſpect of ſuch góod will as they bare to the lords, he committed to priſon, commanding the gailors to kéepe them ſtreict in irons with bread and water till his returne. Moreouer, the king ſent to ſir Raſe Vernon, & ſir Richard Ratcliffe, willing them to aſſiſt the other. And ſo thus they ſet forward with the number of fiue thouſand men. When the lords vnderſtood that the duke of Ireland was marching towards London, with ſuch a power of men, meaning to ioine with the Londoners, and ſo to make as it had béene an inuincible armie, they beſtirred themſelues, and fell in hand to arme their men, and to exhort one another, that now they ſhould not be negligent in their owne defenſe, but make haſt for the diſpatching of thoſe that craftilie had gone about to conſpire their deaths. And ſo theſe lords, to wit, the duke of Gloceſter, the earles of Derbie, Arundell, Warwike, and Notingham, aſſembled their powers out of all quarters, to incounter with the duke of Ireland; and when they had got their companies togither, they forelaied all the waies by which he was thought to come.

The lords ſéeke to ſtop the paſſage of the duke of Ireland.

But the duke of Ireland hauing with him Molineux, Vernon, and Ratcliffe, rode forward in ſtatelie and glorious araie, with an armie (as ye haue heard) of fiue thouſand men, ſuppoſing that none durſt come forth to withſtand him. Neuertheleſſe when he came to Ratcote bridge, not paſt foure miles from Cheping Norton (which bridge if he could haue paſſed, he had béene out of the danger of all enimies) he ſuddenlie eſpied where the armie of the lords laie, not far diſtant from him, readie in the midſt of a vallie to abide his comming. Some of the earle of Derbies companie had broken the bridge, & ſo ſtopped his paſſage. He therefore perceiuing his enimies intention, ſtaied, and cauſed the kings banner to be ſpred, and began to ſet a góod countenance of the matter, and to exhort his people to ſhew themſelues valiant; and herewith cauſed the trumpets to ſound. But when it appeared that as ſome were readie to fight in his quarell, ſo there were other that quite forſooke him, and ſaid flatlie they would not fight againſt ſo manie noble men, in ſo vniuſt a cauſe: he being thereof aduertiſed, began to wax faint-harted, and to prepare himſelfe to eſcape by flight; and declaring no leſſe openlie vnto them, ſaid: Before we come to ioine, I will ſéeke to withdraw my ſelfe out of the waie, and ſaue my ſelfe if I can; for me they onlie ſéeke, againſt you they haue no quarell, ſo that I being ſhifted awaie, you ſhall eaſilie be preſerued. Herewith one of the knights ſaid to him; You haue brought vs out of our countrie, you haue procured vs to giue you our promiſe, you haue cauſed vs to take this iournie in hand: here therefore are we readie to fight & win the victorie with you, if our hap be ſuch; or if fortune will not ſo fauour vs, we are readie to ſpend our liues with you. No ſaid he, ye ſhall not ſo doo, and forthwith ſtriking his horſſe with ſpurs, he fled from them for feare which had ſet wings on his héeles, as one ſaith:

The duke of Ireland his ſouldiers reuolt frõ him.

The duke of Ireland flieth frõ his armie.

———*pedibus timor addidit alas.*

Virg. Aeneid. 9.

Herevpon manie that were with him, curſing this his demeanour, prepared to yéeld themſelues to the lords. But Thomas Molineux determined to fight it out, ſith the lords were not yet all come togither to that place, but onelie the earle of Derbie and certeine others. Neuertheleſſe, after he had fought a while, and perceiued it would not auaile him to tarie longer, as one deſpairing of the victorie, betooke him likewiſe to flight, as the duke of Ireland had led him the waie: and plunging into the riuer, which was at hand, it chanced that ſir Thomas Mortimer being preſent amongſt other at the ſame place, willed him to come out of the water vnto him; for if he would not, he threatned to ſhoot him through with arrowes in the riuer where he ſtood. If I come (ſaid Molineux) will ye ſaue my life? I will make thée no ſuch promiſe (ſaid ſir Thomas Mortimer) but notwithſtanding, either come vp, or thou ſhalt preſentlie die for it. Well then (ſaid Molineux) if there be no other remedie, ſuffer me to come vp, and let me trie with hand-blowes, either with you or ſome other, and ſo die like a man. But as he came vp, the knight caught him by the helmet, plucked it off his head, & ſtreightwaies drawing forth his dagger, ſtroke him into the braines, and ſo diſpatched him. This was the end of ſir Thomas Molineux, which through his bold and raſh aduenture, in a moſt dangerous and deſperat caſe, he pulled vpon himſelfe; and might as well haue auoided as incurred, if the ſame prouident care of ſafetie had taken him in the head that mooued the duke of Ireland to take flight for his indemnitie: wherein he ſéemed to remember that there is no ſafe attempting of any perilous enterpriſe without dread of danger: for he that can tell when a thing is to be feared, can tell in like ſort when it is to be vndertaken; as the wiſeman verie ſententiouſlie ſaith:

Animus vereri qui ſcit, ſcit tutò aggredi.

Thomas Molineux ſlaine.

In the meane time, the duke of Ireland (as ye haue heard) ſéeking to eſcape by flight, came to the riuers ſide; but finding the bridge broken, he galoped till he found an other bridge, where he found a number of archers readie to ſtop his paſſage. When he ſaw that he was thus incloſed with his enimies on the one ſide, and the riuer of Thames on the other, he thought to put all in aduenture; and caſting awaie his gantlets, and ſword (to be the more nimble) gaue his horſſe the ſpurres, and lept into the riuer; but miſſing the foord, and not able to land with his horſſe on the further ſide, he forſooke him, and ſwimming ouer ſo well as he might, got to the banke, and ſo eſcaped. It was now night, and therefore his enimies hauing no knowledge of the countrie, followed him not; but his horſſe, helmet, curaſſes, gantlets, and ſword being found, it was thought verelie that he had béene drowned. The next newes heard of him, was that he had paſſed the ſeas, and was got into Holland, where he had no great fréendlie welcome, by reaſon that Albert duke of Bauiere, who was lord of that countrie, bare ſuch góod will to his cooſins of England, the dukes of Lancaſter, Yorke, and Gloceſter, that he commanded this duke of Ireland to depart forth of his countrie, as immediatlie therevpon he did, from thence reſorting to the biſhoprike of Vtreict, and after into other countries, till finallie he ended the courſe of his life, as after in place conuenient ſhall appeare.

The duke of Ireland flieth into Holland.

But now to returne to the armies where we left them. After the duke was fled, and Thomas Molineux ſlaine (as before ye haue heard) the armie of the lords ſet vpon the people that were come with the duke of Ireland (as hath béene ſaid) forth of Cheſhire, Lancaſhire, and Wales; and taking them as enimies, ſpoiled them of their horſſe, armor, bowes and arrowes. The knights and eſquiers had their armor and horſſes againe to them reſtored, and were reteined with the lords to ſerue them: but the commons without either armor or weapon were ſent home, and had no other harme done vnto them. The duke of Irelands cariage being taken, letters were found in his trunkes or males, which the king had written to him, exhorting him with all ſpéed to repaire vnto London, with what power he might

Letters foũd in the duke of Irelands trunks.

Burford.

make, and there he ſhould find him readie to liue and die with him. Such was the concluſion of this battell, which happened neere vnto Burford, faſt by Bablake, to the great reioiſing of manie through the realme, for that the enimies thereof (as they tooke the matter) were thus ouerthrowne. But yet the eſcaping awaie of the duke of Ireland did ſomewhat mitigate their ioy, for what was become of him it was vncerteine. After this the duke of Gloceſter, and the other lords went to Oxford, being ſorie that their fortune was not to haue taken the duke of Ireland.

Tho. Walſ.

A brute raiſed that king Richard meant to yeeld vp Calis into the French kings hands.

At the ſame time, or rather before, the archbiſhop of Yorke, and the lord chiefe iuſtice ſir Robert Triſilian, fearing the indignation of the lords, withdrew out of the waie, and durſt not be ſeene. But now the lords, who after the iournie at Radcote bridge, were come (as ye haue heard) to Oxford; we find that the ſame time a brute was raiſed (whether of truth or not, we haue neither to affirme nor denie) how there was a meſſenger taken being ſent from the French king with letters, in which was conteined a licence of ſafe conduct, for the king of England, the duke of Ireland, and others, to come to Bullongne, with a certeine number limited, where they ſhould find the French king come downe thither readie to receiue them, to the end that for a certeine ſumme of monie, which the French king ſhould giue to the king of England, the towne of Calis, and all the fortreſſes in thoſe parts, which were in the Engliſhmens hands, ſhould be deliuered to the Frenchmen; and further that the king of England ſhould doo his homage to the French king, for the lands which he held in Gaſcoigne, and ſo to haue acknowledged himſelfe his liege man. The lords (as was reported) hauing got theſe letters, and taken counſell togither how to proceed in their buſineſſe, to bring the ſame to good end, remoued from Oxford, and on Chriſtmas euen they came to S. Albons, and there ſtaied that daie and the next.

The lords come to London with a great armie.

K. Richard keepeth his Chriſtmas in the Tower of London.

The lords ſend to the Maior and citizens of London to vnderſtand their meaning.

The Londoners in great perplexitie which part to take.

On ſaint Stephans daie they tooke their waie to London with an armie of fortie thouſand men, as ſome write; & comming into the fields beſides Clerkenwell, muſtered their men, being diuided in three ſeuerall battels verie well appointed with armor and weapon, that it was a beautifull ſight to behold them. The king kept his Chriſtmas, not at Weſtminſter, but in the Tower; not douting but there to be defended what chance ſoeuer ſhould happen. The lords miſtruſting the Londoners, lodged them with their people in the ſuburbs. They ſent yet two knights, and two eſquiers, vnto the Maior and Aldermen of the citie, to vnderſtand whether they were minded to take part with them, or with the duke of Ireland, and his adherents, traitors (as they tearmed them) both to the king and the realme. The Londoners were now in no ſmall feare and perplexitie, not knowing well what waie was beſt for them to take, weieng diuers perils; as firſt the kings diſpleaſure, if they opened their gates vnto the lords; and if they ſhut them foorth, they feared the indignation and wrath of the commons that were come thither with the lords, and were readie to breake downe their wals and gates, if they were neuer ſo little prouoked. Beſides this, they ſtood moſt in doubt, leaſt if the wealthieſt citizens ſhould not giue their conſent to receiue the lords into the citie, the meaner ſort, and ſuch as wiſhed rather to ſee ſome hurlie burlie than to continue in peace, would ſeeke by force to ſet open the gates, and make waie for the lords and their people to enter, that they might make hauocke, and ſpoile whatſoeuer might be found of value in the rich mens houſes.

The Londoners incline to the lords.

The lords enter into London.

The kings words touching the lords proceedings.

Theſe doubts with all the circumſtances being well weied and conſidered, the Maior Nicholas Exton, and certeine of the chiefe men in the citie, went foorth to the lords, and offered them to lodge in the citie at their pleaſure, with all things neceſſarie as they ſhould deuiſe. The Maior cauſed alſo wine, ale, bread, and cheeſe, to be diſtributed among the armie, ſo as ech one had part, which courteſie turned greatlie afterwards to the commoditie of the citie. The lords vpon ſearch made, perceiuing that there was no guile meant by laieng of men in ambuſhes within the citie to intrappe them, or otherwiſe, but that all was ſure inough and cleare without anie ſuch euill meaning, they entred the citie and there abode quietlie. Then went the archbiſhop of Canturburie and others betwixt the king and the lords to make peace betwixt them. But the king at the firſt ſeemed little to eſteeme the matter, ſaieng to the archbiſhop; Well let them lie here with their great multituds of people hardlie till they haue ſpent all they haue, and then I truſt they will returne poore inough and needie, and then I doubt not but I ſhall talke with them, and vſe the matter ſo as iuſtice maie require.

The lords refuſe to come into yͤ Tower but after ſearch made they come thither to the kings preſence.

The lords being informed hereof, were maruellouſlie mooued, and ſware that they would not depart till they had ſpoken with him face to face, and foorthwith they ſent part of their companies to watch the Thames, for feare the king ſhould ſcape their hands, and then laugh them to ſcorne. When the king then perceiued himſelfe to be incloſed on ech ſide, he talked eftſoones with the archbiſhop and his aſſociats that were meſſengers betwixt him and the lords, willing them to declare to the lords that he would be contented to treat with them in reaſonable order; wherevpon they required that he ſhould on the morow next inſuing come vnto Weſtminſter, where he ſhould vnderſtand their demands. When the king heard that, he refuſed to come vnto Weſtminſter, but willed that they ſhould come to him there in the Tower. The lords ſent him word againe, that the Tower was a place to be ſuſpected, for that they might there be ſurpriſed by ſome guilefull practiſe deuiſed to intrap them. The king herevnto made anſwer, that they might ſend ſome two hundred men, or ſo manie as they ſhould thinke good, to make a through ſearch, whether they needed to feare anie ſuch thing; and this accordinglie was doone: they hauing the keies of the gates and of all the ſtrong chambers, turrets, and places within the Tower ſent vnto them.

R. Grafton.

Thom. Walſ.

The lords open their greefes to the king.

On the fridaie, the duke of Gloceſter, the earls of Derbie, and Notingham, came to the king, where he was ſet in a pauillion richlie arraied; and after their humble ſalutations done, and ſome talke had betwixt them, they went at the kings requeſt with him into his chamber, where they recited vnto him the conſpiracie of their aduerſaries, through which they had beene indicted. They alſo ſhewed forth the letters which he had ſent to the duke of Ireland, to leauie an armie vnto their deſtruction. Likewiſe the letters, which the French king had written to him, conteining a ſafe conduct for him to come into France, there to confirme things to the diminiſhing of his honor, to the decaie of his power, & loſſe of his fame. ¶ During the time of this communication alſo, the earle of Derbie deſired the king to behold the people that were aſſembled in ſight before the Tower, for the preſeruation of him and his realme: which he did, and maruelling to ſee ſuch a goodlie armie and ſtrength, as he declared to them no leſſe, the duke of Gloceſter ſaid vnto him; Sir this is not the tenth part of your willing ſubiects that haue riſen to deſtroie thoſe falſe traitors, that haue miſled you with their wicked and naughtie counſell.

The king being brought to his wits end, aſwell with thoſe things which the lords had charged him with, as otherwiſe with the ſight of that great multitude of people, ſeemed greatlie amazed. Wherevpon the lords, vnder condition that the next daie he ſhould come to Weſtminſter to heare more of their minds, and to conclude further for the behoofe of the common-wealth of the realme, began to take leaue of him, meaning ſo to depart: but the king deſired them to tarrie all night with him and the queene. The duke thinking to make all ſure, made excuſe that he durſt not be abſent from all thoſe folks, which they had brought with them, for feare that ſome diſorder might ariſe, either in the armie, or in the citie: yet at the kings inſtance, the earles of Notingham and Derbie taried there all night. The king before his going to bed, was quite turned concerning his determination and promiſe made to go the next daie to Weſtminſter, through ſuch whiſpering tales as was put into his eares, by ſome that were about him, telling him that it ſtood neither with his ſafetie, nor honour, ſo lightlie to agree to depart from the tower, vnto ſuch place as the lords had thus appointed him, to ſerue more for their purpoſe than for ſuertie of his perſon.

R.Grafton.

Tho. Walſing.
The incõſtancie of the king

When the lords therefore vnderſtood that he would not keepe promiſe with them, they were greatlie offended, inſomuch as they ſent him flat word, that if he would not come (according to promiſe) they would ſuerlie choſe another king, that would and ought to obeie the faithfull counſell of his lords. The king with this meſſage being touched to the quicke, to ſatiſfie their minds, and to auoid further perill, remooued the next morning vnto Weſtminſter, where the lords comming before his preſence, after a little other talke, they declared vnto him, that aſwell in reſpect of his owne honour, as the commoditie ⁊ wealth of his kingdome, it was behouefull, that ſuch traitors, and moſt wicked ⁊ ſlanderous perſons, as were nothing profitable, but hurtfull to him, and his louing ſubiects, ſhould be remooued out of his court; and that other that both could and would ſerue him more honorablie and faithfullie were placed in their roomes. The king, although ſore againſt his mind, when he ſaw how the lords were bent, and that he wanted power to withſtand their pleaſures, condeſcended to doo what they would haue him.

The K. is cõpelled to condeſcend to the lords requeſt.

So when he had granted thereto, they iudged that Alexander Neuill archbiſhop of Yorke, John Fourdham biſhop of Durham lord treſuror, Thomas Ruſhoke a frier of the order of the preachers, biſhop of Chicheſter, and confeſſor to the king, were worthie to be auoided the court. But the archbiſhop of Yorke, and the biſhop of Chicheſter would abide no reckonings, but got them out of the waie, and fled, it was not knowne whither. The lords did expell out of the court the lord Zouch of Haringworth, the lord Burnell, the lord Beaumont, Albrey de Veer, Baldwin de Bereford, Richard Aderburie, John Worth, Thomas Clifford, and John Louell knights. Theſe were diſmiſſed out of the court, and remooued from the king, but not diſcharged, for they were conſtreined to put in ſuerties to appeare at the next parlement. There were alſo certeine ladies expelled the court, as thoſe that were thought to doo much harme about the K. to wit, the ladie Poinings, wife to John Worth of Powen, and the ladie Moulinge, with others, which alſo found ſuerties to anſwer at the next parlement, to all ſuch things as might be obiected againſt them. Moreouer there were arreſted and committed to ſeuerall priſons, ſir Simon Burlie, William Elmham, John Beauchampe of Holt ſteward of the kings houſe, ſir John Saliſburie, ſir Thomas Triuet, ſir James Barneis, ſir Nicholas Dagworth, and ſir Nicholas Brambre knights. Alſo Richard Clifford, John Lincolne, Richard Mitford the kings chapleins, and Nicholas Sclake deane of the kings chappell, whoſe word might too much in the court. There was alſo apprehended John Blake an apprentiſe of the law: all which perſons were kept in ſtreict ward till the next parlement, in which they were appointed to ſtand vnto their triall and anſwers.

Certeine perſons put out of the court.

Certeine ladies expelled the court.

Shortlie after, to wit, the morrow after the Purification of our ladie, the parlement began, the which was named the parlement that wrought wonders. The king would gladlie haue proroged the time of this parlement, if by anie meanes he might. The lords came to the ſame parlement, with a ſufficient armie for their owne ſafeties. On the firſt day of this parlement, were arreſted as they ſat in their places, all the iuſtices (except ſir William Skipworth) as ſir Roger Fulthrop, ſir Robert Belknap, ſir John Carie, ſir John Holt, ſir William Brooke, and John Alocton the kings ſergeant at law, all which were ſent to the tower, and there kept in ſeuerall places. The cauſe whie they were thus apprehended, was for that, where in the laſt parlement, diuerſe lords were made gouernours of the realme, both by the aſſent of the ſame parlement, and alſo by the aduiſe and counſell of all the iuſtices then being, and indentures tripartite thereof made, of the which one part remained with the king, an other with the lords ſo choſen to gouerne the realme, and the third part with the iuſtices: and yet notwithſtanding, the ſaid iuſtices at a councell holden at Notingham (as yee haue heard before) did go contrarie to that agreement. Wherevpon it was now determined, that they ſhould make anſwer to their doings.

The parlemẽt that wrought wonders.

R.Grafton.
Thom Walſin.
R.Grafton.

The iuſtices arreſted ⁊ ſent to the tower.

Why the iuſtices were apprehended.

Moreouer, in the beginning of this parlement, were openlie called Robert Veer duke of Ireland, Alexander Neuill archbiſhop of Yorke, Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke, ſir Robert Triſilian lord cheefe iuſtice of England, to anſwer Thomas of Woodſtoke duke of Gloceſter, Richard earle of Arundell, Henrie earle of Derbie, and Thomas earle of Notingham, vpon certeine articles of high treaſon, which theſe lords did charge them with. And forſomuch as none of theſe appeared, it was ordeined by the whole aſſent of the parlement, that they ſhould be baniſhed for euer, and their lands and goods mooueable and vnmooueable to be forfeit and ſeized into the kings hands, their lands intailed onelie excepted. Shortlie after was the lord cheefe iuſtice, Robert Triſilian found in an apothecaries houſe at Weſtminſter, lurking there, to vnderſtand by ſpies dailie what was doone in the parlement: he was deſcried by one of his owne men, and ſo taken and brought to the duke of Gloceſter, who cauſed him forthwith the ſame daie to be had to the tower, and from thence drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged.

The duke of Ireland ⁊ his aſſociats attainted of treſon by this parlement.

Triſilian cheefe iuſtice deſcried by his owne man is executed at Tiburne.

On the morrow after, ſir Nicholas Brambre, that ſometime had beene maior of London, was brought forth to iudgement and condemned, although he had manie freends that made ſute to ſaue his life. This man had doone manie oppreſſions within the citie of London (as was reported.) In his maioraltie, he cauſed great ⁊ monſtruous ſtocks to be made to impriſon men therein, and alſo a common axe to ſtrike off the heads of them which ſhould reſiſt his will and pleaſure, for he was ſo highlie in the kings fauour, that he might doo what he would. And the report went, that he had cauſed eight thouſand or more to be indicted, which before had taken part with the lords, intending to haue put them all to death, if God had not ſhortened his daies. Manie other euill fauoured reports went abroad of him, as that he meant to haue changed the name of London, and to haue named it little Troie, of which citie baptiſed with that new name, he purpoſed to be intituled duke. But theſe were forged rumors deuiſed and ſpred abroad

Sir Nicholas Brambre executed with an axe of his owne deuiſe.

Ouid. li. 1. de art.

in thoſe daies, as manie other were, partlie by the vaine imagination of the people, and partlie of purpoſe, to bring thoſe whome the king fauoured further out of the peoples liking. But now touching ſir Nicholas Brambre: in the end being thus called to anſwer his tranſgreſſions, he was found giltie, and had iudgement, neither to be hanged, nor drawne, but to be beheaded with his owne axe which before he had deuiſed: ſeruing him heerein as Phalaris the tyrant ſometime ſerued Perillus, the inuentor of that exquiſite torment of the braſen bull, wherein the offendor being put (and the counterfet beaſt by force of fier made glowing hot) hauing his toong firſt cut out, through extreamitie of paine made a bellowing alwaies as he cried, as if it had béene the verie noiſe of a naturall bull. Of which ſtrange torment Perillus himſelfe firſt taſted, ſuffering death by an engine of his owne deuiſing, which he thought ſhould haue purchaſed him a good liuing, whereof the poet ſaith:

Vt Phalaris tauro violentus membra Perilli
Torruit, infelix imbuit autor opus.

Diuerſe that ſtood againſt the lords executed.

The duke of Gloceſter a ſeuere man.

Sir Simon Burlie.

After this, ſir Iohn Saliſburie, & ſir Iames Berneis, both knights and luſtie yoong men, were by iudgement of parlement drawne and hanged. Then folowed Iohn Beauchampe of the Holt, lord ſteward of the kings houſe, that had ſerued king Edward the third, and his ſonne Lionell duke of Clarence: who likewiſe by decrée of this parlement was drawne and hanged. Alſo Iohn Blake eſquier, who in an infortunate houre ſtood againſt the lords in the councell at Notingham, was now drawne and hanged, and ſo was one Thomas Vſke. Laſt of all (or as ſome hold, firſt of all) was ſir Simon Burlie beheaded, although the earle of Derbie did what he could to ſaue his life, by reaſon whereof, great diſſention roſe betwixt the ſaid earle, and the duke of Gloceſter: for the duke being a ſore and a right ſeuere man, might not by any meanes be remooued from his opinion and purpoſe, if he once reſolued vpon any matter. Some ſpite he bare (as was thought) towards the ſaid ſir Simon Burlie, both as well for the faithfull fréendſhip, which was growne betwixt the duke of Ireland, and the ſaid ſir Simon, as alſo for that he looked to haue had ſuch offices and roomes which ſir Simon inioied, by the kings gratious fauour and grants thereof to him made, as the Wardenſhip of the cinque ports, and conſtableſhip of the caſtell of Douer, and the office of high chamberleine.

* Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton, fol. 191.

¶ But now, bicauſe of all theſe which were condemned and executed at this parlement, in our common chronicles there is leaſt written; and in Froiſſard, and diuerſe priuate pamphlets I haue read moſt of this ſir Simon, I haue thought good to ſet downe ſome part of his life, ſo largelie as this volume may well beare, although a great deale more briefe than where I found it. This ſir Simon was the ſon of ſir Iohn Burlie knight of the garter, and brought vp in his youth vnder his kinſman doctor Walter Burlie, who (as in the latter end of king Edward the third you haue heard) was one of the chiefe that had charge in the bringing vp of the Blacke prince, eldeſt ſonne to the ſaid king Edward. By this occaſion he grew into ſuch fauour with the prince, that afterwards the ſaid prince committed vnto him the gouernance of his ſonne Richard of Burdeaux, who as he was of a gentle and courteous nature, began then to conceiue ſo great loue and liking towards him, that when he came to the crowne and was king, he aduanced him highlie to great honours and promotions, in ſomuch that at one time & other he was made knight of the garter, conſtable of Douer, lord Warden of the cinque ports, lord chamberleine, * earle of Huntington, and alſo one of the priuie councell to the king.

Neither was there any thing doone concerning the affaires apperteining vnto the ſtate without his counſell, appointment, and direction, wherein he ſo much fauoured and leaned to the partie of the duke of Ireland, that he was ſore enuied, and greatlie hated of diuerſe of the reſt of the nobilitie, ſpeciallie of the kings vncle the duke of Gloceſter, who vpon malice that he bare to the man, not ſo much for his owne demeanour, as for his alies, and peraduenture for deſire of his roomes, more than of his life, cauſed him to be accuſed of diuerſe offenſes againſt the crowne, realme, and church; namelie, for that he had (as they ſurmized againſt him) ſpoiled and waſted the kings treaſure, and withholden the paie of the ſouldiers and men of warre, wherevpon he was arreſted, called to account, & hauing no clerke allowed him to make vp the ſame, was found in arrerages 250000 franks. And although for one part thereof he demanded allowance of monie, which he had defraied and laid out in Almaine, and in Boheme, about the kings mariage, and for the reſidue deſired daies of paiment, yet he could obteine neither. Further, he was accuſed that the duke of Ireland and he had gathered great ſummes of monie, conueied the ſame to Douer, and from thence ſent it in the night by ſea into Germanie.

Froiſſard.

Thom. Walſ.

Laſtlie, the archbiſhop (forſooth) and the moonks of Canturburie charged him that he ſought the means to remooue the ſhrine of the archbiſhop Thomas, otherwiſe called Thomas Becket, from Canturburie vnto Douer, vnder a colour of feare, leaſt the Frenchmen being aſſembled in Flanders to inuade England, ſhould land in Kent and take Canturburie, and ſpoile it, where indéed (as they ſurmized againſt him) he meant to ſend it ouer the ſeas vnto the king of Boheme. Herevpon he was firſt committed to the tower, and before the king or his other friends could procure his deliuerance, he was without law or iuſtice, before any of the reſidue (as ſome hold) brought forth and beheaded on the tower hill, by commandement of the duke of Gloceſter, and other of his faction, quite contrarie to the kings will or knowledge, in ſomuch that when he vnderſtood it, he ſpake manie ſore words againſt the duke, affirming that he was a wicked man, and worthie to be kept ſhorter, ſith vnder a colour of dooing iuſtice, he went about to deſtroie euerie good and honeſt man. The king was alſo offended with the duke of Yorke, for his brothers preſumptuous doings, though the ſaid duke of Yorke being verelie a man of a gentle nature, wiſhed that the ſtate of the common-wealth might haue béene redreſſed without loſſe of any mans life, or other cruell dealing: but the duke of Gloceſter, and diuerſe other of the nobilitie, the leſſe that they paſſed for the kings threatening ſpeach, ſo much more were they readie to puniſh all thoſe whom they tooke to be their enimies. Indéed the ſaid ſir Simon Burlie was thought to beare himſelfe more loftie, by reaſon of the kings fauour, than was requiſite, which procured him enuie of them, that could not abide others to be in any condition their equals in authoritie.

It ſhould appeare by Froiſſard, that he was firſt of all, in the beginning of theſe ſtirs betwixt the king and the lords, committed to the tower, and notwithſtanding all the ſhift that either the king, or the duke of Ireland, or anie other of his fréends could make for him, by the duke of Gloceſters commandement he was cruellie beheaded, ſo greatlie to the offenſe of the king, and thoſe that were his truſtie councellors, that therevpon the king cauſed the duke of Ireland the ſooner to aſſemble an armie againſt the ſaid duke and his complices, therby to reſtraine their preſumptuous procéedings. But whether he was thus at the firſt or laſt executed, to pleaſe the king the better, now at this parlement, amongſt others that were condemned in the ſame: his lands were giuen to the king, a great part whereof he afterwards diſpoſed to diuerſe men as he thought expedient. But yet in the parlement holden in the one and twentith yeare of this kings reigne, the act of atteindor of the ſaid ſir Simon was repealed: and at an other parlement holden in the ſecond yeare of king Henrie the fourth, all his lands which then remained vngranted and vnſold, were reſtored to ſir Iohn Burlie knight, ſonne and heire of ſir Roger Burlie, brother to the ſaid Simon, of whom lineallie is deſcended Thomas Eins eſquier, now ſecretarie to the queenes maieſties councell in the north parts. And thus far touching ſir Simon Burlie, of whom manie reports went of his diſloiall dealings towards the ſtate, as partlie ye haue heard, but how trulie the lord knoweth. Among other ſlanderous tales that were ſpred abroad of him, one was that he conſented to the deliuering of Douer caſtell by the kings appointment to the Frenchmen for monie. But as this was a thing not like to be true, ſo (no doubt) manie things that the perſons aforeſaid, which were executed, had béene charged with, at the leaſt by common report among the people, were nothing true at all; although happilie the ſubſtance of thoſe things, for which they died, might be true in ſome reſpect.

Grafton.

The iuſtices condemned to perpetuall exile.

Sir William Elmham that was charged alſo for withdrawing of the ſoldiers wages, diſcharged himſelfe therof, and of all other things that might be laid to his charge. As touching the iuſtices, they were all condemned to death by the parlement, but ſuch meanes was made for them vnto the quéene, that ſhe obteined pardon for their liues. But they forfeited their lands and goods, and were appointed to remaine in perpetuall exile, with a certeine portion of monie to them aſſigned for their dailie ſuſtentation: the names of which iuſtices ſo condemned to exile were theſe, Robert Belknap, Iohn Holt, Iohn Craie, Roger Fulthorpe, William Burgh, and Iohn Lokton. Finallie, in this parlement was an oth required and obteined of the king, that he ſhould ſtand vnto and abide ſuch rule and order as the lords ſhould take: and this oth was not required onelie of the king, but alſo of all the inhabitants of the realme. ¶ In theſe troubles was the realme of England in theſe daies, and the king brought into that caſe, that he ruled not, but was ruled by his vncles, and other to them aſſociat.

The king taketh an oth to performe the lords orders.

The earle of Arundell ſent to the ſea with a great nauie, in aid of the duke of Britaine.

In the latter end of this eleuenth yeare was the earle of Arundell ſent to the ſea with a great nauie of ſhips and men of warre. There went with him in this iournie, of noble men, the earles of Notingham & Deuonſhire, ſir Thomas Percie, the lord Clifford, the lord Camois, ſir William Elmham, ſir Thomas Morteur, ſir Iohn Daubreticourt, ſir William Shellie, ſir Iohn Warwike or Berwike, ſir Stephan de Liberie, ſir Robert Sere, ſir Peter Montberie, ſir Lewes Clanbow, ſir Thomas Coque or Cooke, ſir William Paulie or Paulet, & diuerſe others. There were a thouſand men of armes, and thrée thouſand archers. The purpoſe for which they were ſent, was to haue aided the duke of Britaine (if he would haue receiued them) being then eftſoones run into the French kings diſpleaſure, for the impriſoning of the lord Cliſſon conſtable of France.

Peraduenture Malnere, it may be Mongomerie.

Anno Reg. 12.

But after that (contrarie to expectation) the duke of Britaine was come to an agréement with the French king, the earle of Arundell drew with his nauie alongſt the coaſts of Poictou, and Xaintonge, till at length he arriued in the hauen that goeth vp to Rochell, and landed with his men at Marrant, foure leagues from Rochell, and began to pilfer, ſpoile, and fetch booties abroad in the countrie. The Frenchmen within Rochell iſſued foorth to ſkirmiſh with the Engliſhmen, but they were eaſilie put to flight, and folowed euen to the bariers of the gates of Rochell. ¶ Perot le Bernois a capteine of Gaſcoigne, that made warre for the king of England in Limoſin, and lay in the fortreſſe of Galuſet, came foorth the ſame time, and made a roade into Berrie with foure hundred ſpears. The earle of Arundell, after he had laine at Marrant fiftéene daies, returned to his ſhips, and finallie came backe into England, and Perot le Bernois likewiſe returned to his fortreſſe. ¶ About the ſame time was a truce taken betwixt the parties Engliſh and French on the marches of Aquitaine, to begin the firſt daie of Auguſt, and to indure till the firſt of Maie next inſuing.

The earle of Arundell returneth out of France.

¶ In this yeare 1388, in Lent, the Scots entred into the weſterne borders, & what with killing as alſo with burning they did much miſchiefe. Moreouer they ſhewed extreme crueltie againſt young children and ſucklings, againſt women bigge with child and in trauell, againſt weake and wéeriſh men and crooked with age, in the countrie of Gildiſland, within the lordſhip of the lord Dacres, gathering them togither into houſes, and ſhutting them vp, and locking the doores, they burned without mercie or pitie to the number (as it was ſaid) of two hundred and aboue.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leceiſter abbeie.

O Scotiſh crueltie and more than barbarous bloudthirſtineſſe.

This yeare in Auguſt, the Scots inuaded the countrie of Northumberland, and at Otterburne ouerthrew a power of Engliſhmen, which the earle of Northumberland and his ſonnes had leauied againſt them. In this battell the earle Dowglas chiefe of that armie of Scots was ſlaine, and the lord Henrie Percie, and his brother ſir Ralfe, ſonnes to the ſaid earle of Northumberland, were taken priſoners, as in the Scotiſh chronicles ye may read more at large. After the feaſt of the natiuitie of our ladie, a parlement was holden at Cambridge, in the which diuerſe ſtatutes were ordeined; as For the limiting of ſeruants wages; For puniſhment of vagarant perſons; For the inhibiting of certeine perſons to weare weapons; For the debarring of vnlawfull games; For maintenance of ſhooting in the long bow; For remouing of the ſtaple of wolles from Middleburgh vnto Calis; For labourers not to be receiued, but where they are inhabiting, except with licence vnder ſeale of the hundred where they dwell. There was alſo an act made, that none ſhould go foorth of the realme, to purchaſe anie benefice with cure or without cure, except by licence obteined of the king; and if they did contrarie herevnto, they were to be excluded out of the kings protection. There was granted to the king in this parlement, a tenth to be leuied of the clergie, and a fiftéenth of the laitie. Moreouer, during the time of this parlement, as ſir Thomas Triuet was riding towards Barnewell with the king, where the king lodged, by forcing his horſſe too much with the ſpurs, the horſſe fell with him ſo rudelie to the ground, that his entrails within him were ſo burſt and periſhed, that he died the next daie after. Manie reioiſed at this mans death, as well for that men iudged him to be excéeding haultie and proud; as alſo for that he was ſuſpected not to haue dealt iuſtlie with the biſhop of Norwich, in the iournie which the biſhop had made into Flanders: but ſpeciallie men had an ill opinion of him, for that he ſtood with the king againſt the lords, counſelling him in the yeare laſt paſt to diſpatch them out of the way. ¶ Sir Iohn Holland, the kings brother on the mothers ſide, that was latelie returned out of Spaine, where he had béene with the duke of Lancaſter, was now made earle of Huntington.

An ouerthrow giuen to the Engliſhmen by the Scots at Otterburne.

Fabian. Caxton.

A parlement at Cambridge.

Sir Thomas Triuet ſlaine with the fall of his horſſe.

1389

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leiceſter abbeie.

¶ In Iulie, whiles the king was at Shéene, there ſwarmed togither in his court great multitudes of flies and gnats, inſomuch that in maner of ſkirmiſhing they incountered ech other; and making great ſlaughters on both ſides, were in the end ſwept a-

Battell and ſlaughter betwéene flies.

waie from the place where they lay dead, with bruſhes and béeſoms by heaps. This was déemed an vnluckie prognoſticat of ſome miſchiefe like to fall vpon the necke of the land.

Commiſſioners ſent to treat a truce betwéene England, France, and Scotland.

Alſo in this twelfth yeare, were commiſſioners appointed to méet at Balingham, betwixt Calis and Bullongne, to treat a truce to be had betwixt the realmes of England, France and Scotland. Walter Skirlow biſhop of Durham, that had béene latelie before remoued from Bath vnto Durham, from whence Iohn Fordham had béene tranſlated vnto Elie, was ſent as head commiſſioner for the king of England, and with him were ioined ſir Ihon Clanbow, and ſir Nicholas Dagworth, knights, and Richard Rowhale clearke, a doctor of law. By Froiſſard it appeareth that the earle of Saliſburie was one, ⁊ ſir Thomas Beauchampe lord deputie of Calis appointed likewiſe as an aſſiſtant with them. The biſhop of Baieux, the lord Waleran earle of S. Poule, ſir Guillam de Melin, ſir Nicholas Bracque, and ſir Iohn le Mercier came thither for the French king. And for the king of Scots there appeared the biſhop of Aberdeine, ſir Iames and ſir Dauid Lindſey, and ſir Walter Sankler, knights. After long treatie, and much a doo, at length a truce was concluded to begin at Midſummer next, and to laſt thrée years after.

Froiſſard.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leceiſter abbeie.

Scholers of Oxford togither by the eares.

¶ In this yeare of Grace 1389, in the Lent time, there ſprang a pitifull ſtrife in Oxford, the variance in the yeare before being not fullie allaied, but both ſides alwaies prouoking ech other. For the Welſh ſcholers being euermore quarelous, and hauing the ſoutherlie ſcholers taking their parts, roſe againſt the ſcholers of the north, ſo that to and fro manie a deadlie miſchiefe happened betwéene them. In the end, this ſtrife did ſo increaſe, that there was a daie of ſkirmiſh appointed and agréed vpon by both ſides to be tried in the field. But by the meanes of Thomas of Woodſtoke duke of Glouceſter all this ſturre was appeaſed, and manie of the Welſh ſcholers baniſhed from the vniuerſitie. ¶ On the thurſdaie before Eaſter (being mawndaie thurſdaie) the lord Beaumont gardian of Carleill in the weſt marches entred Scotland fortie leagues, ⁊ ſpoiling Fowike, made waſt at his pleaſure, and brought awaie with him manie Scots priſoners ⁊ captiues. ¶ About this time a truce of thrée years was taken betwéene king Richard, the kings of France, Scotland, Spaine, Portingale, and of Nauarre. This truce began on the firſt daie of Auguſt in the néerer parts of the realme both by ſea and land; and on the fiftéenth of Auguſt in the further parts, becauſe knowledge could not be giuen thereof without ſome long time.

Truce of 3. years betwéene ſix kings.

The Scots in the time of treatie ſpoile the countrie of Northumberland.

Whileſt the commiſſioners were occupied in the marches betwixt Calis and Bullongne about this truce, the Scots entring into Northumberland, did much miſchiefe, leading awaie manie priſoners, men and women, beſides other great booties and preies which they got abroad in the countrie. The lord Thomas Mowbraie earle of Notingham was ſent with fiue hundred ſpears to reuenge thoſe attempts of the enimies: but for that his power was ſmall in compariſon to theirs, he preuailed litle or nothing againſt them. Sir Iohn Clanbow, and ſir Richard Rouale clerke, tooke the French kings oth; and the earle of ſaint Paule that had maried the ladie Maud Courtnie with other noblemen, came into England, and receiued the kings oth here for the confirming of this laſt mentioned truce. The Scots might not without much adoo be perſuaded to accept this truce, being readie the ſame time with an armie to enter into England, but yet through the diligence of ſuch Frenchmen as went thither for that purpoſe, at length they agréed.

The Scots hauing prouided an armie to inuade England are hardly perſuaded to accept the truce.

This yeare the king by counſell of ſome that were about him, called the nobles and great men of the realme togither, and as they were ſet in the councell chamber ſtaieng till he came: at length he entring into the ſame chamber, and taking his place to ſit among them, demanded of them, of what age he was now? Whereto anſwer was made, that he was full twentie years old. Then (ſaid he) I am of years ſufficient to gouerne mine owne houſe and familie, and alſo my kingdome: for it ſéemeth aginſt reaſon that the ſtate of the meaneſt perſon within my kingdome ſhould be better than mine. Euerie heire that is once come to the age of twentie years, is permitted, if his father be not liuing, to order his buſineſſe himſelfe: then that thing which is permitted to euerie other perſon of meane degrée by law, why is the ſame denied vnto me? Theſe words vttered he with the courage of a prince, not without the inſtigation and ſetting on of ſuch as were about him, whoſe drift was by diſcountenancing others to procure preferment to themſelues, abuſing the kings tender years and gréene wit, with ill counſell for their aduantage: where as it had béene more méete to haue giuen him thoſe precepts which Claudianus hath in his tract of the inſtitution of a prince; and among others this:

The kings queſtion to his lords and others in the councell chamber.

Claudian.

Non tibi quid liceat, ſed quid feciſſe decebit
Occurrat, mentémq; domet reſpectus honeſti.

When the barons had hard the words of the king, being therewith aſtonied, they made anſwer, that there ſhould be no right abridged from him, but that he might take vpon him the gouernment as of reaſon was due. Well ſaid he, yée know that I haue béene a long time ruled by tutors, ſo as it hath not béene lawfull to me to doo anie thing, were it of neuer ſo ſmall importance, without their conſents. Now therefore I will, that they meddle no further with matters perteining to my gouernment, ⁊ after the maner of an heire come to lawfull age, I will call to my councell ſuch as pleaſeth me, and I will deale in mine owne buſineſſe my ſelfe. And therfore I will firſt that the chancellor reſigne to me his ſeale. When the archbiſhop of Yorke (who in the yeare laſt paſt had béene remooued from Elie vnto Yorke, and Alexander Neuill diſplaced) had deliuered vnto him the ſeale, the king receiuing it of him, put it in his boſome, and ſuddenlie riſing, departed forth of the chamber, ⁊ after a little while returning, ſat downe againe, and deliuered the ſeale to the biſhop of Wincheſter, William Wickham, and ſo made him chancellor, although ſore againſt the ſame biſhops will. He made alſo manie other new officers, remoouing the old, and vſed in all things his owne diſcretion and authoritie. The duke of Glouceſter, the earle of Warwike, ⁊ other honorable and worthie men, were diſcharged and put from the councell, and others placed in their roomes, ſuch as pleaſed the king to appoint. At the ſame time he made fiue new iuſtices.

The king taking vpon him the gouernement of all things diſplaceth diuers officers ⁊ ſetteth others in their roomes.

Wickham biſhop of Wincheſter made L. chancellor.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leiceſter abbeie.

¶ Of this aſſuming the regiment to himſelfe, as diuerſe diuerſlie report: ſo Henrie Knighton a man liuing in thoſe daies, and committing to writing the occurrents of that tumultuous time, ſaith as followeth. In the moneth of Maie, the king held a councell at Weſtminſter, and in the feaſt of the Inuention of the croſſe, comming perſonallie to the councell houſe he remooued all the great officers (contrarie to expectation and thinking) from their offices, and at his pleaſure placed in their roomes whome he liſt. He remooued the archbiſhop of Yorke lord chancellor, and put in his place the biſhop of Wincheſter: he remooued the biſhop of Hereford lord treaſuror, and put another in his place: he remooued the clearke of the priuie ſeale, and all other: ſo likewiſe did he the iuſtices of either bench. But leaſt the affaires of the realme ſhould in the meane while be hindered, he commanded the iuſtices of law to follow and proſecute things requiſite as they were wont, till ſuch time as he was better aduiſed touching the prouiding of other iuſtices. The erle of Arundell likewiſe, vnto whome the gouernment of the parlement was committed, and the admeraltie of the ſea, was remoued; and the earle of Huntington put in his roome. In like ſort dealt the king with the reſidue of his officers, ſaieng that he ought not to be inferior in degree & of leſſe account than an other ordinarie heire whatſoeuer within the realme of England; ſith the law and cuſtome of the realme of England auerreth, that euerie heire being in the gardianſhip of anie lord, when he is growne to be one and twentie yeares of age, ought preſentlie to inioy the inheritance left him by his father, and is lawfullie to poſſeſſe his patrimonie, and freelie to diſpoſe and order his owne goods and chattels to his liking. But now it is come to paſſe, that I thus manie yeares haue liued vnder your counſell and gouernement; and now firſt to God, ſecondlie to you, I giue manifold thanks, that you haue gouerned and ſupported me, mine inheritance, and my realme of England, as well within as without, & ſpeciallie againſt our enimies round about vs, all renowme of honour and praiſe to vs and our kingdome alwaies ſafelie reſerued. But now God hath ſo dealt for vs, that we are of full age, ſo that we are two and twentie yeares old at this preſent: and we require that we may freelie and at libertie from this time forward rule and gouerne both our ſelues and our inheritance; and we will haue our kingdome in our owne hands, and officers and ſeruitors of our owne appointing at our pleaſure; ſecondlie, as ſhall ſeeme to vs more auaileable, by Gods grace, to elect, chooſe, and preferre vnto offices ſuch as we doo well like of, and at our pleaſure to remooue ſuch as be preſentlie reſiant, and in their roomes to ſubſtitute and ſet others whereſoeuer and whomſoeuer we liſt. The king hauing thus ſpoken, there was not one that went about to breake him of his will, but they all glorified God, who had prouided them ſuch a king, as was likelie to prooue diſcreet and wiſe.

Anno Reg.13.
wickleuiſts increaſe.

In this ſeaſon, the followers of Wickliffes doctrine maruellouſlie increaſed, ſpeciallie in the dioceſſe of Sarum, where they had manie that tooke vpon them as miniſters, both to preach the word, and to diſpenſe the ſacraments. This they did in ſecret: but they were diſcouered by one that had beene of their fellowſhip, who declared to the biſhop of Saliſburie at his manor of Sonning, all the whole circumſtances thereof, as he knew. There were of them that preached in thoſe daies earneſtlie againſt pilgrimages, calling ſuch images as the people had in moſt veneration, as that at Walſingham, and the rood of the north doore at Paules in London, rotten ſtocks, and worme eaten blocks, through which the vnſkilfull people being mocked and deceiued, were compelled moſt manifeſtlie to commit idolatrie. The biſhops (ſaith Thomas Walſingham) hearing, beholding, and knowing theſe things with much more, to be true, did little or nothing to redreſſe the ſame, ſaue onlie the biſhop of Norwich who ſtirred coles, ſwearing and ſtaring, that if anie of that ſect preſumed to preach anie peruerſe doctrine within his dioceſſe, he would cauſe them either to hop headleſſe, or to frie a fagot for it: he was therefore not a little praiſed and extolled by the monks and other religious men (as ſhould appeare) for that his zeale.

The duke of Lancaſter returneth into Englãd forth of Gaſcoigne.

A councell holden at Reding where ẏ duke of Lancaſter reconcileth the king and the lords.

In Nouember, the duke of Lancaſter came forth of Gaſcoigne into England, after he had remained firſt in Spaine, and after in Gaſcoigne, three yeares togither. Of his ſucceſſe in Spaine is ſpoken before, & likewiſe of the agreement betwixt the king of Caſtile, & the ſaid duke, which was not in all points confirmed, till a little before his returne now into England. About the ſame time the king had called a councell of his nobilitie at Reading, to the which the duke of Lancaſter made the more haſt to come, bicauſe he knew that the king would ſhew no good countenance to ſome of the noblemen; and therefore he doubted leaſt malicious offenſes might ariſe betwixt them, which to appeaſe he meant the beſt he could, and his trauell came to good effect: for he did ſo much, that as well the king as the lords departed from the councell as freends, the lords taking their leaues of him in louing maner, and he courteouſlie bidding them farewell: and ſo each of them reſorted vnto their homes well pleaſed for that preſent. ¶ The king held his Chriſtmaſſe this yeere at Woodſtoke, and the duke of Lancaſter laie at his caſtell of Hertford.

1390
The earle of Penbroke as he was learning to iuſt is wounded to death.

At the ſame time the lord Iohn de Haſtings earle of Penbroke, as he was practiſing to learne to iuſt, through miſhap was ſtriken about the priuie parts, by a knight called ſir Iohn S. Iohn, that ran againſt him, ſo as his inner parts being periſhed, death preſentlie followed. The loſſe of this earle was greatlie bemoned by men of all degrees, for he was liberall, gentle, humble, and courteous to each one, aboue all the other yoong lords in the land of his time. Of this earles anceſtors this is reported for a thing ſtrange and maruelous, that from the daies of Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, that was one amongſt other that ſat in iudgement of Thomas earle of Lancaſter, there was not anie earle of Penbroke ſucceeding the ſame Aimer de Valence, vnto the daies of this yoong earle by misfortune thus ſlaine, that euer ſaw his father, nor yet anie of their fathers might reioiſe in the ſight of anie of their ſonnes, being ſtill called hence, before the time came for them ſo to doo.

Francis Thin, out of diuerſe ancient monuments belonging to the Haſtings and others.

¶ Now hére, bicauſe this Iohn Haſtings, being the laſt of that ſurname and armes of the whole blood, which of that line inioied anie title of honor, I thinke it not vnfit for this place (ſince other occaſion will not be giuen therefore) to talke of the Haſtings ſomwhat higher than this man: though not from the ſhell to perpetuate the memorie of them, the which I haue now doone, leaſt otherwiſe by ingrate obliuion it might neuer hereafter come to light. In which I will not begin from the firſt honourable Haſtings, whoſe bloud by manie deſcents continued, is thought by moſt ancient monuments, which I haue ſeene and read, to haue béene a baron before the conqueſt in this land, and to haue borne the ſame cote in the field, which this now ſlaine earle of Penbroke did: whereof hereafter in my deſcriptions and lines of the earles of Penbroke I will make more ample diſcourſe in a new booke (if God giue good ſucceſſe therein) onelie at this time making ſome ſmall repetition from that Henrie Haſtings, from whome the Haſtings (in reſpect of the mariage of Alda daughter to Dauie earle of Huntington, brother to William king of Scots) did deſcend: who (amongſt others) in the reigne of Edward the firſt, made title to the kingdome of Scotland. The originall of which name in this treatiſe I will neither flatteringlie defend, nor obſtinatlie reiect, to haue growne from Haſtings the Dane, who in the reigne of Alured (long before the conqueſt, about the yeare of our redemption 890) came with Rollo into England, and for a certeine ſpace infeſted this nation, departing aſide to France. And now to the purpoſe.

Henrie lord Haſtings (who bare for his armes gold a manche gules) married Alda (or Ada) the fourth daughter of Dauid earle of Huntington, ſhe being one of the heires to Iohn Scot earle of Cheſter, & of Huntington (which died without iſſue) ſon of the ſaid Dauid, and brother to the ſaid Ada. To this Henrie and Ada did Henrie the third king of England, in the two & twentith of his reigne (in place of the portion of hir brothers lands, which ſhould haue deſcended to hir as parcell of the earledome of Cheſter, for that the king would not haue the ſaid earledome diuided amongſt diſtaues) giue in exchange certeine lands mentioned in this deed following.

The grant of Henrie the third, to Henrie *Haſtings and Ada his wife, for the exchange* of lands for hir part of the earledome.

OMnibus, ad quos, &c: ſalutem. Sciatis quòd conceſſimus pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris, Henrico de Haſtings, & Adæ vxori eius, pro rationabili parte ſua, quæ prædictam Adam contingent, de hæreditate Iohannis quondam comitis Ceſtriæ fratris ipſius Adæ in Ceſterſhire, faciẽdo eis rationabile excambium, ad valentiam prædictæ partis ipſam Adam contingentis de prædicto com. Ceſterſhire. Et ad maiorem ſecuritatem cõceſſimus eidem Henrico & Adæ manerium noſtrum de Bremeſgraue cum pertinentibus in comitatu Wigorniæ, manerium noſtrum de Boliſoure cum caſtris & pertinentibus in com. Derby, manerium noſtrum de Mounteſſeld cum Soka cũ pertinentibus in comitatu Notingham, manerium de Worſfeld cum pertinentibus in com. Salop. manerium de Stratton cum pertinentibus in eodem com. manerium de Wiggutton cum pertinent. in com. Stafford, & maneriũ de Woluerhamton cũ pert. in eodẽ com. in tenentiam. Tenendum eiſdem Henrico & Adæ & hæredibus ipſius Adæ, quo vſq; prædicta pars ipſam Adam contingens & de prædicta hæreditate extenta fuerit, & rationabile excambium in prædictis terris vel alias eis aſſignauerimus. In cuius, &c. Teſte rege apud Ditton 11. Innij, anno regni noſtri 22.

Strattondale.

The which manours the ſaid Henrie and Ada did hold during the life of the ſaid Ada, in peaceable and quiet poſſeſſion. After hir death the ſaid Henrie goeth into Gaſcoigne, where he remained ſteward vntill the comming of Henrie the third, at what time the ſaid Henrie ſurrendered his office, but the king importunate with him ſtill to reteine the ſame, he flatlie denied it, and would no longer remaine there, ſuddenlie returning into England without licence or knowledge of the king, for which contempt the king greeuouſlie incenſed, in reuenge and for ſatiſfaction of the ſame, made the ſame lands to be extended by Thomas Paſlew and others, who by the kings proceſſe extended part thereof to a treble value, after which extent returned into the chancerie, the king ſeized the manour of Bremeſgraue, Boleſoure, Strattondale in Norton, & left in his hands the manours of Lierton, Oſwardbecke, Cundoner, Wourfeld, and Wigutton, whereof the ſaid Henrie died ſeized. Two yeares before which grant of the lands before ſaid to this Henrie, to wit, in the twentith yeare of Henrie the third, the ſaid Henrie Haſtings made his petition to ſerue in the pantree (as he was bound by tenure) at the coronation of euerie prince, the record whereof in the ancient written booke of the earls of Huntington, is in theſe words following.

The record by which Henrie Haſtings *executed the office of the panteller.*

VIceſimo Henr. tertij quo coronata fuit regina Elionara filia Hugonis comitis Prouinciæ apud Weſtm. factæ ſunt contentiones magnæ de ſeruitijs miniſtralibus, & de iuribus pertinentibus ad eorum miniſteria, ſed reſpectuatur, iuribus ſingulis ſaluis, vt tumultus requieſceret vſq; ad quindena Paſchæ ſequẽtis, &c. Et Henricus de Haſtinges, cuius officium ſeruiendi de mappis à veteri vendicauit officiũ illud, & habuit. Nam quamuis Thurſtanus vendicauit officium illud, aſſerens ſuum eſſe debere à veteri, tamen rex repulſat, & admiſit Henricum de Haſtinges, ea die aſſignans eiſdem diem de contentione finienda ad prædictum terminum. Extractas verò poſt prandium mappas tanquam ſuas ad officium pertinentes recepit.

This Henrie had by Ada his wife, his ſonne & heire Henrie Haſtings, from whome Buchanan dooth ſaie that Henrie Haſtings now earle of Penbroke is deſcended, whereof I will not now heere diſpute.

Henrie Haſtings knight, ſonne of Henrie, after the death of his father, finding himſelfe greeued that the inheritance, which ſhould haue deſcended vnto him from his mother, was ſo withholden from him for the offenſe of his father, contrarie to law and iuſtice, and without iudgement, but by the kings power, purſued a bill againſt the king, therby to haue remedie and reſtitution, for the ſuppoſed falſe returne of the extent which was made againſt his father; and vpon the ſame bill, this Henrie Haſtings obteined a new writ to make a freſh extent directed to maiſter Thomas of Wimundham, Robert de la Laie, Robert de Solham, Hugh Peeche, & Thomas de Braie, to vnderſtand if the remnant of the lands to him deſcended, beſide that by the king extended, would counteruaile the value of ſuch lands as he ſhould haue by deſcent from and of the earle and earledome of Cheſter, which matter neuer being ended in his time, was afterward proſecuted of the Haſtings from parlement to parlement, vntill the thirtie fourth yeare of Edward the firſt, as more plainelie ſhall after appeare. Of this Henrie, Hollingſhed intreateth much in the reigne of Henrie the third: this man (being he that in the time of Edward the firſt, made title to the crowne of Scotland) maried Ione one of the daughters of William Cantulpe lord of Aburgauenie, in the right of Eua, one of the daughters and heires of William Bewſa or Breweuſa, for I find both written, of which Ione this Henrie had iſſue Iohn Haſtings his ſonne and heire, Edmund which maried Iſabell, & had great poſſeſſions in Wales: Ada firſt maried to Robert de Champane: Lora maried to ſir Thomas the ſonne of ſir Iohn de Latimer, and Ione which was a nun at Notingham.

Iohn Haſtings knight, ſonne of the laſt Henrie, was borne at Aſleghe, in the yeere of our Lord 1262, and in the ſix & fortith yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third. This man after his fathers death did (in the yeare of our Lord 1274, and the ſecond yeare of the reigne of Edward the firſt, being the kings ward) demand the execution of his office of the pantrie, at the coronation of queene Elianor wife to Edward the firſt, but could not execute the ſame by reaſon of his nonage, and alſo for that he was in ward to the ſaid king. After, when he was growne to full yeares, there aroſe in the yeare of our Lord 1305, and in the thirtie third yeare of the reigne of Edward the firſt, great contention betweene Antonie Beake biſhop of Durham, this Iohn Haſtings, Iohn Balioll, and Robert Bruſe, for the manors of Penrith, Caſtleſoure, Salgkill regis, Lange Worthbie, Carlaton, and of Werkine Tinehale, whereof Henrie king of Scots (kinſman of the ſaid Robert Bruſe, Iohn Balioll, and Iohn Haſtings, whoſe heire they were) died ſeized in his demeſne of fee. In which ſutes after manie delaies made, and manie ſummons againſt the ſaid biſhop, the plée went without daie, bicauſe the biſhop muſt go to Rome. But after his returne the ſute being reuiued and continued, it went once more without daie, bicauſe the king ſeized the ſame into his hands, and held it all the time of his reigne. Theſe things thus doone, and Edward the firſt departed, this John Haſtings as yet not haſtie to renew his ſute of the land, but rather to execute his right of the pantrie, did in the firſt yeare of Edward the ſecond, demand the executing of that office, at the coronation of the ſaid Edward the ſecond and Jſabell his wife at Weſtminſter, which he obteined, and laid the clothes and napkins in the great hall by him and other his knights, one the tables whereat the king, the quéene, and other great ſtates ſhould dine, which (according as J haue ſéene noted) was in this ſort.

The order and number of clothes laied *at the kings table, and how Iohn Haſtings* had them for his fee.

AD altam ſedem ipſius regis tres mappas, & ſuper alias menſas in eadem aula 28 mappas, vnde quælibet pecia continebat 4, & in parua aula coram regina, & alibi in illa parua aula 14, quarũ quælibet pecia continebat 3. Et dum fuerũt ad comeſtum, mappas per ſe & ſuos cuſtodiebat, & poſt comeſtum illas trahebat, & deferre faciebat ſeruientes ad ſeruiendum, & iſtas cum ſuis loquelis habebat ſine voluntate vel cum voluntate, & eas detinebat per totum feſtum coronationis, licèt petitæ erant deliberatione, primò à ſeneſcallo regis, poſtea ab ipſo rege, per quod idem rex præcepit domino Willielmo Martin, & alijs ſeneſcallis ſuis, quòd plenam & celerem iuſticiam ei facerent, & deliberationem de mappis prædictis ſi fuerit faciendum. Qui inde poſtea nihil facere voluerunt, aut non curauerunt toto feſto coronationis prædictæ, nec poſtea in congregationibus. Per quod poſtea dominus Iohannes de Haſtings fecit petitiones ſuas domino regi, & concilio ſuo, quòd feodum ſuum mapparum prædictarum ei deliberaretur, pro vt ei de iure fuerit deliberandum. Et quòd fecit ſeruitium ſuum debito modo, prout anteceſſor ſuus fecit longo tempore Henrici regis, quando habuit feodum ſuum, tempore quãdo deſponſauit Elionaram filiam comitis Prouinciæ, tanquam pertinens ad manerium ſuum de Aſheley in comitatu North. pro vt patet in Memorandum ipſius regis in camero ſuo de ſcaccario diuerſis locis in iſtis verbis.

✠ *Williame de Haſtinges tient demye fee de chiualer in Aſheley du roy a fayre le ſeruice per ſeriante deeſtree panetre le roye*, which is found in the fourth leafe of Cheſter beginning, *Le counte Roger le Bigot*, in the title of eſchetes of ſeriantie in the countie of Northfolke. Touching which it is thus further found in the ſame place. ✠ *Henrie de Haſtings tient en Aſheley du roye per ſergiante de la panetre, fo. Syeſme.* ✠ *Henrie de Haſtings tient vn ſeriante de la panetre le roy en Aſheley, & vaute per an. C. ſol. fol. 9.* ✠ *Williame de Haſtings tient vn fee de chiualer en Aſheley ſeriante deeſtree deſpenſer en le deſpenſ. le roy. fo. 4.* ✠ *Henrie de Haſtings tient vn terr en la ville de Aſheley per le ſeruice deeſtree le deſpenſer.*

Which petitions and all other petitions for his part of his land in the kings hands, by the cenſure made in the time of Henrie the 3, the ſaid John Haſtings lord of Aburgauennie did purſue from parlement to parlement, vntill the parlement holden at Yorke after Michaelmas, where ſupplication was made to the king, by him and others, that he might remaine with the king in Gaſcoigne, as his ſteward or marſhall: which if he would performe, all his forſaid petitions and all other petitions which were reaſonable, ſhould be granted vnto him. By occaſion whereof he granted vnto the kings and the nobles requeſt: ſo that the king would find him pledges due therefore, and that he might obteine iuſtice in his inheritances, and thoſe his lawfull ſutes, which had béene hitherto denied vnto him, which thing the king faithfullie promiſed in euerie reſpect to be performed towards him: whervpon he ſailed into Gaſcoigne, in the yeare of Chriſt 1302, being the 31 of Edward the firſt, the wedneſdaie after the feaſt of S. Lucie. But for this faire ſhew, it ſéemeth he ſped neuer the better: for which cauſe not being reſtored in the 34 yeare of Edward the firſt, he purſued his ſute afreſh, and had from the king at Yorke this definitiue ſentence, deliuered by the mouth of Walter Langhton, then the kings treaſuror (as J find by ſuch notes as J haue ſéene) that he ſhould ſéeke the records of the chancerie, and bring them to the next parlement, which the ſaid John did. At what time he brought forth the former grant of Henrie the third, of the ſaid lands giuen in recompenſe of his part of the earledome of Cheſter. After which yet it was agréed by the king and his councell for diuerſe conſiderations (and moſtlie (as J ſuppoſe) becauſe he had refuſed to ſerue in Gaſcoigne, and onelie went as it were inforced) notwithſtanding all that the ſaid John could alledge, that he ſhould take nothing for his petition, but further to be in the kings mercie for his falſe claime: the whole proceſſe whereof J haue ſéene in an ancient written monument of French. All which (as J gather) was done in the life of Edward the firſt (notwithſtanding that J haue a little vnorderlie before treated of the executing of his office of the pantrie at the coronation of Edward the ſecond, ſonne to Edward the firſt) as may be confirmed by Piers Longtoft in theſe verſes:

Et pour peril eſcheuer toutz apres promiſt
Ke Iean de Haſtin cheualier e lit
Emerie de la Bret barone ne pas petit
Alant in Gaſcoigne touz ſans contredit
Pour la terme attendue del trevis auant dit.

This John married two wiues both called Jſabell, whereof the firſt was Jſabell de Valence, one of the daughters and heirs of William Valence earle of Penbroke & lord of Aburgauennie, but how the ſaid Wil. Valence came to the honor of Aburgauennie, ſince William Cantelupe before named was once lord thereof, and much about that time, J can not yet certeinlie learne. But yet J following good authoritie haue ſet downe this Valence to be lord of Aburgauennie, & that he gaue the ſame to one John Haſtings, which muſt néeds be this man, marieng his daughter. The other wife of this John Haſtings, was Jſabell the daughter of Hugh Spenſer earle of Wincheſter. By his firſt wife he had ſix children, to wit, John Haſtings his heire, William Haſtings that maried Elianor the daughter of ſir William Martin, which died without heires; Henrie Haſtings that was a clerke, and Elizabeth Haſtings maried to Roger Greie lord of Ruthine ſonne of ſir John Greie, of whom is deſcended Henrie earle of Kent now liuing. Jone maried to Edmund Mortimer, by whom ſhe had no iſſue, being after maried to William de Huntingfield, by whom ſhe had Roger de Huntingfield: and Margaret Haſtings maried to William the ſonne of William Martin lord of Kemmies. By Jſabell Spenſer his ſecond wife, he had thrée children, to wit, Hugh Haſtings lord of

Regiſtrum comitum de Huntington.

Folliot, of whom ſhall be more intreated, when we come to the laſt John Haſtings erle of Penbroke ſlaine at tilt, as before. Thomas Haſtings, and Pelagia de Huntington. His firſt wife Iſabell Valence died 1305, being the 31 of Edward the firſt, and was buried at the frier minors in Couentrie. His ſecond wife ouerliuing hir huſband, was after maried to ſir Raſe Monthermer, for which mariage the ſaid Raſe was fined by Edward the ſecond at a thouſand marks, as appeareth in the rols of the chancerie of 13 of Edward the ſecond: ſhe died the 9 of Edward the third, & was buried in the frier minors of Saliſburie. This John Haſtings departed this life 1313, the firſt yeare of the reigne of Edward the ſecond.

John Haſtings lord Haſtings and Aburgauennie, was borne in the fiftéenth yeare of Edward the firſt, in the yeare of Chriſt 1287. For at the death of his father, which happened (as before) in the firſt yeare of Edward the ſecond, he was found to be of the age of ſix & twentie years, which if it be added to the yeare of our Lord 1287, make vp the full number of 1313, in which his father died. This man in the eight yeare of Edward the ſecond at the parlement holden at London in the Carmelite friers, being about the yeare from the birth of Chriſt 1314, renewing the ſute to the king (after the death of Antonie Beke biſhop of Durham, which happened in the yeare of our Lord 1310) for the lands, whereof his father had the ſaid biſhop in ſute, and which were after ſeized into the kings hands, as before appeareth, in the life of his father. It was then found vpon ſearch, that ſir John Balioll (who was partie to the ſaid ſute before) had the realme of Scotland by award: by reaſon of certeine lands that he gaue to ſir Antonie de Beke the biſhop of Durham: for which cauſe it ſéemed king Edward the firſt ſeized the ſame lands into his hands as forfeit to him, in that they were after the maner of a bribe giuen to the ſaid biſhop, to ſupport the ſute of the ſaid John Balioll for the obteining of the crowne of Scotland. And for that cauſe this John Haſtings was counſelled by ſuch as willed him well, that he ſhould ſurceaſſe his ſute, and ſo he did. This John Haſtings maried Julian the daughter of Thomas lord Leiburne the ſonne of William lord Leiburne, and had by hir Laurence de Haſtings: after which this John Haſtings died in the eightéenth yeare of Edward the ſecond, and in the yeare of our Lord 1325. His wife Julian liued manie yéers after, and ſurrendred hir life in the fortie one yeare of Edward the third, and in the yeare of our Lord 1366.

Laurence Haſtings lord Haſtings and Aburgauennie, was alſo afterward earle of Penbroke, he was borne about the thirtéenth yeare of Edward the ſecond, being alſo about the yeare of our redemption 1320: which is proued by this, that the ſaid Laurence was fiue yeares old at the death of his father, which (as before is ſaid) happened in the yeare 1325, and in the eightéenth of Edward the ſecond, at what time he was ſeized as the kings ward, and committed to the gouernement of tutors, appointed him by the ſaid Edward the ſecond. This Laurence Haſtings for the nobilitie of his race, the actiuitie of him ſelfe, the largeneſſe of his poſſeſſions, and his familiaritie with the king, was created earle of Penbroke, about the one and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third. He maried Anne or Agnes the third daughter of ſir Roger Mortimer the firſt earle of March, by whom he had iſſue John Haſtings.

John Haſtings earle of Penbroke lord Haſtings Aburgauennie and Weifford in Ireland, the ſonne of Laurence Haſtings the firſt earle of Penbroke of that name, did in the fortie one yeare of Edward the third, being about the yeare of our Lord 1369, infeoffe diuerſe perſons of the manor of Lidgate in Suffolke, of which towne was John Lidgate the monke of Berie and famous poet of England ſurnamed. After which in the fortie ſix yeare of Edward the third, and in the yeare of our Lord 1371, when the Frenchmen beſieged Rochell, he was ſent with an armie of men to the reſcue of the ſame. But being ſet vpon by the Spaniſh nauie in the hauen of Rochell, they ſlue and tooke manie of the Engliſh, burnt their nauie, and caried the earle with ſundrie other priſoners into Spaine; where this earle a long time remained priſoner. Which misfortune was iuſtlie ſuppoſed to haue fallen vpon him, becauſe he was a man of euill life, giuen greatlie to lecherie, an infringer of the liberties of the church, and a perſuader of the king that he ſhould (for his warres) more grieuouſlie exact manie ſubſidies and contributions vpon the clergie than vpon the laitie. After that he had béene long priſoner in Spaine (by the ſpace almoſt of thrée yeares) he was ranſomed for a grreat ſumme of monie, by Bertram Cleikine, and died (as I coniecture by ſome ſufficient proofe) betwéene Paris and Calis, as he came into England, in the fortie ninth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1374: ſo that he neuer fullie paied his ranſome. He had two wiues, Margaret the daughter of Edward the third, & Anne the daughter of ſir Walter Mannie and of Margaret Segraue made dutcheſſe of Northfolke in the time of Richard the ſecond: but when he maried theſe wiues, I can not certeinlie find. And in the earle of Kents booke (which treateth of the contention of the Haſtings and the Greies, for bearing of the armes of Haſtings) there is no mention made (as farre as my memorie ſerueth) of the ſaid Margaret; the reaſon whereof I ſuppoſe to be, for that this John Haſtings had no iſſue by hir: and that booke onelie ſerued to conueie a lineall deſcent from the Haſtings to intitle the Greies. This John Haſtings had by his ſecond wife (Anne) a ſonne called John Haſtings, which after ſuccéeded his father in all his inheritances.

But before I ſaie anie more of the Haſtings, I thinke it not amiſſe to giue ſome warning of an error in Polydor of Vrbin, writing that Anne the counteſſe of Penbroke (wife to this man, for none of the earles of Penbrokes had anie wife ſo named within the compaſſe of years wherein Polydor appointeth this time) deſcended of a noble houſe of S. Paule in France, a woman of great vertue, and a louer of learning and of learned men, founded a houſe in Cambridge, to this daie called Penbroke hall: which in truth was not builded by hir, but by Marie the wife of Odomare or Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, who was ſlaine at tilt in the one & twentie yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1374: which was thirtie ſeauen yeares before the death of this John Haſtings earle of Penbroke: which Marie was in verie déede the daughter of Guie earle of S. Paule, the kinſwoman of Edward the third, and a French woman. This woman being in one daie (& that the daie of hir mariage) a maid, a wife, & a widow (hir huſband being that day ſlaine at tilt) did in hir widowhood (in the one & twentith yeare of Edward the 3, in the yeare of our Lord 1374) erect that houſe in Cambridge vpon hir owne ground, and appointed the ſame to be called the hall of Marie Valence, or Penbroke hall: by meanes whereof it was long after called *Aula Valentiæ Mariæ*.

Now to returne (where I left) to the laſt wife of this John Haſtings called Anne, ſhe (after the death of hir huſband) did at the coronation of Richard the ſecond, in the yeare of Chriſt 1382, being about the firſt yeare of the reigne of the ſaid Richard, ſue by petition to execute by hir deputie the office of the pantler, panteler by reaſon of the manor of Aſhley, which ſhe had for hir iointure, wherevnto ſhe was admitted, & by hir deputie ſir Thomas Blunt knight did performe the ſame: as this record doth teſtifie, in which is ſet both hir petitions, and the iudgement thereof in this forme.

The record whereby dame Anne *Haſtings clameth the office of* the pantrie.

ITem Anna quæ fuit vxor Iohannis Haſtings nuper comes Penbrochiæ porrexit in curia quandam petitionem ſuam in hæc verba. A treſhonore ſeigneur le duc de Lancaſt. & ſeneſcall d' Angliter ſupplie Anne que fuit le femme Iohn de Haſtinges nadgares countie de Penbroke, qui cõme le mannor de Aſheley in le com. de Northfolke ſoit tenens de noſtre ſeigneur le roy par le ſeruice de faire le office de napperie al coronement le roy, quel mannor ſoel tient en dower del dowement ſon dit baron. Ore pleſt luy accepter del faire ſon office perſon deputie, a ceſtie coronement noſtre ſeigneur le roye, pernant les fees du dit office ceaſtaſcauoir les nappes quant il ſont ſuſtreytz. Et quia poſt oſtenſionem veriſimilium euidentiarum & rationum ipſius Annæ, ac proclamationem in curia prædicta debitè factam, in hac parte nullus huiuſmodi clamor ipſius Annæ contradixit: conſideratum fuit quòd ipſa ad officium prædictum per ſufficientem deputatum ſuum faciendum admitteretur, & ſic officium illud per Thomam Blunt militem, quem ad hoc deputauit, dicto die coronationis in omnibus perfecit, & peracto prandio mappas de menſis ſubtractis pro feodo ſuo recepit.

Thus this much touching this Iohn Haſtings earle of Penbroke and dame Anne Mannie his wife.

Iohn haſtings (the ſonne of Iohn Haſtings laſt recited) was earle of Penbroke lord Haſtings Aburgauennie & Weiſford, who being verie yoong at the time of his fathers death, was ward firſt to Edward the third, and then to Richard the ſecond, but neuer ſaw his full age of one and twentie yeares, nor euer poſſeſſed the lands wherevnto he was borne: for not long after that he had married Philip the ſecond daughter of Edmund Mortimer (earle of March Vlſter and lord of Wigmore) he was [about the nineteenth yeare of his age, the fiftéenth yeare of king Richard the ſecond, and the yeare of our redemption 1391, being a youthfull and luſtie yoong gentleman (but tender and ſlender) in the Chriſtmaſſe time, when the K. held that feaſt at Woodſtoke in Oxfordſhire] willing to learne to iuſt, wher vpon in the parke then incountring with a knight called Iohn ſaint Iohn (a valiant and ſtout perſon) he was ſlaine when they ran togither, as the ſaid knight did caſt his ſpeare from him, and ſo the ſaid earle receiuing this manner of death, no man knew whether it happened by miſhap or of purpoſe. To which Iohn Haſtings now ſlaine, Margaret Segraue ducheſſe of Northfolke his grandmother (by his mother the daughter of ſir Walter Mannie) was executrix and diſpoſer of all his ſubſtance. After his death, his widow the ladie Philip was married to Richard earle of Arundell, & after that to Iohn lord ſaint Iohn, being the ſame man (as I ſuppoſe) which ſlue hir firſt huſband this Iohn Haſtings. But here before the death of this Iohn I muſt not forget, that though he were within age at the coronation of Richard the ſecond, as not being paſt nine or ten yeares old; he ſued to execute at the ſaid coronation, the offices which his anceſtors had afore performed. But bicauſe his mother had the mannor of Aſhley in dower (as is before expreſſed) he did not ſue to ſerue in the pantrie, but leauing that, demandeth the carieng of the ſecond ſword and the golden ſpurs before the king. The records of both which I haue here ſet downe.

The petition for the ſecond ſword *which the earle of Arundell alſo claimed to beare,* was in this ſort.

IOhannes de Haſtings nuper comes Penbrochiæ protulit quandam petitionẽ in hæc verba. A treſhonoree ſeigniour le duc de Lancaſtre & ſeneſchall d' Angleterre, Iohn fitz & heyre Iohn de Haſtinges counte de Penbroke, que cõme il tient le Chaſtell de la ville de Tynbye, le grange de Kingswood, le cõmote de Craytrath, le mannor de Chaſtell Martin, & le mannor de Traygaire per ſeruice de porter le ſecond eſpee deuant le roy a ſon coronement: qui pleaſt a luy, accepter a ſon dit office a faire ore a ceſte coronement. Et ſuper hoc Richardus comes Arundell & Surrey exhibuit in curia quandã aliam petitionẽ in hæc verba. A roy de Chaſtell & de Lion duc de Lancaſtre & ſeneſcall d' Angleterre, ſupplie Richard counte de Arundell & Surrey, de luy receuer a faire ſon office, a porter le ſecond eſpee deuant le roy ore a ſon coronement, que luy appertient de droit pur le countie de Surrey. Quibus petitionibus intellectis & auditis, & hinc inde dictorum comitum rationibus, pro eo quòd dictus Iohannes comes Penbrochiæ (qui infra ætatẽ in cuſtodia regis exiſtit) oſtendit curiæ meliores & veriſimiliores rationes pro ſe, quàm prædictus comes Arundell pro ipſo monſtrauit. Dominus rex declarata coram eo materia prædicta, præcepit Edmundo comiti mariſcallo, quòd ipſe gladium prædictum iſta vice in nomine iure prædicti comitis Penbrochiæ deferret, ſaluo iure alterius cuiuſcunq;. Qui quidem mariſcallus gladium illum ex hac cauſa die coronationis geſtabat calcaribus deauratis.

The other bill exhibited for the golden *ſpurs, is regiſtred in this order.*

IOhannes filius & hæres Iohannis de Haſtings nuper comitis Pẽbrochiæ exhibuit in curia quandam petitionem in hæc verba. A treſhonore ſeigneur le roy de Chaſtell, &c. Et ſeneſchall d' Angliterre, ſupplie Iohne fitz & heyre Iohne Haſtings nadgares counte de Penbroke, de eſtre receue a ſon office de porter les grandes eſperon, d'oores deuant le roy noſtre ſeigneur ore a ſon coronement, en mannor cõme William le mariſchall ſon anceſter les porta il coronoment de roy. Edw. audita & intellecta billa prædicta, pro eo quòd Iohannes eſt infra ætatem & in cuſtodia domini regis, quanquam ſufficientes oſtendit curiæ recorda & euidẽtias, quòd ipſe ſeruitium prædictum de iure facere deberet; conſideratum extitit, quòd eſſet ad voluntatem regis, quis dictum ſeruitium iſta vice in iure ipſius Iohannis faceret. Et ſuper hoc rex aſſignabat Edmundum comitẽ mariſcallum, ad deferẽdum dicto die coronationis prædicta calcaria in iure ipſius hæredis. Saluo iure alterius cuiuſcunque, & ſic idem comes mariſcallus illa calcaria prædicta in dicto die coronationis coram ipſo domino rege deferebat.

In this John Haſtings ended all the honorable titles of the Haſtings, bicauſe this man dieng without iſſue, his inheritances were diſperſed to diuerſe perſons; for the honour of Penbroke came to Francis at court by the kings gift, the baronies of Haſtings and Weiſford came to Reinold Greie of Ruthine, the baronie of Aburgauennie was granted to William Beauchampe of Bedford: for all which lands, and for the bearing of the armes of this ſame John Haſtings without difference, great contention grew betwéene ſir Edward Haſtings knight (deſcended of Iſabell Spenſer) and Reinold Greie lord Greie of Ruthine, ſonne of Reinold Greie, ſonne of Roger Greie, that married Elizabeth daughter of Iſabell Valence, for both the ſaid lord Greie and ſir Edward Haſtings were deſcended by two venters (as partlie before and partlie hereafter ſhalbe ſhewed) from one man John Haſtings, husband to both ſaid Iſabels. For the explanation whereof, and lineall deſcent to conueie the ſaid ſir Edward Haſtings from the ſaid John Haſtings, firſt lord of Aburgauennie of that ſurname; I muſt here repeat a little of that which I haue alreadie written: which is, that the ſaid John Haſtings firſt lord of Aburgauennie, hauing two wiues, both Iſabels, by his firſt wife Iſabell Valence had Elizabeth maried to Roger Greie, and by his ſecond wife Iſabell Spenſer, he had iſſue ſir Hugh Haſtings knight, from whome we are to deduce the ſaid ſir Edward Haſtings in this ſort. Hugh Haſtings knight lord of Folliot (in the right of his wife) being ſonne of the ſecond wombe of Iſabell Spenſer, and John Haſtings ſonne of Henrie Haſtings married Margerie the daughter and heire of ſir Richard Folliot, by whom he came to be lord of Folliot, and alwaies bare the armes of Haſtings with a difference of a ſecond brother of a ſecond venter. This marriage was procured and made by Iſabell his mother, who purchaſed the ſaid ward for him. This Hugh died in the yeare of Chriſt 1347, in the one and twentith yeare of Edward the third, and was buried in the church of Elſing, in Elſrug in Northfolke which he builded; his wife Margerie died in the yeare 1349, being the thrée and twentith yeare of Edward the third, and was buried in the chappell of Fornewell. This Hugh had iſſue by his wife Hugh Haſtings his heire, and a daughter married to ſir Robert de la Mare.

Hugh Haſtings knight, the ſonne of Hugh and Margerie Folliot did marrie the daughter of Adam de Eueringham, by whom he had Hugh Haſtings his ſonne and heire, and two daughters, the one married to Winkfield, and the other to a knight called Elmham. This Hugh died at Calkewelhell or Gwines, and was buried in the friers of Doncaſter, in the yeare of our Lord 1369, about the foure & fortith yéere of Edward the third. This man for him and his heires in difference from the other Haſtings, earles of Penbroke his kinſmen by the halfe blood, did beare the Haſtings armes with the labell, quartered with the armes of Folliot. Hugh Haſtings knight the ſonne of Hugh and Margaret Eueringham married Anne the daughter of Edward Spenſer earle of Gloceſter, by whom he had iſſue Hugh Haſtings and Edward Haſtings, which contended with Reinold Greie lord of Ruthine. This Hugh tooke his pilgrimage to Jeruſalem & died in Spaine, after whoſe death dame Anne Spenſer his wife was maried to Thomas lord Morleie. Hugh Haſtings eldeſt ſon of Hugh Haſtings and dame Anne Spenſer, married the daughter of ſir Wil. Blunt knight; this Hugh died at Calis at the mariage of Richard the ſecond, to Iſabell the daughter of the king of France, about the 19 yeare of the reigne of the ſaid Richard, being the yeare of our redemption 1395, who dieng without iſſue, all his right and title came to his brother Edward.

Edward Haſtings knight brother of the laſt Hugh began the contention with Reinold Greie lord of Ruthine, for the right of the lands, honors, and armes without difference of the laſt John Haſtings earle of Penbroke. This ſute began about the eight yeare of Henrie the fourth, and continued at leaſt vntill the fift yeare of Henrie the fift, if not longer; but in the end (notwithſtanding manie falſe pedegrées counterfeited by this Haſtings, and his vncle Henrie biſhop of Norwich, one of the houſe of the Spenſers) yet it was adiudged againſt the ſaid ſir Edward Haſtings in the marſhals court, that the lands, honors, and armes without difference, as the laſt John Haſtings earle of Penbroke did beare them, with the armes of William Valence earle of Penbroke, ſhould be onelie borne by the ſaid lord Greie of Ruthine and his heires, as being of the whole blood, and next heire to the ſaid laſt John Haſtings earle of Penbroke: and that the ſaid Edward Haſtings ſhould vtterlie be barred to beare the armes of Haſtings, but quartered with the armes of Folliot, as onelie deſcending of the halfe blood to the ſaid laſt earle of Penbroke of that name. And that all other pedegrées what ſo euer (except this) are falſe, and of purpoſe contriued, as appeareth by a notable booke and monument thereof remaining in the hands of Henrie Greie now earle of Kent (deſcended of the ſaid Reinold Greie of Ruthine) conteining all the proceſſe, examinations, witneſſes, pedegrées & iudgements thereof, more plainelie maie appeare. In which contention there was ſhewed a matter by the depoſition of ſir William Hoo knight not vnworthie to be remembred (though it touch not the Haſtings) concerning armorie and bearing of differences in armes, which was, that the ſaid ſir William ſaid on his oth in the tenth yeare of Henrie the fourth, that before the times of Edward the third, the labell of thrée points was the different appropriat and appurtenant for the cognizance of the next heire; but the ſame king made his ſons to beare the entire armes with labels of thrée points, with certeine differences in the ſaid labels, to be knowen the one from the other, except his ſonne the duke of Gloceſter, who bare a border about the armes of France and England. And thus, this much Francis Thin touching the name of Haſtings.

In this yeare Thomas earle of Lancaſter, for the opinion which had béene conceiued of him, by reaſon of miracles and other reſpects, was canonized for a ſaint. The mondaie next after the feaſt of ſaint Hilarie, a parlement was begun at Weſtminſter, in which there was a bill exhibited by the commons, that the lords and great men of the realme ſhould not giue to their men badges to weare as their cognizances; by reaſon that through the abuſe thereof, manie great oppreſſions, imbraceries, vnlawfull maintenances, and wrongs were practiſed, to the hinderance of all good orders, lawes, and iuſtice. The lords would not conſent altogither to laie downe their badges; but yet they agréed that none ſhould weare any ſuch cognizance except their ſeruants of houſhold, and ſuch as were in ordinarie wages by the yeare. ¶ In the ſame parlement, certeine perſons that had gone about ſome new rebellion in Kent, being apprehended, were condemned, and ſo were drawne and hanged. ¶ There was alſo an act made againſt ſuch as ſhould paſſe the ſeas, to purchaſe prouiſions (as they termed them) in any church or churches. And if any from thenceforth attempted ſo to doo, he ſhould be reputed and taken as a rebell. Alſo there was an act prouided againſt thoſe that committed any wilfull murder, that none ſhould preſume

The earle of Lancaſter canonized for a ſaint.

A bill againſt wearing of badges.

No reteiners to weare badges.

An act againſt mediators for wilfull murderers.

to ſue for their pardon. A duke or an archbiſhop that ſo ſued, ſhould forfeit to the king an hundred pounds. Likewiſe an earle or a biſhop, an hundred marks, &c.

The duke of Lancaſter made duke of Aquitaine.

Great tempeſt.

Great plague.

Great dearth.

Moreouer, in this parlement it was granted, that the king ſhould haue of euerie ſacke of wooll fortie ſhillings, of the which ten ſhillings ſhould be applied preſentlie to the kings vſes, and thirtie ſhillings reſidus of the fourtie ſhillings ſhould remaine in the hands of the treaſurors, towards the bearing forth of the charges of wars when any chanced. ¶ Alſo there was a ſubſidie granted of ſix pence in the pound, foure pence to the vſe laſt mentioned, and two pence to be imploied at the kings pleaſure. In the ſame parlement, Iohn duke of Lancaſter was created duke of Aquitaine, receiuing at the kings hand the rod and cap, as inueſtures of that dignitie. Alſo the duke of Yorke his ſonne and heire was created earle of Rutland. In the fift of March a ſore and terrible wind roſe, with the violence whereof, much hurt was done, houſes ouerthrowne, cattell deſtroied, and trées ouerturned. After this inſued great mortalitie by peſtilence, ſo that much youth died euerie where, in cities and townes, in paſſing great numbers. Herewith followed a great dearth of corne, ſo that a buſhell of wheat in ſome places was ſold at thirtéene pence, which was thought to be at a great price. ¶ About the feaſt of S. Peter ad Vincula, Iohn duke of Lancaſter cauſed a great méeting of the nobles and péeres of the realme to hunt at Leiceſter in the foreſt and all the parkes there to him apperteining. On the ſaturdaie the king and quéene were preſent, the archbiſhop of Yorke, the duke of Yorke, Thomas Woodſtoke duke of Gloceſter, the earle of Arundell Iohn of Holland, the earle of Huntington, with other biſhops, lords and ladies a great manie, and on thurſdaie next following the king departing from thence towards Notingham ſoiourned with the lord of Beaumont beſides Loughborow.

Ab. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leiceſter abbeie.

A roiall hunting.

A iournie againſt the Saracens.

Anno Reg. 14.

The Engliſh archers good ſeruice.

In this thirtéenth yeare of king Richards reigne, the chriſtians tooke in hand a iournie againſt the Saracens of Barbarie, through ſute of the Genowais, ſo that there went a great number of lords, knights, and gentlemen of France and England, the duke of Burbon being their generall. Out of England there went one Iohn de Beaufort baſtard ſon to the duke of Lancaſter (as Froiſſard hath noted) alſo ſir Iohn Ruſſell, ſir Iohn Butler and others. They ſet forward in the latter end of this thirtéenth yeare, and came to Genoa, where they remained not long, but that the gallies and other veſſels of the Genowais were readie to paſſe them ouer into Barbarie. And ſo about Midſummer in the beginning of the fourtéenth yeare of this kings reigne, the whole armie being imbarked, ſailed forth to the coaſts of Barbarie, where neare to the citie of Affrike they landed, at which inſtant the Engliſh archers (as ſome write) ſtood all the companie in good ſtead, with their long bowes, beating backe the enimies from the ſhore, which came downe to reſiſt their landing.

Thom. Walſ.

The earle of Derbie his exploits in his iournie againſt the infidels of Prutzenland.

After they had got to land, they inuironed the citie of Affrike (called by the moores Mahemedia) with a ſtrong ſiege: but at length conſtrained with the intemperancie of the ſcalding aire in that hot countrie, bréeding in the armie ſundrie diſeaſes, they fell to a compoſition vpon certeine articles to be performed in the behalfe of the Saracens, and ſo 61 daies after their firſt arriuall there, they tooke the ſeas againe, & returned home, as in the hiſtories of France and Italie is likewiſe expreſſed. Where, by Polydor Virgil it may ſéeme, that the lord Henrie of Lancaſter earle of Derbie, ſhould be capteine of the Engliſh men, that (as before ye haue heard) went into Barbarie with the Frenchmen, and Genowais. It ſhould otherwiſe appeare by other writers, who affirme that the ſaid earle made a iournie in déed the ſame time againſt the miſcreants, not into Barbarie, but into Prutzenland, where he ſhewed good proofe of his noble and valiant courage: for ioining with the maſters and knights of the Dutch order there, the armie of the Lithuanians that came againſt the ſaid order was vanquiſhed, and foure chiefe leaders of the Lithuanians were taken priſoners, thrée other being ſlaine, with thrée hundred of their chiefeſt and beſt approoued ſoldiers. Through the policie alſo and worthie manhood of the earle of Derbie, there was a certeine citie taken, where the ſaid earle and his men firſt entring vpon the walles, did ſet vp his banner: other being ſlouthfull, or at the leaſt vnſkilfull how to deale in ſuch exploits. There were taken and ſlaine foure thouſand of the common people, and amongſt them that were found dead, the king of Pologníes brother was one. The caſtell of the ſame citie was beſieged fiue wéekes ſpace: but by reaſon of ſickeneſſe and ſuch infirmities as chanced in the armie, the maſters of Prutzen, and Lifeland would not tarie any longer, but brake vp their ſiege and returned. The maſter of Lifeland led with him into his countrie thrée thouſand priſoners.

A roiall iuſts holden in Smithfield at London.

The manner of the iuſts in Smithfield.

Siluer ſaith Froiſſard.

In the meane time, whileſt the chriſtians were thus occupied, as well againſt the infidels in Barbarie, as in the eaſt parts towards Littawe, a roiall iuſts and martiall turnament was proclaimed to be holden within Smithfield in London, to begin on ſundaie next after the feaſt of ſaint Michaell. And bicauſe this triumphant paſtime was publiſhed, not onelie in England, but alſo in Scotland, in Almaine, in Flanders, in Brabant, in Heinault, & in France, manie ſtrangers came hither forth of diuerſe countries, namelie Waleran erle of ſaint Paule, that had married king Richards ſiſter the ladie Mauld de Courtnie, and William the yoong erle of Oſteruant, ſonne to Albert de Bauiere earle of Holland and Heinault. At the daie appointed, when all things were prepared, there iſſued forth of the tower about thrée of the clocke in the after noone ſixtie courſers apparelled for the iuſtes, and vpon euerie one an eſquier of honor, riding a ſoft pace. Then came forth foure and twentie ladies of honour (thrée ſcore ſaith Froiſſard) mounted on palfries, riding on the one ſide richlie apparelled, and euerie ladie led a knight with a chaine of gold. Thoſe knights being on the kings part, had their armor and apparell garniſhed with white hearts and crownes of gold about their necks, and ſo they came riding through the ſtréets of London vnto Smithfield, with a great number of trumpets and other inſtruments before them.

The king and the quéene, with manie other great ſtates were readie placed in chambers richlie adorned to ſée the iuſts: and when the ladies that led the knights, were come to the place, they were taken downe from their palfries, and went vp into chambers readie prepared for them. Then alighted the eſquires of honor from their courſers, & the knights in good order mounted vpon them. And ſo when their helmets were ſet on their heads, and that they were redie in all points, after proclamations made by the heraults, the iuſts began, and manie commendable courſes were run, to the great pleaſure, comfort, and recreation of the king, the quéene, and all other the beholders. The priſe that daie on the anſwerers part was giuen to the earle of ſaint Paule; and on the chalengers ſide, to the earle of Huntington. On the mondaie, the king himſelfe, with dukes, earls, lords, and knights, came to the iuſts, he being chéefe of the inner part. That daie the priſe was giuen to the erle of Oſteruant, for the beſt dooer of the vtter part: and of the inner part, to a knight of England called ſir Hugh Spenſer. On the tueſdaie, all manner of eſquiers iuſted, and likewiſe on the wedneſday all maner of knights and eſquires that would, on which daie was a ſore and rude iuſts, enduring till night. And ſo manie a noble courſe and other martiall feats were atchiued in thoſe foure daies, to the great contentation and pleaſure of manie a yoong batcheler deſirous to win fame, & alſo highlie to the kings honour, who by all that ſeaſon held his court in the biſhops palace by Paules church, keeping open houſhold for all honeſt perſons that thither reſorted, eſpeciallie euerie night after the iuſts were ended, a right ſumptuous and princelie ſupper was prepared for the ſtrangers and other, and after ſupper, the time was ſpent in danſing and reuelling after the moſt courtlike maner. On the thurſdaie, the king made a ſupper to all the lords, knights, and gentlemen ſtrangers, and the queene to all the ladies and gentlewomen. On the fridaie the duke of Lancaſter feaſted at dinner all the ſaid lords, knights, and gentlemen ſtrangers, in moſt ſumptuous and plentifull maner. On the ſaturdaie, the king and all the whole companie departed from London vnto Windſore, where new feaſting began, and ſpeciallie the king did all the honour that might be deuiſed vnto the earls of ſaint Paule and Oſteruant. The earle of Oſteruant, at the earneſt requeſt of the king, receiued of him the order of the Garter, for the which he was euill thought of afterwards by his freends, namelie the French king and others. Finallie, after the king had thus feaſted the ſtrangers and others at Windſore, each man tooke leaue of the king, the queene, and the kings vncles, and other lords and ladies, and ſo departed, the ſtrangers into their owne countries, and other home to their houſes, or whither they thought beſt.

The king kept opē houſhold in the biſhop of London his palace by Paules church.

The K. feſteth the ſtrangers.

The duke of Lancaſter feaſteth the ſtrangers.

¶This ſolemne iuſts or tornement being touched, or rather in ample maner deſcribed by Ch. Okland, is reported of him to haue beene kept for actiuitie ſake, and to ſet the youth & luſtie blouds of the court on worke, who otherwiſe (bicauſe the king was yong and loued to liue in peace and eaſe, feats of armes and warlike proweſſe both abroad and at home languiſhed and laie as it were a fainting) through idleneſſe and want of exerciſe, degenerating and growing out of kind from their wonted warlike valiantneſſe, ſhould giue themſelues to filthie lecherie, riot, ſleepe, loitering paſtimes, and ſlouthfulneſſe, all which doo greatlie impaire proweſſe. Wherevpon (ſaith he)

Abr. Fl. out of *Angl. pręl. ſub Rich. 2.*

Rege priùs de re conſulto, ludicra diri
Martis opus ſimulatum inter ſe bella mouebant,
Atq; dies totos viginti quattuor haſtis
Aſſumptis, ſtudio ſtatuunt decurrere fixo.
Deinde idem numerus procerum pars prima laceſſens
Mittit ad externas gentes qui talia pandant.
Ludus ab Angligenis menſe exercebitur vno
Haſticus. Vrbi hærens * *fabrorum dictus* * *agellus*
Extra Londini muros, ſpatioſus & amplus
Eſt locus: hîc ſtadium curſuris, certáq; meta
Ponitur, huc veniant quacunq́; ex gente creati
Sanguine magnorum heroum. Certamine victor
Qui fuerit, terris proſternens corpora plura,
Aut plures haſtas frangens, donabitur auri
Multa vi, capiet quàm plurima ditia dona
Præmia virtutis, Richardo hæc dante brabæa, &c.

*Smithfield, *

Hauing thus deſcribed the place where the iuſts ſhould be kept, with the rewards, and other circumſtances; he toucheth the countries from whence the forren nobilitie came, that ſhould vndertake triall of chiualrie with theſe foure and twentie challengers: who at the daie appointed (ſaith he) came pranſing out of the Towre vpon their great barded horſſes through the broad ſtreets, and their ladies of honor with them gorgiouſlie decked with bracelets, owches, cheines, iewels, ſpangles, and verie ſumptuous attire: a goodlie ſight for the people to behold. At laſt, when they were come to Smithfield, and althings readie, the trumpets ſounded to the exerciſe; and both parties, as well the Engliſh as the outlandiſh cheualiers ran togither, and tried their ſtrengths till they did ſweat and were tired, their horſſes panting and braieng with the violence of their bodilie motion; their ſtaues being craſht in ſunder, flue vp into the aire, and the broken ſtocke or ſtumpe hitting the aduerſarie ouerthrew him to the ground: the beholders with ioy of heart gaue a ſhout thereat, as greatlie delighted with the ſight. Then came the night and brake off the firſt daies tornement. On the next daie when they ſhould renew and fall afreſh vnto it againe, they ſhewed themſelues in courage equall to their anceſtors, and handled their matters ſo well, that they got them great renowme. The third daie came, and the multitude of people ſtill gathered togither woondered at the right valiant deeds of the valorous horſſemen, how they did toſſe, hoiſſe vp, and wind their ſpeares, and with what force they vſed their armes, what courage appeared in their ſtatelie horſſes, and how the verie heauens rang with the ratling of their armor, and the ſtrokes giuen to and fro. Euerie daie brought with it his portion of pleaſure, both to the contenders, and to the beholders. When the time was expired of this tried chiualrie, neceſſarie occaſion moued the king of England to ſet his mind on other matters, ſo that commending the proweſſe of the outlandiſh lords, he beſtowed vpon them maſſie cheines of gold, & loding them with other gifts of great valure, diſmiſſed them into their countries. But the Engliſh challengers required nothing but renowme for their reward, being allured onelie with the loue of praiſe; and thus when theſe paſtimes of chiualrie were quite ended, euerie man got him home to his owne houſe. Thus farre Chriſtopher Okland, touching the deſcription of this *Hippomachia ludicra inter concertatores Anglos & externos.*

1391

Thom. Walſ.

Ambaſſadors from the French king for a perpetuall peace.

Froiſſard.

Ambaſſadors were ſent from the French king, vnto the king of England, to make an ouerture of peace to be had, and to indure for euer betwixt the two realmes of England and France, ſith that by warre it was apparant inough, that neither realme, could greatlie benefit it ſelfe, but rather ſore indamage either other, as afore time it had come apparantlie to paſſe. Therefore the matter being well conſidered, both parts ſeemed well affected towards ſome good concluſion by treatie to be had of a full and perfect peace. About the ſame time, by the king with the aduiſe of his councell, proclamation was made and publiſhed at London, that all beneficed men abiding in the court of Rome, being Engliſhmen borne, ſhould returne home into England before the feaſt of S. Nicholas, vnder paine to forfeit all their benefices; and ſuch as were not beneficed, vnder a paine likewiſe limited. The Engliſhmen hearing ſuch a thunder clap a farre off, fearing the blow, left the popes court, and returned into their natiue ſoile.

A proclamatiō that all Engliſh beneficed men in Rome ſhould returne into England.

The pope troubled with ſuch a rumbling noiſe, ſent in all haſt an abbat as his nuncio vnto the king of England, as well to vnderſtand the cauſes of this proclamation, as of ſtatutes deuiſed and made latelie in parlement againſt thoſe that prouided themſelues of benefices in the court of Rome by the popes buls, which ſeemed not a little preiudiciall to the church of Rome: in conſideration whereof the ſaid nuncio required that the ſame ſtatutes might be repealed and aboliſhed, ſo farre as they tended to the derogation of the church liberties: but if the ſame ſtatutes were not aboliſhed; the pope might not (ſaid his nuncio) with a ſafe conſcience otherwiſe doo than proceed againſt them that made thoſe ſtatutes, in ſuch order as

The pope ſendeth his nuncio to king Richard.

the

Anno Reg. 15.

the canons did appoint. Moreouer the ſaid nuncio declared to the king certeine dangerous practiſes betwixt the antipape and the French king, as to make the duke of Touraine the French kings brother king of Tuſcane and Lombardie, and to eſtabliſh the duke of Aniou in the kingdome of Sicile.

The popes nuncio openeth to the king the Frẽch kings priuie practiſes.

Nuncio.

Moreouer, he gaue the king to vnderſtand, that if the French king might compaſſe by the antipapes meanes to be choſen emperour, he would ſeeke to vſurpe vpon ech mans right, and therefore it ſtood the king of England chieflie in hand to prouide againſt ſuch practiſes in time. And as for the treatie of peace which the Frenchmen ſeemed ſo much to fauour, it was to none other end, but that vpon agreement once had, they might more conuenientlie compaſſe their purpoſe in the premiſſes. Furthermore the nuncio earneſtlie beſought the king of aid in the popes behalfe againſt the French king, if (as he threatned to doo) he ſhould inuade him in Italie with open force. The king ſeemed to giue fauourable eare vnto the nuncio, and after aduiſe taken, appointed to ſtaie till after Michaelmaſſe, at what time a parlement was appointed to be aſſembled, wherein ſuch things as he had proponed ſhould be weied and conſidered, and ſome concluſion taken therein.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leiceſter abbeie.

A ſore bridle for the clergie.

About this time or in the yeare 1391, according to Henrie Knightons account, there was a prophane ſtatute made againſt the church & churchmen; namelie, that no eccleſiaſticall perſon or perſons ſhould poſſeſſe manors, glebeland, houſes, poſſeſſions, lands, reuenues or rents whatſoeuer, at the hands of the feoffer, without the kings licence & the chiefe lords. And this ſtatute extended it ſelfe, as well to pariſh churches, chappels, chanteries, as abbeies, priories, & other monaſteries whatſoeuer: likewiſe to citizens of cities, to farmers, & burgeſſes, hauing ſuch rents or poſſeſſions for the common profit. For men in thoſe daies, that would beſtow land or liuelod vpon church, fraternitie, or conuent, and were not able for coſt and charges to procure a mortmane, vnder the kings licence and chiefe lords; were wont to feoffe ſome ſpeciall men, in whom they had confidence and truſt; vnder whoſe name and title, churchmen, or anie other fraternitie or conuent might inioy the profit of the gift, and might haue the commoditie thereof in poſſeſſion. And it was prouided by that ſtatute, that all and euerie as well perſons eccleſiaſticall as pariſhioners, both citizens, burgeſſes, and farmers, or anie other whatſoeuer, hauing ſuch rents, poſſeſſions, manors, or anie reuenues whatſoeuer, in the hands of ſuch feoffers, without the licence of the king and chiefe lords; that either they ſhould obteine and get a licence of the king and the chiefe lords to make it a mortmaine; or elſe ſet ſuch things to ſale, & raiſe profit of them, on this ſide or before the feaſt of Michaelmaſſe next inſuing: or the ſaid feaſt being paſt and expired, that then the king and the chiefe lords, in things not ordered and diſpoſed accordinglie, may enter and ſeize vpon the ſame, and them haue and hold at his and their pleaſure.

The duke of Gloceſter his iournie into Prutzen land.

The duke of Gloceſter in great fauor with the commons.

About the ſame time, the duke of Gloceſter went into Prutzen land, to the great griefe of the people, that made account of his departure, as if the ſunne had beene taken from the earth, doubting ſome miſhap to follow to the common wealth by his abſence, whoſe preſence they thought ſufficient to ſtay all detriments that might chance, for in him the hope of the commons onelie reſted. In his returne home, he was ſore tormented with rough weather and tempeſtuous ſeas. At length he arriued in Northumberland, and came to the caſtell of Tinmouth, as to a ſanctuarie knowen to him of old, where after he had refreſhed him certeine daies, he tooke his iournie homewards to Plaſchie in Eſſex, bringing no ſmall ioy for his ſafe returne to all the kingdome. ¶ On the ninth of Iulie the ſunne ſeemed darkened with certeine groſſe and euill fauored clouds comming betwixt it and the earth, ſo as it appeared ruddie, but gaue no light from noone till the ſetting thereof. And afterwards continuallie for the ſpace of ſix weeks, about the middeſt of the daie, clouds cuſtomablie roſe, and ſometimes they continued both daie and night, not vaniſhing awaie at all. ¶ At the ſame time, ſuch a mortalitie and death of people increaſed in Northfolke, and in manie other countries of England, that it ſeemed not vnlike the ſeaſon of the great peſtilence. In the citie of Yorke there died eleuen thouſand within a ſhort ſpace. ¶ Henrie Perſie earle of Northumberland lieutenant of Calis, was called home from that charge, and created warden of the marches againſt Scotland, and Robert Mowbraie was ſent to Calis to be the kings lieutenant there.

A great death in Yorke and ſundrie other places.

A parlement at London.

On friday next after All ſoules day, the parlement began at London, in which the knights would in no wiſe agrée, that the ſtatute made againſt ſpirituall men, for the prouiding themſelues of benefices in the court of Rome ſhould be repealed: but yet they agreed thus much, that it ſhould be tollerated, ſo as with the kings licence ſuch ſpirituall men might purchaſe to themſelues ſuch benefices till the next parlement. ¶ In this parlement aforſaid, there was granted vnto our lord the king one tenth of the clergie, and one fifteenth of the people towards the expenſes of Iohn duke of Lancaſter, who in Lent next following went ouer into France to the citie of Amiens for a finall peace betweene the kingdoms of England and France: where the king of France met him with a ſhew of great pompe and honor, ſending before him firſt of all to welcome him thither the citizens of the ſame citie on horſſebacke in a verie great number. Then afterwards, he ſent earles and barons a great manie to the ſame end, then his two vncles, laſt of all went the king himſelfe to meet him, and ſaluting him called him by the name of The moſt worthie warrior of all chriſtendome, the inuincible worthineſſe of the king onelie excepted. And the duke had ſeauenteene daies (by couenant) to compaſſe this treatie of peace: at laſt he returned, hauing attendant vpon him in his traine the biſhop of Durham, and the ſonne of the duke of Yorke the earle of Rutland, with a thouſand horſſemen, ſet forth in a wonderfull ſumptuous ſort with goodlie furniture. ¶ Alſo conditionallie a whole tenth and a whole fifteenth were granted to him, if it chanced that he made anie iournie that yeare againſt the Scots. ¶ In this yeare, the duke of Gelderland ſent to the king of England letters of commendation & praiſe, wherein alſo were prouocations and ſtirrings vp to warre and warlike actiuitie, and to the exerciſe of kinglie nobleneſſe, the tenor whereof followeth:

Abr.Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leiceſter abbeie.

The duke of Lancaſter ambaſſador for the king, right honorablie receiued into France.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leiceſter abbeie.

The tenor of the ſaid dukes letter

to king Richard.

MAgnifice princeps, innata vobis probitas, & prudentum conſilia (vt opinamur) ſimul agerent in officium, quòd ſingula hæreditaria iura, quæ ex natalitio veſtram magnificant regiam maieſtatem, temporibus veſtræ diſcretionis altiſſima prouidentia munirentur illæſa; etſi quæuis oppugnaret violentia, clypeo militari ſtudeat regalis induſtria fortiter defendere ſua iura. Et quòd veſtram regiam perſonam cõtingamus in affinitate, ni vetet Deus ipſe, quin ſemper parati erimus vobis in veſtris iuribus defendendis aſſiſtere cum duobus milibus lancearũ, *quandò & quotiens diſponemini ad·bellica conuolare. Nec perire debeant iura propter verba aut promiſſa, quomodolibet ad hoc laborat verſutia Gallicorum. Sanè ſereniſſime princeps in orbem volat fama, nec ambigitur quòd propter lanam & innumerabilia veſtra ſingularia commoda, ſine quibus non viuit oriens neque auſter, regna ſingula in pecunijs vos ſalutant. In comparatione igitur ad alios reges vobis confert Deus ipſe diuitias centuplatas. Probitas etiam militaris, & arcuum aſperitas, ſine pari, taliter huc vſque extulere gentem magnanimam occidentis, quòd timor non paruus veſtros inuadit aduerſarios; & ad hunc diem impariter victorioſè dimicauit cum Gallicis Angliæ gens auſtera. In puſillanimitate igitur (potentiſſime princeps) contra naturam non obdormiat cor leonis; ſed & quales vobis contulit vires natura, ipſas applicare dignemini actibus bellicoſis, in defenſionem reipublicæ, iuris hæreditarij ſuſtentationem, augmentúmque meriti, & incomparabiliter chronicabilem probitatem cordis magnanimi tanti regis.*

The ſame letter in plaine phraſe *verbatim Engliſhed by A.F.*

MOſt mightie prince, your roiall proweſſe and the counſels of the ſage, ſhould altogither (as we thinke) moue you in dutie, by the moſt profound & deepe foreſight of your diſcretion in time to mainteine and defend all and ſingular your rights & inheritance vnharmed; which by birth doo magnifie and make great your roiall maieſtie, and if anie violence whatſoeuer gainſtand & aſſault the ſame, your kinglie diligence ſhould indeuor with the ſhield of a warrior valiantlie to defend your title and right. And bicauſe we are neere you, & doo as it were touch your roiall perſon in aliance, vnleſſe God himſelfe doo forbid and hinder vs, we will alwaies be readie in all your rights to aſſiſt and aid you with two thouſand pikes, when and how often ſoeuer you ſhall be diſpoſed to ruſh out to battell. Your right ought not to be loſt for words and promiſes, howſoeuer the craftineſſe of the French labor to this purpoſe. Trulie moſt excellent prince, your renowme doth flie into the world, neither is it doubted but for your wooll ſake, and other your ſingular commodities being innumerable (without the which the eaſt and the ſouth can not liue) all realmes with their coines doo greet you. In compariſon therefore of other kings God himſelfe hath beſtowed vpon you riches a hundred fold. Your warlike proweſſe alſo, & the roughneſſe of your bowes, being peereleſſe, haue hitherto ſo extolled the couragious nation of the weſt, that no ſmall feare dooth inuade your aduerſaries; and to this day the ſterne people of England haue (none like them) victoriouſlie incountered with the French. Therefore ô moſt puiſſant prince, let not the hart of a lion ſleepe in cowardlineſſe againſt nature: but what force and valiantneſſe nature hath giuen you, the ſame vouchſafe to put in practiſe with feats of armes in defenſe of your common wealth, the maintenance of your right by inheritance, the increaſe of your deſert, and the peereleſſe proweſſe of ſo great a kings couragious hart right worthie to be chronicled.

The flix gotten by exceſſiue féeding on fruits.

The lord maior of London commended for his carefull prouiſion of corne from beyond the ſeas in the time of dearth.

The price of corne that had continued at an high rate, almoſt for the ſpace of two yeares, began to fall immediatlie after harueſt was got in, to the great reliefe of the poore, which before through immoderate eating of nuts and apples, fell into the diſeaſe called the flix, whereof manie died, and ſuerlie (as was thought) the death and dearth had béene greater, if the commendable diligence of the lord maior of London had not béene, in releeuing the commons by ſuch prouiſion as he made for corne to be brought to London, from the parties of beyond the ſeas, where otherwiſe neither had the countrie béene able in anie thing to haue ſufficed the citie, nor the citie the countrie. H. Knighton referreth this ſcarſitie to the yeare 1390, and maketh a large diſcourſe both of the miſeries which it brought with it, as alſo of the cauſe whereby it was procured, and of the notable meanes whereby the ſame in moſt places was remedied.

Abr.Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leceiſter abbeie.

The cauſe of the ſcarſitie was not want of bread or corne.

Wooll ſold dogcheape by the ſtone.

Prouiſion againſt ſcarſitie to relieue the people.

In this yeare (ſaith he) was a great dearth in all parts of England, and this dearth or ſcarſitie of corne began vnder the ſickle, and laſted till the feaſt of ſaint Peter ad vincula, to wit, till the time of new corne. This ſcarſitie did greatlie oppreſſe the people, and chieflie the commoners of the poorer ſort. For a man might ſée infants and children in ſtréets and houſes, through hunger, howling, crieng, and crauing bread: whoſe mothers had it not (God wot) to breake vnto them. But yet there was ſuch plentie and abundance of manie yeares before, that it was thought and ſpoken of manie houſekéepers and huſbandmen, that if the ſéed were not ſowen in the ground, which was hoorded vp and ſtored in barnes, lofts, and garners, there would be inough to find and ſuſteine all the people by the ſpace of fiue yeares following. But the cauſe of this penurie, was thought to be the want of monie in a great manie. For monie in theſe daies was verie ſcant, and the principall cauſe hereof was, for that the wooll of the land lay a ſléepe and hoong heauie in ſome mens hands by the ſpace of two yeares; and in others thrée yeares, without a chapman. For it was enacted in a certeine parlement, that the merchants of England ſhould not paſſe out of the land with wooll and other merchandize, but ſhould bring the ſame vnto twelue places within the realme appointed for the ſame purpoſe, that the merchants ſtrangers might haue recourſe thither with their commodities and ſo by exchange ſhould tranſport our merchandize for theirs. By meanes whereof the merchants of England did forbeare to buy wooll and other wares vntill the next parlement inſuing, wherein it was granted them to traffike whither they would with their commodities. In theſe daies wooll was dogcheape: for one ſtone of good wooll of the choſen and piked ſort, was ſold for thrée ſhillings, and in Leiceſter and Kent at ſome times for two ſhillings or two and twentie pence. This ſcarſitie of victuals was of greateſt force in Leiceſter ſhire, & in the middle parts of the realme. And although it was a great want, yet was not the price of corne out of reaſon. For a quarter of wheat, when it was at the higheſt, was ſold at Leiceiſter for 16 ſhillings 8 pence at one time, and at other times for a marke or fourtéene ſhillings: at London and other places of the land a quarter of wheat was ſold for ten ſhillings, or for litle more or leſſe. For there arriued eleuen ſhips laden with great plentie of victuals at diuerſe places of the land, for the reliefe of the people. Beſides this, the citizens of London laid out two thouſand marks to buy food out of the common cheſt of orphans: and the foure and twentie aldermen, euerie of them put in his twentie pound a

péece

peece for neceſſarie prouiſion, for feare of famine, likelie to fall vpon the citie. And they laid vp their ſtore in ſundrie of the fitteſt and moſt conuenient places they could chooſe, that the néedie, and ſuch as were wrong with want, might come & buy at a certeine price ſo much as might ſuffice them and their familie: and they which had not readie monie to paie downe preſentlie in hand, their word and credit was taken for a yeares ſpace next following, and their turne ſerued. Thus was prouiſion made that people ſhould be relieued, and that none might periſh for hunger.

O charitie of London!

A dolphin taken at London bridge.

On Chriſtmaſſe day, a dolphin that came forth of the ſea vp the Thames vnto London-bridge, was eſpied of the citizens as he plaied in the water, and being followed & purſued, with much ado was taken. He was ten foot long, and a monſtrous growne fiſh, ſo as the ſight of him was ſtrange to manie that beheld him. He was thought by his comming ſo farre into the landward, to foreſhew ſuch ſtormes and tempeſts as within a wéeke after did raginglie follow.

1392

Ambaſſadors ſent to the French king to treat of peace.

Ye haue heard how the matter for a treatie of peace had béene firſt broched by the French king, by ſending ambaſſadors to the king of England, to moue the ſame. Which motion being throughlie conſidered of the eſtates aſſembled in this laſt parlement, it was decréed, that it ſhould go forward (as before ye haue heard) and ſo about Candelmaſſe, the lord Thomas Perſie, ſir Lewes Clifford, and ſir Robert Briquet, with diuerſe other in their companie, were ſent ouer to the French king, and comming to Paris, found him lodgd in his houſe of Loure, where they declared to him the good affection of the king their maiſter toward peace. And the better to bring it to paſſe, they ſhewed that king Richards deſire was to haue ſome place and time appointed for commiſſioners to méet, with authoritie to treat and conclude vpon articles, as ſhould be thought expedient. The French king greatlie honored theſe ambaſſadors, in feaſting and banketting them for the ſpace of ſix daies togither, and for anſwer, concluded with them, that he himſelfe, with his vncles and other of his councell, would be at Amiens by the middeſt of March next inſuing, there to abide the king of Englands comming, and his vncles, if it ſhould pleaſe them thither to come.

Sir Robert Briquet a Frenchman of king Richard his priuie chamber.

The Engliſh ambaſſadors ſaid there was no doubt, but that either the king himſelfe, or his vncles ſhuld be there at the day aſſigned, with full authoritie to conclude anie agréement that ſhould ſeeme reaſonable, and ſo thoſe ambaſſadors returned with great gifts preſented on the kings behalfe to ech of them, ſir Robert Briquet excepted, vnto whome it ſéemed the French king bare no great good will, for that being a Frenchman borne, he had euer ſerued the Nauarrois or Engliſhmen, and was now one of king Richards priuie chamber. The king of England (as ſome write) was once minded to haue paſſed the ſeas himſelfe, to haue met the French king at Amiens, at the time appointed, but finallie the duke of Lancaſter, the biſhop of Durham, and others, were ſent thither with a traine néere hand of a thouſand horſſes. At their comming into France, they were roiallie receiued: for the French king had made no leſſe preparation for the duke of Lancaſters comming, than if he had béene emperor. The duke of Lancaſter verelie was eſtéemed to be a verie mightie prince, and one of the wiſeſt and ſageſt princes in all chriſtendome, in thoſe daies; ſo that it ſéemed the French king reioiſed greatlie, that he might come to haue conference with him. There were with the French king héere at Amiens, his brother the duke of Thoureigne; his vncles, the dukes of Berrie, Burbon, and Burgognie, & a great number of earles, lords, and other nobles of the realme of France. Before the Engliſhmens comming, for auoiding of ſtrife and debate that might ariſe betwixt the Engliſh and French, a proclamation was ſet forth conteining certeine articles, for the demeanor which the French men ſhould obſerue towards the Engliſhmen.

The dukes of Lancaſter & Yorke, the earls of Derbie and Huntington, the lord Thomas Perſie, the biſhops of Durham and London were ſent ouer, as Froiſſard ſaith.

A roiall ambaſſage.

The duke of Lancaſter, a prince of great renowme.

Whileſt they there remained, all the Engliſhmens charges were borne by the French king, from their ſetting forth from Calis, till they came backe thither againe. As touching their treatie, manie things were proponed, diuerſe demands made, and ſome offers, though to ſmall purpoſe, for they tooke not effect, inſomuch as they departed without concluding anie thing, further than that the truce which was to end at Midſummer next, was prolonged to continue one yéere more, that in the meane time, the lords and eſtates of the realme of England might aſſemble, and with good aduiſe deliberate, whether it were more expedient to agrée vnto a determinate peace, or to purſue the doubtfull chances of warre. And ſuch was the end of that roiall ambaſſage, to the furniſhing forth whereof, the king demanded an aid as well of the abbats and priors, as of the cities and good townes through the whole realme.

The truce prolonged for a yeare. Thom. Walſ.

A councell at Stamford.

Anon after the returne of the duke of Lancaſter, and other the ambaſſadors that had béene at Amiens, a councell of the lords and chiefe ſtates of the realme was called at Stamford, the which (as if it had béene vnto a parlement) there came forth of euerie good towne certeine perſons appointed to deliberate and take aduiſe in ſo weightie a matter, as either to conclude vpon peace, or elſe vpon warre. But in the end they brought little or nothing to paſſe, ſauing that they agréed to haue the truce to indure for twelue moneths longer: both kings ſware to obſerue the ſame, afore ſuch as were appointed to ſée their othes receiued. About the ſame time came the duke of Gelderland into this realme, being the kings couſine, a right valiant and hardie gentleman: he was honorablie receiued and welcomed of the king, and of his vncles, the dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter. This duke of Gelderland counſelled the king not to conclude peace, either with the Frenchmen or Scots, except vpon ſuch conditions as might be knowne to be both profitable and honorable to him and his realme, promiſing that if he had occaſion to make warre againſt either of thoſe two nations, he would be readie to ſerue him with a conuenient power of men at armes of his countrie. After he had béene here a time, and highlie feaſted and banketted, aſwell by the king as other great eſtates of the realme, he returned home, not without diuerſe rich gifts.

The duke of Gelderland commeth into England.

The duke of Gelderland diſſuadeth the king from peace with the French and Scots.

The Londoners refuſe to lend the king a thouſand pounds.

The king about this ſeaſon ſent to the Londoners, requeſting to borrow of them the ſumme of one thouſand pounds, which they vncourteouſlie refuſed to lend: and moreouer they fell vpon an Italian or Lombard (as they termed him) whom they beat and néere hand ſlue: bicauſe he offered to lend the king that monie. Whereof when the king was aduertiſed, he was ſore mooued againſt them, and calling togither the moſt part of the péeres and noble men of his realme, declared vnto them the froward dealings of the Londoners, complaining ſore of ſuch their preſumption. The lords and great men, ſéeming not greatlie to fauour the Londoners, gaue counſell that the inſolent pride of thoſe preſumptuous perſons might with ſpéed be repreſſed. The citizens of London in thoſe daies (as ſhould appeare) vſing their authoritie to the vttermoſt, had deuiſed and ſet forth diuerſe orders and conſtitutions to abridge the libertie of foreners that came to the citie to vtter their commodities. Religious men that wrote the doings of that age, ſéemed alſo to find fault with them, for that they fauored Wicliffes opinions, & therefore did charge them with infidelitie, and mainteining (I know not how) of Lollards & heretikes: but howſoeuer the matter,went they fell at this preſent into the kings heauie diſpleaſure.

A great fire kindled about a litle ſparke.

Some there be that write, how the king piked the firſt quarell againſt the maior and ſhiriffes, for a riot committed by the vnrulie citizens, againſt the ſeruants of the biſhop of Saliſburie: for that where one of the ſame biſhops ſeruants had taken a horſſe-loſe frō a bakers man, as he paſſed by in Fléetſtréet with his baſket to ſerue his maſters cuſtomers, and would not deliuer it againe, but brake the bakers mans head, when he was earneſt to haue recouered the loſe, the inhabitants of the ſtréet roſe, and would haue had the biſhops man to priſon for breaking the kings peace: but he was reſcued by his fellowes, and eſcaped into Saliſburie houſe, that ſtood there within the allie, and as then belonged to his maſter the biſhop of Saliſburie, being at that time high treaſuror of England. The people being ſet in a rage for the reſcue ſo made, gathered togither in great multitudes about the biſhops palace gate, and would haue fetched out the offendor by force.

A riot by the Londoners vpon the biſhop of Saliſburies men.

To conclude, ſuch a hurling was in the ſtréet, that the maior, with the ſhiriffes, & diuers aldermen came thither with all ſpéed, to take order in the matter, and to ſée the peace kept; but after the cōming thither of the maior, the commons of the citie reſorted to the place in far greater numbers than before; and the more they were, the worſſe they were to rule, and would not be perſuaded to quiet themſelues, except the biſhops ſeruant, whoſe name was Walter Romane, might be had out of the houſe, and committed to priſon: but at length, after manie aſſaults, lifts, & other indeuours made to haue broken vp the gates of the houſe, the maior & aldermen, with other diſcréet commoners appeaſed the people ſo, as they brought them to quiet, and ſent euerie man to his houſe.

Walter Romane.

The biſhop was then at Windeſor where the court laie, who being informed of this matter, by a gréeuous report, and happilie in worſſe manner than the thing had happened indéed, tooke ſuch indignation therewith, that taking with him Thomas Arundell archbiſhop of Yorke, then lord chancellor of England, he went to the king and made an heinous complaint againſt the citizens for their miſdemeanor, ſo that his diſpleaſure was the more kindled againſt the citizens, in ſo much that, whether in reſpect of this laſt remembred complaint, or rather for their vncourteous deniall to lend him the thouſand pounds, and miſuſing the Lombard that offered to lend the ſame, I cannot ſaie; but ſure it is, that the maior and ſhiriffe, and a great ſort more of the citizens, were ſent for to come to the court, where diuerſe miſdemeanors were obiected and laid to their charge: and notwithſtanding, what excuſe they pretended, the maior and ſhiriffes with diuerſe other of the moſt ſubſtantiall citizens, were arreſted. The maior was committed to the caſtell of Windeſor, and the other, vnto other caſtels and holds, to be ſafelie kept, till the king, by the aduiſe of his councell, ſhould determine further what ſhould be doone with them.

The biſhop of Saliſburie maketh a gréeuous cōplaint of the Londoners to the king.

The maior & ſhiriffes of London ſent for to Windſore to the king, & there impriſoned.

The liberties of the citie were ſeized into the kings han[illegible] and the authoritie of the maior vtterlie ceaſſed, the king appointing a warden to gouerne the citie, named ſir Edward Darlingrug knight, that ſhould both rule the citie, and ſée that euerie man had iuſtice miniſtred, as the caſe required. This ſir Edward Darlingrug began to gouerne the citie of London by the name of lord warden, the one and twentith of Iune, on which day the king entered into the 16 yeare of his reigne: by reaſon it was thought that the ſaid ſir Edward Darlingrug was ouerfauourable to the citizens, he continued in his office but till the firſt of Iulie, and being then diſcharged, one ſir Baldwine Radington, a right circumſpect and diſcréet knight, was put in that roome, who knew how both to content the kings mind, and to comfort the citizens, and put them in hope of the kings fauour in time to be obteined, to the reliefe of their ſorow and heauineſſe.

The liberties of London ſeized.

A gardian appointed to gouerne the citie of London.

Anno Reg. 16. Sir Edward Darlingrug lord warden of London.

Darlingrug remoued, & ſir Baldwine Radington made lord warden of London.

At length, the king, through ſute and inſtant labour made by certeine noble men, ſpeciallie the duke of Gloceſter, began ſomewhat to relent and pacifie himſelfe, as touching his rigorous diſpleaſure againſt the Londoners, calling to mind the great honour he had diuerſe waies receiued at their hands, with the great gifts which they had likewiſe beſtowed vpon him, wherevpon he purpoſed to deale the more mildlie with them, and ſo ſent for diuerſe of the chiefe citizens to come vnto Windeſor, where he then kept his court, there to ſhew forth the priuileges, liberties, and lawes of their citie, as well the new as old, that with the aduiſe of his councell, he might determine which ſhould remaine in force, and which ſhould be aboliſhed. Herevpon, when the ſaid priuileges, and liberties were laid forth, to the view of ſuch perſons as had to conſider of them, ſome were ratified, ſome permitted by tolleration, and ſome vtterlie condemned and abrogated.

The liberties of London in part confirmed in part condemned.

Neither might they recouer at that preſent, either the perſon or dignitie of their maior, nor obteine the kings entire fauour, till they had ſatiſfied the king of the damages and iniuries by them doone, either to him or his people. And where he had béene at great charges, in preparing forces to chaſtiſe them, as he was determined, if they had not ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, they were ſure that their purſſes muſt anſwer all that he had laid forth about that matter. They therfore with humble ſubmiſſion, in recompenſe & ſatiſfaction of their treſpaſſes, offered to giue him ten thouſand pounds, but they were for this time ſent home, and appointed to returne againe at a certeine day, not vnderſtanding what they muſt pay, till the king with the aduiſe of his councell had taken further order for them. At length, through ſuch dailie ſute as was made for the quieting of the kings hot diſpleaſure towards the Londoners, he was contented to pardon all offenſes paſt. But firſt, the citizens were told, that the king meant to come from his manor of Shene, to the citie of London, and then vndoubtedlie, vpon knowledge had of their good meanings, hereafter to beare themſelues like louing ſubiects, they ſhould obteine his fauour.

A ſwéet ſacrifice.

The citizens aduertiſed hereof, did not onelie prepare themſelues to meet him, and to preſent him with gifts in moſt liberall manner; but alſo to adorne, decke, and trim their citie with ſumptuous pageants, rich hangings, and other gorgeous furniture, in all points like as is vſed at anie coronation. At the day appointed, there met him (beſide other) foure hundred of the citizens on horſebacke, clad in one liuerie, preſenting themſelues in that order, vpon the heath on this ſide Shene, and in moſt humble wiſe, crauing pardon for their offenſes paſt, beſought him to take his waie to his palace of Weſtminſter, thorough the citie of London. This ſute made by the recorder, in name of all the citizens, he gratiouſlie granted, and ſo held on his iournie, till he came to London bridge, where vnto him was preſented a paſſing faire ſtéed, white, ſaddled, brideled, and trapped in rich cloth of gold, parted with red and white. And likewiſe to the quéene was giuen a milke white palfrie, ſaddled, brideled, and trapped in the ſame ſort, as the other was. Theſe preſents were thankefullie accepted, and ſo both the king and the quéene paſſing forward, entered the citie, prepared and hanged with rich clothes (as before you haue heard) the citizens

He was met with proceſſion of the biſhop & clergie at S. Georges church in Southwarke.

Gifts preſented to the K. by the Londoners to pacifie his diſpleaſure conceiued againſt them.

K. Richard roiallie receiued into London.

ſtanding on ech ſide the ſtréets in their liueries, crieng; King Richard, king Richard.

At the ſtandard in Cheape, was a right ſumptuous ſtage ordeined, on which were ſet diuerſe perſonages, and an angell that put a rich crowne of gold, garniſhed with ſtone and pearle vpon the kings head, as he paſſed by, and likewiſe an other on the quéenes head. This doone, the king rode to Paules, and there offered, and ſo tooke his horſſe againe, and rode to Weſtminſter, where the maior and his companie taking their leaue, returned to London. On the morrow, the maior and his brethren went againe to Weſtminſter, and there preſented the king with two baſens gilt, & in them two thouſand nobles of gold, beſéeching him to be good and gratious lord to the citie; he receiued their preſent in courteous manner, and gaue them manie comfortable words. The third daie after, they receiued a new confirmation of all their old liberties (at the leaſt ſuch as might be an aid to the citie, and no detriment to forreners) wherefore, by counſell of their fréends, they ordeined a table for an altar of ſiluer and gilt, ingrauen with imagerie, and inameled in moſt curious wiſe, conteining the ſtorie of ſaint Edward, it was valued to be worth a thouſand marks. This was preſented to the king, the which he ſhortlie after offered to the ſhrine of ſaint Edward within the abbeie. The Londoners beléeued, that by theſe gifts they had béene quite rid of all danger; but yet they were compelled to giue the king after this, ten thouſand pounds, which was collected of the commons in the citie, not without great offenſe and grudging in their minds.

More gifts by the Lōdoners to the king.

Tho. Walſin.
The liberties of London ratified by king Richard.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leeciſter abbeie.

¶ You haue heard hitherto, what means was made by the maior, aldermen, and whole bodie of the commonaltie of London to procure the kings maieſties (in whoſe diſfauour they were déeplie drowned) gratious reconciliation. Wherein though there hath béene large matter deliuered; yet to ſet forth the dignitie thereof the fuller, take héere by the waie the report of Henrie Knighton. In the yeare (ſaith he) 1392, the king called a great councell on the morrow after Trinitie ſundaie at Stamford, about certeine affaires concerning the Frenchmen, in which councell he aſſembled togither all the old ſoldiers of his relme, that by the aduiſe of the elder ſort he might ſée what were beſt for him to doo in the premiſſes. The king alſo held a great councell at Notingham, on the feaſt of S. John the Baptiſt, whereat he cauſed the maior of London with the foure and twentie aldermen, the two ſhiriffes, and foure and twentie of the beſt commoners of the citie in the ſecond degrée to be conuented before him. Héere he charged them that they had forfeited a certeine bond of 9000 pounds to the king, beſides the loſſe of their liberties and priuileges. Which obligation or bond they had made in former time to the king, their deſerts requiring the ſame. Now the king, after rehearſall made of their new offenſes & faults, diſcharged the maior, the two ſhiriffes, and the reſt of his officers of their offices, and ſent the maior and the two ſhiriffes to certeine places of cuſtodie as his priſoners, defeating the citie of London of the honour of all their priuileges; in ſo much that a citizen or fréeman ſhould haue no more prerogatiue than a forrener or ſtranger. He appointed alſo the lord Edward Balerige to be gouernor thereof, to kéepe and ſée kept the kings lawes and his liege people within London in due order, vntill ſuch time as the king had otherwiſe prouided for them. And he ſet them a day to anſwer the king and his councell to certeine interrogatories on the feaſt of S. Marie Magdalen then next inſuing, at Windſore. In the meane while, at the mediation of certeine fréends and welwillers, the kings indignation was ſomewhat mitigated and aſſwaged towards them; inſomuch that at length he releaſed the maior and the ſhiriffes, and ſent them home to their houſes; ſetting ouer them notwithſtanding a new kéeper or gouernour of the citie, and reſeruing in his hand all the priuileges of the citie. In the meane time, on the ſundaie next after the feaſt of the Aſſumption of the bleſſed virgin Marie; all the wealthieſt and worthieſt commoners of the citie came to the king, and ſubmitted themſelues and all their goods to his grace, and then did he firſt receiue and take them into his fauour. On the wedneſdaie inſuing, the king was purpoſed to come into London, and the citizens in multitudes innumerable met him on horſſebacke; & they that had no horſſes went out on foot to welcome him thither; women alſo and infants ſhewed themſelues vnto him; likewiſe the biſhop of London, with all the clergie, no order, degrée, condition, eſtate, or ſex of eccleſiaſticall dignitie being excuſed, went out in proceſſion to méet the king and the quéene with great reioiſing. It was reported how in that proceſſion there were aboue fiue hundred boies in ſurpliſſes. Moreouer, the citizens of London trimmed the outſides of their houſes and chambers in euerie ſtréet through which the king and the quéene were to paſſe, from S. Georges to Weſtminſter. As for the houſes of the welthier ſort, they were braulie garniſhed with cloth of gold, ſiluer, tiſſue, veluet, & other ſumptuous ſtuffe whatſoeuer by any poſſible means could be gotten. In Cheapſide there was a conduit, out of the which two ſpouts ran with read wine & white, and vpon the conduit ſtood a little boie apparelled in white like an angell, hauing a golden cup in his hand, who preſented wine to the king and quéene to drinke as they paſſed by. In the meane time they offered to the king a golden crowne of great value, and another golden crowne to the quéene; and a while after paſſing forwards, they preſented to the king a golden tablet of the Trinitie, to the value of eight hundred pounds; and to the quéene another golden tablet of S. Anne, whome ſhe had in ſpeciall deuotion and reuerence, bicauſe hir owne name was Anne. Such, and ſo great, and ſo wonderfull honors did they to the king, as the like in former times was neuer doone to anie king of this realme: and ſo going forward, they brought the king and the quéene to Weſtminſter hall. The king ſitting in his ſeat roiall, & all the people ſtanding before him; one in the kings behalfe as his ſpeaker, gaue the people thanks for the great honour and princelie preſents which they had beſtowed vpon the king; and being bidden to fall euerie man to his buſineſſe and affaires, it was told them that in the next parlement they ſhould haue their finall anſwer.

At the ſame time, the duke of Gloceſter, hauing receiued monie to leauie an armie, which he ſhould haue conueied ouer into Ireland, of which countrie, a good while before that preſent, the king had made him duke, was now readie to ſet forward, when ſuddenlie through the malice of ſome priuie detractours about the king, he was contermanded, and ſo his iournie was ſtaied, to the great hinderance and preiudice of both the countries of England and Ireland: for euen vpon the fame that was bruted of his comming into Ireland, in manner all the Iriſh lords determined to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, ſo greatlie was his name both loued, reuerenced, and feared, euen among thoſe wild and ſauage people. This yeare Robert Véere, late earle of Oxenford, and duke of Ireland, departed this life at Louaine in Brabant, in great anguiſh of mind, & miſerable neceſſitie: which yoong gentleman (doubtleſſe) was apt to all commendable exerciſes and parts fit for a noble man, if in his youth he had béene well trained and brought vp in neceſſarie diſcipline.

The duke of Gloceſter made duke of Ireland.

His iournie into Ireland vnluckilie ſtaied.

Véere, late duke of Ireland, dieth at Louaine.

This

1393

Tho.Walſi.

A parlement at Wincheſter

The chancerie and kings bench kept at Yorke and frõ thence remoued to Londõ.

Eures.

The Ile of Man.

This yeare after Chriſtmaſſe, a parlement was called at Wincheſter, in which onelie a grant was made by the cleargie, of halfe a tenth, for the expenſes of the duke of Lancaſter & Gloceſter, that were appointed to go ouer into France, to treat of peace, betwixt the two kingdomes. The courts of the kings bench and chancerie, which had béene remoued from Weſtminſter to Yorke, either in diſfauour onelie of the Londoners, or in fauour of the citizens of Yorke, for that the archbiſhop of that citie, being lord chancellor, wiſhed to aduance (ſo farre as in him laie) the commoditie and wealth thereof, were neuertheleſſe about this ſeaſon brought backe againe to Weſtminſter, after they had remained a ſmall time at Yorke, to the diſpleaſure of manie. ¶ This yeare, the lord Auberie de Veere, vncle to the late duke of Ireland, was made earle of Oxenford. ¶ The two and twentith of Februarie, John Eures, conſtable of Douer caſtell, & lord ſteward of the kings houſe departed this life, in whoſe roome the lord Thomas Perſie that before was vicechamberlaine was created lord ſteward; and the lord Thomas Beaumont was made conſtable of Douer, and lord warden of the cinque ports: and the lord William Scroope was made vicechamberlaine, who about the ſame time, bought of the lord William Montacute the Ile of Man, with the regalitie therof, for it is a kingdome; as Thomas Walſingham affirmeth.

The dukes of Lancaſter & Gloceſter ſent to Frãce to treat of a peace.

The French commiſſioners would haue Calis raced to the ground.

The dukes of Lancaſter and Gloceſter went ouer vnto Calis, and downe to Bullongne came the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie. Theſe noblemen were ſufficientlie furniſhed with authoritie, to conclude a perfect peace, both by ſea and land, betwéene the two realmes of France and England, and all their alies. The place appointed for them to treat in, was at Balingham, where tents and pauilions were pight vp, for the eaſe of both parties. They met there twiſe or thriſe a wéeke, in a faire tent prepared for the purpoſe, about nine of the clocke in the forenoone. This was about the beginning of Maie. When they entered firſt into communication, and had ſéene each others authoritie, one of the firſt demands that the Frenchmen made, was to haue Calis raced, in ſuch wiſe, as there ſhould neuer be anie habitation there after that time. The dukes of Lancaſter and Gloceſter anſwered herevnto, how they had no authoritie to conclude ſo farre, but that England ſhould hold Calis ſtill, as in demeſne, and true inheritance; and therefore, if they purpoſed to enter any further in the treatie of peace, they ſhould ceaſſe from that demand and ſpeake no more thereof. When the dukes of Berrie and Burgognie heard their two couſins of England anſwer ſo roundlie, they ſpake no more of that matter.

The demand of the Engliſh cõmiſſioners.

Order taken, that the demands on either ſide ſhould be ſet downe in writing, the better to be conſidered of.

The Engliſh gentlemen mainteined by the French warres.

The ſubtiltie of the French men.

The commiſſioners met againe.

Then the dukes of Lancaſter and Gloceſter demanded to haue reſtitution of all ſuch lands as had béene deliuered, either to king Richard, or to king Edward the third, or to anie their deputies or commiſſioners, and alſo to haue fullie paid the ſumme of florens that was left vnpaid, at the time when the warre reuiued betwixt England and France: and this the Engliſh lawiers proued to ſtand with equitie and reaſon. But neuertheleſſe, the lords and chancellor of France argued to the contrarie, and ſo agrée they could not, inſomuch as the Frenchmen required, that if the Engliſhmen meant to haue anie concluſion of peace, they ſhould draw to ſome néerer points. At length, the foure dukes tooke order, that all their demands on either ſide ſhould be ſet downe in writing, and deliuered to either partie interchangeablie, that they might be regarded at length, and ſuch as ſhould be found vnreaſonable, to be raced or reformed. After they had communed togither diuerſe times, and remained there ſixtéene daies, they appointed to aduertiſe the two kings of their whole doings, and after nine daies ſpace to meet againe. The French dukes rode to Abbeuile, where the French king then laie: and the Engliſh dukes returning to Calis, wrote to the king of England, of all the whole matter. The duke of Gloceſter was harder to deale with in each behalfe, concerning the concluſion of peace, than was the duke of Lancaſter, for he rather deſired to haue had warre than any peace, except ſuch a one as ſhould be greatlie to the aduantage and honour of the realme of England: and therefore the commons of England vnderſtanding his diſpoſition, agréed that he ſhould be ſent, rather than anie other. For where in times paſt the Engliſhmen had greatlie gained by the warres of France, as well the commons, as the knights and eſquires, who had by the ſame mainteined their eſtate, they could not giue their willing conſents, to haue anie peace at all with the Frenchmen, in hope by reaſon of the wars, to profit themſelues, as in times paſt they had doone. The French king & nobles of France were greatlie inclined to peace, and ſo likewiſe was the king of England, & the duke of Lancaſter. But the Frenchmen were ſo ſubtill, and vſed ſo manie darke and coloured words, that the Engliſhmen had much a doo to vnderſtand them: which offended much the duke of Gloceſter. But neuertheleſſe, at the daie prefixed, theſe foure dukes met againe at Balingham, and with the French lords came the king of Armenie, newlie returned into France forth of Grecia, for into his owne countrie he durſt not come, the Turkes hauing conquered it, the ſtrong towne of Conich, which the Genowaies held, excepted.

The king of Armenie.

Obſcure and doubtfull words to be opened.

A truce for foure yeares betwéene England and France.

The king of Armenie would gladlie that peace might haue béene eſtabliſhed betwixt France and England, in hope to procure the ſooner ſome aid of the kings to recouer his kingdome. But to conclude after that the dukes, and other with them aſſociat as aſſiſtants, had diligentlie peruſed and examined the articles of their treatie, they would not paſſe nor ſeale to anie, till all darke and obſcure words were cléerelie declared, opened, and made perfect, ſo that no generall peace might be concluded. Notwithſtanding, as Froiſſard ſaith, a truce for foure yeares ſpace, vpon cerfeine articles was agréed to be kept as well by ſea as by land. It was thought, that when they were at point to haue growne to agréement concerning manie articles, if the French king had not newlie fallen into his former diſeaſe of frenſie, there had better effect followed of this treatie; but by occaſion of his ſickneſſe, each man departed, before that anie principall articles could be fullie ordered and made perfect. The ſame time, ſir Thomas Perſie the yoonger was made lord warden of Burdeaux and Aquitaine.

Anno Reg. 17. Great tempeſts.

Much hurt doone by great floods in Suffolke.

A great plage in Eſſex.

1394

In Sepermber, much hurt was doone, thorough excéeding great thunder, lightening, and tempeſts, which chanced in manie parts of England, but ſpeciallie in Cambridgeſhire, where manie houſes were burned, with no ſmall quantitie of corne. Great inundations and floods of water followed ſhortlie after in October, which did much hurt at Burie, and Newmarket in Suffolke, where it ouerthrew wals of houſes, and put men and women in great danger of drowning. In Eſſex alſo in September, great mortalitie fell by peſtilence amongſt the people, whereof manie died. ¶ The towne of Chierburg was reſtored againe to the king of Nauarre, who had ingaged it to the king of England, for two thouſand markes. ¶ A parlement was holden at Weſtminſter, which began in the octaues of ſaint Hilarie. ¶ The king purpoſing to go ouer into Ireland, required a ſubſidie, the cleargie granted to him a whole tenth, toward the furniſhing forth of that iournie, if he went himſelfe; if he went not, yet they agréed to giue to him the moitie of a tenth. In time of this parlement, there appeared great euill will to remaine betwixt the duke of Lancaſter and the earle of Arundell, for the duke impoſed to the earle, that about the Exaltation of the croſſe, he laie with a companie of armed men in the caſtell of Holt by Cheſter, the ſame time that the countrie there roſe againſt the duke, with their capteine Nicholas Clifton, and his complices, whome he ment (as the duke alledged) to haue aided againſt him: but this the earle flatlie denied, and with probable reaſons ſo excuſed himſelfe, as the quarrell at length was taken vp, and the parties for the time well quieted.

Variance betwéene the duke of Lancaſter and the earle of Arundell.

The death of quéene Anne.

The K. defaceth the houſe of Shene bicauſe the quéene died there.

This yeare on Whitſundaie being the ſeauenth of Iune, quéene Anne departed this life, to the great gréefe of hir huſband king Richard, who loued hir intirelie. She deceaſſed at Shene, and was buried at Weſtminſter, vpon the ſouth ſide of ſaint Edwards ſhrine. The king tooke ſuch a conceit with the houſe of Shene, where ſhe departed this life, that he cauſed the buildings to be throwne downe and defaced, whereas the former kings of this land, being wearie of the citie, vſed cuſtomablie thither to reſort, as to a place of pleaſure, and ſeruing highlie to their recreation. Thus the king, the duke of Lancaſter, and his ſonne the earle of Derbie, were widowers, all in one ſeaſon: for the ladie Conſtance ducheſſe of Lancaſter daughter to Peter king of Spaine, deceaſſed the laſt yeare, whileſt hir huſband the duke of Lancaſter was at the treatie in France: at the ſame time alſo deceaſſed the counteſſe of Derbie, wife to the lord Henrie earle of Derbie. ¶ Moreouer, in this yeare 1394, Iſabell ducheſſe of Yorke departed this life, that was halfe ſiſter to the ducheſſe of Lancaſter, being borne of one mother. She was buried at Langlie.

Anno Reg. 18. A proclamation that all Iriſhmen ſhuld returne into their countrie

The Engliſh pale in Irelãd almoſt left deſolate.

The yearelie reuenues of Ireland in K. Edward the third his daies.

This yeare in Auguſt, was a proclamation ſet forth, that all Iriſhmen ſhould auoid this land, and returne home into their owne countrie, before the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our ladie, on paine of death. The occaſion of which proclamation was, for that ſuch multitudes of Iriſhmen were come ouer into this region, in hope of gaine, that the countries in Ireland, ſubiect to England, were in manner left void of people, ſo that the enimies ſpoiled and waſted thoſe countries at their pleaſure, finding few or none to withſtand them. And where king Edward the third had placed in Ireland his bench and iudges, with his excheker, for the good adminiſtration of iuſtice and politike gouernement to be vſed there, he receiued from thence yearelie in reuenues and profits, comming to his owne cofers, the ſumme of thirtie thouſand pounds: the king now laid forth no leſſe a ſumme to repell the enimies, which by abſence of thoſe that were come ouer hither, could not otherwiſe be reſiſted, ſith the power of the rebels was ſo increaſed, and the force of the countries ſubiect, through lacke of the former inhabitants, ſo diminiſhed. ¶ About the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our ladie, the king ſet forward to paſſe into Ireland, hauing made ſuch preparation for that iournie, as the like for Ireland had not béene heard of at anie time before. There went out with him the duke of Gloceſter, the earles of March, Notingham, and Rutland, the lord Thomas Perſie lord ſteward, and diuerſe other of the Engliſh nobilitie.

The duke of Lancaſter ſaileth into Aquitaine with an armie.

The duke of Lancaſter, that in the thirtéenth yeare of king Richards reigne had béene created by authoritie of parlement, duke of Aquitaine, was about this preſent time ſent thither, with fiue hundred men of armes, & a thouſand archers, to take poſſeſſion of that duchie, according to the kings grant, by his letters patents thereof had, made, and confirmed with his ſeale, in preſence of the moſt part of all the nobles and great lords of England, to hold all that countrie to the ſaid duke and his heires for euer in as large manner and forme, as his father king Edward the third, or anie other kings of England, or dukes of Aquitaine before time had holden, and as king Richard at that ſeaſon had & held the ſame, the homage alwaies yet reſerued to the kings of England for euer. But all this notwithſtanding, at his comming thither, ſo farre were the Gaſcoignes, and other people of thoſe marches from receiuing him with ioy and triumph, that they plainelie told him, they would not atturne to him, nor be vnder his iuriſdiction at anie hand, although he had brought ouer with him commiſſioners ſufficientlie authoriſed, both to diſcharge them of their former allegiance to the king, and to inueſt him in poſſeſſion of that duchie, in maner and forme as before is ſaid.

The Gaſcoignes flatlie refuſe to accept the duke of Lancaſter for their ſoueraigne.

K. Richard paſſeth ouer into Ireland with a mightie armie.

But now to returne to king Richard, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that when all his prouiſion and roiall armie was readie, about Michaelmas, he tooke the ſea, and landed at Waterford the ſecond of October, and ſo remained in Ireland all that winter: his people were lodged abroad in the countrie, and lay ſo warilie as they might. For although the Iriſhmen durſt not attempt anie exploit openlie againſt the Engliſhmen, after the kings arriuall with ſo puiſſant an armie, yet they would ſteale ſometimes vpon them, where they eſpied anie aduantage, and diſquiet them in their lodgings. But when the Engliſh ſtill preuailed, diuerſe of the greateſt princes among them came in, and ſubmitted themſelues. Amongſt other, foure kings are mentioned, as the great Onell king of Meth, Brine of Thomond king of Thomond, Arthur Macmur king of Lineiſter, and Conhur king of Cheueno and Darpe: theſe kings were courteouſlie interteined and much made of by king Richard, who kept his Chriſtmas this yeare at Dubline. And after that feaſt was ended, he held a parlement there, to the which all his ſubiects of Ireland, vnto whom it apperteined, reſorted, as well thoſe that had continued vnder the Engliſh gouernement aforetime, as thoſe that were latelie yéelded.

Froiſſard.

Foure Iriſh kings ſubmit themſelues to K. Richard.

1395

A parlement holden in Ireland.

A parlement at weſtminſter, king Richard being in Ireland.

Alſo at the ſame time, after the octaues of the Epiphanie, the duke of Yorke, lord warden of England, now in the kings abſence, cauſed a parlement to be called at Weſtminſter, to the which was ſent forth of Ireland the duke of Gloceſter, that he might declare to the commons the kings neceſſitie, to haue ſome grant of monie to ſupplie his want, hauing ſpent no ſmall quantitie of treaſure in that iournie made into Ireland. The dukes words were ſo well heard and beléeued, that a whole tenth was granted by the clergie, and a fiftéenth by the laitie; but not without proteſtation, that thoſe paiements were granted of a méere good will, for the loue they bare to the king, and to haue his buſineſſe go forwards, which becauſe it required great expenſes, both for that his owne roiall perſon was abiding in Ireland about the ſubduing of the rebels, as alſo becauſe his retinue and power could not be mainteined without exceſſiue charges; they ſéemed to be no leſſe deſirous to haue the ſame ended, than they which were dailie agents in the ſame, not without feare of miſfortune likelie to befall them, hauing to deale with a people of ſuch barbarous and rebellious behauior.

The wickleuiſts wrote againſt the clergie.

At the ſame time, thoſe that followed Wickliffes opinions, ſet vp publikelie on the church doore of Paules in London, and the church doores of Weſtminſter, certeine writings, conteining accuſations of the clergie, and concluſions, ſuch as had not commonlie béene heard, againſt eccleſiaſticall perſons, and the vſe of the ſacraments, as the church then mainteined. They were incouraged thus to doo, as it

was

The clergie complaine to the king of the Wickleuiſts, and their fauorers.

K. Richard knighteth the foure Iriſh kings, and others. Froiſſard.

was ſaid, by ſome noble men, and knights of great worſhip, as ſir Richard Sturrie, ſir Lewes Clifford, ſir Thomas Latimer, ſir John Montacute, & others, who comforted & pricked forward thoſe kind of men, then called heretikes & Lollards, to the confounding of monks, friers, and other religious perſons, by all waies they might. Herevpon, the archbiſhop of Yorke, the biſhop of London, and certeine other as meſſengers from the whole ſtate of the clergie, paſſed ouer into Ireland, where, to the king they made a grieuous complaint, as well againſt thoſe that had framed and ſet forth ſuch writings, as againſt them that mainteined them in their dooings, and therefore beſought him with ſpéed to returne home into England, there to take ſuch order, for the reſtreining of thoſe miſordered perſons, as vnto the reliefe of the church might be thought expedient, being then in great danger of ſuſteining irrecouerable loſſe and damage, if good reformation were not the ſooner had. King Richard hearing theſe things, vpon good deliberation had in the matter, determined to returne home, but firſt on the day of the Annuntiation of our ladie, he made the foure aboue remembred kings, to wit, Onell, Brine of Thomond, Arthur of Mackmur, and Conhur, knights, in the cathedrall church of Dublin, and one likewiſe ſir Thomas Orphen, ſir Ioatas Pado, and his coſine ſir John Pado.

K. Richard returneth out of Ireland.

K. Richards dealings againſt the fauorers of the Wickleuiſts.

This doone, and now after that they were ſet in quiet in that countrie (the rebels not being ſo hardie as to ſtirre, whileſt ſuch a mightie armie was there readie at hand to aſſaile them) the king about Eaſter came backe into England without anie more adoo, ſo that the gaine was thought nothing to counteruaile the charges, which were verie great: for the king had ouer with him in that iournie, foure thouſand men of armes, and thirtie thouſand archers, as Froiſſard ſaith he was informed by an Engliſh eſquier that had béene in that iournie. The king at his comming ouer, did not forget what complaint the archbiſhop of Yorke, and the biſhop of London had exhibited to him, againſt thoſe that were called Lollards, and heretiks, wherevpon immediatlie, he called before him certeine of the noble men, that were thought and knowne to fauour ſuch kind of men; threatning terriblie, if from thence forth they ſhould in anie wiſe comfort and relieue them. He cauſed ſir Richard Sturrie to receiue an oth, that he ſhould not mainteine from that day forward anie ſuch erronious opinions, menacing him, and as it were, couenanting with him by an interchangeable oth, that if euer he might vnderſtand, that he did violate and breake that oth, he ſhould die for it a moſt ſhamefull death.

Abr. Fl. out of Henrie Knighton canon of Leiceſter abbeie.

¶ By the report of H. Knighton it ſhould ſéeme, that this ſect (as he calleth them) mightilie increaſed, to the no ſmall offenſe of the lords temporall and ſpirituall, wherevpon after ſundrie complaints, and ſerious ſolicitations for the ſupplanting of them, commiſſions were granted, and the tenure of them (as it ſhould ſéeme) though not abſolutelie, yet in part executed. Now therefore liſten what mine author ſaith, whoſe addition, though by his owne ſupputation of yeares it require to be placed elſewhere; yet for the conſonancie of the matter, and becauſe writers varie greatlie in their accounts of time, I haue here inſerted the ſame, as in a verie conuenient place of the hiſtorie. The noblemen and the commons (ſaith Henrie Knighton) ſéeing the ſhip of the church, with theſe & other innumerable errors, & verie lewd opinions as it were on all ſides from day to day with ceaſſeleſſe violence and force to be ſhaken; beſought the king in the parlement, that redreſſe might be had herof; leſt the arke of the faith of all the church by ſuch violences and inforcements giuen in thoſe daies, ſhould through want of gouernement be battered without remedie, and the glorious realme of England by corrupting of faith ſhould by little and little be drawne into a diſtreſſe of grace and loſſe of honor. Wherefore the king vſing the ſound counſell of the whole parlement, commanded the archbiſhop of Canturburie, & the reſt of the biſhops of the realme, to execute their charge and office, all and euerie of them in his and their dioceſſe, according to the canon lawes, more ſeuerelie and zealouſlie; to correct the offendors, to examine their Engliſh books more fullie and ſubſtantiallie, to root out errors with all their indeuors, to bring the people into an vnitie of the right faith, to wéed vp out of the church all netles, thiſtles, and brambles wherewith ſhe is diſgraced; and to beautifie hir with lillies and roſes; and ſhould cauſe an eſtabliſhment of his roiall power more boldlie and ſtoutlie. And the king forthwith commanded, without delaie, that his letters patents ſhould be ſent abroad into all and euerie ſhire of his kingdome; and appointed in euerie ſhire certeine ſearchers for ſuch books and their fauourers; charging them to applie a ſpéedie remedie vnto theſe diſorders, and to lay vp the rebels in the verie next gaoles, till the king ſent vnto them. But verie ſlow execution or none at all followed, becauſe the houre of correction was not yet come. [Howbeit, to prepare and make an entrance to the purpoſed reformation and correction of thoſe enormities, he gaue out a commiſſion againſt the Wickleuiſts, a copie whereof followeth both in Latine and Engliſh. Whereby the world may ſée how the ſpringing church of Chriſt was hated and abhorred of the antichriſtian rout.]

Copia regiæ commiſsionis aduerſus Lollardos & Lollardorum ſequaces.

RIchardus Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, dilectis ſibi magiſtro Thomæ Brightwell in theologia doctori, decano collegij noui operis Leiceſtriæ, & Gulielmo Cheſulden præbendario præbendæ eiuſdem collegij, ac dilectis & fidelibus noſtris Richardo de Barow Chinall, & Roberto Langham, ſalutem. Quia ex inſinuatione credibili certitudinaliter informatur, quòd ex inſana doctrina magiſtrorum Iohannis Wickliffe dum vixit, Nicholai Herford, Iohannis Liſton, & ſuorum ſequaciũ, quàmplures libri, libelli, ſchedulæ, & quaterni, hæreſibus & erroribus manifeſtis in fidei catholicæ læſionem, & ſanæ doctrinæ derogationem, expreſſè, & palàm, & notoriè redundantes, frequentiùs compilantur, publicantur, & conſcribuntur, tam in Anglico quàm in Latino, ac exinde opiniones nefariæ ſanæ doctrinæ contrariantes, oriuntur, creſcunt, & manutenentur, ac prædicantur, in fidei orthodoxæ eneruationem, eccleſiæ ſanctæ ſubuerſionem, & ex conſequenti (quod abſit) quàmplurium incredulitatem, eorúmq; animarum periculum manifeſtum. Nos zelo fidei catholicæ, cuius ſumus & eſſe volumus defenſores in omnibus (vt tenemur) moti ſalubriter & inducti, nolentes huiuſmodi hæreſes aut errores infra terminos noſtræ poteſtatis, quatenùs poterimus, oriri, ſeu quomodolibet pullulare: aſſignamus vos coniunctim & diuiſim, ad omnes & ſingulos libros, libellos, ſchedulas, & quaternos huiuſmodi doctrinã dictorũ Iohannis, Nicholai, Iohannis, & ſociorum ſequacium, ſeu opinionum aliquam minùs ſanam continentes, vbicúnq; & in quorumcúnq; manibus,

bus, poſſeſſione, ſeu cuſtodia inueniri poterunt, infra libertates vel extra, inueſtigandum, capiendum, & arreſtandum, & penes concilium noſtrum cum omni celeritate poſsibili deferri faciendum, vt tunc ibidem de iiſdem ordinare valeamus, prout de auiſamento concilij noſtri prædicti fore viderimus faciendum: ac etiam ad proclamandum, & ex parte noſtra firmiter inhibendum, ne quis cuiuſcunq; ſtatus, gradus, ſeu conditionis fuerit, ſub pœna impriſionamenti & foriſfacturationum, quæ nobis foriſfacere poterit, aliquas huiuſmodi prauas & nefarias opiniones manutenere, docere, pertinaciterque defendere, clàm vel palam, ſeu huiuſmodi libros, libellos, ſchedulas, & quaternos detinere, ſcribere, vel ſcribi facere, aut emere vel vendere præſumat quouis modo; ſed omnes & ſingulos huiuſmodi libros, libellos, ſchedulas, & quaternos ſecum habitos & inuentos, ad mandatum noſtrum vobis reddat, ſeu reddi faciat indilatè. Et ad omnes illos, quos poſt proclamationem & inhibitionem prædictis contrarium inueneritis facientes, & huiuſmodi nefarias opiniones manutentes, coràm vobis præfato Thoma decano & Gulielmo euocandum, & diligenter examinandum: & cùm inde legitimè conuicti fuerint, miniſtris proximiſq; priſonis committendum, in iiſdem detinendum, quouſque à ſuis erroribus, hæreſibus, & prauis opinionibus reſipiſcant, ſeu nos pro deliberatione eorundem aliter duxerimus ordinandum. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quòd dicta præmiſſa cum omni diligentia & efficacia intendatis, & ea faciatis & exequamini in forma prædicta. Damus autem tàm vniuerſis & ſingulis viris eccleſiaſticis, quàm vicecomitibus, maioribus, balliuis, miniſtris, & alijs fidelibus & ſubditis noſtris, tàm infra libertates quàm extra tenore præſentium firmiter in mandatis, quòd vobis, & cuilibet veſtrum, in præmiſſis faciendis aſsiſtentes ſint, conſulentes, & auxiliantes, prout decet. In cuius rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes. Teſte meipſo apud Weſtmonaſterium viceſimo tertio die Maij, anno regni noſtri vndecimo.

A copie of the kings commiſsion againſt the *Lollards or Wickleuiſts* and their followers: Engliſhed by A.F.

RIchard by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to his beloued, maiſter Thomas Brightwell doctor in diuinitie, deane of the college of the new worke of Leiceſter, and to William Cheſulden prebendarie of the prebend of the ſame college; and to our beloued and truſtie ſubiects, Richard of Barow Chinall, and Robert Langham; greeting. For ſo much as we are certeinelie informed by credible report, that by the vnſound doctrine of maiſter Iohn Wickliffe, whiles he liued, of Nicholas Herford, Iohn Liſton, and their followers, many bookes, libels, ſcheduls, & pamphlets expreſſelie, euidentlie, and notoriouſlie ſwarming with manifeſt hereſies and errors to the hurt of the catholike faith, & the aboliſhment of ſound doctrine, are commonlie compiled, publiſhed, and written, as well in Engliſh as in Latine, and therevpon wicked opinions contrarie to ſound doctrine, doo ſpring, grow, and are mainteined and preached to the weakening of the right faith, the ouerthrow of holie church, and conſequentlie (which God forbid) the misbeleefe of a great many, & the manifeſt danger of their ſoules. We being moued with zeale to the catholike faith, whereof we are, and will be defenders in all things, as we are bound, vnwilling that ſuch hereſies or errors within the limits of our iuriſdiction, ſo far as we are able, ſhould grow, or by any meanes ſpring vp: doo aſsigne you iointlie and ſeuerallie, all and ſingular the books, libels, ſcheduls, & pamphlets conteining ſuch doctrine of the ſaid Iohn, Nicholas, Iohn, and their fellow-followers, or any of their corrupt opinions, whereſoeuer, & in whoſe hands, poſſeſsion, or keeping ſoeuer they ſhalbe found within the liberties or without; them to ſearch, take, arreſt, and cauſe to be brought before our councell with all poſsible ſpeed, that then and there we may take order for the ſame accordinglie, as by the aduiſe of our foreſaid councell we ſhall ſee requiſite to be doone. And alſo to proclaime, and on our behalfe firmelie to forbid all and euerie one, of whatſoeuer ſtate, degree, or condition he be, vnder paine of impriſonment and forfeitures, which to vs he ſhall forfeit, any of theſe wicked and lewd opinions to mainteine, teach, obſtinatlie to defend, priuilie or openlie, or any of theſe bookes, libels, ſcheduls & pamphlets to keepe, write, or cauſe to be written; but all and euerie ſuch booke and bookes, libels, ſcheduls, and pamphlets with them had & found, at our commandement vnto you to deliuer, or cauſe to be deliuered without delaie. And all them, whome after proclamation and inhibition you ſhall find dooing contrarie to the premiſſes, and ſuch lewd opinions mainteining, to call foorth before you the ſaid Thomas the deane, & William, and them to examine: & when they ſhalbe lawfullie conuinced therein, to commit them to the next officers & priſons, there to be kept, till they haue recanted their errors, hereſies, and wicked opinions; or till we for their deliuerance ſhall otherwiſe thinke order to be taken. And therefore we command, that you intend the ſaid premiſſes, with all diligence and effect, and the ſame doo and execute in forme aforeſaid. We doo alſo giue in ſtreict commandement and charge, to all and euerie as well churchman & churchmen, as ſhiriffes, maiors, bailiffes, officers, and other our truſtie ſubiects, as well within the liberties as without, by the tenor of theſe preſents, to aſsiſt, counſell, and helpe you and euerie of you in doing the premiſſes, as it is conuenient. In witneſſe whereof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters patents to be made. Witneſſe our ſelues at Weſtminſter the twentie third day of Maie, and the eleuenth yeare of our reigne.

¶ About this time, or (as Henrie Knighton ſaith) in the yeare 1392, maiſter William Courtenie archbiſhop of Canturburie, brother to the earle of Denſhire viſited the dioceſſe of Lincolne, and on the feaſt of ſaint Faith the virgine he viſited maiſter Iohn Bokingham biſhop of Lincolne in the cathedrall church of Lincolne, with the chapter, and an hundred of the canons, and he came to Leiceſter abbeie in viſitation, the ſundaie before the feaſt of All ſaints, where he abode all the tueſdaie, and on the eeue alſo

Archbiſhop of Canturburies viſitatiō.

of

Wickleuiſts excommunicated.

A ridiculous penance.

of All ſaints being mondaie, calling togither all the canons of the ſaid monaſterie, with the chaplines of his owne chappell, euerie of them hauing in their hands burning candels. The ſame archbiſhop confirmed ſentence of excommunication againſt the Lollards or Wickleuiſts, with their fauourers, which either now mainteined or cauſed to be mainteined, or hereafter did mainteine or ſhould mainteine the errours and opinions of maſter John Wickliffe, in the dioceſſe of Lincolne. On the morrow next after All ſaints, the ſame biſhop flaſhed out his ſentence of excommunication like lightning in open ſight, with a croſſe ſet vpright, with candels burning bright, and with bels rong alowd, and namelie againſt thoſe of Leiceſter towne that had too too much defiled and infected the ſaid towne and countrie. The archbiſhop departing from thence, went to ſaint Peters church, to a certeine anchoreſſe named Matildis there kept as in a cloſet, whom he reprouing about the foreſaid errors and opinions of the Lollards, and finding hir anſwers ſcarſe aduiſedlie made, cited hir that ſhe ſhould appeare before him, on the ſundaie next inſuing, in ſaint James his abbeie at Northampton, to anſwer vnto the foreſaid erronious and prophane points. Now ſhe appeared at the day appointed, and renouncing hir errours, and hauing penance inioined hir, ſhe went awaie reformed. But till the ſecond day before the feaſt of ſaint Lucie, ſhe kept hir ſelfe out of hir cloſet, and then entred into the ſame againe. Other Lollards alſo were cited, and appeared at Oxford, and in other places, as the archbiſhop had commanded them: who renouncing their ſuperſtitious errours, and forſwearing their prophane opinions, did open penance. Alſo one William Smith was made to go about the market place at Leiceſter, clothed in linnen [or in a white ſhéet] holding in his right arme the image of the Crucifix, and in his left the image of ſaint Katharine, bicauſe the ſaid Smith had ſometimes cut in péeces and burned an image of ſaint Katharine, whereof he made a fire to boile him hearbes in his hunger.

*For the papiſts ſaie that the ſacrificing préeſt is the maker of his maker, namelie God.

Boldneſſe of women in eccleſiaſticall matters taxed.

In thoſe daies there was a certeine matrone in London, which had one onelie daughter, whome manie daies ſhe inſtructed and trained vp to celebrat the maſſe, and ſhe ſet vp an altar in hir priuie or ſecret chamber with all the ornaments thereunto belonging, and ſo ſhe made hir daughter manie daies to attire hir ſelfe like a prieſt, and to come to the altar, and after hir maner to celebrate the maſſe. Now when ſhe came to the words of the ſacrament, ſhe caſt hir ſelfe flat on hir face before the altar, & * made not the ſacrament; but riſing vp, diſpatched the reſt of the maſſe euen to the verie end, hir mother helping hir therein, and dooing hir deuotion. This errour a long time laſted, till at laſt by a certeine neighbour that was ſecretlie called to ſuch a maſſe, it was told abroad, and came to the biſhops eares, who cauſing them to appeare before him, talked with them about that errour, and compelled the yoong woman openlie to ſhew the prieſtlie ſhauing of hir haire, whoſe head was found to be all bare and bald. The biſhop ſighing and ſorrieng that ſuch an errour ſhould happen in the church in his time, made manie lamentations, and hauing inioined them penance, diſpatched and ſent them away. Thus far Henrie Knighton. [It is not to be doubted, but that in theſe daies manie of the female ſex be medling in matters impertinent to their degrée, and inconuenient for their knowledge; debating & ſcanning in their priuat conuenticles of ſuch things as wherabout if they kept ſilence, it were for their greater commendation; preſuming, though not to celebrat a maſſe, or to make a ſacrament; yet to vndertake ſome publike péece of ſeruice incident to the miniſterie: whoſe ouer-ſawcie raſhneſſe being bolſtered and borne vp with abbettors not a few, whether it be by eccleſiaſticall diſcipline corrected, I wot not; but of the vnreformed preſbiterie I am ſure it is lamented.]

A fierie ap- rition of di- uerſe like- neſſes.

A head of br wrought by necromanc ſpeaketh.

A fierie dra- gon ſéene in diuers places.

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walſin. in Rich. 2. pag. 341.

A coniunctio of Jupiter & Saturne.

A certeine thing appeared in the likeneſſe of fier in manie parts of the realme of England, now of one faſhion, now of another, as it were euerie night, but yet in diuerſe places all Nouember and December. This fierie apparition, oftentimes when any bodie went alone, it would go with him, and would ſtand ſtill when he ſtood ſtill. To ſome it appeared in the likeneſſe of a turning whéele burning; to otherſome round in the likeneſſe of a barrell, flaſhing out flames of fier at the head; to otherſome in the likeneſſe of a long burning lance; and ſo to diuerſe folks at diuerſe times and ſeaſons it ſhewed it ſelfe in diuerſe formes and faſhions a great part of winter, ſpeciallie in Leiceſterſhire and Northamptonſhire: and when manie went togither, it approched not néere them, but appeared to them as it were a far off. In a parlement time there was a certeine head of war made by the art of necromancie (as it was reported) which head at an houre appointed to ſpeake, vttered theſe words following at thrée times, and then ceaſſed to ſpeake any more. Theſe be the words; firſt, The head ſhall be cut off; ſecondlie, The head ſhall be lift vp aloft; thirdlie, The féet ſhall be lift vp aloft aboue the head. This happened in the time of that parlement which was called the mercileſſe parlement, not long before the parlement that was named the parlement which wrought woonders. In Aprill there was ſéene a fierie dragon in manie places of England; which dreadfull ſight as it made manie a one amazed, ſo it miniſtred occaſion of miſtruſt to the minds of the maruellors, that ſome great miſchéefe was imminent, whereof that burning apparition was a prognoſtication. In this kings daies (as ſaith Thomas Walſingham) whoſe report, bicauſe I am here dealing with certeine prodigious accidents importing ſome ſtrange euents, I am the more bold to interlace) about the troubleſome time when diſcord ſprang betwéene the king and his youthlie companions with the duke of Lancaſter, in the moneth of Maie, there happened a coniunction of the two greateſt planets, namelie Jupiter and Saturne, after the which did follow a verie great commotion of kingdoms, as in the proceſſe of this hiſtorie may appeare.

A ſchiſme betwéene two popes for the dignitie of S. Peters chaire.

The French king about this time ſummoned a conuocation of the French cleargie, to decide and ſearch out the power of the two popes, which of them had fuller right and authoritie in S. Peters chaire, for the ſchiſme and diuiſion betwéene the two popes was not yet ended. The French clergie wrote in the behalfe of Clement their pope, & cōfirmed their ſcript or writing with the vniuerſitie ſeale of Paris. Which writing Charles the French king ſent ouer to Richard king of England, that touching theſe doubts and difficulties he with (the councell of his cleargie might deliberat. Wherefore king Richard ſummoned a conuocation at Oxford of the lerneder diuines as well regents as not regents of the whole realme; who wrote for and in the behalfe of Urbane their pope of Rome, and confirmed their writing with the vniuerſitie ſeale of Oxford, & ſent it ouer ſea to Paris vnto the French king. But nothing was doone further in the premiſſes, both popes, vnder the ſhrowd or ſhelter of ſchiſme preuailing betwéene them, iuſtifieng their title & intereſt. [This is the laſt record found in Henrie Knighton, who for that which he hath doone touching chronographie, hath written (the blindneſſe of the time wherein he liued, and his order conſidered) though not ſo well as the beſt, yet not ſo ill as the worſt: and whoſe collections, if they were laid togither, would afford a large augmentation to matters of chronicle: but O ſpite that ſo abruptlie he breaketh off, and continueth his annales no further than this yeare, 1395.]

This yeere, the Danes that laie rouing on the ſeas did much hurt to the Engliſh merchants, taking and robbing manie Engliſh ſhips, and when the hauen townes alongſt the coaſts of Northfolke, made forth a number of ſhips, and ventured to fight with thoſe pirats, they were vanquiſhed by the Danes, ſo that manie were ſlaine, and manie taken priſoners, which were conſtreined to paie great ranſoms. The enimies alſo found in ranſacking the Engliſh ſhips, twentie thouſand pounds, which the Engliſh merchants had aboord with them to buy wares with, in place whither they were bound to go. ¶ In the ſame yeare, William Courtneie archbiſhop of Canturburie, hauing more regard to his owne priuat commoditie, than to the diſcommoditie of others, purchaſed a bull of the pope, whereby he was authoriſed to leauie through his whole prouince foure pence of the pound of eccleſiaſticall promotions, as well in places exempt, as not exempt, no true nor lawfull cauſe being ſhewed or pretended, why he ought ſo to doo; and to ſee the execution of this bull put in practiſe, the archbiſhop of Yorke, and the biſhop of London, were named and appointed.

The Danes rob the Engliſh merchāts on the ſeas.

Great priſes wonne by the Daniſh pirats of the Engliſhmen.

Manie that feared the cenſures of ſuch high executioners, choſe rather to paie the monie forthwith, than to go to the law, and be compelled happilie, mauger their good willes. Some there were that appealed to the ſee of Rome, meaning to defend their cauſe and to procure that ſo vnlawfull an exaction might be reuoked. Speciallie, the prebendaries of Lincolne ſtood moſt ſtiffelie againſt thoſe biſhops, but the death of the archbiſhop that chanced ſhortlie after, made an end of thoſe ſo paſſing great troubles. This yeare, John Waltham biſhop of Saliſburie, and lord treaſuror of England departed this life, and by king Richard his appointment had the honor to haue his bodie interred at Weſtminſter amongſt the kings. After this deceaſe, Roger Walden that before was ſecretarie to the king, and treaſuror of Calis, was now made lord treaſuror.

waltham biſhop of Saliſburie buried at weſtminſter amongſt the kings.

Anno Reg. 19.

Yee haue heard, that in the yeare 1392, Robert Veer duke of Ireland departed this life in Louaine in Brabant. King Richard therefore this yeare in Nouember, cauſed his corps being imbalmed, to be conueied into England, and ſo to the priorie of Colnie in Eſſex, appointing him to be laid in a coffine of cypreſſe, and to be adorned with princelie garments, hauing a chaine of gold about his necke, and rich rings on his fingers. And to ſhew what loue and affection he bare vnto him in his life time, the king cauſed the coffine to be opened, that he might behold his face bared, and touch him with his hands: he honored his funerall exequies with his preſence, accompanied with the counteſſe of Oxenford, mother to the ſaid duke, the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and manie other biſhops, abbats, and priors: but of noble men there were verie few, for they had not yet digeſted the enuie and hatred which they had conceiued againſt him.

The duke of Irelāds corps conueied from Louaine into England, and there roiallie interred.

Froiſſard.

In this meane while, the duke of Lancaſter was in Gaſcoigne, treating with the lords of the countrie, and the inhabitants of the good townes, which vtterlie refuſed to receiue him otherwiſe than as a lieutenant or ſubſtitute to the king of England, and in the end addreſſed meſſengers into England, to ſignifie to the king, that they had beene accuſtomed to be gouerned by kings, and meant not now to become ſubiects to anie other, contrarie to all reaſon, ſith the king could not (ſauing his oth) alien them from the crowne. The duke of Lancaſter vſed all waies he might deuiſe, how to win their good wils, and had ſent alſo certeine of his truſtie councellors ouer hither into England, as ſir William Perreer, ſir Peter Clifton, and two clearkes learned in the lawe, the one called maiſter John Huech, and the other maiſter John Richards a canon of Leiceſter, to plead and ſollicit his cauſe.

The Gaſcoignes ſend vnto K. Rich. ſignifieng vnto him, that they ought not to be diuided from the crowne.

But to be breefe, ſuch reaſons were ſhewed, and ſuch matter vnfolded by the Gaſcoignes, whie they ought not be ſeparated from the crowne of England, that finallie (notwithſtanding the duke of Gloceſter, and certeine other were againſt them) it was decreed, that the countrie and duchie of Aquitaine ſhould remaine ſtill in demeſne of the crowne of England, leaſt that by this tranſporting thereof, it might fortune in time, that the heritage thereof ſhould fall into the hands of ſome ſtranger, and enimie to the Engliſh nation, ſo that then the homage and ſouereigntie might perhaps be loſt for euer. Indeed, the duke of Gloceſter, being a prince of an high mind, & loth to haue the duke of Lancaſter at home, being ſo highlie in the kings fauor, could haue beene well pleaſed, that he ſhould haue enioied his gift, for that he thought thereby to haue borne all the rule about the king, for the duke of Yorke was a man rather coueting to liue in pleaſure, than to deale with much buſineſſe, and the weightie affaires of the realme.

The grant of the duchie of Aquitaine to the duke of Lancaſter reuoked.

About the ſame time, or ſomewhat before, the king ſent an ambaſſage to the French king, the archbiſhop of Dublin, the earle of Rutland, the earle Marſhall, the lord Beaumont, the lord Spenſer, the lord Clifford named Lewes, and twentie knights with fortie eſquiers. The cauſe of their going ouer, was to intreat of a marriage to be had betwixt him, and the ladie Iſabell, daughter to the French king, ſhe being as then not paſt eight yeares of age, which before had beene promiſed vnto the duke of Britaines ſonne: but in conſideration of the great benefit that was likelie to inſue by this communication and aliance with England, there was a meane found to vndoo that knot, though not preſentlie. Theſe Engliſh lords, at their comming to Paris, were ioifullie receiued, and ſo courteouſlie interteined, banketted, feaſted, and cheriſhed, and that in moſt honorable ſort, as nothing could be more: all their charges and expenſes were borne by the French king, and when they ſhould depart, they receiued for anſwer of their meſſage, verie comfortable words, and ſo with hope to haue their matter ſped, they returned.

Ambaſſadors ſent into France to treat a marriage betweene king Richard & the French K. daughter.

Thom. Walſ.

But now when the duke of Lancaſter had, by laieng forth an ineſtimable maſſe of treaſure purchaſed in a manner the good wils of them of Aquitaine, and compaſſed his whole deſire, he was ſuddenlie countermanded home by the king, and ſo to ſatiſfie the kings pleaſure, he returned into England, and comming to the king at Langleie, where he held his Chriſtmaſſe, was receiued with more honor than loue, as was thought; wherevpon he rode in all haſt that might be to Lincolne, where Katharine Swinford as then laie, whom ſhortlie after the Epiphanie, he tooke to wife. This woman was borne in Heinault, daughter to a knight of that countrie, called ſir Paou de Ruet: ſhe was brought vp in hir youth, in the duke of Lancaſters houſe, and attended on his firſt wife the ducheſſe Blanch of Lancaſter, and in the daies of his ſecond wife the ducheſſe Conſtance, he kept the foreſaid Katharine as his concubine, who afterwards was married to a knight of England, named Swinford, that was now deceaſſed. Before ſhe was married, the duke had by hir three children, two ſonnes and a daughter; one of the ſons was named Thomas de Beaufort, & the other Henrie, who was brought vp at Aken in Almaine,

1396

The duke of Lancaſter marieth a ladie of a meane eſtate, whome he had kept as his concubine proued a good lawyer, and was after biſhop of Wincheſter.

For the loue that the duke had to theſe his children, he married their mother the ſaid Katharine Swinford, being now a widow, whereof men marueled much, conſidering hir meane eſtate was farre vnmeet to match with his highneſſe, and nothing comparable in honor to his other two former wiues. And indeed, the great ladies of England, as the ducheſſes of Gloceſter, the counteſſes of Derbie, Arundell and others, deſcended of the blood roiall, greatlie diſdeined, that ſhe ſhould be matched with the duke of Lancaſter, and by that means be accompted ſecond perſon in the realme, and preferred in roome before them, and therefore they ſaid, that they would not come in anie place where ſhe ſhould be preſent, for it ſhould be a ſhame to them that a woman of ſo baſe birth, and concubine to the duke in his other wiues daies, ſhould go and haue place before them. The duke of Gloceſter alſo, being a man of an high mind and ſtout ſtomach, miſliked his brothers matching ſo meanlie, but the duke of Yorke bare it well inough, and verelie, the ladie hir ſelfe was a woman of ſuch bringing vp, and honorable demeanor, that enuie could not in the end but giue place to well deſeruing. About this ſeaſon, the doctrine of Iohn Wickliffe ſtill mightilie ſpred abroad héere in England. ¶ The ſchiſme alſo ſtill continued in the church, betwixt the two factions of cardinals French and Romane; for one of their popes could no ſooner be dead, but that they ordeined an other in his place.

Wickleuiſts increaſe.

The earle marſhall affieth yͤ French kings daughter, in yͤ name of king Richard.

Anno Reg.20.

A truce for 30 yeares betwéene England and France.

Tho.Walſin.

In this eighteenth yeare alſo was a wonderfull tempeſt of wind in the months of Iulie and Auguſt, and alſo moſt ſpeciallie in September, by violence whereof, in ſundrie places of this realme, great and wonderfull hurt was doone, both in churches and houſes. ¶ The ambaſſadors that had béene latelie in France, about the treatie of the marriage (as before yée haue heard) went thither againe, and ſo after that the two kings by ſending to and fro were growne to certeine points and couenants of agreement, the earle marſhall, by letters of procuration, married the ladie Iſabell, in name of king Richard, ſo that from thenceforth ſhe was called quéene of England. Amongſt other couenants and articles of this marriage, there was a truce accorded, to indure betwixt the two realms of England and France, for tearme of thirtie yeares. The pope wrote to king Richard, beſeeching him to aſſiſt the prelats againſt the Lollards (as they tearmed them) whom he pronounced to be traitors, both to the church and kingdome, and therefore he beſought him to take order for the puniſhment of them, whom the prelats ſhould denounce to be heretikes.

The popes letters to K. Rich. againſt yͤ wickleuiſts

K. Richard goeth ouer to Calis.

At the ſame time, he ſent a bull reuocatorie concerning religious men, that had either at his hands or at the hands of his legats or nuncios purchaſed to be his chapleins, and accompting themſelues thereby exempt from their order; ſo that now they were by this reuocatorie bull, appointed to returne to their order, and to obſerue all rules thereto belonging. This liked the friers well, namelie the minors, that ſought by all means they might deuiſe, how to bring their brethren home againe, which by ſuch exemptions in being the popes chapleins, were ſegregated & diuided from the reſidue of their fraternitie or brotherhood. The king in this twentith yeare of his reigne, went ouer to Calis with his vncles the dukes of Yorke and Gloceſter, and a great manie of other lords and ladies of honour, and thither came to him the duke of Burgognie, and ſo they communed of the peace.. There was no enimie to the concluſion thereof but the duke of Gloceſter, who ſhewed well by his words that he wiſhed rather war than peace, in ſomuch as the king ſtood in doubt of him, leaſt he would procure ſome rebellion againſt him by his ſubiects, whome he knew not to fauour greatlie this new aliance with France.

The maner of the interview betwéene king Richard and the French king.

Fabian.

The king after the duke of Burgognie had talked with him throughlie of all things, and was departed from him, returned into England (leauing the ladies ſtill at Calis) to open the couenants of the marriage and peace vnto his ſubiects, and after he had finiſhed with that buſineſſe, and vnderſtood their minds, he went againe to Calis, and with him his two vncles, of Lancaſter and Gloceſter, and diuerſe prelats and lords of the realme; and ſhortlie after came the French king to the baſtide of Arde, accompanied with the dukes of Burgognie, Berrie, Britaine and Burbon. There was ſet vp for the king of England a right faire and rich pauilion a little beyond Guiſnes within the Engliſh pale; and another the like pauilion was pight vp alſo for the French king on this ſide Arde, within the French dominion; ſo that betwéene the ſaid pauilions was the diſtance of thréeſcore & ten paſes, and in the midwaie betwixt them both, was ordeined the third pauilion, at the which both kings comming from either of their tents ſundrie times ſhould méet and haue communication togither.

Froiſſard.

Fabian.

The oth of the two kings.

The diſtance betwixt the two tents was beſet on either ſide in time of the interview with knights armed with their ſwords in their hands; that is to ſay, on the one ſide ſtood foure hundred French knights in armor with ſwords in their hands, and on the other ſide foure hundred Engliſh knights armed with ſwords in their hands, making as it were a lane betwixt them through the which the two kings came and met, with ſuch noble men as were appointed to attend them. And a certeine diſtance from the two firſt pauilions, were appointed to ſtand ſuch companies of men as either of them by appointment had couenanted to bring with them. The two kings before their méeting, receiued a ſolemne oth for aſſurance of their faithfull and true meaning, to obſerue the ſacred lawes of amitie one toward an other in that their interview, ſo as no damage, violence, moleſtation, arreſt, diſturbance, or other inconuenience ſhould be practiſed by them, or their friends and ſubiects: and that if anie diſorder roſe through anie miſhappe, arrogancie, or ſtrife mooued by anie perſon, the ſame ſhould be reformed, promiſing in the words of princes to aſſiſt one an other in ſuppreſſing, the malice of ſuch as ſhould preſume to doo or attempt anie thing that might ſound to the breach of friendlie amitie, during the time of that aſſemblie eight daies before, and ſeuen daies after.

The chapell of our ladie of peace.

On the ſix and twentith of October, the king of England remooued from Calis toward the caſtell of Guiſnes, and with him the duke of Berrie, who was ſent to take his oth. The morow after, being the euen of Simon and Iude, the kings met, and the lords of France, to wit, the duke of Berrie, Burgogne, Orleans, and Burbon, the earle of Sauoie, the vicount of Meaux, and others conueied the king of England; and from him were ſent to conduct the French king diuerſe of the Engliſh lords, as the two dukes of Lancaſter and Gloceſter, foure earles; to wit, of Derbie, Rutland, Notingham, and Northumberland. After the two kings were come togither into the tent for that purpoſe prepared, it was firſt accorded betwixt them, that in the ſame place where they thus met, ſhould be builded of both their coſts a chapell for a perpetuall memorie, which ſhould be called The chapell of our ladie of peace. On ſaturdaie being the feaſt daie of the apoſtles Simon and Iude, the kings talked togither of certeine articles touching the treatie of peace, and hauing concluded vpon the ſame, they receiued either of them an oth vpon the holie Euangeliſts, to obſerue and kéepe all the couenants accorded vpon.

The French K. giueth his daughter to king Richard in marriage.

The order of the French kings ſeruice at table.

On the mondaie the French king came to the king of England his pauillion, and the ſame time was brought thither the yoong quéene Iſabell daughter to the French king, who there deliuered hir vnto king Richard, who taking hir by the hand kiſſed hir, & gaue to hir father great thanks for that ſo honorable and gratious a gift, openlie proteſting, that vpon the conditions concluded betwixt them, he did receiue hir, that by ſuch affinitie both the realmes might continue in quietneſſe, and come to a good end and perfect concluſion of a perpetuall peace. The quéene was committed to the ducheſſes of Lancaſter & Gloceſter, to the counteſſes of Huntington and Stafford, to the marchioneſſe of Dublin daughter to the lord Courcie, to the ladies of Namure, Poinings, and others; which with a noble traine of men and horſſes, conueied hir to Calis: for there were twelue charrets full of ladies & gentlewomen. This doone, the kings came togither into the king of Englands pauillion to dinner. The French king ſate on the right ſide of the hall, and was roiallie ſerued after the maner of his countrie, that is to ſaie, of all maner of meats appointed to be ſerued at the firſt courſe in one mightie large diſh or platter, and likewiſe after the ſame ſort at the ſecond courſe. But the king of England was ſerued after the Engliſh manner. When the tables were taken vp, and that they had made an end of dinner, the kings kiſſed ech other, and tooke their horſſes. The K. of England brought the French king on his waie, and at length they tooke leaue either of other, in ſhaking hands and imbracing on horſſebacke. The French king rode to Arde, and the king of England returned to Calis.

The expenſes of king Richard at this interview.

The mariage ſolemnized at Calis.

¶ We haue omitted (as things ſuperfluous to ſpeake of) all the honorable demenor and courteous interteinement vſed and ſhewed betwixt theſe princes and noble men on both parts, their ſundrie feaſtings and banketings, what rich apparell, plate, and other furniture of cupbords and tables, the princelie gifts and rich iewels which were preſented from one to an other, ſtriuing (as it might ſéeme) who ſhould ſhew himſelfe moſt bounteous and liberall: beſide the gifts which the king of England gaue vnto the French king, and to the nobles of his realme (which amounted aboue the ſumme of ten thouſand marks) the K. of England ſpending at this time (as the fame went) aboue thrée hundred thouſand marks. After the kings returne to Calis on wedneſdaie next inſuing, being All hallowes daie, in ſolemne wiſe he married the ſaid ladie Iſabell in the church of ſaint Nicholas, the archbiſhop of Canturburie dooing the office of the miniſter.

The maior of London and the citizens meete the K. & the quéene on Blackeheath.

The thurſdaie after, the dukes of Orleance and Burbon came to Calis to ſée the king & the quéene: and on the fridaie they tooke their leaue and departed, and rode to ſaint Omers to the French king. On the ſame daie in the morning the king and the quéene tooke their ſhip, and had faire paſſage: for within thrée houres they arriued at Douer, from whence they ſped them towards London, whereof the citizens being warned, made out certeine horſſemen well appointed in one liuerie of colour, with a deuiſe imbrodered on their ſléeues, that euerie companie might be knowne from other, the which with the maior and his brethren, clothed in ſkarlet, met the king and quéene on Blackeheath, and there dooing their duties with humble reuerence attended vpon their maieſties till they came to Newington: where the king comanded the maior with his companie to returne, for that he was appointed to lodge that night at Kennington.

Certeine thruſt to death in the preaſe on London bridge.

Iohn Stow.

The quéens coronation.

1397

The duke of Lancaſter his baſtards made legitimate by parlement.

The iuſtices reuoked out of exile.

Shortlie after, to wit, the thirtéenth of Nouember, the yoong quéene was conueied from thence with great pompe vnto the Tower, at which time there was ſuch preaſe on London bridge, that by reaſon thereof, certeine perſons were thruſt to death: among the which the prior of Tiptrie, a place in Eſſex was one, and a worſhipfull matrone in Cornehill an other. The morow after ſhe was conueied to Weſtminſter with all the honor that might be deuiſed, and finallie there crowned quéene vpon ſundaie being then the ſeauenth of Ianuarie. On the two and twentith of Ianuarie was a parlement begun at Weſtminſter, in which the duke of Lancaſter cauſed to be legitimated the iſſue which he had begot of Katharine Swinford, before ſhe was his wife. ¶ At the ſame time Thomas Beauford ſonne to the ſaid duke, by the ſaid Katharine, was created earle of Summerſet. ¶ There was an ordinance made in the ſame parlement, that iuſtices ſhould not haue anie to ſit with them as aſſiſtants. ¶ Moreouer, there was a tenth granted by the clergie to be paied to the kings vſe at two ſeuerall termes in that preſent yeare. In this yeare the king contrarie to his oth reuoked the iuſtices forth of Ireland, whom by conſtraint (as before ye haue heard) he was inforced to baniſh, thereby to ſatiſfie the noble men that would haue it ſo.

Breſt yéelded vp to the duke of Britaine.

Priuie grudge betwixt the king and the duke of Gloceſter.

The talke betwixt the king and the duke of Gloceſter.

Out of a French pamphlet.

In this twentith yeare of his reigne king Richard receiuing the ſummes of monie (for the which the ſtrong towne of Breſt was ingaged to him) by euill counſell (as manie thought) deliuered it vnto the duke of Britaine, by reaſon whereof no ſmall ſparke of diſpleaſure aroſe betwixt the king and the duke of Gloceſter, which kindled vp ſuch a flame (as it was eaſie to doo) finding matter inough to féed vpon in both their breſts, that finallie it could no longer be kept downe, nor by anie meanes quenched. In the moneth of Februarie, the king holding a ſumptuous feaſt at Weſtminſter, many of the ſoldiors that were newlie come from Breſt preaſed into the hall, and kept a roome togither. Whom as the duke of Gloceſter beheld, and vnderſtood what they were, to remember how that towne was giuen vp contrarie to his mind and pleaſure, it grieued him not a little: and therefore as the king was entred into his chamber, and few about him, he could not forbeare, but brake forth, and ſaid to the king: Sir, ſaw ye not thoſe felowes that ſate in ſuch number this daie in the hall, at ſuch a table? The king anſwered that he ſaw them, and aſked the duke what they were? To whom the duke made this anſwer: Sir, theſe be the ſoldiors that came from Breſt, and haue nothing now to take to, nor yet know how to ſhift for their liuings, and the worſe, for that (as I am informed) they haue béene euill paied. Then ſaid the king; That is againſt my will, for I would that they ſhould haue their due wages; and if anie haue cauſe to complaine, let them ſhew the matter to the treaſuror, and they ſhall be reaſonablie anſwered: and herewith he commanded that they ſhould be appointed to foure certeine villages about London, there to remaine, and to haue meate, drinke, and lodging vpon his charges till they were paied.

Thus as they fell into reaſoning of this matter, the duke ſaid to the king: Sir, your grace ought to put your bodie in paine to win a ſtrong hold or towne by feats of war, yer you take vpon you to ſell or deliuer anie towne or ſtrong hold gotten with great aduenture by the manhood and policie of your noble progenitours. To this the king with changed countenance anſwered and ſaid: Vncle, how ſay you that? And the duke boldlie without feare recited the ſame againe, not changing one word in anie better ſort. Wherevpon the king being more chafed, replied; Sir,

“ thinke you that I am a merchant, or a verie foole, to ſell my land? By ſaint Iohn Baptiſt no: but truth it “ is, that our coſine the duke of Britaine hath ſatiſfied vs in all ſuch ſummes of monie as our progenitors “ lent vnto him, and to his anceſtors, vpon gage of “ the ſaid towne of Breſt, for the which reaſon and conſcience will no leſſe but that the towne ſhould there- “ vpon be to him reſtored. Upon this multiplieng of words in ſuch preſumptuous maner by the duke againſt the king, there kindeled ſuch diſpleaſure betwixt them, that it neuer ceaſſed to increaſe into flames, till the duke was brought to his end.

The earle of ſaint Paule his counſell to K. Richard.

The earle of ſaint Paule at his laſt comming into England to receiue king Richards oth for obſeruing the truce, had conference with the king of diuerſe matters. The king by waie of complaint, ſhewed vnto him how ſtiffe the duke of Gloceſter was in hindering all ſuch matters as he would haue go forward, not onlie ſéeking to haue the peace broken betwixt the realmes of England & France, but alſo procuring trouble at home, by ſtirring the people to rebellion. The earle of ſaint Paule hearing of this ſtout demeanor of the duke, told the king that it ſhould be beſt to prouide in time againſt ſuch miſchéefs as might inſue thereof, and that it was not to be ſuffered, that a ſubiect ſhould behaue himſelfe in ſuch ſort toward his prince. The king marking his words, thought that he gaue him good and faithfull counſell, and therevpon determined to ſuppreſſe both the duke and other of his complices, and tooke more diligent regard to the ſaiengs & doings of the duke than before he had doone. And as it commeth to paſſe that thoſe which ſuſpect anie euill, do euer déeme the worſt; ſo he tooke euerie thing in euill part, inſomuch that he complained of the duke vnto his brethren the dukes of Lancaſter and Yorke, in that he ſhould ſtand againſt him in all things and ſeeke his deſtruction, the death of his counſellors, and ouerthrow of his realme.

Polydor.

The dukes of Lancaſter & yorke excuſe the duke of Gloceſter to the king.

The two dukes of Lancaſter and Yorke to deliuer the kings mind of ſuſpicion, made anſwer, that they were not ignorant, how their brother of Gloceſter, as a man ſometime raſh in words, would ſpeake oftentimes more than he could or would bring to effect, and the ſame procéeded of a faithfull hart, which he bare towards the king, for that it grieued him to vnderſtand, that the confines of the Engliſh dominions ſhould in anie wiſe be diminiſhed: therefore his grace ought not to regard his words, ſith he ſhould take no hurt thereby. Theſe perſuaſions quieted the king for a time, till he was informed of the practiſe which the duke of Gloceſter had contriued (as the ſame went amongſt diuerſe perſons) to impriſon the king. For then the duke of Lancaſter and Yorke, firſt reproouing the duke of Gloceſter for his too liberall talking, vttering vnaduiſedlie words that became not his perſon, and which to haue concealed had tended more to the opinion of vertue, than to laſh out whatſoeuer his vnſtaied mind afforded, which is a great fault (as in effect the poet noteth:

Eximia eſt virtus præſtare ſilentia rebus,
At contra grauis eſt culpa tacenda loqui)

and perceiuing that he ſet nothing by their words, were in doubt leaſt if they ſhould remaine in the court ſtill, he would vpon a preſumptuous mind, in truſt to be borne out by them, attempt ſome outragious enterpriſe. Wherefore they thought beſt to depart for a time into their countries, that by their abſence he might the ſooner learne to ſtaie himſelfe for doubt of further diſpleaſure. But it came to paſſe, that their departing from the court was the caſting awaie of the duke of Gloceſter. For after that they were gone, there ceaſſed not ſuch as bare him euill will, to procure the K. to diſpatch him out of the way.

A conſpiracie betwéene the duke of Gloceſter, and the abbat of ſaint Albons.

Out of an old French pamphlet belonging to Iohn Stow.

The duke in déed ſore ſtomached the matter, that his counſell might not be followed in all things, and ſpeciallie for that he ſaw (as he tooke it) that the king was miſled by ſome perſons that were about him, otherwiſe than ſtood with his honor: for reformation whereof, he conferred with the abbat of ſaint Albons, and the prior of Weſtminſter. The abbat was both his coſine and godfather: and hauing on a daie both the duke and the prior at his houſe in ſaint Albons, after dinner he fell in talke with the duke and prior, and amongſt other communication required of the prior to tell truth, whether he had anie viſion the night before or not. The prior ſéemed loth to make a direct anſwer; but at length being earneſtlie requeſted as well by the abbat as the duke, he declared that he had a viſion in déed, which was, that the realme of England ſhould be deſtroied through the miſgouernement of king Richard. ” By the virgine Marie, ſaid the abbat, I had the verie ſame viſion. ” The duke herevpon diſcloſed vnto them all the ſecrets of his mind, and by their deuiſes preſentlie contriued an aſſemblie of diuerſe great lords of the realme at Arundell caſtell that daie fortnight, at what time he himſelfe appointed to be there, with the earles of Derbie, Arundell, Marſhall, and Warwike: alſo the archbiſhop of Canturburie, the abbat of ſaint Albons, the prior of Weſtminſter, with diuerſe others.

Anno Reg. 21.

These eſtates being come to Arundell caſtell at the daie appointed, about the verie beginning of the one and twentith yeare of king Richards reigne, they ſware ech to other to be aſſiſtant in all ſuch matters as they ſhould determine, and therewith receiued the ſacrament at the hands of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, who celebrated maſſe before them the morow after. Which doone, they withdrew into a chamber, and fell in counſell togither, where in the end they light vpon this point; to take king Richard, the dukes of Lancaſter & Yorke, and commit them to priſon, and all the other lords of the kings councell they determined ſhuld be drawne and hanged. Such was their purpoſe which they ment to haue accompliſhed in Auguſt following. But the earle marſhall that was lord deputie of Calis, and had married the earle of Arundels daughter, diſcouered all their counſell to the king, and the verie daie in which they ſhould begin their enterpriſe. The king bad the earle marſhall take héed what he had ſaid, for if it proued not true, he ſhould repent it: but the earle conſtantlie herevnto anſwered, that if the matter might be proued otherwiſe, he was contented to be drawne and quartered.

The purpoſe of the conſpirators.

The earle marſhall diſcloſeth the conſpiracie.

The king herevpon went to London, where he dined at the houſe of his brother the earle of Huntington in the ſtréet behind All hallowes church vpon the banke of the riuer of Thames, which was a right faire and ſtatelie houſe. After dinner, he gaue his councell to vnderſtand all the matter; by whoſe aduiſe it was agreed, that the king ſhould aſſemble forthwith what power he might conuenientlie make of men of armes & archers, and ſtreightwaies take horſſe, accompanied with his brother the earle of Huntington, & the earle marſhall. Herevpon at ſix of the clocke in the afternoone, the iuſt houre when they vſed to go to ſupper, the king mounted on horſſebacke, and rode his waie; whereof the Londoners had great maruell. After that the king began to approch the dukes houſe at Plaſhie in Eſſex, where he then laie, he commanded his brother the earle of Huntington to ride afore, to know if the duke were at home, and if he were, then to tell him that the king was comming at hand to ſpeake with him.

The earle of Rutland ſaith R. Grafton.

The earle with ten perſons in his companie amending his paſe (for the king had made no great haſt all the night before, as ſhould appeare by his iournie) came to the houſe, and entering into the court, aſked if the duke were at home, and vnderſtanding by a gentlewoman that made him anſwer, that both the duke and ducheſſe were yet in bed, he beſought hir to go to the duke, and to ſhew him that the king was comming at hand to ſpeake with him, and forthwith came the king with a competent number of men of armes, and a great companie of archers, riding into the baſe court, his trumpets ſounding before him. The duke herewith came downe into the baſe court, where the king was, hauing none other apparell vpon him, but his ſhirt, and a cloke or a mantell caſt about his ſhoulders, and with humble reuerence ſaid that his grace was welcome, aſking of the lords how it chanced they came ſo earlie, and ſent him no word of their comming? The king herewith courteouſlie requeſted him to go and make him readie, and appoint his horſſe to be ſadled, for that he muſt needs ride with him a little waie, and conferre with him of buſineſſe. The duke went vp againe into his chamber to put vpon him his clothes, and the king alighting from his horſſe, fell in talke with the ducheſſe and hir ladies. The earle of Huntington and diuerſe other followed the duke into the hall, and there ſtaied for him, till he had put on his raiment. And within a while they came forth againe all togither into the baſe court, where the king was deliting with the ducheſſe in pleaſant talke, whom he willed now to returne to hir lodging againe, for he might ſtaie no longer, and ſo tooke his horſſe againe, and the duke likewiſe. But ſhortlie after that the king and all his companie were gone forth of the gate of the baſe court, he commanded the earle marſhall to apprehend the duke, which incontinentlie was doone according to the kings appointment.

The duke of Gloceſter arreſted.

¶ Here we find ſome variance in writers. For as by an old French pamphlet (which I haue ſéene) it ſhould appeare, the king commanded firſt, that this duke ſhould be conueied vnto the tower, where he ment to commen with him, & not in any other place: but neuertheleſſe, the king ſhortlie after appointed, that he ſhould be ſent to Calis, as in the ſame pamphlet is alſo conteined. Other write, that immediatlie vpon his apprehenſion, the earle marſhall conueied him vnto the Thames, and there being ſet abord in a ſhip prepared of purpoſe, he was brought to Calis, where he was at length diſpatched out of life, either ſtrangled or ſmoothered with pillowes (as ſome doo write.) For the king thinking it not good, that the duke of Gloceſter ſhould ſtand to his anſwer openlie, becauſe the people bare him ſo much good will, ſent one of his iuſtices called Willam Rikill, an Iriſhman borne, ouer vnto Calis, there to inquire of the duke of Gloceſter, whether he had committed any ſuch treaſons as were alledged againſt him, and the earles of Arundell and Warwike, as after ſhall be ſpecified. Iuſtice Rikill hearing what he confeſſed vpon his examination, wrote the ſame as he was commanded to doo, and therewith ſpéedilie returned to the king, and as it hath béene reported, he informed the king (whether trulie or not, I haue not to ſay) that the duke franklie confeſſed euerie thing, wherewith he was charged. Whereupon the king ſent vnto Thomas Mowbraie earle marſhall and of Notingham, to make the duke ſecretlie awaie.

Out of an old French pamphlet.

The earle prolonged time for the executing of the kings commandement, though the king would haue had it doone with all expedition, wherby the king conceiued no ſmall diſpleaſure, and ſware that it ſhould coſt the earle his life if he quickly obeied not his commandement. The earle thus as it ſéemed in maner inforced, called out the duke at midnight, as if he ſhould haue taken ſhip to paſſe ouer into England, and there in the lodging called the princes In, he cauſed his ſeruants to caſt featherbeds vpon him, and ſo ſmoother him to death, or otherwiſe to ſtrangle him with towels (as ſome write.) This was the end of that * noble man, fierce of nature, haſtie, wilfull, and giuen more to war than to peace: and in this greatlie to be diſcommended, that he was euer repining againſt the king in all things, whatſoeuer he wiſhed to haue forward. He was thus made awaie not ſo ſoone as the brute ran of his death. But (as it ſhould appeare by ſome authors) he remained aliue till the parlement that next inſued, and then about the ſame time that the earle of Arundell ſuffered, he was diſpatched (as before ye haue heard.) His bodie was afterwards with all funerall pompe conueied into England, and buried at his owne manor of Plaſhie within the church there, in a ſepulchre which he in his life time had cauſed to be made, and there erected.

* For he was ſon to a king, and vncle to a king.

The ſame euening that the king departed from London towards Plaſhie, to apprehend the duke of Gloceſter, the earle of Rutland and the earle of Kent were ſent with a great number of men of armes and archers to arreſt the erle of Arundell; which was doone eaſilie inough, by reaſon that the ſaid earle was trained with faire words at the kings hands, till he was within his danger: where otherwiſe he might haue béene able to haue ſaued himſelfe, and deliuered his fréends. The earle of Warwike was taken, and committed to the tower the ſame day that the king had willed him to dinner, and ſhewed him verie good countenance. There were alſo apprehended and committed to the tower the ſame time, the lord Iohn Cobham, and ſir Iohn Cheinie knights. The earle of Arundell was ſent to the Ile of Wight, there to remaine as priſoner, till the next parlement, in the which he determined ſo to prouide, that they ſhould be all condemned, and put to death. And for doubt of ſome commotion that might ariſe amongſt the commons, he cauſed it by open proclamation to be ſignified, that theſe noblemen were not apprehended for any offenſe committed long agone, but for new treſpaſſes againſt the king, as in the next parlement ſhould be manifeſtlie declared and prooued.

The earle of Arundell apprehended.

Shortlie after, he procured them to be indicted at Notingham, ſuborning ſuch as ſhould appeale them in parlement, to wit, Edward earle of Rutland, Thomas Mowbraie earle marſhall, Thomas Holland earle of Kent, Iohn Holland earle of Huntington, Thomas Beaufort erle of Summerſet, Iohn Montacute earle of Saliſburie, Thomas lord Spenſer, and the lord William Scroope lord chamberleine. In the meane time, the king fearing what might be attempted againſt him by thoſe that fauoured theſe noblemen that were in durance, ſent for a power of Cheſhire men, that might day and night kéepe watch and ward about his perſon. They were about two thouſand archers, paid wéekelie, as by the annales of Britaine it appeareth. The king had little truſt in any of the nobilitie, except in his brother the earle of Huntington, and the earle of Rutland ſonne to the duke of Yorke, and in the earle of Saliſburie: in theſe onelie he repoſed a confidence, and not in any other, except in certeine knights and gentlemen of his priuie chamber.

The names of the appellants.

A gard of Cheſhire men about the king.

The lords appointed to come in warlike manner to the parlemẽt.

In the meane time, whiles things were thus in broile, before the beginning of the parlement, diuers other, beſide them of whom we haue ſpoken, were apprehended and put in ſundrie priſons. The parlement was ſummoned to begin at Weſtminſter the 17 of September, and writs thereupon directed to euerie of the lords to appeare, and to bring with them a ſufficient number of armed men and archers in their beſt arraie: for it was not knowen how the dukes of Lancaſter and Yorke would take the death of their brother, nor how other péeres of the realme would take the apprehenſion and impriſonment of their kinſemen, the earles of Arundell and Warwike, and of the other priſoners. Suerlie the two dukes when they heard that their brother was ſo ſuddenlie made awaie, they wiſt not what to ſaie to the matter, and began both to be ſorowfull for his death, and doubtfull cf their owne ſtates: for ſith they ſaw how the king (abuſed by the counſell of euill men) abſteined not from ſuch an heinous act, they thought he would afterwards attempt greater miſorders from time to time. Therefore they aſſembled in all haſt, great numbers of their ſeruants, fréends, and tenants, and comming to London, were receiued into the citie. For the Londoners were right ſorie for the death of the duke of Gloceſter, who had euer ſought their fauour, in ſomuch that now they would haue béene contented to haue ioined with the dukes in ſéeking reuenge of ſo noble a mans death, procured and brought to paſſe without law or reaſon, as the common brute then walked; although peraduenture he was not as yet made awaie.

Polydor.

The dukes of Lancaſter & Yorke aſſemble their powers to reſiſt the kings dealings.

Here the dukes and other fell in counſell, and manie things were proponed. Some would that they ſhuld by force reuenge the duke of Gloceſters death, other thought it méet that the earles Marſhall and Huntington, and certeine others, as chéefe authours of all the miſchéefe ſhould be purſued and puniſhed for their demerites, hauing trained vp the king in vice and euill cuſtomes, euen from his youth. But the dukes (after their diſpleaſure was ſomewhat aſſwaged) determined to couer the ſtings of their griefes for a time, and if the king would amend his maners, to forget alſo the iniuries paſt. In the meane time the king laie at Eltham, and had got about him a great power (namelie of thoſe archers, which he had ſent for out of Cheſhire, in whome he put a ſingular truſt more than in any other.)

Caxton.
Fabian.
Polydor.

There went meſſengers betwixt him and the dukes, which being men of honour did their indeuour to appeaſe both parties. The king diſcharged himſelfe of blame for the duke of Gloceſters death, conſidering that he had gone about to breake the truce, which he had taken with France, and alſo ſtirred the people of the realme to rebellion, and further had ſought the deſtruction and loſſe of his life, that was his ſouereigne lord and lawfull king. Contrarilie, the dukes affirmed, that their brother was wrongfullie put to death, hauing doone nothing worthie of death. At length, by the interceſſion and meanes of thoſe noble men that went to and fro betwixt them, they were accorded, & the king promiſed from thenceforth to doo nothing but by the aſſent of the dukes: but he kept ſmall promiſe in this behalfe, as after well appeared.

The king and the dukes reconciled.

Caxton.

When the time came, that the parlement ſhould be holden at Weſtminſter, according to the tenour of the ſummons, the lords repaired thither, furniſhed with great retinues both of armed men and archers, as the earle of Derbie, the earle Marſhall, the earle of Rutland, the lord Spenſer, the earle of Northumberland, with his ſonne the lord Henrie Perſie, and the lord Thomas Perſie the ſaid earles brother, alſo the lord Scroope treaſuror of England, & diuerſe other. All the which earles and lords brought with them a great & ſtrong power, euerie of them in their beſt araie, as it were to ſtrengthen the king againſt his enimies. The dukes of Lancaſter and Yorke were likewiſe there, giuing their attendance on the king with like furniture of men of armes & archers. There was not halfe lodging ſufficient within the citie & ſuburbes of London for ſuch cōpanies of men as the lords brought with them to this parlement, called the great parlement: in ſomuch that they were conſtreined to lie in villages abroad ten or twelue miles on ech ſide the citie.

The great parlement.

In the beginning of this parlement, the king greatlie complained of the miſdemeanour of the péeres and lords of his realme, as well for the things doone againſt his will and pleaſure, whiles he was yoong, as for the ſtreit dealing, which they had ſhewed towards the quéene, who was thrée houres at one time on hir knées before the earle of Arundell, for one of hir eſquiers, named Iohn Caluerlie, who neuertheleſſe had his head ſmit frō his ſhoulders, & all the anſwer that ſhe could get, was this: Madame, praie for your ſelfe, and your huſband, for that is beſt, and let this ſute alone. Thoſe that ſet foorth the kings gréeuances, as prolocutors in this parlement were theſe: Iohn Buſhie, William Bagot, and Thomas Gréene. The king had cauſed a large houſe of timber to be made within the palace at Weſtminſter, which he was called an hall, couered aboue head with tiles, and was open at the ends, that all men might ſée through it. This houſe was of ſo great a compaſſe, that ſcarſe it might ſtand within the roome of the palace. In this houſe was made an high throne for the king, and a large place for all eſtates beſides to ſit in. There were places alſo made for the appellants to ſtand on the one ſide, and the defendants on the other, and a like roome was made behind for the knights and burgeſſes of the parlement. There was a place deuiſed for the ſpeaker, named ſir Iohn Buſhie, a knight of Lincolneſhire, accompted to be an excéeding cruell man, ambitious, and couetous beyond meaſure.

The kings gréeuances opened in this parlement.

Tho. Walſing.

Iohn Buſhie, William Bagot, Thomas Gréene.

A new houſe made within the palace of Weſtminſter for the arraignment of the lords indicted.

Additions to Polychron.

Sir Iohn Buſhie ſpeaker.

Immediatlie after, ech man being placed in his roome, the cauſe of aſſembling that parlement was ſhewed, as that the king had called it for reformation of diuerſe tranſgreſſions and oppreſſions committed againſt the peace of his land by the duke of Gloceſter, the earles of Arundell, Warwike, and others. Then ſir Iohn Buſhie ſtept foorth, and made requeſt on the behalfe of the communaltie, that it might pleaſe the kings highneſſe for their heinous acts attempted againſt his lawes and roiall maieſtie, to appoint them puniſhment according to their deſeruings, and ſpeciallie to the archbiſhop of Canturburie (who then ſat next the king) whome he accuſed of high treaſon, for that he had euill counſelled his maieſtie, inducing him to grant his letters of pardon to his brother the earle of Arundell, being a ranke traitor.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie ſitting in parlement is accuſed of treaſon by the ſpeaker.

When the archbiſhop began to anſwer in his owne defenſe, the king willed him to ſit downe againe and to hold his peace, for all ſhould be well. Herewith ſir Iohn Buſhie beſought the king, that the archbiſhop ſhould not be admitted to make his anſwer, which if he did, by reaſon of his great wit and good vtterance, he feared leaſt he ſhould lead men awaie to beléeue him: ſo the archbiſhop might be heard no further. Sir Iohn Buſhie in all his talke, when he proponed any matter vnto the king, did not attribute to him titles of honour, due and accuſtomed, but inuented vnuſed termes and ſuch ſtrange names, as were rather agréeable to the diuine maieſtie of God, than to any earthlie potentate. The prince being deſirous inough of all honour, and more ambitious than was requiſite, ſéemed to like well of his ſpéech, and gaue good eare to his talke.

Impudent flatterie.

Thus when the archbiſhop was conſtreined to kéepe ſilence, ſir Iohn Buſhie procéeded in his purpoſe, requiring on the behalfe of the commons, that the charters of pardons granted vnto the traitors, to wit, the duke of Gloceſter, and the earles of Arundell and Warwike, ſhould be reuoked by conſent of all the eſtates now in parlement aſſembled. The king alſo for his part proteſted, that thoſe pardons were not voluntarilie granted by him, but rather extorted by compulſion, and therefore he beſought them that euerie man would ſhew forth their opinions what they thought thereof. There were two other perſons of great credit with the king, beſides ſir John Buſhie, that were, as before yee haue heard, verie earneſt to haue thoſe charters of pardon reuoked and made void, to wit, ſir William Bagot, and ſir Thomas Greene.

Tho.Walſi.

But bicauſe this matter ſeemed to require good deliberation, it was firſt put to the biſhops, who with ſmall adoo gaue ſentence, that the ſaid charters were reuocable, and might well inough be called in: yet the archbiſhop of Canturburie in his anſwer herevnto ſaid, that the king from whome thoſe pardons came, was ſo high an eſtate, that he durſt not ſaie, that anie ſuch charters by him granted, might be reuoked: notwithſtanding, his brethren the biſhops thought otherwiſe: not conſidering (ſaith Thomas Walſingham) that ſuch reuoking of the kings charters of pardon ſhould ſound highlie to the kings diſhonor: forſomuch as mercie and pardoning tranſgreſſions is accompted to be the confirmation and eſtabliſhing of the kings ſeat and roiall eſtate.

The temporall lords perceiuing what the biſhops had doone, did likewiſe giue their conſents, to reuoke the ſame pardons: but the iudges with thoſe that were toward the law, were not of this opinion, but finallie the biſhops pretending a ſcrupuloſitie, as if they might not with ſafe conſciences be preſent where iudgement of bloud ſhould paſſe, they appointed a laie man to be their prolocutor to ſerue that turne. To conclude, at length all maner of charters of pardon were made void, for that the ſame ſeemed to impeach the ſuertie of the kings perſon. When ſir John Buſhie and his aſſociats had obteined that reuocation, it was further by them declared, that the earle of Arundell had yet an other ſpeciall charter of pardon for his owne perſon, which he had obteined after the firſt. And therefore ſir John Buſhie earneſtlie requeſted in name of the communaltie that the ſame might likewiſe be reuoked.

The charters of pardō granted to ẏ lords made void by parlement.

The queſtion then was aſked of the biſhops, who declared themſelues to be of the like opinion, touching that charter, as they were of the other. At that ſelfe time the archbiſhop of Canturburie abſented himſelfe from the parlement, in hope that the king would he his freend, and ſtand his verie good lord, for that he had promiſed nothing ſhould be doone againſt him in the parlement whileſt he was abſent. But neuertheleſſe, at the importunate ſute of the ſaid ſir John Buſhie and others, the archbiſhop was condemned vnto perpetuall exile, and appointed to auoid the realme within ſix weekes. And therewith the king ſent ſecretlie to the pope for order that the archbiſhop might be remooued from his ſee to ſome other, which ſute was obteined, and Roger Walden lord treaſuror was ordeined archbiſhop in his place, as after ſhall appeare.

Thom. Walſ.

The archb. of Canturburie condemned to perpetuall baniſhment. Six daies ſaith Grafton.

The earle of Arundell areigned.

On the feaſt daie of ſaint Matthew, Richard fitz Aleine, earle of Arundell, was brought forth to ſweare before the king and whole parlement to ſuch articles as he was to be charged with. And as he ſtood at the bar, the lord Neuill was commanded by the duke of Lancaſter, which ſat that daie as high ſteward of England, to take the hood from his necke, and the girdle from his waſte. Then the duke of Lancaſter declared vnto him, that for his manifold rebellions and treaſons againſt the kings maieſtie he had beene arreſted, and hitherto kept in ward, and now at the petition of the lords and commons, he was called to anſwer ſuch crimes as were there to be obiected againſt him, and ſo to purge himſelfe, or elſe to ſuffer for his offenſes, ſuch puniſhment as law appointed.

The duke of Lācaſter high Steward of England at this areignement.

Firſt, he charged him, for that he had traitorouſlie rid in armour againſt the king in companie of the duke of Gloceſter, and of the earle of Warwike, to the breach of peace, and diſquieting of the realme. His anſwer herevnto was, that he did not this vpon anie euill meaning towards the kings perſon, but rather for the benefit of the king and relme, if it were interpreted aright, and taken as it ought to be. It was further demanded of him, whie he procured letters of pardon from the K. if he knew himſelfe giltleſſe? He anſwered, that he did not purchaſe them for anie feare he had of faults committed by him, but to ſtaie the malicious ſpeach of them that neither loued the king nor him. He was againe aſked, whether he would denie that he had made anie ſuch rode with the perſons before named, and that in companie of them he entred not armed vnto the kings preſence againſt the kings will and pleaſure? To this he anſwered, that he could not denie it, but that he ſo did.

The earle of Arundell his anſwers to the points of his indiatmēt.

Then the ſpeaker ſir John Buſhie, with open mouth, beſought that iudgement might be had againſt ſuch a traitour: and your faithfull commons (ſaid he to the king) aſke and require that ſo it may be doone. The earle turning his head aſide, quietlie ſaid to him; Not the kings faithfull cōmons require this, but thou, and what thou art I know. Then the eight appellants ſtanding on the other ſide, caſt their gloues to him, and in proſecuting their appeale (which alreadie had beene read) offered to fight with him man to man to iuſtifie the ſame. Then ſaid the earle, If I were at libertie, and that it might ſo ſtand with the pleaſure of my ſouereigne, I would not refuſe to prooue you all liers in this behalfe. Then ſpake the duke of Lancaſter, ſaieng to him; What haue you further to ſaie to the points before laid againſt you? He anſwered, that of the kings grace he had his letters of generall pardon, which he required to haue allowed. Then the duke told him, that the pardon was reuoked by the prelates and noble men in the parlement, and therefore willed him to make ſome other anſwer. The earle told him againe that he had an other pardon vnder the kings great ſeale, granted him long after of the kings owne motion, which alſo he required to haue allowed. The duke told him, that the ſame was likewiſe reuoked. After this, when the earle had nothing more to ſaie for himſelfe, the duke pronounced iudgement againſt him, as in caſes of treaſon is vſed.

The earle of Arundell condemned.

But after he had made an end, and pauſed a little, he ſaid: The king our ſouereigne lord of his mercie and grace, bicauſe thou art of his bloud, and one of the peeres of the realme, hath remitted all the other paines, ſauing the laſt, that is to ſaie, the beheading, and ſo thou ſhalt onelie loſe thy head; and forthwith he was had awaie, & led through London vnto the Tower hill. There went with him to ſee the execution doone ſix great lords, of whome there were three earles, Notingham (that had married his daughter) Kent (that was his daughters ſon) and Huntington, being mounted on great horſſes, with a great companie of armed men, and the fierce bands of the Cheſhire-men, furniſhed with axes, ſwords, bowes and arrowes, marching before and behind him, who onelie in this parlement had licence to beare weapon, as ſome haue written. When he ſhould depart the palace, he deſired that his hands might be loſed to diſpoſe ſuch monie as he had in his purſſe, betwixt that place and Charingcroſſe. This was permitted, and ſo he gaue ſuch monie as he had in almes with his owne hands, but his armes were ſtill bound behind him.

When he came to the Tower hill, the noble men that were about him, mooued him right earneſtlie to acknowledge his treaſon againſt the king. But he in no wiſe would ſo doo, but mainteined that he was neuer traitour in word or déed: and herewith perceiuing the earles of Notingham and Kent, that ſtood by with other noble men buſie to further the execution (being as yée haue heard) of kin and alied to him, he ſpake to them, and ſaid: Trulie it would haue beſéemed you rather to haue béene abſent than here at this buſineſſe. But the time will come yer it be long, when as manie ſhall merueil at your miſfortune as doo now at mine. After this, forgiuing the executioner, he beſought him not to torment him long, but to ſtrike off his head at one blowe, and féeling the edge of the ſword, whether it was ſharpe inough or not, he ſaid; It is verie well, doo that thou haſt to doo quicklie, and ſo knéeling downe, the executioner with one ſtroke, ſtrake off his head: his bodie was buried togither with his head in the church of the Auguſtine friers in Breadſtréet within the citie of London.

The executiõ of the earle of Arundell.

The death of this earle was much lamented among the people, conſidering his ſudden fall and miſerable end, where as not long before among all the noblemen of this land (within the which was ſuch a number, as no countrie in the world had greater ſtore at that preſent) there was none more eſtéemed: ſo noble and valiant he was, that all men ſpake honour of him. After his death, as the fame went, the king was ſore vexed in his ſléepe with horrible dreames, imagining that he ſaw this earle appeare vnto him threatning him, & putting him in horrible feare, as if he had ſaid with the poet to king Richard;

Ouid.

Nunc quoq; factorum venio memor vmbra tuorum,
Inſequor & vultus oſſea forma tuos.

With which viſions being ſore troubled in ſléepe, he curſſed the daie that euer he knew the earle. And he was the more vnquiet, bicauſe he heard it reported, that the common people tooke the erle for a martyr, inſomuch that ſome came to viſit the place of his ſepulture, for the opinion they had conceiued of his holineſſe. And where it was bruted abroad as for a miracle, that his head ſhould be growne to his bodie againe, the tenth daie after his buriall, the king ſent about ten of the clocke in the night, certeine of the nobilitie to ſée his bodie taken vp, that he might be certified of the truth. Which doone, and perceiuing it was a fable, he commanded the friers to take downe his armes that were ſet vp about the place of his buriall, and to couer the graue, ſo as it ſhould not be perceiued where he was buried.

The earle of Warwike arreigned of treaſon.

But now to returne to the parlement. After the death of this earle, the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike was brought foorth to abide his triall by parlement, and when his accuſers charged him in like points of treaſon, ſuch as before were impoſed to the earle of Arundell; he anſwered that he neuer meant euill to the kings perſon, nor thought that thoſe rodes and aſſemblies that were made in companie of the duke of Gloceſter, the earle of Arundell, and others, might not be accompted treaſon. But when the iudges had ſhewed him, that they could not be otherwiſe taken than for treaſon, he humblie beſought the king of mercie and grace. The king then aſked of him whether he had rid with the duke of Gloceſter, and the earle of Arundell, as had béene alledged? He anſwered that he could not denie it, and wiſhed that he had neuer ſéene them. Then ſaid the king, Doo yee not know that you are guiltie of treaſon? He anſwered againe, I acknowledge it; and with ſobbing teares beſought all them that were preſent, to make interceſſion to the kings maieſtie for him.

Then the king and the duke of Lancaſter communed, and after the king had a while with ſilence conſidered of the matter, he ſaid to the earle; By ſaint Iohn Baptiſt, Thomas of Warwike, this confeſſion that thou haſt made, is vnto me more auailable than all the duke of Gloceſters and the earle of Warwikes lands. Herewith the earle making ſtill interceſſion for pardon, the lords humblie beſought the king to grant it. Finallie the king pardoned him of life, but baniſhed him into the Ile of Man, which then was the lord Scropes, promiſing that both he, and his wife, and children, ſhould haue good interteinment. Which promiſe notwithſtanding was but ſlenderlie kept, for both the earle and the counteſſe liued in great penurie (as ſome write) and yet the lord Scrope, that was lord chamberleine, had allowed for the earles diet foure thouſand nobles yéerelie paid out of the kings coffers.

On the mondaie next after the arreignement of the earle of Warwike, to wit, the foure and twentie of September, was the lord Iohn Cobham, and ſir Iohn Cheinie arreigned, and found guiltie of like treaſons for which the other had béene condemned before: but at the earneſt inſtance and ſute of the nobles, they were pardoned of life, and baniſhed, or (as Fabian ſaith) condemned to perpetuall priſon. ¶ The king deſirous to ſée the force of the Londoners, cauſed them (during the time of this parlement) to muſter before him on Blacke heath, where a man might haue ſéene a great number of able perſonages. And now after that the parlement had continued almoſt till Chriſtmaſſe, it was adiourned vntill the quinden of S. Hilarie, then to begin againe at Shrewſburie.

The parlemẽt adiourned to Shrewſburie.

The king then came downe to Lichfield, and there held a roiall Chriſtmaſſe, which being ended, he tooke his iournie towards Shrewſburie, where the parlement was appointed to begin in the quinden of ſaint Hilarie, as before yée haue heard. In which parlement there holden vpon prorogation, for the loue that the king bare to the gentlemen and commons of the ſhire of Cheſter, he cauſed it to be ordeined, that from thenceforth it ſhould be called and knowne by the name of the principalitie of Cheſter: and herewith he intituled himſelfe prince of Cheſter. He held alſo a roiall feaſt, kéeping open houſhold for all honeſt commers, during the which feaſt, he created fiue dukes and a ducheſſe, a marqueſſe, and foure earles. The earle of Derbie was created duke of Hereford, the earle of Notingham that was alſo earle marſhall duke of Norfolke, the earle of Rutland duke of Aumerle, the earle of Kent duke of Surrie, and the earle of Huntington duke of Exceſter; the ladie Margaret marſhall counteſſe of Norfolke, was created ducheſſe of Norfolke; the earle of Summerſet marques Dorſet, the lord Spenſer earle of Gloceſter, the lord Neuill ſurnamed Daurabie earle of Weſtmerland, the lord William Scroope lord chamberleine earle of Wiltſhire, and the lord Thomas Perſie lord ſteward of the kings houſe earle of Worceſter.

The king kéepeth his Chriſtmaſſe at Lichfield. 1398

Cheſhire made a principalitie.

K. Richard prince of Cheſter.

Creation of dukes and earles.

And for the better maintenance of the eſtate of theſe noble men, whome he had thus aduanced to higher degrees of honour, he gaue vnto them a great part of thoſe lands that belonged to the duke of Gloceſter, the earles of Warwike, and Arundell. And now he was in good hope, that he had rooted vp all plants of treaſon, and therefore cared leſſe who might be his fréend or his fo, than before he had doone, eſtéeming himſelfe higher in degrée than anie prince liuing, and ſo preſumed further than euer his grandfather did, and tooke vpon him to beare the armes of ſaint Edward, ioining them vnto his owne armes. To conclude, whatſoeuer he then did, none durſt ſpeake a word contrarie thereunto. And yet ſuch as were chéefe of his counced, were eſtéemed of the commons to be the worſt creatures that might be,

K. Richard beareth ſaint Edward his armes.

as the dukes of Aumarle, Norfolke and Exceſter, the earle of Wiltſhire, ſir John Buſhie, ſir William Bagot, and ſir Thomas Greene: which three laſt remembred were knights of the Bath, againſt whom the commons vndoubtedlie bare great and priuie hatred.

The L. Reginald Cobham condemned.

The authoritie of both houſes in parlement granted to certeine perſons.

Thom. Walſ.

But now to proceed. In this parlement holden at Shrewſburie, the lord Reginald Cobham, being a verie aged man, ſimple and vpright in all his dealings, was condemned for none other cauſe, but for that in the eleuenth yeere of the kings reigne he was appointed with other to be attendant about the king as one of his gouernours. The acts and ordinances alſo deuiſed and eſtabliſhed in the parlement holden in the eleuenth yeare were likewiſe repealed. Moreouer, in this parlement at Shrewesburie, it was decreed, that the lord John Cobham ſhould be ſent into the Ile of Gerneſie, there to remaine in exile, hauing a ſmall portion aſſigned him to liue vpon. The king ſo wrought & brought things about, that he obteined the whole power of both houſes to be granted to certeine perſons, as to John duke of Lancaſter, Edmund duke of Yorke, Edmund duke of Aumarle, Thomas duke of Surrie, John duke of Exceſter, John marqueſſe Dorſet, Roger earle of March, John earle of Saliſburie, and Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas earle of Glouceſter, and William earle of Wiltſhire, John Huſſie, Henrie Cheimeſwike, Robert Teie, and John Gouloſer knights, or to ſeauen or eight of them. Theſe were appointed to heare and determine certeine petitions and matters yet depending and not ended: but by vertue of this grant, they proceeded to conclude vpon other things, which generallie touched the knowledge of the whole parlement, in derogation of the ſtates thereof, to the diſaduantage of the king, and perillous example in time to come.

The K. procureth the popes buls againſt the breakers of his ſtatuts.

When the king had ſpent much monie in time of this parlement, he demanded a diſme and a halfe of the clergie, and a fifteenth of the temporaltie. Finallie, a generall pardon was granted for all offenſes to all the kings ſubiects (fiftie onelie excepted) whoſe names he would not by anie meanes expreſſe, but reſerued them to his owne knowledge, that when anie of the nobilitie offended him, he might at his pleſure name him to be one of the number excepted, and ſo keepe them ſtill within his danger. To the end that the ordinances, iudgements, and acts made, pronounced and eſtabliſhed in this parlement, might be and abide in perpetuall ſtrength and force, the king purchaſed the popes buls, in which were conteined greeuous cenſures and curſſes, pronounced againſt all ſuch as did by anie means go about to breake and violate the ſtatutes in the ſame parlement ordeined. Theſe buls were openlie publiſhed & read at Paules croſſe in London, and in other the moſt publike places of the realme.

Rightfull heires diſherited.

Polydor. K. Richard his euill gouernment.

Manie other things were doone in this parlement, to the diſpleaſure of no ſmall number of people; namelie, for that diuerſe rightfull heires were diſherited of their lands and liuings, by authoritie of the ſame parlement: with which wrongfull doings the people were much offended, ſo that the king and thoſe that were about him, and cheefe in councell, came into great infamie and ſlander. In deed the king after he had diſpatched the duke of Glouceſter, and the other noblemen, was not a little glad, for that he knew them ſtill readie to diſappoint him in all his purpoſes; and therefore being now as it were careleſſe, did not behaue himſelfe (as ſome haue written) in ſuch diſcreet order, as manie wiſhed: but rather (as in time of proſperitie it often happeneth) he forgot himſelfe, and began to rule by will more than by reaſon, threatning death to each one that obeied not his inordinate deſires. By means whereof, the lords of the realme began to feare their owne eſtates, being in danger of his furious outrage, whome they tooke for a man deſtitute of ſobrietie and wiſedome, and therfore could not like of him, that ſo abuſed his authoritie.

The duke of Hereford appealeth the duke of Norfolk of treſon.

Thom. Walſ.

Hereupon there were ſundrie of the nobles, that lamented theſe miſcheefes, and ſpeciallie ſhewed their greefes vnto ſuch, by whoſe naughtie counſell they vnderſtood the king to be miſled; and this they did, to the end that they being about him, might either turne their copies, and giue him better counſell; or elſe he hauing knowledge what euill report went of him, might mend his maners miſliked of his nobles. But all was in vaine, for ſo it fell out, that in this parlement holden at Shrewſburie, Henrie duke of Hereford accuſed Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke, of certeine words which he ſhould vtter in talke had betwixt them, as they rode togither latelie before betwixt London and Brainford, ſounding highlie to the kings diſhonor. And for further proofe thereof, he preſented a ſupplication to the king, wherein he appealed the duke of Norfolke in field of battell, for a traitor, falſe and diſloiall to the king, and enimie vnto the realme. This ſupplication was red before both the dukes, in preſence of the king: which doone, the duke of Norfolke tooke vpon him to anſwer it, declaring that whatſoeuer the duke of Hereford had ſaid againſt him other than well, he lied falſelie like an vntrue knight as he was. And when the king aſked of the duke of Hereford what he ſaid to it: he taking his hood off his head, ſaid; My ſouereigne lord, euen as the ſupplication which I tooke you importeth, right ſo I ſaie for truth, that Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke is a traitour, falſe and diſloiall to your roiall maieſtie, your crowne, and to all the ſtates of your realme.

The duke of Surrie marſhall and the duke of Aumarle conſtable of England.

Then the duke of Norfolke being aſked what he ſaid to this, he anſwered: Right deere lord, with your fauour that I make anſwer vnto your coſine here, I ſaie (your reuerence ſaued) that Henrie of Lancaſter duke of Hereford, like a falſe and diſloiall traitor as he is, dooth lie, in that he hath or ſhall ſay of me otherwiſe than well. No more ſaid the king, we haue heard inough: and herewith commanded the duke of Surrie for that turne marſhall of England, to arreſt in his name the two dukes: the duke of Lancaſter father to the duke of Hereford, the duke of Yorke the duke of Aumarle conſtable of England: and the duke of Surrie marſhall of the realme vndertooke as pledges bodie for bodie for the duke of Hereford: but the duke of Northfolke was not ſuffered to put in pledges, and ſo vnder arreſt was led vnto Windſor caſtell, and there garded with keepers that were appointed to ſee him ſafelie kept.

The order of the proceeding in this appeale.

Now after the diſſoluing of the parlement at Shrewſburie, there was a daie appointed about ſix weekes after, for the king to come vnto Windſor, to heare and to take ſome order betwixt the two dukes, which had thus appealed ech other. There was a great ſcaffold erected within the caſtell of Windſor for the king to ſit with the lords and prelats of his realme: and ſo at the daie appointed, he with the ſaid lords & prelats being come thither and ſet in their places, the duke of Hereford appellant, and the duke of Norfolke defendant, were ſent for to come & appeare before the king, ſitting there in his ſeat of iuſtice. And then began ſir John Buſhie to ſpeake for the king, declaring to the lords how they ſhould vnderſtand, that where the duke of Hereford had preſented a ſupplication to the king, who was there ſet to miniſter iuſtice to all men that would demand the ſame, as apperteined to his roiall maieſtie, he therefore would now heare what the parties could ſay one againſt an other, and withall the king commanded the dukes of Aumarle and Surrie, the one being conſtable, and the other marſhall, to go vnto the two dukes, appellant and defendant, requiring them on his behalfe, to grow to ſome agréement: and for his part, he would be readie to pardon all that had béene ſaid or doone amiſſe betwixt them, touching anie harme or diſhonor to him or his realme: but they anſwered both aſſuredlie, that it was not poſſible to haue anie peace or agréement made betwixt them.

When he heard what they had anſwered, he commanded that they ſhould be brought forthwith before his preſence, to heare what they would ſay. Herewith an herald in the kings name with lowd voice commanded the dukes to come before the king, either of them to ſhew his reaſon, or elſe to make peace togither without more delaie. When they were come before the king and lords, the king ſpake himſelfe to them, willing them to agrée, and make peace togither: for it is (ſaid he) the beſt waie ye can take. The duke of Norfolke with due reuerence herevnto anſwered it could not be ſo brought to paſſe, his honor ſaued. Then the king aſked of the duke of Hereford, what it was that he demanded of the duke of Norfolke, and what is the matter that ye can not make peace togither, and become friends?

Then ſtood forth a knight; who aſking and obteining licence to ſpeake for the duke of Hereford, ſaid; Right deare and ſouereigne lord, here is Henrie of Lancaſter duke of Hereford and earle of Derbie, who ſaith, and I for him likewiſe ſay, that Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke is a falſe and diſloiall traitor to you and your roiall maieſtie, and to your whole realme: and likewiſe the duke of Hereford ſaith and I for him, that Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke hath receiued eight thouſand nobles to pay the ſouldiers that kéepe your towne of Calis, which he hath not doone as he ought: and furthermore the ſaid duke of Norfolke hath béene the occaſion of all the treaſon that hath béene contriued in your realme for the ſpace of theſe eightéene yeares, & by his falſe ſuggeſtions and malicious counſell, he hath cauſed to die and to be murdered your right déere vncle, the duke of Gloceſter, ſonne to king Edward. Moreouer, the duke of Hereford ſaith, and I for him, that he will proue this with his bodie againſt the bodie of the ſaid duke of Norfolke within liſts. The king herewith waxed angrie, and aſked the duke of Hereford, if theſe were his words, who anſwered: Right déere lord, they are my words; and hereof I require right, and the battell againſt him.

The obiection againſt the duke of Norfolke.

There was a knight alſo that aſked licence to ſpeake for the duke of Norfolke, and obteining, it began to anſwer thus: Right déere ſouereigne lord, here is Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke, who anſwereth and ſaith, and I for him, that all which Henrie of Lancaſter hath ſaid and declared (ſauing the reuerence due to the king and his councell) is a lie; and the ſaid Henrie of Lancaſter hath falſelie and wickedlie lied as a falſe and diſloiall knight, and both hath béene, and is a traitor againſt you, your crowne, roiall maieſtie, & realme. This will I proue and defend as becommeth a loiall knight to doo with my bodie againſt his: right déere lord, I beſéech you therefore, and your councell, that it maie pleaſe you in your roiall diſcretion, to conſider and marke, what Henrie of Lancaſter duke of Hereford, ſuch a one as he is, hath ſaid.

The king then demanded of the duke of Norfolke, if theſe were his words, and whether he had anie more to ſaie. The duke of Norfolke then anſwered for himſelfe: Right déere ſir, true it is, that I haue receiued ſo much gold to paie your people of the towne of Calis; which I haue doone, and I doo auouch that your towne of Calis is as well kept at your commandement as euer it was at anie time before, and that there neuer hath béene by anie of Calis anie complaint made vnto you of me. Right déere and my ſouereigne lord, for the voiage that I made into France, about your marriage, I neuer receiued either gold or ſiluer of you, nor yet for the voiage that the duke of Aumarle & I made into Almane, where we ſpent great treaſure: Marie true it is, that once I laid an ambuſh to haue ſlaine the duke of Lancaſter, that there ſitteth: but neuertheleſſe he hath pardoned me thereof, and there was good peace made betwixt vs, for the which I yéeld him hartie thankes. This is that which I haue to anſwer, and I am readie to defend my ſelfe againſt mine aduerſarie; I beſéech you therefore of right, and to haue the battell againſt him in vpright iudgement.

The duke of Norfolke his anſwer for himſelfe.

After this, when the king had communed with his councell a little, he commanded the two dukes to ſtand forth, that their anſwers might be heard. The K. then cauſed them once againe to be aſked, if they would agrée and make peace togither, but they both flatlie anſwered that they would not: and withall the duke of Hereford caſt downe his gage, and the duke of Norfolke tooke it vp. The king perceiuing this demeanor betwixt them, ſware by ſaint Iohn Baptiſt, that he would neuer ſéeke to make peace betwixt them againe. And therefore ſir Iohn Buſhie in name of the king & his councell declared, that the king and his councell had commanded and ordeined, that they ſhould haue a daie of battell appointed them at Couentrie. ¶ Here writers diſagrée about the daie that was appointed: for ſome ſaie, it was vpon a mondaie in Auguſt; other vpon ſaint Lamberts daie, being the ſeuenteenth of September, other on the eleuenth of September: but true it is, that the king aſſigned them not onlie the daie, but alſo appointed them liſtes and place for the combat, and therevpon great preparation was made, as to ſuch a matter apperteined.

The combat appointed to be doone at Couentrie. The French pamphlet. Iohn Stow. Fabian.

At the time appointed the king came to Couentrie, where the two dukes were readie, according to the order preſcribed therein, comming thither in great arraie, accompanied with the lords and gentlemen of their linages. The king cauſed a ſumptuous ſcaffold or theater, and roiall liſtes there to be erected and prepared. The ſundaie before they ſhould fight, after dinner the duke of Hereford came to the king (being lodged about a quarter of a mile without the towne in a tower that belonged to ſir William Bagot) to take his leaue of him. The morow after, being the daie appointed for the combat, about the ſpring of the daie, came the duke of Norfolke to the court to take leaue likewiſe of the king. The duke of Hereford armed him in his tent, that was ſet vp néere to the liſts, and the duke of Norfolke put on his armor, betwixt the gate & the barrier of the towne, in a beautifull houſe, hauing a faire perclois of wood towards the gate, that none might ſée what was doone within the houſe.

Anno Reg.22.

The duke of Aumarle that daie, being high conſtable of England, and the duke of Surrie marſhall, placed themſelues betwixt them, well armed and appointed; and when they ſaw their time, they firſt entered into the liſtes with a great companie of men apparelled in ſilke ſendall, imbrodered with ſiluer, both richlie and curiouſlie, euerie man hauing a tipped ſtaffe to kéepe the field in order. About the houre of prime came to the barriers of the liſtes, the duke of Hereford, mounted on a white courſer, barded with gréene & blew veluet imbrodered ſumptuouſlie with ſwans and antelops of goldſmiths worke, armed at all points. The conſtable and marſhall came to the barriers, demanding of him what he was, he

The order of the combat.

“ anſwered; I am Henrie of Lancaſter duke of Hereford, “ which am come hither to doo mine indeuor againſt Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke, as a “ traitor vntrue to God, the king, his realme, and me. Then incontinentlie he ſware vpon the holie euangeliſts, that his quarrell was true and iuſt, and vpon that point he required to enter the liſts. Then he put vp his ſword, which before he held naked in his hand, and putting downe his viſor, made a croſſe on his horſſe, and with ſpeare in hand, entered into the liſts, and deſcended from his horſſe, and ſet him downe in a chaire of greene veluet, at the one end of the liſts, and there repoſed himſelfe, abiding the comming of his aduerſarie.

Soone after him, entred into the field with great triumph, king Richard accompanied with all the peeres of the realme, and in his companie was the earle of ſaint Paule, which was come out of France in poſt to ſee this challenge performed. The king had there aboue ten thouſand men in armour, leaſt ſome fraie or tumult might riſe amongſt his nobles, by quarelling or partaking. When the king was ſet in his ſeat, which was richlie hanged and adorned; a king at armes made open proclamation, prohibiting all men in the name of the king, and of the high conſtable and marſhall, to enterpriſe or attempt to approch or touch any part of the liſts vpon paine of death, except ſuch as were appointed to order or marſhall the field. The proclamation ended, an other herald “ cried; Behold here Henrie of Lancaſter duke of Hereford appellant, which is entred into the liſts “ roiall to doo his deuoir againſt Thomas Mowbraie “ duke of Norfolke defendant, vpon paine to be found “ falſe and recreant.

The duke of Norfolke houered on horſſebacke at the entrie of the liſts, his horſſe being barded with crimoſen veluet, imbrodered richlie with lions of ſiluer and mulberie trees; and when he had made his oth before the conſtable and marſhall that his quarrell was iuſt and true, he entred the field manfullie, “ ſaieng alowd: God aid him that hath the right, and then he departed from his horſſe, & ſate him downe in his chaire which was of crimoſen veluet, courtined about with white and red damaſke. The lord marſhall viewed their ſpeares, to ſee that they were of equall length, and deliuered the one ſpeare himſelfe to the duke of Hereford, and ſent the other vnto the duke of Norfolke by a knight. Then the herald proclamed that the trauerſes & chaires of the champions ſhould be remoued, commanding them on the kings behalfe to mount on horſſebacke, & addreſſe themſelues to the battell and combat.

The duke of Hereford was quicklie horſſed, and cloſed his bauier, and caſt his ſpeare into the reſt, and when the trumpet ſounded ſet forward couragiouſlie towards his enimie ſix or ſeuen paſes. The duke of Norfolke was not fullie ſet forward, when the king caſt downe his warder, and the heralds cried, Ho, ho. Then the king cauſed their ſpeares to be taken from them, and commanded them to repaire againe to their chaires, where they remained two long houres, while the king and his councell deliberatlie conſulted what order was beſt to be had in ſo weightie a cauſe. Finallie, after they had deuiſed, and fullie determined what ſhould be doone therein, the heralds cried ſilence; and ſir Iohn Buſhie the kings ſecretarie read the ſentence and determination of the king and his councell, in a long roll, the effect wherof was, that Henrie duke of Hereford ſhould within fifteene daies depart out of the realme, and not to returne before the terme of ten yeares were expired, except by the king he ſhould be repealed againe, and this vpon paine of death; and that Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norfolke, bicauſe he had ſowen ſedition in the relme by his words, ſhould likewiſe auoid the realme, and neuer to returne againe into England, nor approch the borders or confines thereof vpon paine of death; and that the king would ſtaie the profits of his lands, till he had leuied thereof ſuch ſummes of monie as the duke had taken vp of the kings treaſuror for the wages of the garriſon of Calis, which were ſtill vnpaid.

The combat ſtaied by the king.

The king his doome betwixt the two dukes

When theſe iudgements were once read, the king called before him both the parties, and made them to ſweare that the one ſhould neuer come in place where the other was, willinglie; nor keepe any companie to gither in any forren region; which oth they both receiued humblie, and ſo went their waies. The duke of Norfolke departed ſorowfullie out of the relme into Almanie, and at the laſt came to Venice, where he for thought and melancholie deceaſſed: for he was in hope (as writers record) that he ſhould haue beene borne out in the matter by the king, which when it fell out otherwiſe, it greeued him not a little. The duke of Hereford tooke his leaue of the king at Eltham, who there releaſed foure yeares of his baniſhment: ſo he tooke his iornie ouer into Calis, and from thence went into France, where he remained. ¶ A woonder it was to ſee what number of people ran after him in euerie towne and ſtreet where he came, before he tooke the ſea, lamenting and bewailing his departure, as who would ſaie, that when he departed, the onelie ſhield, defenſe and comfort of the common wealth was vaded and gone.

The duke of Hereford beloued of the people.

At his comming into France, king Charles hearing the cauſe of his baniſhment (which he eſteemed to be verie light) receiued him gentlie, and him honorablie interteined, in ſo much that he had by fauour obteined in mariage the onelie daughter of the duke of Berrie, vncle to the French king, if king Richard had not beene a let in that matter, who being thereof certified, ſent the earle of Saliſburie with all ſpeed into France, both to ſurmize by vntrue ſuggeſtion, heinous offenſes againſt him, and alſo to require the French king that in no wiſe he would ſuffer his couſine to be matched in mariage with him that was ſo manifeſt an offendor. This was a peſtilent kind of proceeding againſt that nobleman then being in a forren countrie, hauing beene ſo honorablie receiued as he was at his entrance into France, and vpon view and good liking of his behauiour there, ſo forward in mariage with a ladie of noble linage. So ſharpe, ſo ſeuere, & ſo heinous an accuſation, brought to a ſtrange king from a naturall prince, againſt his ſubiect, after puniſhment inflicted (for he was baniſhed) was inough to haue made the French king his fatall fo, & vpon ſuſpicion of aſſaieng the like trecherie againſt him, to haue throwne him out of the limits of his land. But what will enuie leaue vnattempted, where it is once ſetled? And how are the malicious tormented with egernes of reuenge againſt them whom they maligne, wringing themſelues in the meane time with inward pangs gnawing them at the hart? wherevnto ſerueth the poets alluſion,

The duke of Hereford is honorablie interteined with the French king.

Froiſſard.

Inuidia Siculi non inuenêre tyranni
Maius tormentum.

Hor. lib. epiſt. 1.

1399

On Newyeares day this yeare, the riuer that paſſeth betwixt Suelleſton or Snelſton, and Harewood, two villages not far from Bedford, ſudenlie ceaſſed his courſe, ſo as the chanell remained drie by the ſpace of three miles, that any man might enter into, and paſſe the ſame drie foot at his pleaſure. This diuiſion, which the water made in that place, the one part ſeeming as it were not to come neere to the other, was iudged to ſignifie the reuolting of the ſubiects of this land from their naturall prince. It may be, that the water of that riuer ſanke into the ground, and by ſome ſecret paſſage or chanell tooke courſe till it came to the place where it might riſe againe as in other places is likewiſe ſéene.

Fabian.

Blanke charters.

Ye haue heard before, how the archbiſhop of Canturburie Thomas Arundell, was baniſht the relme, and Roger Walden was made archbiſhop of that ſée, who was a great fauourer of the citie of London, the which was eftſoones about this ſeaſon fallen into the kings diſpleaſure: but by the diligent labour of this archbiſhop, and of Robert Braibrooke then biſhop of London, vpon the humble ſupplication of the citizens, the kings wrath was pacified. But yet to content the kings mind, manie blanke charters were deuiſed, and brought into the citie, which manie of the ſubſtantiall and wealthie citizens were faine to ſeale, to their great charge, as in the end appeared. And the like charters were ſent abroad into all ſhires within the realme, whereby great grudge and murmuring aroſe among the people: for when they were ſo ſealed, the kings officers wrote in the ſame what liked them, as well for charging the parties with paiment of monie, as otherwiſe.

The death of the duke of Lancaſter.

Tho.Walſ.

In this meane time, the duke of Lancaſter departed ont of this life at the biſhop of Elies place in Holborne, and lieth buried in the cathedrall church of ſaint Paule in London, on the northſide of the high altar, by the ladie Blanch his firſt wife. The death of this duke gaue occaſion of increaſing more hatred in the people of this realme toward the king, for he ſeized into his hands all the goods that belonged to him, and alſo receiued all the rents and reuenues of his lands which ought to haue deſcended vnto the duke of Hereford by lawfull inheritance, in reuoking his letters patents, which he had granted to him before, by vertue wherof he might make his attorneis generall to ſue liuerie for him, of any maner of inheritances or poſſeſſions that might from thenceforth fall vnto him, and that his homage might be reſpited, with making reaſonable fine: whereby it was euident, that the king meant his vtter vndoing.

This hard dealing was much miſliked of all the nobilitie, and cried out againſt of the meaner ſort: but namelie the duke of Yorke was therewith ſore moued, who before this time, had borne things with ſo patient a mind as he could, though the ſame touched him verie néere, as the death of his brother the duke of Gloceſter, the baniſhment of his nephue the ſaid duke of Hereford, and other mo iniuries in great number, which for the ſlipperie youth of the king, he paſſed ouer for the time, and did forget aſwell as he might. But now perceiuing that neither law, iuſtice nor equitie could take place, where the kings wilfull will was bent vpon any wrongfull purpoſe, he conſidered that the glorie of the publike wealth of his countrie muſt néeds decaie, by reaſon of the king his lacke of wit, and want of ſuch as would (without flatterie) admoniſh him of his dutie: and therefore he thought it the part of a wiſe man to get him in time to a reſting place, and to leaue the following of ſuch an vnaduiſed capteine, as with a leden ſword would cut his owne throat.

The duke of Yorke miſliketh the court & goeth home.

The realme let to farme by the king.

Herevpon he with the duke of Aumarle his ſonne went to his houſe at Langlie, reioiſing that nothing had miſhappened in the common-wealth through his deuiſe or conſent. The common brute ran, that the king had ſet to farme the realme of England, vnto ſir William Scroope earle of Wiltſhire, and then treaſuror of England, to ſir John Buſhie, ſir John Bagot, and ſir Henrie Gréene knights. ¶ About the ſame time, the earle of Arundels ſonne, named Thomas, which was kept in the duke of Exeters houſe, eſcaped out of the realme, by meanes of one William Scot mercer, and went to his vncle Thomas Arundell late archbiſhop of Canturburie, as then ſoiourning at Cullen.

Tho.Walſ.

¶ King Richard being deſtitute of treaſure to furniſh ſuch a princelie port as he mainteined, borrowed great ſummes of monie of manie of the great lords and péeres of his realme, both ſpirituall and temporall, and likewiſe of other meane perſons, promiſing them in good earneſt, by deliuering to them his letters patents for aſſurance, that he would repaie the monie ſo borrowed at a daie appointed: which notwithſtanding he neuer paid.

New exactions.

The paiment of theſe fines was called a pleſance as it were to pleaſe the K. withall, but ſ ſame diſpleaſed manie that were thus conſtreined to paie againſt their willes.

Moreouer, this yeare he cauſed ſeuentéene ſhires of the realme by waie of putting them to their fines to paie no ſmall ſummes of monie, for redéeming their offenſes, that they had aided the duke of Gloceſter, the earles of Arundell, and Warwike, when they roſe in armor againſt him. The nobles, gentlemen, and commons of thoſe ſhires were inforced alſo to receiue a new oth to aſſure the king of their fidelitie in time to come; and withall certeine prelats and other honorable perſonages, were ſent into the ſame ſhires to perſuade men to this paiment, and to ſée things ordered at the pleaſure of the prince: and ſuerlie the fines which the nobles, and other the meaner eſtates of thoſe ſhires were conſtreined to paie, were not ſmall, but excéeding great, to the offenſe of manie. Moreouer, the kings letters patents were ſent into euerie ſhire within this land, by vertue whereof, an oth was demanded of all the kings liege people for a further aſſurance of their due obedience, and they were conſtreined to ratifie the ſame in writing vnder their hands and ſeales.

The people confirme the oth of allegiance by writing ſealed.

Indirect dealings.

Moreouer they were compelled to put their hands and ſeales to certeine blankes, wherof ye haue heard before, in the which, when it pleaſed him he might write what he thought good. There was alſo a new oth deuiſed for the ſhiriffes of euerie countie through the realme to receiue: finallie, manie of the kings liege people were through ſpite, enuie, and malice, accuſed, apprehended, & put in priſon, and after brought before the conſtable and marſhall of England, in the court of chiualrie, and might not otherwiſe be deliuered, except they could iuſtifie themſelues by combat and fighting in liſts againſt their accuſers hand to hand, although the accuſers for the moſt part were luſtie, yoong and valiant, where the parties accuſed were perchance old, impotent, maimed and ſicklie. Whereupon not onelie the great deſtruction of the realme in generall, but alſo of euerie ſingular perſon in particular, was to be feared and looked for.

Abr.Fl. out of Thom.Walſ. pag.395.

¶ About this time the biſhop of Calcedon came into England, with letters apoſtolicall of admonition, that the faithfull and loiall of the land ſhould of their goods diſburſſe ſomewhat to the emperour of Conſtantinople, who was extremelie vexed and troubled by the Tartars, and their capteine called Morect. And to the intent that the péeres of the land might be made the more willing and toward to beſtow their contribution in this behalfe, the pope granted vnto all benefactors (trulie contrite and confeſſed) full remiſſion, and wrapped in his bitter cenſures all ſuch as hindered thoſe that were willing to beſtow their beneuolence in this caſe; conſidering, that although the emperour was a ſchiſmatike, yet was he a chriſtian, and if by the infidels he ſhould be oppreſſed, all chriſtendome was in danger of ruine; hauing in his mind that ſaieng of the poet full fit for his purpoſe,

Tunc tua res agitur paries cùm proximus ardet.

Abr.Fl. out of Thom.Walſ. pag.395.

¶ In this yeare in a manner throughout all the realme of England, old baie trées withered, and afterwards, contrarie to all mens thinking, grew gréene againe, a ſtrange ſight, and ſuppoſed to import ſome vnknowne euent.

Polydor.

¶ In this meane time the king being aduertiſed that the wild Iriſh dailie waſted and deſtroied the townes and villages within the Engliſh pale, and had ſlaine manie of the ſouldiers which laie there in gariſon for defenſe of that countrie, determined to make eftſoones a voiage thither, & prepared all things neceſſarie for his paſſage now againſt the ſpring. A little before his ſetting forth, he cauſed a iuſts to be holden at Windeſor of fourtie knights and fourtie eſquiers, againſt all commers, & they to be apparelled in greene, with a white falcon, and the queene to be there well accompanied with ladies and damſels. When theſe iuſts were finiſhed, the king departed toward Briſtow, from thence to paſſe into Ireland, leauing the queene with hir traine ſtill at Windeſor: he appointed for his lieutenant generall in his abſence his vncle the duke of Yorke: and ſo in the moneth of Aprill, as diuerſe authors write, he ſet forward from Windeſor, and finallie tooke ſhipping at Milford, and from thence with two hundred ſhips, and a puiſſant power of men of armes and archers he ſailed into Ireland. The fridaie next after his arriuall, there were ſlaine two hundred Iriſhmen at Fourd in Kenlis within the countie of Kildare, by that valiant gentleman Ienico Dartois, and ſuch Engliſhmen as he had there with him: and on the morrow next inſuing the citizens of Dublin inuaded the countrie of Obrin, and ſlue thirtie and three Iriſhmen.

A iuſts at Windeſor.

The king ſaileth ouer into Ireland with a great armie. Fabian. Caxton.

The duke of Yorke lieutenant generall of England, the king being in Ireland. Hen. Marl.

Out of a French pamphlet that belongeth to maſter Iohn Dee.

Macmur.

The king alſo after he had remained about ſeuen daies at Waterford, marched from thence towards Kilkennie, and comming thither, ſtaied thereabout fourteene daies, looking for the duke of Aumarle that was appointed to haue met him, but he failed and came not, wherevpon the king on Midſummer euen ſet forward againe, marching ſtreight towards the countrie of Macmur the principall rebell in that ſeaſon within Ireland, who keeping himſelfe among woods with three thouſand right hardie men, ſeemed to paſſe little for any power that might be brought againſt him. Yet the king approching to the ſkirts of the woods, commanded his ſoldiers to fier the houſes and villages: which was executed with great forwardneſſe of the men of war. And here for ſome valiant act that he did, or ſome other fauourable reſpect, which the king bare to the lord Henrie ſonne to the duke of Hereford, he made him knight. ¶ This Henrie was after king of England, ſucceeding his father, and called by the name of Henrie the fift. There were nine or ten others made knights alſo at the ſame time.

Pioners ſet a worke to cut downe woods.

Moreouer, there were two thouſand & fiue hundred pioners ſet a worke to cut downe the woods, and to make paſſages through, and ſo then the Engliſhmen entred, and by force got through: for the Iriſhmen ſore feared the Engliſh bowes, but yet now and then they eſpieng their aduantage, aſſailed oftentimes Engliſhmen with their darts, and ſlue diuerſe that went abroad to fetch in forrage. The vncle of Macmur hauing a withie or with about his necke, came in and ſubmitted himſelfe, and likewiſe manie other naked and bare legged; ſo that the king ſeeming to pitie their miſerable ſtate, pardoned them, and afterward he alſo ſent vnto Macmur, promiſing that if he would come in and require pardon as his vncle had doone, he would receiue him to mercie: but Macmur vnderſtanding that for want of vittels, the king muſt needs retire within a ſhort time, he refuſed the kings offer. The king with his armie remaining in thoſe parts 11 daies, was in the end conſtreined to come backe, when all their vittels were ſpent: for more than they brought with them they could not get. They loſt manie horſſes in this iournie for want of prouiſion and forrage.

Macmur ſendeth to the K. offering a parlee.

The earle of Gloceſter.

As the king was withdrawne towards Dublin, marching through the countrie, in deſpite of his enimies, that houered ſtill about his armie, Macmur ſent to the king, offering to talke of an agreement, if it ſhould pleaſe him to ſend any noble man to meet him at a place appointed. The king herevpon commanded the earle of Gloceſter to take with him two hundred lances, and a thouſand archers, and to go to trie if he might by perſuaſion cauſe him to come in and ſubmit himſelfe. The earle went, and comming to talke with him, found him ſo obſtinate, that their parlee ſtreightwaies brake off: ſo taking leaue each of other, they departed, and the earle returned to the king, to aduertiſe him what he had doone and perceiued by the communication which he had had with Macmur.

Anno Reg. 23. He came to Dublin the 28 of Iune as Henrie Marl. ſaith.

The king was ſore offended with the obſtinatnes of the rebell, that would not agree otherwiſe: but ſo as he might remaine ſtill at libertie, without danger to ſuffer anie maner of puniſhment for his paſſed offenſes. Wherevpon the king after his comming to Dublin, and that the armie had reſted there, and in the countrie neere to the citie, for the ſpace of fifteene daies, he diuided his people into three parts, and ſent them abroad into the countrie to purſue the enimies and withall made proclamation, that who ſo euer could bring Macmur vnto his preſence, ſhould haue for his recompenſe a great reward: for he determined not to depart the countrie, till he had him either dead or aliue. But he knew full little then what incidents to hinder his purpoſed intention would after follow.

The duke of Aumarle.

The ſame daie that he ſent abroad his armie thus into three ſeuerall parts, the duke of Aumarle with an hundred ſaile arriued, of whoſe cōming the king was right ioifull; and although he had vſed no ſmall negligence in that he came no ſooner according to order before appointed, yet the king (as he was of a gentle nature) courteouſlie accepted his excuſe: whether he was in fault or not, I haue not to ſaie; but verelie he was greatlie ſuſpected, that he dealt not well in tarieng ſo long after his time aſſigned. But now whileſt the king reſted at Dublin, his people ſo demeaned themſelues, that the moſt part of the rebels, what by manhood and policie were ſubdued, and brought vnder ſubiection, and (as is to be thought) if no trouble had riſen in England to haue called him backe, he meant to haue rid vp the woods, and made ſome notable conqueſt at that time vpon the rebels that yet held out. Neuertheleſſe, during the time of his abode there, ſuch was the prowesſe of him and his, that the Iriſh were well tamed, and forced to ſubmit themſelues: and yet the kings power made no great ſlaughter of them, if it be true that Chriſt. Okl. ſaith, ſpeaking hereof in few words as after followeth:

Pergit ad indomitos princeps Richardus Hibernos,
Inq; poteſtatem multo ſine ſanguine, ſæuo
Marte reluctantes.

In Angl. prælijs ſub Rich. 2.

The duke of Lancaſter ſolicited to expell king Richard, and to take vpon him the regiment.

Now whileſt he was thus occupied in deuiſing how to reduce them into ſubiection, and taking orders for the good ſtate and quiet gouernment of the countrie, diuerſe of the nobilitie, aſwell prelats as other, and likewiſe manie of the magiſtrats and rulers of the cities, townes, and communaltie, here in England, perceiuing dailie how the realme drew to vtter ruine, not like to be recouered to the former ſtate of wealth, whileſt king Richard liued and reigned (as they tooke it) deuiſed with great deliberation, and conſiderate aduiſe, to ſend and ſignifie by letters vnto duke Henrie, whome they now called (as he was in deed) duke of Lancaſter and Hereford, requiring him with all conuenient ſpeed to conueie himſelfe into England, promiſing him all their aid, power and aſſiſtance, if he expelling K. Richard, as a man not meet for the office he bare, would take vpon him the ſcepter, rule, and diademe of his natiue land and region.

He therefore being thus called vpon by meſſengers and letters from his freends, and cheeflie through the earneſt perſuaſion of Thomas Arundell, late archbiſhop of Canturburie, who (as before yée haue heard) had béene remooued from his ſée, and baniſhed the realme by king Richards means, got him downe to Britaine, togither with the ſaid archbiſhop, where he was ioifullie receiued of the duke and ducheſſe, and found ſuch fréendſhip at the dukes hands, that there were certeine ſhips rigged, and made readie for him, at a place in baſe Britaine, called Le port blanc, as we find in the chronicles of Britaine: and when all his prouiſion was made readie, he tooke the ſea, togither with the ſaid archbiſhop of Canturburie, and his nephue Thomas Arundell, ſonne and heire to the late earle of Arundell, beheaded at the Tower hill, as you haue heard. There were alſo with him, Reginald lord Cobham, ſir Thomas Erpingham, and ſir Thomas Ramſton knights, John Norburie, Robert Waterton, & Francis Coint eſquires: few elſe were there, for (as ſome write) he had not paſt fiftéene lances, as they tearmed them in thoſe daies, that is to ſaie, men of armes, furniſhed and appointed as the vſe then was. ¶ Yet other write, that the duke of Britaine deliuered vnto him thrée thouſand men of warre, to attend him, and that he had eight ſhips well furniſhed for the warre, where Froiſſard yet ſpeaketh but of thrée. Moreouer, where Froiſſard and alſo the chronicles of Britaine auouch, that he ſhould land at Plimmouth, by our Engliſh writers it ſéemeth otherwiſe: for it appeareth by their aſſured report, that he approching to the ſhore, did not ſtreight take land, but lay houering aloofe, and ſhewed himſelfe now in this place, and now in that, to ſée what countenance was made by the people, whether they meant enuiouſlie to reſiſt him, or fréendlie to receiue him.

The duke of Britaine a great friend to the duke of Lancaſter.

The duke of Lancaſter & his adherents ſaile into England.

Additions to Polychron.

Thom. Walſ.

Chron. Brit.

Froiſſard.

Tho. Walſing.

When the lord gouernor Edmund duke of Yorke was aduertiſed, that the duke of Lancaſter kept ſtill the ſea, and was readie to arriue (but where he ment firſt to ſet foot on land, there was not any that vnderſtood the certeintie) he ſent for the lord chancellor Edmund Stafford biſhop of Exceſter, and for the lord treaſuror William Scroope earle of Wiltſhire, and other of the kings priuie councell, as John Buſhie, William Bagot, Henrie Gréene, and John Ruſſell knights: of theſe he required to know what they thought good to be doone in this matter, concerning the duke of Lancaſter, being on the ſeas. Their aduiſe was, to depart from London, vnto S. Albons, and there to gather an armie to reſiſt the duke in his landing, but to how ſmall purpoſe their counſell ſerued, the concluſion thereof plainlie declared, for the moſt part that were called, when they came thither, boldlie proteſted, that they would not fight againſt the duke of Lancaſter, whome they knew to be euill dealt withall.

The commõs denie to reſiſt the duke of Lancaſter.

The lord treaſuror, Buſhie, Bagot, and Gréene, perceiuing that the commons would cleaue vnto, and take part with the duke, ſlipped awaie, leauing the lord gouernour of the realme, and the lord chancellor to make what ſhift they could for themſelues: Bagot got him to Cheſter, and ſo eſcaped into Ireland; the other fled to the caſtell of Briſtow, in hope there to be in ſafetie. The duke of Lancaſter, after that he had coaſted alongſt the ſhore a certeine time, & had got ſome intelligence how the peoples minds were affected towards him, landed about the beginning of Julie in Yorkſhire, at a place ſometime called Rauenſpur, betwixt Hull and Bridlington, and with him not paſt thréeſcore perſons, as ſome write: but he was ſo ioifullie receiued of the lords, knights, and gentlemen of thoſe parts, that he found means (by their helpe) forthwith to aſſemble a great number of people, that were willing to take his part. The firſt that came to him, were the lords of Lincolneſhire, and other countries adioining, as the lords Willoughbie, Ros, Darcie, and Beaumont.

The duke of Lancaſter lãdeth in Yorkſhire.

Additions to Polychron.

At his comming vnto Doncaſter, the earle of Northumberland, and his ſonne ſir Henrie Perſie, wardens of the marches againſt Scotland, with the earle of Weſtmerland, came vnto him, where he ſware vnto thoſe lords, that he would demand no more, but the lands that were to him deſcended by inheritance from his father, and in right of his wife. Moreouer, he vndertooke to cauſe the paiment of taxes and tallages to be laid downe, & to bring the king to good gouernment, & to remooue from him the Cheſhire men, which were enuied of manie; for that the king eſtéemed of them more than of anie other; happilie, bicauſe they were more faithfull to him than other, readie in all reſpects to obeie his commandements and pleaſure. From Doncaſter hauing now got a mightie armie about him, he marched forth with all ſpéed through the countries, comming by Eueſham vnto Berkelie: within the ſpace of thrée daies, all the kings caſtels in thoſe parts were ſurrendred vnto him.

The duke of Lãcaſters oth to the lords that aided him.

The duke of Yorke, whome king Richard had left as gouernour of the realme in his abſence, hearing that his nephue the duke of Lancaſter was thus arriued, and had gathered an armie, he alſo aſſembled a puiſſant power of men of armes and archers (as before yée haue heard) but all was in vaine, for there was not a man that willinglie would thruſt out one arrow againſt the duke of Lancaſter, or his partakers, or in anie wiſe offend him or his fréends. The duke of Yorke therefore paſſing forth towards Wales to méet the king, at his comming forth of Ireland, was receiued into the caſtell of Berkelie, and there remained, till the comming thither of the duke of Lancaſter (whom when he perceiued that he was not able to reſiſt) on the ſundaie, after the feaſt of ſaint James, which as that yeare came about, fell vpon the fridaie, he came forth into the church that ſtood without the caſtell, and there communed with the duke of Lancaſter. With the duke of Yorke were the biſhops of Norwich, the lord Berkelie, the lord Seimour, and other: with the duke of Lancaſter were theſe, Thomas Arundell archbiſhop of Canturburie that had béene baniſhed, the abbat of Leiceſter, the earles of Northumberland and Weſtmerland, Thomas Arundell ſonne to Richard late earle of Arundell, the baron of Greiſtoke, the lords Willoughbie and Ros, with diuerſe other lords, knights, and other people, which dailie came to him from euerie part of the realme: thoſe that came not, were ſpoiled of all they had, ſo as they were neuer able to recouer themſelues againe, for their goods being then taken awaie, were neuer reſtored. And thus what for loue, and what for feare of loſſe, they came flocking vnto him from euerie part.

The harts of the commons wholie bent to the duke of Lancaſter.

At the ſame preſent there was arreſted, and committed to ſafe cuſtodie, the biſhop of Norwich, ſir William Elmam, and ſir Walter Burlie, knights, Laurence Drew, and John Goloſer eſquiers. On the morow after, the forſaid dukes with their power, went towards Briſtow, where (at their comming) they ſhewed themſelues before the towne & caſtell, being an huge multitude of people. There were incloſed within the caſtell, the lord William Scroope earle of Wiltſhire and treaſuror of England, ſir Henrie Gréene, and ſir John Buſhie knights, who prepared to make reſiſtance: but when it would not preuaile, they were taken and brought forth bound as priſoners into the campe, before the duke of Lancaſter. On the morow next inſuing, they were arraigned before the conſtable and marſhall, and found giltie of treaſon, for miſgouerning the king and realme, and forthwith had their heads ſmit off. Sir

The duke of Lancaſter marcheth to Briſtow.

Scroope lord treaſuror, Buſhie and Gréene executed.

John

A politike madneſſe.

John Ruſſell was alſo taken there, who feining himſelfe to be out of his wits, eſcaped their hands for a time.

In this meane time, king Richard aduertiſed, how the duke of Lancaſter was landed in England, and that the lords, gentlemen, and commons aſſembled themſelues to take his part, he forthwith cauſed the lord Henrie, ſonne to the ſaid duke of Lancaſter, and the lord Humfrie, ſonne to the duke of Gloceſter, to be ſhut vp faſt in the caſtell of Trimme, and with all ſpéed made haſt to returne into England, in hope with an armie to incounter the duke, before he ſhould haue time to aſſemble his fréends togither. But here you ſhall note, that it fortuned at the ſame time, in which the duke of Hereford or Lancaſter, whether ye liſt to call him, arriued thus in England, the ſeas were ſo troubled by tempeſts, and the winds blew ſo contrarie for anie paſſage, to come ouer forth of England to the king, remaining ſtill in Ireland, that for the ſpace of ſix wéeks, he receiued no aduertiſements from thence: yet at length, when the ſeas became calme, and the wind once turned anie thing fauourable, there came ouer a ſhip, whereby the king vnderſtood the manner of the dukes arriuall, and all his procéedings till that daie, in which the ſhip departed from the coaſt of England, wherevpon he meant forthwith to haue returned ouer into England, to make reſiſtance againſt the duke: but through perſuaſion of the duke of Aumarle (as was thought) he ſtaied, till he might haue all his ſhips, and other prouiſion, fullie readie for his paſſage.

Out of maſter Dees French booke.

In the meane time, he ſent the earle of Saliſburie ouer into England, to gather a power togither, by helpe of the kings fréends in Wales, and Cheſhire, with all ſpéed poſſible, that they might be readie to aſſiſt him againſt the duke, vpon his arriuall, for he meant himſelfe to follow the earle, within ſix daies after. The earle paſſing ouer into Wales, landed at Conwaie, and ſent forth letters to the kings fréends, both in Wales and Cheſhire, to leauie their people, & to come with all ſpéed to aſſiſt the K. whoſe requeſt, with great deſire, & very willing minds they fulfilled, hoping to haue found the king himſelfe at Conwaie, inſomuch that within foure daies ſpace, there were to the number of fortie thouſand men aſſembled, readie to march with the king againſt his enimies, if he had béene there himſelfe in perſon.

But when they miſſed the king, there was a brute ſpred amongſt them, that the king was ſuerlie dead, which wrought ſuch an impreſſion, and euill diſpoſition in the minds of the Welſhmen and others, that for anie perſuaſion which the earle of Saliſburie might vſe, they would not go forth with him, till they ſaw the king: onelie they were contented to ſtaie fourtéene daies to ſée if he ſhould come or not; but when he came not within that tearme, they would no longer abide, but ſcaled & departed awaie; wheras if the king had come before their breaking vp, no doubt, but they would haue put the duke of Hereford in aduenture of a field: ſo that the kings lingering of time before his comming ouer, gaue opportunitie to the duke to bring things to paſſe as he could haue wiſhed, and tooke from the king all occaſion to recouer afterwards anie forces ſufficient to reſiſt him.

At length, about eightéene daies after that the king had ſent from him the earle of Saliſburie, he tooke the ſea, togither with the dukes of Aumarle, Exceſter, Surrie, and diuerſe others of the nobilitie, with the biſhops of London, Lincolne, and Carleill. They landed néere the caſtell of Barclowlie in Wales, about the feaſt of ſaint James the apoſtle, and ſtaied a while in the ſame caſtell, being aduertiſed of the great forces which the duke of Lancaſter had got togither againſt him, wherewith he was maruellouſlie amazed, knowing certeinelie that thoſe which were thus in armes with the duke of Lancaſter againſt him, would rather die than giue place, as well for the hatred as feare which they had conceiued at him. Neuertheleſſe he departing from Barclowlie, haſted with all ſpéed towards Conwaie, where he vnderſtood the earle of Saliſburie to be ſtill remaining.

K. Richard returneth out of Ireland, and landeth in Wales.

Thom. Walſ.

Additions to Polychron.

He therefore taking with him ſuch Cheſhire men as he had with him at that preſent (in whom all his truſt was repoſed) he doubted not to reuenge himſelfe of his aduerſaries, & ſo at the firſt he paſſed with a good courage: but when he vnderſtood as he went thus forward, that all the caſtels, euen from the borders of Scotland vnto Briſtow were deliuered vnto the duke of Lancaſter, and that likewiſe the nobles and commons, as well of the ſouth parts, as the north, were fullie bent to take part with the ſame duke againſt him; and further, hearing how his truſtie councellors had loſt their heads at Briſtow, he became ſo greatlie diſcomforted, that ſorowfullie lamenting his miſerable ſtate, he vtterlie deſpaired of his owne ſafetie, and calling his armie togither, which was not ſmall, licenced euerie man to depart to his home.

K. Richard in vtter deſpaire.

The ſouldiers being well bent to fight in his defenſe, beſought him to be of good chéere, promiſing with an oth to ſtand with him againſt the duke, and all his partakers vnto death: but this could not incourage him at all, ſo that in the night next inſuing, he ſtole from his armie, and with the dukes of Exceſter and Surrie, the biſhop of Carleill, and ſir Stephan Scroope, and about halfe a ſcore others, he got him to the caſtell of Conwaie, where he found the earle of Saliſburie, determining there to hold himſelfe, till he might ſée the world at ſome better ſtaie; for what counſell to take to remedie the miſchéefe thus preſſing vpon him he wiſt not. On the one part he knew his title iuſt, true, and infallible; and his conſcience cleane, pure, and without ſpot of enuie or malice: he had alſo no ſmall affiance in the Welſhmen, and Cheſhire men. On the other ſide, he ſaw the puiſſance of his aduerſaries, the ſudden departing of them whom he moſt truſted, and all things turned vpſide downe: he euidentlie ſaw, and manifeſtlie perceiued, that he was forſaken of them, by whom in time he might haue béene aided and relieued, where now it was too late, and too farre ouerpaſſed.

K. Richard ſtealeth awaie from his armie, and taketh the caſtell of Flint.

¶ This ſuerlie is a verie notable example, and not vnworthie of all princes to be well weied, and diligentlie marked, that this Henrie duke of Lancaſter ſhould be thus called to the kingdome, and haue the helpe and aſſiſtance (almoſt) of all the whole realme, which perchance neuer thereof thought or yet dreamed; and that king Richard ſhould thus be left deſolate, void, and in deſpaire of all hope and comfort, in whom if there were anie offenſe, it ought rather to be imputed to the frailtie of wanton youth, than to the malice of his hart: but ſuch is the deceiuable iudgement of man, which not regarding things preſent with due conſideration, thinketh euer that things to come ſhall haue good ſucceſſe, with a pleaſant & delitefull end. But in this deiecting of the one, & aduancing of the other, the prouidence of God is to be reſpected, & his ſecret will to be wondered at. For as in his hands ſtandeth the donation of kingdoms, ſo likewiſe the diſpoſing of them conſiſteth in his pleaſure, which the verie pagans vnderſtood right well; otherwiſe, one of them would neuer haue ſaid,

A ſpeciall note worthie to be well weied.

Regum timendorum in proprios greges,
Reges in ipſos imperium eſt Iouis
Cuncta ſupercilio mouentis.

Hor. lib. car. 3. ode. 1.

Sir Thomas Perſie earle of Worceſter, lord

The earle of Worceſter leaueth the k. and fléeth to the duke.

ſteward of the kings houſe, either being ſo commanded by the king, or elſe vpon diſpleaſure (as ſome write) for that the king had proclaimed his brother the earle of Northumberland traitor, brake his white ſtaffe, which is the repreſenting ſigne and token of his office, and without delaie went to duke Henrie. When the kings ſeruants of houſhold ſaw this (for it was doone before them all) they diſperſed themſelues, ſome into one countrie, and ſome into an other. When the duke of Lancaſter vnderſtood that king Richard was returned forth of Ireland, he left the duke of Yorke ſtill at Briſtow, and came backe with his power vnto Berkleie; the ſecond daie he came to Gloceſter, and ſo to Ros, after to Hereford, where came to him the biſhop of Hereford, and ſir Edmund Mortimer knight. On the ſundaie following, he went to Limſter, and there the lord Charleton came to him. From thence he went to Ludlow, and the next daie to Shrewſburie, where he reſted one daie, and thither came to him ſir Robert Leigh, and ſir Iohn Leigh, and manie other being ſent from Cheſter, to treat with the duke of Lancaſter, for the citie and countie of Cheſter, that were now readie to ſubmit themſelues vnto him in all things.

where fortune fauoureth, thither the peoples fauour fléeth.

There came hither vnto him the lord Scales, and the lord Berdolfe, forth of Ireland, hauing béene ſpoiled of all they had about them in Wales, as they came through the countrie. From Shrewſburie, he kept on his iournie towards Cheſter, and lodging one night by the waie, in a towne there in the borders of Wales, he came the ſecond night to Cheſter, and ſtaied there certeine daies togither, making a iollie muſter of his armie there in ſight of the citie. The clergie met, & receiued him with proceſſion: he ſent forthwith for his ſonne & heire, & likewiſe for the duke of Gloceſters ſonne & heire, that were as yet remaining in Ireland, commanding them with all ſpéed to returne home into England. But the duke of Gloceſters ſonne, through miſchance periſhed, as he was on the ſeas to come ouer, for whoſe loſſe his mother tooke ſuch gréefe, that ſhortlie after through immoderate ſorow ſhe likewiſe paſſed out of this tranſitorie life.

The duke of Lancaſter comming to Cheſter.

In this meane time, king Richard being in the caſtell of Conwaie ſore diſcomfited, and fearing leſt he could not remaine there long in ſafetie; vpon knowledge had by his truſtie fréends Iohn Paulet, and Richard Seimour, of the dealings and approch of his aduerſaries, ſent the duke of Exceſter to talke with the duke of Lancaſter, who in this meane while had cauſed one of king Richards faithfull and truſtie fréends, ſir Piers a Leigh, commonlie called Perkin a Lée, to loſe his head, & commanded the ſame to be ſet vp, vpon one of the higheſt turrets about all the citie; and ſo that true and faithfull gentleman, for his ſtedfaſt faith, and aſſured loialtie to his louing ſoueraigne, thus loſt his life. There came to him about the ſame time, or ſomewhat before, the dukes of Aumarle and Surrie, the lord Louell, and ſir Iohn Stanleie, beſéeching him to receiue him into his fauour.

Perkin a Lee.

Out of maſter Dees books.

¶ By ſome writers it ſhould ſéeme, not onelie the duke of Exceſter, but alſo the duke of Surrie were ſent vnto duke Henrie from king Richard, and that duke Henrie ſtaied them both, and would not ſuffer them to returne to the king againe, kéeping the duke of Exceſter ſtill about him, and committing the duke of Surrie to priſon, within the caſtell of Cheſter. The king herewith went to Beaumaris, & after to Carnaruan: but finding no prouiſion either of vittels or other things in thoſe caſtels, no not ſo much as a bed to lie in, he came backe againe to Conwaie, and in the meane time was the caſtell of Holt deliuered to the duke of Hereford, by thoſe that had it in kéeping wherein was great ſtore of iewels, to the value of two hundred thouſand marks, beſides an hundred thouſand marks in readie coine. After this, the duke, with aduiſe of his councell, ſent the earle of Northumberland vnto the king, accompanied with foure hundred lances, & a thouſand archers, who comming to the caſtell of Flint, had it deliuered vnto him; and from thence he haſted forth towards Conwaie. But before he approched néere the place, he left his power behind him, hid cloſelie in two ambuſhes, behind a craggie mounteine, beſide the high waie that leadeth from Flint to Conwaie.

Holt caſtell deliuered to the duke.

Some write, that the archbiſhop of Canturburie and the earle of Weſtmerland went alſo with the earle of Northumberland to Conwaie.

This doone, taking not paſt foure or fiue with him, he paſſed forth, till he came before the towne, and then ſending an herald to the king, requeſted a ſafe conduct from the king, that he might come and talke with him, which the king granted, and ſo the earle of Northumberland paſſing the water, entred the caſtell, and comming to the king, declared to him, that if it might pleaſe his grace to vndertake, that there ſhould be a parlement aſſembled, in the which iuſtice might be had, againſt ſuch as were enimies to the common-wealth, and had procured the deſtruction of the duke of Gloceſter, and other noblemen, and herewith pardon the duke of Hereford of all things wherin he had offended him, the duke would be readie to come to him on his knées, to craue of him forgiueneſſe, and as an humble ſubiect, to obeie him in all dutifull ſeruices. The king taking aduiſe vpon theſe offers, and other made by the earle of Northumberland on the behalfe of the duke of Hereford, vpon the earles oth, for aſſurance that the ſame ſhould be performed in ech condition, agréed to go with the earle to méete the duke, and herevpon taking their horſſes, they rode forth, but the earle rode before, as it were, to prepare dinner for the king at Rutland, but comming to the place where he had left his people, he ſtaied there with them.

The earle of Northumberlands meſſage to the king.

The king leaueth Conwaie caſtell, and betaketh himſelfe to his enimies.

The king kéeping on his waie, had not ridden paſt foure miles, when he came to the place where the ambuſhes were lodged, and being entred within danger of them, before he was aware, ſhewed himſelfe to be ſore abaſhed. But now there was no remedie: for the earle being there with his men, would not ſuffer him to returne, as he gladlie would haue doone if he might; but being incloſed with the ſea on the one ſide, and the rocks on the other, hauing his aduerſaries ſo néere at hand before him, he could not ſhift awaie by any meanes, for if he ſhould haue fled backe, they might eaſilie haue ouertaken him, yer he could haue got out of their danger. And thus of force he was then conſtreined to go with the earle, who brought him to Rutland, where they dined, and from thence they rode vnto Flint to bed. The king had verie few about him of his fréends, except onelie the earle of Saliſburie, the biſhop of Carleill, the lord Stephan Scroope, ſir Nicholas Ferebie, a ſonne alſo of the counteſſe of Saliſburie, and Ienico Dartois a Gaſcoigne that ſtill ware the cogniſance or deuiſe of his maiſter king Richard, that is to ſaie, a white hart, and would not put it from him, neither for perſuaſions nor threats; by reaſon whereof, when the duke of Hereford vnderſtood it, he cauſed him to be committed to priſon within the caſtell of Cheſter. This man was the laſt (as ſaieth mine author) which ware that deuiſe, and ſhewed well thereby his conſtant hart toward his maiſter, for the which it was thought he ſhould haue loſt his life, but yet he was pardoned, and at length reconciled to the dukes fauour, after he was king.

A conſtant ſeruant.

But now to our purpoſe. King Richard being thus come vnto the caſtell of Flint, on the mondaie, the eightéenth of Auguſt, and the duke of Hereford being ſtill aduertiſed from houre to houre by poſts, how the earle of Northumberland ſped, the morow following being tueſdaie, and the nineteenth of Auguſt, he came thither, & muſtered his armie before the kings preſence, which vndoubtedlie made a paſſing faire ſhew, being verie well ordered by the lord Henrie Perſie, that was appointed generall, or rather (as we maie call him) maſter of the campe, vnder the duke, of the whole armie. There were come alreadie to the caſtell, before the approching of the maine armie, the archbiſhop of Canturburie, the duke of Aumarle, the earle of Worceſter, and diuerſe other. The archbiſhop entred firſt, and then followed the other, comming into the firſt ward.

The king that was walking aloft on the braies of the wals, to behold the comming of the duke a farre off, might ſee, that the archbiſhop and the other were come, and (as he tooke it) to talke with him: whervpon he forthwith came downe vnto them, and beholding that they did their due reuerence to him on their knees, he tooke them vp, and drawing the archbiſhop aſide from the reſidue, talked with him a good while, and as it was reported, the archbiſhop willed him to be of good comfort, for he ſhould be aſſured, not to haue anie hurt, as touching his perſon; but he propheſied not as a prelat, but as a Pilat. For, was it no hurt (thinke you) to his perſon, to be ſpoiled of his roialtie, to be depoſed from his crowne, to be tranſlated from principalitie to priſon, & to fall from honor into horror. All which befell him to his extreame hart greefe (no doubt:) which to increaſe, meanes alas there were manie; but to diminiſh, helps (God wot) but a few. So that he might haue ſaid with the forlorne man in the mercileſſe ſeas of his miſeries,

Vt fera nimboſo tumüerunt æquora vento,
In medijs lacera naue relinquor aquis.

¶ Some write (as before in a marginall note I haue quoted) that the archbiſhop of Canturburie went with the earle of Northumberland vnto Conwaie, and there talked with him: and further, that euen then the king offered, in conſideration of his inſufficiencie to gouerne, freelie to reſigne the crowne, and his kinglie title to the ſame, vnto the duke of Hereford. But forſomuch as thoſe that were continuallie attendant about the king, during the whole time of his abode at Conwaie, and till his comming to Flint, do plainelie affirme, that the archbiſhop came not to him, till this tueſdaie before his remoouing from Flint vnto Cheſter, it maie be thought (the circumſtances well conſidered) that he rather made that promiſe here at Flint, than at Conwaie, although by the tenour of an inſtrument, conteining the declaration of the archbiſhop of Yorke, and other commiſſioners ſent from the eſtates aſſembled in the next parlement, vnto the ſaid king, it is recorded to be at Conwaie, as after ye maie read. But there maie be ſome default in the copie, as taking the one place for the other.

But whereſoeuer this offer was made, after that the archbiſhop had now here at Flint communed with the king, he departed, and taking his horſſe againe, rode backe to meet the duke, who began at that preſent to approch the caſtell, and compaſſed it round about, euen downe to the ſea, with his people ranged in good and ſeemelie order, at the foot of the mounteins: and then the earle of Northumberland paſſing forth of the caſtell to the duke, talked with him a while in ſight of the king, being againe got vp to the walles, to take better view of the armie, being now aduanced within two bowe ſhootes of the caſtell, to the ſmall reioiſing (ye may be ſure) of the ſorowfull king. The earle of Northumberland returning to the caſtell, appointed the king to be ſet to dinner (for he was faſting till then) and after he had dined, the duke came downe to the caſtell himſelfe, and entred the ſame all armed, his baſſenet onelie excepted, and being within the firſt gate, he ſtaied there, till the king came forth of the inner part of the caſtell vnto him.

The king accompanied with the biſhop of Carleill, the earle of Saliſburie, and ſir Stephan Scroope knight, who bare the ſword before him, and a few other, came forth into the vtter ward, and ſate downe in a place prepared for him. Forthwith as the duke got ſight of the king, he ſhewed a reuerend dutie as became him, in bowing his knee, and comming forward, did ſo likewiſe the ſecond and third time, till the king tooke him by the hand, and lift him vp, ſaieng; Deere couſine, ye are welcome. The duke humblie thanking him ſaid; My ſouereigne lord and king, the cauſe of my comming at this preſent, is (your honor ſaued) to haue againe reſtitution of my perſon, my lands and heritage, through your fauourable licence. The king hervnto anſwered; Deere couſine, I am readie to accompliſh your will, ſo that ye may inioy all that is yours, without exception.

The dukes behauiour to the king at their meeting.

The dukes demand.

Meeting thus togither, they came forth of the caſtell, and the king there called for wine, and after they had dronke, they mounted on horſſebacke, and rode that night to Flint, and the next daie vnto Cheſter, the third vnto Nantwich, the fourth to Newcaſtell. Here, with glad countenance, the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike met them, that had beene confined into the Ile of Man, as before ye haue heard; but now was reuoked home by the duke of Lancaſter. From Newcaſtell they rode to Stafford, and the ſixt daie vnto Lichfield, and there reſted ſundaie all daie. After this, they rode forth, and lodged at theſe places inſuing, Couentrie, Dantree, Northhampton, Dunſtable, S. Albons, & ſo came to London: neither was the king permitted all this while to change his apparell, but rode ſtill through all theſe townes ſimplie clothed in one ſute of raiment, and yet he was in his time exceeding ſumptuous in apparell, in ſo much as he had one cote, which he cauſed to be made for him of gold and ſtone, valued at 30000 marks: & ſo he was brought the next waie to Weſtminſter.

The king and the duke iournie togither towards London.

K. Richard ſumptuous in apparell.

As for the duke, he was receiued with all the ioy and pompe that might be of the Londoners, and was lodged in the biſhops palace, by Paules church. It was a woonder to ſee what great concurſſe of people, & what number of horſſes came to him on the waie as he thus paſſed the countries, till his comming to London, where (vpon his approch to the citie) the maior rode forth to receiue him, and a great number of other citizens. Alſo the cleargie met him with proceſſion, and ſuch ioy appeared in the countenances of the people, vttering the ſame alſo with words, as the like not lightlie beene ſeene. For in euerie towne and village where he paſſed, children reioiſed, women clapped their hands, and men cried out for ioy. But to ſpeake of the great numbers of people that flocked togither in the fields and ſtreets of London at his comming, I here omit; neither will I ſpeake of the preſents, welcommings, lauds, and gratifications made to him by the citizens and communaltie.

The dukes receiuing into London.

But now to the purpoſe. The next day after his comming to London, the king from Weſtminſter was had to the Tower, and there committed to ſafe cuſtodie. Manie euill diſpoſed perſons, aſſembling themſelues togither in great numbers, intended to haue met with him, and to haue taken him from ſuch as had the conueieng of him, that they might haue ſlaine him. But the maior and aldermen gathered to them the worſhipfull commoners and graue citizens, by whoſe policie, and not without much adoo, the other were reuoked from their euill purpoſe: albeit, before they might be pacified, they cõming to Weſt-

The king cõmitted to the tower.

minſter, tooke maiſter Iohn Sclake deane of the kings chappell, and from thence brought him to Newgate, and there laid him faſt in irons.

A parlement in the kings name.

After this was a parlement called by the duke of Lancaſter, vſing the name of king Richard in the writs directed foorth to the lords, and other ſtates for their ſummons. This parlement began the thirtéenth daie of September, in the which manie heinous points of miſgouernance and iniurious dealings in the adminiſtration of his kinglie office, were laid to the charge of this noble prince king Richard, the which (to the end the commons might be perſuaded, that he was an vnprofitable prince to the common-wealth, and worthie to be depoſed) were ingroſſed vp in 33 ſolemne articles, heinous to the eares of all men, and to ſome almoſt incredible, the verie effect of which articles here inſue, according to the copie which I haue ſéene, and is abridged by maiſter *Hall* as followeth.

The articles obiected to king Richard, *whereby he was counted worthie* to be depoſed from his *principalitie*.

1 First, that king Richard waſtfullie ſpent the treaſure of the realme, and had giuen the poſſeſſions of the crowne to men vnworthie, by reaſon whereof, new charges more and more were laid on the poore cōmunaltie. And where diuerſe lords, as well ſpirituall as temporall, were appointed by the high court of parlement, to commune and treat of diuerſe matters concerning the common-wealth of the realme, which being buſie about the ſame commiſſion, he with other of his affinitie went about to impeach, and by force and menacing compelled the iuſtices of the realme at Shrewesburie to condeſcend to his opinion, for the deſtruction of the ſaid lords, in ſo much that he began to raiſe warre againſt Iohn duke of Lancaſter, Richard earle of Arundell, Thomas earle of Warwike, and other lords, contrarie to his honor and promiſe.

2 Item, that he cauſed his vncle the duke of Gloceſter to be arreſted without law, and ſent him to Calis, and there without iudgement murthered him, and although the earle of Arundell vpon his arreignment pleaded his charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in moſt vile and ſhamefull manner ſuddenlie put to death.

3 Item, he aſſembled certeine Lancaſhire and Cheſhire men, to the intent to make warre on the ſame lords, and ſuffered them to rob and pill, without correction or repreeue.

4 Item, although the king flateringlie, and with great diſſimulation, made proclamation throughout the realme, that the lords before named were not attached of anie crime of treaſon, but onlie for extortions and oppreſſions doone in this realme; yet he laid to them in the parlement, rebellion and manifeſt treaſon.

5 Item, he hath compelled diuers of the ſaid lords ſeruants and friends, by menaces & extreme pains, to make great fines to their vtter vndooing; and notwithſtanding his pardon, yet he made them fine anew.

6 Item, where diuerſe were appointed to commune of the ſtate of the realme, and the common-wealth thereof, the ſame king cauſed all the rols and records to be kept from them, contrarie to promiſe made in the parlement, to his open diſhonor.

7 Item, he vncharitablie commanded, that no man vpon paine of loſſe of life, and goods, ſhould once intreat him for the returne of Henrie now duke of Lancaſter.

8 Item, where this realme is holden of God, and not of the pope or other prince, the ſaid king Richard, after he had obteined diuerſe acts of parlement, for his owne peculiar profit and pleaſure, then he obteined bulles and extreame cenſures from Rome, to compell all men ſtreightlie to keepe the ſame, contrarie to the honour and ancient priuileges of this realme.

9 Item, although the duke of Lancaſter had doone his deuoire againſt Thomas duke of Norfolke in proofe of his quarrell; yet the ſaid king, without reaſon or ground, baniſhed him the realme for ten yeers, contrarie to all equitie.

10 Item, before the dukes departure, he vnder his broad ſeale licenced him to make atturnies to proſecute and defend his cauſes: the ſaid king after his departure, would ſuffer none atturnie to appeare for him, but did with his at his pleaſure.

11 Item, the ſame king put out diuerſe ſhiriffes lawfullie elected, and put in their roomes diuerſe other of his owne, ſubuerting the law, contrarie to his oth and honor.

12 Item, he borowed great ſummes of monie, and bound him vnder his letters patents, for the repaiment of the ſame, and yet not one penie paid.

13 Item, he taxed men at the will of him and his vnhappie councell, and the ſame treaſure ſpent in follie, not paieng poore men for their vittels and viands.

14 Item, he ſaid, that the lawes of the realme were in his head, and ſometimes in his breſt, by reaſon of which fantaſticall opinion, he deſtroied noble men, and impoueriſhed the poore commons.

15 Item, the parlement ſetting and enacting diuerſe notable ſtatutes, for the profit and aduancement of the common-wealth, he by his priuie friends and ſolicitors cauſed to be enacted, that no act then enacted, ſhould be more preiudiciall to him, than it was to anie of his predeceſſors: through which prouiſo he did often as he liſted, and not as the law did meane.

16 Item, for to ſerue his purpoſe, he would ſuffer the ſhiriffes of the ſhire to remaine aboue one yeare or two.

17 Item, at the ſummons of the parlement, when knights and burgeſſes ſhould be elected, that the election had béene full procéeded, he put out diuerſe perſons elect, and put other in their places, to ſerue his will and appetite.

18 Item, he had priuie eſpials in euerie ſhire, to heare who had of him anie communication; and if he communed of his laſciuious liuing, or outragious doings, he ſtraightwaies was apprehended, and put to a greeuous fine.

19 Item, the ſpiritualtie alledged againſt him, that he at his going into Ireland, exacted manie notable ſummes of monie, beſide plate and iewels, without law or cuſtome, contrarie to his oth taken at his coronation.

20 Item, where diuerſe lords and iuſtices were ſworne to ſaie the truth of diuerſe things to them committed in charge, both for the honor of the relme, and profit of the king, the ſaid king ſo menaced them with ſore threatenings, that no man would or durſt ſaie the right.

21 Item, that without the aſſent of the nobilitie, he carried the iewels, plate, and treaſure, ouer into Ireland, to the great impoueriſhment of the realme: and all the good records for the common-wealth, and againſt his extortions, he cauſed priuilie to be imbeſiled, and conueied awaie.

22 Item, in all leagues and letters to be concluded or ſent to the ſée of Rome, or other regions,

his writing was ſo ſubtill and darke, that none other prince once beleeued him, nor yet his owne ſubiects.

23 Item, he moſt tyrannouſlie and vnprincelie ſaid, that the liues and goods of all his ſubiects were in his hands, and at his diſpoſition.

24 Item, that contrarie to the great charter of England, he cauſed diuerſe luſtie men to appeale diuerſe old men, vpon matters determinable at the common law in the court Martiall, bicauſe that there is no triall, but onelie by battell: wherevpon, the ſaid aged perſons, fearing the ſequele of the matter, ſubmitted themſelues to his mercie, whome he fined and ranſomed vnreaſonablie at his will and pleaſure.

25 Item, he craftilie deuiſed certeine priuie othes, contrarie to the law, and cauſed diuerſe of his ſubiects firſt to be ſworne to obſerue the ſame, and after bound them in bonds for keeping of the ſame, to the great vndoing of manie honeſt men.

26 Item, where the chancellor, according to the law, would in no wiſe grant a prohibition to a certeine perſon, the king granted it vnto the ſame, vnder his priuie ſeale, with great threatenings, if it ſhould be diſobeied.

27 Item, he baniſhed the biſhop of Canturburie without cauſe or iudgement, and kept him in the parlement chamber with men of armes.

28 Item, the biſhops goods he granted to his ſucceſſor, vpon condition, that he ſhould mainteine all his ſtatutes made at Shreweſburie anno 21, and the ſtatutes made anno 22 at Couentrie.

29 Item, vpon the accuſation of the ſaid biſhop, the king craftilie perſuaded him to make no anſwer for he would be his warrant, and aduiſed him not to come to the parlement, and ſo without anſwer he was condemned and exiled, and his goods ſeized.

Theſe be all the articles of anie effect, which were laid againſt him, ſauing foure other, which touched onelie the archbiſhops matter, whoſe working wrong king Richard at length from his crowne. Then for ſo much as theſe articles, and other heinous and deteſtable accuſations were laid againſt him in open parlement, it was thought by the moſt part, that he was worthie to be depoſed from all kinglie honor, and princelie gouernement: and to bring the matter without ſlander the better to paſſe, diuerſe of the kings ſeruants, which by licence had acceſſe to his perſon, comforted him (being with ſorrow almoſt conſumed, and in manner halfe dead) in the beſt wiſe they could, exhorting him to regard his health, and ſaue his life.

The king is perſuaded to reſigne the crowne to the duke.

And firſt, they aduiſed him willinglie to ſuffer himſelfe to be depoſed, and to reſigne his right of his owne accord, ſo that the duke of Lancaſter might without murther or battell obteine the ſcepter and diademe, after which (they well perceiued) he gaped: by meane whereof they thought he might be in perfect aſſurance of his life long to continue. Whether this their perſuaſion proceeded by the ſuborning of the duke of Lancaſter and his fauourers, or of a ſincere affection which they bare to the king, as ſuppoſing it moſt ſure in ſuch an extremitie, it is vncerteine; but yet the effect followed not, howſoeuer their meaning was: notwithſtanding, the king being now in the hands of his enimies, and vtterlie deſpairing of all comfort, was eaſilie perſuaded to renounce his crowne and princelie preheminence, ſo that in hope of life onelie, he agreed to all things that were of him demanded. And ſo (as it ſhould ſeeme by the copie of an inſtrument hereafter following) he renounced and voluntarilie was depoſed from his roiall crowne and kinglie dignitie, the mondaie being the nine and twentith daie of September, and feaſt of S. Michaell the archangell, in the yeare of our Lord 1399, and in the three and twentith yeare of his reigne. The copie of which inſtrument here inſueth.

Fabian.

A copie of the inſtrument touching *the declaration of the commiſsioners* ſent from the ſtates in parlement, *vnto king* Richard.

THis preſent indenture made the nine and twentith daie of September, and feaſt of ſaint Michaell, in the yeare of our Lord 1399, and the three and twentith yeare of king Richard the ſecond. Witneſſeth, that where by the authoritie of the lords ſpirituall and temporall of this preſent parlement, and commons of the ſame, the right honorable and diſcreet perſons heere vnder named, were by the ſaid authoritie aſſigned to go to the Tower of London, there to heare and teſtifie ſuch queſtions and anſwers as then and there ſhould be by the ſaid honourable and diſcreet perſons hard. Know all men, to whome theſe preſent letters ſhall come, that we, ſir Richard Scrope archbiſhop of Yorke, Iohn biſhop of Hereford, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Rafe earle of Weſtmerland, Thomas lord Berkeleie, William abbat of Weſtminſter, Iohn prior of Canturburie, William Thirning and Hugh Burnell knights, Iohn Markham iuſtice, Thomas Stow and Iohn Burbadge doctors of the ciuill law, Thomas Erpingham and Thomas Grey knights, Thomas Ferebie and Denis Lopeham notaries publike, the daie and yeere aboue ſaid, betweene the houres of eight and nine of the clocke before noone, were preſent in the cheefe chamber of the kings lodging, within the ſaid place of the Tower, where was rehearſed vnto the king by the mouth of the foreſaid earle of Northumberland, that before time at Conwaie in Northwales, the king being there at his pleaſure and libertie, promiſed vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie then Thomas Arundell, and vnto the ſaid earle of Northumberland, that he for inſufficiencie which he knew himſelfe to be of, to occupie ſo great a charge, as to gouerne the realme of England, he would gladlie leaue of and renounce his right and title, as well of that as of his title to the crowne of France, and his maieſtie roiall, vnto Henrie duke of Hereford, and that to doo in ſuch conuenient wiſe, as by the learned men of this land it ſhould moſt ſufficientlie be deuiſed & ordeined. To the which rehearſall, the king in our ſaid preſences anſwered benignlie and ſaid, that ſuch promiſe he made, and ſo to do the ſame he was at that houre in full purpoſe to performe and fulfill; ſauing that he deſired firſt to haue perſonall ſpeach with the ſaid duke, and with the archbiſhop of Canturburie his couſins. And further, he deſired to haue a bill drawne of the ſaid reſignation, that

This promiſe he made at Flint rather than at Conwaie, as by that which goeth before it may be partlie coniectured.

that he might be perfect in the rehearſall thereof.

After which bill drawne, and a copie thereof to him by me the ſaid earle deliuered, we the ſaid lords and other departed: and vpon the ſame afternoone the king looking for the comming of the duke of Lancaſter, at the laſt the ſaid duke, with the archbiſhop of Canturburie and the perſons afore recited, entered the foreſaid chamber, bringing with them the lords Ros, Aburgenie, and Willoughbie, with diuerſe other. Where after due obeiſance doone by them vnto the king, he familiarlie and with a glad countenance (as to them and vs appeered) talked with the ſaid archbiſhop and duke a good ſeaſon; and that communication finiſhed, the king with glad countenance in preſence of vs and the other aboue rehearſed, ſaid openlie that he was readie to renounce and reſigne all his kinglie maieſtie in maner and forme as he before had promiſed. And although he had and might ſufficientlie haue declared his renouncement by the reading of an other meane perſon; yet for the more ſuertie of the matter, and for that the ſaid reſignation ſhould haue his full force and ſtrength, himſelfe therefore read the ſcroll of reſignation, in maner and forme as followeth.

The tenor of the inſtrument whereby *king Richard reſigneth the crowne to* the duke of Lancaſter.

IN the name of God Amen: I Richard by the grace of God, king of England and of France, &c: lord of Ireland, acquit and aſſoile all archbiſhops, biſhops, and other prelats, ſecular or religious, of what dignitie, degree, ſtate, or condition ſo euer they be; and alſo all dukes, marqueſſes, earles, barons, lords, and all my liege men, both ſpirituall and ſecular, of what manner or degree they be, from their oth of fealtie and homage, and all other deeds and priuileges made vnto me, and from all manner bonds of allegiance, regalitie and lordſhip, in which they were or be bounden to me, or anie otherwiſe conſtreined; and them, their heires, and ſucceſſors for euermore, from the ſame bonds and oths I releaſe, deliuer, and acquit, and ſet them for free, diſſolued and acquit, and to be harmeleſſe, for as much as longeth to my perſon by anie manner waie or title of right, that to me might follow of the foreſaid things, or anie of them. And alſo I reſigne all my kinglie dignitie, maieſtie and crowne, with all the lordſhips, power, and priuileges to the foreſaid kinglie dignitie and crowne belonging, and all other lordſhips and poſſeſſions to me in anie maner of wiſe perteining, of what name, title, qualitie, or condition ſoeuer they be, except the lands and poſſeſſions for me and mine obits purchaſed and bought. And I renounce all right, and all maner of title of poſſeſſion, which I euer had or haue in the ſame lordſhips and poſſeſſions, or anie of them, with anie manner of rights belonging or apperteining vnto anie part of them. And alſo the rule and gouernance of the ſame kingdome and lordſhips, with all miniſtrations of the ſame, and all things and euerie each of them, that to the whole empire and iuriſdictions of the ſame belongeth of right, or in anie wiſe may belong.

And alſo I renounce the name, worſhip, and regaltie and kinglie highneſſe, clearelie, freelie, ſingularlie and wholie, in the moſt beſt maner and forme that I may, and with deed and word I leaue off and reſigne them, and go from them for euermore; ſauing alwaies to my ſucceſſors kings of England, all the rights, priuileges and appurtenances to the ſaid kingdome and lordſhips aboueſaid belonging and apperteining. For well I wote and knowledge, and deeme my ſelfe to be, and haue beene inſufficient and vnable, and alſo vnprofitable, and for my open deſerts not vnworthie to be put downe. And I ſweare vpon the holie euangeliſts here preſentlie with my hands touched, that I ſhall neuer repugne to this reſignation, demiſſion or yeelding vp, nor neuer impugne them in anie maner by word or deed, by my ſelfe nor none other: nor I ſhall not ſuffer it to be impugned, in as much as in me is, priuilie or apertlie. But I ſhall haue, hold, and keepe this renouncing, demiſſion, and giuing vp for firme and ſtable for euermore in all and euerie part thereof, ſo God me helpe and all ſaints, and by this holie euangeliſt, by me bodilie touched and kiſſed. And for more record of the ſame, here openlie I ſubſcribe and ſigne this preſent reſignation with mine owne hand.

Now forthwith in our preſences and others, he ſubſcribed the ſame, and after deliuered it vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie, ſaieng that if it were in his power, or at his aſſignement, he would that the duke of Lancaſter there preſent ſhould be his ſucceſſour, and king after him. And in token heereof he tooke a ring of gold from his finger being his ſignet, and put it vpon the ſaid dukes finger, deſiring and requiring the archbiſhop of Yorke, ⁊ the biſhop of Hereford, to ſhew and make report vnto the lords of the parlement of his voluntarie reſignation, and alſo of his intent and good mind that he bare towards his couſin the duke of Lancaſter, to haue him his ſucceſſour and their king after him. ¶ All this doone, euerie man tooke their leaue and rerurned to their owne.

Upon the morrow after being tueſdaie, and the laſt daie of September, all the lords ſpirituall and temporall, with the commons of the ſaid parlement, aſſembled at Weſtminſter, there, in the preſence of them, the archbiſhop of Yorke, and the biſhop of Hereford, according to the kings requeſt, ſhewed vnto them the voluntarie renouncing of the king, with the fauour alſo which he bare to his couſine of Lancaſter to haue him his ſucceſſour. And moreouer ſhewed them the ſchedule or bill of renouncement, ſigned with king Richards owne hand, which they cauſed to be read firſt in Latine, as it was written, and after in Engliſh. This doone, the queſtion was firſt aſked of the lords, if they would admit and allow that renouncement: the which when it was of them granted

A Richards reſignation confirmed by parlement.

granted and confirmed, the like queſtion was aſked of the commons, and of them in like manner confirmed. After this, it was then declared, that notwithſtanding the foreſaid renouncing, ſo by the lords and commons admitted and confirmed, it were neceſſarie in auoiding of all ſuſpicions and ſurmiſes of euill diſpoſed perſons, to haue in writing and regiſtred the manifold crimes and defaults before doone by king Richard, to the end that they might firſt be openlie declared to the people, and after to remaine of record amongſt other of the kings records for euer.

All this was doone accordinglie, for the articles which before yee haue heard, were drawne and ingroſſed vp, and there ſhewed readie to be read; but for other cauſes more needfull as then to be preferred, the reading of thoſe articles at that ſeaſon was deferred. Then forſomuch as the lords of the parlement had well conſidered the voluntarie reſignation (of king Richard, and that it was behouefull and as they thought) neceſſarie for the weale of the realme, to proceed vnto the ſentence of his depoſing, there were appointed by the authoritie of all the eſtates there in parlement aſſembled, the biſhop of ſaint Aſaph, the abbat of Glaſtenburie, the earle of Gloceſter, the lord Berkleie, William Thirning iuſtice, and Thomas Erpingham, with Thomas Graie, knights, that they ſhould giue and pronounce the open ſentence of the depoſing of king Richard. Wherevpon the ſaid commiſſioners taking counſell togither, by good and deliberate aduiſe therein had, with one aſſent agreed, that the biſhop of S. Aſaph ſhould publiſh the ſentence for them and in their names, as followeth.

The publication of king Ri*chards depoſing.*

In the name of God Amen. We Iohn biſhop of S. Aſaph, Iohn abbat of Glaſtenburie, Thomas earle of Gloceſter, Thomas lord Berkeleie, William Thirning iuſtice, Thomas Erpingham & Thomas Graie knights, choſen and deputed ſpeciall commiſſaries by the three ſtates of this preſent parlement, repreſenting the whole bodie of the realme, for all ſuch matters by the ſaid eſtates to vs committed: we vnderſtanding and conſidering the manifold crimes, hurts, and harmes doone by Richard king of England, and miſgouernance of the ſame by a long time, to the great decaie of the ſaid land, and vtter ruine of the ſame ſhortlie to haue beene, had not the ſpeciall grace of our God therevnto put the ſooner remedie: and alſo furthermore aduerting, that the ſaid king Richard by acknowledging his owne inſufficiencie, hath of his owne meere voluntee and free will, renounced and giuen ouer the rule & gouernance of this land, with all rights and honours vnto the ſame belonging, and vtterlie for his merits hath iudged himſelfe not vnworthilie to be depoſed of all kinglie maieſtie and eſtate roiall. We the premiſſes well conſidering by good and diligent deliberation, by the power, name, and authoritie to vs (as aboue is ſaid) committed, pronounce, decerne, and declare the ſame king Richard, before this to haue beene, and to be vnprofitable, vnable, vnſufficient, and vnworthie of the rule and gouernance of the foreſaid realms and lordſhips, and of all rights and other the appurtenances to the ſame belonging. And for the ſame cauſes we depriue him of all kinglie dignitie and worſhip, and of any kinglie worſhip in himſelfe. And we depoſe him by our ſentence definitiue, forbidding expreſſelie to all archbiſhops, and biſhops, and all other prelats, dukes, marqueſſes, erles, barons and knights, and all other men of the foreſaid kingdome and lordſhips, ſubiects, and lieges whatſoeuer they be, that none of them from this daie forward, to the foreſaid Richard as king and lord of the foreſaid realmes and lordſhips, be neither obedient nor attendant.

After which ſentence thus openlie declared, the ſaid eſtates admitted forthwith the forenamed commiſſioners for their procurators, to reſigne and yeeld vp vnto king Richard, all their homage and fealtie, which in times paſt they had made and owght vnto him, and alſo for to declare vnto him (if need were) all things before doone that concerned the purpoſe and cauſe of his depoſing: the which reſignation was reſpited till the morow following. Immediatlie as the ſentence was in this wiſe paſſed, and that by reaſon thereof the realme ſtood void without head or gouernour for the time, the duke of Lancaſter riſing from the place where before he ſate, and ſtanding where all thoſe in the houſe might behold him, in reuerend manner made a ſigne of the croſſe on his forhead, and likewiſe on his breſt, and after ſilence by an officer commanded, ſaid vnto the people there being preſent, theſe words following.

The duke of Lancaſter laieth challenge *or claime to the crowne.*

In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, & of the Holie-ghoſt. I Henrie of Lancaſter claime the realme of England and the crowne, with all the appurtenances, as I that am deſcended by right line of the blood comming from that good lord king Henrie the third, and through the right that God of his grace hath ſent me, with the helpe of my kin, and of my freends, to recouer the ſame, which was in point to be vndoone for default of good gouernance and due iuſtice.

The demand of the archbiſhop of Canturburie to the commons.

Thom. Walſ.

The duke of Hereford placed in the regall throne.

After theſe words thus by him vttered, he returned and ſate him downe in the place where before he had ſitten. Then the lords hauing heard and well perceiued this claime thus made by this noble man, ech of them aſked of other what they thought therein. At length, after a little pauſing or ſtaie made, the archbiſhop of Canturburie hauing notice of the minds of the lords, ſtood vp & aſked the commons if they would aſſent to the lords, which in their minds thought the claime of the duke made, to be rightfull and neceſſarie for the wealth of the realme and them all: whereto the commons with one voice cried, Yea, yea, yea. After which anſwer, the ſaid archbiſhop going to the duke, and kneeling downe before him on his knee, addreſſed to him all his purpoſe in few words. The which when he had ended, he roſe, & taking the duke by the right hand, led him vnto the kings ſeate, the archbiſhop of Yorke aſſiſting him, and with great reuerence ſet him therein, after that the duke had firſt vpon his knees made his praier in deuout manner vnto almightie God. When he was thus placed in his throne to the great reioiſing of the people, the archbiſhop of Canturburie began a breefe collation, taking for his theme theſe words, written in the firſt booke of kings the ninth chapter; *Vir dominabitur in populo, &c:* handling the ſame, & the whole tenour of his tale to the praiſe of the king, whoſe ſetled iudgement, grounded wiſedome, perfect reaſon, and ripe diſcretion was ſuch (ſaid he) as declared him to be no child, neither in yeares, nor in light conditions, but a man able and meete for the gouernement of a realme: ſo that there was no ſmall cauſe of comfort miniſtred to them through the fauourable goodneſſe of almightie God, which had prouided them of ſuch a gouernor, as like a diſcreet iudge ſhall deeme in cauſes by skilfull doomes, and rule his ſubiects in vpright equitie, ſetting apart all wilfull pleaſures, and childiſh inconſtancie. This is a ſummarie of his oration. But becauſe the qualitie of this volume is ſuch, as that it hath ſet forth matters at large: I will laie downe the archbiſhops words, as they are recorded by Fabian in ample manner as followeth.

The archbiſhop preached.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie his oration, *framed vpon this text,* Vir dominabitur in populo, &c: *written in the firſt booke of* kings and ninth chapter.

Abr. Fl. out of Fabian, pag. 351.

These be the words of the high, and moſt mightie king, ſpeaking to Samuel his prophet, teaching him how he ſhould chooſe and ordaine a gouernor of his people of Iſraell, when the ſaid people aſked of him a king, to rule them. And not without cauſe may theſe words be ſaid here of our lord the king that is. For, if they be inwardlie conceiued, they ſhall giue vnto vs matter of conſolation and comfort, when it is ſaid that a man ſhall haue lordſhip and rule of the people, and not a child. For God threatneth not vs as he ſometime threatned the people by Eſaie, ſaieng: *Eſa. 3. Et dabo pueros principes eorum, & effeminati dominabuntur eis,* I ſhall (ſaith our Lord) giue children to be their rulers & princes, and weake or fearefull ſhall haue dominion ouer them. But of his great mercie he hath viſited vs, I truſt his peculiar people, and ſent vs a man to haue the rule of vs, & put by children that before time ruled this land, after childiſh conditions, as by the workes of them it hath rightlie appeared, to the diſturbance of all this realme; and for want and lacke of a man. For, as ſaith the apoſtle Paule *ad Corinthos, 1. capite 14. Cum eſſem paruulus, loquebar vt paruulus, &c: quando autem factus ſum vir, euacuaui quæ erant paruuli,* that is to ſay, When I was a child, I ſauored and ſpake as a child, but at the time when I came vnto the eſtate of a man, then I put by all my childiſh conditions.

The apoſtle ſaith, he ſauored and ſpake as a child, in whom is no ſtedfaſtneſſe, or conſtancie. For a child will lightlie promiſe, and lightlie he will breake his promiſe, and doo all things that his appetite giueth him vnto, and forgetteth lightlie what he hath doone. By which reaſon it followeth, that needilie great inconuenience muſt fall to that people, that a child is ruler and gouernour of: nor it is not poſſible for that kingdome to ſtand in felicitie, where ſuch conditions reigne in the head and ruler of the ſame. But now we ought all to reioiſe, that all ſuch defaults be expelled, and that a man, and not a child, ſhall haue lordſhip ouer vs. To whom it belongeth to haue a ſure rane vpon his toong, that he maie be knowne from a child, or a man vſing childiſh conditions: of whom I truſt I maie ſay, as the wiſe man ſaith in his prouerbs, *Prouerb. 3. cap. Beatus homo qui inuenit ſapientiam, & qui affluit prudentia,* that is to ſay; Bleſſed be the man that hath ſapience or wiſdome, and that aboundeth in prudence. For that man that is ruled by ſapience, muſt needs loue & dred our Lord God, and who ſo loueth & dreadeth him, it muſt conſequentlie follow that he muſt keepe his commandements. By force wherof he ſhall miniſter true iuſtice vnto his ſubiects, and doo no wrong nor iniurie to any man.

So that then ſhall follow the words of the wiſe man the which be rehearſed, *Prouerb. 10. Benedictio Domini ſuper caput iuſti, os autem impiorum operit iniquitatem,* that is to ſaie, The bleſſing of our Lord God ſhall light vpon the head of our king, being a iuſt and righteous man, for the toong of him worketh equitie and iuſtice; but the toong of the wicked & of ſinners couereth iniquitie. And who ſo worketh or miniſtreth iuſtice in due order, he not onlie ſafegardeth himſelf, but alſo holdeth people in a ſuertie of reſtfulnes, of the which inſueth peace and plentie. And therefore it is ſaid of the wiſe king Salomon, *Eccleſ. 10. Beata terra cuius rex nobilis eſt, vel cuius principes veſcuntur in tempore ſuo;* wich is to be vnderſtanded, that bleſſed & happie is that land, of the which the king or ruler is noble and wiſe, and the princes be bleſſed that liue in his time. As who would ſay, they may take example of him to rule and guide their ſubiects. For by the diſcretion of a noble and wiſe man being in authoritie, manie euils be ſequeſtred and ſet apart, all diſſemblers put to ſilence. For the wiſe man conſidereth and noteth well the great inconueniences which dailie now growe of it, where the child or inſipient drinketh the ſweet and delicious words vnaduiſedlie, and perceiueth not intoxication which they be mingled or mixt with, till he be inuironed and wrapped in all danger, as latelie the experience thereof hath beene apparent to all our ſights and knowledges, & not without the great danger of all this realme. And all was for lacke of wiſedome in the ruler, which deemed & taught as a child, giuing ſentence of wilfulneſſe and not of reaſon. So that while a child reigned, ſelfe-will & luſt reigned, and reaſon with good conſcience were outlawed, with iuſtice, ſtedfaſtneſſe, and manie other vertues.

But of this perill and danger we be deliuered by the eſpeciall helpe and grace of

God, *Quia vir dominabitur in populo*, that is to ſaie, He that is not a child but perfect in reaſon. For he commeth not to execute his owne will, but his will that ſent him, that is to wit, Gods will, as a man vnto whome God of his abundant grace hath giuen perfect reaſon and diſcretion, to diſcerne & dœme as a perfect man. Wherfore not all onlie of this man we ſhall ſaie that he ſhall dwell in wiſedome, but as a perfect man and not a child, he ſhall thinke, and dœme, & haue ſuch a circumſpection with him, that he ſhall diligentlie fore-looke and ſee that Gods will be doone, & not his. And therfore now I truſt the words of the wiſe man, *Eccleſiaſt. 10.* ſhall be verified in our king: ſaieng, *Iudex ſapiens iudicabit populum ſuum, & principatus ſenſati ſtabilis erit*; that is (as ſaith the wiſeman) A wiſe and diſcreet iudge ſhall now dœme his people, and the dominion or lordſhip of a diſcreet wiſeman ſhall ſtand ſtedfaſt. Wherevpon ſhall then follow the ſecond verſe of the ſame chapter, ſaieng, *Secundum iudicem populi, ſic & miniſtri eius*, that is, Like as the head & ſoueraigne is repleniſhed with all ſapience and vertue, in guiding of his people, adminiſtring to them law, with due and conuenient iuſtice, ſo ſhall the ſubiects againward be garniſhed with awe and louing dread, and beare vnto him next God all honour, truth and allegiance.

So that then it may be concluded with the reſidue of the foreſaid verſes, *Qualis rector eſt ciuitatis, tales & inhabitantes in ea*, which is to ſaie, Such as the ruler of the citie is, ſuch then be the inhabitants of the ſame. So that conſequentlie it followeth, a good maſter maketh a good diſciple. And likewiſe an euill king or ruler ſhall loſe his people, & the cities of his kingdome ſhall be left deſolate and vnhabited. Wherefore thus I make an end. In ſted of a child wilfullie doing his luſt and pleaſure without reaſon, now ſhall a man be lord and ruler, that is repleniſhed with ſapience and reaſon, and ſhall gouerne the people by ſkilfull dœme, ſetting apart all wilfulneſſe and pleaſure of himſelfe. So that the word that I began with may be verified of him, *Ecce quia vir dominabitur in populo*. The which our lord grant, & that he may proſperouſlie reigne vnto the pleaſure of God and wealth of his realme, Amen.

The words of the elected king.

After the archbiſhop had ended, wiſhing that it might ſo come to paſſe, and the people anſwered, Amen; the king ſtanding on his feet, ſaid vnto the lords and commons there preſent: I thanke you my
“ lords both ſpirituall and temporall, and all the ſtates
“ of this land, and doo you to wit, that it is not my will
“ that any man thinke, that I by the waie of conqueſt
“ would diſherit any man of his heritage, franches,
“ or other rights, that him ought to haue of right, nor
“ to put him out of that which he now inioieth, and
“ hath had before time by cuſtome or good law of this
“ realme, except ſuch priuat perſons as haue bœne a-
“ gainſt the good purpoſe, and the common profit of the
realme. When he had thus ended, all the ſhiriffes and other officers were put in their authorities againe, to exerciſe the ſame as before, which they could not do whileſt the kings roiall throne was void.

Thom. Walſ.

Moreouer, a proclamation was made, that the ſtates ſhould aſſemble againe in parlement on mondaie then next inſuing, being the feaſt daie of ſaint Faith, which is the ſixt of October; and that the mondaie then next following, being the 13 of the ſame moneth, and the feaſt day of ſaint Edward the king and confeſſor, the coronation ſhould be ſolemnized, and that all ſuch as had to claime any ſeruice to be doone by them at the ſame by any tenure, they ſhould come to the White-hall in the kings palace, before the ſteward and conſtable of England, on ſaturdaie next before the ſame day of the parlement, and preſenting their petitions that were due & rightfull, they ſhould obteine that to them apperteined. Excuſe was alſo made on the kings behalfe, for calling of a parlement vpon ſo ſhort a warning, ſo as the knights and burgeſſes were not changed, but onelie appointed to aſſemble againe, as if the other parlement had rather bœne continued than diſſolued. The cauſe was alledged to be for eaſing of the charges that would haue riſen, if ech man had bœne ſent home, and new knights and burgeſſes called.

The coronation proclamed.

The parlemẽt

These things doone, the king roſe from his place, and with a chœrefull and right courteous countenance regarding the people, went to White-hall, where the ſame day he held a great feaſt. In the after noone were proclamations made in the accuſtomed places of the citie, in the name of king Henrie the fourth. On the morrow following, being wedneſdaie and firſt of October, the procurators aboue named repaired to the tower of London, and there ſignified vnto king Richard the admiſſion of king Henrie. And the aforeſaid iuſtice William Thirning, in name of the other, and for all the ſtates of the land, renounced vnto the ſaid Richard late king, all homage and fealtie vnto him before time due, in maner and forme as apperteined. Which renunciation to the depoſed king, was a redoubling of his grœfe, in ſo much as thereby it came to his mind, how in former times he was acknowledged & taken for their liege lord and ſoueraigne, who now (whether in contempt or in malice, God knoweth) to his face forſware him to be their king. So that in his heuines he might verie well haue ſaid with a grœued plaintiſe,

King Henrie ẏ fourth proclamed.

Heu quantæ ſortes miſeris mortalibus inſtant!
Ah chari quoties obliuia nominis opto!
O qui me fluctus, quis me telluris hiatus
Pertæſum tetricæ vitæ deglutiat ore
Chaſmatico?

T.Watſ. Amintas querela 5.

Thus was king Richard depriued of all kinglie honour and princelie dignitie, by reaſon he was ſo giuen to follow euill counſell, and vſed ſuch inconuenient waies and meanes, through inſolent miſgouernance, and youthfull outrage, though otherwiſe a right noble and worthie prince. He reigned two and twentie yeares, thrœ moneths and eight daies. He deliuered to king Henrie now that he was thus depoſed, all the goods that he had, to the ſumme of thrœ hundred thouſand pounds in coine, beſides plate and iewels, as a pledge and ſatiſfaction of the iniuries by him committed and doone, in hope to be in more ſuertie of life for the deliuerie thereof: but whatſoeuer was promiſed, he was deceiued therein. For ſhortlie after his reſignation, he was conueied to the caſtell of Leeds in Kent, & frõ thence to Pomfret, where he departed out of this miſerable life (as after you ſhall heare.) He was ſeemelie of ſhape and fauor, & of nature good inough, if the wickedneſſe & naughtie demeanor of ſuch as were about him had not altered it.

R.Richard depriued.

Hall.

His perſonage.

His chance verelie was greatlie infortunate, which fell into ſuch calamitie, that he tooke it for the beſt waie he could deuiſe to renounce his kingdome, for the which mortall men are accuſtomed to hazard

Harding.

The noble houſe-keeping of king Richard.

Exceſſe in apparell.

all they haue to atteine thereunto. But ſuch miſfortune (or the like) oftentimes falleth vnto thoſe princes, which when they are aloft, caſt no doubt for perils that maie follow. He was prodigall, ambitious, and much giuen to the pleaſure of the bodie. He kept the greateſt port, and mainteined the moſt plentifull houſe that euer any king in England did either before his time or ſince. For there reſorted dailie to his court aboue ten thouſand perſons that had meat and drinke there allowed them. In his kitchen there were thrée hundred ſeruitors, and euerie other office was furniſhed after the like rate. Of ladies, chamberers, and landerers, there were aboue thrée hundred at the leaſt. And in gorgious and coſtlie apparell they excéeded all meaſure, not one of them that kept within the bounds of his degrée. Yeomen and groomes were clothed in ſilkes, with cloth of graine and ſkarlet, ouer ſumptuous ye may be ſure for their eſtates. And this vanitie was not onelie vſed in the court in thoſe daies, but alſo other people abroad in the towns and countries, had their garments cut far otherwiſe than had béene accuſtomed before his daies, with imbroderies, rich furres, and goldſmiths worke, and euerie daie there was deuiſing of new faſhions, to the great hinderance and decaie of the common-welth.

Ignorant prelats.

Moreouer, ſuch were preferred to biſhoprikes, and other eccleſiaſticall liuings, as neither could teach nor preach, nor knew any thing of the ſcripture of God, but onelie to call for their tithes and duties; ſo that they were moſt vnworthie the name of biſhops, being lewd and moſt vaine perſons diſguiſed in biſhops apparell. Furthermore, there reigned abundantlie the filthie ſinne of leacherie and fornication, with abhominable adulterie, ſpeciallie in the king, but moſt chéefelie in the prelacie, whereby the whole realme by ſuch their euill example, was ſo infected, that the wrath of God was dailie prouoked to vengeance for the ſins of the prince and his people. How then could it continue proſperouſlie with this king? againſt whom for the fowle enormities wherewith his life was defamed, the wrath of God was whetted and tooke ſo ſharpe an edge, that the ſame did ſhred him off from the ſcepter of his kingdome, and gaue him a full cup of affliction to drinke; as he had doone to other kings his predeceſſors, by whoſe example he might haue taken warning. For it is an heauie caſe when God thundereth out his reall arguments either vpon prince or people.

Thus haue ye heard what writers doo report touching the ſtate of the time and doings of this king. But if I may boldlie ſaie what I thinke: he was a prince the moſt vnthankfullie vſed of his ſubiects, of any one of whom ye ſhall lightlie read. For although (thorough the frailtie of youth) he demeaned himſelfe more diſſolutelie than ſéemed conuenient for his roiall eſtate, & made choiſe of ſuch councellors as were not fauoured of the people, whereby he was the leſſe fauoured himſelfe: yet in no kings daies were the commons in greater wealth, if they could haue perceiued their happie ſtate: neither in any other time were the nobles and gentlemen more cheriſhed, nor churchmen leſſe wronged. But ſuch was their ingratitude towards their bountifull & louing ſoueraigne, that thoſe whom he had chéeflie aduanced, were readieſt to controll him; for that they might not rule all things at their will, and remooue from him ſuch as they miſliked, and place in their roomes whom they thought good, and that rather by ſtrong hand, than by gentle and courteous meanes, which ſtirred ſuch malice betwixt him and them, till at length it could not be aſſwaged without perill of deſtruction to them both.

The duke of Glouceſter chéefe inſtrument of this miſchéefe, to what end he came ye haue heard. And although his nephue the duke of Hereford tooke vpon him to reuenge his death, yet wanted he moderation and loialtie in his doings, for the which both he himſelfe and his lineall race were ſcourged afterwards, as a due puniſhment vnto rebellious ſubiects; ſo as deſerued vengeance ſéemed not to ſtaie long for his ambitious crueltie, that thought it not inough to driue king Richard to reſigne his crowne and regall dignitie ouer vnto him, except he alſo ſhould take from him his guiltleſſe life. What vnnaturalneſſe, or rather what tigerlike crueltie was this, not to be content with his principalitie? not to be content with his treaſure? not to be content with his depriuation? not to be content with his impriſonment? but being ſo néerelie knit in conſanguinitie, which ought to haue moued them like lambs to haue loued each other, wooluiſhlie to lie in wait for the diſtreſſed creatures life, and rauenouſlie to thirſt after his bloud, the ſpilling whereof ſhould haue touched his conſcience ſo, as that death ought rather to haue béene aduentured for his ſafetie, than ſo ſauagelie to haue ſought his life after the loſſe of his roialtie.

But to let this paſſe to the conſideration of the learned: according to our order, I will ſhew what writers of our Engliſh nation liued in his daies, as we find them in Iohn Bales centuries. Firſt Henrie Bederic, otherwiſe ſurnamed of Burie, after the name of the towne where he is thought to haue béene borne, an Auguſtine frier; Simon Alcocke, Vthred Bolton a monke of Durham, borne in the borders of Wales beyond Seuerne; William Iordan a blacke frier, Iohn Hilton a frier Minor, Iohn Clipton a Carmelite frier in Notingham, Henrie Daniell a blacke frier and a good phyſician, Ralfe Marham, Iohn Marchelete a graie frier or cordelier as ſome call them, Thomas Brome a Carmelite frier of London, Iohn Bridlington borne in Yorkeſhire, William Thorne an Auguſtine frier of Canturburie, an hiſtoriographer, Adam Meremouth a canon of ſaint Paules church in London, that wrote two tretiſes of hiſtoricall matters, the one intituled *Chronicon 40 annorum*, and the other *Chronicon 60 annorum*; Simon Bredon borne in Winchcombe a doctor of phyſicke and a ſkilfull aſtronomer, Iohn Thompſon borne in Norfolke in a village of that name, and a Carmelite frier in Blacknie.

More, Thomas Winterton borne in Lincolnſhire, an Auguſtine frier in Stamford; William Packington ſecretarie ſometime to the Blacke prince an excellent hiſtoriographer, Geffraie Hingham a ciuilian, Iohn Botleſham borne in Cambridgeſhire a blacke frier, William Badbie a Carmelite frier, biſhop of Worceſter, and confeſſor to the duke of Lancaſter; William Folleuill a frier Minor borne in Lincolnſhire, Iohn Bourgh parſon of Collingham in Notinghamſhire a doctor of diuinitie, and chancellor of the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge; William Sclade a monke of Buckfaſt abbie in Deuonſhire, Iohn Thoreſbie archbiſhop of Yorke and lord chancellor of England, was admitted by pope Vrbane the fift into the college of cardinals, but he died before K. Richard came to the crowne, about the eight and fourtith yeare of king Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1374. Thomas Aſhborne an Auguſtine frier, Iohn Aſtone an earneſt follower of Wickliffes doctrine, and therfore condemned to perpetuall priſon; Caſterton a monke of Norwich and an excellent diuine, Nicholas Radcliſe a monke of ſaint Albons, Iohn Aſhwarbie a diuine and a fauourer of Wickliffes doctrine, Richard Maidſtone ſo called of the towne in Kent where he was borne, a Carmelite frier of Aileſford.

Adde to theſe Iohn Wardbie an Auguſtine frier, and a great diuine; Robert Waldbie excellentlie

learned

Adunenſis epiſcopus.

learned as well in diuinitie as other arts, for the which he was firſt aduanced to a biſhoprike in Gaſcoigne, and after he was admitted archbiſhop of Dubline; William Berton a doctor of diuinitie, & chancellor of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, and aduerſarie to Wickliffe; Philip Repington abbat of Leiceſter a notable diuine and defender of Wickliffe, Thomas Lombe a Carmelite frier of Lin, Nicholas Hereford a ſecular prieſt, a doctor of diuinitie, and ſcholer to Wickliffe; Walter Brit alſo another of Wickliffes ſcholers wrote both of diuinitie & other arguments, Henrie Herklie chancellor of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, an enimie to Wickliffe, and a great ſophiſter; Robert Iuorie a Carmelite frier of London, and the twentith prouinciall of his order here in England; Lankine a Londoner, an Auguſtine frier, profeſſed in the ſame citie, a doctor of diuinitie, an aduerſarie to Wickliffe.

More, William Gillingham a moonke of ſaint Sauiours in Canturburie; Iohn Chilmarke a fellow of Marton colledge in Oxford, a great philoſopher and mathematician; Iohn Sharpe a philoſopher, and a diuine, wrote manie treatiſes, a great aduerſarie to Wickliffe; Richard Lauingham borne in Suffolke, and a frier of Gipſwich, an excellent logician, but a ſore enimie to them that fauoured Wickliffes doctrine; Peter Pateſhull, of whome ye haue heard before: it is ſaid that he was in the end conſtreined for doubt of perſecution to flie into Boheme; William Woodford a Franciſcane frier, a choſen champion againſt Wickliffe being now dead, procured thereto by the archbiſhop of Canturburie Thomas Arundell; Iohn Bromyard a Dominicke frier, both a notable lawyer & a diuine, a ſore enimie alſo to Wickliuiſts; Marcill Ingelne an excellent philoſopher and a diuine, one of the firſt teachers in the Vniuerſitie of Heidelberge, which Robert duke of Bauier and countée palantine of the Rhene had inſtituted about that ſeaſon; Richard Northall ſonne to a maior of London (as is ſaid) of that name, he became a Carmelite frier in the ſame citie; Thomas Edwardſon prior of the friers Auguſtines at Clare in Suffolke, Iohn Summer a Franciſcane frier at Bridgewater, an enimie to the Wickliuiſts; Richard Withée a learned prieſt & an earneſt follower of Wickliffe, Iohn Swafham a Carmelite frier of Lin, a ſtudent in Cambridge, who became biſhop of Bangor, a great aduerſarie to the Wickliuiſts.

Finallie, and to conclude, William Egumond a frier heremit of the ſect of the Auguſtins in Stamford; Iohn Tiſſington a Franciſcane frier, a mainteiner of the popes doctrine; William Rimſton or Rimington a moonke of Salleie, an enimie alſo to the Wickliuiſts; Adam Eſton well ſéene in the toongs, was made a cardinall by pope Gregorie the eleauenth, but by pope Vrban the ſixt he was committed to priſon in Genoa, and at the contemplation of king Richard he was taken out of priſon, but not fullie deliuered till the daies of Boniface the ninth, who reſtored him to his former dignitie; Iohn Beaufu a Carmelite of Northampton, procéeded doctor of diuinitie in Oxenford, and was made prior of his houſe; Roger Twiford *aliàs* Goodlucke, an Auguſtine frier; Iohn Treuiſe a Corniſhman borne, and a ſecular préeſt and vicar of Berklie, he tranſlated the bible; Bartholomew *De proprietatibus rerum*; *Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden, and diuerſe other treatiſes, Raſe Spalding a Carmelite frier of Stamford; Iohn moone an Engliſhman borne, but a ſtudent in Paris, who compiled in the French toong the Romant of the Roſe, tranſlated into Engliſh by Geffrie Chaucer, William Shirborne; Richard Wichingham borne in Norffolke, and diuerſe other.

Thus farre Richard of Burdeaux, whoſe depriuation you haue heard; of his lamentable death hereafter, to wit, pag. 516, 517.

Henrie the fourth, couſine germane to Richard the ſecond, latelie depriued.

WHen king Richard had reſigned (as before is ſpecified) the ſcepter and crowne; Henrie Plantagenet borne at Bullingbroke in the countie of Lincolne, duke of Lancaſter and Hereford, earle of Derbie, Leiceſter, and Lincolne, ſonne to Iohn of Gant duke of Lancaſter, with generall conſent both of the lords & commons, was publiſhed, proclamed, and declared king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, the laſt daie of September, in the yeare of the world 5366, of our Lord 1399, of the reigne of the emperour Wenceſlaus the two and twentith, of Charles the ſixt king of France the twentith, and the tenth of Robert the third king of Scots. After that king Richard had ſurrendered his title, and diſpoſſeſſed himſelfe (which Chr. Okl. noteth in few words, ſaieng:

In Angl. prælijs.

——————post breue tempus
Exüit inſigni ſeſe diademate, ſceptrum
Henrico Lancaſtrenſi regale relinquens)

New officers made.

King Henrie made certeine new officers. And firſt in right of his earledome of Leiceſter he gaue the office of high ſteward of England (belonging to the ſame earledome) vnto his ſecond ſonne the lord Thomas, who by his fathers commandement exerciſed that office, being aſſiſted (by reaſon of his tender age) by Thomas Perſie earle of Worceſter. The earle of Northumberland was made conſtable of England: ſir Iohn Scirlie lord chancellor, Iohn Norburie eſquier lord treaſuror, ſir Richard Clifford

The parlemēt new ſūmoned.

Record Turris.

Claiming of offices at the coronation.

lord priuie ſeale. Forſomuch as by king Richards reſignation and the admitting of a new king, all plées in euerie court and place were ceaſed, and without daie diſcontinued, new writs were made for ſummoning of the parlement vnder the name of king Henrie the fourth, the ſame to be holden, as before was appointed, on mondaie next inſuing. Vpon the fourth day of October, the lord Thomas ſecond ſonne to the king ſat as lord high ſteward of England by the kings commandement in the White-hall of the kings palace at Weſtminſter, and as belonged to his office, he cauſed inquirie to be made what offices were to be exerciſed by anie maner of perſons the daie of the kings coronation, and what fées were belonging to the ſame, cauſing proclamation to be made, that what noble man or other that could claime anie office that daie of the ſolemnizing the kings coronation, they ſhould come and put in their bils cōprehending their demands. Wherupon diuers offices & fées were claimed, as well by bils as otherwiſe by ſpéech of mouth, in forme as here inſueth.

Curtana.

The earle of Summerſet.

The earle of Northumberland.

The Ile of Man.

Lancaſter ſword.

The earle of weſtmerland.

The duke of Norffolke.

Sir Thomas Erpingham.

The earle of warwike.

Sir william Argentine.

Iuon Fitzwarren.

The lord Furniuall.

Firſt, the lord Henrie the kings eldeſt ſonne, to whome he as in right of his duchie of Lancaſter had appointed that office, claimed to beare before the king the principall ſword called Curtana, and had his ſute granted. Iohn erle of Summerſet, to whom the king as in right of his earledome of Lincolne, had granted to be caruer the daie of his coronation, and had it confirmed. Henrie Perſie earle of Northumberland, and high conſtable of England, by the kings grant claimed that office, and obteined it to inioy at pleaſure. The ſame earle in right of the Ile of Man, which at that preſent was granted to him, and to his heires by the king, claimed to beare on the kings left ſide a naked ſword, with which the king was girded, when before his coronation he entered as duke of Lancaſter into the parts of Holderneſſe, which ſword was called Lancaſters ſword. Rafe erle of Weſtmerland, and earle marſhall of England, by the kings grant claimed the ſame office, and obteined it, notwithſtanding that the attornies of the duke of Norfolke, preſented to the lord ſteward their petition on the dukes behalfe, as earle marſhall, to exerciſe the ſame. Sir Thomas Erpingham knight exerciſed the office of lord great Chamberleine, and gaue water to the king when he waſhed, both before and after dinner, hauing for his fées, the baſon, ewer, and towels, with other things whatſoeuer belonging to his office: notwithſtanding Auberie de Veer earle of Oxenford put in his petitions to haue that office as due vnto him from his anceſtors. Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike by right of inheritance, bare the third ſword before the king, and by like right was pantler at the coronation. Sir William Argentine knight, by reaſon of the tenure of his manour of Wilmundale in the countie of Hertford, ſerued the king of the firſt cup of drinke which he taſted of at his dinner the daie of his coronation: the cup was of ſiluer vngilt, which the ſame knight had for his fées: notwithſtanding the petition which Iuon Fitzwarren preſented to the lord ſteward, requiring that office in right of his wife the ladie Maud, daughter and heire to ſir Iohn Argentine knight. Sir Thomas Neuill lord Furniuall, by reaſon of his manour of Ferneham, with the hamlet of Cere, which he held by the courteſie of England after the deceſſe of his wife, the ladie Ione deceſſed, gaue to the king a gloue for his right hand, and ſuſteined the kings right arme ſo long as he bare the ſcepter.

The lord Graie.

Great ſpurs.

The ſecond ſword.

The earle of Arundell.

The lord Reginald Graie of Ruthen, by reaſon of his manour of Aſhleie in Norfolke couered the tables, and had for his fées all the tableclothes, as well thoſe in the hall, as elſe-where, when they were taken vp; notwithſtanding a petition exhibited by ſir Iohn Draiton to haue had that office. The ſame lord Graie of Ruthen, bare the kings great ſpurs before him in the time of his coronation by right of inheritance, as heire to Iohn Haſtings earle of Penbroke. Iohn erle of Summerſet, by the kings aſſignement bare the ſecond ſword before him at his coronation, albeit that the ſaid lord Graie of Ruthen by petition exhibited before the lord ſteward demanded the ſame office, by reaſon of his caſtell & tower of Penbroke, and of his towne of Denbigh. Thomas earle of Arundell cheefe butler of England, obteined to exerciſe that office the daie of the coronation, and had the fées thereto belonging granted to him, to wit, the goblet with which the king was ſerued, and other things to that his office apperteining (the veſſels of wine excepted) that laie vnder the bar, which were adiudged vnto the ſaid lord ſteward, the ſaid earle of Arundels claime notwithſtanding.

The citizens of London.

Thomas Dymocke.

Baldwin Freuill.

The citizens of London choſen foorth by the citie, ſerued in the hall, as aſſiſtants to the lord cheefe butler, whileſt the king ſate at dinner, the daie of his coronation: and when the king entered into his chamber after dinner, and called for wine, the lord maior of London brought to him a cup of gold with wine, and had the ſame cup giuen to him, togither with the cup that conteined water to allay the wine. After the king had drunke, the ſaid lord maior and the aldermen of London had their table to dine at, on the left hand of the king in the hall. Thomas Dimocke, in right of his mother Margaret Dimocke, by reaſon of the tenure of his manor of Scriuelbie, claimed to be the kings champion at his coronation, and had his ſute granted; notwithſtanding a claime exhibited by Baldwin Freuill, demanding that office by reaſon of his caſtell of Tamwoorth in Warwikeſhire. The ſaid Dimocke had for his fées one of the beſt courſers in the kings ſtable, with the kings ſaddle and all the trappers & harneſſe apperteining to the ſame horſſe or courſer: he had likewiſe one of the beſt armors that was in the kings armorie for his owne bodie, with all that belonged wholie thereunto.

The lord Latimer.

William le Venour.

The barons of the cinque ports.

Iohn lord Latimer, although he was vnder age, for himſelfe and the duke of Norfolke, notwithſtanding that his poſſeſſions were in the kings hands, by his atturnie ſir Thomas Graie knight, claimed and had the office of almoner for that daie, by reaſon of certeine lands which ſometime belonged to the lord William Beuchampe of Bedford. They had a towell of fine linnen cloth prepared, to put in the ſiluer that was appointed to be giuen in almes; and likewiſe they had the diſtribution of the cloth that couered the pauement and floores from the kings chamber doore, vnto the place in the church of Weſtminſter where the pulpit ſtood. The reſidue that was ſpread in the church, the ſexten had. William le Venour, by reaſon he was tenant of the manor of Liſton, claimed and obteined to exerciſe the office of making wafers for the king the daie of his coronation. The barons of the fiue ports claimed, and it was granted them, to beare a canopie of cloth of gold ouer the K. with foure ſtaues, & foure bels at the foure corners, euerie ſtaffe hauing foure of thoſe barons to beare it: alſo to dine and ſit at the table next to the king on his right hand in the hall the daie of his coronation, and for their fees to haue the forſaid canopie of gold, with the bels and ſtaues, notwithſtanding the abbat of Weſtminſter claimed the ſame. Edmund chambers claimed and obteined the office of principall larderer for him and his deputies, by reaſon of his manour of Skulton, otherwiſe called Burdellebin Skulton, in the countie of Norfolke. Thus was euerie man appointed to exerciſe ſuch office as to him of right apperteined, or at the leaſt was thought requiſit for the time preſent. On mondaie then next inſuing, when the ſtates were aſſembled in parlement, order was taken, that by reaſon of ſuch preparation as was to be made for the coronation, they ſhould ſit no more till the morow after ſaint Edwards daie. On the ſundaie following, being the euen of ſaint Edward, the new king lodged in the Tower, and there made fortie & ſix knights of the Bath, to wit: thrée of his ſonnes, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Warwike his ſonne, the earle of Stafford, two of the earle of Deuonſhires ſonnes, the lord Beaumont, the lord Willoughbies brother, the earle of Staffords brother, the lord Camois his ſonne, the lord of Maule, Thomas Beauchampe, Thomas Pelham, John Luttrell, John Liſleie, William Haukeford iuſtice, William Brinchleie iuſtice, Bartholomew Rachford, Giles Daubenie, William Butler, John Aſhton, Richard Sanape, John Tiptoſt, Richard Francis, Henrie Perſie, John Arundell, William Strall, John Turpington, Ailmer Saint, Edward Haſtings, John Greiſleie, Gerald Satill, John Arden, Robert Chalons, Thomas Dimocke, Hungerford, Gibethorpe, Newport, and diuerſe other, to the number of fortie and ſix.

Knights of the Bath.

The lord maior of London.

On the morow being ſaint Edwards daie, and the thirtéenth of October, the lord maior of London road towards the Tower to attend the king, with diuerſe worſhipfull citizens clothed all in red, and from the Tower the king rode through the citie to Weſtminſter, where he was conſecrated, annointed, and crowned king by the archbiſhop of Canturburie with all ceremonies and roiall ſolemnitie as was due and requiſit. Though all other reioiſed at his aduancement, yet ſuerlie Edmund Mortimer earle of March, which was coſine and heire to Lionell duke of Clarence, the third begotten ſonne of king Edward the third, & Richard earle of Cambridge, ſonne to Edmund duke of Yorke, which had married Anne ſiſter to the ſame Edmund, were with theſe doings neither pleaſed nor contented: inſomuch that now the diuiſion once begun, the one linage ceaſſed not to perſecute the other, till the heires males of both the lines were cléerlie deſtroied and extinguiſhed.

The earle of March enuied the K. preferment.

At the daie of the coronation, to the end he ſhould not ſéeme to take vpon him the crowne and ſcepter roiall by plaine extorted power, and iniurious intruſion: he was aduiſed to make his title as heire to Edmund (ſurnamed or vntrulie feined) Crookebacke, ſonne to king Henrie the third, and to ſaie that the ſaid Edmund was elder brother to king Edward the firſt, and for his deformitie put by from the crowne, to whom by his mother Blench, daughter and ſole heire to Henrie duke of Lancaſter, he was next of blood, and vndoubted heire. But becauſe not onelie his fréends, but alſo his priuie enimies, knew that this was but a forged title, conſidering they were ſuerlie informed, not onelie that the ſaid Edmund was yonger ſonne to king Henrie the third, but alſo had true knowledge, that Edmund was neither crookebacked, nor a deformed perſon, but a goodlie gentleman, and a valiant capteine, and ſo much fauored of his louing father, that he to preferre him in marriage to the quéene Dowager of Nauarre, hauing a great liuelihood, gaue to him the countie palantine of Lancaſter, with manie notable honours, high ſeigniories, and large priuileges. Therefore they aduiſed him to publiſh it, that he challenged the realme not onelie by conqueſt, but alſo becauſe he by king Richard was adopted as heire, and declared by reſignation as his lawfull ſucceſſor, being next heire male to him of the blood roiall.

Edmund erle of Lancaſter vntrulie fained to be ſurnamed Crookebacke.

But to procéed to other doings. The ſolemnitie of the coronation being ended, the morow after being tueſdaie, the parlement began againe, and the next daie ſir John Cheinie that was ſpeaker, excuſing himſelfe, by reaſon of his infirmitie and ſickneſſe, not to be able to exerciſe that roome, was diſmiſſed, and one William Durward eſquier was admitted. Herewith were the acts eſtabliſhed in the parlement of the one & twentith yeare of king Richards reigne repealed and made void, and the ordinances deuiſed in the parlement holden the eleuenth yeare of the ſame king, confirmed, and againe eſtabliſhed for good and profitable. ¶ On the ſame daie, the kings eldeſt ſonne lord Henrie, by aſſent of all the ſtates in the parlement, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earle of Cheſter, then being of the age of twelue yeares.

Sir John Cheinie ſpeaker of the parlement diſmiſſed, and William Durward admitted.

Acts repealed.

Acts confirmed.

Upon the thurſdaie, the commons came and rehearſed all the errors of the laſt parlement holden in the one and twentith yeare of king Richard, & namelie in certeine fiue of them.

1 Firſt, that where the king that now is, was readie to arraigne an appeale againſt the duke of Norfolke, he doing what perteined to his dutie in that behalfe, was yet baniſhed afterwards without anie reaſonable cauſe.

2 Secondlie, the archbiſhop of Canturburie, metropolitan of the realme, was forciudged without anſwer.

3 Thirdlie, the duke of Glouceſter was murthered, and after forciudged.

4 Fourthlie, where the earle of Arundell alledged his charters of pardon, the ſame might not be allowed.

5 Fiftlie, that all the power of that euill parlement was granted and aſſigned ouer to certeine perſons, and ſith that ſuch heinous errors could not be committed (as was thought) without the aſſent and aduiſe of them that were of the late kings councell, they made ſute that they might be put vnder arreſt, and committed to ſafe kéeping, till order might be further taken for them.

Thus much adoo there was in this parlement, ſpeciallie about them that were thought to be guiltie of the duke of Glouceſters death, and of the condemning of the other lords that were adiudged traitors in the forſaid late parlement holden in the ſaid one and twentith yeare of king Richards reigne. Sir John Bagot knight then priſoner in the Tower, diſcloſed manie ſecrets, vnto the which he was priuie; and being brought on a daie to the barre, a bill was read in Engliſh which he had made, conteining certeine euill practiſes of king Richard; and further what great affection the ſame king bare to the duke of Aumarle, inſomuch that he heard him ſay, that if he ſhould renounce the gouernement of the kingdome, he wiſhed to leaue it to the ſaid duke, as to the moſt able man (for wiſdome and manhood) of all other: for though he could like better of the duke of Hereford, yet he ſaid that he knew if he were once king, he would proue an extreame enimie and cruell tyrant to the church.

Fabian.

Sir John Bagot diſcloſeth ſecrets.

Henrie the fourth ſuſpected not to be well affected towards the church before his comming to the crowne.

It was further conteined in that bill, that as the ſame Bagot rode on a daie behind the duke of Norfolke in the Sauoy ſtréet toward Weſtminſter, the duke aſked him what he knew of the manner of the duke of Glouceſter his death, and he anſwered that he knew nothing at all: but the people (quoth he) doo ſay that you haue murthered him. Wherevnto the duke ſware great othes that it was vntrue, and that he had ſaued his life contrarie to the will of the king, and certeine other lords, by the ſpace of thrée wéeks, and more; affirming withall, that he was neuer in all his life time more affraid of death, than he was at his comming home againe from Calis at that time, to the kings preſence, by reaſon he had not put the duke to death. And then (ſaid he) the king appointed one of his owne ſeruants, and certeine other that

The duke of Aumarle accuſed.

were ſeruants to other lords to go with him to ſee the ſaid duke of Gloceſter put to death, ſwearing that as he ſhould anſwer afore God, it was neuer his mind that he ſhould haue died in the fort, but onelie for feare of the king, and ſauing of his owne life. Neuertheleſſe, there was no man in the realme to whom king Richard was ſo much beholden, as to the duke of Aumarle: for he was the man that to fulfill his mind, had ſet him in hand with all that was doone againſt the ſaid duke, and the other lords. There was alſo conteined in that bill, what ſecret malice king Richard had conceiued againſt the duke of Hereford being in exile, whereof the ſame Bagot had ſent intelligence vnto the duke into France, by one Roger Smart, who certified it to him by Piers Buckton, and others, to the intent he ſhould the better haue regard to himſelfe. There was alſo conteined in the ſaid bill, that Bagot had heard the duke of Aumarle ſay, that he had rather than twentie thouſand pounds that the duke of Hereford were dead, not for anie feare he had of him, but for the trouble and miſchéefe that he was like to procure within the realme.

The duke of Aumarle his anſwer vnto Bagots bill.

Iohn Hall a yeoman.

After that the bill had béene read and heard, the duke of Aumarle roſe vp and ſaid, that as touching the points conteined in the bill concerning him, they were vtterlie falſe and vntrue, which he would proue with his bodie, in what manner ſoeuer it ſhould be thought requiſit. Therewith alſo the duke of Exceſter roſe vp, and willed Bagot that if he could ſay anie thing againſt him to ſpeake it openlie. Bagot anſwered, that for his part he could ſay nothing againſt him: But there is (ſaid he) a yeoman in Newgat one Iohn hall that can ſay ſomewhat. Well then (ſaid the duke of Exceſter) this that I doo and ſhall ſay is true, that the late king, the duke of Norfolke, and thou being at Woodſtoke, made me to go with you into the chappell, and there the doore being ſhut, ye made me to ſweare vpon the altar, to kéepe counſell in that ye had to ſay to me, and then ye rehearſed that we ſhould neuer haue our purpoſe, ſo long as the duke of Lancaſter liued, & therefore ye purpoſed to haue councell at Lichfield, & there you would arreſt the duke of Lancaſter, in ſuch ſort as by colour of his diſobeieng the arreſt, he ſhould be diſpatched out of life. And in this maner ye imagined his death. To the which I anſwered, that it were conuenient the king ſhould ſend for his councell, and if they agréed herevnto, I would not be againſt it, and ſo I departed. To this Bagot made no anſwer.

Bagot and Hall brought to the barre.

The lord Fitzwater appealeth the duke of Aumarle of treaſon.

After this, the king commanded that the lords, Berkleie, and Louell, and ſix knights of the lower houſe, ſhould go after dinner to examine the ſaid Hall. This was on a thurſdaie being the fiftéenth of October. On the ſaturdaie next inſuing, ſir William Bagot and the ſaid Iohn Hall were brought both to the barre, and Bagot was examined of certeine points, and ſent againe to priſon. The lord Fitzwater herewith roſe vp, and ſaid to the king, that where the duke of Aumarle excuſeth himſelfe of the duke of Gloceſters death, I ſay (quoth he) that he was the verie cauſe of his death, and ſo he appealed him of treaſon, offering by throwing downe his hood as a gage to proue it with his bodie. There were twentie other lords alſo that threw downe their hoods, as pledges to proue the like matter againſt the duke of Aumarle. The duke of Aumarle threw downe his hood to trie it againſt the lord Fitzwater, as againſt him that lied falſelie, in that he had charged him with, by that his appeale. Theſe gages were deliuered to the conſtable and marſhall of England, and the parties put vnder arreſt.

Fabian.

Iohn Hall executed.

The duke of Surrie ſtood vp alſo againſt the lord Fitzwater, auouching that where he had ſaid that the appellants were cauſers of the duke of Gloceſters death, it was falſe, for they were conſtrained to ſue the ſame appeale, in like manner as the ſaid lord Fitzwater was compelled to giue iudgement againſt the duke of Gloceſter, and the earle of Arundell; ſo that the ſuing of the appeale was doone by conſtraint, and if he ſaid contrarie he lied: and therewith he threw downe his hood. The lord Fitzwater anſwered herevnto, that he was not preſent in the parlement houſe, when iudgement was giuen againſt them, and all the lords bare witneſſe thereof. Moreouer, where it was alledged that the duke of Aumarle ſhould ſend two of his ſeruants to Calis, to murther the duke of Gloceſter, the ſaid duke of Aumarle ſaid, that if the duke of Norfolke affirme it, he lied falſelie, and that he would proue with his bodie, throwing downe an other hood which he had borowed. The ſame was likewiſe deliuered to the conſtable and marſhall of England, and the king licenced the duke of Norfolke to returne, that he might arraigne his appeale. After this was Iohn Hall condemned of treaſon by authoritie of the parlement, for that he had confeſſed himſelfe to be one of them that put the duke of Gloceſter to death at Calis, and ſo on the mondaie following, he was drawne from the Tower to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, headed, and quartered: his head being ſent to Calis there to be ſet vp, where the duke was murthered.

Iohn Stow. The requeſt of the commons.

Hall. A bold biſhop and a faithfull.

On wedneſdaie following, requeſt was made by the commons, that ſith king Richard had reſigned, and was lawfullie depoſed from his roiall dignitie, he might haue iudgement decréed againſt him, ſo as the realme were not troubled by him, and that the cauſes of his depoſing might be publiſhed through the realme for ſatiſfieng of the people: which demand was granted. Wherevpon the biſhop of Carleill, a man both learned, wiſe, and ſtout of ſtomach, boldlie ſhewed foorth his opinion concerning that demand; affirming that there was none amongſt them worthie or méet to giue iudgement vpon ſo noble a prince as king Richard was, whom they had taken for their ſoueraigne and liege lord, by the ſpace of two & twentie yeares and more; And I aſſure you (ſaid he) there is not ſo ranke a traitor, nor ſo errant a théef, nor yet ſo cruell a murtherer apprehended or deteined in priſon for his offenſe, but he ſhall be brought before the iuſtice to heare his iudgement; and will ye procéed to the iudgement of an anointed king, hearing neither his anſwer nor excuſe? I ſay, that the duke of Lancaſter whom ye call king, hath more treſpaſſed to K. Richard & his realme, than king Richard hath doone either to him, or vs: for it is manifeſt & well knowne, that the duke was baniſhed the realme by K. Richard and his councell, and by the iudgement of his owne father, for the ſpace of ten yeares, for what cauſe ye know, and yet without licence of king Richard, he is returned againe into the realme, and (that is worſe) hath taken vpon him the name, title, & preheminence of king. And therfore I ſay, that you haue doone manifeſt wrong, to procéed in anie thing againſt king Richard, without calling him openlie to his anſwer and defenſe. ¶ As ſoone as the biſhop had ended this tale, he was attached by the earle marſhall, and committed to ward in the abbeie of ſaint Albons.

The duke of Britaine.

Moreouer, where the king had granted to the earle of Weſtmerland the countie of Richmond, the duke of Britaine pretending a right thereto by an old title, had ſent his letters ouer vnto the eſtates aſſembled in this parlement, offering to abide ſuch order as the law would appoint in the like caſe to anie of the kings ſubiects. Wherevpon the commons for the more ſuertie of the intercourſe of merchants, beſought the king that the matter might be committed to the ordering of the councell of either of the parties, and of his counſell, ſo as an end might be had therein, which requeſt was likewiſe granted. After this, the records of the laſt parlement were ſhewed, with the appeales, & the commiſſion made to twelue perſons, to determine things that were motioned in the ſame laſt parlement. Héerevpon the commons praied that they might haue iuſtice Markham, and maiſter Gaſcoigne a ſergeant at the law ioined with them for counſell, touching the peruſing of the records, which was granted them, and day giuen ouer till the next morrow in the White-hall, where they ſat about theſe matters thrée daies togither.

K. Richard appointed to be kept in perpetuall priſon. Hall.

The earle of warwike.

On the morrow following, being the éeuen of Simon and Iude the apoſtles, the commons required to heare the iudgement of king Richard. Where vpon the archbiſhop of Canturburie appointed to ſpeake, declared how that the king that now is, had granted king Richard his life; but in ſuch wiſe as he ſhould remaine in perpetuall priſon, ſo ſafelie kept, that neither the king nor realme ſhould be troubled with him. It was alſo concluded, that if anie man went about to deliuer him, that then he ſhould be the firſt that ſhould die for it. After this, the commons praied that the lords and other that were of king Richards counſell, might be put to their anſwers for their ſundrie miſdemeanors, which was granted. On Wedneſday following, being the morrow after the feaſt of Simon and Iude, all the proceſſe of the parlement holden the 21 yéere of king Richards reigne was read openlie, in which it was found, how the earle of Warwike had confeſſed himſelfe guiltie of treaſon, and aſked pardon and mercie for his offenſe: but the earle denied that euer he acknowledged anie ſuch thing by word of mouth, and that he would proue in what manner ſoeuer ſhould be to him appointed. Therein was alſo the appeale found of the dukes of Aumarle, Surrie, and Exceſter, the marqueſſe Dorſet, the earles of Saliſburie and Gloceſter; vnto the which ech of them anſwered by himſelfe, that they neuer aſſented to that appeale of their owne frée wils, but were compelled thereto by the king: and this they affirmed by their othes, and offered to proue it by what manner they ſhould be appointed.

Sir water Clopton.

The lord Morlie appeleth the earle of Saliſburie.

Sir Walter Clopton ſaid then to the commons; If ye will take aduantage of the proceſſe of the laſt parlement, take it, and ye ſhall be receiued therevnto. Then roſe vp the lord Morlie, and ſaid to the earle of Saliſburie, that he was chiefe of counſell with the duke of Gloceſter, and likewiſe with king Richard, & ſo diſcouered the dukes counſell to the king, as a traitor to his maiſter, and that he ſaid he would with his bodie proue againſt him, throwing downe his hood as a pledge. The earle of Saliſburie ſore moued héerewith, told the lord Morlie, that he falſlie béelied him, for he was neuer traitor, nor falſe to his maiſter all his life time, and therewith threw downe his gloue to wage battell againſt the lord Morlie. Their gages were taken vp, and deliuered to the conſtable and marſhall of England, and the parties were arreſted, and day to them giuen till another time.

On mondaie following, being the morrow after All ſoules day, the commons made requeſt, that they might not be entred in the parlement rols, as parties to the iudgement giuen in this parlement, but there as in verie truth they were priuie to the ſame: for the iudgement otherwiſe belonged to the king, except where anie iudgment is giuen by ſtatute enacted for the profit of the common-wealth, which requeſt was granted. Diuers other petitions were preſented on the behalfe of the commons, part whereof were granted, and to ſome there was none anſwere made at that time. Finallie, to auoid further inconuenience, and to qualifie the minds of the enuious, it was finallie enacted, that ſuch as were appellants in the laſt parlement againſt the duke of Gloceſter and other, ſhould in this wiſe following be ordered. The dukes of Aumarle, Surrie, and Exceſter there preſent, were iudged to looſe their names of dukes, togither with the honors, titles and dignities therevnto belonging. The marqueſſe Dorſet being likewiſe there preſent, was adiudged to loſe his title and dignitie of marqueſſe; and the earle of Gloceſter being alſo preſent, was in ſemblable maner iudged to loſe his name, title and dignitie of earle.

Dukes and others depriued of their titles.

Tho. Walſ.

Moreouer, it was further decréed againſt them, that they and euerie of them ſhould loſe and forfeit all thoſe caſtels, lordſhips, manors, lands, poſſeſſions, rents, ſeruices, liberties and reuenues, whatſoeuer had béene giuen to them, at or ſince the laſt parlement, belonging aforetime to any of thoſe perſons whom they had appealed, and all other their caſtels, manors, lordſhips, lands, poſſeſſions, rents, ſeruices, liberties, and reuenues whatſoeuer, which they held of the late kings gift, the daie of the arreſt of the ſaid duke of Gloceſter, or at any time after, ſhould alſo remaine in the kings diſpoſition from thenceforth, and all letters patents and charters, which they or any of them had of the ſame names, caſtels, manors, lordſhips, lands, poſſeſſions, and liberties, ſhould be ſurrendred vp into the chancerie, there to be cancelled. Diuerſe other things were enacted in this parlement, to the preiudice of thoſe high eſtates, to ſatiſfie mens minds that were ſore diſpleaſed with their doings in the late kings daies, as now it manifeſtlie appéered. For after it was vnderſtood that they ſhould be no further puniſhed than as before is mentioned, great murmuring roſe among the people againſt the king, the archbiſhop of Canturburie, the earle of Northumberland, and other of the councell, for ſauing the liues of men whom the commons reputed moſt wicked, and not worthie in anie wiſe to liue. But the king thought it beſt, rather with courteſie to reconcile them, than by cutting them off by death, to procure the hatred of their fréends and alies, which were manie, and of no ſmall power.

The hatred which the cõmons had cõmitted againſt the appellãts.

The earles Saliſburie his requeſt.

After that the foreſaid iudgement was declared with proteſtation by ſir William Thirning iuſtice, the earle of Saliſburie came and made requeſt, that he might haue his proteſtation entered againſt the lord Morlie, which lord Morlie riſing vp from his ſeat, ſaid, that ſo he might not haue; bicauſe in his firſt anſwer he made no proteſtation, and therefore he was paſt it now. The earle praied day of aduiſement, but the lord Morlie praied that he might loſe his aduantage, ſith he had not entered ſufficient plée againſt him. Then ſir Matthew Gournie ſitting vnderneath the king ſaid to the earle of Saliſburie, that Forſomuch as at the firſt day in your anſwers, ye made no proteſtation at all, none is entered of record, and ſo you are paſt that aduantage: and therefore aſked him if he would ſaie any other thing. Then the earle deſired that he might put in mainpriſe, which was granted: and ſo the earle of Kent, ſir Rafe Ferrers, ſir Iohn Roch, & ſir Iohn Dralton knights, mainpriſed the ſaid earle bodie for bodie. For the lord Morlie all the lords and barons offred to vndertake, and to be ſuerties for him; but yet foure of them had their names entered, that is to ſaie, the lords Willoughbie, Beauchampe, Scales, and Berkelie: they had day till the fridaie after to make their libell.

Sir Mathew Gournie.

The earle of Saliſburie mainpriſed.

The lord Morlie mainpriſed.

The lord Fitzwalter.

After this came the lord Fitzwater, and praied to haue day and place to arreigne his appeale againſt the earle of Rutland. The king ſaid he would ſend for the duke of Norffolke to returne home, and then vpon his returne he ſaid he would procéed in that matter. Manie ſtatutes were eſtabliſhed in this parlement, as well concerning the whole bodie of the common-wealth (as by the booke thereof imprinted may appeare) as alſo concerning diuerſe priuate perſons then preſentlie liuing, which partlie we haue touched, and partlie for doubt to be ouer-tedious, we doo omit. But this among other is not to be forgotten that the archbiſhop of Canturburie was not onelie reſtored to his former dignitie, being remooued from it by king Richard, who had procured one Roger Walden to be placed therein (as before ye haue heard) but alſo the ſaid Walden was eſtabliſhed biſhop of London, wherewith he ſeemed well content.

The archb. of Canturburie reſtored to his ſee.

Thom. Walſ.
Hall.

Moreouer, the kings eldeſt ſonne Henrie alreadie created (as heire to his father, and to the crowne) prince of Wales, duke of Cornewall, and earle of Cheſter, was alſo intituled duke of Aquitaine: and to auoid all titles, claimes, and ambiguities, there was an act made for the vniting of the crowne vnto king Henrie the fourth, and to the heires of his bodie lawfullie begotten, his foure ſonnes, Henrie, Thomas, John, and Humfrie, being named, as to whom the right ſhould deſcend ſucceſſiuelie by waie of intaile, in caſe where heires failed to any of them. By force of this act king Henrie thought himſelfe firmelie ſet on a ſure foundation, not needing to feare any ſtorme of aduerſe fortune. But yet ſhortlie after he was put in danger to haue beene ſet beſides the ſeat, by a conſpiracie begun in the abbat of Weſtminſters houſe, which, had it not beene hindred, it is doubtfull whether the new king ſhould haue inioied his roialtie, or the old king (now a priſoner) reſtored to his principalitie. But God (of whome the poet ſaith,

The crowne intailed.

——*humana rotat*
Inſtar volucris pulueris acti
Turbine celeri mobilis auræ)

had purpoſed a diſappointment of their coniuration, and therefore no maruell though the iſſue of their labours were infortunat by their flattering hope.

But now to make an end with this parlement. After that things were concluded and granted, ſo as was thought to ſtand with the ſuertie of the king, and good quiet of the realme, the king granted a free pardon to all his ſubiects, thoſe excepted that were at the murther of the duke of Gloceſter, and ſuch as had committed wilfull murther, or rape, or were knowne to be notorious theeues. And thoſe that were to take benefit by this pardon, were appointed to ſue forth the charters therof, betwixt that preſent and the feaſt of All ſaints next inſuing, and ſo was this parlement diſſolued. Immediatlie after, the king (according to an order taken in the ſame parlement, to giue to vnderſtand vnto all princes and countries about him, by what title and occaſion he had taken to him the kingdome) ſent ambaſſadors vnto them to ſignifie the ſame. Into Rome were ſent, John Treneuant biſhop of Hereford, ſir John Cheinie knight, & John Cheinie eſquier. Into France, maſter Walter Skirlow biſhop of Durham, and Thomas Perſie earle of Worceſter. Into Spaine, John Trenour biſhop of ſaint Aſaph, and ſir William Parre knight. Into Almanie the biſhop of Bangor, and two others.

Tho. Walſ.

Ambaſſadors ſent to forren princes.

The Scots in time of the late parlement, taking occaſion of the abſence of the northerne lords, and alſo by reaſon of great mortalitie that afflicted the northerne people that yeare, inuaded the borders, tooke the caſtell of Warke, that was aſſigned to the ſafe keeping of ſir Thomas Greie knight, who then was at the parlement, as one of the knights of the ſhire, by meanes of whoſe abſence, the enimies the ſooner (as is to be thought) obteined their deſire, and ſo kept that caſtell a certeine time, and finallie ſpoiled it, and ouerthrew it to the ground. Beſides all this, they did manie other miſcheefes in the countrie, to the vndooing of manie of the kings ſubiects. This yeare Thomas Mowbraie duke of Norffolke died in exile at Venice, whoſe death might haue beene worthilie bewailed of all the realme, if he had not beene conſenting to the death of the duke of Gloceſter. The ſame yeare deceaſſed the ducheſſe of Gloceſter, through ſorrow (as was thought) which ſhe conceiued for the loſſe of hir ſonne and heire the lord Humfrie, who being ſent for forth of Ireland (as before ye haue heard) was taken with the peſtilence, and died by the waie.

The caſtell of Warke taken by the Scots.
Sir Thom. Greie.

The death of the duke of Norffolke.

The ducheſſe of Gloceſter deceaſſeth.

But now to ſpeake of the conſpiracie, which was contriued by the abbat of Weſtminſter as cheefe inſtrument thereof. Ye ſhall vnderſtand, that this abbat (as it is reported) vpon a time heard king Henrie ſaie, when he was but earle of Derbie, and yong of yeares, that princes had too little, and religious men too much. He therefore doubting now, leaſt if the king continued long in the eſtate, he would remoue the great beame that then greeued his eies, and pricked his conſcience, became an inſtrument to ſearch out the minds of the nobilitie, and to bring them to an aſſemblie and councell, where they might conſult and commen togither, how to bring that to effect, which they earneſtlie wiſhed and deſired; that was, the deſtruction of king Henrie, and the reſtoring of king Richard. For there were diuerſe lords that ſhewed themſelues outwardlie to fauor king Henrie, where they ſecretlie wiſhed & ſought his confuſion. The abbat after he had felt the minds of ſundrie of them, called to his houſe on a day in the terme time, all ſuch lords & other perſons which he either knew or thought to be as affectioned to king Richard, ſo enuious to the proſperitie of king Henrie, whoſe names were, John Holland earle of Huntington late duke of Exceſter, Thomas Holland earle of Kent late duke of Surrie, Edward earle of Rutland late duke of Aumarle ſonne to the duke of Yorke, John Montacute earle of Saliſburie, Hugh lord Spenſer late earle of Gloceſter, John the biſhop of Carleill, ſir Thomas Blunt, and Maudelen a prieſt one of king Richards chappell, a man as like him in ſtature and proportion in all lineaments of bodie, as vnlike in birth, dignitie, and conditions.

Hall.

What mooued the abbat of Weſtminſter to conſpire againſt the king.

The lords that conſpired againſt the duke.

The abbat highlie feaſted theſe lords, his ſpeciall freends, and when they had well dined, they withdrew into a ſecret chamber, where they ſat downe in councell, and after much talke & conference had about the bringing of their purpoſe to paſſe concerning the deſtruction of king Henrie, at length by the aduiſe of the earle of Huntington it was deuiſed, that they ſhould take vpon them a ſolemne iuſts to be enterpriſed betweene him and 20 on his part, & the earle of Saliſburie and 20 with him at Oxford, to the which triumph K. Henrie ſhould be deſired, & when he ſhould be moſt buſilie marking the martiall paſtime, he ſuddenlie ſhould be ſlaine and deſtroied, and ſo by that means king Richard, who as yet liued, might be reſtored to libertie, and haue his former eſtate & dignitie. It was further appointed, who ſhould aſſemble the people, the number and perſons which ſhould accompliſh and put in execution their deuiſed enterpriſe. Herevpon was an indenture ſextipartite made, ſealed with their ſeales, and ſigned with their hands, in the which each ſtood bound to other, to do their whole indeuour for the accompliſhing of their purpoſed exploit. Moreouer, they ſware on the holie euangeliſts to be true and ſecret each to other, euen to the houre and point of death.

A iuſts deuiſed to be holden at Oxford.

An indenture ſextipartite.

When all things were thus appointed, the earle of Huntington came to the king vnto Windſore, earneſtlie requiring him, that he would vouchſafe to be at Oxenford on the daie appointed of their iuſtes, both to behold the ſame, and to be the diſcouerer and indifferent iudge (if anie ambiguitie ſhould riſe) of their couragious acts and dooings. The king being

He is deſired to come and ſee the iuſts.

thus inſtantlie required of his brother in law, and nothing leſſe imagining than that which was pretended, gentlie granted to fulfill his requeſt. Which thing obteined, all the lords of the conſpiracie departed home to their houſes, as they noiſed it, to ſet armorers on worke about the trimming of their armour againſt the iuſts, and to prepare all other furniture and things readie, as to ſuch an high & ſolemne triumph apperteined. The earle of Huntington came to his houſe and raiſed men on euerie ſide, and prepared horſſe and harneſſe for his compaſſed purpoſe, and when he had all things readie, he departed towards Oxenford, and at his comming thither, he found all his mates and confederates there, well appointed for their purpoſe, except the earle of Rutland, by whoſe follie their practiſed conſpiracie was brought to light and diſcloſed to king Henrie. For this earle of Rutland departing before from Weſtminſter to ſée his father the duke of Yorke, as he ſat at dinner, had his counterpane of the indenture of the confederacie in his boſome.

The duke of Yorke taketh the indenture from his ſon.

The father eſpieng it, would néeds ſée what it was: and though the ſonne humblie denied to ſhew it, the father being more earneſt to ſée it, by force tooke it out of his boſome; and perceiuing the contents thereof, in a great rage cauſed his horſſes to be ſadled out of hand, and ſpitefullie reprouing his ſonne of treaſon, for whome he was become ſuertie and mainpernour for his good abearing in open parlement, he incontinentlie mounted on horſſebacke to ride towards Windſore to the king, to declare vnto him the malicious intent of his complices. The earle of Rutland ſéeing in what danger he ſtood, tooke his horſſe, and rode another waie to Windſore in poſt, ſo that he got thither before his father, and when he was alighted at the caſtell gate, he cauſed the gates to be ſhut, ſaieng that he muſt néeds deliuer the keies to the king. When he came before the kings preſence, he knéeled downe on his knées, beſéeching him of mercie and forgiueneſſe, and declaring the whole matter vnto him in order as euerie thing had paſſed, obteined pardon. Therewith came his father, and being let in, deliuered the indenture which he had taken from his ſonne, vnto the king, who thereby perceiuing his ſonnes words to be true, changed his purpoſe for his going to Oxenford, and diſpatched meſſengers forth to ſignifie vnto the earle of Northumberland his high conſtable, and to the earle of Weſtmerland his high marſhall, and to other his aſſured fréends, of all the doubtfull danger and perillous ieopardie.

The earle of Rutland vttereth ÿ whole conſpiracie to the king.

The conſpirators being at Oxenford, at length perceiued by the lacke of the earle of Rutland, that their enterpriſe was reuealed to the king, and therevpon determined now openlie with ſpeare and ſhield to bring that to paſſe which before they couertlie attempted, and ſo they adorned Maudelen, a man moſt reſembling king Richard, in roiall and princelie veſture, and named him to be king Richard, affirming that by fauour of his kéepers he was eſcaped out of priſon, and ſo they came forwards in order of warre, to the intent to deſtroie king Henrie. Whileſt the confederators with their new publiſhed idoll, accompanied with a ſtrong armie of men, tooke the direct waie towards Windſore, king Henrie admoniſhed thereof, with a few horſſemen in the night came to the Tower of London about twelue of the clocke, where in the morning he cauſed the maior of the citie to apparell in armour the beſt and moſt courageous perſons of the citie, which brought to him thrée thouſand archers, and thrée thouſand bill-men, beſides them that were appointed to kéepe and defend the citie.

Magdalen counterfeited to be king Richard.

The K. commeth to the tower of London.

The lords come to Windeſore.

The conſpirators comming to Windſore, entered the caſtell, and vnderſtanding that the king was gon from thence to London, determined with all ſpéed to make towards the citie: but changing that determination as they were on their waie, they turned to Colbroke, and there ſtaied. King Henrie iſſuing out of London with twentie thouſand men, came ſtreight to Hunſlo heath, and there pitched his campe to abide the comming of his enimies: but when they were aduertiſed of the kings puiſſance, amazed with feare, and forthinking their begun enterpriſe, as men miſtruſting their owne companie, departed from thence to Berkhamſtéed, and ſo to Circeſter, & there the lords tooke their lodging. The earle of Kent, and the earle of Saliſburie in one Inne, and the earle of Huntington and lord Spenſer in an other, and all the hoſt laie in the fields, wherevpon in the night ſeaſon, the bailiffe of the towne with fourеſcore archers ſet on the houſe, where the erle of Kent and the other laie, which houſe was manfullie aſſaulted and ſtronglie defended a great ſpace. The earle of Huntington being in an other Inne with the lord Spenſer, ſet fire on diuerſe houſes in the towne, thinking that the aſſailants would leaue the aſſault and reſcue their goods, which thing they nothing regarded. The hoſt lieng without, hearing noiſe, and ſéeing this fire in the towne, thought verelie that king Henrie had béene come thither with his puiſſance, and therevpon fled without meaſure, euerie man making ſhift to ſaue himſelfe, and ſo that which the lords deuiſed for their helpe, wrought their deſtruction: for if the armie that laie without the towne had not miſtaken the matter, when they ſaw the houſes on fire, they might eaſilie haue ſuccoured their chéefeteins in the towne, that were aſſailed but with a few of the towneſmen, in compariſon of the great multitude that laie abroad in the fields. But ſuch was the ordinance of the mightie Lord of hoſtes, who diſpoſeth althings at his pleaſure.

The king goeth foorth againſt them.

They retire.

They come to Circeſter.

The bailiffe of Circeſter ſetteth vpon them on their lodgings.

The lords ſet fire on their lodgings.

Hall.
Froiſſard.

The earle of Huntington and his companie ſéeing the force of the towneſmen to increaſe, fled out on the backſide, intending to repaire to the armie which they found diſperſed and gone. Then the earle ſéeing no hope of comfort, fled into Eſſex. The other lords which were left fighting in the towne of Circeſter, were wounded to death and taken, and their heads ſtricken off and ſent to London. Thus writeth Hall of this conſpiracie, in following what author I know not. But Thomas Walſingham and diuerſe other ſéeme ſomewhat to diſſent from him in relation of this matter: for they write that the conſpiratours ment vpon the ſudden to haue ſet vpon the king in the caſtell of Windſore, vnder colour of a maſke or mummerie, and ſo to haue diſpatched him; and reſtoring king Richard vnto the kingdome, to haue recouered their former titles of honour, with the poſſeſſions which they had loſt by iudgement of the laſt parlement. But the king getting knowledge of their pretenſed treaſons, got him with all ſpéed vnto London.

Thom. Walſ.

A maſke.

The conſpirators, to wit, the earles of Kent and Saliſburie, ſir Raſe Lumlie, and others, ſuppoſing that the king had not vnderſtood their malicious purpoſe, the firſt ſundaie of the new yeare, which fell in the octaues of the Innocents, came in the twilight of the euening vnto Windſore with foure hundred armed men, where vnderſtanding that the king was withdrawne vpon warning had of their purpoſed intention, they forthwith returned backe, and came firſt vnto Sunnings, a manor place not farre from Reading, where the quéene wife to king Richard then laie. Here ſetting a good countenance of the matter, the earle of Kent declared in preſence of the quéenes ſeruants that the lord Henrie of Lancaſter was fled from his preſence with his children and fréends, and

1400
Harding.

The words of the earle of Kent.

had ſhut vp himſelfe & them in the Tower of London, as one afraid to come abroad, for all the brags made heretofore of his manhood: and therefore (ſaith he) my intention is (my lords) to go to Richard that was, is, and ſhall be our king, who being alreadie eſcaped forth of priſon, lieth now at Pomfret, with an hundred thouſand men. And to cauſe his ſpéech the better to be beléeued, he tooke awaie the kings cogniſances from them that ware the ſame, as the collars from their necks, and the badges of creſſants from the ſléeues of the ſeruants of houſhold, and throwing them awaie, ſaid that ſuch cogniſances were no longer to be borne.

Thus hauing put the quéene in a vaine hope of that which was nothing ſo, they departed from thence vnto Wallingford, and after to Abington, intiſing the people by all meanes poſſible vnto rebellion, all the waie as they went, and ſending their agents abroad for the ſame purpoſe: at length they came to Circeſter in the darke of the night, and tooke vp their lodgings. The inhabitants of that towne ſuſpecting the matter, and iudging (as the truth was) theſe rumors which the lords ſpred abroad to be but dreams, they tooke thereupon counſell togither, got them to armor, and ſtopped all the entries and outgates of the Innes where theſe new gheſtes were lodged, inſomuch that when they about midnight ſecretlie attempted to haue come forth, and gone their waies, the townesmen with bow and arrowes were readie to ſtaie them, and keepe them in. The lords perceiuing the danger, got them to their armor and weapons, and did their beſt by force to breake through and repell the towneſmen. But after they had fought from midnight till thrée of the clocke in the afternoone of the next daie, and perceiued they could not preuaile, they yéelded themſelues to the towneſmen, beſéeching them to haue their liues ſaued, till they might come to the kings preſence.

The lords yéeld themſelues.

A prieſt ſet fire on the houſes of Circeſter.

This requeſt they had obteined, if a préeſt that was chapleine to one of them, had not in the meane time ſet fire vpon certeine houſes in the towne, to the end that whiles the towneſmen ſhould buſie themſelues to quench the fire, the lords might find meanes to eſcape. But it came nothing to paſſe as he imagined, for the towneſmen leauing all care to ſaue their houſes from the rage of the fire, were kindled more in furie towards the lords, and ſo to reuenge themſelues of them, they brought them forth of the abbeie where they had them in their hands, and in the twilight of the euening, ſtroke off their heads. ¶ The earle of Saliſburie (ſaith Thomas Walſingham) who in all his life time had béene a fauourer of the Lollards or Wickleuiſts, a deſpiſer of images, a contemner of canons, and a ſcorner of the ſacraments, ended his daies (as it was reported) without the * ſacrament of confeſſion. Theſe be the words of Thom. Walſ. which are ſet downe, to ſignifie that the earle of Saliſburie was a bidden gheſt to blockham feaſt with the reſt: and (as it ſhould ſéeme by his relation) the more maligned, bicauſe he was ſomwhat eſtranged frõ the corruption of the religion then receiued, and leaned to a ſect purſued with ſpitefulneſſe and reuenge.

Abr. Fl. out of Tho. Walſin. pag. 404.

* He died vnconfeſſed.

The lords beheaded.

Chr. S. Alb.

John Holl and earle of Huntington (as Thomas Walſingham writeth) was not with the lords at the caſtell of Windſore, but ſtaied about London to behold the end of his buſineſſe: and hearing how the matter went, farre contrarie to that he wiſhed, he ſought to flie by ſea; but not able to get awaie, by reaſon the wind being contrarie would not permit him, he tooke his horſſe, and hauing a knight with him called ſir John Shellie, he road into Eſſex, attempting to haue fled from thence by ſea: but ſtill the wind was ſo againſt him, that he was continuallie driuen backe when he was about to make ſaile, and ſo comming againe to land, he was taken one euening at Pitwell in Eſſex, in a mill (that belonged to one of his truſtie fréends) as he ſat there at ſupper, togither with the ſaid ſir John Shellie. The commons of the countrie that tooke him, brought him firſt to Chelmeſford, and after to Plaſhie, where on the daie of S. Maure, that is the fiftéenth of Ianuarie, about ſun ſetting he was beheaded, in the verie place in which the duke of Gloceſter was arreſted by king Richard. He confeſſed with lamentable repentance (as writers doo record) that diuers & manie waies he had offended God and his prince, bicauſe that vnderſtanding the purpoſe of the other lords, he had not reuealed the ſame.

The earle of Huntington taken.

He is beheaded.

The lord * Hugh Spenſer, otherwiſe called earle of Gloceſter, as he would haue fled into Wales, was taken and carried to Briſtow, where (according to the earneſt deſires of the commons) he was beheaded. Maudelen fléeing into Scotland, was taken by the waie, and brought to the Tower. Manie other that were priuie to this conſpiracie, were taken, and put to death, ſome at Oxford, as ſir Thomas Blunt, ſir Benet Cilie knight, and Thomas Wintercell eſquier; but ſir Leonard Brokas, and ſir John Shellie knights, John Maudelen, and William Ferbie chapleins, were drawne, hanged, and beheaded at London. There were ninetéene in all executed in one place and other, and the heads of the chéefe conſpirators were ſet on polles ouer London bridge, to the terror of others. Shortlie after, the abbat of Weſtminſter, in whoſe houſe the conſpiracie was begun (as is ſaid) gooing betwéene his monaſterie & manſion, for thought fell into a ſudden palſie, and ſhortlie after, without ſpéech, ended his life. The biſhop of Carleill was impeached, and condemned of the ſame conſpiracie; but the king of his mercifull clemencie, pardoned him of that offenſe, although he died ſhortlie after, more through feare than force of ſickneſſe, as ſome haue written. Thus all the aſſociats of this vnhappie conſpiracie taſted the painefull penance of their pleſant paſtime.

* Thomas Spenſer, ſaith Wal. & others.

Hall.

Execution.

Tho. Walſing. Hall.

The abbat of Weſtminſter dieth ſuddeinlie. Thom. Walſ.

The biſhop of Carleill dieth through feare, or rather through grefe of mind, to ſe the wicked proſper as he tooke it. Hall.

Thus haue yée heard what writers haue recorded of this matter, with ſome difference betwixt them that write, how the king ſhould haue béene made awaie at a iuſts; and other that teſtifie, how it ſhould haue béene at a maſke or mummerie: but whether they meant to haue diſpatched him at a mumming, or at a iuſts, their purpoſe being reuealed by the earle of Rutland, they were brought to confuſion (as before yée haue heard.) And immediatlie after, king Henrie, to rid himſelfe of anie ſuch like danger to be attempted againſt him thereafter, cauſed king Richard to die of a violent death, that no man ſhould afterward faine himſelfe to repreſent his perſon, though ſome haue ſaid, he was not priuie to that wicked offenſe. The common fame is, that he was euerie daie ſerued at the table with coſtlie meat, like a king, to the intent that no creature ſhould ſuſpect anie thing doone contrarie to the order taken in the parlement; and when the meat was ſet before him, he was forbidden once to touch it; yea, he was not permitted ſo much as to ſmell to it, and ſo he died of forced famine.

The ſundrie reports of K. Richar. death.

¶ But Thomas Walſingham is ſo farre from imputing his death to compulſorie famine, that he referreth it altogither to voluntarie pining of himſelfe. For when he heard that the complots and attempts of ſuch his fauourers, as ſought his reſtitution, and their owne aduancement, adnihilated; and the chéefe agents ſhamefullie executed; he tooke ſuch a conceit at theſe miſfortunes (for ſo Thomas Walſingham termeth them) and was ſo beaten out of hart, that wilfullie he ſtarued himſelfe, and ſo died in Pomfret

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walſ. pag. 404, 40 caſtell on S. Valentines daie: a happie daie to him, for it was the beginning of his eaſe, and the ending of his paine: ſo that death was to him daintie and ſweet, as the poet ſaith, and that verie well in breefe,

Dulce mori miſeris,
Neque eſt melius morte in malis rebus.

Corn. Gall.

One writer, which ſeemeth to haue great knowledge of king Richards dooings, ſaith, that king Henrie, ſitting on a daie at his table, ſore ſighing, ſaid; Haue I no faithfull freend which will deliuer me of him, whoſe life will be my death, and whoſe death will be the preſeruation of my life? This ſaieng was much noted of them which were preſent, and eſpeciallie of one called ſir Piers of Exton. This knight incontinentlie departed from the court, with eight ſtrong perſons in his companie, and came to Pomfret, commanding the eſquier that was accuſtomed to ſew and take the aſſaie before king Richard, to doo ſo no more, ſaieng; Let him eat now, for he ſhall not long eat. King Richard ſat downe to dinner, and was ſerued without courteſie or aſſaie, wherevpon much maruelling at the ſudden change, he demanded of the eſquier whie he did not his dutie; Sir (ſaid he) I am otherwiſe commanded by ſir Piers of Exton, which is newlie come from K. Henrie. When king Richard heard that word, he tooke the keruing knife in his hand, and ſtrake the eſquier on the head, ſaieng The diuell take Henrie of Lancaſter and thee togither. And with that word, ſir Piers entred the chamber, well armed, with eight tall men likewiſe armed, euerie of them hauing a bill in his hand.

Thom Walſin.

Sir Piers de Exton a murtherer of king Richard.

King Richard perceiuing this, put the table from him, & ſteping to the formoſt man, wrung the bill out of his hands, & ſo valiantlie defended himſelfe, that he ſlue foure of thoſe that thus came to aſſaile him. Sir Piers being halfe diſmaied herewith, lept into the chaire where king Richard was woont to ſit, while the other foure perſons fought with him, and chaſed him about the chamber. And in concluſion, as king Richard trauerſed his ground, from one ſide of the chamber to an other, & comming by the chaire, where ſir Piers ſtood, he was felled with a ſtroke of a pollax which ſir Piers gaue him vpon the head, and therewith rid him out of life, without giuing him reſpit once to call to God for mercie of his paſſed offenſes. It is ſaid, that ſir Piers of Exton, after he had thus ſlaine him, wept right bitterlie, as one ſtriken with the pricke of a giltie conſcience, for murthering him, whome he had ſo long time obeied as king. After he was thus dead, his bodie was imbalmed, and ſeered, and couered with lead, all ſaue the face, to the intent that all men might ſee him, and perceiue that he was departed this life: for as the corps was conueied from Pomfret to London, in all the townes and places where thoſe that had the conueiance of it did ſtaie with it all night, they cauſed dirige to be ſoong in the euening, and maſſe of *Requiem* in the morning; and as well after the one ſeruice as the other, his face diſcouered, was ſhewed to all that coueted to behold it.

The deſperat manhood of king Richard

K. Richard murthered.

Thus was the corps firſt brought to the Tower, and after through the citie, to the cathedrall church of ſaint Paule bare faced, where it laie three daies togither, that all men might behold it. There was a ſolemne obſequie doone for him, both at Paules, and after at Weſtminſter, at which time, both at dirige ouernight, and in the morning at the maſſe of *Requiem*, the king and the citizens of London were preſent. When the ſame was ended, the corps was commanded to be had vnto Langlie, there to be buried in the church of the friers preachers. The biſhop of Cheſter, the abbats of ſaint Albons and Waltham, celebrated the exequies for the buriall, none of the nobles nor anie of the commons (to accompt of) being preſent: neither was there anie to bid them to dinner after they had laid him in the ground, and finiſhed the funerall ſeruice. He was after by king Henrie the fift remoued to Weſtminſter, and there honorablie intoomed with queene Anne his wife, although the Scots vntruelie write, that he eſcaped out of priſon, and led a vertuous and a ſolitarie life in Scotland, and there died, & is buried (as they hold) in the blacke friers at Sterling. ¶ But Fabian and others doo as it were point out the place of his interrement, ſaieng that he lieth intoomed on the ſouth ſide of ſaint Edwards ſhrine, with an epitaph expreſſing partlie his proportion of bodie and partlie his properties of mind, as after followeth in a rimed hexaſtichon:

The dead bodie of K. Richard brought to ẏ Tower.

He is buried at Langlie.

Abr. Fl. out of Fabian pag. 378.

Prudens & mundus, Richardus iure ſecundus,
Per fatum victus, iacet hic ſub marmore pictus,
Verax ſermone, fuit & plenus ratione,
Corpore procerus, animo prudens vt Homerus,
Eccleſiæ fauit, elatos ſuppeditauit,
Quemuis proſtrauit, regalia qui violauit.

When the newes of king Richards depoſing was reported in France, king Charles and all his court wondering, deteſted and abhorred ſuch an iniurie doone to an annointed king, to a crowned prince, and to the head of a realme: but in eſpeciall, Walerane earle of ſaint Paule, which had married king Richards halfe ſiſter, mooued with great diſdaine towards king Henrie, ceaſſed not to ſtirre king Charles & his councell to make warres againſt the Engliſhmen, and he himſelfe ſent letters of defiance into England. The earles ſute was eaſilie agreed vnto, and an armie roiall appointed with all ſpeed, to inuade England. The armie was come downe into Picardie, redie to be tranſported into England: but when it was certeinelie knowen, that king Richard was dead, and that the enterpriſe of his deliuerance (which was cheeflie meant) was fruſtrate and void, the armie was diſſolued. But when the certeintie of K. Richards death was intimate to the Gaſcoignes, the moſt part of the wiſeſt men of the countrie were right penſiue: for they iudged verelie, that hereby the Engliſh nation ſhould be brought to diſhonour, and loſſe of their ancient fame and glorie, for committing ſo heinous an offenſe againſt their king and ſouereigne lord, the memorie whereof (as they thought) would neuer die: and cheeflie, the citizens of Burdeaux tooke the matter verie ſore at the ſtomach: for they bare exceeding fauour to king Richard, becauſe he was borne and brought vp in their citie, and therefore more than all the reſidue they ſhewed themſelues to abhorre ſo heinous a deed.

Forren princes not without cauſe abhorre to heare of the ſhamefull murther of king Richard.

How the Gaſcoignes tooke the death of K. Richard.

The Frenchmen hauing vnderſtanding hereof, thought with themſelues that now was the time for them to practiſe with the Gaſcoignes to reduce them from the Engliſh obeiſance, vnder their ſubiection. Herevpon came Lewes duke of Burbon vnto Agen, and wrote to diuerſe cities and townes, on the confines of Guien, exhorting them with large promiſes, and faire ſugred words, to reuolt from the Engliſhmen, and to become ſubiects to the crowne of France; but his trauell preuailed not: for the people vnderſtanding that the Engliſh yoke was but eaſie in compariſon to the French bondage, determined to abide rather in their old ſubiection, than for a diſpleaſure irrecouerable to aduenture themſelues on a new doubtfull perill; yet it was doubted, leaſt the cities of Burdeaux, Dax, and Baion, would haue reuolted, if the lords of the marches about thoſe places had leaned to them in that purpoſe, for they ſent their commiſſioners to Agen, to treate with the duke of Burbon. But forſomuch as the lords, Pomiers, Mucident, Duras, Landuras, Copane, Roſem, & Langurant, were minded to continue ſtill Engliſh, thoſe cities durſt not without them turne to the French obeiſance,

The duke of Burbon.

Froiſſard.

beiſance, for they could not haue ſtirred out of their gates, but thoſe lords would haue béene readie at their elbowes, to haue caught them by the ſléeues.

Polydor. Froiſſard.

The earle of worceſter ſent into Gaſcoigne.

King Henrie being aduertiſed of the Frenchmens couert meanings, and alſo of the wauering minds of the Gaſcoignes, ſent Thomas Perſie earle of Worceſter with two hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers into Guien, to aid and aſſiſt ſir Robert Knols, his lieutenant there. The chiefeſt capteines that accompanied the earle in this iournie were theſe: firſt, his nephue ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir Thomas Colleuill, ſir William Liſle, Iohn de Graillie baſe ſonne to the capitall de Boeuf, ſir William Draiton, ſir Iohn Daubreticourt: alſo there went with him the biſhop of London, and maſter Richard Doall or Dolleie. The earle at his arriuall ſo wiſelie intreated the noble men, ſo grauelie perſuaded the magiſtrats of the cities and townes, and ſo gentlie and familiarlie vſed and treated the commons, that he not onelie appeaſed their furie and malice, but brought them to louing and vniforme obeiſance, receiuing of them othes of obedience, & loiall fealtie, which doone, he returned againe into England with great thanks.

Ambaſſadors from the French king.

Abr.Fl.out of Fabian, pag. 364.

The French king perceiuing he could not bring his purpoſe about, neither by inuading England, nor by practiſing with the Gaſcoignes, ſent a ſolemne ambaſſage into England, requiring to haue his daughter the ladie Iſabell, ſometime eſpouſed to king Richard, reſtored to him againe. King Henrie gentlie receiued thoſe that were ſent to him about this meſſage, and for anſwer, promiſed to ſend his commiſſioners vnto Calis, which ſhould further commune and conclude with them. ¶ This ſéemeth diſſonant from the report of Fabian deriued out of Gagwine. For he ſaith that Charles hearing of the ſuppreſſion of K. Richard, ſent 2 of his houſhold knights into England, requiring king Henrie the fourth, then newlie made king, to ſend home his daughter Iſabell, latelie married vnto king Richard, with ſuch dowrie as with hir was promiſed. In dooing of which meſſage king Henrie tooke ſuch diſpleaſure, that he threw the ſaid two knights in priſon; where through one of them (named Blanchet) died in England, and the other called Henrie, after great ſickneſſe returned into France: wherefore if Fabian plaie not the fabler, thoſe that were ſent on the ſaid meſſage were not gentlie receiued of king Henrie; vnleſſe to be caſt in priſon and diſcourteouſlie dealt withall ſtand countable for beneuolence & gentle interteinment. But to remit this and the like variances among writers to ſuch as can reconcile them, let vs returne to the ſtorie.

George earle of March fléeth into England.

The anſwer of king Henrie to the Scotiſh ambaſſadors.

Open warre proclamed by the king of Scots againſt England.

Thom.Walſ.

Robert Logon taken priſoner.

It was not inough that K. Henrie was thus troubled now in the firſt yere of his reigne, with ciuill ſedition, and the couert practiſes of Frenchmen; but that the Scots alſo tooke vpon them to make open warre againſt him: it chanced (as in the Scotiſh chronicles more at large appeareth) that George of Dunbar, earle of the marches of Scotland, being in diſpleaſure with Robert king of Scots, fled into England, to Henrie earle of Northumberland, wherevpon the Scotiſh king depriued him of all his dignities and poſſeſſions, and cauſed his goods to be confiſcate, and after wrote to the king of England, requiring him if he would haue the truce anie longer to continue, either to deliuer into his poſſeſſion the earle of March and other traitors to his perſon, or elſe to baniſh them out of his realmes and dominions. King Henrie diſcréetly anſwerd the herald of Scotland, that the words of a prince ought to be kept: and his writings and ſeale to be inuiolate; and conſidering that he had granted a ſafe conduct to the earle and his companie, he ſhould neither without cauſe reaſonable breake his promiſe, nor yet deface his honor. Which anſwer declared to the king of Scots, he incontinentlie proclaimed open warre againſt the king of England, with fire and ſword. Herevpon, one ſir Robert Logon, a Scotiſh knight, with certeine ſhips well appointed for the warre, meant to haue deſtroied the Engliſh fléet that was come on the coaſts of Scotland, about Aberden, to fiſh there: but (as it chanced) he met with certeine ſhips of Lin, that fought with him, and tooke him priſoner, with the reſidue of his companie, ſo that he quite failed of his purpoſe, and came to the loſſe himſelfe.

The Iles of Orkenie ſpoiled by Engliſhmen. Mortalitie of people.

King Henrie inuadeth Scotland.

The duke of Rothſaie.

The duke of Albanie.

Anno Reg. 2.

At the ſame time, the Engliſhmen ſpoiled alſo certeine of the Iles of Orkenſie. This ſummer, great death chanced in this land, manie dieng of the peſtilence, wherewith ſundrie places were infected. King Henrie perceiuing that policie oftentimes preuenteth perill, and vnderſtanding the naughtie purpoſes of the Scots, gathered a great armie, and entred into Scotland, burning townes, villages, and caſtels, with a great part of the townes of Edenburgh and Léeth, and beſieged the caſtell of Edenburgh in the end of September, whereof was capteine Dauid duke of Rothſaie, and a prince of the realme, with Archembald earle of Dowglas, hauing with them manie hardie men of warre. Robert duke of Albanie, that was appointed gouernour of the realme, becauſe the king was ſicke and not méet to rule, ſent an herald vnto king Henrie, promiſing him battell within ſix daies at the furtheſt, if he would ſo long tarrie, which king Henrie promiſed to doo right gladlie, and gaue to the herald for bringing him ſo acceptable newes, a gowne of ſilke, and a cheine of gold. But king Henrie ſtaied ſix daies, and ſixtéene too, without hearing any word of the gouernors comming. Then the winter beginning to war cold, and foule weather ſtill increaſing, cauſed the king to breake vp his ſiege, and ſo returned without battell or ſkirmiſh offered.

King Henrie returneth home.

The Scots burne in Northumberland.

Iuſts at Yorke.

Sir Iohn Cornewall marrieth the kings ſiſter.

The Welſhmen rebell by the ſetting on of Owen Glendouer.

Iohn Stow.

Owen Glendouer what he was.

In the meane time that the king was thus in Scotland, the Scots made a rode into Northumberland, and burned diuerſe townes in Bamburrough ſhire. At the kings comming backe to Yorke, there were two ſtrangers, the one a Frenchman, and the other an Italian, requiring to accompliſh certeine feats of armes, againſt ſir Iohn Cornewall, and Ianico de Artois. Their requeſt was granted, and the ſtrangers were put to the woorſt, whereby ſir Iohn Cornewall obteined the kings fauour ſo farre foorth, that he married the kings ſiſter, the widow of Iohn Holland, earle of Huntington. Yet ſome ſaid, that the knight and the counteſſe were agréed aforehand, without the kings conſent. In the kings abſence, whileſt he was foorth of the realme in Scotland againſt his enimies, the Welſhmen tooke occaſion to rebell vnder the conduct of their capteine Owen Glendouer, dooing what miſchéefe they could deuiſe, vnto their Engliſh neighbours. This Owen Glendouer was ſonne to an eſquier of Wales, named Griffith Vichan: he dwelled in the pariſh of Conwaie, within the countie of Merioneth in Northwales, in a place called Glindourwie, which is as much to ſaie in Engliſh, as The vallie by the ſide of the water of Dée, by occaſion whereof he was ſurnamed Glindour Dew.

Tho.Walſ.

He was firſt ſet to ſtudie the lawes of the realme, and became an vtter barreſter, or an apprentiſe of the law (as they terme him) and ſerued king Richard at Flint caſtell, when he was taken by Henrie duke of Lancaſter, though other haue written that he ſerued this king Henrie the fourth, before he came to atteine the crowne, in roome of an eſquier, and after, by reaſon of variance that roſe betwixt him and the lord Reginald Greie of Ruthin, about the lands which he claimed to be his by right of inheritance: when he ſaw that he might not preuaile, finding no ſuch fauor in his ſute as he looked for, he firſt made warre againſt the ſaid lord Greie, waſting his lands and poſſeſſions with fire and ſword, cruellie killing his ſeruants and tenants. The king aduertiſed of ſuch rebellious exploits, enterpriſed by the ſaid Owen, and his vnrulie complices, determined to chaſtiſe them, as diſturbers of his peace, and ſo with an armie entered into Wales; but the Welſhmen with their capteine withdrew into the mounteines of Snowdon, ſo to eſcape the reuenge, which the king meant towards them. The king therefore did much hurt in the countries with fire and ſword, ſleing diuerſe that with weapon in hand came foorth to reſiſt him, and ſo with a great bootie of beaſts and cattell he returned.

The occaſion that moued him to rebell.

The king entreth into wales, meaning to chaſtiſe yͤ rebels.

The emperour of Conſtantinople comming into England to ſue for aid againſt the Turkes, was met by the king on Blackeheath, vpon the feaſt day of ſaint Thomas the apoſtle, and brought vnto London with great honor. The king bare all his charges, preſenting him with gifts at his departure, meet for ſuch an eſtate. After the feaſt of the Epiphanie, a parlement was holden, in which an act was made, againſt thoſe that held opinions in religion, contrarie to the receiued doctrine of the church of Rome; ordeining, that whereſoeuer any of them were found and proued to ſet foorth ſuch doctrine, they ſhould be apprehended, and deliuered to the biſhop their dioceſane; and if they ſtood ſtiffelie in their opinions, and would not be reformed, they ſhould be deliuered to the ſecular power, to be burnt to aſhes. The firſt that taſted the ſmart of this ſtatute, was one William Hawtrée or Sawtrée a prieſt, that being apprehended was burnt in Smithfield, in time of this parlement.

The emperor of Conſtantinople cõmeth into Englãd.

1401

A parlement.

One burnt in Smithfield.

About the ſame time, king Henrie (according to promiſe made (as ye haue heard) vnto the French ambaſſadors, ſent ouer into the countrie of Guiſnes, Edward earle of Rutland, otherwiſe in king Richards daies intituled duke of Aumarle, ſon to Edmund duke of Yorke, Henrie earle of Northumberland, and his ſonne the lord Henrie Perſie, the lord Yuan Fitzwarren, the biſhops of Wincheſter and Lincolne: where the duke of Burbon, the lords Charles d'Albert, Charles de Hangeſt, John de Chaſtelmorant, the Patriarke of Jeruſalem, and the biſhops of Paris and Beauuois, were readie there to commune with them, and ſo they aſſembling togither at ſundrie times and places, the Frenchmen required to haue queene Iſabell to them reſtored, but the Engliſhmen ſéemed loth to depart with hir, requiring to haue hir married to Henrie prince of Wales, one in blood and age in all things to hir equall; but the Frenchmen would in no wiſe condeſcend thereto, without their kings conſent, who at that preſent was not in caſe to vtter his mind, being troubled with his woonted diſeaſe. The commiſſioners then began to treat of peace, and at length renewed the truce to endure for ſix and twentie yeares yet to come; wherevnto the foure yeares paſſed being added, made vp the number of thirtie yeares, according to the concluſion agreed vpon, in the life time of king Richard.

Additions of the chronicles of Flanders.

There was alſo the erle of Deuonſhire, as Froiſſard ſaith.

Elſe hath Froiſſard.

Cõmiſſioners met to treat of peace.

The French king troubled with a frenſie.

Truce for 26 yeares.

Some authors affirme, that there was a new league concluded. to continue, during the liues of both the princes. The Frenchmen diuerſe times required to haue ſome dower aſſigned foorth for queene Iſabell, but that was at all times vtterlie denied, for that the marriage betwixt hir and king Richard was neuer conſummate, by reaſon whereof ſhe was not dowable. Neuertheleſſe, ſhe was ſhortlie after ſent home, vnder the conduct of the earle of Worceſter, aſſociat with diuerſe other noble and honorable perſonages, both men and women, hauing with hir all the iewels, ornaments, and plate which ſhe brought into England, with a great ſurpluſage beſides giuen to hir by the king. She was deliuered betwixt Bullongne and Calis, to Valeran earle of ſaint Paule, the French kings lieutenant in Picardie, who being accompanied with the biſhop of Chartres, the lord de Hugueuile, the ladie of Monpenſier ſiſter to the erle of March, the ladie of Lucenburgh ſiſter to the ſaid earle of ſaint Paule, & diuerſe other ladies and gentlewomen, which receiued hir with great ioy and gladneſſe, and taking leaue of the Engliſh lords and ladies, they conueied hir to the dukes of Burgognie and Burbon, that attended for hir, not far off, vpon a hill, with a great number of people. They firſt conueied hir to Bullogne, & after to Abuile, from whence the duke of Orleance conueied hir to Paris, vnto the preſence of the king hir father, and the queene hir mother: ſhe was after giuen in marriage vnto Charles, ſonne to Lewes duke of Orleance.

Hall.

The Frenchmen demand a dower for queene Iſabell.

Additions of the chron. of Flanders.

She is deliuered home.

She is conueied to Paris.

Hir ſecond marriage.

About the ſame time, Owen Glendouer and his Welſhmen did much hurt to the kings ſubiects. One night as the king was going to bed, he was in danger to haue beene deſtroied; for ſome naughtie traitorous perſons had conueied into his bed a certeine iron made with ſmiths craft, like a caltrop, with three long prickes, ſharpe and ſmall, ſtanding vpright, in ſuch ſort, that when he had laid him downe, & that the weight of his bodie ſhould come vpon the bed, he ſhould haue beene thruſt in with thoſe pricks, and peraduenture ſlaine: but as God would, the king not thinking of any ſuch thing, chanced yet to feele and perceiue the inſtrument before he laid him downe, and ſo eſcaped the danger. ¶ Howbeit he was not ſo ſoone deliuered from feare; for he might well haue his life in ſuſpicion, & prouide for the preſeruation of the ſame; ſith perils of death crept into his ſecret chamber, and laie lurking in the bed of downe where his bodie was to be repoſed and to take reſt. Oh what a ſuſpected ſtate therefore is that of a king holding his regiment with the hatred of his people, the hartgrudgings of his courtiers, and the peremptorie practiſes of both togither? Could he confidentlie compoſe or ſetle himſelfe to ſleepe for feare of ſtrangling? Durſt he boldly eat and drinke without dread of poiſoning? Might he aduenture to ſhew himſelfe in great méetings or ſolemne aſſemblies without miſtruſt of miſcheefe againſt his perſon intended? What pleaſure or what felicitie could he take in his princelie pompe, which he knew by manifeſt and fearefull experience, to be enuied and maligned to the verie death? The ſtate of ſuch a king is noted by the poet in Dionyſius, as in a mirror, concerning whome it is ſaid,

Anno Reg. 3.

Owen Glendouer.

The danger of the king to haue beene deſtroied.

Diſtrictus enſis cui ſuper impia
Ceruice pendet, non Siculæ dapes
Dulcem elaborabunt ſaporem,
Non auium cytharæq; cantus.

Hor. lib. ca. 3. Ode. 1.

This yeare, the eight day of Aprill deceaſſed the lord Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike. In the moneth of March appeared a blaſing ſtarre, firſt betwéene the eaſt part of the firmament and the north, flaſhing foorth fire and flames round about it, and laſtlie, ſhooting foorth fierie beams towards the north, foreſhewing (as was thought) the great effuſion of blood that followed, about the parts of Wales and Northumberland. For much about the ſame time, Owen Glendouer (with his Welſhmen) fought with the lord Greie of Ruthen, comming foorth to defend his poſſeſſions, which the ſame Owen waſted and deſtroied: and as the fortune of that daies worke fell out, the lord Greie was taken priſoner, and manie of his men were ſlaine. This hap lifted the Welſhmen into high pride, and increaſed meruellouſlie their wicked and preſumptuous attempts.

1402

The earle of Warwike departeth this life.

A blaſing ſtarre.

The lord Greie of Ruthen taken in fight by Owẽ Glendouer.

A brute was ſpred abroad that king Richard was liuing.

A prieſt takẽ.

He is executed.

The prior of Laund apprehended.

About Whitſuntide a conſpiracie was deuiſed by certeine perſons, that wiſhed the kings death, mainteining and bruting abroad, that king Richard was aliue, and therefore exhorted men to ſtand with him, for ſhortlie he would come to light, and reward ſuch as tooke his part with iuſt recompenſe. Herewith, there was a prieſt taken at Ware, or (as ſome books haue) at Warwike, who had a kalendar or roll, in which a great number of names were written, more than were in any wiſe guiltie of the fact, as afterwards appeared by the ſame prieſts confeſſion. For being examined, whether he knew ſuch perſons as he had ſo inrolled, & were there preſent before him, he ſaid he neuer knew them at all; and being demanded wherefore he had then ſo recorded their names, he anſwered, bicauſe he thought they would gladlie doo what miſchiefe they could againſt king Henrie, vpon any occaſion offered in reuenge of the iniuries doone to king Richard, by whom they had beene aduanced, and princelie preferred. When therfore there appeared no more credit in the man, he was condemned, drawen, hanged, and quartered, and diuerſe that had beene apprehended about that matter, were releaſed, and ſet at libertie. Shortlie after, the prior of Laund (who for his euill gouernment had béene depriued of his ſtate and dignitie) was likewiſe executed, not for attempting any thing of himſelfe, but onlie for that he confeſſed, that he knew euill counſell and concealed it. His name was Walter Baldocke, a canon ſometime in Dunſtable, and by king Richard promoted to the priorſhip of Laund.

Greie friers apprehended.

A greie frier hanged in his habit.

Sir Roger Claringdon.

The diuell appeareth in likeneſſe of a greie frier.

Alſo the ſame time, certeine greie friers were apprehended for treaſon which they had deuiſed to bring to paſſe, and one of them, whoſe name was Richard Friſebie, being aſked what he would doo if king Richard had béene aliue, and preſent with them, anſwered ſtoutlie, that he would fight againſt any man in his quarrell, euen to death. Herevpon, he was condemned, drawen, and hanged in his friers wéed, to the great confuſion of his brethren; but they made earneſt inſtance to haue his bodie taken downe, and buried with diriges and exequies, and had their ſute granted. Sir Roger of Claringdon knight was alſo put to death about this conſpiracie, with two of his ſeruants, the one an eſquier, the other a yeoman. He was baſe ſonne (as was reported) vnto Edward, eldeſt ſonne to king Edward the third, ſurnamed the blacke prince. On Corpus Chriſti daie at euenſong time, the diuell (as was thought) appeared in a towne of Eſſex called Danburie, entring into the church in likeneſſe of a greie frier, behauing himſelfe verie outragiouſlie, plaieng his parts like a diuell indéed, ſo that the pariſhioners were put in a maruellous great fright.

Eight friers executed.

The earle of March taken priſoner in battell by Owen Glendouer.

At the ſame inſtant, there chanced ſuch a tempeſt of wind, thunder, and lightning, that the higheſt part of the roofe of that church was blowen downe, and the chancell was all to ſhaken, rent, and torne in péeces. Within a ſmall while after, eight of thoſe greie friers that had practiſed treaſon againſt the king, were brought to open iudgement, and conuicted were drawen and headed at London; and two other ſuffered at Leiceſter, all which perſons had publiſhed king Richard to be aliue. Owen Glendouer, according to his accuſtomed manner, robbing and ſpoiling within the Engliſh borders, cauſed all the forces of the ſhire of Hereford to aſſemble togither againſt them, vnder the conduct of Edmund Mortimer earle of March. But cõming to trie the matter by battell, whether by treaſon or otherwiſe, ſo it fortuned, that the Engliſh power was diſcomfited, the earle taken priſoner, and aboue a thouſand of his people ſlaine in the place. The ſhamefull villanie vſed by the Welſhwomen towards the dead carcaſſes, was ſuch, as honeſt eares would be aſhamed to heare, and continent toongs to ſpeake thereof. The dead bodies might not be buried, without great ſummes of monie giuen for libertie to conueie them awaie.

The ſuſpicion of K. Henrie grounded vpõ a guiltie conſcience.

The kings daughter maried into Germanie.

Intemperat weather.

The deceaſſe of the duke of Yorke.

Scots ouerthrowen.

The king was not haſtie to purchaſe the deliuerance of the earle March, bicauſe his title to the crowne was well inough knowen, and therefore ſuffered him to remaine in miſerable priſon, wiſhing both the ſaid earle, and all other of his linage out of this life, with God and his ſaincts in heauen, ſo they had béene out of the waie, for then all had béene well inough as he thought. But to let theſe things paſſe, the king this yeare ſent his eldeſt daughter Blanch, accõpanied with the earle of Summerſet, the biſhop of Worceſter, the lord Clifford, and others, into Almanie, which brought hir to Colin, and there with great triumph ſhe was maried to William duke of Bauier, ſonne and heire to Lewes the emperour. About mid of Auguſt, the king to chaſtiſe the preſumptuous attempts of the Welſhmen, went with a great power of men into Wales, to purſue the capteine of the Welſh rebell Owen Glendouer, but in effect he loſt his labor; for Owen conueied himſelfe out of the waie, into his knowen lurking places, and (as was thought) through art magike, he cauſed ſuch foule weather of winds, tempeſt, raine, ſnow, and haile to be raiſed, for the annoiance of the kings armie, that the like had not béene heard of; in ſuch ſort, that the king was conſtreined to returne home, hauing cauſed his people yet to ſpoile and burne firſt a great part of the countrie. The ſame time, the lord Edmund of Langlie duke of Yorke departed this life, and was buried at Langlie with his brethren. The Scots vnder the leding of Patrike Hepborne, of the Hales the yoonger, entring into England, were ouerthrowen at Neſbit, in the marches, as in the Scotiſh chronicle ye may find more at large. This battell was fought the two and twentith of Iune, in this yeare of our Lord 1402.

Scots vanquiſhed at Homildon.

The number ſlaine.

Priſoners taken.

The caſtell of Cocklawes beſieged by the lord Perſie.

Archembald earle Dowglas ſore diſpleaſed in his mind for this ouerthrow, procured a commiſſion to inuade England, and that to his coſt, as ye may likewiſe read in the Scotiſh hiſtories. For at a place called Homildon, they were ſo fiercelie aſſailed by the Engliſhmen, vnder the leading of the lord Perſie, ſurnamed Henrie Hotſpur, and George earle of March, that with violence of the Engliſh ſhot they were quite vanquiſhed and put to flight, on the Rood daie in harueſt, with a great ſlaughter made by the Engliſhmen. We know that the Scotiſh writers note this battell to haue chanced in the yeare 1403. But we following Tho. Walſingham in this place, and other Engliſh writers, for the accompt of times, haue thought good to place it in this yeare 1402, as in the ſame writers we find it. There were ſlaine of men of eſtimation, ſir Iohn Swinton, ſir Adam Gordon, ſir Iohn Leuiſton, ſir Alexander Ramſie of Dalehouſie, and thrée and twentie knights, beſides ten thouſand of the commons: and of priſoners among other were theſe, Mordacke earle of Fife, ſon to the gouernour Archembald earle Dowglas, which in the fight loſt one of his eies, Thomas erle of Murrey, Robert earle of Angus, and (as ſome writers haue) the earles of Atholl & Menteith, with fiue hundred other of meaner degrées. After this, the lord Perſie, hauing beſtowed the priſoners in ſuer kéeping, entered Tiuidale, waſting and deſtroieng the whole countrie, and then beſieged the caſtell of Cocklawes, whereof was capteine one ſir Iohn Grenlow, who compounded with the Engliſhmen, that if the caſtell were not ſuccoured within thrée moneths, then he would deliuer it into their hands.

The firſt two moneths paſſed, and no likelihood of reſcue appeared; but yer the third moneth was expired,

red, the Engliſhmen being ſent for to go with the king into Wales, raiſed their ſiege and departed, leauing the noble men priſoners with the earle of Northumberland, and with his ſonne the lord Perſie, to keepe them to the kings vſe. In this meane while, ſuch as miſliked with the doctrine and ceremonies then vſed in the church, ceaſſed not to vtter their conſciences, though in ſecret, to thoſe in whome they had affiance. But as in the like caſes it commonlie happeneth, they were bewraied by ſome that were thought chieflie to fauour their cauſe, as by ſir Lewes Clifford knight, who hauing leaned to the doctrine a long time, did now (as Thomas Walſingham writeth) diſcloſe all that he knew vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie, to ſhew himſelfe as it were to haue erred rather of ſimpleneſſe and ignorance, than of frowardneſſe or ſtubborne malice. The names of ſuch as taught the articles and concluſions mainteined by thoſe which then they called Lollards or heretikes, the ſaid ſir Lewes Clifford gaue in writing to the ſaid archbiſhop. Edmund Mortimer earle of March, priſoner with Owen Glendouer, whether for irkeſomneſſe of cruell captiuitie, or feare of death, or for what other cauſe, it is vncerteine, agreed to take part with Owen, againſt the king of England, and tooke to wife the daughter of the ſaid Owen.

The profeſſors of Wicklifs doctrine.

Sir Lewes Clifford bewraieth his fellowes.

The earle of March marieth the daughter of Owen Glendouer.

Strange wonders happened (as men reported) at the natiuitie of this man, for the ſame night he was borne, all his fathers horſſes in the ſtable were found to ſtand in bloud vp to the bellies. The morow after the feaſt of ſaint Michaell, a parlement began at Weſtminſter, which continued the ſpace of ſeauen weekes, in the ſame was a tenth and a halfe granted by the cleargie, and a fifteenth by the communaltie. Moreouer, the commons in this parlement beſought the king to haue the perſon of George earle of March a Scotiſhman, recommended to his maieſtie, for that the ſame earle ſhewed himſelfe faithfull to the king & his realme. ¶ There was alſo a ſtatute made, that the friers beggers ſhould not receiue any into their order, vnder the age of fourteene yeares. In this fourth yeare of king Henries reigne, ambaſſadors were ſent ouer into Britaine, to bring from thence the duches of Britaine, the ladie Iane de Nauarre, the widow of Iohn de Montford, late duke of Britaine, ſurnamed the conqueror, with whom by procurators the king had contracted matrimonie. In the beginning of Februarie, thoſe that were ſent returned with hir in ſafetie, but not without taſting the bitter ſtormes of the wind and weather, that toſſed them ſore to and fro, before they could get to land. The king met hir at Wincheſter, where the ſeuenth of Februarie, the marriage was ſolennized betwixt them.

Anno Reg. 4. A parlement.

George earle of March recommended to the king by parlement.

1403

Ambaſſadors.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in dooing in England, Valeran earle of ſaint Paule, bearing ſtill a deadlie and malicious hatred toward king Henrie, hauing aſſembled ſixteene or ſeuenteene hundred men of warre, imbarked them at Harflew, and taking the ſea, landed in the Ile of Wight, in the which he burned two villages, and foure ſimple cotages, and for a triumph of ſo noble an act, made foure knights. But when he heard that the people of the Ile were aſſembled and approched to fight with him, he haſted to his ſhips, and returned home: wherewith the noble men of his companie were diſpleaſed, conſidering his prouiſion to be great and his gaine ſmall. In the ſame verie ſeaſon, Iohn earle of Cleremont ſonne to the duke of Bourbon, wan in Gaſcoigne out of the Engliſhmens poſſeſſion, the caſtels of ſaint Peter, ſaint Marie, and the New caſtell; and the lord de la Bret wan the caſtell of Carlaſſin, which was no ſmall loſſe to the Engliſh nation.

The earle of ſaint Paule in the Ile of Wight.

The earle of Cleremont in Gaſcoigne.

Henrie earle of Northumberland, with his brother Thomas earle of Worceſter, and his ſonne the lord Henrie Perſie, ſurnamed Hotſpur, which were to king Henrie in the beginning of his reigne, both faithfull freends, and earneſt aiders, began now to enuie his wealth and felicitie; and eſpeciallie they were greeued, bicauſe the king demanded of the earle and his ſonne ſuch Scotiſh priſoners as were taken at Homeldon and Neſbit: for of all the captiues which were taken in the conflicts foughten in thoſe two places, there was deliuered to the kings poſſeſſion onelie Mordake earle of Fife, the duke of Albanies ſonne, though the king did diuers and ſundrie times require deliuerance of the reſidue, and that with great threatnings: wherewith the Perſies being ſore offended, for that they claimed them as their owne proper priſoners, and their peculiar preies, by the counſell of the lord Thomas Perſie earle of Worceſter, whoſe ſtudie was euer (as ſome write) to procure malice, and ſet things in a broile, came to the king vnto Windſore (vpon a purpoſe to prooue him) and there required of him, that either by ranſome or otherwiſe, he would cauſe to be deliuered out of priſon Edmund Mortimer earle of March, their couſine germane, whome (as they reported) Owen Glendouer kept in filthie priſon, ſhakled with irons, onelie for that he tooke his part, and was to him faithfull and true.

The requeſt of the Perſies.

The king began not a little to muſe at this requeſt, and not without cauſe: for in deed it touched him ſomewhat neere, ſith this Edmund was ſonne to Roger earle of March, ſonne to the ladie Philip, daughter of Lionell duke of Clarence, the third ſonne of king Edward the third; which Edmund at king Richards going into Ireland, was proclamed heire apparant to the crowne and realme, whoſe aunt called Elianor, the lord Henrie Perſie had married; and therefore king Henrie could not well heare, that anie man ſhould be earneſt about the aduancement of that linage. The king when he had ſtudied on the matter, made anſwer, that the earle of March was not taken priſoner for his cauſe, nor in his ſeruice, but willinglie ſuffered himſelfe to be taken, bicauſe he would not withſtand the attempts of Owen Glendouer, and his complices, & therefore he would neither ranſome him, nor releeue him.

The Perſies with this anſwer and fraudulent excuſe were not a little fumed, inſomuch that Henrie Hotſpur ſaid openlie: Behold, the heire of the relme is robbed of his right, and yet the robber with his owne will not redeeme him. So in this furie the Perſies departed, minding nothing more than to depoſe king Henrie from the high type of his roialtie, and to place in his ſeat their couſine Edmund earle of March, whom they did not onlie deliuer out of captiuitie, but alſo (to the high diſpleaſure of king Henrie) entered in league with the foreſaid Owen Glendouer. Heerewith, they by their deputies in the houſe of the archdeacon of Bangor, diuided the realme amongſt them, cauſing a tripartite indenture to be made and ſealed with their ſeales, by the couenants whereof, all England from Seuerne and Trent, ſouth and eaſtward, was aſſigned to the earle of March: all Wales, & the lands beyond Seuerne weſtward, were appointed to Owen Glendouer: and all the remnant from Trent northward, to the lord Perſie.

The ſaieng of the L. Perſie.

The conſpiracies of the Perſies with Owen Glendouer.

An indenture tripartite.

A diuiſion of that which they had not.

This was doone (as ſome haue ſaid) through a fooliſh credit giuen to a vaine propheſie, as though king Henrie was the moldwarpe, curſſed of Gods owne mouth, and they three were the dragon, the lion, and the woolfe, which ſhould diuide this realme betweene them. Such is the deuiation (ſaith Hall) and not diuination of thoſe blind and fantaſticall dreames of the Welſh propheſiers. King Henrie not knowing of

A vaine propheſie.

this new confederacie, and nothing leſſe minding than that which after happened, gathered a great armie to go againe into Wales, whereof the earle of Northumberland and his ſonne were aduertiſed by the earle of Worceſter, and with all diligence raiſed all the power they could make, and ſent to the Scots which before were taken priſoners at Homeldon, for aid of men, promiſing to the earle of Dowglas the towne of Berwike, and a part of Northumberland, and to other Scotiſh lords, great lordſhips and ſeigniories, if they obteined the vpper hand. The Scots in hope of gaine, and deſirous to be reuenged of their old greeſes, came to the earle with a great companie well appointed.

The Perſies raiſe their powers.

They craue aid of Scots.

The Perſies to make their part ſeeme good, deuiſed certeine articles, by the aduiſe of Richard Scroope, archbiſhop of Yorke, brother to the lord Scroope, whome king Henrie had cauſed to be beheaded at Briſtow. Theſe articles being ſhewed to diuerſe noblemen, and other ſtates of the realme, moued them to fauour their purpoſe, in ſo much that manie of them did not onelie promiſe to the Perſies aid and ſuccour by words, but alſo by their writings and ſeales confirmed the ſame. Howbeit when the matter came to triall, the moſt part of the confederates abandoned them, and at the daie of the conflict left them alone. Thus after that the conſpirators had diſcouered themſelues, the lord Henrie Perſie deſirous to proceed in the enterpriſe, vpon truſt to be aſſiſted by Owen Glendouer, the earle of March, & other, aſſembled an armie of men of armes and archers forth of Cheſhire and Wales. Incontinentlie his vncle Thomas Perſie earle of Worceſter, that had the gouernement of the prince of Wales, who as then laie at London in ſecret manner, conueied himſelfe out of the princes houſe, and comming to Stafford (where he met his nephue) they increaſed their power by all waies and meanes they could deuiſe. The earle of Northumberland himſelfe was not with them, but being ſicke, had promiſed vpon his amendement to repaire vnto them (as ſome write) with all conuenient ſpeed.

The archbiſh. of Yorke of counſell with the Perſies in conſpiracie.

Thom. Walſ.

The earle of Worceſter gouernour to the prince ſlippeth from him. Hall.

These noble men, to make their conſpiracie to ſeeme excuſable, beſides the articles aboue mentioned, ſent letters abroad, wherein was conteined, that their gathering of an armie tended to none other end, but onlie for the ſafegard of their owne perſons, and to put ſome better gouernment in the commonwealth. For whereas taxes and tallages were dailie leuied, vnder pretenſe to be imploied in defenſe of the realme, the ſame were vainlie waſted, and vnprofitablie conſumed: and where through the ſlanderous reports of their enimies, the king had taken a greeuous diſpleaſure with them, they durſt not appeare perſonallie in the kings preſence, vntill the prelats and barons of the realme had obteined of the king licence for them to come and purge themſelues before him, by lawfull triall of their peeres, whoſe iudgement (as they pretended) they would in no wiſe refuſe. Manie that ſaw and heard theſe letters, did commend their diligence, and highlie praiſed their aſſured fidelitie and truſtineſſe towards the commonwealth.

The pretenſe of yͤ Perſies, as they publiſhed it abroad.

But the king vnderſtanding their cloaked drift, deuiſed (by what meanes he might) to quiet and appeaſe the commons, and deface their contriued forgeries; and therefore he wrote an anſwer to their libels, that he maruelled much, ſith the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Henrie Perſie his ſonne, had receiued the moſt part of the ſummes of monie granted to him by the cleargie and communaltie, for defenſe of the marches, as he could euidentlie proue what ſhould moue them to complaine and raiſe ſuch manifeſt ſlanders. And whereas he vnderſtood, that the earles of Northumberland and Worceſter, and the lord Perſie had by their letters ſignified to their freends abroad, that by reaſon of the ſlanderous reports of their enimies, they durſt not appeare in his preſence, without the mediation of the prelats and nobles of the realme, ſo as they required pledges, whereby they might ſafelie come afore him, to declare and alledge what they had to ſaie in proofe of their innocencie, he proteſted by letters ſent foorth vnder his ſeale, that they might ſafelie come and go, without all danger, or anie manner of indamagement to be offered to their perſons.

The kings anſwer to the Perſies libell.

But this could not ſatiſfie thoſe men, but that reſolued to go forwards with their enterpriſe, they marched towards Shrewesburie, vpon hope to be aided (as men thought) by Owen Glendouer, and his Welſhmen, publiſhing abroad throughout the countries on each ſide, that king Richard was aliue, whome if they wiſhed to ſee, they willed them to repaire in armour vnto the caſtell of Cheſter, where (without all doubt) he was at that preſent, and redie to come forward. This tale being raiſed, though it were moſt vntrue, yet it bred variable motions in mens minds, cauſing them to wauer, ſo as they knew not to which part they ſhould ſticke; and verelie, diuers were well affected towards king Richard, ſpeciallie ſuch as had taſted of his princelie bountifulnes, of which there was no ſmall number. And to ſpeake a truth, no maruell it was, if manie enuied the proſperous ſtate of king Henrie, ſith it was euident inough to the world, that he had with wrong vſurped the crowne, and not onelie violentlie depoſed king Richard, but alſo cruellie procured his death, for the which vndoubtedlie, both he and his poſteritie taſted ſuch troubles, as put them ſtill in danger of their ſtates, till their direct ſucceeding line was quite rooted out by the contrarie faction, as in Henrie the ſixt and Edward the fourth it may appeare.

Proofe K. Richard is ſtill aliue with the that with K. Henries ouerthrow.

But now to returne where we left. King Henrie aduertiſed of the proceedings of the Perſies, foorthwith gathered about him ſuch power as he might make, and being earneſtlie called vpon by the Scot, the earle of March, to make haſt and giue battell to his enimies, before their power by delaieng of time ſhould ſtill too much increaſe, he paſſed forward with ſuch ſpeed, that he was in ſight of his enimies, lieng in campe neere to Shrewesburie, before they were in doubt of anie ſuch thing, for the Perſies thought that he would haue ſtaied at Burton vpon Trent, till his councell had come thither to him to giue their aduiſe what he were beſt to doo. But herein the enimie was deceiued of his expectation, ſith the king had great regard of expedition and making ſpeed for the ſafetie of his owne perſon, wherevnto the earle of March incited him, conſidering that in delaie is danger, & loſſe in lingering, as the poet in the like caſe ſaith:

The kings ſpeedie diligence.

Tolle moras, nocuit ſemper differre paratis,
Dum trepidant nullo firmatæ robore partes.

By reaſon of the kings ſudden cōming in this ſort, they ſtaied from aſſaulting the towne of Shrewesburie, which enterpriſe they were readie at that inſtant to haue taken in hand, and foorthwith the lord Perſie (as a capteine of high courage) began to exhort the capteines and ſouldiers to prepare themſelues to battell, ſith the matter was growen to that point, that by no meanes it could be auoided, ſo that (ſaid he) this daie ſhall either bring vs all to aduancement & honor, or elſe if it ſhall chance vs to be ouercome, ſhall deliuer vs from the kings ſpitefull malice and cruell diſdaine: for plaieng the men (as we ought to doo) better it is to die in battell for the commonwealths cauſe, than through cowardlike feare to prolong life, which after ſhall be taken from vs, by ſentence of the enimie.

The Perſies troubled with the kings ſudden comming.

The lord Perſie exhorteth his complices to ſticke to their tackle.

Herevpon

Hervpon, the whole armie being in number about fourteene thouſand choſen men, promiſed to ſtand with him ſo long as life laſted. There were with the Perſies as chiefteines of this armie, the earle of Dowglas a Scottiſh man, the baron of Kinderton, ſir Hugh Browne, and ſir Richard Vernon knights, with diuerſe other ſtout and right valiant capteins. Now when the two armies were incamped, the one againſt the other, the earle of Worceſter and the lord Perſie with their complices ſent the articles (whereof I ſpake before) by Thomas Caiton, and Thomas Saluain eſquiers to king Henrie, vnder their hands and ſeales, which articles in effect charged him with manifeſt periurie, in that (contrarie to his oth receiued vpon the euangeliſts at Doncaſter, when he firſt entred the realme after his exile) he had taken vpon him the crowne and roiall dignitie, impriſoned king Richard, cauſed him to reſigne his title, and finallie to be murthered. Diuerſe other matters they laid to his charge, as leuieng of taxes and tallages, contrarie to his promiſe, infringing of lawes & cuſtomes of the realme, and ſuffering the earle of March to remaine in priſon, without trauelling to haue him deliuered. All which things they as procurors & protectors of the common-wealth, tooke vpon them to proue againſt him, as they proteſted vnto the whole world.

The number of the Perſies armie.

The Perſies ſent their articles to the king.

King Henrie charged with periurie.

Procurors & protectors of the common-wealth.

King Henrie after he had read theſe articles, with the defiance which they annexed to the ſame, anſwered the eſquiers, that he was readie with dint of ſword and fierce battell to proue their quarrell falſe, and nothing elſe than a forged matter, not doubting, but that God would aid and aſſiſt him in his righteous cauſe, againſt the diſloiall and falſe forſworne traitors. The next daie in the morning earlie, being the euen of Marie Magdalene, they ſet their battels in order on both ſides, and now whileſt the warriors looked when the token of battell ſhould be giuen, the abbat of Shrewesburie, and one of the clearks of the priuie ſeale, were ſent from the king vnto the Perſies, to offer them pardon, if they would come to any reaſonable agréement. By their perſuaſions, the lord Henrie Perſie began to giue eare vnto the kings offers, & ſo ſent with them his vncle the earle of Worceſter, to declare vnto the king the cauſes of thoſe troubles, and to require ſome effectuall reformation in the ſame.

The kings anſwer to the meſſengers that brought the articles.

The king offereth to pardon his aduerſaries.

It was reported for a truth, that now when the king had condeſcended vnto all that was reaſonable at his hands to be required, and ſeemed to humble himſelfe more than was meet for his eſtate, the earle of Worceſter (vpon his returne to his nephue) made relation cleane contrarie to that the king had ſaid, in ſuch ſort that he ſet his nephues hart more in diſpleaſure towards the king, than euer it was before, driuing him by that meanes to fight whether he would or not: then ſuddenlie blew the trumpets, the kings part crieng S. George vpon them, the aduerſaries cried *Eſperance Perſie*, and ſo the two armies furiouſlie ioined. The archers on both ſides ſhot for the beſt game, laieng on ſuch load with arrowes, that manie died, and were driuen downe that neuer roſe againe.

The earle of Worceſters double dealing in wrong reporting the kings words.

The Scots (as ſome write) which had the fore ward on the Perſies ſide, intending to be reuenged of their old diſpleaſures doone to them by the Engliſh nation, ſet ſo fiercelie on the kings foreward, led by the earle of Stafford, that they made the ſame draw backe, and had almoſt broken their aduerſaries arraie. The Welſhmen alſo which before had laine lurking in the woods, mounteines, and mariſhes, hearing of this battell toward, came to the aid of the Perſies, and refreſhed the wearied people with new ſuccours. The king perceiuing that his men were thus put to diſtreſſe, what with the violent impreſſion of the Scots, and the tempeſtuous ſtormes of arrowes, that his aduerſaries diſcharged freely againſt him and his people, it was no need to will him to ſtirre: for ſuddenlie with his freſh battell, he approched and relieued his men; ſo that the battell began more fierce than before. Here the lord Henrie Perſie, and the earle Dowglas, a right ſtout and hardie capteine, not regarding the ſhot of the kings battell, nor the cloſe order of the ranks, preſſing forward togither bent their whole forces towards the kings perſon, comming vpon him with ſpeares and ſwords ſo fiercelie, that the earle of March the Scot, perceiuing their purpoſe, withdrew the king from that ſide of the field (as ſome write) for his great benefit and ſafegard (as it appeared) for they gaue ſuch a violent onſet vpon them that ſtood about the kings ſtandard, that ſlaieng his ſtandard-bearer ſir Walter Blunt, and ouerthrowing the ſtandard, they made ſlaughter of all thoſe that ſtood about it, as the earle of Stafford, that daie made by the king conſtable of the realme, and diuerſe other.

Hall.
The Scots.

The Welſhmen come to aid the Perſies.

The earle of March.
Tho. Walſi.

The prince that daie holpe his father like a luſtie yoong gentleman: for although he was hurt in the face with an arrow, ſo that diuerſe noble men that were about him, would haue conueied him forth of the field, yet he would not ſuffer them ſo to doo, leaſt his departure from amongſt his men might happilie haue ſtriken ſome feare into their harts: and ſo without regard of his hurt, he continued with his men, & neuer ceaſſed, either to fight where the battell was moſt hot, or to incourage his men where it ſeemed moſt need. This battell laſted thrée long houres, with indifferent fortune on both parts, till at length, the king crieng ſaint George victorie, brake the arraie of his enimies, and aduentured ſo farre, that (as ſome write) the earle Dowglas ſtrake him downe, & at that inſtant ſlue ſir Walter Blunt, and thrée other, apparelled in the kings ſute and clothing, ſaieng: I maruell to ſée ſo many kings thus ſuddenlie ariſe one in the necke of an other. The king in deed was raiſed, & did that daie manie a noble feat of armes, for as it is written, he ſlue that daie with his owne hands ſix and thirtie perſons of his enimies. The other on his part incouraged by his doings, fought valiantlie, and ſlue the lord Perſie, called ſir Henrie Hotſpurre. To conclude, the kings enimies were vanquiſhed, and put to flight, in which flight, the earle of Dowglas, for haſt, falling from the crag of an hie mounteine, brake one of his cullions, and was taken, and for his valiantneſſe, of the king frankelie and freelie deliuered.

Hall.
The valiance of the yoong prince.

A ſore battell & well mainteined.

The valiant doings of the earle Dowglas.

The high manhood of the king.

The lord Perſie ſlaine.

The earle Dowglas taken priſoner.

There was alſo taken the earle of Worceſter, the procuror and ſetter forth of all this miſcheefe, ſir Richard Vernon, and the baron of Kinderton, with diuerſe other. There were ſlaine vpon the kings part, beſide the earle of Stafford, to the number of ten knights, ſir Hugh Shorlie, ſir Iohn Cliſton, ſir Iohn Cokaine, ſir Nicholas Gauſell, ſir Walter Blunt, ſir Iohn Caluerleie, ſir Iohn Maſſie of Podington, ſir Hugh Mortimer, and ſir Robert Gauſell, all the which receiued the ſame morning the order of knighthood: ſir Thomas Wendeſleie was wounded to death, and ſo paſſed out of this life ſhortlie after. There died in all vpon the kings ſide ſixteene hundred, and foure thouſand were greeuouſlie wounded. On the contrarie ſide were ſlaine, beſides the lord Perſie, the moſt part of the knights and eſquiers of the countie of Cheſter, to the number of two hundred, beſides yeomen and footmen, in all there died of thoſe that fought on the Perſies ſide, about fiue thouſand. This battell was fought on Marie Magdalene euen, being ſaturdaie. Vpon the mondaie folowing, the earle of Worceſter, the baron of Kinderton, and ſir Richard Vernon knights, were condemned and behea-

The earle of Worceſter taken.

Knights ſlaine on the kings part.

The ſlaughter of Cheſhire men at this battell.

The earle of Worceſter and others beheaded.

ded. The earles head was ſent to London, there to be ſet on the bridge.

The earle of Northumberland was now marching forward with great power, which he had got thither, either to aid his ſonne and brother (as was thought) or at the leaſt towards the king, to procure a peace: but the earle of Weſtmerland, and ſir Robert Waterton knight, had got an armie on foot, and meant to meet him. The earle of Northumberland, taking neither of them to be his freend, turned ſuddenlie backe, and withdrew himſelfe into Warkeworth caſtell. The king hauing ſet a ſtaie in things about Shrewesburie, went ſtraight to Yorke, from whence he wrote to the earle of Northumberland, willing him to diſmiſſe his companies that he had with him, and to come vnto him in peaceable wiſe. The earle vpon receipt of the kings letters came vnto him the morow after ſaint Laurence daie, hauing but a few of his ſeruants to attend him, and ſo excuſed himſelfe, that the king (bicauſe the earle had Berwike in his poſſeſſion, and further, had his caſtels of Alnewike, Warkeworth, and other, fortified with Scots) diſſembled the matter, gaue him faire words, and ſuffered him (as ſaith Hall) to depart home, although by other it ſhould ſeeme, that he was committed for a time to ſafe cuſtodie.

The earle of weſtmerland raiſeth a power againſt the earle of Northumberland.

The king goeth to Yorke.

The earle of Northumberland commeth to the king.

The king returning forth of Yorkeſhire, determined to go into Northwales, to chaſtiſe the preſumptuous doings of the vnrulie Welſhmen, who (after his comming from Shrewesburie, and the marches there) had doone much harme to the Engliſh ſubiects. But now where the king wanted monie to furniſh that enterpriſe, and to wage his ſouldiers, there were ſome that counſelled him to be bold with the biſhops, and ſupplie his want with their ſurpluſage. But as it fortuned, the archbiſhop of Canturburie was there preſent, who in the name of all the reſt boldlie made anſwer, that none of his prouince ſhould be ſpoiled by anie of thoſe naughtie diſpoſed perſons; but that firſt with hard ſtripes they ſhould vnderſtand the price of their raſh enterpriſe. But the king neuertheleſſe ſo vſed the matter with the biſhops for their good wils, that the archbiſhop at length to pleaſure him, calling the cleargie togither, got a grant of a tenth, towards the kings neceſſarie charges.

The welſhmen moleſt the Engliſh ſubiects.

It was ſpoken like a prelat.

A tenth leuied of the cleargie.

The Britaines vnder the conduct of the lord of Caſtils, ſpoiled and burnt the towne of Plimmouth, and returned without receiuing anie damage, but immediatlie thervpon, the weſterne men manning forth a fleet, vnder the gouernement of one William Wilford eſquier, made ſaile ouer to the coaſts of Britaine, where they tooke aboue fortie ſhips laden with oile, ſope, and Rochell wine, to the quantitie of a thouſand tunne, or much thereabouts. In returning homewards, they burnt fortie other veſſels, and landing at Pennarch, they burnt townes and villages ſix leagues within the countrie, togither with the towne of ſaint Matthew, and all the buildings there, three leagues round about the ſame towne. About the feaſt of All ſaints, a parlement began at Couentrie, and continued there till ſaint Andrewes tide: but at length, bicauſe vittels waxed deere, and lodging was ſtreict, it was adiorned from thence vnto London, there to begin againe in the octaues of the Epiphanie. The ſame time, a pardon was granted and proclamed, for all ſuch as had taken part with the Perſies againſt the king, and likewiſe for other offendors, thoſe excepted that had conſented to betraie Calis, whom the king ſent thither to ſuffer for their offenſes. A little before Chriſtmas the Frenchmen meant to haue robbed and ſpoiled the Ile of Wight, but when a thouſand of them were ſet on land, and had got togither a great bootie of cattell, ſuddenlie there came vpon them ſuch number of people that they were conſtreined to withdraw to their ſhips, leauing their preie behind them, and no ſmall number of their men to paie for their ſhot, ſo that they wan little by that iournie, returning home with ſhame and diſhonor.

William Wilford.
Ships taken.

Anno Reg. 5.
A parlement at Couentrie.

Adiorned to London.
A pardon.

Frenchmen inuade the Ile of wight.

They are repelled.

This yeare in the parlement holden at London (beginning the morow after the feaſt of ſaint Hilarie, and continuing twelue weekes) the earle of Northumberland was reſtored vnto his former dignities, lands and goods, the Ile of Man onlie excepted, which by reaſon of the forfeiture made by the earle of Saliſburie, the king had firſt giuen vnto him, and now depriued him thereof, where all his other lands, poſſeſſions, and liuings were wholie to him and his heires reſtored. By authoritie of the ſame parlement a ſubſidie was alſo granted to the king, of euerie knights fee twentie ſhillings, whether the ſame were holden of him by menaltie, or otherwiſe. Moreouer, euerie man and woman that might diſpend in lands the value of twentie ſhillings & ſo vpward, aboue the repriſes, whether the ſame lands belonged to the laie fee, or to the church, paied for euerie pound twelue pence: and thoſe that were valued to be worth in goods twentie pounds and vpwards, paid alſo after the rate of lands, that is, twelue pence for euerie pound. ¶ This ſeemeth to be that ſubſidie which Thomas Walſingham calleth a ſore ſurcharging ſubſidie, or an vnaccuſtomed tax: the forme and maner wherof (ſaith he) I had here interlaced, but that the verie granters and authors thereof had rather that the poſteritie ſhould be vtterlie ignorant thereof, and neuer heare of it; ſithens it was granted vpon this condition, that hereafter it ſhould not be drawne into example; neither might the euidences thereof be kept in the kings treaſurie, nor in the excheker; but the records thereof preſentlie (after the iuſt accounts giuen vp) burned; neither ſhould writs or commiſſions be ſent abroad againſt the collectors or inquirers hereof for their better inqueſt.

1404
The parlement beginneth againe.
The earle of Northumberland reſtored.
The Ile of Man.

A ſubſidie.

Abr. Fl. out of Tho. Walſin. Hypod. pag. 164.

The Frenchmen about the ſame time came before the Ile of Wight with a great nauie, and ſent certeine of their men to the ſhore, to demand in name of king Richard, and of his wife queene Iſabell, a tribute or ſpeciall ſubſidie in monie, of the inhabitants of that Ile; who anſwered, that king Richard was dead, and queene Iſabell ſometime his wife had beene ſent home to hir parents and countrie, without condition of anie dowrie or tribute: wherefore, they anſwered reaſonablie, that none they would giue: but if the Frenchmen had deſire to fight, they willed them to come on land, and there ſhould be none to reſiſt them; and after they were on land, they promiſed to giue them reſpit for ſix houres ſpace to refreſh themſelues, and that time being once expired, they ſhould not faile to haue battell. When the Frenchmen heard of this ſtout anſwer made by the Ilandmen, they had no luſt to approch neere to the land, but returned without further attempt.

The Frenchmens demand of the Ile of wight.

The anſwer of the Ilandmen.

About this ſeaſon, the duke of Orleance, brother to the French king, a man of no leſſe pride than hautineſſe of courage, wrote letters to king Henrie, aduertiſing him, that for the loue he bare to the noble feats of chiualrie, he could imagine nothing either more honorable or cõmendable to them both, than to meet in the field each part with an hundred knights and eſquiers, all being gentlemen, both of name and armes, armed at all points, and furniſhed with ſpeares, axes, ſwords, and daggers, and there to fight and combat to the yeelding; and euerie perſon, to whome God ſhould ſend victorie, to haue his priſoner, & him to ranſome at his pleaſure, offering himſelfe with his companie to come to his citie of Anguleſme, ſo that the king would come to the lands of Burdeaux, and there defend this challenge.

The duke of Orleance his challenge.

The anſwer of king Henrie.

The king of England grauelie anſwered herevnto, that he maruelled why the duke vnder colour of doing déeds of armes for a vaine-glorie, would now ſéeke to breake the peace betwixt the realmes of England and France, he being ſworne to mainteine the ſame peace, ſith he might further vnderſtand, that no king annointed, of verie dutie, was bound to anſwer anie challenge, but to his péere of equall ſtate and dignitie; and further declared, that when opportunitie ſerued, he would paſſe the ſea, and come into his countrie of Gaſcoigne, with ſuch companie as he thought conuenient, and then might the duke ſet forward with his band, for the accompliſhing of his couragious deſire, promiſing him in the word of a prince, not thence to depart, till the duke either by fulfilling his owne deſire in manner aforeſaid, or by ſingular combat betwéene them two onelie, for auoiding of more effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, ſhould thinke himſelfe fullie ſatiſfied. To this and much more conteined in the kings anſwer, the duke replied, and the king againe reioined, not without tawnts and checks vnfitting for their eſtates.

The duke of Orleance beſiegeth Vergi in Guien.

The duke of Orleance offended highlie (as he might ſéeme) furniſhed againſt the king of England with an armie of ſix thouſand men, entered into Guien, and beſieged the towne of Vergi, whereof was capteine ſir Robert Antlfield, a right hardie and valiant knight, hauing with him onelie thrée hundred Engliſhmen, which defended the fortreſſe ſo manfullie, that the duke (after he had laine thrée moneths) and loſt manie of his men, without honour or ſpoile returned into France.

The lord du Chaſtell ſlaine.

After this, the admerall of Britaine highlie incouraged, for that the laſt yéere he had taken certeine Engliſh ſhips laden with wines, acompanied with the lord du Chaſtell, a valiant baron of Britaine, and twelue hundred men of armes, ſailed forth with thirtie ſhips from S. Malos, and came before the towne of Dartmouth, and would haue landed; but by the puiſſance of the towneſmen and aid of the countrie, they were repelled, in the which conflict, the lord du Chaſtell, and two of his brethren, with foure hundred other were ſlaine, and aboue two hundred taken priſoners and put to their ranſoms, amongſt whom the lord of Baqueuille the marſhall of Britaine was one.

Owen Glendouer waſted the Engliſh marches.

All this ſummer, Owen Glendouer and his adherents, robbed, burned, and deſtroied the countries adioining néere to the places where he hanted, and one while by ſleight & guilefull policie, an other while by open force, he tooke and ſlue manie Engliſhmen, brake downe certeine caſtels which he wan, and ſome he fortified and kept for his owne defenſe. John Treuor biſhop of Aſſaph, conſidering with himſelfe how things proſpered vnder the hands of this Owen, fled to him, and tooke his part againſt the king.

Crueltie of the Britains & Flemings.

About the ſame time, the Britaines and the Flemings tooke certeine ſhips of ours laden with merchandize, and ſlue all the marriners or elſe hanged them.

The countes of Oxford.

K. Richard once againe aliue.

Alſo, the old counteſſe of Oxford, mother to Robert Veere late duke of Ireland, that died at Louaine, cauſed certeine of hir ſeruants, and other ſuch as ſhe durſt truſt, to publiſh and brute abroad, thorough all the parts of Eſſex, that king Richard was aliue, and that he would ſhortlie come to light, and claime his former eſtate, honor, and dignitie. She procured a great number of harts to be made of ſiluer and gold, ſuch as king Richard was wont to giue vnto his knights, eſquiers, & fréends, to weare as cognizances, to the end that in beſtowing them in king Richards name, ſhe might the ſooner allure men to further hir lewd practiſes: and where the fame went abroad, that king Richard was in Scotland with a great power of Frenchmen and Scots, readie to come to recouer his realme, manie gaue the more light credit vnto this brute thus ſet forth by the ſaid counteſſe.

Serlo one of K. Richards chamber.

The perſwaſions alſo of one Serlo, that in times paſt was one of king Richards chamber, greatlie increaſed this errour; for the ſame Serlo, hearing in France (whither he was fled) that his maiſter king Richard was in Scotland aliue, conueied himſelfe thither, to vnderſtand the truth of that matter, and finding there one indéed that greatlie reſembled him in all lineaments of bodie, but yet was not the man himſelfe (as he well perceiued) vpon malice that he bare to king Henrie, aduertiſed by letters ſent vnto diuerſe of king Richards fréends, that he was aliue indéed, and ſhortlie would come to ſhew himſelfe openlie to the world, when he had once made his waie readie to recouer his kingdome, to the confuſion of his enimies, and comfort of his fréends. Theſe forged inuentions cauſed manie to beléeue the brute raiſed by the counteſſe of Oxford, for the which they came in trouble, were apprehended and committed to priſon.

The counteſſe of Oxford committed to priſon.

Hir ſecretarie executed.

The counteſſe hir ſelfe was ſhut vp in cloſe priſon, and all hir goods were confiſcat, and hir ſecretarie drawen and hanged, that had ſpred abroad this fained report, in going vp and downe the countrie, blowing into mens eares that king Richard was aliue, & affirming that he had ſpoken with him in ſuch a place and in ſuch a place, apparelled in this raiment and that raiment, with ſuch like circumſtances.

The earle of Northumberland cõmeth to the king.

Sir william Clifford bringeth Serlo to the king.

About the feaſt of ſaint John Baptiſt, at the kings commandement, the earle of Northumberland came to Pomfret, and brought with him his nephues, and his nephues ſonnes, whereby he cleared himſelfe of a great deale of ſuſpicion, manie doubting before his comming that he had giuen euill counſell to the yoong men, whereby to moue them to rebellion, and to withſtand the king. Sir William Clifford alſo came with the earle, and brought the foreſaid Serlo with him, whom he had apprehended vpon his comming to him at Berwike, in hope to haue found ſuccour at his hands: in conſideration whereof the king pardoned the ſaid ſir William Clifford of his diſobedience ſhewed, in kéeping the caſtell of Berwike againſt him, in which dooing he had committed manifeſt treaſon.

Serlo examined for the duke of Gloceſters death.

This Serlo being knowen to be the man that had béene the chiefe murtherer of the duke of Gloceſter, when he was made awaie at Calis, was diligentlie examined, who were helpers with him in the execution thereof, and after what ſort they made him awaie: Serlo knowing there was no waie with him but death, would not vtter any other, but confeſſed for his owne part, he was worthie for that wicked déed to die ten thouſand deaths, and ſhewed ſuch outward appearance of repentance, that manie ſore lamented his caſe, and promiſed to hire prieſts to ſing maſſes, (as the maner was) for his ſoule, of their owne coſts and charges. He was condemned to die at Pomfret, and was drawen from thence through euerie good towne, through which thoſe that had the conueiance of him paſſed with him till they came to London, where he was executed, confeſſing euerie thing to be true concerning his wicked pretenſe, as before is recited: and further, that when he perceiued how their counterfeit practiſe would come to light and he openlie reuealed, he meant to haue returned into France, but wanting monie, he thought to haue béene relieued with ſome portion at the hand of the ſaid ſir William Clifford, and this cauſed him to come vnto Berwike, to ſhew him his neceſſitie, who to make his owne peace, did apprehend him, and preſent him to the king, as before ye haue heard.

He is drawen through euery good towne.

He is executed at Lõdon.

Anno Reg. 6.

King Henrie wanting monie in the feaſt of ſaint Faith the virgine, aſſembled at Couentrie his high court of parlement, in the which, the lord Stephan Scrope of Maſham, and the lord Henrie Fitz Hugh obteined firſt to haue places of barons. Moreouer, it is to be noted, that this was called The laie mans parlement, bicauſe the ſhiriffes were appointed to haue a ſpeciall regard, that none ſhould be choſen knights for the counties, nor burgeſſes for the cities and townes, that had any ſkill in the lawes of the land. This was done, and when they came togither to talke of the weightie affaires of the realme, ſpeciallie how the king might be relieued with monie, to beare ſuch charges as he was knowen to be at, as well in defending the realme from the Scots and Welſhmen at home, as from the Britains, Flemings, and Frenchmen abroad, it was thought moſt expedient, that the ſpiritualtie ſhould be depriued of their temporall poſſeſſions, to the reliefe of the kings neceſſitie. Herevpon roſe great altercation betwixt the cleargie and the laitie; the knights affirming, that they had oftentimes ſerued the king, not onelie with their goods, but alſo with their perſons in great dangers and ieopardies, whileſt the ſpiritualtie ſat at home, and holp the king nothing at all. Thomas Arundell archbiſhop of Canturburie ſtoutlie anſwered herevnto, that the cleargie had alwaie giuen to the king as much as the laitie had done, conſidering they had oftener giuen their tenths to him than the laitie their fifteens: alſo, that more of their tenants went forth into the kings warres, than the tenants of them of the laie fee: beſide this, they praied day and night for the kings good ſucceſſe againſt his enimies.

The laie mans parlement.

Strife betwixt the laitie and ſpiritualtie.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie anſwereth for his brethren.

When the ſpeaker named ſir John Cheinie, in replieng by plaine ſpeach, ſeemed little to eſteeme ſuch praiers of the church, the archbiſhop was ſet in a great chafe, and with ſharpe words declaring what he thought muſt needs follow, both of the king and kingdome, when praiers and ſuffrages of churchmen came to be ſo little ſet by, he grew to ſuch impatiencie, that he flatlie told the ſpeaker, that although he ſeemed little to eſteeme of the religion of the cleargie, he would not haue him to thinke, that he ſhould take awaie the poſſeſſions of the church, without finding ſuch as would ſeeke to withſtand him, for if (ſaid he) the archbiſhop of Canturburie maie liue, thou ſhalt haue hot taking awaie any manner of thing that is his. After this, when the archbiſhop perceiued that the king winked at theſe matters, he roſe from his place and comming before the king, kneeled downe, and beſought him to conſider, how through the fauour and grace of the almightie God, he had atteined to the kingdome, and therefore he ought to remember his firſt purpoſe and intent, which was, to ſaue vnto euerie man his right, ſo far as in him laie.

Sir John Cheinie ſpeaker of the parlement.

The archb. chafeth.

He ſpake like a lord.

He willed him likewiſe to haue in conſideration the oth which he willinglie had receiued, that is, that he ſhould aduance the honor of the church, and the miniſters thereof cheriſh and mainteine. Alſo, to haue in mind the danger and diſhonour that redounded to ſuch as brake their othes: ſo that he beſought him to permit and ſuffer the church to inioy the priuileges and liberties, which in time of his predeceſſors it had inioied, requeſting him to ſtand in awe of that king, by whom all kings did reigne; and to feare the cenſures and condemnation that thoſe incurred, which tooke and bereft from the church any good or right belonging to it, who moſt certeinelie (ſaid he) are accurſed. When the archbiſhop had vſed this, or the like ſpeach, the king commanded him to go to his ſeat againe, aſſuring him, that his intent and purpoſe was to leaue the church in as good ſtate, or better, than he found it.

The kings anſwer to the archbiſhop.

The archbiſhop herewith turning to the knights and burgeſſes of the parlement, ſaid vnto them; You, and ſuch other as you be, haue giuen counſell vnto the king and his predeceſſors, to confiſcate and take into their hands the goods and poſſeſſions of the celles, which the Frenchmen and Normans poſſeſſed here in England, and affirmed that by the ſame he and they ſhould heape vp great riches, and indeed thoſe goods and poſſeſſions (as is to be proued) were worth manie thouſands of gold: and yet it is moſt true, that the king at this day is not halfe one marke of ſiluer the richer thereby, for you haue begged and gotten them out of his hands, and haue appropriated the ſame vnto your ſelues, ſo that we may coniecture verie well, that you requeſt to haue our temporalties, not to aduance the kings profit, but to ſatiſfie your owne greedie couetouſneſſe, for vndoubtedlie if the king (as God forbid he ſhould) did accompliſh your wicked purpoſes and minds, he ſhould not be one farthing the richer the yeare next after: and trulie, ſooner will I ſuffer this head of mine to be cut off from my ſhoulders, than that the church ſhould loſe the leaſt right that apperteineth to it.

The knights ſaid little, but yet they proceeded in their ſute to haue their purpoſe forward, which the archbiſhop perceiuing (as an other Argus, hauing his eie on each ſide, to marke what was done) laboured ſo to diſappoint their doings, that he wan the fauour of certeine of the temporall lords to aſſiſt him, who conſtantlie auouched by their conſents, that the church ſhould neuer be ſpoiled of the temporalties, and herein they acquited the archbiſhop and prelats, one pleaſure for an other, which they had done for them before, when the commons in this parlement required, that all ſuch lands and reuenues as ſometime belonged to the crowne, and had beene giuen awaie, either by the king, or by his predeceſſors king Edward, and king Richard, ſhould be againe reſtored to the kings vſe; vnto which requeſt, the archbiſhop and other the prelats would in no wiſe conſent: thus by the ſtout diligence of the archbiſhop Arundell that petition of the commons, touching the ſpirituall temporalties, came to none effect. [Yea the knights themſelues, who verie inſtantlie had ſtood in this error, acknowledging their maliciouſnes & guiltineſſe herein, beſought the archbiſhop of Canturburie to pardon them; and gaue thanks that by his couragiouſneſſe the church in this ſo troubleſome a time reuiued, calling to mind the ſaieng of an ethnike, by way of application, to the ſaid archbiſhops hie praiſe;

——ſub principe duro
Temporibúsq; malis auſus es eſſe bonus.]

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walſ. Hypod. pag. 167.

Two fifteenes were granted by the commons, with condition, that the ſame ſhould be paid vnto the hands of the lord Furniuall, who ſhould ſee that monie imploied for maintenance of the kings warres. Moreouer, at the importunate ſute of the commons, the letters patents that had beene made to diuerſe perſons of annuities to them granted by king Edward and king Richard, were called in, and made void, not without ſome note of diſhonor to the king. The cleargie granted to the king a tenth and a halfe, notwithſtanding that the halfe of one tenth latelie granted was yet behind, and appointed to be paid vpon ſaint Martins daie now next comming. About this ſeaſon, great loſſe happened in Kent, by breaking in of waters, that ouerflowed the ſea banks, as well in the archbiſhop of Canturburies grounds, as other mens, whereby much cattell was drowned. Neither did England alone bewaile hir loſſes by ſuch breakings in of the ſea, but alſo Zeland, Flanders, & Holland taſted of the like damage.

Two fifteens granted.

Letters patents reuoked.

A tenth and halfe granted by ỹ cleargie.

Ouerflowing of the ſea.

William Wickham biſhop of Wincheſter, being a man of great age, deceaſſed this yeare, leauing behind him a perpetuall memorie of his name, for the notable monuments which he erected, in building

The death of Williã Wickham.

two colleges, one at Wincheſter for grammarians, and the other at Oxenford called the new college, purchaſing lands and reuenues for the maintenance of ſtudents there, to the great commoditie of the commonwealth: for from thence, as out of a good nurſſerie, haue come forth diuerſe men in all ages excellentlie learned in all ſciences. ¶ And heere I haue not thought it impertinent to ſpeake ſomewhat of this worthie prelat (conſidering that by him ſo great a benefit hath returned to the commonwealth) according to ſuch notes as I haue ſeene collected by that painfull traueller in ſearch of antiquities Iohn Leland, who ſaith, that as ſome haue ſuppoſed, the ſaid Wickham, otherwiſe called Perot, was baſe ſonne to one Perot, the towne-clerke of Wickham in Hampſhire, of which place he tooke his ſurname, and that one maiſter Wodall a gentleman, dwelling in the ſaid towne, brought him vp at ſchoole, where he learned his grammar, and to write verie faire, in ſo much that the conſtable of Wincheſter caſtell, a great ruler in thoſe daies in Hampſhire, got him of maiſter Wodall, and reteined him to be his ſecretarie, with whome he continued, till king Edward the third, comming to Wincheſter, conceiued ſome good liking of the yoong man, and tooke him to his ſeruice, and withall vnderſtanding that he was minded to be a churchman, he firſt made him parſon and deane of ſaint Martins in London, then archdeacon of Buckingham.

But for ſo much as his ſeruice was right acceptable to the king, as he that with great dexteritie could handle ſuch affaires of the ſtate, or other matters of charge as were committed to his hands, the king ſtill kept him about his perſon, as one of his cheefe chapleins of houſhold, and imploied him in ſundrie offices, as occaſions ſerued: and firſt he made him ſurueior of his works and buildings, namelie at Windſore, in reparing of that caſtell, and alſo at Quinburrough, where, by the kings appointment, a ſtrong fortreſſe was raiſed, for defenſe of the realme on that ſide. After this, he was aduanced to the keeping of the priuie ſeale, made ouerſeer of the wards and forreſts, alſo treaſuror of the kings reuenues in France, and at length was made biſhop of Wincheſter. Yet the Blacke prince did not greatlie fauour him, wherevpon Wickham procured to keepe him occupied in warres beyond the ſeas. But at length Iohn duke of Lancaſter, and Alice Perers king Edwards concubine, conceiuing ſome great diſpleaſure againſt him, found meane to procure the king to baniſh him the realme, and then he remained in Normandie and Picardie for the ſpace of ſeauen yeares, or thereabout, and might not be reſtored ſo long as king Edward liued. But after his deceaſſe, about the ſecond yeare of king Richard the ſeconds reigne, he was reſtored home, and purchaſed a generall pardon for all matters paſt that might be ſurmized againſt him, or laid to his charge.

He was alſo at one time treaſuror of England (as Leland gathereth.)

Afterwards he bare himſelfe ſo vprightlie in that dangerous time, when ſuch miſliking and priuie enuie reigned betwixt the king and his nobles, that both parts ſeemed to like of him, inſomuch that when the king made him lord chancellor, there was not anie that greatlie repined thereat; and verelie in that the king made choiſe of him before others to occupie that place, it argueth there was not ſo euill a diſpoſition in the king, nor lacke of diſcretion in order of gouernment, as writers ſeeme to charge him with. But where other could not ſo well beare iniuries at others hands as happilie Wickham could, the fire of diſſention cheeflie kindled thereof. For if the duke of Ireland, and the earle of Suffolke, with thoſe of that faction could haue refrained to ſhew their diſpleaſures, when the duke of Gloceſter and other his complices pinched at them (for that they ſaw the king haue them in more eſtimation than they wiſhed) matters might haue beene qualified peraduenture with leſſe adoo, and without danger to haue inſued to either part. But howſoeuer it went with them, it may doubtleſſe be eaſilie coniectured, that Wickham was a man of ſingular wiſedome, and politike forecaſt, that could from meane degree in ſuch wiſe clime aloft, and afterwards paſſe through the chances and changes of variable fortune, keeping himſelfe euer ſo in ſtate, that he grew at length to be able to furniſh the chargeable expenſes of two ſuch notable foundations which he left behind him, to make his name immortall. But leauing the conſideration hereof to others, I will returne to the purpoſe from whence I haue thus far ſtepped.

1405

The earle of Marches ſonnes.
Thom. Walſin.

In this ſixt yeare, the fridaie after ſaint Valentines daie, the earle of March his ſonnes earlie in the morning were taken forth of Windſore caſtell, and conueied awaie, it was not knowne whither at the firſt, but ſuch ſearch and inquirie was made for them that ſhortlie after they were heard of, and brought backe againe. The ſmith that counterfeited the keies, by the which they that conueied them thence got into the chamber where they were lodged, had firſt his hands cut off, and after his head ſtriken from his ſhoulders. The ladie Spenſer, ſiſter to the duke of Yorke and widow of the lord Thomas Spenſer, executed at Briſtow (as before yee haue heard) being apprehended and committed to cloſe priſon, accuſed hir brother the duke of Yorke, as cheefe authour in ſtealing awaie the ſaid earle of March his ſonnes. And further, that the ſaid duke ment to haue broken into the manor of Eltham the laſt Chriſtmaſſe, by ſcaling the wals in the night ſeaſon, the king being there the ſame time, to the intent to haue murthered him. For to prooue hir accuſation true, ſhe offered that if there were anie knight, or eſquier, that would take vpon him to fight in hir quarrell, if he were ouercome, ſhe would be content to be burnt for it.

The ladie Spenſer cõmitted to ward.

She accuſeth hir brother the duke of Yorke.

One of hir eſquiers named William Maidſtone, hearing what anſwer his ladie and miſtreſſe propounded, caſt downe his hood, and proffered in hir cauſe the combat. The duke likewiſe caſt downe his hood, readie by battell to cleare his innocencie. But yet the kings ſonne lord Thomas of Lancaſter arreſted him, and put him vnder ſafe keeping in the Tower, till it were further knowne what order ſhould be taken with him, and in the meane time were all his goods confiſcate. The ſame time was Thomas Mowbraie earle marſhall accuſed, as priuie to the purpoſe of the duke of Yorke, touching the withdrawing of the earle of March his children, who confeſſed indeed that he knew of the dukes purpoſe: but yet in no wiſe gaue his conſent therevnto, and therefore beſought the king to be good and gratious lord vnto him for concealing the matter, and ſo he obteined pardon of that offenſe.

williã Maidſtone eſquier offred to fight in his ladies quarrell.

The earle marſhall accuſed.

The king had aſſembled at the ſame time the moſt part of the nobilitie at London, to conſult with them for diuerſe weightie matters, concerning the ſtate of the common-wealth, and about ſome aid of monie which he required: but the lords ſhewed themſelues not willing to ſatiſfie his requeſt. He therfore cauſed the ſpirituall lords as well as the temporall, to meet at S. Albons in the Lent ſeaſon, about the ſame matter; but yet obteined not his purpoſe, by reaſon the barons were ſore againſt him, and ſo at length on Palme ſundaie they went their waie, each man to his home, hauing gratified the king in nothing concerning his demand. In the meane time, to wit the fifteenth of March at a place in Wales called Vſke, in a conflict fought betwixt the Welſhmen

The K. wanteth monie & can get none of the lords.

and certeine of the princes companie, the ſonne of Owen Glendouer was taken, and fiftéene hundred Welſhmen taken and ſlaine. Alſo in Maie about the feaſt daie of S. Dunſtane, was the chancellor of the ſaid Owen taken priſoner, and a great number of other taken and ſlaine. The priſoners were brought vp to London, where the chancellor was committed to ſafe kéeping in the Tower.

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walſ. Hypod. pag. 159.

Iuſt. lib. 1. Herod. lib. 1. Val. Max. lib. 8. cap. 7.

¶This was a ſhrewd diſcomfiture to the Welſh by the Engliſh, on whome ſiniſter lot lowred, at ſuch time as more than a thouſand of them were ſlaine in a hot ſkirmiſh; and ſuch ſhamefull villanie executed vpon the carcaſſes of the dead men by the Welſhwomen; as the like (I doo beléeue) hath neuer or ſildome béene practiſed. For though it was a cruell déed of Tomyris quéene of the Maſſagets in Scythia, againſt whome when Cyrus the great king of Perſia came, and had ſlaine hir ſonne, ſhe by hir policie trained him into ſuch ſtreicts, that ſhe ſlue him and all his hoſt; and cauſing a great veſſell to be filled with the bloud of Cyrus and other Perſians, did caſt his head thereinto, ſaieng; Bloud thou haſt thirſted and now drinke thereof thy fill: againe, though it was a cruell déed of Fuluia the wife of Marcus Antonius (at whoſe commandement Popilius cut off the head and hands of that golden mouthed orator Tullie, which afterwards were nailed vp ouer the place of common plées at Rome) to hold in hir hands the toong of that father of eloquence cut out of his head after the ſame was parted from his ſhoulders, and to pricke it all ouer with pins and néedels: yet neither the crueltie of Tomyris nor yet of Fuluia is comparable to this of the Welſhwomen; which is worthie to be recorded to the ſhame of a ſex pretending the title of weake veſſels, and yet raging with ſuch force of fierceneſſe and barbariſme. For the dead bodies of the Engliſhmen, being aboue a thouſand lieng vpon the ground imbrued in their owne bloud, was a ſight (a man would thinke) gréeuous to looke vpon, and ſo farre from exciting and ſtirring vp affections of crueltie; that it ſhould rather haue mooued the beholders to commiſeration and mercie: yet did the women of Wales cut off their priuities, and put one part thereof into the mouthes of euerie dead man, in ſuch ſort that the cullions hoong downe to their chins; and not ſo contented, they did cut off their noſes and thruſt them into their tailes as they laie on the ground mangled and defaced. This was a verie ignominious déed, and a worſſe not committed among the barbarous: which though it make the reader to read it, and the hearer to heare it, aſhamed: yet bicauſe it was a thing doone in open ſight, and left teſtified in hiſtorie; I ſée little reaſon whie it ſhould not be imparted in our mother toong to the knowledge of our owne countrimen, as well as vnto ſtrangers in a language vnknowne. And thus much by waie of notifieng the inhumanitie and deteſtable demeanour of thoſe Welſhwomen, after the conflict betwéene the Engliſh and the Welſh, whereof deſultorie mention is made before pag. 520, where Edmund Mortimer earle of March was taken priſoner.

The caſtell of Marke beſieged about the middeſt of Maie as Iac. Meir. ſaith.

Sir Philip Hall.

Valeran earle of S. Paule, by the aſſent of the French king, aſſembled fiue hundred men of armes, fiue hundred Genowaies with croſſebowes, and a thouſand Flemings on foot, with the which he laid ſiege to the caſtell of Marke, thrée leagues from Calis, vpon the fiftéenth daie of Iulie. Capteine of the caſtell as then for the king of England was one ſir Philip Hall, hauing with him foure ſcore archers, and foure and twentie other ſoldiers, which defended the place ſo manfullie, that the earle retired into the towne, and there lodged, fortifieng it for feare of reſcue that might come from Calis. The next daie he gaue an other aſſault to the caſtell, and tooke the vtter court, wherin was found a great number of horſſes, kine, and other cattell. The next daie there iſſued foorth of Calis two hundred men of armes, two hundred archers, and thrée hundred footmen, with ten or twelue wagons laden with vittels and artillerie, conducted by ſir Richard Aſton knight, lieutenant of the Engliſh pale for the earle of Summerſet, capteine generall of thoſe marches.

The earle of S. Paule put to flight. Ia. Meir.

The Frenchmen aduertiſed that the Engliſhmen were comming to remooue the ſiege, iſſued not foorth of their lodgings but kept them within their cloſure. Neuertheleſſe, the Engliſhmen ſhot ſo ſharpelie and cloſelie togither, that the Flemings and footmen began to flie: the men of armes fearing the ſlaughter of their horſſes, ran awaie with a light gallop. The Genowaies which had ſpent the moſt part of their ſhot at the aſſaults made to the caſtell, ſhewed ſmall reſiſtance, and ſo all the number of the French part were ſlaine and put to flight. The earle of S. Paule and diuerſe other eſcaped awaie, and by S. Omers got to Therouenne, or (as others ſaie) to ſaint Omers. But there were taken to the number of thrée or foure ſcore, and amongſt other the lord de Dampier ſeneſhall of Ponthien, monſieur de Weriners, monſieur de Vineles, monſieur de Noielles, monſieur Iohn de Hangeſts capteine of Bullongne, the lord de Rambures, monſieur Lionell Darreis capteine of Graueling, monſieur Peter Raſſer capteine of Arde, alſo Combernard capteine of Tirouan, Boid Chanon capteine of Montoire, Iohn Chanon capteine of Liſle, Stenebecke capteine of Ralingham, the baſtard of Burneuill capteine of Burburgh. There were ſlaine about 60, and among them as chéefe ſir Robert Berenguevill, the lord of Quercus, Morell de Sancuſes, the lord Courbet de Rempeupret, and others.

Arde aſſaulted by Engliſhmen.

The Engliſhmen had the ſpoile of the earls campe, and being returned to Calis, within fiue daies after there iſſued foorth about fiue hundred men, meaning to haue woone the towne of Arde with a ſudden aſſault, which they gaue to it in the night time. But ſir Manfrid de Bois, and the lord Rigine, did ſo valiantlie defend it, that the Engliſhmen with loſſe of fortie of their men were conſtreined to returne vnto Calis, after they had burnt the dead bodies in an old houſe, for that the enimies ſhould not perceiue what loſſe the Engliſhmen had ſuſteined. After this, the French king, to auoid perils, laid in gariſon at Bullongne, and in other places, the marques of Pount, ſonne to the duke of Bar, the earle of Dampnie, and ſir Iohn Harpadan a knight of great renowme and eſtimation. The duke of Burgognie likewiſe ſent a a number of ſoldiers vnto Graueling, vnder the leading of one Iohn Vandenwall, and to other fortreſſes alongſt the coaſt he ſent new ſupplies, for doubt of the Engliſhmens inuaſions.

The marques du Pount.

An armie ſent to Calis and to the ſea.

Chr. Fland. Ia. Meir.

The Engliſhmen beſieged the caſtell of Sluis.

The king of England in déed hearing of the preparation made for warre by the Frenchmen, leuied foure thouſand men which he ſent vnto Calis, and to the ſea, of the which 3000 were vnder the conduct of the kings ſonne. The lord Thomas of Lancaſter, and the earle of Kent, the two and twentith daie of Maie (as ſome write) came vpon the coaſt of Flanders, and entring the hauen of Sluis, burnt foure great ſhips which they found there lieng at anchor. On the fift daie after their comming into that hauen they went on land, thinking to haue fought with the duke of Burgognie. But as other write, after they had beſieged the caſtell that ſtood in the mouth of the hauen, and looſing thrée ſcore of their men, amongſt which they name one to beare the title of earle of Penbroke (whom they buried for the time in the church of Mude) fiue daies after their comming thither they determined to depart from thence, perceiuing the caſtell would not eaſilie be wonne, but firſt they ſpoiled the countrie about them, and burnt Heis fléet, otherwiſe called Condekirke, and diuerſe other places thereabout.

This doone, they tooke vp the bodie of him whom the Flemiſh writers call the earle of Penbroke, and got them againe to the ſea, for that they were aduertiſed how the duke of Burgognie meant to beſiege Calis. Wherevpon raiſing their ſiege thus from Sluis caſtell, they returned vnto the defenſe of the towne of Calis, ſo much deſired of the French nation. As they returned homewards, they met with thrée caricks of Genoa, of the which one hauing the wind with hir, meant to haue ouerthrowne the ſhip wherein the lord Thomas of Lancaſter was aboord: but by the good foreſight of the maſter of the ſhip that ruled the ſterne, ſuddenlie turning the ſame, the violent ſwaie of that huge veſſell comming ſo vpon them, was auoided; but yet the caricke ſtroke off the noſe of the Engliſh ſhip, and bruſed hir on the ſide. Then began the fight verie cruell, till the earle of Kent came to the reſcue: and ſo finallie after a great conflict and bloudie battell betwixt the caricks and Engliſh ſhips, the victorie remained with the Engliſhmen, who taking the caricks, turned their ſailes towards Normandie, where they arriued and burnt the townes of Hoggue, Mountburge, Berſlie, ſaint Petronils and other, to the number of thirtie ſix, paſſing forth into the countrie without reſiſtance, the ſpace of thirtie miles, ſpoiling all that came in their waie. This doone, they returned, and brought the caricks into the chamber at Rie, where one of them by misfortune of fire periſhed, to the loſſe & no gaine of either of the parties.

A great fight by ſea. Thrée caricks are taken. Townes in Normandie burnt.

John duke of Burgognie hauing obteined licence to beſiege Calis, prepared an armie of ſix thouſand men of armes, fiftéene hundred croſbowes, & twelue thouſand footmen, the which being aſſembled, and all neceſſarie prouiſion readie at ſaint Omers, he was by the French king countermanded, and not ſuffered to procéed anie further in that weightie enterpriſe. And this was thought to be partlie the cauſe of the malice that he conceiued againſt the duke of Orleance, ſuppoſing that through him (enuieng his glorie) he was thus diſappointed of his purpoſe. Whileſt ſuch doings were in hand betwixt the Engliſh and French, as the beſieging of Marke caſtell by the earle of ſaint Paule, and the ſending forth of the Engliſh fléet, vnder the gouernance of the lord Thomas of Lancaſter, and the earle of Kent, the king was minded to haue gone into Wales againſt the Welſh rebels, that vnder their chéefteine Owen Glendouer, ceaſſed not to doo much miſchéefe ſtill againſt the Engliſh ſubiects.

The duke of Burgognie prepareth to beſiege Calis.

The chéefe root of the malice betwixt the dukes of Burgognie & Orleance.

But at the ſame time, to his further diſquieting, there was a conſpiracie put in practiſe againſt him at home by the earle of Northumberland, who had conſpired with Richard Scroope archbiſhop of Yorke Thomas Mowbraie earle marſhall ſonne to Thomas duke of Norfolke, who for the quarrell betwixt him and king Henrie had béene baniſhed (as ye haue heard) the lords Haſtings, Fauconbridge, Berdolfe, and diuerſe others. It was appointed that they ſhould méet altogither with their whole power, vpon Yorkeſwold, at a daie aſſigned, and that the earle of Northumberland ſhould be chéefteine, promiſing to bring with him a great number of Scots. The archbiſhop accompanied with the earle marſhall, deuiſed certeine articles of ſuch matters, as it was ſuppoſed that not onelie the commonaltie of the Realme, but alſo the nobilitie found themſelues gréeued with: which articles they ſhewed firſt vnto ſuch of their adherents as were néere about them, & after ſent them abroad to their fréends further off, aſſuring them that for redreſſe of ſuch oppreſſions, they would ſhed the laſt drop of bloud in their bodies, if néed were.

A new conſpiracie againſt king Henrie by the earle of Northumberland & others.

The archbiſhop not meaning to ſtaie after he ſaw himſelfe accompanied with a great number of men, that came flocking to Yorke to take his part in this quarrell, forthwith diſcouered his enterpriſe, cauſing the articles aforſaid to be ſet vp in the publike ſtréets of the citie of Yorke, and vpon the gates of the monaſteries, that ech man might vnderſtand the cauſe that mooued him to riſe in armes againſt the king, the reforming whereof did not yet apperteine vnto him. Herevpon knights, eſquiers, gentlemen, yeomen, and other of the commons, as well of the citie, townes and countries about, being allured either for deſire of change, or elſe for deſire to ſée a reformation in ſuch things as were mentioned in the articles, aſſembled togither in great numbers; and the archbiſhop comming forth amongſt them clad in armor, incouraged, exhorted, and (by all meanes he could) pricked them forth to take the enterpriſe in hand, and manfullie to continue in their begun purpoſe, promiſing forgiueneſſe of ſinnes to all them, whoſe hap it was to die in the quarrell: and thus not onelie all the citizens of Yorke, but all other in the countries about, that were able to beare weapon, came to the archbiſhop, and the earle marſhall. In déed the reſpect that men had to the archbiſhop, cauſed them to like the better of the cauſe, ſince the grauitie of his age, his integritie of life, and incomparable learning, with the reuerend aſpect of his amiable perſonage, mooued all men to haue him in no ſmall eſtimation.

The archbiſhop of Yorke one of the chéefe conſpirators.

The archbiſhop in armor.

The eſtimation which men had of the archbiſhop of Yorke.

The king aduertiſed of theſe matters, meaning to preuent them, left his iournie into Wales, and marched with all ſpéed towards the north parts. Alſo Rafe Neuill earle of Weſtmerland, that was not farre off, togither with the lord John of Lancaſter the kings ſonne, being informed of this rebellious attempt, aſſembled togither ſuch power as they might make, and togither with thoſe which were appointed to attend on the ſaid lord John to defend the borders againſt the Scots, as the lord Henrie Fitzhugh, the lord Rafe Euers, the lord Robert Umfreuill, & others, made forward againſt the rebels, and comming into a plaine within the forreſt of Galtree, cauſed their ſtandards to be pitched downe in like ſort as the archbiſhop had pitched his, ouer againſt them, being farre ſtronger in number of people than the other, for (as ſome write) there were of the rebels at the leaſt twentie thouſand men.

The earle of Weſtmerland and the lord John of Lancaſter the kings ſonne prepare themſelues to reſiſt the kings enimies.

The forreſt of Galtrée.

When the earle of Weſtmerland perceiued the force of the aduerſaries, and that they laie ſtill and attempted not to come forward vpon him, he ſubtilie deuiſed how to quaile their purpoſe, and forthwith diſpatched meſſengers vnto the archbiſhop to vnderſtand the cauſe as it were of that great aſſemblie, and for what cauſe (contrarie to the kings peace) they came ſo in armour. The archbiſhop anſwered, that he tooke nothing in hand againſt the kings peace, but that whatſoeuer he did, tended rather to aduance the peace and quiet of the common-wealth, than otherwiſe; and where he and his companie were in armes, it was for feare of the king, to whom he could haue no frée acceſſe, by reaſon of ſuch a multitude of flatterers as were about him; and therefore he mainteined that his purpoſe to be good & profitable, as well for the king himſelfe, as for the realme, if men were willing to vnderſtand a truth: & herewith he ſhewed forth a ſcroll, in which the articles were written whereof before ye haue heard.

The ſubtill policie of the earle of Weſtmerland.

The archbiſhops proteſtation why he had on him armes.

The meſſengers returning to the earle of Weſtmerland, ſhewed him what they had heard & brought from the archbiſhop. When he had read the articles, he ſhewed in word and countenance outwardly that he liked of the archbiſhops holie and vertuous intent and purpoſe, promiſing that he and his would proſecute the ſame in aſſiſting the archbiſhop, who reioiſing hereat, gaue credit to the earle, and perſuaded the earle marſhall (againſt his will as it were) to go with him to a place appointed for them to commune togither. Here when they were met with like number on either part, the articles were read ouer, and without anie more adoo, the earle of Weſtmerland and thoſe that were with him agreed to doo their beſt, to ſee that a reformation might be had, according to the ſame.

The earle of weſtmerlãds politike dealing.

The earle of Weſtmerland vſing more policie than the reſt: Well (ſaid he) then our trauell is come to the wiſhed end: and where our people haue beene long in armour, let them depart home to their woonted trades and occupations: in the meane time let vs drinke togither in ſigne of agreement, that the people on both ſides maie ſee it, and know that it is true, that we be light at a point. They had no ſooner ſhaken hands togither, but that a knight was ſent ſtreight waies from the archbiſhop, to bring word to the people that there was peace concluded, commanding ech man to laie aſide his armes, and to reſort home to their houſes. The people beholding ſuch tokens of peace, as ſhaking of hands, and drinking togither of the lords in louing manner, they being alreadie wearied with the vnaccuſtomed trauell of warre, brake vp their field and returned homewards: but in the meane time, whileſt the people of the archbiſhops ſide withdrew awaie, the number of the contrarie part increaſed, according to order giuen by the earle of Weſtmerland; and yet the archbiſhop perceiued not that he was deceiued, vntill the earle of Weſtmerland arreſted both him and the earle marſhall, with diuerſe other. Thus ſaith Walſingham.

The archbiſhop of yorke and the earle marſhall arreſted.
Eiton,

But others write ſomwhat otherwiſe of this matter, affirming that the earle of Weſtmerland in deed, and the lord Rafe Euers, procured the archbiſhop & the earle marſhall, to come to a communication with them, vpon a ground iuſt in the midwaie betwixt both the armies, where the earle of Weſtmerland in talke declared to them how perilous an enterpriſe they had taken in hand, ſo to raiſe the people, and to moue warre againſt the king, aduiſing them therefore to ſubmit themſelues without further delaie vnto the kings mercie, and his ſonne the lord Iohn, who was preſent there in the field with banners ſpred, redie to trie the matter by dint of ſword, if they refuſed this counſell: and therefore he willed them to remember themſelues well; & if they would not yeeld and craue the kings pardon, he bad them doo their beſt to defend themſelues.

Hereupon as well the archbiſhop as the earle marſhall ſubmitted themſelues vnto the king, and to his ſonne the lord Iohn that was there preſent, and returned not to their armie. Whereupon their troops ſcaled and fled their waies: but being purſued, manie were taken, manie ſlaine, and manie ſpoiled of that that they had about them, & ſo permitted to go their waies. Howſoeuer the matter was handled, true it is that the archbiſhop, and the earle marſhall were brought to Pomfret to the king, who in this meane while was aduanced thither with his power, and from thence he went to Yorke, whither the priſoners were alſo brought, and there beheaded the morrow after Whitſundaie in a place without the citie, that is to vnderſtand, the archbiſhop himſelfe, the earle marſhall, ſir Iohn Lampleie, and ſir Robert Plumpton. ¶ Unto all which perſons though indemnitie were promiſed, yet was the ſame to none of them at anie hand performed. By the iſſue hereof, I meane the death of the foreſaid, but ſpeciallie of the archbiſhop, the propheſie of a ſickelie canon of Bridlington in Yorkeſhire fell out to be true, who darklie inough foretold this matter, & the infortunate euent thereof in theſe words hereafter following, ſaieng:

The archbiſhop of yorke, the earle marſhall, & others put to death.
Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walſin. Hypod. pag. 168.

Pacem tractabunt, ſed fraudem ſubter arabunt,
Pro nulla marca, ſaluabitur ille* hierarcha.

* Archiepiſcop

The archbiſhop reputed a martyr.

The archbiſhop ſuffered death verie conſtantlie, inſomuch as the common people tooke it, he died a martyr, affirming that certeine miracles were wrought as well in the field where he was executed, as alſo in the place where he was buried: and immediatlie vpon ſuch bruits, both men and women began to worſhip his dead carcaſſe, whom they loued ſo much when he was aliue, till they were forbidden by the kings freends, and for feare gaue ouer to viſit the place of his ſepulture. The earle marſhals bodie by the kings leaue was buried in the cathedrall church, manie lamenting his deſtinie; but his head was ſet on a pole aloft on the wals for a certeine ſpace, till by the kings permiſſion [after the ſame had ſuffered manie a hot ſunnie daie, and manie a wet ſhower of raine] it was taken downe and buried togither with the bodie.

The lords executed.

The earle of Northumberland.

After the king, accordinglie as ſeemed to him good, had ranſomed and puniſhed by greeuous fines the citizens of Yorke (which had borne armour on their archbiſhops ſide againſt him) he departed frõ Yorke with an armie of thirtie and ſeuen thouſand fighting men, furniſhed with all prouiſion neceſſarie, marching northwards againſt the earle of Northumberland. At his comming to Durham, the lord Haſtings, the lord Fauconbridge, ſir Iohn Colleuill of the Dale, and ſir Iohn Griffith, being conuicted of the conſpiracie, were there beheaded. The earle of Northumberland, hearing that his counſell was bewraied, and his confederats brought to confuſion, through too much haſt of the archbiſhop of Yorke, with three hundred horſſe got him to Berwike. The king comming forward quickelie, wan the caſtell of Warkewoorth. Whereupon the earle of Northumberland, not thinking himſelfe in ſuertie at Berwike, fled with the lord Berdolfe into Scotland, where they were receiued of Dauid lord Fleming.

Berwike caſtell yeelded to the king.

The ſonne of the lord Greiſtoke and others put to death.
Eiton.

The king comming to Berwike, commanded them that kept the caſtell againſt him to render it into his hands, and when they flatlie denied ſo to doo, he cauſed a peece of artillerie to be planted againſt one of the towers, and at the firſt ſhot ouerthrowing part thereof, they within were put in ſuch feare, that they ſimplie yeelded themſelues without any maner of condition, wholie to remaine at the kings pleaſure. Hereupon the chiefeſt of them, to wit, ſir William Greiſtoke, ſonne to Rafe baron of Greiſtoke, ſir Henrie Beinton, and Iohn Blenkinſop, with foure or fiue other were put to death, and diuerſe other were kept in priſon. Some write that the earle of Northumberland at his entring into Scotland, deliuered the towne of Berwike vnto the Scots, who hearing of king Henries approch, and deſpairing to defend the towne againſt him, ſet fire on it and departed. There was not one houſe that was left vnburnt, except the friers and the church.

The caſtell of Alnewike yeelded to the king.

The K. paſſeth into wales.

He loſeth his cariages.
He returneth.

After that the king had diſpoſed things in ſuch conuenient order as ſtood with his pleaſure at Berwike, he came backe, and had the caſtell of Alnewike deliuered vnto him, with all other the caſtels that belonged to the erle of Northumberland in the north parts, as Prodhow, Langlie, Cockermouth, Alnham, and Newſteed. Thus hauing quieted the north parts, he tooke his iournie directlie into Wales, where he found fortune nothing fauourable vnto him, for all his attempts had euill ſucceſſe, in ſomuch that loſing fiftie of his cariages through abundance of raine and waters, he returned; and comming to Worceſter, he ſent for the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and other biſhops, declaring to them the miſfortune that had chanced to him, in conſideration whereof he requeſted them to helpe him with ſome portion of monie, towards the maintenance of his warres, for the taming of the preſumptuous and vnquiet Welſhmen.

Hall. The marſhall Mõtmerãcie ſent to aid Owen Glendouer.

In the meane time, the French king had appointed one of the marſhals of France called Montmerancie, and the maſter of his croſbowes, with twelue thouſand men to ſaile into Wales to aid Owen Glendouer. They tooke ſhipping at Breſt, and hauing the wind proſperous, landed at Milford hauen, with an hundred and fourtie ſhips, as Thomas Walſingham ſaith; though Enguerant de Monſtrellet maketh mention but of an hundred and twentie. The moſt part of their horſſes were loſt by the waie for lacke of freſh water. The lord Berkleie, and Henrie Paie, eſpieng their aduantage, burnt fifteene of thoſe French ſhips, as they laie at road there in the hauen of Milford: and ſhortlie after the ſame lord Berkleie, and ſir Thomas Swinborne, with the ſaid Henrie Paie, tooke other fourteene ſhips, as they came that waie with prouiſion of vittels and munition foorth of France to the aid of the other.

Carmarden wone by the French.

In the meane while the marſhall Montmerancie, with his armie, beſieged the towne of Carmarden, and wan it by compoſition, granting to the men of warre that kept it againſt him, licence to depart whither they would, & to take with them all their moueable goods: the caſtell of Penbroke they aſſaulted not, eſteeming it to be ſo well manned, that they ſhuld but loſe their labour in attempting it. Notwithſtanding they beſieged the towne of Hereford weſt, which neuertheleſſe was ſo well defended by the earle of Arundell and his power, that they loſt more than they wan, and ſo they departed towards the towne of Denbigh, where they found Owen Glendouer abiding for their comming, with ten thouſand of his Welſhmen. Here were the Frenchmen ioifullie receiued of the Welſh rebels, and ſo when all things were prepared, they paſſed by Glamorganſhire towards Worceſter, and there burnt the ſuburbes: but hearing of the kings approch, they ſuddenlie returned towards Wales.

Hereford weſt manfullie defended.

Enguerant de Monſtrellet ſaith they burnt the townes but could not win the caſtell.

The ſuburbs of worceſter burnt.

The king with a great puiſſance followed, and found them imbattelled on a high mounteine, where there was a great vallie betwixt both the armies, ſo that either armie might plainelie perceiue the other, and either hoſt looked to be aſſailed of his aduerſarie, & therefore ſought to take the aduantage of ground. Thus they continued for the ſpace of eight daies from morning till night, readie to abide, but not to giue battell. There were manie ſkirmiſhes, and diuerſe proper feats of armes wrought in that meane while, in the which the French loſt manie of their nobles and gentlemen, as the lord Patrouſlars de Tries, brother to the marſhall of France, the lord Matelonne or Martelonne, the lord de la Valle, and the baſtard of Bourbon, with other, to the number (as ſome haue written) of fiue hundred. But Enguerant de Monſtrellet affirmeth, that vpon their returne into France, there wanted not aboue three ſcore perſons of all their companies.

French lords ſlaine.

After they had laine thus one againſt an other the ſpace of eight daies (as before is ſaid) vittels began to faile, ſo that they were inforced to diſlodge. The French and Welſhmen withdrew into Wales, and though the Engliſhmen followed, yet impeached with the deſart grounds and barren countrie, thorough which they muſt paſſe, as our felles and craggie mounteins, from hill to dale, from mariſh to wood, from naught to worſſe (as Hall ſaith) without vittels or ſuccour, the king was of force conſtrained to retire with his armie, and returne againe to Worceſter, in which returne the enimies tooke certeine cariages of his laden with vittels. The Frenchmen after the armies were thus withdrawne, returned into Britaine, making ſmall brags of their painefull iournie.

The Frenchmen returne home.

Anno Reg. 7.

This yeare at London, the earle of Arundell maried the baſtard daughter of the king of Portingale, the king of England and the queene with their preſence honoring the ſolemnitie of that feaſt, which was kept with all ſumptuous roialtie, the morrow after ſaint Katharins daie. ¶ And on the daie of the Conception of our ladie, the ladie Philip king Henries daughter was proclamed queene of Denmarke, Norwaie, and Sweden, in preſence of ſuch ambaſſadors, as the laſt ſummer came hither from the king of thoſe countries, to demand hir in marriage for him, and had ſo trauelled in the matter, that finallie they obteined it. ¶ On the daie of the tranſlation of ſaint Martine, the towne of Roiſton was on fire. This yeare the firſt of March a parlement began, which continued almoſt all this yeare: for after that in the lower houſe they had denied a long time to grant to any ſubſidie: yet at length, a little before Chriſtmaſſe, in the eight yeare of his reigne they granted a fifteenth to the loſſe and great damage of the communaltie, for through lingering of time, the expenſes of knights and burgeſſes grew almoſt in value to the ſumme that was demanded.

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walſin.

Roiſton burned.

1406

A parlement.

A fifteenth grãted by the temporaltie.

Moreouer, by the clergie a new kind of ſubſidie was granted, to the king, to be leuied of ſtipendarie prieſts and friers mendicants, and other ſuch religious men as ſong for the dead, celebrating (as they termed it) anniuerſaries: euerie of them gaue halfe a marke, in reliefe of other of the cleargie that had ſtill borne the burthen for them before. Wherevpon now they murmured and grudged ſore, for that they were thus charged at that preſent. The ſame time the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Bardolfe, warned by the lord Dauid Fleming, that there was a conſpiracie practiſed to deliuer them into the king of Englands hands, fled into Wales to Owen Glendouer. This coſt the lord Fleming his life: for after it was knowne that he had diſcloſed to the earle of Northumberland what was meant againſt him, and that the earle therevpon was ſhifted awaie, certeine of the Scots ſlue the ſaid lord Fleming.

A new kind of ſubſidie granted by the cleargie.

The lord Fleming loſt his life for giuing knowledge to the earle of Northumberland of that which was meant againſt him.

Wherevpon no ſmall grudge roſe betwixt thoſe that ſo ſlue him, and the ſaid lord Flemings friends. For this and other matters, ſuch diſſention ſprong vp amongſt the Scotiſh nobilitie, that one durſt not truſt another, ſo that they were glad to ſue for a truce betwixt England and them, which was granted to indure for one yeare, as in ſome books we find recorded. This truce being obteined, Robert king of Scotland (vpon conſiderations, as in the Scotiſh hiſtorie ye may read more at large) ſent his eldeſt ſon Iames intituled prince of Scotland (a child not paſt nine yeares of age) to be conueied into France, vnder the conduct of the earle of Orkenie, and a biſhop, in hope that he might there both remaine in ſafetie, and alſo learne the French toong.

Diſſention amõg the Scotiſh nobilitie.

Eleuen yeares ſaith Harding.

The prince of Scotland ſtaid here in England.

But it fortuned, that as they ſailed neare to the Engliſh coaſt about Flambrough head in Holderneſſe, their ſhip was taken and ſtaied by certeine mariners of Claie (a towne in Norffolke) that were abroad the ſame time; and ſo he and all his companie being apprehended the thirtith of March, was conueied to Windſore, where though he had letters from his father, which he preſented to the king, conteining a requeſt in his ſonnes behalfe for fauour to be ſhewed towards him, if by chance he landed within any of his dominions: yet was he deteined, and as well he himſelfe as the earle of Orkenie was committed to ſafe kéeping in the Tower of London, but the biſhop got away and eſcaped (as ſome write) by what means I know not. By the Scotiſh writers we find that this chanced in the yeare 1404, that is, two yeares before the time noted in diuerſe Engliſh writers, as Thomas Walſingham and other. But Harding ſaith it was in the ninth yeare of king Henries reigne, to wit, in the yeare 1408.

But whenſoeuer it chanced, it is to be thought, that there was no truce at that preſent betwéene the two realmes, but that the warre was rather open, ſith diuerſe Engliſh rebels ſtill remained in Scotland, and were there ſuccored to the high diſpleaſure of king Henrke. ¶ By authoritie of the parlement that all this time continued, the Britons that ſerued the quéene, with two of hir daughters were baniſhed the realme. Robert Halome chancellor of Oxford, as then being in the popes court at Rome, was created archbiſhop of Yorke. ¶ Moreouer the ſame time, the pope gaue vnto Thomas Langlie the biſhoprike of Durham, which by the death of Walter Skirlow was then void. In the ſummer of this yeare, the ladie Philip the kings yonger daughter was ſent ouer to hir affianced huſband, Erike king of Denmarke, Norwaie, and Sweden, being conueied thither with great pompe, and there married to the ſaid king, where ſhe taſted (according to the common ſpéech vſed in praieng for the ſucceſſe of ſuch as match togither in mariage) both ioy and ſome ſorrow among. There attended hir thither Henrie Bowet biſhop of Bath, and the lord Richard brother to the duke of Yorke.

Hall.

Robert Halome archb. of Yorke.

The king and the quéene brought hir to Lin where ſhe tooke ſhipping.
Tho. Walſi.

There was a iuſts held at London, betwixt the earle of Kent, and the erle of Marre a Scotiſhman; alſo ſir John Cornewall, and the lord Beaumont, againſt other two Scotiſh knights, whereof the honor remained with the Engliſhmen. In the parlement which yet continued, the duke of Yorke was reſtored to his former libertie, eſtate and dignitie, where manie ſuppoſed that he had béene dead long before that time in priſon. Edmund Holland earle of Kent was in ſuch fauour with king Henrie, that he not onelie aduanced him to high offices and great honors, but alſo to his great coſts and charges obteined for him the ladie Lucie, eldeſt daughter, and one of the heirs of the lord Barnabo of Millane, which Barnabo paied to him 100000 ducates, in the church of S. Marie Oueries in Southwarke, by the hands of Don Alfonſo de Cainuola, vpon the day of the ſolemnization of the marriage, which was the foure and twentith of Ianuarie.

Anno Reg. 8.
The duke of Yorke reſtored to libertie.

The earle of Kent in fauor with ẏ king.

He marrieth a daughter of Barnabo lord of Millane.

¶ In this yeare Roger of Walden departed this life; who hauing béene toſſed vp and downe with ſundrie changes of fortune, tried in a ſhort time how inconſtant, vncerteine, variable, wandering, vnſtable, and flitting ſhe is; which when ſhe is thought firmelie to ſtand, ſhe ſlipperinglie falleth; and with a diſſembling looke counterfaiteth falſe ioies. For by the meanes of hir changeableneſſe, the ſaid Roger of a poore fellow, grew vp to be high lord treaſuror of the realme, and ſhortlie after archbiſhop of Canturburie; but by what right, the world knoweth; conſidering that the lord Thomas Arundell was then liuing. Anon after he was depoſed from his dignitie, and lead the life of an ordinarie priuat man a long time; within a while after againe he was promoted and made biſhop of London, which ſée he had not poſſeſſed a full yeare, but was depriued, and Nicholas Hobwith ſucceeded in his roome. So that hereby men are taught not to be proud of their preferment, nor to reckon of them as of perpetuities, ſithens they may be as ſoone diſpoſſeſſed as poſſeſſed of them; and for that all eſtates & degrées depend vpon Gods power and prouidence, whereof the poet diuinelie ſaith,

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walſi. Hypod. pag. 161.

Roger of Waldens variable fortune.

Ludit in humanis diuina potentia rebus,
Et certam præſens vix habet hora fidem.

Ouid. lib. de Pont. 4.

In this yeare the ſeuenth of Maie was Thomas Langlie conſecrated biſhop of Durham after the deceaſe of Walter Skirlow. In which place he continued one and thirtie yeares. He among other his beneficiall déeds beautified the church of Durham for euer with a chanterie of two chapleines. Beſides which for the increaſe of learning (wherwith himſelfe was greatlie furniſhed) he built two ſchooles, the one for grammar to inſtruct youth, whereby in following time they might be made more able to benefit themſelues and ſerue their countrie: and the other of muſicke, wherein children might be made apt to ſerue God and the church, both which ſchooles he erected in a parcell of ground cõmonlie called The plaie gréene. To which buildings (for he was one that delighted much therein, and like vnto the philoſopher Anaxagoras ſuppoſed that there was not any more earthlie felicitie, than to erect ſumptuous palaces, wherby after their death the memorie of the founders might haue continuance) he added manie ſumptuous parts of the palace of Durham. In the towne whereof he did alſo from the ground (of moſt ſtatelie ſtone) erect a new gaole with the gate-houſe to the ſame, in that place where of old it remained, and then by iniurie of time fallen downe and conſumed. This man inioied the ſée of Durham almoſt the whole time of thrée kings, that is; about ſix yeares and ſix moneths in the time of Henrie the fourth, nine yeares and fiue moneths in the time of Henrie the fift, and fiftéene yeares in the time of Henrie the ſixt; during the gouernment of all which princes, he was all his life time highlie eſtéemed and reuerenced for his ſingular wiſedome, and for the great authoritie he bare in publike, betwéene whome and the maior of Newcaſtell aroſe great contention, about a bridge called Tinebridge in the towne of Gateſhed or Goteſhed, in Latine called *Caput capræ*. But in the yeare of our redemption 1416, and of Henrie the fift, the fourth, and of his biſhoprike the eleuenth, this biſhop had the recouerie thereof, as appeareth by the letter of atturnie of the ſaid biſhop, made to diuerſe to take poſſeſſion of the ſame.

In addition of Francis Thin.

The letter of atturnie wherby the *biſhop authoriſed diuerſe to take* poſſeſſion of Tinebridge.

THomas Dei gratia epiſcopus Dunelmenſis omnibus ad quos præſentes litteræ peruenerint ſalutem. Sciatis quòd aſſignauimus & deputauimus dilectos & fideles noſtros Radulphum de Ewrie cheualier ſeneſcallum noſtrũ Dunelmiæ, Williamum Chanceler cancellarium, infra comitatum & libertatem Dunelmiæ, ac Williamum Claxton vicecomitem noſtrum Dunelmiæ coniunctim & diuiſim, ad plenam & pacificam ſeiſinam, de duabus partibus medietatis cuiuſdam pontis vocati Tinebridge, in villa noſtra de Gateſheued, infra comitatum & libertatem Dunelmiæ exiſtentis. Quæ quidem duæ partes medietatis prædictæ, continent & faciunt tertiam partem eiuſdem pontis vſque auſtrum, in prædicta villa de Gateſheued. Super quas duas partes nuper maior & communitas villæ Noui caſtri ſuper Tinam, quandam turrim de nouo ædificare cæperũt, & quas quidem duas partes cum francheſijs, iuriſdictionibus, & iuribus regalibus ſuper eaſdem duas partes medietatis prædictæ, nuper in curia domini regis verſus maiorem & communitatem dictæ villæ Noui caſtri recuperauimus nobis

&

& ſucceſſoribus noſtris epiſcopis Dunelmiæ, & in iure eccleſiæ noſtræ ſancti Cuthberti Dunelmiæ poſſidendas de vicecomite Weſtmerlandiæ, prætextu eiuſdẽ breuis dicti domini regis ſibi directi nomine noſtro recipiendas; & turrim prædictã ad opus noſtrum ſaluò & ſecurè cuſtodiẽdam. Ratum & gratum habiturus quicquid idẽ Radulphus, Williamus & Willielmus nomine noſtro fecerint in præmiſſis. In cuius rei teſtimonium has litteras noſtras fieri fecimus patentes. Datum Dunelmiæ per manus Williami Cancellarij noſtri 26 Octobris, anno pontificatus noſtri vndecimo.

According whereunto in the ſaid yeare, poſſeſſion was deliuered in the preſence of theſe perſons, whoſe names I thinke not vnmeet for their poſterities cauſe to be remembred, being perſons of good credit and of antiquitie, that is to ſaie, Iohn Lomelie, Raſe Ewraie, Robert Hilton, William Fulthrop, William Tempeſt, Thomas Suerties, Robert * Cogniers, William Claxton ſhiriffe of Durham, Robert de * Egle, Iohn Bertram, Iohn Widerington, and Iohn Middleton knights of Northumberland, Chriſtopher Morſlie, Will. Oſmunderlaw knights of Weſtmerland; and alſo in the preſence of theſe eſquiers, Robert Hilton, Robert Ewrie, William Bowes, Iohn Coniers, William Lampton the elder, Iohn de Morden, William Lampton the yoonger, Hugh Burunghell, Iohn Britlie, William Bellingham, Robert Belthis, Henrie Talboies; Thomas Garbois, Iohn de Hutton, William Hutton, Thomas Cooke of Fiſburne, and fiue others. This biſhop alſo procured certeine liberties from the pope in the church of Durham, by vertue of which grant they which were excommunicate (and might not inioy the priuilege of any ſacraments, in other places throughout the biſhoprike) ſhould yet baptiſe their children in a font of that church, in an eſpeciall place appointed therefore, and alſo receiue the other ſacraments there to be adminiſtred vnto them. He died the eight and twentith of Nouember in the yeare of our redemption 1437, and was buried in the church of Durham in the chanterie which he had before erected. Before whoſe death at his manour of Holdon he builded all the weſt gates there of goodlie ſtone and lime, with the chambers thereto belonging on which he placed his armes.]

* Coniers.

* Ogle.

1407

The duke of Orleance beſiegeth towns in Gaſcoigne.

The duke of Orleance hauing leuied a mightie armie, had beſieged the townes of Burge and Blaie in Gaſcoigne, meaning with force to win the ſame; but ſo it fortuned, that for the ſpace of eight weekes togither, there paſſed not one daie without tempeſt of raine, ſnow, and haile, mixed with winds and lightnings, which killed aſwell men as cattell, by reaſon whereof he loſt (as was reported) ſix thouſand men, ſo that he was conſtreined to breake vp his camps from before both thoſe townes, and to get him awaie with diſhonor, for all his brags and boaſts made at his firſt comming thither. The ſame time, Henrie Paie and certeine other perſons of the fiue ports, with fifteene ſhips, tooke an hundred and twentie priſes, which laie at anchor in and about the coaſt of Britaine, laden with iron, ſalt, oile, & Rochell wines.

Henrie Paie a valiant ſeaman.

K. Richard ſtill aliue as was feigned.

In this ſeaſon alſo billes were ſet vp in diuerſe places of London, and on the doore of Paules church, in which was conteined, that king Richard being aliue and in health, would come ſhortlie with great magnificence & power to recouer againe his kingdome; but the contriuer of this deuiſe was quicklie found out, apprehended, and puniſhed according to his demerits. ¶ The citie of London this yeare in the ſummer was ſo infected with peſtilent mortalitie, that the king durſt not repaire thither, nor come neere to it. Wherevpon he being at the caſtell of Leeds in Kent, and departing from thence, tooke ſhip at Quinburgh in the Ile, of Shepie, to ſaile ouer vnto Lee in Eſſex, and ſo to go to Plaſchie, there to paſſe the time till the mortalitie was ceaſſed.

The king in danger to be taken by French pirats.

Sir Thomas Rampſton taken.

The king eſcaped through ſwiftneſſe of his ſhip.

The lord Camois put in blame.

As he was vpon the ſea, certeine French pirats which laie lurking at the Thames mouth to watch for ſome preie, got knowledge by ſome meanes (as was ſuppoſed) of the kings paſſage, and therevpon as he was in the middeſt of his courſe, they entred among his fleet, and tooke foure veſſels next to the kings ſhip, and in one of the ſame veſſels ſir Thomas Rampſton the kings vicechamberlaine, with all his chamber ſtuffe and apparell. They followed the king ſo neere, that if his ſhip had not beene ſwift, he had landed ſooner in France than in Eſſex: but ſuch was his good hap, that he eſcaped and arriued at his appointed port. The lord Camois, that was commanded with certeine ſhips of warre to waft the king ouer (whether the wind turned ſo that he could not keepe his direct courſe, or that his ſhip was but a ſlug) ran ſo far in the kings diſpleaſure, that he was attached & indited, for that (as was ſurmized againſt him) he had practiſed with the Frenchmen, that the king might by them haue beene taken in his paſſage.

Yee haue heard that the pope by vertue of his prouiſion had giuen the archbiſhoprike of Yorke vnto maiſter Robert Halom; but the king was ſo offended therewith, that the ſaid Robert might in no wiſe inioy that benefice, and ſo at length, to ſatiſfie the kings pleaſure, maiſter Henrie Bowet was tranſlated from Bath vnto Yorke, and maiſter Robert Halom was made biſhop of Saliſburie then void by remoouing of Henrie Chichellie to S. Dauids. The lord Henrie prince of Wales this yeare in the ſummer ſeaſon beſieged the caſtell of Abiruſcwith, and conſtreined them within to compound with him vnder certeine conditions for truce; but the prince was no ſooner from thence departed, but that Owen Glendouer by ſubtill craft entered the caſtell, put out the keepers, and charging them with treaſon for concluding an agreement without his conſent, placed other in that fortreſſe to defend it to his vſe.

Henrie Bowet archbiſhop of Yorke.

Abiruſcwith.

Owen Glendouer.

Sir Robert Knols departeth this life.

Bermondſey.

S. Albons.

He was buried in ÿ white friers.

About the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our ladie, that ancient warriour and worthie knight ſir Robert Knols departed this life: he was (as before yee haue heard) borne of meane parentage, but growen into ſuch eſtimation for his valiant proweſſe, as he was thought meet to haue the leading of whole armies, and the rule and gouernment of large prouinces. For not long before his deceaſſe, he being gouernour of Aquitaine, incumbred with age, reſigned his office vnto ſir Thomas Belfort, a right valiant capteine, and therewith returned into England, where he died at a manour place of his in Norffolke, & from thence brought to London in a litter, with great pompe and much torch light, was buried in the church of White friers in Fleetſtreet by the ladie Conſtance his wife, where was doone for him a ſolemne obſequie, with a great feaſt, and liberall dole to the poore.

He built Rocheſter bridge commonlie called Knols bridge.

Thom. Walſ.

Beſides the diuerſe noble exploits, and famous warlike enterpriſes atchiued by this valiant ſonne of Mars, he (to continue the perpetuall memorie of his name) builded the bridge of Rocheſter, ouer the riuer of Medwaie with a chappell at the end thereof; he repared alſo the bodie of the church of the White friers where he was buried, which church was firſt founded by the anceſtour of the lord Greie of Codner. He alſo founded a college of ſecular prieſts at Pomfret, and did manie other things in his life right commendable. Sir Thomas Rampſton conſtable of the tower was drowned, in comming from the court as he would haue ſhut the bridge, the ſtreame being ſo big, that it ouerturned his barge. This yeare the

Anno Reg. 9.

Thom. Walſ.
A ſubſidie.

twentith of October began a parlement holden at Gloceſter, but remoued to London as ſhould appeare in Nouember; for (as we find) in that moneth this yéere 1407, and ninth of this kings reigne, a ſubſidie was granted by authoritie of a parlement then aſſembled at London, to be leuied through the whole realme.

The lord Camois arreigned & acquited

The lord Camois was arreigned the laſt of October, before Edmund earle of Kent that daie high ſteward of England, and by his péeres acquit of the offenſe, whereof he had béene indicted (as before yée haue heard) and ſo diſmiſſed at the barre, was reſtored againe both to his goods, lands, and offices. ¶This yeare the winter was excéeding ſharpe through froſt and ſnow that continued & couered the ground by all the moneths of December, Ianuarie, Februarie, and March, inſomuch that thruſhes, blackbirds, and manie thouſand birds of the like ſmaller ſize, periſhed with verie cold and hunger.

1408

The earle of Northumb. & the lord Bardolfe returne into Englād.

The earle of Northumberland, and the lord Bardolfe, after they had béene in Wales, in France and Flanders, to purchaſe aid againſt king Henrie, were returned backe into Scotland, and had remained there now for the ſpace of a whole yeare: and as their euill fortune would, whileſt the king held a councell of the nobilitie at London, the ſaid earle of Northumberland and lord Bardolfe, in a diſmall houre, with a great power of Scots returned into England, recouering diuerſe of the earls caſtels and ſeigniories, for the people in great numbers reſorted vnto them. Héerevpon incouraged with hope of good ſucceſſe, they entred into Yorkeſhire, & there began to deſtroie the countrie. At their cōming to Threſke, they publiſhed a proclamation, ſignifieng that they were come in comfort of the Engliſh nation, as to reléeue the common-wealth, willing all ſuch as loued the libertie of their countrie, to repaire vnto them, with their armor on their backes, and in defenſible wiſe to aſſiſt them.

The ſhiriffe of Yorkeſhire.

His hardie corage to fight.

The earle of Northumberland ſlaine.

Abr. Fl. out of Tho. Walſin. Hypod. pag. 172.

The king aduertiſed hereof, cauſed a great armie to be aſſembled, and came forward with the ſame towards his enimies: but yer the king came to Notingham, ſir Thomas, or (as other copies haue) Rafe Rokeſbie ſhiriffe of Yorkeſhire, aſſembled the forces of the countrie to reſiſt the earle and his power, comming to Grimbaut brigs, beſide Knareſbourgh, there to ſtop them the paſſage; but they returning aſide, got to Weatherbie, and ſo to Tadcaſter, and finallie came forward vnto Bramham more, néere to Haizelwood, where they choſe their ground méet to fight vpon. The ſhiriffe was as readie to giue battell as the earle to receiue it, and ſo with a ſtandard of S. George ſpred, ſet fiercelie vpon the earle, who vnder a ſtandard of his owne armes incountred his aduerſaries with great manhood. There was a ſore incounter and cruell conflict betwixt the parties, but in the end the victorie fell to the ſhiriffe. The lord Bardolfe was taken, but ſore wounded, ſo that he ſhortlie after died of the hurts. ¶ As for the earle of Northumberland, he was ſlaine outright: ſo that now the propheſie was fulfilled, which gaue an inkling of this his heauie hap long before; namelie,

Stirps Perſitina periet confuſa ruina.

For this earle was the ſtocke and maine root of all that were left aliue called by the name of Perſie; and of manie more by diuerſe ſlaughters diſpatched. For whoſe miſfortune the people were not a little ſorrie, making report of the gentlemans valiantneſſe, renowme, and honour, and applieng vnto him certeine lamentable verſes out of Lucane, ſaieng:

Sed nos nec ſanguis, nec tantum vulnera noſtri
Affecere ſenis; quantum geſtata per vrbem
Ora ducis, quæ tranſfixo deformia pilo
Vidimus.

The abbat of Hails hanged.

For his head, full of ſiluer horie heares, being put vpon a ſtake, was openlie carried through London, and ſet vpon the bridge of the ſame citie: in like maner was the lord Bardolfes. The biſhop of Bangor was taken and pardoned by the king, for that when he was apprehended, he had no armor on his backe. This battell was fought the ninteenth day of Februarie. ¶The king to purge the North parts of all rebellion, and to take order for the puniſhment of thoſe that were accuſed to haue ſuccoured and aſſiſted the earle of Northumberland, went to Yorke, where when manie were condemned, and diuerſe put to great fines, and the countrie brought to quietneſſe, he cauſed the abbat of Hailes to be hanged, who had béene in armour againſt him with the foreſaid earle.

The earle of Kent ſent to the ſea.

Briake in Britaine aſſaulted by the Engliſhmen.

The earle of Kent wounded to death.

In the beginning of March, the king ſent Edmund Holland earle of Kent with an armie of men imbarked in certeine ſhips of warre vnto the ſea, bicauſe he had knowledge that diuerſe rouers were waſting about the coaſts of this land, and did much hurt. When the earle had ſerched the coaſts, and could meet with no enimie abrode, he was aduertiſed by eſpials, that the pirats hearing of his comming to ſea, were withdrawne into Britaine: wherefore the ſaid earle intending to be reuenged on them, whome he ſought, directed his courſe thither, and finding that they had laid vp their ſhips in the hauens, ſo as he could not fight with them by ſea, he lanched out his boates, and with his fierce ſouldiers tooke land, and manfullie aſſaulted the towne of Briake ſtanding by the ſea ſide. They within ſtoutlie defended themſelues, dooing their beſt to repell the Engliſhmen, with throwing darts, caſting ſtones, and ſhooting quarels; in which conflict the earle receiued a wound in his head, ſo that he died thereof within fiue daies after.

Briake taken by force.

The counteſſe of Kent maketh hir owne choiſe of hir ſecond huſband.

The Engliſhmen not diſmaied with his death, but the more deſirous to obteine their purpoſe, continued their aſſaults, till by fine force they entered the towne, ſet it on fire, and ſlue all that made reſiſtance; and after for want of a generall to command what ſhould be doone, they being peſtered with preies and priſoners, returned into England. ¶ The counteſſe of Kent that was daughter (as yée haue heard) to Bernabo viſcont lord of Millaine, hauing no iſſue by hir huſband, was now moued by the king after hir huſbands death, to marrie with his baſtard brother the earle of Dorſet, a man verie aged and euill viſaged; wherevpon ſhe miſliking him, meant rather to ſatiſfie hir owne fanſie, and therefore choſe for hir huſband Henrie Mortimer, a goodlie yoong bacheller, by whom ſhe had iſſue a daughter named Anne, maried to ſir Iohn Awbemond.

A diſputation betwixt diuines of Oxford & Cambridge for their obedience to the pope.

Anno Reg. 10.

The cardinall of Burges cōmeth into England in diſfauor of pope Gregorie.

This yeare, the next daie after the feaſt daie of Marie Magdalen, in a councell holden at London by the cleargie, the doctors of the vniuerſities of Cambridge and Oxenford being there, with the reſt aſſembled, debated the matter, whether they ought to withdraw from the pope, paiments of monie, and their accuſtomed obedience, conſidering that contrarie to his word and promiſe ſo ſolemnlie made, and with an oth confirmed, he withdrew himſelfe from the place where he (according to couenants) ſhould haue béene preſent, to aduance an agréement and concord in the church. ¶Vpon the euen of the Natiuitie of our ladie, there chanced ſuch floods through abundance of raine, as the like had not béene ſéene afore by anie man then liuing. Alſo about the feaſt of All ſaints, the cardinall of Burges came into England, to informe the king and the cleargie of the inconſtant dealing of pope Gregorie, in like maner as he had informed the French king and the Frenchmen, to the end that he might perſuade both theſe kings,

Thom. Walſ.
A ſubſidie.

twentith of October began a parlement holden at Gloceſter, but remoued to London as ſhould appeare in Nouember; for (as we find) in that moneth this yéere 1407, and ninth of this kings reigne, a ſubſidie was granted by authoritie of a parlement then aſſembled at London, to be leuied through the whole realme.

The lord Camois arreigned & acquited.

The lord Camois was arreigned the laſt of October, before Edmund earle of Kent that daie high ſteward of England, and by his péeres acquit of the offenſe, whereof he had béene indicted (as before yée haue heard) and ſo diſmiſſed at the barre, was reſtored againe both to his goods, lands, and offices. ¶This yeare the winter was excéeding ſharpe through froſt and ſnow that continued & couered the ground by all the moneths of December, Ianuarie, Februarie, and March, inſomuch that thruſhes, blackbirds, and manie thouſand birds of the like ſmaller ſize, periſhed with verie cold and hunger.

1408

The earle of Northumb. & the lord Bardolfe returne into Englād.

The earle of Northumberland, and the lord Bardolfe, after they had béene in Wales, in France and Flanders, to purchaſe aid againſt king Henrie, were returned backe into Scotland, and had remained there now for the ſpace of a whole yeare: and as their euill fortune would, whileſt the king held a councell of the nobilitie at London, the ſaid earle of Northumberland and lord Bardolfe, in a diſmall houre, with a great power of Scots returned into England, recouering diuerſe of the earls caſtels and ſeigniories, for the people in great numbers reſorted vnto them. Héerevpon incouraged with hope of good ſucceſſe, they entred into Yorkeſhire, & there began to deſtroie the countrie. At their cõming to Threſke, they publiſhed a proclamation, ſignifieng that they were come in comfort of the Engliſh nation, as to reléeue the common-wealth, willing all ſuch as loued the libertie of their countrie, to repaire vnto them, with their armor on their backes, and in defenſible wiſe to aſſiſt them.

The ſhiriffe of Yorkeſhire.

The king aduertiſed hereof, cauſed a great armie to be aſſembled, and came forward with the ſame towards his enimies: but yer the king came to Notingham, ſir Thomas, or (as other copies haue) Rafe Rokeſbie ſhiriffe of Yorkeſhire, aſſembled the forces of the countrie to reſiſt the earle and his power, comming to Grimbaut brigs, beſide Knareſbourgh, there to ſtop them the paſſage; but they returning aſide, got to Weatherbie, and ſo to Tadcaſter, and finallie came forward vnto Bramham more, néere to Haizelwood, where they choſe their ground méet to fight vpon. The ſhiriffe was as readie to giue battell as the earle to receiue it, and ſo with a ſtandard of S. George ſpred, ſet fiercelie vpon the earle, who vnder a ſtandard of his owne armes incountred his aduerſaries with great manhood. There was a ſore incounter and cruell conflict betwixt the parties, but in the end the victorie fell to the ſhiriffe. The lord Bardolfe was taken, but ſore wounded, ſo that he ſhortlie after died of the hurts. ¶ As for the earle of Northumberland, he was ſlaine outright: ſo that now the propheſie was fulfilled, which gaue an inkling of this his heauie hap long before; namelie,

His hardie corage to fight.

The earle of Northumberland ſlaine.

Abr. Fl. out of Tho. Walſin. Hypod. pag. 172.

Stirps Perſitina periet confuſa ruina.

For this earle was the ſtocke and maine root of all that were left aliue called by the name of Perſie; and of manie more by diuerſe ſlaughters diſpatched. For whoſe miſfortune the people were not a little ſorie, making report of the gentlemans valiantneſſe, renowme, and honour, and applieng vnto him certeine lamentable verſes out of Lucane, ſaieng:

Sed nos nec ſanguis, nec tantum vulnera noſtri
Affecere ſenis; quantum geſtata per vrbem
Ora ducis, quæ tranſfixo deformia pilo
Vidimus.

For his head, full of ſiluer horie heares, being put vpon a ſtake, was openlie carried through London, and ſet vpon the bridge of the ſame citie: in like maner was the lord Bardolfes. The biſhop of Bangor was taken and pardoned by the king, for that when he was apprehended, he had no armor on his backe. This battell was fought the nintéenth day of Februarie. ¶The king to purge the North parts of all rebellion, and to take order for the puniſhment of thoſe that were accuſed to haue ſuccoured and aſſiſted the earle of Northumberland, went to Yorke, where when manie were condemned, and diuerſe put to great fines, and the countrie brought to quietneſſe, he cauſed the abbat of Hailes to be hanged, who had béene in armour againſt him with the foreſaid earle.

The abbat of Hails hanged.

The earle of Kent ſent to the ſea.

In the beginning of March, the king ſent Edmund Holland earle of Kent with an armie of men imbarked in certeine ſhips of warre vnto the ſea, bicauſe he had knowledge that diuerſe rouers were waſting about the coaſts of this land, and did much hurt. When the earle had ſerched the coaſts, and could méet with no enimie abrode, he was aduertiſed by eſpials, that the pirats hearing of his comming to ſea, were withdrawne into Britaine: wherefore the ſaid earle intending to be reuenged on them, whome he ſought, directed his courſe thither, and finding that they had laid vp their ſhips in the hauens, ſo as he could not fight with them by ſea, he lanched out his boates, and with his fierce ſouldiers tooke land, and manfullie aſſaulted the towne of Briake ſtanding by the ſea ſide. They within ſtoutlie defended themſelues, dooing their beſt to repell the Engliſhmen, with throwing darts, caſting ſtones, and ſhooting quarels; in which conflict the earle receiued a wound in his head, ſo that he died thereof within fiue daies after.

Briake in Britaine aſſaulted by the Engliſhmen.

The earle of Kent wounded to death.

Briake taken by force.

The Engliſhmen not diſmaied with his death, but the more deſirous to obteine their purpoſe, continued their aſſaults, till by fine force they entered the towne, ſet it on fire, and ſlue all that made reſiſtance; and after for want of a generall to command what ſhould be doone, they being peſtered with preies and priſoners, returned into England. ¶ The counteſſe of Kent that was daughter (as yée haue heard) to Bernabo viſcont lord of Millaine, hauing no iſſue by hir huſband, was now moued by the king after hir huſbands death, to marrie with his baſtard brother the earle of Dorſet, a man verie aged and euill viſaged; wherevpon ſhe miſliking him, meant rather to ſatiſfie hir owne fanſie, and therefore choſe for hir huſband Henrie Mortimer, a goodlie yong bacheller, by whom ſhe had iſſue a daughter named Anne, maried to ſir Iohn Awbemond.

The counteſſe of Kent maketh hir owne choiſe of hir ſecond huſband.

A diſputation betwixt diuines of Oxford & Cambridge for their obedience to the pope.

This yeare, the next daie after the feaſt daie of Marie Magdalen, in a councell holden at London by the cleargie, the doctors of the vniuerſities of Cambridge and Oxenford being there, with the reſt aſſembled, debated the matter, whether they ought to withdraw from the pope, paiments of monie, and their accuſtomed obedience, conſidering that contrarie to his word and promiſe ſo ſolemnlie made, and with an oth confirmed, he withdrew himſelfe from the place where he (according to couenants) ſhould haue béene preſent, to aduance an agréement and concord in the church. ¶Upon the euen of the Natiuitie of our ladie, there chanced ſuch floods through abundance of raine, as the like had not béene ſéene afore by anie man then liuing. Alſo about the feaſt of All ſaints, the cardinall of Burges came into England, to informe the king and the cleargie of the inconſtant dealing of pope Gregorie, in like maner as he had informed the French king and the Frenchmen, to the end that he might perſuade both theſe kings,

Anno Reg.

The cardinall of Burges cõmeth into England in diſfauor of pope Greg kings which were accounted the chéefe in chriſtendome, to put vnto their helping hands, that the ſame pope Gregorie might be induced to obſerue and performe that oth, which he had receiued, ſo as by the roiall authoritie of thoſe two kings, concord might be had in the church. The French king (as this cardinall alleged) following the aduiſe of the learned men of the vniuerſities of Paris, Bologna, Orleans, Tholouſe, and Montpellier, to auoid the danger of fauouring ſchiſme, determined to obeie neither the one nor the other that contended for the papaſie, vntill peace and concord might be reſtored in Chriſtes church. The king vnderſtanding the purpoſe of the cardinall, ſhewed him what courteſie might be deuiſed, offering to beare his charges, ſo long as it pleaſed him to remaine in England, and promiſing him to conſider aduiſedlie of the matter.

The reſolutiõ of the French king concerning the two popes.

1409

A cõuocation at S. Paules in London.

This yeare after the Epiphanie, the archbiſhop of Canturburie called the cleargie of the prouince of Canturburie to a conuocation in Paules church at London, to chooſe ſufficient perſons that might go vnto the generall councell, appointed to be kept at Piſa: herevpon were choſen Robert Halom biſhop of Saliſburie, Henrie Chichleie biſhop of ſaint Dauid, & Thomas Chillingden prior of Chriſtes church in Canturburie. The king before this had ſent ambaſſadors vnto pope Gregorie, and alſo to the cardinals; to wit, ſir John Coluill knight, and maiſter Nicholas Rixton clearke, with letters, ſignifieng the gréefe he had conceiued for the inconuenience that fell in the chriſtian common-wealth thorough the ſchiſme; and withall putting the pope in remembrance what miſchéefe and deſtruction of people had chanced by the ſame ſchiſme. Theſe and the like matters, to vtter what deſire he had to haue an vnitie in the church, he declared frankelie in his letters directed to the pope, ſo as it might appeare to the world, how ſoberlie and modeſtlie he ſought to induce the pope to procure peace & concord in the church. Certeine collections of which letters (as I find them in Thomas Walſingham) I haue here ſet downe in commendation of this king ſo excellentlie minded.

Ambaſſadors appointed to go to the counſell at Piſa.

[illegible] contents of the kings letters to the pope.

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walſ. Hypod. pag. 159.

An extract of the kings letter to *pope Gregorie.*

Moſt holie father, if the ſeat apoſtolicall would vouchſafe by prouidence to conſider, how great dangers haue inuaded the whole world vnder the pretext of ſchiſme, and ſpeciallie the ſlaughter of chriſtian people, which is of aboue two hundred thouſand (as it is auouched) by the outrage of warres and battell ſprong vp in ſundrie parts of the world; & now latelie to the number of thirtie thouſand (by meanes of the diſſention about the biſhoprike of Leods betwéene two, one contending vnder the authoritie of true pope, and the other vnder the title of antipape) ſlaine in a foughten field, whereof we make report with gréefe; trulie the ſaid ſeat would be penſiue in ſpirit, & with due ſorow troubled in mind; yea at the motion of a good conſcience, it would rather giue ouer the honour of that apoſtolicall ſeat, than ſuffer ſuch deteſtable déeds further to be committed, vnder the cloke of diſſimulation, taking example of the true and naturall mother, which pleading before king Salomon, choſe rather to part with hir owne child, than to ſée him cut in ſunder. And although by that new creation of nine cardinals, againſt your oth (that we maie vſe the words of others) made by you, whereof a vehement cauſe of woondering is riſen, it maie in ſome ſort be ſuppoſed (as it is likelie) that your intent reſpecteth not anie end of ſchiſme; yet farre be it alwaies from the world, that your circumſpect ſeat ſhould be charged by anie perſon with ſo great inconſtancie of mind, whereby the laſt errour might be counted woorſſe than the firſt, &c.

An extract of the ſaid kings letter to *the cardinals.*

We being deſirous to ſhew how great zeale we had, & haue, that peace might be granted & giuen to the church by the conſent of the ſtates of our realme, haue ſent ouer our letters to our lord the pope, according to the tenure of a copie incloſed within theſe preſents effectuallie to be executed. Wherefore we doo earneſtlie beſéech the reuerend college of you; that if happilie the ſaid Gregorie be preſent at the generall councell holden at Piſa, about the yéelding vp of the papaſie, according to the promiſe and oth by him manie a time made, to fulfill your and our deſires, as we wiſh and beare our ſelues in hand he will doo; that you will ſo order things concerning his eſtate, that thereby God maie chéeflie be pleaſed, and as well Gregorie himſelfe, as we, who deſeruedlie doo tender his honour and commoditie with all our harts, maie be beholden to giue you and euerie of you manifold thanks.

This yeare certeine learned men in Oxford and other places, publikelie in their ſermons mainteined and ſet forth the opinions and concluſions of Wickliffe. This troubled the biſhops and other of the cleargie ſore, inſomuch that in their conuocation houſe, the ſix and twentith of Iune, by a ſpeciall mandat of the lord chancellor in preſence of the procurators, regents, and others, as Richard Courtneie, Richard Talbot, Nicholas Zouch, Walter Midford, & ſuch like in great multitude: ſentence was pronounced by John Wels, doctor of the canon law againſt the books of John Wickliffe doctor of diuinitie, intituled *De ſermone in monte, Triologorum de ſimonia, De perfectione ſtatuum, De ordine chriſtiano, De gradibus cleri eccleſiæ:* and to theſe was added the third treatiſe, which he compiled of logike or ſophiſtrie. Theſe books and the concluſions in the ſame conteined, the chancellor of the vniuerſitie of Oxford by common conſent and aſſent of the regents and non regents of the ſame vniuerſitie, reproued, diſanulled and condemned, inhibiting on paine of the great curſſe and depriuation of all degrées ſcholaſticall, that none from thenceforth ſhould affirme, teach, or preach by anie maner of meanes or waies, the ſame hereticall books (as they tearmed them) conteining anie the like opinions as he taught and ſet forth in the ſame books.

Wickliffs doctrine mainteined by the learned.

Sentẽce pronounced againſt Wickliffs books.

This yeare about Midſummer, were roiall iuſts holden at London in Smithfield betwixt the ſeneſchall of Heinault, and certeine Henewers challengers, and the earle of Summerſet, and certeine Engliſhmen

Fabian.

Iuſts in Smithfield.

Owen Glendouer endeth his life in great miſerie.

Anno Reg. 11. Officers made.

1410

A parlement.

liſhmen defendants. The Welſh rebell Owen Glendouer made an end of his wretched life in this tenth yeare of king Henrie his reigne, being driuen now in his latter time (as we find recorded) to ſuch miſerie, that in manner deſpairing of all comfort, he fled into deſert places and ſolitarie caues, where being deſtitute of all reléefe and ſuccour, dreading to ſhew his face to anie creature, and finallie lacking meat to ſuſteine nature, for méere hunger and lacke of food, miſerablie pined awaie and died. This yeare Thomas Beaufort earle of Surrie was made chancellor, and Henrie Scroope lord treaſuror. A parlement began this yeare in the quindene of ſaint Hilarie, in which the commons of the lower houſe exhibited a bill to the king and lords of the vpper houſe, conteining effect as followeth.

A ſupplication to the king.

Tho. Walſi. Fabian.

TO the moſt excellent lord our K. and to all the nobles in this preſent parlement aſſembled, your faithfull commons doo humblie ſignifie, that our ſoueraigne lord the king might haue of the temporall poſſeſſions, lands & reuenues which are lewdlie ſpent, conſumed and waſted by the biſhops, abbats, and priors, within this realme, ſo much in value as would ſuffice to find and ſuſteine one hundred and fiftie earles, one thouſand & fiue hundred knights, ſix thouſand and two hundred eſquiers, and one hundred hoſpitals more than now be.

Thom. Walſ.

King Henrie a fauorer of the clergie.

The king (as ſome write) vpon aduiſed conſideration hereof had, miſliked of the motion, & therevpon commanded that from thenceforth they ſhould not preſume to ſtudie about anie ſuch matters. An other thing the commons ſued to haue granted vnto them, but could not obteine: which was, that clearks conuicted ſhould not from thence forth be deliuered to the biſhops priſon. Moreouer they demanded to haue the ſtatute either reuoked, or qualified, which had béene eſtabliſhed by authoritie of parlement, in the ſecond yeare of this kings reigne, againſt ſuch as were reputed to be heretiks, or Lollards. By force whereof it was prouided, that whereſoeuer ſuch maner of perſons ſhould be found and knowne to preach or teach their erronious doctrine, they ſhould be attached with the kings writ, and brought to the next goale: but the king ſéemed ſo highlie to fauour the cleargie, that the commons were anſwered plainelie, they ſhould not come by their purpoſe, but rather that the ſaid ſtatute ſhould be made more rigorous and ſharpe for the puniſhment of ſuch perſons.

John Badbie burnt. Tho. Walſi.

The prince being preſent at the execution offereth him pardon.

Notable conſtancie of Badbie.

During this parlement one John Badbie a tailor, or (as ſome write) a ſmith, being conuict of hereſie, was brought into Smithfield, and there in a tun or pipe burnt to death, in pitifull manner. The kings eldeſt ſonne the lord Henrie prince of Wales being preſent, offered him his pardon, firſt before the fire was kindled, if he would haue recanted his opinions; and after when the fire was kindled, hearing him make a roring noiſe verie pitifullie, the prince cauſed the fire to be plucked backe, and exhorting him being with pitifull paine almoſt dead, to remember himſelfe, and renounce his opinions, promiſing him not onelie life, but alſo thrée pence a daie ſo long as he liued to be paid out of the kings coffers: but he hauing recouered his ſpirits againe, refuſed the princes offer, chooſing eftſoones to taſt the fire, and ſo to die, than to forſake his opinions. Wherevpon the prince commanded, that he ſhould be put into the tun againe, from thenceforth not to haue anie fauour or pardon at all, and ſo it was doone, and the fire put to him againe, and he conſumed to aſhes.

The kings demand in the parlement.

A long parlement. A fifteenth granted.

Earle of Surrie deceaſſeth.

Preparation made to win Calis. Thom. Walſ.

The king demanded in this parlement, that it might be granted to him, to haue euerie yeare in which he held no parlement a tenth of the cleargie, and a fiftéenth of the laitie; but the eſtates would not agrée therevnto, by reaſon whereof, the parlement continued till almoſt the middle of Maie. At length they granted to giue him a fiftéenth, not without great murmuring and grudging of the commonaltie. About this ſeaſon died the lord Thomas Beauford earle of Surrie. The eleuenth of Aprill or therabouts, the towne of ſaint Omers was burnt by caſuall fire togither with the abbeie, in which towne was ſuch ſtrange and maruellous prouiſion of engines, and all manner of furniture and preparation for the winning of Calis, as the like had neuer béene ſéene nor heard of. Some write, that they of Calis ſtanding in doubt of ſuch purueiance, & great preparation deuiſed to annoie them, procured a yoong man to kindle a fire, whereby all that dreadfull prouiſion was conſumed to aſhes, and ſo they within Calis deliuered of a great deale of care and feare which they had thereof.

Abr. Fl. out of Thom. Walſ. Hypod. pag. 175.

The engines of the duke of Burgognie againſt Calis that ſhot out barrels of poiſon.

¶ But Tho. Walſingham maketh a full & complet declaration, both concerning the dukes deuiſe, & alſo of the Caleſians deliuerance from the danger of the ſame; which becauſe it perfecteth the report of this preſent matter, I haue thought good to ſet downe word for word as I find it in his Hypodigme. About the ninth of Aprill (ſaith he) the towne of ſaint Audomare was burned with the abbeie, wherein was hidden and laid vp the execrable prouiſion of the duke of Burgognie, who had vowed either to deſtroie the towne of Calis, or elſe to ſubdue it to the will and pleaſure of the French. There a great manie engines to this daie no where ſéene, there an excéeding ſort of veſſels conteining poiſon in them were kept in ſtore, which he had aforehand prouided to caſt out to the deſtruction of the ſaid towne. For he had gathered togither ſerpents, ſcorpions, todes, and other kinds of venemous things, which he had cloſed and ſhut vp in little barrels, that when the fleſh or ſubſtance of thoſe noiſome creatures was rotten, and diſſolued into filthie matter, he might laie ſiege to Calis, and caſt the ſaid barrels let out of engines into the towne; which with the violence of the throw being daſht in péeces, might choke them that were within, poiſon the harneſſed men touched therewith, & with their ſcattered venem infect all the ſtréets, lanes, & paſſages of the towne. In the meane time, a certeine yoong man allured with couetouſneſſe of gold, or lead with affection and loue towards the kings towne, aſked of the gouernours what reward he ſhould deſerue, that would diſcharge and ſet frée the towne from ſo great a feare, and would burne all the prouiſion which they ſuſpected. Herevpon they leuied a ſumme of that yellow metall (namelie gold) wherewith the yoongman contented, went his waie, and with fire readie made for the purpoſe, did not onelie burne the ſaid venemous matter and infected ſtuffe, but alſo togither with the monaſterie almoſt the whole towne.]

Sir Robert Vmfreuill viceadmerall. Harding.

His exploit in Scotland.

Moreouer this yeare ſir Robert Vmfreuill viceadmerall of England, annoied the countries on the ſea coaſts of Scotland: for comming into the Forth with ten ſhips of warre, and lieng there fourtéene daies togither, he landed euerie daie on the one ſide of the riuer or the other, taking preies, ſpoiles & priſoners; notwithſtanding the duke of Albanie, and the earle Dowglas were readie there, with a great power to reſiſt him: he burnt the galliot of Scotland (being a ſhip of great account) with manie other veſſels lieng the ſame time at the Blackeneſh ouer againſt Lieth. At his returne from thence, he brought with him fourteene good ſhips, and manie other great priſes of cloathes, both woollen, and linnen, pitch, tarre, woad, flower, meale, wheat and rie, which being ſold abroad, the markets were well holpen thereby, ſo that his ſurname of Robert Mendmarket ſeemed verie well to agree with his qualities, which name he got by this occaſion.

His ſurname Robert Mendmarket.

About foure yeares before this, he burnt the towne of Peples on the market daie, cauſing his men to meat the cloathes which they got there with their bowes, & ſo to ſell them awaie, whereupon the Scots named him Robert Mendmarket. Shortlie after his returne from the ſea now in this eleuenth yeare of king Henries reigne, he made a road into Scotland by land, hauing with him his nephue yong Gilbert Vmfreuill earle of Angus (commonlie called earle of Kime) being then but fourteene yeares of age, and this was the firſt time that the ſaid earle ſpread his banner. They burnt at that time Iedworth, and the moſt part of Tiuidale. This yeare there died of the bloudie flix in the citie of Burdeaux fourteene thouſand perſons, and ſo ſore raged that diſeaſe in Gaſcoigne and Guien, that there wanted people to dreſſe their vines, and preſſe their grapes.

By what occaſion he came by that ſurname.

The earle of Angus Vmfreuill cōmonlie called erle of Kime.

1411

Anno Reg. 12.

A great death by the flix.

John Prendergeſt knight, & William Long ſcowred the ſeas, ſo as no pirat durſt appeare, but that merchants & paſſengers might paſſe to & fro in ſafetie. But yet through diſdaine of ſome that enuied their good ſucceſſe, the ſame Prendergeſt and Long were accuſed of robberies which they ſhould practiſe, in ſpoiling ſuch ſhips as they met with, of diuerſe things againſt the owners wils. Prendergeſt was driuen to take ſanctuarie at Weſtminſter, and could not be ſuffered to lodge in anie mans houſe for feare of the kings diſpleaſure, commanding that none ſhould receiue him, and ſo was conſtreined to ſet vp a tent within the porch of ſaint Peters church there, and to haue his ſeruants to watch nightlie about him for doubt to be murthered of his aduerſaries: but his aſſociat William Long laie ſtill at the ſea, till the lord admerall hauing prepared certeine veſſels went to the ſea himſelfe in perſon to fetch him: but yet he could not catch him vntill he had promiſed him pardon, and vndertaken vpon his fidelitie that he ſhould haue no harme: but notwithſtanding all promiſes, vpon his comming in he was ſhut vp faſt in the Tower, and ſo for a time remained in durance. The archbiſhop of Canturburie minding in this ſeaſon to viſit the vniuerſitie of Oxenford, could not be ſuffered, in conſideration of priuileges which they pretended to haue.

John Prendergeſt and William Long.

Long committed to the Tower.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie not ſuffred to viſit the vniuerſitie of Oxenford

The realme of France in this meane while was diſquieted, with the two factions of Burgognie and Orleance, in moſt miſerable wiſe, as in the French hiſtories it maie further appeare. Neither could the king, being a lunatike perſon, and feeble of braine, take any full order for reforming of ſuch miſcheefs, ſo that the whole ſtate of the kingdome was maruellouſlie brought in decaie: neither tooke thoſe troubles end by the death of the duke of Orleance (murthered at length through the practiſe of the duke of Burgognie) but rather more perilouſlie increaſed. For the yong duke of Orleance Charles, ſonne to duke Lewes thus murthered, alied himſelfe with the dukes of Berrie and Burbon, and with the earles of Alanſon & Arminacke, whereby he was ſo ſtronglie banded againſt the duke of Burgognie, whom he defied as his mortall fo and enimie, that the duke of Burgognie fearing the ſequele of the matter, thought good (becauſe there was a motion of mariage betwixt the prince of Wales & his daughter) to require aid of king Henrie, who foreſeeing that this ciuill diſcord in France (as it after hapned) might turne his realme to honor and profit, ſent to the duke of Burgognie, Thomas earle of Arundell, Gilbert Vmfreuill earle of Angus (commonlie called the earle of Kime) ſir Robert Vmfreuill, vncle to the ſame Gilbert, ſir John Oldcaſtell lord Cobham, ſir John Greie, and William Porter, with twelue hundred archers.

1412

France diſquieted with two factions.

The duke of Orleance murthered.

The earles of Arundell and Angus with others ſent to aid the duke of Burgognie.

They tooke ſhipping at Douer, & landed at Sluis, from whence with ſpeedie iournies in the latter end of this twelfth yeare of king Henries reigne they came to Arras, where they found the duke of Burgognie, of whom they were ioifullie receiued, & from thence he appointed them to go vnto Peron, where he aſſembled a power alſo of his owne ſubiects, and remoouing from thence, he marched through the countrie, by Roie, Bretueill, Beauois, and Giſors, till he came with his armie vnto Pontois, where he remained about the ſpace of three weekes. From Pontois the two and twentith of October, the duke of Burgognie marched towards Paris, and paſſing the riuer of Saine at Pont Meulene, he ſtaid not till he came to Paris, into the which he entred the 23 of October, late in the euening. The duke of Orleance laie at the ſame time at ſaint Denis, with the more part of his armie, & the reſidue kept the towne of S. Clou, where a bridge laie ouer the riuer of Saine. On the 9 of Nouember, with hard & ſharpe fight the Engliſhmen gat the towne of ſaint Clou, with the bridge, ſlue & drowned nine hundred ſouldiors that were ſet there to defend that paſſage, beſides 400 that were taken priſoners. They tooke alſo aboue 12 hundred horſſes, which they found in the towne, with great riches, whereof the men of warre made their profit.

Anno Reg. 13.

Saint Clou taken by the helpe of the Engliſhmen.

Among other priſoners, ſir Manſerd de Bos a valiant capteine was taken, and ſhortlie after put to death, as diuerſe other were, which the Burgognians bought of the Engliſhmen that had taken them priſoners. The tower that ſtood at the end of the bridge could not be wone. At an other bickering alſo, it chanced that the Engliſhmen, vnder the leading of the earle of Angus or Kime, had the vpper hand, and tooke manie priſoners, whom the duke of Burgognie would that they ſhould haue beene likewiſe put to death as traitors to their countrie, but the ſaid earle of Angus anſwered for himſelfe, and the reſidue of the Engliſhmen, that they would rather die all in the place, than ſuffer their priſoners to be vſed otherwiſe than as men of war ought to be, that is, to haue their liues ſaued, and to be ranſomed according as the law of armes required, and by that meanes they were preſerued. The duke of Burgognie hauing the world at will (for the duke of Orleance immediatlie after the loſſe of ſaint Clou, departing from ſaint Denis, got him into the high countries) ſent home the Engliſhmen with hartie thanks, and great rewards.

Sir Manſerd de Bos put to death.

Harding.

This yeare, the king created his brother Thomas Beauford earle of Dorſet; and his ſonne the lord Thomas of Lancaſter, that was lord ſteward of England, and earle of Aubemarle, he created duke of Clarence. John duke of Burgognie, hauing now the gouernance both of the French king and his relme, ſo perſecuted the duke of Orleance and his complices, that finallie they for their laſt refuge required aid of king Henrie, ſending ouer vnto him certeine perſons as their lawfull procurators (of the which one was called Albert Aubemont, a man of great wit, learning, & audacitie) to offer in name of the confederates vnto the ſaid king Henrie and to his ſonnes, certeine conditions, which were made and concluded the yeare of our Lord 1412, the eight of Maie. The names of the chiefe confederats were theſe, John duke of Berrie and earle of Poicton, Charles duke of Orleance, and Valois erle of Blois, and Beaumont

Recor. Turris. Creations of noblemen.

Hall.

The Orleanciall factiō ſueth to the K. of England for aid.

The confederates of the Orleanciall faction.

lord of Coucie and Ach, John duke of Bourbon, and Auuergne earle of Clearmont foreſt, and Liſle lord of Beaulieu, and Caſteau Chinon, John duke of Alanſon, Barnard earle of Arminacke, and others. The effect of the articles which theſe confederats were agreed, vpon touching their offer to the king of England, were as followeth.

The articles of couenants which *they offered to the king of England.*

1 First, they offered their bodies, finances, and lands, to ſerue the king of England, his heires, and ſucceſſors, in all iuſt cauſes and actions, ſauing alwaies their allegiance, knowing that he would not further inquire of them.

2 Secondlie, they offered their ſonnes and daughters, neeces and nephues, and all other their kinſfolks to be beſtowed in marriages according to the pleaſure of the king of England.

3 Thirdlie, they offered their caſtels, townes, treaſures, & all their other goods, to ſerue the foreſaid king.

4 Fourthlie, they offered their freends, alies, and well-willers to ſerue him, being the moſt part of all the nobles of France, churchmen, clearkes, and honeſt citizens, as it ſhould well appeare.

5 Fiftlie, they offered to put him in poſſeſſion of the duchie of Guien, which they were readie to proteſt to belong vnto the king of England, in like and ſemblable wiſe, in libertie and franchiſes, as any other king of England his predeceſſor had held and inioied the ſame.

6 Sixtlie, that they would be readie to recogniſe the lands which they poſſeſſed within that duchie, to hold the ſame of the king of England, as of the verie true duke of Guien, promiſing all ſeruices and homages after the beſt maner that might be.

7 Seuenthlie, they promiſed to deliuer vnto the king, as much as laie in them, all townes and caſtels apperteining to the roialtie and ſeigniorie of the king of England, which are in number twentie townes and caſtels: and as to the regard of other townes & fortreſſes which were not in their hands, they would to the vttermoſt of their powers, helpe the king of England and his heires to win them out of his aduerſaries hands.

8 Eightlie, that the duke of Berrie, as vaſſall to the king of England, and likewiſe the duke of Orleance his ſubiect and vaſſall, ſhould hold of him by homage and fealtie, the lands and ſeigniories hereafter following, that is to ſaie; the duke of Berrie to hold onelie the countie of Ponthieu during his life, and the duke of Orleance to hold the countie of Anguleſme during his life, and the countie of Perigourt for euer, and the earle of Arminacke to hold foure caſtels vpon certeine ſuerties and conditions, as by indenture ſhould be appointed. For the which offers, couenants and agreements, they requeſted of the king of England to condeſcend vnto theſe conditions inſuing.

The conditions which they reque- *ſted of the king of England.*

1 First, that the king of England, as duke of Guien ſhould defend and ſuccor them as he ought to doo, againſt all men, as their verie lord and ſoueraigne, and ſpeciallie vntill they had executed iuſtice fullie vpon the duke of Burgognie, for the crime which he committed vpon the perſon of the duke of Orleance.

2 Secondlie, that he ſhould aſſiſt them againſt the ſaid duke of Burgognie and his fautors, to recouer againe their goods, which by occaſion of the ſaid duke and his freends they had loſt and beene depriued of.

3 Thirdlie, that he ſhould likewiſe aid them in all iuſt quarels, for recouering of damages doone to their freends, vaſſals and ſubiects.

4 Fourthlie, to helpe and aſſiſt them for the concluding and eſtabliſhing of a firme peace betwixt both the realmes, ſo far as was poſſible. ¶ And further they beſought the king of England to ſend vnto them eight thouſand men, to aid them againſt the duke of Burgognie and his complices, which dailie procured the French king to make war vpon them, ſeeking by all waies & meanes how to deſtroie them.

The king of England louinglie interteined the meſſengers, and vpon conſideration had of their offers, as well for that he deteſted the ſhamefull murther of the duke of Orleance (which remained vnpuniſhed by ſupport of ſuch as mainteined the duke of Burgognie, who (as it appeared) would keepe promiſe no longer than ſerued his owne turne) as alſo for that the ſame offers ſeemed to make greatlie both for his honor and profit, thought that by the office of a king he was bound in dutie to ſuccour them that cried for iuſtice, and could not haue it; and namelie ſith in right they were his ſubiects and vaſſals, he ought to defend them in maintenance of his ſuperioritie and ſeigniorie. Herevpon as duke of Guien, he tooke vpon him to ſuccor and defend them againſt all men, as their verie lord and ſoueraigne, and ſo ſending awaie the meſſengers, promiſed to ſend them aid verie ſhortlie.

The king of England taketh vpon him to defend the Orleantiall faction.

This feat was not ſo ſecretlie wrought, but that it was knowne ſtreightwaies in France. Wherefore the French kings councell ſent the earle of ſaint Paule downe into Picardie, with fifteene hundred horſſemen, and a great number of footmen, who approching to Guiſnes, attempted to aſſault the caſtell, but was repelled and beaten backe, ſo that he retired to the towne of ſaint Quintines, as one that neuer wan gaine at the Engliſhmens hands, but euer departed from them with loſſe and diſhonor. In this meane ſeaſon the French king being led by the duke of Burgognie, purſued them that tooke part with the duke of Orleance, commonlie called Arminacks, and after the winning of diuerſe townes he beſieged the citie of Burges in Berrie, comming before it vpon ſaturdaie the eleuenth of Iune, with a right huge armie. Within this citie were the dukes of Berrie and Bourbon, the earle of Auxerre, the lord Dalbret, the archbiſhops of Sens and Burges, the biſhops of Paris and Chartres, hauing with them fifteene hundred armed men, and foure hundred archers and arcubaliſters.

The earle of ſaint Paule aſſaulteth the caſtell of Guiſnes.

His fortune againſt Engliſhmen.

There were with the king at this ſiege, his ſonne the duke of Aquitane, otherwiſe called the Dolphin, the dukes of Burgognie and Bar, and a great number of other earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen; ſo that the citie was beſieged euen till within the Faurburges of that ſide towards Dun le Roie. The ſiege continued, till at length through mediation of Philibert de Lignac, lord great maiſter of the Rhodes, and the marſhall of Sauoie, that were both in the kings campe, trauelling betwixt the parties, there were appointed commiſſioners on both ſides to treat for peace, to wit the maſter of the croſbowes, and the seneſhall of Heinalt, and certeine other for the king; and the archbiſhop of Burges, with the lord of Gaucourt & others for the Orlientiall ſide. Theſe comming togither on a fridaie, the fifteenth of Iulie in the Dolphins tent, vſed the matter with ſuch diſcretion, that they concluded a peace, & ſo on the wedneſdaie next following, the campe brake vp, & the king returned.

A peace concluded betwixt the two factions of Burgognie & Orleance.

Whileſt theſe things were a dooing in France, The prince of wales accuſed to his father.

John Stow.

lord Henrie prince of Wales, eldeſt ſonne to king Henrie, got knowledge that certeine of his fathers ſeruants were buſie to giue informations againſt him, whereby diſcord might ariſe betwixt him and his father: for they put into the kings head, not onelie what euill rule (according to the courſe of youth) the prince kept to the offenſe of manie: but alſo what great reſort of people came to his houſe, ſo that the court was nothing furniſhed with ſuch a traine as dailie followed the prince. Theſe tales brought no ſmall ſuſpicion into the kings head, leaſt his ſonne would preſume to vſurpe the crowne, he being yet aliue, through which ſuſpicious gelouſie, it was perceiued that he fauoured not his ſonne, as in times paſt he had doone.

The ſuſpicious gelouſie of the king toward his ſon.

The prince goeth to the court with a great traine.

His ſtrange apparell.

The Prince ſore offended with ſuch perſons, as by ſlanderous reports, ſought not onelie to ſpot his good name abrode in the realme, but to ſowe diſcord alſo betwixt him and his father, wrote his letters into euerie part of the realme, to reproue all ſuch ſlanderous deuiſes of thoſe that ſought his diſcredit. And to cleare himſelfe the better, that the world might vnderſtand what wrong he had to be ſlandered in ſuch wiſe: about the feaſt of Peter and Paule, to wit, the nine and twentith daie of June, he came to the court with ſuch a number of noble men and other his freends that wiſhed him well, as the like traine had beene ſildome ſeene repairing to the court at any one time in thoſe daies. He was apparelled in a gowne of blew ſatten, full of ſmall oilet holes, at euerie hole the needle hanging by a ſilke thred with which it was ſewed. About his arme he ware an hounds collar ſet full of SS of gold, and the tirets likewiſe being of the ſame metall.

The court was then at Weſtminſter, where he being entred into the hall, not one of his companie durſt once aduance himſelfe further than the fire in the ſame hall, notwithſtanding they were earneſtlie requeſted by the lords to come higher: but they regarding what they had in commandement of the prince, would not preſume to doo in any thing contrarie thereunto. He himſelfe onelie accompanied with thoſe of the kings houſe, was ſtreight admitted to the preſence of the king his father, who being at that time greeuouſlie diſeaſed, yet cauſed himſelfe in his chaire to be borne into his priuie chamber, where in the preſence of three or foure perſons, in whome he had moſt confidence, he commanded the prince to ſhew what he had to ſaie concerning the cauſe of his comming.

The prince cometh to the kings preſẽce.

His words to his father.

The prince kneeling downe before his father ſaid: Moſt redoubted and ſouereigne lord and father, I am at this time come to your preſence as your liege man, and as your naturall ſonne, in all things to be at your commandement. And where I vnderſtand you haue in ſuſpicion my demeanour againſt your grace, you know verie well, that if I knew any man within this realme, of whome you ſhould ſtand in feare, my duetie were to puniſh that perſon, thereby to remooue that greefe from your heart. Then how much more ought I to ſuffer death, to eaſe your grace of that greefe which you haue of me, being your naturall ſonne and liege man: and to that end I haue this daie made my ſelfe readie by confeſſion and receiuing of the ſacrament. And therefore I beſeech you moſt redoubted lord and deare father, for the honour of God, to eaſe your heart of all ſuch ſuſpicion as you haue of me, and to diſpatch me heere before your knees, with this ſame dagger [and withall he deliuered vnto the king his dagger, in all humble reuerence; adding further, that his life was not ſo deare to him, that he wiſhed to liue one daie with his diſpleaſure] and therefore in thus ridding me out of life, and your ſelfe from all ſuſpicion, here in preſence of theſe lords, and before God at the daie of the generall iudgement, I faithfullie proteſt clearlie to forgiue you.

The kings words to the prince his ſon

Eiton.

The princes requeſt to haue his accuſors to anſwer their wrõgful ſlanders.

The king mooued herewith, caſt from him the dagger, and imbracing the prince kiſſed him, and with ſhedding teares confeſſed, that in deed he had him partlie in ſuſpicion, though now (as he perceiued) not with iuſt cauſe, and therefore from thenceforth no miſreport ſhould cauſe him to haue him in miſtruſt, and this he promiſed of his honour. So by his great wiſedome was the wrongfull ſuſpicion which his father had conceiued againſt him remooued, and he reſtored to his fauour. And further, where he could not but greeuouſlie complaine of them that had ſlandered him ſo greatlie, to the defacing not onelie of his honor, but alſo putting him in danger of his life, he humblie beſought the king that they might anſwer their vniuſt accuſation; and in caſe they were found to haue forged ſuch matters vpon a malicious purpoſe, that then they might ſuffer ſome puniſhment for their faults, though not to the full of that they had deſerued. The king ſeeming to grant his reſonable deſire, yet told him that he muſt tarrie a parlement, that ſuch offendors might be puniſhed by iudgement of their peeres: and ſo for that time he was diſmiſſed, with great loue and ſignes of fatherlie affection.

Abr. Fl. out of *Angl. prælijs.*

¶Thus were the father and the ſonne reconciled, betwixt whom the ſaid pickthanks had ſowne diuiſion, inſomuch that the ſonne vpon a vehement conceit of vnkindneſſe ſprong in the father, was in the waie to be worne out of fauour. Which was the more likelie to come to paſſe, by their informations that priuilie charged him with riot and other vnciuill demeanor vnſeemelie for a prince. Indeed he was youthfullie giuen, growne to audacitie, and had choſen him companions agreeable to his age; with whome he ſpent the time in ſuch recreations, exerciſes, and delights as he fanſied. But yet (it ſhould ſeeme by the report of ſome writers) that his behauiour was not offenſiue or at leaſt tending to the damage of anie bodie; ſith he had a care to auoid dooing of wrong, and to tedder his affections within the tract of vertue, whereby he opened vnto himſelfe a redie paſſage of good liking among the prudent ſort, and was beloued of ſuch as could diſcerne his diſpoſition, which was in no degree ſo exceſſiue, as that he deſerued in ſuch vehement maner to be ſuſpected. In whoſe diſpraiſe I find little, but to his praiſe verie much, parcell whereof I will deliuer by the waie as a metyard whereby the reſidue may be meaſured. The late poet that verſified the warres of the valorous Engliſhmen, ſpeaking of the iſſue of Henrie the fourth, ſaith of this prince (among other things) as followeth:

In Angl. prælijs, ſub Hen. 4.

——procero qui natu maximus hæres
Corpore, progreſſus cùm pubertatis ad annos
Eſſet, res geſſit multas iuueniliter audax,
Aſciſcens comites quos par ſibi iunxerat ætas,
Nil tamen iniuſtè commiſit, nil tamen vnquam
Extra virtutis normam, ſapientibus æquè
Ac alijs charus.

Sir John Prendergeſt reſtored to the kings fauour is ſent to ſea.

The duke of Clarence ſent to aid yͤ duke of Orleance.

About the ſame time, John Prendergeſt knight, being reſtored to the kings fauour, with thirtie ſhips ſcowred the ſeas, tooke good priſes of wine and vitels, which releeued the commons greatlie. Amongſt other enterpriſes, he landed vpon the ſudden at Craal on the faire day, tooke the towne, and robbed the faire, ſo as they that were come thither to ſell their wares, had quicke vtterance and ſlow paiment. King Henrie vnderſtanding that the French king by ſetting on of the duke of Burgognie in purſuing the contrarie faction, had beſieged the citie of Burges (as before yee haue heard) determined with all ſpeed to aid the duke of Orleance, & ſo about the feaſt of the Aſſumption

tion of our ladie, he ſent ouer an armie of eight hundred men of armes, and nine thouſand archers, vnder the leading of his ſecond ſonne the duke of Clarence accompanied with Edward duke of Yorke, Thomas earle of Dorſet, and diuerſe other noble men and worthie capteins. They landed in the Baie de la Hogue ſaint Waſt, in the countrie of Conſtantine. The Engliſhmen ſwarmed like bées round about the countrie, robbing and ſpoiling the ſame.

Enguerant.

The earle of Alanſon and Richmond ſent to yͤ duke of Clarence.

The duke of Clarence marcheth toward Guien.

Shortlie after their departure from the place where they landed, there came to them ſix hundred armed men of Gaſcoignes that were inrolled at Burdeaux. When newes thereof came to the French court, being then at Auxerre, incontinentlie the earles of Alanſon and Richmond were diſpatched to go vnto the Engliſh campe, bicauſe they had euer béene partakers with the duke of Orleance, to giue them thanks for their paines, and to aduertiſe them of the peace that had béene latelie concluded betwixt the parties, and therefore to take order with them, that they might be ſatiſfied, ſo as they ſhould not ſpoile & waſte the countrie, as they had begun. But whereas the Engliſhmen were gréedie to haue, and the duke of Orleance was not rich to paie, they marched on towards Guien in good order, and what by sacking of townes, and ranſoming of rich priſoners, they got great treaſure, and manie good preies and booties.

Enguerant.

The lord of Rambures.

The earles of Kent & Warwike ſent ouer to Calis.

Fabian. Coine changed.

Abr. Fl. out of Fabian pag. 388.

Thrée floods without ebbing betwéen.

Being paſſed the riuer of Loire they ſpoiled the towne of Beaulieu, and with fire and ſword waſted the countries of Touraine and Maine. The lord de Rambures appointed to reſiſt ſuch violence, was eaſilie vanquiſhed. Moreouer, to the aid of the duke of Orleance, the king of England ſent ouer to Calis the earls of Kent and Warwike, with two thouſand fighting men, which ſpoiled and waſted the countrie of Bullennois, burnt the towne of Samer de Bois, and tooke with aſſault the fortreſſe of Ruſſalt, and diuerſe other. This yeare, the king abaſed the coines of his gold and ſiluer, cauſing the ſame to be currant in this realme, at ſuch value as the other was valued before, where indéed the noble was worſſe by foure pence than the former, and ſo likewiſe of the ſiluer, the coines whereof he appointed to be currant after the ſame rate. ¶In this yeare, and vpon the twelfth day of October, were thrée floods in the Thames, the one following vpon the other, & no ebbing betwéene: which thing no man then liuing could remember the like to be ſéene.

Abr. Fl. out of R.Grafton. pag.433,434. in folio.

Whitington college erected.

Charitie.

Newgate builded.

S. Bartholomew hoſpitall.

Guildhall chapell.

Guildhall inlarged.

¶In this kings time, and in the eighth yeare of his reigne (as Richard Grafton hath recorded) a worthie citizen of London named Richard Whitington, mercer and alderman, was elected maior of the ſaid citie, and bare that office thrée times. This man ſo beſtowed his goods and ſubſtance, that he hath well deſerued to be regiſtred in chronicles. Firſt he erected one houſe or church in London to be a houſe of praier, and named the ſame after his owne name, Whitington colledge, remaining at this daie. In the ſaid church, beſides certeine préeſts and clearks, he placed a number of poore aged men and women, builded for them houſes and lodgings, and allowed them wood, coles, cloth, and wéekelie monie to their great reléefe and comfort. This man alſo at his owne coſt builded the gate of London called Newgate in the yéere of our Lord 1422, which before was a moſt ouglie and lothſome priſon. He alſo builded more than the halfe of S. Bartholomews hoſpitall in weſt Smithfield. He builded likewiſe the beautifull librarie in the graie friers in London now called Chriſts hoſpitall, ſtanding in the north part of the cloiſter thereof, where in the wall his armes be grauen in ſtone. He alſo builded for the eaſe of the maior of London, his brethren, and the worſhipfull citizens, on the ſolemne daies of their aſſemblie, a chapell adioining to the Guildhall; to the intent that before they entered into anie of their worldlie affaires, they ſhould begin with praier and inuocation to God for his aſſiſtance: at the end ioining to the ſouth part of the ſaid chapell, he builded for the citie a librarie of ſtone, for the cuſtodie of their records and other bookes. He alſo builded a great part of the eaſt end of Guildhall; and did manie other good déeds worthie of imitation. By a writing of this mans owne hand, which he willed to be fixed as a ſchedule to his laſt will and teſtament, it appeareth what a pitifull and relenting heart he had at other mens miſeries, and did not onelie wiſh but alſo did what he could procure for their reléefe. In ſo much that he charged and commanded his executors, as they would anſwer before God at the daie of the reſurrection of all fleſh, that if they found anie debtor of his, whome if in conſcience they thought not to be well worth thrée times as much as they owght him, and alſo out of other mens debt, and well able to paie, that then they ſhould neuer demand it; for he clearelie forgaue it: and that they ſhould put no man in ſute for anie debt due to him. A worthie memoriall of a notable minded gentleman.

Anno Reg.14.

The duke of Orleance cometh to yͤ Engliſh armie.

The lord of Helie marſhall of France.

Sir John Blunt.

Yée haue heard how the duke of Clarence and his armie did much hurt in the realme of France, in places as he paſſed: wherevpon at length, the duke of Orleance being earneſtlie called vpon to diſpatch the Engliſhmen out of France, according to an article compriſed in the concluſion of the peace, he came to the duke of Clarence, rendering to him and his armie a thouſand gramerſies, and diſburſed to them as much monie as he or his fréends might eaſilie ſpare; and for the reſt being two hundred and nine thouſand frankes remaining vnpaid, he deliuered in gage his ſecond brother, John duke of Angoleſme, which was grandfather to king Francis the firſt, that reigned in our daies, ſir Marcell de Burges, and ſir John de Samoures, ſir Archembald Villiers, and diuerſe other, which earle continued long in England, as after ſhall appeare. When this agréement was thus made betwixt the dukes of Orleance and Clarence, the Engliſh armie with rich preies, booties and priſoners came to Burdeaux, making warre on the frontiers of France, to their great gaine. In this meane while, the lord of Helie, one of the marſhals of France, with an armie of foure thouſand men, beſieged a certeine fortreſſe in Guien, which an Engliſh knight, one ſir John Blunt kept, who with thrée hundred men that came to his aid, diſcomfited, chaſed, and ouerthrew the French power, tooke priſoners twelue men of name, and other gentlemen to the number of ſix ſcore, and amongſt other, the ſaid marſhall, who was ſent ouer into England, and put in the caſtell of Wiſſebet, from whence he eſcaped, and got ouer into France, where ſeruing the duke of Orleance at the battell of Agincort, he was ſlaine among other.

Fabian.

The K. meant to haue made a iournie againſt the Infidels.

The king is vexed with ſickneſſe.

In this fourtéenth and laſt yeare of king Henries reigne, a councell was holden in the white friers in London, at the which, among other things, order was taken for ſhips and gallies to be builded and made readie, and all other things neceſſarie to be prouided for a voiage which he meant to make into the holie land, there to recouer the citie of Jeruſalem from the Infidels. For it gréeued him to conſider the great malice of chriſtian princes, that were bent vpon a miſchéeuous purpoſe to deſtroie one another, to the perill of their owne ſoules, rather than to make war againſt the enimies of the chriſtian faith, as in conſcience (it ſéemed to him) they were bound. He held his Chriſtmas this yeare at Eltham, being ſore vexed with ſickneſſe, ſo that it was thought ſometime, that he had beene dead: notwithſtanding it pleaſed God that he ſomwhat recouered his ſtrength againe, and ſo paſſed that Chriſtmaſſe with as much ioy as he might.

1413
A parlement.

The K. ſick of an apoplexie.
Hall.

Hall.

The morrow after Candlemas daie began a parlement, which he had called at London, but he departed this life before the ſame parlement was ended: for now that his prouiſions were readie, and that he was furniſhed with ſufficient treaſure, ſoldiers, capteins, vittels, munitions, tall ſhips, ſtrong gallies, and all things neceſſarie for ſuch a roiall iournie as he pretended to take into the holie land, he was eftſoones taken with a ſore ſickneſſe, which was not a leproſie, ſtriken by the hand of God (ſaith maiſter Hall) as fooliſh friers imagined; but a verie apoplexie, of the which he languiſhed till his appointed houre, and had none other greefe nor maladie; ſo that what man ordeineth, God altereth at his good will and pleaſure, not giuing place more to the prince, than to the pooreſt creature liuing, when he ſeeth his time to diſpoſe of him this waie or that, as to his omnipotent power and diuine prouidence ſeemeth expedient. During this his laſt ſickneſſe, he cauſed his crowne (as ſome write) to be ſet on a pillow at his beds head, and ſuddenlie his pangs ſo ſore troubled him, that he laie as though all his vitall ſpirits had beene from him departed. Such as were about him, thinking verelie that he had beene departed, couered his face with a linnen cloth.

The prince taketh awaie the crowne before his father was dead

He is blamed of the king.
His anſwer.

A guiltie conſcience in extremitie of ſickneſſe pincheth ſore.

The death of Henrie the fourth.

The prince his ſonne being hereof aduertiſed, entered into the chamber, tooke awaie the crowne, and departed. The father being ſuddenlie reuiued out of that trance, quicklie perceiued the lacke of his crowne; and hauing knowledge that the prince his ſonne had taken it awaie, cauſed him to come before his preſence, requiring of him what he meant ſo to miſuſe himſelfe. The prince with a good audacitie anſwered; Sir, to mine and all mens iudgements you ſeemed dead in this world, wherefore I as your next heire apparant tooke that as mine owne, and not as yours. Well faire ſonne (ſaid the king with a great ſigh) what right I had to it, God knoweth. Well (ſaid the prince) if you die king, I will haue the garland, and truſt to keepe it with the ſword againſt all mine enimies, as you haue doone. Then ſaid the king, I commit all to God, and remember you to doo well. With that he turned himſelfe in his bed, and ſhortlie after departed to God in a chamber of the abbats of Weſtminſter called Ieruſalem, the twentith daie of March, in the yeare 1413, and in the yeare of his age 46, when he had reigned thirteene yeares, fiue moneths and od daies, in great perplexitie and little pleaſure [or fourteene yeares, as ſome haue noted, who name not the diſeaſe whereof he died, but refer it to ſickneſſe abſolutelie, whereby his time of departure did approach and fetch him out of the world: as Ch.Okl. ſaith, whoſe words may ſerue as a funerall epigramme in memoriall of the ſaid king Henrie:

Abr.Fl. out of *Angl. præl. ſub Hen.4.*

Henricus quartus bis ſeptem rexerat annos
Anglorum gentem ſumma cum laude & amore,
Iàmq; ſeneſcenti fatalis terminus æui
Ingruerat, morbus fatalem accerſerat horam.]

Fabian.

We find, that he was taken with his laſt ſickeneſſe, while he was making his praiers at ſaint Edwards ſhrine, there as it were to take his leaue, and ſo to proceed forth on his iournie: he was ſo ſuddenlie and greeuouſlie taken, that ſuch as were about him, feared leaſt he would haue died preſentlie, wherfore to releeue him (if it were poſſible) they bare him into a chamber that was next at hand, belonging to the abbat of Weſtminſter, where they laid him on a pallet before the fire, and vſed all remedies to reuiue him. At length, he recouered his ſpeech, and vnderſtanding and perceiuing himſelfe in a ſtrange place which he knew not, he willed to know if the chamber had anie particular name, wherevnto anſwer was made, that it was called Ieruſalem. Then ſaid the king; Lauds be giuen to the father of heauen, for now I know that I ſhall die heere in this chamber, according to the propheſie of me declared, that I ſhould depart this life in Ieruſalem.

Whether this was true that ſo he ſpake, as one that gaue too much credit to fooliſh propheſies & vaine tales, or whether it was fained, as in ſuch caſes it commonlie happeneth, we leaue it to the aduiſed reader to iudge. His bodie with all funerall pompe was conueied vnto Canturburie, and there ſolemnlie buried, leauing behind him by the ladie Marie daughter to the lord Humfrie Bohun earle of Hereford and Northhampton, Henrie prince of Wales, Thomas duke of Clarence, Iohn duke of Bedford, Humfrie duke of Gloceſter, Blanch ducheſſe of Bauier, and Philip queene of Denmarke: by his laſt wife Iane, he had no children. This king was of a meane ſtature, well proportioned, and formallie compact, quicke and liuelie, and of a ſtout courage. In his latter daies he ſhewed himſelfe ſo gentle, that he gat more loue amongſt the nobles and people of this realme, than he had purchaſed malice and euill will in the beginning.

He is buried at Canturburie.
His iſſue.

His ſtature.

But yet to ſpeake a truth, by his proceedings, after he had atteined to the crowne, what with ſuch taxes, tallages, ſubſidies, and exactions as he was conſtreined to charge the people with; and what by puniſhing ſuch as mooued with diſdeine to ſee him vſurpe the crowne (contrarie to the oth taken at his entring into this land, vpon his returne from exile) did at ſundrie times rebell againſt him, he wan himſelfe more hatred, than in all his life time (if it had beene longer by manie yeares than it was) had beene poſſible for him to haue weeded out & remoued. And yet doubtleſſe, worthie were his ſubiects to taſt of that bitter cup, ſithens they were ſo readie to ioine and clappe hands with him, for the depoſing of their rightfull and naturall prince king Richard, whoſe cheefe fault reſted onlie in that, that he was too bountifull to his freends, and too mercifull to his foes; ſpeciallie if he had not beene drawne by others, to ſeeke reuenge of thoſe that abuſed his good and courteous nature. ¶ But now to returne to the matter preſent. The duke of Clarence immediatlie vpon knowlege had of his father king Henrie the fourth his death, returned out of Guien into England, with the earle of Angoleſme, and other priſoners.

Now will we rehearſe what writers of our Engliſh nation liued in the daies of this king. That renowmed poet Geffrie Chaucer is worthilie named as principall, a man ſo exquiſitlie learned in all ſciences, that his match was not lightlie found any where in thoſe daies; and for reducing our Engliſh toong to a perfect conformitie, he hath excelled therein all other; he departed this life about the yeare of our Lord 1402, as Bale gathereth: but by other it appeareth, that he deceaſſed the fiue and twentith of October in the yeare 1400, and lieth buried at Weſtminſter, in the ſouth part of the great church there, as by a monument erected by Nicholas Brigham it doth appeare. Iohn Gower deſcended of that worthie familie of the Gowers of Stitenham in Yorkeſhire (as Leland noteth) ſtudied not onelie the common lawes of this realme, but alſo other kinds of literature, and great knowledge in the ſame, namelie in poeticall inuentions, applieng his indeuor with Chaucer, to garniſh the Engliſh toong, in bringing it from a rude vnperfectneſſe, vnto a more apt elegancie: for whereas before thoſe daies, the learned vſed to write onelie in Latine or French, and not in Engliſh, our toong remained verie barren, rude, and vnperfect; but now

Iohn Stow.

by the diligent induſtrie of Chaucer and Gower, it was within a while greatlie amended, ſo as it grew not onelie verie rich and plentifull in words, but alſo ſo proper and apt to expreſſe that which the mind conceiued, as anie other vſuall language. Gower departed this life ſhortlie after the deceaſſe of his deere and louing freend Chaucer'; to wit, in the yeare 1402, being then come to great age, and blind for a certeine time before his death. He was buried in the church of ſaint Marie Oueries in Southwarke.

Moreouer, Hugh Legat borne in Hertfordſhire, and a monke of ſaint Albons, wrote ſcholies vpon Architrenius of Iohn Hanuill, and alſo vpon Boetius *De conſolatione*; Roger Alington, chancellor of the vniuerſitie of Oxford, a great ſophiſter, & an enimie to the doctrine of Wickliffe; Iohn Botrell, a logician; Nicholas Gorham, borne in a village of the ſame name in Hertfordſhire, a Dominike frier, firſt proceeded maſter of art in Oxenford, and after going to Paris, became the French kings confeſſor, and therefore hath beene of ſome taken to be a Frenchman; Iohn Lilleſhull, ſo called of a monaſterie in the weſt parties of this realme whereof he was gouernour; Walter Diſſe, ſo called of a towne in Norfolke where he was borne, firſt a Carmelite frier profeſſed in Norwich, and after going to Cambridge, he there proceeded doctor, he was alſo confeſſor to the duke of Lancaſter, and to his wife the ducheſſe Conſtance, & a great ſetter foorth of pope Vrbans cauſe againſt the other popes that were by him and thoſe of his faction named the antipapes; Thomas Maldon, ſo called of the towne of that name in Eſſex where he was borne: Iohn Edo, deſcended out of Wales by linage, and borne in Herefordſhire, a Franciſcane frier.

Adde to the forenamed, Nicholas Fakingham, borne in Norfolke, a greie frier, proceeded doctor in Oxenford, a great diuine, and an excellent philoſopher, prouinciall of his order here in England; Laurence Holbecke, a monke of Ramſie, well ſeene in the Hebrue toong, and wrote thereof a dictionarie; Iohn Colton, archbiſhop of Ardmach; Iohn Marrie, ſo called of a village in Yorkeſhire where he was borne, a Carmelite of Doncaſter; Richard Cheſer borne in Norfolke, a diuine, and an Auguſtine frier in Norwich; Iohn Lathburie, a Franciſcane frier of Reading; Nicholas Poutz; Richard Scroope brother to William Scroope, lord treaſuror of England, ſtudied in Cambridge, and proceeded there doctor of both the lawes, became an aduocat in the court of Rome, and afterwards was aduanced to the gouernement of the ſee of Couentrie and Lichfield, and at length was remoued from thence, and made archbiſhop of Yorke, he wrote an inuectiue againſt king Henrie, and at length loſt his head, as before ye haue heard; Iohn Wrotham, a Carmelite frier of London, and after made warden of an houſe of his order in Calis.

Furthermore, Iohn Colbie, a Carmelite frier of Norwich; William Thorpe a northerne man borne, and ſtudent in Oxenford, an excellent diuine, and an earneſt follower of that famous clearke Iohn Wickliffe, a notable preacher of the word, and expreſſing his doctrine no leſſe in trade of life, than in ſpeech, he was at length apprehended by commandement of the archbiſhop of Canturburie Thomas Arundell, and committed to priſon in Saltwood caſtell, where at length he died; Stephan Patrington, borne in Yorkeſhire, a frier Carmelite, prouinciall of his order through England, of which brood, there were at that ſeaſon 1500 within this land, he was biſhop of ſaint Dauids, and confeſſor to king Henrie the fift, about the fift yeare of whoſe reigne, he deceaſſed; Robert Maſcall, a Carmelite frier of Ludlow, confeſſor alſo to the ſaid K. who made him biſhop of Hereford; Reginald Langham, a frier minor of Norwich: Actonus Dominicanus; Thomas Palmer, warden of the Blacke friers within the citie of London; Boſton of Burie, a monke of the abbeie of Burie in Suffolke, wrote a catalog of all the writers of the church, and other treatiſes.

Acts and monuments of Iohn Fox.

Moreouer, Thomas Peuerell, a frier Carmelite, borne in Suffolke, he was aduanced to the ſee of Oſſorie in Ireland by Richard the ſecond, and after by pope Boniface the ninth remoued to Landaffe in Wales, and from thence called by Henrie the fourth, with conſent of pope Gregorie the twelfe, to gouerne the ſee of Worceſter, and ſo continued biſhop of that citie, vntill he ended his life in the yeare of our Lord 1418, which was about the ſixt yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fift; Iohn Purueie, an excellent diuine, proceeded maſter of art in Oxenford, he was apprehended for ſuch doctrine as he taught, contrarie to the ordinances of the church of Rome, and was at length compelled by Thomas Arundell, archbiſhop of Canturburie, to recant at Paules croſſe ſeuen ſpeciall articles, he wrote diuerſe treatiſes, & was the ſecond time committed to priſon in king Henrie the fift his daies, by Henrie Chichleie, that ſucceeded Arundell in gouernement of the church of Canturburie; William Holme, a greie frier (and a good phyſician for curing diſeaſes of the bodie, whatſoeuer his phyſicke was for the ſoule) he liued vntill Henrie the fift his daies, and deceaſſed about the fourth yeare of his reigne; Nicholas Baiard, a blacke frier, a doctor of diuinitie profeſſed at Oxenford; Thomas Rudburne, archdeacon of Sudburie, and biſhop of ſaint Dauids in Wales, ſucceeding after Stephan Patrington, he wrote a chronicle, and certeine epiſtles (as Iohn Bale noteth.)

Sée maiſter Fox, in his booke of Acts and monuments.

Finallie and to conclude, Nicholas Riſton, who being ſore greeued in mind, as diuerſe other in thoſe daies, to conſider what inconuenience redounded to the church, by reaſon of the ſtrife and bralling among the prelats for the acknowleging of a lawfull pope, two or three ſtill contending for that dignitie, wrote a booke, intituled *De tollendo ſchiſmate*; Iohn Walter, an excellent mathematician, being firſt brought vp of a ſcholer, in the colledge of Wincheſter, and after ſtudied at Oxenford; Thomas of Newmarket, taking that ſurname of the towne in Cambridgeſhire where he was borne, he for his worthineſſe (as was thought) was made biſhop of Careleill, well ſeene both in other ſciences, and alſo in diuinitie; William Auger a Franciſcane frier, of an houſe of that order in Bridgewater; Peter Ruſſell a graie frier, and of his order the prouinciall heere in England; Iohn Langton, a Carmelite; Robert Wantham a monke of Cernelie in Dorſetſhire, wrote a booke in verſe, of the originall and ſignification of words; William Norton, a Franciſcane frier of Couentrie; Hugh Sueth, a blacke frier, and a great preacher; Richard Folſham a monke of Norwich; Robert Wimbeldon, a ſingular diuine, and an excellent preacher, as appeareth by the ſermon which he made vpon this text, *Redde rationem villicationis tuæ.*

Acts and monuments.

Thus farre Henrie Plantagenet ſonne to Iohn of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter.

Henrie

Henrie the fift, prince of Wales, ſonne and heire to Henrie the fourth.

Anno Reg. 1.

Henrie prince of Wales, ſon and heire to K. Henrie the fourth, borne in Wales at Monmouth on the riuer of Wie, after his father was departed tooke vpon him the regiment of this realme of England, the twentith of March, the morrow after proclamed king, by the name of Henrie the fift, in the yeare of the world 5375, after the birth of our ſauiour, by our account 1413, the third of the emperor Sigiſmund: the thrée and thirtith of Charles the ſixt French king, and in the ſeuenth yeare of gouernance in Scotland vnder Robert brother to him that (before entrance into his kingdome 1390) had Iohn to name, which by deuiſe and order of the ſtates was changed into Robert the third, who at Rotſaie (a towne in the Iland of Got, 1406) deceaſſed by occaſion thus. As vpon hope in this gouernor to himſelfe conceiued how to come to the crowne, he at the caſtell of Falkland, latelie had famiſht his coſine Dauid the kings elder ſonne and heire (a diſſolute yoong prince) yet to his fathers excéeding ſorrow, at whoſe deceaſſe the father verie carefull, and caſting for the ſafegard of Iames his yoonger ſon and heire, from Baſſe the rocke in a well appointed ſhip, vnder charge of Henrie Saintcléere earle of Orkeneie, into France to his old fréend king Charles for good education and ſafetie this yoong prince he ſent: who in the courſe, whether for tempeſt or tendernes of ſtomach, tooke land in Yorkeſhire at Flamborow, that after by wiſedome and good conſideration of the king and his councell was thought verie neceſſarie here to be reteined. But by the ſudden newes of this ſtate, the father (at ſupper as he ſat) ſo ſtroken at hart that well nie ſtreight had he fallen downe dead, yet borne into his chamber, where for greefe and pine within thrée daies next he deceaſſed. The yoong king Iames his ſonne after an eightéene yeares ſtaie, in which time he had béene well trained in princehood, at laſt with right honorable marriage at ſaint Marie Oueries vnto Ione daughter to the earle of Summerſet, coſine vnto Henrie the ſixt then king, and with manie other high gratuities here beſide was ſent and ſet in his rule and kingdome at home.

Wil. Patten.
Buchanan rer. Scoticar. lib. 10.

Homage doone to K. Henrie before his coronation.

The day of king Henries coronation a verie tempeſtuous day.

Such great hope, and good expectation was had of this mans fortunate ſucceſſe to follow, that within thrée daies after his fathers deceaſſe, diuerſe noble men and honorable perſonages did to him homage, and ſware to him due obedience, which had not béene ſéene done to any of his predeceſſors kings of this realme, till they had béene poſſeſſed of the crowne. He was crowned the ninth of Aprill being Paſſion ſundaie, which was a ſore, ruggie, and tempeſtuous day, with wind, ſnow and ſléet, that men greatlie maruelled thereat, making diuerſe interpretations what the ſame might ſignifie. But this king euen at firſt appointing with himſelfe, to ſhew that in his perſon princelie honors ſhould change publike manners, he determined to put on him the ſhape of a new man. For whereas aforetime he had made himſelfe a companion vnto miſrulie mates of diſſolute order and life, he now baniſhed them all from his preſence (but not vnrewarded, or elſe vnpreferred) inhibiting them vpon a great paine, not once to approch, lodge, or ſoiourne within ten miles of his court or preſence: and in their places he choſe men of grauitie, wit, and high policie, by whoſe wiſe counſell he might at all times rule to his honour and dignitie; calling to mind how once to hie offenſe of the king his father, he had with his fiſt ſtriken the chéefe iuſtice for ſending one of his minions (vpon deſert) to priſon, when the iuſtice ſtoutlie commanded himſelfe alſo ſtreict to ward, & he (then prince) obeied. The king after expelled him out of his priuie councell, baniſht him the court, and made the duke of Clarence (his yoonger brother) preſident of councell in his ſtéed. This reformation in the new king Chriſt. Okl. hath reported, fullie conſenting with this. For ſaith he,

A notable example of a worthie prince.

In Angl. prel. ſub Hen. 5.

Ille inter iuuenes paulo laſciuior antè,
Defuncto genitore grauis conſtánsq; repentè,
Moribus ablegat corruptis regis ab aula
Aſſuetos ſocios, & nugatoribus acrem
Pœnam (ſi quiſquam ſua tecta reuiſerit) addit,
Atq; ita mutatus facit omnia principe digna,
Ingenio magno poſt conſultoribus vſus, &c.

But now that the king was once placed in the roiall ſeat of the realme, he vertuouſlie conſidering in his mind, that all goodneſſe commeth of God, determined to begin with ſome thing acceptable to his diuine maieſtie, and therefore commanded the cleargie ſincerelie and trulie to preach the word of God, and to liue accordinglie, that they might be the lanternes of light to the temporaltie, as their profeſſion required. The laie men he willed to ſerue God, and obeie their prince, prohibiting them aboue all things breach of matrimonie, cuſtome in ſwearing; and namelie, wilfull periurie. Beſide this, he elected the beſt learned men in the lawes of the realme, to the offices of iuſtice; and men of good liuing, he preferred to high degrées and authoritie. Immediatlie after Eaſter he called a parlement, in which diuerſe good ſtatutes, and wholeſome ordinances, for the preſeruation and aduancement of the common-wealth were deuiſed and eſtabliſhed. On Trinitie ſundaie were the ſolemne exequies doone at Canturburie for his father, the king himſelfe being preſent thereat.

A parlement.

Thom. Walſin.
The funerals of king Henrie the fourth kept at Canturburie.

S. Georges day made a double feaſt.

About the ſame time, at the ſpeciall inſtance of the king, in a conuocation of the cleargie holden at Paules in London, it was ordeined, that ſaint George his daie ſhould be celebrate and kept as a double feaſt. The archbiſhop of Canturburie, meant to haue honored ſaint Dunſtanes daie with like reuerence, but it tooke not effect. When the king had ſetled things much to his purpoſe, he cauſed the bodie of king Richard to be remoued with all funerall dignitie conuenient for his eſtate, from Langlie to Weſtminſter, where he was honorablie interred with quéene Anne his firſt wife, in a ſolemne toome erected and ſet vp at the charges of this king. ¶ Polychronicon ſaith, that after the bodie of the dead king was taken vp out of the earth, this new king (happilie tendering the magnificence of a prince, and abhorring obſcure buriall) cauſed the ſame to be conueied to Weſtminſter in a roiall ſeat (or chaire of eſtate) couered all ouer with blacke veluet, & adorned with banners of diuers armes round about. All the horſſes likewiſe (ſaith this author) were apparelled with blacke, and bare ſundrie ſutes of armes. Manie other ſolemnities were had at his interrement, according to the qualitie of the age wherein he liued and died.

Abr. Fl. out of Polychron.

Alſo in this firſt yéere of this kings reigne, ſir John Oldcaſtell, which by his wife was called lord Cobham, a valiant capteine and a hardie gentleman, was accuſed to the archbiſhop of Canturburie of certeine points of hereſie, who knowing him to be highlie in the kings fauour, declared to his highneſſe the whole accuſation. The king firſt hauing compaſſion of the noble man, required the prelats, that if he were a ſtraied ſhéepe, rather by gentlenes than by rigor to reduce him to the fold. And after this, he himſelfe ſent for him, and right earneſtlie exhorted him, and louinglie admoniſhed him to reconcile himſelfe to God and to his lawes. The lord Cobham not onelie thanked him for his moſt fauourable clemencie, but alſo declared firſt to him by mouth, and afterwards by writing, the foundation of his faith, and the ground of his beliefe, affirming his grace to be his ſupreme head and competent iudge, and none other perſon, offering an hundred knights and eſquiers to come to his purgation, or elſe to fight in open liſts in defenſe of his iuſt cauſe.

The king vnderſtanding and perſuaded by his councell, that by order of the lawes of his realme, ſuch accuſations touching matters of faith ought to be tried by his ſpirituall prelats, ſent him to the Tower of London, there to abide the determination of the clergie, according to the ſtatutes in that caſe prouided, after which time a ſolemne ſeſſion was appointed in the cathedrall church of ſaint Paule, vpon the thrée and twentith day of September, and an other the fiue and twentith daie of the ſame moneth, in the hall of the Blacke friers at London, in which places the ſaid lord was examined, apoſed, and fullie heard, and in concluſion by the archbiſhop of Canturburie denounced an heretike, & remitted againe to the Tower of London, from which place, either by helpe of fréends, or fauour of kéepers, he priuilie eſcaped and came into Wales, where he remained for a ſeaſon.

Sir John Oldcaſtell eſcaped out of ye Tower.

Titus Liuius.

1414

After this, the king kéeping his Chriſtmaſſe at his manor of Eltham, was aduertiſed, that ſir Roger Acton knight, a man of great wit and poſſeſſions, John Browne eſquier, John Beuerlie prieſt, and a great number of other were aſſembled in armour againſt the king, his brethren, the clergie and realme. These newes came to the king, on the twelfth daie in Chriſtmaſſe, whervpon vnderſtanding that they were in a place called Ficket field beſide London, on the backe ſide of ſaint Giles, he ſtreight got him to his palace at Weſtminſter, in as ſecret wiſe as he might, and there calling to him certeine bands of armed men, he repaired into ſaint Giles fields, néere to the ſaid place (where he vnderſtood they ſhould fullie méet about midnight) and ſo handled the matter, that he tooke ſome, and ſlue ſome, euen as ſtood with his pleaſure. The capteins of them afore mentioned, being apprehended, were brought to the kings preſence, and to him declared the cauſes of their commotion & riſing, accuſing a great number of their complices.

Hall.
A commotion raiſed by ſir Roger Acton and others.
Titus Liuius.

The rebels ſurpriſed.

Thom. Walſin.

The king vſed one policie, which much ſerued to the diſcomfiting of the aduerſaries (as Thom. Walſingham ſaith) which was this: he gaue order, that all the gates of London ſhould be ſtreictlie kept and garded, ſo as none ſhould come in or out, but ſuch as were knowen to go to the king. Hereby came it to paſſe, that the chiefeſt ſuccour appointed to come to the capteins of the rebels, was by that meanes cut off, where otherwiſe ſuerlie (had it not béene thus preuented and ſtaied) there had iſſued forth of London to haue ioined with them, to the number (as it was thought) of fiftie thouſand perſons, one and other, ſeruants, prentiſes, and citizens, confederate with them that were thus aſſembled in Ficket field. Diuerſe alſo that came from ſundrie parts of the realme, haſting towards the place, to be there at their appointed time, chanced to light among the kings men, who being taken and demanded whither they went with ſuch ſpéed, anſwered, they came to méet with their capteine the lord Cobham.

By this exceſſiue number it may appeare, that Walſingham reporteth this matter according to the common fame, and not as one that ſearched out an exquiſite truth.

But whether he came thither at all, or made ſhift for himſelfe to get awaie, it doth not appeare; for he could not be heard of at that time (as Thomas Walſingham confeſſeth) although the king by proclamation promiſed a thouſand marks to him that could bring him forth, with great liberties to the cities or townes that would diſcouer where he was. By this it maie appeare, how greatlie he was beloued, that there could not one be found, that for ſo great a reward would bring him to light. Among other that were taken was one William Murlie, who dwelt in Dunſtable, a man of great wealth, and by his occupation a brewer, an earneſt mainteiner of the lord Cobhams opinions, and (as the brute ran) in hope to be highlie aduanced by him if their purpoſed deuiſe had taken place, apparant by this; that he had two horſſes trapped with guilt harneſſe led after him, and in his boſome a paire of gilt ſpurs (as it was déemed) prepared for himſelfe to weare, looking to be made knight by the lord Cobhams hands at that preſent time. But when he ſaw how their purpoſe quailed, he withdrew into the citie with great feare to hide himſelfe; howbeit he was perceiued, taken, and finallie executed among others.

William Murlie.

To conclude, ſo manie perſons herevpon were apprehended, that all the priſons in and about London were full, the chiefe of them were condemned by the cleargie of hereſie, and atteinted of high treaſon in the Guildhall of London, and adiudged for that offenſe to be drawen and hanged, and for hereſie to be conſumed with fire, gallowes and all, which iudgement wis executed the ſame moneth, on the ſaid ſir Roger Acton, and eight and twentie others. ¶ Some ſaie, that the occaſion of their death was onelie for the conueieng of the lord Cobham out of priſon. Others write, that it was both for treaſon and hereſie, and ſo it appeareth by the record. Certeine affirme, that it was for feined cauſes ſurmized by the ſpiritualtie, more vpon diſpleaſure than truth, and that they were aſſembled to heare their preacher (the foreſaid Beuerlie) in that place there, out of the waie from reſort of people, ſith they might not come togither openlie about any ſuch matter, without danger to be apprehended; as the manner is, and hath béene euer of the perſecuted flocke, when they are prohibited publikelie the exerciſe of their religion. But howſoeuer the matter went with theſe men, apprehended they were, and diuerſe of them executed (as before ye haue heard) whether for rebellion or hereſie, or for both (as the forme of the indictment importeth) I néed not to ſpend manie words, ſith others haue ſo largelie treated thereof; and therefore I refer thoſe that wiſh to be more fullie ſatiſfied herein vnto their reports.

Sir Roger Acton & his complices condemned of treaſon and hereſie.

Eiton.

A diſdainefull ambaſſage.

Whileſt in the Lent ſeaſon the king laie at Killingworth, there came to him from Charles Dolphin of France certeine ambaſſadors, that brought with them a barrell of Paris balles, which from their maiſter they preſented to him for a token that was taken in verie ill part, as ſent in ſcorne, to ſignifie, that it was more méet for the king to paſſe the time with ſuch childiſh exerciſe, than to attempt any worthie exploit. Wherfore the K. wrote to him, that yer ought long, he would toſſe him ſome London balles that perchance ſhould ſhake the walles of the beſt court in France. ¶This yeare, Thom. Arundell archbiſhop of Canturburie departed this life, a ſtout prelat, and an earneſt mainteiner of the Romiſh religion: Henrie Chichelie biſhop of ſaint Dauid ſucceeded the ſame Arundell in the ſée of Canturburie, and the kings confeſſor Stephan Patrington a Carmelite frier was made biſhop of S. Dauid. Henrie Perſie then but a child, ſonne to the lord Henrie Perſie ſurnamed Hotſpur, after his fathers deceaſſe, that was ſlaine at Shrewesburie field, was conueied into Scotland, and there left by his grandfather, where euer ſince he had remained: the king therefore pitied his caſe, and ſo procured for him, that he came home, and was reſtored to all his lands and earledome of Northumberland, which lands before had béene giuen to the lord Iohn, the kings brother.

Tho. Walſ.

Perſie reſtored to the erledome of Northumberland.

W. P.

Le Roſier la ſecond partie.

A caſe verie ſtrange, and for manie cauſes alwaies right worthie of remembrance, in this yeare 1414, the ſecond of this kings reigne did befall, which conteining in it ſo manie matters for knowledge of Gods great power and iuſtice, of wilfull breaking his diuine lawes, of the eaſie ſlip into ruine where his mercie doth not ſtaie vs, the buſie bogging of the diuell alwaies, our weakeneſſe in combat with him, into what outrage and confuſion he haleth where he is not withſtood, with what tyrannie he tormenteth where he vanquiſheth, what the will and power of a ſouereigne ouer a ſubiect may force in caſes of iniquitie, where by vertue and grace he be not reſtrained: the zeale of a parent, the pangs of a child, but chéeflie the verie plague of Gods wrath and indignation vpon wilfull and obſtinate offendors, all which at thoſe daies though touched in Naples, yet at all times and euerie where ſo well ſeruing for example and warning, it hath béene thought verie conuenient the ſame in our ſtories alſo héere to be noted, which was thus. At this time newes were brought into France, how king Lancelot (the aduerſarie to Lewes king of Sicill) was departed, and in manner thus. It hapned that he fell in loue with a yong damoſell his owne phyſicians daughter (a puzell verie beautifull) and he in hope to inioy hir the eaſilier, cauſed hir father for his conſent to be talked withall in the matter, which he vtterlie refuſed to grant, and ſhewed forth manie reaſons for him; but at laſt all cauſes & excuſes reiected, ſith (though conſtreined) he muſt néeds aſſent, feined himſelfe willing and content. And forceing talke with his daughter vpon his mind in the matter, chéeflie how méet it were ſhe vſed his counſell how beſt with the king to kéepe hir ſtill in grace, he gaue hir a little box of ointment, and inſtruction withall, that when the king ſhould come to haue his will, ſhe ſhould afore with that balme annoint all hir wombe; the damoſell on good obſeruation did after (at oportunitie) as hir father taught hir. Héerevpon ſo pittifullie came it to paſſe, that the verie ſame night the king laie with hir, his bellie and hirs were by and by ſet as it were all on a ſindging fier, with torments of ſuch vnquenchable ſcorching and burning euen into the verie entrailes, that he of his kingdome, his life, his loue; and ſhe of hir princelie promotion, thus ſoone both togither made a ſorrowfull end. After the plaie of this lamentable tragedie, the phyſician fled for his ſafetie, and ſtraight vpon the newes king Lewes gathered a great aſſemblie, wherewith to paſſe towards Naples, and ſent before a good companie vnder the lord Longnie marſhall of France.

Anno Reg. 2. 1414

In the ſecond yeare of his reigne, king Henrie called his high court of parlement, the laſt daie of Aprill in the towne of Leiceſter, in which parlement manie profitable lawes were concluded, and manie petitions moued, were for that time deferred. Amongſt which, one was, that a bill exhibited in the parlement holden at Weſtminſter in the eleuenth yeare of king Henrie the fourth (which by reaſon the king was then troubled with ciuill diſcord, came to none effect) might now with good deliberation be pondered, and brought to ſome good concluſion. The effect of which ſupplication was, that the temporall lands deuoutlie giuen, and diſordinatlie ſpent by religious, and other ſpirituall perſons, ſhould be ſeized into the kings hands, ſith the ſame might ſuffice to mainteine, to the honor of the king, and defenſe of the realme, fiftéene earles, fiftéene hundred knights, ſix thouſand and two hundred eſquiers, and a hundred almeſſe-houſes, for reliefe onelie of the poore, impotent, and néedie perſons, and the king to haue cléerelie to his coffers twentie thouſand pounds, with manie other prouiſions and values of religious houſes, which I paſſe ouer.

A bill exhibited to the parlemēt againſt the clergie.

This bill was much noted, and more feared among the religious ſort, whom ſuerlie it touched verie néere, and therefore to find remedie againſt it, they determined to aſſaie all waies to put by and ouerthrow this bill: wherein they thought beſt to trie if they might moue the kings mood with ſome ſharpe inuention, that he ſhould not regard the importunate petitions of the commons. Wherevpon, on a daie in the parlement, Henrie Chichelie archbiſhop of Canturburie made a pithie oration, wherein he declared, how not onelie the duchies of Normandie and Aquitaine, with the counties of Anion and Maine, and the countrie of Gaſcoigne, were by vndoubted title apperteining to the king, as to the lawfull and onelie heire of the ſame; but alſo the whole realme of France, as heire to his great grandfather king Edward the third.

The archbiſhop of Canturburies oration in the parlement houſe.

The Salike law.

Herein did he much inueie againſt the ſurmiſed and falſe fained law Salike, which the Frenchmen alledge euer againſt the kings of England in barre of their iuſt title to the crowne of France. The verie words of that ſuppoſed law are theſe, *In terram Salicam mulieres ne ſuccedant*, that is to ſaie, Into the Salike land let not women ſuccéed. Which the French gloſſers expound to be the realme of France, and that this law was made by king Pharamond; whereas yet their owne authors affirme, that the land Salike is in Germanie, betwéene the riuers of Elbe and Sala; and that when Charles the great had ouercome the Saxons, he placed there certeine Frenchmen, which hauing in diſdeine the diſhoneſt maners of the Germane women, made a law, that the females ſhould not ſuccéed to any inheritance within that land, which at this daie is called Meiſen, ſo that if this be true, this law was not made for the realme of France, nor the Frenchmen poſſeſſed the land Salike, till foure hundred and one and twentie yeares after the death of Pharamond, the ſuppoſed maker of this Salike law, for this Pharamond deceaſſed in the yeare 426, and Charles the great ſubdued the Saxons, and placed the Frenchmen in thoſe parts beyond the riuer of Sala, in the yeare 805.

Meiſna.

Moreouer, it appeareth by their owne writers, that king Pepine, which depoſed Childerike, claimed the crowne of France, as heire generall, for that he was deſcended of Blithild daughter to king Clothair the firſt: Hugh Capet alſo, who vſurped the crowne vpon Charles duke of Loraine, the ſole heire male of the line and ſtocke of Charles the great, to make his title ſeeme true, and appeare good, though in deed it was ſtarke naught, conueied himſelfe as heire to the ladie Lingard, daughter to king Charlemaine, ſonne to Lewes the emperour, that was ſon to Charles the great. King Lewes alſo the tenth otherwiſe called ſaint Lewes, being verie heire to the ſaid vſurper Hugh Capet, could neuer be ſatiſfied in his conſcience how he might iuſtlie keepe and poſſeſſe the crowne of France, till he was perſuaded and fullie inſtructed, that queene Iſabell his grandmother was lineallie deſcended of the ladie Ermengard daughter and heire to the aboue named Charles duke of Loraine, by the which marriage, the bloud and line of Charles the great was againe vnited and reſtored to the crowne & ſcepter of France, ſo that more cleere than the ſunne it openlie appeareth, that the title of king Pepin, the claime of Hugh Capet, the poſſeſſion of Lewes, yea and the French kings to this daie, are deriued and conueied from the heire female, though they would vnder the colour of ſuch a fained law, barre the kings and princes of this realme of England of their right and lawfull inheritance.

The archbiſhop further alledged out of the booke of Numbers this ſaieng: When a man dieth without a ſonne, let the inheritance deſcend to his daughter. At length, hauing ſaid ſufficientlie for the proofe of the kings iuſt and lawfull title to the crowne of France, he exhorted him to aduance foorth his banner to fight for his right, to conquer his inheritance, to ſpare neither bloud, ſword, nor fire, ſith his warre was iuſt, his cauſe good, and his claime true. And to the intent his louing chapleins and obedient ſubiects of the ſpiritualtie might ſhew themſelues willing and deſirous to aid his maieſtie, for the recouerie of his ancient right and true inheritance, the archbiſhop declared that in their ſpirituall conuocation, they had granted to his highneſſe ſuch a ſumme of monie, as neuer by no ſpirituall perſons was to any prince before thoſe daies giuen or aduanced.

The earle of weſtmerland perſuadeth ẏ king to the conqueſt of Scotland.

When the archbiſhop had ended his prepared tale, Rafe Neuill earle of Weſtmerland, and as then lord Warden of the marches againſt Scotland, vnderſtanding that the king vpon a couragious deſire to recouer his right in France, would ſuerlie take the wars in hand, thought good to moue the king to begin firſt with Scotland, and thervpon declared how eaſie a matter it ſhould be to make a conqueſt there, and how greatlie the ſame ſhould further his wiſhed purpoſe for the ſubduing of the Frenchmen, concluding the ſumme of his tale with this old ſaieng: that Who ſo will France win, muſt with Scotland firſt begin. Manie matters he touched, as well to ſhew how neceſſarie the conqueſt of Scotland ſhould be, as alſo to proue how iuſt a cauſe the king had to attempt it, truſting to perſuade the king and all other to be of his opinion.

The duke of Exceſter his wiſe and pithie anſwer to the earle of weſtmerlãds ſaieng.

A true ſaieng.

But after he had made an end, the duke of Exceſter, vncle to the king, a man well learned and wiſe, (who had beene ſent into Italie by his father, intending that he ſhould haue been a preeſt) replied againſt the erle of Weſtmerlands oration, affirming rather that he which would Scotland win, he with France muſt firſt begin. For if the king might once compaſſe the conqueſt of France, Scotland could not long reſiſt; ſo that conquere France, and Scotland would ſoone obeie. For where ſhould the Scots lerne policie and ſkill to defend themſelues, if they had not their bringing vp and training in France? If the French penſions mainteined not the Scotiſh nobilitie, in what caſe ſhould they be? Then take awaie France, and the Scots will ſoone be tamed; France being to Scotland the ſame that the ſap is to the tree, which being taken awaie, the tree muſt needs die and wither.

To be briefe, the duke of Exceſter vſed ſuch earneſt and pithie perſuaſions, to induce the king and the whole aſſemblie of the parlement to credit his words, that immediatlie after he had made an end, all the companie began to crie; Warre, warre; France, France. Hereby the bill for diſſoluing of religious houſes was cleerelie ſet aſide, and nothing thought on but onelie the recouering of France, according as the archbiſhop had mooued. And vpon this point, after a few acts beſides for the wealth of the realme eſtabliſhed, the parlement was proroged vnto Weſtminſter. ¶ Some write, that in this parlement it was enacted, that Lollards and heretikes with their mainteiners and fauourers ſhould be *Ipſo facto* adiudged guiltie of high treaſon: but in the ſtatute made in the ſame parlement againſt Lollards, we find no ſuch words: albeit by force of that ſtatute it was ordeined, that perſons ſo conuicted & executed, ſhould loſe their lands holden in fee ſimple, and all other their goods and cattels, as in caſes of felonie.

Ambaſſadors from ẏ Frẽch king and from the duke of Burgognie.

During this parlement, there came to the king ambaſſadors, as well from the French king that was then in the hands of the Orlientiall faction, as alſo from the duke of Burgognie, for aid againſt that faction; promiſing more (as was ſaid) than laie well in his power to performe. The king ſhortlie after ſent ambaſſadors to them both, as the biſhop of Durham, and Norwich, with others. Moreouer at this parlement, Iohn the kings brother was created duke of Bedford, and his brother Humfrie duke of Glocester. Alſo, Thomas Beaufort, marqueſſe Dorſet, was created duke of Exceſter. Immediatlie after, the king ſent ouer into France his vncle the duke of Exceſter, the lord Greie admerall of England, the archbiſhop of Dubline, and the biſhop of Norwich, ambaſſadors vnto the French king, with fiue hundred horſſe, which were lodged in the temple houſe in Paris, keeping ſuch triumphant cheere in their lodging, and ſuch a ſolemne eſtate in their riding through the citie, that the Pariſiens and all the Frenchmen had no ſmall meruell at their honorable port.

Creation of dukes.

Harding.

Ambaſſadors ſent to Fran.

The French king receiued them verie honorablie, and banketted them right ſumptuouſlie, ſhewing to them iuſts and Martiall paſtimes, by the ſpace of three daies togither, in the which iuſts the king himſelfe, to ſhew his courage and actiuitie to the Engliſhmen, manfullie brake ſpeares and luſtilie tournied. When the triumph was ended, the Engliſh ambaſſadors, hauing a time appointed them to declare their meſſage, admitted to the French kings preſence, required of him to deliuer vnto the king of England the realme and crowne of France, with the entier duchies of Aquiteine, Normandie and Aniou, with the countries of Poictiou and Maine. Manie other requeſts they made: and this offered withall, that if the French king would without warre and effuſion of chriſtian bloud, render to the king their maiſter his verie right & lawfull inheritance, that he would be content to take in mariage the ladie Katharine, daughter to the French king, and to indow hir with all the duchies and countries before rehearſed: and if he would not ſo doo, then the king of England did expreſſe and ſignifie to him, that with the aid of God, and helpe of his people, he would recouer his right and inheritance wrongfullie withholden from him, with mortall warre, and dint of ſword. ¶ This in effect doth our Engliſh poet compriſe in his report of the occaſion, which Henrie the

Abr. Fl. [illegible] In Angl. [illegible] ſub Hen. 5.

fift

fit tooke to arrere battell againſt the French king: putting into the mouthes of the ſaid king of Englands ambaſſadors an imagined ſpeech, the concluſion whereof he maketh to be either reſtitution of that which the French had taken and deteined from the Engliſh, or elſe fier and ſword. His words are theſe,

———raptum nobis aut redde Britannis,
Aut ferrum expectes, vltrices inſuper ignes.

The Frenchmen being not a little abaſhed at theſe demands, thought not to make anie abſolute anſwer in ſo weightie a cauſe, till they had further breathed; and therefore praied the Engliſh ambaſſadors to ſaie to the king their maiſter, that they now hauing no opportunitie to conclude in ſo high a matter, would ſhortlie ſend ambaſſadors into England, which ſhould certifie & declare to the king their whole mind, purpoſe, and intent. The Engliſh ambaſſadors returned with this anſwer, making relation of euerie thing that was ſaid or doone. King Henrie after the returne of his ambaſſadors, determined fullie to make warre in France, conceiuing a good and perfect hope to haue fortunate ſucceſſe, ſith victorie for the moſt part followeth where right leadeth, being aduanced forward by iuſtice, and ſet forth by equitie.

Thom. Walſ. It is not like that in this councell writers meane yͤ parlement that was adiorned from Leiceſter to weſtminſter, where it began in the octaues of ſaint Martin, in this ſecond yeare 1415.

And bicauſe manie Frenchmen were promoted to eccleſiaſticall dignities, as ſome to benefices, and ſome to abbeies and priories within the realme, and ſent dailie innumerable ſummes of monie into France, for the releeſe of their naturall countrimen and kinſfolke, he therefore in fauour of the publike wealth of his realme and ſubiects, in a councell called at London, about Michaelmas, cauſed to be ordeined, that no ſtranger hereafter ſhould be promoted to anie ſpirituall dignitie or degree within this realme, without his eſpeciall licence, and roiall conſent; and all they that ſhould be admitted, ſhould find ſufficient ſuerties, not to diſcloſe the ſecrets of this realme to anie forren perſon, nor to miniſter aid or ſuccour to anie of them with monie, or by anie other meanes. This was confirmed in a conuocation called at the ſame time by the new archbiſhop of Canturburie.

The councell of Conſtance.

Moreouer, ſuch as were to go vnto the generall councell holden at Conſtance, were named and appointed to make them readie: for the king hauing knowledge from the emperor Sigiſmund, of the aſſembling of that councell, thought it not conuenient to ſit ſtill as an hearer, and no partaker in ſo high a cauſe, which touched the whole ſtate of the chriſtian common-wealth, as then troubled by reaſon of the ſchiſme that yet continued. Wherefore he ſent thither Richard earle of Warwike, the biſhops of Saliſburie, Bath, and Hereford, the abbat of Weſtminſter, and the prior of Worceſter, with diuerſe other doctors and learned men of the ſpiritualtie; beſides knights and eſquiers. They were in number eight hundred horſſes, ſo well appointed and furniſhed, as well the men as horſſes, that all nations merueiled to ſee ſuch an honorable companie come from a countrie ſo far diſtant.

The earle of warwike and others ſent to the generall councell.

Engueram.

Great preparation for the French wars

Diuerſe other things were concluded at that preſent: for the king had cauſed not onelie the lords of the ſpiritualtie, but alſo of the temporaltie to aſſemble here at London the ſame time, to treat ſpeciallie of his iournie that he purpoſed to make ſhortlie into France: and herevpon meanes was made for the gathering of monie, which was granted with ſo good a will both of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie, that there was leuied the ſumme of three hundred thouſand markes Engliſh: and herewith order was giuen to gather a great hoaſt of men, thorough all his dominions. And for the more increaſing of his nauie, he ſent into Holland, Zeland, and Frizeland, to conduct and hire ſhips for the tranſporting and conueieng ouer of his men and munitions of war, and finallie prouided for armour, victuals, monie, artillerie, cariage, boates to paſſe ouer riuers couered with leather, tents, and all other things requiſite for ſo high an enterpriſe.

The Frenchmen hauing knowledge hereof, the Dolphin, who had the gouernance of the realme, bicauſe his father was fallen into his old diſeaſe of frenſie, ſent for the dukes of Berrie and Alanſon, and all the other lords of the councell of France: by whoſe aduiſe it was determined, that they ſhould not onelie prepare a ſufficient armie to reſiſt the king of England, when ſo euer he arriued to inuade France, but alſo to ſtuffe and furniſh the townes on the frontiers and ſea coaſts with conuenient garriſons of men: and further to ſend to the king of England a ſolemne ambaſſage, to make to him ſome offers according to the demands before rehearſed. The charge of this ambaſſage was committed to the earle of Vandoſme, to maiſter William Bouratier archbiſhop of Burges, and to maiſter Peter Fremell biſhop of Liſeux, to the lords of Yvry and Braquemont, and to maiſter Gaultier Cole the kings ſecretarie, and diuerſe others.

Anno Reg. 3.
Ambaſſadors out of France

Theſe ambaſſadors accompanied with 350 horſſes, paſſed the ſea at Calis, and landed at Douer, before whoſe arriuall the king was departed from Windſore to Wincheſter, intending to haue gone to Hampton, there to haue ſurueied his nauie: but hearing of the ambaſſadors approching, he tarried ſtill at Wincheſter, where the ſaid French lords ſhewed themſelues verie honorablie before the king and his nobilitie. At time prefixed, before the kings preſence, ſitting in his throne imperiall, the archbiſhop of Burges made an eloquent and a long oration, diſſuading warre, and praiſing peace; offering to the king of England a great ſumme of monie, with diuerſe countries, being in verie deed but baſe and poore, as a dowrie with the ladie Catharine in mariage, ſo that he would diſſolue his armie, and diſmiſſe his ſoldiers, which he had gathered and put in a readineſſe.

When his oration was ended, the king cauſed the ambaſſadors to be highlie feaſted, and ſet them at his owne table. And after a daie aſſigned in the foreſaid hall, the archbiſhop of Canturburie to their oration made a notable anſwer, the effect whereof was, that if the French king would not giue with his daughter in mariage the duches of Aquiteine, Aniou, and all other ſeigniories and dominions ſometimes apperteining to the noble progenitors of the king of England, he would in no wiſe retire his armie, nor breake his iournie; but would with all diligence enter into France, and deſtroie the people, waſte the countrie, and ſubuert the townes with blood, ſword, and fire, and neuer ceaſſe till he had recouered his ancient right and lawfull patrimonie. The king auowed the archbiſhops ſaieng, and in the word of a prince promiſed to performe it to the vttermoſt.

A proud preſumptuous prelat.

The archbiſhop of Burges much greeued, that his ambaſſage was no more regarded, after certeine brags bluſtered out with impatience, as more preſuming vpon his prelaſie, than reſpecting his dutie of conſiderance to whom he ſpake and what became him to ſaie, he praied ſafe conduct to depart. Which the king gentlie granted, and added withall to this effect: I little eſteeme your French brags, & leſſe ſet by your power and ſtrength; I know perfectlie my right to my region, which you vſurpe; & except you denie the apparant truth, ſo doo your ſelues alſo: if you neither doo nor will know it, yet God and the world knoweth it. The power of your maſter you ſee, but my puiſ-

The wiſe anſwer of the K. to the biſhop.

“ ſance ye haue not yet taſted. If he haue louing ſub-
“ iects, I am (I thanke God) not vnſtored of the ſame:
and I ſaie this vnto you, that before one yeare paſſe,
“ I truſt to make the higheſt crowne of your countrie
“ to ſtoope, and the proudeſt miter to learne his humi-
“ liatedo. In the meane time tell this to the vſurper
your maſter, that within thrée moneths, I will enter
“ into France, as into mine owne true and lawfull
“ patrimonie, appointing to acquire the ſame, not with
brag of words, but with déeds of men, and dint of
“ ſword, by the aid of God, in whome is my whole truſt
“ and confidence. Further matter at this preſent I
impart not vnto you, ſauing that with warrant
“ you maie depart ſuerlie and ſafelie into your coun-
“ trie, where I truſt ſooner to viſit you, than you ſhall
“ haue cauſe to bid me welcome. With this anſwer the ambaſſadors ſore diſpleaſed in their minds (although they were highlie interteined and liberallie rewarded) departed into their countrie, reporting to the Dolphin how they had ſped.

Harding.

An ouerthrow to the Scots by ſir Robert Umfreuill.

After the French ambaſſadors were departed, the king like a prouident prince, thought good to take order for the reſiſting of the Scots, if (according to their maner) they ſhould attempt anie thing againſt his ſubiects in his abſence. For that point appointed he the earle of Weſtmerland, the lord Scroope, the baron of Greiſtocke, ſir Robert Umfreuill, & diuerſe other valiant capteins to kéepe the frontiers & marches of Scotland, which ſir Robert Umfreuill on the daie of Marie Madgdalen fought with the Scots at the towne of Gedering, hauing in his companie onelie thrée hundred archers, and ſeuen ſcore ſpears, where he (after long conflict) ſlue of his enimies ſixtie and odde, tooke thrée hundred and ſixtie priſoners, diſcomfited and put to flight one thouſand and more, whome he followed in chaſe aboue twelue miles, but their hands full of preies and priſoners, retired homeward (not vnhurt) to the caſtell of Rockeſborough, of the which he was capteine.

The quéene mother gouernour of the realme.

When the king had all prouiſions readie, and ordered all things for the defenſe of his realme, he leauing behind him for gouernour of the realme, the quéene his mother in law, departed to Southampton, to take ſhip into France. And firſt princelie appointing to aduertiſe the French king of his comming, therefore diſpatched Antelope his purſeuant at armes with letters to him for reſtitution of that which he wrongfully withheld, contrarie to the lawes of God and man: the king further declaring how ſorie he was that he ſhould be thus compelled for repeating of his right and iuſt title of inheritance, to make warre to the deſtruction of chriſtian people, but ſithens he had offered peace which could not be receiued, now for fault of iuſtice, he was forced to take armes. Neuertheleſſe exhorted the French king in the bowels of Ieſu Chriſt, to render him that which was his owne, whereby effuſion of Chriſtian bloud might be auoided. Theſe letters chéeflie to this effect and purpoſe, were written and dated from Hampton the fift of Auguſt. When the ſame were preſented to the French king, and by his councell well peruſed, anſwer was made, that he would take aduiſe, and prouide therein as time and place ſhould be conuenient, ſo the meſſenger licenced to depart at his pleaſure.

The earle of Cambridge & other lords apprehended for treaſon. Thom. Wal.

When king Henrie had fullie furniſhed his nauie with men, munition, & other prouiſions, perceiuing that his capteines miſliked nothing ſo much as delate, determined his ſouldiors to go a ſhip-bord and awaie. But ſée the hap, the night before the daie appointed for their departure, he was crediblie informed, that Richard earle of Cambridge brother to Edward duke of Yorke, and Henrie lord Scroope of Maſham lord treaſuror, with Thomas Graie a knight of Northumberland, being confederat togither, had conſpired his death: wherefore he cauſed them to be apprehended. The ſaid lord Scroope was in ſuch fauour with the king, that he admitted him ſometime to be his bedfellow, in whoſe fidelitie the king repoſed ſuch truſt, that when anie priuat or publike councell was in hand, this lord had much in the determination of it. For he repreſented ſo great grauitie in his countenance, ſuch modeſtie in behauiour, and ſo vertuous zeale to all godlineſſe in his talke, that whatſoeuer he ſaid was thought for the moſt part neceſſarie to be doone and followed. Alſo the ſaid ſir Thomas Graie (as ſome write) was of the kings priuie councell.

Hall.

King Henries words to the traitours.

Theſe priſoners vpon their examination, confeſſed, that for a great ſumme of monie which they had receiued of the French king, they intended verelie either to haue deliuered the king aliue into the hands of his enimies, or elſe to haue murthered him before he ſhould arriue in the duchie of Normandie. When king Henrie had heard all things opened, which he deſired to know, he cauſed all his nobilitie to come before his preſence, before whome he cauſed to be brought the offendors alſo, and to them ſaid. Hauing thus conſpired the death and deſtruction of me, which am the head of the realme and gouernour of the people, it maie be (no doubt) but that you likewiſe haue
ſworne the confuſion of all that are here with me, ”
and alſo the deſolation of your owne countrie. To
what horror (O lord) for any true Engliſh hart to con- ”
ſider, that ſuch an execrable iniquitie ſhould euer ſo ”
bewrap you, as for pleaſing of a forren enimie to ”
imbrue your hands in your bloud, and to ruine your
owne natiue ſoile. Reuenge herein touching my per- ”
ſon, though I ſéeke not; yet for the ſafegard of you ”
my déere fréends, & for due preſeruation of all ſorts, I ”
am by office to cauſe example to be ſhewed. Get ye
hence therefore ye poore miſerable wretches to the re- ”
ceiuing of your iuſt reward, wherein Gods maieſtie ”
giue you grace of his mercie and repentance of ”
your heinous offenſes. And ſo immediatlie they were had to execution.

The earle of Cambridge and the other traitours executed.

This doone, the king calling his lords againe afore him, ſaid in words few and with good grace. Of his enterpriſes he recounted the honor and glorie, whereof they with him were to be partakers, the great confidence he had in their noble minds, which could not but remember them of the famous feats that their anceſtors aforetime in France had atchiued, whereof the due report for euer recorded remained yet in regiſter. The great mercie of God that had ſo gratiouſlie reuealed vnto him the treaſon at hand, whereby the true harts of thoſe afore him made ſo eminent & apparant in his eie, as they might be right ſure he would neuer forget it. The doubt of danger to be nothing in reſpect of the certeintie of honor that they ſhould acquire, wherein himſelfe (as they ſaw) in perſon would be lord and leader through Gods grace. To whoſe maieſtie as chéeflie was knowne the equitie of his demand: euen ſo to his mercie did he onelie recommend the ſucceſſe of his trauels. When the king had ſaid, all the noble men knéeled downe, & promiſed faithfullie to ſerue him, dulie to obeie him, and rather to die than to ſuffer him to fall into the hands of his enimies.

This doone, the king thought that ſuerlie all treaſon and conſpiracie had béene vtterlie extinct: not ſuſpecting the fire which was newlie kindled, and ceaſſed not to increaſe, till at length it burſt out into ſuch a flame, that catching the beames of his houſe and familie, his line and ſtocke was cleane conſumed to aſhes. ¶ Diuerſe write that Richard earle of Cambridge did not conſpire with the lord Scroope & Thomas Graie for the murthering of king Henrie to pleaſe the French king withall, but onelie to the intent to exalt to the crowne his brother in law Edmund earle of March as heire to Lionell duke of Clarence: after the death of which earle of March, for diuerſe ſecret impediments, not able to haue iſſue, the earle of Cambridge was ſure that the crowne ſhould come to him by his wife, and to his children, of hir begotten. And therefore (as was thought) he rather confeſſed himſelfe for need of monie to be corrupted by the French king, than he would declare his inward mind, and open his verie intent and ſecret purpoſe, which if it were eſpied, he ſaw plainlie that the earle of March ſhould haue taſted of the ſame cuppe that he had drunken, and what ſhould haue come to his owne children he much doubted. Therefore deſtitute of comfort & in deſpaire of life to ſaue his children, he feined that tale, deſiring rather to ſaue his ſucceſſion than himſelfe, which he did in déed: for his ſonne Richard duke of Yorke not priuilie but openlie claimed the crowne, and Edward his ſonne both claimed it, & gained it, as after it ſhall appeare. Which thing if king Henrie had at this time either doubted, or foreſéene, had neuer béene like to haue come to paſſe, as Hall ſaith.

The effect of the earle of Cambridges indictement.

But whatſoeuer hath béene reported of the confeſſion of the earle of Cambridge, certeine it is, that indicted he was by the name of Richard earle of Cambridge of Conneſburgh in the countie of Yorke knight, and with him Thomas Graie of Heton in the countie of Northumberland knight; for that they the twentith daie of Iulie, in the third yeare of king Henrie the fifts reigne, at Southampton, and in diuerſe other places within this realme, had conſpired togither with a power of men to them aſſociat, without the kings licence, to haue led awaie the lord Edmund earle of March into Wales, and then to haue procured him to take vpon him the ſupreme gouernment of the realme, in caſe that king Richard the ſecond were dead: and herwith had purpoſed to ſet forth a proclamation there in Wales, in name of the ſaid earle of March, as heire of the crowne againſt king Henrie, by the name of Henrie of Lancaſter the vſurper, to the end that by ſuch meanes they might draw the more number of the kings liege people vnto the ſaid earle; and further to haue conueied a banner of the armes of England, and a certeine crowne of Spaine ſet vpon a pallet, and laid in gage to the ſaid earle of Cambridge, by the king, togither with the ſaid earle of March into the parties of Wales aforeſaid.

A iewell.

Further, that the ſaid earle of Cambridge, and ſir Thomas Graie had appointed certeine of the kings liege people to repaire into Scotland, and to bring from thence one Thomas Trumpington; alſo an other reſembling in ſhape, fauour, and countenance king Richard, and Henrie Perſie, togither with a great multitude of people to fight with the king, and him to deſtroie in open field. Beſide this, that they had meant to win certeine caſtels in Wales, and to kéepe them againſt the king: and manie other treaſons they had contriued, as by the indictement was ſpecified, to the intent they might deſtroie the king and his brethren, the dukes of Bedford and Glouceſter, and other the great lords & péers of the realme. And Henrie Scrope of Maſham, of Flaxflet, in the countie of Yorke was likewiſe indicted, as conſenting to the premiſſes. So that it appeareth their purpoſe was well inough then perceiued, although happilie not much bruted abroad, for conſiderations thought neceſſarie to haue it rather huſht and kept ſecret.

About the ſelfe ſame time the lord Cobham with his fréends, whether as one of counſell in the conſpiracie with the earle of Cambridge or not, was determined to haue made ſome attempt againſt the lord of Aburgauennie, who being aduertiſed thereof, got for his defenſe from Worceſter, Perſore, Teukeſburie, and other places thereabout, to the number of fiue thouſand archers, and other armed men, which came to him vnto his caſtell of Hanleie: whereof when the lord Cobham was aduertiſed, he withdrew againe to ſuch ſecret places about Maluerne, as he had prouided for his ſuertie, to reſort vnto; but a prieſt that belonged vnto him, was taken, and diuerſe other, who diſcloſed to the lord Aburgauennie, one of the places where the ſaid lord Cobham with his men vſed to kéepe themſelues cloſe. Vnto that place the lord Aburgauennie went, where he found in déed monie and armor piled vp betwixt two wals, handſomelie conueied and framed for the purpoſe; but the lord Cobham with his folkes were withdrawne into ſome other place, after they once heard, that the earle of Cambridge and the lord Scrope were executed.

But now to proceed with king Henries doings. After this, when the wind came about proſperous to his purpoſe, he cauſed the mariners to weie vp anchors, and hoiſe vp ſailes, and to ſet forward with a thouſand ſhips, on the vigill of our ladie daie the Aſſumption, and tooke land at Caux, commonlie called Kidcaux, where the riuer of Saine runneth into the ſea, without reſiſtance. At his firſt comming on land, he cauſed proclamation to be made, that no perſon ſhould be ſo hardie on paine of death, either to take anie thing out of anie church that belonged to the ſame, or to hurt or doo anie violence either to prieſts, women, or anie ſuch as ſhould be found without weapon or armor, and not readie to make reſiſtance: alſo that no man ſhould renew anie quarell or ſtrife, whereby anie fraie might ariſe to the diſquieting of the armie.

Titus Liuius.

The king ſaileth ouer into France with his hoſt.

Titus Liuius.

A charitable proclamation.

Princelie and wiſelie.

The next daie after his landing, he marched toward the towne of Harflue, ſtanding on the riuer of Saine betwéene two hils; he beſieged it on euerie ſide, raiſing bulwarks and a baſtell, in which the two earles of Kent & Huntington were placed, with Cornwall, Graie, Steward, and Porter. On that ſide towards the ſea, the king lodged with his field, and the duke of Clarence on the further ſide towards Rone. There were within the towne the lords de Touteuill and Gaucourt, with diuerſe other that valiantlie defended the ſiege, dooing what damage they could to their aduerſaries; and damming vp the riuer that hath his courſe through the towne, the water roſe ſo high betwixt the kings campe, and the duke of Clarence campe (diuided by the ſame riuer) that the Engliſhmen were conſtreined to withdraw their artillerie from one ſide, where they had planted the ſame.

Harding.

The French king being aduertiſed, that king Henrie was arriued on that coaſt, ſent in all haſt the lord de la Breth conſtable of France, the ſeneſhall of France, the lord Bouciqualt marſhall of France, the ſeneſhall of Henault, the lord Lignie with other, which fortified townes with men, victuals, and artillerie on all thoſe frontiers towards the ſea. And hearing that Harflue was beſieged, they came to the caſtell of Caudebecke, being not farre from Harflue, to the intent they might ſuccor their fréends which were beſieged, by ſome policie or meanes: but the Engliſhmen, notwithſtanding all the damage that the Frenchmen could worke againſt them, forraied the countrie, ſpoiled the villages, bringing manie a rich preie to the campe before Harflue. And dailie was the towne aſſaulted: for the duke of Glouceſter, to whome the order of the ſiege was committed, made thrée mines vnder the ground, and approching to the wals with his engins and ordinance, would not ſuffer them within to take anie reſt.

The king beſieged Harflue.

Titus Liuius.

For although they with their countermining ſomwhat diſappointed the Engliſhmen, & came to fight with them hand to hand within the mines, ſo that they went no further forward with that worke; yet they were ſo incloſed on ech ſide, as well by water as land, that ſuccour they ſaw could none come to them: for the king lieng with his battell on the hill ſide on the one partie, and the duke of Clarence beyond the riuer that paſſeth by the towne, and runneth into Saine on the other partie, beſide other lords and capteins that were lodged with their retinues for their moſt aduantage: none could be ſuffered to go in, or come forth, without their licence; inſomuch that ſuch pouder as was ſent to haue béene conueied into the towne by water, was taken by the Engliſh ſhips that watched the riuer.

Harding.
Thom. Walſi.

The ſeuenteenth of September they within Harflue praie parlee.

The capteins within the towne, perceiuing that they were not able long to reſiſt the continuall aſſaults of the Engliſhmen, knowing that their wals were vndermined, and like to be ouerthrowne (as one of their bulwarks was alredie, where the earles of Huntington and Kent had ſet vp their banners) ſent an officer at armes forth about midnight after the feaſt daie of ſaint Lambert, which fell that yeare vpon the tueſdaie, to beſéech the king of England to appoint ſome certeine perſons as commiſſioners from him, with whome they within might treat about ſome agréement. The duke of Clarence, to whome this meſſenger firſt declared his errand, aduertiſed the king of their requeſt, who granting thereto, appointed the duke of Excester, with the lord Fitz Hugh, and ſir Thomas Erpingham, to vnderſtand their minds, who at the firſt requeſted a truce vntill ſundaie next following the feaſt of ſaint Michaell, in which meane time if no ſuccour came to remoue the ſiege, they would vndertake to deliuer the towne into the kings hands, their liues and goods ſaued.

A fiue daies reſpit.

The king aduertiſed hereof, ſent them word, that except they would ſurrender the towne to him the morow next inſuing, without anie condition, they ſhould ſpend no more time in talke about the matter. But yet at length through the earneſt ſute of the French lords, the king was contented to grant them truce vntill nine of the clocke the next ſundaie, being the two and twentith of September; with condition, that if in the meane time no reſcue came, they ſhould yéeld the towne at that houre, with their bodies and goods to ſtand at the kings pleaſure. And for aſſurance thereof, they deliuered into the kings hands thirtie of their beſt capteins and merchants within that towne as pledges. But other write, that it was couenanted, that they ſhould deliuer but onelie twelue pledges, and that if the ſiege were not raiſed by the French kings power within ſix daies next following, then ſhould they deliuer the towne into the king of England hands, and thirtie of the chéefeſt perſonages within the ſame, to ſtand for life or death at his will and pleaſure: and as for the reſidue of the men of warre and towneſmen, they ſhould depart whether they would, without carieng forth either armour, weapon, or goods.

The king neuertheleſſe was after content to grant a reſpit vpon certeine conditions, that the capteins within might haue time to ſend to the French king for ſuccour (as before ye haue heard) leaſt he intending greater exploits, might loſe time in ſuch ſmall matters. When this compoſition was agréed vpon, the lord Bacqueuill was ſent vnto the French king, to declare in what point the towne ſtood. To whome the Dolphin anſwered, that the kings power was not yet aſſembled, in ſuch number as was conuenient to raiſe ſo great a ſiege. This anſwer being brought vnto the capteins within the towne, they rendered it vp to the king of England, after that the third daie was expired, which was on the daie of ſaint Maurice being the ſeuen and thirtith daie after the ſiege was firſt laid. The ſouldiors were ranſomed, and the towne ſacked, to the great gaine of the Engliſhmen. ¶ Some writing of this yéelding vp of Harflue, do in like ſort make mention of the diſtreſſe wherto the people, then expelled out of their habitations, were driuen: inſomuch as parents with their children, yong maids and old folke went out of the towne gates with heauie harts (God wot) as put to their preſent ſhifts to ſéeke them a new abode. Beſides that, king Henrie cauſed proclamation to be made within his owne dominions of England, that whoſoeuer (either handicraftesman, merchantman, gentleman, or plowman) would inhabit in Harflue, ſhould haue his dwelling giuen him gratis, and his heire after him alſo inioy the like grace and fauour: inſomuch that great multitudes flocked to the ſea coaſts, waiting wind and wether for their tranſportage into Harflue, where being arriued, woonderfull it is to tell, within how ſhort a time the towne was peopled. This doth *Anglorum prælia* report, ſaieng (not without good ground, I beléeue) as followeth:

Harflue yéelded and ſacked.

Abr. Fl. out of *Angl. præl. ſub Hen. 5.* and Polychron.

——— tum flentes tenera cum prole parentes
Virgineuſque chorus veteres liquere penates:
Tum populus cunctus de portis Gallicus exit
Mæſtus, inarmatus, vacuus, miſer, æger, inópsq;
Vtque nouas ſedes quærat migrare coactus:
Oppidulo belli potiuntur iure Britanni, &c.

All this doone, the king ordeined capteine to the towne his vncle the duke of Excester, who eſtabliſhed his lieutenant there, one ſir John Faſtolfe, with fiftéene hundred men, or (as ſome haue) two thouſand and thirtie ſix knights, whereof the baron of Carew, and ſir Hugh Lutterell, were two councellors. And bicauſe manie of his nobles whileſt this ſiege laie before Harflue, fell ſicke of the flix and other diſeaſes, diuerſe alſo dead, amongſt whom the earle of Stafford, the biſhop of Norwich, the lords Molins and Burnell were foure (beſide others) the king licenced his brother the duke of Clarence, John earle marſhall, and John earle of Arundell, being infected with that diſeaſe, to returne into England.

Great death in the hoſt by the flix.

King Henrie, after the winning of Harflue, determined to haue procéeded further in the winning of other townes and fortreſſes: but bicauſe the dead time of the winter approched, it was determined by aduiſe of his councell, that he ſhould in all conuenient ſpéed ſet forward, and march through the countrie towards Calis by land, leaſt his returne as then homewards ſhould of ſlanderous tongs be named a running awaie: and yet that iournie was adiudged perillous, by reaſon that the number of his people was much miniſhed by the flix and other feuers, which ſore vexed and brought to death aboue fiftéene hundred perſons of the armie: and this was the cauſe that his returne was the ſooner appointed and concluded.

The kings mercifull dealing with the French priſoners.

But before his departing thence, he entred into the towne of Harflue, & went to the church of ſaint Martines, and there offered. All the men of warre which had not paid their ranſoms, he ſware them on the holie euangeliſts, to yéeld themſelues priſoners at Calis by the feaſt of ſaint Martine in Nouember next. There were two ſtrong towers ſtanding on the hauen ſide at Harflue, which looking for aid, did not yéeld, till ten daies after the towne was rendered. When the king had repared the walles, bulwarks and rampiers about the towne, and furniſhed it with vittels and artillerie, he remooued from Harflue toward Ponthoiſe, intending to paſſe the riuer of Some with his armie, before the bridges were either withdrawen or broken. Such vittels and other neceſſaries as were to be caried with the armie, he appointed to be laid on horſſes, leauing the carts and wagons behind for leſſe incombre.

The French king hearing that the towne of Harflue was gotten, and that the king of England was marching forward into the bowels of the realme of France, ſent out proclamations, and aſſembled people on euerie ſide, committing the whole charge of his armie to his ſonne the Dolphine and duke of Aquitaine, who incontinentlie cauſed the bridges to be broken, and the paſſages to be kept. Alſo they cauſed all the corne and vittels to be conueied awaie, or deſtroied in all places, where it was coniectured that the Engliſhmen would paſſe. The king of England nothing diſmaied herewith, kept his iournie in ſpite of his enimies, conſtreining them within diuerſe townes and holds to furniſh him with vittels: but yet as he paſſed by the towne of Ew, the garriſon of the towne iſſued forth, and gaue the Engliſhmen a ſkirmiſh, who beat them into the towne with loſſe, namelie of a right valiant man of armes, named Lancelot Piers. There were manie Engliſhmen hurt with quarels ſhot off from the loops and wals, as they purſued the enimies vnto the gates.

Corne & vittels deſtroied where the Engliſhmen ſhould paſſe.

A ſkirmiſh with the garriſon of Ew.

Enguerant.

At length the king approched the riuer of Some, & finding all the bridges broken, he came to the paſſage of Blanchetake, where his great grandfather king Edward the third a little before had ſtriken the battell of Creſſie: but the paſſage was now ſo impeached with ſtakes in the botome of the ford, that he could not paſſe, his enimies beſides there awaie ſo ſwarming on all ſides. He therefore marched forwards to Arames, marching with his armie, and paſſing with his carriage in ſo martiall a maner, that he appeared ſo terrible to his enimies, as they durſt not offer him battell. And yet the lord Dalbreth conſtable of France, the marſhall Boncequault, the earle of Vendoſme great maſter of France, the duke of Alanſon, and the earle of Richmont, with all the puiſſance of the Dolphin laie at Abuile, but euer kept the paſſages, and coaſted aloofe, like a hauke though eager yet not hardie on hir preie. The king of England kept on his iournie till he came to the bridge of ſaint Marence, where he found aboue thirtie thouſand Frenchmen, and there pitched his field, looking ſuerlie to be fought withall.

Blanchetake.

Wherefore to incourage his capteins the more, he dubbed certeine of his hardie and valiant gentlemen knights, as Iohn lord Ferrers of Grobie, Reginald of Greiſtocke, Piers Tempeſt, Chriſtopher Moriſbie, Thomas Pikering, William Huddleſton, Iohn Hoſbalton, Henrie Mortimer, Philip Hall, and William his brother, Iaques de Ormond, and diuerſe other: but the French making no ſemblance to fight, he departed in good order of battell by the towne of Amiens, to another towne neere to a caſtell called Bowes, and there laie two daies looking for their bidding of battell euerie houre. From thence he came neere to Corbie, where he was ſtaied that night, for that the common people and pezants mightilie there aſſembled, hauing gotten them ſome bead and hartening by meanes of their number that was great, and by truſt of a ſtrength (then ioined vnto them) made of men at armes (manie too tall and well appointed for fight) all of the garriſon of Corbie: a ſtrong towne well walled and warded. Hereupon at a ſtreict (which they had preoccupied) they ſtoutlie from our armie not onelie kept the paſſage, but alſo vpon vs gaue a proud onſet: wherein ſir Hugh Stafford knight lord Bourghchier, cheefteine of a wing to the king vnder his ſtandard of Guien, and as then neereſt to the enimie, though far inferior in number, yet with readie and valiant incounter receiued them. The force and ſlaughter grew great both on the one ſide and the other, by the French in eſpeciall at firſt right fiercelie purſued, in ſo much as with an hardie charge vpon our men, they had both beat downe the ſtandard, and alſo from vs quite woone it awaie, to their hie incouragement, and our incredible deſpite and diſmaie. Whereat one Iohn Bromley of Bromley in Staffordſhire eſquier, a neere kinſman vnto the lord Bourghchier, was euen ſtreight ſo pearſed at hart, as he could not conteine him, but by and by ran eagerlie vpon the French; and with his ſouldiers (in whom wrath and teene had alreadie inflamed furie and deſire of reuenge) did ſo fiercelie ſet vpon them, that they were not onlie beaten backe, but alſo forced to abandon the place. At this puſh the capteine cutting through the thickeſt, ſtrake downe the champion that bare the ſtandard, and ſo gloriouſlie recouered it againe, and after during the fight (where as manie of the French loſt their liues) couragiouſlie ouer his ſouldiers auanced it himſelfe. The reſt that fled awaie our people purſued in chaſing & ſlaughter vnto Corbie verie gates. So in victorie, honor, and great ioy, with our ſmall loſſe (in compariſon) thanks vnto Gods maieſtie, the cheefteine brought his hoſt into his campe and order againe. The ſingular prowes of this worthie capteine the noble man highlie regarding, in an ample teſtimonie thereof and vpon his owne honorable conſideration, by a faire ancient deed yet extant at theſe daies did giue him reward of fortie pounds annuitie for his life. The monument ſo plainelie declaring the truth of the matter, with the maner and dignitie of the feat, as it was doone, hath beene thought verie meet for the ſtorie in hand here now to place it as followeth.

Diuerſe capteins knights

W.P.

Standing in Picardie betweene Amiens & Peronell vpō the riuer of Some.

Sir Hugh Stafford lord Bourghchier.

Iohn Bromley.

He came of a yonger brother in the linage of the right honorable the lord chancelor that now is 1585.

The kings ſtandard recouered.

1585

A copie of the ſaid deed.

HOc præſens ſcriptum teſtatur, quòd nos Hugo de Stafford dominus le Bourghchier conceſſimus & per præſentes confirmauimus prædilecto conſanguineo noſtro Iohanni Bromley de Bromley armigero, pro ſuo magno auxilio nobis impenſo in oppugnatione contra Francos prope le Corbie; & præcipuè pro ſuo laudabili ſeruitio in recuperatione & ſupportatione vexilli domini regis de Guien ſub noſtra conductione, vnam annuitatem ſiue annualem redditum quadraginta librarum legalis monetæ annuatim percipiendum, durante tota vita naturali prædicti Iohannis de Bromley, de & in omnibus manerijs, terris, & tenementis noſtris cum pertinentibus in comitatu Stafford & Warwik, ad feſta Penthecoſtes & ſancti Martini in hyeme æquis portionibus. Et ſi contingat prædictam annuitatem ſiue annualem redditum quadraginta librarum, à retro fore in parte vel in toto, ad aliquod feſtum quo ſolui debeat, tunc bene licebit prædicto Iohãni & aſſignatis ſuis in prædictis manerijs, ac in omnibus alijs terris & tenementis cum ſuis pertinentibus præſcriptis, diſtringere & diſtrictiones effugare & retinere, quouſque de prædicta annuitate ſimul cum arreragijs, ſi quæ fuerint, plenariè ſibi fuerit ſatisfactum & perſolutum. Et vt hæc noſtra conceſſio, & ſcripti huius confirmatio (durante tota vita prædicti Iohannis de Bromley vt præfertur) rata & ſtabilis permaneat, hoc ſcriptum impreſſione ſigilli armorum meorum roboraui. Hijs teſtibus, Iohanne de Holland, Richardo le Greuyll, Richardo de Horwood, Thoma le Foreſtar, & alijs. Datum apud Madeley decimo die menſis Martij, anno regni regis Henrici quinti poſt conqueſtum quarto.

For

W.P.

For that by the armes in the ſeale it may the better be knowne of what ſtem this noble man ſprong (a matter which this ſtorie ſeemes iuſtlie to require) vnderſtand yee thus were the ſame. In his ſhield, a cheuorne charged with a mullet; his creſt, a ſwans head couped betweene two wings diſplaied all out of a crowne ſupported by two greihounds; about the ſheeld ingrauen, *Signa Hugonis de Stafford militis.* Hereby is gathered that he was a third brother of the duke of Buckinghams houſe.] This feat thus well doone, the king the ſame daie found a ſhallow, betweene Corbie and Peron, which neuer was eſpied before, at which he with his armie and carriages the night inſuing, paſſed the water of Some without let or danger, and therewith determined to make haſte towards Calis, and not to ſeeke for battell, except he were thereto conſtreined, bicauſe that his armie by ſickneſſe was ſore diminiſhed, in ſo much that he had but onelie two thouſand horſſemen and thirteene thouſand archers, bilmen, and of all ſorts of other footmen.

King Henrie paſſeth the riuer of Some with his hoſt.

The kings armie but of 15000.

The Engliſh armie ſore afflicted.

The Engliſhmen were brought into ſome diſtreſſe in this iornie, by reaſon of their vittels in maner ſpent, and no hope to get more: for the enimies had deſtroied all the corne before they came. Reſt could they none take, for their enimies with alarmes did euer ſo infeſt them: dailie it rained, and nightlie it freeſed: of fuell there was great ſcarſitie, of fluxes plentie: monie inough, but wares for their releefe to beſtow it on, had they none. Yet in this great neceſſitie, the poore people of the countrie were not ſpoiled, nor anie thing taken of them without paiment, nor anie outrage or offenſe doone by the Engliſhmen, except one, which was, that a ſouldiour tooke a pix out of a church, for which he was apprehended, & the king not once remooued till the box was reſtored, and the offendor ſtrangled. The people of the countries thereabout, hearing of ſuch zeale in him, to the maintenance of iuſtice, miniſtred to his armie victuals, and other neceſſaries, although by open proclamation ſo to doo they were prohibited.

Iuſtice in warre.

Note ẏ force of iuſtice.

Hall.

The French king being at Rone, and hearing that king Henrie was paſſed the riuer of Some, was much diſpleaſed therewith, and aſſembling his councell to the number of fiue and thirtie, aſked their aduiſe what was to be doone. There was amongſt theſe fiue and thirtie, his ſonne the Dolphin, calling himſelfe king of Sicill; the dukes of Berrie and Britaine, the earle of Pontieu the kings yoongeſt ſonne, and other high eſtates. At length thirtie of them agreed, that the Engliſhmen ſhould not depart vnfought withall, and fiue were of a contrarie opinion, but the greater number ruled the matter: and ſo Montioy king at armes was ſent to the king of England to defie him as the enimie of France, and to tell him that he ſhould ſhortlie haue battell. King Henrie aduiſedlie anſwered: Mine intent is to doo as it pleaſeth God, I will not ſeeke your maiſter at this time; but if he or his ſeeke me, I will meet with them God willing. If anie of your nation attempt once to ſtop me in my iournie now towards Calis, at their ieopardie be it; and yet wiſh I not anie of you ſo vnaduiſed, as to be the occaſion that I die your tawnie ground with your red bloud.

The French king conſulteth how to deale with ẏ Engliſhmen.

Dolphin king of Sicill.

The French K. ſendeth defiance to king Henrie.

K. Henries anſwer to the defiance.

When he had thus anſwered the herald, he gaue him a princelie reward, and licence to depart. Vpon whoſe returne, with this anſwer, it was incontinentlie on the French ſide proclamed, that all men of warre ſhould reſort to the conſtable to fight with the king of England. Whereupon, all men apt for armor and deſirous of honour, drew them toward the field. The Dolphin ſore deſired to haue beene at the battell, but he was prohibited by his father: likewiſe Philip earle of Charolois would gladlie haue beene there, if his father the duke of Burgognie would haue ſuffered him: manie of his men ſtale awaie, and went to the Frenchmen. The king of England hearing that the Frenchmen approched, and that there was an other riuer for him to paſſe with his armie by a bridge, and doubting leaſt if the ſame bridge ſhould be broken, it would be greatlie to his hinderance, appointed certeine capteins with their bands, to go thither with all ſpeed before him, and to take poſſeſſion thereof, and ſo to keepe it, till his comming thither.

Thoſe that were ſent, finding the Frenchmen buſie to breake downe their bridge, aſſailed them ſo vigorouſlie, that they diſcomfited them, and tooke and ſlue them; and ſo the bridge was preſerued till the king came, and paſſed the riuer by the ſame with his whole armie. This was on the two and twentith day of October. The duke of Yorke that led the vauntgard (after the armie was paſſed the riuer) mounted vp to the heigth of an hill with his people, and ſent out ſcowts to diſcouer the countrie, the which vpon their returne aduertiſed him, that a great armie of Frenchmen was at hand, approching towards them. The duke declared to the king what he had heard, and the king therevpon, without all feare or trouble of mind, cauſed the battell which he led himſelfe to ſtaie, and incontinentlie rode foorth to view his aduerſaries, and that doone, returned to his people, and with cheerefull countenance cauſed them to be put in order of battell, aſſigning to euerie capteine ſuch roome and place, as he thought conuenient, and ſo kept them ſtill in that order till night was come, and then determined to ſeeke a place to incampe & lodge his armie in for that night.

King Henrie rideth foorth to take view of the French armie.

There was not one amongſt them that knew any certeine place whither to go, in that vnknowne countrie: but by chance they happened vpon a beaten waie, white in ſight; by the which they were brought vnto a little village, where they were refreſhed with meat and drinke ſomewhat more plenteouſlie than they had beene diuerſe daies before. Order was taken by commandement from the king after the armie was firſt ſet in battell arraie, that no noiſe or clamor ſhould be made in the hoſt; ſo that in marching foorth to this village, euerie man kept himſelfe quiet: but at their comming into the village, fiers were made to giue light on euerie ſide, as there likewiſe were in the French hoſt, which was incamped not paſt two hundred and fiftie paſes diſtant from the Engliſh. The cheefe leaders of the French hoſt were theſe: the conſtable of France, the marſhall, the admerall, the lord Rambures maiſter of the croſbowes, and other of the French nobilitie, which came and pitched downe their ſtandards and banners in the countie of ſaint Paule, within the territorie of Agincourt, hauing in their armie (as ſome write) to the number of threeſcore thouſand horſſemen, beſides footmen, wagoners and other.

The number of the French mẽ threeſcore thouſand. Engueran.

They were lodged euen in the waie by the which the Engliſhmen muſt needs paſſe towards Calis, and all that night after their comming thither, made great cheare and were verie merie, pleaſant, and full of game. The Engliſhmen alſo for their parts were of good comfort, and nothing abaſhed of the matter, and yet they were both hungrie, wearie, ſore trauelled, and vexed with manie cold diſeaſes. Howbeit reconciling themſelues with God by hoſſell and ſhrift, requiring aſſiſtance at his hands that is the onelie giuer of victorie, they determined rather to die, than to yeeld, or flee. The daie following was the fiue and twentith of October in the yeare 1415, being then fridaie, and the feaſt of Criſpine and Criſpinian, a day faire and fortunate to the Engliſh, but moſt ſorrowfull and vnluckie to the French.

The battell of Agincourt, the 25 of October 1415.

In

The order of the French armie.

In the morning, the French capteins made thrée battels, in the vaward were eight thouſand healmes of knights and eſquiers, foure thouſand archers, and fiftéene hundred croſbowes which were guided by the lord de la Breth, conſtable of France, hauing with him the dukes of Orleance and Burbon, the earles of Ewe and Richmond, the marſhall Bouciquault, and the maiſter of the croſbowes, the lord Dampier admerall of France, and other capteins. The earle of Vandoſme with ſixtéene hundred men of armes were ordered for a wing to that battell. And the other wing was guided by ſir Guichard Dolphine, ſir Clugnet of Brabant, and ſir Lewes Bourdon, with eight hundred men of armes, of elect choſen perſons. And to breake the ſhot of the Engliſhmen, were appointed ſir Guilliam de Saueuſes, with Hector and Philip his brethren, Ferrie de Maillie, and Alen de Gaſpanes, with other eight hundred of armes.

As manie in the battell.

The French eſtéemed ſix to one Engliſh.

In the middle ward, were aſſigned as manie perſons, or more, as were in the formoſt battell, and the charge thereof was committed to the dukes of Bar and Alanſon, the earles of Neuers, Vaudemont, Blamont, Salinges, Grant Prée, & of Ruſſie. And in the rereward were all the other men of armes guided by the earles of Marle, Dampmartine, Fauconberg, and the lord of Lourreie capteine of Arde, who had with him the men of the frontiers of Bolonois. Thus the Frenchmen being ordered vnder their ſtandards and banners, made a great ſhew: for ſuerlie they were eſtéemed in number ſix times as manie or more, than was the whole companie of the Engliſhmen, with wagoners, pages and all. They reſted themſelues, waiting for the bloudie blaſt of the terrible trumpet, till the houre betwéene nine and ten of the clocke of the ſame daie, during which ſeaſon, the conſtable made vnto the capteins and other men of warre a pithie oration, exhorting and incouraging them to doo valiantlie, with manie comfortable words and ſenſible reaſons. King Henrie alſo like a leader, and not as one led; like a ſouereigne, and not an inferior, perceiuing a plot of ground verie ſtrong & méet for his purpoſe, which on the backe halfe was fenſed with the village, wherein he had lodged the night before, and on both ſides defended with hedges and buſhes, thought good there to imbattell his hoſt, and ſo ordered his men in the ſame place, as he ſaw occaſion, and as ſtood for his moſt aduantage.

The order of the Engliſh armie and archers.

The vaward all of archers.

Firſt, he ſent priuilie two hundred archers into a lowe medow, which was néere to the vauntgard of his enimies; but ſeparated with a great ditch, commanding them there to kéepe themſelues cloſe till they had a token to them giuen, to let driue at their aduerſaries: beſide this, he appointed a vaward, of the which he made capteine Edward duke of Yorke, who of an haultie courage had deſired that office, and with him were the lords Beaumont, Willoughbie, and Fanhope, and this battell was all of archers. The middle ward was gouerned by the king himſelfe, with his brother the duke of Gloceſter, and the earles of Marſhall, Oxenford, and Suffolke, in the which were all the ſtrong bilmen. The duke of Exceſter vncle to the king led the rereward, which was mixed both with bilmen and archers. The horſſemen like wings went on euerie ſide of the battell.

Archers the greateſt force of the Engliſh armie.

Abr. Fl. out of Fabian pag. 392. and Polychron.

A politike inuention.

Hall.

Thus the king hauing ordered his battels, feared not the puiſſance of his enimies, but yet to prouide that they ſhould not with the multitude of horſſemen breake the order of his archers, in whome the force of his armie conſiſted [¶ For in thoſe daies the yeomen had their lims at libertie, ſith their hoſen were then faſtened with one point, and their iackes long and eaſie to ſhoot in; ſo that they might draw bowes of great ſtrength, and ſhoot arrowes of a yard long; beſide the head] he cauſed ſtakes bound with iron ſharpe at both ends, of the length of fiue or ſix foot to be pitched before the archers, and of ech ſide the footmen like an hedge, to the intent that if the barded horſſes ran raſhlie vpon them, they might ſhortlie be gored and deſtroied. Certeine perſons alſo were appointed to remooue the ſtakes, as by the moouing of the archers occaſion and time ſhould require, ſo that the footmen were hedged about with ſtakes, and the horſſemen ſtood like a bulwarke betwéene them and their enimies, without the ſtakes. This deuiſe of fortifieng an armie, was at this time firſt inuented: but ſince that time they haue deuiſed caltraps, harrowes, and other new engins againſt the force of horſſemen; ſo that if the enimies run haſtilie vpon the ſame, either are their horſſes wounded with the ſtakes, or their féet hurt with the other engins, ſo as thereby the beaſts are gored, or elſe made vnable to mainteine their courſe.

K. Henries oration to his men.

King Henrie, by reaſon of his ſmall number of people to fill vp his battels, placed his vauntgard ſo on the right hand of the maine battell, which himſelfe led, that the diſtance betwixt them might ſcarſe be perceiued, and ſo in like caſe was the rereward ioined on the left hand, that the one might the more readilie ſuccour an other in time of néed. When he had thus ordered his battels, he left a ſmall companie to kéepe his campe and cariage, which remained ſtill in the village, and then calling his capteins and ſoldiers about him, he made to them a right graue oration, mouing them to plaie the men, whereby to obteine a glorious victorie, as there was hope certeine they ſhould, the rather if they would but remember the iuſt cauſe for which they fought, and whome they ſhould incounter, ſuch faint-harted people as their anceſtors had ſo often ouercome. To conclude, manie words of courage he vttered, to ſtirre them to doo manfullie, aſſuring them that England ſhould neuer be charged with his ranſome, nor anie Frenchman triumph ouer him as a captiue; for either by famous death or glorious victorie would he (by Gods grace) win honour and fame.

A wiſh.

A noble courage of a valiant prince.

It is ſaid, that as he heard one of the hoſt vtter his wiſh to another thus: I would to God there were with vs now ſo manie good ſoldiers as are at this houre within England! the king anſwered: I would not wiſh a man more here than I haue, we are indéed in compariſon to the enimies but a few, but if God of his clemencie doo fauour vs, and our iuſt cauſe (as I truſt he will) we ſhall ſpéed well inough. But let no man aſcribe victorie to our owne ſtrength and might, but onelie to Gods aſſiſtance, to whome I haue no doubt we ſhall worthilie haue cauſe to giue thanks therefore. And if ſo be that for our offenſes ſakes we ſhall be deliuered into the hands of our enimies, the leſſe number we be, the leſſe damage ſhall the realme of England ſuſteine: but if we ſhould fight in truſt of multitude of men, and ſo get the victorie (our minds being prone to pride) we ſhould thervpon peraduenture aſcribe the victorie not ſo much to the gift of God, as to our owne puiſſance, and thereby prouoke his high indignation and diſpleaſure againſt vs: and if the enimie get the vpper hand, then ſhould our realme and countrie ſuffer more damage and ſtand in further danger. But be you of good comfort, and ſhew your ſelues valiant, God and our iuſt quarrell ſhall defend vs, and deliuer theſe our proud aduerſaries with all the multitude of them which you ſée (or at the leaſt the moſt of them) into our hands. Whileſt the king was yet thus in ſpéech, either armie ſo maligned the other, being as then in open ſight, that euerie man cried; Forward, forward. The dukes of Clarence, Gloceſter, and Yorke, were of the ſame opinion, yet the king ſtaied a while, leaſt anie ieopardie were not foreſeene, or anie hazard not preuented. The Frenchmen in the meane while, as though they had beene ſure of victorie, made great triumph, for the capteins had determined before, how to diuide the ſpoile, and the ſoldiers the night before had plaid the Engliſhmen at dice. The noble men had deuiſed a chariot, wherein they might triumphantlie conueie the king captiue to the citie of Paris, crieng to their ſoldiers; Haſte you to the ſpoile, glorie and honor; little weening (God wot) how ſoone their brags ſhould be blowne awaie.

Hall.

Here we may not forget how the French thus in their iolitie, ſent an herald to king Henrie, to inquire what ranſome he would offer. Wherevnto he anſwered, that within two or three houres he hoped it would ſo happen, that the Frenchmen ſhould be glad to common rather with the Engliſhmen for their ranſoms, than the Engliſh to take thought for their deliuerance, promiſing for his owne part, that his dead carcaſſe ſhould rather be a prize to the Frenchmen, than that his liuing bodie ſhould paie anie ranſome. When the meſſenger was come backe to the French hoſt, the men of warre put on their helmets, and cauſed their trumpets to blow to the battell. They thought themſelues ſo ſure of victorie, that diuerſe of the noble men made ſuch haſt towards the battell, that they left manie of their ſeruants and men of warre behind them, and ſome of them would not once ſtaie for their ſtandards: as amongſt other the duke of Brabant, when his ſtandard was not come, cauſed a baner to be taken from a trumpet and faſtened to a ſpeare, the which he commanded to be borne before him in ſteed of his ſtandard.

But when both theſe armies comming within danger either of other, ſet in full order of battell on both ſides, they ſtood ſtill at the firſt, beholding either others demeanor, being not diſtant in ſunder paſt three bow ſhoots. And when they had on both parts thus ſtaied a good while without dooing anie thing, (except that certeine of the French horſemen aduancing forwards, betwixt both the hoſts, were by the Engliſh archers conſtreined to returne backe) aduiſe was taken amongſt the Engliſhmen, what was beſt for them to doo. Therevpon all things conſidered, it was determined, that ſith the Frenchmen would not come forward, the king with his armie imbattelled (as yee haue hard) ſhould march towards them, and ſo leauing their truſſe and baggage in the village where they lodged the night before, onelie with their weapons, armour, and ſtakes prepared for the purpoſe, as yee haue heard.

Theſe made ſomewhat forward, before whome there went an old knight ſir Thomas Erpingham (a man of great experience in the warre) with a warder in his hand; and when he caſt vp his warder, all the armie ſhouted, but that was a ſigne to the archers in the medow, which therwith ſhot wholie altogither at the vauward of the Frenchmen, who when they perceiued the archers in the medow, and ſaw they could not come at them for a ditch that was betwixt them, with all haſt ſet vpon the fore ward of king Henrie, but yer they could ioine, the archers in the forefront, and the archers on that ſide which ſtood in the medow, ſo wounded the footmen, galled the horſſes, and combred the men of armes, that the footmen durſt not go forward, the horſſemen ran togither vpō plumps without order, ſome ouerthrew ſuch as were next them, and the horſſes ouerthrew their maſters, and ſo at the firſt ioining, the Frenchmen were foulie diſcomforted, and the Engliſhmen highlie incouraged.

The Engliſh gaue the onſet.

The two armies ioine battell.

When the French vauward was thus brought to confuſion, the Engliſh archers caſt awaie their bowes, & tooke into their hands, axes, malls, ſwords, bils, and other hand-weapons, and with the ſame ſlue the Frenchmen, vntill they came to the middle ward. Then approched the king, and ſo incouraged his people, that ſhortlie the ſecond battell of the Frenchmen was ouerthrowne, and diſperſed, not without great ſlaughter of men: howbeit, diuerſe were releeued by their varlets, and conueied out of the field. The Engliſhmen were ſo buſied in fighting, and taking of the priſoners at hand, that they followed not in chaſe of their enimies, nor would once breake out of their araie of battell. Yet ſundrie of the Frenchmen ſtronglie withſtood the fierceneſſe of the Engliſh, when they came to handie ſtrokes, ſo that the fight ſometime was doubtfull and perillous. Yet as part of the French horſſemen ſet their courſe to haue entred vpon the kings battell, with the ſtakes ouerthrowne, they were either taken or ſlaine. Thus this battell continued three long houres.

The vauward of the French diſcomfited.

Their battell beaten.

The king that daie ſhewed himſelfe a valiant knight, albeit almoſt felled by the duke of Alanſon; yet with plaine ſtrength he ſlue two of the dukes companie, and felled the duke himſelfe; whome when he would haue yelded, the kings gard (contrarie to his mind) ſlue out of hand. In concluſion, the king minding to make an end of that daies iornie, cauſed his horſſemen to fetch a compaſſe about, and to ioine with him againſt the rereward of the Frenchmen, in the which was the greateſt number of people. When the Frenchmen perceiued his intent, they were ſuddenlie amazed and ran awaie like ſheepe, without order or arraie. Which when the king perceiued, he incouraged his men, and followed ſo quickelie vpon the enimies, that they ran hither and thither, caſting awaie their armour: manie on their knees deſired to haue their liues ſaued.

A valiant king.

The French rereward diſcomfited.

In the meane ſeaſon, while the battell thus continued, and that the Engliſhmen had taken a great number of priſoners, certeine Frenchmen on horſſebacke, whereof were capteins Robinet of Borneuill, Rifflart of Clamas, Iſambert of Agincourt, and other men of armes, to the number of ſix hundred horſſemen, which were the firſt that fled, hearing that the Engliſh tents & pauilions were a good waie diſtant from the armie, without anie ſufficient gard to defend the ſame, either vpon a couetous meaning to gaine by the ſpoile, or vpon a deſire to be reuenged, entred vpon the kings campe, and there ſpoiled the hails, robbed the tents, brake vp cheſts, and caried awaie caſkets, and ſlue ſuch ſeruants as they found to make anie reſiſtance. For which treaſon and haſkardie in thus leauing their campe at the verie point of fight, for winning of ſpoile where none to defend it, verie manie were after committed to priſon, and had loſt their liues, if the Dolphin had longer liued.

The kings campe robbed.

But when the outcrie of the lackies and boies, which ran awaie for feare of the Frenchmen thus ſpoiling the campe, came to the kings eares, he doubting leaſt his enimies ſhould gather togither againe, and begin a new field; and miſtruſting further that the priſoners would be an aid to his enimies, or the verie enimies to their takers in deed if they were ſuffered to liue, contrarie to his accuſtomed gentlenes, commanded by ſound of trumpet, that euerie man (vpon paine of death) ſhould incontinentlie ſlaie his priſoner. When this dolorous decree, and pitifull proclamation was pronounced, pitie it was to ſee how ſome Frenchmen were ſuddenlie ſticked with daggers, ſome were brained with pollaxes, ſome ſlaine with malls, other had their throats cut, and ſome their bellies panched, ſo that in effect, hauing reſpect to the great number, few priſoners were ſaued.

All the priſoners ſlaine.

When this lamentable ſlaughter was ended, the

Engliſhmen diſpoſed themſelues in order of battell, readie to abide a new field, and alſo to inuade, and newlie ſet on their enimies, with great force they aſſailed the earles of Marle and Fauconbridge, and the lords of Louraie, and of Thine, with ſix hundred men of armes, who had all that daie kept togither, but now ſlaine and beaten downe out of hand. ¶ Some write, that the king perceiuing his enimies in one part to aſſemble togither, as though they meant to giue a new battell for preſeruation of the priſoners, ſent to them an herald, commanding them either to depart out of his ſight, or elſe to come forward at once, and giue battell: promiſing herewith, that if they did offer to fight againe, not onelie thoſe priſoners which his people alreadie had taken; but alſo ſo manie of them as in this new conflict, which they thus attempted ſhould fall into his hands, ſhould die the death without redemption.

A freſh onſet.

A right wiſe and valiant challenge of the king.

The Frenchmen fearing the ſentence of ſo terrible a decrée, without further delaie parted out of the field. And ſo about foure of the clocke in the after noone; the king when he ſaw no apperance of enimies, cauſed the retreit to be blowen; and gathering his armie togither, gaue thanks to almightie God for ſo happie a victorie, cauſing his prelats and chapleins to ſing this pſalme: *In exitu Iſrael de Aegypto*, and commanded euerie man to knéele downe on the ground at this verſe: *Non nobis Domine, non nobis, ſed nomini tuo da gloriam.* Which doone, he cauſed *Te Deum*, with certeine anthems to be ſoong, giuing laud and praiſe to God, without boaſting of his owne force or anie humane power. That night he and his people tooke reſt, and refreſhed themſelues with ſuch victuals as they found in the French campe, but lodged in the ſame village where he laie the night before.

Thanks giuen to God for the victorie.

A worthie example of a godlie prince.

Titus Liuius.

In the morning, Montioie king at armes and foure other French heralds came to the K. to know the number of priſoners, and to deſire buriall for the dead. Before he made them anſwer (to vnderſtand what they would ſaie) he demanded of them whie they made to him that requeſt, conſidering that he knew not whether the victorie was his or theirs? When Montioie by true and iuſt confeſſion had cléered that doubt to the high praiſe of the king, he deſired of Montioie to vnderſtand the name of the caſtell néere adioining: when they had told him that it was called Agincourt, he ſaid, Then ſhall this conflict be called the battell of Agincourt. He feaſted the French officers of armes that daie, and granted them their requeſt, which buſilie ſought through the field for ſuch as were ſlaine. But the Engliſhmen ſuffered them not to go alone, for they ſearched with them, & found manie hurt, but not in ieopardie of their liues, whom they tooke priſoners, and brought them to their tents. When the king of England had well refreſhed himſelfe, and his ſouldiers, that had taken the ſpoile of ſuch as were ſlaine, he with his priſoners in good order returned to his towne of Calis.

The battell of Agincourt.

When tidings of this great victorie, was blowne into England, ſolemne proceſſions and other praiſings to almightie God with boune-fires and ioifull triumphes, were ordeined in euerie towne, citie, and burrow, and the maior & citizens of London went the morow after the daie of ſaint Simon and Iude from the church of ſaint Paule to the church of ſaint Peter at Weſtminſter in deuout maner, rendring to God hartie thanks for ſuch fortunate lucke ſent to the king and his armie. The ſame ſundaie that the king remooued from the campe at Agincourt towards Calis, diuerſe Frenchmen came to the field to view againe the dead bodies; and the pezants of the countrie ſpoiled the carcaſſes of all ſuch apparell and other things as the Engliſhmen had left: who tooke nothing but gold and ſiluer, iewels, rich apparell and coſtlie armour. But the plowmen and pezants left nothing behind, neither ſhirt nor clout: ſo that the bodies laie ſtarke naked vntill wedneſdaie. On the which daie diuerſe of the noble men were conueied into their countries, and the remnant were by Philip earle Charolois (ſore lamenting the chance, and mooued with pitie) at his coſts & charges buried in a ſquare plot of ground of fiftéene hundred yards; in the which he cauſed to be made thrée pits, wherein were buried by account fiue thouſand and eight hundred perſons, beſide them that were caried awaie by their fréends and ſeruants, and others, which being wounded died in hoſpitals and other places.

The ſame day that the new maior went to weſtminſter to receiue his oth, the aduertiſement of this noble victorie came to the citie in the morning betimes yer men were vp from their beds.
Regiſter of maiors.

Thrée graues that held fiue thouſand and eight hundred corpſes.

After this their dolorous iournie & pitifull ſlaughter, diuerſe clearks of Paris made manie a lamentable verſe, complaining that the king reigned by will, and that councellors were parciall, affirming that the noble men fled againſt nature, and that the commons were deſtroied by their prodigalitie, declaring alſo that the cleargie were dumbe, and durſt not ſaie the truth, and that the humble commons dulie obeied, & yet euer ſuffered puniſhment, for which cauſe by diuine perſecution the leſſe number vanquiſhed the greater: wherefore they concluded, that all things went out of order, and yet was there no man that ſtudied to bring the vnrulie to frame. It was no maruell though this battell was lamentable to the French nation, for in it were taken and ſlaine the flower of all the nobilitie of France.

There were taken priſoners, Charles duke of Orleance nephue to the French king, Iohn duke of Burbon, the lord Bouciqualt one of the marſhals of France (he after died in England) with a number of other lords, knights, and eſquiers, at the leaſt fiftéene hundred, beſides the common people. There were ſlaine in all of the French part to the number of ten thouſand men, whereof were princes and noble men bearing baners one hundred twentie and ſix; to theſe, of knights, eſquiers, and gentlemen, ſo manie as made vp the number of eight thouſand and foure hundred (of the which fiue hundred were dubbed knights the night before the battell) ſo as of the meaner ſort, not paſt ſixtéene hundred. Amongſt thoſe of the nobilitie that were ſlaine, theſe were the chéefeſt, Charles lord de la Breth high conſtable of France, Iaques of Chatilon lord of Dampier admerall of France, the lord Rambures maſter of the croſſebowes, ſir Guiſchard Dolphin great maſter of France, Iohn duke of Alanſon, Anthonie duke of Brabant brother to the duke of Burgognie, Edward duke of Bar, the earle of Neuers an other brother to the duke of Burgognie, with the erles of Marle, Vaudemont, Beaumont, Grandprée, Rouſſie, Fauconberge, Fois and Leſtrake, beſide a great number of lords and barons of name.

Noble men priſoners.

The number ſlaine on the French part.

Engliſhmen ſlaine.

Of Engliſhmen, there died at this battell, Edward duke Yorke, the earle of Suffolke, ſir Richard Kikelie, and Dauie Gamme eſquier, and of all other not aboue fiue and twentie perſons, as ſome doo report; but other writers of greater credit affirme, that there were ſlaine aboue fiue or ſix hundred perſons. Titus Liuius ſaith, that there were ſlaine of Engliſhmen, beſide the duke of Yorke, and the earle of Suffolke, an hundred perſons at the firſt incounter. The duke of Glocester the kings brother was ſore wounded about the hips, and borne downe to the ground, ſo that he fell backwards, with his féet towards his enimies, whom the king beſtrid, and like a brother valiantlie reſcued from his enimies, & ſo ſauing his life, cauſed him to be conueied out of the fight, into a place of more ſafetie. ¶ The whole order of this conflict which coſt manie a mans life, and procured great bloudſhed before it was ended, is liuelie deſcribed in *Anglorum prælijs*; where alſo, beſides the manner of di-

Engliſhmen ſlaine.

Rich. Grafton.
Titus Liuius.

Abr. Fl. out of *Anglorum prælijs ſub Henr. 5.*

ſpoſing the armies, with the exploits on both ſides, the number alſo of the ſlaine, not much differing (though ſomewhat) from the account here named, is there touched, which remembrance verie fit for this place, it were an errour (I thinke) to omit; and therefore here inſerted (with the ſhorteſt) as followeth.

——— equitatus ordine primo,
Magnanimi ſatrapæ, poſt hos cecidere ſecundo
Nauarræ comes, & tuus archiepiſcopus (ô Sans)
Præterea comites octo periere cruentis
Vulneribus, trita appellant quos voce barones
Plus centum, clari generis plus mille cadebant
Sexcenti, notiq́; decem plus millia vulgi
Ex Francorum, ter centum perdidit Anglus:
Et penes Henricum belli victoria manſit.

Hall.

After that the king of England had refreſhed himſelfe, and his people at Calis, and that ſuch priſoners as he had left at Harflue (as ye haue heard) were come to Calis vnto him, the ſixt daie of Nouember, he with all his priſoners tooke ſhipping, and the ſame daie landed at Douer, hauing with him the dead bodies of the duke of Yorke, and the earle of Suffolke, and cauſed the duke to be buried at his colledge of Fodringhey, and the earle at new Elme. In this paſſage, the ſeas were ſo rough and troublous, that two ſhips belonging to ſir John. Cornewall, lord Fanhope, were driuen into Zeland; howbeit, nothing was loſt, nor any perſon periſht. ¶The maior of London, and the aldermen, apparelled in orient grained ſcarlet, and foure hundred commoners clad in beautifull murrie, well mounted, and trimlie horſſed, with rich collars, & great chaines, met the king on Blackheath, reioiſing at his returne: and the clergie of London, with rich croſſes, ſumptuous copes, and maſſie cenſers, receiued him at ſaint Thomas of Waterings with ſolemne proceſſion.

Titus Liuius.

The great modeſtie of the king.

The king like a graue and ſober perſonage, and as one remembring from whom all victories are ſent, ſeemed little to regard ſuch vaine pompe and ſhewes as were in triumphant ſort deuiſed for his welcomming home from ſo proſperous a iournie, in ſo much that he would not ſuffer his helmet to be caried with him, whereby might haue appeared to the people the blowes and dints that were to be ſeene in the ſame; neither would he ſuffer any ditties to be made and ſong by minſtrels of his glorious victorie, for that he would wholie haue the praiſe and thanks altogither giuen to God. The news of this bloudie battell being reported to the French king as then ſoiourning at Rone, filled the court full of ſorrow. But to remedie ſuch danger as was like to inſue, it was decreed by councell, to ordeine new officers in places of them that were ſlaine: and firſt, he elected his chiefe officer for the wars, called the conſtable, the earle of Arminacke, a wiſe and politike capteine, and an ancient enimie to the Engliſhmen, Sir John de Corſie was made maiſter of the croſſebowes. Shortlie after, either for melancholie that he had for the loſſe at Agincourt, or by ſome ſudden diſeaſe Lewes Dolphin of Viennois, heire apparant to the French king, departed this life without iſſue, which happened well for Robinet of Bourneuill, and his fellowes, as ye haue heard before, for his death was their life, & his life would haue béene their death.

The death of the Dolphin of France.
Part of thoſe that ſpoiled the Engliſh campe.

1416

After the French king had created new officers, in hope to relieue the ſtate of his realme and countrie, ſore ſhaken by the late great ouerthrow, it chanced, that Thomas duke of Exceſter capteine of Harflue, accompanied with thrée thouſand Engliſhmen, made a great rode into Normandie, almoſt to the citie of Rone, in which iournie he got great abundance both of riches and priſoners: but in his returne, the earle of Arminacke newlie made conſtable of France, intending in his firſt enterpriſe to win the ſpurs, hauing with him aboue fiue thouſand horſſemen, incountred with the duke. The fight was handled on both parts verie hotlie, but bicauſe the Engliſhmen were not able to reſiſt the force of the Frenchmen, the duke was conſtreined to retire with loſſe at the leaſt of thrée hundred of his footmen.

A ſore conflict.

Howbeit being withdrawen into an orchard, which was ſtronglie fenſed and hedged about with thornes, the Frenchmen were not able to enter vpon the Engliſhmen; but yet they tooke from them all their horſſes and ſpoile, & aſſaulted them till it was night, and then retired backe to the towne, not far diſtant from the place where they fought, called Vallemont: this was vpon the 14 day of March. In the morning vpon the breake of the daie, the Engliſhmen iſſued foorth of the orchard, where they had kept themſelues all the night, & drew towards Harflue, whereof the Frenchmen being aduertiſed, followed them, & ouertooke them vpon the ſands néere to Chiefe de Caux, & there ſet on them: but in the end, the Frenchmen were diſcomfited, and a great number of them ſlaine by the Engliſhmen, which afterwards returned without more adoo vnto Harflue. The French writers blame the conſtable for this loſſe, bicauſe he kept on the high ground with a number of men of war, and would not come downe to aid his fellowes.

Anno Reg. 4.
The emperour Sigiſmund commeth into England.

In this fourth yeare of king Henries reigne, the emperour Sigiſmund, cooſine germane to king Henrie, came into England, to the intent that he might make an attonement betweene king Henrie and the French king: with whom he had béene before, bringing with him the archbiſhop of Remes, as ambaſſadour for the French king. At Calis he was honorablie receiued by the earle of Warwike lord deputie there, and diuerſe other lords ſent thither of purpoſe to attend him. Moreouer, the king ſent thither thirtie great ſhips to bring him and his traine ouer. At Douer the duke of Gloceſter, and diuerſe other lords were readie to receiue him, who at his approching to land, entered the water with their ſwords in their hands drawen; and by the mouth of the ſaid duke declared to him, that if he intended to enter the land as the kings freend, and as a mediator to intreat for peace, he ſhould be ſuffered to arriue: but if he would enter as an emperour into a land claimed to be vnder his empire, then were they readie to reſiſt him. This was thought neceſſarie to be doone for ſauing of the kings prerogatiue, who hath full preheminence within his owne realme, as an abſolute emperour.

Titus Liuius.

The ſtrange manner of receiuing the emperour at Douer.

When the emperour herevpon anſwered that he was come as the kings freend, and as a mediator for peace, and not with any imperiall authoritie, he was of the duke and other his aſſociats receiued with all ſuch honor as might be deuiſed. The king with all his nobilitie receiued him on Blackheath, the ſeuenth day of Maie, and brought him through London to Weſtminſter with great triumph. Shortlie after there came alſo into England Albert duke of Holland, who was likewiſe freendlie interteined. Both theſe princes, the emperour and the duke of Holland were conueied to Windſore to ſaint Georges feaſt, and elected companions of the noble order of the garter, and had the collar and habit of the ſame to them deliuered, and ſat in their ſtals all the ſolemnitie of the feaſt. Shortlie after that the feaſt was finiſhed, the duke of Holland returned into his countrie; but the emperour tarried ſtill, and aſſaied all maner of meanes to perſuade the king to a peace with the Frenchmen.

Albert duke of Holland cõmeth into England.

But their euill hap, as they that were appointed by Gods prouidence to ſuffer more damage at the Engliſhmens hands, would not permit his perſuaſions to take place: for whereas peace was euen almoſt entring in at the gates, the king was ſuddenlie ſtirred to diſpleaſure vpon a new occaſion, for he being aduertiſed of the loſſe of his men at the late conflict in the territorie of Rone (as ye haue heard) refuſed to heare this word peace once named. The emperour like a wiſe prince paſſed ouer that time till another ſeaſon, that ſome fauourable aſpect of the planets ſhould ſéeme to further his purpoſe. And when he thought the ſame was come, he broched againe the veſſell of concord and amitie, which he put in ſo faire a cup, and preſented it with ſuch effectuous words, that ſuerlie the king had taſted it, if word had not béen brought about the ſame time, that Harflue was beſieged of the French both by water and land, as it was in déed: for the conſtable of France incouraged by his laſt conflict (though the ſame was not much to his praiſe) aſſembled an armie, and vpon a ſudden laid ſiege to the towne. At the ſame inſtant John vicount of Narbon the vice-admerall of France, brought the whole nauie to the riuage and ſhore adioining to the towne, in purpoſe to haue entered by the waterſide; but the duke of Excester defeated his intent, and defended the towne verie manfullie.

The emperor an earneſt mediator for peace.

Harflue beſieged by the French.

King Henrie aduertiſed hereof, meant at the firſt to haue gone with his nauie in perſon to the ſuccors of his men; but the emperor diſſuaded him from that purpoſe, aduiſing him rather to ſend ſome one of his capteins. The king following his louing and reaſonable aduertiſement, appointed his brother the duke of Bedford accompanied with the earles of March, Marſhall, Oxford, Huntington, Warwike, Arundell, Saliſburie, Deuonſhire, and diuerſe barons, with two hundred ſaile to paſſe into Normandie, for reſcue of the towne of Harflue; which vſing great diligence ſhipped at Rie, and after ſome hinderance by contrarie winds, at length came to the mouth of the riuer of Seine on the daie of the Aſſumption of our ladie. When the vicount of Narbon perceiued the Engliſh nauie to approch, he couragiouſlie ſet forward, and gat the poſſeſſion of the mouth of the hauen. The duke of Bedford ſéeing his enimies thus fiercelie to come forward, ſet before certeine ſtrong ſhips, which at the firſt incounter vanquiſhed and tooke two French ſhips, the capteins whereof were too raſh and forward.

Titus Liuius.

A great ouerthrow by ſea giuen to the French by the duke of Bedford.

The duke followed with all his puiſſance, and ſet on his enimies. The fight was long, but not ſo long as perillous, nor ſo perillous as terrible (for battels on the ſea are deſperate) till at length the victorie fell to the Engliſhmen, ſo that almoſt all the whole nauie of France, in the which were manie ſhips, hulkes, carikes, and other ſmall veſſels, to the number of fiue was ſunke & taken. Amongſt other veſſels that were taken thrée great carikes of Genoa, a citie in Italie, were ſent into England. In the ſame conflict were ſlaine of the Frenchmen no ſmall number, as appeared by the dead bodies, which were ſéene euerie daie ſwimming about the Engliſh ſhips. After this, the duke of Bedford ſailed vp to Harflue, & refreſhed the towne both with vittels and monie; notwithſtanding certeine other French gallies did what they could to haue letted that enterpriſe. When the erle of Armignacke heard that the puiſſant name of France was vanquiſhed, he raiſed his ſiege & returned to Paris.

The French nauie of fiue hundred veſſels vanquiſhed.

Titus Liuius.

Titus Liuius.

Harflue reſcued by the Engliſhmen.

After this diſcomfiture and loſſe, the puiſſance of the Frenchmen began to decaie, for now the princes and nobles of the realme fell into diuiſion and diſcord among themſelues, ſtudieng how to reuenge their old priuat iniuries, & refuſed to take paine for ſuccour of the publike weale and ſafegard of their countrie: wherevpon their power began to wax ſlender, their ſtate brought into imminent danger of perpetuall bondage; which thing no doubt had fallen vpon them if king Henrie had longer liued. For as vpon one inconuenience ſuffered, manie do follow, ſo was it in France at that time: for the king was not of ſound memorie, the warre that was toward both doubtfull and perillous: the princes vntruſtie and at diſcord: with a hundred things more (which might bring a realme to ruine) out of frame and order in France in thoſe daies. After that the duke of Bedford was returned backe againe into England with great triumph and glorie, he was not ſo much thanked of the king his brother, as praiſed of the emperour Sigiſmund, being to him a ſtranger, which ſaid openlie, that happie are thoſe ſubiects which haue ſuch a king, but more happie is the king that hath ſuch ſubiects.

Ciuill diſcord amongſt the nobles of France.

Charles the French king not of ſound memorie.

When the emperor perceiued that it was in vaine to mooue further for peace, he left off that treatie, and entered himſelfe into a league with king Henrie, the contents of which league conſiſted chéefie in theſe articles, that both the ſaid emperour and king, their heires, and ſucceſſors, ſhould be fréends ech to other, as alies and confederats againſt all manner of perſons, of what eſtate or degrée ſo euer they were (the church of Rome, and the pope for that time being onlie excepted) and that neither they, nor their heires, nor ſucceſſors ſhould be preſent in councell or other place, where either of them, or his heires or ſucceſſors might ſuſteine damage, in lands, goods, honors, ſtates, or perſons: and that if anie of them ſhould vnderſtand of loſſe or hinderance to be like to fall or happen to the others, they ſhould impeach the ſame, or if that laie not in their powers, they ſhould aduertiſe the others thereof with all conuenient ſpéed: and that either of them, and their heires and ſucceſſors ſhould aduance the others honor and commoditie without fraud or deceipt. Moreouer, that neither of them, nor their heires and ſucceſſors ſhould permit their ſubiects to leauie warres againſt the others; and that it ſhould be lawfull and frée for ech of their ſubiects, to paſſe into the others countrie, and there to remaine and make merchandize, either by ſea or land, paieng the cuſtomes, gabels, and duties due and accuſtomed, according to the lawes and ordinances of the places and countries where they chanced to traffike.

Titus Liuius.

The emperor entereth into league with king Henrie.

The cōtents of the league.

Furthermore, that neither of the ſaid princes, nor their heires nor ſucceſſors ſhould receiue any rebell, baniſhed man, or traitor of the others wittinglie; but ſhould cauſe euerie ſuch perſon to auoid out of their countries, realmes, dominions, and iuriſdictions. Againe, that neither of the ſaid princes, their heires, nor ſucceſſors ſhould begin any wars againſt any other perſon, other than ſuch as they had warres with at that preſent, without conſent of the other his confederate, except in defenſe of themſelues, their countries and ſubiects, in caſe of inuaſion made vpon them. Alſo, that it ſhould be lawfull for the king of England, to proſecute his warres againſt the Frenchmen for recouerie of his right, as ſhould ſéeme to him expedient; and likewiſe to the emperor, for recouerie of any part of his right in Fance, ſo that neither of them did preiudice the others right in that behalfe. Laſtlie, that either of them ſhould aſſiſt other, in recouerie & conqueſt of their rights, lands, and dominions, occupied, with-holden, and kept from them, by him that called himſelfe king of France, and other the princes and barons of France. This aliance, with other conditions, agréements, and articles, was concluded & eſtabliſhed on the ninetéenth daie of October, in the yeare of our Lord 2416. This doone, the emperor returned homewards, to paſſe into Germanie; and the king partlie to ſhew him honor, and partlie bicauſe of his owne affaires, aſſociated him to his towne of Calis.

Titus Liuius.

During the time of their abode there, the duke of Burgognie offered to come to Calis, to ſpeake with the emperor and the king, bicauſe he had knowledge of the league that was concluded betwixt them: the king ſent his brother the duke of Gloceſter, and the earle of March to the water of Graueling, to be hoſtages for the duke of Burgognie: and alſo the earle of Warwike, with a noble companie to conduct him to his preſence. At Graueling foord the dukes met, and after ſalutations doone, the duke of Burgognie was conueied to Calis, where of the emperor and the king he was highlie welcomed and feaſted. Here is to be noted, that in Iune laſt, the king of England had ſent the earle of Warwike, and other, vnto the duke of Burgognie, as then remaining at Liſle, where by the diligent trauell of thoſe Engliſh ambaſſadors, a truce was concluded betwixt the king of England and the duke of Burgognie, touching onlie the counties of Flanders and Arthois, to indure from the feaſt of ſaint Iohn Baptiſt in that preſent yeare 1416, vnto the feaſt of ſaint Michaell, in the yeare next inſuing. Which truce at the dukes being now at Calis (when no further agreement could be concluded) was prolonged vnto the feaſt of ſaint Michaell, that ſhould be in the yeare 1419. The duke of Gloceſter was receiued at Graueling, by the earle Charolois, and by him honorablie conueied to ſaint Omers, and there lodged that night.

Continuation de la chronicles de Flanders.

A truce betweene the K. and the duke of Burgognie.

The next day, the earle Charolois came with diuerſe noble men, to viſit the duke of Gloceſter in his lodging, and when he entered into the chamber, the dukes backe was towards him, talking with ſome one of his ſeruants, and did not ſee nor welcome the earle at his firſt entrie; but after he ſaid to him ſhortlie without any great reuerence, or comming towards him; You be welcome faire couſine, and ſo paſſed forth his tale with his ſeruants. The earle Charolois for all his youth, was not well content therewith, but yet ſuffered for that time. When the duke of Burgognie had doone all his buſineſſe at Calis, after the ninth daie he returned to Graueling, where the duke of Gloceſter and he met againe, and louinglie departed, the one to Calis, and the other to ſaint Omers; for the which voiage the duke of Burgognie was ſuſpected to be enimie to the crowne of France. After the dukes departing from Calis, the emperor was highlie feaſted and rewarded, and at his pleaſure ſailed into Holland, & ſo rode towards Beame. The king likewiſe tooke ſhip, and returned into England on ſaint Lukes euen.

Titus Liuius. W.P.

About the ſame time, the king ſent new ambaſſadors vnto the generall councell, which ſtill continued at Conſtance, whither the emperour Sigiſmund alſo returned, cheefelie for chaſing awaie of that peſtilent ſmoke of ſchiſme then blaſted vp betweene Iohn the three and twentith, Gregorie the twelfth, and Benet the thirteenth (as they intituled themſelues) the three peruerſe prelats, that all at once with ſuch eager malice ſtroue togither for the ſacred ſee of papaſie Gods vicarage (that was) who to be higheſt here in earth. The infectious ſmother of this venemous vapor by the ſpirit of theſe holie men thus raiſed vp thorough faction and parts taking, had beene readie to choke all chriſtendome, had not by the wiſedome and authoritie of the princes there, the ſame the ſooner beene vented awaie. Here by the conſent alſo of all nations it was ordeined in this councell, that this realme ſhould haue the name of the Engliſh nation, and be called and reputed for one of the fiue principall nations of the councell, which to grant before that time, through enuie, other nations had vtterlie refuſed.

The prerogatiue of the Engliſh nation in the generall councell.

Thom. Walſi.

The kings oration.

The nineteenth of October, the parlement that had beene broken vp, by reaſon of the emperours comming, began againe at Weſtminſter, and there the king made to them a ſhort and pithie oration, declaring the iniuries latelie doone and committed by the French nation, ſhewing alſo the iuſt and lawfull occaſion of his warres: ſignifieng furthermore the great diſcord and ciuill diſſention which reigned amongſt the nobilitie of France, rehearſing manie things, for the which it were neceſſarie to follow the warres now in hand againſt them, and that without delaie. He therefore deſired them to prouide for monie and treaſure, that nothing ſhould be wanting when need required: his requeſt heerein was granted, for euerie man was willing and glad to further that voiage, ſo that the cleargie granted two diſmes, and the laitie a whole fifteenth. In this parlement alſo Iohn duke of Bedford was made gouernour or regent of the realme, to hold and enioie the office ſo long as the king was occupied in the French wars. Moreouer, in this parlement, the king gaue to the duke of Exceſter a thouſand pounds by yeare, to be paid out of his owne cofers; beſides fortie pounds yearelie, which he was to receiue of the towne of Exceſter, of the kings reuenues there, and had the ſame grant confirmed by authoritie of the parlement, inſomuch that ſome write, that in this parlement he was made duke of Exceſter, and not before.

The duke of Bedford regent of England.

Tho. Walſ.

The king kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Killingworth, and the morrow after Chriſtmaſſe daie were certeine writings caſt abroad, in great mens houſes, and almoſt in euerie inne within the townes of S. Albons, Northampton, and Reading, conteining ſharpe reproofes againſt all eſtates of the church, and it could not be knowne from whence thoſe writings came, nor who was the author of them. The king verie earneſtlie procured all things to be made readie for the warre, meaning to paſſe the next ſummer ouer into France, to recouer his right by force, which by no other meane he ſaw how to obteine. ¶ In this meane while had the Frenchmen hired a great number of Genowaies and Italians, with certeine carickes and gallies well appointed, the which being ioined with the French fleet, laie at the mouth of the riuer of Seine, and vp within the ſame riuer, both to ſtop all ſuccour by ſea that ſhould come to them within Harflue, and alſo to waſt abroad, and doo what damage they could vnto the Engliſh, as occaſion ſerued.

Libels againſt the cleargie.

1417

Anno Reg. 5.

Tit. Liuius.

The king therefore yer he paſſed ouer himſelfe, ſent the erle of Huntington to ſearch and ſcowre the ſeas. This luſtie earle, called Iohn Holland (ſonne to the earle of Huntington, otherwiſe called duke of Exceſter, beheaded at Circeſter, in the time of king Henrie the fourth, and couſine to the king) with a great nauie of ſhips ſearched the ſea, from the one coaſt to the other, and in concluſion incountred with nine of thoſe great carickes of Genes (the which the lord Iaques the baſtard of Burbon had reteined to ſerue the French king) and ſet on them ſharplie. The conflict was great, and the fight long (continuing the more part of a ſummers daie) but in concluſion, the Frenchmen and Italians were ouercome and fled. Three of the greateſt caricks with their patrons, and monſieur Iaques de Burbon their admerall were taken, with as much monie as ſhould haue paid the ſoldiers of the whole fleet for halfe a yeare, and three other caricks were bowged.

A great exploit by ſea doone by the earle of Huntington.

Tit. Liuius.

Tit. Liuius.

The earle returning backe with this good lucke, found the king at Hampton, who receiued him with thankes, as he had well deſerued. Shortlie after, vpon the three and twentith of Iulie, the king tooke his ſhip at Porteſmouth, accompanied with the dukes of Clarence and Gloceſter; the earls of Huntington, Marſhall, Warwike, Deuonſhire, Saliſburie, Suffolke, and Summerſet; the lords Roſſe, Willoughbie, Fitz Hugh, Clinton, Scroope, Matreuers, Burchier, Ferreis of Grobie, and Ferreis of Chartleie, Fanhope, Graie of Codnore, ſir Gilbert Vmfreuile, ſir Gilbert Talbot, and diuerſe other; and ſo hauing wind and weather to his deſire, the firſt daie of Auguſt he landed in Normandie, néere to a caſtell called Touque, where he conſulted with his capteins, what waie was beſt for him to take concerning his high enterpriſe.

The number of the armie 16400. of his owne puruciance.

Tit.Liuius.

His armie conteined the number of ſixtéene thouſand and foure hundred ſoldiers and men of warre of his owne puruciance, beſide others. The duke of Clarence had in his retinue a hundred lances, and thrée hundred archers: and beſide him, there were thrée earles, which had two hundred and fortie lances, and ſeauentéene hundred and twentie archers. The duke of Gloceſter foure hundred and ſeauentie lances, and fouretéene hundred and ten archers. The earles of March, Marſhall, Warwike, and Saliſburie, each of them one hundred lances, and thrée hundred archers a péece. The earle of Huntington fortie lances, and ſix ſcore archers. The earle of Suffolke thirtie lances, and foureſcore and ten archers. Beſide theſe, there were thirtéene lords, as Aburgauennie, Matreuers, Fitz Hugh, Clifford, Graie, Willoughbie, Talbot, Courtnie, Burchier, Roos, Louell, Ferrers of Chartleie, and Harington, the which had in their retinue the number of fiue hundred and ſix lances, and fiftéene hundred and foureſcore archers. Alſo, there were in this armie thréeſcore and ſeauentéene knights, which had vnder them nine hundred and fortie fiue lances, and two thouſand eight hundred and fiftie two archers; ſo that in all, there were fiue and twentie thouſand, fiue hundred, and eight and twentie fighting men: of which number euerie fourth man was a lance. Beſide the ſoldiers and men of warre, there were a thouſand maſons, carpenters, and other labourers.

The Normans flee to the walled townes.

The Normans hearing of the kings arriuall, were ſuddenlie ſtriken with ſuch feare, that they fled out of their houſes, leauing the townes and villages, and with their wiues and children, bag and baggage, got them into the walled townes, preparing there to defend themſelues, & with all ſpéed ſent to the French king, requiring him to prouide for the defenſe and preſeruation of his louing ſubiects. Héere vpon, the men of war were appointed to reſort into the ſtrong townes, to lie within the ſame in garriſons, to reſiſt the power of the Engliſhmen, ſo that all the walled townes and caſtels in Normandie were furniſhed with men, munition, and vittels. The king of England, when he had reſolued with his counſell for his procéeding in his enterpriſes, laid ſiege vnto the caſtell of Touque. The duke of Gloceſter that led the foreward, had the charge of that ſiege, the which by force of aſſaults, and other warlike meanes, brought to that point, that they within yéelded the place into his hands, the ninth daie of Auguſt. The earle of Saliſburie, who led the battell, tooke the caſtell of Ambervilliers, the which was giuen to him by the king, and ſo this earle was the firſt that had anie territorie giuen him of the king in this new conqueſt. The king made at the winning of Touque eight and twentie knights, and left ſir Robert Kirkelie capteine there.

Touque caſtell beſieged by yͤ Engliſhman & taken.

Amberuilliers caſtell taken.

After this, on deliberate aduiſe taken how to procéed; the K. ſet forward toward the towne of Caen in moſt warlike order, waſting the countrie on euerie ſide as he paſſed. Which towne ſtandeth in a plaine fertile countrie, no ſtronger walled, than déepe ditched, and as then well vittelled and repleniſhed with people: for the citizens fearing the kings comming, had there prouided all things neceſſarie and defenſible. But his maieſtie doubting leaſt the Frenchmen, vpon their vnderſtanding of his approch to the towne, would haue burned the ſuburbs and buildings without the walles, ſent the duke of Clarence with a thouſand men before him, to preuent that miſchéefe. The duke comming thither, found the ſuburbs alreadie ſet on fire, but vſed ſuch diligence to quench the ſame, that the moſt part was ſaued. He alſo wan the abbeie church of ſaint Stephan, which the Frenchmen were in hand to haue ouerthrowne, by vndermining the pillers; but the duke obteining the place, filled vp the mines, and ſo preſerued the church. He alſo wan a cell of nunnes, verie ſtronglie fenſed, after the manner of warre.

Caen beſieged

Then came the king before the towne, who cauſed forthwith to be caſt a déepe trench, with an high mount, to kéepe them within from iſſuing forth, and that doone, began fiercelie to aſſault the towne: but they within ſtood manfullie to their defenſe, ſo that there was ſore and cruell fight betwixt them, and their enimies. But when king Henrie perceiued that he loſt more than he wan by his dailie aſſaults, he left off anie more to aſſault it, and determined to ouerthrow the wals, with vndermining. Wherefore with all diligence, the pioners caſt trenches, made mines, & brought timber; ſo that within a few daies, the wals ſtood onelie vpon poſts, readie to fall, when fire ſhould be put to them. The king meaning now to giue a generall aſſault, cauſed all the capteins to aſſemble before him in councell, vnto whome he declared his purpoſe, commanding them not before the next daie to vtter it; till by ſound of trumpet they ſhould haue warning to ſet forward towards the wals, leaſt his determination being diſcloſed to the enimies, might cauſe them to prouide the better for their owne defenſe. He alſo preſcribed vnto them, what order he would haue them to kéepe, in giuing the aſſault, and that was this; that euerie capteine deuiding his band into thrée ſeuerall portions, they might be readie one to ſuccéed in an others place, as thoſe which fought ſhould happilie be driuen backe and repelled.

Tit.Liuius.

The order of the aſſault.

In the morning next following, being the fourth of September, ſomewhat before the breake of the daie, he cauſed his people to approch the wals, and to ſhew countenance, as though they would giue a generall aſſault; and whileſt they were buſied in aſſailing and defending on both ſides, the Engliſhmen pearſed and brake thorough the wals by diuerſe holes and ouertures made by the pioners, vnder the foundation: yet the king vpon diuerſe reſpects, offered them within pardon of life, if they would yéeld themſelues and the towne to his mercie; but they refuſing that to doo, the aſſault was newlie begun, and after ſore fight continued for the ſpace of an houre, the Engliſhmen preuailed, and ſlue ſo manie as they found with weapon in hand, readie to reſiſt them.

Titus Liuius.

The duke of Clarence was the firſt that entred with his people, and hauing got the one part of the towne, aſſailed them that kept the bridge, & by force beating them backe, paſſed the ſame, and ſo came to the wals on the other ſide of the towne, where the fight was ſharpe and fierce betwixt the aſſailants and defendants; but the duke with his people ſetting on the Frenchmen behind, as they ſtood at defenſe on the wals, eaſilie vanquiſhed them, ſo that the Engliſhmen entred at their pleaſure. Thus when the king was poſſeſſed of the towne, he incontinentlie commanded all armours & weapons of the vanquiſhed, to be brought into one place, which was immediatlie doone.

Caen taken by the Engliſhmen.

Then the miſerable people came before the kings preſence, and knéeling on their knées, held vp their hands, and cried; Mercie, mercie: to whome the king gaue certeine comfortable words, & bad them ſtand vp. All the night following, he cauſed his armie to kéepe themſelues in order of battell within the towne, and on the next morning called all the magiſtrats & gouernors of the towne to the ſenat houſe, Diuiſion of ſpoile.

where ſome for their wilfull ſtubborneſſe were adiudged to die, other were ſore fined and ranſomed. Then he calling togither his ſouldiers and men of warre, not onelie gaue them great praiſes and high commendations for their manlie doings, but alſo diſtributed to euerie man, according to his deſert, the ſpoile and gaine gotten in the towne, cheeflie bicauſe at the aſſault they had ſhewed good proofe of their manhood and valiant courages.

The capteine of the caſtell held out.

After that the towne was thus woone, the lord Montainie, capteine of the caſtell, would not yeeld, but made ſemblance, as though he meant to defend the place, to the vtterance: but after that he was ſharplie called vpon by king Henrie, either to yeeld it, or elſe that he ſhould be aſſured to haue all mercie and fauour ſequeſtred from him, he tooke better aduiſe, and therevpon being in deſpaire of releefe, made this compoſition, that if he were not reſcued of the French power by a certeine daie, he ſhould render the fortreſſe into the kings hands, with condition, that he and his ſouldiers ſhould be ſuffered to depart with all their goods, the habiliments of warre onelie excepted. Herevpon twelue hoſtages were deliuered to the king, and when the daie came, being the twentith of September, they within rendred the caſtell into the kings hands; and thus, both the towne and caſtell of Caen became Engliſh.

Titus Liuius.
Caen caſtell yeelded.

Titus Liuius.
The Scots inuade the Engliſh borders.

Titus Liuius.
A great armie to reſiſt the Scots.

Thom. Walſin.

Whileſt the king was thus occupied about his warres in Normandie, the Scots in great number, entring England, waſted the countrie with fire and ſword whereſoeuer they came. The Engliſh lords that were left in truſt with the keeping of thoſe parties of the realme, raiſed the whole power of the countries, ſo that there came togither the number of an hundred thouſand men vpon Baw moore, where the generall aſſemblie was made, and as it chanced, the duke of Exceſter, vncle to the king, who had latelie before muſtered a certeine number of men to conueie them ouer to the king as a new ſupplie to his armie there, was the ſame time in the north parts on pilgrimage at Bridlington; and hearing of this inuaſion made by the Scots, tooke vpon him to be generall of the armie prepared againſt them, and to giue them battell. Alſo, the archbiſhop of Yorke, although he was not able to ſit on horſebacke by reaſon of his great age, cauſed himſelfe to be caried foorth in a charet in that iournie, the better to incourage other. But the Scots hearing that the Engliſhmen approched toward them with ſuch a puiſſance, withdrew backe into their countrie, and durſt not abide the bickering; either becauſe they miſtruſted an infortunat euent on their ſide, by reaſon of the Engliſh proweſſe; or elſe for that they had learned by others ouerthrowes to auoid the like, wherein ſtandeth a profitable point of wiſedome, as the poet verie ſententiouſlie ſaith,

The Scots recoile home.

Plautus.

Feliciter ſapit qui in alieno periculo ſapit.

Sir John Oldcaſtell.
The ſeruants of the abbat of S. Albons go about to catch the lord Cobham.

The ſame time, the lord Cobham, ſir John Oldcaſtell, whileſt he ſhifted from place to place to eſcape the hands of them, who he knew would be glad to laie hold on him, had conueied himſelfe in ſecret wiſe into an huſbandmans houſe, not farre from S. Albons, within the precinct of a lordſhip belonging to the abbat of that towne. The abbats ſeruants getting knowledge hereof, came thither by night, but they miſſed their purpoſe, for he was gone; but they caught diuerſe of his men, whome they caried ſtreict to priſon. The lord Cobham herewith was ſore diſmaied, for that ſome of them that were taken were ſuch as he truſted moſt, being of counſell in all his deuiſes. In the ſame place, were found books written in Engliſh, and ſome of thoſe books in times paſt had beene trimlie gilt, limned, and beautified with images, the heads whereof had beene ſcraped off, and in the Letanie they had blotted foorth the name of our ladie, and of other ſaints, till they came to the verſe *Parce nobis Domine*. Diuerſe writings were found there alſo, in derogation of ſuch honour as then was thought due to our ladie. The abbat of ſaint Albons ſent the booke ſo diſigured with ſcrapings & blottings out, with other ſuch writings as there were found, vnto the king; who ſent the booke againe to the archbiſhop, to ſhew the ſame in his ſermons at Paules croſſe in London, to the end that the citizens and other people of the realme might vnderſtand the purpoſes of thoſe that then were called Lollards, to bring them further in diſcredit with the people.

In this meane time that the king of England was occupied about Caen, the Frenchmen had neither anie ſufficient power to reſiſt him, nor were able to aſſemble an hoſt togither in their neceſſitie, by reaſon of the diſſention among themſelues: for their king was ſo ſimple, that he was ſpoiled both of treaſure and kingdome, ſo that euerie man ſpent and waſted he cared not what. Charles the Dolphin being of the age of ſixteene or ſeauenteene yeares, bewailed the ruine and decaie of his countrie, he onlie ſtudied the releefe of the common-wealth, and deuiſed how to reſiſt his enimies; but hauing neither men nor monie, was greatlie troubled and diſquieted in mind. In concluſion, by the aduiſe and counſell of the earle of Arminacke the conſtable of France, he found a meane to get all the treaſure & riches which his mother queene Iſabell had gotten and hoorded in diuerſe ſecret places: and for the common defenſe and profit of his countrie he wiſelie beſtowed it in waging ſouldiers, and preparing of things neceſſarie for the warre.

Commendation of the Dolphin of France.

The queene forgetting the great perill that the realme then ſtood in, remembring onelie the diſpleaſure to hir by this act doone, vpon a womaniſh malice, ſet hir huſband John duke of Burgognie in the higheſt authoritie about the king, giuing him the regiment and direction of the king and his realme, with all preheminence & ſoueraigntie. The duke of Burgognie hauing the ſword in his hand, in reuenge of old iniuries, began to make warre on the Dolphin, determining, that when he had tamed this yong vnbrideled gentleman, then would he go about to withſtand, and beat backe the common enimies of the realme. The like reaſon moued the Dolphin, for he minded firſt to repreſſe the authours of ciuill diſcord, before he would ſet vpon forreine enimies, and therefore prepared to ſubdue and deſtroie the duke of Burgognie, as the cheefe head of that miſcheefe, whereby the realme was vnquieted, decaied, and in manner brought to vtter ruine. Thus was France afflicted, and in euerie part troubled with warre and diuiſion, and no man to prouide remedie, nor once put foorth his finger for helpe or ſuccour.

The yong Dolphin fleeced his old moother of his treaſure, wher miſcheefe roſe vpon it.

The duke of Burgognie cheefe doer in France.

King Henrie in the meane time following victorie and his good ſucceſſe, ſent the duke of Clarence to the ſea coaſt, where (with great difficultie) he got the towne of Baieux, whereof the lord Matreuers was appointed capteine. The duke of Gloceſter alſo finding ſmall reſiſtance, tooke the citie of Liſeaux, of which citie ſir John Birkleie was ordeined capteine. King Henrie himſelfe taried ſtill at Caen, fortifieng the towne and caſtell, and put out fifteene hundred women and impotent perſons, repleniſhing the towne with Engliſh people. Where while the king ſoiourned, he kept a ſolemne feaſt, and made manie knights; beſide that, he ſhewed there an example of great pitie and clemencie: for in ſearching the caſtell, he found innumerable ſubſtance of plate and monie belonging to the citizens, whereof he would not ſuffer one penie to be touched, but reſtored the ſame to the owners, deliuering to euerie man that which was his owne.

Baieux take

Liſeaux taken.

Caen peopled with Engliſh inhabitants.
A worthie & rare example of equitie in king Henrie.

When the fame of his mercifull dealing herein, of his bountie to captiues, and of his fauourable vſing of thoſe that ſubmitted themſelues to his grace, was ſpred abroad, all the capteins of the townes adioining, came willinglie to his preſence, offering to him themſelues, their townes, and their goods, wherupon he made proclamation, that all men, which had, or would become his ſubiects, and ſweare to him allegiance, ſhould inioy their goods, and liberties, in as large or more ample maner, than they did before: which gentle interteining of the ſtubborne Normans, was the verie cauſe, why they were not onlie content, but alſo glad to remoue and turne from the French part, and become ſubiects to the crowne of England.

The Normans willinglie ſworne Engliſh.

When the king had ſet Caen in good order, he left there for capteins, the one of the towne, the other of the caſtell, ſir Gilbert Umfreuill earle of Kime or Angus, & ſir Gilbert Talbot, and made bailiffe there ſir John Popham, and ſo departed from Caen the firſt of October, and comming to the caſtell of Courſie, within thrée daies had it rendred to him. From whence, the fourth of October, he came vnto Argenton; they within that towne and caſtell offered, that if no reſcue came by a daie limited, they would deliuer both the towns and caſtell into the kings hands, ſo that ſuch as would abide and become the kings faithfull ſubiects ſhould be receiued, the other to depart with their goods and liues ſaued whither they would: the king accepted their offer. When the daie limited came, and no ſuccours appeared, they yéelded according to the couenants, and the king performed all that on his behalfe was promiſed. The lord Graie of Codnor was appointed capteine there. After this, reſorted dailie to the king, of the Normans, people of all ſorts and degrées, to ſweare to him fealtie and homage. The citie of Sées which was well inhabited, and wherein were two abbeies of great ſtrength, one of them yéelded to the king, and ſo likewiſe did diuerſe other townes in thoſe parties, without ſtroke ſtriken.

The caſtell of Courſie rendered.

Argenton yéelded.

The voluntarie ſubiection of the French.

Sées yéelded.

The towne of Alanſon abode a ſiege for the ſpace of eight daies, they within defending it right valiantlie at the firſt; but in the end, conſidering with themſelues, what ſmall hope there was for anie ſuccours to come to remoue the ſiege, they grew to a compoſition, that if within a certeine daie they were not reléeued, they ſhould yéeld both the towne and caſtell into the kings hands, which was done: for no ſuccours could be heard of. The king appointed capteine of this towne, the duke of Gloceſter, and his lieutenant ſir Ralfe Lentall. The duke of Britaine vnder ſafe conduct came to the king, as he was thus buſie in the conqueſt of Normandie, and after ſundrie points treated of betwixt them, a truce was taken, to indure from the ſeuenth daie of Nouember, vnto the laſt of September, in the yeare next following, betwixt them, their ſouldiers, men of warre, and ſubiects. The like truce was granted vnto the quéene of Jeruſalem and Sicill, & to hir ſonne Lewes, for the duchie of Aniou, and the countie of Maine, the duke of Britaine being their deputie for concluding of the ſame truce.

Alanſon beſieged and yéelded vp.

Titus Liuius.

A truce taken betwéene king Henrie and the duke of Britaine.

About the ſame time alſo, at the ſute of Charles the Dolphin, a treatie was in hand at Tonque, for a finall peace, but it came to none effect. From Alanſon the king ſet forward towards the towne and caſtell of Faleis, meaning to beſiege the ſame, where the Frenchmen appointed to the kéeping of it, had fortified the towne by all meanes poſſible, and prepared themſelues to defend it to the vttermoſt. The earle of Saliſburie was firſt ſent thither before with certeine bands of ſouldiers to incloſe the enimies within the towne, & to view the ſtrength therof. After him came the king with his whole armie, about the firſt of December, and then was the towne beſieged on ech ſide. The king lodged before the gate that leadeth to Caen, the duke of Clarence before the caſtell that ſtandeth on a rocke, and the duke of Gloceſter laie on the kings right hand, and other lords & noble men were aſſigned to their places as was thought expedient. And to be ſure from taking damage by anie ſudden inuaſion of the enimies, there were great trenches and rampiers caſt and made about their ſeuerall campes, for defenſe of the ſame.

Faleis beſieged.

The Frenchmen notwithſtanding this ſiege, valiantlie defended their wals, and ſometimes made iſſues forth, but ſmall to their gaine: and ſtill the Engliſhmen with their guns and great ordinance made batterie to the wals and bulworks. The winter ſeaſon was verie cold, with ſharpe froſts, & hard weather; but the Engliſhmen made ſuch ſhift for prouiſion of all things neceſſarie to ſerue their turns, that they were ſufficientlie prouided, both againſt hunger and cold: ſo that in the end, the Frenchmen perceiuing they could not long indure againſt them, offered to talke, and agréed to giue ouer the towne, if no reſcue came by a certeine daie appointed. About the ſame ſeaſon was ſir John Oldcaſtell, lord Cobham taken, in the countrie of Powes land, in the borders of Wales, within a lordſhip belonging to the lord Powes, not without danger and hurts of ſome that were at the taking of him: for they could not take him, till he was wounded himſelfe.

Thom. Walſ.

Sir John Oldcaſtell taken.

At the ſame time, the ſtates of the realme were aſſembled at London, for the leuieng of monie, to furniſh the kings great charges, which he was at about the maintenance of his wars in France: it was therefore determined, that the ſaid ſir John Oldcaſtell ſhould be brought, and put to his triall, yer the aſſemblie brake vp. The lord Powes therefore was ſent to fetch him, who brought him to London in a litter, wounded as he was: herewith, being firſt laid faſt in the Tower, ſhortlie after he was brought before the duke of Bedford, regent of the realme, and the other eſtates, where in the end he was condemned; and finallie was drawen from the Tower vnto ſaint Giles field, and there hanged in a chaine by the middle, and after conſumed with fire, the gallowes and all.

Sir John Oldcaſtell executed.

1418

Faleis rendered vp to king Henrie.

When the daie was come, on the which it was couenanted that the towne of Faleis ſhould be deliuered, to wit, the ſecond of Januarie, becauſe no ſuccours appeared, the towne was yéelded to the king: but the caſtell held out ſtill, into the which the capteine and gouernour both of the towne and caſtell had withdrawne themſelues, with all the ſouldiers; and being ſtreictlie beſieged, the capteine defended himſelfe and the place right ſtoutlie, although he was ſore laid to, vntill at length, perceiuing his people wearied with continuall aſſaults, and ſuch approches as were made to and within the verie wals, he was driuen to compound with the king, that if he were not ſuccoured by the firſt of Februarie, then ſhould he yéeld himſelfe priſoner, and deliuer the caſtell; ſo that the ſouldiers ſhould haue licence to depart, with their liues onelie ſaued. When the daie came, the couenants were performed, and the caſtell rendered to the kings hands, for no aid came to the reſcue of them within. The capteine named Oliuer de Mannie was kept as priſoner, till the caſtell was repared at his coſts and charges, becauſe the ſame, through his obſtinat wilfulneſſe, was ſore beaten and defaced, with vnderminings and batterie. Capteine there, by the king, was appointed ſir Henrie Fitz Hugh.

After this, king Henrie returned to Caen, and by reaſon of a proclamation which he had cauſed to be made for the people of Normandie, that had with-

Hiſtoir des ducs de Normandie.

drawne themſelues forth of the balliwicks of Caen and Faleis, he granted awaie to his owne people the lands of thoſe that came not in vpon that proclamation, and in ſpeciall, he gaue to the duke of Clarence, during his life, the vicounties of Auge, Orbec, and Ponteau de Mer, with all the lands of thoſe that were withdrawne forth of the ſame vicounties. This gift was made the ſixteenth of Februarie, in this fift yeare of this kings reigne. All the Lent ſeaſon, the king laie at Baieux with part of his armie, but the reſidue were ſent abroad, for the atchiuing of certeine enterpriſes, becauſe they ſhould not lie idle.

Tho. Walſin.
Titus Liuius.

Abr. Fl. out of Fabian pag. 397. and Iohn Stow pag. 598.

Slaughter and bloudſhed in S. Dunſtans church on Eaſter day.

women full of miſcheefe.

¶ In this yeare 1418, and in the firſt yeare of the reigne of this victorious king, Henrie the fift, on Eaſter daie in the after noone (a time which required deuotion) at a ſermon in ſaint Dunſtans in the eaſt of London, a great fraie happened in the ſaid church, where through manie people were ſore wounded, and one Thomas Petwarden fiſhmonger that dwelt at Sprots keie was ſlaine outright; as they (vpon a good intent) did what they could (to their owne perill as vnfortunatlie it befell) to appeaſe the turmoile, and to procure the keeping of the kings peace. Hereupon the church was ſuſpended, and the beginners of the broile, namelie the lord Strange and ſir John Truſſell knight (betweene whome ſuch coles of vnkindneſſe were kindled (at the inſtigation of their wiues, gentlewomen of euill diſpoſition and at curſſed hatred one with another) that their huſbands ment at their meeting in the ſaid church to haue ſlaine one another) were committed to the counter in the Pultrie. Two wiſe gentlemen (I wiſſe) and well aduiſed (no doubt) who without regard of day, place, people, preacher, or perill that might inſue; were ſo forward to become the inſtruments of their miſchieuous wiues malice; the fulfilling wherof they would haue forborne, if with diſcretion they had pondered the verdict of the poet concerning the ſaid ſex:

Fœmina lætalis, fœmina plena malis.

Record. Cant.

The principall offendors puniſhment.

***Not teares of hir cōplaint (I truſt) for ſorrow of hir ſinne.**

The archbiſhop of Canturburie, when he had intelligence giuen of this outragious prophanation of the church, cauſed the offendors to be excommunicat, as well at Paules, as in all other pariſh churches of London. Shortlie after, to wit on the one and twentith of Aprill, the ſaid archbiſhop ſat at ſaint Magnus, vpon inquiſition for the authors of the ſaid diſorder, and found the fault to conſiſt ſpeciallie in the lord Strange and his wife. So that vpon the firſt daie of Maie next following in Paules church, before the ſaid archbiſhop, the maior of London, and others, the ſaid offendors ſubmitted themſelues to doo penance, and ſware to doo it in ſuch ſort as to them it was inioined; namelie, as followeth. That immediatlie all their ſeruants ſhould (in their ſhirts) go before the parſon of ſaint Dunſtans, from Paules to the ſaid ſaint Dunſtans church; and the lord Strange bareheaded, with his ladie barefooted; Reignold Kenwood archdeacon of London following them. Alſo it was appointed them, that at the conſecrating or hallowing of the ſaid church (which they had prophaned) the ladie ſhould fill all the veſſels with * water, and offer likewiſe to the altar an ornament of ten pounds; and the lord hir huſband a pix of ſiluer of fiue pounds. Which doone by waie of a ſatiſfactorie expiation, it is likelie they were abſolued: but the lord Strange had firſt made the wife of the ſaid Petwarden ſlaine in the fraie, large amends: as Fabian ſaith, though in what ſort he maketh no mention.]

A ſore tempeſt.

A violent tempeſt of wind.

Whileſt the king of England wan thus in Normandie, his nauie loſt nothing on the ſea, but ſo ſcowred the ſtreames, that neither Frenchmen nor Britons durſt once appeare; howbeit, on a daie there aroſe ſuch a ſtorme and hideous tempeſt, that if the earles of March and Huntington had not taken the hauen of Southhampton, the whole nauie had periſhed; & yet the ſafegard was ſtrange, for in the ſame hauen, two balingers, and two great carickes, laden with merchandize were drowned, and the broken maſt of another caricke was blowen ouer the wall of the towne. When the furie of this outragious wind and weather was aſſwaged, and the ſea waxed calme, the earles of March and Huntington paſſed ouer with all their companie, and landing in Normandie, they marched through the countrie, deſtroieng the French villages, and taking preies on each hand, till they came to the king where he then was.

Anno Reg. 6.

Townes in Normandie yeelded to K. Henrie.

In the ſixt yeare of king Henries reigne, he ſent the earle of Warwike, and the lord Talbot, to beſiege the ſtrong caſtell of Dampfront. The duke of Clarence was alſo ſent to beſiege and ſubdue other townes, vnto whome, at one time and other, we find, that theſe townes vnderwritten were yeelded, wherein he put capteins as followeth. In Courton John Aubin, in Barney William Houghton, in Chambis James Neuill, in Bechelouin the earle Marſhall, in Harecourt Richard Woodvill eſquier, in Fangernon John S. Albon, in Creuener ſir John Kirbie to whom it was giuen, in Anuilliers Robert Hornebie, in Bagles ſir John Arthur, in Freſnie le vicont ſir Robert Brent.

The duke of Gloceſter the ſame time, accompanied with the earle of March, the lord Greie of Codner, and other, was ſent to ſubdue the townes in the Ile of Conſtantine, vnto whome theſe townes hereafter mentioned were yeelded, where he appointed capteins as followeth. At Carentine the lord Botreux, at Saint Lo Reginald Weſt, at Valoignes Thomas Burgh, at Pont Done Dauie Howell, at the Haie de Pais ſir John Aſton, at ſaint Sauieur le vicont ſir John Robſert, at Pontorſon ſir Robert Gargraue, at Hamberie the earle of Suffolke lord of that place by gift, at Briquevill the ſaid earle alſo by gift, at Auranches ſir Philip Hall bailiffe of Alanſon, at Vire the lord Matreuers, at S. James de Beumeron the ſame lord.

Chierburgh beſieged by the Engliſh.

After that the duke had ſubdued to the kings dominion, the moſt part of all the townes in that Ile of Conſtantine, Chierburgh excepted, he returned to the king, and forthwith was ſent thither againe to beſiege that ſtrong fortreſſe, which was fenſed with men, munition, vittels, and ſtrong walles, towers, and turrets, in moſt defenſible wiſe, by reaſon whereof it was holden againſt him the ſpace of fiue moneths, although he vſed all waies and meanes poſſible to annoie them within, ſo that manie fierce aſſaults, ſkirmiſhes, iſſues, and other exploits of warre were atchiued, betwixt the Frenchmen within, and the Engliſhmen without: yet at length, the Frenchmen were ſo conſtreind by power of baterie, mines, and other forceable waies of approchings, that they were glad to compound to deliuer the place, if no reſcue came to raiſe the ſiege, either from the Dolphin, that then was retired into Aquitaine, or from the duke of Burgognie that then laie at Paris, within the terme of three ſcore and two daies (for ſo long reſpit the duke granted) but they truſting further vpon his lenitie and gentleneſſe hoped to get a far longer terme.

Now were the Dolphin and the duke of Burgognie growen to a certeine agreement, by mediation of cardinals ſent from the pope, ſo that the Engliſhmen ſuerlie thought, that they would leauie a power, and come downe to reſcue Chierburgh. The duke of Gloceſter therefore cauſed his camps to be ſtronglie intrenched, and manie defenſible blockehouſes of timber to be raiſed, like to ſmall turrets, that the ſame might be a ſafegard to his people, and to conclude, leſt nothing vnforeſéene nor vndoone, that was auailable for the defenſe of his armie. The king doubting leaſt ſome power ſhould be ſent downe, to the danger of his brother, and thoſe that were with him at this ſiege, cauſed two thouſand men to be imbarked in thirtie ſhips of the weſt countrie, by order ſent vnto certeine lords there.

Chierburgh yéelded to the Engliſhmen.

The Frenchmen within the towne, perceiuing thoſe ſuccors to approch néere to the towne, thought verelie that there had béene a power of Frenchmen comming to their aid: but when they ſaw them receiued as fréends into the Engliſh campe, their comfort was ſoone quailed: and ſo when the daie appointed came, being the ninetéenth of October, or rather about the later end of Nouember (as the hiſtorie of the dukes of Normandie hath) they rendred vp both the towne and caſtell, according to the couenants. The lord Greie of Codnore was made the kings lieutenant there, and after his deceaſſe, ſir Water Hungerford. About the ſame time, or rather before, as Titus Liuius writeth, to wit, the two and twentith of Iune, the ſtrong caſtell of Dampfront was yéelded into the hands of the earle of Warwike, to the kings vſe. But the hiſtorie writen of the dukes of Normandie affirmeth, that it was ſurrendred the two and twentith of September, after the ſiege had cōtinued about it from Aprill laſt. The king by honorable report of other, and of his owne ſpeciall knowledge, ſo rightlie aſcerteined of the great valure that (for feats at armes and policie in warre) was alwaies found in the perſon of that Iohn Bromley eſquier (ſpoken of a little here before) for which his maieſtie ſo ſundrie waies roiallie rewarded him againe; ſome ſpecialtie yet of the gentlemans merits togither with the ſouereignes bountie to him among other, ſéemes here (at mention of this Dampfront, whereof ſhortlie after he was capteine) verie well to deſerue a place: and to that purpoſe as the king in Iulie went ouer againe, and this Iohn Bromley in Iune the ſame yeare, with conduct of charge was ſent afore, imploieng himſelfe ſtill in venturous actiuitie with great annoie to the enimie: his highneſſe for good liking of the ſame, and for hartening and example to other (in Aprill next following) gaue fourtie pounds land to him and his heires males by letters patents in words as followeth, and remaining yet of record in the Tower of London.

The caſtell of Dampfront yéelded.

W.P.

A copie of the ſaid letters patents.

HEnricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ & dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus ad quos præſentes litteræ peruenerint ſalutem. Sciatis quòd de gratia noſtra ſpeciali & pro bono ſeruitio quod dilectus ſeruiens noſter Iohannes Bromley nobis impendit & impendet in futurum: dedimus & conceſſimus ei hoſpitium de Molay Bacon, infra comitatum noſtrum de Baieux, ac omnes terras, tenementa, redditus, hæreditates, & poſſeſſiones infra ducatum noſtrum Normandiæ, quæ fuerunt Alani de Beaumont nobis rebellis, vt dicitur. Habendum & tenendum præfato Iohanni & hæredibus ſuis maſculis de corpore ſuo procreatis, hoſpitium, terras, & tenementa, redditus, hæreditates, & poſſeſſiones ſupradictas, vna cum omnimodis francheſijs, priuilegijs, iuriſdictionibus, wardis, maritagijs, releuijs, eſchetis, foriſſacturis, feodis militum, aduocationibus eccleſiarum, & aliorum beneficiorum eccleſiaſticorū quorumcúnq;, terris, pratis, paſturis, boſcis, warēnis, chaſeis, aquis, vijs, ſtagnis, molēdinis, viuarijs, moris, mariſcis, ac alijs cōmoditatibus quibuſcúnq; dictis hoſpitio, terris, tenementis, redditibus, hæreditatibus, & poſſeſſionibus pertinentibus ſiue ſpectantibus, ad valorem quadraginta librarum ſterlingorum per annum, tenendis de nobis & hæredibus noſtris per homagium, &c: ac reddendo nobis & eiſdem hæredibus noſtris apud caſtrum noſtrum de Baieux vnam zonam pro lorica, ad feſtum Natuitatis ſancti Iohannis Baptiſtæ ſingulis annis: nec non faciendo alia ſeruitia, &c. Reſeruato, &c. Prouiſo ſemper, &c. Caſtro ſeu ciuitati noſtro de Baieux, &c. Quódq; prædictum hoſpitium, &c. In cuius rei, &c. Teſte me ipſo apud dictam ciuitatem noſtram de Baieux, 18 die Aprilis, anno regni noſtri ſexto, per ipſum regem.

Yet héereat the noble prince not ſtaieng his bountie, but rather regarding euer how iuſtlie new merits doo deſerue new dignities, and peraduenture the more mooued ſomewhat to reare vp the degrée of this eſquire, toward the ſtate of his ſtocke, who a long time before had béene indued with knighthood, and alſo bicauſe that vnto the duke of Buckingham he was of bloud, which his behauiour alwaies had from ſtaine ſo farre preſerued, as rather brought to it ſome increaſe of glorie, did (in the moſt worthie wiſe which to that order belongeth) dub him knight of warfare in field, made him alſo capteine generall of this ſtrong caſtell of Dampfront, ſeneſhall and great conſtable of Boſſeuile le Roſſe, with other offices and titles of worſhip, as partlie may appeare by a déed, in which this knight taking patterne at his princes benignitie had giuen an annuitie of twentie pounds to his kinſman Walter Audeley.

Sir Iohn Bromley made capteine of Dampfrōt.

A copie of that writing ſundrie waies ſo *well ſeruing to the truth of the ſtorie* was thought right neceſſarie heere to be added, thus.

OMnibus ad quos hoc præſens ſcriptum peruenerit, Iohānes de Bromley miles, capitaneus generalis de Dampfront, ſeneſcullus & magnus conſtabularius de Boſſeuile le Roſſe & March ibidem, ſalutem. Sciatis quòd pro bono & fideli ſeruitio quod dilectus conſanguineus meus Gualterus de Audeley mihi fecerit, tam infra regnum Angliæ quàm extra, & præcipuè contra Francos: dediſſe & conceſſiſſe, & hac præſenti charta mea confirmaſſe eidem Gualtero vnum annualem redditum viginti librarum, exeuntem de manerio meo de Bromley, & omnibus alijs terris & tenementis meis infra regnum Angliæ, vna cum herbagio pro quatuor equis habendo infra boſcos meos de Bromley & Willoughbridge, & octo carucatis fœni capiendis infra prata mea de Shurlebrooke & Foordſmedo annuatim, durante tota vita prædicti Gualteri, in feſto ſancti Iacobi apoſtoli. Et ſi contingat prædictum annualem redditum, a retrò fore in aliquo feſto, durante termino prædicto; tunc bene licebit eidem Gualtero, in manerio meo, & omnibus alijs terris meis prædictis diſtringere, & diſtrictiones inde captas penes ſe retinere, quouſq; de redditu prædicto, vna cum arreragijs (ſi quæ fuerint) plenariè fuerit perſolutum & ſatiſfactum. Et vlteriùs volo, quòd prædictus Gualterus habebit liberum egreſſum & regreſſum cum equis ſuis prædictis, & ad aſportandum fœnum prædictū, quandocúnq; voluerit, per omnes ſemitas & vias, ſine *aliqua contradictione mei prædicti Iohannis, aut hæredum meorum aliquali. Reddendo inde mihi ipſi Gualtero annuatim in feſto ſancti Georgij martyris, ſi tunc fuerim infra regnum Angliæ, vnum par calcarium deauratorum, pro omnibus. Et etiam volo & concedo quòd prædictus Gualterus liber ſit, durante tota vita ſua, ad volandum, venandum, piſcandum, & alias commoditates percipiendum, tam infra manerium meum de Bromley quàm in omnibus alijs manerijs, terris, & tenementis meis infra regnum Angliæ, ſine aliqua contradictione vel impedimento mei præfati Iohannis de Bromley militis, hæredum, aut aſſignatorum meorum aliquali. Et vt fidele teſtimonium præſentibus habeatur, ſigillum meum appoſui: hijs teſtibus, Roberto de Bruyn milite, Iohanne de Holland, Gulihelmo de Brereton, Richardo le Greuill, Iohanne de Egerton, Richardo le Beſton, Thoma le Creu, & alijs. Datum apud Dampfront prædicto, 12 die menſis Auguſti, anno regni regis Henrici quinti poſt conqueſtum ſexto.*

The old armes of the houſe of Bromley being quarterlie gules and or per feſſe indented, had in the ſeale to this déed, an inſcutchen charged with a griffin ſurgiant; his creaſt, out of a crowne, a demilion ſupporting a ſtandard charged with a lion paſſant gardant: about the ſhield was ingrauen, *ſigillum Iohannis de Bromley militis.* That inſcutchen and creaſt (as like is) giuen him in laudable remembrance for his valiant recouerie of the ſtandard at the ſharpe and bloodie ſkirmiſh by Corbie.] The earle of Warwike, and the lord Talbot, after the winning of this fortreſſe, made ſpéed to come vnto the ſiege of Rone, where they were imploied, as after ſhall appeare. And in like manner, the duke of Glouceſter, hauing once got the poſſeſſion of Chierburgh, haſted towards the ſame ſiege: for the better furniſhing of which enterpriſe, he had firſt cauſed an armie of fiftéene thouſand men to be brought ouer to him, vnder the leading of his vncle the duke of Excester, who imbarking with the ſame, about the feaſt of the holie Trinitie, was appointed by the king to beſiege the citie of Eureux, as the earle of Angus, otherwiſe called earle of Kime, was ſent to win the caſtell of Millie Leueſche. Theſe townes being deliuered to the kings vſe, the duke ordeined capteine of Eureux ſir Gilbert Halſall knight.

The king now determining with all ſpéed to beſiege Rone, prepared all things neceſſarie for his purpoſe. Into this citie the Normans had conuried out of euerie part their monie, iewels, and houſhold ſtuffe, as into the moſt ſure and ſtrongeſt place of the whole duchie. For ſince his arriuall, they had not onlie walled that citie, and fortified it with rampiers and ſtrong bulworks, but alſo furniſhed it with valiant capteins, and hardie ſoldiers, to the number of foure thouſand, beſide ſuch of the citizens as were appointed for the warre, according to their eſtates, of the which there were at the leaſt fiftéene thouſand readie to ſerue in defenſe of the citie, as ſoldiers, and men of warre in all places where they ſhould be aſſigned. King Henrie, to haue the countrie frée, before he would beſiege this citie, thought good firſt to win ſuch townes as laie in his waie, and therefore departing from Caen (where he had kept the feaſt of ſaint George) the ninth daie of Iune, he marched ſtreight vnto the towne of Louiers, and laid his ſiege about the ſame.

Titus Liuius. Louiers beſieged.

They within the towne, being well furniſhed of all things neceſſarie for the defending of a ſiege, manfullie reſiſted the Engliſhmens inforcements, which ſpared not to deuiſe all waies and means how to approch the walles, and to batter the ſame with their great artillerie, till at length they brought the Frenchmen to that extremitie, that they were contented to yéeld the towne on theſe conditions; that if by the thrée and twentith of Iune there came no ſuccour from the French king to raiſe the ſiege, the towne ſhould be deliuered into the kings hands, the ſoldiers of the garriſon ſhould ſerue vnder the king for a time, and the townesmen ſhould remaine in their dwellings as they did before, as ſubiects to the king: but the gunners that had diſcharged anie péece againſt the Engliſhmen ſhould ſuffer death. When the daie came, and no aid appeared, the couenants were performed accordinglie. From thence went the king with all ſpéed vnto Pont de Larch, ſtanding vpon the riuer of Seine, eight miles aboue Rone towards Paris: he came thither about the ſeauen and twentith of Iune.

Louiers yéelded vp.

When the Frenchmen which kept the paſſage there heard of the kings approach, they gathered togither a great number of men of warre, minding to defend the paſſage againſt him, appointing an other band of men (if they failed) to kéepe the further ſide of the bridge; and to watch, that neither by boate nor veſſell he ſhould come ouer the riuer by anie maner of meanes. At his comming néere to the towne, he perceiued that it was not poſſible to paſſe by the bridge without great loſſe of his people, and therfore he retired almoſt a mile backeward, where, in a pleaſant and commodious place by the riuer ſide he pitched his campe, and in the night ſeaſon, what with boates and barges, and what with hogſheads and pipes, he conueied ouer the broad riuer of Seine a great companie of his ſoldiers, without anie reſiſtance made by his enimies. For they which were on the hither ſide of Seine, thinking that the Engliſhmen had gone to winne ſome other place, followed them not, but ſtudied how to defend their towne, which was inough for them to doo.

The Engliſh armie paſſeth the riuer of Seine.

And to put the French men in doubt, leaſt the Engliſhmen ſhould ſéeke paſſage ſomewhere elſe, the king appointed certeine of the ſoldiers which had ſkill in ſwimming, to go to a place thrée miles from the ſiege by the riuer ſide, and there to enter into the water, making great clamor and noiſe, as though they had meant to haue paſſed; but they had in commandement not to trauerſe paſt halfe the riuer, ſo to procure the Frenchmen to make thitherwards, whileſt the king in one place, and his brother the duke of Clarence in another, got ouer their men, and that in ſuch number, before the Frenchmen had anie vnderſtanding thereof, that when they made towards them, and perceiued that they were not able to incounter them, they fled backe, and durſt not abide the Engliſh footmen, which would faine haue béene doing with them.

A good policie.

When the king ſaw that his men were on the other ſide of the water, he (the next daie earlie) returned to the towne, & aſſaulted it on both ſides. When the inhabitants therefore ſaw themſelues compaſſed on both ſides, contrarie to their expectation, with humble heart and ſmall ioy they rendered vp the towne vnto the kings hands. After this, the king hauing no let nor impediment, determined forthwith to beſiege the citie of Rone, and firſt ſent before him his vncle the duke of Exceſter, with a great companie of horſſemen & archers to view the place, & thervpon with banner diſplaied came before the citie, and ſent Windſore an herauld at armes to the capteins within, willing them to deliuer the citie vnto the king his maiſter, or elſe he would purſue them with fire and ſword. To whome they proudlie anſwered, that none they receiued of him, nor anie they would

Pont de larch rendred vp to ÿ Engliſhmen.

would deliuer him, except by fine force they were therevnto compelled: and herewith there iſſued out of the towne a great band of men of armes, and incountered fiercelie with the Engliſhmen, the which receiuing them with like manhood, and great force, draue the Frenchmen into the towne againe to their loſſe, for they left thirtie of their fellowes behind priſoners and dead in the field.

The duke returned with this good ſpeed and proud anſwer of the Frenchmen vnto the king, who remained yet at Pont de Larch, and had giuen the towne of Louiers to his brother the duke of Clarence, which made there his deputie ſir Iohn Godard knight. After that the duke of Exceſter was returned to Pont Larch, the French capteins within Rone ſet fire on the ſuburbs, beat downe churches, cut downe trees, ſhred the buſhes, deſtroied the vines round about the citie, to the intent that the Engliſhmen ſhould haue no releefe nor comfort either of lodging or fewell. When the king heard of theſe deſpitefull dooings, he with his whole armie remooued from Pont Larch, and the laſt daie of Iulie came before the citie of Rone, and compaſſed it round about with a ſtrong ſiege. This citie was verie rich in gold, ſiluer, and other pretious things, in ſo much that when the ſame was taken and ſeized vpon by the Engliſh, the ſpoile was verie great and exceeding aduantagable: which the compiler of *Anglorum prælia* hath verie well noted, in a few lines, but pithie; ſaieng:

Rone beſieged by K. Henrie.

Vltima Rothomagus reſtat, quæ mercibus, auro,
Argento, vaſis pretioſis diues abundat:
Rothomagus capitur, iámq; Anglus adeptus opimas
Prædas, in patriam perpulchra trophæa remittit.

Angl. præl. ſub Hen. 5.

The king laie with a great puiſſance at the Chartreux houſe, on the eaſt ſide of the citie, and the duke of Clarence lodged at S. Geruais before the port of Caux on the weſt part. The duke of Exceſter tooke his place on the north ſide: at port S. Denis, betweene the dukes of Exceſter and Clarence, was appointed the earle marſhall, euen before the gate of the caſtell; to whome were ioined the earle of Ormond, and the lords Harington and Talbot, vpon his comming from Dampfront: and from the duke of Exceſter toward the king, were incamped the lords Ros, Willoughbie, Fitz Hugh, and ſir William Porter, with a great band of northerne men, euen before the port of ſaint Hilarie. The earles of Mortaigne and Saliſburie were aſſigned to lodge about the abbie of ſaint Katharine. Sir Iohn Greie was lodged directlie againſt the chappell called mount S. Michaell: ſir Philip Leech treaſuror of the warres kept the hill next the abbeie, and the baron of Carew kept the paſſage on the riuer of Seine, and to him was ioined that valiant eſquier Ienico Dartois.

Before Pont S. Hilarie. Titus Liuius.

The order of the ſiege.

Before the gate called Markeuile. Titus Liuius.

Saliſburie & Huntington on the other ſide of the riuer of Seine.

On the further ſide of the riuer were lodged the earles of Warren and Huntington, the lords Neuill and Ferrers, ſir * Gilbert Vmfreuile with a well furniſhed companie of warlike ſoldiers directlie before the gate called Port de Pont. And to the intent that no aid ſhould paſſe by the riuer toward the citie, there was a great chaine of iron deuiſed at Pont Larch, ſet on piles from the one ſide of the water to the other: and beſide that chaine, there was ſet vp a new forced bridge, ſufficient both for cariage and paſſage, to paſſe the riuer from one campe to another. The erle of Warwike that had latelie wonne Dampfront, was ſent to beſiege Cawdebecke, a towne ſtanding on the riuer ſide, betweene the ſea and the citie of Rone. [A memorable feat in ſeruice neere to that place was doone at that time by a well minded man then noted ſoone after in writing: which matter vnable to be better reported than by him that had ſo well marked it, nor like to be more trulie expreſſed than by the ancient ſimplicitie (and yet effectuall) of the ſelfe ſame words wherein they were written, therefore thought meeteſt to haue them rehearſed as they were in order, thus.

* Vmfreuile.

The lord Talbot.

W. P.

The truth of the ſaid memorable feat *as it was reported in writing.*

MEmorandum, that my lord the earle of Warwike did ſend out my coſin ſir Iohn Bromley and my coſin George Vmfreuile with an hundred archers, and about two hundred ſoldiers a ſtrett, to keepe at a little caſtell called the Strow neere to Cawdebeke where they wearen met with aboue eight hundred Frenchmen & the fraie betweene them long yfought, and the Engliſhmen in great dread and perill: till at length by the might of God and ſaint George, the feeld did fall to our Engliſhmen, & the Frenchmen wearen put to flizt, and thear wearen yſlaine aboue two hundred Frenchmen, and as manie ytaken priſoners, and their capteine who was ycalled the lord of Eſtriſles was thear alſo yſlaine, and thear wearen yſlaine of our Engliſhmen my ſaid coſin George Vmfreuile and about twentie mo: on whoſe ſolles Ieſus haue mercie, and thear wearen hurt in the face my ſaid coſin ſir Iohn Bromley & my coſin Walter Audeley ſore wounded and maimed in the right arme of his bodie, he then being but of the age of eighteene yeares. But thankes be giuen to the bleſſed Trinitee, thear wearen manie noble victories ywoon by the ſaid noble erle of Warwike and his folke, as in his officiall booke (written by Maiſter Iohn le Tucke then preſent with the ſaid noble earle) is amplie recorded. My ſaid coſin Walter Audeley died at Warwike the ſeauenteenth daie of Iulie * anno Domini one thouſand foure hundred and twentie, and was buried at Acton in Cheſhire, neere the bodie of my ſaid coſin ſir Iohn Bromley: on whoſe ſolles Ieſus haue mercie. By me ſir Richard Braie, chapleine to my ladie the old counteſſe of Warwike; *Ieſus Maria, Amen, Pater noſter, Aue Maria.*

A conflict neere to Cawdebecke.

The L. of Eſtriſles ſlaine.

George Vmfreuile ſlaine.

Walter Audeley ſore wounded.

* And this ſir Iohn Bromley departed from this life the fourth day of Sept. 1419. which was in anno reg. 7. as by the office takē after his death remaining of record in yͤ caſtell of Cheſter doth manifeſtlie appeare.

After this conflict, this towne was ſo hardlie handled with fierce and continuall aſſaults, that the capteins within offered to ſuffer the Engliſh nauie to paſſe by their towne without impeachment, vp to the citie of Rone. And alſo if Rone yeelded, they promiſed to render the towne without delaie. Herevpon the Engliſh nauie, to the number of an hundred ſailes, paſſed by Cawdebecke, and came to Rone, and ſo beſieged it on the water ſide. There came alſo to this ſiege the duke of Gloceſter, with the earle of Suffolke, and the lord Aburgauennie, which had taken (as before yee haue heard) the towne of Cherburgh, & lodged before the port of S. Hilarie, neerer to their enimies by fortie rodes than any other perſon of the armie.

During this ſiege alſo, there arriued at Harflue the lord of Kilmaine in Ireland, with a band of ſixteene hundred Iriſhmen, in maile, with darts and ſkains after the maner of their countrie, all of them being tall, quicke, and nimble perſons, which came

The lord of Kilmaine capteine of the Iriſhmen.

and preſented themſelues before the king lieng ſtill at the ſiege, of whom they were not onelie gentlie receiued & welcomed; but alſo becauſe it was thought that the French king and the duke of Burgognie would ſhortlie come, and either attempt to raiſe the ſiege, or vittell and man the towne by the north gate, they were appointed to keepe the north ſide of the armie, and ſpeciallie the waie that commeth from the foreſt of Lions. Which charge the lord of Kilmaine and his companie ioifullie accepted, and did ſo their deuoir therein, that no men were more praiſed, nor did more damage to their enimies than they did: for ſuerlie their quickeneſſe & ſwiftneſſe of foot did more preiudice to their enimies, than their barded horſſes did hurt or damage to the nimble Iriſhmen. Alſo the kings coſine germane and alie (the king of Portingale) ſent a great nauie of well appointed ſhips vnto the mouth of the riuer of Seine, to ſtop that no French veſſels ſhould enter the riuer, and paſſe vp the ſame, to the aid of them within Rone.

The good ſeruice of the Iriſhmen at this ſiege.

Titus Liuius.

The king of Portingale ſendeth aid to king Henrie.

Thus was the faire citie of Rone compaſſed about with enimies, both by water and land, hauing neither comfort nor aid of King, Dolphin, or Duke. And yet although the armie was ſtrong without, there lacked not within both hardie capteins and manfull ſouldiers. And as for people, they had more than inough: for as it is written by ſome that had good cauſe to know the truth, and no occaſion to erre from the ſame, there were in the citie at the time of the ſiege, two hundred and ten thouſand perſons. Dailie were iſſues made out of the citie at diuerſe gates, ſometime to the loſſe of the one partie, and ſometime of the other, as chances of warre in ſuch aduentures happen. The Frenchmen in deed preferring fame before worldlie riches, and deſpiſing pleaſure (the enimie to warlike prowеſſe) ſware ech to other neuer to render or deliuer the citie, while they might either hold ſword in hand or ſpeare in reſt.

The number within Rone.

The king of England aduertiſed of their haultie courages, determined to conquer them by famine, which would not be tamed with weapon. Wherefore he ſtopped all the paſſages, both by water and land, that no vittels could be conueied to the citie: he caſt trenches round about the wals, and ſet them full of ſtakes, and defended them with archers, ſo that there was left neither waie for them within to iſſue out, nor for anie that were abroad to enter in without his licence. To rehearſe the great paines, trauell and diligence, which the king tooke vpon him in his owne perſon at this ſiege, a man might woonder. And becauſe diuerſe of the ſouldiers had lodged themſelues for their more eaſe, in places ſo farre diſtant one from an other, that they might eaſilie haue beene ſurpriſed by their enimies, yer anie of their fellowes could haue come to their ſuccors; he cauſed proclamation to be made, that no man vpon paine of death ſhould lodge without the precinct appointed them, nor go further abroad from the campe than ſuch bounds as were aſſigned.

Titus Liuius.

Now as it chanced, the king in going about the campe, to ſuruеie and view the warders, he eſpied two ſouldiers that were walking abroad without the limits aſſigned, whom he cauſed ſtraightwaies to be apprehended and hanged vpon a tree of great height, for a terrour to others, that none ſhould be ſo hardie to breake ſuch orders as he commanded them to obſerue. Whileſt the king laie thus with his power about the mightie citie of Rone, the Frenchmen ſought to indamage as well thoſe that were at that ſiege, as other of the Engliſhmen that laie in garriſons within the townes that were alreadie in the king of Englands poſſeſſion, inſomuch that (as ſome haue written) within the octaues of the Aſſumption, three notable victories chanced to the Engliſhmen in three ſeuerall places. Firſt an hundred Engliſhmen at Kilbuef tooke three great lords of the Frenchmen, beſides fourеſcore other perſons, and put three hundred to flight.

King Henrie his iuſtice.

Thom. Walſ.

Three great victories on the Engliſh ſide within a ſhort time togither.

Alſo vpon the thurſdaie within the ſame octaues, foure hundred Frenchmen that were entered within the ſuburbes of Eureux were repelled by eleuen Engliſhmen, that tooke foure of thoſe Frenchmen priſoners, ſlue twelue of them, and tooke fortie horſſes. On the ſaturdaie following, the Frenchmen tooke in hand to ſteale vpon them that laie in garriſon within Louiers, in hope to ſurpriſe the towne earlie in the morning: but the capteine perceiuing their purpoſe, ſallied foorth with a hundred of his men, and putting the Frenchmen to flight, being a thouſand, tooke an hundred and foureſcore of them being all gentlemen. But to returne to them before Rone. The ſiege thus continuing from Lammas, almoſt to Chriſtmas, diuerſe enterpriſes were attempted, and diuerſe policies practiſed, how euerie part might indamage his aduerſaries: no parte greatlie reioiſed of their gaine. But in the meane time vittels began ſore to faile them within, that onelie vineger and water ſerued for drinke.

If I ſhould rehearſe (according to the report of diuerſe writers) how deerelie dogs, rats, miſe, and cats were ſold within the towne, and how greedilie they were by the poore people eaten and deuoured, and how the people dailie died for fault of food, and yoong infants laie ſucking in the ſtreets on their mothers breaſts, lieng dead, ſtarued for hunger; the reader might lament their extreme miſeries. A great number of poore ſillie creaturs were put out at the gates, which were by the Engliſhmen that kept the trenches beaten and driuen backe againe to the ſame gates, which they found cloſed and ſhut againſt them. And ſo they laie betweene the wals of the citie and the trenches of the enimies, ſtill crieng for helpe and releefe, for lacke whereof great numbers of them dailie died.

Extreame famine within Rone.

Howbeit, king Henrie mooued with pitie, vpon Chriſtmaſſe daie, in the honor of Chriſtes Natiuitie, refreſhed all the poore people with vittels, to their great comfort and his high praiſe: yet if the duke of Burgognies letters had not beene conueied into the citie, it was thought they within would neuer haue made reſiſtance ſo long time as they did; for by thoſe letters they were aſſured of reſcue to come. Diuerſe lords of France hauing written to them to the like effect, they were put in ſuch comfort herewith, that immediatlie, to expreſſe their great reioiſing, all the bels in the citie were roong foorth cheerefullie, which during all the time of the ſiege till that preſent had kept ſilence. In deed by reaſon of a faint kind of agreement procured betwixt the Dolphin and the duke of Burgognie, it was thought verelie that a power ſhould haue beene raiſed for preſeruation of that noble citie, the looſing or ſauing thereof being a matter of ſuch importance.

A vertuous and charitable prince.

The king of England, to preuent the enimies purpoſe, cauſed a large trench to be caſt without his campe, which was pight full of ſharpe ſtakes, with a great rampire fenſed with bulworks, and turnepikes, in as defenſible wiſe as might be deuiſed. Sir Robert Bapthorpe, knight, was appointed comptroller, to ſee this worke performed, which he did with all diligence accompliſh; in like caſe as he had doone, when the other trench and rampire ſtronglie ſtaked and hedged was made at the firſt betwixt the campe and the citie, to reſtreine ſuch as in the begining of the ſiege reſted not to pricke foorth of the gates on horſſe backe. And ſo by this meanes was the armie defended both behind and before.

Chron. S. Alb.

A large trẽch without the campe.

Finallie, the whole number of the Frenchmen

1419.

within the citie were brought to ſuch an extremitie for want of vittels, that they were in danger all to haue ſtarued. Wherevpon being now paſt hope of reléaſe, they determined to treat with the king of England, and ſo vpon Newyeares euen there came to the wals ſuch as they had choſen amongſt them for commiſſioners, which made a ſigne to the Engliſhmen lieng without the gate of the bridge, to ſpeake with ſome gentleman, or other perſon of authoritie. The earle of Huntington, which kept that part, ſent to them ſir Gilbert Umfreuile; vnto whom they declared, that if they might haue a ſafe conduct, they would gladlie come forth to ſpeake with the king. Sir Gilbert repairing to the duke of Clarence, and other of the kings councell, aduertiſed them of this requeſt.

They within Rone demand parlée.

Herevpon the duke of Clarence with the other councellors reſorted to the kings lodging, to informe him of the matter, and to know his pleaſure therein; who after good aduiſement and deliberation taken, willed ſir Gilbert to aduertiſe them, that he was content to heare twelue of them, which ſhould be ſafelie conueied into his preſence. This anſwer being brought to the Frenchmen by the ſaid ſir Gilbert, on the next daie in the morning, foure knights, foure learned men, and foure ſage burgeſſes, all clothed in blacke, came forth of the citie, and were receiued at the port ſaint Hilarie by ſir Gilbert Umfreuile, accompanied with diuerſe gentlemen and yeomen of the kings houſhold, commonlie called yeomen of the crowne, by whome they were conueied to the kings lodging, whome they found at maſſe, which being ended, the king came out of his trauerſe, ſternelie, and princelie beholding the French meſſengers, and paſſed by them into his chamber. And incontinentlie after he commanded that they ſhould be brought in before his preſence, to heare what they had to ſay.

A preſumptuous orator.

One of them ſéene in the ciuill lawes, was appointed to declare the meſſage in all their names, who ſhewing himſelfe more raſh than wiſe, more arrogant than learned, firſt tooke vpon him to ſhew wherin the glorie of victorie conſiſted, aduiſing the king not to ſhew his manhood in famiſhing a multitude of poore, ſimple, and innocent people, but rather ſuffer ſuch miſerable wretches as laie betwixt the wals of the citie, and the trenches of his ſiege, to paſſe through the campe, that they might get their liuing in other places, and then if he durſt manfullie aſſault the citie, and by force ſubdue it, he ſhould win both worldlie fame, and merit great méed at the hands of almightie God, for hauing compaſſion of the poore, néedie, and indigent people.

The kings anſwer to this proud meſſage.

When this orator had ſaid, the king who no requeſt leſſe ſuſpected, than that which was thus deſired, began a while to muſe; and after he had well conſidered the craftie cautell of his enimies, with a fierce countenance, and bold ſpirit he reprooued them, both for their ſubtill dealing with him, and their malapert preſumption, in that they ſhould ſeeme to go about to teach him what belonged to the dutie of a conquerour. And therefore ſince it appeared that the ſame was vnknowne vnto them, he declared that the goddeſſe of battell called *Bellona*, had thrée handmaidens, euer of neceſſitie attending vpon hir, as blood, fire, and famine. And whereas it laie in his choiſe to vſe them all thrée; yea, two, or one of them at his pleaſure, he had appointed onelie the méekeſt maid of thoſe thrée damſels to puniſh them of that citie, till they were brought to reaſon.

And whereas the gaine of a capteine atteined by anie of the ſaid thrée handmaidens, was both glorious, honourable, and worthie of triumph: yet of all the thrée, the yongeſt maid, which he meant to vſe at that time was moſt profitable and commodious. And as for the poore people lieng in the ditches, if they died through famine, the fault was theirs, that like cruell tyrants had put them out of the towne, to the intent he ſhould ſlaie them; and yet had he ſaued their liues, ſo that if anie lacke of charitie was, it reſted in them, and not in him. But to their cloked requeſt, he meant not to gratifie them within ſo much, but they ſhould kéepe them ſtill to helpe to ſpend their vittels. And as to aſſault the towne, he told them that he would they ſhould know, he was both able and willing thereto, as he ſhould ſée occaſion: but the choiſe was in his hand, to tame them either with blood, fire, or famine, or with them all, whereof he would take the choiſe at his pleaſure, and not at theirs.

This anſwer put the French ambaſſadors in a great ſtudie, muſing much at his excellent wit and hawtineſſe of courage. Now after they had dined (as his commandement was they ſhould) with his officers, they vpon conſultation had togither, required once againe to haue acceſſe to his roiall preſence, which being granted, they humbling themſelues on their knées, beſought him to take a truce for eight daies, during the which they might by their commiſſioners take ſome end and good concluſion with him and his councell. The king like a mercifull prince granted to them their aſking, with which anſwer they ioifullie returned. After their departure were appointed and ſet vp thrée tents, the one for the lords of England, the ſecond for the commiſſioners of the citie, and the third for both parties to aſſemble in, and to treat of the matter.

A truce for eight daies.

The commiſſioners for the Engliſh part were the earles of Warwike and Saliſburie, the lord Fitz Hugh, ſir Walter Hungerford, ſir Gilbert Umfreuile, ſir Iohn Robſert, and Iohn de Uaſques de Almada. And for the French part were appointed, ſir Guie de Butteler, and ſix others. Theſe commiſſioners met euerie daie, arguing and reaſoning about a concluſion, but nothing was doone the ſpace of eight daies, nor ſo much as one article concluded: wherefore the Engliſhmen tooke downe the tents, & the Frenchmen tooke their leaue: but at their departing they remembring themſelues, required the Engliſh lords (for the loue of God) that the truce might indure till the ſunne riſing the next daie, to the which the lords aſſented.

Commiſſioners appointed.

When the French commiſſioners were returned into the citie without any concluſion of agréement, the poore people ran about the ſtreets, crieng, and calling the capteins and gouernors murtherers and manquellers, saieng that for their pride and ſtiffe ſtomachs all this miſerie was happened, threatning to ſlea them if they would not agrée vnto the king of Englands demand. The magiſtrats herewith amazed, called all the townesmen togither to know their minds and opinions. The whole voice of the commons was, to yéeld rather than to ſterue. Then the Frenchmen in the euening came to the tent of ſir Iohn Robſert, requiring him of gentlenes to mooue the king, that the truce might be prolonged for foure daies. The king therevnto agréed, and appointed the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the other ſeuen before named for his part, and the citizens appointed a like number for them.

The articles cõcerning the yéelding vp of Rone.

The tents were againe ſet vp, and dailie they met togither, and on the fourth daie they accorded on this wiſe, that the citie and caſtell of Rone ſhould be deliuered vnto the king of England, at what time after the middeſt of the ninetéenth daie of that preſent moneth of Ianuarie, the ſaid king willed the ſame; and that all the capteins and other men whatſoeuer, dwelling or being within the ſaid citie and caſtell, ſhould ſubmit them in all things to the grace of the ſaid king: and further, that they ſhould paie to the ſaid king thrée hundred thouſand ſcutes of gold, whereof alwaies two ſhould be worth an Engliſh noble, or in ſtead of euerie ſcute thirtie great blankes white, or fiftéene grotes.

Moreouer it was accorded, that euerie ſouldier and ſtranger, being in the ſaid citie and caſtell, ſhould ſweare on the euangeliſts before their departure, not to beare armour againſt the king of England before the firſt daie of Ianuarie next to come. Alſo they within the towne ſhould ſuffer all the poore people lieng in ditches, or about the ditches of the citie, which for penurie were thruſt out, to enter the citie againe, and to find them ſufficient food till the ſaid ninetéenth daie of Ianuarie. There were diuerſe other articles, in all to the number of two and twentie agréed as well on the behalfe of the citizens, as of king Henrie: who granted, that all the ſouldiers, ſtrangers, and other within the ſaid citie and caſtell at that time, being not willing to become his lieges, ſhould depart after that the citie and caſtell was once yéelded, fréelie without let, leauing to the ſaid king all their armors, horſſes, harneſſe & goods, except the Normans, which if they ſhould refuſe to become lieges to him, were appointed to remaine as his priſoners, togither with one Luca Italico, and certeine others.

Luca Italico. The vicar generall of the archbiſhoprike of Rone for excommunicating the king was deliuered to him and remained in priſon till he died. Titus Liuius. One Alane Blanchard was likewiſe deliuered to him, & by his commandement put to death. Caxton. or Titus Liuius. King Henrie entreth into Rone.

When the daie of appointment came, which was the daie of ſaint Wolſtane, ſir Guie le Botelier, and the burgeſſes deliuered the keies of the citie and caſtell vnto the king of England, beſéeching him of fauour and compaſſion. The king incontinentlie appointed the duke of Excester with a great companie to take poſſeſſion of the citie, who like a valiant capteine mounted on a goodlie courſer firſt entered into the citie, and after into the caſtell. The next daie being fridaie, the king in great triumph like a conqueror, accompanied with fiue dukes, ten earles, eight biſhops, ſeuentéene barons, and a great multitude of knights, eſquiers, and men of warre entered into Rone, where he was receiued by the cleargie, with two and fourtie croſſes, and then met him the ſenat, and the burgeſſes of the towne, offering to him diuerſe faire and coſtlie preſents.

In this manner he paſſed through the citie to our ladie church, and there hauing ſaid his oriſons, he cauſed his chapleins to ſing this anthem: *Quis eſt tam magnus dominus?* Who is ſo great a lord as our God. This doone, he came to the caſtell, where he continued a good ſpace after, receiuing homages and fealties of the burgeſſes and townesmen, and ſetting orders amongſt them. He alſo recouered diuerſe fortreſſes, and townes, during which time he made proclamation, that all men which would become his ſubiects, ſhould inioy their goods, lands & offices, which proclamation made manie townes to yéeld, and manie men to become Engliſh the ſame ſeaſon.

Titus Liuius.

The duke of Britaine, vnderſtanding that if the king of England ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of Normandie, his countrie could not but be in great danger, if he prouided not to haue him his friend, vpon ſafe conduct obteined for him & his retinue, came to Rone with fiue hundred horſſes, and being honorablie receiued of the king, after conference had betwixt them of diuerſe things, at length they agréed vpon a league on this wiſe, that neither of them ſhould make warre vnto the other, nor to any of the others people or ſubiects, except he that meant to make war denounced the ſame ſix moneths before. Thus this league being concluded, the duke tooke leaue of the king, and ſo returned into Britaine.

A league concluded betwixt king Henrie and the duke of Britaine.

About the ſame time, at the ſute of certeine biſhops and abbats of Normandie, the king confirmed vnto them their ancient priuileges, granted by the former dukes of Normandie and kings of France, except ſuch as were granted by thoſe whome he reputed to be vſurpers, and no lawfull kings or dukes. He alſo eſtabliſhed at Caen the chamber of accounts of the reuenues of his dukedome of Normandie. At Rone he began the foundation of a ſtrong tower within the caſtell, that from the caſtell to the tower, and from the tower to his palace, the men of warre appointed there in garriſon, might paſſe in ſafetie without danger of the citie, if perhaps the citizens ſhould attempt any rebellion.

In this ſeuenth yeare, whileſt theſe things were dooing in Normandie, quéene Ione late wife of king Henrie the fourth, and mother in law to this king, was arreſted by the duke of Bedford the kings lieutenant in his abſence, and by him committed to ſafe kéeping in the caſtell of Léeds in Kent, there to abide the kings pleaſure. About the ſame time, one frier Randoll of the order of Franciſcanes that profeſſed diuinitie, and had béene confeſſor to the ſame quéene, was taken in the Ile of Gernſey, and being firſt brought ouer into Normandie, was by the kings commandement ſent thither into England, and committed to the Tower, where he remained till the parſon of the Tower quarelling with him, by chance ſlue him there within the Tower ward. It was reported that he had conſpired with the quéene by ſorcerie and nigromancie to deſtroie the king.

[illegible] Tho. Walſin. Frier Randoll.

Whileſt the king remained in Rone, to ſet things in order for the eſtabliſhment of good policie in that citie, he ſent abroad diuerſe of his capteins, with conuenient forces to ſubdue certeine townes & caſtels in thoſe parties, as his brother the duke of Clarence, who wan the ſtrong townes of Vernon and Mante. In Vernon was ſir William Porter made capteine, and in Mant the earle of March. The earle of Saliſburie wan Homflue, after he had beſieged it from the fourth of Februarie vntill the fourth of March. This towne was giuen afterwards vnto the duke of Clarence. Alſo the ſaid earle of Saliſburie wan the townes of Monſter de Villiers, Eu, Newcaſtell, and finallie all the places in that quarter which till that preſent were not vnder the Engliſh obeiſance. At Newcaſtell ſir Philip Leech was made capteine.

Vernon and Mante won by the Engliſh.

Titus Liuius. Homflue won.

After Candlemaſſe, the king departed from Rone to go to Eureux, whither he promiſed to come in like caſe, as the Dolphin promiſed to be at Dreux, to the end that they might aduiſe vpon a conuenient place where to méet, to intreat of peace to be concluded betwixt the two realmes. But the Dolphin by ſiniſter perſwaſion of ſome enimies to concord, brake his promiſe, and came not. When the king ſaw that through default of his aduerſarie, no treatie would be had, he remooued to Vernon, and there a while remained. Now from Eureux the king had diſpatched the earle of Warwike vnto the ſiege of la Roch Guion, which fortreſſe he ſo [illegible], that it was yéelded into his hands, the firſt of Aprill, in the beginning of this ſeuenth yeare of king Henries reigne, and giuen to ſir Guie Botelier late capteine of Rone, of the kings frée and liberall grant.

Anno Reg. 7.

Roch Guion rendered vp.

About the ſame time, the duke of Excester laid ſiege vnto Chateau Gaillard, which ſiege continued from the laſt of March, vnto the latter end of September, or (as ſome write) vnto the thirtéenth of December, as after ſhall appeare. The duke of Gloceſter being ſent to win the towne and caſtell of Yuri, tooke the towne by aſſault, and the caſtell was deliuered by compoſition after fortie daies ſiege. After this the Engliſhmen ouerran the countrie about Chartres, and did much hurt to their enimies in all places where they came. The hearts of the Frenchmen were ſore diſcouraged with the loſſe of Rone, and the other townes which yéelded one after another thus to the

Chateau Gaillard beſieged.

Yuri taken by aſſault.

Engliſh

Engliſhmen
countrie for
which they ſa
ſhortlie to fa
ſaw no rem
But who
ter, Iohn du
and ſo much
to ſaie, and l
neither frée f
ſcope of mal
and had the
And therefor
chanced to th
imputed to
ment. To fi
at hand, he th
reaſonable n
mightie kin
might bring
quarell eaſili
and to repreſ
Herewit
foundation,
king of Eng
perſonallie c
twéene him
not but by hi
in place, and
Henrie giuin
ſent with the
ſador, accom
talke with
French cour
was aſſailed
number of
of purpoſe t
things as he
by the high
aid of their
ted and chaſe
The earle
norablie rece
meſſage, ret
Paule, and t
bon were al
king, to conc
ting, with all
of England.
with conditi
ther for the
that either p
place betwi
According t
Mante, wher
rall houſe to
eſtate. Upon
readie by th
things to co
therwiſe cal
ant Gaſcoig
Greie earle
earle of Ew.
After this
view and me
lan on the ri
rie part wa
ground. W
which was th
accompanie
ceſter, his br
and Henrie
after was bi
the earles of

Ambaſſadors ſent on either ſide.

Titus Liuius.

Creation of earles.

Either part was appointed to bring with them not paſt two thouſand and fiue hundred men of warre as Tit. Liu. ſaith.

Engliſhmen, ſo that ſuch as loued the wealth of their countrie ſore lamented the imminent miſchéefes, which they ſaw by the diuiſion of the nobilitie, like ſhortlie to fall on their heads, namelie bicauſe they ſaw no remedie prepared.

But who euer elſe was diſquieted with this matter, Iohn duke of Burgognie raged and ſwelled, yea and ſo much freated therewith, that he wiſt not what to ſaie, and leſſe to doo: for he knew well that he was neither frée from diſdaine, nor yet deliuered from the ſcope of malice, bicauſe that he onelie ruled the king, and had the whole doings in all matters about him. And therefore he conſidered, that all ſuch miſhaps as chanced to the ſtate of the common-wealth would be imputed to his negligence and diſordred gouernement. To find ſome remedie againſt ſuch dangers at hand, he thought firſt to aſſaie, if he might by any reaſonable means conclude a peace betwixt the two mightie kings of England and France, which if he might bring to paſſe, he doubted not to reuenge his quarell eaſilie inough againſt the Dolphin Charles, and to repreſſe all cauſes of grudge and diſdaine.

Ambaſſadors ſent on either ſide.

Herewith intending to build vpon this fraile foundation, he ſent letters and ambaſſadors to the king of England, aduertiſing him, that if he would perſonallie come to a communication to be had betwéene him and Charles the French king, he doubted not but by his onlie meanes, peace ſhould be brought in place, and bloudie battell cléerelie exiled. King Henrie giuing courteous eare to theſe ambaſſadors, ſent with them the earle of Warwike as his ambaſſador, accompanied with two hundred gentlemen to talke with the duke, as then remaining in the French court at the towne of Prouince. The earle was aſſailed by the waie as he iournied, by a great number of rebellious perſons, gotten into armour of purpoſe to haue ſpoiled him of ſuch monie and things as he and his companie had about them. But by the high valiancie of the Engliſh people, with the aid of their bowes, the Frenchmen were diſcomfited and chaſed.

Titus Liuius.

The earle at his comming to Prouince was honorablie receiued, and hauing doone the effect of his meſſage, returned; and with him the earle of ſaint Paule, and the ſonne and heire of the duke of Burbon were alſo ſent as ambaſſadors from the French king, to conclude vpon the time and place of the méeting, with all the circumſtances. Wher vpon the king of England agréed to come to the towne of Mante, with condition that the duke of Burgognie, and other for the French king ſhould come to Pontoiſe, that either part might méet other in a conuenient place betwixt thoſe two townes néere to Meulan. According to this appointment, K. Henrie came to Mante, where in the feaſt of Pentecoſt he kept a liberall houſe to all commers, and ſate himſelfe in great eſtate. Vpon the which daie, either for good ſeruice alreadie by them doone, or for the good expectation of things to come, he created Gaſcoigne de Fois, otherwiſe called the captau or captall de Buef a valiant Gaſcoigne, earle of Longueuile; and ſir Iohn Greie earle of Tankeruile, and the lord Bourchier earle of Ew.

Creation of earles.

After this ſolemne feaſt ended, the place of enterview and méeting was appointed to be beſide Meulan on the riuer of Seine, where in a faire place euerie part was by commiſſioners appointed to their ground. When the daie of appointment approched, which was the laſt daie of Maie, the king of England accompanied with the dukes of Clarence, and Gloceſter, his brethren, the duke of Exceſter his vncle, and Henrie Beauford clerke his other vncle, which after was biſhop of Wincheſter and cardinall, with the earles of March, Saliſburie, and others, to the number of a thouſand men of warre, entred into his ground, which was barred about and ported, wherein his tents were pight in a princelie maner.

Either part was appointed to bring with them not paſt two thouſand and fiue hundred men of warre as Ti. Liu. ſaith.

Likewiſe for the French part came Iſabell the French quéene, bicauſe hir huſband was fallen into his old frantike diſeaſe, hauing in hir companie the duke of Burgognie, and the earle of ſaint Paule, and ſhe had attending vpon hir the faire ladie Katharine hir daughter, with ſix and twentie ladies and damoſels; and had alſo for hir furniture a thouſand men of warre. The ſaid ladie Katharine was brought by hir mother, onelie to the intent that the king of England beholding hir excellent beautie, ſhould be ſo inflamed and rapt in hir loue, that he to obteine hir to his wife, ſhould the ſooner agrée to a gentle peace and louing concord. But though manie words were ſpent in this treatie, and that they met at eight ſeuerall times, yet no effect inſued, nor any concluſion was taken by this fréendlie conſultation, ſo that both parties after a princelie faſhion tooke leaue ech of other, and departed; the Engliſhmen to Mante, and the Frenchmen to Pontoiſe.

A treatie of peace.

Seuen times the laſt being on the laſt day of Iune.

Titus Liuius.

Some authors write that the Dolphin to ſtaie that no agréement ſhould paſſe, ſent ſir Taneguie de Chaſtell to the duke of Burgognie, declaring that if he would breake off the treatie with the Engliſhmen, he would then common with him; and take ſuch order, that not onelie they but the whole realme of France ſhould thereof be glad and reioiſe. Howſoeuer it came to paſſe, truth it is, that where it was agréed, that they ſhould eftſoones haue met in the ſame place on the third of Iulie; the king according to that appointment came: but there was none for the French part, neither quéene nor duke that once appeared; ſo that it was manifeſt inough how the fault reſted not in the Engliſhmen, but in the Frenchmen. By reaſon wherof no concluſion ſorted to effect of all this communication, ſaue onlie that a certeine ſparke of burning loue was kindled in the kings heart by the ſight of the ladie Katharine.

Chro. of Flanders.

Titus Liuius.

The king without doubt was highlie diſpleaſed in his mind, that this communication came to no better paſſe. Wherefore he miſtruſting that the duke of
Burgognie was the verie let and ſtop of his deſires, „
ſaid vnto him before his departure: Cooſine, we will
haue your kings daughter, and all things that we de- „
mand with hir, or we will driue your king and you „
out of his realme. Well (ſaid the duke of Burgognie) „
before you driue the king and me out of his realme,
you ſhall be well wearied, and therof we doubt little. „
Shortlie after, the duke of Burgognie and the Dolphin met in the plaine fields beſides Melun, and there comming togither, concluded apparantlie an open peace and amitie, which was proclamed in Paris, Amiens, and Pontoiſe.

This agréement was made the ſixt of Iulie in the yeare 1419. It was ingroſſed by notaries, ſigned with their hands, and ſealed with their great ſeales of armes: but as the ſequele ſhewed, hart thought not what toong ſpake, nor mind meant not that hand wrote. Whiles theſe things were a dooing, diuerſe of the Frenchmen in Rone went about a conſpiracie againſt the Engliſhmen, whereof the king being well aduertiſed, ſent thither certeine of his nobles, which tried out theſe conſpirators, cauſed them to be apprehended, had them in examination, and ſuch as they found guiltie were put to death; and ſo ſetting the citie in quietnes, returned to the king, who counted it great honor to kéepe the countries which he woone by conqueſt in obedience and aw; ſith ſuch victories are not obteined without ſore labour and toile, both of prince and people, as the poet rightlie ſaith:

An agréement betwéene the duke of Burgognie & the Dolphin.

Titus Liuius.

A conſpiracie in Rone.

Quærere regna, labor; virtus eſt parta tueri
Maxima.

In Angl. prel. ſub Hen. 5.

Hall. Theſe bands belonged to the earle of Longueuile & to the lord de Leſpar Gaſcoignes. Hiſt. dez ducz de Normand. The king plaieth the porters part.

The king of England, perceiuing by this new aliance, that nothing was leſſe to be looked for, than peace at the hands of the Frenchmen, deuiſed ſtill how to win townes and fortreſſes, which were kept againſt him: and now that the truce was expired, on the thirtith daie of Iulie, he being as then within the towne of Mante, appointed certeine bands of ſouldiers in the after noone to paſſe out of the gates, giuing onelie knowledge to the capteins what he would haue them to doo. And to the intent that no inkling of the enterpriſe ſhould come to the enimies eare, he kept the gates himſelfe as porter. Theſe that were thus ſent forth being guided by the earle of Longueuile, otherwiſe called the captau de Buef, were commanded in as ſecret maner as they could to draw toward the towne of Pontoiſe, and to keepe themſelues in couert till the darke of the night, and then approch the walles of that towne, and vpon eſpieng their aduantage to enter it by ſcaling, hauing ladders and all things neceſſarie with them for the purpoſe.

This captau was brother to the earle of Fois.

Moreouer, about the cloſing of the daie and night in the euening, he ſent forth the erle of Huntington with other bands of ſoldiers, to ſuccor and aſſiſt the other, if they chanced to enter the towne according to the order taken. Thoſe that were firſt ſent forth (according to their inſtructions) conueid themſelues ſo cloſelie to their appointed places, that the enimies heard nothing of their dooings. Wherevpon when the night was come, they came in ſecret wiſe vnder the walles, and there watched their time till the morning began to draw on. In the meane time, whileſt the watch was departed, and before other were come into their places to relieue it, the Engliſhmen ſetting vp their ladders, entered and brake open one of the gates to receiue the other that followed.

Hall.

Pontoiſe ſurpriſed by the Engliſhmen.

The Frenchmen perceiuing that the walles were taken, and their enimies entered into the towne, at the firſt were ſore amazed: but after perceiuing the ſmall number of the Engliſhmen, they aſſembled togither and fiercelie aſſailed them, ſo that they were conſtreined to retire to the walles and turrets which they had taken, and with much adoo defended the ſame; ſome leaping downe into the diches, and hiding them in the vines, till at length the earle of Huntington, with his companies came to their ſuccors, and entring by the gate which was open, eaſilie did beat backe the enimies, & got the market place. Which when the lord Liſle Adam capteine of the towne perceiued, he opened the gate towards Paris, by the which he with all his retinue, and diuerſe of the towneſmen to the number of ten thouſand in all, (as Enguerant de Monſtr. recounteth) fled towards Paris, taking awaie with them their coine, iewels, and plate. Some of them fleeing towards Beauuois were met with, and ſtripped of that they had, by Iehan de Guigni, and Iehan de Claw, two capteins that ſerued the Orlientiall faction.

Hall.

Hall.

There were within the towne of Pontoiſe at that time when it was thus taken by the Engliſhmen, a thouſand lances, and two thouſand arcubaliſters, as Thomas Walſingham affirmeth, and of Engliſhmen and Gaſcoignes that went firſt forth of Mante with the captau de Buef, not paſt fifteene hundred, as Hall reporteth: although Enguerant de Monſtrellet ſaith, they were about thrée thouſand. But how manie ſoeuer they were, they durſt not at the firſt, by reaſon of their ſmall number (as may be thought) once diuide themſelues, or deale with booties, till about the houre of prime, that the duke of Clarence came to their aid with fiue thouſand men, who much praiſing the valiantneſſe of the earle and his retinue that had thus woone the towne, gaue to them the chéefe ſpoile of the which there was great plentie.

The duke of Clarence commeth before Paris with his armie.

Then went the duke forth towards Paris, and comming thither, lodged before it two daies and two nights, without perceiuing anie proffer of iſſue to be made forth againſt him by his enimies, and therefore ſeeing they durſt not once looke vpon him, he returned to Pontoiſe, for the taking of which towne the whole countrie of France, and ſpeciallie the Pariſians were ſore diſmaied: ſith now there was no fortreſſe able to withſtand the Engliſh puiſſance; for that the Iriſhmen ouerran all the Iſle of France, did to the Frenchmen damages innumerable (as their writers affirme) brought dailie preies to the Engliſh armie, burſt vp houſes, laid beds on the backes of the kine, rid vpon them, carried yoong children before them, and ſold them to the Engliſhmen for ſlaues. Theſe ſtrange dooings ſo feared the Frenchmen within the territorie of Paris, and the countrie about, that the ſorie people fled out of the villages with all their ſtuffe into the citie.

The Iriſhmen ſpoile the Iſle of France.

The French king, and the duke of Burgognie lieng at ſaint Denis, in this ſeaſon, departed from thence with the quéene and hir daughter, and went to Trois in Champaigne, there to conſult of their buſineſſe, hauing left at Paris the earle of S. Paule, and the lord Liſle Adam, with a great puiſſance to defend the citie. The king of England immediatlie after that Pontoiſe was woone (as before yée haue heard) came thither in perſon, as well to giue order for the placing of a ſufficient garriſon there for defenſe thereof; as to proceed further into the countrie for the getting of other townes and places: and ſo after he had well prouided for the good gouernment, & ſafe kéeping thereof, the eightéenth daie of Auguſt he departed out of the ſame with his maine armie.

Titus Liuius.

And bicauſe they of the garriſon that laie in the caſtell of Vancon Villers had doone, & dailie did diuerſe and ſundrie diſpleaſures to the Engliſhmen, he pight downe his field néere to the ſame, the better to reſtraine them from their hoſtile attempts, and withall ſent part of his armie to beſiege the caſtell, which put them in ſuch feare, that they deſpairing of all reléefe or ſuccour, and perceiuing they ſhould not be able long to defend the place againſt the kings puiſſance, yéelded the place, with all their coins and other goods into the kings hands. The ſoldiers of that garriſon, and the inhabitants, at the contemplation of a certeine ladie there amongſt them, were licenced by the king to depart without armor or weapon, onelie with their liues ſaued. Iohn of Burgh that was after bailiffe of Giſours, was appointed capteine of this caſtell.

The caſtell of Vancon Villers beſieged and taken.

Titus Liuius.

Giſours beſieged & yelded to the Engliſhmen.

After this, all the townes and caſtels within a great circuit offered to yéeld themſelues vnto the Engliſh obeiſance; the ſtrong towne and caſtell of Giſours onelie excepted, which ſtill held out, & would ſhew no token of will to yéeld. Héerevpon the king the laſt of Auguſt began to approch the ſame, but at the firſt he could not come néere, by reaſon of the mariſhes and fennes: but yet ſuch was the diligence of the Engliſhmen, aduanced by the preſence of the king, readie in all places to commend them that were forward in their buſineſſe, and to chaſtiſe ſuch as ſlacked their duetie, that dailie they came néerer and néerer, although the Frenchmen iſſued forth dailie to encounter them, giuing them manie ſharpe ſkirmiſhes. For the towne being double walled and fenſed with thoſe broad mariſhes, ſo incouraged them within, that they thought no force had béene able to haue ſubdued them.

But at length calling to remembrance, that the king of England came before no towne nor fortreſſe, from which he would depart before he had brought it vnder his ſubiection, they offered to come to a parlée, and in the end compounded to render the towne into the kings hands the eight daie of September next inſuing, and the caſtell (bicauſe it was the ſtronger péece) they couenanted to deliuer the foure and twentith of the ſame, if in the meane time no reſcue came to raiſe the ſiege. Herevpon when no ſuch reléeſe could be heard of, at the daies limited, the ſoldiers of the garriſon, & the more part of the townſmen alſo ſubmitted themſelues, and receiued an oth to be true ſubiects to the king, and ſo remained ſtill in their roomes. The earle of Worceſter was made capteine there.

Thom. Walſ.

Duke of Clarence ſaith Rich. Grafton.

Titus Liuius.

About the ſame time, to wit, the thrée and twentith of September (as ſome write) was caſtell Gaillard ſurrendred to the hands of the duke of Exceſter, which had béene beſieged euer ſince the laſt daie of March (as before yée haue heard.) But others write that it held out ſeauen moneths, and was not deliuered vp till the twentith of December. This caſtell was not onelie ſtrong by ſituation, ſtanding vpon the top of a ſtéepe hill, but alſo cloſed with mightie thicke walles, and furniſhed with men, and all maner of munition and things neceſſarie. The king appointed the lord Ros capteine of it. After that Giſours and caſtell Gaillard were thus yéelded to the Engliſh obeiſance, all the other townes and caſtels thereabout, and in the countrie of Veulqueſſin, ſhortlie after yéelded to the king, as Gourneie, Chaumount, Neaufle, Dangu, and other ſmall fortreſſes. Of Gourneie, was ſir Gilbert Umfreuile made capteine; at Neaufle, the earle of Worceſter; and at Dangu, Richard Wooduile. Shortlie after was the caſtell Daumall yéelded to the earle of Warwike, to whome it was giuen. And thus was the whole duchie of Normandie (Mont ſaint Michael onelie excepted) reduced to the poſſeſſion of the right heire, which had béene wrongfullie deteined from the kings of England euer ſince the daies of king Iohn, who loſt it about the yeare one thouſand two hundred and ſeauen.

Normandie brought into ẏ kings ſubiection, that had béene loſt & deteined a long time frõ the Engliſh.

To ſatiſfie thoſe that be deſirous to know what capteins were appointed by the king in diuerſe townes that were yéelded to him (of which we haue made no mention heretofore but in generall) here their names doo follow, and of the townes, as we find them in the chronicles of maiſter Hall. At Crewleie, ſir Henrie Tanclux an Almaine; at Torignie, ſir Iohn Popham, to whome it was giuen; at Chamboſe, the lord Fitz Hugh; at Verneuil in Perch, ſir Iohn Neuill; at Eſſaie, ſir William Huddleſton bailiffe of Alanſon; at Crulie ſir Lois Robſert; at Conde Norean ſir Iohn Faſtolfe; at Cawdebecke, ſir Lois Robſert; at Déepe, William lord Bourchier earle of Eu; at Aubemarle, the earle of Warwike, and his deputie thereof William Montfort; at Bellincombre, ſir Thomas Ramſton lord thereof by gift; at Longueuille, the capitall de Beuf or Buz, earle thereof by gift; at Danuille, ſir Chriſtopher Burden; at Couches, ſir Robert Marburie; at Chierburg, ſir Iohn Gedding; at Bacqueuille, the lord Ros; at Arques ſir Iames Fines, bailiffe of Caux; at Monceaux, ſir Philip Léech; at Eſtrie Pagnie, Richard Abraham; at Sentler Surget, William Baſſet; at Bretueill, ſir Henrie Mortimer bailiffe of Hunflew.

The duke of Burgognie murthered.

But now to returne where we left. The wiſe and graue perſonages of the realme of France, ſore lamenting & bewailing the miſerie of their countrie, ſaw they had puiſſance inough to defend their enimies, if they were of perfect concord amongſt themſelues. And therefore to remooue all rancor and diſpleaſure betwixt the Dolphin, and the duke of Burgognie, they procured a new méeting, which was appointed to be at Monſtreau ou fault Yonne, where the two princes at the daie aſſigned met. But ſuch was the fortune of France, that the duke of Burgognie was there murthered, as he knéeled before the Dolphin: wherevpon inſued greater debate than before. For Philip earle of Charolois, the ſonne and heire of the ſaid duke, tooke the matter verie gréeuouſlie, as he had no leſſe cauſe, and determined to be reuenged on the Dolphin, and other that were guiltie of the murther: ſo that now there was great expectation of ſlaughter and bloudſhed, but no hope for the moſt part of tranquillitie & peace. France therefore, what with ouerthrowes giuen by the Engliſh, & diuiſion among themſelues, was verie ſore afflicted; inſomuch that one miſerie riding on anothers necke, the whole land was in danger of deſolation by ciuill diſſention & mutuall mutinies; as the poet noteth:

Anglorum prælia ſub Henr. 5.

———acceſſit ad iſta
Tunc mala Celtarum Burgundio fraude peremptus
Sparſaq; ciuilis tota diſſenſio terra.

Ambaſſadors ſent to king Henrie. Titus Liuius.

When he had well conſidered of the matter, and taken aduiſe with his councell, he firſt ſent ambaſſadours to the king of England, then lieng at Giſours to treat and conclude a truce betwéene them both for a certeine ſpace, that they might talke of ſome concluſion of agréement. King Henrie receiued the ambaſſadors verie courteouſlie, and granted that communication might be had of peace, but vtterlie denied anie abſtinence from warre, bicauſe he would not loſe time, if the treatie ſorted not to good effect. Herevpon hauing his armie aſſembled at Maunt, he diuided the ſame into thrée parts, appointing the duke of Gloceſter with one part to go vnto the caſtell of S. Germane in Laie, and to laie ſiege therevnto. The duke according to his commiſſion, comming before that caſtell, within a while conſtreined them within by continuall ſkirmiſhes and aſſaults to deliuer vp the place into his hands. An other part of the armie was ſent vnto the caſtell of Montioie, which likewiſe by ſuch fierce aſſaults and manfull approches, as the Engliſhmen made thereto, was ſhortlie giuen ouer and yéelded. The third part of the hoaſt went to Meulanc, a verie ſtrong towne compaſſed about with the riuer of Seine.

A wiſe and princelie caution.

The caſtell of S. Germane in Laie and Montioie yéelded to the Engliſhmen.

A policie for redie bridges.

But the king deuiſed to faſten botes and barges togither, and to rere vp certeine frames of timber aloft on the ſame for defenſe of his ſoldiers, that ſhould by that meanes approch the walles, wherewith thoſe that had the towne in kéeping were ſo put in feare, that their capteine was glad to come to a communication, & agréed to deliuer the towne into the kings hands, if no reſcue came before the thirtith daie of October next inſuing. On which daie, for that no ſuccours appeared, the towne (according to the couenants) was giuen vp into the kings hands. Sir Thomas Ramſton was made capteine there, and after him ſir Iohn Faſtolfe. The king, whileſt theſe places were beſieged, and thus brought vnder his ſubiection, continued for the moſt part at Maunt; but yet oftentimes he went forth to viſit his campes, and to ſée that nothing ſhould be wanting, that might further the ſpéedie diſpatch of his enterpriſes.

The ſtrong town of Meulanc yéelded to the Engliſh.

About the ſame time, there came againe ambaſſadours to him from Charles the French king, & from the yoong duke of Burgognie to treat with him of ſome good concluſion of peace to be had; who had no ſuch truſt in their ſute, but that he doubted their meaning, and therefore ceaſſed not to procéed in the winning of townes and caſtels, as he was in hand. Now when Chriſtmaſſe approched, the king withdrew to Rone, and there kept the ſolemnization of that feaſt, appointing in the meane time his men of warre to be occupied as occaſion ſerued. The earle of Saliſburie was ſent to beſiege the towne of Freſneie, the which after ſtout reſiſtance made at the firſt, ſhortlie after was deliuered to him to the kings vſe. The earles Marſhall and Huntington, ſir Iohn Gréene Cornewall,

1420

Anno Reg. 8.

wall, ſir Philip Léech, and diuerſe other, were ſent into the countrie of Maine, where, not farre from the citie of Mens they were incountered by a power of Frenchmen, which the Dolphin had ſent againſt them. There was at the firſt a ſharpe bickering betwixt them, but in the end the victorie remained with the Engliſhmen; ſo that manie of the Frenchmen were ſlaine, and taken, and the reſidue chaſed out of the field. There were ſlaine (as Thomas Walſingham ſaith) at the point of fiue thouſand, and two hundred taken priſoners, among whome was the marſhall de Rous, and diuerſe other of good account. The two Engliſh earles remained there as victors, in the countrie which was by the king to them aſſigned.

A great victorie on the Engliſh ſide.

Whileſt theſe victorious exploits were thus happilie atchiued by the Engliſhmen, and that the king laie ſtill at Rone, in giuing thanks to almightie God for the ſame, there came to him effſoones ambaſſadours from the French king and the duke of Burgognie to moue him to peace. The king minding not to be reputed for a deſtroier of the countrie, which he coueted to preſerue, or for a cauſer of chriſtian bloud ſtill to be ſpilt in his quarell, began ſo to incline and giue eare vnto their ſute and humble requeſt, that at length (after often ſending to and fro) and that the biſhop of Arras, and other men of honor had béene with him, and likewiſe the earle of Warwike, and the biſhop of Rocheſter had béene with the duke of Burgognie, they both finallie agréed vpon certeine articles, ſo that the French king and his commons would thereto aſſent.

King Henrie condeſcendeth to a treatie of peace.

Now was the French king and the quéene with their daughter Katharine at Trois in Champaigne gouerned and ordered by them, which ſo much fauoured the duke of Burgognie, that they would not for anie earthlie good, once hinder or pull backe one iot of ſuch articles as the ſame duke ſhould ſéeke to preferre. And therefore what néedeth manie words, a truce tripartite was accorded betwéene the two kings and the duke, and their countries, and order taken that the king of England ſhould ſend in the companie of the duke of Burgognie his ambaſſadours vnto Trois in Champaigne ſufficientlie authoriſed to treat and conclude of ſo great matter. The king of England, being in good hope that all his affaires ſhould take good ſucceſſe as he could wiſh or deſire, ſent to the duke of Burgognie his vncle, the duke of Exceſter, the earle of Saliſburie, the biſhop of Elie, the lord Fanhope, the lord Fitz Hugh, ſir Iohn Robſert, and ſir Philip Hall, with diuerſe doctors, to the number of fiue hundred horſſe, which in the companie of the duke of Burgognie came to the citie of Trois the eleuenth of March. The king, the quéene, and the ladie Katharine them receiued, and hartilie welcomed, ſhewing great ſignes and tokens of loue and amitie.

A truce tripartite.

Ambaſſadors from K. Henrie to the French king.

After a few daies they fell to councell, in which at length it was concluded, that king Henrie of England ſhould come to Trois, and marie the ladie Katharine; and the king hir father after his death ſhould make him heire of his realme, crowne and dignitie. It was alſo agréed, that king Henrie, during his father in lawes life, ſhould in his ſtéed haue the whole gouernement of the realme of France, as regent thereof, with manie other couenants and articles, as after ſhall appéere. To the performance whereof, it was accorded, that all the nobles and eſtates of the realme of France, as well ſpirituall as temporall, and alſo the cities and commonalties, citizens and burgeſſes of townes, that were obeiſant at that time to the French king, ſhould take a corporall oth. Theſe articles were not at the firſt in all points brought to a perfect concluſion. But after the effect and meaning of them was agréed vpon by the commiſſioners, the Engliſhmen departed towards the king their maiſter, and left ſir Iohn Robſert behind, to giue his attendance on the ladie Katharine.

The articles of the peace concluded betwéene king Henrie and the French king.

King Henrie being informed by them of that which they had doone, was well content with the agréement and with all diligence prepared to go vnto Trois, and therevpon hauing all things in a readineſſe, he being accompanied with his brethren the dukes of Clarence and Gloceſter, the earles of Warwike, Saliſburie, Huntington, Eu, Tankeruile, and Longuile, & fiftéene thouſand men of warre, went from Rone to Pontoiſe; & departing from thence the eight daie of Maie, came to ſaint Denis two leagues from Paris, and after to Pontcharenton, where he left a ſtrong gariſon of men, with ſir William Gaſcoigne, to kéepe the paſſage; and ſo then entering into Brie, he tooke by the waie a caſtell which was kept againſt him, cauſing them that ſo kept it, ſome to be hanged, and the reſidue to be led forth with him as priſoners. And after this kéeping on his iournie by Prouins, and Nogent, at length he came to Trois.

Thom. Walſ.

Titus Liuius.

The duke of Burgognie accompanied with manie noble men, receiued him two leagues without the towne, and conueied him to his lodging. All his armie was lodged in ſmall villages thereabout. And after that he had repoſed himſelfe a little, he went to viſit the French king, the quéene, and the ladie Katharine, whome he found in ſaint Peters church, where was a verie ioious méeting betwixt them (and this was on the twentith daie of Maie) and there the king of England, and the ladie Katharine were affianced. After this, the two kings and their councell aſſembled togither diuerſe daies, wherein the firſt concluded agréement was in diuerſe points altered and brought to a certeinetie, according to the effect aboue mentioned. When this great matter was finiſhed, the kings ſware for their parts to obſerue all the couenants of this league and agréement. Likewiſe the duke of Burgognie and a great number of other princes and nobles which were preſent, receiued an oth, the tenor whereof (as the duke of Burgognie vttered it in ſolemne words) thus inſueth, accordinglie as the ſame is exemplified by Titus Liuius De Foro Luuiſiis in Latine.

King Henrie commeth to Trois to the French king.

King Henrie affieth the French kings daughter.

Titus Liuius.

The oth of the duke of Burgognie.

EGo Philippus Burgundiæ dux, per me meóſque hæredes, ad ſacra Dei euangelia domino regi Henrico Angliæ, Franciæque, pro Carolo rege regenti iuro, quòd humiliter ipſi Henrico fideliterq́; cunctis in rebus, quæ rempublicam ſpectant & Franciæ coronam, obediemus, & ſtatim poſt mortem Caroli domini noſtri, domino Henrico regi ſuiſque ſucceſſoribus in perpetuum ligei fideles erimus; nec alium quempiam pro domino noſtro ſupremo Franciæ rege, quàm Henricum & ſuos hæredes habebimus, néque patiemur. Non erimus præterea in conſilio vel conſenſu cuiuſquam damni regis Henrici, ſuorúmue ſucceſſorum, vbi quicquam detrimenti patiantur capitis ſiue membri, vel vitam perdant; ſed prædicta (quantum in nobis fuerit) quàm citiſsimis literis vel nuntijs, vt ſibi meliùs prouidere valeant, eis ſignificabimus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

I Philip duke of Burgognie, for my ſelfe, and for mine heires, doo here ſweare vpon the holie euangeliſts of God, to Henrie king of

England, and regent of France for king Charles, that we ſhall humblie and faithfullie obeie the ſaid Henrie in all things which concerne the common-wealth and crowne of France. And immediatlie after the deceaſſe of our ſoueraigne lord king Charles, we ſhall be faithfull liegemen vnto the ſaid king Henrie, and to his ſucceſſors for euer. Neither ſhall we take or ſuffer anie other ſoueraigne lord and ſupreme king of France, but the ſame Henrie and his heires: neither ſhall we be of counſell or conſent of anie hurt towards the ſaid king Henrie or his ſucceſſors, wherby they may ſuffer loſſe & detriment of life or lim, but that the ſame ſo farre as in vs may lie, we ſhall ſignifie to them with all ſpéed, by letters or meſſengers, that they may the better prouide for themſelues in ſuch caſes.

The like oth a great number of the princes and nobles both ſpirituall and temporall, which were preſent, receiued at the ſame time. This doone, the morow after Trinitie ſundaie, being the third of Iune, the mariage was ſolemnized and fullie conſummate betwixt the king of England, and the ſaid ladie Katharine. Herewith was the king of England named and proclamed heire and regent of France. And as the French king ſent the copie of this treatie to euerie towne in France: ſo the king of England ſent the ſame in Engliſh vnto euerie citie and market towne within his realme, to be proclamed and publiſhed. The true copie whereof, as we find it in the chronicles of maiſter Hall, we haue thought good here to ſet downe, for the more full ſatiſfieng of thoſe that ſhall deſire to peruſe euerie clauſe and article thereof, as followeth.

The articles & appointments of peace *betweene the realmes of England and France.*

HEnrie by the grace of God king of England, heire and regent of France, lord of Ireland, to perpetuall mind of chriſtian people, and all thoſe that be vnder our obeiſance, we notifie and declare, that though there hath béene here before diuerſe treaties betwéene the moſt excellent prince Charles our father of France and his progenitors, for the peace to be had betwéene the two realmes of France and England, the which heretofore haue borne no fruit: we conſidering the great harmes, the which haue not onelie fallen betwéene thoſe two realmes, for the great diuiſion of that hath béene betwéene them, but to all holy church; we haue taken a treatie with our ſaid father, in which treatie betwixt our ſaid father and vs, it is concluded & accorded in the forme after the manner that followeth.

1 Firſt, it is accorded betwéene our father and vs, that forſomuch as by the bond of matrimonie made for the good of the peace betwéene vs and our moſt déere beloued Katharine, daughter of our ſaid father, & of our moſt déere mother Iſabell his wife; the ſame Charles and Iſabell béene made our father and mother: therefore them as our father and mother we ſhall haue and worſhip, as it fitteth and ſéemeth ſo worthie a prince and princeſſe to be worſhipped, principallie before all other temporall perſons of the world.

2 Alſo we ſhall not diſtrouble, diſeaſon or let our father aforeſaid, but that he hold and poſſede as long as he liueth, as he holdeth and poſſedeth at this time, the crowne and dignitie roiall of France, with rents and profits for the ſame, of the ſuſtenance of his eſtate and charges of the realme. And our foreſaid mother alſo hold as long as ſhe liueth, the ſtate and dignitie of quéene, after the manner of the ſame realme, with conuenable conuenient part of the ſaid rents and profits.

3 Alſo that the foreſaid ladie Katharine ſhall take and haue dower in our realme of England as quéenes of England here tofore were woont for to take and haue, that is to ſaie, to the ſumme of fortie thouſand ſcutes, of the which two algate ſhall be a noble Engliſh.

4 And that by the waies, manners, and meanes that we without tranſgreſſion or offenſe of other made by vs, for to ſpeake the lawes, cuſtomes, vſages and rights of our ſaid realme of England, ſhall done our labour and purſuit, that the ſaid Katharine, all ſo ſoone as it maie be doone, be made ſure to take, and for to haue in our ſaid realme of England, from the time of our death, the ſaid dower of fortie thouſand ſcutes yearelie, of the which twaine algate be worth a noble Engliſh.

5 Alſo if it happe the ſaid Katharine to ouerliue vs, we ſhall take and haue the realme of France immediatlie, from the time of our death, dower to the ſumme of twentie thouſand franks yearelie, of and vpon the lands, places and lordſhips that held and had Blanch ſometime wife of Philip Beaſaill to our ſaid father.

6 Alſo that after the death of our ſaid father aforeſaid, and from thence forward, the crowne and the realme of France, with all the rights and appurtenances, ſhall remaine and abide to vs, and béene of vs and of our heires for euermore.

7 And forſomuch as our ſaid father is withholden with diuerſe ſickeneſſe, in ſuch manner as he maie not intend in his owne perſon for to diſpoſe for the néeds of the foreſaid realme of France: therefore during the life of our foreſaid father, the faculties and exerciſe of the gouernance and diſpoſition of the publike & common profit of the ſaid realme of France, with councell, and nobles, and wiſemen of the ſame realme of France, ſhall be and abide to vs: ſo that from thenceforth we maie gouerne the ſame realme by vs. And alſo to admit to our counſell and aſſiſtance of the ſaid nobles, ſuch as we ſhall thinke méet. The which faculties and exerciſe of gouernance thus being toward vs, we ſhall labour and purpoſe vs ſpéedfullie, diligentlie, and trulie, to that that maie be and ought for to be vnto the worſhip of God, and our ſaid father and mother, and alſo to the common good of the ſaid realme, and that realme with the counſell & helpe of the worthie and great nobles of the ſame realme for to be defended, peaſed and gouerned after right and equitie.

8 Alſo that we of our owne power ſhall doo the court of parlement in France to be kept and obſerued in his authoritie and ſoueraignetie, and in all that is doone to it in all manner of places that now or in time comming is or ſhall be ſubiect to our ſaid father.

9 Alſo we to our power ſhall defend and helpe all and euerie of the péeres, nobles, cities, townes, communalties, and ſingular perſons, now or in time comming, ſubiects to our father in their rights, cuſtomes, priuileges, fréedomes, and franchiſes, longing or due to them in all manner of places now or in time comming ſubiect to our father.

10 Alſo we diligentlie and truelie ſhall trauell to our power, and doo that iuſtice be adminiſtred and doone in the ſame realme of France after the lawes, cuſtomes, and rights of the ſame realme, without perſonall exception. And that we ſhall kéepe and hold

the ſubiects of the ſame realme in tranquillitie and peace, and to our power we ſhall defend them againſt all manner of violence and oppreſſion.

11 Alſo we to our power ſhall prouide, and doo to our power, that able perſons and profitable beene taken to the offices as well of iuſtices and other offices belonging to the gouernance of the demaines, and of other offices of the ſaid realme of France, for the good right and peaceable iuſtice of the ſame, and for the adminiſtration that ſhall be committed vnto them; and that they be ſuch perſons, that after the lawes and rights of the ſame realme, and for the vtilitie and profit of our ſaid father, ſhall miniſter, and that the foreſaid realme ſhall be taken and departed to the ſame offices.

12 Alſo that we of our power, ſo ſoone as it may commodiouſlie be doone, ſhall trauell to put into the obedience of our ſaid father, all manner of cities, townes, and caſtels, places, countries, and perſons within the realme of France, diſobedient, and rebels to our ſaid father, holding with them which beene called the Dolphin or Arminacke.

13 Alſo that we might the more commodiouſlie, ſuerlie and freelie doone, exerciſe, & fulfill theſe things aforeſaid, it is accorded that all worthie nobles and eſtates of the ſame realme of France, as well ſpirituals as temporals, and alſo cities notable and communalties, and citizens, burgeſſes of townes of the realme of France, that beene obeiſant at this time to our ſaid father, ſhall make theſe othes that followen.

14 Firſt to vs hauing the facultie, exerciſe, diſpoſition, and gouernance of the foreſaid common profit to our heſts and commandements, theſe ſhall meekelie & obedientlie obeie and intend in all maner of things concerning the exerciſe of gouernance of the ſame realme.

15 Alſo that the worthie, great, and noble eſtates of the ſaid realme, as well ſpirituals as temporals, and alſo cities and notable communalties, and citizens and burgeſſes of the ſame realme, in all maner of things well and trulie ſhall keepe and to their power ſhall doo to be kept of ſo much as to them belongeth, or to anie of them, all thoſe things that beene appointed and accorded betweene our foreſaid father and mother and vs, with the counſell of them whome vs liſt to call to vs.

16 And that continuallie from the death, and after the death of our ſaid father Charles, they ſhall be our true liegemen, and our heires; and they ſhall receiue and admit vs for their liege and ſoueraigne and verie king of France, and for ſuch to obeie vs without oppoſition, contradiction, or difficultie, as they beene to our foreſaid father during his life, neuer after this realme of France ſhall obey to man as king or regent of France, but to vs and our heires. Alſo they ſhall not be in counſell, helpe, or aſſent that we leeſe life or limme, or be take with euill taking, or that we ſuffer harme, or diminution in perſon, eſtate worſhip, or goods; but if they know anie ſuch thing for to be caſt or imagined againſt vs, they ſhall let it to their power, & they ſhall doone vs to weeten thereof, as haſtilie as they maie by themſelfe, by meſſage, or by letters.

17 Alſo that all maner of conqueſts that ſhould be made by vs in France vpon the ſaid inobedients, out of the duchie of Normandie, ſhall be doone to the profit of our ſaid father; and that to our power we ſhall doo, that all maner of lands and lordſhips that beene in the places ſo for to be conquered, longing to perſons obeieng to our foreſaid father, which ſhall ſweare for to keepe this preſent accord, ſhall be reſtored to the ſame perſons to whom they long to.

18 Alſo that all manner of perſons of the holie church, beneficed in the duchie of Normandie, or any other places in the realme of France, ſubiect to our father, and fauouring the partie of the dukes of Burgognie, which ſhall ſweare to keepe this preſent accord, ſhall inioy peaceablie their benefices of holie church in the duchie of Normandie, or in other places next aforeſaid.

19 Alſo likewiſe, all maner of perſons of holie church, obedient to vs, and beneficed in the realme of France, and places ſubiect to our father, that ſhall ſweare to keepe this preſent accord, ſhall inioy peaceablie their benefices of holie church in places next aboueſaid.

20 Alſo that all maner of churches, vniuerſities, and ſtudies generall, and all colleges of ſtudies, and other colleges of holie church, being in places now or in time comming ſubiect to our father, or in the duchie of Normandie, or other places in the realme of France ſubiect to vs, ſhall inioy their rights and poſſeſſions, rents, prerogatiues, liberties, & franchiſes, longing or due to them in any maner of wiſe in the ſaid relme of France, ſauing the right of the crowne of France, and euerie other perſon.

21 Alſo by Gods helpe, when it happeneth vs to come to the crowne of France, the duchie of Normandie, and all other places conquered by vs in the realme of France, ſhall bow vnder the commandement, obeiſance, and monarchie of the crowne of France.

22 Alſo that we ſhall force vs, & doo to our power, that recompenſe be made by our ſaid father without diminution of the crowne of France to perſons obeieng to him, and fauoring to that partie that is ſaid Burgognie, to whom longeth lands, lordſhips, rents, or poſſeſſions in the ſaid duchie of Normandie, or other places in the realme of France, conquered by vs hither toward, giuen by vs in places and lands gotten or to be gotten, and ouercome, in the name of our ſaid father vpon rebels and inobedients to him. And if ſo be that ſuch maner of recompenſe be not made to the ſaid perſons, by the life of our ſaid father, we ſhall make that recompenſe in ſuch maner and places, of goods, when it happeneth by Gods grace to the crowne of France. And if ſo be that the lands, lordſhips, rents, or poſſeſſions, the which longeth to ſuch maner of perſons in the ſaid duchie and places be not giuen by vs, the ſame perſons ſhall be reſtored to them without any delaie.

23 And during the life of our father, in all places now or in time comming ſubiect to him, letters of common iuſtice, and alſo grants of offices and gifts, pardons or remiſſions, and priuileges ſhall be written and proceed vnder the name and ſeale of our ſaid father. And for ſomuch as ſome ſingular caſe maie fall, that maie not be foreſeene by mans wit, in the which it might be neceſſarie and behoouefull, that we doo write our letters; in ſuch maner caſe, if any hap for the good and ſuertie of our father, and for the gouernance that longeth to vs, as is beforeſaid; and for to eſchewen perils that otherwiſe might fall, to the preiudice of our ſaid father, to write our letters, by the which we ſhall command, charge, and defend after the nature and qualitie of the need, in our fathers behalfe and ours as regent of France.

24 Alſo, that during our fathers life, we ſhall not call nor write vs king of France; but verelie we ſhall abſteine vs from that name, as long as our father liueth.

25 Alſo that our ſaid father, during his life, ſhall name, call, and write vs in French in this maner: *Noſtre treſchier filz Henry roy d' Engleterre heretere de France.* And in Latine in this maner: *Præclariſſimus filius noſter Henricus rex Angliæ & hæres Franciæ.*

26 Alſo that we ſhall put none impoſitions or

exactions, or doo charge the ſubiects of our ſaid father without cauſe reaſonable and neceſſarie, ne otherwiſe than for common good of the realme of France, and after the ſaieng and aſking of the lawes and cuſtomes reaſonable approoued of the ſame realme.

27 Alſo that we ſhall trauell to our power to the effect and intent, that by the aſſent of the three eſtates of either of the realmes of France and England, that all maner of obſtacles maie be doone awaie, and in this partie, that it be ordeined and prouided; that from the time that we or any of our heires come to the crowne of France, both the crownes, that is to ſaie, of France and England perpetuallie be togither in one & in the ſame perſon, that is to ſaie, from our fathers life to vs, and from the tearme of our life thenceforward in the perſons of our heires, that ſhall be one after an other, and that both realms ſhall be gouerned from that we or any of our heires come to the ſame, not ſeuerallie vnder diuerſe kings in one time, but vnder the ſame perſon which for the time ſhall be king of both realms, and our ſouereigne lord (as it is before ſaid) keeping neuertheleſſe in all maner of other things to either of the ſame realmes, their rights, liberties, cuſtomes, vſages, and lawes, not making ſubiect in any maner of wiſe one of the ſame realmes, to the rights, lawes, or vſages of that other.

28 Alſo that thenceforward, perpetuallie, ſhall be ſtill reſt, and that in all maner of wiſe, diſſentions, hates, rancors, enuies and wars, betweene the ſame realmes of France and England, and the people of the ſame realmes, drawing to accord of the ſame peace, may ceaſſe and be broken.

29 Alſo that there ſhall be from henceforward for euermore, peace and tranquillitie, & good accord, and common affection, and ſtable friendſhip betweene the ſaid realmes, and their ſubiects before ſaid. The ſame realmes ſhall keepe themſelues with their councell, helps, and common aſſiſtance againſt all maner of men that inforce them for to doen or to imagine wrongs, harmes, diſpleaſures, or grieuances to them or either of them. And they ſhall be conuerſant and merchandizen freelie and ſuerlie togither, paieng the cuſtome due and accuſtomed. And they ſhall be conuerſant alſo, that all the confederats and alies of our ſaid father and the realme of France aforeſaid, and alſo our confederats of the realme of England aforeſaid, ſhall in eight moneths from the time of this accord of peace, as it is notified to them, declare by their letters, that they will draw to this accord, and will be comprehended vnder the treaties and accord of this peace, ſauing neuertheleſſe either of the ſame crownes, and alſo all maner actions, rights and reuenues, that longen to our ſaid father and his ſubiects, and to vs and our ſubiects, againſt all maner of ſuch alies and confederats.

30 Alſo neither our father, neither our brother the duke of Burgognie ſhall begin, ne make with Charles, cleping himſelfe the Dolphin of Viennes, any treatie, or peace, or accord, but by councell and aſſent of all and ech of vs three, or of other the three eſtates of either of the ſaid realmes aboue named.

31 Alſo that we with aſſent of our ſaid brother of Burgognie, and other of the nobles of the realme of France, the which thereto owen to be called, ſhall ordeine for the gouernance of our ſaid father ſekerlie, louinglie, & honeſtlie, after the aſking of his roiall eſtate and dignitie, by the maner that ſhall be to the worſhip of God, and of our father, and of the realme of France.

32 Alſo all maner of perſons, that ſhall be about our father to doo him perſonall ſeruice, not onelie in office, but in all other ſeruices, aſwell the nobles and gentlenes as other, ſhall be ſuch as hath beene borne in the realme of France, or in places longing to France, good, wiſe, true, and able to that foreſaid ſeruice. And our ſaid father ſhall dwell in places notable of his obedience, and no where elſe. Wherefore we charge and command our ſaid liege ſubiects, and other being vnder our obedience, that they keepe and doo to be kept in all that longeth to them, this accord and peace, after the forme and maner as it is accorded; and that they attempt in no maner wiſe, any thing that may be preiudiciall or contrarie to the ſame accord and peace, vpon paine of life and lim, and all that they may forfeit againſt vs. Yeuen at Troes, the thirtith day of Maie, 1420, & proclamed in London the twentith day of Iune.

33 Alſo that we for the things aforeſaid, and euerie one of them, ſhall giue our aſſent by our letters patents, ſealed with our ſeale vnto our ſaid father, with all approbation and confirmation of vs, and all other of our blood roiall, and all other of the cities and townes to vs obedient. Sealed with our ſeales accuſtomed. And further our ſaid father, beſides his letters patents ſealed with our great ſeale, ſhall make or cauſe to be made letters approbatorie, and confirmations of the peeres of his realme, and of the lords, citizens, and burgeſſes of the ſame, vnder his obedience. All which articles we haue ſworne to keepe vpon the holie euangeliſts.

On the fourteenth of Iune being fridaie, there was a ſolemne proceſſion at London, and a ſermon at Paules croſſe, in which the preacher openlie declared the effect of the kings mariage, and the articles concluded vpon the ſame, by reaſon wherof (he ſaid) there muſt be a new great ſeale deuiſed, and the old broken, and in the new the kings name with a new addition of his title as regent of France, and heire apparant of that kingdome was to be ingrauen. Beſide the league thus concluded by king Henrie with the French king, and the whole bodie of the realme of France, there was a priuat league accorded betwixt him and the duke of Burgognie, the effect wherof was comprehended in articles as followeth.

Tho. Walſ.

A league betweene king Henrie & the duke of Burgognie.

First, that the duke of Burgognie ſhould procure
1 this peace latelie before concluded, to be obſerued
firme and ſtable in all couenants and points therof,
ſo far as he by any meanes might further the ſame:
in conſideration whereof, one of the brethren of king
Henrie ſhould take to wife one of the ſaid duke of
2 Burgognies ſiſters. That king Henrie ſhould euer
haue in ſingular fauour the ſaid duke of Burgognie,
as his moſt deere brother, and ſupport him in all his
3 rights. That the ſaid duke, after the deceaſſe of king
Charles, ſhould take an oth of fealtie to be true to
K. Henrie & his heires, according to the forme & tenor
therof before expreſſed, & ſhould in all things be
4 friend to king Henrie and his heires for euer. That
king Henrie ſhould doo his vttermoſt indeuour, that
due puniſhment might be had for the murther of
duke Iohn, father to the ſaid duke of Burgognie, aſwell
vpon Charles that named himſelfe Dolphin,
as vpon others that were guiltie and priuie to that
murther.

5 If the ſaid Dolphin chanced to be taken, either
in battell or towne beſieged, or if anie other chanced
ſo to be taken, that ſhould be prooued guiltie or priuie
to the murther of the ſaid duke Iohn, he ſhould not
be deliuered without iuſt puniſhment for his deeds,
nor without the conſent of the two kings Charles
and Henrie, & of the three eſtates of both the realmes.
6 In conſideration of the great diligence, and painfull
trauell ſuſteined by the duke of Burgognie, it
was alſo agreed, that he ſhould haue by patent granted
of king Charles and queene Iſabell a fee of twentie
thouſand pounds Pariſien, of yeerelie reuenues,
aſſigned forth neere to the confines of his countrie,

to inioy the ſame to him and to his wiſe the duches Michaell, and to the heires males betwixt them two, lawfullie begotten, to the obteining whereof, king Henrie ſhould ſhew all his furtherance; & if it might not be brought to paſſe till king Henrie had obteined the crowne of France, then ſhould he ſée the ſame performed, vpon the receiuing of his] homage.

The effect of king Henries oration to the French king.

The king of England, after all the articles of the ſaid treaties and agréements were concluded, paſſed and ſworne vnto, made to the French king, the duke of Burgognie, and other the French lords, a ſumptuous banket; and before they departed from the ſame, he ſadlie and with great grauitie made to them a right pithie and ſententious oration, declaring to them both how profitable the ioining of the two kingdomes ſhould be to the ſubiects of the ſame, and alſo the right that he had thereto, being by lineall deſcent of the womans ſide (which is the ſureſt) rather a Frenchman than an Engliſhman. And though he was an Engliſhman borne, yet he aſſured them to tender the wealth of the realme of France, as much as he would the aduancement of his owne natiue countrie of England.

Herewith, he inueied againſt Charles the Dolphin, being the head and onelie mainteiner of all the ciuill diſcord, whoſe wicked nature, and cruell diſpoſition, did well appeare in the murther of the late duke of Burgognie. He therefore willed them, according to their dutie, oth, and agréement, to ſtand with him, and helpe to reduce ſuch a ſtubborne and diſloiall ſonne vnto the obeiſance of his father king Charles, that he might ſhew himſelfe conformable vnto ſuch orders and decrées, as they had taken, appointed, and agréed vpon: and for his part, he promiſed to worſhip, loue, and honor his father in law the ſaid K. Charles, in place of his owne father, according to the true meaning of this concord and agréement, truſting the ſame to be a peace finall.

It was rendered vp the tenth of Iune Titus Liuius.

Sens & Mõſtreau beſieged and taken.

The ſiege was laid the 16. of Iune.

And to conclude, he promiſed, that if they ſhewed themſelues true and loiall to him, according to the ſame agréement; the Ocean ſea ſhould ſooner ceaſſe to flow, and the bright ſunne loſe his light, than he would deſiſt from dooing that which became a prince to doo to his ſubiect, or a father to his naturall child. When he had thus perſuaded the nobilitie, and diſpatched his buſineſſe at Troies, he with all his armie, hauing with him the French king, and the duke of Burgognie, departed from thence the fourth of Iune; and vpon the ſeauenth daie of the ſame moneth, came before the towne of Sens in Burgognie, which held on the Dolphins part: but after foure daies ſiege, it was yéelded vnto the king, and there he made capteine, the lord Genuille. From thence, he remooued to Monſtreau ou fault Yonne, which towne was taken on the thrée and twentith daie of Iune, by aſſault, ſo that manie of the Dolphins part were apprehended, before they could get to the caſtell.

Whileſt the ſiege laie there, and before the towne was entred, the duke of Bedford came thither vnto the king, bringing with him a faire retinue of ſouldiers out of England. After the getting of the towne, the caſtell being well vittelled and manned, denied to render, and therefore was it enuironed with a ſtrong ſiege. During the which, the duke of Burgognie was informed, in what place of the towne the duke his father was buried, who was ſlaine there (as before you haue heard) and now his corps was taken vp againe by his ſonnes appointment, and ſeared, and ſo conueied vnto Digeon in high Burgognie, and there buried by his father Philip; to the end that the remembrance of him ſhould remaine to poſterities, by the reſeruation of ſome monument abiding in the place of his interment, after that his bodie was conſumed, and his naturall countenance forgotten. Which is the laſt point of reuerend dutie (as we may well thinke) which pietie of children towards their parents dooth require; namelie, that they be decentlie buried when they be departed; and that their graues or toome ſtones may put vs that are aliue in mind of going the ſame waie, and to ſet no more by this flitting life, than ſtandeth with the vncerteintie and ſhortneſſe of the ſame; as one right well ſaith:

Cùm tumulum cernis, cur non mortalia ſpernis?
Eſto memor mortis, quo viuis tempore fortis.

Bicauſe they within the caſtell of Monſtreau, gaue opprobrious words vnto the kings herald that was ſent to them, the king cauſed a gibet to be ſet vp before the caſtle, on the which were hanged twelue of thoſe ſpitefull offendors, all gentlemen & fréends to the capteine named monſieur de Guitrie, who at length, perceiuing that by no means he could be ſuccoured; and fearing to be taken by force, began to treat with the king of England, who for the ſpace of eight daies would hearken to none of his offers; but in concluſion, he and his rendred themſelues ſimplie, their liues onelie ſaued, ſix wéekes after they had béene beſieged. The earle of Warwike was made capteine, both of the towne and caſtell, who fortified it with men, munition, and vittels.

It held not out ſo long as ſhould appeare by Tit. Liuius, who ſaith, yͭ it was rendred yͤ fourth of Iulie.

W.P. Buchan. lib. 7.

[About this time Robert the gouernour of Scotland, the fiftéenth yéere after his brothers reigne, and in the thirtith yeare of his owne regiment deceaſſed, in whoſe ſtéed and office his ſonne Mordac duke of Albanie was by and by choſen, who had ſonnes thrée, Walter, Alexander, and Iames, whereof the two eldeſt beginning betimes to be obſtinate, grew ſoone after verie graceles and wicked: that in one flagitious feat among the reſt by this Walter verie impiouſlie againſt his parents was vttered. The gouernour had a faire, a gentle, and well flieng falcon, whereby he ſet great ſtore. The ſonne verie deſirous of the ſame, made manie meanes and motions to haue hir, not without note of malapert importunitie and lacke of reuerence toward his parents pleaſure, which the father diſſembling to ſée, would not yet in anie wiſe forgo his hawke. Whereat this child reiecting regard of dutie, and receiuing an vnnaturall hate and heat by broth of iniquitie ſet a boiling in his breſt, came in on a time, where ſtanding a while at a ſudden braid, pluckt awaie the bird from his fathers fiſt, and ſtraight before his face wrang of hir necke. The gouernour héereat ſore aſtonied, for verie gréefe gaue a great grone; Well ſonne (quod he) ſince yée cannot bridle your brunts for dutie and reuerence toward me your parent and ſoueraigne, I will bring in one that ſhall bridle vs both. Héere vpon ſoone after, he with one Calen Campbell, a noble man & of much authoritie (vnto whome this Walter had doone a great deſpight) and with other of the nobilitie fell ſtraight in conſultation about the calling home of their king. Which all with one aſſent they did right well allow, whereby ſoone after (as is touched afore, and followeth more at large) he was by them in his kingdome right roiallie placed. But this came of it. Theſe miſchéefous children Walter and Alexander, the verie cauſe of their fathers confuſion and their owne, within few yeares after condemned by law, vpon a hill by Sterling caſtell, had their heads chopt off at once. Walters wife with hir two ſonnes, Andrew and Alexander, ran for refuge awaie into Ireland; thus for their long iniquities their hires iuſtlie paid all in a daie.]

Melun beſieged by king Henrie.

Now to procéed in our proceſſe of France. After the thus winning of the towne and caſtell of Monſtreau; the king departing from thence, came to Melun vpon Seine, the thirtéenth daie of Iulie, and beſieged it round about, hauing then in companie with him the French king, and the yong king of Scots, the dukes of Burgognie, Clarence, Bedford, Gloceſter, and Bar, the prince of Orainge, and one and twentie earles, beſides lords, barons, & knights, equall to lords in degree, to the number of ſeauen and fiftie, what of England and France; and beſide alſo fifteene maiſter ſoldiers. This ſiege continued the ſpace almoſt of ſeuen moneths, or (as Thomas Walſingham ſaith) foureteene weekes, and foure daies, with ſkirmiſhing, ſcaling, aſſaulting, and defending, to the loſſe (no doubt) of both parts. Capteine of this towne was one monſieur de Barbaſon, a Gaſcoine of ſuch experience and approoued valiancie in wars, that his renowme and fame was ſpred through the world.

The king of Scots in K. Henries armie

Eighteene weekes haue the chronicles of Flanders. Titus Liuius.

Monſieur de Barbaſon a valiãt captein.

At the firſt laieng of the ſiege, he called all the ſoldiers there in garriſon, and likewiſe the towneſmen afore him, and warned them all on paine of death, that none of them ſhould be ſo hardie, as to treat, or once to motion anie word of ſurrendring the towne, or of comming to anie compoſition or agreement with the two kings; except they made him being their capteine priuie thereto, before they attempted anie ſuch thing. ¶ In the meane ſeaſon, the French queene, the queene of England, and the duches of Burgognie, lieng at Corbeill, came diuerſe times to viſit their huſbands, and to ſee their freends; whome the king of England highlie feaſted, and louinglie interteined, that euerie creature reported great honour of him. This towne of Melun ſeemed verie ſtrong, both by reaſon of the riuer of Seine, which compaſſed part thereof, and alſo by ſtrong walles, turrets, ditches, and bulworks made about it.

Titus Liuius.

The king therefore, to take awaie all the iſſues and entries from them within, made a bridge ouer the riuer, able to beare horſſes and carriage: and againe, appointed diuerſe botes furniſhed with men of warre, to keepe the ſtreame; ſo that they within ſhould haue no waie to come abroad, either by water or land: yet on a daie, the Frenchmen ſailed foorth, and aſſailed the Engliſh lodgings, where the earle of Warwike was incamped on the eaſt ſide of the towne, not farre from the duke of Burgognie; but by the valiant prowesſe and manlie courage of the Engliſhmen, the enimies were eaſilie beaten backe and conſtreined to retire into the towne againe, with their loſſe. Heere is to be remembred, that during this ſiege before Melun, there came to the king the duke of Bauiere, the kings brother in law (but the kings ſiſter that had beene married to him, was not then liuing) and brought with him ſeauen hundred well appointed horſſemen, which were reteined to ſerue the king, and right worthilie they bare themſelues, and therefore moſt liberallie recompenſed at the kings hand, for the time they continued in his ſeruice.

The duke of Bauiere commeth to king Henrie with a number of horſſemen.

The king inforced this ſiege by all waies and meanes poſſible, to bring the towne into ſubiection, as well by mines as otherwiſe, but they within the towne ſo valiantlie behaued themſelues, as well by countermines (whereby at length they entered into the kings mines) as by other waies of reſiſtance, that by force of aſſaults it was not thought anie eaſie matter to win the ſame. It fortuned on a daie, that whileſt there roſe a contention betwixt two lords of the kings hoſt, who ſhould haue the honor to go firſt into the mine, to incounter with the Frenchmen, that now had brought their mine through into the Engliſh mines, and made barriers betwixt, that they might ſafelie come and fight with the Engliſhmen: the king (to auoid the ſtrife) entered the mine himſelfe firſt of all other, and by chance came to fight hand to hand with the lord Barbaſon, who was likewiſe entered the mine before all other of them within the towne.

The trãſlator of Tit. Liuius.

K. Henrie and mõſieur Barbaſon fight hand to hand.

After they had fought a good ſeaſon togither, at length they agreed to diſcouer either to other their names; ſo as the lord Barbaſon, firſt declaring what he was; the king likewiſe told him, that he was the king of England. Wherevpon, Barbaſon perceiuing with whome he had fought, cauſed the barriers forthwith to be cloſed, and withdrew into the citie, and the king returned backe to his campe. At length, vittels within the towne began to faile, and the peſtilence began to wax hot, ſo that the lord Barbaſon began to treat; and in concluſion, about the middeſt of Nouember (as Fabian ſaith) the towne was yeelded vpon certeine conditions, whereof one was, that all that were conſenting to the death of the duke of Burgognie, ſhould be deliuered to the king of England, of whome the lord Barbaſon was ſuſpected to be one. The king ſent them vnder the conduct of his brother the duke of Clarence, to the citie of Paris, whereof the French king made him capteine, and ſo at his comming thither, he tooke poſſeſſion of the Baſtill of S. Anthonie, the Loure, the houſe of Neelle, and the place of Bois de Vincennes.

It was ſurrendred about Alhalontide, as Thom. Wal. noteth.

Melun yeelded vp to king Henrie.

Monſieur de Barbaſon was accuſed by the duke of Burgognie, and his ſiſters as guiltie to their fathers death; but he in open court defended himſelfe as not guiltie of that crime, granting indeed and confeſſing, that he was one of the familiar ſeruants to the Dolphin, but that he was priuie or conſenting to the death of the duke of Burgognie, he vtterlie denied. Wherevpon he was not condemned, neither yet acquited, by reaſon of ſuch preſumptions and coniectures as were alledged and brought againſt him, ſo that he remained in priſon at Paris and elſe-where, the ſpace of nine yeares, till at length, being brought vnto caſtell Galliard, it chanced that the ſame caſtell was woone by thoſe of the Dolphins part, and he being as then priſoner there, eſcaped out of danger, and ſo by that means was ſet at libertie, as after ſhall appeare.

Titus Liuius.

Some write, that he had beene put to death, if he had not appealed from king Henries ſentence, vnto the iudgement of the officers at armes; alledging, that by the lawe of armes, no man hauing his brother in armes within his danger, afterwards ought to put him to death for any cauſe or quarell. And that he was the kings brother in armes he prooued it, for that he had fought with him hand to hand within the mines (as before yee haue heard) which combat was thought of equall force by the heralds, as if he had fought with the king bodie to bodie, within ſolemne liſts. The credit of this matter we leaue to the conſideration of the readers. The earle of Huntington was made capteine of Melum. In defenſe of this towne and caſtell, the French had gotten vnto them manie Scots. At the ſiege heere the king kept with him yoong Iames of Scotland, who ſent to thoſe Scots, that they ſhould come out and yeeld them vnto him, and not to ſtand in armes againſt their liege lord and king; but they gaue word backe againe, they could not take him for king, that was in the power of another, and ſo kept them in hold and in their armor ſtill. King Henrie vpon winning of theſe forts, for their rebellion againſt their prince, which they would haue to be counted conſtancie, and for their contemptuous anſwer vnto him, twentie of the proudeſt, in example of the reſt, cauſed he there to be hanged at once.

Note this appeale.

A note in law of armes.

W. P.

From thence the king departed with his armie vnto Corbeill, where the French king and the two queenes then ſoiourned; and after, both the kings, accompanied with the dukes of Bedford, Burgognie, Gloceſter, and Exceſter, and the earls of Warwike and Saliſburie, with a great number of noble men and knights, ſet forth towards Paris, whome the citizens in good order met without the gates, and the cleargie alſo with ſolemne proceſſion. All the ſtreets were hanged with rich clothes, the two kings rode togither (the king of England giuing the vpper hand to his father in lawe) through the great citie of Paris, to our ladie church, where after they had ſaid their deuotions, they departed vnto their lodgings; the French king to the houſe of S. Paule, and the king of England to the caſtell of Louer.

King Henrie is receiued in at Paris.

The next daie, the two quéenes made their entrie and were receiued with like ſolemnities, as their huſbands were the day before. During all the ſeaſon that theſe two kings laie in Paris, there was a great aſſemblie called, as well of the ſpiritualtie, as of the nobles of the temporaltie, in the which, the kings ſat as iudges, before whom the duches of Burgognie by hir proctor, appealed the Dolphin, and ſeauen other, for the murther of duke Iohn hir huſband. To the which appeale, the counſell of the other part made diuerſe offers of amends, as well of foundations of chantries for préeſts, to praie for the ſoule, as recompenſe of monie to the widow and children: for the finall determination thereof, the kings, to take further aduiſe and counſell therein, appointed another daie.

The duches of Burgognie hir appeale.

At this ſame time, the thrée eſtates of the realme of France aſſembled at Paris, and there euerie perſon ſeuerallie ſware vpon the holie euangeliſts, to kéepe, ſupport, mainteine and defend the treatie and finall accord, which was concluded betwéene the two kings, and thereto euerie noble man, ſpirituall gouernour and temporall ruler, ſet to their ſeales, which inſtruments were ſent to the kings treaſurie of his eſchecker at Weſtminſter ſafelie to be kept, where they yet remaine. The French king at the ſame time being in good and perfect ſtate of health, openlie there in parlement declared, that peace was concluded, accorded, and made by his frée aſſent, and with the aduiſe of all the councell of France, and that he would for his owne part, and that his ſucceſſors ought for their parts, obſerue and kéepe the ſame, with all the articles therein conteined. And likewiſe, that all his ſubiects were bound for euer, to obſerue and kéepe the ſame, without breaking or dooing anie thing preiudiciall therevnto.

The oth of the thrée eſtates of Frãce.

During the time that the two kings thus ſoiourned in Paris, the French king kept a ſmall port, verie few, and thoſe of the meaner ſort reſorting vnto his court: but the king of England kept ſuch a ſolemne ſtate, with ſo plentifull an houſe, and ſhewed himſelfe ſo bountifull in gifts, and ſetting forth of warlike ſhewes and princelie paſtimes, that all the noble men and other reſorted to his palace, to ſée his eſtate, and to doo him honor. He tooke vpon him as regent of France, to redreſſe cauſes, remooue officers, reforme things that were amiſſe, and cauſed a new coine to be made, called a ſalute, wherein were the armes of France, and the armes of England and France quarterlie ſtamped. Alſo, to ſet all things in quiet, he conſtituted ſir Gilbert Umfreuile capteine of Melun, with a good number of valiant ſoldiers, to remaine there in garriſon, and the earle of Huntington (cooſine germane to the king) was deputed capteine at Blois de Vincenes; and the duke of Exceſter, with fiue hundred men of warre, was aſſigned to kéepe Paris. Thus had king Henrie (when he was conſtituted gouernour of the land) the diſpoſing of prouinces, townes, and caſtels at his pleaſure; and the making of lawes and ordinances, ſtanding with the drift of his policie to kéepe both people in due obedience; as *Anglorum prælia* bréefelie noteth; ſaieng:

King Henrie taketh vpon him the office of regent of France.

The coine ſalute.

Rectorem patriæ poſtquam rex Gallus & omnes
Vnanimes proceres Henricum conſtituerunt;
Plantageneta dabat princeps iam iura ducalis
Gentibus, effrænes ductis cohibebat habenis.

The duke of Bauier about the ſame time, with the kings licence, departed into his countrie, both he and his retinue, receiuing large gifts of the kings great liberalitie, and amongſt other things, the king gaue him a cup of gold, garniſhed and ſet with pretious ſtones of great price and value. Moreouer, he had a penſion giuen him of a thouſand markes by yeare, vnder the kings letters patents, to be had and receiued of the kings frée and liberall grant, during the life of the ſaid duke. A right roiall reward ⁊ worthie the maieſtie of a king, beſtowed vpon the ſaid duke; and his retinue, partlie in reſpect of the aliance betwixt the king and him (for he had maried the kings ſiſter) but ſpeciallie for the notable ſeruice which they did him at the ſiege before Melun. So that hereby is commended vnto vs an example of gratitude and beneficence; teaching vs, that to ſuch as haue béene good and gratious vnto vs, we ſhould be alwaies forward with a right hand and readie mind to make amends in ſome proportion and meaſure.

The duke of Bauier ⁊ his troupe with the kings licence departeth.

1421

When the king had thus ordered his buſineſſe, he with the quéene his wife, the princes, ⁊ nobles of the realme departed from Paris, the firſt of Ianuarie, and came to Rone, but firſt before his departing, he cauſed proceſſe to be made and awarded forth againſt Charles the Dolphin, commanding him to appéere at the marble table at Paris; where for lacke of appearance, he was with all ſolemnitie in ſuch caſe requiſite, denounced guiltie of the murther and homicide of Iohn duke of Burgognie, and by the ſentence of parlement baniſhed the realme: but the Dolphin withdrew into Languedoc, and after to Poictiers, getting to him ſuch fréends as he could; and namelie, he found the earle of Arminacke verie faithfull to him, not onelie aiding him with men, but alſo with his owne perſon he continuallie ſerued him againſt all his aduerſaries.

Sentence againſt the Dolphin.

The king of England comming to Rone, ſoiourned there a certeine time, and receiued the homage of all the nobles of Normandie, amongſt whome, the earle of Stafford did homage for the countie of Perch, and Arthur of Britaine likewiſe for the countie of Yurie. He alſo ordeined his lieutenant generall, both of France and Normandie, his brother Thomas duke of Clarence; and his deputie in Normandie was the earle of Saliſburie. When the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe was paſſed, he departed from Rone, with the quéene his wife, and by Amiens came to Calis, where he tooke ſhip the morow after Candlemaſſe daie, and landed at Douer, and came to Canturburie, and from thence to Eltham, and ſo through London to Weſtminſter. I paſſe ouer to write what ioy and triumph was ſhewed by the citizens of London, and of all other his ſubiects in euerie place where he came.

Theſe countries they receiued of the kings gift.

He landed at Douer vpon Candlemaſſe eue ſaith Tho. Walſingham.

The king himſelfe, to render vnto God his moſt humble ⁊ hartie thanks, cauſed ſolemne proceſſions to be obſerued and kept fiue daies togither in euerie citie and towne. After that doone, he made great puruciance for the coronation of his quéene ⁊ ſpouſe, the faire ladie Katharine: which was doone the daie of S. Matthew, being the twentie fourth of Februarie, with all ſuch ceremonies and princelie ſolemnitie as apperteined. Which becauſe it was full of roialtie and honour (the qualitie of the principall perſonages requiring no leſſe) and recorded by writers of former ages, it ſéemeth neceſſarie and conuenient in this place to report it, in ſuch ſort as it is found at large in ſome, though others glanſinglie paſſe by it, as a matter of no great obſeruation. But it is worth the noting, to conſider and take a view of the goodlie

order

King Henrie returneth into England with his new wife.

Thomas Walſingham ſaith, ſhe was crowned the firſt in Lent, which that yere fell vpon the ninth of Februarie.

The coronation of quéene Katherine.

order and reuerend dutifulneſſe exhibited on all ſides to the new quéene; of whome *Anglorum prælia* ſaith,

More coronatur maiorum regia coniux,
Ingeminans rex ô viuat, reginâque vulgus,
Altiſonis ſuprema ferit clamoribus aſtra.

Abr. Fl. out of Fabian, pag. 402,403.

A roiall banket.

¶ After the great ſolemnization at the foreſaid coronation in the church of ſaint Peters at Weſtminſter was ended, the quéene was conueied into the great hall of Weſtminſter, and there ſet to dinner. Upon whoſe right hand ſat at the end of the table the archbiſhop of Canturburie, & Henrie ſurnamed the Rich cardinall of Wincheſter. Upon the left hand of the quéene ſat the king of Scots in his eſtate, who was ſerued with couered meſſe, as were the forenamed biſhops; but yet after them. Upon the ſame hand and ſide, néere the boords end, ſat the ducheſſe of Yorke and the counteſſe of Huntington. The earle of March, holding a ſcepter in his hand, knéeled vpon the right ſide: the earle marſhall in like manner on the left of the quéene. The counteſſe of Kent ſat vnder the table at the right foot, and the counteſſe marſhall at the left. The duke of Gloceſter ſir Humfrie was that daie ouerſéer, and ſtood before the quéene bareheaded. Sir Richard Neuill was that daie caruer to the quéene, the earles brother of Suffolke cupbearer, ſir Iohn Steward ſewar, the lord Clifford pantler in the earle of Warwikes ſtéed, the lord Willoughbie buttler in ſtéed of the erle of Arundell, the lord Graie Ruthin or Riffin naperer, the lord Audleie almoner in ſtéed of the earle of Cambridge, the earle of Worceſter was that daie earle marſhall in the earle marſhals abſence; who rode about the hall vpon a great courſer with a multitude of tipped ſtaues about him, to make and kéepe roome in the ſaid hall. Of the which hall the barons of the cinque ports began the table vpon the right hand, toward ſaint Stephans chappell; and beneath them at the table ſat the vowchers of the chancerie. Upon the left hand next to the cupboord ſat the maior and his brethren the aldermen of London. The biſhops began the table againſt the barons of the cinque ports; and the ladies againſt the maior. Of which two tables, for the biſhops, began the biſhop of London and the biſhop of Durham; and for the ladies, the counteſſe of Stafford, and the counteſſe of March.

The feaſt was all of fiſh: for the ordering of the ſeruice whereof were diuerſe lords appointed head officers, as ſteward, controller, ſurueior, and other honourable officers. For the which were appointed the earles of Northumberland and Weſtmerland, the lord Fitz Hugh, the lord Furneuall, the lord Graie of Wilton, the lord Ferres of Grobie, the lord Poinings, the lord Harrington, the lord Darcie, the lord Dacres, and the lord de la Ware. Theſe with others ordered the ſeruice of the feaſt as followeth; and thus for the firſt courſe. Brawne and muſtard, éeles in burneur, frument with balien, pike in herbarge, lamprie powdered, trowt, codling, plaice fried, martine fried, crabs, léech lumbard flouriſhed, tartes; and a deuiſe called a pellican, ſitting on hir neſt with hir birds, and an image of ſaint Katharine holding a booke, and diſputing with doctors, holding this poeſie in hir right hand, written in faire and legible letters, *Madame le Royne*; and the pellican anſwering,

The firſt courſe.

C'eeſt la ſigne & du roy, pour tenir ioy,
Et a tout ſa gent, elle mette ſa entent.

The ſecond courſe.

The ſecond courſe was: gellie coloured with columbine flowers, white potage or creame of almonds, breame of the ſea, conger, ſoles, cheuen, barbill and roch, freſh ſalmon, halibut, gurnard, rochet broiled, ſmelts fried, creuis or lobſter; léech damaſke, with the kings poeſie flouriſhed therevpon, *Vne ſans plus*; lamprie freſh baked, flampeine flouriſhed with a ſcutchion roiall, and therein thrée crownes of gold planted with flourdeluces and floure of camomill wrought of confections: with a deuiſe of a panther, and an image of ſaint Katharine with a whéele in one hand, & a ſcroll with a poeſie in the other, to wit,

La royne ma file, in ceſta ile,
Per bon reſoun, aues renoun.

The third courſe.

The third courſe was, dates in compoſt, creame motle, carpe deore, turbut, tench, pearch with goion, freſh ſturgion with welks, porperous roſted, mennes fried, creuiſſe de eau doure, pranis, éeles roſted with lamprie, a léech called the white léech flouriſhed with hawthorne leaues & red hawes; a marchpane garniſhed with diuerſe figures of angels, among which was ſet an image of S. Katharine, holding this poſie,

Il eſt eſcrit, pur voir & eit,
Per marriage pure, ceſt guerre ne dure.

And laſtlie a deuiſe of a tiger looking in a mirror, and a man ſitting on horſſe-backe all armed, holding in his armes a tigers whelpe with this poeſie; *Per force ſans reſoun ie ay priſe ceſte beſt*: and with his owne hand making a countenance of throwing of mirrors at the great tiger, which held this poeſie; *Gile che mirrour ma feſte diſtour*. Thus with all honour was finiſhed the ſolemne coronation, after which the quéene ſoiourned in the palace of Weſtminſter till Palmeſundaie following; and on the morow ſhe tooke hir iournie towards Windſor; where the king and ſhe held their Eaſter.]

After the ſolemne feaſt of the coronation was ended, the king as well to viſit certeine places for deuotion by waie of pilgrimage, as alſo to ſée in what ſtate and order diuerſe parts of his realme ſtood, departed from the quéene, appointing daie and place where ſhe ſhould méet him, and ſo iournied forth from place to place, thorough ſundrie countries, as well of Wales as England, and in euerie quarter where he came, he heard with diligent care the complaints of ſutors, and tooke order for the adminiſtration of iuſtice both to high and low, cauſing manie miſdemeanours to be reformed. At length he came to the towne of Leiceſter, where he found the quéene according to the appointment before taken. Here at Leiceſter, he held the feaſt of Eaſter. ¶ How then ſtandeth this with the report of Fabian, who ſaith, that the king and quéene kept their Eaſter at Windſor; and that when the ſaid feſtiuall time was expired, the king made prouiſion for his warres in France, during the tearme of Richard Whitinghams meraltie of London, which was in the eight yeare of this king Henries reigne? Suerlie there muſt néeds be an errour, either in miſtaking the yeare or the place: vnleſſe we will grant the king and quéene (with their court of attendants) to haue béene *Hîc ibi ſimul*, which priuilege is granted to none but Ubiquitaries.

Iuſtice miniſtred by king Henrie in progreſſe.

Abr. Fl.

Anno Reg. 9.

But while theſe things were thus adooing in England, the duke of Clarence, the kings lieutenant in France and Normandie, aſſembled togither all the garriſons of Normandie, at the towne of Bernaie, and from thence departed to the countrie of Maine, and at Pont le Gene he paſſed the riuer of Yonne, and rode through all the countrie to Lucie, where he paſſed the riuer of Loire, and entered into Aniou, and came before the citie of Angiers, where he made manie knights, that is to ſaie, ſir William Ros, ſir Henrie Goddard, ſir Rowland Rider, ſir Thomas Beaufort, called the baſtard of Clarence, and diuerſe other; and after that he had forraied, burnt, and ſpoiled the countrie, he returned with preie and pillage to the towne of Beaufort in the vallie, where he was aduertiſed, that a great number of his enimies, Frenchmen, Scots, Spaniards, and other were aſſembled togither, at a place called Uiell Bauge, that is, Old Baugie, with the duke of Alanſon, calling

The duke of Clarẽce made a rode into Aniou.

Uiell Bauge or Baugie.

himſelfe lieutenant generall for the Dolphin.

Forguſa, a Lombard betraieth the duke of Clarence.

The duke of Clarence had a Lombard reſorting vnto him, reteined with the part aduerſe (his name was Andrew Forguſa) of whom the duke inquired the number of his enimies, to whome he reported, that their number was but ſmall, & not of puiſſance to match with halfe the power of his ſtrong armie, intiſing him with aſſurance of victorie, to ſet on the Frenchmen. The duke like a couragious prince, aſſembled togither all the horſſemen of the armie, and left the archers vnder the guiding of the baſtard of Clarence, and two Portingales, capteins of Freſnie le vicount, ſaieng, that he onelie and the nobles would haue the honor of that iournie. When the duke was paſſed a certeine ſtreict and narrow paſſage, he eſpied his enimies ranged in good order of battell, by the monition of the Lombard, which had ſold him to his enimies, & his aduerſaries had laid ſuch ambuſhments at the ſtreicts, that the duke by no waie without battell could either retire or flée.

The Engliſh men diſcomfited.

The duke of Clarence and diuerſe nobles of England ſlaine.

The Engliſhmen ſéeing this, valiantlie ſet on their enimies, who were foure to one, by reaſon whereof at length the Engliſhmen were oppreſſed with multitude, and brought to confuſion. There were ſlaine, the duke of Clarence, the earle of Tankeruile, the lord Ros, ſir Gilbert Vmfreuile earle of Angus, and ſir Iohn Lomlie, ſir Robert Verend, and almoſt two thouſand Engliſhmen: & the earles of Summerſet, Suffolke, and Perch, the lord Fitz Water, ſir Iohn Berkelie, ſir Rafe Neuile, ſir Henrie Inglis, ſir William Bowes, ſir Wiliam Longton, ſir Thomas Borough, and diuerſe other taken priſoners. And of the Frenchmen were ſlaine aboue twelue hundred of the beſt men of warre they had, ſo that they gained not much.

The baſtard of Clarence which tarried at Beaufort, being informed of the great number of the Frenchmen, made forward with all the archers, to come to the ſuccor of the duke, but they came too late. For the Frenchmen hearing of the approching of the archers, fled with their priſoners, and left the bodie of the duke, and other the dead carcaſes behind them. The archers buried them all ſauing the dukes corpſe, which with great ſolemnitie was ſent to England, and buried at Canturburie beſide his father. After this the Engliſhmen burnt and ſpoiled the countrie of Maine, and ſo returned to Alanſon, and after departed euerie man to his garriſon. This battell was fought on Eaſter euen, in the yeare 1421. But now to returne to the king.

After he had kept his Eaſter at Leiceſter, he with the quéene remoued and went northward, till they came to Yorke, where they were receiued with great ioy of the citizens, and other the nobles and gentlemen of the countrie. The king went vnto Beuerlie, to viſit the ſhrine of ſaint Iohn, and immediatlie vpon his departure from thence, the ſorowfull newes of his brother the duke of Clarences death, came to him, for which he was right penſife. But ſith mourning would not auaile, he called to remembrance what he had to doo, and therevpon without delaie, ſent Edmund earle of Mortaigne, brother to the earle of Summerſet into Normandie, giuing to him like authoritie and preheminence, as his brother the late deceaſſed duke of Clarence had before enioied.

The earle of Mortaigne made lieutenant of Normandie.

A parlement.

After this, he called his high court of parlement, in the which he declared with ſuch great wiſedome & grauitie, the acts which had béene doone in France, the ſtate of the time preſent, and what was neceſſarie to be prouided for the time to come (if they would looke to haue that iewell and high kingdome, for the which they had ſo long laboured and ſought) that the communaltie gladlie granted a fiftéenth, & the clergie beneuolentlie offred a double diſme. And bicauſe no delaie ſhould be in the kings affaires for lacke of paiment, the biſhop of Wincheſter the kings vncle lent vnto him twentie thouſand pounds, to be paid him againe of the ſame diſmes. When all things neceſſarie for this iournie were readie and prepared, he ſent his brother the duke of Bedford before him to Calis with all his armie, being (as ſome write) foure thouſand men of armes, and twentie thouſand archers and others; though ſome haue written, that the whole armie paſſed not twelue thouſand of one and other.

The biſhop of Wincheſter lent the king 20000.

King Henrie ſaileth into France againe.

He tooke ſea at Douer the fourth of Iune, as Titus Liuius ſaith, and ſo ſaie the chronicles of Flanders.

The king himſelfe ſhortlie after, about the middle of Maie, paſſed the ſeas to Calis, and ſo from thence he marched through the countrie vnto Bois de Vincennes, where the French king and the quéene as then ſoiourned. The duke of Burgognie alſo that had receiued him at Monſtruell, attended him to Dowaſt in Ponthieu, and there hauing taken leaue of him for ſix daies, returned now againe to him, according to his promiſe. Then did they conſult togither about their affaires, and appointed in all haſt to fight with the Dolphin, and to raiſe the ſiege of Chartres which he had there planted. Herevpon, the king of England with all his puiſſance, came to the towne of Mante, and thither repaired the duke of Burgognie; but yer they departed from thence, they had knowledge, that the Dolphin hearing of the puiſſant armie of the king of England approching towards him, was recoiled with his people towards Towers in Touraine.

The king of Scots ſerueth king Henrie.

Dreux beſieged & rendred to the Engliſhmen.

Herevpon the king of England incontinentlie, did not onlie ſend backe the duke of Burgognie into Picardie, to reſiſt the attempts of ſir Iaques de Harecourt, which made war in that countrie for the Dolphin; but alſo appointed the king of Scots, with the duke of Gloceſter, to beſiege the towne of Dreux. They comming thither about the eightéenth of Iulie, planted ſiege on euerie ſide, both of the towne and caſtell; and what with power of batrie, and other forcible meanes, ſo conſtreined them within, that on the eight daie of Auguſt they compounded, that if no ſufficient reſcue came to raiſe the ſiege, before the end of twelue daies next inſuing, both the towne and caſtell ſhould be deliuered to the king of Englands vſe, ſo as the ſoldiers might depart with their goods whither they would, except one Engliſhman, which was knowen to be amongſt them, being fled for treaſon out of the kings dominions.

On the twentith daie of Auguſt, which was the day of the appointment, the king of Scots receiued the towne and caſtell to the behoofe of his ſoureigne lord the king of England, who (during all the time of the ſiege) laie at Moraumall. The towneſmen that would remaine ſtill in their houſes, were ſworne to be true ſubiects to the king; and the other which refuſed, departed with the ſouldiers. The Engliſhman that was excepted, was deliuered according to the couenants; and after executed, as he had deſerued. The earle of Worceſter was made capteine of Dreux, and ſir Henrie Mortimer bailiffe there. This doone, the king hearing that the Dolphin ſhould be at Baugencie, aſſembling his power, haſted thitherwards: but at his comming into thoſe parties, he found no appearance of enimies in the field, and ſo he remained there fiftéene daies.

King Henrie purſueth the Dolphin.

In which meane while, the earle of Suffolke was ſent forth to diſcouer the countrie, and the king wan by aſſault the towne of Baugencie, and after when vittels began to faile, he marched forward, meaning to purſue the Dolphin. But the Dolphin douting the Engliſh puiſſance, conueied all the vittels forth of thoſe quarters, and retired himſelfe to Burges in Berrie, chooſing that place as his firſt refuge, & therefore determined there to remaine, till fortune turning hir whéele, ſhuld looke on them with a more fauorable countenance, hereof in ſcorne was he commonlie called king of Berrie. The king of England followed, till vittels and forrage began ſore to faile on all ſides, and then returning, paſſed towards Orleance, taking the caſtell of Rouge Mont by aſſault.

The Dolphin, why called king of Berrie.

He ſtaied thrée daies before Orleance, and from thence, for want of vittels, marched through Gaſtinois, till he came to Vignie ſur Yonne, where he remained for a ſeaſon, to refreſh his people that were ſore trauelled, in that painefull paſſed iournie: in which the king loſt not onelie manie of his men for lacke of vittels, but alſo a great number of horſſes and carriages. Some haue written, that about the ſame time, he ſhould win the citie of Sens, otherwiſe called the kings new towne by ſurrender; but after he had remained for a time at Vignie, we find that he remoued to Paris, where he was honorablie receiued. ¶ For he came among them as one hauing empire and dominion in his hand, ſo that to him they were no leſſe forward in ſubmiſſion for feare of his indignation, than readie to giue him all the interteinement that they could deuiſe for the kéeping of his fauour: the lacke whereof they knew ſtood with the hazard of their ſafetie, as the contrarie tended to their welfare.

Titus Liuius.

Les hiſtories des ducz de Normandie.

Abr. Fl.

Shortlie after, conſidering with himſelfe that the towne of Meaux in Brie, being repleniſhed with enimies, was not to be ſuffered to remaine in that ſtate, in the middes of his new gotten ſubiects; he determined to take awaie the open ſcruple that might poiſon and infect the members, dwelling hard by: wherefore with a great number of earles and barons in his companie, he came to beſiege it. This towne was no leſſe well vittelled than manned, and no better manned than fortified; ſo that the king could neither haue it to him deliuered at his pleaſure, nor gaine it by aſſault, without the great loſſe of his people: yet neuertheleſſe, he determined not to depart, till he had got it by one meane or other. The riuer of Marne diuided this towne into two parts, ſo that there was no enterie from the one into the other, but by a bridge, raiſed vp, and made ouer the riuer, ſuſteined with manie arches. The one part is called the citie, and the other la March, being the ſtrongeſt and beſt fortified. The king firſt lodged a mile off in a caſtell, and ſent the duke of Exceſter to begin the ſiege, which he did, according to his inſtructions, vpon the ſixt of October.

The ſtrong towne of Meaux beſieged by the Engliſhmen.

Shortlie after, the king himſelfe came, and lodged in the abbeie of Pharon, the duke of Exceſter in the abbeie de Chage, the earle of March at the greie friers, and the earle of Warwike directlie againſt that part that is called la March. They within defended themſelues right valiantlie, ſo that the Engliſhmen were not all at their eaſe, but ſpecialie through lacke of vittels manie died, and manie fell ſicke, by reaſon whereof, no ſmall number returned home into England; where in the meane time, on the firſt of December, a parlement was called and holden at Weſtminſter, by the duke of Bedford, gouernour of the realme in the kings abſence. ¶ In this parlement, a fiftéenth was granted to the king towards the maintenance of the warres, the one moitie to be paid at Candlemaſſe, and the other at Martinmaſſe, of ſuch monie as at the time of the grant was currant.

A parlement called by the duke of Bedford, the king being in France.

Windſore. The birth of king Henrie the ſixt.

This yeare at Windſore on the daie of ſaint Nicholas in December, the quéene was deliuered of a ſonne named Henrie, whoſe godfathers were Iohn duke of Bedford, and Henrie biſhop of Wincheſter, and Iaquet, or (as the Frenchmen called hir) Iaqueline of Bauier, counteſſe of Holland was his godmother. The king being certified hereof, as he laie at ſiege before Meaux, gaue God thanks, in that it had pleaſed his diuine prouidence to ſend him a ſonne, which might ſuccéed in his crowne and ſcepter. But when he heard reported the place of his natiuitie; were it that he warned by ſome propheſie, or had ſome foreknowledge, or elſe iudged himſelfe of his ſonnes fortune, he ſaid vnto the lord Fitz Hugh his truſtie chamberleine theſe words; My lord, I Henrie borne at Monmouth, ſhall ſmall time reigne, & much get; and Henrie borne at Windſore, ſhall long reigne, and all loſe: but as God will, ſo be it.

King Henrie propheſieth of his ſonne.

The king held his Chriſtmaſſe at the ſiege before Meaux, for he would not giue ouer that ſiege, although his armie was greatlie diminiſhed, by reaſon of lacke of vittels, extreame cold, foule weather, and other diſcommodities that bred great ſtore of diſeaſes and ſickeneſſe among his people; notwithſtanding, all the helps and means that might be, he deuiſed to remedie the ſame: ſo that beſide ſuch as died, as well of ſickeneſſe as by the enimies hand, manie returned home into their countries. But yet he ceaſſed not to continue the ſiege, beating the walles with his ordinance, and caſting downe bulworkes and rampiers on ech ſide the towne, made approches as well by water as land, with mightie engines deuiſed of boords to defend the Engliſhmen, as they approched the walles, and gaue aſſaults. The walles alſo were in diuerſe places vndermined.

Titus Liuius.

1422

After this, the Engliſhmen found meanes, by bridges made of boats, to paſſe the riuer; but yet the ſouldiers and other within defended their rampiers and breaches moſt ſtoutlie, and with guns and quarrels ſtill ſhot at the Engliſhmen, of whome they ſlue manie, and among other the earle of Worceſter was ſlaine, with a bullet of the great artillerie, & the lord Clifford with a quarrell of a croſſebow; yet the Engliſhmen ſtill wan ground, and got néerer and néerer to the walles. They alſo wonne the chiefeſt part of a bridge from the enimies, and kept watch and ward vpon and about the ſame. The earle of Warwike had alſo taken a Vawmure from them of the market place, built on the ſouthſide thereof, able to receiue and lodge a good number of men, which ſeruing to good purpoſe, for the better brideling of them within, he cauſed to be kept, and thus were they within Meaux ſore oppreſſed on euerie ſide.

Herevpon in Februarie, the capteins doubting leaſt the citie could not be defended long, cauſed all the vittels and goods to be conueied into the market place, and retired all the men of warre into the ſame, leauing none in the other part of the citie, but the commons, and ſuch as were not able to doo any auaileable ſeruice in the warre. The king aduertiſed hereof, commanded in all haſt to aſſault the citie, which was quicklie doone; ſo that the citie by fine force was within thrée houres taken and ſpoiled; and the ſame daie the market place beſieged round about, and a mill wonne adioining vnto the ſame. In Aprill, the quéene paſſed ouer into France, with a faire retinue of men, vnder the conduct of the duke of Bedford, the duke of Gloceſter remaining lord gouernour of the realme in his place. At hir comming thither, ſhe was ſo welcommed and honorablie receiued, firſt of hir huſband, and after of hir father and mother, that ſhe appeared to be no leſſe loued of hir noble huſband, than of hir déere and naturall parents.

Meaux taken by aſſault.

Anno Reg. 10. Quéene Katharine ſaileth into France.

Whileſt the ſiege ſtill continued before Meaux, Oliuer Mannie a valiant man of warre of the Dolphins part (which before was capteine of Faleiſe, and yéelding it, ſware neuer to beare armour againſt the king of England) aſſembled a great number of men of warre, as well Britaines as Frenchmen, that is to ſaie, the lord Montborchier, the lord of Coinon, the

Oliuer Mannie.

lord of Chatelgiron, the lord Tintignace, the lord de la Howſſaie, and diuerſe other, which entered into the countrie of Conſtantine in Normandie, and robbed and killed the Engliſhmen, where they might either eſpie or take them at their due aduantage. But the earle of Suffolke keeper of the marches, hearing of their dooings, ſent for the lord Scales, ſir Iohn Aſton bailiffe of Conſtantine, ſir William Hall, ſir Iohn Banaſter, and many other, out of the garriſons within that territorie, the which incountred with their enimies at a place called *Le parke leueſque*, in Engliſh, The biſhops parke.

A ſore cõflict.

There was a ſore fight and a long betwixt them, but finallie, the Frenchmen were put to flight, ſo that in the conflict and chaſe were ſlaine, the lord of Coinon, the lord of Chatellgiron, and thrée hundred other: and there were taken priſoners, the lord de la Howſſaie, and ſir Oliuer Mannie, with thréeſcore others. The king pardoned ſir Oliuer Mannie his life, though he ill deſerued ſo great a benefit, for that he had broken his oth and promiſe, but he was ſent into England, there to learne to ſpeake Engliſh, and ſo being brought to London, ſhortlie after died, being as then a verie aged man, & was buried in the white friers. ¶ But here note (by the waie) the roiall hart of this king, who as he tempered all his actions with ſingular circumſpection; ſo with a pitifull mind he pondered the miſerie of his enimies; ſo that when he might (*Iure belli*, by the law of armes) haue ſpoiled them of goods and life, he diuerſe times ſpared both; with clemencie cõmonlie making conqueſt of them, who ſéemed by open hoſtilitie ſcarſe conquerable.

Abr. Fl.

The king lieng ſtill before the market place at Meaux in Brie (as ye haue heard) ſore beat the wals with his ordinance, and caſt downe bulworkes and rampiers on euerie ſide the towne, ſo that he had made an open breach for his people to enter. Wherof the lord of Offemont being aduertiſed, with a companie of choſen perſons ſent by the Dolphin, aſſaied in the night ſeaſon to enter the towne, to the ſuccours of them within. But though diuerſe of his people got ouer the walles, by helpe of ladders which they had ſet vp; yet ſuch was his chance, that as he paſſed a planke, to haue come to the walles, he fell into a déepe ditch; and in the meane time, the Engliſhmen perceiuing by the noiſe what the matter meant, came running to the ditch, tooke the lord of Offemont, and ſlue diuerſe of his companie that ſtood in defenſe.

Continuation de la chronicles de Flanders.

The capteins within, perceiuing in what caſe they ſtood, by reaſon their ſuccours were thus intercepted, and doubting to be taken by aſſault, for that they wanted munition and weapon, began to treat with the king of England, who appointed the earle of Warwike, and the lord Hungerford, to commune with them; and in concluſion an accord was taken, and ſo the towne and market place with all the goods were deliuered into the king of Englands hands, the tenth daie of Maie, in the yeare 1422. The appointment taken with them of this towne was this, that they ſhould yéeld themſelues ſimplie vnto the kings pleaſure, their liues onlie ſaued: and hereupon manie of them were ſent ouer into England, amongſt whome was the biſhop of that towne, which ſhortlie after his arriuall here fell ſicke and died.

Titus Liuius. The conditions of the ſurrender of Meaux into the kings hands.

There were alſo foure perſons excepted, againſt whome the king might by order of law and iuſtice procéed as he ſaw cauſe, for their faults and treſpaſſes committed. As firſt, the capteine of the towne, named the baſtard of Vaurcu, the which had doone manie gréeuous oppreſſions to the people of the countrie thereabouts, in ſpoiling them of their goods and ranſoming them at his pleaſure. He had alſo put diuerſe to death moſt cruellie, when they were not able to paie ſuch finance and ranſomes as he demanded. Whereupon, being now put to death himſelfe, his bodie was hanged vpon a trée that ſtood on an hill without the towne, on the which he had cauſed both huſbandmen and townesmen, with other priſoners, to be hanged before time. His ſtandard alſo, which was woont to be borne before him in battell, was ſet vp in the ſame trée. The bailiffe alſo of the towne, and two of the chéefeſt burgeſſes that had béene of counſell with him in his vnlawfull dooings, were likewiſe executed. Alſo beſide theſe, there were found in this towne diuerſe that were accuſed to be guiltie of the duke of Burgognies death, wherefore they were put to their triall, in the parlement at Paris, and ſome of them being found guiltie, were executed.

When the deliuerie of the ſtrong towne of Meaux was publiſhed thorough out the countrie, all the townes and fortreſſes in the Ile of France, in Lannois, in Brie, & in Champaigne, yéelded themſelues to the king of England, which appointed in the ſame valiant capteins, and hardie ſoldiers. After that he had thus got poſſeſſion of Meaux, and the other fortreſſes, he returned againe to Bois de Vincennes, and being there receiued of the king and quéene of France, and of the quéene his wife the thirtith daie of Maie, being Whitſun éeuen, they remooued all togither vnto Paris, where the king of England lodged in the caſtell of Loure, and the French king in the houſe of ſaint Paule. Theſe two kings kept great eſtate with their quéenes, at this high feaſt of Pentecoſt, but the king of Englands court greatlie excéeded, ſo that all the reſort was thither. The Pariſiens that beheld his princelie port & high magnificence, iudged him rather an emperour than a king, and their owne king to be in reſpect of him like a duke or marqueſſe.

The roiall port of the K. of England.

The Dolphin hauing knowledge by eſpials where the king of England and his power laie, came with all his puiſſance ouer the riuer of Loire, and beſieged Coſneie, a towne ſituate vpon that riuer, a ſix ſcore miles diſtant from Paris, and appointed part of his armie to waſte and deſtroie the confines of the duchie of Burgognie, to the intent to diuide the power of the king of England, from the ſtrength of the duke of Burgognie, ſuppoſing (as it came to paſſe indéed) that the duke would make haſt towards Burgognie, to defend his owne lands. In the meane time, they within Coſneie were ſo hard handled, that they promiſed to render their towne to the Dolphin, if they were not reſcued by the king of England within ten daies. King Henrie hearing theſe newes would not ſend anie one creature, but determined to go himſelfe to the raiſing of that ſiege, and ſo with all diligence came to the towne of Corbeill, and ſo to Senlis, where (whether it were with heat of the aire, or that he with his dailie labour were féebled or weakened) he began to wax ſicke, yea and ſo ſicke, that he was conſtreined to tarrie, and ſend his brother the duke of Bedford to reſcue them of Coſneie, which he did to his high honor. For the Dolphin hearing that the duke of Bedford was comming to raiſe his ſiege departed thence into Berrie, to his great diſhonor, and leſſe gaine.

Coſneie beſieged by the Dolphin.

The king falleth ſicke.

Coſneie reſcued by the duke of Bedford.

About the ſame time, the duke of Britaine ſent his chancellor the biſhop of Naunts, with the biſhop of Vannes, and others of his councell, as ambaſſadors from him vnto king Henrie, with full commiſſion, to ratifie and allow for him and his people the peace concluded at Troies: but by reaſon of the kings gréeuous ſickneſſe, nothing was then doone in that matter. Neuertheleſſe, the duke himſelfe in perſon came afterwards to Amiens, and there performed that which he had appointed his ambaſſadors at this time, in his name, to haue doone and accompliſhed.

Titus Liuius. The duke of Britaine ſendeth ambaſſadors to the K. of England.

The king of England is brought ſicke to Bois de Vincennes.

ſhed. In the meane ſeaſon, king Henrie waxed ſicker and ſicker, and ſo in an horſelitter was conueied to Bois de Vincennes, to whome ſhortlie after repaired the dukes of Bedford and Gloceſter, & the earles of Saliſburie and Warwike, whome the king louinglie welcomed, and ſeemed glad of their preſence.

His aduiſe vpon his death bed.

Now, when he ſaw them penſiſe for his ſickneſſe, and great danger of life wherein he preſentlie laie, he with manie graue, courteous, and pithie words, recomforted them the beſt he could, and therewith exhorted them to be truſtie and faithfull vnto his ſonne, and to ſee that he might be well and vertuouſlie brought vp. And as concerning the rule and gouernance of his realms, during the minoritie and yoong yeares of his ſaid ſonne, he willed them to ioine togither in freendlie loue and concord, keeping continuall peace and amitie with the duke of Burgognie, and neuer to make treatie with Charles that called himſelfe Dolphin of Vienne, by the which anie part either of the crowne of France, or of the duches of Normandie and Guien may be leſſened or diminiſhed; and further, that the duke of Orleance, and the other princes ſhould ſtill remaine priſoners, till his ſonne came to lawfull age, leaſt returning home againe, they might kindle more fire in one daie than might be quenched in three.

He further aduiſed them, that if they thought it neceſſarie, that it ſhould be good to haue his brother Humfreie duke of Gloceſter to be protector of England, during the nonage of his ſonne, and his brother the duke of Bedford, with the helpe of the duke of Burgognie to rule and to be regent of France, commanding him with fire and ſword to perſecute the Dolphin, till he had either brought him to reaſon and obeiſance, or elſe to driue and expell him out of the realme of France. And herewith he proteſted vnto them, that neither the ambitious deſire to inlarge his dominions, neither to purchaſe vaine renowme and worldlie fame, nor anie other conſideration had mooued him to take the warres in hand; but onelie that in proſecuting his iuſt title, he might in the end atteine to a perfect peace, and come to enioie thoſe peeces of his inheritance, which to him of right belonged: and that before the beginning of the ſame warres, he was fullie perſuaded by men both wiſe and of great holineſſe of life, that vpon ſuch intent he might and ought both begin the ſame warres, and follow them, till he had brought them to an end iuſtlie and rightlie, and that without all danger of Gods diſpleaſure or perill of ſoule.

Titus Liuius.

Cheſlie Chichelie archb. of Cantur. for daſhing ẏ bill againſt the cleargie, as appeares before, pag. 545, 546.

The noble men preſent, promiſed to obſerue his precepts, and to performe his deſires; but their hearts were ſo penſiſe, and repleniſhed with ſorrow, that one could not for weeping behold an other. Then he ſaid the ſeauen pſalmes, and receiued the ſacrament, and in ſaieng the pſalmes of the paſſion ended his daies heere in this world, at Bois ſaint Vincent, the laſt of Auguſt, in the yeare a thouſand foure hundred twentie and two. This Henrie was a king, of life without ſpot, a prince whome all men loued, and of none diſdained, a capteine againſt whome fortune neuer frowned, nor miſchance once ſpurned, whoſe people him ſo ſeuere a iuſticer both loued and obeied (and ſo humane withall) that he left no offenſe vnpuniſhed, nor freendſhip vnrewarded; a terrour to rebels, and ſuppreſſour of ſedition, his vertues notable, his qualities moſt praiſe-worthie.

He departed this life the laſt of Auguſt 1422.

The commendation of king Henrie the fift as is expreſſed by maiſt. Hall.

In ſtrength and nimbleneſſe of bodie from his youth few to him comparable, for in wreſtling, leaping, and running, no man well able to compare. In caſting of great iron barres and heauie ſtones he excelled commonlie all men, neuer ſhrinking at cold, nor ſlothfull for heat; and when he moſt laboured, his head commonlie vncouered; no more wearie of harneſſe than a light cloake, verie valiantlie abiding at needs both hunger and thirſt; ſo manfull of mind as neuer ſeene to quinch at a wound, or to ſmart at the paine; not to turne his noſe from euill ſauour, nor cloſe his eies from ſmoke or duſt; no man more moderate in eating and drinking, with diet not delicate, but rather more meet for men of warre, than for princes or tender ſtomachs. Euerie honeſt perſon was permitted to come to him, ſitting at meale, where either ſecretlie or openlie to declare his mind. High and weightie cauſes as well betweene men of warre and other he would gladlie heare, and either determined them himſelfe, or elſe for end committed them to others. He ſlept verie little, but that verie ſoundlie, in ſo much that when his ſoldiers ſoong at nights, or minſtrels plaied, he then ſlept faſteſt; of courage inuincible, of purpoſe vnmutable, ſo wiſehardie alwaies, as feare was baniſht from him; at euerie alarum he firſt in armor, and formoſt in ordering. In time of warre ſuch was his prouidence, bountie and hap, as he had true intelligence, not onelie what his enimies did, but what they ſaid and intended: of his deuiſes and purpoſes few, before the thing was at the point to be done, ſhould be made priuie.

He had ſuch knowledge in ordering and guiding an armie, with ſuch a gift to incourage his people, that the Frenchmen had conſtant opinion he could neuer be vanquiſhed in battell. Such wit, ſuch prudence, and ſuch policie withall, that he neuer enterpriſed any thing, before he had fullie debated and forecaſt all the maine chances that might happen, which doone with all diligence and courage he ſet his purpoſe forward. What policie he had in finding preſent remedies for ſudden miſcheeues, and what engines in ſauing himſelfe and his people in ſharpe diſtreſſes: were it not that by his acts they did plainlie appeare, hard were it by words to make them credible. Wantonneſſe of life and thirſt in auarice had he quite quenched in him; vertues in deed in ſuch an eſtate of ſoueraigntie, youth, and power, as verie rare, ſo right commendable in the higheſt degree. So ſtaied of mind and countenance beſide, that neuer iolie or triumphant for victorie, nor ſad or damped for loſſe or misfortune. For bountifulneſſe and liberalitie, no man more free, gentle, and franke, in beſtowing rewards to all perſons, according to their deſerts: for his ſaieng was, that he neuer deſired monie to keepe, but to giue and ſpend.

Although that ſtorie properlie ſerues not for theme of praiſe or diſpraiſe, yet what in breuitie may well be remembred, in truth would not be forgotten by ſloth, were it but onlie to remaine as a ſpectacle for magnanimitie to haue alwaies in eie, and for incouragement to nobles in honourable enterpriſes. Knowen be it therefore, of perſon and forme was this prince rightlie repreſenting his heroicall affects, of ſtature and proportion tall and manlie, rather leane than groſe, ſomewhat long necked and blacke haired, of countenance amiable, eloquent and graue was his ſpeech, and of great grace and power to perſuade: for concluſion, a maieſtie was he that both liued & died a paterne in princehood, a lode-ſtarre in honour, and mirrour of magnificence: the more highlie exalted in his life, the more deepelie lamented at his death, and famous to the world alwaie. Peter Baſſet (a cheefe man in his chamber) affirmed that he deceaſſed of a pleuriſie, though the Scots and French ſet it downe to be of ſaint Feacres diſeaſe, that they ſaie was a palſie with a crampe, which Enguerant reports to be ſaint Anthonies fire, but neither of them trulie. ¶ *Anglorum prælia* ſaith, that it was a ſharpe feuer, which happening vnto him (wearied with the broiles of warre) in a verie vnſeaſonable time of the yeare, namelie the dogdaies, tormented him the ſorer, and

Abr. Fl. out of *Angl. præl. ſub Hen. 5.*

grew to be not onelie dangerous, but alſo deſperat; for it left him not till life was extinguiſhed: the poets report is, as followeth:

Interea fractúmq; æstu nimióq; labore
Corripit Henricum languentem febris acuta,
Cæli intemperies, ſextili Sirius ardens
*Virus *peſtiferi fecit ingrandeſcere *morbi.*

*A peſtilent feuer.

His bodie imbalmed and cloſed in lead, was laid in a chariot roiall, richlie apparelled with cloth of gold. Upon his coffin was laid a repreſentation of his perſon, adorned with robes, diadem, ſcepter, & ball, like a king; the which chariot, ſix horſſes drew richlie trapped, with ſeuerall appointments; the firſt with the armes of S. George, the ſecond with the armes of Normandie, the third of king Arthur, the fourth of ſaint Edward, the fift of France, and the ſixt with the armes of England and France. On this ſame chariot gaue attendance James K. of Scots, the principall mourner, king Henries vncle Thomas duke of Exceſter, Richard earle of Warwike, the earle of March Edmund, the earle of Stafford Humfrie, the earle of Mortaigne Edmund Beaufort, the lord Fitz Hugh Henrie, the lord Hungerford Walter, ſir Robert Robſert lord Bourchier, ſir John Cornwall lord Fanhope, and the lord Crumwell were the other mourners. The lord Louell, the lord Audeleie, the lord Morleie, the lord Sowch bare the baners of ſaints and auowries, as then they were called; the baron of Dudleie bare the ſtandard, and the earle of Longuile the baner. The hachments were caried onelie by capteins to the number of twelue; and round about the chariot rode fiue hundred men of armes all in blacke armour, their horſſes barbed blacke, and they with the but ends of their ſpeares vpwards.

Lord Crumwell.

The conduct of this dolorous funerall was committed to ſir William Philip, treaſuror of the kings houſhold, and to ſir William Porter, his chéefe caruer, and others. Beſide this, on euerie ſide of the chariot went thrée hundred perſons, holding long torches, & lords bearing baners, banerols, and penons. With this funerall appointment was he conueied from Bois de Uincennes, to Paris, and ſo to Rone, to Abuile, to Calis, to Douer, from thence thorough London to Weſtminſter, where he was interred with ſuch ſolemne ceremonies, mourning of lords, praier of prieſts, and ſuch lamenting of commons, as neuer before then the like was ſéene in England. Shortlie after this ſolemne buriall, his ſorowfull quéene returned into England, and kept hir eſtate with the yong king hir ſonne.

Thus ended this puiſſant prince his moſt noble and fortunate reigne, whoſe life (ſaith Hall) though cruell Atropos abbreuiated; yet neither fire, malice, nor fretting time ſhall appall his honour, or blot out the glorie of him that in ſo ſmall time had doone ſo manie and roiall acts. [In this yeare, the one and twentith of October deceaſſed the gentle and welbeloued Charles French king the ſixt of that name, who was buried at S. Denis.] ¶So that betwéene the death of theſe two kings, namelie the one of England, the other of France, there was no great ſpace of time; ſith Charles departed in October, and Henrie in Auguſt: by the priuation of whoſe liues, which of the two realmes ſuſteined the greater loſſe, it is a queſtion not to be diſcuſſed. Certeine it is that they were both ſoucreigns tenderlie loued of their ſubiects, as they were princes greatlie fauouring their people. Finallie, in memorie of this Henrie the fift, a king of a roiall hart, and euerie waie indued with imperiall vertues, I find ſo fit a report conſpiring in truth with his properties and diſpoſition, that I thinke it verie conuenient here to be inſerted in place of an epitaph:

W.P.

Abr. Fl. out of *Angl. præl.*

Henrici illuſtris properans mors occupat artus,
Ille ſuæ patriæ decus immortale per æuum
Venturum, virtutis & indelebile lumen,
Celſo animo prorſus, leni quoque pectore ciues
Non ſolùm, at iuſtos hoſtes fideique probatæ
Dilexit, nunc rarò iracundior ore.

Of learned men and writers, theſe I find remembred by Bale and others, to haue liued in the daies of this noble and valiant king Henrie the fift. Firſt, Alaine de Lin, borne in Lin, and profeſſed a Carmelite frier in that towne, he at length became prior of that conuent, procéeded doctor of diuinitie in Cambridge, and wrote manie treatiſes; Thomas Otterborne that wrote an hiſtorie of England, is thought to liue about this ſeaſon, he was a Franciſcan or graie frier, as they called them, a great ſtudent both in diuinitie and philoſophie; John Seguard an excellent poet, and a rhetorician, kept a ſchoole, and read to his ſcholers in Norwich, as is ſuppoſed, writing ſundrie treatiſes, reprouing as well the profaning of the chriſtian religion in monks and prieſts, as the abuſe of poetrie in thoſe that take vpon them to write filthie verſes and rimes; Robert Roſe a frier of the Carmelites order in Norwich commonlie called the white friers, both an excellent philoſopher, and diuine, procéeded doctor at Oxenford, promoted to be prior of his houſe, and writing diuerſe treatiſes: amongſt all the ſophiſts of his time (as ſaith Bale) he offended none of the Wickleuiſts, who in that ſeaſon ſet forth purelie the word of God, as maie appeare by his workes.

Moreouer, John Lucke, a doctor of diuinitie in Oxenford, a ſore enimie to the Wickleuiſts; Richard Caiſter borne in Norfolke, vicar of ſaint Stephans in Norwich, a man of great holineſſe and puritie in life, fauouring (though ſecretlie) the doctrine of the Wickleuiſts, and reprouing in his ſermons, the vnchaſt manners and filthie example that appeared in the cleargie. Of ſir John Oldcaſtell lord Cobham ye haue heard before; William Walleis a blacke frier in Lin, and prouinciall of his order here in England, made a booke of moralizations vpon Ouids Metamorphôſeis, comparable to poſtils vpon Aeſops Fables; Richard Snetiſham, a ſtudent in Oxenford, where he profited ſo greatlie in learning and wiſedome, that he was accounted the chéefeſt in all that vniuerſitie, in reſpect whereof he was made chancellor of the ſame, choſen alſo to be one of the twelue to examine and iudge vpon Wickliffes doctrine by the archbiſhop of Canturburie; John Langdene a monke of Chriſtes church in Canturburie, an other of thoſe twelue; William Tailor a prieſt, and a maſter of art in Oxenford, a ſtedfaſt follower of Wickliffes doctrine, & burnt for the ſame in Smithfield at London, the ſecond day of March, in the yeare of our Lord 1422, & laſt of king Henrie the fift his reigne.

W.P.

Furthermore, Richard Graſdale ſtudent in Oxenford, one of thoſe twelue alſo; William Lindwood a lawier excellentlie learned, as well in the ciuill as canon lawes, aduanced to the ſeruice of this king, and made by him kéeper of the priuie ſeale, ſent in ambaſſage both to the kings of Spaine and Portingale, about buſineſſe of moſt weightie importance. It is ſaid that he was promoted to the biſhoprike of ſaint Dauid; Bartholomew Florarius, ſuppoſed (as Bale ſaith) by Nicholas Brigham, to be an Engliſhman, wrote a treatiſe called Florarium, whereof he tooke his ſurname; and alſo an other treatiſe of abſtinence, in which he reproueth certeine corrupt manners in the cleargie, and the profeſſion of friers mendicants; Adam Hemmelington, a Carmelite frier, ſtudied both in Oxenford and Paris; William Batecombe is placed by Bale about the time of other learned men that liued in this kings time, he was an excellent mathematician, as by the

the title of his works which he wrote it ſhould appeare.

Titus Liuius de Foro Luuiſiis liued alſo in theſe daies, an Italian borne: but ſith he was both reſiant here, and wrote the life of this king, I haue thought good to place him among other of our Engliſh writers. One there was that tranſlated the ſaid hiſtorie into Engliſh, adding (as it were by waie of notes in manie places of that booke) ſundrie things for the more large vnderſtanding of the hiſtorie: a copie whereof I haue ſeene belonging to Iohn Stow citizen of London. There was alſo about the ſame time an other writer, who (as I remember) hath followed the ſaid Liuius in the order of his booke, as it were chapter for chapter, onelie changing a good, familiar and eaſie ſtile, which the ſaid Liuius vſed, into a certeine poeticall kind of writing: a copie whereof I haue ſeene (& in the life of this king partlie followed) belonging to maſter Iohn Twine of Kent, who (as I was informed) meant to leaue to poſteritie ſome fruits of his labours for the due vnderſtanding thereof.

Thus farre Henrie the fift ſonne and ſucceſſor to Henrie the fourth.

Henrie the ſixt, ſonne and heire to Henrie the fift.

1422
Anno Reg. 1.

W.P.

Buchan. lib. 10.

AFter that death had bereft the world of that noble prince king Henrie the fift, his onelie ſonne prince Henrie, being of the age of nine moneths, or thereabouts, with the ſound of trumpets was openlie proclamed king of England and France the thirtith daie of Auguſt, by the name of Henrie the ſixt; in the yeare of the world fiue thouſand, three hundred, eightie and nine, after the birth of our Sauiour 1422, about the twelfe yeare of the emperour Frederike the third, the fortith and two and laſt of Charles the ſixt, and the third yeare of Mordaks regiment (after his father Robert) gouernour of Scotland. The cuſtodie of this yoong prince was appointed to Thomas duke of Exceſter, & to Henrie Beauford biſhop of Wincheſter. The duke of Bedford was deputed regent of France, and the duke of Gloceſter was ordeined protectour of England; who taking vpon him that office, called to him wiſe and graue councellors, by whoſe aduiſe he prouided and tooke order as well for the good gouernment of the realme & ſubiects of the ſame at home, as alſo for the maintenance of the warres abroad, and further conqueſt to be made in France, appointing valiant and expert capteins, which ſhould be readie, when need required. Beſides this, he gathered great ſummes of monie to mainteine men of warre, and left nothing forgotten that might aduance the good eſtate of the realme.

While theſe things were a dooing in England, the duke of Bedford regent of France ſtudied moſt earneſtlie, not onelie to keepe and well order the countries by king Henrie late conquered; but alſo determined not to leaue off warre & trauell, till Charles the Dolphin (which was now aflote, becauſe king Charles his father in the moneth of October in this preſent yeare was departed to God) ſhould either be ſubdued, or brought to obeiſance. And ſuerlie the death of this king Charles cauſed alterations in France. For a great manie of the nobilitie, which before, either for feare of the Engliſh puiſſance, or for the loue of this king Charles (whoſe authoritie they followed) held on the Engliſh part, did now reuolt to the Dolphin, with all indeuour to driue the Engliſh nation out of the French territories. Whereto they were the more earneſtlie bent, and thought it a thing of greater facilitie, becauſe of king Henries yoong yeares; whome (becauſe he was a child) they eſteemed not, but with one conſent reuolted from their ſworne fealtie: as the recorder of the Engliſhmens battels with forren nations verie aptlie doth note, ſaieng:

Hîc Franci puerum regem neglectui habentes
Deſciſcunt, violátque fidem gens perfida ſacro
Conſilio ante datam.

The duke of Bedford being greatlie mooued with theſe ſudden changes, fortified his townes both with garriſons of men, munition, and vittels, aſſembled alſo a great armie of Engliſhmen and Normans, and ſo effectuouſlie exhorted them to continue faithfull to their liege and lawfull lord yoong king Henrie, that manie of the French capteins willinglie ſware to king Henrie fealtie and obedience, by whoſe example the communaltie did the ſame. Thus the people quieted, and the countrie eſtabliſhed in order, nothing was minded but warre, and nothing ſpoken of but conqueſt.

The Dolphin which lay the ſame time in the citie of Poitiers, after his fathers deceaſſe, cauſed himſelfe to be proclamed king of France, by the name of Charles the ſeuenth: and in good hope to recouer his patrimonie, with an haultie courage preparing war, aſſembled a great armie: and firſt the warre began by light ſkirmiſhes, but after it grew into maine battels. The Dolphin thinking not to loſe anie occa-

Pont Meulan ſurpriſed by the Frẽch. 1423 Enguerant.

ſions of well doing, ſent the lord Grauile to the towne of Pont Meulan, ſtanding on the riuer of Seine, who comming to the ſame vpon the ſudden, the fourteenth of Ianuarie, tooke it, and ſlue a great number of Engliſh ſouldiors, which he found within it.

When the duke of Bedford the regent, aduertiſed of this ſudden ſurpriſe, appointed the lord Thomas Montacute earle of Saliſburie (a man both for policie and courage, liker to the old Romans than to men of his daies) accompanied with the earle of Suffolke, the lord Scales, the yong lord Poinings, ſir Iohn Faſtolfe maiſter of the houſhold, with himſelfe, and diuerſe others, to beſiege the ſaid towne of Pont Meulan, which after two moneths ſiege was rendred to the ſaid earle, and the lord Grauile ſware to be true to the king of England euer after that day: but ſhortlie after, forgetting his oth, he turned French againe.

Lord Grauile falſified his oth.

The earle of Saliſburie appointed ſir Henrie Mortimer, and ſir Richard Vernon, capteins of the towne, and from thence went into Champaigne, and there beſieged the towne of Sens, tooke it, and ſir William Marin the capteine within it, and ſlue all the ſouldiors that kept it, made capteins there ſir Hugh Godding, & ſir Richard Aubemond. ¶ In this ſeaſon, Humfrie duke of Glouceſter, either ſtriken in loue, or vpon ſome other occaſion, maried the ladie Iaquet or Iaquelin, daughter and ſole heire to William of Bauier duke of Holland, which was lawfull wife to Iohn duke of Brabant then liuing, who afterwards (as after ye ſhall heare) recouered hir out of the dukes hands.

The chances thus happening (as you before haue heard) Iohn duke of Bedford, Philip duke of Burgognie, and Iohn duke of Britaine made a freendlie meeting in the citie of Amiens, where they renewed the old league and ancient amitie made betweene the noble prince king Henrie the fift and them, adding thereto theſe conditions and agreements, ech of them to be to the other freend and aider; and the enimie of the one to be enimie to the other; and all they to be freends and aiders to the king of England, welwiller to his welwillers, and aduerſarie to his aduerſaries. And (bicauſe that affinitie is commonlie the bond of amitie) there was concluded a mariage betweene the duke of Bedford, and the ladie Anne ſiſter to the duke of Burgognie, which was after ſolemnized at Trois in Champaigne, in the preſence of the duke of Burgognie brother to the bride, and of hir vncle the duke of Brabant, the earles of Saliſburie and Suffolke, and of nine hundred lords, knights, and eſquiers, with ſuch feaſt and triumph, as before that time had not beene ſeene of the Burgognions.

Affinitie an interteiner of friendſhip.

Whileſt theſe matters were in hand, the Pariſiens, thinking to blind the eies of the duke of Bedford, wrote to him how diuerſe caſtels and fortreſſes lieng about their territories, were repleniſhed with their enimies, dailie ſtopping their paſſages, and robbing their merchants, to their vtter vndoing, if they by his helpe were not releeued. But this was but a gloſe of the Pariſiens, meaning to cauſe him to go about the winning of ſome ſtrong hold, whileſt they in his abſence might bring into the citie Charles the Dolphin, that then called himſelfe French king; for ſo had they appointed, aſſigning to him the daie of his comming, and the poſt of his entrie. But their practiſe being diſcouered to the duke of Bedford, he with a great power entered into Paris, one daie before the faire was appointed, & two nights before he was looked for of his enimies being vnprouided, and ſuddenlie cauſed the conſpirators within the citie to be apprehended, and openlie to be put to execution.

The Pariſiens preuented of their practiſes.

This doone, putting a miſtruſt in the Pariſiens, he cauſed the caſtels and fortreſſes neere and adioining to the citie, to be furniſhed with Engliſhmen. And to auoid all night-watchers about Paris, and the confines thereof, he firſt tooke into his poſſeſſion either by aſſault or compoſition, the towne of Trainelle and Braie vpon Seine. And bicauſe two caſtels, the one called Pacie, and the other Courſaie were alſo euill neighbors to the Pariſiens, he ſent ſir Iohn Faſtolfe great maiſter of his houſhold with a notable armie to win the ſame caſtels; which he did, and with preie and priſoners returned backe againe to his maiſter the regent.

In this verie ſeaſon, the Dolphin ſent the lord William Steward earle of Buchquhane that was conſtable of France, and the earle of Ventadour in Auuergne, and manie other noble men of his part, to laie ſiege to the towne of Crauant in the countie of Auxerre, within the parts of Burgognie. Whereof hearing the lord regent, and the duke of Burgognie they aſſembled a great armie, and appointed the earle of Saliſburie to haue the guiding thereof; who with his capteins and men of warre, Engliſh and Burgognions, came in good arraie to giue battell to the beſiegers. And bicauſe the riuer of Yonne, which runneth by the ſaid towne, was betweene the Engliſh armie, and their aduerſaries, they could not well aſſaile their enimies, which defended the bankes and paſſages verie ſtronglie: yet notwithſtanding, both horſſemen and footmen of the Engliſh part couragiouſlie put themſelues into the riuer, and with fine force recouered the banke, whome the Burgognions incontinentlie followed.

The Engliſh armie entreth the riuer and winneth the banke.

When they were all gotten into the plaine, the archers ſhot, the bill men ſtrake, and long was the fight in doubtfull balance. But in concluſion the Frenchmen not able to reſiſt the force of the Engliſh nation, were diſcomfited, ſlaine, and chaſed, leauing a glorious victorie to the Engliſhmen and Burgognions. There were ſlaine of the Frenchmen an eighteene hundred knights and eſquiers, beſide commons: of Scots neere hand three thouſand. Amongeſt the Frenchmen theſe were chiefeſt that were ſlaine: the earle of Leſtrake, the earle of Comigens, the earle of Tonnoire, the lord Coquart de Comeron, the baſtard of Arminake, the vicount of Touraine, the baſtard of Forreſtes, the lord de Port, and the lord Memorancie.

Of Scots the lord of ſaint Iohns towne, ſir Iohn of Balgarie, ſir Iohn Turnbull, ſir Iohn Holiburton, ſir Robert Liſlie, ſir William Coningham, ſir William Dowglas, ſir Alexander Hume, ſir William Liſlie, ſir Iohn Rotherford, ſir William Craiford, ſir Thomas Seton, ſir William Hamilton, and his ſonne, Iohn Pillot. There were taken the earle of Buchquhane conſtable of France, which loſt his eie, the earle of Ventadour, ſir Alexander Meldrine, ſir Lewes Ferignie, and two and twentie hundred gentlemen of the French part. Of Engliſhmen there were ſlaine ſir Iohn Greie, ſir William Hall, ſir Gilbert Halſall one of the marſhals of the field, Richard ap Madocke, and one and twentie hundred ſouldiers and men of warre.

Anno Reg. 2.

After this fortunate victorie was the earle of Saliſburie made (by the lord regent) lieutenant and vicegerent for the king and the ſaid lord regent in the countries of France, Brie, and Champaigne; and ſir Iohn Faſtolf was ſubſtituted deputie vnder the lord regent within the duchie of Normandie on this ſide the riuer of Seine; and withall he was alſo made gouernour of the countries of Aniou and Maine. The earle of Saliſburie after fiue moneths ſiege, wan by ſurrender the towne and caſtell of Montaguillon in Brie; the capteins whereof, the one named Pregent of Cotinie, and Guille Bourgois Britons, ſware neuer to beare armour againſt the Engliſhmen on this ſide the riuer of Loire. In the meane time of that ſiege, the earle of Suffolke tooke by force the caſtell of Coucie, and the ſtrong caſtell of la Roch in Maſconnois he got by appointment.

1424 Ann.1423, per Buchanan.

In this ſecond yeare of king Henrie the ſixt, James (the firſt of that name & the hundred & ſecond K. of Scotland, tooke to wife the ladie Jane, daughter to John earle of Summerſet deceaſſed, and ſiſter to John then duke of Summerſet, and alſo cooſine germane remoued to king Henrie, and neece to the duke of Wincheſter, and to the duke of Exceſter) was ſet at libertie, couenanting to paie a ſmall portion of monie more than was allowed to him for his wiues marriage monie, and left hoſtages for the ſame. But before his departure out of the realme, he did his homage vnto the yong king of England Henrie the ſixt at the caſtell of Windſor, before three dukes, two archbiſhops, twelue earles, ten biſhops, twentie barons, and two hundred knights and eſquiers, beſide others, in order of words according to the tenour hereafter following.

Homage doone by the king of Scotland to king Henrie the ſixt.

The formall recogniſance or *acknowledgement of the* ſaid homage.

I James Steward, K. of Scots, ſhall be true and faithfull vnto you lord Henrie by the grace of God king of England & France, the noble and ſuperiour lord of the kingdome of Scotland; and to you I make my fidelitie for the ſame kingdome of Scotland, which I hold and claime of you; and I ſhall beare you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honour againſt all men; and faithfullie I ſhall knowledge and ſhall doo you ſeruice due for the kingdome of Scotland aforeſaid. So God helpe me, and theſe holie euangeliſts.

But notwithſtanding this his oth, and the great bounteous liberalitie of the mother & vncles of his wife, in beſtowing on him abundance of plate & treaſure, with rich clothes of arras; he had not beene long at home, but that ſoone out of France into Scotland ouer came there James Steward, who (after manie of the Scotiſh nobilitie by diuerſe occaſions in France conſumed) grew to be capteine of the horſemen there. With him came the archbiſhop of Remes with power and commiſſion for concluding a league betweene France and Scotland, and alſo of a mariage betweene Lewes the Dolphins ſonne and Margaret Jameſes daughter, though both verie yong. Which matters accordinglie accompliſhed, to France againe they got them. So James became as firme French as any of his predeceſſours.]

Buchan.lib.10. An.1425. W.P.

But now to leaue the Scotiſh king amongſt his countriemen in Scotland, and returne to the dooings of England. I find that the duke of Gloceſter, being protector and gouernour of the realme, prepared an armie of ten thouſand men, and ſent them ouer to his brother the regent into France; who comming into the territorie of Paris, were ioifullie of him receiued. About the ſame time the Frenchmen got by ſtealth diuerſe townes out of the Engliſhmens hands, and amongſt other the faire towne of Compiegne was one, and the pretie towne of Crotoie an other. When the duke of Bedford was aduertiſed hereof, he determined not to let the matter paſſe in ſuch ſort, but with all conuenient ſpeed ſent forth a force to recouer thoſe townes againe. And firſt the earle of Suffolke with the earle of Lignie, and diuerſe other capteins of the Engliſhmen went to beſiege Compiegne, and lodged on the one ſide of the riuer of Sohame, as the lord Liſle Adham, ſir Thomas Rampſton, and the prouoſt of Paris laie on the other ſide. The Frenchmen within the towne well furniſhed with good ſouldiers, munition, and vittels, couragiouſlie defended themſelues.

Compiegne ſurrendred to the Engliſh by a policie.

The Engliſhmen remembring that Guilliam Remond, other wiſe called Mariolaine had beene the leader of the ſouldiers within the towne (which Mariolaine before at Pacie was taken priſoner by ſir John Faſtolfe) cauſed him to be brought from Paris vnto the campe, and ſet him in a chariot with an halter about his necke, and conueied him to the gibet without the towne, ſending word to them within, that if they would not without delaie render the towne, their capteine ſhould incontinentlie be ſtrangled afore their faces. Which moued the ſouldiers ſo much, by reaſon of the loue they bare to their old capteine and gouernour, that for the deliuerance of him and partlie of themſelues they yeelded the towne, ſo that both he and they might depart with horſſe and harneſſe onelie in ſure conduct and ſafetie. Yet yer this towne of Compiegne was deliuered, ſir Philip Hall, which was ſent to Crotoie by the lord regent with eight hundred men to beſiege it, got it ſuddenlie by aſſault, yer the Frenchmen had either diſpoſed their garriſon, or appointed their lodgings.

Compeigne & Crotoie recouered from ỹ French.

About the ſame time ſir John de la Poole brother to the duke of Suffolke, being capteine of Auranches in Normandie, aſſembled all the garriſons of the baſe marches of the countrie of Aniou, and came before the citie of Angiers, burnt the ſuburbes, ſpoiled and deſtroied the whole countrie; and hauing as manie priſoners as his men might go awaie with, he was incountered by the earle of Aumarle, the vicount of Narbonne, and ſix thouſand Frenchmen; which finding the Engliſhmen out of araie, incumbred with carriage of their great ſpoile, ſuddenlie ſet on them, gaue them the ouerthrow, ſlue three hundred and tooke manie priſoners; as the ſaid ſir John de la Poole, ſir John Baſſet, John Aufort lieutenant of Faleiſe, John Clifton, Henrie Mortimer, and other to the number of ſix hundred.

But though the Frenchmen got here in this place, they went not awaie with like gaine in an other: for the baſtard de la Baulme, and the lord Craignar capteins of Courallon, with a great band made rode into Maſconnois, whom by chance Matthew * Gough and other Engliſhmen, which were alſo abroad in the countrie, met and incountred. There was a ſore fight betweene the parties, being of courage and number in maner equall. But after long conflict, the Frenchmen almoſt all were ſlaine and taken, and the baſtard being well horſſed, fled; after whome followed vpon the ſpurres, Matthew * Gough chaſing him euen to his caſtell gate, and there tooke him: for the which act he was much praiſed of the erle of Saliſburie (to whom he preſented the ſaid baſtard) and had not onelie the rights giuen him that belonged to the priſoner, but alſo was rewarded with a goodlie courſer at the earles hands.

* Or rather Goche.

* Goche.

About this ſeaſon, Arthur brother to John duke of Britaine, commonlie called the earle of Richmond, hauing neither profit of the name, nor of the countrie, notwithſtanding that king Henrie the fift had created him earle of Yurie in Normandie, and gaue him not onelie a great penſion, but alſo the whole profits of the ſame towne of Yurie; yet now, bicauſe that the duke his brother was returned to the part of the Dolphin, he likewiſe reuolting from the Engliſh obeiſance, came to the Dolphin to Poitiers, and there offered himſelfe to ſerue him, whom the Dolphin gladlie accepted, reioiſing more thereof, than if he had gained an hundred thouſand crownes: for the Britons within the towne of Yurie, hearing that their maiſter was ioined with the Dolphin, kept both the towne and caſtell againſt the duke of Bedford, furniſhing it dailie with new men and munition.

The lord regent aduertiſed hereof, raiſed an armie of Engliſhmen and Normans, to the number of eightéene hundred men of armes, and eight thouſand archers and other. He had in his companie the earles of Saliſburie and Suffolke, the lords Scales, Willoughbie, and Poinings, ſir Reginald Graie, ſir Iohn Faſtolfe, ſir Iohn Saluaine, ſir Lancelot Liſle, ſir Philip Hall, ſir Iohn Paſhleie, ſir Iohn Greie, ſir Thomas Blunt, ſir Robert Harling, ſir William Oldhall, and manie other, both knights and eſquiers, with whom he came before the towne of Yurie, which was well defended, till they within perceiued themſelues in danger, by reaſon of a mine which the Engliſhmen made, wherevpon they yéelded the towne. But the capteins of the caſtell would not preſentlie render the place, howbeit they promiſed to deliuer it, if the ſame were not reſcued at a day aſſigned by the Dolphin or his power.

Vpon this promiſe, hoſtages were deliuered into the poſſeſſion of the lord regent, by whoſe licence an herald was ſent to the Dolphin, to aduertiſe him of the time determined; who vnderſtanding the diſtreſſe of his fréends, incontinentlie ſent Iohn duke of Alanſon, as his lieutenant generall, the erle Douglas, whome at their ſetting forth he made duke of Touraine, and the earle Buchquhane as then conſtable of France, the erls of Aumarle, Ventadoure, Tonnere, Maulieurier, and Foreſts, the vicounts of Narbonne, and Touars, the lords of Grauile, Gaules, Malicorne, Mannie, Ballaie, Fountains, Montfort, and manie other noble knights and eſquiers, to the number of fiftéene thouſand Frenchmen & Britons, beſides fiue thouſand Scots, whome the earle Dowglas had but latelie tranſported out of Scotland.

This roiall armie approched within two miles of Yurie. But when the duke of Alanſon vnderſtood by ſuch as he had ſent to view the conduict of the Engliſhmen, that he could not get anie aduantage by aſſailing them (although the Dolphin had giuen him ſtreict commandement to fight with the regent) he retired backe with his whole armie to the towne of Verneuill in Perch, that belonged to the king of England; ſending word to the garriſon, that he had diſcomfited the Engliſh armie, and that the regent with a ſmall number with him by ſwiftneſſe of horſſe had ſaued himſelfe. The inhabitants of Verneuill, giuing too light credit herevnto receiued the duke of Alanſon with all his armie into the towne.

Verneuil gotten from the Engliſhmen by crediting a lie.

In the meane time came the daie of the reſcues of Yurie, which for want thereof was deliuered to the duke of Bedford by the capteine called Gerard de la Pallier, who preſenting vnto the duke of Bedford the keies of the caſtell, ſhewed him a letter alſo ſigned and ſealed with the hands and ſeales of eightéene great lords, who the daie before promiſed by the tenour of the ſame letter to giue the duke battell, and to raiſe the ſiege. Well (ſaid the duke) if their hearts would haue ſerued, their puiſſance was ſufficient once to haue proffered, or to haue performed this faithfull promiſe: but ſith they diſdaine to ſéeke me, God and ſaint George willing, I ſhall not deſiſt to follow the trac of their horſſes till one part of vs be by battell ouerthrowne. And herewith he ſent forth the earle of Suffolke with ſix hundred horſſemen, to eſpie the doings of the Frenchmen, and where they were lodged. The earle riding forth, paſſed by Dampuſle, and came to Bretueill, where he heard certeine newes where the Frenchmen had gotten Verneuill, and remained there ſtill.

These newes he ſent by poſt vnto the duke of Bedford, the which incontinentlie vpon that aduertiſement ſet forward in great haſt towards his enimies. The Frenchmen hearing of his comming, ſet their people in arraie, and made all one maine battell without foreward or rereward; and appointed foure hundred horſſemen, Lombards and others to breake the arraie of the Engliſhmen, either behind, or at the ſides, of the which was capteine ſir Stephan de Vinoiles, called the Hire. The duke of Bedford likewiſe made one entier battell, and ſuffered no man to be on horſſebacke, and ſet the archers (euerie one hauing a ſharpe ſtake) both on the front of the battell, and alſo on the ſides, like wings. And behind were all their horſſes tied togither, either by the reins or by the tailes, with the carts and cariages, to the defenſe whereof were two thouſand archers appointed.

The ordering of their battels.

Hérewith either part being come almoſt to the ioining, the duke of Alanſon, on the one ſide, exhorted his people to plaie the men, declaring vnto them, that the concluſion of this battell ſhould either deliuer them out of vile ſeruitude, or place them in the vale of bondage. On the other ſide, the duke of Bedford, to incourage his men, willed them to remember how oft they had ſubdued thoſe their aduerſaries in battell (with whome they ſhould now cope) for the moſt part, euer being the leſſe number againſt the greater. Againe, he declared how neceſſarie it was to tame the bold attempts of the preſumptuous Dolphin now in the beginning, leaſt if the fire were ſuffered further to burne, it muſt haue néed of the more water to quench it.

Manie words he vttered, to put them in hope of good ſucceſſe and victorie. But ſcarſe had he ended his exhortation, when the Engliſhmen ruſhed forth, and boldlie ſet on their enimies, crieng; Saint George, a Bedford, a Bedford: and the Frenchmen likewiſe cried Montioy ſaint Denis. Then began the battell right fierce on both ſides, continuing for the ſpace of thrée houres in doubtfull balance, fortune ſhewing hir ſelfe ſo equall, that no eie could iudge to whether part ſhe was more fauourable. But at length, after that thoſe foure hundred horſſemen, which were appointed, as yée haue hard, to breake the arraie of the Engliſhmen, had paſſed thorough on the one ſide vnto the place where the cariages and horſſes ſtood, and could not paſſe further, by reaſon of the fierce ſhot of the Engliſh bowes, they falling to the ſpoile made a hand, and therewith departed. Thoſe archers then that were appointed to kéepe the cariages, being now at libertie, came forward, and ſo fiercelie ſhot at the thickeſt preaſe of their enimies fighting on foot, that in the end they were not able longer to indure, but were borne downe by fine force, and ſo vanquiſhed.

The battell of Vernoile, the 28 of Auguſt, 1424.

This battell was fought the eight and twentith of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord a thouſand foure hundred twentie and foure, in the which battell were ſlaine of the Frenchmen the earles of Aumarle, Ventadour, Foreſt, Marie, the lords Grauile, Gaules, Fountaines, Ambois, Touars, Montenie, Combreſte, Brunell, Tumble, and Poiſie, beſide thrée hundred knights. The vicount Narbonne was hanged on a gibbet, bicauſe he was one of the murtherers of the duke of Burgognie. Of Scots alſo were ſlaine, Archembald earle Dowglas, that was made (as before is mentioned) duke of Touraine, Iames Dowglas ſonne to the ſaid Archembald earle of Wicton, Iohn earle of Bouqhen newlie made conſtable of France, ſir Alexander Meldrin, ſir Henrie Balglauie, ſir Iohn Sterling, William of Homelſdon, ſir

James Graie, ſir Robert Randen, ſir Alexander Linſaie, ſir Robert Steward, ſir Robert Swinton, and ſeauen and twentie hundred Scots of name and armes, beſide others.

So that in this battell were ſlaine by report of Montioy king at armes in France, and the Engliſh haralds there preſent, of Frenchmen & Scots nine thouſand and ſeauen hundred: and of Engliſhmen one and twentie hundred, but no man of name, ſauing fiue yong eſquiers. And there were taken priſoners, John duke of Alanſon, the baſtard of Alanſon, the lord of Faiect, the lord of Hormit, ſir Piers Hariſon, ſir Lois de Gaucourt, ſir Robert Bruſſet, ſir John Turnebull a Scot, and two hundred gentlemen, beſide common ſoldiers. The Frenchmen within Vernoill, ſéeing the Dolphins armie thus ouerthrowne, deliuered the towne to the regent, their liues ſaued. Then was ſir Philip Hall appointed capteine there, and the lord regent returned, and came to Rone, and after to Paris.

Fiue thouſãd ſaith Aemilius, but Nicholas Giles ſaith there died but foure thouſãd on both parts.

Dudley and Charleton two of yͤ Engliſh nobilitie were ſlaine at this battell, as Ja. Meir. ſaith.

The Dolphin that called himſelfe king of France, was ſore appalled with the ouerthrow of his armie: for he was driuen out of all the countries in maner, that apperteined to the crowne of France, & might reſort to none except to Bourbonois, Aluergne, Berrie, Poictow, Touraine, a part of Aniow, and Languedoc: yet to ſhew himſelfe as king, he erected his court of parlement, his chancerie, & all other courts in the citie of Poictiers, and there eſtabliſhed his great ſeale, with all due circumſtances thereto apperteining: where he continued fouretéene yeares togither, and then was remooued to Paris, after he had got that citie, and expelled the Engliſhmen, as after ſhall appeare.

The duke of Bedford lieng at Paris, ſent the lord Scales, ſir John Montgomerie, ſir John Faſtolfe, with two thouſand men to winne the countries of Aniow, and Maine, vnto whom were rendred without aſſault, the ſtrong caſtels of Beaumont le Vicount, Teune, Sillie, Oſce, Courceriers, Rouſſie, Vaſſe, Couetemenant, and twentie other, which I doo héere paſſe ouer. Such was then the opinion conceiued of the Engliſh puiſſance, ſo oft tried, prooued, and preuailing, that the Frenchmen thought the Engliſhmen would haue all which they wiſhed for or wrought for.

The lord Scales ſent to conquer Aniow and Maine.

The earle of Saliſburie, with the ſaid lord Scales, and the other capteins before named, were appointed with an armie of ten thouſand men, to beſiege the rich and ſtrong citie of Mans, the chéefe citie of all the countrie of Maine; whither when they came, they made their approches, and planted their batterie to the wals, ſo that with the ſhot of their great péeces (which kind of engins before that time had not béene much ſéene nor heard of in France) the citie was within a few daies deſpoiled of all hir towers and outward defenſes. The citizens and ſoldiers, perceiuing in what danger they ſtood, & knowing not how to remedie the matter, offered the towne vpon this condition, that all perſons which would tarrie within the towne, might abide; and all that would depart with horſſe and harneſſe onelie, ſhould be permitted: which offers were accepted, and the towne rendered, whereof the earle made capteine the earle of Suffolke, and his lieutenant ſir John Faſtolfe.

Mans deliuered to the Engliſhmen.

After this, the earle of Saliſburie beſieged the faire towne of ſaint Suſan, whereof was capteine one Ambroſe de Lore, a right valiant chéefteine. The earle cauſed the towne to be aſſaulted at his firſt comming to it; but he loſt more than he gained, and therefore left off his aſſaults, and cauſed a trench to be caſt about the towne, and ſo planted his batterie, by force whereof he ouerthrew the walles, in ſuch ſort that the capteine offered for himſelfe and his ſoldiers 200000 crownes, ſo that they might depart in their doublets onelie, which ſumme (bicauſe winter approched) was accepted, and the towne yéelded. Of this towne ſir John Popham was made capteine. Then the erle went to Maine la Juhez, which towne after fiue wéekes ſiege was yéelded, and appointed to the kéeping of ſir John Montgomerie, knight.

After the feaſt of the Purification of our ladie, the earle of Saliſburie beſieged the caſtell de la Fert Barnard; during which ſiege a ſale was made of the towne of Alanſon being in the Engliſhmens poſſeſſion, by a Gaſcoigne that was one of the garriſon there. But this ſale being opened to the erle of Saliſburie by the ſame Gaſcoigne at the daie appointed, the lord Willoughbie and ſir John Faſtolfe, with two thouſand men were ſent to incounter with the buiers of that towne; ſo that when Charles de Villiers chéefe merchant of this ware, came earlie in a morning with two hundred horſemen, and thrée hundred footmen, and approached the towne, abiding for the Gaſcoigne, yer he was aware, the Engliſhmen had compaſſed him and his companie round about, and ſetting vpon the Frenchmen, ſlue and tooke all the whole number of them, ſaue Peter Danthenazie and fiue and twentie other, which by the ſwiftneſſe of their horſſes ſaued themſelues.

After this conflict, the lord Willoughbie returned to the earle of Saliſburie, lieng ſtill at ſiege before the towne de la Fert Barnard, which ſhortlie after was rendered vp into the erle of Saliſburies hands, to whome the lord regent gaue it, to inioie to him and his heires for euer. Beſide this, the ſaid earle partlie by aſſalt, & partlie by compoſition tooke diuers other, as ſaint Kales; where he made capteine Richard Gethin eſquier; Thanceaux Lermitage, where he made gouernour Matthew *Gough; Guerland, of the which he aſſigned ruler John Banaſter; Malicorne, whereof he made capteine William Glaſdale eſquier; Liſle Soubz Boulton, whereof was made capteine ſir Lancelot Liſle knight; Loupelland, whereof was made capteine Henrie Branch; Montſeur, of the which was made capteine ſir William Oldhall knight; la Suze was aſſigned to the kéeping of John Suffolke, eſquier. And beſides this, aboue fortie caſtels and piles were ouerthrowne and deſtroied. The newes hereof reported in England, cauſed great reioiſing among the people, not onelie for the conqueſt of ſo manie townes & fortreſſes, but alſo for that it had pleaſed God to giue them victorie in a pitched field: whereof generall proceſſions were appointed, to render vnto God humble thanks for his fauour ſo beſtowed vpon them.

*Or rather Goche.

Generall proceſſions after victorie.

Anno Reg. 3.

This yeare after Eaſter, the king called a parlement at Weſtminſter, by aduiſe of the péeres; and comming to the parlement houſe himſelfe, he was conueied through the citie vpon a great courſer, with great triumph, the people flocking into the ſtréets to behold the child, whome they iudged to haue the liuelie image and countenance of his father, and like to ſuccéed him, and be his heire in all princelie qualities, martiall policies, and morall vertues, aſwell as in his realmes, ſeigniories and dominions. In this parlement was granted to the king a ſubſidie of twelue pence the pound, towards the maintenance of his warres, of all merchandize, comming in or going out of the realme, as well of Engliſhmen as ſtrangers.

A ſubſidie of tunnage and poundage.

During which parlement, came to London Peter duke of Quimbre, ſonne to the king of Portingale, couſine germane remooued to the king; which of the duke of Exceſter and the biſhop of Wincheſter his vncles was highlie feaſted, he was alſo elected into the order of the garter. During the ſame ſeaſon, Edmund Mortimer, the laſt earle of March,

The prince of Portingale commeth to London.

of that name (which long time had beene reſtreined from his libertie, and finallie wared lame) deceaſſed without iſſue, whoſe inheritance deſcended to the lord Richard Plantagenet, ſonne and heire to Richard earle of Cambridge, beheaded (as before yee haue heard) at the towne of Southampton. ¶In the time of this parlement alſo was ſir Iohn Mortimer couſine to the ſame earle, either for deſert or malice, atteinted of treaſon, and put to execution, of whoſe death no ſmall ſlander aroſe amongſt the common people.

After all theſe things doone in England and in France, Humfreie duke of Gloceſter, who had married the ladie Iaquet, or Iaqueline of Bauier, counteſſe of Heinault, Holland, and Zeland (notwithſtanding ſhe was coupled in marriage afore to Iohn duke of Brabant, as yet liuing, and had continued with him a long ſpace) paſſed now the ſea with the ſaid ladie, and went to Mons or Bergen in Heinault, where the more part of the people of that countrie came and ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, as to their ſoureigne lord, in right of his ſaid wife, the ladie Iaquet or Iaqueline: with which dooing hir former huſband was greatlie mooued. And likewiſe the duke of Burgognie, being great friend to the ſame duke of Brabant, was much offended: who of old familiaritie wrote louinglie to the duke of Gloceſter, requiring him to reforme himſelfe according to reaſon, and to forſake his vngodlie life, both in keeping of an other mans wife, and alſo in ſeeking to vſurpe other mens rights and titles.

Herevpon went letters betwixt them for a time, but at length when the duke of Burgognie perceiued that the duke of Gloceſter meant to mainteine his intereſt, & to make warre againſt the duke of Brabant; he tooke part with the duke of Brabant ſo earneſtlie, that he conſented to fight with the duke of Gloceſter bodie to bodie within liſts in defenſe of the duke of Brabants quarell, and further aided the duke of Brabant in his warres againſt the duke of Gloceſter, with all his puiſſance, inſomuch that in the end (after the duke of Gloceſters returne into England) the duke of Brabant recouered all the towns in Heinault, which the ladie Iaquet or Iaqueline held againſt him. And further the ſame ladie was by compoſition deliuered by them of the towne of Mons vnto the duke of Burgognie; who cauſed hir to be conueied vnto Gant, from whence ſhe made ſhift to eſcape into Holland, where ſhe was obeied as counteſſe of the countrie.

Then made ſhe warre in hir owne defenſe againſt the dukes of Burgognie and Brabant, who ſought to ſpoile hir of all hir towns and lands: but they procured pope Martin the fift (before whome the matter was) to giue ſentence that the firſt matrimonie with the duke of Brabant was good, and the ſecond with the duke of Gloceſter to be vnlawfull. But in the meane time, the lord Fitz Walter was ſent ouer to the aid of the ladie Iaquet or Iaquelin, with a power of Engliſhmen, landed in Zeland, neere vnto the towne of Zerixe, aginſt whome came the duke of Burgognie, and incountering with them and other ſuch Hollanders and Zelanders, as were ioined with them, neere to a place called Brewers hauen, there diſcomfited them; ſo that of Engliſh, Hollanders, and Zelanders, with the ſaid lord Fitz Walter, were ſlaine ſeauen or eight hundred, and the reſidue chaſed to the water. At length, when the duke of Gloceſter vnderſtood the ſentence pronounced againſt him by the pope, he began to wax wearie of his wife the ſaid ladie Iaquet, by whome he neuer had profit, but loſſe, and tooke in a ſecond marriage Eleanor Cobham, daughter to the lord Cobham of Sterberow, which before (as the fame went) was his ſoueraigne paramour, to his ſlander and diſhonour.

Alias Beuron.

Twentie thouſand ſaith Nicholas Giles.

S. Iames de Beuuron beſieged.

A little before this time, ſir Thomas Rampſton, ſir Philip Branch, ſir Nicholas Burdet, and other Engliſhmen, to the number of fiue hundred men of warre, repared and fortified the towne of S. Iames de Beuuron, ſituate on the frontiers of Normandie towards Britaine, within halfe a league of the duke of Britains ground, with whome as then they had open warre; and ſo began to doo manie diſpleaſures to his people. Wherevpon Arthur earle of Richmont and Iuerie, brother to the ſaid duke, and latelie before created conſtable of France, aſſembled an huge power of men to the number of fortie thouſand (as ſome haue written) and with the ſame came before the ſaid towne of S Iames de Beuuron, and planted his ſiege verie ſtronglie about it, inforcing with his great ordinance to ouerthrow the wals. And one day amongſt other, he determined to giue the aſſault, and ſo did, the which continued a long ſpace verie hot and earneſt.

Sir Nicholas Burdet.

Enguerant de Monſtrellet.

The Britons Britonants were come downe into a low bottome, where there was a little pond or fiſhpoole, and they muſt needs paſſe by a ſtreict waie to come to the walles in great danger. On that ſide of the towne was a little bulworke, which ſir Nicholas Burdet kept, hauing with him a fortie or eightie fighting men: and ouer againſt the ſame bulworke there was a gate well furniſhed alſo with Engliſh ſouldiers; ſo that the Britons which came downe into the ditches in great number to giue the aſſault, heard on either ſide them the Engliſhmen (within the ſaid bulworke and gate) make a great noiſe, in crieng Saliſburie and Suffolke; with the which crie the Britons being maruelouſlie aſtonied, began to recoile in great diſorder. And therewith the ſaid ſir Nicholas Burdet iſſued foorth vpon them, and purſuing them right valiantlie, ſlue them downe, ſo that there died of them what by the ſword, and what by drowning in the ſaid poole, about ſeauen thouſand or eight hundred, and to the number of fiftie were taken priſoners. And beſide this, thoſe Engliſhmen gained eighteene ſtandards and one baner.

Incontinentlie the newes hereof were reported to the conſtable of France, who was buſie at the aſſault on the other ſide of the towne, whereof he was ſore diſpleaſed, and no leſſe amazed; ſo that he cauſed the retreit to be ſounded, for all the ſiege on that ſide toward the poole was alreadie raiſed. After this, vpon counſell taken amongſt the Frenchmen, it was determined that they ſhould diſlodge: and ſo about the middeſt of the next night, the conſtable and all the reſidue of his people departed toward Fougiers, leauing behind them great plentie of artillerie both great and ſmall, with victuals, and all their other prouiſions: as fourteene great guns and fortie barrels of powder, three hundred pipes of wine, two hundred pipes of biſket and flower, two hundred frailes of figs and reiſins, and fiue hundred barrels of herrings.

Diſſention betwixt the duke of Gloceſter and the biſhop of Wincheſter.

Somewhat before this ſeaſon fell a great diuiſion in the realme of England, which of a ſparkle was like to haue grown to a great flame. For whether the biſhop of Wincheſter called Henrie Beaufort, ſonne to Iohn duke of Lancaſter by his third wife, enuied the authoritie of Humfreie duke of Gloceſter, protectour of the realme; or whether the duke diſdained at the riches and pompous eſtate of the biſhop: ſure it is that the whole realme was troubled with them and their partakers: ſo that the citizens of London were faine to keepe dailie and nightlie watches, and to ſhut vp their ſhops for feare of that which was doubted to haue inſued of their aſſembling of people about them. The archbiſhop of Canturburie and the duke of Quimbre, called the prince of Portingale, rode eight times in one daie betwéene the two parties, and ſo the matter was ſtaied for a time. But the biſhop of Wincheſter, to cléere himſelfe of blame ſo farre as he might, and to charge his nephue the lord protectour with all the fault, wrote a letter to the regent of France, the tenor whereof inſueth.

The biſhop of Wincheſters letter *excuſatorie.*

RIght high and mightie prince, and my right noble, and after one, lieueſt lord, I recommend me vnto you with all my hart. And as you deſire the welfare of the king our ſouereigne lord, and of his realmes of England and France, your owne health, and ours alſo: ſo haſt you hither. For by my truth, if you tarie, we ſhall put this land in aduenture with a field; ſuch a brother you haue here, God make him a good man. For your wiſedome knoweth, that the profit of France ſtandeth in the welfare of England, &c. Written in great haſt on Allhallowen euen. By your true ſeruant to my liues end, Henrie Wincheſter.

The duke of Bedford being ſore gréeued and diſquieted with theſe newes, conſtituted the earle of Warwike, which was latelie come into France with ſix thouſand men, his lieutenant in the French dominions, and in the duchie of Normandie; and ſo with a ſmall companie, he with the ducheſſe his wife returned againe ouer the ſeas into England, and the tenth daie of Ianuarie he was with all ſolemnitie receiued into London, to whome the citizens gaue a paire of baſins of ſiluer and gilt, and a thouſand markes in monie. Then from London he rode to Weſtminſter, and was lodged in the kings palace. The fiue and twentith daie of March after his comming to London, a parlement began at the towne of Leiceſter; where the duke of Bedford openlie rebuked the lords in generall, bicauſe that they in the time of warre, thorough their priuie malice and inward grudge, had almoſt mooued the people to warre and commotion, in which time all men ought or ſhould be of one mind, hart, and conſent: requiring them to defend, ſerue, & dread their ſouereigne lord king Henrie, in performing his conqueſt in France, which was in manner brought to concluſion. In this parlement the duke of Gloceſter laid certeine articles to the biſhop of Wincheſter his charge, the which with the anſwers hereafter doo inſue; as followeth.

A parlement holden at Leiceſter.

The articles of accuſation and accord *betweene the lord of Gloceſter, and the* lord of Wincheſter.

Articles ſet foorth by the duke of Gloceſter, againſt Henrie biſhop of Wincheſter.

HEre inſueth the articles, as the kings councell hath conceiued, the which the high and mightie prince my lord of Gloceſter hath ſurmiſed vpon my lord of Wincheſter chancellor of England, with the anſwer to the ſame.

1 Firſt, whereas he being protectour, and defendour of this land, deſired the Tower to be opened to him, and to lodge him therein; Richard Woodnile eſquier (hauing at that time the charge of the kéeping of the Tower) refuſed his deſire, and kept the ſame Tower againſt him vndulie and againſt reaſon, by the commandement of my ſaid lord of Wincheſter; and afterward in approuing of the ſaid refuſall, he receiued the ſaid Woodnile, and cheriſhed him againſt the ſtate and worſhip of the king, and of my ſaid lord of Gloceſter.

2 Item, my ſaid lord of Wincheſter, without the aduiſe and aſſent of my ſaid lord of Gloceſter, or of the kings councell, purpoſed and diſpoſed him to ſet hand on the kings perſon, and to haue remooued him from Eltham, the place that he was in, to Windſor, to the intent to put him in gouernance as him liſt.

3 Item, that where my ſaid lord of Gloceſter (to whome of all perſons that ſhould be in the land, by the waie of nature and birth, it belongeth to ſée the gouernance of the kings perſon) informed of the ſaid vndue purpoſe of my ſaid lord of Wincheſter, declared in the article next aboueſaid, and in letting thereof, determining to haue gone to Eltham vnto the king to haue prouided as the cauſe required: my ſaid lord of Wincheſter vntrulie, and againſt the kings peace, to the intent to trouble my ſaid lord of Gloceſter going to the king, purpoſing his death, in caſe that he had gone that waie, ſet men of armes and archers at the end of London bridge next Suthworke: and in forebarring of the kings high waie, let draw the chaine of the ſtoupes there, and ſet vp pipes and hurdles in manner and forme of bulworks: and ſet men in chambers, cellars, & windowes, with bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to the intent to bring finall deſtruction to my ſaid lord of Gloceſters perſon, as well as of thoſe that then ſhould come with him.

4 Item, my ſaid lord of Gloceſter ſaith and affirmeth, that our ſouereigne lord his brother that was king Henrie the fift, told him on a time, when our ſouereigne lord being prince was lodged in the palace of Weſtminſter in the great chamber, by the noiſe of a ſpaniell, there was on a night a man ſpied and taken behind a * tapet of the ſaid chamber, the which man was deliuered to the earle of Arundell to be examined vpon the cauſe of his being there at that time; the which ſo examined, at that time confeſſed that he was there by the ſtirring and procuring of my ſaid lord of Wincheſter, ordeined to haue ſlaine the ſaid prince there in his bed: wherefore the ſaid earle of Arundell let ſacke him foorthwith, and drowned him in the Thames.

* Or hanging.

5 Item, our ſouereigne lord that was, king Henrie the fift, ſaid vnto my ſaid lord of Gloceſter, that his father king Henrie the fourth liuing, and viſited then greatlie with ſickeneſſe by the hand of God, my ſaid lord of Wincheſter ſaid vnto the king (Henrie the fift then being prince) that the king his father ſo viſited with ſickneſſe was not perſonable, & therfore not diſpoſed to come in conuerſation and gouernance of the people; and for ſo much, counſelled him to take the gouernance and crowne of this land vpon him.

The anſwer of the biſhop.

HEre inſue the anſwers to the accuſations made by my lord of Wincheſter chancellour of England, vnto the cauſes and matters of heauineſſe, declared in the articles againſt him by my lord of Gloceſter.

1 Firſt, as of the refuſall made vnto my lord of Gloceſter, of opening the Tower to him, of his lodging therein, by the commandement of my ſaid lord of Wincheſter; he anſwereth, that in the preſence of my ſaid lord of Gloceſter before his comming out of his countrie of Heinault, for cauſes ſuch as were thought reſonable, it ſéemeth lawfull that the Tower ſhould haue béene notablie ſtored and kept with vittels:

tels: howbeit it was not forthwith executed, and that in likewiſe after that my ſaid lord of Gloceſter, was gone into his ſaid countrie of Heinault, for ſeditious and odious billes and languages, caſt and vſed in the citie of London, ſounding of inſurrection and rebellion againſt the kings peace, and deſtruction aſwell of diuerſe eſtates of this land, as ſtrangers being vnder the defenſe, in ſo much that in doubt thereof, ſtrangers in great number fled the land. And for the more ſure kéeping of the ſaid Tower, Richard Wooduile eſquier ſo truſted with our ſoueraigne lord the king that dead is (as well ye know) & alſo chamberlaine and councellor vnto my lord of Bedford, with a certeine number of defenſible perſons aſſigned vnto him, was made deputie there by the aſſent of the kings councell, being that time at London, for to abide therein, for the ſafegard thereof; and ſtreictlie charged by the ſaid councell, that during that time of his ſaid charge, he ſhould not ſuffer any man to be in the Tower ſtronger than himſelfe, without ſpeciall charge or commandement of the king by the aduiſe of his councell.

2 Item, that ſoone after (vpon the comming of my ſaid lord of Gloceſter into this land from his countrie of Heinault) the ſaid lords of the kings councell were informed, that my ſaid lord of Gloceſter grudged with the ſaid maner of inforcing the Tower, and let ſaie to them of London, that he had well vnderſtand that they had béene heauilie threatened for the time of his abſence, and otherwiſe than they ſhuld haue béene, if he had béene in this land. Wherefore he was right euill contented, and eſpeciallie of the ſaid forcing of the Tower, ſet vpon them in manner of a chaſed villain, conſidering the good equitie and truth that they had alwaies kept vnto the king, offering them there vpon remedie if they would.

3 Item, that after this, Richard Scot lieutenant of the Tower, by the commandement of my ſaid lord of Gloceſter, brought vnto him frier Randolph, the which had long before confeſſed treaſon doone by him againſt the kings perſon that dead is, for the which knowlege he was put to be kept in the ſaid Tower, & ſtreictlie commanded vnder great paine giuen vnto the ſaid Scot, to kéepe him ſtreictlie & ſuerlie, & not to let him out of the ſaid Tower without cõmandment of the king by aduiſe of his councell. The which frier Randolph, my ſaid lord of Gloceſter kept then with himſelfe (not witting to the ſaid Scot) as he declared to my ſaid lord of Wincheſter, ſoone after that he had brought the ſaid frier Randolph to my lord of Gloceſter; ſaieng to my lord of Wincheſter, that he was vndoone but he helped him, & expreſſed, as for cauſe of the withholding of frier Randolph: and ſaieng moreouer, that when he deſired of my ſaid lord of Gloceſter, the deliuerance of the ſaid frier Randolph, to lead him againe vnto the Tower, or ſufficient warrant for his diſcharge: my ſaid lord of Gloceſter anſwered him, that his commandement was ſufficient warrant and diſcharge for him. In the which thing aboueſaid, it was thought to my lord of Wincheſter, that my ſaid lord of Gloceſter tooke vpon him further than his authoritie ſtretched vnto, and cauſed him to doubt and dread, leaſt that he would haue procéeded further. And at ſuch time as the ſaid Wooduile came vnto him, to aſke his aduiſe and counſell, of lodging my ſaid lord of Gloceſter in the Tower; he aduiſed and charged him, that before he ſuffered my ſaid lord of Gloceſter, or any perſon to lodge therein ſtronger than himſelfe, he ſhould purueie him a ſufficient warrant therof, of the king, by the aduiſe of his councell.

Frier Randolph.

4 Item, as to the ſaid article of the foreſaid cauſes of heauineſſe, my ſaid lord chancellor anſwereth, that he neuer purpoſed to ſet hand on the kings perſon, nor to remoue him, or that he ſhould be remoued, or put in any manner of gouernance, but by the aduiſe of the kings councell. For he would not perceiue any manner of goodneſſe or of aduantage that might haue growne to him thereof, but rather great perill and charge; and hereof my ſaid lord of Wincheſter is readie to make proofe, in time and place conuenient.

5 Item, as to the third article of the foreſaid cauſes and heauines, my ſaid lord chancellor anſwereth, that he was oft and diuerſe times warned, by diuerſe credible perſons, aſwell at the time of the kings laſt parlement, holden at Weſtminſter, as before and ſince, that my ſaid lord of Gloceſter purpoſed him bodilie harme, & was warned therof, and counſelled by the ſaid perſons, and that diuerſe times, to abſteine him from comming to Weſtminſter, as my ſaid lord of Wincheſter declared vnto my ſaid lord of Gloceſter.

6 Item, that in the time of the ſaid parlement, diuerſe perſons of low eſtate of the citie of London, in great number aſſembled on a day vpon the wharfe, at the crane of the vinetrée, and wiſhed and deſired that they had there the perſon of my lord of Wincheſter, ſaieng, that they would haue throwen him into the Thames, to haue taught him to ſwim with wings. Whereof billes and language of ſlander and threatnings were caſt and ſpoken in the ſaid citie by my ſaid lord the chancellor, which cauſed him to ſuppoſe that they that ſo ſaid and did, willed and deſired his deſtruction, although they had no cauſe.

7 Item, that after the comming to London of ſir Raſe Botiller, and maiſter Lewes, ſent from my lord of Bedford, to the reſt of the lords of the councell, they being informed, that my ſaid lord of Gloceſter did beare diſpleaſure to my ſaid lord of Wincheſter, they came to the ſaid lord of Gloceſter to his In, the ſecond ſundaie next before All hallondaie, and there opened vnto him, that they had knowledge and vnderſtanding of the ſaid diſpleaſure, praieng him to let them know if he bare ſuch diſpleaſure againſt my ſaid lord of Wincheſter, and alſo the cauſes thereof. At the which time (as my ſaid lord of Wincheſter was afterwards informed) my ſaid lord of Gloceſter affirmed that he was heauie toward him, and not without cauſes that peraduenture he would put in writing.

8 Item, that after the mondaie next before All hallondaie laſt paſt in the night, the people of the ſaid citie of London, by the commandement of my ſaid lord of Gloceſter, as it was ſaid (for what cauſe my lord the chancellor wiſt not) aſſembled in the citie, armed and arraied, and ſo continued all the night. Amongſt diuerſe of the which (the ſame night by what excitation, my ſaid lord the chancellor wiſt not) ſeditious and heauie language was vſed, and in eſpeciall againſt the perſon of my lord the chancellor. And ſo the ſame mondaie at night, my ſaid lord of Gloceſter ſent vnto the Ins of court at London, charging them of the court dwelling in the ſame, to be with him vpon the morrow at eight of the clocke in their beſt arraie.

9 Item, that on the morrow being tueſdaie next following, my ſaid lord of Gloceſter ſent earlie vnto the maior and aldermen of the ſaid citie of London, to ordeine him to the number of thrée hundred perſons on horſſe backe, to accompanie him vnto ſuch a place as he diſpoſed him to ride, which (as it was ſaid) was vnto the king, to the intent to haue his perſon, and to remoue him from the place that he was in, without aſſent or aduiſe of the kings councell. The which thing was thought vnto my ſaid lord the chancellor, that he ought in no wiſe to haue doone, nor had not béene ſéene ſo before.

10 Item, that my ſaid lord the chancellor, conſidering the things aboue ſaid, and doubting therefore of perils that might haue inſued thereof, intending to purueie there againſt, and namelie for his owne ſuertie and defenſe, according to the law of nature, ordeined to let, that no force of people ſhould come on the bridge of London towards him, by the which he or his might haue béene indangered or noied, not intending in any wiſe bodilie harme vnto my ſaid lord of Gloceſter, nor to any other perſon, but onelie his owne defenſe, in eſchewing the perill aboueſaid.

11 Item, as toward the fourth and fift of the ſaid articles, my lord the chancellor anſwereth, that he was euer true to all thoſe that were his ſouereigne lords and reigned vpon him, and that he neuer purpoſed treaſon or vntruth againſt any of their perſons, and in eſpeciall againſt the perſon of our ſaid ſouereigne lord Henrie the fift. The which conſidering the great wiſdome, truth, and manhood that all men knew in him, he would not for the time that he was king, haue ſet on my ſaid lord the chancellor ſo great truſt as he did, if he had found or thought in him ſuch vntruth. The which thing my ſaid lord the chancellor offered to declare and ſhew, as it belongeth to a man of his eſtate to doo, requiring therevpon my lord of Bedford and all the lords ſpirituall and temporall in this parlement, that it might be ſéene that there were iudges conuenient in this caſe, that they would doo him right, or elſe that he might haue leaue of the king by their aduiſe to go ſue his right, before him that ought to be his iudge.

12 And as toward the letter ſent by my lord of Wincheſter vnto my lord of Bedford, of the which the tenor is before rehearſed, of the which my lord of Gloceſter complained him of the malicious and vntrue purpoſe of my ſaid lord of Wincheſter, as toward the aſſembling of the people, and gathering of a field in the kings land, in troubling thereof, and againſt the kings peace: my ſaid lord of Wincheſter anſwereth, that if his ſaid letters duelie vnderſtand, and in ſuch wiſe as he vnderſtood and meant in the writing of them, it maie not reaſonablie be gathered and taken, that my ſaid lord of Wincheſter intended to gather any field, or aſſemble people in troubling of the kings land, and againſt the kings peace, but rather purpoſed to acquite him to the king in his truth, and to kéepe the reſt and peace in the kings land, and to eſchew rebellion, diſobedience and all trouble. For by that that in the beginning of the ſaid letter, he calleth my ſaid lord of Bedford his lieueſt lord after one, that is the king, whome he ought to accept of dutie of his truth, the which he hath euer kept, and will kéepe.

13 Moreouer, in the ſaid letter he deſireth the comming home of my lord of Bedford, for the welfare of the king and of his realmes of England and of France, which ſtand principallie in kéeping of his reſt and peace, and praieth my ſaid lord of Bedford to ſpéed his cōming into England, in eſchewing of ieopardie of the land, and of a field, which he dread him might haue followed if he had long taried. As toward thoſe words; “If ye tarie, we ſhall put this land “in aduenture with a field, ſuch a brother ye haue here, &c. My ſaid lord of Wincheſter ſaith, the ſooth is: before or he wrote the ſaid letter, by the occaſion of certeine ordinances made by the maior and aldermen of London againſt the exceſſiue taking of maſons, carpentars, tilers, plaſterers, and other labourers for their dailie iournies, and approued by the kings deuiſe and councell, there were caſt manie heauineſſes and ſeditious billes vnder the names of ſuch labourers, threatning riſing with manie thouſands, and menacing of eſtates of the land, and likewiſe ſeditious and euill language ſowen and ſo continued and likelie to haue inſued, of purpoſe and intent of diſobedience and rebellion. To the redreſſing of which, it ſéemed to my lord the chancellor, that my ſaid lord of Gloceſter did not his indeuour nor diligence that he might haue ſhewed. For lacke of which diligence, they that were diſpoſed to doo diſobeiſance were incouraged & imboldned, ſo that it was like, that they ſhould haue made a gathering, and that the king and his true ſubiects ſhould haue béene compelled to haue made a field to haue withſtand them; the which field making, had béene aduenturing of this land, and in tokening that it was neuer my ſaid lord chancellors intent, to gather no field, but as truth moſt ſtirred him againſt ſuch as riotouſlie would make ſuch aſſemblie againſt our ſouereigne lord, and the weale of this land, he deſired ſo haſtilie the comming of my ſaid lord of Bedford: the which he would in no wiſe haue ſo greatlie deſired, if he would haue purpoſed him vnto any vnlawfull making of a field; for he wiſt well, that my ſaid lord of Bedford would moſt ſharplie haue chaſtiſed and puniſhed all thoſe, that ſo would make any riotous aſſemblie.

When this anſwer was made, the *duke cauſed this writing following* openlie to be proclamed.

BE it knowne to all folkes, that it is the intent of my lord of Bedford, and all the lords ſpirituall & temporall, aſſembled in this preſent parlement, to acquite him and them, and to procéed truelie, iuſtlie, and indifferentlie, without any parcialitie in any maner of matter or quarels, moued or to be moued betwéene my lord of Gloceſter on that one partie, & my lord of Wincheſter chancellor of England on that other partie. And for ſuer kéeping of the kings peace it is accorded by my ſaid lord of Bedford, & by my ſaid lords ſpirituall and temporall, an oth to be made in forme as followeth, that is to ſaie.

The oth of the lords.

THat my ſaid lord of Bedford, and my ſaid lords, ſpirituall and temporall, and ech of them ſhall (as far forth as their cunnings and diſcretions ſuffice) trulie, iuſtlie, and indifferentlie counſell and aduiſe the king, and alſo procéed and acquit themſelues in all the ſaid matters, and quarels, without that they or any of them ſhall priuilie and apertlie make or ſhew himſelfe to be partie or parciall therein, not leauing or eſchewing ſo to doo for affection, loue, méed, doubt, or dread of any perſon or perſons. And that they ſhall in all wiſe kéepe ſecret all that ſhall be commoned by waie of councell, in the matters and quarrels aboueſaid, in the ſaid parlement, without that they or any of them ſhall by word, writing of the king, or in any wiſe open or diſcouer it to any of the ſaid parties, or to any other perſon that is not of the ſaid councell: but if he haue a ſpeciall commandement or leaue therevnto of the king or my ſaid lord of Bedford. And that ech of them ſhall with all his might and power, aſſiſt by waie of counſell, or elſe ſhew it vnto the king, my lord of Bedford, and to the reſt of my ſaid lords to put the ſaid parties to reaſon; and not to ſuffer that any of the ſaid parties by them, or by their aſſiſtance, procéed or attempt by way of fight againſt the kings peace; nor helpe, aſſiſt, or comfort any of them thereto: but let them with all their might and power withſtand them, and aſſiſt vnto the king, and my ſaid lord of Bedford, in kéeping of the kings peace, and redreſſing all ſuch maner of procée-ding by waie of fight or force.

Dukes: the duke of Bedford, the duke of Norfolke, the duke of Exceſter. Biſhops: the archbiſhop of Canturburie, the biſhop of Carleill, the biſhop of Bath, the biſhop of Landaffe, the biſhop of Rocheſter, the biſhop of Chicheſter, the biſhop of Worceſter, the biſhop of ſaint Dauids, the biſhop of London, the biſhop of Dureſme. Earles: the earle of Northumberland, the earle of Stafford, the earle of Oxford. Lords: the lord Hungerford, the lord Tiptoft, the lord Poinings, the lord Cromwell, the lord Borough, the lord Louell, the lord Botreux, the lord Clinton, the lord Zouch, the lord Audeleie, the lord Ferreis of Groubie, the lord Talbot, the lord Ros, the lord Greie, the lord Greie of Ruthen, the lord Fitz Walter, the lord Barkeleie. Abbats: the abbat of Waltham, the abbat of Glaſtenburie, the abbat of S. Auguſtines in Canturburie, the abbat of Weſtminſter, the abbat of S. Maries in Yorke, the abbat of S. Albons not ſworne bicauſe he was not preſent. ¶ Which oth in manner and forme aboue rehearſed, all the lords aſwell ſpirituall as temporall, being in this parlement at Leiceſter aſſembled, the fourth day of March, promiſed vpon their faith, dutie, and allegiance, which they owe to the king their ſoueraigne lord, truelie to obſerue and kéepe, according to the true meaning and purport of the ſame.

The arbitrement.

IN the name of God Amen. We Henrie archbiſhop of Canturburie, Thomas duke of Exceſter, Iohn duke of Norfolke, Thomas biſhop of Dureſme, Philip biſhop of Worceſter, Iohn biſhop of Bath, Humfrie earle of Stafford, William Alnwicke kéeper of the kings priuie ſeale, Raſe lord Cromwell, arbitrators in all maner of cauſes, matters and quarels of heauineſſes & greeuances, with all incidents, circumſtances, dependents, or connexes being and hanging betwéene the high & worthie princes Humfrie duke of Gloceſter on the one partie, and the worſhipfull father in God Henrie biſhop of Wincheſter and chancellor of England on the other partie, by either of them, for the peaſing of the ſaid quarrels and debates taken and choſen in maner and forme as it is conteined more plainelie in a compromiſe made therevpon, of the which the tenor inſueth in this forme.

1424 Anno Reg.4.

Memorandum, the ſeauenth daie of March in the fourth yeare of our ſoueraigne lord the king, Henrie the ſixt, the high and mightie prince Humfrie duke of Gloceſter at the reuerence of God, and for the good of the king our ſoueraigne lord in this land, & namelie at the reuerence, and eſpeciallie at the requeſt and praier of the mightie and high prince my lord of Bedford his brother, agréed him to put, and putteth all maner matters and quarels indéed, with all their incidents, circumſtances, dependents and connexes that touchen him and his perſon, that he hath in anie wiſe doo, or féeleth himſelfe gréeued or heauie againſt my lord his vncle, my lord of Wincheſter: or elſe that my lord of Wincheſter findeth him agréeued againſt him, in as much as they touch him or his perſon from the beginning of the world vnto this daie, in the aduiſe, ordinance and arbitrement of the worthie father in God, Henrie archbiſhop of Canturburie, the high and noble prince Thomas duke of Exceſter, and Iohn duke of Norffolke, the worſhipfull father in God Thomas biſhop of Dureſme, Philip biſhop of Worceſter, Iohn biſhop of Bath, the noble lord Humfrie earle of Stafford, the worſhipfull perſons maiſter William Alnewicke kéeper of the kings priuie ſeale, and Raſe lord Cromwell, promiſing and behighting by the faith of his bodie, & word of his princehood and kings ſonne, to doo, kéepe, obſerue, and fulfill for him and his behalfe, all that ſhall be declared, ordeined, and arbitrated, by the foreſaid archbiſhop, dukes, biſhops, earle, kéeper of the priuie ſeale, and lord Cromwell in all matters and quarels aboueſaid.

Granting alſo and promiſing ouer that, to be comprehended in the foreſaid arbitrement, as toward putting awaie all heauineſſes and diſpleaſures, in anie wiſe conteined, by my lord of Gloceſter againſt all thoſe that haue in anie wiſe aſſiſted, counſelled, or fauoured vnto his ſaid vncle of Wincheſter, and as toward anie matters that be touching my lord of Gloceſter, remitteth it, and the gouernance thereof vnto the king & his councell, they to déeme it by the aduiſe of his councell, as him thinketh it to be doone. In witneſſe of the which thing to this preſent compromiſe my ſaid lord of Gloceſter hath ſubſcribed his name with his owne hand: Humfreie Glocester. And in like forme my lord of Wincheſter in another compromiſe hath ſubſcribed with his owne hand vnder the word of his prieſthood, to ſtand at the aduiſe, ordinance, & arbitrement of the perſons aboueſaid, *Mutatis mutandis.*

A decree or order taken by the kings *councell for the pacifieng of the quarels* & variances that were betweene *the duke of Glocester, and the bishop* of Winchester.

THe cauſes aforeſaid and quarels by vs ſéene, heard, and diligentlie examined and decréed, by the aſſent of the ſaid parties, ordeine and award, that my lords of Gloceſter, and of Wincheſter, for any thing doone or ſpoken, by that one partie againſt that other, or by anie of theirs, or anie other perſon or perſons, afore the ſeuenth daie of this preſent moneth of March, neuer hereafter take cauſes, quarels, diſpleaſures, or heauineſſes, that one againſt the other, ne neither againſt the counſellers, adherents, or fauourers of that other for anie thing or things that are paſt. And that my ſaid lord of Gloceſter be good lord to my ſaid lord of Wincheſter, & haue him in loue and affection as his kinſman & vncle. And that my ſaid lord of Wincheſter haue to my ſaid lord of Gloceſter true and ſad loue and affection, doo and be readie to doo him ſuch ſeruice as aperteineth of honeſtie to my ſaid lord of Wincheſter and his eſtate to doo. And that each of them be good lord vnto all thoſe adherents, counſellers, and fauourers of that other, and ſhew them at all times fauourable loue and affection, as for anie thing by them doone or ſaid, before the ſeauenth daie of March.

And we decrée, ordeine, and award, that my ſaid lord of Wincheſter, in the preſence of the king our ſoueraigne lord, my lord of Bedford, and my lord of Gloceſter, and the reſidue of the lords ſpirituall and temporall, and commons being in this preſent parlement, ſaie and declare in maner and forme that followeth: My ſoueraigne lord, I haue well vnderſtand, that I am noiſed among the ſtates of your land, how that the king our ſoueraigne lord that was, at that time being prince, and lodged in the great chamber at Weſtminſter, by the baieng of a ſpaniell, there was on a night taken behind a * tapet in the ſame chamber, a man, that ſhould haue confeſſed, that he was there by mine excitation and procuring, to haue ſlaine the foreſaid prince there in his bed; wherevpon he was ſacked, and forthwith alſo drowned in the Thames.

* Or, henging.

Furthermore, I am accuſed, how that I ſhould haue ſtirred the king that laſt died, the time alſo that he was prince, to haue taken the gouernance of this realme, and the crowne vpon him, his father liuing the ſame time, being king. Through which language and noiſing, I féele my name and fame greatlie enblemiſhed in diuerſe mens opinions. Wherevpon, I take firſt God to my witnes, and after all the world, that I haue béene at all times, and am true louer, and true man, to you my ſoueraigne lord, and ſhall be all my life. And alſo, I haue béene to my ſoueraigne lord that was your father, all the time of his reigne, true man, and for ſuch he tooke me, truſted me and cheriſhed me to his liues end; and as I truſt, no man will affirme the contrarie, nor neuer in my life procuring nor imagining death nor deſtruction of his perſon, ne aſſenting to any ſuch thing, or like thereto, the time that he was king or prince, or elſe in other ſtate.

I was likewiſe true man to king Henrie the fourth, all the time that he was my ſoueraigne lord, and reigned vpon me. In which matters, in all maner of wiſe that it liketh to you my ſoueraigne lord for to command me, I am readie for to declare me: and furthermore, where, how, and when it ſhall like you, by the aduiſe of your councell, to aſſigne me, Wherfore I beſéech you my ſoueraigne lord, as humblie as I can, conſidering that there is no grounded proceſſe, by the which I might lawfullie in theſe matters abouesaid, be conuict (bleſſed be God) to hold me, and declare me, by the aduiſe of all the lords, ſpirituall and temporall, being in this preſent parlement, true man to you my ſoueraigne lord, and ſo to haue béene vnto my ſoueraigne lords that were your father and grandfather, and true man alſo to haue béene at all times to your ſaid father whileſt he was prince, or elſe in anie other eſtate, the ſaid ſlander and noiſe notwithſtanding, and this ſame declaration to be inacted in this your ſaid preſent parlement.

The which words declared in maner as it is aboueſaid, it ſéemeth to my ſaid lords the arbitrators, that it is méet, that my ſaid lord of Wincheſter draw him apart, and in the meane time, the lords being preſent, be ſingularlie examined therevpon, and ſaie their aduiſe. And if it be aſſented by them, in maner as my ſaid lord of Wincheſter deſireth, let him be called againe, and that then my lord of Bedford haue theſe words in effect that follow: Faire vncle, the king my lord by the aduiſe of his councell, hath commanded me to ſaie to you, that he hath well vnderſtand and conſidered all the matters which yée haue héere openlie declared in his preſence, and therevpon yée deſire a petition, that he will declare you, and by the aduiſe and aſſent of the lords ſpirituall and temporall, being in this preſent parlement, he declareth you a true man to him, and that yée haue ſo béene to my lord his father, and grandfather, alſo true man to my lord his father while he was prince, or elſe in anie other eſtate, the ſaid diſlander and noiſing notwithſtanding, and will that the ſaid declaration be ſo inacted in this preſent parlement.

After the which words thus ſaid (as before is declared) it was decréed alſo by the ſaid lords arbitrators, that the ſaid lord of Wincheſter ſhould haue theſe words that follow vnto my ſaid lord of Gloceſter: My lord of Gloceſter, I haue conceiued to my great heauineſſe, that yée ſhould haue receiued by diuerſe reports, that I ſhould haue purpoſed and imagined againſt your perſon, honor, and eſtate, in diuers maners, for the which, yée haue taken againſt me great diſpleaſure: Sir, I take God to my witneſſe, that what reports ſo euer haue béene to you of me, peraduenture of ſuch as haue had no great affection to me, God forgiue it them, I neuer imagined, ne purpoſed anie thing that might be hindering or preiudice to your perſon, honor, or eſtate: and therefore I praie you, that yée be vnto me good lord from this time forth; for by my will, I gaue neuer other occaſion, nor purpoſe not to doo hereafter by the grace of God. The which words ſo by him ſaid, it was decréed by the ſame arbitrators, that my lord of Gloceſter, ſhould anſwer and ſaie: Faire vncle, ſith yée declare you ſuch a man, as yée ſaie, I am right glad that it is ſo, and for ſuch a man I take you. And when this was doone, it was decréed by the ſame arbitrators, that euerie each of my lord of Gloceſter, and Wincheſter, ſhould take either other by the hand, in the preſence of the king and all the parlement, in ſigne and token of good loue & accord, the which was doone, and the parlement adiorned till after Eaſter.

At this reconciliation, ſuch as loued peace reioiſed (ſith it is a fowle & pernicious thing for priuat men, much more for noblemen to be at variance, ſith vpon them depend manie in affections diuerſe, whereby factions might grow to the ſhedding of bloud) though others, to whom contention & hartgrudge is delight, wiſhed to ſée the vttermoſt miſchéefe that might thereof inſue, which is the vtter ouerthrow and deſolation of populous tribes, euen as with a litle ſparkle whole houſes are manie times conſumed to aſhes; as the old prouerbe ſaith, and that verie well and aptlie;

Sola ſcintilla perit hæc domus aut domus illa.

But when the great fier of this diſſention, betwéene theſe two noble perſonages, was thus by the arbitrators (to their knowledge and iudgement) vtterlie quenched out, and laid vnder boord; all other controuerſies betwéene other lords, taking part with the one partie or the other, were appeaſed, and brought to concord, ſo that for ioy the king cauſed a ſolemne feſt to be kept on Whitſundaie; on which daie he created Richard Plantagenet, ſonne and heire to the erle of Cambridge (whome his father at Southhampton had put to death, as before yée haue heard) duke of Yorke, not foreſéeing that this preferment ſhould be his deſtruction, nor that his ſéed ſhould of his generation be the extreame end and finall concluſion. He the ſame daie alſo promoted Iohn lord Mowbraie, and earle marſhall, ſonne and heire to Thomas duke of Norffolke (by king Richard the ſecond exiled this realme) to the title, name, and ſtile of duke of Norffolke.

During this feaſt, the duke of Bedford adorned the king with the high order of knighthood, who on the ſame daie dubbed with the ſword theſe knights, whoſe names inſue: Richard duke of Yorke, Iohn duke of Norffolke; the earle of Weſtmerland, Henrie lord Perſie, Iohn lord Butler, ſonne to the earle of Ormond, the lord Roſſe, the lord Matrauers, the lord Welles, the lord Barkelie; ſir Iames Butler, ſir Henrie Greie of Tankaruile, ſir Iohn Talbot, ſir Rafe Greie of Warke, ſir Robert Véere, ſir Richard Greie, ſir Edmund Hungerford, ſir Water Wingfield, ſir Iohn Butler, ſir Reginald Cobham, ſir Iohn Paſſhelen, ſir Thomas Tunſtall, ſir Iohn Chedocke, ſir Rafe Langſtre, ſir William Drurie, ſir William ap Thomas, ſir Richard Carnonell, ſir Richard Wooduile, ſir Iohn Shirdlow, ſir Nicholas Blunket, ſir William Cheinie iuſtice, ſir William Babington, ſir Rafe Butler, ſir Robert Beauchampe, ſir Edmund Trafford, ſir Iohn Iune chéefe baron, and diuerſe others.

After this ſolemne feaſt ended, a great aid and ſubſidie was granted for the continuance of the conqueſt in France, and ſo therevpon monie was gathered, and men were prepared in euerie citie, towne, and countrie. During which buſineſſe, Thomas duke of Exceſter, great vncle to the king, a right ſage and diſ-

The duke of Exceſter dieth.

diſcreet councellor, departed out of this mortall life, at his manor of Greenewich, and with all funerall pompe was conueied through London to Berrie, and there buried. ¶ In the ſame yeare alſo died the ladie Elizabeth, halfe ſiſter to the ſame duke, and of the whole bloud with king Henrie the fourth, maried firſt to the lord John Holland, duke of Exceſter, and after to the lord Fanhope, buried at the blacke friers of London.

Fr.Thin.
1425

[Philip Morgan after the death of John Fortham (ſometime treaſuror of England, biſhop of Elie and Durham, both which biſhopriks, for anie thing that I can yet ſee, he inioied both at one time) was made biſhop of Elie in the yeare of our redemption 1425, in this ſort. Henrie the fift and manie of the nobilitie had written to the conuent of the church of Elie, to chooſe William Alnewicke (doctor of both lawes confeſſor to the king and keeper of the priuie ſeale) to be their biſhop. Notwithſtanding which (they hauing more regard to their owne priuileges and benefit) choſe Peter the prior of Elie to ſucceed in the place of John Fortham. But none of both theſe inioied that roome; for Martin biſhop of Rome (ſtepping into the matter to make the third part, neither fauouring the kings motion, nor approouing the monks election) remooued this William Morgan from the ſee of Worceſter vnto Elie, ſometime called Helix: as I haue ſeene it ſet downe in Saxon characters in an ancient booke of the liues of ſaints written in the Saxon toong, about the yeare of Chriſt 1010, before the time of Edward the confeſſor, and much about the time of Albo Floriacenſis. This Morgan ſat at Elie nine yeares, twentie and ſix weeks, and foure daies, departing this life in his manour of Hatfield, in the yeare 1434, and was buried at the Charterhouſe of London; being the twentie and fourth biſhop that was inſtalled in that place.]

1426

While theſe things were thus a doing in England, the earle of Warwike, lieutenant for the regent in France, entered into the countrie of Maine, & beſieged the towne of Chateau de Loire, the which ſhortlie to him was rendered, whereof he made capteine Matthew* Gough, eſquier. After this, he tooke by aſſault the caſtell of Maiet, and gaue it for his valiantneſſe to John Winter eſquier, and after that he conquered the caſtell of Lude, and made there capteine William Gladeſdale gentleman. Here he was informed, that the Frenchmen were aſſembled in the countrie of Beauſſe, wherevpon he haſted thitherwards to haue giuen them battell, but they hauing knowledge of his approch, durſt not abide to trie the matter with him by a pight field, but fled before he came neere them.

*Or rather Goche.

John winter.

The earle of Warwike made gouernour of the yong king.

The earle in his returne wan the caſtell of Montdublean by ſurrender; where he left the valiant lord Willoughbie, and then returned to Paris. During which ſeaſon, he was ordeined by the three eſtates of the realme of England, to be gouernour of the yong king in the place of the duke of Exceſter deceaſſed: howbeit, he did not as yet returne into England, but remained in France for a ſeaſon, and atchiued manie worthie enterpriſes. Whileſt the lord regent of France was thus in England, meanes was made by the duke of Burgognie, for the deliuerie of the duke of Alanſon, taken at the battell of Vernoile, and now for the ſumme of two hundred thouſand crownes he was ſet at libertie; but he would not by anie meanes acknowlege the king of England to be his liege and ſoureigne lord.

Anno Reg. 5.

1427

After that the duke of Bedford had ſet all things in good order in England, he tooke leaue of the king, and togither with his wife returned into France, firſt landing at Calis, where the biſhop of Wincheſter (that alſo paſſed the ſeas with him) receiued the habit, hat, and dignitie of a cardinall, with all ceremonies to it apperteining: which promotion, the late K. right deeplie perſing into the vnreſtrainable ambitious mind of the man, that euen from his youth was euer to checke at the higheſt: and alſo right well aſcerteined with what intollerable pride his head ſhould ſoone be ſwollen vnder ſuch a hat: did therefore all his life long keepe this prelat backe from that preſumptuous eſtate. But now the king being yong and the regent his freend, he obteined his purpoſe, to his great profit, and the impoueriſhing of the ſpiritualtie of this realme. For by a bull legantine, which he purchaſed from Rome, he gathered ſo much treaſure, that no man in maner had monie but he: ſo that he was called the rich cardinall of Wincheſter.

The biſhop of Wincheſter made a cardinall.
W.P.

After that the lord regent was arriued in France, the lord of Ruſtinian, marſhall of Britaine, aſſembled a great companie of the Britiſh nation, which fortified and repared the towne of Pontorſon: and after, the ſaid marſhall, with a thouſand men, entered into the countrie of Conſtantine, and comming before the towne of Auranches, was incountered by the Engliſhmen of that garriſon; & after long fight, his people were put to the worſe, chaſed, and diſcomfited, and he himſelfe taken priſoner in the field. The duke of Bedford, hearing that the towne of Pontorſon, ſituate within two leagues of Mont Saint Michaell, was newlie fortified, and ſtronglie defended, ſent thither the earle of Warwike, accompanied with the lord Scales, and other valiant capteins and ſouldiers, to the number of ſeauen thouſand men, to beſiege the towne; who ſo inuironed it on euerie ſide, that no man could ſteale neither in nor out.

The lord of Ruſtinian taken and his people ſlaine and diſcomfited.

The ſiege thus long continuing, vittels began to wax ſcant in the Engliſh armie: wherefore the lord Scales, hauing in his companie ſir John Harpeleie bailiffe of Conſtantine, ſir William Brearton bailiffe of Caen, ſir Rafe Teſſon, ſir John Carbonell, and three thouſand good men of warre, departed from the ſiege to get vittels, powder, and other things neceſſarie for their purpoſe. And as they were returning with their cariages by the ſea coaſt, neere to Saint Michaels Mount, they ſuddenlie were incountered by their enimies, whereof were cheefe, the baron of Coloſes, the lord Dauſeboſt, capteine of the ſaid Mount, the lord Mountabon, the lord Montburchier, the lord of Chateaugiron, the lord of Tintignat, the lord of Chateaubrian, with ſix thouſand men of warre.

The lord Scales and his companie, perceiuing themſelues beſet on the one ſide with the ſea, & on the other with their enimies, alighted from their horſſes, and like couragious perſons, there in an vnſpeakeable furie, ſet on their enimies. The fight was fierce & cruell. The Engliſhmen kept themſelues cloſe togither; ſo that their enimies could get no aduantage of them. At the laſt, the lord Scales cried S. George they flee. Wherevpon, the Engliſhmen tooke ſuch courage, and the Frenchmen that fought before, were ſo diſmaied, that they began to flee in deed. The Engliſhmen leaped on horſſe-backe, and followed them ſo, that they ſlue and tooke aboue eleuen hundred perſons, among the which were taken the baron of Coloſes, the vicount of Rone, and others. The lord of Chateaugiron, with a Scotiſh capteine, & diuerſe other men of name were ſlaine. After this victorie, the lord Scales with his vittels, prouiſion, and priſoners, returned to the ſiege, where he was of the earle and other noble men ioiouſlie receiued.

A hot ſkirmiſh.

On the cene thurſdaie.

Engueran.

Whileſt the ſiege continued thus before Pontorſon, Chriſtopher Hanſon, and other ſouldiers of the garriſon of Saint Suſan, made a rode into the countrie of Aniou, and came to a caſtell called Ramfort, which caſtell was ſo priuilie ſcaled, that the capteine within, and his companie, were taken or ſlaine, before they knew of their enimies approching. When knowledge hereof was giuen vnto the Frenchmen which were aſſembled, to the number of twentie thouſand, to raiſe the ſiege that laie before Pontorſon, they left that enterpriſe, and went to recouer the ſaid caſtell of Ramfort, and ſo comming before it, planted their ſiege ſo on ech ſide of it, that at length by compoſition the Engliſhmen within, doubting to be taken by force, rendered vp the caſtell, hauing libertie to depart with bag and baggage.

Shortlie after, the lord of Raix, calling himſelfe lieutenant generall for the Dolphin, entred into Maine with an armie of thrée thouſand men, and by force tooke the caſtell of Malicorne, wherof was capteine an Engliſhman, one Oliuer Oſbaterſbie. In like maner, they tooke the little caſtell of Lude, and therein William Blackborne, lieutenant for William Glaſdale eſquier. After this, the Frenchmen returned backe to the Dolphin, and kept not on their iourneie to Pontorſon, for that they vnderſtood by eſpials, that the earle of Warwike, and the Engliſhmen there, determined to giue them battell, if they once attempted to raiſe the ſiege. They within the towne, being ſtreictlie beſieged, perceiuing no likelihood of ſuccours, and ſéeing the Engliſh armie dailie increaſe, fell to treatie for doubt to be taken by force, and ſo rendered the towne vpon condition, that they might depart with horſſe and harneſſe onelie. Which being granted to them, the erle like a valiant capteine entered into the towne, and there appointed for gouernors, the lord Ros, and the lord Talbot, and leauing there a conuenient garriſon, returned to the lord regent.

Pontorſon rendered to the Engliſhmen.

After the taking of this towne of Pontorſon, there was a league and treatie concluded betwéene the regent and the duke of Britaine; by the articles of which agréement, the townes of Pontorſon and ſaint James de Beuuron were beaten downe to the ground and raced. When the lord of Raix was departed out of Maine (as ye haue heard) Chriſtopher Hanſon, Philip * Gough, Martin Godfrie, called the Scaler, tooke by ſtealth the caſtell of ſaint Laurence de Mortiers. At the ſame time, when the capteine and the moſt part of his companie were gone foorth to heare maſſe, in a church ouer againſt the ſame caſtell, and kéeping themſelues cloſe, till the capteine returned, they tooke him as he was entered within the firſt gate, & ſo was this caſtell ſtuffed with Engliſhmen, and capteine thereof was appointed ſir William Oldhall.

* Or rather Goche.

The ſame ſeaſon, ſir John Faſtolfe, gouernour of the countries of Aniou and Maine, aſſembled a great puiſſance of men warre, and laid ſiege before the caſtell of ſaint Owen Diſtais, beſide the towne of Lauall; and after he had laine there ten daies, the caſtell was deliuered, they within departing with their liues and armour onelie to them granted, by the tenor of the compoſition; which they tooke with the ſame ſir John Faſtolfe. After the winning of this caſtell, the Engliſhmen remooued to the ſtrong caſtell of Grauile, and after twelue daies, they within offered to yéeld the caſtell by a daie, if they were not ſuccoured by the Dolphin or his power: the offer was taken and pledges deliuered.

Then ſir John Faſtolfe returned in poſt to the regent, aduertiſing him of this compoſition and agréement; wherefore, the ſaid regent raiſed a great power to fight with the Frenchmen at the daie appointed, and in his companie were the earles of Mortaigne and Warwike, the lord Ros and Talbot, ſir John Faſtolfe, ſir John Aubemond, ſir John Ratcliffe, and diuerſe other, to the number of twentie thouſand men; and ſo marched forwards, in hope to méet and ioine battell with their aduerſaries. But the French power, being not far off from the place, durſt not approch. Wherefore, the regent ſent to ſir John Faſtolfe incontinentlie, to receiue the caſtell: but they within (contrarie to promiſe and appointment) had newlie vitteled & manned the place, and ſo forſaking the pledges, and their fellowes in armes, refuſed to render the fortreſſe; wherefore, the pledges were brought before their ſight, and there before the caſtell openlie put to death.

Hoſtages executed for promiſe broken.

After this the lord Talbot was made gouernour of Aniou and Maine, and ſir John Faſtolfe was aſſigned to an other place, which lord Talbot, being both of noble birth, and of haultie courage, after his comming into France, obteined ſo manie glorious victories of his enimies, that his onelie name was & yet is dreadfull to the French nation, and much renowmed amongſt all other people. This luſtie and moſt valiant capteine entered into Maine, where he ſlue men, deſtroied caſtels, burnt townes, and in concluſion ſuddenlie tooke the towne of Lauall. The lord Loehac, and diuerſe other, withdrew into the caſtell, in the which they were ſo ſtreictlie beſieged, that in the end they agréed to paie the lord Talbot an hundred thouſand crownes, for licence to depart, with all their bag and baggage.

The lord Talbot, a valiant capteine.

Then was this caſtell deliuered to the kéeping of Gilbert Halſall, which after was ſlaine at the ſiege of Orleance, in whoſe place Matthew * Gough was made capteine there: who being at the iournie of Senlis, by treaſon of a miller that kept a mill adioining to the wall, the Frenchmen entered into the towne, and brought it againe into their ſubiection. Now the duke of Bedford hearing that the towne of Montargis, in the territorie of Orleance, was but ſlenderlie kept, and not thoroughlie furniſhed, ſent the erle of Suffolke, with his brother ſir John Poole, and ſir Henrie Biſſet, hauing in their companie a ſix thouſand men, to aſſalt that towne; but when they came thither and found the towne both well manned and ſtronglie fortified, contrarie to their expectation, they ſurceaſſed from giuing the aſſault, and onelie laid their ſiege round about it.

* Or rather Goche.

The earle of Warwike was appointed to lie with a great number of men of warre, at S. Mathelines de Archempe, to incounter the Frenchmen, if they would attempt to aid or vittell thoſe within the towne. The ſituation of this towne was ſuch, that by reaſon of waters and mariſhes, the Engliſh armie muſt néeds ſeuer it ſelfe into thrée parts, ſo that the one could not eaſilie helpe the other, but either by boats or bridges. This ſiege continued aboue two moneths, ſo that in the meane time the Frenchmen had leaſure to prouide for the ſuccour thereof; and ſo it came to paſſe, that the conſtable of France Arthur of Britaine, the lord Boiſac one of the marſhals, Stephan la Hire, Pothon de Saintreiles, the lord Grauile, and diuerſe others, to the number of thrée thouſand horſſemen, were ſent foorth by the Dolphin.

These priuilie in the night ſeaſon came on that ſide, where ſir John de la Poole and ſir Henrie Biſſet laie, whome they found ſo out of order, and without good watch, that the Frenchmen entered into their lodgings, ſlue manie in their beds, and ſpared none, for their reſiſtance was but ſmall. Sir John de la Poole with his horſſe ſaued himſelfe, and ſir Henrie Biſſet eſcaped by a boat, and eight other with him. The reſidue fléeing in plumpes, and ſtriuing to paſſe by a bridge of timber, the which was peſtered with preaſſe of the multitude, brake, and ſo there were a great number drowned: inſomuch that there were ſlaine by the enimies ſword, and drowned in the wa-

A great ſlaughter by negligence of the watch at Montargis.

ter, fifteene hundred men.

The earle of Warwike hearing of this miſfortune, departed from ſaint Mathelines with all ſpeed, and comming before Montargis, offered battell to the French capteins, which anſwered, that they had manned and vittelled the towne, and intended to doo no more at that time. The Engliſhmen heerevpon came ſoftlie backe againe with all their ordinance to the duke of Bedford. Yet had not the French ſo great cauſe to vaunt of their ſucceſſe: for at this verie time, ſir Nicholas Burdet, appointed by the duke of Summerſet to indamage his enimies in the coaſts of Britaine, ſent horſſemen into euerie part, working all the diſpleaſure to the people that might be deuiſed. The countrie, through which he paſſed, was waſted, the townes were burnt, the houſes ſpoiled, and great number of priſoners taken, the ſmall villages were deſtroied, and the walled towns ranſomed, and ſo without hurt or damage the ſaid ſir Nicholas Burdet returned into Normandie.

Sir Nicholas Burdet.
Polydor.

Theſe newes being ſignified to the conſtable, and other the French capteins, aſſwaged their great mirth and triumphant ioy, conceiued for the victorie of Montargis, that loth they were to attempt anie further enterpriſes againſt the Engliſh nation. But the duke of Alanſon, who (as ye haue heard) was latelie deliuered out of captiuitie, reuiued againe the dulled ſpirits of the Dolphin, and ſomewhat aduanced, in hope of good ſpeed, the fainting harts of his capteins; ſo that (ſome occaſion offered) they determined to atchiue a notable feat (as they tooke it) againſt the Engliſhmen, which was the recouerie of the citie of Mans out of their hands: for ſo it happened, that diuers of the cheefe rulers in that citie, and namelie diuerſe ſpirituall perſons, meaning to reuolt to the Dolphins ſide, aduertiſed him by letters of their whole minds, which letters were conueied vnto him by certeine friers.

The Dolphin glad of thoſe newes, appointed the lords de la Breth and Faict, marſhals of France, accompanied with the lords of Mount Iehan, of Bueill, Dornall, Torſie, Beaumanor, the Hire, and his brother Guilliam, with fiue hundred other valiant capteins and ſouldiers, to the accompliſhing of this enterpriſe; who comming thither at the daie aſſigned, in the night ſeaſon approched towards the walles, making a little fire on an hill, in ſight of the towne, to ſignifie their comming, which perceiued by the citizens that neere to the great church were watching for the ſame, a burning creſſet was ſhewed out of the ſteeple, which ſuddenlie was put out and quenched. What needeth manie words?

The capteins on horſſebacke came to the gate, the traitors within ſlue the porters and watchmen, and let in their freends, whereby the footmen entered firſt, and the men of armes waited at the barriers, to the intent that if need required, they might fight it out in open field. Hereby manie Engliſhmen were ſlaine, & a great crie and garboile raiſed through the towne, as in ſuch ſurpriſes is woont. The cauſe of this miſcheefe was not knowen to any, but onelie to the conſpirators; for the remnant of the citizens being no partakers, imagined, that the Engliſhmen had made hauocke in the towne, and put all to the ſword. The Engliſhmen on the other ſide iudged, that the citizens had begun ſome new rebellion againſt them, or elſe had ſtriuen amongſt themſelues.

Mans loſt by treaſon of the citizens.

The earle of Suffolke, which was gouernour of the towne, hauing perfect knowledge by ſuch as ſcaped from the wals, how the matter went, withdrew without any tarriance into the caſtell, which ſtandeth at the gate of ſaint Vincent, whereof was conſtable Thomas Gower eſquier, whither alſo fled manie Engliſhmen; ſo as for vrging of the enimie, preaſe of the number, and lacke of vittels, they could not haue indured long: wherefore they priuilie ſent a meſſenger to the lord Talbot, which then laie at Alanſon, certifieng him in how hard a caſe they were. The lord Talbot hearing theſe newes, like a carefull capteine in all haſt aſſembled togither about ſeuen hundred men, & in the euening departed from Alanſon, ſo as in the morning he came to a caſtell called Guierch, two miles from Mans, and there ſtaied a while, till he had ſent out Matthew *Gough, as an eſpiall, to vnderſtand how the Frenchmen demeaned themſelues.

* Or rather Goche.

Matthew *Gough ſo well ſped his buſineſſe, that priuilie in the night he came into the caſtell, where he learned that the Frenchmen verie negligentlie vſed themſelues, without taking heed to their watch, as though they had beene out of all danger: which well vnderſtood, he returned againe, and within a mile of the citie met the lord Talbot, and the lord Scales, and opened vnto them all things, according to his credence. The lords then, to make haſt in the matter, bicauſe the daie approched, with all ſpeed poſſible came to the poſterne gate, and alighting from their horſſes, about ſix of the clocke in the morning, they iſſued out of the caſtell, crieng ſaint George, Talbot.

* Goche.

The Frenchmen being thus ſuddenlie taken, were ſore amazed, in ſo much that ſome of them, being not out of their beds, got vp in their ſhirts, and lept ouer the walles. Other ran naked out of the gates to ſaue their liues, leauing all their apparell, horſſes, armour, and riches behind them, none was hurt but ſuch as reſiſted. ¶ Hard ſhift was made on all hands for ſafetie of life, & happie was he that could find a place of refuge where to lurke vnſpide and vnhurt of the enimie; who in the execution of their vengeance were ſo peremptorie, that it was a matter of great difficultie or rather impoſſibilitie to eſcape their force. To be ſhort, there were ſlaine and taken, to the number of foure hundred gentlemen, the priuat ſouldiers were frankelie let go. After this, inquiſition was made of the authors of the treaſon, and there were found & condemned thirtie citizens, twentie preeſts, and fifteene friers, who according to their demerits were all hanged.

Mans recouered.

Abr. Fl.

Traitors executed.

The citie of Mans being thus recouered, the lord Talbot returned to Alanſon, and ſhortlie after the earle of Warwike departed into England, to be gouernour of the yoong king, in ſteed of Thomas duke of Exceſter, latelie departed to God, and then was the lord Thomas Montacute earle of Saliſburie ſent into France, to ſupplie the roome of the ſaid earle of Warwike, who landed at Calis with fiue thouſand men, and ſo came to the duke of Bedford as then lieng in Paris, where they fell in councell togither concerning the affaires of France, and namelie the earle of Saliſburie began maruellouſlie to phantaſie the gaining of the citie & countrie of Orleance.

Anno Reg. 6.

Duke of Exceſter deceaſſed.

1428

This earle was the man at that time, by whoſe wit, ſtrength, and policie, the Engliſh name was much fearefull and terrible to the French nation, which of himſelfe might both appoint, command, and doo all things in manner at his pleaſure, in whoſe power (as it appeared after his death) a great part of the conqueſt conſiſted: for ſuerlie, he was a man both painefull, diligent, and readie to withſtand all dangerous chances that were at hand, prompt in counſell, and of courage inuincible, ſo that in no one man, men put more truſt; nor any ſingular perſon wan the harts ſo much of all men.

Montacute earle of Saliſburie a politike and valiant man.

Heerevpon, after this great enterpriſe had long beene debated in the priuie councell, the earle of Saliſburies deuiſe therein was of them all granted and allowed, ſo that he being repleniſhed with good hope of victorie, and furniſhed with artillerie & munition apperteining to ſo great an enterpriſe, accompanied with the earle of Suffolke, and the lord Talbot, and with a valiant armie, to the number of ten thouſand men, departed from Paris, and paſſed through the countrie of Beauſſe. There he tooke by aſſault, the towne of Genuille, and within fiue daies after had the caſtell deliuered vnto him, by them that were fled into it for their ſafegard. He alſo tooke the towne of Baugencie, ſuffering euerie man which would become ſubiect to the king of England, to inioie their lands and goods. The townes of Meun vpon Loire, and Iargeaulx, hearing of theſe doings, preſented to them the keies of their townes vpon like agreement. [About Maie in this 1428, the towne of Naunts and territories there with a fearefull earthquake were ſhaken, houſes caſtels and ſtrong buildings, in ſuch terrour, as it was thought the end of the world had beene come.]

W.P.
Les grandes chroniques de Britaigne.

Anno Reg.7.
Orleance beſieged.
Baſtard of Orleance.

After this, in the moneth of September the earle came before the citie of Orleance, and planted his ſiege on the one ſide of the riuer of Loire; but before his comming, the baſtard of Orleance, the biſhop of the citie, and a great number of Scots, hearing of the earles intent, made diuerſe fortifications about the towne, and deſtroied the ſuburbes, in which were twelue pariſh churches, and foure orders of friers. They cut alſo downe all the vines, trees, and buſhes; within fiue leagues of the citie, ſo that the Engliſhmen ſhould haue neither refuge nor ſuccour.

A bulworke at Orleance taken.
Abr. Fl.

After the ſiege had continued full three weekes, the baſtard of Orleance iſſued out of the gate of the bridge, and fought with the Engliſhmen; but they receiued him with ſo fierce and terrible ſtrokes, that he was with all his companie compelled to retire and flee backe into the citie. But the Engliſhmen followed ſo faſt, in killing and taking of their enimies; that they entered with them. ¶ The bulworke of the bridge, with a great tower ſtanding at the end of the ſame, was taken incontinentlie by the Engliſhmen, who behaued themſelues right valiantlie vnder the conduct of their couragious capteine, as at this aſſault, ſo in diuerſe ſkirmiſhes againſt the French; partlie to keepe poſſeſſion of that which Henrie the fift had by his magnanimitie & puiſſance atchiued, as alſo to inlarge the ſame. But all helped not. For who can hold that which will awaie? In ſo much that ſome cities by fraudulent practiſes, otherſome by martiall proweſſe were recouered by the French, to the great diſcouragement of the Engliſh and the appalling of their ſpirits; whoſe hope was now daſhed partlie by their great loſſes and diſcomfitures (as after you ſhall heare) but cheeflie by the death of the late deceaſſed Henrie their victorious king; as Chr. Okland verie trulie and agreeablie to the ſtorie noteth:

Delphinus comiteſque eius fera prælia tentant,
Fraude domi capiunt alias, virtute receptæ
Sunt vrbes aliæ quædam, ſublapſa refertur
Anglûm ſpes retrò, langueſcere pectora dicas,
Quippe erat Henricus quintus, dux ſtrenuus olim,
Mortuus: hinc damni grauior cauſa atque doloris.

In this conflict, manie Frenchmen were taken, but more were ſlaine, and the keeping of the tower and bulworke was committed to William Glaſdale eſquier. By the taking of this bridge the paſſage was ſtopped, that neither men nor vittels could go or come by that waie. After this, the earle cauſed certeine bulworkes to be made round about the towne, caſting trenches betweene the one and the other, laieng ordinance in euerie place where he ſaw that any batterie might be deuiſed. When they within ſaw that they were enuironed with fortreſſes and ordinance, they laid gun againſt gun, and fortified towers againſt bulworkes, and within caſt new rampiers, and fortified themſelues as ſtronglie as might be deuiſed.

The baſtard of Orleance and the Hire were appointed to ſee the walles and watches kept, and the biſhop ſaw that the inhabitants within the citie were put in good order, and that vittels were not vainelie ſpent. In the tower that was taken at the bridge end (as before you haue heard) there was an high chamber, hauing a grate full of barres of iron, by the which a man might looke all the length of the bridge into the citie; at which grate manie of the cheefe capteins ſtood manie times, viewing the citie, and deuiſing in what place it was beſt to giue the aſſault. They within the citie well perceiued this tooting hole, and laid a peece of ordinance directlie againſt the window.

It ſo chanced, that the nine and fiftith daie after the ſiege was laid, the earle of Saliſburie, ſir Thomas Gargraue, and William Glaſdale, with diuerſe other went into the ſaid tower, and ſo into the high chamber, and looked out at the grate, and within a ſhort ſpace, the ſonne of the maiſter-gunner, perceiuing men looking out at the window, tooke his match (as his father had taught him) who was gone downe to dinner, and fired the gun; the ſhot whereof brake, and ſhiuered the iron barres of the grate, ſo that one of the ſame bars ſtrake the earle ſo violentlie on the head, that it ſtroke awaie one of his eies, and the ſide of his cheeke. Sir Thomas Gargraue was likewiſe ſtriken, and died within two daies.

The earle of Saliſburie ſlaine.

The earle was conueied to Meun on Loire, where after eight daies he likewiſe departed this world, whoſe bodie was conueied into England with all funerall appointment, and buried at Biſſam by his progenitors, leauing behind him an onelie daughter named Alice, married to Richard Neuill, ſonne to Rafe earle of Weſtmerland, of whome more ſhall be ſaid heereafter. The damage that the realme of England receiued by the loſſe of this noble man, manifeſtlie appeared; in that immediatlie after his death, the proſperous good lucke, which had followed the Engliſh nation, began to decline, and the glorie of their victories gotten in the parties beyond the ſea fell in decaie.

Though all men were ſorowfull for his death, yet the duke of Bedford was moſt ſtriken with heauineſſe, as he that had loſt his onelie right hand, and cheefe aid in time of neceſſitie. But ſith that dead men cannot helpe the chances of men that be liuing, he like a prudent gouernour appointed the earle of Suffolke to be his lieutenant and capteine of the ſiege, and ioined with him the lord Scales, the lord Talbot, ſir Iohn Faſtolfe, and diuerſe other right valiant capteins. Theſe perſons cauſed baſtilles to be made round about the citie, and left nothing vnattempted, that might aduance their purpoſe, which to bring to wiſhed effect there was not anie want, as of no cautelous policie, ſo of no valiant enterpriſe, tending to the enimies ouerthrow.

1429

In the Lent ſeaſon, vittels and artillerie began to ware ſcant in the Engliſh campe, wherefore the earle of Suffolke appointed ſir Iohn Faſtolfe, ſir Thomas Rampſton, and ſir Philip Hall, with their retinues, to ride to Paris, to the lord regent, to informe him of their lacke, who incontinentlie vpon that information prouided vittels, artillerie, and munitions neceſſarie, and loded therewith manie chariots, carts, and horſſes: and for the ſure conueieng of the ſame, he appointed ſir Simon Morhier, prouoſt of Paris, with the gard of the citie, and diuerſe of his owne houſhold-ſeruants to accompanie ſir Iohn Faſtolfe and his complices, to the armie lieng at the ſiege of Orleance. They were in all to the number of fifteene hundred men, of the which there were not paſt fiue or ſix hundred Engliſhmen.

Enguerant.

Theſe departing in good order of battell out of Paris,

ris, came to Genuille in Beauſſe, and in a morning earlie, in a great froſt, they departed from thence toward the ſiege; and when they came to a towne called Rowraie, in the lands of Beauſſe, they perceiued their enimies comming towards them, being to the number of nine or ten thouſand of Frenchmen and Scots, of whome were capteins Charles of Cleremont, ſonne to the duke of Bourbon then being priſoner in England; ſir William Steward conſtable of Scotland, a little before deliuered out of captiuitie, the earle of Perdriake, the lord John Vandoſme, the Vidame of Chartres, the lord of Toures, the lord of Lohar, the lord of Eglere, the lord of Beauiew, the baſtard Tremoile, and manie other valiant capteins.

Wherefore ſir John Faſtolfe ſet all his companie in good order of battell, and pitched ſtakes before euerie archer, to breake the force of the horſſemen. At their backes they ſet all the wagons and carriages, and within them they tied all their horſſes. In this maner ſtood they ſtill, abiding the aſſault of their enimies. The Frenchmen by reaſon of their great number, thinking themſelues ſure of the victorie, egerlie ſet on the Engliſhmen, which with great force them receiued, and themſelues manfullie defended. At length, after long and cruell fight, the Engliſhmen droue backe and vanquiſhed the proud Frenchmen, & compelled them to flee. In this conflict were ſlaine the lord William Steward conſtable of Scotland, and his brother the lord Dorualle, the lord Chateaubriam, ſir John Baſgot, and other Frenchmen and Scots, to the number of fiue and twentie hundred, and aboue eleuen hundred taken priſoners, although the French writers affirme the number leſſe.

1500 Engliſh did ſlaie and vãquiſh 10000 French.

After this fortunate victorie, ſir John Faſtolfe and his companie (hauing loſt no one man of anie reputation) with all their cariages, vittels, and priſoners, marched forth and came to the Engliſh campe before Orleance, where they were ioifullie receiued, and highlie commended for their valiancie and worthie proweſſe ſhewed in the battell; the which bicauſe moſt part of the cariage was herring and lenton ſtuffe, the Frenchmen called it the battell of herrings. The earle of Suffolke being thus vittelled, continued the ſiege, and euerie daie almoſt ſkirmiſhed with the Frenchmen within, who (at length being in deſpaire of all ſuccours) offered to treat, and in concluſion, to ſaue themſelues and the citie from captiuitie of their enimies, they deuiſed to ſubmit the citie, themſelues, and all theirs vnder the obeiſance of Philip duke of Burgognie, bicauſe he was extract out of the ſtocke and blood roiall of the ancient kings of France, thinking by this means (as they did in deed) to breake or diminiſh the great amitie betweene the Engliſhmen and him.

The battell of herrings.

This offer was ſignified by them vnto the duke of Burgognie, who with thanks certified them againe, that he would gladlie receiue them, if the lord regent would therewith be contented. Herevpon he diſpatched meſſengers to the duke of Bedford, who though ſome counſelled that it ſhould be verie good and neceſſarie for him to agree to that maner of yeelding; yet he and other thought it neither conuenient nor honourable, that a citie ſo long beſieged by the king of England, ſhould be deliuered vnto anie other prince, than to him, or to his regent, for that might be a verie bad preſident to other townes in anie like caſe. Herevpon the regent anſwered the Burgognian ambaſſadors: that after ſo long a ſiege on his part, and obſtinat a reſiſtance of theirs, he might not receiue rendring and conditions at their appointment. At this anſwer the duke hoong the groine, as conceiuing that our ſide ſhould enuie his glorie, or not to be ſo forward in aduancing his honour as he would haue it.

W. P.

W.P. Iehã de Tillet.
Les chronic. de Bretaigne.
Le Roſier calleth him Rabert.
Ione de Arc Puſell de dieu.
In vita Bundvice.

In time of this ſiege at Orleance (French ſtories ſaie) the firſt weeke of March 1428, vnto Charles the Dolphin, at Chinon as he was in verie great care and ſtudie how to wreſtle againſt the Engliſh nation, by one Peter Badricourt capteine of Vacouleur, (made after marſhall of France by the Dolphins creation) was caried a yoong wench of an eighteene yeeres old, called Jone Arc, by name of hir father (a ſorie ſheepheard) James of Arc, and Iſabell hir mother, brought vp poorlie in their trade of keeping cattell, borne at Domprin (therefore reported by Bale, Jone Domprin) vpon Meuſe in Lorraine within the dioceſſe of Thoule. Of fauour was ſhe counted likeſome, of perſon ſtronglie made and manlie, of courage great, hardie, and ſtout withall, an vnderſtander of counſels though ſhe were not at them, great ſemblance of chaſtitie both of bodie and behauiour, the name of Jeſus in hir mouth about all hir buſineſſes, humble, obedient, and faſting diuerſe daies in the weeke. A perſon (as their bookes make hir) raiſed vp by power diuine, onelie for ſuccour to the French eſtate then deepelie in diſtreſſe, in whome, for planting a credit the rather, firſt the companie that toward the Dolphin did conduct hir, through places all dangerous, as holden by the Engliſh, where ſhe neuer was afore, all the waie and by nightertale ſafelie did ſhe lead: then at the Dolphins ſending by hir aſſignement, from ſaint Katharins church of Fierbois in Touraine (where ſhe neuer had beene and knew not) in a ſecret place there among old iron, appointed ſhe hir ſword to be ſought out and brought hir, that with fiue floure delices was grauen on both ſides, wherewith ſhe fought & did manie ſlaughters by hir owne hands. On warfar rode ſhe in armour *cap a pie & muſtered as a man, before hir an enſigne all white, wherin was Jeſus Chriſt painted with a floure delice in his hand.

Grand chro.
*From head to foot.

Vnto the Dolphin into his gallerie when firſt ſhe was brought, and he ſhadowing himſelfe behind, ſetting other gaie lords before him to trie hir cunning from all the companie, with a ſalutation (that indeed marz all the matter) ſhe pickt him out alone, who therevpon had hir to the end of the gallerie, where ſhe held him an houre in ſecret and priuate talke, that of his priuie chamber was thought verie long, and therefore would haue broken it off; but he made them a ſigne to let hir ſaie on. In which (among other) as likelie it was, ſhe ſet out vnto him the ſingular feats (forſooth) giuen hir to vnderſtand by reuelation diuine, that in vertue of that ſword ſhee ſhould atchiue, which were, how with honor and victorie ſhee would raiſe the ſiege at Orleance, ſet him in ſtate of the crowne of France, and driue the Engliſh out of the countrie, thereby he to inioie the kingdome alone. Heerevpon he hartened at full, appointed hir a ſufficient armie with abſolute power to lead them, and they obedientlie to doo as ſhe bad them. Then fell ſhe to worke, and firſt defeated indeed the ſiege at Orleance, by and by incouraged him to crowne himſelfe king of France at Reims, that a little before from the Engliſh ſhe had wone. Thus after purſued ſhe manie bold enterpriſes to our great diſpleaſure a two yeare togither, for the time ſhe kept in ſtate vntill ſhe were taken and for hereſie and witcherie burned: as in particularities hereafter followeth. But in hir prime time ſhe armed at all points (like a iolie capteine) roade from Poictiers to Blois, and there found men of warre, vittels, and munition, readie to be conueied to Orleance.

This ſalutation appeereth after here.
Les grand chronic.

Heere was it knowne that the Engliſhmen kept not ſo diligent watch as they had beene accuſtomed to doo, and therefore this maid (with other French capteins) comming forward in the dead time of the night, and in a great raine and thunder entred into the citie with all their vittels, artillerie, and other neceſſarie prouiſions. The next daie the Engliſhmen boldlie aſſaulted the towne, but the Frenchmen defended the walles ſo, as no great feat worthie of memorie chanced that daie betwixt them, though the Frenchmen were amazed at the valiant attempt of the Engliſhmen, wherevpon the baſtard of Orleance gaue knowledge to the duke of Alanſon, in what danger the towne ſtood without his preſent helpe, who comming within two leagues of the citie, gaue knowledge to them within, that they ſhould be readie the next daie to receiue him.

This accordinglie was accompliſhed: for the Engliſhmen willinglie ſuffered him and his armie alſo to enter, ſuppoſing that it ſhould be for their aduantage to haue ſo great a multitude to enter the citie, whereby their vittels (whereof they within had great ſcarſitie) might the ſooner be conſumed. On the next daie in the morning, the Frenchmen altogither iſſued out of the towne, wonne by aſſault the baſtile of ſaint Lou, and ſet it on fire. And after they likewiſe aſſaulted the tower at the bridge foot, which was manfullie defended. But the Frenchmen (more in number) at length tooke it, yer the lord Talbot could come to the ſuccours, in the which William Gladeſdale the capteine was ſlaine, with the lord Mollins, and lord Poinings alſo.

The Frenchmen puffed vp with this good lucke, fetched a compaſſe about, and in good order of battell marched toward the baſtile, which was in the keeping of the lord Talbot: the which vpon the enimies approch, like a capteine without all feare or dread of that great multitude, iſſued foorth againſt them, and gaue them ſo ſharpe an incounter, that they not able to withſtand his puiſſance, fled (like ſheepe before the woolfe) againe into the citie, with great loſſe of men and ſmall artillerie. Of Engliſhmen were loſt in the two baſtiles, to the number of ſix hundred perſons, or thereabout, though the French writers multiplie this number of hundreds to thouſands, as their maner is.

The earle of Suffolke, the lord Talbot, the lord Scales, and other capteins aſſembled togither in councell, and after cauſes ſhewed to and fro, it was amongſt them determined to leaue their fortreſſes and baſtiles, and to aſſemble in the plaine field, and there to abide all the daie, to ſee if the Frenchmen would iſſue foorth to fight with them. This concluſion taken was accordinglie executed: but when the Frenchmen durſt not once come foorth to ſhew their heads, the Engliſhmen ſet fire of their lodgings, and departed in good order of battell from Orleance. The next daie, which was the eight daie of Maie, the earle of Suffolke rode to Jargeaur with foure hundred Engliſhmen, and the lord Talbot with an other companie returned to Mehun. And after he had fortified that towne, he went to the towne of Lauall, & wonne it, togither with the caſtell, ſore puniſhing the townſmen for their cankered obſtinacie againſt them.

The ſiege of Orleance broken vp.

Thus when the Engliſhmen had ſeuered themſelues into garriſons, the duke of Alanſon, the baſtard of Orleance, Jone le Puſell, the lord Gawcourt, and diuerſe other capteins of the Frenchmen, came the twelfe daie of June, before the towne of Jargeaur, where the earle of Suffolke and his two brethren ſoiourned, & gaue to the towne ſo fierce an aſſault on three parts, that Poiton de Sentrailes, perceiuing an other part void of defendants, ſcaled the wals on that ſide, and without difficultie tooke the towne, and ſlue ſir Alexander Poole, brother to the erle, and manie other, to the number of two hundred. But the Frenchmen gained not much thereby, for they loſt three hundred good men and more. Of the Engliſhmen fortie were taken, with the earle and his other brother named John.

The Frenchmen, as they returned to Orleance, fell at variance for their priſoners, and ſlue them all, ſauing the earle and his brother. Shortlie after, the ſame French armie came to Mehun, where they tooke the tower at the bridge foot, and put therein a garriſon. From thence they remoued to Baugencie, and conſtreined them that were within the towne to yeeld, vpon condition they might depart with bag and baggage. At the ſame place there came to the duke of Alanſon, the new conſtable Arthur of Britaine, and with him the lord Dalbret, and other. Alſo after this the earle of Vandoſme came to them, ſo that by the dailie repaire of ſuch as aſſembled togither to ſtrengthen the French part, they were in all to the number betweene twentie and three and twentie thouſand men.

Priſoners ſlaine by the French as they were taken.

All which being once ioined in one armie, ſhortlie after fought with the lord Talbot (who had with him not paſt ſix thouſand men) neere vnto a village in Beauſſe called Pataie: at which battell the charge was giuen by the French ſo vpon a ſudden, that the Engliſhmen had not leiſure to put themſelues in araie, after they had put vp their ſtakes before their archers, ſo that there was no remedie but to fight at aduenture. This battell continued by the ſpace of three long houres: for the Engliſhmen, though they were ouerpreſſed with multitude of their enimies, yet they neuer fled backe one foot, till their capteine the lord Talbot was ſore wounded at the backe, and ſo taken.

Nichol. Giles. Fiue thouſand ſaith Hall.

Then their hearts began to faint, and they fled, in which flight were ſlaine aboue twelue hundred, and fortie taken, of whome the lord Talbot, the lord Scales, the lord Hungerford, & ſir Thomas Rampſton were cheefe. Diuerſe archers, after they had ſhot all their arrowes, hauing onelie their ſwords, defended themſelues, and with helpe of ſome of their horſmen came ſafe to Mehun. This ouerthrow, and ſpeciallie the taking of the lord Talbot, did not ſo much reioiſe the Frenchmen; but it did as much abaſh the Engliſhmen: ſo that immediatlie therevpon, the townes of Jenuile, Mehun, Fort, and diuerſe other, returned from the Engliſh part, and became French. From this battell departed without anie ſtroke ſtriken ſir John Faſtolfe, the ſame yeare for his valiantneſſe elected into the order of the garter. But for doubt of miſdealing at this brunt, the duke of Bedford tooke from him the image of ſaint George, and his garter; though afterward by meanes of freends, and apparant cauſes of good excuſe, the ſame were to him againe deliuered againſt the mind of the lord Talbot.

Great loſſe on ẏ Engliſh ſide The lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford taken.

Charles the Dolphin that called himſelfe French K. perceiuing fortune to ſmile thus vpon him, aſſembled a great power, and determined to conquer the citie of Reimes, that he might be there ſacred, crowned, and annointed, according to the cuſtome of his progenitours, that all men might iudge that he was by all lawes and decrees a iuſt and lawfull king. In his waie thitherwards he beſieged the citie of Auxerre, the citizens whereof compounded with him to yeeld, if they were not reſcued within certeine daies. From thence he came before Trois, and after twelue daies ſiege had that citie deliuered vnto him, by compoſition, that the capteine ſir Philip Hall (with his people and moueables) might depart in ſafetie. After that Trois was yeelded, the communaltie of Chaalons rebelled againſt ſir John Aubemond their capteine, and conſtreined him to deliuer the towne vpon like compoſition. In ſemblable manner did they of Reimes, deſiring him to giue ſafe conduct to all the Engliſhmen ſafelie to depart. When Reimes

The French king crowned.

was thus become French, the foreſaid Charles the Dolphin in the preſence of the dukes of Lorraine and Barre, and of all the noble men of his faction, was ſacred there king of France by the name of Charles the ſeauenth, with all rites and ceremonies thereto belonging. They of Auxerre, when the terme of their appointment was expired, ſubmitted themſelues to him; and ſo likewiſe did all the cities and townes adioining.

The duke of Bedford aduertiſed of all theſe dooings, aſſembled his power about him, and hauing togither ten thouſand good Engliſhmen (beſide Normans) departed out of Paris in warlike faſhion, & paſſing thorough Brie to Monſtreau fault Yonne, ſent by his herald Bedford, letters to the French king, ſignifieng to him; that where he had (contrarie to the finall concluſion accorded betwéene his noble brother K. Henrie the fift, & king Charles the ſixt, father to him that was the vſurper) by allurement of a diueliſh witch, taken vpon him the name, title, & dignitie of the king of France; and further had by murther, ſtealing, craft, and deceitfull meanes, violentlie gotten, and wrongfullie kept diuerſe cities and townes belonging to the king of England his nephue; for proofe thereof he was come downe from Paris with his armie, into the countrie of Brie, by dint of ſword and ſtroke of battell to prooue his writing and cauſe true, willing his enimie to chooſe the place, and in the ſame he would giue him battell.

Ione taken to be a witch.

The new French king being come from Reimes to Dampmartine, ſtudieng how to compaſſe them of Paris, was halfe abaſhed at this meſſage. But yet to ſet a good countenance on the matter, he anſwered the herald, that he would ſooner ſéeke his maiſter, than his maiſter ſhould néed to purſue him. The duke of Bedford hearing this anſwer, marched toward the king, and pitched his field in a ſtrong place. The French king though at the firſt he meant to haue abidden battell; yet when he vnderſtood that the duke was equall to him in number of people, he changed his purpoſe, and turned with his armie a little out of the waie. The duke of Bedford, perceiuing his faint courage, followed him by the hils and dales, till he came to a town not far from Senlis, where he found the French king and his armie lodged; wherefore he ordered his battels like an expert chéefteine in martiall ſcience, ſetting the archers before, and himſelfe with the noblemen in the maine battell, and put the Normans on both ſides for wings. The French king alſo ordered his battels with the aduiſe of his capteins.

Thus theſe two armies laie two daies and two nights either in ſight of other, without anie great dooing, except a few ſkirmiſhes, wherein the dukes light horſſemen did verie valiantlie. At length in the dead of the night (as priuilie as might be) the French king brake vp his campe, and fled to Braie. The duke of Bedford had much adoo to ſtaie his people in the morning from purſuit of the French armie: but for that he miſtruſted the Pariſiens, he would not depart farre from that citie, and ſo returned thither againe. ¶ In this ſeaſon pope Martin the fift of that name, meaning to ſubdue the Bohemers that diſſented from the church of Rome in matters of religion, appointed Henrie Beaufort Biſhop of Wincheſter & cardinall of ſaint Euſebie, to be his legat in an armie that ſhould inuade the kingdome of Boheme, and to bring a power of men with him out of England. And becauſe the warre touched religion, he licenced the cardinall to take the tenth part of euerie ſpirituall dignitie, benefice, and promotion.

The French armie fled in the night.

Boheme.

This matter was opened in the parlement houſe, and aſſented to: wherevpon the biſhop gathered the monie, and aſſembled foure thouſand men & aboue, not without great grudge of the people, which dailie were with tallages and aids wearied and ſore burdened. As this biſhop was come to Douer readie to paſſe the ſeas ouer into Flanders, the duke of Glouceſter hauing receiued letters from the duke of Bedford, conteining an earneſt requeſt to reléeue him with ſome ſpéedie aid of men of warre, was conſtreined to write vnto the biſhop of Wincheſter, willing him in time of ſuch néed, when all ſtood vpon loſſe or gaine, to paſſe with all his armie toward the duke of Bedford, to aſſiſt him againſt his aduerſaries; which thing doone, and to his honour atchiued, he might performe his iournie againſt the vngratious Bohemers. The cardinall (though not well contented with this countermand) yet leaſt he ſhould run into the note of infamie, if he refuſed to aid the regent of France in ſo great a cauſe, paſſed ouer with his power, and brought the ſame vnto his coſine to the citie of Paris.

About the ſame ſeaſon, the French king, in hope to be receiued into the townes of Campaigne and Beauuois (by reaſon of the fauour and good will which the inhabitants bare towards him) was come with an armie towards Campaigne. Whereof the duke of Bedford being aduertiſed, and hauing now his hoſt augmented with the new ſupplie, which the cardinall had of late brought vnto him, marched forward with great ſpéed toward the place where he vnderſtood the French king was lodged: and comming to Senlis, he perceiued how his enimies were incamped vpon the mount Pilioll, betwéene Senlis and Campaigne.

Here might either armie behold the other: wherevpon for the auoiding of dangers that might inſue, the campes were trenched, and the battels pitched, and the fields ordered as though they ſhould haue tried the matter by battell: but nothing was doone except with ſkirmiſhes, in the which the Normans ſore vexed the Frenchmen; and therefore receiued great commendations & praiſes of the lord regent: who vndoubtedlie determined to haue giuen battell to his enimies if they would haue abidden it. But after the armies had thus lien ether in ſight of other, for the ſpace of two daies togither, the French king not determining to aduenture in an open battell the whole chance of the game, leaſt he might thereby receiue a perpetuall checkemate, in the night ſeaſon remooued his campe, and fled to Creſpie, though his number was double to the Engliſh armie. The duke of Bedford, ſéeing that the French king was thus cowardlie recoiled with all his power and armie, returned againe to Paris, euer ſuſpecting the deceitfull faith of the Pariſiens.

Anno Reg. 8.

The biſhop of Wincheſter, after that the French king was retreated backe, went into Boheme, and there did ſomewhat, though ſhortlie after without anie great praiſe or gaine he returned into England, more glad of his comming backe than of his aduancing forward. Anon after the pope vnlegated him, and ſet an other in his place, wherewith he was nothing contented. On the ſixt daie of Nouember, being the daie of ſaint Leonard, king Henrie in the eight yeare of his reigne was at Weſtminſter with all pompe and honour crowned king of this realme of England. In the ſame yere the French king was receiued into the towne of Campaigne, and ſhortlie after were the townes of Senlis and Beauuois rendered to him. And the lord Longueuall tooke by ſtelth the caſtell of Aumarle, and ſlue all the Engliſhmen within it.

Boheme.

The pope did vnlegat the cardinall of Wincheſter.

K. Henries coronation at Weſtminſter.

Alſo about the ſame time, the Frenchmen recouered caſtell Galiard forth of the Engliſhmens hands, where the lord Barbaſon was found in a dungeon,

Thom. Walſ.

incloſed within a great grate of iron like to a little chamber, and forthwith they brake open the grate: but Barbaſon would not come forth; becauſe he had giuen his faith and promiſe to one Kingſton that was capteine of that fortreſſe for the king of England, to be true priſoner, vntill the Frenchmen had ſent to the ſame Kingſton (that was departed vpon ſuch couenants as they were agréed vpon at the deliuerie of that fortreſſe) willing him to come backe againe vpon ſafe conduct. Which at their earneſt requeſt he did, and withall diſcharged the lord Barbaſon of his oth; and ſo then he came forth, and remained at his libertie, to the great reioiſing of the Frenchmen, which iudged that he had béene rather dead than aliue all that time of his impriſonment.

About the ſame time alſo the French king ſought by all meanes poſſible to breake the amitie betwixt the realme of England, and the houſe of Burgognie. Whereof the duke of Bedford hauing intelligence, thought it ſtood him vpon the more earneſtlie to looke to his charge; and namelie as it were an anchorhold, he determined to prouide that he might defend and ſafelie kéepe the duchie of Normandie, and therefore appointing the biſhop of Terrowen and Elie, named Lewes of Lutzenburgh, chancellor for king Henrie of the realme of France, to remaine at Paris vpon the defenſe of that citie, with a conuenient number of Engliſhmen, he departed into Normandie, and comming to Rone, called a parlement there of the thrée eſtates of the duchie, in the which he declared manie things vnto them, touching the happie life, and great fréedome which they might be aſſured to inioy, ſo long as they continued vnder the Engliſh obeiſance: and therefore he exhorted them to abide conſtant in their allegiance, faith, and promiſe made and ſworne to his noble brother king Henrie the fift.

A parlement at Rone called by the duke of Bedford.

Whileſt the duke of Bedford was buſie to reteine the Normans in their due obedience, the French king departed from Senlis; and comming to the towne of ſaint Denis, found it in maner deſolate, ſo that he entered there without reſiſtance, and lodged his armie at Mount Martyr and Amberuilliers, néere vnto the citie of Paris; and from thence ſent Iohn duke of Alanſon, and his ſorcereſſe Ione la Puſell, with thrée thouſand light horſſemen to aſſault the citie, and followed himſelfe, in hope to get it, either by force or treatie. But the Engliſh capteins euerie one kéeping his ward and place aſſigned, ſo manfullie defended themſelues, their walles and towers, with the aſſiſtance of the Pariſiens, that they repelled the Frenchmen, and threw downe Ione their great goddeſſe into the bottome of the towne ditch, where ſhe lay behind the backe of an aſſe ſore hurt in the leg, till the time that ſhe (all filthie with mire and durt) was drawne out by Guiſchard of Thienbrone, ſeruant to the duke of Alanſon.

The French got ſaint Denis.

Ione had a hurt in the leg and a fall, drawen all durtie out of the mire.

The French king, perceiuing that he could not preuaile in this enterpriſe, left the dead bodies behind him, and taking with him the wounded capteins, returned into Berrie. But in the meane waie, the inhabitants of Laignie ſubmitted themſelues vnto him. The duke of Bedford being in Normandie, hearing of this ſudden attempt, with all haſt poſſible came to Paris, where he gaue manie great thanks, with high commendations vnto the capteins, ſouldiers and citizens for their aſſured fidelitie, great hardineſſe & manlie dooing. Which his gentle words ſo incouraged the harts of the Pariſiens, that they ſware, promiſed and concluded, to be fréends for euer to the king of England and his fréends, and enimies alwaies to his foes and aduerſaries, making proclamation by this ſtile: Fréends to K. Henrie, fréends to the Pariſiens; Enimies to England, enimies to Paris. Marie whether this was vttered from their harts, it is hard ſo to ſaie, for the ſequeale of their acts ſéemed to proue the contrarie.

Soone after theſe dooings, came to Paris with a great companie Philip duke of Burgognie, and then vpon long conſultation had for the recouerie of their loſſes, it was agréed that the duke of Bedford ſhould raiſe an armie, & that the duke of Burgognie ſhould be his deputie, and tarie at Paris for the defenſe of the citie. The duke of Bedford then without any great reſiſtance recouered againe the towne of ſaint Denis, with diuerſe other fortreſſes. And after this he ſent the baſtard of Clarence to laie ſiege to the caſtell of Torſie, the which (notwithſtanding the great ſtrength therof) after ſix moneths ſiege, was rendred vp into his hands. During the ſiege of this caſtell, ſir Thomas Kiriell knight, with foure hundred Engliſhmen departed from Gournеie in Normandie, and rode by Beauuois, ſpoiling and waſting the countrie to the ſuburbes of Cleremont. Whereof the earle of that towne hauing aduertiſement, aſſembled all the men of warre of the garriſons adioining, and with the ſame ſet forward to fight with the Engliſhmen, whom he found in a ſtreict place néere to Beauuois.

Saint Denis by vs recouered againe.

The earle of Cleremont, perceiuing that he could not hurt them with his men of armes, by reaſon of the ſtrength, came downe on foot with all his cõpanie, and fiercelie ſet on the Engliſhmen: but by the terrible ſhot of the Engliſh archers, the Frenchmen in the end were conſtreined to flée; and the Engliſhmen perceiuing the matter, ſtreight leapt on horſſebacke and followed the chaſe. In the which were taken two hundred priſoners, and thriſe as manie ſlaine. The earle eſcaped by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſſe. At the ſame ſeaſon the earle of Suffolke beſieging the towne of Aumarle (whereof was capteine the lord of Rambures) after foure and twentie great aſſaults, had the towne and caſtell ſimplie to him rendred. Thus by little and little the Engliſhmen recouered manie townes which before they had loſt. Howbeit about the verie ſame time, the Frenchmen ſtale the towne of Lauall, by treaſon wrought by a miller, which kéeping a mill that ioined to the wall, ſuffered the French to paſſe through his mill into the towne. Shortlie after alſo ſir Steuen de Vignoilles, ſurnamed la Hire, tooke by ſcaling the towne of Louiers in Normandie. The Engliſhmen in the cold moneth of December beſieged the towne of Laignie in the which was the Puſell, and diuerſe other good capteins.

La Hire.

Laignie beſieged by the Engliſhmen.

W. P.
1430
Le Roſier.

[In the moneth of Maie 1430, with a valiant man in feats of armes on the duke of Burgognions ſide, one Franquet and his band of thrée hundred ſouldiers, making all towards the maintenance of the ſiege, the Puſell Ione and a foure hundred with hir did méet. In great courage and force did ſhe and hir people ſundrie times aſſaile him, but he with his (though much vnder in number) by meanes of his archers in good order ſet, did ſo hardilie withſtand them, that for the firſt and ſecond puſh ſhe rather loſt than wan: Wherat this captineſſe ſtriken into a fretting chafe, called out in all haſt the garriſon of Laignie, and from other the forts thereabout, who thicke and thréefold came downe with might and maine, in armour and number ſo far excéeding Franquets, that though they had doone hir much hurt in hir horſemen; yet by the verie multitude were they oppreſſed, moſt in hir furie put to the ſword; & as for to Franquet that worthie capteine himſelfe, hir rage not appeaſed, till out of hand ſhe had his head ſtroken off: contrarie to all manhood (but ſhe was a woman, if ſhe were that) & contrarie to common right & law of armes. The man for his merits was verie much lamented, and ſhe by hir malice then found of what ſpirit ſhe was.]

Campiegne beſieged.

After this the duke of Burgognie accompanied with the earles of Arundell, and Suffolke, and the lord John of Lutzenburgh beſieged the towne of Campiegne with a great puiſſance. This towne was well walled, manned, and vittelled, ſo that the beſiegers were conſtreined to caſt trenches, and make mines, for otherwiſe they ſaw not how to compaſſe their purpoſe. In the meane time it happened in the night of the Aſcenſion of our Lord, that Poiton de Saintreiles, Jone la Puſell, and fiue or ſix hundred men of armes iſſued out by the bridge toward Mondedier, intending to ſet fire in the tents and lodgings of the lord Bawdo de Noielle.

Abr. Fl. ex Geſnero.

Richard Fleming biſhop of Lincolne.

The books that he wrote.

¶ In this yeare of our Lord, among diuerſe notable men of learning and knowledge, one Richard Fleming, Engliſh borne, a doctor of diuinitie profeſſed in Oxford, did flouriſh: who by the prouidence of God grew in ſuch fauour with this king Henrie the ſixt, & the nobles neere & about him, that he was preferred to the biſhops ſee of Lincolne. This man founded Lincolne college in Oxford, in which vniuerſitie he had beene a profitable ſtudent. Diuerſe bookes he wrote (as the vniuerſitie librarie dooth beare witneſſe) whereof theſe following haue beene ſeene vnder their names and titles; to wit: A proteſtation againſt the Spaniards, the Frenchmen, and the Scots, made in the generall councell holden at Sens: one booke of the Etymologie of England; beſides diuerſe other treatiſes, as Geſner reporteth *Ex bibliotheca Oxonij,* aforeſaid.]

Jone the Puſell taken.

At the verie ſame time that Campeigne was beſieged (as before is ſaid) ſir John of Lutzenburgh, with eight other gentlemen, chanced to be neere vnto the lodging of the ſaid lord Bawdo, where they eſpied the Frenchmen, which began to cut downe tents, ouerthrow pauilions, & kill men in their beds: whervpon they with all ſpeed aſſembled a great number of men, as well Engliſh as Burgognions, and couragiouſlie ſet on the Frenchmen, and in the end beat them backe into the towne, ſo that they fled ſo faſt that one letted another, as they would haue entered. In the chaſe and purſute was the Puſell taken, with diuerſe other, beſides thoſe that were ſlaine, which were no ſmall number. Diuerſe were hurt alſo on both parts. Among the Engliſhmen, ſir John Montgomerie had his arme broken, and ſir John Steward was ſhot into the thigh with a quarell.

W.P.

Chroniques de Britaigne.

[As before ye haue heard ſomewhat of this damſels ſtrange beginning and proceedings, ſo ſith the ending of all ſuch miraclemongers dooth (for the moſt part) plainelie decipher the vertue and power that they worke, by hir ſhall ye be aduertiſed what at laſt became of hir; caſt your opinions as ye haue cauſe. Of hir louers (the Frenchmen) reporteth one, how in Campeigne thus beſieged, Guillaume de Flauie the capteine hauing ſold hir aforehand to the lord of Lutzenburgh, vnder colour of haſting hir with a band out of the towne towards their king, for him with ſpeed to come and leauie the ſiege there, ſo gotten hir forth he ſhut the gates after hir, when anon by the Burgognians ſet vpon and ouermatcht in the conflict ſhe was taken: marie yet (all things accounted) to no ſmall maruell how it could come ſo to paſſe, had ſhe beene of any deuotion or of true beleefe, and no falſe miſcreant, but all holie as ſhe made it. For earlie that morning ſhe gat hir to ſaint Jameſes church, confeſſed hir, and receiued hir maker (as the booke termes it) and after ſetting hir ſelfe to a piller, manie of the towneſmen that with a fiue or ſix ſcore of their children ſtood about there to ſee hir, vnto them “(quod ſhe) Good children and my deere freends, I tell you plaine one hath ſold me. I am betraied and ſhort“lie ſhall be deliuered to death; I beſeech you praie to God for me, for I ſhall neuer haue more power to doo ſeruice either to the king or to the realme of France” againe.”

Le Roſier.

In la vie du Charles ſeptieſme.

Fiue thouſand pounds frẽch crownes in monie.

An hundred and fiftie crownes rent.

Saith another booke, ſhe was intrapt by a Picard capteine of Soiſſons, who ſold that citie to the duke of Burgognie, and he then put it ouer into the hands of the lord of Lutzenburgh, ſo by that meanes the Burgognians approched and beſieged Campeigne, for ſuccour whereof as damſell Jone with hir capteins from Laignie was thither come, and dailie to the Engliſh gaue manie a hot ſkirmiſh, ſo happened it one a daie in an outſallie that ſhe made by a Picard of the lord of Lutzenburghs band, in the fierceſt of hir fight ſhe was taken, and by him by and by to his lord preſented, who ſold hir ouer againe to the Engliſh, who for witchcraft and ſorcerie burnt hir at Rone. Tiller telleth it thus, that ſhe was caught at Campeigne by one of the earle of Ligneis ſoldiers, from him had to Beaureuoir caſtell, where kept a three months, ſhe was after for ten thouſand pounds in monie and three hundred pounds rent (all Turnois) ſold into the Engliſh hands.

In which for hir pranks ſo vncouth and ſuſpicious, the lord regent by Peter Chauchon biſhop of Beauuois (in whoſe dioceſſe ſhe was taken) cauſed hir life and beleefe, after order of law to be inquired vpon and examined. Wherein found though a virgin, yet firſt ſhamefullie reiecting hir ſex abominablie in acts and apparell to haue counterfeit mankind, and then all damnablie faithleſſe, to be a pernicious inſtrument to hoſtilitie and bloudſhed in diuelliſh witchcraft and ſorcerie, ſentence accordinglie was pronounced againſt hir. Howbeit vpon humble confeſſion of hir iniquities with a counterfeit contrition pretending a carefull ſorow for the ſame, execution ſpared and all mollified into this, that from thenceforth ſhe ſhould caſt off hir vnnaturall wearing of mans abilliments, and keepe hir to garments of hir owne kind, abiure hir pernicious practiſes of ſorcerie and witcherie, and haue life and leaſure in perpetuall priſon to bewaile hir miſdeeds. Which to performe (according to the maner of abiuration) a ſolemne oth verie gladlie ſhe tooke.

Polydo.23. in H.6.

Les grand chron.

Les grandes chronic. le 4. liure.

But herein (God helpe vs) ſhe fullie afore poſſeſt of the feend, not able to hold hir in anie towardneſſe of grace, falling ſtreight waie into hir former abominations (and yet ſeeking to eetch out life as long as ſhe might) ſtake not (though the ſhift were ſhamefull) to confeſſe hir ſelfe a ſtrumpet, and (vnmaried as ſhe was) to be with child. For triall, the lord regents lenitie gaue hir nine moneths ſtaie, at the end wherof ſhe found herein as falſe as wicked in the reſt, an eight daies after, vpon a further definitiue ſentence declared againſt hir to be relapſe and a renouncer of hir oth and repentance, was ſhe thervpon deliuered ouer to ſecular power, and ſo executed by conſumption of fire in the old market place at Rone, in the ſelfe ſame ſteed where now ſaint Michaels church ſtands, hir aſhes afterward without the towne wals ſhaken into the wind. Now recounting altogither, hir paſtorall bringing vp, rude without any vertuous inſtruction, hir campeſtrall conuerſation with wicked ſpirits, whome in hir firſt ſalutation to Charles the Dolphin, ſhe vttered to be our Ladie, ſaint Katharine, and ſaint Annes, that in this behalfe came and gaue hir commandements from God hir maker, as ſhe kept hir fathers lambs in the fields (where ſaints in warres among chriſten men were (be we ſure) neuer ſo parciall patrons or partners to maintenance of horrible ſlaughters, rapines and bloudſhed) hereto hir murtherous mind in killing of Franquet hir owne priſoner, hir two yeares continuance in hir abominations and deadlie miſchiefe without anie hir trauell or motion betweene the princes for peace, hir relapſe at laſt & falling againe into hir abiured iniquities, by hir virginitie (if it were anie) by hir holie words, hir faſting and praiers what they might be, ſith ſatan (after S. Paule) can change himſelfe into an angell of light, the déeplier to deceiue.

Theſe matters may verie rightfullie denounce vnto all the world hir execrable abhominations, and well iuſtifie the iudgement ſhe had, and the execution ſhe was put to for the ſame. A thing yet (God wot) verie ſmallie ſhadowed, and leſſe holpen by the verie trauell of the Dolphin, whoſe dignitie abroad foulie ſpotted in this point, that contrarie to the holie degrée of a right chriſten prince (as he called himſelfe) for maintenance of his quarels in warre would not reuerence to prophane his ſacred eſtate, as dealing in diueliſh practiſes with miſbeléeuers and witches. Which maladie he full ſortlie ſalued (like one that to kill the ſtrong ſent of onions would cheaw a cloue of garlike) ſo a ſix and twentie yeares after, he pact with pope Calixt the third, by whoſe mandat directed to his thrée delegats, the biſhops of Paris, Reimes, and Conſtance, at the cathedrall church of Paris, in preſence of Ione (the puſels mother) Iohn and Peter hir brethren, the ſeuen and twentith daie of Nouember 1455, the validitie and goodneſſe of the proceſſe and ſentence vpon hir was called in queſtion, and in great ſolemnitie ſit vpon.

Chriſtianiſſimus rex.

Tillet.

This prelate at his death left a hundred and fiftéene crownes in gold, that vnder colour of warres with the infidels he had fleeſed from chriſten princes.

Plaina.

Wherein the cauſe was ſo ſincerelie canuaſſed among them, that afterward, on the eight of Iulie 1456, a quite contrarie ſentence was there declared: of effect, that this Ione (forſooth) was a damſell diuine, no fault in the Dolphin for his counſell and witcherie practiſes with hir; the proceſſe, iudgement, and condemnation againſt hir all wrong and iniurious. And for iuſtification and remembrance aſwell of hir innocencie in life and death, as alſo of the ſinceritie of their later ſentence, a new croſſe in that old market to be reared. In this tale of Tillets is ſhe further likened to Debora, Iahell, and Iudith, and vnto Romane Clelia compared by Polydor, that ſhames not ſomewhat alſo to carpe at hir iudgment, and much pitieth hir paine. But what puritie or regard of deuotion or conſcience is in theſe writers trow yée, who make no conſideration of hir heinous enormities, or elſe any difference betwéene one ſtirred vp by mercie diuine, or naturall loue, and a damnable ſorcerer ſuborned by ſatan? And thus much of this gentle Ione, and of hir good oratours that haue ſaid ſo well for hir: now iudge as ye liſt.]

Li. 23. in vita H. 6.

After the beſtowing of this Puſell in ſort as yée haue heard, the ſiege ſtill continued before Campiegne, and the duke of Bedford ſent to the duke of Burgognie lieng at the ſiege, the earle of Huntington, and ſir Iohn Robſert (two iollie gentlemen, of no leſſe prudence to parle with the enimie, than puiſſance to incounter them) with a thouſand archers (whoſe actiuitie, I warrant you, ſtood not then vpon the firſt triall) which dailie ſkirmiſhed with them within, and made ſuch baſtiles & fortreſſes, that the towne had béene rendred into their hands, but that the duke of Burgognie departed from the ſiege to go into Brabant, to receiue the poſſeſſion of that duchie, by the death of his couſin Philip the duke of that countrie, as then departed this world.

Anno Reg. 9.

Sir Iohn de Lutzenburgh was left by the duke of Burgognie as generall of the ſiege before Campiegne, the which he raiſed within a ſhort ſpace after, contrarie to the minds of the Engliſhmen, which were verie deſirous to haue lien there till the towne had béene rendered, which if the ſiege had béene continued but eight daies longer, muſt néeds haue come to paſſe; by reaſon that peſtilence and famine had almoſt conſumed all the ſouldiers within the towne, ſo that it remained in maner without defenſe. After the breaking vp of this ſiege, Iohn duke of Norfolke tooke againe the townes of Dampmartine, and the Chaſſe Mongaie, with diuerſe other townes. Alſo the earle of Stafford tooke the towne of Brin countie Robert, and from thence forraged all the countrie to Sens, and after tooke Queſnoie in Brie, Grand Puis, and Rampellon.

During this time, the Frenchmen on the other ſide tooke Louiers, and Villeneuf. Then alſo did the towne of Melun rebell, and had ſuch aid of other townes adioining, that the Engliſh ſouldiers were faine to leaue Melun, Morret, and Corbell. Thus did things wauer in doubtfull balance betwixt the two nations Engliſh and French. But bicauſe the Engliſh ſore miſtruſted further danger, it was concluded, that king Henrie in his roiall perſon with a new armie ſhould come into France, partlie to viſit and comfort his owne ſubiects there, and partlie either by feare or fauour (bicauſe a child of his age and beautie dooth commonlie procure them loue of elder perſons) to moue the Frenchmen to continue their due obeiſance towards him.

Wherefore after a great hoſt conuenient for that purpoſe aſſembled, and monie for maintenance of the warre readie gathered, and the realme ſet in an order vnder the gouernement of the duke of Glocester protector (which during the kings abſence appeaſed diuerſe riots, and puniſhed the offendors) the king with a great power tooke ſhipping at Douer on ſaint Georges euen within night, and landed at Calis on the morrow being ſaint Georges daie, and ſundaie, by ſeuen of the clocke in the morning. He remained in Calis a good ſpace, and from thence he remoued to Rone, being there receiued with all triumph. He taried in that citie a long time, his nobles dailie conſulting on their great buſineſſe & weightie affaires.

King Henrie the ſixt in perſon goeth with an armie into France.

S. Albons.

Ed. Hall.

¶ In this kings time, & ſomewhat about this yeare, a certeine Breton, whome a good honeſt widow had receiued into hir houſe, and conceiued well of him in opinion, was by hir mainteined of hir owne purſſe, & (as Polychronicon ſaith) ſhe found him of almes and for Gods ſake. This charitable déed of hirs deſerued a deuout mind to God ward, and a thankfull hart to hir. But (good ſoule) how was ſhe recompenſed? * Euen murthered in hir bed by the hands of that villaine whome ſo bountifullie ſhe ſuccoured, and motherlike tendered. Vnto which bloudie fact (which was a preparatiue to a further miſchéefe bred in his vnnaturall hart) he added another offenſe: for when he had diſpatched the woman, vſing the riddance of hir to his aduantage, and as he had obteined oportunitie (to his thinking) he conueied all that ſhe had awaie with him for his owne reléefe. Then being perſecuted with guiltineſſe of conſcience, which troubleth offendors with ceaſleſſe vexations, and forceth them from place to place to ſéeke corners of euaſion and ſhift, he tooke priuilege of holie church at ſaint Georges in Southwarke, where laieng hands on the croſſe, as a ſhield of ſufficient ſafegard, he abiured this land, and by that meanes thought himſelfe frée from afterclaps.

Abr. Fl. ex Polychron.

A widow without Algate murthered in hir bed by a Breton whome ſhe charitablis reléeued.

* O fowle ingratitude.

Neuertheleſſe, God (whoſe mercifull nature abhorreth the effuſion of mans bloud) prepared a puniſhment for the malefactor, who paſſing through the ſuburbs of London, without Algate (the place where he had committed the murther) the women of the ſame pariſh and ſtréet (as it were inraged) came out with ſtones, ſtaues, kenell doong, and other things, wherewith they ſo bethwackt him on all parts of his bodie, that they laid him a ſtretching, and rid him quite of life. In the wreking of this their téene they were ſo fell and fierce, that the conſtables with their aſſiſtants (which were no ſmall number) dooing what they could by their authoritie and maine ſtrength,

The murther reuenged by women at the appointment of Gods iuſtice.

relapſe at laſt & falling againe into hir abiured iniquities, by hir virginitie (if it were anie) by hir holie words, hir faſting and praiers that they might be, ſith ſatan (after S. Paule) can change himſelfe into an angell of light, the déepher to deceiue.

Theſe matters may verie rightfullie denounce vnto all the world hir execrable abhominations, and well iuſtifie the iudgement ſhe had, and the execution ſhe was put to for the ſame. A thing yet (God wot) verie ſmallie ſhadowed, and leſſe holpen by the verie trauell of the Dolphin, whoſe dignitie abroad foulie ſpotted in this point, that contrarie to the holie degrée of a right chriſten prince (as he called himſelfe) for maintenance of his quarels in warre would not reuerence to prophane his ſacred eſtate, as dealing in diuelliſh practiſes with miſbeléeuers and witches. Which maladie he full ſorlie ſalued (like one that to kill the ſtrong ſent of onions would chew a cloue of garlike) ſo a ſix and twentie yeares after, he pact with pope Calixt the third, by whoſe mandat directed to his thrée delegats, the biſhops of Paris, Reimes, and Conſtance, at the cathedrall church of Paris, in preſence of Ione (the puſels mother) Iohn and Peter hir brethren, the ſeuen and twentith daie of Nouember 1455, the validitie and goodneſſe of the proceſſe and ſentence vpon hir was called in queſtion, and in great ſolemnitie ſit vpon.

Chriſtianiſſimus rex.

Tillet.
This prelate at his death left a hundred and fiftéene crownes in gold, that vnder colour of warres with the infidels he had fleeſed from chriſten princes.
Platina.

Wherein the cauſe was ſo ſincerelie canuaſſed among them, that afterward, on the eight of Iulie 1456, a quite contrarie ſentence was there declared: of effect, that this Ione (forſooth) was a damſell diuine, no fault in the Dolphin for his counſell and witcherie practiſes with hir; the proceſſe, iudgement, and condemnation againſt hir all wrong and iniurious. And for iuſtification and remembrance aſwell of hir innocencie in life and death, as alſo of the ſinceritie of their later ſentence, a new croſſe in that old market to be reared. In this tale of Tillets is ſhe further likened to Debora, Iahell, and Iudith, and vnto Romane Clelia compared by Polydor, that ſhames not ſomewhat alſo to carpe at hir iudgment, and much pitieth hir paine. But what puritie or regard of deuotion or conſcience is in theſe writers trow yée, who make no conſideration of hir heinous enormities, or elſe any difference betwéene one ſtirred vp by mercie diuine, or naturall loue, and a damnable ſorcerer ſuborned by ſatan? And thus much of this gentle Ione, and of hir good oratours that haue ſaid ſo well for hir: now iudge as ye liſt.]

Li. 23. in vita H. 6.

After the beſtowing of this Puſell in ſort as yée haue heard, the ſiege ſtill continued before Campiegne, and the duke of Bedford ſent to the duke of Burgognie lieng at the ſiege, the earle of Huntington, and ſir Iohn Robſert (two iollie gentlemen, of no leſſe prudence to parle with the enimie, than puiſſance to incounter them) with a thouſand archers (whoſe actiuitie, I warrant you, ſtood not then vpon the firſt triall) which dailie ſkirmiſhed with them within, and made ſuch baſtiles & fortreſſes, that the towne had béene rendred into their hands, but that the duke of Burgognie departed from the ſiege to go into Brabant, to receiue the poſſeſſion of that duchie, by the death of his couſin Philip the duke of that countrie, as then departed this world.

Anno Reg. 9.

Sir Iohn de Lutzenburgh was left by the duke of Burgognie as generall of the ſiege before Campiegne, the which he raiſed within a ſhort ſpace after, contrarie to the minds of the Engliſhmen, which were verie deſirous to haue lien there till the towne had béene rendered, which if the ſiege had béene continued but eight daies longer, muſt néeds haue come to paſſe; by reaſon that peſtilence and famine had almoſt conſumed all the ſoldiers within the towne, ſo that it remained in maner without defenſe. After the breaking vp of this ſiege, Iohn duke of Norfolke tooke againe the townes of Dampmartine, and the Chaſſe Mongaie, with diuerſe other townes. Alſo the earle of Stafford tooke the towne of Brin countie Robert, and from thence forraged all the countrie to Sens, and after tooke Queſnoie in Brie, Grand Puis, and Rampellon.

During this time, the Frenchmen on the otherſide tooke Louiers, and Villeneuf. Then alſo did the towne of Melun rebell, and had ſuch aid of other townes adioining, that the Engliſh ſoldiers were faine to leaue Melun, Morret, and Corbell. Thus did things wauer in doubtfull balance betwixt the two nations Engliſh and French. But bicauſe the Engliſh ſore miſtruſted further danger, it was concluded, that king Henrie in his roiall perſon with a new armie ſhould come into France, partlie to viſit and comfort his owne ſubiects there, and partlie either by feare or fauour (bicauſe a child of his age and beautie dooth commonlie procure them loue of elder perſons) to moue the Frenchmen to continue their due obeiſance towards him.

Wherefore after a great hoſt conuenient for that purpoſe aſſembled, and monie for maintenance of the warre readie gathered, and the realme ſet in an order vnder the gouernement of the duke of Glouceſter protector (which during the kings abſence appeaſed diuerſe riots, and puniſhed the offendors) the king with a great power tooke ſhipping at Douer on ſaint Georges euen within night, and landed at Calis on the morrow being ſaint Georges daie, and ſundaie, by ſeuen of the clocke in the morning. He remained in Calis a good ſpace, and from thence he remoued to Rone, being there receiued with all triumph. He taried in that citie a long time, his nobles dailie conſulting on their great buſineſſe & weightie affaires.

King Henrie the ſixt in perſon goeth with an armie into France.

S. Albons.

Ed. Hall.

¶ In this kings time, & ſomewhat about this yeare, a certeine Breton, whome a good honeſt widow had receiued into hir houſe, and conceiued well of him in opinion, was by hir mainteined of hir owne purſſe, & (as Polychronicon ſaith) ſhe found him of almes and for Gods ſake. This charitable déed of hirs deſerued a deuout mind to God ward, and a thankfull hart to hir. But (good ſoule) how was ſhe recompenſed? * Euen murthered in hir bed by the hands of that villaine whome ſo bountifullie ſhe ſuccoured, and motherlike tendered. Unto which bloudie fact (which was a preparatiue to a further miſcheefe bred in his vnnaturall hart) he added another offenſe: for when he had diſpatched the woman, vſing the riddance of hir to his aduantage, and as he had obteined opportunitie (to his thinking) he conueied all that ſhe had awaie with him for his owne reléefe. Then being perſecuted with guiltineſſe of conſcience, which troubleth offendors with ceaſſeleſſe vexations, and forceth them from place to place to ſéeke corners of euaſion and ſhift, he tooke priuilege of holie church at ſaint Georges in Southwarke, where laieng hands on the croſſe, as a ſhield of ſufficient ſafegard, he abiured this land, and by that meanes thought himſelfe frée from afterclaps.

Abr. Fl. ex Polychron.
A widow without Algate murthered in hir bed by a Breton whome ſhe charitablie reléeued.
* O fowle ingratitude.

Neuertheleſſe, God (whoſe mercifull nature abhorreth the effuſion of mans bloud) prepared a puniſhment for the malefactor, who paſſing through the ſuburbs of London, without Algate (the place where he had committed the murther) the women of the ſame pariſh and ſtréet (as it were inraged) came out with ſtones, ſtaues, kenell doong, and other things, wherewith they ſo bethwackt him on all parts of his bodie, that they laid him a ſtretching, and rid him quite of life. In the wreking of this their téene they were ſo fell and fierce, that the conſtables with their aſſiſtants (which were no ſmall number) dooing what they could by their authoritie and maine ſtrength,

The murther reuenged by women at the appointment of Gods iuſtice.

were not able to reſcue him out of the womens hands; who had ſworne in their hearts (as it ſeemed by the maner of their reuenge which was void of all mercie) to ſee the end of ſuch a villaine as moſt vnnaturallie had ſlaine a woman, a neighbour, a widow, a pitifull woman, a good neighbour, an honeſt widow; the wretch himſelfe being a fugitiue, a ſtranger borne, a begger, and he to whome ſhe ſhewed hir ſelfe the ſtaffe of his ſupport. O ſingular ingratitude which nature abhorreth, law diſalloweth, heauen diſclaimeth, God deteſteth, humanitie condemneth, and euerie good bodie to the verie death defieth; as the old diſtichon excellentlie and with good ſenſe noteth;

Lex & natura, cœlum, Deus, omnia iura
Damnant ingratum, mærent illum quoq; natum.

But to returne to the affaires of king Henrie, who in the moneth of Nouember remooued from Rone to Pontoiſe, and ſo to ſaint Denis, to the intent to make his entrie into Paris, and there to be ſacred king of France. There were in his companie of his owne nation, his vncle the cardinall of Wincheſter, the cardinall and archbiſhop of Yorke, the dukes of Bedford, Yorke, and Norffolke, the earles of Warwike, Saliſburie, Oxenford, Huntington, Ormond, Mortaigne, and Suffolke. Of Gaſcoigns, there were the earles of Longuille and Marche, beſides manie other noble men of England, Guien, and Normandie. And the cheefe of the French nation were the dukes of Burgognie, and Lewes of Lutzenburgh, cardinall and chancellor of France for king Henrie: the biſhops of Beauuois and Noion, both peeres of France, beſide the biſhop of Paris, and diuerſe other biſhops; the earle of Vandemount, and other noble men, whoſe names were ſuperfluous to rehearſe. And he had in a gard about his perſon three thouſand price archers, ſome on horſſebacke, and part on foot.

To ſpeake with what honour he was receiued into the citie of Paris, what pageants were prepared, and how richlie the gates, ſtreets, and bridges on euerie ſide were hanged with coſtlie clothes of arras & tapeſtrie, it would be too long a proceſſe, and therefore I do heere paſſe it ouer with ſilence. On the ſeauenteenth daie of December, he was crowned king of France, in our ladie church of Paris, by the cardinall of Wincheſter, the biſhop of Paris not being contented that the cardinall ſhould do ſuch an high ceremonie in his church and iuriſdiction. After all the ceremonies were finiſhed, the king returned toward the palace, hauing one crowne on his head, and another borne before him; and one ſcepter in his hand, and the ſecond borne before him. As touching other the roiall ſeruices and princelie appointments, they are verie diligentlie & at large ſet out in the French chronicle of that time. This coronation of the king, *Anglorum prælia* as manie other good and memorable matters, ſo this alſo he hath noted, ſaieng thereof in comelie breuitie and truth, as after followeth:

King Henrie the ſixt crowned in Paris.

Le Roſier hiſtoriall.

Aeternæ famæ paulo poſt rege ſepulto,
Pariſijs, diadema vias & compita circum
Iunior Henricus portat lepidiſsimus infans.

This high and ioious feaſt paſſed not without ſome ſpot of diſpleaſure among the Engliſh nobilitie: for the cardinall of Wincheſter, which at this time would haue no man be equall with him, commanded the duke of Bedford to leaue off the name of regent, during the time that the king was in France, affirming the cheefe ruler being in preſence, the authoritie of the ſubſtitute to be cleerelie derogate, according to the common ſaieng; In the preſence of the higher power, the ſmaller giueth place. The duke of Bedford tooke ſuch a ſecret diſpleaſure with this dooing, that he neuer after fauoured the cardinall, but ſtood againſt him in all things that he would haue forward. This was the root (as ſome haue thought) of that diuiſion amongſt the Engliſh nobilitie, where through their glorie within the realme of France began firſt to decline.

The next daie after the ſolemne feaſt of the kings coronation, were kept triumphant iuſts and torneis, in the which the earle of Arundell, and the baſtard of S. Paule, by the iudgement of the ladies wonne the price. The king kept open hall the ſpace of fiue daies to all commers, and after (bicauſe the aire of Paris ſeemed contrarie to his pure complexion) by the aduiſe of his councell, he remooued to Rone, where he kept his Chriſtmaſſe. But before his departure from Paris, the noble men as well of France and Normandie did to him homage, and the common people ſware to him fealtie. In this meane time, ſir Francis called the Aragoignois, a noble capteine of the Engliſh part in Normandie, tooke by force and policie the towne of Montargis, with a great preie of treaſure and priſoners, and put therein a garriſon, leauing it well furniſhed with vittels and munition.

Montargis recouered by the Engliſh.

About the ſame time, the earle of Arundell, being truelie informed that the lord Bouſac marſhall of France was come to Beauuois, intending to doo ſome feat in Normandie, aſſembled the number of three and twentie hundred men, and comming neere to the ſaid towne of Beauuois, ſent a great number of light horſſemen to run before the towne, to traine out the Frenchmen within; the which iſſuing out and following the Engliſh horſſemen vnto their ſtale, were ſo incloſed and fought with, that in maner all the number of them, ſaue a few which fled backe into the towne with the marſhall, were ſlaine or taken. Amongſt other of the cheefeſt priſoners, that valiant capteine Pouton de Santrails was one, who without delaie was exchanged for the lord Talbot, before taken priſoner at the battell of Pataie. There was alſo taken one called the ſheepheard, a ſimple man, and a ſillie ſoule; but yet of ſuch reputation for his ſuppoſed holineſſe amongſt the Frenchmen, that if he touched the wall of any of their aduerſaries townes, they beleeued verelie it would incontinentlie fall downe.

The lord Talbot ranſomed by exchange.

The holie ſheepheard.

This chance ſucceeded not fortunatlie alone vnto the Engliſh nation, for Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwike had a great ſkirmiſh before the towne of Gournie, where he diſcomfited and repelled his enimies: and beſide thoſe that were ſlaine, he tooke fortie horſſemen, all being gentlemen of name and armes. Like chance happened to the freends of king Charles, towards the marches of Lorraine, where Reigner duke of Bar beſieged the towne of Vandemont perteining to the earle thereof named Anthonie, couſine to the ſame duke Reigner. This earle, before the dukes approching, left a conuenient crue within the towne to defend it, and with all ſpeed rode to the dukes of Bedford and Burgognie, being then at the foreſaid great triumph at Paris, where he purchaſed ſuch fauour at their hands, bicauſe he had euer taken their parts, that not onelie ſir Iohn Faſtolfe was appointed to go with him, hauing in his companie ſix hundred archers, but alſo the duke of Burgognies marſhall named ſir Anthonie Toulongon, accompanied with fifteene hundred other men of warre.

Vandemont beſieged.

When the duke of Bar heard that his enimies were thus comming towards him, like a hardie capteine he raiſed his ſiege, and met face to face with the earle and his companie, betweene whome was a cruell and mortall battell. The horſſemen of the French ſide endured long, but in concluſion the Engliſh archers ſo galled their horſſes, and ſo wounded the men, that the Barrois, Almains, and other of duke Reigners ſide were compelled to flee. In the chaſe was taken

ken the duke of Bar, the biſhop of Metz, the lord of Roquedemaque, ſir Euerard of Salſeburgh, the Vicont Darcie, and two hundred other, beſide thrée thouſand which were ſlaine.

* Or rather Goche.

Saint Seuerine beſieged.

In this luckie time alſo, no leſſe occaſion of victorie was offered to the Engliſhmen in an other part, if they could haue vſed it with ſuch circumſpect warineſſe as had béene expedient. For Robert lord Willoughbie, and Matthew * Gough, a valiant Welſhman, with fiftéene hundred Engliſhmen, laid ſiege to a towne in Aniou called ſaint Seuerine. Whereof Charles the French king being aduertiſed, ſent with all ſpéed the lord Ambroſe de Lore, with manie noble men to the ſuccours of them within the towne, whereof the ſame lord Ambroſe was capteine: and therefore made the more haſt to reléeue his deputie, and the other being ſtreictlie beſieged, but yet ſtaied at the towne of Beaumont, till his whole power might come to him.

The Engliſhmen aduertiſed of this intent of the capteine, came vpon him in the night, and found the Frenchmens watch ſo out of order, that a thouſand men were entered into the campe before they were eſpied; by reaſon whereof the Engliſhmen found ſmall reſiſtance. But when the daie began to appeare, and that the ſunne had ſet forth his bright beames abroad, that all things might be ſéene, the Engliſhmen giuen wholie to ſpoile, followed not their enimies in chaſe, but being contented with their preie and gaine, began to retreit toward the ſiege againe, which the lord Willoughbie ſtill mainteined with a part of the armie.

But ſée the chance. The Frenchmen which were cõming after, hearing by the noiſe of the people that ſome fraie was at hand, put ſpurres to their horſſes, and ſet on the Engliſhmen peſtered with bag and baggage of the ſpoile and preie which they had gotten in the French campe. The other of the Frenchmen which before had fled, returned againe, and aided their fellowes; ſo that the Engliſhmen being taken out of order, were compelled to flée, of whome Matthew * Gough and diuerſe other were taken priſoners. And yet of the other part manie were ſlaine, and a great number taken: amongſt whom was the lord de Lore, who (for all that the Frenchmen could do) was kept, and not deliuered. The lord Willoughbie hearing of this miſhap, raiſed his ſiege, and departed verie ſore diſpleaſed in his mind, but could not remedie it.

* Goche.

A legat from Rome ſent to treat a peace betwixt the Engliſh and French.

A truce for ſix yeares.

Chartres taken by treaſon notwithſtanding the truce.

About this ſeaſon, Nicholas the cardinall of the holie croſſe was ſent into France, as a legat from Eugenie the fourth as then biſhop of Rome, to treat a peace betwéene the Engliſhmen and Frenchmen. But when after great inſtance and labour made betwéene the parties, he ſaw their obſtinate and froward minds, nothing inclined to anie agréement, he wan ſo much at their hands by earneſt ſute, that a truce was granted to indure for ſix yeares to come: but as the ſame was hardlie granted, ſo was it of the Frenchmen ſoone and lightlie broken. For the baſtard of Orleance newlie made earle of Dunois, tooke by treſon the towne of Chartres from the Engliſhmen, affirming by the law of armes, that ſtealing or buieng a towne, without inuaſion or aſſault, was no breach of league, amitie, or truce. In which towne he ſlue the biſhop, bicauſe he was a Burgognian. Hereby did new malice increaſe, and mortall warre began eftſoones to be put in vre.

The two errours.

Whileſt theſe things were dooing in France, the cardinall of Wincheſter was come backe againe into England, to appeaſe certeine commotions and ſturres attempted by ſundrie perſons vnder colour of religion: but after that William Mandeuile, and Iohn Sharpe the chéefe authors thereof were apprehended and executed by the gouernour and the kings iuſtices, the reſidue yéelded and confeſſed their offenſes, whereof two articles were theſe (as ſome write) that prieſts ſhould haue no poſſeſſions, and that all things by the order of charitie among chriſtian people ſhould be in common. Other thought their opinions were not ſuch errours, but that their enimies ſpread abroad ſuch rumors of them, to make them more odious to the people.

A parlement called by the duke of Gloceſter the king being in France.

A peace concluded with the Scots.

After that, a parlement was called by the duke of Gloceſter, in the which monie was aſſigned to be leuied, and men appointed, which ſhould paſſe ouer into France to the aid of the duke of Bedford, for the maintenance of the warres: bicauſe it was ſuſpected the truce would not long continue. During this parlement, Iames the king of Scots ſent ambaſſadors to conclude a peace with the duke of Gloceſter, who (bicauſe the king was abſent) referred the matter to the thrée eſtates. After long conſultation, not without great arguments, a peace was concluded. When the parlement was ended, the cardinall well furniſhed with men & monie, departed out of England, and came to Rone to the king, to whome alſo reſorted the duke of Bedford from Paris, to conſult of things not vnlikelie to follow.

Herevpon a great councell was kept in the caſtell of Rone, and manie doubts mooued, and few weightie things out of hand concluded. At length, after great diſputation, with manie arguments ended, the dukes of Bedford and Yorke, and Edmund late earle of Mortaigne, and now (by the death of Iohn duke of Summerſet, leauing behind him a ſole daughter and heire, maried to the earle, and called Margaret after the counteſſe of Richmond) atteined to the name and title of duke of Summerſet, approued the reaſon of thoſe, that held it expedient to haue an armie in a redineſſe for defenſe, leaſt the Frenchmen ſuddenlie ſhould attempt anie enterpriſe to the danger of the Engliſhmen, and loſſe of thoſe townes and countries that were vnder them.

1432

King Henrie returneth out of France into England.

When all things were agréed, king Henrie came to Calis, from thence to Douer; and ſo by eaſie iournies the one and twentith daie of Februarie to London, where he was triumphantlie receiued, and richlie preſented, as in the chronicles of Robert Fabian it maie at large appeare. After that the king was departed into England, the duke of Bedford regent of France, and capteine of Calis, taried behind in the marches of Picardie, where he was informed certeine ſouldiers of Calis grudging at the reſtraint of woolles, began to murmur againſt the king and his councell, to ſome danger of the towne. The duke vpon due examination had, cauſed diuerſe to be put to death, and manie baniſhed that towne and marches for euer.

The ducheſſe of Bedford ſiſter to the duke of Burgognie deceaſed.

The duke of Bedford marieth with the earle of ſaint Paules daughter.

In the meane time, the ladie Anne ducheſſe of Bedford departed this life at Paris, by whoſe death the faſt knot of faithfull fréendſhip betwixt the duke of Bedford and his brother in law the duke of Burgognie began ſomewhat to ſlacken. Shortlie after, to wit, about the beginning of the next yeare 1433, the ſaid duke of Bedford being thus a widower, through the perſuaſion of the lord Lewes of Lutzenburgh biſhop of Terwine and Elie, and chancellor of France for king Henrie, agréed to marrie the ladie Iaquet, daughter to Peter earle of ſaint Paule, and néece to the ſaid biſhop, and to the lord Iohn of Lutzenburgh.

The mariage was ſolemnized at Terwine with great triumph. Which ended, the duke with his new ſpouſe (being about the age of ſeauentéene yeares) came vnto Calis, and ſo into England, from whence in the moneth of Auguſt next he returned to Paris. The duke of Burgognie, though nothing pleaſed with this new aliance contracted by the duke of Bedford, with the houſe of Lutzenburgh, but yet not able to doo anie thing to let it; bicauſe of the mariage conſummate yer he could find any power or knowledge to hinder it. Whileſt theſe things were a dooing, in ſome places the French ſouldiers of the Dolphins, lacking wages (as the time ſerued) tooke both Engliſhmen and Burgognians, ranſoming and ſpoiling them at their pleaſure. Herewith the regent much mooued, prepared for warre after ſix moneths the truce had béene taken: and ſo the warre againe was renewed.

The Frenchmen breake the peace and take the town of Saint Valerie.

The Frenchmen anon as open truce-breakers, raiſed a crue, and ſuddenlie tooke the towne of ſaint Valerie in Normandie, néere to the mouth of the riuer of Some. An other armie, vnder the leading of ſir Ambroſe de Lore, waſted and deſtroied all the countrie about Caen. The duke of Bedford on his part ſent the earle of Arundell, the earle of Warwikes ſonne, the lord Liſle Adam marſhall of France for king Henrie, and twelue hundred men of warre with ordinance and munition to beſiege the towne of Laignie vpon the riuer of Marne. The earle with ſhot of canon brake the arch of the bridge, and got from the Frenchmen their bulworke, and ſet it on fire. Diuerſe aſſaults were attempted, but the towne was well defended: for there were within it an eight hundred men of armes, beſides other meane ſouldiers.

Laignie beſieged.

The duke of Bedford herewith gathered an armie of ſix thouſand men, whereof were capteins; Robert lord Willoughbie, ſir Andrew Ogard chamberlaine to the duke, ſir John Saluaine bailiffe of Rone, ſir John Montgomerie bailiffe of Caux, ſir Philip Hall bailiffe of Vernoill, ſir Richard Ratcliffe deputie of Calis, ſir Rafe Neuill, ſir Rafe Standiſh, ſir John Hanford, ſir Richard Guthin, ſir Richard Harington bailiffe of Eureux, ſir William Fulthorpe, ſir Thomas Griffin of Ireland, Dauid Hall, Thomas Stranguiſh, Leonard Ormſtone eſquiers, and Thomas Gerard. All gentlemen of courage, and as forward to giue the French the foile, as the French for their liues to giue them the diſcomfiture. But vnto which ſide the victorie ſhould befall, vncerteine it was before the triall of both their chances had determined the doubt by the euent of the conflict.

The duke of Bedford furniſhed with this armie and companie of worthie capteins came to the ſiege before Laignie, where he made a bridge of boats, and brought his ordinance ſo néere the towne, that to all people it ſéemed not long able to reſiſt. But the earle of Dunois, otherwiſe called the baſtard of Orleance, with diuerſe hardie capteins, as valiantlie defended as the Engliſhmen aſſaulted. At length the French king, perceiuing this towne to be the thrée cornerd keie betwéene the territories Burgognion, Engliſh, and French, and the loſſe thereof ſhould turne him to irreuocable damage, ſent the lord of Rieux, Poiton, the Hire, the lord Gawcourt, and ſix thouſand men, with great plentie of vittels, to the intent either to raiſe the ſiege, or elſe to vittell the towne.

The Frenchmen made a brag, as though they would haue aſſailed the Engliſhmen in their campe, but when they perceiued the courage of the lord regent, and the deſire he had to fight, they framed themſelues ſo in order of battell, as though they could doo all things, and yet in effect did nothing: but that whileſt part of them mainteined a ſkirmiſh, a ſort of rude & ruſticall perſons were appointed to conueie into the towne thirtie oxen, and other ſmall vittels. But this ſwéet gaine was déerelie paied for, if the loſſe with the game be pondered in equall balance: for hauing regard to their 30 leane oxen, in the ſkirmiſh were ſlaine the lord Saintreiles brother to that valiant capteine Poiton de Saintreiles, alſo capteine John brother to the lord Gawcourt, and fiftie other noble and valiant perſonages.

The Frenchmen thus politiklie hauing doone their feat, in the beginning of Auguſt, remooued their armie vnto Fort vnder Yer, where, by a bridge of tuns they paſſed into the Ile of France. The duke of Bedford (like a wiſe prince) not minding to leaue the more in ieopardie for hope of the leſſe, nor the accident for the ſubſtance, raiſed his ſiege, and returned to Paris, nothing more minding than to trie his quarrell with dint of ſword againſt the enimies, if they would thereto agrée: And herevpon ſent Bedford his herald to the lord Gawcourt and other capteins of the French armie, offering them battell and a pitched field within a conuenient time, and where they would appoint. The French capteins anſwered the Engliſh herald, that there was time to gaine, and time to loſe: and for choiſe of times they would vſe their owne diſcretions.

Anno Reg. 11.

1433

The caſtell of Rone like to be taken by treaſon of the capteine.

Shortlie after, Piers Audebeuſe conſtable of the caſtell of Rone, corrupted with monie, ſuffered the marſhall of France, with two hundred other, as perſons diſguiſed to enter the place by ſtealth: but they were ſoone eſpied, and driuen to the dungeon, where they were conſtrained to yéeld themſelues priſoners: of the which ſome were hanged, ſome headed, and ſome ranſomed, at the pleaſure of the regent. This pageant thus plaied, the lord regent ſent the earle of ſaint Paule, and Robert lord Willoughbie, with a competent number of men to beſiege the towne of S. Valerie, which the Frenchmen a little before had taken. This ſiege continued the ſpace of thrée wéeks; at the end whereof the Frenchmen within yéelded the towne, and departed with their horſſe and harneſſe onelie to them ſaued.

The earle put there in garriſon freſh and valiant ſouldiers, and appointed capteine there, ſir John Aubemond. ¶ In the ſame towne (whether by infection of aire, or by corrupt vittels, which the townesmen did eat) a great peſtilence ſhortlie after happened, which conſumed within a ſmall time two parts of the people. The earle of ſaint Paule, and the lord Willoughbie returning backe to the regent, were ioifullie receiued, and within a while after, the earle departed from Paris to laie ſiege to the caſtell of Mouchas. But being incamped néere the towne of Blangie, he by a ſudden maladie departed this life, the laſt of Auguſt, leauing his ſeigniories to Lewes de Lutzenburgh his ſonne and heire. Bicauſe this dead earle was father in law to the regent, ſolemne obſequies were kept for him both in Paris and in London.

The lord of ſaint Paule deceaſſed.

Anno Reg. 12.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Frenchmen entering into high Burgognie, burnt, tooke, and deſtroied diuerſe townes; wherevpon the Burgognians aſſembled a great armie, both to reuenge their quarrels, and to recouer their townes taken from them. To whome as to his fréends the duke of Bedford ſent the lord Willoughbie, and ſir Thomas Kiriell, with a conuenient number of ſouldiers, which entering into the lands of Laonnois, were incountered with a great power of their enimies. But after long fight, the Frenchmen were ouerthrowne, and of them left dead in the field an hundred and ſixtie horſſemen, beſide priſoners, which after vpon vrgent cauſe were all killed.

Priſoners killed.

1434

The lord Talbot ſaileth into France.

Whileſt theſe things happened thus in France, John lord Talbot gathered togither a crue of choſen men of warre in England, to the number of eight hundred, and ſailed into Normandie, and paſſed by Rone to Paris. In his waie he tooke the ſtrong caſtell of Joing betwéene Beauuois and Giſours, and cauſed all the Frenchmen within to be taken and hanged, and after raced and defaced the caſtell. After he had reſted himſelfe a while at Paris, and taken aduiſe with the councell there, what waie it ſhould be beſt for him to take, without prolonging time; he with the lord de Liſle Adam and others, departed from thence, hauing in their retinues ſixtéene hundred men of warre. And comming to the caſtell of Beaumont vpon Oiſe, whereof was capteine ſir Amadour de Vignoils brother to the Hire, they found it abandoned by them that had it in kéeping, who were withdrawne to the towne of Creill.

The lord Talbot.

Thither therefore the lord Talbot followed, who ſlaieng in a ſkirmiſh the ſaid Amadour, he wan at length the ſaid towne of Creill, and after the townes of Pont S. Maxence, Neufuile in Eſmoie, la Rouge maiſon, Creſpie in Valois, & Clermont in Beauuois, and after with great riches and good priſoners returned to Paris. Neither had the lord Talbot ſuch good and proſperous ſucceſſe alone, but the earle of Arundell alſo at the verie ſame ſeaſon tooke the caſtell of Bomeline, & raced it to the ground, after he got by force the caſtell of Dorle, & from thence came to S. Selerine, where the lord Ambroſe de Lore, being capteine, iſſued out and fought with the Engliſhmen ſo egerlie, that he droue them backe an arrow ſhot by fine force: but the earle ſo incouraged his men, that they gaue a freſh onſet vpon the Frenchmen, and followed it ſo fiercelie, that they ſlue a great number of them, and droue the reſidue into the towne.

Earle of Arundell.

Louiers beſieged.

After this victorie, he beſieged Louiers, whereof was capteine the Hire, and his brother, who rendered the towne without aſſault. Then the earle aſſembling togither a great armie, returned againe to S. Selerine, & inuironed the towne with a ſtrong ſiege. When he had lien there almoſt thrée moneths, euerie daie attempting or dooing ſomewhat, he finallie gaue ſo fierce an aſſault, that by force he entered the towne, and ſlue John Almaigne, and Guilliam ſaint Albine, the chéefe capteins, and eight hundred other men of warre. The children of le ſeigneur de Lore were taken priſoners. The earle put new men of warre into the towne, and made capteine there ſir John Cornewall. After this, he before the ſtrong towne of Sillie pitched his campe. The inhabitants terrified at the loſſe of ſaint Selerine, deliuered him pledges, vpon condition; that if they were not reſcued within thirtie daies next, then they (their liues ſaued) ſhould render the towne into his poſſeſſion: which offer was receiued.

Saint Selerine won by aſſault.

The French king, being aduertiſed hereof by a poſt, appointed (as ſome ſaie) Arthur earle of Richmont (or as other write, John duke of Alanſon) with a great companie of men of warre to go to the reſcue of this towne. But whether it was the earle or duke, certeine it is at his approching to the ſiege, he incamped himſelfe by a brooke ſide, ouer the which a man might haue ſtriden, & perceiuing how ſtronglie the Engliſh were incamped againſt him, he thought it not for his profit to giue battell; & ſo in the night ſeaſon raiſed & went his waie without further attempt. When they within the towne knew that their ſuccours failed, they rendered themſelues to the mercie of the earle of Arundell, who gentlie receiued them, and leauing a garriſon in the towne, departed to Mans, and in his waie tooke the caſtels of Mellaie and ſaint Laurence. About this time the lord Willoughbie & ſir Thomas Kiriell, returning with great victorie out of Burgognie, paſſing by the towne of Louiers, latelie reduced to the Engliſh obeiſance, furniſhed it both with men and munition.

An inſurrection in Normandie.

Among ſo manie good chances, ſome euill are accuſtomed to happen, or elſe the gainers would not know themſelues. And ſo at this time it happened, that a great number of the common and ruſticall people in Normandie dwelling by the ſea coaſt, either prouoked by the French king, or deſirous of alteration and change (which thing the commons much couet and deſire) made an inſurrection, put on harneſſe, and by force expelled certeine Engliſh garriſons out of their holds, publiſhing and proclaming openlie, that their onelie purpoſe and intent was to expell and baniſh the whole Engliſh nation out of their countries and coaſts. Wherefore it maie be likelie, that the blacke Morian will ſooner become white, than the people bred in France will heartilie loue an Engliſh borne. For it ſtandeth not with their enuious nature to alter their malicious maners; as the old prouerbe ſaith truelie of them:

Celtica natura ſemper ſequitur ſua iura.

Theſe rebels thus frantikelie aſſembled, with all ſpéed marched toward Caen, to the intent there both to increaſe their number, and alſo to conſult what waie they ſhould follow in their new begun enterpriſe. But the dukes of Yorke and Summerſet, then lieng in Normandie, hauing perfect knowledge hereof, immediatlie ſent foorth the earle of Arundell, and the lord Willoughbie with ſix thouſand archers, and thirtéene hundred light horſſemen, to ſtaie and kéepe them from making anie further progreſſe. The earle of Arundell appointed the lord Willoughbie, with two thouſand archers, and certeine horſſemen to go afore him, and lie in a ſtale within ſome couert place. Which doone, the earle followed; & ſo kéeping in the multitude at the backe, droue them before him as deare into a buckeſtale: and when the miſerable wretches came néere to the ſtale, the earle made a token, whereat a gun ſhot off for a ſigne. Therewith the lord Willoughbie ſet on them before, and the earle behind, ſhooting ſo fiercelie, that the poore caitiues, wounded and galled with the ſhot of arrowes, threw awaie their harneſſe, and cried out inſtantlie for mercie.

The earle of Arundell mooued with compaſſion, cauſed his ſouldiers to ſtaie from further ſlaughter, and apprehending thoſe that were knowen to be ſtirrers and leaders of the reſt, let the other returne home without further damage: but yet, yer the ſouldiers could be brought backe vnder their ſtandards, there were aboue a thouſand of the rebels ſlaine. And this commotion thus appeaſed, vpon inquirie of the principall offendors, ſuch as were found guiltie were put to terrible executions; as they had well deſerued. During which rebellion, Peter Rokeford and his companie gat by treaſon the towne of Diepe, and diuerſe other holds thereto adioining. After the earle of Arundell had obteined ſo good ſucceſſe in his enterpriſes (as partlie ye haue heard) he attempted another, which was the laſt worke and finall labour of his liuing daies. For the duke of Bedford, being informed that his aduerſaries had gotten the towne of Rue, and therein put a garriſon, which ſore vexed the countries of Ponthieu, Arthois, and Bolennois, ſent word to the earle that he without delaie ſhould beſiege the ſaid towne.

The earle obeieng his commandement aſſembled his people, and came to Gourneie, where he heard tell how there was a caſtell néere to Beauuois called Gerberoie, the which being fallen in decaie, Charles the French king had appointed ſir Stephan de Vignoils, commonlie called the Hire, to repare and newlie to fortifie; bicauſe it ſtood commodiouſlie to ſerue as a countergarriſon againſt the Engliſh townes and fortreſſes on thoſe frontiers. The earle aduertiſed hereof, and perceiuing that this new building would be greatlie preiudiciall to the Engliſhmen, determined firſt to diſpoſſeſſe his enimies of that place, ſuppoſing to find ſmall reſiſtance; but he was deceiued. For there was the ſaid Hire, and thrée thouſand men of warre with him. The erle comming thither, incamped himſelfe with fiue hundred horſſemen in a little cloſe not farre from the caſtell.

The Frenchmen, perceiuing that the earle and his horſſes were wearie, and that his archers were not yet come, determined to ſet vpon him before the comming of his footmen, the which they knew to be little more than a mile behind. Wherfore for a policie, they ſet foorth fiftie horſſemen, as though there had béene no mo within the caſtell. The earle perceiuing this, ſent foorth ſir Randolfe Standiſh to incounter them, hauing with him an hundred horſſes. The Frenchmen fought couragiouſlie awhile, and ſuddenlie came out all the remnant, and ſlue ſir Randolfe Standiſh and all his companie, and boldlie ſet on the earle and his band, which manfullie reſiſted the Frenchmen, till at length the Hire cauſed thrée culuerings to be ſhot off amongſt the Engliſhmen, wherof one ſtrake the earle on the ancle, and ſo brake his leg, that for paine he fell from his horſſe.

The earle of Arundell deceaſſed.

Then the Frenchmen entered amongſt the Engliſhmen, tooke the earle lieng on the ground, with ſir Richard Wooduile, and ſix ſcore more, and there were ſlaine almoſt two hundred. The reſidue ſaued themſelues as well as they might. The earle was caried to Beauuois, where of his hurt he ſhortlie died, ⁊ was buried in the frier Minors. He was a man of ſingular vertue, conſtancie, and grauitie, whoſe death in ſo troublous a ſeaſon did ſore appall the harts of the Engliſh people. Thus oftentimes varied the chance of doubtfull warre, ſo that one time the Engliſhmen got by aſſault, and yéelded diuerſe ſtrong townes, caſtels, and piles: and at another ſeaſon the French people, ſometime by bargaine, ſometime by aſſault obteined the ſame againe, or other in their ſtéed.

The duke of Bourbon dieth at London.

W. P.

About the moneth of Iune in this twelfth yeare, Iohn duke of Bourbon and Auuergne, taken priſoner at the battell of Agincourt eightéene yéeres paſt (as before ye haue heard) now paieng his ranſome, which was eightéene thouſand pounds ſterling, was taken with a moſt ſore and grieuous feuer, the which made an end of his life in the citie of London, on the ſame daie that was appointed for his departure towards France, whoſe corpſe was interred in the graie friers of the ſame citie. ¶ This yeare alſo about the latter end of Maie, was a méeting appointed to be had at ſaint Omers betwixt the dukes of Bedford and Burgognie, for the qualifieng of certeine diſpleaſures and grudges betwixt them kindled and mainteined by ſome flattering taletellers, who raiſing matters of reproch touching their honors, bred ſuch grudges, that all loue betwixt them ceaſſed, all affinitie reiected, and all old fréendſhip forgotten; ſuch enuie inſueth where enimitie once hath princes harts poſſeſſed.

Theſe two dukes come into the towne of ſaint Omers, the duke of Bedford being then regent of France, ſonne, brother, and vncle to kings, thought that the duke of Burgognie ſhould haue come and viſited him in his lodging. The duke of Burgognie on the other part, being lord and ſoueraigne of the towne, iudged it as much vnméet for him to go to the regent where he was lodged. Howbeit by intreatie of fréends, to méet in a place indifferent betwéene both their lodgings was appointed; which offer not accepted, both parties departed diſcontent, and neuer after ſaw nor communed togither. Thus by the proud diſdaine ⁊ enuious diſcord of theſe two high ſtomached princes, Bedford not minding to haue anie péere, and Burgognie not willing to abide anie ſuperior, ſhortlie after England much loſt, and Burgognie greatlie gained not, as by the ſequeale may appeare.

Anno Reg. 13.

The baſtard of Orleance called, the earle of Dunois, the lord Rochford marſhall of France, with other, in the beginning of this thirtéenth yeare, tooke the towne of S. Denis by treaſon, ſkirmiſhed with them of Paris, and leauing behind them a great garriſon, tooke the towne of Howdone, and Pont ſaint Marence by compoſition. And at the ſame time was the towne of Pont Meulan taken by the ſudden ſcaling of two fiſhermen, who entered vp at a common priuie ſtanding in the wall. Thus warre continuallie laſted betwixt theſe two mightie nations, Engliſh and French, within the realme of France (than which therefore no countrie thought more miſerable.) And though the poore people and inhabitants of the good townes and villages, ſuſteined moſt loſſe in their ſubſtance, yet the men of warre oftentimes paied déereſt for the bargaine, being daily ſlaine, wounded, and taken priſoners: for warre ſeldome beareth anie other fruit.

A towne ſurpriſed by entrance of a common priuie.

The fruits of warre.

W. P.
1434
Onuphrius Panuinius.

[It may ſerue verie well here to recount, how ſomewhat before theſe daies, Martin the fift, in the fiftéenth yeare of his popedome, An. 1431, agréeing vpon a generall councell to be holden at Baſill the ſame yeare, did anon after deceaſſe: whom Eugenie the fourth ſuccéeding, and liking right well of the time and place, by his authoritie ſignified and ſent with Iulian Ceſarine his legat, did confirme the choiſe. Wherevpon as the councell the ninetéenth of Iulie the ſame 1431 was there begun, and his holineſſe ſoone after aduertiſed how malapertlie his ghoſtlie children had imbuſied themſelues in checking at their holie fathers faults, and about reformation of his church at Rome; his ſublimitie therat highlie offended (for great cauſe it had) commanded his legat by and by to diſſolue that ſynod, and in his name to appoint a new at Ferrar, and ſo come his waie: vnder colour forſooth how that place was méeteſt for the prelats of the Gréeke church, who had to confer with the Latine councell abont points of religion, wherein they long had remained at ſquare.

But theſe Baſilien clerks, there ſtill faſtlie conteining themſelues, ſo ſmallie regarded this ſummons of Eugenie (who then with his prelats, as the time was run on, vpon prorogation from Ferrar kept an other councell at Florence 1439) as by a confident countermand cited Eugenie ⁊ all his cardinals to come to them at their ſolemne ſet councell at Baſill. Which his ſupremaſie (for ſo beſt became it, notwithſtanding ſundrie citations) vtterlie contemning to doo, they ſoone after like verie impious imps, firſt for contumacie accurſſed his holie fatherhood, then depriued him of his papaſie, and out of hand choſe another in his office, one Amedeus late duke of Sauoie, who afore that time hauing giuen vp his poſſeſſions ⁊ dignitie vnto his children, became an heremite in a monaſterie of his own building by mount Geuenna in Sauoie nigh the lake Leman, where he by title of *Decanus militum Ieſu Chriſti,* and ten more of nobilitie with him, had ſetled themſelues to liue.

The vertuous minded man thus choſen pope by ſpirituall counſell inueigled, left the holie life (ſuch as it was) that he had profeſt, tooke the papaſie vpon him the ſame 1439, and called Felix the fift, which promotion yet he not long inioied. For after, by his ſucceſſour Nicholas the fifts ambition, that had ſuborned emperour Frederike to be a worker in the matter, this ſillie Amedeus was cooſined of his popes golden crowne for a cardinals felt hat. Then (good man) at laſt could he find, whether were néerer to chriſten profeſſion, the life of a vertuous prince ruling in iuſtice, of a ſolitarie heremite vertuouſlie occupied, of an imperious pope that may know no péere, or of a licentious cardinall to liue as he liſt. This poore prince had experience of all, ⁊ then knew the

An. 3. Nichol.

the beſt: when well might he lament him, but too late repent him.

1435

And in the fift yeare of this Baſilien councell that had a continuance of eleuen yeare (whereof an eight were run yer Felix was choſen, in which Eugenie remaining pope ſtill, though of curſt hart he neuer came at them) motion was made among Sigiſmund the emperour and other chriſten kings (who for appeaſing this ſchiſme betweene the pope and his prelats, were all preſent by perſon or proxie) that ſith ſuch horror of bloudſhed betweene the two nations continuallie ſo lamentablie raged in France, ſome mediation might be made for accord: whereof one thing ſeemed to miniſter occaſion of the more hope, bicauſe the duke of Burgognie was willing (ſo that it were not of his owne ſute) to returne and reconcile himſelfe with the French king his mortall enimie and ancient aduerſarie.]

A ſolemne tretie of peace at Arras.

Heerevpon by authoritie of this generall councell, two graue prelats, the one Nicholas Albergat a Carthuſian frier, intituled a preeſt cardinall of the holie croſſe; the other Hugh Luſignan a Cyprian, Greeke, biſhop cardinall of Preneſt in Italie, came to the towne of Arras in Arthois, whither were ſent from the king of England, Henrie Beauford cardinall of Wincheſter, Henrie archbiſhop of Yorke, William de la Poole earle of Suffolke, and Iohn Holland earle of Huntington, with diuerſe other knights and eſquiers. And for the French king were there preſent Charles duke of Bourbon, Lewes erle of Vandoſme, Arthur of Britaine conſtable of France, the archbiſhop of Reimes, and ſir Philip Harecourt. The duke of Burgognie was there in proper perſon, accompanied with the duke of Guelders, and the earles of Eſtampes, Lignie, S. Paule, Vaudemont, Neures, and Daniell ſonne to the prince of Orange, with a great gard and a gallant companie.

Vpon the daie of the firſt ſeſſion, the cardinall of S. Croſſe declared to the three parties the innumerable miſcheefes, that had followed to the whole ſtate of the chriſtian common-wealth by their continuall diſſention and dailie diſcord, exhorting them for the honour of God, & for the loue which they ought to beare towards the aduancement of his faith and true religion, to conforme themſelues to reaſon, and to laie aſide all rancor, malice and diſpleaſure; ſo that in concluding a godlie peace, they might receiue profit and quietneſſe heere in this world, and of God an euerlaſting reward in heauen. After this admonition, and diuerſe daies of communication, euerie partie brought in their demands, which were moſt contrarie, and farre from anie likelihood of comming to a good concluſion.

The Engliſhmen would that king Charles ſhould haue nothing but what it pleaſed the king of England, and that not as dutie, but as a benefit by him of his meere liberalitie giuen and diſtributed. The Frenchmen on the other part would that K. Charles ſhould haue the kingdome franklie and freelie, and that the king of England ſhould leaue the name, armes, and title of the king of France, and to be content with the dukedomes of Aquitaine and Normandie, and to forſake Paris, and all the townes which they poſſeſſed in France, betweene the riuers of Some and Loire, being no parcell of the duchie of Normandie. To be breefe, the demands of all parts were betweene them ſo farre out of ſquare, as hope of concord there was none at all.

The cardinals ſeeing them ſo farre in ſunder, minded not to diſpute their titles, but offered them reaſonable conditions of truce and peace for a ſeaſon, which notwithſtanding, either of frowardneſſe, or of diſdaine on both parts, were openlie refuſed. Inſomuch that the Engliſhmen in great diſpleaſure, departed to Calis, and ſo into England. ¶ One writer affirmeth, that they being warned of a ſecret conſpiracie mooued againſt them, ſuddenlie departed from Arras, and ſo returned into their countrie. But what cauſe ſo euer hindered their accord and vnitie (ſith this and that may be ſurmized) certeine it is, that the onelie and principall cauſe was, for that the God of peace and loue was not among them, without whom no diſcord is quenched, no knot of concord faſtened, no bond of peace confirmed, no diſtracted minds reconciled, no true freendſhip mainteined: for had he beene among them, their diſſenting and waiward willes had ſounded the ſweet harmonie of amiable peace, which of all things that God hath beſtowed vpon man is the verie beſt, and more to be ſet by than manie triumphs, as the poet excellentlie well ſaith:

Abr. Fl.

———pax optima rerum
Quas homini nouiſſe datum: pax vna triumphis
Innumeris potior, pax cuſtodire ſalutem
Et ciues æquare potens.

Sil.Ital.lib.11.

Now whiles this treatie of peace was in hand, the lord Talbot, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Scales, with the lord Liſle Adam, and fiue thouſand men of warre, beſieged the towne of ſaint Denis with a ſtrong band. The earle of Dunois hearing hereof, accompanied with the lord Lohac, and the lord Bucill, with a great companie of horſſemen haſted thitherwards to raiſe the ſiege, and by the waie incountred with ſir Thomas Kiriell, and Matthew * Gough, riding alſo toward ſaint Denis, betweene whom was a great conflict. But ſuddenlie came to the aid of the Frenchmen the garriſon of Pont Meulan, which cauſed the Engliſhmen to returne without anie great harme or damage: ſauing that Matthew *Gough by foundering of his horſſe was taken, and carried to Pont Meulan.

* Or rather Goche.

* Or Goche.

S. Denis taken by the Engliſhmen.

In the meane time was the towne of ſaint Denis rendered to the Engliſhmen, the which raced the walles and fortifications, ſauing the walles of the abbeie, and of the tower called Venin. Shortlie after the towne of Pontois, where ſir Iohn Ruppelleie was capteine, rebelled; and by force the Engliſhmen were expelled, the inhabitants yeelding themſelues to the French king. This towne was ſmall, but the loſſe was great, bicauſe it was the keie that opened the paſſage betwixt the cities of Paris and Rone. But now to returne to the communication at Arras, which after the departure of the Engliſh commiſſioners held betwixt the Frenchmen & Burgognians, till at length a peace was concluded, accorded, and ſworne betwixt king Charles and duke Philip of Burgognie, vpon certeine conditions, as in the French hiſtories more plainlie appeareth.

A peace betweene Charls of France and the duke of Burgognie.

And after, the duke of Burgognie, to ſet a vaile before the king of Englands eies, ſent Thoiſon Dore his cheefe herald to king Henrie with letters, excuſing the matter by way of information, that he was conſtreined to enter in this league with K. Charles, by the dailie outcries, complaints, and lamentations of his people; alledging againſt him, that he was the onlie cauſe of the long continuance of the wars, to the vtter impoueriſhing of his owne people, and the whole nation of France. Therefore ſith he could not otherwiſe doo, but partlie to content his owne people, and cheefelie to ſatiſfie the requeſt of the whole generall councell, was in manner compelled for his part to growe vnto a peace and amitie with king Charles.

He likewiſe wiſhed that king Henrie, vpon reaſonable and honorable conditions of agreement offered, ſhould in no wiſe refuſe the ſame: whereby the long continued warre at length might ceaſſe and take end, to the pleaſure of almightie God, which is the author of peace and vnitie: & hereto he promiſed him his aid and furtherance, with manie gaie words, which I paſſe ouer. The ſuperſcription of this letter was thus. [To the high and mightie prince, Henrie by the grace of God king of England, his welbeloued couſine.] Neither naming him king of France, nor his ſoueraigne lord, according as (euer before that time) he was accuſtomed to doo. This letter was much maruelled at of the councell, after they had thoroughlie conſidered all the contents thereof, & they could not but be much diſquieted, ſo far foorth that diuerſe of them offended ſo much with the vntruth of the duke, that they could not temper their paſſions, but openlie called him traitor.

Spoile vpon the Burgognian people in London.

But when the rumor of the dukes reuolting was publiſhed amongſt the people, they left words, and fell to beſtowing of ſtripes: for being pricked with theſe euill tidings, they ran in great outrage vpon all the Flemings, Hollanders, and Burgognions, which then inhabited within the citie of London, and the ſuburbes of the ſame, and ſlue and hurt a great number of them before they, by the kings proclamation, could be ſtaied from ſuch iniurious doing: for the king nothing more minded than to ſaue innocent bloud, and to defend them that had not offended. The officer at armes was willed to tell his maiſter, that it ſtood not with his honor to be enimie to the Engliſh nation; and that his dutie had béene to kéepe his ancient truth and allegiance, rather than to be occaſion of new warre. And what a new reconciled enimie was in reſpect of an old tried fréend, he might ſhortlie find. [When the meſſenger with this anſwer was diſpatched, and vpon conſultation found, a matter ſtanding both with good policie in forcing the proud ſubiect to know his obedience, and alſo with great equitie to twitch a quareller with ſuch pinſars as wherewith afore he had nipt an other, ſo was it anon brought about, that ſundrie of his good townes and cities rebelled againſt him, whereby (leſſe to his liking than to his deſeruing) he was verie well made to bite of a chokepeare of his owne grafting.]

W. P.

Anno Reg. 14. The death of the duke of Bedford regent of Fráce

This yeare the fourtéenth daie of September died Iohn duke of Bedford, regent of France, a man both politike in peace, and hardie in warre, and yet no more hardie than mercifull when he had the victorie, whoſe bodie was with all funerall ſolemnitie buried in the cathedrall church of our ladie in Rone, on the north ſide of the high altar, vnder a ſumptuous and coſtlie monument. Which tombe when king Lewes the eleuenth, by certeine vndiſcreet perſons was counſelled to deface, affirming that it was a great diſhonour both to the king and to the realme, to ſée the enimie of his father and theirs to haue ſo ſolemne and rich a memoriall: he anſwered ſaieng, What honour ſhall it be to vs, or to you, to breake this monument, and to pull out of the ground the dead bones of him, whome in his life neither my father nor your progenitours, with all their power, puiſſance, and fréends were once able to make flée one foot backward; but by his ſtrength, wit, and policie, kept them all out of the principall dominions of the realme of France, and out of this noble and famous duchie of Normandie? Wherefore I ſaie, firſt, God haue his ſoule, and let his bodie now lie in reſt, which when he was aliue, would haue diſquieted the proudeſt of vs all. And as for the tombe, I aſſure you, it is not ſo decent nor conuenient, as his honour and acts deſerued, although it were much richer, and more beautifull.

A worthy ſaieng of a wiſe prince.

Great froſt.

The froſt was ſo extreame this yeare, beginning about the fiue and twentith daie of Nouember, and continuing till the tenth of Februarie, that the ſhips with merchandize arriuing at the Thames mouth, could not come vp the riuer: ſo their lading there faine to be diſcharged, was brought to the citie by land. After the death of that noble prince the duke of Bedford, the bright ſunne in France toward Engliſhmen, began to be cloudie, and dailie to darken, the Frenchmen began not onelie to withdrawe their obedience by oth to the king of England, but alſo tooke ſword in hand & openlie rebelled. Howbeit all theſe miſhaps could not anie thing abaſh the valiant courages of the Engliſh people: for they hauing no miſtruſt in God and good fortune, ſet vp a new ſaile, began the warre afreſh, and appointed for regent in France, Richard duke of Yorke, ſonne to Richard earle of Cambridge.

The duke of Yorke made regent of France.

Although the duke of Yorke was worthie (both for birth and courage) of this honor and preferment, yet ſo diſdeined of Edmund duke of Summerſet being couſine to the king, that by all means poſſible he ſought his hinderance, as one glad of his loſſe, and ſorie of his well doing: by reaſon whereof, yer the duke of Yorke could get his diſpatch, Paris and diuerſe other of the chéefeſt places in France were gotten by the French king. The duke of Yorke perceiuing his euill will, openlie diſſembled that which he inwardlie minded, either of them working things to the others diſpleaſure, till through malice & diuiſion betwéene them, at length by mortall warre they were both conſumed, with almoſt all their whole lines and ofſpring.

The Normans of the countrie of Caux, being heartened by the death of the duke of Bedford, began a new rebellion, ſlue diuerſe Engliſhmen, robbed manie townes that were vnder the Engliſh obeiſance, and tooke the towne of Harflue by aſſault, and diuerſe other townes. But the lord regent being aduertiſed, ſent foorth the lord Scales, ſir Thomas Kiriell, and the lord Hoo, which ſo afflicted thoſe rebels of Caux, that they ſlue aboue fiue thouſand perſons, and burnt all the townes and villages in the countrie, not being walled: ſo that in that part was neither habitation nor tillage, for all the people fled into Britaine, and all the beaſts of the countrie were brought to Caudebecke, where a good ſhéepe was ſold for an Engliſh penie, and a Cow for twelue pence. Dailie was ſkirmiſhing and fighting in euerie part, in ſo much that the lord Scales at the Rie beſide Rone, diſcomfited the Hire, and fiftéene hundred valiant Frenchmen; of the which, aboue thrée hundred were taken priſoners, beſide the gaine of ſeauen faire courſers.

The treſon of ỹ Pariſiens.

Amongſt other of the priſoners, were ſir Richard Reginald de Fountaines, ſir Alain Gerond, Alain Monſaie, and Geffrie Grame, capteine of the Scots. But yet this victorie and others the like, ſtaied not the Frenchmen from working treaſon dailie, inſomuch that diuers townes turned to the part of K. Charles, and ſome were taken by practiſe, as Diepe, Bois, Vincennes, and others. ¶ So that here partlie was accompliſhed the propheſie of Henrie the fift, giuen out in the ninth yeare of his reigne when he laie at ſiege before Meaux, that Henrie of Windſore ſhould loſe all that Henrie of Monmouth had gotten (for ſo they are named according to the place of their natiuitie) and this prediction was complet and full by that time the yeares of his regiment were expired.

Abr. Fl. Sée before pag. 581.

Paris yéelded to ỹ French king.

But héere is one chéefe point to be noted, that either the diſdeine amongſt the chéefe péeres of the realme of England (as yée haue heard) or the negligence of the kings councell (which did not foreſée dangers to come) was the loſſe of the whole dominion of France, betwéene the riuers of Sone and Marne, and in eſpeciall, of the noble citie of Paris. For where before, there were ſent ouer thouſands for defenſe of the holds and fortreſſes, now were ſent hundreds, yea and ſcores, ſome raſcals, and ſome not

able

1436

able to draw a bowe, or carrie a bill: for the lord Willoughbie, and the biſhop of Terwine, which had the gouernance of the great citie of Paris, had in their companie not two thouſand Engliſhmen.

Which weakeneſſe king Charles well perceiued, and therefore by authoritie appointed the conſtable, Arthur of Britaine, the earle of Dunois, the lords de la Roch, and Liſle Adam, with other valiant capteins and men of warre, as well Burgognions as French, to go before Paris, truſting by fauour of certeine citizens, with whome he had intelligence, ſhortlie to be lord of the citie, without great loſſe or battell. So theſe capteins came before the citie of Paris. But perceiuing that all things ſucceeded not according to their expectation, they returned to Mont Martyr, and the next daie ſuddenlie ſet on the towne of ſaint Denis, and conſtreined the Engliſhmen that kept it, to flee into the abbeie, and into the tower Venin. In this conflict two hundred Engliſhmen were ſlaine, the reſidue vpon reaſonable compoſition rendered vp the place, and departed to Paris.

Thomas lord Beaumont, who of late was come to Paris with eight hundred men, iſſued foorth with ſix hundred ſouldiers, intending to view the doings and number of the French armie; but ſuddenlie compaſſed about, within a ſmall ſpace was diſcomfited and taken, with him foureſcore priſoners, beſide two hundred ſlaine in the field, the remnant chaſed to the verie gates of the citie. The Pariſiens, and eſpeciallie the maiſter of the halles, and ſome of the vniuerſitie, and Michaell Lallier, and manie notable burgeſſes of the citie (who euer with an Engliſh countenance couered a French hart) perceiuing the weakneſſe of the Engliſhmen, and force of the French; ſignified to the French capteins their toward minds willing them with all diligence to come & receiue ſo rich a preie without anie difficultie, readie to be giuen and deliuered into their hands.

The treſon of ÿ Pariſiens.

The conſtable delaieng no time, came with his power, lodged by the charter houſe: and the lord Liſle Adam, approching to the walles, ſhewed to the citizens a charter, ſealed with the great ſeale of king Charles, by the which he had pardoned them their offenſes, and granted to them all their old liberties, and ancient priuileges, ſo that they would hereafter be to him true and obedient: which thing to them declared, they ran about the towne, crieng; S. Denis, liue king Charles. The Engliſhmen perceiuing this, determined to keepe the gate S. Denis, but they were deceiued: for the cheines were drawne in euerie ſtreet, and women and children caſt downe ſtones and ſcalding water on the Engliſhmens heads, and the citizens in armour fought with them and chaſed them from ſtreet to ſtreet, and from lane to lane, and ſlue and hurt diuerſe and manie of them.

The biſhop of Terwine, chancellor there for king Henrie, the lord Willoughbie, and ſir Simon Moruiher, tooke great paine to appeaſe the people: but when they ſaw that all auailed not, they withdrew into the baſtile of ſaint Anthonie, which fortreſſe they had well vittelled, and furniſhed with men and munitions. Whileſt this rumor was in the towne, the earle of Dunois and others ſcaled the walles, and ſome paſſed the riuer by botes, and opened the gate of ſaint Iames, by the which the conſtable with his banner diſplaied, entered, at whoſe entrie the Pariſiens made great ioy. The biſhop and the lord Willoughbie, with their ſmall companie, defended their fortreſſe ten daies, looking for aid: but when they ſaw that no comfort appeared, they yeelded their fortreſſe, ſo that they and theirs, with certeine baggage, might peaceablie returne to Rone. Thus was the citie of Paris brought into the poſſeſſion of Charles the French king, through the vntrue demeanour of the citizens, who contrarie to their oths, and promiſed allegiance, like falſe and inconſtant people, ſo reuolted from the Engliſh.

Paris yeelded to ÿ French king.

After this glorious gaine, the Frenchmen beſieged the towne of Craill vpon Oiſe, wherof ſir William Chamberlaine was capteine, the which with fiue hundred Engliſhmen iſſued out of the towne, and after long fight, diſcomfited his enimies, & ſlue two hundred, and tooke a great number priſoners: the remnant not liking the market, departed to Campaigne, and other townes adioining. During which ſeaſon, twelue burgeſſes of the towne of Giſours ſold it for monie vnto Poiton de Xantrailes. But he had not the caſtell deliuered, & therefore with all his power he beſieged the ſame; whereof the lord Talbot being aduertiſed, ſent for the lord Scales, and they both with eighteene hundred men reſcued the caſtell, tooke the towne, and diſcomfited their enimies, and ſlue of them aboue foure hundred perſons.

Now according to the old saieng (when the ſteed is ſtolen ſhut the ſtable doore) the duke of Yorke appointed at the laſt parlement to be regent of France (after that Paris, Saint Denis, Saint Germans in Laie, and diuerſe other townes in France were taken and betraied for lacke of conuenient ſuccours) was ſent ouer into Normandie with eight thouſand men, and in his companie, the earles of Saliſburie, and Suffolke, and the lord Fawconbridge, and diuerſe other valiant capteins. When he was landed, the earle of Saliſburie beſieged the caſtell of Chambois, which ſhortlie was to him rendered. Then the duke remooued to Rone, where he ſet good orders, and did great iuſtice to the countrie; wherefore the Normans in their chronicles highlie extoll him for that point. Howbeit they ſaie, that he gat by long ſiege the towne and abbeie of Fecampe, and did none other notable act, during the time of his rule and gouernment.

The duke ſet into France too late.

In this fourteenth yeare, the duke of Burgognie determined by the aduiſe of his councell, to attempt the winning of Calis. The prouiſion was woonderous great which was made for the atchiuing of this enterpriſe: whereof ſir Iohn Ratcliffe, deputie of the towne of Calis, hauing perfect intelligence, aduertiſed king Henrie, and his councell, who incontinentlie ſent thither the earle of Mortaigne, ſonne to the duke of Summerſet, and the lord Camois, with fifteene hundred men, and great foiſon of vittels, that iſſued out of Calis, and came before Grauelin, where they were incountered with a great number of Flemings, who were ſhortlie diſcomfited, foure hundred of them ſlaine, and ſix ſcore taken priſoners. Within two daies after, the Engliſhmen draue by fine force the lords of Warren and Bado to the barriers of Ard, and diſcomfited their whole companie, to the number of fifteene hundred, ſlue ſeauen valiant capteins, and tooke manie gentlemen priſoners.

The duke of Burgonie prepareth an armie againſt Calis.

The duke of Burgognie, remaining ſtill in his former purpoſe, aſſembled togither, of Flemings, Picards, Hollanders, and Heneweirs, a great armie, to the number of fortie thouſand, ſo well armed, ſo well vitteled, ſo well furniſhed with ordinance, and garniſhed in all things, that they thought and blazed amongſt themſelues, that the Caliſians would leaue their towne deſolate, and flee for their ſafegard, hearing onelie of the dukes approch: but they reckoned without their hoſt; and ſo paid a deerer ſhot than they looked for. Now when this mightie armie was paſt the water of Grauelin, the duke intending to begin his feats, aſſaulted the little poore caſtell of Oie, which hauing in it but fiftie ſouldiers, whereof twelue ſold their liues deerelie; the remnant (compelled by neceſſitie) yeelded themſelues to the dukes

The duke of Burgognie with fortie thouſand mẽ.

mercie, which to pleaſe the Gantois (being of number moſt puiſſant in all the armie) liberallie gaue to them, both the caſtell and priſoners, who (rude & cruell people) not onelie raced the caſtell, but alſo hanged nine and twentie of the captiues, and had ſo doone with the reſidue, if the duke, offended at their crueltie, had not willed a ſtaie.

After this feat doone, the Picards beſieged the caſtell of Marke, & gaue thrée aſſaults to it. The Engliſhmen within, being in number two hundred and ſix, vnder the gouernement of their capteine ſir John Gedding, valiantlie defended the place; vntill at length, deſpairing of ſuccours, they yéelded themſelues (their liues & lims ſaued.) The caſtell of Marke being thus deliuered, was raced to the ground. Then the duke, accompanied with the duke of Cleues, the earle of Eſtampes, the lords of Dantoing, Croie, Criſquie, Humiers, and manie other barons and knights, with his great armie, came before Calis, & placed his ſiege about the ſame, moſt to his aduantage: he gaue thrée aſſaults, and gained nothing by them, but conſtreined to kéepe them further off. At the firſt aſſault, the Hire which was come to ſée the duke of Burgognie, was ſore wounded and hurt. A cooling card it was alſo vnto them, ſtill to ſée ſhips arriued in the hauen out of England, openlie before their faces, laden with vittels, munition and men.

Calis beſieged by the duke of Burgogne.

The duke on a daie riding about to view the ſituation of the towne, to the intent to take his moſt aduantage (either by aſſault or otherwiſe) was quickelie eſpied, and with the ſhot of a canon, a trumpetter, which rode next before him, and thrée horſſes in his companie were ſlaine out of hand. The lord of Croie, and a conuenient number with him, was appointed to beſiege the caſtell of Guiſnes, where he got little profit, and did leſſe harme. Moreouer, for the better aduancing of his enterpriſe, the duke minded to ſtop vp the hauen; ſo that no ſuccours ſhould enter there. Hervpon, he cauſed foure great hulkes to be fraught with great ſquare ſtones, cemented and ioined togither with lead, to the intent they ſhould lie ſtill like a mount, and not ſeuer in ſunder.

The dukes enterpriſe to bar ẏ hauen.

Theſe ſhips, with the reſidue of the dukes nauie, were conueied into the mouth of Calis hauen, and at a full ſea, by craft and policie, were ſonke downe to the ground. But whether God would not that the hauen ſhould be deſtroied, either the conueiers of the hulkes knew not the verie chanell; theſe foure great ſhips, at the low water, laie openlie vpon the ſands, without hurting the rode or chanell. Which when the ſouldiers perceiued, they iſſued out of the towne, brake the ſhips, and caried both the ſtones and timber into the towne. An other deuiſe the duke had, which was the building of a ſtrong baſtile vpon a little mountaine, which he furniſhed with foure hundred men, and much artillerie, that did impeach the Engliſhmen from iſſuing forth of the towne, to their great diſpleaſure.

Whileſt theſe things were adoing, there came to the duke an herald called Penbroke, belonging to the duke of Gloceſter, who declared to the duke of Burgognie, that the protector of England his maiſter (if God would ſend him wind & weather) would giue him battell, either there, or in anie other place within his owne countrie, where he would appoint, and that with ſpéed, if God vouchſafed him wind and weather. The duke anſwered the herald; Sir, ſaie to your maiſter, that his challenge is both honorable and reaſonable: howbeit, he ſhall not néed to take the paines to ſéeke me in mine owne countrie, for (God willing) he ſhall find me héere, till I haue my will of the towne, readie to abide him and all the power he can bring. After the herald had receiued this anſwer, he was highlie chéered, and had a cup and an hundred guildens to him giuen in reward, and ſo he returned to Calis.

After whoſe departure, the duke called a councell in the chéefe pauilion of the Gantois, about this meſſage of the Engliſh herald, where it was determined with great courage, that they would abide the battell, if the duke of Gloceſter came to offer it. Whileſt this great matter was in conſultation, the Caliſians, not well content with the baſtile which the duke had newlie builded, iſſued out of the towne in great number, part on horſſebacke and part on foot. The footmen ran to aſſault the baſtile, and the horſſemen went betwéene the armie & the aſſailants, to ſtop the aid and ſuccours that might come. Vpon the ſounding of the alarme, the duke himſelfe in perſon was comming on foot, to reléeue his men: but being kept backe a ſpace by the Engliſh horſſemen, in that delaie of time, the baſtile was woone by fine force; and eight ſcore perſons of thoſe that kept it ſlaine, beſide the reſidue which were taken priſoners, and led to Calis, with all the ordinance and artillerie, to the high diſpleaſure of the duke and his prudent councell. The next daie after, there ſprang a rumor in the armie (no man could tell how) that the duke of Gloceſter with a great puiſſance was alreadie imbarked, and would arriue at the next tide. The ſame night the duke fled awaie, and ſent in all haſt to the lord of Croie, to raiſe his ſiege before Guiſnes, which tidings were to him verie ioious, for he neither got nor ſaued. So theſe two capteins departed, leauing behind them, both ordinance, vittels, & great riches.

The dukes baſtile woon.

The duke of Burgogne breaketh vp the ſiege before Calis, and fleeth the 26 of Julie.

¶ The French writers (to ſaue the honor of the duke of Burgognie) ſaie, that there was a certeine diſcord and commotion amongſt the Flemings and Duch nation, affirming, that the great lords and the Picards (whome the Frenchmen greatlie extoll) would betraie and ſell the Flemings and their fréends, and that for the ſame cauſe in a great furie they cried; Home, home: and would not tarrie for anie requeſt that the duke could make, and ſo by their miſgouernance, the duke was inforced to raiſe his ſiege, and to depart. The Flemiſh authors affirme the contrarie, ſaieng, that they were readie to abide the comming of the duke of Gloceſter: but the duke of Burgognie fearing to be intrapped betwéene the Engliſh armie without, and the garriſon within the towne of Calis, fled awaie in the night, giuing to them no warning thereof before, ſo that for lacke of time, and conuenient ſpace to lade and carrie their ſtuffe, and being commanded vpon the ſudden to diſlodge with all ſpéed, they left behind them their vittels, tents, and other things, to their great loſſe and detriment.

Howſoeuer the matter was, the truth is, that he fled the ſix and twentith daie of Julie, in the night. And the next daie in the morning, the duke of Gloceſter landed in Calis hauen, & ſtreight went into the campe, where his enimies the night before were lodged, and there he found manie faire péeces of ordinance, and ſpeciallie one called Digeon: ſo named, after the chéefe towne of Burgognie; beſide pauilions, wine, béere, meale, and innumerable vittels. The duke of Gloceſter, ſéeing his enimies reculed, hauing in his companie fiue and twentie thouſand men, entered into Flanders, burning houſes, killing ſuch as made reſiſtance, deſtroieng the countrie on euerie part, ſetting fire in the townes of Poperinch, Bailleull, and others. Alſo, they waſted the ſuburbes of diuerſe cloſed townes, and after paſſed by Newcaſtell, Rimeſture, and Walon chapell: and then entering into Artois, they came to Arques and Blandeſques, ſetting fire in euerie part where they came. Thus they paſſed by ſaint Omers, and finallie by Arde returned to Guiſnes: and ſo to Calis at the ſix wéeks end, with great booties of cattell and riches.

A gun called Digeon.

The duke of Gloceſter ſpoileth Flanders.

In all this their iournie, they had but ſmall ſtore of bread, which cauſed much faintneſſe and diuerſe diſeaſes in the armie, whereof a greater number died than did of the enimies ſword: and yet the Flemings write, that they of Bruges diſtreſſed to the number of two thouſand Engliſhmen in this iournie. Howbeit, the French writers affirme, that the Engliſhmen loſt more of their companie in the marches about Ard, than they did in all other places where they had béene before, hauing paſſed through the parties of Flanders, without incounter, or any damage doone to them by the enimies. After that, the duke of Gloceſter returned into England, where he was aduertiſed, that Iames king of Scots had beſieged the caſtell of Rockeſburgh with thirtie thouſand men: but the capteine thereof, ſir Raſe Greie defended it ſo manfullie, for the ſpace of twentie daies, that king Iames being then aduertiſed, that the earle of Northumberland was comming to fight with him, fled with no leſſe loſſe than diſhonor, and inough of both.

Barland.

Enguerant.

The king of Scots fled from his ſiege at Rockeſburgh.

Anno Reg. 15.

Shortlie after that the duke of Burgognie had béene before Calis, at the deſire of princes, a truce for a time was moued to be had betwéene the king of England & the ſaid duke. For which cauſe were ſent to Grauelin for the king of England, Henrie Beauford cardinall of Wincheſter, Iohn lord Mowbraie duke of Northfolke, Humfrie earle of Stafford, and diuerſe other well learned & honorable perſonages. And for the duke of Burgognie, there appeared the ducheſſe his wife, the biſhop of Arras, the lord of Croie, and diuerſe other. At this treatie, a truce was taken for a ſmall time, and for a leſſe obſerued, which was concluded betwéene the king of England, and the ducheſſe of Burgognie (interlacing the duke and his name.)

A truce taken betwéene the king of England and the ducheſſe of Burgognie.

Hall.

Some thinke, that the king of England would neuer enter in league with him, bicauſe he had broken his promiſe, oth, and writing ſealed to him, and to his father. Other imagined this to be doone of a cautell, to caſt a miſt before the French kings eies, to the intent he ſhould beléeue that this feat was wrought by the ducheſſe, without aſſent or knowledge of the duke or his councell; and ſo he was not bound to accompliſh anie act or thing doone in his wiues treatie. Thus may you ſée, that princes ſometime with ſuch vaine gloſſes and ſcornefull expoſitions will hide their doings, and cloke their purpoſes; to the intent they would not either be eſpied, or elſe that they may plucke their heads out of the collar at their pleaſure. But (as the common opinion goeth) he which is a promiſe-breaker eſcapeth not alwaies with impunitie. For it is well ſéene by dailie and vſuall euents both in princes and priuat perſons, that for violating their faith, and breaking of promiſe, manie diſcommodities ariſe, and inconueniences not a few doo follow. To the due kéeping whereof the heathen bare ſuch a religious conſcience, that a prophane man in reſpect of others, preferreth it before ſacrifice, the ſentence is of great excellencie out of a pagans mouth:

Non boue mactato cœleſtia numina gaudent,
Sed quæ præſtanda eſt & ſine teſte fide.

1437

About this ſeaſon, quéene Katharine mother to the king of England departed out of this life, and was buried by hir huſband in the abbeie of Weſtminſter. This woman, after the death of king Henrie the fift hir huſband, being yoong and luſtie, following more hir owne wanton appetite than fréendlie counſell, and regarding more priuate affection than princelike honour, tooke to huſband priuilie a galant gentleman and a right beautifull perſon, indued with manie goodlie gifts both of bodie & mind, called Owen Teuther, a man deſcended of the noble linage and ancient line of Cadwallader laſt king of the Britains. By this Owen ſhe brought forth thrée goodlie ſonnes, Edmund, Iaſper, and another that was a monke in Weſtminſter, and liued a ſmall time: alſo a daughter which in hir youth departed out of this tranſitorie life.

Katharine mother to king Henrie maried Owen Teuther.

King Henrie, after the death of his mother, bicauſe, they were his brethren of one wombe, created Edmund earle of Richmund, and Iaſper earle of Penbroke: which Edmund of Margaret daughter and ſole heire to Iohn duke of Summerſet begat Henrie, who after was king of this realme, called Henrie the ſeuenth, of whome ye ſhall heare more in place conuenient. This Owen, after the death of the quéene his wife, was apprehended and committed to ward, bicauſe that (contrarie to the ſtatute made in the ſixt yeare of this king) he preſumptuouſlie had maried the quéene, without the kings eſpeciall aſſent, out of which priſon he eſcaped, and let out other with him, but was againe apprehended, and after eſcaped againe. ¶ Polychronicon ſaith that he was a ſquier of low birth and like degrée, the ſame author alſo reporteth that he was commanded to Newgate by the duke of Gloceſter then lord protector of the realme: out of which priſon he brake by the helpe of a préeſt that was his chapline. Neuertheleſſe he was apprehended afterwards by the lord Beaumont, & brought againe to Newgate, whence (when he had remained there a while) he was deliuered and ſet at libertie.]

Abr. Fl.

The ducheſſe of Bedford alſo, ſiſter to Lewes erle of S. Paule, more for affection than increaſe of honour, without counſell of hir fréends, maried a luſtie yoong knight, called ſir Richard Wooduile, to the great diſpleaſure of hir vncle the biſhop of Terwine, and the earle hir brother. This ſir Richard was made baron of Riuers, and after earle, and had by this ladie manie noble ſonnes, and faire daughters, of the which one was the ladie Elizabeth, after quéene of England, by reaſon ſhe was married vnto Edward the fourth. ¶ Whileſt this marriage was a celebrating, Iane late quéene of England, and before ducheſſe of Britaine, daughter to the king of Nauarre, and wife to king Henrie the fourth, died at the manor of Hauering, and was buried by hir huſband at Canturburie. ¶ About the ſame time, deceaſſed alſo the counteſſe of Warwike, and Henrie archbiſhop of Yorke.

Quéene Elizabeth.

In this yeare alſo, the duke of Summerſet, accompanied with the lords of Fauconbridge, Talbot, ſir Francis Surien, the Arrogonnois, Matthew * Gough, Thomas Paulet, Thomas Harington, Walter Limbrike, Iohn Gedding, William Watton eſquiers, and Thomas Hilton bailiffe of Rone, with a great companie of the Engliſh partie, beſieged the towne of Harflue (latelie before gotten by the Frenchmen) both by water and land: the capteine within the towne was one ſir Iohn d'Eſtouteuille, hauing his brother Robert with him, and a ſix hundred good fighting men. The aſſailants caſt trenches, and ſo fortified themſelues in their campe and lodgings, that when the earles of Ew and Dunois, the valiant baſtard of Bourbon, the lord Gawcourt, and other famous capteins, with a foure thouſand men, ſent to the reſcue of them within, came before the towne, they could not ſuccour their fréends, nor annoie their enimies by anie meanes they could deuiſe; & ſo for feare to loſe honour, they returned backe againe, with much trauell and little profit.

* Or rather Goche.

Harflue beſieged and wonne by the Engliſhmen.

The capteins within the towne perceiuing they could not be aided, did ſhortlie after render the towne to the duke of Summerſet; who after committed it to the kéeping of Thomas Paulet, William Limbrike, Chriſtopher Barber, and George ſaint George, which manie yeares (till the diuiſion began in England) manfullie and valiantlie defended both the towne and the hauen. But afterward, when this duke of Summerſet was regent and gouernour of

The duke of Summerſets infortunatnes

James king of Scots murthered.

Abr. Fl. ex Polychr.

Normandie, he not onlie loſt this towne of Harflue, but alſo the citie of Rone, and the whole duchie of Normandie, whereas now (being but a deputie) he got it to his high praiſe and glorie. In this yeare was James king of Scots murthered by certeine traitors of his owne ſubiects [euen in his bedchamber by night, which king (ſaith Polychr.) had béene priſoner in England fiftéene yeares, the murtherers of whom being afterwards taken, were terriblie executed.]

The lord Talbot beſieged Tankeruile, and after foure moneths had it ſimplie to him rendered. This towne was no great gaine to the Engliſhmen, for in the meane ſeaſon, the French king in his owne perſon beſieged the ſtrong towne of Monſtreau fault Yonne; whereof Thomas Gerard being capteine, more for deſire of reward, than for feare of enimies, ſold the towne to the French king, and had of him great gifts and interteinement, as afterwards was openlie knowen. This towne had béene reſcued of the French king fought withall, if one chance had not happened. For the duke of Yorke about that time was diſcharged of his office, and the earle of Warwike preferred to the ſame, ſo that the duke of Yorke, lieng as then at Rone, would haue gladlie reſcued the towne, if his authoritie had not ſurceaſſed; and the earle of Warwike could not come in time, for the wind was contrarie to him.

The earle of Warwike made regent of France.

This preſent yeare was a parlement holden at Weſtminſter, in the which manie good and profitable acts for the preſeruation of concord at home, and defenſe againſt the enimies abroad, were ordeined and deuiſed. ¶ Arthur of Britaine conſtable of France, and John duke of Alanſon, were ſent by the French king into Normandie, with a great armie, to beſiege the towne of Auranches, ſtanding vpon the knop of an hill: where after they had laien a certeine ſpace without gaine, the lord Talbot with a valiant companie of men came thither, and offered the enimies battell. Which when they at all hands refuſed, the lord Talbot perceiuing their faint harts, raiſed his field, and in the open ſight of them all, entered into the towne, and the next daie iſſued out; and finding the Frenchmen riding abroad to deſtroie the plaine countrie, he compaſſed them about, and ſlue manie of them, and tooke diuerſe priſoners. Although the Frenchmen got neither honor nor profit by this iournie, yet they enterpriſed a greater matter, as the winning of Rone; in ſo much that Pouton de Santreils, and the Hire, with manie other notable capteins, hauing promiſe of certeine burgeſſes of that citie to haue entrie made them, ſecretlie in the night came forward to a towne called Riſe or Riz, not paſt foure leagues from Rone, and there lodged.

The lord Talbot, the lord Scales, and ſir Thomas Kiriell hearing of their approch, ſet out of Rone at midnight, & with great paine came to Riſe ſo couertlie in the morning, that the French ſuddenlie ſurpriſed and ſet vpon, like men all amazed ran awaie and fled. In the chaſe were taken the lord of Fontains, ſir Aleine Geron, ſir Lewes de Walle, and thréeſcore knights, and eſquiers, beſide others; and there were ſlaine two hundred and more. The Hire eſcaped verie narrowlie, by ſwiftneſſe of his horſſe, though not vnwounded. The Engliſhmen returned to the towne of Riſe, and found there great number of horſſes & other baggages, which they ioiouſlie brought with them to Rone.

Anno Reg. 16. The earle of Warwike regent came into France.

On the ſixt daie of Nouember this preſent yeare, the earle of Warwike, as regent of France, paſſed the ſea, after he had béene ſeuen times ſhipped and vnſhipped, and landed at Homflue with a thouſand freſh ſouldiers, and came to Rone, and then the duke of Yorke returned into England. Betwéene the change of theſe two capteins, the duke of Burgognie (which ſore enuied the glorie of the Engliſhmen) beſieged the towne of Crotoy, with ten thouſand men and more, hauing with him great plentie of guns and goodlie ordinance. The earle of Warwike aduertiſed hereof, ſent the lord Fauconbridge, ſir Thomas Kiriell, ſir John Montgomerie, Thomas Limbrike, Thomas Chandois, Dauid Hall, and diuerſe other knights and eſquiers, and an hoſt of fiue thouſand men, which paſſed the riuer of Some, beſide the towne of ſaint Valerie, wading in the water vp to the chin, ſo glad were they to reſcue their felowes.

Crotoy beſieged by the duke of Burgognie.

When the duke of Burgognie was informed of the approching of the lord Talbot, he with all his power (ſauing foure hundred, which were left in a baſtile by him there newlie bulded) fled to Abuile, the baſtile was ſoone gained by the Engliſhmen, and thoſe within either ſlaine or taken. After this, the lord Talbot ſent to the duke of Burgognie, ſignifieng that except he would come forth, and bide by a battell, he would vtterlie waſt his countrie of Picardie. According wherevnto (the duke of Burgognie ſhrinking) he burnt townes, ſpoiled and ſlue manie people in Picardie. But for all thoſe his doings, the duke of Burgognie appeared not, but got him from Abuile to Amiens, ſo that the lord Talbot abode twentie daies full in Picardie and Arthois, deſtroieng all afore him, and after returned vntouched. In the meane ſeaſon, ſir Thomas Kiriell had gotten all the dukes cariages and ordinance, and left as much vittell in the towne of Croitoy, as would ſerue ſix hundred men a whole yeare, and conueied the reſidue to the earle of Warwike, who highlie praiſed them for their hardie doings.

Crotoy recouered.

1428

After this, Henrie earle of Mortaigne, ſonne to Edmund duke of Summerſet, arriued at Chierburgh with foure hundred archers, & thrée hundred ſpeares, and paſſed through Normandie, till he came into the countie of Maine, where he beſieged a caſtell called ſaint Anian, in the which were thrée hundred Scots, beſides Frenchmen. This caſtell he tooke by aſſault, ſlue the Scots, and hanged the Frenchmen, bicauſe they were once ſworne Engliſh. After this he got alſo another caſtell, two miles from ſaint Julians, called Alegerche, which was ſhortlie after recouered; and the lord of Camewis, which came to the reſcue of the ſame, in the meane waie was intrapped and taken. Thus flowed the victorie, ſometime on the one partie, and ſometime on the other. For about the ſame time the townes of Meaux in Brie, and ſaint Suſan were ſold and deliuered to the French part, by the vntruth of the burgeſſes and inhabitants of the ſame towns, about the latter end of this ſixtéenth yeare.

Anno Reg. 17. Dearth of vittels.

1439

Abr. Fl. ex Polychr.

This yeare (by reaſon of great tempeſts) raging winds, and raine, there roſe ſuch ſcarſitie, that wheat was ſold at thrée ſhillings foure penſe the buſhell, wine at twelue penſe the gallon, baiſalt at fourtéene penſe the buſhell, and malt at thirtéene ſhillings foure penſe the quarter, and all other graines at exceſſiue prices aboue the old rate. ¶ Wherevpon Steuen Browne (ſaith Polychronicon) at the ſame ſeaſon maior of London, tendering the ſtate of the citie in this want of breadcorne, ſent into Pruſe certeine ſhips, which returned loden with plentie of rie: wherwith he did much good to the people in that hard time, ſpeciallie to them of the citie, where the want of corne was not ſo extreame as in ſome other places of the land, where the poore diſtreſſed people that were hungerbitten, made them bread of ferne roots, and vſed other hard ſhifts, till God prouided remedie for their penurie by good ſucceſſe of huſbandrie.]

Bread made of ferne roots.

In the moneth of June, the earle of Huntington (as Steward of Guien) with two thouſand archers, and foure hundred ſpeares was ſent into Gaſcoigne, as a ſupplie to the countrie and cõmons of the ſame:

for the king of England and his councell were informed, that the earle of Dunois laie in the frontiers of Tholouſe ſecretlie, by rewards and faire promiſes practiſing to procure diuerſe townes in Guien to become French. Wherefore this earle (like a politike warrior) altered not onelie the capteins in euerie towne and citie, but alſo remoued the magiſtrates, and changed the officers from towne to towne, and roome to roome; ſo that by this meanes, the earle of Dunois at that time loſt both trauell and coſt.

A feat of a politike capteine & wiſe counſellor.

In the ſame moneth alſo, ſir Richard Wooduile, ſir William Chamberleine, ſir William Peito, and ſir William Storie, with a thouſand men, were ſent to ſtuffe the townes in Normandie, which at that time had therof great néed: for the Engliſh capteins had ſmall confidence in the Normans, and not too much in ſome of their own nation. For that harlot briberie, with hir fellow couetouſneſſe, ran ſo faſt abroad with French crownes, that hard was it to remaine vncorrupted. In this yeare, the Dolphin of France alied with Iohn duke of Alanſon, and Iohn duke of Burgognie, rebelled againſt his father king Charles: but in the end, by wiſe perſuaſions, and wittie handling of the matter, the knot of that ſeditious faction was diſſolued, and the king with his ſonne, and the other confederates openlie and apparantlie pacified. The Engliſhmen taking aduantage of this domeſticall diuiſion in France, raiſed an armie, and recouered againe diuerſe townes, which had béene ſurpriſed from them before, and prepared alſo to haue recouered the citie of Paris, till they hard of the agréement betwixt the father and the ſonne, and then they left off that enterpriſe.

Two ſhrewd perſuaders.

Anno Reg. 18.

In Nouember of this yeare, there was ſuch a great froſt, and after that ſo déepe a ſnow, that all the ground was couered therwith, and all the diches froſen. Which wether put the Engliſhmen in hope to recouer againe the towne of Ponthoiſe, by the French king gotten before, by corrupting with monie diuerſe burgeſſes of the towne. Hervpon the Engliſhmen clothed all in white, with Iohn lord Clifford their capteine, came in the night to the diches, paſſed them without danger by reaſon of the froſt, ſcaled the walles, ſlue the watch, and tooke the towne, with manie profitable priſoners. ¶ After the regaining of this towne, the lord Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwike died in the caſtell of Rone, from whence conueied into England, he was with ſolemne ceremonies buried at his college of Warwike, in a verie faire and ſumptuous ſepulchre.

Ponthoiſe recouered by the Engliſh.

Anno Reg. 19.

About the beginning of Lent, the duke of Summerſet, and the lord Talbot, with other capteins and men of warre to the number of two thouſand, which they had aſſembled in the marches of Normandie towards Rone, marching forward towards Picardie, paſſed ouer the riuer of Some; and through the towne of Monteruell, came before the fortreſſe of Folleuile, which the duke beſieged, whileſt the lord Talbot entered further into the countrie. After that the duke had mounted his great artillerie, and began to batter the hold, the capteine within chanced to be ſlaine with a ſhot of the ſame artillerie, & ſhortlie after, the batterie being ſtill continued, the reſt of the men of warre that ſerued vnder him yéelded the place, in which the duke left a competent garriſon of ſouldiers, which afterwards ſore indamaged the countrie.

Enguerant.

This doone, the duke followed the lord Talbot, who was alreadie entered a good waie within the countrie of Santhois, and now ioining their powers togither, they came to a fortreſſe called Lihons in Santhois, which was alſo rendered vnto them, after they had burnt the church; which the countrie people kept againſt them, and would not yéeld it, till they were fired out, burnt, and ſlaine; to the number of thrée hundred. After the fortreſſe was deliuered into their hands by compoſition, the duke with his power laie there about ten daies, ſending diuerſe troops of his men of warre abroad into the countrie, which ſpoiled the ſame, tooke the fortreſſe of Herbonneres, and the lord thereof within it, who for his ranſome, and to haue his ſubiects and houſe ſaued from ſpoile and fire, compounded with his takers for a thouſand ſaluz of gold, which he paid to them. Finallie, after the duke of Summerſet, and the lord Talbot with their power, had laine in Lihons about ten daies, they departed from thence, and returned into Normandie, without anie impeachment.

1441

The duke of Yorke againe made regent of France.

After the death of the earle of Warwike, the duke of Yorke was againe made regent of France, which accompanied with the earle of Oxenford, the lord Bourchier called earle of Ewe, ſir Iames of Ormond, the lord Clinton, ſir Richard Wooduile, & diuerſe other noble men, ſailed into Normandie. Before whoſe ariuall, the French king ſore gréeued with the taking of the towne of Ponthoiſe, aſſembled a great armie, and beſieged the ſaid towne himſelfe in perſon, inuironing it with baſtiles, trenches, and diches, beating the walles and bulworks with ſhot of great ordinance, and giuing thereunto diuerſe great and fierce aſſaults. But Iohn lord Clifford, like a valiant capteine, defended the towne ſo manfullie, that the Frenchmen rather loſt than woone.

Ponthoiſe beſieged by the French king, but valiantlie defended.

The duke of Yorke at his landing receiued true aduertiſement of this ſiege, wherevpon he ſent for the lord Talbot, and a great number of ſoldiers, and ſo came néere to the towne of Ponthoiſe, and there incamped himſelfe; who therewith ſent word to the French king, that thither he was come to giue him battell, if he would come out of his ſtrength and baſtiles. But the French king by aduiſe of his councell, determined not to venture his perſon with men of ſo baſe degrée, but meant to kéepe his ground, bidding the lord regent to enter at his perill, and in the meane ſeaſon did what he could to ſtop the paſſage of the riuer of Oiſe, ſo that no vittels ſhould be brought to the Engliſh armie by that waie, in hope ſo to cauſe them to recule backe.

The duke of Yorke, perceiuing that the French king minded not to fight, purpoſed to paſſe ouer the riuer of Oiſe, and ſo to fight with him in his lodging. Wher vpon he remooued his campe, and appointed the lord Talbot and other, to make a countenance, as they would paſſe the riuer by force at the port of Beaumont: and appointed an other companie in boates of timber and leather, and bridges made of cords and ropes (whereof he had great plentie caried with him in chariots) to paſſe ouer beneath the abbie. Whileſt the lord Talbot made a crie, as though he would aſſault the gate, certeine Engliſhmen paſſed the water in botes, and drew a bridge of cords ouer, ſo that a great number of them were got to the other ſide, yer the Frenchmen were aduiſed what had happened. When they ſaw the chance, they ran like mad men, to haue ſtopped the paſſage, but it was too late: for the moſt part of the Engliſhmen were got ouer, in ſo much that they chaſed their enimies backe, and ſlue ſir Guilliam de Chaſtell, nephue to the lord Taneguie du Chaſtell, and diuerſe others.

A policie for a bridge.

The Frenchmen ſéeing their euill hap irrecouerable, returned to the French king, and told him what had chanced: wherevpon he doubting to be aſſailed to his diſaduantage, thought not good longer to tarrie, but with all ſpéed remoouing his ordinance into the baſtile of ſaint Martin, which he had newlie made, diſlodged in the night from Maubuiſſon, and went to Poiſſie, leauing the lord de Cotignie admerall of France, with thrée thouſand men to kéepe the

Enguerant de Monſtrellet.

Edw. Hall.

baſtile. If he had taried ſtill at Maubuiſſon, the lord Talbot which had paſſed the riuer of Oiſe in two ſmall leather botes, had either taken or ſlaine him the ſame night. The Engliſhmen the next daie in good order of battell came before the towne of Ponthoiſe, thinking there to haue found the French king, but he was gone: and in his lodging they found great riches, and much ſtuffe which he could not haue ſpace for to carrie awaie for feare of the ſudden inuaſion.

Then the duke with his power entred into the towne, and ſent for new vittels, and repaired the towers and bulworks about the towne, & diuerſe times aſſaulted the baſtile of the Frenchmen, of the which he made no great accompt, bicauſe they were not of power either to aſſault or ſtop the vittels or ſuccors from the towne. After this, the duke intending once againe to offer the French king battell, left behind him at Ponthoiſe for capteine there, ſir Geruais Clifton, ſir Nicholas Burdet, Henrie Chandos, and a thouſand ſoldiers, and therewith remoouing with his whole armie, came before Poiſſie, where he ſet himſelfe and his men in good order of battell readie to fight. There iſſued out ſome of the French gentlemen to ſkirmiſh with the Engliſhmen, but to their loſſe: for diuerſe of them were ſlaine, and foure valiant horſſemen taken priſoners. The duke perceiuing the faint hearts of the Frenchmen, and that they durſt not incounter in field with the Engliſh power, diſlodged from Poiſſie, and came to Maunt, and ſoone after to Rone.

Anno Reg.20.

Ponthoiſe gotten by the French.

When the regent and the lord Talbot were returned againe into Normandie, the French king conſidering how much it ſhould redound to his diſhonour to let reſt the towne of Ponthoiſe in his enimies hands, ſith he had beene at ſuch charges and trauell about the winning thereof, he eftſoones aſſembled all his puiſſance. And returning ſuddenlie vnto Ponthoiſe, he firſt by aſſault got the church, and after the whole towne, tooke the capteine, and diuerſe other Engliſhmen, and ſlue to the number of foure hundred, which ſold their liues dearelie: for one French writer affirmeth, that the French king loſt there three thouſand men; and the whole garriſon of the Engliſhmen was but onelie a thouſand. Among other that were ſlaine here of the defendants, was ſir Nicholas Burdet knight, cheefe butler of Normandie. After this hot tempeſt, the weather began ſomewhat to war more calme: for king Henrie and king Charles agreed to ſend ambaſſadors to common of ſome good concluſion of peace: ſo that king Henrie ſent the cardinall of Wincheſter, with diuerſe other noble perſonages of his councell to Calis, with whome was alſo ſent Charles duke of Orleance yet priſoner in England, to the intent that he might be both author of the peace, and alſo procurer of his owne deliuerance.

Enguerant. Sir Nicholas Burdet ſlaine.

The French king ſent the archbiſhop of Reimes, and the earle of Dunois: and the duke of Burgognie ſent the lord de Creuecueur, and diuerſe other. All theſe met at Calis, where the duke of Orleance courteouſlie receiued the earle of Dunois (his baſtard brother) thanking him greatlie for his paines taken in gouerning his lands & countrie, during the time of his captiuitie and abſence. Diuerſe communications were had, as well for the deliuerance of the duke as for a finall peace; but nothing was concluded, ſauing that an other meeting was appointed, ſo that in the meane ſeaſon the demands of either partie might be declared to their ſouereigne lords and maiſters: and herevpon the commiſſioners brake vp their aſſemblie, and returned into their countries. The Engliſhmen (as the French writers record) required not onelie to poſſeſſe peaceablie the two duches of Aquitaine and Normandie, diſcharged of all reſort, ſuperioritie, & ſouereigntie againſt the realme of France, the kings and gouernours of the ſame; but alſo to be reſtored to all the townes, cities, and places, which they within thirtie yeeres next before gone and paſt, had conquered in the realme of France. Which requeſt the Frenchmen thought verie vnreaſonable, and ſo both parties, minding rather to gaine or ſaue than to looſe, departed for that time, as yee haue heard.

After this meeting thus proroged, Philip duke of Burgognie, partlie mooued in conſcience to make amends to Charles duke of Orleance (as yet priſoner in England) for the death of duke Lewes his father, whome duke Iohn, father to this duke Philip, cruellie murthered in the citie of Paris; and partlie intending the aduancement of his neece, the ladie Marie, daughter to Adolfe duke of Cleue (by the which aliance, he truſted, that all old rancor ſhould ceaſſe) contriued waies to haue the ſaid duke of Orleance ſet at libertie, vpon promiſe by him made to take the ſaid ladie Marie vnto wife. This duke had beene priſoner in England euer ſince the battell was fought at Agincourt, vpon the daie of Criſpine and Criſpinian, in the yeare 1415, and was ſet now at libertie in the moneth of Nouember, in the yeare 1440, paieng for his ranſome foure hundred thouſand crownes, though other ſaie but three hundred thouſand.

The cauſe whie he was deteined ſo long in captiuitie, was to pleaſure thereby the duke of Burgognie: for ſo long as the duke of Burgognie continued faithfull to the king of England, it was not thought neceſſarie to ſuffer the duke of Orleance to be ranſomed, leaſt vpon his deliuerance he would not ceaſſe to ſeeke meanes to be reuenged vpon the duke of Burgognie, for the old grudge and diſpleaſure betwixt their two families, and therefore ſuch ranſome was demanded for him as he was neuer able to pay. But after the duke of Burgognie had broken his promiſe, and was turned to the French part, the councell of the king of England deuiſed how to deliuer the duke of Orleance, that thereby they might diſpleaſure the duke of Burgognie. Which thing the duke of Burgognie perceiuing, doubted what might follow if he were deliuered without his knowledge, and therefore to his great coſt practiſed his deliuerance, paid his ranſome, and ioined with him amitie and aliance by mariage of his neece.

The duke of Orleance deliuered.

This duke being now deliuered, and ſpeaking better Engliſh than French, after his arriuall in France, repaired to the duke of Burgognie, and according to his promiſe and conuention, maried the ladie Marie of Cleue, in the towne of ſaint Omers, on whome he begat a ſonne, which after was French king, and called Lewes the twelfe. [Feſtered ſores that rankle inward, as they may perchance be palliat by ſleight of ſurgerie; ſo ſildome come they to ſound cure, but often doo burſt out againe to greater paine and perill of patient than euer afore: and ſo befell it betweene theſe two noble houſes of Orleance and Burgognie, who for all this mariage and plauſible peace (that continued a twentie yeares) fell out yet after at ſquare vnattonablie:] their children and couſins, to the great vnquieting of much part of chriſtendome, ſpeciallie in the times of king Francis the firſt, and his ſonne Henrie the ſecond, heires of the houſe of Orleance. For Iohn earle of Angoleſme, vncle to this duke Charles, begat Charles, father to the ſaid king Francis: which earle Iohn had beene as pledge in England for the debt of Lewes duke of Orleance, from the laſt yeare of king Henrie the fourth; till that now his nephue being deliuered, made ſhift for monie, and ranſomed him alſo, and

Lewes the twelfe. W. P.

at length reſtored him to his countrie.

In the beginning of this twentith yeare, Richard duke of Yorke, regent of France, and gouernour of Normandie, determined to inuade the territories of his enimies both by ſundrie armies, and in ſeuerall places, and therevpon without delaie of time he ſent the lord of Willoughbie with a great crue of ſoldiers to deſtroie the countrie of Amiens, and Iohn lord Talbot was appointed to beſiege the towne of Diepe; and the regent himſelfe accompanied with Edmund duke of Summerſet, ſet forward into the duchie of Aniou. The lord Willoughbie, according to his commiſſion, entred into the countrie of his enimies in ſuch wiſe vpon the ſudden, that a great number of people were taken yer they could withdraw into anie place of ſafegard.

Earle of ſaint Paule freend to ẏ Engliſh.

The Frenchmen in the garriſons adioining, aſtonied with the clamour and crie of the poore people, iſſued out in good order, and manfullie fought with the Engliſhmen. But in the end, the Frenchmen ſéeing their fellowes in the forefront ſlaine downe, and kild without mercie, turned their backes, and fled: the Engliſhmen followed, and ſlue manie in the chaſe; and ſuch as eſcaped the ſword, were robbed by the earle of ſaint Paule, who was comming to aid the Engliſhmen. In this conflict were ſlaine aboue ſix hundred men of armes, and a great number taken. The dukes of Yorke and Summerſet likewiſe entered into Aniou and Maine, and there deſtroied townes, and ſpoiled the people, and with great preies and priſoners repaired againe into Normandie, whither alſo the lord Willoughbie withdrew, after his valiant enterpriſe atchiued (as before yée haue heard) with rich ſpoiles and good priſoners.

This ſhould be as Enguerant noteth two yeares after this preſent yere 19, to wit, An. 1440.

The duke of Summerſet vpon further valiance, entered into the marches of Britaine, and tooke by fierce aſſault a towne named la Gerche, apperteining to the duke of Alanſon, ſpoiling and burning the ſame. This doone, he went to Ponzaie, where he ſoiorned two moneths, ſending foorth dailie his men of war to deſtroie the countries of Aniou, Craonnois, and Chatragonnois. The French king ſent the marſhall Loiach with foure thouſand men to reſiſt the inuaſions of the duke of Summerſet, which marſhall intended to haue ſet on the duke in his lodgings in the dead time of the night: but that (as by a wiſe and hardie capteine) well foreſéene, he marched forward, and met the Frenchmen halfe the waie, and after long fight, diſcomfited them, ſlue an hundred of the marſhals men, and tooke thrée ſcore and two priſoners, whereof the chéefe were the lord Dauſignie, ſir Lewes de Buell, all the other (almoſt) were knights and eſquiers.

After this incounter, the duke tooke the towne of Beaumont le vicount, and manned all the fortreſſes on the frontiers of his enimies, and with rich booties and priſoners returned againe to the duke of Yorke. In this meane time the lord Talbot, beſieging the towne of Diepe, inuironed it with déepe trenches; building alſo vpon the mount Paulet a ſtrong and noiſome baſtile. But at length perceiuing the towne to be ſtronglie defended, and that he lacked ſuch furniture of men, vittels, and ordinance as was neceſſarie for the winning of it, he deliuered the cuſtodie of the baſtile, with the gouernance of the ſiege to his baſtard ſonne, a valiant yoong gentleman, and departed to Rone for aid, monie, and munition. The French king aduertiſed hereof, ſent his ſonne the Dolphin of Vienne with the earle of Dunois, and fiftéene thouſand men to raiſe the ſiege from Diepe.

Thrée thouſand hath Nicholas Giles.

Thrée daies they aſſailed the baſtile, in the which ſix hundred Engliſhmen were incloſed, and at length bicauſe powder and weapon failed them within, the Frenchmen wan it, and tooke the baſtard Talbot priſoner, with ſir William Peltow, and ſir Iohn Repleie, which ſhortlie after were redéemed. The other Engliſh ſouldiers, ſéeing the baſtile woone by the Frenchmen, ſtood all a daie in good order of battell, and in the night following, politikelie ſaued themſelues and returned to Rone, without loſſe or damage. In the aſſaulting of the baſtile, the Frenchmen ſaie, they ſlue two hundred Engliſhmen; and denie not but that they loſt fiue hundred of their owne men, beſide thoſe that were hurt. Whileſt theſe things were a dooing, Philip duke of Burgognie made ſharpe warre againſt the earle of ſaint Paule, in taking from him his townes and caſtels, that made him to renounce his allegiance ſworne and promiſed to the king of England, and returned to the French part.

The earle of ſaint Paule reuolteth to the French.

1441

Tartas beſieged.

The Engliſh capteins in Guien beſieged the ſtrong towne of Tartas, belonging to the lord Dalbreth their old and ancient enimie. The towne perceiuing that it was not able to reſiſt the force of the Engliſhmen (anie long time, tooke appointment, that the towne ſhuld remaine neuter. For aſſurance thereof, they deliuered Cadet the ſonne of the lord de la Breth in pledge, vpon this condition; that if the ſaid lord de la Breth would not aſſent to the agréement, then he ſhould ſignifie his refuſall to the Engliſh capteins within thrée moneths next inſuing, and he to haue his pledge, and they to doo their beſt. The French king, at the requeſt of the lords of Guien, cauſed the lord de la Breth to ſignifie his diſagréement vnto the earle of Huntington, as then lieutenant to the king of England in the duchie of Aquitaine. And therewith to gratifie the lords of Guien, he aſſembled an armie of thréeſcore thouſand men, & came to Tholouſe, and ſo to Tartas, to whome the chéefteins of the towne, ſéeing no ſuccours comming from the king of England, rendred the towne: and Cadet de la Breth, which was left there as a pledge, was alſo deliuered.

The French king, after the yéelding of Tartas, remooued to ſaint Seuerine, which towne he tooke by force, ſlue thrée hundred perſons, and tooke ſir Thomas Rampſton priſoner. After this, he came to the citie of Arques, tooke a bulworke by force, and had the towne yéelded to him by compoſition. The capteine, which was the lord of Montferrant, departed with all the Engliſh crue to Burdeaux, where he found the earle of Longuile, the Capdau de Beuſe, and ſir Thomas Rampſton, which was a little before deliuered. After this, the fortreſſes of the Rioll and Mermandie were alſo yéelded to the French king: who notwithſtanding at length was conſtreined for lacke of vittels (which were cut off by the Engliſhmen, that laie abroad in diuerſe fortreſſes for the purpoſe) to breake vp his armie, & to retire into France. And then after his departure, the Engliſhmen recouered againe the citie of Arques, & the other townes by the French king gained, and tooke priſoner his lieutenant called Reginald Guilliam the Burgognion, and manie other gentlemen, and all the meane ſouldiers were either ſlaine or hanged.

The change in warre.

The lord Talbot.

While the French king was in Guien, the lord Talbot tooke the towne of Couchet, and after marched toward Galliardon, which was beſieged by the baſtard of Orleance, otherwiſe called the earle of Dunois: which earle hearing of the lord Talbots approch, raiſed his ſiege, and ſaued himſelfe. The Frenchmen a little before this ſeaſon, had taken the towne of Eureux by treaſon of a fiſher. Sir Francis the Arragonois hearing of that chance, appareled ſix ſtrong fellowes, like men of the countrie, with ſacks and baſkets, as cariers of corne and vittels, and ſent them to the caſtell of Cornill, in the which diuerſe Engliſhmen were kept as priſoners, and he

The earle of Dunois.
An excellent fineſſe in warre.

with an ambuſh of Engliſhmen laie in a vallie nigh to the fortreſſe.

The ſix counterfet huſbandmen entered the caſtell vnſuſpected, and ſtreight came to the chamber of the capteine, & laieng hands on him, gaue knowledge to them that laie in ambuſh to come to their aid. The which ſuddenlie made forth, and entered the caſtell, ſlue and tooke all the Frenchmen, and ſet the Engliſhmen at libertie: which thing doone, they ſet fire in the caſtell, and departed to Rone with their bootie and priſoners. This exploit they had not atchiued peraduenture by force (as happilie they miſtruſted) and therefore by ſubtiltie and deceit ſought to accompliſh it, which meanes to vſe in warre is tollerable, ſo the ſame warre be lawfull; though both fraud & bloudſhed otherwiſe be forbidden euen by the inſtinct of nature to be put in practiſe and vſe; and that dooth the poet inſinuat in a proper ſententious verſe, ſaieng:

Ouid.1.de art.

Fraus abſit, vacuas cædis habete manus.

A new breach betwéene the duke of Gloceſter, and the biſhop of Wincheſter.

But now to ſpeake ſomewhat of the doings in England in the meane time. Whileſt the men of war were thus occupied in martiall feates, and dailie ſkirmiſhes, within the realme of France: ye ſhall vnderſtand, that after the cardinall of Wincheſter, and the duke of Gloceſter, were (as it ſéemed) reconciled either to other, yet the cardinall, and the archbiſhop of Yorke ceaſſed not to doo manie things without the conſent of the king or of the duke, being (during the minoritie of the king) gouernor and protector of the realme, whereas the duke (as good cauſe he had) greatlie offended, therevpon in writing declared to the king, wherein the cardinall and the archbiſhop had offended both his maieſtie, and the lawes of the realme. This complaint of the duke of Gloceſter was conteined in foure and twentie articles, which chieflie reſted, in that the cardinall had from time to time, through his ambitious deſire to ſurmount all others in high degrées of honor and dignitie, ſought to inrich himſelfe, to the great and notorious hinderance of the king, as in defrauding him not onelie of his treaſure, but alſo in dooing and practiſing things greatlie preiudiciall to his affaires in France, and namelie by ſetting at libertie the king of Scots, vpon ſo eaſie conditions, as the kings maieſtie greatlie loſt thereby, as in particularities thus followeth.

A complaint made to king Henrie the *ſixt, by the duke of Gloceſter, vpon the* cardinall of Wincheſter.

Ex Ed.Hall. 143, 144, 145, 146.

1 These be in part, the points and articles, which I Humfrie duke of Gloceſter, for my truth & acquitall, ſaid late, I would giue in writing (my right redoubted lord) vnto your highneſſe, aduertiſing your excellencie, of ſuch things in part, as haue béene doone in your tender age, in derogation of your noble eſtate, and hurt of both your realmes, and yet be doone and vſed dailie.

2 First, the cardinall then being biſhop of Wincheſter, tooke vpon him the ſtate of cardinall, which was naied and denaied him, by the king of moſt noble memorie, my lord your father (whome God aſſoile) ſaieng that he had as léefe ſet his crowne beſide him, as ſée him weare a cardinals hat, he being a cardinall. For he knew full well, the pride and ambition that was in his perſon, then being but a biſhop, ſhould haue ſo greatlie extolled him into more intollerable pride, when that he were a cardinall: and alſo he thought it againſt his fréedome, of the chéefe church of this realme, which, that he worſhipped, as dulie as euer did prince, that bleſſed be his ſoule. And howbeit, that my ſaid lord your father (whome God aſſoile) would haue agréed him to haue had certeine clearks of this land cardinals, and to haue no biſhoprikes in England; yet his intent was neuer to doo ſo great derogation to the church of Canturburie, to make them that were his ſuffragans, to ſit aboue their ordinarie and metropolitan. But the cauſe was that in generall, and in all matters which might concerne the weale of him, and of his realme, he ſhould haue proctors of his nation, as other kings Chriſten had, in the court of Rome, and not to abide in this land, nor to be in anie part of his councels, as béene all the ſpirituall and temporall, at parlements and other great councels, when you liſt to call them. And therefore, though it pleaſe you to doo him that worſhop, to ſet him in your priuie councell after your pleaſure: yet in your parlement, where euerie lord both ſpirituall and temporall, hath his place, he ought to occupie but his place as a biſhop.

3 Item, the ſaid biſhop, now being cardinall, was aſſoiled of his biſhoprike of Wincheſter, wherevpon he ſued vnto our holie father, to haue a bull declaratorie, notwithſtanding he was aſſumpt to the ſtate of cardinall, that the ſée was not void, where in déed it ſtood void by a certeine time, yer the ſaid bull were granted; and ſo he was exempt from his ordinarie, by the taking on him the ſtate of cardinall, and the church biſhoprike of Wincheſter, ſo ſtanding void, he tooke againe of the pope (you not learned thereof ne knowing whereby he was fallen into the caſe of prouiſion) ſo that all his good was lawfullie & cléerelie forfeited to you my right doubted lord, with more; as the ſtatute declareth plainelie for your aduantage.

4 Item, it is not vnknowen to you (doubted lord) how thorough your lands it is noiſed, that the ſaid cardinall and the archbiſhop of Yorke had and haue the gouernance of you, and all your land, the which none of your true liege men ought to vſurpe nor take vpon them. And haue alſo eſtranged me your ſole vncle, my coſine of Yorke, my coſine of Huntington, and manie other lords of your kin, to haue anie knowledge of anie great matter, that might touch your high eſtate, or either of your realmes. And of lords ſpirituall, of right, the archbiſhop of Canturburie ſhould be your chéefe councellor, the which is alſo eſtranged and ſet aſide. And ſo be manie other right ſad lords, and well aduiſed, as well ſpirituall as temporall, to the great hurt of you my right doubted lord, and of your realmes, like as the experience and workes ſhewen cléerelie and euidentlie, more harme it is.

5 Item, in the tender age of you, my right doubted lord, for the neceſſitie of an armie, the ſaid cardinall lent you foure thouſand pounds vpon certeine iewels, priſed at two and twentie thouſand markes, with a letter of ſale, that and they were not quited at a certeine daie, you ſhould léeſe them. The ſaid cardinall ſéeing your monie readie to haue quited your iewels, cauſed your treaſuror of England, at that daie being, to paie the ſame monie, in part of an other armie, in defrauding you my right doubted lord of your ſaid iewels, kéeping them yet alwaie to his owne vſe, to your right great loſſe, and his ſingular profit and auaile.

6 Item, the ſaid cardinall, then being biſhop of Wincheſter, and chancellour of England, deliuered the king of Scots, vpon certeine appointments (as maie be ſhewed) preſumptuouſlie, and of his owne authoritie, contrarie to the act of parlement. I haue heard notable men of law ſay, that they neuer heard the like thing doone among them: which was too great a defamation to your highneſſe, and alſo to wed his néece to the ſaid king, whom that my lord of

notable memorie, your father, whome God aſſoile, would neuer haue ſo deliuered. And there as he ſhould haue paid for his coſts fortie thouſand pounds, the ſaid cardinall, chancellour of England, cauſed you to pardon him thereof ten thouſand marks, whereof the greater ſumme he paied you, right a little, what, I report me to your highneſſe.

7 Item, where the ſaid cardinall lent you, my redoubted lord, great and notable ſummes, he hath had and his aſſignes, the rule and profit of the port of Hampton, where the cuſtomers béene his ſeruants, where (by likelihood and as it is to be ſuppoſed) ſtanding the chéefe merchant of the wools of your land, that you be greatlie defrauded, and vnder that rule, what wools and other merchandizes haue béene ſhipped, and maie be from time to time, hard is to eſtéeme, to the great hurt and preiudice of you my right doubted lord, and of all your people.

8 Item, howbeit that the ſaid cardinall hath diuerſe times lent you great ſummes of monie, ſince the time of your reigne, yet his loane hath béene ſo deferred and delaied, that for the moſt part, the conuenable ſeaſon of the imploieng of the good lent was paſſed. So that litle fruit or none came thereof, as by experience both your realmes haue ſufficientlie in knowledge.

9 Item, where there was iewels and plate priſed at eleuen thouſand pounds in weight, of the ſaid cardinall, forfeited to you my right redoubted lord, he gat him a reſtorement thereof for a loane of a little parcell of the ſame: and ſo defrauded you wholie of them, to your great hurt, and his auaile, the which good might greatlie haue eaſed your highneſſe, in ſparing as much of the poore commons.

10 Item, the cardinall being feoff of my ſaid lord your father (whome God aſſoile) againſt his intent, gaue Elizabeth Beauchampe, thrée hundred markes liuelihood, where that his will was, that and ſhe were wedded within a yeare, then to haue it, or elſe not, where in déed it was two or thrée years after, to your great hurt, and diminiſhing of your inheritance.

11 Item, notwithſtanding that the ſaid cardinall hath no maner of authoritie nor intereſt in the crowne, nor none maie haue by anie poſſibilitie; yet he preſumeth and taketh vpon him in partie, your eſtate roiall, in calling before him, into great abuſion of all your land, and derogation of your highneſſe, which hath not béene ſéene nor vſed in no daies heretofore, in greater eſtate than he is, without your expreſſe ordinance and commandement.

12 Item, the ſaid cardinall, nothing conſidering the neceſſitie of you my right doubted lord, hath ſued a pardon of diſmes, that he ſhould paie for the church of Wincheſter, for terme of his life, giuing thereby occaſion to all other lords ſpirituall, to draw their good will for anie neceſſitie, to grant anie diſme: and ſo to laie all the charge vpon the temporaltie, and the poore people.

13 Item, by the gouernance and labour of the ſaid cardinall, and archbiſhop of Yorke, there hath béene loſt and diſpended much notable and great good, by diuerſe ambaſſadors ſent out of this realme. Firſt to Arras, for a feigned colourable peace, whereas by likelineſſe it was thought and ſuppoſed, that it ſhould neuer turne to the effectuall auaile of you my right doubted lord, nor to your ſaid realmes: but vnder colour thereof, was made the peace of your aduerſarie, and the duke of Burgognie. For elſe your partie aduerſe, & the ſaid duke, might not well haue found meanes nor waies to haue communed togither, nor to haue concluded with other their confederations and conſpirations made and wrought there, then, at that time, againſt your highneſſe, whereby you might haue (right doubted lord) the greater partie of your obeiſance, as well in your realme of France, as in your duchie of Normandie, and much other thing gone greatlie, as through the ſaid colourable treatie, & otherwiſe, ſince the death of my brother of Bedford (whome God aſſoile.)

14 Item, now of late was ſent an other ambaſſadour to Calis, by the labour and counſell of the ſaid cardinall, and archbiſhop of Yorke, the cauſe why of the beginning, is to me your ſole vncle, and other lords of your kin and councell vnknowen, to your great charge, and againſt the publike good of your realme; as it openlie appeareth. The which good if it be imploied for the defenſe of your lands, the merchandizes of the ſame might haue had other courſe, and your ſaid lands not to haue ſtand in ſo great miſchéefe as they doo.

15 Item, after that, to your great charge, and hurt of both your realmes, the ſaid cardinall & archbiſhop of Yorke went to your ſaid towne of Calis, and diuerſe lords of your kin, and of your councell in their fellowſhip, and there, as there was naturall warre betwéene the duke of Orleance, and the duke of Burgognie, for murther of their fathers, a capitall enimitie like to haue indured for euer: the ſaid cardinall and archbiſhop of Yorke licenced and ſuffered the ſaid duke of Orleance, to intreat and common apart with the councell of your ſaid aduerſaries, as well as with the duchies of Burgognie: by which meane the peace and aliance was made betwéene the two dukes, to the greateſt fortifieng of your ſaid capitall aduerſaries that could be thought, and conſequentlie (my deere redoubted lord) to your greateſt charge, and hurt to both your realmes. Vnder colour of which treatie, your ſaid aduerſaries in meane time wan your citie of Meaux, and the countrie thereabout, and manie diuerſe roades made into your duchie of Normandie, to the great noiſance and deſtruction of your people, as it ſheweth openlie.

16 Item, the ſaid archbiſhop of Yorke, ſent with other into this your realme from the ſaid cardinall, after communication had with your aduerſe partie, at your ſaid towne of Calis, made at his comming into your notable preſence at Windeſor, all the ſuaſions and colour, all motions in the moſt apparant wiſe that he could, to induce your highneſſe to your agréement, to the deſires of your capitall aduerſaries, as I ſaw there in your noble preſence of his writing, at which time (as I vnderſtood) it was his ſingular opinion, that is to ſaie: that you ſhould leaue your right, your title, and your honour of your crowne, and nomination of you king of France, during certeine yeares, & that you ſhould vtterlie abſteine you and be content onelie in writing, with *Rex Angliæ, &c:* to the great note of infamie that euer fell to you or anie of your noble progenitours, ſince the taking of them firſt, the ſaid title and right of your realme and crowne of France. To which matter in your preſence there, after that it had liked your ſaid highneſſe, to aſke mine aduiſe there vpon, with other of your blood and councell; I anſwerd and ſaid, that I would neuer agrée me thereto to die therfore, and of the ſame diſpoſition I am yet, and will be while I liue in conſeruation of your honour, and of your oth made vnto your ſaid crowne, in time of your coronation there.

17 Item, the ſaid cardinall and archbiſhop of Yorke, haue ſo laboured vnto your highneſſe, that you ſhould intend to a new daie of conuention, in March or Aprill next comming, where it is noiſed to be more againſt your worſhip than with it. And where it was euident to all the world, that the rupture and breaking of the ſaid peace, ſhould haue fallen heretofore, of your aduerſe partie; becauſe of

the great vntruths. Now by that meanes it is like peraduenture to be laid vnto the verie great ſlander of you my doubted lord, like to come to none other purpoſe nor effect, than other conuentions haue doone afore time: and ſo by ſubtilties and counſell of your ſaid enimies, your land (they in hope and truſt of the ſaid treatie, not mightilie nor puiſſantlie purueied for) ſhall be like vnder the colour of the ſame treatie to be burnt vp and deſtroied, loſt, and vtterlie turned from your obeiſance.

18 Item it is ſaid, that the deliuerance of the ſaid duke of Orleance, is vtterlie appointed by the mediation, counſell, and ſtirring of the ſaid cardinall and archbiſhop of Yorke; and for that cauſe diuerſe perſons béene come from your aduerſaries, into this your realme, and the ſaid duke alſo brought to your citie of London, where as my lord your father (whom God aſſoile) peiſing ſo greatlie the inconueniences, and harme that might fall, onlie by his deliuerance, concluded, ordeined, and determined in his laſt will, vtterlie in his wiſedome, his conqueſt in his realme of France. And yet then it is to de doone, by as great deliberation, ſolemnitie and ſuertie, as may be deuiſed or thought. And ſéeing now the diſpoſition of your realme of France, the puiſſance and might of your enimies, and what aid they haue gotten againſt you there, aſwell vnder the colour of the ſaid treatie, as otherwiſe; what may or ought to be thought or ſaid, for that laboring the ſaid duke (all things conſidered) by ſuch particular perſons, the lords of your blood not called thervnto, I report me vnto your noble grace and excellencie, and vnto the ſaid wiſe true men of this your realme.

19 Item, where that euerie true councellor, ſpeciallie vnto anie king or prince, ought of truth and of dutie, to counſell, promote, increaſe, prefer, and aduance the weale and proſperitie of his lord: the ſaid cardinall, being of your councell (my right doubted lord) hath late purchaſed of your highneſſe, certeine great lands and liuelode: as the caſtell and lordſhip of Chirke in Wales, and other lands in this your realme; vnto which I was called ſuddenlie, and ſo in eſchewing the breaking and loſſe of your armies then againe, ſéeing none other remedie, gaue therevnto mine aſſent, thinking that who that euer laboured, moued or ſtirred the matter firſt vnto your lordſhip, counſelled you neither for your worſhip nor profit.

20 More, the ſaid cardinall hath you bound apart, to make him a ſure eſtate of all the ſaid lands, by Eaſter next comming, as could be deuiſed by anie learned counſell; or elſe that ſuertie not made, the ſaid cardinall to haue and reioy to him, and his heirs for euermore, the lands of the duchie of Lancaſter, in Norffolke, to the value of ſeuen or eight hundred marks by yeare. Which thing ſéemeth right ſtrange and vnſéene, and vnhard waies of anie liege man, to ſéeke vpon his ſouereigne lord, both in his inheritance and in his iewels and goods. For it is thought, but if right and extreame neceſſitie cauſed it, there ſhould, nor ought no ſuch things to be doone: from which neceſſitie God (for his mercie) euer preſerue your noble perſon. Wherfore my redoubted lord, ſéeing that ye ſhould be ſo counſelled, or ſtirred to leaue your crowne and inheritance in England; and alſo by fraud and ſubtill meanes, as is afore rehearſed, ſo to loſe your iewels: in my truth and in mine acquitall (as me ſéemeth) I may not nor ought not counſell ſo great an hurt to you and to all your land.

21 Item, it is not vnknowen to you my right doubted lord, how oftentimes I haue offered my ſeruice, to and for the defenſe of your realme of France, and duchie of Normandie, where I haue béene put therefro by the labour of the ſaid cardinall, in preferring other after his ſingular affection. Which hath cauſed a great part of the ſaid duchie of Normandie, aſwell as of your realme of France to be loſt, as it is well knowen. And what good (my right doubted lord) was loſt on that armie that was laſt ſent thither, which the earle of Mortaigne, your councell of France, hath well & cléerelie declared to your highneſſe here before?

22 Item, my right doubted lord, it is not vnknowen, that it had not béene poſſible to the ſaid cardinall, to haue come to his great riches, but by ſuch meanes, for of his church it might not riſe, and inheritance he had none. Wherfore my right doubted lord, ſith there is great good behouefull at this time, for the weale and ſafegard of your realmes, the pouertie, neceſſitie, & indigence of your liege people; in highneſſe vnderſtand, like it vnto your noble grace, to conſider the ſaid lucre of the ſaid cardinall, and the great deceipts that you be receiued in by the labour of him & of the archbiſhop, aſwell in this your realme as in your realme of France and duchie of Normandie, where neither office, liuelode, nor capteine may be had, without too great good giuen vnto him, wherby a great part of all the loſſe that is loſt, they haue béene the cauſers of; for who that would giue moſt, his was the price, not conſidering the merits, ſeruice, nor ſufficiance of perſons. Furthermore, it is greatlie to be conſidered, how, when the ſaid cardinall had forfeited all his goods, bicauſe of prouiſion, as the ſtatute thervpon more plainelie declareth; by hauing the rule of you my right doubted lord, purchaſed himſelfe in great defraudation of your highneſſe, a charter of pardon, the which good and it had be well gouerned, might manie yeares haue ſuſteined your warres, without anie tallage of your poore people.

23 Item, my redoubted lord, whereas I write much thing for the weale of you and of your realms, peraduenture ſome will ſaie and vnderſtand, that I would or haue written by waie of accuſement of all your councell, which God knoweth, I doo not: for your highneſſe may well ſée, that I name them that be cauſers of the ſaid inordinate rule. Wherfore, conſidering that the ſaid cardinall and archbiſhop of Yorke béene they, that pretend the gouernance of you, and of your realmes and lordſhips: pleaſe it vnto your highneſſe, of your rightwiſeneſſe to eſtrange them of your councell, to that intent, that men may be at their fréedome, to ſay what they thinke of truth.

24 For truth, I dare ſpeake of my truth, the poore dare not doo ſo. And if the cardinall and the archbiſhop of Yorke, may afterward declare themſelues, of that is, and ſhalbe ſaid of them; you my right doubted lord may then reſtore them againe to your councell, at your noble pleaſure.

When the king had heard the accuſations thus laid by the duke of Glouceſter againſt the cardinall, he committed the examination thereof to his councell, whereof the more part were ſpirituall perſons; ſo that what for feare, and what for fauour, the matter was winked at, and nothing ſaid to it: onelie faire countenance was made to the duke, as though no malice had béene conceiued againſt him. But venem will breake out, & inward grudge will ſoone appeare, which was this yeare to all men apparant: for diuers ſecret attempts were aduanced forward this ſeaſon againſt this noble man Humfreie duke of Glouceſter a far off, which in concluſion came ſo néere, that they bereft him both of life and land; as ſhall hereafter more plainelie appéere.

For firſt this yeare, dame Eleanor Cobham, wife to the ſaid duke, was accuſed of treaſon; for that ſhe by ſorcerie and inchantment intended to deſtroie the king, to the intent to aduance hir husband vnto the crowne. Upon this, ſhe was examined in ſaint Stephans chappell before the biſhop of Canturburie, and there by examination conuict, and iudged to dóo open penance in thrée open places within the citie of London. [Polychronicon ſaith ſhe was inioined to go through Cheapſide with a taper in hir hand] and after that adiudged to perpetuall impriſonment in the Ile of Man, vnder the kéeping of ſir Iohn Stanlie knight. At the ſame ſeaſon were arreſted, arreigned, and adiudged giltie, as aiders to the ducheſſe, Thomas Southwell prieſt, and canon of S. Stephans at Weſtminſter, Iohn Hun prieſt, Roger Bolingbroke a cunning necromancer (as it was ſaid) and Margerie Iordeine, ſurnamed the witch of Eie.

Abr. Fl. ex Polychron.

Alias Iohn Ham.

The matter laid againſt them, was for that they (at the requeſt of the ſaid ducheſſe) had deuiſed an image of wax, repreſenting the king, which by their ſorcerie by little and little conſumed, intending thereby in concluſion to waſte and deſtroie the kings perſon. Margerie Iordeine was burnt in Smithfield, and Roger Bolingbroke was drawne to Tiborne, and hanged and quartered; taking vpon his death that there was neuer anie ſuch thing by them imagined. Iohn Hun had his pardon, and Southwell died in the Tower the night before his execution: [for (ſaith Polychr.) he did propheſie of himſelfe, that he ſhould die in his bed, and not by iuſtice.] The duke of Gloceſter bare all theſe things patientlie, and ſaid little. Edward ſonne to the duke of Yorke was borne this yeare the nine and twentith of Aprill at Rone, his father being the kings lieutenant in Normandie. ¶ In this yeare was a great fraie in Fléetſtréet in the night time, betwéene gentlemen of courts and inhabitants of London; inſomuch that much bloud was ſpilt, diuerſe ſlaine outright, and ſome mortallie wounded; beſides great harme otherwiſe dóone and ſuffered.]

Abr. Fl.

King Edward the fourth borne.

Abr. Fl. A great fraie by night.

¶ Upon the daie of the tranſlation of ſaint Edward, or the twelfth of October, vpon which daie the maior and his brethren for the yeare following, and daie when the commoners of the citie, after their ancient cuſtome had choſen two aldermen, ſuch as before had béene ſhiriffes of London and of Middleſex, namelie Robert Clopton draper, and Raſe Holland tailor, and them preſented by name vnto the maior and his brethren, then ſitting in the vtter chamber where the maiors courts be kept, to the intent that the ſaid maior and his brethren might chóoſe one of the ſaid two, ſuch as they thought moſt neceſſarie and worſhipfull for the róome; the ſaid maior and his brethren chóoſing Robert Clopton, brought him after downe vpon his right hand towards the hall. Whereof when certeine tailors there preſent were aware, and ſaw that Raſe Holland was not choſen, anon they cried; Nay, nay: not this, but Raſe Holland. Therewith the old maior being aſtoniſhed, ſtóod ſtill vpon the ſtaire, and commanded them to kéepe ſilence, and ſo held on his waie to the eaſt end of the hall, where he ſat him downe, and his brethren about him. In the meane time, the ſaid tailors continued their crie, and incenſed others of baſe trades of the citie (as ſimple perſons) to take their part, and to crie as faſt as they, not proffering to ceaſe their miſrule for all that the maior could ſaie, no nor yet when the maiors ſergeant at armes had cried O-yes. Herevpon the maior, to appeaſe the rumor, ſent downe the ſhiriffes, and commanded them to take the offendors, and ſend them to the goale; which precept was fulfilled, & about twelue or ſixtéene of the principall committed to Newgate, where ſome of them abode a long time impriſoned; and others that were fined ſet at libertie. This is reported by Polychronicon, but in ſomewhat a differing maner.]

Abr. Fl. ex Fabian. 438.

Tailors malapertneſſe at the election of an alderman.

1442
Anno Reg. 21.

The councell of England forgat not the late enterpriſe of the French king, atchiued in the duchie of of Guien, and therefore doubting ſome other the like attempt, they ſent thither ſir William Woduile with eight hundred men, to ſtrengthen the frontiers, and further, ſet forth a proclamation, that all men which would tranſport anie corne, chéeſe, or other vittels thither, ſhould paie no maner of cuſtome or tallage: which licence cauſed the countrie of Aquitaine to be well furniſhed of all things neceſſarie. About this ſeaſon Iohn the valiant lord Talbot for his approued proweſſe and wiſdome, aſwell in England as in France, both in peace & warre ſo well tried, was created earle of Shreweſburie, and with a companie of thrée thouſand men ſent againe into Normandie, for the better defenſe of the ſame.

Iohn lord Talbot created earle of Shreweſburie.

*This yéere died Lodowike or Lewes Liſchburne, biſhop of Elie, being the fiue and twentith that inioied that place, who came to the ſame after this maner. After the death of Philip Morgan biſhop of that ſée, the móonks of Elie choſe for their paſtor Robert fitz Hugh biſhop of London; but he dieng at ſaint Oſées before his confirmation, neuer poſſeſſed the honour thereof. Wherevpon the king directed his letters to the couent of Elie, to make election of Thomas Rudburne (biſhop of S. Dauids in Wales) for their biſhop. But they contrarie therevnto (taking it now for a cuſtome, hauing ſo often vſed it before, as did well appeare) made choiſe of Thomas Bourchier (borne of a noble houſe, ſonne to the counteſſe of Stafford, chancellor of Oxenford, and biſhop of Worceſter) to ſuccéed Philip Morgan. Which Bourchier, the king (offended with the móonkes for the little regard had to his requeſt) vtterlie refuſed, and would not admit him vnto that place. Wherevpon there were buls procured from Eugenius the fourth (then biſhop of Rome) which were ſent into England to confirme the election of the ſaid Bourchier.

Fr. Thin.

1443

But he wiſelie fearing to fall into the dangerous ſtatute of Premunire, durſt not receiue or execute the tenor of the popes commandement. By reaſon whereof, leaſt the ſée might otherwiſe remaine void, (if ſpéedie remedie were not prouided) the king did in commendam beſtow the biſhoprike of Elie vpon this Lodowike Liſchburne archbiſhop of Rone, by office, *Card. 4. Coronat. Cancellar. Francia & Normannia,* and kinſman to the ſaid king. Which dóone, Eugenius (when he ſaw no other remedie) did reuoke his buls made before to Thomas Bourchier, in the yeare of Chriſt 1437. This Lodowike remaining biſhop ſix yeares and ſo manie moneths, died in the yeare as before, the eightéenth of September, at his manor of Hatfield, whoſe bowels were buried in the ſaid church: his hart was caried to Rone, and there honourablie intóomed, and his bodie was committed to the earth, in the church of Elie, betwéene two marble pillors next to the altar of the relikes.]

In this yeare died in Guien the counteſſe of Comings, to whome the French king and alſo the earle of Arminacke pretended to be heire, in ſo much that the earle entred into all the lands of the ſaid ladie. And bicauſe he knew the French king would not take the matter well, to haue a Rouland for an Oliuer; he ſent ſolemne ambaſſadours to the king of England, offering him his daughter in mariage, with promiſe to be bound (beſide great ſummes of monie, which he would giue with hir) to deliuer into the king of Englands hands, all ſuch caſtels and townes, as he or his anceſtors deteined from him within anie part of the duchie of Aquitaine, either by conqueſt of his progenitors, or by gift and deliuerie of anie French king; and further to aid the ſame king with monie for the recouerie of other cities within the ſame duchie, from the French king; or from anie other perſon that againſt king Henrie vniuſtlie kept, and wrongfullie withholden them.

The earle of Arminacks daughter affied vnto king Henrie.

The erle with his ladie, his ſonne and two daughters taken.

This offer ſeemed ſo profitable and alſo honorable to king Henrie and the realme, that the ambaſſadours were well heard, honourablie receiued, and with rewards ſent home into their countrie. After whome were ſent for the concluſion of the marriage into Guien, ſir Edward Hull, ſir Robert Ros, and John Gralton deane of S. Seuerines, the which (as all the chronographers agree) both concluded the mariage, and by proxie affied the yong ladie. The French king not a little offended herewith, ſent his eldeſt ſonne Lewes the Dolphin of Vienne into Rouergue with a puiſſant armie, which tooke the earle and his yongeſt ſonne, with both his daughters, and by force obteined the countries of Arminacke, Louuergne, Rouergue, and Mouleſſonois, beſide the cities Seuerac & Cadeac, chaſing the baſtard of Arminacke out of his countries, and ſo by reaſon hereof, the concluded mariage was deferred, and that ſo long that it neuer tooke effect; as hereafter it may appeare.

Abr.Fl. ex Fabian. 441.

A law againſt buieng and ſelling on the ſundaie.

¶ In this yeare was an act made by authoritie of the common councell of London, that vpon the ſundaie no maner of thing within the franchiſes and liberties of the ſaid citie ſhould be bought or ſold; neither vittels nor other thing. It was alſo enacted by the ſame common councell with full conſent, and ratified by the authoritie of the law-makers, that no artificer or handicrafts man ſhould bring his wares, commodities, or worke, vnto anie perſon or perſons to be worne or occupied on that daie: bicauſe it was iudged a foule prophanation thereof. And peoples minds giuen to couetouſneſſe, make no exception of times or places in a caſe of aduantage and gaine. In conſideration whereof, and for the ſuppreſſing of this abuſe, this law was ordeined and made: the force whereof did principallie extend to tailors and ſhoomakers (who as on that daie bring home their garments and ſhoos to the parties for whome they are made) and likewiſe to all other occupations and trades. But this ordinance (ſaith mine author) was too good for ſo bad an age, and therefore died within a ſhort time after the magiſtrate had giuen it life.

Abr.Fl. ex Fabian. 441. & Polychr.

Paules ſteeple burnt.

¶ On Candlemaſſe eeue this yeere by lightning in a tempeſt that fell with claps of thunder at afternoone, Paules ſteeple was ſet on fier in the middeſt of the ſpeare or ſhaft in the verie timber worke; which was quenched by the painfulneſſe of diuerſe perſons, and ſpecialie by the diligent labour of a preeſt of Bow in Cheape. Howbeit the ſame was thought vnpoſſible to be quenched, but that the grace of God was cheefe worker in the ſame. This ſteeple hath diuerſe times beene ouerthrowne and defaced, partlie by winds, and partlie by lightning, as may be obſerued in the reading of this volume: yea when the ſame hath beene repared by the choiſeſt workemen, and of the ſubſtantialleſt ſtuffe, and all meanes (that ſtood with the deepe deuiſe of man) vſed to make it ſo ſure that it might continue, as a monument of perpetuitie for poſteritie to woonder at and admire. But to returne to the hiſtorie.

Anno Reg. 22.

The diet at Tours for a peace to be had betweene England and France.

Whileſt England was vnquieted (as you haue heard) and France by ſpoile, ſlaughter, and burning ſore defaced (a miſcheefe in all places much lamented) therefore to agree the two puiſſant kings, all the princes of chriſtendome trauelled ſo effectuouſlie by their oratours and ambaſſadours, that a diet was appointed to be kept at the citie of Tours in Touraine; where for the king of England appeared William de la Poole earle of Suffolke, doctor Adam Molins keeper of the kings priuie ſeale, alſo ſir Robert Ros, and diuers other. And for the French king were appointed Charles duke of Orleance, Lewes de Bourbon earle of Vandoſme, great maiſter of the French kings houſhold, Piers de Breſſe ſteward of Poictou, and Bertram Beauuan lord of Preſignie.

There were alſo ſent thither ambaſſadours from the empire, from Spaine, from Denmarke, & from Hungarie; to be mediatours betwixt the two princes. The aſſemblie was great, but the coſt was much greater, inſomuch that euerie part for the honour of their prince and praiſe of their countrie, ſet forth themſelues, as well in fare as apparell, to the vttermoſt. Manie meetings were had, and manie things mooued for a finall peace: but in concluſion, by reaſon of manie doubts which roſe on both parties, no full concord could be agreed vpon; but in hope to come to a peace, a certeine truce, as well by ſea as by land, was concluded by the commiſſioners for eighteene moneths, which afterward againe was prolonged to the yeare of our Lord 1449.

A truce for 18 moneths.

1444

In treating of this truce, the earle of Suffolke aduenturing ſomewhat vpon his commiſſion, without the aſſent of his aſſociats, imagined, that the next waie to come to a perfect peace, was to contriue a mariage betweene the French kings kinſewoman, the ladie Margaret daughter to Reiner duke of Aniou, and his ſouereigne lord king Henrie. This Reiner duke of Aniou named himſelfe king of Sicill, Naples, and Jeruſalem, hauing onlie the name and ſtile of thoſe realmes; without anie penie, profit, or foot of poſſeſſion. This mariage was made ſtrange to the earle at the firſt, and one thing ſeemed to be a great hinderance to it; which was, bicauſe the king of England occupied a great part of the duchie of Aniou, and the whole countie of Maine, apperteining (as was alledged) to king Reiner.

The earle of Suffolke (I cannot ſaie) either corrupted with bribes, or too much affectioned to this vnprofitable mariage, condeſcended, that the duchie of Aniou and the countie of Maine ſhould be deliuered to the king the brides father, demanding for hir mariage neither penie nor farthing: as who would ſaie, that this new affinitie paſſed all riches, and excelled both gold and pretious ſtones. And to the intent that of this truce might inſue a finall concord, a daie of enterview was appointed betweene the two kings in a place conuenient betweene Chartres and Rone. When theſe things were concluded, the earle of Suffolke with his companie returned into England, where he forgat not to declare what an honourable truce he had taken, out of the which there was a great hope that a finall peace might grow the ſooner for that honorable mariage, which he had concluded, omitting nothing that might extoll and ſet forth the perſonage of the ladie, or the nobilitie of hir kinred.

The protector miſliked this ſecond motion of the kings mariage.

But although this mariage pleaſed the king and diuerſe of his councell, yet Humfrie duke of Gloceſter protector of the realme was much againſt it, alledging that it ſhould be both contrarie to the lawes of God, and diſhonorable to the prince, if he ſhould breake that promiſe and contract of mariage, made by ambaſſadours ſufficientlie thereto inſtructed, with the daughter of the earle of Arminacke, vpon conditions both to him and his realme, as much profitable as honorable. But the dukes words could not be heard, for the earles doings were onelie liked and allowed. So that for performance of the concluſions, the French king ſent the earle of Vandoſme, great maiſter of his houſe, and the archbiſhop of Reimes firſt peere of France, and diuerſe other into England, where they were honorablie receiued; and after that the inſtruments were once ſealed and deliuered on both parts, the ſaid ambaſſadours returned againe into their countries with great gifts and rewards.

When theſe things were doone, the king both for honour of his realme, and to aſſure to himſelfe mo freends, created Iohn Holland earle of Huntington duke of Exceſter as his father was: Humfrie earle of Stafford was made duke of Buckingham: and Henrie earle of Warwike was elected to the title of duke of Warwike, to whome the king alſo gaue the caſtell of Briſtowe, with the Ile of Ierneſeie, and Garneſeie. Alſo the earle of Suffolke was made marqueſſe of Suffolke, which marqueſſe with his wife and manie honorable perſonages of men and women richlie adorned both with apparell & iewels, hauing with them manie coſtlie chariots and gorgeous horſlitters, ſailed into France for the conueiance of the nominated queene into the realme of England. For king Reiner hir father, for all his long ſtile had too ſhort a purſſe to ſend his daughter honorablie to the king hir ſpouſe.

Creations of eſtates.

Anno Reg.23.
1445

This noble companie came to the citie of Tours in Touraine, where they were honorablie receiued both of the French king and of the king of Sicill. The marqueſſe of Suffolke as procurator to king Henrie, eſpouſed the ſaid ladie in the church of ſaint Martins. At the which mariage were preſent the father and mother of the bride; the French king himſelfe, which was vncle to the huſband; and the French queene alſo, which was aunt to the wife. There were alſo the dukes of Orleance, of Calabre, of Alanſon, and of Britaine, ſeauen earls, twelue barons, twentie biſhops, beſide knights and gentlemen. When the feaſt, triumph, bankets and iuſts were ended, the ladie was deliuered to the marqueſſe, who in great eſtate conueied hir through Normandie vnto Diepe, and ſo tranſported hir into England, where ſhe landed at Porteſmouth in the moneth of Aprill. This ladie excelled all other, as well in beautie and fauour, as in wit and policie, and was of ſtomach and courage more like to a man than a woman.

Margaret daughter to Reiner K. of Sicill & Ieruſalem maried to Henrie the ſixt. Abr. Fl. ex Polychron.

Shortlie after hir arriuall, ſhe was conueied to the towne of Southwike in Hamſhire, where ſhe with all nuptiall ceremonies was coupled in matrimonie to king Henrie the ſixt of that name. ¶ On the eighteenth of Maie ſhe came to London, all the lords of England in moſt ſumptuous ſort meeting and receiuing hir vpon the waie, and ſpeciallie the duke of Gloceſter with ſuch honour as ſtood with the dignitie of his perſon. Now when ſhe came to Blackheath, the maior, aldermen, and men of occupations, in blew gownes imbrodered with ſome deuiſe, expreſſing their art and trades whereby to be knowne, did all ſhew themſelues, with congratulation of hir comming; from whence they attended hir to London, where with goodlie pageants and ſundrie gallant hiſtoricall ſhewes in diuers places erected, ſhe was verie magnificallie welcomed. The maner and order of which pompe in ſundrie places exhibited to the high honour of the king, queene, & ſtates, is verie amplie ſet foorth by Fabian, pag. 423, 424, 425, 426, 427. Vpon the thirtith of Maie next following, ſhe was crowned queene of this realme of England at Weſtminſter, with all the ſolemnitie thereto apperteining.]

An ominous mariage.

This mariage ſeemed to manie both infortunate and vnprofitable to the realme of England, and that for manie cauſes. Firſt, the king had not one penie with hir; and for the fetching of hir, the marqueſſe of Suffolke demanded a whole fifteenth in open parlement. And alſo there was deliuered for hir the duchie of Aniou, the citie of Mans, and the whole countie of Maine, which countries were the verie ſtaies and backeſtands to the duchie of Normandie. And furthermore, the earle of Arminacke tooke ſuch diſpleaſure with the king of England for this mariage, that he became vtter enimie to the crowne of England, and was the cheefe cauſe that the Engliſhmen were expelled out of the whole duchie of Aquitaine.

But moſt of all it ſhould ſeeme, that God was diſpleaſed with this mariage: for after the confirmation thereof, the kings freends fell from him, both in England and in France, the lords of his realme fell at diuiſion, and the commons rebelled in ſuch ſort, that finallie after manie fields foughten, and manie thouſands of men ſlaine, the king at length was depoſed, and his ſonne killed, and this queene ſent home againe, with as much miſerie and ſorrow as ſhe was receiued with pompe and triumph: ſuch is the inſtabilitie of worldlie felicitie, and ſo wauering is falſe flattering fortune. Which mutation and change of the better for the worſe could not but nettle and ſting hir with penſiueneſſe, yea and anie other perſon whatſoeuer, that hauing beene in good eſtate, falleth into the contrarie: whereto the ſaieng of the poet giueth credit, in theſe few words following;

Quem res plus nimio delectauêre ſecundæ,
Mutatæ quatiunt.

Ouid. 2. de art.

This yeare, after the deceaſſe of Henrie Chicheleie archbiſhop of Canturburie, ſucceeded Iohn Stafford in that ſee, being tranſlated from Bath and Wels. He was the threeſcore and one archbiſhop, as Polydor noteth. During the time of the truce, Richard duke of Yorke and diuerſe other capteins repaired into England, both to viſit their wiues, children, and freends, and alſo to conſult what ſhould be doone, if the truce ended. For the which cauſe a parlement was called, in the which it was eſpeciallie concluded, that by good foreſight Normandie might be ſo furniſhed for defenſe before the end of the truce, that the French king ſhould take no aduantage through want of timelie prouiſion: for it was knowne, that if a peace were not concluded, the French king did prepare to imploie his whole puiſſance to make open warre. Heere vpon monie was granted, an armie leuied, and the duke of Summerſet appointed to be regent of Normandie, and the duke of Yorke thereof diſcharged.

Anno Reg.24.
1446

The duke of Summerſet made regent of Normãdie, and the duke of Yorke diſcharged.

I haue ſeene in a regiſter booke belonging ſometime to the abbeie of ſaint Albons, that the duke of of Yorke was eſtabliſhed regent of France, after the deceaſſe of the duke of Bedford, to continue in that office for the tearme of fiue yeares; which being expired, he returned home, and was ioifullie receiued of the king with thanks for his good ſeruice, as he had full well deſerued in time of that his gouernement: and further, that now when a new regent was to be choſen and ſent ouer, to abide vpon ſafegard of the countries beyond the ſeas as yet ſubiect to the Engliſh dominion, the ſaid duke of Yorke was eftſoones (as a man moſt meet to ſupplie that roome) appointed to go ouer againe, as regent of France with all his former allowances.

The duke of Yorke appointed to ÿ charge againe.

But the duke of Summerſet ſtill maligning the duke of Yorkes aduancement, as he had ſought to hinder his diſpatch at the firſt when he was ſent ouer to be regent, as before ye haue heard: he likewiſe now wrought ſo, that the king reuoked his grant made to the duke of Yorke for enioieng of that office the terme of other fiue yeeres, and with helpe of William marqueſſe of Suffolke obteined that grant for himſelfe. Which malicious deling the duke of Yorke might ſo euill beare, that in the end the heate of diſpleaſure burſt out into ſuch a flame, as conſumed at length not onelie both thoſe two noble perſonages, but alſo manie thouſands of others, though in diuers times and ſeaſons, as in places hereafter (as occaſion ſerueth) it ſhall more euidentlie appeare. But now to returne to the parlement.

The appointmẽt diſappointed, and pointed to the marqueſſe of Suffolke.

The marques of Suffolke, ſuppoſing all men had as well liked his doings (during the time of his legation in France) as himſelfe, the ſecond daie of Iune

The marques of Suffolks requeſt.

Iune in the firſt ſeſſion of this parlement, in the higher houſe openlie, eloquentlie, and boldlie declared his paine, trauell, and diligence ſuſteined in his ſaid legation, as well for the taking and concluding an abſtinence of warre, as in the making of the mariage; remembring them alſo that the ſaid truce expired the firſt of Aprill next, except a finall peace, or a further truce were concluded in the meane ſeaſon: and therefore he aduiſed them to prouide and foreſée things neceſſarie for the warre (as though no concord ſhould ſuccéed) leaſt happilie the Frenchmen perceiuing them vnprouided, would take their aduantage, and agrée neither to peace nor amitie; ſaieng vnto them further, that ſith he had admoniſhed the king and them according to his dutie, if anie thing happened otherwiſe than well, he was thereof innocent and guiltleſſe, and had acquited himſelfe like a true and louing ſubiect, and a faithfull councellour, praieng the lords to haue it in remembrance.

Likewiſe on the morow after, he deſcended into the common houſe, accompanied with certeine lords, and there declared the ſame matter to the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, praieng the commons for his diſcharge, that as well all his dooings and procéedings in the kings affaires beyond the ſea, as alſo his aduertiſement and counſell opened to the lords and commons now togither aſſembled, might be by the king and them inacted and inrolled in the records of the parlement. Wherevpon the next daie after, the ſpeaker William Burghleie, and the companie of the lower houſe, repaired vnto the kings preſence, ſitting amongſt the lords of the vpper houſe, & there humblie required that the requeſt of the marqueſſe might be granted. And ſo likewiſe the lords made the like petition knéeling on their knées, inſomuch that the king condeſcended to their deſires: and ſo the labours, demeanours, diligences, and declarations of the ſaid marqueſſe, togither with the deſires not onelie of the lords, but alſo of the commons, as well for the honour of him and his poſteritie, as for his acquitall and diſcharge, were inacted and inrolled in the records of the parlement.

The marques of Suffolke, chéefeſt in fauour and authoritie with the king and quéene.

By the quéenes meanes ſhortlie after alſo was the ſaid marqueſſe aduanced ſo in authoritie, that he ruled the king at his pleaſure, and to his high preferment obteined the wardſhips both of the bodie and lands of the counteſſe of Warwike, and of the ladie Margaret ſole heire to Iohn duke of Summerſet, which ladie was afterward mother to king Henrie the ſeauenth: and beſides that, cauſed the king to create Iohn de Fois, ſonne vnto Gaſton de Fois, earle of Longuile, and the Capdau de Beuſe earle of Kendall, which Iohn had married his néece, and by his procurement the king elected to the order of the garter the ſaid Gaſton, and Iohn his ſonne, giuing to the ſonne towards the maintenance of his degrée, lands and caſtels, amounting to the ſumme of one thouſand pounds, which lands, name, and ſtile the iſſue and line of the ſaid earle of Kendall at this daie haue and inioy.

Theſe things being thus in dooing, the French king, ſéeing that the towne of Mans was not deliuered according to the appointment taken by force of the marriage, raiſed an armie for to recouer the ſame. Whereof the king of England being aduertiſed (leaſt the breach of the truce ſhould come by him) cauſed the towne to be deliuered without anie force.

A commotion in Norwich.

This yeare was a great commotion in Norwich againſt the prior of the place. At length the citizens opened the gates to the duke of Norffolke, who came thither to appeaſe the matter, though at the firſt they would not ſuffer him to enter. The chéefe offendors were (according to their demerits) gréeuouſlie puniſhed and executed, and the maior was diſcharged of his office, and ſir Iohn Clifton was made gouernour there, vntill the king had reſtored the citizens to their ancient liberties. This commotion was begun for certeine new exactions which the prior claimed and tooke of the citizens, contrarie to their ancient fréedome. But herein a wrong taken for getting of right was worthilie corrected.

The liberties of Norwich ſeized into the kings hands. Indirect meanes to reforme wrongs.

Abr. Fl. ex Fabian. 343. Polychron.

Combats in caſes of appeales touching treaſon.

Drunkenneſſe the ouerthrow of right and manhood.

¶ In the foure and twentith yeare of this kings reigne, the prior of Kilmaine appeached the earle of Ormond of treaſon. For triall whereof the place of combat was aſſigned in Smithfield, & the barriers for the ſame there readie pitcht. Howbeit, in the meane time a doctor of diuinitie, named maiſter Gilbert Worthington, parſon of ſaint Andrews in Holborne, and other honeſt men, made ſuch ſute with diligent labour and paines-taking to the kings councell, that when the daie of combat approched, the quarell was taken into the kings hands, and there ended. ¶ In the ſame yeare alſo, a certeine armourer was appeached of treaſon by a ſeruant of his owne. For proofe whereof a daie was giuen them to fight in Smithfield, inſomuch that in conflict the ſaid armourer was ouercome and ſlaine; but yet by miſgouerning of himſelfe. For on the morow, when he ſhould come to the field freſh and faſting, his neighbours came to him, and gaue him wine and ſtrong drinke in ſuch exceſſiue ſort, that he was therewith diſtempered, and réeled as he went, and ſo was ſlaine without guilt. As for the falſe ſeruant, he liued not long vnpuniſhed; for being conuict of felonie in court of aſſiſe, he was iudged to be hanged, and ſo was, at Tiburne.

Anno Reg. 25

Whileſt the warres betwéene the two nations of England & France ceaſſed (by occaſion of the truce) the minds of men were not ſo quiet, but that ſuch as were bent to malicious reuenge, ſought to compaſſe their prepenſed purpoſe, not againſt forren foes and enimies of their countrie, but againſt their owne countrie men, and thoſe that had deſerued verie well of the common-wealth: and this ſpeciallie for ouermuch mildneſſe in the king, who by his authoritie might haue ruled both parts, and ordered all differences betwixt them, but that in déed he was thought too ſoft for gouernor of a kingdome. The quéene contrariwiſe, a ladie of great wit, and no leſſe courage, deſirous of honour, and furniſhed with the gifts of reaſon, policie, and wiſedome; but yet ſometime (according to hir kind) when ſhe had béene fullie bent on a matter, ſuddenlie like a weather cocke, mutable and turning.

The deſcription of the quéene.

This ladie diſdaining that hir huſband ſhould be ruled rather than rule, could not abide that the duke of Gloceſter ſhould doo all things concerning the order of weightie affaires, leaſt it might be ſaid, that ſhe had neither wit nor ſtomach, which would permit and ſuffer hir huſband being of moſt perfect age, like a yoong pupill to be gouerned by the direction of an other man. Although this toy entered firſt into hir braine thorough hir owne imagination, yet was ſhe pricked forward to the matter both by ſuch of hir huſbands counſell, as of long time had borne malice to the duke for his plainneſſe vſed in declaring their vntruth (as partlie ye haue heard) and alſo by counſell from king Reiner hir father, aduiſing that ſhe and the king ſhould take vpon them the rule of the realme, and not to be kept vnder, as wards and maſtered orphanes.

The quéene taketh vpon hir the gouernement, and diſchargeth the duke of Gloceſter.

What néedeth manie words? The quéene perſuaded by theſe meanes, firſt of all excluded the duke of Gloceſter from all rule and gouernance, not prohibiting ſuch as ſhe knew to be his mortall foes to inuent and imagine cauſes and gréefs againſt him and his, inſomuch that by hir procurement, diuerſe noble men conſpired againſt him. Of the which diuerſe writers

---

The faint quarell piked to the duke of Gloceſter.

ters affirme the
of Buckinghan
the cardinall o
Yorke. Diue
open councell, a
ſed men adiudg
than the law o
verie well lear
factors, and pun
gat him hatre
for their wick
ſufficientlie an
tected: yet bec
wiſedome and
But to auo
ſed, if a prince
openlie execut
their feats in h
warning. F
ſummoned to
the péeres of
of Gloceſter
was by the lo
England, acc
ham, and othe
ward, and all
thirtie two of
uerſe priſons
The duke the
priſon, being
was found d
the lords and
palſie, or of a
But all in
well vnderſt
Some iudge
an hot ſpit w
that he was
and ſome hau
for that he n
His dead cor
there buried
ſuffered: al
Chamberlin
quiers, and
reigned, con
they were h
haue béene
of Suffolke
pardons, ſhe
were ſaued.
Some th
ſter hath bé
nours haue
that ſtile an
Woodſtoke
this duke H
ble death fir
chard the th
ſlaine. So t
for an vnha
ſans horſſe
poſſeſſor w
by the piti
gouernour
great deca
appeare.
[Oft tin
ſmoke, bu
in caſting
ſelfe in a
man, brou
to haue fe
band, & the

1447 A parlement at ſaint Edmundeſburie.

The duke of Gloceſter ſuddenlie murthered.

Edw. Hall.

A pardon at a pinch.

Dukes of Gloceſter vnfortunate.

W. P.

The faint quarell piked to the duke of Gloceſter.

ters affirme the marqueſſe of Suffolke, and the duke of Buckingham to be the chéefe, not vnprocured by the cardinall of Wincheſter, and the archbiſhop of Yorke. Diuerſe articles were laid againſt him in open councell, and in eſpeciallie one; That he had cauſed men adiudged to die, to be put to other execution, than the law of the land aſſigned. Suerlie the duke verie well learned in the law ciuill, deteſting malefactors, and puniſhing offenſes in ſeueritie of iuſtice, gat him hatred of ſuch as feared condigne reward for their wicked dooings. And although the duke ſufficientlie anſwered to all things againſt him obiected: yet becauſe his death was determined, his wiſedome and innocencie nothing auailed.

1447

A parlement at ſaint Edmundeſburie.

But to auoid danger of tumult that might be raiſed, if a prince ſo well beloued of the people ſhould be openlie executed; his enimies determined to worke their feats in his deſtruction, yer he ſhould haue anie warning. For effecting whereof, a parlement was ſummoned to be kept at Berrie, whither reſorted all the péeres of the realme, and amongſt them the duke of Gloceſter; which on the ſecond daie of the ſeſſion was by the lord Beaumont, then high conſtable of England, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and others, arreſted, apprehended, and put in ward, and all his ſeruants ſequeſtred from him, and thirtie two of the chéefe of his retinue were ſent to diuerſe priſons, to the great admiration of the people. The duke the night after he was thus committed to priſon, being the foure and twentith of Februarie, was found dead in his bed, and his bodie ſhewed to the lords and commons, as though he had died of a palſie, or of an impoſteme.

The duke of Gloceſter ſuddenlie murthered.

Edw. Hall.

But all indifferent perſons (as ſaith Hall) might well vnderſtand that he died of ſome violent death. Some iudged him to be ſtrangled, ſome affirme that an hot ſpit was put in at his fundament, other write that he was ſmouldered betwéene two featherbeds, and ſome haue affirmed that he died of verie gréefe, for that he might not come openlie to his anſwer. His dead corpſe was conueied to ſaint Albons, and there buried. After his death, none of his ſeruants ſuffered: although fiue of them, to wit, ſir Roger Chamberline knight, Middleton, Herbert, Arteiſe eſquiers, and Richard Nedham gentleman, were arreigned, condemned, and drawen to Tiborne, where they were hanged, let downe quicke, and ſtripped to haue béene bowelled and quartered: but the marques of Suffolke comming at that inſtant brought their pardons, ſhewed the ſame openlie, and ſo their liues were ſaued.

A pardon at a pinch.

Dukes of Gloceſter vnfortunate.

Some thinke that the name and title of Gloceſter hath béene vnluckie to diuerſe, which for their honours haue béene erected by creation of princes to that ſtile and dignitie, as Hugh Spenſer, Thomas of Woodſtoke, ſonne to king Edward the third, and this duke Humfreie: which thrée perſons by miſerable death finiſhed their daies; and after them king Richard the third alſo, duke of Gloceſter in ciuill warre ſlaine. So that this name duke of Gloceſter is taken for an vnhappie ſtile, as the prouerbe ſpeaketh of Seians horſſe, whoſe rider was euer vnhorſſed, & whoſe poſſeſſor was euer brought to miſerie. But ſuerlie, by the pitifull death of this noble duke and politike gouernour, the publike wealth of the realme came to great decaie, as by ſequele here may more at large appeare.

W.P.

[Oft times it hapneth that a man in quenching of ſmoke, burneth his fingers in the fire:] ſo the quéene in caſting how to kéepe hir huſband in honor, and hir ſelfe in authoritie, in making awaie of this noble man, brought that to paſſe, which ſhe had moſt cauſe to haue feared, which was the depoſing of hir huſband, & the decaie of the houſe of Lancaſter, which of likelihood had not chanced if this duke had liued: for then durſt not the duke of Yorke haue attempted to ſet forth his title to the crowne, as he afterwards did, to the great trouble of the realme, and deſtruction of king Henrie, and of manie other noble men beſide. This is the opinion of men, but Gods iudgements are vnſearchable, againſt whoſe decrée and ordinance preuaileth no humane counſell.

But to conclude of this noble duke: he was an vpright and politike gouernour, bending all his indeuours to the aduancement of the common-wealth, verie louing to the poore commons, and ſo beloued of them againe; learned, wiſe, full of courteſie, void of pride and ambition (a vertue rare in perſonages of ſuch high eſtate) but where it is moſt commendable. But ſith the praiſe of this noble man deſerueth a large diſcourſe, and méet for ſuch as haue cunning how to handle the ſame (ſith the ornaments of his mind were both rare & admirable, the feats of chiualrie by him commenſed and atchiued valiant and fortunate, his grauitie in counſell, and ſoundneſſe of policie profound and ſingular, all which with a traine of other excellent properties linked togither, require a man of manifold gifts to aduance them according to their dignitie) I refer the readers vnto maiſter Foxes booke of Acts and Monuments. Onelie this I ad, that in reſpect of his noble indowments, and his demeanor full of decencie, which he dailie vſed, it ſéemeth he might well haue giuen this prettie poeſie,

Virtute duce non ſanguine nitor.

Anno Reg. 26.

In this ſix and twentith yeare of the reigne of this king, but in the firſt of the rule of the quéene, I find nothing doone worthie of reherſall within the realme of England; but that the marqueſſe of Suffolke, by great fauour of the king, & more deſire of the quéene, was erected to the title and dignitie of duke of Suffolke, which he a ſhort time inioied. For Richard duke of Yorke being greatlie alied by his wife to the chiefe péeres and potentates of the realme, beſide his owne progenie, perceiuing the king to be no ruler, but the whole burthen of the realme to reſt in direction of the quéene, & the duke of Suffolke, began ſecretlie to allure his friends of the nobilitie; and priuilie declared vnto them his title and right to the crowne, and likewiſe did he to certeine wiſe gouernours of diuerſe cities and townes. Which attempt was ſo politikelie handled, and ſo ſecretlie kept, that prouiſion to his purpoſe was readie, before his purpoſe was openlie publiſhed; and his friends opened themſelues, yer the contrarie part could them eſpie: for in concluſion all ſhortlie in miſchiefe burſt out, as ye may hereafter heare.

Marqueſſe of Suffolke made duke.

The duke of Yorke tempering about his title to the crowne,

1448

The death of the biſhop of Wincheſter & his deſcriptiō.

During theſe dooings, Henrie Beauford biſhop of Wincheſter, and called the rich cardinall, departed out of this world, & buried at Weſtminſter. He was ſon to Iohn Duke of Lancaſter, deſcended of an honorable linage, but borne in haſt, more noble in blood than notable in learning, hautie in ſtomach, and high of countenance, rich aboue meaſure, but not verie liberall, diſdainefull to his kin, and dreadfull to his louers, preferring monie before friendſhip, manie things beginning and few performing, ſauing in malice and miſchiefe; his inſatiable couetouſneſſe and hope of long life made him both to forget God, his prince, and himſelfe. Of the getting of his goods both by power legantine, and ſpirituall briberie, I will not ſpeake; but the kéeping of them, which he chiefelie gathered for ambitious purpoſe, was both great loſſe to his naturall prince and natiue countrie: for his hidden riches might haue well holpen the king, and his ſecret treaſure might haue relieued the communaltie, when monie was ſcant and charges great.

W. P.

[Of this catholike clerke ſuch were the déeds, that

Lib.23.

that with king and ech eſtate elſe (ſaith Polydor) the lighter was the loſſe, bicauſe as for his hat he was a prelate proud inough, ſo for a biſhop was there a better ſoone ſet in his roome. One William Patin, ſon and heire to Richard his father, and eldeſt brother to John that deceaſſed deane of Chicheſter, and to Richard that liued and died at Baſlo in Derbiſhire. This William was a perſon by parentage borne a gentleman, for vertue and learning firſt conſecrate biſhop of Wincheſter, then anon after for wiſedome and integritie choſen lord chancellor of England: wherein his prudence made eminent, in warilie weilding the weight of that office at thoſe daies, which were ſo dangerous for all eſtates to liue in.

His vertuous diſpoſition was right apparant, and it were but by this the godlie erection of that worthie worke, Magdalene colledge in Oxford, a plot right aptlie choſen out for ſtudie at firſt, with ſtrength and workemanſhip ſoone after builded according, in proportion beautifull outward, and for vſe verie commodious within, ſorted into a faire manſion for the preſident, ſeuerall and méet for a man to that office of worſhip and grauitie, and alſo into other roomes for the fellowes, officers, and yoonger ſtudents. Not without a vertuous remembrance of the verie tenderlings, who might appeare to be toward and teachable; whereof part to be trained vp in the diuine ſcience of muſike iuſtlie reported in a diſtichon, that

Gaudia ſi ſuperûm res ſit mortalibus vlla,
Integra quæ referat; muſica ſola refert:

the vſe of it commendablie ſeruing by ſwéet harmonie to praiſe God in church, and for delectable recreation to a gentlemanlie mind any where elſe: and part of theſe yoong ones to be taught the grammar in a faire ſchoole well appointed therefore, out of which as out of a nurſſerie of it owne, for ſupplement certeine to kéepe full the number, theſe budlings at néed from time to time to be dulie deriued and drawen.

Now ſomewhat in caſting vpon this deuout mans deuiſe and compaſſe; to conſider the companie of ſtudents there, that in ſeuerall ſciences and ſundrie profeſſions are not a few; then their aſſigned ſtudies and exerciſes in them, their ſteps in riſing & reward for diligence, from the loweſt logician to the higheſt degrées of doctrine in ſchooles, their officers in houſe, their orders for gouernance in maners, in ſafegard of health and helpe in ſickneſſe: and that chiefeſt is, the reuenues certeine for prouiſion & maintenance of all, it may be a queſtion not eaſie to anſwer: whether at firſt in this founders meditation vpon ſuch a worke were a mind more magnifike, or a more amplitude of abilitie after in ſo abſolute a forme to performe it, or elſe a profounder wiſedome for perpetuitie into ſo perfect an order in all points to haue firt it.

Bale.

It was a faſhion at thoſe daies, long alſo afore, & ſince, from a learned ſpirituall man to take awaie the fathers ſurname (were it neuer ſo worſhipfull or ancient) and giue him for it the name of the towne he was borne in: and ſo was Richard Notingham a learned frier minorite in king Edward the ſeconds daies called of Notingham where he was borne; John Olnete a learned monke in thoſe daies alſo, named of an Iland wherein he was borne nie Glouceſter; of Barton in Lincolnſhire one William Barton in Richard the ſeconds reigne, for that time a famous doctor and chancellor of Oxford; Water Diſſe, of Diſſe in Suffolke a learned Carmelite frier, confeſſour to the duke and ducheſſe of Lancaſter in king Henrie the fourths reigne; Richard Hampoole of a towne in Yorkeſhire, a zelous doctor, and after a vertuous heremit in king Henrie the ſixts daies.

Williã Wainfléet biſhop of Wincheſter, lord chancellor of England, founder of Magdalin college in Oxford.

An.Dom.448. Malmeſburie.

And after this ſort manie hundreds more that had their names ſo altered; as euen in like maner vnto this reuerend prelat in the prime of his towardneſſe was changed his fathers ſurname Paten to Wainfléet of the towne where hée was borne in Lincolneſhire: a matter right proueable aſwell by the records of the houſe there extant, as by a faire déed remaining among other his proper euidences, in the hands of the worſhipfull maiſter Thomas Fanſhaw eſquier, the quéenes maieſties remembrancer in the eſcheker at Weſtminſter. And as the names of Germin, German, Germi, are but for one name though diuerſlie wreſted, and all to remember Germanie, the countrie their anceſtors came from; and alſo as Iute, Iud, and Chute, are all but for the race of Iutes, one of the thrée firſt Germane nations that came in with Horſus and Hengiſt; and Caltrap, Caltrop and Calthorp was all but for Caldthorp (that ſignifieth a cold towne) how euer it be otherwiſe wried: euen ſo Paten, Patin, Patten, or Patent, is but a mention of the old Saxon name, that trulie at firſt was Patan; of Pate, the ſole of the foot, and thereof Patan to ſignifie flat footed, as among the Latines they were called Plautus or Plancus: ſo Cicero of a chiche or tare; Naſones, Labiones and Labieni, well noſed and lipt; & manie more after that ſort in manie toongs elſe ſo deriued.

That right manie ſtudents ſkilfull in the profoundeſt ſciences and learned toongs, manie venerable clerks, who in moſt weightie cauſes with ſingular wiſedome, ſucceſſe and faith, haue ſerued their prince and countrie this college hath brought forth: hereto that manie toward wits it ſtill to haue, hath had the good hap (which happilie yet too it dooth reteine) may here with modeſtie a litle be touched, neither to compariſon that were contentious folie, nor yet to ſéeke glorie that cannot be but vaine, but onlie in ſtorie to mind, how vnto purpoſes vertuouſlie deuiſed and wiſelie purſued, Gods goodneſſe alwaies giueth chéeuing and thrift according.]

Abr. Fl. ex Fabian.447.

A combat vpon triall of manhood betwéene a French and an Engliſhman.

¶ In this ſeuen and twentith yeare of king Henries reigne, as witneſſe the Engliſh chronicles, a knight of France called ſir Lewes de Bueill challenged an eſquier of England, named Rafe Challons, to triall of certeine feats of warre. Herevpon (as was thought conuenient) a daie was appointed them to make proofe thereof; the place alſo was aſſigned of their méeting, to wit, at a towne in France called Maunt or Maunce, where the French king at the ſame time was perſonallie preſent. But fortune (ſaith mine author) was to Challons ſo fauourable, and leaned ſo much to his ſide, that he ran the French knight through with the point of his fatall ſpeare:

Hunc illi finem lingua ſuperba dedit.

The compaſſion of the Engliſhman to his enimie.

The Engliſh eſquier ſéeing the infortunate euent of this triall to fall to the ſhame of the challenger, was ſo far from reioiſing at his ouerthrow, that he was touched with chriſtian compaſſion, & mourned for his enimie, for whome alſo he kept an obſequie as if he had béene his owne naturall brother, and deſcended of the ſame parents. For which mercifull motions of mind inwardlie working, and outwardlie appearing, he was of the king greatlie commended. But doubtfull it is, whether the other, if he had ſuruiued, and got the vpper hand, would haue had the like reuerend care of the Engliſhmans dead bodie, as to haue vouchſafed it a ſolemne interrement.]

Anno Reg. 27.

Sir Francis Suriennes.

Fougiers.

As the affaires in France now were neither well looked to, nor the gouernours there well aduiſed, an Engliſh capteine called ſir Francis Suriennes, ſurnamed the Aragonois, of the countrie where he was borne, a man for his wit and actiuitie admitted into the order of the garter, tooke by ſcaling ſuddenlie in the night of the euen of our ladie daie in Lent, a towne on the frontiers of Normandie, belonging to the duke of Britaine called Fougiers, ſpoiling the ſame, and killing the inhabitants. The duke of Britaine,

taine, being hereof aduertiſed, ſent word by the biſhop of Reimes to the French king, beſeeching him of his aid and counſell in the matter.

The French king forthwith ſent his caruer John Hauart, and John Coſinet one of the maiſters of his requeſts to the king of England; and to the duke of Summerſet he diſpatched Peter de Fonteins the maiſter of his horſſe. To which meſſengers anſwer was made aſwell by the king as the duke, that the fact was doone without their knowledge. And for the truce to be kept, and not onelie reſtitution, but alſo amends to be made to the duke of Britaine, a daie of diet was appointed to be kept at Louuiers, where the commiſſioners on both parts being aſſembled, the Frenchmen demanded amends, with no ſmall recompenſe. The Engliſhmen anſwered, that without offenſe, nothing by iuſtice ought to be ſatiſfied; affirming the dooing of ſir Francis Sureinnes to be onelie his act, without conſent either of the king of England, or of the duke of Summerſet his lieutenant and regent.

Pōt de Larch taken by the Frēchmen by a ſubtill ſleight.

But whiles with long delaie they talked of this matter at Louuiers, certeine Frenchmen by aduertiſement of a wagoner of Louuiers, vnderſtanding that the towne of Pont de Larch was but ſlenderlie manned; the wagoner laded his wagon and paſſed forward, hauing in his companie two ſtrong varlets clad like carpentars, with great axes on their ſhoulders. And hereto le ſeigneur de Breſſe with a choſen companie of men of armes, lodged himſelfe in ambuſhment neere to the gate of S. Andrew, and capteine Floquet, accompanied with ſir James de Clermont, and another great companie priuilie lurked vnder a wood toward Louuiers. When all things were appointed for the purpoſe, earlie in a morning about the beginning of October, the wagoner came to the gate, and called the porter by name, praieng him to open the gate, that he might paſſe to Rone, and returne againe the ſame night.

The porter (which well knew the voice of his cuſtomer) tooke little heed to the other two companions, and ſo opened the one gate, and ſent another fellow of his to open the formoſt gate. When the chariot was on the draw-bridge betweene both the gates, the chariot-maiſter gaue the porter monie, and for the nonce let one peece fall on the ground: and while the porter ſtooped to take it vp, the wagoner with his dagger ſtroke him in at his throat, ſo that he cried for no helpe, and the two great lubbers ſlue the other porters, and with their axes cut the axeltree of the wagon, ſo that the draw-bridge could not be ſhortlie drawen vp. This doone they made a ſigne to capteine Floquet, which with all ſpeed entered the towne, ſlue and tooke all the Engliſhmen: and amongſt other, the lord Fauconbridge capteine of the ſaid towne was taken priſoner. The loſſe of this place was of no ſmall importance, being the verie keie and paſſage ouer the riuer of Seine, from France into Normandie, being diſtant from Rone onelie foure leagues.

When requeſt was made to haue it reſtored againe to the Engliſhmen, anſwer was made, that if they reſtored vnto the duke of Britaine, the towne of Fougiers, with condigne amends for the damages doone there, the towne of Pont Larch ſhould then be againe deliuered, or elſe not. And ſhortlie after, in hope of like ſucceſſe the French king aſſembled an armie, and diuiding the ſame in three parts, got by ſurrender (after ſundrie aſſaults, and loſſe of diuerſe of his men) the townes of Louuiers, & Gerborie, whereof William Harper was capteine. Alſo the towne, caſtell, and great tower of Verneueill in Perch were rendered into the French kings hands, after twentie daies of reſpit granted, to ſee if reſcues would haue come. The French writers affirme the towne to be taken by aſſault.

The warres renewed befor the end of the truce.

Thus was the warre renewed before the terme of truce fullie expired, & the Engliſh capteins brought to their wits end, what with appeaſing dailie rumors within the townes; and what with ſtudie how to recouer caſtels loſt and taken: for while they ſtudied how to keepe and defend one place, foure or fiue other turned to the French part. The chiefe cauſe of which reuolting was, for that it was blowen abroad thorough France, how the realme of England, after the death of the duke of Gloceſter by the ſeuerall factions of princes was diuided in two parts; and that William de la Poole latelie created duke of Suffolke, and diuerſe other, which were the occaſion of the ſaid duke of Gloceſters death, vexed and oppreſſed the poore people, ſo that mens minds were not intentiue to outward affaires: but all their ſtudie giuen to keepe off wrongs offered at home.

The king little regarding the matter, & the queene led by euill counſell, rather furthered ſuch miſchiefes as dailie began to grow by ciuill diſcord, than ſought to reforme them: ſo that the Normans and Gaſcoignes vnderſtanding in what ſtate things ſtood here, turned to the French part, as hereafter it may appeare. About the ſame time alſo, began a new rebellion in Ireland; but Richard duke of Yorke being ſent thither to appeaſe the ſame, ſo aſſwaged the furie of the wild and ſauage people there, that he wan him ſuch fauour amongſt them, as could neuer be ſeparated from him and his linage, which in the ſequele of this hiſtorie may more plainelie appeare.

A rebellion in Ireland.

The Engliſh loſe all in France.

The Frenchmen, hauing perfect vnderſtanding of the vnreadineſſe of the realme of England, diſplaied their banners, and ſet forth their armies, and in ſhort ſpace got (by yeelding) Conſtance, Giſors, caſtell Galliard, Ponteau de Mere, ſaint Lo, Feſtampe, Newcaſtell, Tonque, Mauleon, Argenton, Liſieux, and diuerſe other townes and places within the countrie of Normandie. Likewiſe in Guien was the towne of Mauliſſon rendered to the earle of Fois. Theſe townes were not yeelded voluntarilie by the Engliſh ſouldiers: but they were compelled thereto by the inhabitants of the townes, which hauing intelligence of the feeble eſtate of the realme of England, roſe againſt the capteins, opened the gates to the enimies, or conſtreined them to render vpon compoſition. By which inforcement was the rich citie of Rone deliuered: for ſuerlie the duke of Summerſet and the earle of Shreweſburie had well kept that citie, if they had beene no more vexed with the citizens, than they were with their enimies.

Rone yeelded to the Frenchmen.

For after that the French king had giuen summons to the citie, the inhabitants ſtreightwaies did not onelie deuiſe which waies they might betraie the citie, but alſo put on armor, and rebelled openlie againſt their capteins: who perceiuing the vntruth of them, and their owne danger, retired into the caſtell or palace, where (for a certeine ſpace) with arrowes & handguns they ſore moleſted the vntrue citizens. But at length, vnderſtanding the great puiſſance of the French king at hand, and deſpairing of all aid and ſuccour, they yeelded vpon condition; that with all their goods and armour they ſhould ſafelie depart to Caen, and that certeine townes ſhould be deliuered by a day. And till the ſame townes were rendred, the earle of Shrewſburie and the lord Butler, ſonns to the earle of Ormond, were left behind as pledges, which were ſent to the caſtell of Eureux, bicauſe they ſore feared the malice of the citizens of Rone.

Harflue beſieged.

Sir Thomas Curſon.

The Frenchmen, following the ſucceſſe in hand, came to Harflue, and fiercelie aſſaulted the walles: but by the high proweſſe and vndanted valiancie of the capteine, ſir Thomas Curſon, they were to their great loſſe manfullie by him repelled, and beaten. The Frenchmen learning wit by this great perill, left their ſcaling, and deuiſed dailie how to batter the walles, & make the breaches reaſonable for them to enter. This ſiege long continued to the great loſſe of both parties. When ſir Thomas Curſon ſaw no likelihood of gaine, but great appeerance of preſent loſſe, he fell at compoſition with the enimies, and ſo departed with all his goods. After which towne rendered, the fortreſſe of Hunflue was vpon like compoſition yeelded. And beſide theſe townes ſurrendred in Normandie, the duke of Britaine recouered againe Fougiers, ſaint James de Beuuron, and diuerſe other.

Harflue yeelded to the French.

Anno Reg. 28.

1450

Sir Thomas Kiriell with a new band into France.

In the meane ſeaſon the king of England ſent into Normandie (with a new ſupplie of a thouſand fiue hundred men) a right valiant capteine called ſir Thomas Kiriell, who ioining himſelfe with other Engliſh capteins recouered the townes of Liſieux and Valongnes, and hauing with him power ſufficient (as he tooke it) to keepe the fields, he departed the twelfe of Aprill from Valongnes, meaning to paſſe towards Baieux, and after to Caen. But the eighteenth daie of the ſame moneth, he was incountred at a place called Formignie betwixt Carenten and Baieux, by the earle of Cleremont, & other Frenchmen with Scots. At the firſt onſet, the Engliſhmen receiued their enimies with ſuch manhood, that the Frenchmen were driuen backe, and the Engliſhmen tooke from them two culuerings.

The Engliſhmen ouerthrowne at Formignie.

*Or rather Goche.

But yet in the end, by the comming of the conſtable of France, Arthur de Britaine earle of Richmond, who brought with him two hundred or twelue ſcore men of armes, and an eight hundred archers or demilances, the Engliſhmen were diſcomfited, put to flight, and ſlaine, to the number of three thouſand, ſeauen hundred, three ſcore and thirteene, as Enguerant noteth, beſide priſoners, of whome there were diuerſe perſonages of accompt, as the ſaid ſir Thomas Kiriell himſelfe, ſir Henrie Norberie, ſir Thomas Drew, ſir Thomas Kirklie, Chriſtopher Auberton, Arpell, Helice, Alengour, Jennequin, Vacquier, Gobart, Caleuille, and ſundrie other. Sir Robert Veer, and ſir Matthew *Gough that valiant Welſhman, and manie other eſcaped ſo well as they might, ſome to Baieux, ſome to Caen, and other to other places as beſt they could.

Caen beſieged and yeelded to ẏ French.

After this ouerthrow obteined, the French king aſſembled an armie roiall, and comming before Caen, beſieged it on all ſides: and after making his approches, fiercelie aſſalted the walles. But the duke of Summerſet, and the other capteins within the towne, manfullie withſtood their enimies, ſhewing both force and great policie in defending and beating backe the aſſailants. The French king, perceiuing he could not preuaile that waie, ſent for all his great ordinance to Paris, which being brought, he dailie ſhot at the wals, and did ſome hurt: but to the caſtell which ſtood on a rocke, and in it a dungeon vnable to be beaten downe, he did no harme at all.

Though the duke of Summerſet was the kings lieutenant, yet ſir Dauid Hall, as capteine of this towne for his maiſter the duke of Yorke owner thereof, tooke vpon him the cheefe charge. Sir Robert Veer was capteine of the caſtell, and ſir Henrie Radford capteine of the dungeon. Dailie the ſhot was great, but more terrible than hurtfull: ſauing on a daie a ſtone ſhot into the towne, fell betweene the ducheſſe of Summerſet, and hir children, which being amazed with this chance, beſought hir huſband kneeling on hir knees, to haue mercie and compaſſion of his ſmall infants, and that they might be deliuered out of the towne in ſafegard. Which intretie made with teares and ſubmiſſion, what eare could but liſten to, what heart but yerne at; vnleſſe both eare and heart were made of flint or marble, or hewen out of a hard rocke, and ſo void of all paſſions, of all remorſe, of all affections belonging to humanitie?

The duke pitifull, mooued with the ſorrow of his wife, and loue of his children, rendered the towne againſt the mind of ſir Dauid Hall, whoſe counſell and faithfull diligence (in acquiting himſelfe to anſwer the truſt committed to him by his maiſter) if others had followed; the French had ſuſteined more trauell and loſſe, yer they ſhould haue ſo eaſilie atteined their purpoſe. The conditions of the ſurrender were, that the duke of Summerſet and his might depart in ſafegard with all their goods and ſubſtance. Sir Dauid Hall with diuerſe of his truſtie freends departed to Chierburgh, and from thence ſailed into Ireland to the duke of Yorke, making relation to him of all theſe doings, which thing kindled ſo great a rancor in the dukes heart and ſtomach, that he neuer left perſecuting the duke of Summerſet, vntill he had brought him to his fatall end & confuſion. Such is the nature of rancor and malice, of wrath and anger, which furthereth the hands euen of weaklings, on them to wreake their teene, with whome they are offended & pricked to reuengment, as the poet ſaith:

The irreconciliable hate betweene the two dukes.

Quaſlibet infirmas adiuuat ira manus.

After the obteining of Caen, the earle of Cleremont beſieged the citie of Liſieux, whereof was capteine Matthew *Gough with three hundred Engliſhmen, who in the end deliuered that towne, vpon condition, that he and his people might depart to Chierburgh. Then was Falais beſieged, whereof were capteins for the earle of Shrewſburie (that was the owner) Andrew Trollop, and Thomas Cotton eſquiers, who being in deſpaire of all ſuccors, agreed to deliuer it vpon two conditions. The one was, that the earle their maiſter, which remained in pledge for the performance of certeine appointments, concluded at the deliuerie of Rone (as ye haue hard) ſhould be ſet at libertie. The other, that if they were not reſcued within twelue daies, that then they and theirs ſhould depart with armor, and all their goods moueable, whither it pleaſed them.

*Goche.

At the daie appointed, the towne was rendered, and ſo likewiſe was the towne of Dampfront vpon the ſemblable agreement. Now reſted onelie Engliſh the towne of Chierburgh, whereof was capteine one Thomas Gonuille, which ſuerlie as long as vittels and munition ſerued, defended the towne right manfullie: but without hope of repaire, conſumed, and he els deſtitute of all comfort and aid, vpon a reaſonable compoſition, yeelded the towne, and went to Calis, where the duke of Summerſet and manie other Engliſhmen then ſoiorned. Thus was Normandie loſt cleerelie out of the Engliſhmens hands, after it had continued in their poſſeſſion the ſpace of thirtie yeares by the conqueſt of Henrie the fift.

All Normandie loſt.

The ſtate of it.

In this duchie were an hundred ſtrong townes and fortreſſes, able to be kept and holden, beſide them which were deſtroied by the warres; and in the ſame is one archbiſhoprike, and ſix biſhopriks. Some ſaie that the Engliſhmen were not of puiſſance either to man the townes, as they ſhould haue beene; or to inhabit the countrie, which was the cauſe they could not keepe it. Other ſaie, that the duke of Summerſet for his owne peculiar lucre, kept not halfe the number of ſouldiours for which he was appointed and allowed, but put the wages in his purſe. But the cheefe and onelie cauſe vndoubtedlie, was the diuiſion within the realme, euerie great man deſiring rather to be reuenged on his foe at home, than on the common enimie abroad, as by that which followeth you may plainelie perceiue.

The cauſes of the loſſe.

The mortall miſcheefe of malice and diuiſion in a realme.

Anno Reg. 29.
W. P.

[For whileſt the French thus triumphed in Normandie,

mandie, thrée cruell enimies among manie (as by ciuill warre and ſedition inſuing appeared) ſore vrged the vtter ruine of this reame at home. One was preſumption in gouernance, by ſome that were moſt vnméet to rule, as the quéene with hir priuie counſellors and minions; then the deadlie malice and pride, with inſatiable couetiſe in the ſtates both ſpirituall and temporall: and laſtlie the generall grudge of the people, for the vniuerſall ſmart that through miſgouernment euerie where they ſuffered; who thus forweried with the peiſe of burthens too heauie for them anie longer to beare.]

The commõs exclame againſt ẏ duke of Suffolke.

Hérewith perceiuing how (through want of prouident wiſedome in the gouernour) all things went to wracke, as well within the realme as without; they began to make exclamation againſt the duke of Suffolke, charging him to be the onelie cauſe of the deliuerie of Aniou, and Maine, the chéefe procuror of the duke of Gloceſters death, the verie occaſion of the loſſe of Normandie, the ſwallower vp of the kings treaſure, the remoouer of good and vertuous councellours from about the prince, and the aduancer of vicious perſons, and of ſuch as by their dooings ſhewed themſelues apparant aduerſaries to the common-wealth.

The parlemẽt adiourned frõ London to Leiceſter, and from thence to weſtminſter.

The quéene hereat doubting not onelie the dukes deſtruction, but alſo hir owne confuſion, cauſed the parlement before begun at the Blackfriers, to be adiourned to Leiceſter, thinking there, by force and rigor of law, to ſuppreſſe and ſubdue all the malice and euill will conceiued againſt the duke & hir. At which place few of the nobilitie would appeare: wherefore it was againe adiourned to Weſtminſter, where was a full appearance. In the which ſeſſion the commons of the nether houſe put vp to the king and the lords manie articles of treaſon, miſpriſion, and euill demeanor, againſt the duke of Suffolke: the effect whereof with his anſwers héere inſueth.

Edw.Hall.

Articles proponed by the commons againſt the duke of Suffolke.

1 FIrſt they alleged that he had traitorouſlie excited, prouoked, and counſelled Iohn earle of Dunois baſtard of Orleance, Bertram lord Preſignie, William Coſinet, enimies to the king, and fréends and ambaſſadours to Charles, calling himſelfe French king, to enter into this realme; and to leauie warre againſt the king and his people, to the intent to deſtroie the king and his fréends, and to make Iohn his ſonne king of this realme, marieng him to Margaret, ſole heire to Iohn duke of Summerſet, pretending and declaring hir to be next heire inheritable to the crowne, for lacke of iſſue, of the kings bodie lawfullie begotten.

2 Item, the ſaid duke, being of the kings priuie and néere councell, allured by great rewards and faire promiſes, made by the ſaid earle of Dunois, cauſed the king to deliuer and ſet at libertie, Charles duke of Orleance, enimie to the king, and the kings noble father: which deliuerance was prohibited by expreſſe words, in the laſt will of the kings moſt victorious father.

3 Item, that before the departing of the ſaid duke of Orleance, the aforenamed duke of Suffolke traitorouſlie faſt cleauing to Charles called the French king, counſelled, prouoked, and intiſed the ſaid duke of Orleance, to mooue the ſame king to make warre againſt England, both in France and Normandie. According to which procurement & counſell, the ſaid French king hath recouered the whole realme of France, and all the duchie of Normandie, and taken priſoners the earle of Shrewesburie, the lord Fauconbrige, and manie other valiant capteins. ¶ Theſe thrée articles aforenamed he denied, either for fact or thought.]

4 Further it was alleged, that he being ambaſſadour for the king of England, to Charles calling himſelfe the French king, promiſed to Reiner king of Sicill, and to Charles d'Angiers his brother, enimies to the king, the releaſe of Aniou, with the deliuerance of the countie of Maine, and the citie of Maunt or Mans, without the knowledge of the other ambaſſadours with him accompanied. Which promiſe, after his returne, he cauſed to be performed, to the kings diſinheritance and loſſe irrecouerable, and to the ſtrength of his enimies, and féebliſhment of the duchie of Normandie. ¶ To this article he anſwered, that his commiſſion was to conclude, and doo all things according to his diſcretion, for the obteining of a peace: & bicauſe without deliuerie of thoſe countries, he perceiued that the truce could not be obteined, he agréed to the releaſe and deliuerance of them.]

5 Alſo they had great cauſe to iudge by the ſequele, that the ſaid duke being in France in the kings ſeruice, and one of the priuieſt of his councell there, traitorouſlie declared and opened to the capteins and conductors of warre, apperteining to the kings enimies, the kings counſell, purueiance of his armies, furniture of his townes, & all other ordinances, whereby the kings enimies (inſtructed aforehand by his traitorous information) haue gotten townes and fortreſſes, and the king by that meanes depriued of his inheritance.

6 Item, the ſaid duke declared to the earle of Dunois, to the lord Preſignie, and William Coſinet ambſſadours for the French king lieng in London, the priuities of the kings councell, both for the prouiſion of further warre, and alſo for the defenſe of the duchie of Normandie: by the diſcloſing thereof, the Frenchmen knowing the king ſecrets, defeated the kings appointments, and they obteined their purpoſe.

7 Item, that the ſaid duke, at ſuch time as the king ſent ambaſſadours to the French king, for the intreating of peace, traitorouſlie before their comming to the French court, certified king Charles of their commiſſion, authoritie, and inſtructions: by reaſon whereof, neither peace nor amitie ſucceeded, and the kings inheritance loſt, and by his enimies poſſeſſed.

8 Item, the ſame duke ſaid openlie in the Starchamber before the lords of the councell, that he had as high a place in the councell-houſe of the French king, as he had there: and was as well truſted there as here, and could remooue from the French king the priuieſt mãn of his councell, if he would.

9 Item, when armies haue béene prepared, and ſouldiers readie waged to paſſe ouer the ſea, to deale with the kings enimies: the ſaid duke, corrupted by rewards of the French king, hath reſtreined & ſtaid the ſaid armies to paſſe anie further.

10 Item, the ſaid duke being ambaſſadour for the king, compriſed not in the league (as the kings alies) neither the king of Aragon, neither the duke of Britaine: but ſuffered them to be compriſed on the contrarie part. By reaſon whereof, the old amitie of the K. of Aragon is eſtranged from this realme, and the duke of Britaine became enimie to the ſame: Giles his brother, the kings ſure fréend, caſt in ſtrong priſon, and there like to end his daies.]

All theſe obiections he vtterlie denied, or faintlie auoided: but none fullie excuſed. Diuerſe other crimes were laid to his charge, as inriching himſelfe with the kings goods and lands, gathering togither and making a monopolie of offices, fees, wards, and farmes, by reaſon whereof, the kings eſtate was greatlie diminiſhed and decaied, and he and his kin highlie exalted & inriched: with manie other points, which bicauſe they be not notable nor of great force or ſtrength, I omit and ouerpaſſe.

The duke of Suffolke cōmitted to the Tower.

The queene, which intierlie loued the duke, doubting ſome commotion and trouble to ariſe, if he were let go vnpuniſhed, cauſed him for a colour to be committed to the Tower: where he remained not paſt a moneth, but was againe deliuered and reſtored to the kings fauour, as much as euer he was before. This dooing ſo much diſpleaſed the people, that if politike prouiſion had not beene, great miſcheefe had immediatlie inſued. For the commons in ſundrie places of the realme aſſembled togither in great companies, and choſe to them a capteine, whome they called Blewbeard: but yer they had attempted anie enterpriſe, their leaders were apprehended; & ſo the matter pacified without anie hurt committed.

Blewbeard capteine of the rebels.

After this outrage thus aſſwaged, the parlement was adiourned to Leiceſter, whither came the king and queene in great eſtate, and with them the duke of Suffolke as cheefe councellour. The commons of the lower houſe, not forgetting their old grudge, beſought the king, that ſuch perſons as aſſented to the releaſe of Aniou, and deliuerance of Maine, might be dulie puniſhed. And to be priuie to that fact, they accuſed as principall, the duke of Suffolke, with Iohn biſhop of Saliſburie, and ſir Iames Fines, lord Saie, and diuerſe others. When the king perceiued that there was no remedie to appeaſe the peoples furie by anie colourable waies, ſhortlie to pacifie ſo long an hatred, he firſt ſequeſtred the lord Saie being treaſuror of England, and other the dukes adherents from their offices and roomes, and after baniſhed the duke of Suffolke, as the abhorred tode and common noiance of the whole realme, for tearme of fiue yeares, meaning by this exile to appeaſe the malice of the people for the time, and after (when the matter ſhould be forgotten) to reuoke him home againe.

But Gods iuſtice would not that ſo vngratious a perſon ſhould ſo eſcape: for when he ſhipped in Suffolke, intending to tranſport himſelfe ouer into France, he was incountered with a ſhip of warre, apperteining to the duke of Exceſter, conſtable of the Tower of London, called the Nicholas of the Tower. The capteine of that barke with ſmall fight entered into the dukes ſhip, and perceiuing his perſon preſent, brought him to Douer road, and there on the one ſide of a cocke bote cauſed his head to be ſtriken off, and left his bodie with the head lieng there on the ſands. Which corps being there found by a chapleine of his, was conueied to Wingfield college in Suffolke, and there buried. This end had William de la Poole duke of Suffolke, as men iudge by Gods prouidence; for that he had procured the death of that good duke of Gloceſter, as before is partlie touched.

The wretched death of the duke of Suffolke.

Soone after an other diſquiet befell here. Thoſe that fauoured the duke of Yorke, and wiſhed the crowne vpon his head for that (as they iudged) he had more right thereto than he that ware it, procured a commotion in Kent on this manner. A certeine yoong man of a goodlie ſtature and right pregnant of wit, was intiſed to take vpon him the name of Iohn Mortimer coſine to the duke of Yorke (although his name was Iohn Cade, or (of ſome) Iohn Mend-all) [an Iriſhman as Polychronicon ſaith] and not for a ſmall policie, thinking by that ſurname, that thoſe which fauoured the houſe of the earle of March would be aſſiſtant to him. And ſo in deed it came to paſſe (as in ſuch caſes there is no breeder of a broile but he ſhall find adherents enow, no leſſe forward to further his pernicious enterpriſe by their foolehardines, than himſelfe was in the plot of his deuiſe) though in fine (as it is the vnluckie lot of ſuch tumults) their attempts were withſtood, and their offenſe dulie rewarded, as in proceſſe of the ſtorie ſhall more at large appeare; according to the wiſemans ſentence:

Jacke Cades rebellion in Kent.

Sæpe in magiſtrum ſcelera redeunt ſua.

This capteine aſſembling a great companie of tall perſonages, aſſured them, that the enterpriſe which he tooke in hand, was both honourable to God and the king, and profitable to the whole realme. For if either by force or policie they might get the king and queene into their hands, he would cauſe them to be honourablie vſed, and take ſuch order for the puniſhing and reforming of the miſdemeanours of their bad councellours, that neither fifteens ſhould heerafter be demanded, nor once anie impoſitions or taxes be ſpoken of. The Kentiſh people mooued at theſe perſuaſions & other faire promiſes of reformation, in good order of battell (though not in great number) came with their capteine vnto the plaine of Blackeheath, betweene Eltham and Greenewich, and there kept the field more than a month, pilling the countrie about; to whome the citie of London at that time was verie fauourable. ¶ And the ſaid capteine (as I find recorded ſaith Iohn Stow) ſent for ſuch citizens of London as it pleaſed him to command to repaire vnto him, vnder letters of ſafe conduct, as followeth.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. 653.

The ſafegard and ſigne manuell of the *capteine of Kent, ſent to Thomas Cocke draper* of London, by the capteine of the great *aſſemblie in Kent.*

By this our writing inſealed, we grant & will permit trulie, that Thomas Cocke of London draper, ſhall come in good ſuertie and in ſafegard to our preſence, without anie hurt of his perſon, and ſo auoid from vs againe at his pleaſure, with all other perſons aſſigned at his denomination with him comming in likewiſe.

The commandement by the capteine *of Kent, ſent vnto Thomas Cocke* aboue ſaid.

For your inſtruction, firſt ye ſhall charge all Lumbards and ſtrangers, being merchants, Genowais, Venetians, Florentines, and others, this daie to draw them togither, and to ordeine for vs the capteine, twelue harneſſes complet of the beſt faſhion, foure & twentie brigandins, twelue battell axes, twelue glaues, ſix horſſes with ſadle and bridle completlie harneſſed, and a thouſand markes of readie monie. And if this our demand be not obſerued & doone, we ſhall haue the heads of as manie as we can get of them.

And to the intent the cauſe of this glorious capteins comming thither, might be ſhadowed vnder a cloke of good meaning (though his intent nothing ſo) he ſent vnto the king an humble ſupplication, affirming that his comming was not againſt his grace, but againſt ſuch of his councellours, as were louers of themſelues, and oppreſſors of the poore commonaltie; flatterers of the king, and enimies to his honor; ſuckers of his purſe, and robbers of his ſubiects; parciall to their fréends, and extreame to their enimies: thorough bribes corrupted, and for indifferencie dooing nothing. ¶ Here, bicauſe a full report of this inſurrection maie paſſe to the knowledge of the readers; it is neceſſarie to ſet downe the articles of the commons complaints touching the premiſſes, whereof a copie was ſent to the parlement then holden at Weſtminſter, with their bill of requeſts concerning abuſes to be reformed.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S.654,655, 656,657,&c.

The complaint of the commons of *Kent, and cauſes of their aſſemblie* on the Blackheath.

1 Inprimis, it is openlie noiſed that Kent ſhould be deſtroied with a roiall power, & made a wild forreſt, for the death of the duke of Suffolke, of which the commons of Kent thereof were neuer giltie.

2 Item, the king is ſtirred to liue onelie on his commons, and other men to haue the reuenues of the crowne, the which hath cauſed pouertie in his excellencie, and great paiments of the people, now late to the king granted in his parlement.

3 Item, that the lords of his roiall bloud béene put from his dailie preſence, and other meane perſons of lower nature exalted and made chéefe of his priuie councell, the which ſtoppeth matters of wrongs done in the realme from his excellent audience, and maie not be redreſſed as law will; but if bribes and gifts be meſſengers to the hands of the ſaid councell.

4 Item, the people of this realme be not paid of debts owing for ſtuffe and puruciance taken to the vſe of the kings houſhold, in vndooing of the ſaid people, and the poore commons of the realme.

5 Item, the kings meniall ſeruants of houſhold, and other perſons, aſken dailie goods and lands, of impeached or indicted of treaſon, the which the king granteth anon, yer they ſo indangered be conuicted. The which cauſeth the receiuers thereof to inforge labours and meanes applied to the death of ſuch people, ſo appeached or indicted, by ſubtill meanes, for couetiſe of the ſaid grants: and the people ſo impeached or indicted, though it be vntrue, maie not be committed to the law for their deliuerance, but held ſtill in priſon, to their vttermoſt vndooing & deſtruction, for couetiſe of goods.

6 Item, though diuerſe of the poore people and commons of the realme, haue neuer ſo great right, truth, and perfect title to their land: yet by vntrue claime of infeoffement made vnto diuerſe ſtates, gentles, and the kings meniall ſeruants in maintenances againſt the right, the true owners dare not hold, claime, nor purſue their right.

7 Item, it is noiſed by common voices, that the kings lands in France béene aliened and put awaie from the crowne, and his lords and people there deſtroied with vntrue meanes of treaſon; of which it is deſired, inquiries thorough all the realme to be made how and by whome; & if ſuch traitors maie be found giltie, them to haue execution of law without anie pardon, in example of others.

8 Item, coll[illegible]ors of the fiftéenth penie in Kent be greatlie vexed and hurt, in paieng great ſummes of monie in the excheker, to ſue out a writ called *Quorum nomina*, for the alowance of the barons of the ports, which now is deſired, that hereafter in the lieu of the collectors, the barons aforeſaid maie ſue it out for their eaſe at their owne coſts.

9 Item, the ſhiriffes and vnderſhiriffes let to farme their offices and bailiwickes, taking great ſuertie therefore, the which cauſeth extortions doone by them and by their bailiffes to the people.

10 Item, ſimple and poore people that vſe not hunting, be greatlie oppreſſed by indictements feined & doone by the ſaid ſhiriffes, vnderſhiriffes, bailiffes, and other of their aſſent, to cauſe their increaſe for paieng of their ſaid farme.

11 Item, they returne in names of inqueſts in writing into diuerſe courts of the king not ſummoned nor warned, where through the people dailie léeſe great ſummes of monie, well nigh to the vttermoſt of their vndooing: and make leuie of amercements called the gréene wax, more in ſummes of monie than can be found due of record in the kings books.

12 Item, the miniſters of the court of Douer in Kent vex and arreſt diuerſe people thorough all the ſhire out of Caſtle ward, paſſing their bounds and libertie vſed of old time, by diuerſe ſubtill and vntrue meanes and actions falſelie feined, taking great fées at their luſt in great hurt of the people on all the ſhire of Kent.

13 Item, the people of the ſaid ſhire of Kent, maie not haue their frée election in the chooſing of knights of the ſhire: but letters béene ſent from diuerſe eſtates to the great rulers of all the countrie, the which imbraceth their tenants and other people by force to chooſe other perſons than the cõmons will is.

14 Item, whereas knights of the ſhire ſhould chooſe the kings collectors indifferentlie without any bribe taking, they haue ſent now late to diuerſe perſons, notifieng them to be collectors: whervpon gifts and bribes be taken, & ſo the collectors office is bought and ſold extortiouſlie at the knights luſt.

15 Item, the people be ſore vexed in coſts and labour, called to the ſeſſions of peace in the ſaid ſhire, appearing from the furtheſt and vttermoſt part of the weſt vnto the eaſt; the which cauſeth to ſome men fiue daies iournie: wherevpon they deſire the ſaid appearance to be diuided into two parts; the which one part, to appeare in one place; an other part, in an other place; in reléeuing of the gréeuances and intollerable labours & vexations of the ſaid people.

The requeſts by the capteine of the *great aſſemblie in Kent.*

Inprimis, deſireth the capteine of the commons, the welfare of our ſoueraigne lord the king, and all his true lords ſpirituall and temporall, deſiring of our ſaid ſoueraigne lord, and of all the true lords of his councell, he to take in all his demaines, that he maie reigne like a king roiall, according as he is borne our true and chriſtian king annointed: and who ſo will ſaie the contrarie, we all will liue and die in the quarell as his true liege men.

Item, deſireth the ſaid capteine, that he will auoid all the falſe progenie and affinitie of the duke of Suffolke, the which béene openlie knowne, and they to be puniſhed after the cuſtome and law of this land, and to take about his noble perſon the true lords of his roiall bloud of this his realme, that is to ſaie, the high and mightie prince the duke of Yorke, late exiled from our ſaid ſoueraigne lords preſence (by the motion and ſtirring of the traitorous and falſe diſpoſed the duke of Suffolke and his affinitie) and the mightie princes & dukes of Exceſter, Buckingham, and Norffolke, and all the earles and barons of this land: and then ſhall he be the richeſt king chriſtian.

Item, deſireth the ſaid capteine and commons puniſhment vnto the falſe traitors, the which contriued

ued and imagined the death of the high, mightfull and excellent prince the duke of Gloceſter, the which is too much to rehearſe; the which duke was proclamed as traitor. Upon the which quarell, we purpoſe all to liue and die vpon that that it is falſe.

Item, the duke of Exceſter, our holie father the cardinall, the noble prince the duke of Warwike, and alſo the realme of France, the duchie of Normandie, Gaſcoigne, and Guion, Anion, and Maine, were deliuered and loſt by the meanes of the ſaid traitors; and our true lords, knights, and eſquiers, and manie a good yeoman loſt and ſold yer they went, the which is great pitie to heare, of the great and gréeuous loſſe to our ſoueraigne lord and his realme.

Item, deſireth the ſaid capteine and commons, that all extortions vſed dailie among the common people, might be laid downe, that is to ſaie, the gréene war; the which is falſelie vſed, to the perpetuall deſtruction of the kings true commons of Kent. Alſo the kings Bench, the which is too gréefefull to the ſhire of Kent, without prouiſion of our ſoueraigne lord and his true councell. And alſo in taking of wheat and other graines, béefe, mutton, & all other vittels, the which is importable to the ſaid commons, without the bréefe prouiſion of our ſaid ſoueraigne lord and his true councell, they maie no longer beare it. And alſo vnto the ſtatute of labourers, and the great extortioners, the which is to ſaie the falſe traitors, Sleg, Cromer, Iſle, and Robert Eſt.

These billes when the councell had well peruſed, they did not onelie diſalow and condemne them and the authors, as proud and preſumptuous; but alſo perſuaded the king rather to ſuppreſſe thoſe rebels by force, than by faire promiſes. Wherevpon the king remoued from Weſtminſter vnto Gréenewich, from whence he would haue ſent certeine lords with a power to haue diſtreſſed the Kentiſhmen, but the men ſaid to their lords they would not fight againſt them that laboured to amend the common-weale: wherefore the lords were driuen to leaue their purpoſe. And bicauſe the Kentiſhmen cried out againſt the lord Saie the kings chamberline, he was by the king committed to the Tower of London. Then went the king againe to London, & within two dais after went againſt the Kentiſhmen with fiftéene thouſand men well prepared for the war: but the ſaid Kentiſhmen fled the night before his comming into the wood countrie néere vnto Senocke. Wherevpon the king returned againe to London.

King Henrie went againſt the Kentiſhmen with a great power.

The quéene (that bare rule) being of his retrait aduertiſed, ſent ſir Humfreie Stafford knight, and William his brother, with manie other gentlemen, to follow the Kentiſhmen, thinking that they had fled: but they were deceiued, for at the firſt ſkirmiſh both the Staffords were ſlaine, & all their companie diſcomfited. The kings armie by this time comen to Blackheath, hearing of this diſcomfiture, began to murmur amongſt themſelues: ſome wiſhing the duke of Yorke at home to aid the capteine his couſine: ſome vndutifullie coueting the ouerthrow of the king and his councell: other openlie crieng out on the quéene and hir complices.

The Staffords ſlaine at Senocke by Iacke Cade.

This rumor publiſhed abroad, cauſed the king and certeine of his councell (for the appeaſing thereof) to commit the lord Saie treaſuror of England to the Tower of London; and if other (againſt whome like diſpleaſure was borne) had béene preſent, they had béene likewiſe committed. Iacke Cade vpon victorie againſt the Staffords, apparelled himſelfe in ſir Humfries brigandine ſet full of guilt nailes, and ſo in ſome glorie returned againe toward London; diuerſe idle and vagarant perſons out of Suſſex, Surreie and other places, ſtill increaſing his number.

Thus this glorious capteine, garded with a multitude of ruſticall people, came againe to the plaine of Blackheath, & there ſtronglie incamped himſelfe: to whome were ſent from the king, the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and Humfrie duke of Buckingham, to common with him of his gréefes and requeſts.

These lords found him ſober in talke, wiſe in reaſoning, arrogant in hart, and ſtiffe in opinion; as who that by no means would grant to diſſolue his armie, except the king in perſon would come to him, and aſſent to the things he would require. The K. vpon the preſumptuous anſwers & requeſts of this villanous rebell, begining aſmuch to doubt his owne meniall ſeruants, as his vnknowen ſubiects (which ſpared not to ſpeake, that the capteins cauſe was profitable for the common-wealth) departed in all haſt to the caſtell of Killingworth in Warwikeſhire, leauing onlie behind him the lord Scales to kéepe the Tower of London. The Kentiſh capteine being aduertiſed of the kings abſence, came firſt into Southwarke, and there lodged at the white hart, prohibiting to all his retinue, murder, rape, and robberie; by which colour of well meaning, he the more allured to him the harts of the common people.

After that, he entred into London, cut the ropes of the draw bridge, & ſtroke his ſword on London ſtone; ſaieng, Now is Mortimer lord of this citie. And after a gloſing declaration made to the maior touching the cauſe of his thither comming, he departed againe into Southwarke, and vpon the third daie of Iulie he cauſed ſir Iames Fines, lord Saie, and treaſuror of England, to be brought to the Guildhall, and there to be arreigned: who being before the kings iuſtices put to anſwer, deſired to be tried by his péeres, for the longer delaie of his life. The capteine perceiuing his dilatorie plée, by force tooke him from the officers, and brought him to the ſtandard in Cheape, and there (before his confeſſion ended) cauſed his head to be ſtriken off, and pitched it vpon an high pole, which was openlie borne before him thorough the ſtréets.

The lord Saie beheaded at the ſtandard in Cheap

And not content herewith, he went to Mile end, and there apprehended ſir Iames Cromer then ſhiriffe of Kent, and ſonne in law to the ſaid lord Saie, cauſing him likewiſe (without confeſſion or excuſe heard) to be beheaded, and his head to be fixed on a pole: and with theſe two heads this bloudie wretch entred into the citie againe, and as it were in a ſpite cauſed them in euerie ſtréet to kiſſe togither, to the great deteſtation of all the beholders. After this ſuccéeded open rapine, and manifeſt robberie in diuerſe houſes within the citie, and ſpeciallie in the houſe of Philip Malpas alderman of London, and diuerſe other; ouer and beſide ranſoming and fining of diuers notable merchants, for the ſuertie of their liues and goods; as Robert Horne alderman, which paid fiue hundred marks. He alſo put to execution in Southwarke diuerſe perſons, ſome for breaking his ordinance, and other being of his old acquaintance, leſt they ſhould bewraie his baſe linage, diſparaging him for his vſurped ſurname of Mortimer.

The maior and other the magiſtrates of London, perceiuing themſelues neither to be ſure of goods, nor of life well warranted, determined to repell and kéepe out of their citie ſuch a miſchieuous caitife and his wicked companie. And to be the better able ſo to doo, they made the lord Scales, and that renowmed capteine Matthew * Gough priuie both of their intent and enterpriſe, beſéeching them of their helpe and furtherance therein. The lord Scales promiſed them his aid, with ſhooting off the artillerie in the Tower; and Matthew Gough was by him appointed to aſſiſt the maior and Londoners in all that he might, and ſo he and other capteins, appointed for defenſe

* Or rather Goche.

ſenſe of the citie, tooke vpon them in the night to keepe the bridge, and would not ſuffer the Kentiſhmen once to approch. The rebels, who neuer ſoundlie ſlept for feare of ſudden aſſaults, hearing that the bridge was thus kept, ran with great haſt to open that paſſage, where betwéene both parties was a fierce and cruell fight.

* Or rather Gocbe.

The ſkirmiſh betwéene the citizens and the rebels vpon London bridge.

Matthew * Gough, perceiuing the rebels to ſtand to their tackling more manfullie than he thought they would haue doone, aduiſed his companie not to aduance anie further toward Southwarke, till the daie appeared; that they might ſée where the place of ieopardie reſted, and ſo to prouide for the ſame: but this little auailed. For the rebels with their multitude draue backe the citizens from the ſtoops at the bridge foot to the draw bridge, & began to ſet fire in diuerſe houſes. Great ruth it was to behold the miſerable ſtate, wherein ſome deſiring to eſchew the fire died vpon their enimies weapon; women with children in their armes lept for feare into the riuer, other in a deadlie care how to ſaue themſelues, betwéene fire water, and ſword, were in their houſes choked and ſmothered. Yet the capteins not ſparing, fought on the bridge all the night valiantlie: but in concluſion, the rebels gat the draw bridge, and drowned manie, and ſlue Iohn Sutton alderman, and Robert Heiſand, a hardie citizen, with manie other, beſide Matthew * Gough, a man of great wit and much experience in feats of chiualrie, the which in continuall warres had ſpent his time in ſeruice of the king and his father.

Matthew Gocbe famous for his acts abroad now ſlaine on Lōdō bridge.

This ſore conflict indured in doubtfull wiſe on the bridge, till nine of the clocke in the morning: for ſomtime, the Londoners were beaten backe to ſaint Magnus corner: and ſuddenlie againe, the rebels were repelled to the ſtoops in Southwarke, ſo that both parts being faint and wearie, agréed to leaue off from fighting till the next daie; vpon condition, that neither Londoners ſhould paſſe into Southwarke, nor Kentiſhmen into London. Upon this abſtinence, this rakehell capteine for making him more friends, brake vp the gailes of the kings Bench and Marſhalſie, and ſo were manie mates ſet at libertie verie méet for his matters in hand.

A ſtaie by aſſent.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie being chancellor of England, and as then for his ſuertie lieng within the Tower, called to him the biſhop of Wincheſter, who for ſome ſafegard laie then at Haliwell. Theſe two prelats, ſéeing the furie of the Kentiſh people, by their late repulſe, to be ſomewhat aſſwaged, paſſed by the riuer of Thames from the Tower into Southwarke, bringing with them vnder the kings great ſeale, a generall pardon vnto all the offendors, and cauſed the ſame to be openlie publiſhed. The poore people were ſo glad of this pardon, and ſo readie to receiue it, that without bidding farewell to their capteine, they withdrew themſelues the ſame night euerie man towards his home.

Proclamatiō of pardon diſperſed the rebels.

¶But Iacke Cade deſpairing of ſuccours, and fearing the reward of his lewd dealings, put all his pillage and goods that he had robbed, into a barge, and ſent it to Rocheſter by water, and himſelfe went by land, and would haue entred into the caſtle of Quinborow with a few men that were left about him; but he was there let of his purpoſe: wherefore he diſguiſed in ſtrange attire, priuilie fled into the wood countrie beſide Lewes in Suſſex, hoping ſo to ſcape. The capteine & his people being thus departed, not long after proclamations were made in diuerſe places of Kent, Suſſex, and Southerie, that whoſoeuer could take the foreſaid capteine aliue or dead, ſhould haue a thouſand markes for his trauell. A copie of which proclamation, touching the apprehenſion of the ſaid Cade and his complices, hereafter followeth.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 661, 662. in Quart.

A copie of the ſaid writ and proclamation *by the king, for the taking of the ſaid* Cade and his felowſhip.

Henricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, vniuerſis & ſingulis cuſtodibus, &c. For ſo much as one Iohn Cade borne in Ireland, which calleth himſelfe Iohn Mortimer & in ſome writing calleth himſelfe capteine of Kent, the which Iohn Cade the laſt yeare tofore his dwelling in Suſſex with a knight, called ſir Thomas Dagre, ſlue there a woman with child, and for that cauſe tooke the gréeth of the church, and after for that cauſe forſware the kings land: the which Iohn Cade alſo after this, was ſworne to the French part, and dwelled with them; which hath now of late time (to the intent to inrich himſelfe by robbing and deſpoiling of the kings liegemen, as it is now openlie knowne, to bring himſelfe to great and high eſtate) falſlie and vntruelie deceiued manie of the kings people, and vnder colour of holie and good intents made them to aſſemble with him againſt the kings regalitie & his lawes, & nought ſetting by the kings grace and pardons, granted not onelie to him but to all the kings ſubiects, the which by his deceit haue aſſembled with him, the which he with great reuerence receiued on mondaie laſt paſſed, and ſo did all that were aſſembled with him. Notwithſtanding all this, he laboureth now of new to aſſemble the kings people againe, and to that intent beareth them on hand, that the kings letters of pardon granted to him and them, be not auaileable, nor of none effect, without authoritie of parlement: whereas the contrarie is true, as it is openlie knowne by that, that the king granteth from time to time his charters of pardon to ſuch as him liſt, of all manner of crimes and offenſes both generall and ſpeciall.

The king therefore willeth and commandeth, that none of his ſubiects giue faith nor credence to the ſaid falſe informations of the ſaid falſe traitor, nor accompanie with him in anie wiſe, nor comfort nor ſuſteine him nor his with vittels, nor with anie other things: but will, whoſoeuer of the kings ſubiects may take him, ſhall take him; and that who ſo euer taketh him, and bringeth him quicke or dead to the king or to his councell, ſhall haue a thouſand markes for his labour trulie paid him, without faile or delaie by the prouiſion of the kings councell. And who ſo euer taketh anie of thoſe that from this daie forth accompanie with him, ſhall haue fiue marks for his reward, trulie to be paid in maner and forme aboue ſaid. And ouer this, commanding all conſtables, miniſters, and officers of the ſaid ſhire, that none of them (on paine of death) take vpon them to execute anie commandement by word or writing ſent or made vnto them by the ſaid Cade, calling himſelfe Mortimer and capteine, be it to reare any people, or to any other intent: but to areſt and make ſo be areſted ſuch, as take vpon them to bring anie ſuch commandement by writing or by word. *Et hoc nullatenus omittatis. Teſte me ipſo apud Weſtm.* 10 *die Iulij, anno regni* 28.]

After which proclamation thus publiſhed, a gentleman of Kent named Alexander Eden awaited ſo his time, that he tooke the ſaid Cade in a garden in Suſſex: ſo that there he was ſlaine at Hothfield, and brought to London in a cart, where he was quartered; his head ſet on London bridge, and his quarters ſent to diuers places to be ſet vp in the ſhire of Kent. After this, the king himſelfe came into Kent, and there ſat in iudgement vpon the offendors: and if he had not mingled his iuſtice with mercie; more than fiue hundred by rigor of law had béene iuſtlie put to execution.

Capteine of Kent taken & beheaded.

Abr.Fl. ex I.St.663, 664.

execution. Yet he puniſhing onelie the ſtubborne heads, & diſordered ringleaders, pardoned the ignorant and ſimple perſons, to the great reioiſing of all his ſubiects. ¶ But ſaith another, the king ſent his commiſſioners into Kent, and cauſed inquirie to be made of this riot in Canturburie, where for the ſame eight men were iudged and executed, and in other townes of Kent and Suſſex was doone the like execution.

This yeare the commons alſo in diuerſe parts of England, as in Suſſex, Saliſburie, Wiltſhire, and other places, did much harme to manie perſons, among the which, on the nine and twentith of Iune, William Aſcoth biſhop of Saliſburie (after he had ſaid maſſe at Edington) was by his owne tenants drawne from the altar, in his albe with his ſtole about his necke to the top of an hill, and there by them ſhamefullie murthered, and after ſpoiled to the naked ſkin: they renting his bloudie ſhirt, tooke euerie man a péece, and made boaſt of their wickedneſſe. The daie before, his chariot was robbed, to the value of ten thouſand markes. Soldiours made a fraie againſt the maior of London the ſame daie he tooke his charge at Weſtminſter, at night comming from ſaint Thomas of Acres, after he had béene at Paules.]

The biſhop of Saliſburie murthered.

A fray in Lõdon againſt the maior.

The French king vnderſtanding all the ciuill diſcord and rebellious ſturs in England, made thereof his foundation, hoping to get into his hands and poſſeſſion the duchie of Aquitaine: and therevpon ſent the earles of Ponthieuure and Perigort to laie ſiege to the towne of Bergerat, ſituate vpon the riuer of Dourdon, of which towne was capteine Iohn Gedding, who vpon reaſonable conditions rendred the towne. But yet the lord Camois, ſir George Seimor, and ſir Iohn Arundell, with diuers other valiant capteins, hauing gouernance of the countrie, manned townes, gathered people, and recomforted the fainting harts of the Gaſcoignes in all that they could, and withall ſent letters ouer into England, certifieng to the kings maieſtie, that without ſpéedie aid, and readie ſuccours, the whole countrie was like to be conquered and woone out of the Engliſhmens poſſeſſion.

Manie letters were ſent, and manie faire anſwers were brought; but reléefe neither appeared, nor one man of warre was thither ſhipped: by reaſon whereof, the Frenchmen purſuing the victorie, got the fortreſſes of Ianſacke, and S. Foie, with diuerſe other péeces of importance thereabouts. Alſo, about the ſame time, the lord Doruall, third ſonne to the lord de la Breth, with a great number of men, as well on horſſebacke as on foot, departed from Baſas, to conquer and deſtroie the Ile of Medoc. Wherevpon the maior of Burdeaux iſſuing out, and incountring with his enimies, was vanquiſhed, loſing ſix hundred Engliſhmen and Gaſcoignes: albeit the Frenchmen gained not this victorie with cléere hands, for there were ſlaine of them to the number of eight hundred perſons.

1451

After this, the baſtard of Orleance, with his brother Iohn earle of Angoleſme, which had béene long priſoner in England, and manie other valiant capteins, beſieged the caſtell of Montguion, which to them was rendered. Afterwards, they beſieged the towne of Blaie, ſtanding on the riuer of Garonne, the which in concluſion by verie force was conquered and woone. The baſtard of Kendall, capteine of the caſtell, ſéeing the towne loſt, vpon certeine reaſonable conditions deliuered his fortreſſe to the baſtard of Orleance, the French kings lieutenant. After this, the townes of Burgh and Liborne, after fiue wéekes ſiege, were likewiſe yéelded to the Frenchmen. Then was the citie of Acques beſieged by the erle of Fois, and the vicount de Lawtrec his brother, and other noble men. So likewiſe was the ſtrong towne of Rion by the earle of Arminacke, extreame enimie to the realme of England, for breach of the mariage concluded betwéene king Henrie and his daughter. The earle of Ponthieuure laid ſiege to Chatillon in Perigort, and the earle of Dunois inuironned with great puiſſance the towne of Fronſacke.

The earle of Arminack an open enimie.

The Engliſhmen perceiuing in what ſtate they ſtood within the towne, couenanted with the ſaid earle, that if the towne were not ſuccoured, and the Frenchmen fought with before the feaſt of the natiuitie of ſaint Iohn Baptiſt next inſuing; that then the towne of Fronſacke ſhould be yéelded to them, which was the ſtrongeſt fortreſſe in all that countrie, and the verie keie of Guien. Héereof were pledges deliuered, and writings made & ſealed. Which agréement once blowne through the countrie, the citie of Burdeaux, and all other townes (except Baion) made the like agréement. So did all the noble men and gentlemen which were ſubiects and vaſſals to the crowne of England. Euerie daie was looking for aid, but none came.

And why? Euen bicauſe the diueliſh diuiſion that reigned in England, ſo incombred the heads of the noble men there, that the honor of the realme was cléerelie forgotten, ſo that (to conclude) the daie appointed came, but ſuccour looked for came not. By reaſon whereof, all the townes of Aquitaine (except Baion) deliuered their keies, and became vaſſals to the French nation; yet the citizens of Burdeaux, in hope of reſcue, required a longer daie of battell, which was granted. But at the daie appointed, when no reléefe came, they rendred themſelues and the citie to their aduerſaries, their liues and goods ſaued, with licence and ſafe conduct to all perſons which would depart and ſaile into England. Then finallie was the citie of Baion beſieged, and with mines and batterie conſtreined to yéeld it ſelfe into the Frenchmens hands.

Through diſſention at home, all loſt abroad.

Beſide the agréements taken and made with the townes, diuerſe noble men made ſeuerall compoſitions, as Gaſton de Fois, & Capdaw de Bueſ, whome king Henrie the fift made earle of Longeuile, and knight of the garter; whoſe anceſtors were euer true to England. Which agréed, that he and his ſonne Iohn de Fois, whome king Henrie the ſixt made earle of Kendale, and alſo knight of the garter, ſhould enioy all their lands in Aquitaine, giuen to them by the kings of England, or by the dukes of Aquitaine. And ſith their intent was ſtill to ſerue the king of England, they agréed to deliuer into the cuſtodie of the earle of Fois, the ſonne and heire of the ſaid earle of Kendals, being of the age of thrée yeares; to the intent that if he at his full age denied to become ſubiect to the French king, or before that time deceaſſed; that then (after the death of his father and grandfather) all the ſaid lands ſhould wholie remaine to the next heire of their bloud, either male or female, being vnder the obeiſance of the French king or his heires.

Manie other noble men, whoſe hearts were good Engliſh, made like compoſitions, and ſome came into England, and others went to Calis, and bare great offices there: as the lord Duras, which was marſhall of that towne; and monſieur Vauclere, which was deputie there vnder the earle of Warwike. Thus were the Engliſhmen cléerelie diſplaced and loſt the poſſeſſion of all the countries, townes, caſtels, and places within the realme of France; ſo that onelie Calis, Hammes and Guines, with the marches thereof remained in their hands, of all thoſe their dominions and ſeigniories which they ſometime

All loſt in France.

held in the parties beyond the ſeas. Whereby England ſuffered a partile but not a totall eclipſe of hir glorie, in continuall loſing & nothing gaining of the enimie. ¶ Which recouerie was of great facilitie to the French, for that where they came, they found litle or no reſiſtance, but rather a voluntarie ſubmiſſion & yéelding as it were with holding vp of hands, yer they came to handſtroks. So that in ſuch victories and conqueſts conſiſted ſmall renowme, ſith without ſlaughter & bloudſhed hardie enterpriſes are not atchiued. Notablie therefore ſpeaketh *Anglorum prælia* of theſe bloudleſſe and ſweatleſſe victories, ſaieng:

Abr. Fl. ex *Anglorum prælijs ſub Henr. 6.*

Delphinus totos (nullo prohibente) per agros
Francorum tranſit, priùs expugnata receptans
Oppida: perfacile eſt populum domuiſſe volentem,
Tendentemq; manus vltrò; nec clarior ornat
Gloria vincentem fuſo ſine ſanguine regna.

Anno Reg. 30. John Hooker, alias Vowell. The king receiued into Excester.

[This yeare the king made a generall progreſſe and came to the citie of Excester, on mondaie the ſixtéenth of Julie at after noone, being the feaſt daie of ſaint Kenelme; and was receiued from place to place verie honorablie through the whole countrie. Before he came to this citie, he was met by all the cleargie in their degrées, ſome thrée miles, ſome two miles, and ſome at the citie, all in their copes, cenſing all the waies as they went. As ſoone as he came to this citie, he was firſt conducted to the cathedrall church in all moſt honourable order. When he had doone his oblations, he was conueied and lodged in the biſhops houſe. During his abode here, there was a ſeſſions kept before the duke of Summerſet, and certeine men condemned to die for treaſon, and had iudgement to be executed to death.

The biſhop & his cleargie againſt the K. and the duke of Summerſet, &c. in defenſe of their eccleſiaſticall priuilege.

The biſhop and his clergie vnderſtanding hereof, with open mouth complained vnto the king, that he cauſed a ſeſſions to be kept within his ſanctuarie, contrarie to the priuilege of his church: and that all their dooings (being doone againſt law) were of no effect. And notwithſtanding the king and his councell had diſcourſed vnto them the iuſt and orderlie procéeding, the hainouſneſſe of the offendors, and the neceſſitie of their puniſhment: yet all could not auaile, for holie church nor the ſanctuarie might be prophaned (as they ſaid) with the deciding of temporall matters. Whervpon the king in the end yéelding to their exclaimes, releaſed a couple of arrant traitors, and reuerſed all his former lawfull procéedings, and ſo vpon the wedneſdaie he departed and returned towards London.]

The duke of Yorke maketh claime to the crowne.

The duke of Yorke pretending (as yée haue heard) a right to the crowne, as heire to Lionell duke of Clarence, came this yeare out of Ireland vnto London, in the parlement time, there to conſult with his ſpeciall fréends: as John duke of Northfolke, Richard earle of Saliſburie, and the lord Richard his ſonne, which after was earle of Warwike; Thomas Courtneie earle of Deuonſhire, & Edward Brooke lord Cobham. After long deliberation and aduiſe taken, it was thought expedient, to kéepe their chéefe purpoſe ſecret; and that the duke ſhould raiſe an armie of men, vnder a pretext to remooue diuerſe councellors about the king, and to reuenge the manifeſt iniuries doone to the common-wealth by the ſame rulers. Of the which as principall, the duke of Summerſet was namelie accuſed, both for that he was greatlie hated of the commons for the loſſe of Normandie: and for that it was well knowne, that he would be altogither againſt the duke of Yorke in his chalenge to be made (when time ſerued) to the crowne; inſomuch that his goods by the commons were foulie deſpoiled and borne awaie from the Blacke friers. After which riot, on the next morrow, proclamation was made through the citie, that no man ſhould ſpoile or rob, on paine of death. But on the ſame daie

John Stow.

at the ſtandard in Cheape was a man beheaded for dooing contrarie to the proclamation.

Whethãſted. The duke of Yorke raiſeth a power, for recouerie of his right to the crowne.

Therefore, when the duke of Yorke had thus, by aduiſe of his ſpeciall fréends, framed the foundation of his long intended enterpriſe, he aſſembled a great hoaſt, to the number of ten thouſand able men, in the marches of Wales; publiſhing openlie, that the cauſe of this his gathering of people, was for the publike wealth of the realme. The king much aſtonied at the matter, by aduiſe of his councell raiſed a great power, and marched forward toward the duke. But he being thereof aduertiſed, turned out of that way, which by eſpials he vnderſtood that the king held, and made ſtreight toward London: and hauing knowledge that he might not be ſuffered to paſſe through the citie, he croſſed ouer the Thames at Kingſton bridge, and ſo kept on towards Kent, where he knew that he had both fréends & well-willers, and there on Burnt heath, a mile from Dertford, and twelue miles from London, he imbatelled, and incamped himſelfe verie ſtronglie, inuironing his field with artillerie and trenches. The king hereof aduertiſed, brought his armie with all diligence vnto Blackeheath, and there pight his tents.

Whethamſted

Whileſt both theſe armies laie thus imbattelled, the king ſent the biſhop of Winchester, and Thomas Bourchier, biſhop of Elie, Richard Wooduile, lord Riuers, & Richard Andrew, the kéeper of his priuie ſeale, to the duke: both to know the cauſe of ſo great a commotion, and alſo to make a concord; if the requeſts of the duke and his companie ſéemed conſonant to reaſon. The duke hearing the meſſage of the biſhops, anſwered; that his comming was neither to damnifie the king in honour, nor in perſon, neither yet anie good man: but his intent was, to remooue from him certeine euill diſpoſed perſons of his councell, bloud-ſuccours of the nobilitie, pollers of the cleargie, and oppreſſours of the poore people.

The dukes anſwer to the kings meſage

Amongſt theſe, he chéeflie named Edmund duke of Summerſet, whome if the king would commit to ward, to anſwer ſuch articles as againſt him in open parlement ſhould be both proponed and proued, he promiſed not onelie to diſſolue his armie; but alſo offered himſelfe (like an obedient ſubiect) to come to the kings preſence, and to doo him true and faithfull ſeruice, according to his loiall and bounden dutie. ¶ But a further vnderſtanding of the dukes meaning by this his forceable entering of the realme (as himſelfe pretended) maie appeare by certeine letters by him written to the king, and alſo the kings anſwers vnto the ſame: both which I thinke good here to ſet downe, as I find them recorded.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 666, 667. in Quart.

Richard duke of Yorke his letter
to king Henrie.

PLeaſe it your highneſſe to conceiue, that ſince my departing out of this your realme, by your commandement, and being in your ſeruice in your land of Ireland, I haue béene informed, that diuerſe language hath béene ſaid of me to your moſt excellent eſtate, which ſhould ſound to my diſhonour and reproch, and charge of my perſon: howbeit, that I haue béene, and euer will be, your true liegeman and ſeruant. And if there be anie man that will or dare ſaie the contrarie, or charge me otherwiſe; I beſéech your rightwiſeneſſe to call him before your high preſence, and I will declare me for my diſcharge as a true knight ought to doo. And if I doo not, as I doubt not but I ſhall, I beſéech you to puniſh me as the pooreſt man of your land. And if he be found vntrue in his ſuggeſtion and information, I beſéech you of your highneſſe that he be puniſhed after his deſert, in example of all other.

Pleaſe it your excellencie to know, that as well before my departing out of this your realme, for to go into your land of Ireland, in your full noble ſeruice, as ſince, certeine perſons haue lien in wait for to hearken vpon me, as ſir Iohn Talbot knight at the caſtell of Holt; ſir Thomas Standleie knight in Cheſhire; Pulford at Cheſter; Elton at Worceſter; Broke at Gloceſter; and Richard, grome of your chamber at Beaumaris: which had in charge (as I am informed) to take me and put me into your caſtell of Conwaie, and to ſtrike off the head of ſir William Oldhall knight, and to haue put in priſon ſir William Deuereux knight, & ſir Edmund Malſo knight, withouten inlarging, vntill the time that your highneſſe had appointed their deliuerance.

Item, at ſuch time as I was purpoſed for to haue arriued at your hauen of Beaumaris, for to haue come to your noble preſence to declare me your true man and ſubiect, as my dutie is, my landing was ſtopped and forebarred by Henrie Norice, Thomas Norice, William Buckleie, William Gruſt, and Bartholomew Bould, your officers in Northwales, that I ſhould not land there, nor haue vittels nor refreſhing for me & my fellowſhip, as I haue written to your excellencie here before. So farre forth that Henrie Norice, deputie to the chamberlaine of Northwales, ſaid vnto me, that he had in commandement that I ſhould in no wiſe haue landing, refreſhing, nor lodging, for men nor horſſe, nor other thing that might turne to my worſhip or eaſe: putting the blame vpon William Saie vſher of your chamber, ſaieng and affirming that I am againſt your intent, and as a traitor, as I am informed. And moreouer, certeine letters were made and deliuered vnto Cheſter, Shrewesburie, and to other places for to let mine entrie into the ſame.

Item, aboue all wrongs and iniuries aboue ſaid doone vnto me of malice, without anie cauſe, I being in your land of Ireland, in your honourable ſeruice, certeine commiſſions were made and directed vnto diuerſe perſons; which for the execution of the ſame, ſat in certeine places, and the iuries impanelled and charged. Vnto the which iuries certeine perſons laboured inſtantlie to haue me indicted of treaſon, to the intent for to haue vndoone me and mine iſſue, and corrupted my bloud, as it is openlie publiſhed. Beſéeching your maieſtie roiall, of your righteouſneſſe, to doo examine theſe matters, and therevpon to doo ſuch iuſtice in his behalfe as the cauſe requireth: for mine intent is fullie to purſue to your highneſſe for the concluſion of theſe matters.

The anſvver of king Henrie to *the duke of Yorke.*

COſine, we haue ſéene the bill that ye tooke vs late, and alſo vnderſtand the good humble obedience that ye in your ſelfe ſhew vnto vs, as well in word as in deed: wherefore our intent is, the more haſtilie to eaſe you of ſuch things as were in your ſaid bill. Howbeit, that at our more leaſure we might anſwer you to your ſaid bill, yet we let you wit, that for the cauſes aforeſaid, we will declare you now our intent in theſe matters: ſith it is that a long time among the people hath béene vpon you many ſtrange language, and in eſpeciall anon after your diſordinate and vnlawfull ſlaieng of the biſhop of Cheſter, diuerſe and manie of the vntrue ſhipmen and other ſaid (in their maner) words againſt our eſtate, making manace to our owne perſon by your ſaiengs, that ye ſhould be fetched with manie thouſands, and ye ſhould take vpon you that, which ye neither ought, nor as we doubt not, ye will not attempt: ſo farre forth that it was ſaid to our perſon by diuerſe, & eſpeciallie we remember of one Waſnes, which had like words to vs.

And alſo there were diuerſe of ſuch falſe people, that went on and had like language in diuerſe of our townes of our land, which by our ſubiects were taken and dulie executed. Wherefore we ſent to diuerſe of our courts and places, to hearken and to take héed if anie ſuch maner comming were; and if there had béene, for to reſiſt it: but comming into our land our true ſubiect as ye did, our intent was not that ye, nor leſſe of eſtate of our ſubiects, nor none of your ſeruants ſhould not haue béene letted nor warned, but in goodlie wiſe receiued: howbeit that peraduenture your ſudden comming, without certeine warning, cauſed our ſeruants to doo as they did, conſidering the cauſes aboue ſaid. And as to the indictement that ye ſpoke of, we thinke verelie, and hold for certeine warning, cauſed our ſeruants to doo as they did, conſidering the cauſes aboue ſaid. And as to the indictement that ye ſpoke of, we thinke verelie and hold for certeine, that there was none ſuch. And if ye may trulie proue that anie perſon was thereabouts, the matter ſhall be demeaned as the caſe ſhall require: ſo that he ſhall know it is to our great diſpleaſure. Vpon this, for the eaſing of your heart in all ſuch matters, we declare, repute, and admit you as our true and faithfull ſubiect, and as our faithfull coſine.

Richard duke of Yorke to king *Henrie againe.*

PLeaſe it your highneſſe tenderlie to conſider, that great murmur and grudging is vniuerſallie in this your realme, in that iuſtice is not dulie miniſtred to ſuch as treſpaſſe and offend againſt you lawes, and in eſpeciall of them that be indicted of treaſon, and other being openlie noiſed of the ſame; whereby great inconueniences haue fallen, and great is like to fall hereafter in your ſaid realme, which God defend: but if by your highneſſe prouiſion conuenable be made for due reformation and puniſhment in this behalfe. Wherefore I your humble ſubiect and true liegeman, Richard duke of Yorke, willing as effectuallie as I can, and deſiring the ſuertie and proſperitie of your moſt roiall perſon, and the welfare of this your noble realme, counſell and aduertiſe your excellencie, for the conſeruation of good tranquillitie and peaceable rule among all other ſubiects, for to ordeine and prouide, that true iuſtice be had, againſt all ſuch that ſo be indicted, or openlie named: wherein I offer my ſelfe, and will put my indeuour for to execute your commandement in the premiſſes, for the puniſhing of ſuch offendors, and redreſſe of the ſaid miſrules, to my might and power. And for the haſtie execution hereof, like it your highneſſe, to addreſſe theſe letters of priuie ſeale and writs to your officers and miniſters, to doo, take, and arreſt, all ſuch perſons ſo noiſed and indicted, of what eſtate, degrée, or condition ſoeuer they be, and them to commit to the Tower of London, and to other of your priſons, there to abide without baile or mainepriſe, vntill the time they be vtterlie tried, and determined after the courſe of your lawes.

The anſvver of king Henrie to the *duke of Yorke.*

COſine, as touching your bill laſt put vp to vs, we vnderſtand well that ye (of good heart) counſell and aduertiſe vs to the ſetting vp of iuſtice, and to the ſpeedie puniſhing of ſome perſons indicted or noiſed, offering your ſeruice to be readie at commandement in the ſame, ſith it is that for manie cauſes mouing vs to haue determined in our ſoule, to ſtabliſh a ſad, and a ſubſtantiall councell, giuing them more ample authoritie and power than euer we did before this, in the which we haue appointed you to be one. But ſith it is not accuſtomed, ſure, nor expedient, to take a concluſion & conduct by aduiſe or counſell of one perſon by himſelfe for the conſeruation, it is obſerued that the greateſt and the beſt, the rich and the poore, in libertie, vertue, and effect of your voices be equall. We haue therefore determined within our ſelfe to ſend for our chancellour of England, and for other lords of our councell, yea and all other, togither within ſhort time ripelie to common of theſe and other our great matters. In which communication, ſuch concluſion (by the grace of God) ſhall be taken, as ſhall ſound to his pleaſure, the weale of vs and our land, as well in theſe matters as in anie other.

Whethamſted

After all this adoo, it was ſo agreed vpon by aduiſe, for the auoiding of bloudſhed, and pacifieng of the duke and his people, that the duke of Summerſet was committed to ward, as ſome ſay, or elſe commanded to keepe himſelfe priuie in his owne houſe for a time. But it ſhould ſeeme by that which ſome haue written, that the duke of Yorke was deceiued of the hope which he had, to be aided of the Kentiſhmen; inſomuch that when he ſaw himſelfe ouermatched by the king in number of people, who had got togither thrice as manie men as the duke had there with him, the duke was the more eaſie to be dealt with. And ſo comming to the king, and ſubmitting himſelfe by mediation of certeine of the nobilitie, he obteined pardon of that his former preſumptuous enterpriſe. And within a few daies after his comming to London with the king, he openlie in the church of S. Paule (the king being preſent) receiued a ſolemne oth, that from thenceforth, he ſhould no more commit any ſuch offenſe, nor attempt anie thing, either againſt the king, or any other of his liege people, contrarie to the order of law and iuſtice.

The duke of Yorks reconciliation to the king.

Howſoeuer the matter went, truth it is, that the duke of Yorke, the firſt of March, diſſolued his armie, brake vp his campe, & came to the kings tent, where contrarie to his expectation, & againſt promiſe made by the king (as other write) he found the duke of Summerſet going at large and ſet at libertie, whome the duke of Yorke boldlie accuſed of treaſon, briberie, oppreſſion, and manie other crimes. The duke of Summerſet not onelie made anſwer to the dukes obiections, but alſo accuſed him of high treaſon, affirming, that he with his fautors and complices had conſulted togither, how to come by the ſcepter and regall crowne of this realme. By meanes of which words the king remoued ſtreight to London, and the duke of Yorke (as priſoner) rode before him, and ſo was kept a while.

The duke of Yorke accuſeth the duke of Summerſet.

A mutuall charge betweene ỹ two dukes, Yorke & Summerſet of hie treaſon.

The king aſſembled togither a great councell at Weminſter, to heare the accuſations of the two dukes, the one obiecting to the other manie heinous and greeuous crimes. But the duke of Summerſet, which now conceiued in his mind the thing that ſhortlie followed, inceſſantlie exhorted the councell, that the duke of Yorke, by compulſion or otherwiſe, might be driuen to confeſſe his offenſe, that ſo being attainted of treaſon, he might ſuffer execution, and his children to be taken as aduerſaries to their natiue countrie; to the intent that by the extinction of him and his ſequele, all ciuill warre and inward diuiſion might ceaſſe and be repreſſed: beſeeching almightie God, that ſo great an enimie to the king and his bloud, might neuer eſcape puniſhment, nor continue long in life.

The duke of Summerſet ſet forth this matter the more vehementlie, bicauſe he knew perfectlie, that the duke of Yorke dailie imagined with himſelfe, how to get the crowne, and to depoſe and deſtroie both the king and him. But deſtinie cannot by anie mans deuiſe be letted, and manie things (to appearance) declared the duke of Yorkes innocencie in this caſe. Firſt, his free and voluntarie comming to the king, without conſtreint, when he was partlie of puiſſance able to haue incountred with the kings whole power. Secondlie, his humble ſubmiſſion, and reaſonable requeſts, as well on his owne behalfe, as for the poore commons: which might argue that he ſought for no ſoueraigntie.

Deſtinie cannot be auoided

1452

Whileſt the councell treated of ſauing or diſpatching of this duke of Yorke, a rumor ſprang through London, that Edward earle of March, ſonne and heire apparant to the ſaid duke, with a great armie of Marchmen, was comming toward London: which tidings ſore appalled the queene and the whole councell. Beſide this, the verie ſame daie came ambaſſadours from the cheefe citizens and magiſtrats of the citie of Burdeaux; whereof the cheefe were, the earle of Kendale, and the lord de Leſparre; which ſignified to the councell, that if they would ſend an armie into Gaſcoigne, the people of the countrie would reuolt from the French part, and eftſoones become Engliſh. Theſe two things ſore troubled the heads of the councell, which, leaſt inward ſedition might hinder outward conqueſts, ſet the duke of Yorke at libertie, and permitted him to go to his caſtell of Wigmore, in the marches of Wales, by whoſe abſence the duke of Summerſet roſe in ſuch high fauour, both with the king and queene, that his word onelie ruled, and his voice alone was heard.

Occaſion that ſet the duke of Yorke free.

¶ Neuertheleſſe the ſaid duke of Yorke had firſt made his ſubmiſſion, and tooke his oth to be true, faithfull, and obedient ſubiect to king Henrie the ſixt king of England, in ſaint Pauls church at London, there being preſent the king, and moſt of his nobilitie, that is to ſaie, the dukes of Buckingham, Northampton, and Summerſet: the earls of Warwike, Arundell, Saliſburie, Shropſhire, Deuonſhire, Wiltſhire, Northumberland, Stafford and Dorſet, vicounts of Beaumount and Welles: barons, Fitz Warren, Sainmound, Cobham, Dowglas, and others: biſhops, the cardinall, archbiſhop of Yorke and Canturburie, Wincheſter, Elie, and London, in theſe words following.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 671, 672. in Quart.

The tenor of the duke of Yorks ſubmiſſion to king Henrie, *vnder his oth.*

I Richard duke of Yorke confeſſe and beknow, that I am & ought to be humble ſubiect and liegeman to you my ſoueraigne lord king Henrie the ſixt, and owe therefore to beare you faith and truth, as to my ſoueraigne liege lord, and ſhall doo all daies vnto my liues end; and ſhall not at anie time will or aſſent, that any thing attempted or doone againſt your moſt noble perſon: but where ſo euer I ſhall haue knowledge of anie ſuch thing imagined or purpoſed, I ſhall with all ſpeed and diligence poſſible to me, make that your highneſſe ſhall haue knowledge thereof: and ouer that, doo all that ſhall be poſſible to me, to the withſtanding and let thereof, to the vttermoſt of my life. I ſhall not anie thing take vpon me againſt your roiall eſtate or obeiſance that is due thereto, nor ſuffer anie other man to doo, as farre foorth as it ſhall be in my power to let it: and alſo ſhall come at your commandement when ſo euer I ſhall be called by the ſame, in humble and obeiſant wiſe: but if I be letted by anie ſickeneſſe or impotence of my perſon, or by ſuch other cauſe as ſhall be thought by you my ſouereigne lord reaſonable. I ſhall neuer hereafter take vpon me to gather anie rout, nor to make anie aſſemblie of your people, without your commandement or licence, or in my lawfull defenſe. In interpretation or declaration of the which my lawfull defenſe, I ſhall report me at all times to your highneſſe, and if the caſe require, to my peeres; nor any thing attempt againſt anie of your ſubiects, of what eſtate, degree, or condition that they be. But when ſo euer I find my ſelfe wronged and agreeued, I ſhall ſue humblie for remedie to your highneſſe: and proceed after the courſe of your lawes, and in none otherwiſe: ſauing in mine owne lawfull defenſe in maner aboue ſaid, and otherwiſe haue to your highneſſe as an humble and true ſubiect ought to haue him to his ſouereigne lord.

All theſe things aboue ſaid I promiſe you trulie to obſerue and keepe, by the holie euangeliſts conteined in the booke that I laie my hand herevpon, and by the holie croſſe I here touch, and by the bleſſed ſacrament of our Lords bodie, that I ſhall now with his mercie receiue. And ouer I agree me and will, that if I anie time hereafter, as by the grace of our Lord God I neuer ſhall, anie thing attempt by waie of feat or otherwiſe againſt your roiall maieſtie, and obeiſance that I owe therto, or anie thing take vpon me otherwiſe than is aboue expreſſed, I from that time foorth be vnabled, held, and taken as an vntrue and openlie forſworne man, and vnable to all maner of worſhip, eſtate, and degree, be it ſuch as I now occupie, or anie other that might in anie wiſe grow vnto me hereafter. And this I haue here promiſed and ſworne, proceedeth of mine owne deſire and free voluntee, and by no conſtraining or coaction. In witneſſe of all the which things aboue written, I Richard duke of Yorke (aboue named) ſubſcribe with mine owne hand and ſeale.

Anno Reg. 31.
1453

The councell not forgetting the offer of the Gaſcoignes, and that they might now haue the citie of Burdeaux, with the countrie round about, by requeſt of the inhabitants, appointed the valiant capteine Iohn lord Talbot earle of Shrewſburie, to go thither with an armie: who arriuing in the Ile of Madre, paſſed foorth with his power, being ſcant three thouſand men, and tooke the ſtrong towne of Fronſacke, and diuerſe other townes & fortreſſes. The inhabitants of Burdeaux, hearing of the earles arriuall, ſent to him meſſengers in the darke night, requiring him with all ſpeed to come and receiue the citie. The earle loſt not one houre, but haſted foorth, & came before that citie, yer the Frenchmen within vnderſtood anie thing of the citizens purpoſe. When they were aduertiſed that there was a gate ſet open for the Engliſhmen to enter, they thought to haue eſcaped ſecretlie by a poſterne: but they were purſued, ſlaine, and taken by the lord de Leſpar, and other of the Engliſh armie.

After the regaining of Burdeaux, there arriued at Blaie the baſtard of Summerſet, ſir Iohn Talbot, lord Liſle by his wife, ſonne to the ſaid erle of Shrewesburie, the lord Molins, the lord Harington, the lord Camois, ſir Iohn Howard, ſir Iohn Montgomerie, ſir Iohn Vernon, with two & twentie hundred men, with vittels and munitions. When the earle was thus (according to his intent) of all things furniſhed, firſt he fortified Burdeaux with Engliſhmen, and ſtore of vittels; and after that he rode into the countrie abroad, where he obteined cities, and got townes without ſtroke or dint of ſword, for the people alreadie wearied of the French ſeruitude, and longing ſore to returne to the Engliſh libertie, ſeemed to deſire nothing more than to haue the earle to receiue them into the Engliſh obeiſance. Amongſt other townes, the towne and caſtell of Chaſtillon in Perigort was to him deliuered, the which he fortified with men and ordinance verie ſtronglie.

The French people ſore wearie of the French gouernment.

In the meane time, the French king, being aduertiſed of all theſe doings, raiſed an armie to reſiſt this inuaſion made by the erle of Shrewesburie. And firſt he appointed his capteins to beſiege the towne of Chaſtillon, to the reſcue whereof the earle haſted forward, hauing in his companie eight hundred horſſemen, vnder the leading of his ſonne the lord Liſle, the lord Molins, the lord Camois, ſir Edward Hull, ſir Iohn Howard, and ſir Iohn Vernon. He appointed alſo fiue thouſand footmen, vnder the conduct of the earle of Kendall, and the lord de Leſpar, to follow him with all ſpeed. In his waie, he tooke by fine force a tower which the Frenchmen had taken, and ſlue all that he found within it. And after by the waie, he met fiue hundred Frenchmen going a foraging, of whome he ſlue the more part, and chaſed the other to the campe.

The Frenchmen that laie at the ſiege, perceiuing by thoſe good runners away that the earle approched, left the ſiege, and retired in good order into the place which they had trenched, diched, and fortified with ordinance. The earle aduertiſed how the ſiege was remoued, haſted forward towards his enimies, doubting moſt, leaſt they would haue beene quite fled and gone before his comming. But they fearing the diſpleaſure of the French king (who was not far off) if they ſhould haue fled, abode the earles comming, and ſo receiued him: who though he firſt with manfull courage, and ſore fighting wan the entrie of their campe; yet at length they compaſſed him about, and ſhooting him through the thigh with an handgun, ſlue his horſſe, and finallie killed him lieng on the ground, whome they durſt neuer looke in the face, while he ſtood on his feet.

The valiant earle of Shrewſburie and his ſon manfullie ſlaine.

It was ſaid, that after he perceiued there was no remedie, but preſent loſſe of the battell, he counſelled his ſonne the lord Liſle, to ſaue himſelfe by flight, ſith the ſame could not redound to anie great reproch in him, this being the firſt iournie in which he had beene preſent. Manie words he vſed to perſuade him to haue ſaued his life: but nature ſo wrought in the ſon, that neither deſire of life, nor feare of death, could either cauſe him to ſhrinke, or conueie himſelfe out of the danger, and ſo there manfullie ended his life with his ſaid father. There died alſo the earles baſtard ſonne Henrie Talbot, and ſir Edward Hull elect to the order of the garter, and thirtie other men of name and right valiant perſonages of the Engliſh nation.

The lord Molins was taken priſoner with thréeſcore others. The reſidue of the Engliſh people fled to Burdeaux and other places, of whome in the flight were ſlaine aboue a thouſand perſons.

Thus at this battell of Chatillon, fought the thirtéenth daie of Julie in this yeare, ended his life John lord Talbot, and of his progenie the firſt earle of Shrewesburie: after that he with much fame and moſt victorie, had valiantlie made warre, and ſerued his prince and countrie by the ſpace of foure and twentie yeares, in the parties of beyond the ſeas, whoſe corps was left on ground, and after was found by his fréends, and conueied to Whitchurch in Shropſhire where it was interred. After this diſcomfiture diuerſe lords fled to Burdeaux, but the earle of Candall, the lords of Montferrant, of Roſaine, & of Dangladas entered into the caſtell of Chatillon, which by the ſpace of ten daies they defended: but in the end deſpairing of all ſuccours, they rendred the fortreſſe, and came ſafe to Burdeaux.

After this, the townes of ſaint Million, Liborne, and all other, which the erle of Shrewesburie had conquered, rendred themſelues to the Frenchmen, Burdeaux onelie excepted. Which citie, being the laſt refuge of the Engliſh people, the French king in perſon beſieged with all his puiſſance; and in concluſion conſtreined both the garriſons and inhabitants to yéeld, ſo that the Engliſhmen & Gaſcoignes might ſafelie depart into England or into Calis, with all their ſubſtance; and that the lords de Leſparre, Duras, and thirtie others, ſhould neuer (vpon paine of death) be found within anie of the French kings dominions, which lord de Leſparre being after taken in Gaſcoigne diſguiſed, was made ſhorter by the head. When this compoſition was agréed and ſealed, the Engliſhmen were ſhortlie tranſported ouer into England, in the moneth of October this preſent yeare.

Burdeaux yéelded againe to ÿ French.

Aquitaine loſt.

Thus was the duchie of Aquitaine, which had continued in the Engliſh poſſeſſion, from the yeare of our Lord 1155, vnto this preſent yeare, which is néere hand thrée hundred yeares, by the mariage of Elenor daughter and heire to William duke of Aquitaine, wife to king Henrie the ſecond, finallie reduced and brought againe to the French obedience and ſeruitude. Within that onlie duchie be foure archbiſhops, foure and twentie biſhops, fiftéene earledomes, two hundred and two baronies, and aboue a thouſand capteinſhips and baliffewikes: whereby ye may conſider, what a loſſe this was to the realme of England. On the thirtéenth daie of October this yeare, was the quéene deliuered at Weſtminſter of a faire ſonne, who was chriſtened, and named Edward.

The dignitie and ſtate of that dukedome.

The quéene deliuered of hir ſon prince Edward.

His mother ſuſteined not a little ſlander and obloquie of the common people, who had an opinion that the king was not able to get a child; and therefore ſticked not to ſaie, that this was not his ſonne, with manie ſlanderous words, greatlie ſounding to the quéenes diſhonour; much part perchance vntrulie. After the birth of this child, he highlie aduanced his brethren on his mothers ſide: for Edmund he made earle of Richmond, which was father to king Henrie the ſeuenth, and Jaſper he created erle of Penbroke, which died without iſſue. ¶This yeare, John Stafford archbiſhop of Canturburie departed this life, and John Kempe archbiſhop of Yorke was remoued from that ſée, to ſuccéed in place of the ſaid Stafford, being the thrée ſcore and ſecond archbiſhop there, & John Booth biſhop of Couentrie and Lichfield was tranſlated to Yorke, being the one and fiftith archbiſhop of that church.

Abr.Fl. ex I.St pag.673.

¶On Bartholomew daie at the wreſtling néere vnto Clerkenwell, a gentleman belonging to the prior of ſaint Johns, made a rumor or tumult, for the which (by the commandement of the maior) he was areſted by Richard Allie one of the ſhiriffes, and deliuered to Paris a ſergeant. But ſuch reſiſtance was made by parts taking, that the ſhiriffe was faine to craue helpe of the maior, who with his brethren the aldermen aroſe from the game, and ſtrengthened the ſhiriffes. And for the reſcue of the ſaid gentleman, one named Calis, came out of ſaint Johns with a great ſtrength of archers, to reſiſt the maior, in the which fraie a yeoman of ſaint Johns was ſlaine, and manie other ſore hurt. The maior himſelfe eſcaped hardlie, for his cap was ſmitten from his head with an arrow: but the maior with his citizens put the other to flight, ſent the principall of them to Newgate, and then tooke his place againe till the games were ended: by which time the citizens had gathered themſelues in great number, and fetched him home, neuer maior ſo ſtronglie nor ſo honorablie.]

The maior, ſhiriffes and aldermen, reſiſted and abuſed in a fraie néere Clerkenwell.

Fr. Thin.
Anno Reg.32.
1454

✱ This yeare was Thomas Bourchier biſhop of Elie (ſonne to the counteſſe of Stafford, and brother to Henrie Bourchier earle of Eſſex) remooued to the ſée of Canturburie; who in the yeare after the word became fleſh and appeared in humane ſhape 1443, firſt obteined the ſée of Elie (although once before he was by the king put backe from thence after his election of the couent thereunto, and confirmation of the pope) being tranſlated from Worceſter to the ſaid ſée of Elie, the twelfth daie of March in the ſaid yeare 1443. This man (after that he had remained at Elie ten yeares, thrée and twentie wéekes, and fiue daies) was (as is before ſaid) in this yeare 1454 remooued to Canturburie by Nicholas the fift then biſhop of Rome. After this he was made chancellor, which office he obteined the ſeauenth of March, in the yeare 1455, being the thrée and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the ſixts reigne. Laſtlie he was aduanced to the dignitie of cardinall by pope Paule the ſecond, in the yeare of our Lord 1465, of whome is made a more liberall diſcourſe in a *tretiſe of the liues of the chancellors of England: a place of no ſmall authoritie and reputation.]

*In a tretiſe hereafter following.

After the warres foulie ended in forren parties, ciuill diſſention began againe at home, diuided ſpeciallie into two factions. As K. Henrie deſcended of the houſe of Lancaſter poſſeſſed the crowne from his grandfather king Henrie the fourth (firſt author of that title) ſo Richard duke of Yorke, as heire to Lionell duke of Clarence, third ſonne to king Edward the third, inforced. By reaſon whereof, the nobles as well as the common people were into parts diuided, to the vtter deſtruction of manie a man, and to the great ruine and decaie of this region: for while the one partie ſought to deſtroie the other, all care of the common-wealth was ſet aſide, and iuſtice and equitie clearelie exiled.

The duke of Yorke ſéeks the deſtructiō of the duke of Summerſet.

The duke of Yorke (aboue all things) firſt ſought means how to ſtir vp the malice of the people againſt the duke of Summerſet, imagining that he being made awaie, his purpoſe ſhould the ſooner take effect. He alſo practiſed to bring the king into the hatred of the people, as that he ſhould not be a man apt to the gouernment of a realme, wanting both wit and ſtomach ſufficient to ſupplie ſuch a roome. Manie of the high eſtates, not liking the world, and diſalowing the doings both of the king and his councell, were faine inough of ſome alteration. Which thing the duke well vnderſtanding, chiefelie ſought the fauour of the two Neuils, both named Richard, one earle of Saliſburie, the other earle of Warwike, the firſt being the father, and the ſecond the ſonne.

He banded himſelfe with the Neuils.

This earle of Saliſburie was ſecond ſon to Rafe Neuill earle of Weſtmerland, whoſe daughter the duke of Yorke had maried, and the ſaid Richard was eſpouſed to ladie Alice, the onelie child and ſole heire

The iſſue of Richard earle of Saliſburie.

W.P.

of Thomas Montacute earle of Saliſburie, ſlaine at the ſiege of Orleance (as before is declared) of which woman he begat Richard, Iohn, and George: Richard the eldeſt ſonne eſpouſed Anne, the ſiſter and heire of the entire blood to lord Henrie Beauchamp earle and after duke of Warwike, in whoſe right and title he was created and named earle of Warwike. [Full fraught was this noble man with good qualities right excellent and manie, all which a certeine naturall grace did vnto all eſtates ſo farforth recommend, that with high and low he was in ſingular fauour and good liking, ſo as (vnſought for) it ſéemed, in authoritie among them, he grew able to command all alone.]

Anno Reg. 33.

The duke of Summerſet arreſted.

1455

The king ſicke.

Whethamſted.

When the duke of Yorke had faſtened his chaine betwéene theſe two ſtrong pillers, he with his frends wrought ſo effectuouſlie, and handled his buſineſſe ſo politikelie, that the duke of Summerſet was areſted in the quéenes great chamber, and ſent to the Tower of London, where he kept his Chriſtmaſſe without great ſolemnitie. Againſt whom, ſoone after in open parlement were laid diuerſe and heinous articles of high treaſon, as well for the loſſe of Normandie, as for the late miſchance which happened in Guien. The king at that time was ſicke at Clarendon, and conueied to London, by reaſon whereof no finall determination procéeded in this weightie cauſe; but all was put in ſuſpenſe, till the next aſſemblie of the high court of parlement. Some doo write, that whileſt the king was ſicke, the duke of Yorke bare all the rule, and gouerned as regent or viceroie, by authoritie committed to him by the lords of the realme, then aſſembled in councell; he to ſée to the preſeruation and good gouernement of the common-wealth, during the kings ſickneſſe, which was ſo gréeuous (as it was ſaid) that he laie ſenſeleſſe, and was not able for a time either to go or ſtand.

The duke of Summerſet ſet at libertie.

Made deputie of Calis.

The duke of Yorke hauing aforehand obteined an abſolution of the pope, in diſcharge of his oth before taken, did now diſcouer his ſtomach againſt the duke of Summerſet. But when the king was amended againe, and reſumed to him his former gouernement, either of his owne mind, or by the quéenes procurement, the duke of Summerſet was ſet at libertie; by which doing, great enuie and diſpleaſure grew. That notwithſtanding, the quéene (which then bare the chiefe rule) cauſed the duke of Summerſet to be preferred to the capteineſhip of Calis, wherwith not onlie the commons, but alſo manie of the nobilitie were greatlie gréeued and offended, ſaieng, that he had loſt Normandie, and ſo would he doo Calis.

The duke of Yorke aſſembled an armie.

Whethamſted.

The king with two thouſand.

The duke of Yorke and his adherents, perceiuing that neither exhortation nor charging him with his crimes preuailed againſt the duke of Summerſet, they meant to mend the matter by open war: & ſoone after he being in the marches of Wales, accompanied with his ſpeciall friends, the earles of Saliſburie, and Warwike, the lord Cobham, and others, aſſembled a power, and in warlike maner marched toward London. The king informed hereof, aſſembled likewiſe a great hoſt, and meaning to méet with the duke, rather in the north parts than about London, where it was thought he had too manie friends, he accompanied with the dukes of Summerſet and Buckingham, the earles of Penbroke, Stafford, Northumberland, Deuonſhire, Dorſet, and Wilſhire, the lords Clifford, Sudlie, Berneis, Roos, and others, being in all aboue two thouſand men of warre, departed from Weſtminſter the twentith, or (as ſome haue) the one and twentith of Maie, and laie the firſt night at Wadford.

The duke with thrée thouſand.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 675, 676, 677. in Quart.

Of whoſe doings the duke of Yorke by eſpials hauing ſtill aduertiſement, with all his power, being not paſt thrée thouſand men (as ſome write) coaſted the countrie, and came to ſaint Albons the third daie next inſuing. The king there had pight his ſtandard in a place called Goſelow, otherwiſe Sandiford, in ſaint Peters ſtréet: the lord Clifford kept the barriers of the towne, to ſtop, that the duke being aſſembled in Keie field, ſhould not enter the towne. ¶ The duke of Yorke (ſaith one moderne chronographer) knowing the ſtrength made againſt him, abiding in the field aforeſaid, from ſeuen of the clocke in the morning vntill it was almoſt ten of the clocke without anie ſtroke ſmitten on either part, by the aduiſe of his councell ſent vnto the king vnder theſe words following.

Words in writing by the duke of *Yorke to the king.*

PLeaſe it vnto your excellent grace, Richard duke of Yorke, to take him as your true liege man and humble ſubiect; and to conſider and tender at the reuerence of God, and in the waie of charitie, the true intent of my comming, and to be good and gratious ſouereigne vnto me, & all other your true liege men, which, that with all their power and might will be readie to liue and die with you in your right, and to doo all things as ſhall like your maieſtie roiall to command vs, if it be to the worſhip of the crowne of England, and the welfare of this your noble realme. Moreouer, gratious lord, pleaſe it vnto your maieſtie roiall, of your great goodneſſe and rightwiſeneſſe, to incline your will to heare & féele the rightwiſe part of vs your true ſubiects and liege men. Firſt, praieng and beſéeching to our ſouereigne, Chriſt Ieſus, of his high and mightie power, to giue you vertue of prudence, and that through the praier of the glorious martyr S. Albon giue you verie knowledge of our truths, and to know the intent of our aſſembling at this time: for God that is in heauen knoweth, our intent is rightfull and true. And therefore we praie vnto that mightie Lord in theſe words: *Domine ſis clypeus defenſionis noſtræ.* Wherfore gratious lord, pleaſe it your maieſtie roiall, to deliuer ſuch as we will accuſe, and they to haue like as they haue deſerued: and this doone, you to be honorablie worſhipped as moſt rightfull king and our true gouernour. And if we ſhould now at this time be promiſed, as afore this time (is not vnknowen) haue béene promiſes broken which haue béene full faithfullie promiſed, and therevpon great othes ſworne, we will not now ceaſſe for no ſuch promiſes, nor oth, till we haue them which haue deſerued death, or elſe we to die therefore.

The anſwer by the king to *the duke of Yorke.*

I King Henrie charge and command, that no manner perſon, of what degrée, eſtate or what condition ſoeuer he be, abide not; but that they auoid the field, and not be ſo hardie to make reſiſtance againſt me in my owne realme. For I ſhall know what traitour dare be ſo bold to raiſe anie people in mine owne land, wherethrough I am in great diſeaſe and heauines. By the faith I owe vnto S. Edward, and vnto the crowne of England, I ſhall deſtroie them euerie mothers ſonne, and eke they to be hanged, drawne, and quartered, that may be taken afterward of them, in example to make all ſuch traitors to beware for to make anie riſing of people within mine owne land, and ſo traitorouſlie to abide their king and gouernour. And for a concluſion, rather than they ſhall haue anie lord, that here is with me at this time, I ſhall this day for their ſake in this quarell my ſelfe liue and die.

The

The words of the duke of Yorke *to all gentlemen and other aſſembled with him.*

SIrs, the king our ſoueraigne lord will not be reformed at our beſeeching ne praier, nor will not in no wiſe vnderſtand the intent wherfore we be here aſſembled and gathered at this time, but onelie is in full purpoſe to deſtroie vs all. And therupon a great oth hath made, that there is none other waie, but that he with all his power will purſue vs; and if we be taken, to giue vs a ſhamefull death, leeſing our liuelod and goods, and alſo our heires ſhamed for euer. Therefore ſirs, now ſith it will none otherwiſe be, but that we ſhall vtterlie die; better it is for vs to die in the field, than cowardlie to be put to an vtter rebuke and ſhamefull death, for the right of England ſtandeth in vs. Conſidering alſo in what perill it ſtandeth at this time, and for to redreſſe the miſcheefe thereof, let euerie man helpe to his power this daie, and in that quarell to quite vs like men, to the crowne of England; praieng and beſeeching vnto that Lord, the which is eternall, that reigneth in the glorious kingdome celeſtiall, to keepe and ſaue vs this daie in our right, and through the gifts of his holie grace we may be made ſtrong to withſtand the great, abhominable, and horrible malice of them that purpoſe to deſtroie vs and the realme of England, and put vs to a ſhamefull death. Praie we therefore to the Lord to be our comfort and our defendour, ſaieng theſe words, *Domine ſis clypeus defenſionis noſtræ.*]

Whethamſted

The duke of Buckingham ſent to yͤ duke of Yorke.

But another hiſtorie-writer ſaith, that the king, when firſt he heard of the duke of Yorks approch, ſent to him meſſengers, the duke of Buckingham, and others, to vnderſtand what he meant by his comming thus in maner of warre. The duke of Buckingham to his meſſage was anſwered by the duke of Yorke and his complices, that they were all of them the kings faithfull liege ſubiects, and intended no harme to him at all: but the cauſe of our comming (ſaie they) is not in meaning anie hurt to his perſon. But let that wicked and naughtie man the duke of Summerſet be deliuered vnto vs, who hath loſt Normandie, and taken no regard to the preſeruation of Gaſcoigne; and furthermore, hath brought the realme vnto this miſerable eſtate; that where it was the floure of nations, and the princeſſe of prouinces [now is it haled into deſolation & ſpoile, not ſo dreadfull by malice of forren enimie, that indeed vtterlie (as yee know) ſeeketh our ruine, as by the intollerable outrages of him that ſo long ago & euen ſtill appeares to haue ſworne the confuſion of our king and realme.] If it therefore pleaſe the king to deliuer that bad man into our hands, we are readie without trouble or breach of peace, to returne into our countrie. But if the king be not minded ſo to do, bicauſe he cannot miſſe him; let him vnderſtand, that we will rather die in the field, than ſuffer ſuch a miſcheefe vnredreſſed.

The duke of Summerſet burdned with all things that had happened amiſſe.

W. P.

The king aduertiſed of this anſwer, more wilfull than tollerable, appointed him rather to trie battell, than deliuer the duke of Summerſet to his enimies. Whereof they aſcerteined made no longer ſtaie, but ſtreightwaie ſounded the trumpet to battell: or rather (as Hall ſaith) while king Henrie ſent forth his ambaſſadours to treat of peace at the one end of the towne, the earle of Warwike with his Marchmen entred at the other end, and fiercelie ſetting on the kings fore-ward, within a ſmall time diſcomfited the ſame. The place where they firſt brake into the towne, was about the middle of ſaint Peters ſtreet. The fight for a time was right ſharpe and cruell, for the duke of Summerſet, with the other lords, comming to the ſuccours of their companions that were put to the worſe, did what they could to beat backe the enimies: but the duke of Yorke ſent euer freſh men to ſuccour the wearie, and to ſupplie the places of them that were hurt, whereby the kings armie was finallie brought low, and all the cheefteins of the field ſlaine and beaten downe.

The firſt battell of ſaint Albons.

Whethamſted

Edw. Hall.

For there died vnder the ſigne of the caſtell, Edmund duke of Summerſet, who (as hath beene reported) was warned long before to auoid all caſtels: and beſide him laie Henrie the ſecond of that name earle of Northumberland, Humfrie earle of Stafford ſonne to the duke of Buckingham, John lord Clifford, ſir Barthram Antwiſell knight, a Norman borne (who forſaking his natiue countrie to continue in his loiall obedience to king Henrie, came ouer to dwell here in England when Normandie was loſt) William Zouch, John Boutreux, Rafe Bapthorp, with his ſonne William Corwin, William Cotton, Gilbert Faldinger, Reginald Griffon, John Dawes, Elice Wood, John Eith, Rafe Woodward, Gilbert Skarlock, and Rafe Willoughbie eſquiers, with manie other, in all to the number of eight thouſand, as Edward Hall ſaith in his chronicle: if there eſcaped not a fault in the impreſſion, as 8000 for 800, ſith hundreds in verie deed would better agree with the number of the kings whole power, which he brought with him to that battell, being not manie aboue two thouſand, as by writers appeareth.

The duke of Summerſet ſlaine.

Thomas lord Clifford, ſaith Whethamſted.

Humfreie duke of Buckingham, being wounded, and James Butler earle of Ormond and Wilſhire, and Thomas Thorp lord cheefe baron of the eſcheker, ſeeing fortune thus againſt them, left the king alone, and with a number fled awaie. Thoſe that thus fled, made the beſt ſhift they could to get awaie through gardens and backeſides, through ſhrubs, hedges and woods, ſeeking places where to hide themſelues, vntill that dangerous tempeſt of the battell were ouerblowne. Diuerſe of the kings houſe alſo that could better ſkill to plaie the courtiers than warriors, fled with the firſt; and thoſe of the eaſt parts of the realme were likewiſe noted of too much lacke of courage, for their ſpeedie withdrawing themſelues, and leauing the king in danger of his aduerſaries: who perceiuing his men thus fled from him, withdrew into a poore mans houſe to ſaue himſelfe from the ſhot of arrowes, that flue about him as thicke as ſnow.

The kings part vanquiſhed.

¶ This doone, ſaith one hiſtorien, the duke of Yorke, the earles of Warwike, and Saliſburie, came vnto the king where he was, and beſought him on their knees of grace and forgiueneſſe for that they had doone in his preſence, and beſought him of his highneſſe to take them to grace, and as his true liege men. The king deſiring them to ceaſe their people, that there ſhould be no more hurt doone, and to obeie his commandement, did cauſe to be proclamed in the kings name, that all manner of people ſhould ceaſe off their malice, and not to ſmite one ſtroke more, and ſo ceaſed the battell. And vpon the day next after, the king and the duke of Yorke, the earles of Warwike & Saliſburie, came all to London; and were lodged in the biſhops palace of London, where they kept their Whitſuntide with great ioy and ſolemnitie, concluding there to hold a parlement, the ſame to begin on the ninth daie of Julie next following.]

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 678, 679. in Quart.

Another hiſtorien ſaith, that the duke of Yorke, aduertiſed of the place into the which the king was withdrawne for the ſafetie of himſelfe, and taking him into his power, comforted him in the beſt wiſe he could; aſſuring him, that now that the common enimie of the realme was diſpatched, to wit, the duke of Summerſet, he had cauſe rather to reioiſe, than to be ſorie, ſith his deſtruction was the kings preſeruation. And for himſelfe and all his adherents he vndertooke, that they were and would remaine, during life, his moſt faithfull liege people, readie in all points to ſerue him, as his truſtie and obedient ſubiects. After he had vſed ſuch words, as wherewith beſt to comfort him, he brought the king foorth of that ſimple houſe with all due reuerence ſhewed toward him firſt to the ſhrine, and after to his chamber.

Whileſt the duke of Yorke was about thus to comfort the king, the ſoldiers that had the victorie now in their hands, applied the ſpoile, namelie, the Northerne men, ſtripping not onelie thoſe that had borne armor againſt them, but alſo the townſmen and other, with whom they might meet. So that it was thought, if the king had taken vp his lodging at his firſt comming thither, within the abbeie, as he did not (but in the middeſt of the towne, to prouide the better to reſiſt his enimies) the abbeie had beene ſpoiled alſo. This was the end of the firſt battell at ſaint Albons, which was fought vpon the thurſdaie next before the feaſt of Penthecoſt, being the three and twentith day of Maie, in this three and thirtith yeare of the kings reigne. The bodies of the noble men were buried in the monaſterie in our ladies chappell, and the meane people in other places. This Edmund duke of Summerſet left behind him three ſonnes, Henrie, Edmund and Iohn, which to the extremitie of death tooke part with the line of king Henrie.

Battell of S. Albons on thurſday the 23 of Maie. Anno Reg. 33.

Foure of thẽ to wit, the duke of Sũmerſet, the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford, were buried in our ladie chapell. Whethamſted

[There was this yeare a great fight ⁊ fraie vpon Cliſt heath, diſtant about two miles from Exceſter, betweene Thomas Courtneie earle of Deuonſhire, againſt William lord Bonuile of Shut, and ſundrie men of both parts were ſlaine. But yet the lord Bonuile preuailed ⁊ had the victorie, who foorthwith came to this citie, and the gates before being ſhut, were opened and he receiued; which thing ſo greeued the earle, that he continuallie ſought thencefoorth to be reuenged. But not long after in the quarell betweene king Henrie the ſixt, and king Edward the fourth, he ended his daies, and was beheaded at Yorke, and was the laſt of that line.]

Iohn Hooker, alias Vowell.

The duke of Yorke, hauing gotten the victorie, remembred well, that he had publiſhed abroad how the onelie cauſe of this warre was, for the aduancement of the common-wealth, and therefore vſing all courteſie, would not touch the kings perſon after anie violent ſort; but with all honour and due reuerence conueied him to London, and ſo to Weſtminſter. To which place was ſummoned a parlement, which began the ninth daie of Iulie, in the which ſeſſion, the late duke of Gloceſter was openlie declared a true ſubiect, both to the king and to the realme. Beſide this, it was enacted, that no perſon ſhould either iudge or report anie point of vntruth of the duke of Yorke, the earles of Saliſburie and Warwike, or of anie knight, eſquier, archer, or other, for comming in warlike araie againſt the king, at ſaint Albons; conſidering their enterpriſe was onelie to ſee the kings perſon in ſafegard.

A parlement.

But all the blame was put vpon the duke of Summerſet, Thomas Thorp, baron of the eſcheker, and William Ioſep eſquier, the kings collaterall companion; bicauſe that they, vpon malicious purpoſe, kept a certeine letter from the kings knowledge, and would in no wiſe ſuffer it to be deliuered vnto him, notwithſtanding the ſame made to the aduancement of ſome good peace, had it beene throughlie and aduiſedlie read, weied ⁊ conſidered. In which letter they declared, that as faithfull and humble ſubiects, they required onelie, that it would pleaſe the king (whoſe honor, health, ſuertie, and preſeruation, they cheefelie wiſhed) not to giue credence to their aduerſaries malicious ſuggeſtions, till their comming to his preſence, vnto the which they humblie beſought him that they might be admitted as his faithfull liege people, to ſhew the intent and purpoſe of their commings; which was to none other end, than to declare their fidelitie and allegiance towards his moſt roiall perſon, intending to put themſelues with as much diligence and trauell in all things that might aduance his honour, health, and ſafegard, as any ſubiect he had liuing.

Whethamſted Collaterall. A letter kept from the king of purpoſe.

The keeping backe of this letter from the kings ſight and knowledge, did miniſter matter ſufficient vnto the parlement, to colour and iuſtifie for well doone all tranſgreſſions committed in the late battell and chaſe at ſaint Albons. In this parlement alſo, the duke of Yorke was made protector of the realme, and the earle of Saliſburie was appointed to be lord chancellour, and had the great ſeale to him deliuered, and the earle of Warwike was elected to the office of the capteineſhip of Calis, and the territories of the ſame; and thus the rule of the realme reſted in the orders of the duke and chancellour, and all warlike affaires remained principallie in the earle of Warwike. And ſo amongeſt them it was agreed, that king Henrie ſhould reigne ſtill in name and dignitie, but neither in deed nor in authoritie; not minding to deſtroie him, leaſt they might ſuddenlie prouoke the furie of the common people againſt them, bicauſe that of the ſimple ſort of people he was for his holineſſe of life, and abundant clemencie, much fauoured and highlie eſteemed.

The duke of Yorkes comming againſt the king iuſtified.

The duke of Yorke made protector of the realme.

The king to reigne in name but not in authoritie.

In this parlement alſo it was enacted, that the king ſhould reſume, take into his hands againe, haue and reteine into his poſſeſſion, all honours, caſtels, lordſhips, townes, villages, manours, lands, tenements, waſts, foreſts, chaſes, rents, reuerſions, fees, farmes, ſeruices, iſſues, profits, counties, aduouſons of priories, churches, hoſpitals, and free chapels, and all other reuenues with their appurtenances, the which had paſſed from him ſince the firſt daie of his reigne vnto that preſent; either by his letters patents, or authoritie of parlement, and manie other meanes, whether by grant, confirmation, or releaſe from him made in fee ſimple, or fee taile, for tearme of life or yeares, to anie maner of perſon and perſons in England, Wales, Scotland, or the marches; in Ireland, or in the townes of Calis, ⁊ Guiſnes, ⁊ the marches there. And likewiſe all grants made of ſuch things as are aboue mentioned, being parcell of the duchie of Lancaſter; and further all grants of offices, roomes, fees, wages, or commodities, not accuſtomed to belong to anie office or charge before the ſaid firſt daie of the kings reigne, were likewiſe reuoked.

Whethamſted. An act for the K. to reuoke certeine grants.

Diuerſe other things were alſo conteined within this reuocation and generall reſumption; with certeine exceptions yet and prouiſoes had, as were thought conuenient, and as by the ſame act it dooth appeare. Moreouer, now that the duke of Yorke and his adherents had wreſted the whole rule ⁊ gouernement into their hands; all ſuch perſons as the king either loued, or the queene fauoured, were put beſide the priuie councell; and ſuch put in their places, as were knowne to fauour the houſe of Yorke. Alſo the officers were changed thoroughout the realme, at the will and diſpoſition of the protector, chancellour, and capteine of Calis; ſo that they conſtituted as it were a triumuirat, ruling all things at diſcretion of theſe three. And yet in all their rule I find not that anie mention is made of their deferring of iuſtice, or of anie polling or briberie: as was openlie proued by ſuch as gouerned before their time. Onlie they were noted of diuerſe ſpirituall perſons, and namelie of the abbat of Weſtminſter and his moonks, for a

Shifting of officers.

great offenſe: bicauſe they tooke out of the ſanctuarie at Weſtminſter, Iohn Holland duke of Exceſter, all againſt the order taken in the laſt parlement, and ſent him to the caſtell of Pomfret.

Henrie duke of Summerſet.

But now the lord Henrie Beauford, newlie duke of Summerſet by the death of duke Edmund his father, ſlaine at the battell of ſaint Albons (as aboue is rehearſed) and Humfrie duke of Buckingham (who then ⁊ there loſt his ſonne and heire) and other of eſtate taking the part of king Henrie, whoſe caſe they did much bewaile ⁊ doubt, as perceiuing whereto the courteſie of the duke of Yorke did draw: they therefore thinking it neceſſarie to purueie for a remedie yer the miſcheefe happened, conſulted with the queene. By whoſe aduiſe was a great councell called at Greenewich, where the duke of Yorke was diſcharged of his protectorſhip, ⁊ the earle of Saliſburie depriued alſo of his office. ¶ This ſudden change amongſt the nobilitie cauſed alterations, and ſeditions attempts in the commonaltie, and in eſpeciall within London: whereof this was one. A yoong merchant, which before time had beene in diuerſe cities of Italie, and there forbidden by the magiſtrats (as the law and maner is) to weare anie weapon, now challenged an Italian in Cheapſide for wearing a dagger, telling him it was againſt his owne countrie lawes: whereto bicauſe the Italian anſwered ſomewhat diſdainefullie, the merchant not onelie tooke by force from him his dagger, but alſo with the ſame brake his pate.

The duke of Yorke diſcharged of his office.

1456

This Italian in great haſt complained to the maior, ſo that at the next court holden at the Guildhall, the merchant was ſent for, and vpon charge of his offenſe, he was commanded to ward. Wherevpon diuerſe other light perſons within the citie, aſſembled togither in great plumps, by force conſtreined the maior to deliuer the priſoner out of Newgate: and not ſo ſatiſfied, like mad men ran to the ſeuerall houſes of diuerſe Venetians, Lucaſes, and Florentins, and them ſpoiled, robbed, and rifled without reaſon or meaſure. The maior, perceiuing this enormious dooing, aſſembled a number of ſubſtantiall and graue citizens; who (not without bloudſhed and maiming of ſundrie) appeaſed the rage, and cauſed the miſruled people to depart to their houſes. The beginner of this vprore got him to Weſtminſter, and there regiſtred himſelfe for a ſanctuarie man.

An vprore in the citie of London.

A foule diſorder.

The queene, which now againe ruled all, being aduertiſed of this vnlawfull miſdemeanour, ſent the dukes of Exceſter and Buckingham, with other noble men to London, with a commiſſion oier and terminer, for the inquirie and puniſhment of ſo ſeditious an offenſe. But when the maior, the two dukes, and the two cheefe iuſtices were ſet in the Guildhall vpon their commiſſion, intelligence was giuen, that a number of light perſons were approching in armor to reſcue the priſoners apprehended for the late robberie and riot, as they were caried to their arraignement. The two dukes and the other commiſſioners quickelie thenſe departed, and left their inquirie for that daie, though in deed in no ſuch danger as they doubted: for certeine diſcreet and ſage citizens ſo handled the matter, that no miſorder followed of that furie.

A common councell called.

The maior on the next daie called a common councell, whereof the number was an hundred foureſcore and od, who ordeined that all wardens of myſteries ſhuld aſſemble their companies in their halles, where exhortation ſhould be to the obſeruation of peace; and if they ſpied any man either readie to ſtirre a rumor, or make to the deliuerance of ſuch as were in priſon, their names ſhould be ſecretlie written, and ſo deliuered to the maior: which policie well appeaſed this outrage. Wherevpon after the commiſſioners ſat in Guildhall, where manie of the robbers were attainted ⁊ put to execution, beſide diuers great fines ſet on the heads of diuerſe merchants, ⁊ paid, for winking at the matter. ¶ This yeare Iohn Kempe archbiſhop of Canturburie departed this life, ⁊ Thomas Burſtlier biſhop of Elie remooued to his place, being the threeſcore and third archbiſhop of that ſee.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. 681.

1457

Fabian.

¶ In the moneth of Nouember, in the Ile of Portland not farre from the towne of Weimouth, was ſeene a cocke comming out of the ſea, hauing a great creſt vpon his head, and a great red beard, and legs of halfe a yard long: he ſtood on the water ⁊ crowed foure times, and euerie time turned him about, and beckened with his head, toward the north, the ſouth, and the weſt, and was of colour like a feſant, ⁊ when he had crowed three times, he vaniſhed awaie. And ſhortlie after were taken at Erith within twelue miles of London, foure great and woonderfull fiſhes whereof one was called *Mors marina*, the ſecond a ſword fiſh, the other two were whales.]

Anno Reg. 35.

The French nation, hearing of the ciuall diſſention within the realme here, and for an old grudge ſeeking our annoie, two nauies appointed they to inuade the townes ſtanding vpon the riuage of the ſea. The capteins of the one fleet was William lord Pomiers, and of the other ſir Peter Breſſie, a great ruler in Normandie. Theſe two capteins, taking their courſe out of the mouth of Saine, ſeuered themſelues, the one weſtward; and the other eaſtward, which was ſir Peter Breſſie, who ſailing alongſt the coaſts of Suſſex and Kent, durſt not yet take land, but ſtaid in the Downes: and there hauing by eſpiall perfect notice that Sandwich was neither peopled nor fortified (becauſe that a little before, the rulers of the towne were from thenſe departed, for to auoid the plague, which ſore there afflicted and ſlue the people) he entered the hauen, ſpoiled the towne, and after ſuch poore ſtuffe as he there found rifled and taken, he fearing an aſſemblie of the countrie, ſhortlie gat him awaie.

Sandwich ſpoiled by the French.

Fulnaie.

The Scots inuade England.

The lord Pomiers likewiſe tooke his courſe weſtward, ⁊ by night burning certeine houſes in Fulnaie with a little pillage retired into Britaine. The Scots alſo (buſie like flies where no flap to fraie them) entered into Northumberland (king Iames the ſecond being there in perſon) ⁊ burned certeine poore houſes, and little cottages: but in the verie middeſt of their great enterpriſe, they hearing of the duke of Yorkes marching toward them with a great hoſt, with much paine and no gaine in all haſt returned to their countrie. But now to paſſe ouer outward inuaſions, ⁊ to intreat of the dailie diſorder amongeſt the nobles at home. So was it, that a great conflict fell betweene the lord Egremond, ⁊ the ſonnes of the erle of Saliſburie; in which manie perſons were ſlaine, ⁊ a great number hurt. The lord Egremond, ſeeking to get awaie but could not, by force was taken ⁊ brought before the councell: where the king and the queene, to ſhew themſelues indifferent, adiudged him to paie to the earle of Saliſburie a great ſumme of monie; and for his heinous offenſe againſt the lawes, was committed to Newgate in London, out of which he eſcaped, to the great trouble of the ſhiriffes.

The lord Egremond committed to Newgate.

He made an eſcape.

The queene nothing more ſeeking than the ouerthrow of the duke of Yorke and his friends, and perceiuing ſhe could attempt nothing againſt him neere to London, becauſe the duke was in more eſtimation there, than either the king hir huſband, or hir ſelfe: therefore ſhe cauſed the king to make a progreſſe into Warwikeſhire for his health and recreation. And ſo in ſemblance of hawking and hunting, came to Couentree, where diuerſe waies were ſtudied to fulfill the queenes deſire: for the accompliſhing whereof, the duke of Yorke, the earles of Sa-

A practiſe to haue intrapped the duke of Yorke.

liſburie, and Warwike (whoſe deſtructions was chieflie ſought) were ſent for to Couentrée by the kings letters, vnder his priuie ſeale, to which place the ſaid lords without ſuſpicion of danger obedientlie reſorted.

But being admoniſhed by ſecret friends, what was intended againſt them, they by flight auoided that danger, where otherwiſe their liues had béene loſt without all remedie. And ſo without bidding anie farewell, they departed from the court; the duke vnto Wigmore in the marches of Wales, the earle of Saliſburie to his caſtell of Middleham in the north, and the earle of Warwike ſailed to Calis. The bodies of which thrée noble perſonages though thus ſeparated, yet their hearts knit in one, and ſtill went meſſengers & letters betwixt them, to communicat their deuiſes, and giue ſignification of their minds and purpoſes.

Anno Reg. 36. 1458

The biſhop abiured for mouing againſt the popes extortion.

In this yéere Reginald Peacoke biſhop of Chicheſter, abiured at Paules croſſe, all his bookes burnt, and he himſelfe commanded to kéepe his owne houſe during his naturall life: becauſe that he (verie well learned, and better ſtomached) began to moue queſtions, not priuilie but openlie, in the vniuerſities, concerning the annates, Peter pence, and other iuriſdictions & authorities, which the pope vſurped; and not onelie put forth ſuch queſtions, but declared his mind and opinion in the ſame. Some ſaie he held that ſpirituall perſons by Gods law ought to haue no temporall poſſeſſions, nor that perſonall tithes by Gods law were due [nor that chriſtian men were to beléeue in the catholike church, nor in the communion of ſaints, but to beléeue that a catholike church and a communion of ſaints there is] and that he held how the vniuerſall church might erre in matters of faith; and that it is not of neceſſitie to beléeue all that which is ordeined by generall councels, nor all that which they call the vniuerſall church ought to be allowed and holden of all chriſtian people.

W. P.

Moreouer, that it was méet to euerie man to vnderſtand the ſcriptures in the true and plaine ſenſe, & none bound to gloſſes of anie other ſenſe, vpon anie neceſſitie of ſaluation. ¶ But becauſe I find a larger report héereof elſewhere, and as more methodicall, ſo alſo (as it ſéemeth) in ſuch forme as it was *Res geſta*, a déed doone, it ſhall not be amiſſe to inſert the ſame. This biſhop was a ſecular doctor of diuinitie, that had labored manie yéeres to tranſlate the holie ſcripture into Engliſh, & was accuſed to haue paſſed the bounds of diuinitie and chriſtian beléefe in certeine articles, of the which he was conuict before the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and other biſhops and clearks, and after vtterlie abiured, reuoked, and renounced thoſe articles openlie at Paules croſſe in his mother toong on the fourth day of December, as followeth.

Abr.Fl.ex I.S. pag.682,683, 684,685,686. in Quart.

The forme of his abiuration.

IN the name of the trinitie, father, ſonne, and holie-ghoſt, I Reinold Pecocke biſhop of Chicheſter vnworthie, of mine owne power and will without anie maner coaction or dread, confeſſe and knowledge that I here, before this time, preſuming of my naturall wit, and preferring my iudgement and naturall reaſon before the new and the old teſtament, and the authoritie & determination of our mother holie church, haue held, written and taught otherwiſe than the holie Romane and vniuerſall church teacheth, preacheth, or obſerueth. And one is againſt the true catholike and apoſtles faith, I haue written, taught, and publiſhed manie & diuerſe perilous doctrines, books, works, and writings, conteining hereſies and errors, contrarie to the faith catholike, and determination of holie church: and ſpeciallie theſe hereſies and errours following, that is to ſaie in particular.

In primis, *quòd non eſt de neceſſitate fidei credere, quòd dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus poſt mortem deſcendit ad inferos.*

Item, *quòd non eſt de neceſſitate ſalutis credere in ſanctorum communionem.*

Item, *quòd eccleſia vniuerſalis poteſt errare in hijs quæ ſunt fidei.*

Item, *quòd non eſt de neceſſitate ſalutis credere & tenere illud, quod conſilium generale & vniuerſalis eccleſia ſtatuit, approbat, ſeu determinat, in fauorem fidei, & ad ſalutem animarum, eſt ab vniuerſis Chriſti fidelibus approbandum & tenendum.*

Wherefore I miſerable ſinner, which here before long time haue walked in darkeneſſe, and now by the mercie and infinit goodneſſe of God reduced into the right waie, and light of truth, and conſidering my ſelfe gréeuouſlie haue ſinned and wickedlie haue informed and infected the people of God, returne and come againe to the vnitie of our mother holie church, and all hereſies and errors written and conteined in my ſaid books, works and writings, here ſolemnelie and openlie reuoke & renounce. Which hereſies and errors, and all other ſpices of hereſies I haue before this time before the moſt reuerend father in God, and my good lord of Canturburie, in diuerſe and lawfull forme iudiciallie abiured, ſubmitting my ſelfe, being then and alſo now at this time verie contrite and penitent ſinner, to the correction of the church and of my ſaid lord of Canturburie.

And ouer this, exhorting & requiring in the name & vertue of almightie God, in the ſaluation of your ſoules and mind, that no man hereafter giue faith and credence to my ſaid pernicious doctrines, hereſies and errors; neither my ſaid books kéepe, hold, or read in anie wiſe; but that they all ſuch books, works, and writings ſuſpect of hereſies, deliuer in all goodlie haſt vnto my ſaid lord of Canturburie, or to his commiſſioners and deputies, in eſchewing of manie inconueniences and great perils of ſoules, the which elſe might be cauſe of the contrarie. And ouer this declaration of my conuerſion and repentance, I here openlie aſſent, that my ſaid books, works, and writings, for declaration and cauſe aboue rehearſed, be deputed vnto the fire, and openlie burnt in example and terror of all other, &c.

After this, he was depriued of his biſhoprike, hauing a certeine penſion aſſigned vnto him for to liue on in an abbeie, and ſoone after died. His books were intituled: 1 Of chriſtian religion, and a booke perteining therevnto. 2 Of matrimonie. 3 Iuſt expreſſing of holie ſcripture, diuided into three parts. 4 The donet of chriſtian religion. 5 The follower of the donet. 6 The booke of faith. 7 The booke filling the foure tables. 8 The booke of worſhipping. 9 The prouoker of chriſtian men. 10 The booke of counſell.

The quéenes atturnie ſlain.

In the moneth of Ianuarie died the earle of Deuonſhire in the abbeie of Abindon, poiſoned (as men ſaid) being there at that time with quéene Margaret, to appeaſe the malice betwéene the yoong lords, whoſe fathers were ſlaine at ſaint Albons, and they that held with the duke of Yorke. The thirtéenth of Aprill there was a great fraie in Fléetſtréet, betwéene men of court and the inhabitants of the ſame ſtréet, in which fraie the quéenes atturnie was ſlaine. For this fact the king committed the principall gouernours of Furniuals, Cliffords, and Barnards In to priſon in the caſtell of Hertford; and William Tailor alderman of that ward, with manie other were ſent to Windſore caſtell the ſeuenth of Maie. On thurſdaie in Whitſunwéeke, the duke of Summerſet with Anthonie Riuers and other foure kept iuſtes before the quéene in the Tower of London, againſt thrée eſquiers of the quéenes. And in like maner at Gréene-

Iuſting in yͤ Tower of London.

with the ſundaie following.]

King Henrie and his councell, perceiuing the duke of Yorke laie ſtill and ſtirred not, returned to London, and there called a great councell, openlie declaring how the French and Scots (imboldened by the ciuill diſcord within this realme) attempted to annoie the ſame, as of late they had ſhewed apparant tokens, and likelie not ceaſſe vpon occaſions to doo further diſpleaſures, till a perfect concord were concluded betwéene him and his fréends, and thoſe of the contrarie part and confederacie. And to the intent that he would be the chéefe author of peace, he promiſed of his dignitie ſo to interteine the duke of Yorke and his fréends, that all old grudges ſhould be not onelie inwardlie forgotten, but alſo outwardlie forgiuen, which ſhould be cauſe of perpetuall loue and aſſured amitie.

This deuiſe was of all men iudged for the beſt. Whervpon diuerſe graue perſons were ſent to the duke of Yorke, and all other the great eſtates of the realme, who ſince the battell of ſaint Albons neuer met nor communed togither, commanding them for great cauſes to repaire to the kings court without delaie. At his commandement came to London Richard duke of Yorke, with foure hundred men, and was lodged at Bainards caſtell being his owne houſe; and after him came the earle of Saliſburie with fiue hundred men, and was likewiſe lodged at his owne houſe called the Herbour. Then came the dukes of Exceſter and Summerſet with eight hundred men, and were lodged without Temple barre; and the earle of Northumberland, the lord Egremond, and the lord Clifford came with fiftéene hundred men, and lodged without the citie. The earle of Warwike alſo came from Calis with ſix hundred men in red iackets, imbrodered with white ragged ſtaues behind and before, and was lodged at the grate friers.

The péeres of the realme called to a treatie.

Thus were all thoſe of the one part lodged within the citie, and thoſe of the other without, in Holborne towards Weſtminſter, and in other places of the ſuburbs, all vpon wiſe conſideration: for that the Yorke faction and the Lancaſtrians could not well haue béene mingled without danger of diſcord. After that theſe lords were thus come vnto London, the king and the quéene ſhortlie followed, comming thither the ſeuentéenth daie of March, and lodged in the biſhops palace. Bicauſe no riotous attempt or bickering ſhould be begun betwéene anie of the parties or their retinues, the maior and aldermen of the citie kept great watch, as well by daie as by night, riding about the citie by Holborne, and Fléetſtréet, with fiue thouſand men well armed and arraied, to ſée good order and peace on all ſides kept.

The prouidence of the citie for ſafegard of peace.

The lords which lodged within the citie held a dailie councell at blacke friers: the other part ſoiourning without the walles, aſſembled likewiſe in the chapiter houſe at Weſtminſter. At length by the diligent trauell and good exhortation of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and other prelats; both parties were perſuaded to come to communication, and ſo did. Where, after long debating of grieuances on both ſides, they promiſing to forget all old rancors, and to be fréends each to other, & both obedient to the king, were accorded by award, whereof writings were ſealed, ſigned, and deliuered to effect as followeth.

The lords are brought to agree.

The award made at Weſtminſter *on the three and twentith of March,*

Anno regni regis 36.

FIrſt, that at the coſts, charges, and expenſes of the duke of Yorke, the earles of Warwike, and Saliſburie, fourtie & fiue pounds of yearelie rent ſhould be aſſured by waie of a mortiſement for euer, vnto the monaſterie of S. Albons, for ſuffrages and obits to be kept, and almes to be imploied for the ſoules of Edmund late duke of Summerſet, Henrie late erle of Northumberland, and Thomas late lord Clifford late ſlaine in the battell of ſaint Albons, and buried in the abbeie church, and alſo for the ſoules of all other ſlaine in the ſame battell. The ſaid duke of Summerſet, the earle of Northumberland, and lord Clifford, by vertue of the ſame award, were declared for true and faithfull liegemen to the king, and ſo to be holden and reputed in the daie of their deaths, aſwell as the ſaid duke of Yorke, the earles of Warwike and Saliſburie.

The clergie were ſure in thoſe daies to loſe nothing by theſe contentions how ſoeuer the world went.

Moreouer it was decréed, that the duke of Yorke ſhould giue to Elenor ducheſſe of Summerſet, and to Henrie duke of Summerſet hir ſonne, the ſumme of fiue thouſand markes of good aſſignements of debts, which the king owght him for his wages, due during the time of his ſeruice in Ireland, to be diuided as the king ſhould thinke conuenient, betwixt the brethren & ſiſters of the ſaid duke of Summerſet. Alſo that the earle of Warwike ſhould giue vnto the lord Clifford, the ſumme of a thouſand markes, in good and ſufficient aſſignements of debts, which the king owght him, to be diſtributed betwixt the ſaid lord Clifford his brethren and ſiſters.

Alſo where Thomas Perſie knight, lord Egremond, and Richard Perſie his brother, ſonnes of the ladie Elenor counteſſe of Northumberland, had béen in a ſeſſions holden within the countie of Yorke before Richard Bingham, and Rafe Pole the kings iuſtices and other commiſſioners, condemned vnto the earle of Saliſburie in the ſumme of eight thouſand markes; and to the ſame earle, and to his wife Alice in the ſumme of fiue thouſand marks; and to Thomas Neuill knight, ſon to the ſaid earle of Saliſburie, in the ſumme of a thouſand marks; and to the ſaid Thomas and Mawd his wife, in the ſumme of two thouſand marks; and to John Neuill knight, ſonne to the ſaid earle of Saliſburie, in the ſumme of eight hundred marks: for tranſgreſſions and treſpaſſes there found to be doone by the ſaid lord Egremond, and Richard his brother, vnto the ſaid earle of Saliſburie, Alice, Thomas Neuill, Mawd and John Neuill, as by the record appéered.

The lord Egremond.

It was ordeined, that the ſaid earle and his ſonnes ſhould releaſe all the ſaid ſummes of monie, and the executions thereof, and likewiſe releaſe vnto Rafe Werneie, and John Steward late ſhiriffes of London, vnto whoſe cuſtodie the ſaid lord Egremond had béene for the ſame condemnations committed, and from them eſcaped, all actions which they or anie of them might haue againſt the ſaid Werneie and Steward for the ſame eſcape. Yet it was decréed by this award, that the ſaid lord Egremond ſhould be bound by recogniſance in the Chancerie, to kéepe the peace toward the ſaid erle and his wife, children, ſeruants, and tenants.

They were ſhiriffes, an. 1456.

Alſo where diuerſe knights, eſquiers, and other ſeruants and tenants to the ſaid earle of Northumberland, and to the ſaid lord Egremond, were by their ſeuerall obligations bound, by occaſion of the ſaid debates, vnto the ſaid duke of Yorke, earle of Saliſburie, or anie of their children, to ſtand to their order and gouernement; it was ordeined that the ſame obligations ſhould be deliuered to them that ſo ſtood bound, before the feaſt of ſaint Peter ad vincula next inſuing at the citie of Yorke; or elſe that the parties ſo bound, ſhould haue ſufficient acquitances in diſcharge of the ſame obligations.

It was further awarded, that all variances, diſcords, debates, controuerſies, appeales, and actions perſonals, that were or had béene betwixt any of the ſaid perſons,or any of their ſeruants,or tenants, ſhould be for euer determined & ended,ſauing to euerie one his title,action and right, which he had by any euidence of arrerages of rents or ſeruices,accounts, detinues,or debts due by reaſon of anie lawfull contract or déed, had and made for anie reaſonable conſiderations,other than the variance before ſaid.

And for the more aſſurance of both parties,it was ordeined that either ſhould releaſe to other all maner of actions,that were méere perſonals and appeales, which anie of them might haue againſt the other, by reaſon of the variances and diſcords before mentioned.

Alſo it was decréed,that if anie action,ſute or quarell chanced betwixt anie of the ſeruants or tenants of anie of the parties,for matter or title ſuppoſed to be had, occaſioned or mooued before this time; that from thenceforth, none of the ſaid parties ſhould mainteine,ſupport,or aid any of them that will ſo ſue and mooue ſtrife and debate: but ſhould rather ſo deale, as the matter may be brought to peace and quietneſſe.

It was further awarded, that if anie man complained,pretended,or ſurmiſed, that this award was not kept,but in ſome point broken by anie of the parties,for the which breach he would haue a Scire facias, or ſome other action proſecuted in the kings name vpon anie recogniſance made to the king for the performance of this award: yet ſhould not the ſame Scire facias or action be proſecuted, till the kings councell might be throughlie certified of the matter by the complainant, and vpon conſideration ſée iuſt cauſe whie the ſame Scire facias,or action ought to be had and proſecuted in the kings name.

And if anie variance roſe betwixt the councell of both the parties in making of the recogniſances, releaſes,acquittances,or other writings; the ſame variance ſhould be determined by the two lords chéefe iuſtices, that ſhould be fullie inſtructed of the kings intention in this behalfe.

And beſides this, it was notified and declared by the ſame award, that the parties being ſeuerallie bound in the Chancerie in great ſums to obeie and performe this award,ordinance & iudgement made by the king;it was the kings will and pleaſure, that the ſame recogniſances ſhould ſtand in force, and no parcels of the ſummes therein conteined to be pardoned in anie wiſe,without the agréement and conſent of the partie,for whoſe aſſurance the ſame recogniſance was taken.

And if anie of the ſaid ſummes, or anie parcell thereof ſhould be recouered by action or execution taken and proſecuted in the kings name, vpon anie of the ſaid recogniſances;the partie to whoſe hinderance the award was broken, ſhould haue the one halfe of the monie ſo recouered; and the other moitie ſhould be aſſigned to the treaſuror of the kings houſe. ¶This ordinance,award and agréement, was giuen vp vnder the kings great ſeale, at the kings palace of Weſtminſter,the foure and twentith daie of March in the ſix and thirtith yeare of his reigne.

A ſolemne proceſſion at Paules.
1459

For the open publiſhing of this ioifull agréement, there was (vpon our ladie daie in March) a ſolemne proceſſion celebrated within the cathedrall church of ſaint Paule in London, at the which the king was preſent in habit roiall, with his crowne on his head. Before him went hand in hand the duke of Summerſet,the earle of Saliſburie,the duke of Exceſter, and the earle of Warwike; and ſo one of the one faction,and another of the other: and behind the king the duke of Yorke,and the quéene with great familiaritie in appéerance leading hand in hand. [But what ſhall be ſaid? As goodlie apples corrupted at core, (how faire coated ſo euer they ſéeme) can neuer be made to become ſound againe: nor rotten walles new plaſtered without,can euer the more ſtaie their mooldering inward, till the putrified matter fret through the cruſt laie all in the mire: ſo fared it on all parts in this diſſembled and counterfet concord.] For after this apparant peace (but inward diſcord) diuerſe of the nobles ſmallie regarding their honors, forgot their oth,and brake their promiſe boldlie.

Anno Reg. 37.
W. P.

Not long after this,of pretenſed purpoſe (as it was thought) a fraie was made vpon a yeoman of the earle of Warwiks,by one of the kings ſeruants,in the which the aſſailant was ſore hurt, but the earles man fled. Héerevpon the kings meniall ſeruants, ſéeing their fellow hurt, and the offendor eſcaped, aſſembled togither and watched the earle, when he returned from the councell chamber toward his barge, and ſuddenlie ſet on him, the yeomen with ſwords, the blacke gard with ſpits and fier-forks. After long fight,and manie of the earls men maimed and hurt, by helpe of his fréends he gat a wherrie, and ſo eſcaped to London. The quéene aduertiſed héerof,incontinentlie commanded that he ſhould be apprehended and committed to the tower, where (if he had béene taken)he had ſhortlie ended his daies.

The earle of Warwike aſſaulted.

The quéenes purpoſe.

By this vnhappie fraie,there aroſe anon after ſuch trouble and terrible warre, that the whole realme was thereby diſquieted. For after this diſpleaſure doone to the earle,and the quéens good mind towards him by his ſecret fréends reuealed; he with all diligence tooke his iournie to Warwike,and after into Yorkeſhire, where he found the duke of Yorke, and the earle of Saliſburie, declaring vnto them the aſſault made vpon him by the kings ſeruants, and the pretenſed euill purpoſe of the quéene. After which complaint made,he fearing to be diſpoſſeſſed of his roome at Calis,with great ſpéed imbarked himſelfe and ſailed thither. He was not onelie deputie or lieutenant of Calis, but alſo high admerall of the ſeas, which office was to him confirmed for the ſpace of fiue yeares. Where vpon,whether before his arriuall now at Calis,or ſhortlie after,I cannot ſay;but this yeare about the middeſt of ſummer,the ſaid earle,hauing with him a fouretéene well appointed ſhips, ſailed abroad to ſcowre the ſeas, and by chance met with fiue great ſhips, whereof thrée were caraks of Genoa,and the other two were of Spaine, bigger in heigth and length than the caraks.

Whethamſted

The earle of Warwike high admerall.

The earle; though he was ſcarſe able to deale againſt them, yet he valiantlie incountred them. There was a verie ſore and long continued battell fought betwixt them,for it laſted almoſt the ſpace of two daies. Yet in the end the victorie fell to the Engliſh, ſo that two of thoſe ſhips being forced to ſaue themſelues by flight,the other thrée were taken,which the earle brought vnto Calis, with all the merchandize abord the ſame; the value whereof in wine,oile, wax,iron,cloth of gold, and other riches, was eſtéemed to the ſumme of ten thouſand pounds & aboue. By reaſon whereof, that was ſold now for twelue penſe, which would not haue béene bought before for two ſhillings. There were taken a great number of priſoners, beſides a thouſand of the enimies ſlaine in fight. Of the earles part there were fiftie ſlaine. The earles fame thereby increaſed not a little; and manie a bleſſing he had for this péece of ſeruice.

A rich priſe.

¶The noble ſcience of Printing was about this time found in Germanie at Magunce by one Iohn Cuthembergus a knight: one Conradus an Almaine brought it into Rome: William Caxton of London mercer brought it into England about the yeare 1471: and firſt practiſed the ſame in the abbie of ſaint Peter at Weſtminſter; after which time it was likewiſe practiſed in the abbies of S. Auguſtine

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 686,687.
Printing firſt inuented.

at

It rained bloud.

at Canturburie, ſaint Albons, and other monaſteries of England. In a little towne in Bedfordſhire there fell a bloudie raine, whereof the red drops appéered in ſhéets, the which a woman had hanged out for to drie.]

Anno Reg. 38.

But now to the former purpoſe. After that the earle was gone ouer to Calis, the duke of Yorke and the earle of Saliſburie, falling in conſultation togither, it was at length agréed betwixt them, with aduiſe of their fréends, that the ſaid earle of Saliſburie with a warlike companie ſhould march toward the king; and ſignifie to him by waie of complaint, both the manifeſt iniurie doone to his ſonne, and alſo the vncourteous breach of the ſwoorne amitie and late agréement. In which ſute if he preuailed, he ſhould not then let paſſe the occaſion giuen for reuenge of diſpleaſures to him doone, both by the quéene and hir ſiniſter councellors. After concluſion of this deuiſe, the earle of Saliſburie remooued from Middleham caſtell, accompanied with foure or fiue thouſand men, and tooke his waie through Lancaſhire, to paſſe that waie towards London.

The earle of Saliſburie gathereth a power.

Thrée thouſand ſaith Whethamſted

In the meane ſeaſon, the quéene, aſſiſted and ruled by the dukes of Summerſet and Buckingham, hauing a vigilant eie to all hir buſineſſe, imagined that the earle of Warwike had kindled this fier, to the intent to ſet the crowne on the duke of Yorks head. Wherefore ſhe appointed Iames Twichet lord Audelie (bicauſe his power laie in thoſe parties by the which the earle of Saliſburie muſt paſſe) to raiſe an hoaſt of men with all ſpéed, and to giue battell to the ſame earle, if he ſaw cauſe and place conuenient. She had deuiſed a cogniſance of the white ſwan, which ſhe willed all ſuch (as ſhe knew to beare fauor vnto hir ſonne) to weare, for a ſignification of their good minds and hartie loue towards him: which cogniſance ſhe had giuen to manie gentlemen of Cheſhire, and other countries thereabout.

The lord Audelie.

Ex vetuſto codice.

The quéene hir ſelfe laie the ſame time at Eccleſale in Staffordſhire, but the K. remained at Coleſhill in Warwikeſhire, whither the earle of Saliſburie meant to come, in pretenſe to haue communed with him for a reformation of matters depending in controuerſie betwixt himſelfe, the duke of Yorke, and others. But the quéene conſtruing that they ment no good, neither to hir nor hir huſband, requeſted the lord Audelie to apprehend him, if by anie means he might. The lord Audelie (according to his commiſſion) aſſembled aboue ten thouſand men of Cheſhire and Salopſhire, and knowing by his eſpials which waie the earle kept, approached néere to him vpon a faire plaine called Bloreheath, within a mile of a towne called Draiton in Shropſhire. The earle, perceiuing in what ieopardie he ſtood, determined to abide the aduenture with fame and honour, rather than to flie with ſhame and reproach; and ſo incamped himſelfe all the night on the ſide of a little brooke, not verie brode, but ſomewhat déepe.

Whethamſted

Bloreheath.

The 23 of September.

In the morning earlie, being the daie of ſaint Tecle, he cauſed his ſouldiers to ſhoot their flights towards the lord Audelies companie, which laie on the other ſide of the ſaid water, and then he and all his people made a ſigne of retreit. The lord Audelie, ſuppoſing his aduerſaries had fled in déed, cauſed his trumpets quicklie to blow vp, and ſetting foorth his voward, ſpéedilie paſſed the water. The earle of Saliſburie, which knew the ſleights of warlike policie, ſuddenlie returned, and ſet vpon the lord Audelie and his chéefe capteins, yer the reſidue of his armie could paſſe the water. The fight was ſore and dreadfull. The earle deſiring the ſauing of his life, and his aduerſaries coueting his deſtruction, fought ſore for the obteining of their purpoſe; but in concluſion, the earles armie, as men not looking for other ſuccours nor meane to eſcape, but by their owne manhood, ſo egerlie aſſaulted their foes, that they ſlue the lord Audelie and all his capteins, and diſcomfited all the remnant of his people.

Policie oft times paſſeth force.

The lord Audelie ſlaine.

The number ſlaine in the battell of Bloreheath.

In this battell were ſlaine foure and twentie hundred perſons, but the greateſt loſſe fell vpon the Cheſhire men, bicauſe one halfe of the ſhire was on the one part, and the other halfe on the other: of which number were ſir Thomas Dutton, ſir Iohn Doune and ſir Hugh Venables, ſir Richard Molineur, ſir William Trowtbecke, ſir Iohn Legh of the Both, and ſir Iohn Egerton, knights; Iohn Done, and Iohn Dutton eſquiers. But the earles two ſonnes, the one called ſir Iohn Neuill, and the other ſir Thomas Neuill, were ſore wounded, the which ſoberlie iornieng into the north countrie, were apprehended by the quéenes fréends, and togither with ſir Thomas Harington that was likewiſe taken, were conueied to Cheſter; but their kéepers deliuered them ſhortlie after, or elſe had the Marchmen deſtroied the goales. Such fauour bare the commons of Wales to the duke of Yorks band, that they could not ſuffer anie wrong to be offered, or euill word to be ſpoken againſt him or his fréends.

The earle of Saliſburies ſonne apprehended.

After this battell at Bloreheath, the ſaid duke of Yorke, perceiuing the deſtruction of him and his fréends was intended, and that his deuiſes were alreadie diſcloſed to the king and the quéene, he thought now no longer to linger his buſineſſe, but with all diligence to ſet forward the ſame. And therfore ſending for his chéefe fréend the earle of Saliſburie, after long conference of their weightie affaires, they determined to raiſe an armie, and by fine force either to win their purpoſe, or end their liues in the ſame. Héerevpon were men foorthwith aſſembled, fréends ſent for, and a puiſſant armie gathered, both of Northerne and Welſhmen, who in good order came into the marches of Wales adioining to Shropſhire, determining there to abide their enimies, or to méet them; if occaſion ſerued.

The duke of Yorke aſſembleth an armie

There came to him from Calis the earle of Warwike, bringing with him from that towne a great number of expert men in martiall feates, whereof two were capteins knowne for men of great experience and approoued policie, as they had well declared the ſame in the warres of Normandie and Guien, the one called Andrew Trollop, and the other Iohn Blunt. The king, hauing aduertiſement of the dukes dooings, ſent foorth commiſſioners to leuie a power in all parts of the realme, where he thought to haue any faithfull fréends or fauourers: by reaſon whereof a great number of men of warre was aſſembled. Manie for the loue they bare to the king reſorted to his ſide, but more for feare of the quéenes diſpleſure, whoſe frowning countenance was their vndooing, and hir indignation their death.

Andrew Trollop, Iohn Blunt.

The king raiſeth an armie.

To be bréefe, the king accompanied with the dukes of Summerſet and Exceſter, and other of the line of Lancaſter, determined either by force or by policie to bring the duke of Yorke to confuſion; and therevpon marching forward they came vnto Worceſter, where as well to refreſh his people, as to take further aduiſe what was beſt to be doone, he ſtaied for a time. And at length it was determined, that the K. ſhould firſt ſend vnto the aduerſaries, a meſſenger of good account, as the biſhop of Saliſburie Richard Beauchampe, to offer vnto them a cléere and frée generall pardon of all treſpaſſes, offenſes, and tranſgreſſions whatſoeuer, if they would giue ouer their enterpriſe, and become true and obedient ſubiects.

Whethamſted

The biſhop of Saliſburie ſent to yͤ duke of Yorke and others.

When the biſhop was come vnto them, and had declared his meſſage, they firſt withdrew themſelues apart, and fell togither in councell: and after they gaue anſwer by the mouth of the erle of Warwike,

which

Their anſwer touching the pardon offered.

which conſiſted in thrée points. Firſt, that as concerning the pardon, they durſt not truſt vnto it, conſidering they had diuerſe pardons before, and the ſame confirmed by parlement, and yet nothing auaileable to their aſſurance. Secondlie, that notwithſtanding ſuch pardons, thoſe that were about the king, were preſumptuous and vnrulie, that they cared not at all to breake the kings commandements, nor were any thing abaſhed to be noted for the breach thereof.

Thirdlie, although by law of the land, and right of the ſtatute, euerie lord by vertue of the kings writ, being called to the parlement, ought ſafelie to come, ſafelie there to remaine, and ſafelie to depart and returne home: this notwithſtanding, the ſaid earle of Warwike himſelfe, at a certeine councell holden at Weſtminſter, by vertue of the kings writ of priuie ſeale, being there in perſon, & labouring to his knowledge to giue good aduiſe and counſell for the profit of the common-wealth, was yet in danger of death, if the Lord aboue had not the better prouided for his eſcape, more than anie humane power or force of the “kings pardon. For the which cauſe (quoth he) ſith the kings pardon maie be likened in theſe daies to a “buckler of glaſſe, or to a ſtaffe of réed, in which is no truſt, we dare not commit our ſelues vnto the de“fenſe of anie ſuch pardons. But if anie other waie might be deuiſed for their ſuerties, whereunto they might ſafelie truſt (he ſaid) they were readie to come to his grace, and to ſue for his fauour.

A letter from the lords to the king.

The king receiuing ſuch anſwer in theſe words, or other to the like effect, was nothing contented therewith, and ſo commanded his ſtandards eftſoones to aduance. But yet before he came néere to the place where they were incamped, the ſaid lords wrote to him a letter in their owne excuſe, proteſting they meant no harme in the world againſt his perſon, as by their demeanors and procéedings it might well appeare, who had euer fled & withdrawne themſelues from place to place, from towne to towne, from village to village, and from countie to countie. Which might ſerue for an euident token, that they ſought for nothing but onelie their owne ſafegards & quietneſſe of the realme, with ſo much fauour, as in good and ſafe ſuertie they might come to his preſence, to declare certeine things which in their opinions might turne to the wealth of the realme: and further to make anſwer to all things that had béene obiected againſt them. And now (ſaid they) we are here remaining in the vttermoſt parts of the land (that is) in the marches towards Wales, not farre from Ludlow, not vpon anie preſumptuous meaning, but rather in all humble lowlineſſe of mind and bodie to abide his graces comming: which they beſought of God might be in ſome peaceable maner and fauourable in their behalfes.

A proclamation.

The king hauing receiued this letter, and coniecturing that ſome bitter meaning laie vnder ſo ſwéet a ſpéech, cōmanded his armie againe to march forth; and comming within halfe a mile of the aduerſaries campe, pitched downe his field, and forthwith cauſed proclamation to be made, that who ſo euer of his aduerſaries would giue ouer his lewd begun enterpriſe, and repaire to his preſence to ſue for mercie, he would pardon him of all offenſes. This proclamation, comming to the vnderſtanding of them in the duke of Yorks hoaſt, cauſed a great number that were there with him againſt the king, to get awaie & come to the kings ſide. Moreouer, there roſe among the reſidue great murmuring: ſo as they ſéemed verie like to grow to a gréeuous mutinie.

Andrew Trollop forſaketh the lords.

Amongſt other of thoſe that came to the kings campe, Andrew Trollop was chéefe, who with the other Caliſians, which had long ſerued the king, and liued a long time by his wages, perceiuing now that they ſhould fight againſt their ſoueraigne lord himſelfe (whoſe true ſubiect they eſtéemed before that time the earle of Warwike euer to haue béene, and in no wiſe his enimie) in the dead of the night before the daie of the battell ſecretlie departed from the dukes campe, and ſubmitted themſelues to the king, admoniſhing him of all things deuiſed againſt him. Whereof part was, that the duke of Yorke by his expert capteins appointed vpon a waie how to ſet vpon his enimies, & eaſilie to diſcomfit them; ſo as on the next morning he meant to haue aſſailed the king and his people, yer they could haue béene readie or warie of his comming.

Whethamſted

But now by the going awaie thus of his capteins and people, that purpoſe was diſappointed. And Andrew Trollop thus departed, he was now as much diſcomforted, as before by truſt in him he was incouraged: for all his counſell and purpoſe by Andrew diſcloſed, he thought it better for him & his to depart in ſuertie, than to abide the imminent danger. Whervpon he with his yonger ſonne Edmund earle of Rutland, ſecretlie fled into Wales, and ſo paſſed into Ireland, where he was with all ioy and honour gladlie receiued, all the Iriſh offering to liue and die with him; as if they had béene his liege ſubiects, and he their lord and prince naturallie borne.

The eſtimation of Andrew Trollop.

The duke of Yorke and his complices fle

The earle of March ſonne and heire apparant to the ſaid duke, accompanied with the earles of Saliſburie and Warwike, and ſir Iohn Wenlocke, got awaie the ſame night, and came into Deuonſhire: where, by the meanes of Iohn Dinham eſquier (which after was high treaſuror of England, in the daies of king Henrie the ſeauenth) they bought a ſhip which coſt a hundred and ten marks at Exmouth, and ſailed into Gerneſeie, after came to Calis, where being let in at the poſterne, they were ioifullie welcomed of their fréends, namelie of ſir William Neuill lord Fauconbridge, that was the earle of Warwikes vncle, and brother to the earle of Saliſburie, who had the towne and caſtell in kéeping. All theſe being aſſembled caſt their heads togither, and euerie one ſeuerallie had his deuiſe for the perfecting of their purpoſe, whereto there wanted in them neither will nor hardineſſe.

But now to returne to the king. When in the morning he was aduertiſed that the duke of Yorke and his partakers were fled and gone, he cauſed all his horſſemen to follow them; although in vaine: for they were got farre enough out of danger (as before ye haue heard.) The king pardoned all the poore souldiers, sauing certeine ringleaders; of the which ſome he puniſhed and fined, and ſome he hanged and quartered. After this he remooued to Ludlow, and there brake vp his hoſt, and ſpoiling the towne and caſtell, he ſent the ducheſſe of Yorke with hir two yoong ſonnes to be kept in ward with the ducheſſe of Buckingham hir ſiſter. This doone, he proclamed theſe lords, traitors to him, enimies to their countrie, and rebels to the crowne, confiſcating their lands, goods, and offices: and committed the gouernance of the north parts to the earle of Northumberland, and to the lord Clifford, as to his truſtie and moſt faithfull fréends, & of his towne of Calis he made capteine Henrie the new duke of Summerſet.

The lords proclamed traitors.

The duke of Summerſet made capteine of Calis.

This duke reioiſing much in his new office, choſe forth diuerſe valiant and hardie ſouldiers, and with great pompe ſhortlie after tooke the ſeas, and ſailed towards Calis. But when he thought to haue entered the hauen, the artillerie ſhot ſo hotlie, both out of the towne, and from Riſebanke, that he ſuffering there a ſore repulſe, was faine to land at Whitſand baie; and ſent word to the capteins of the towne to receiue him as the kings lieutenant, ſhewing to them his letters patents. But neither he nor his writing was once regarded: and ſo of neceſſitie he reſorted to the caſtell of Guiſnes, dailie ſkirmiſhing with the garriſon of Calis, more to his loſſe than gaine. Diuerſe of the mariners of thoſe ſhips that went ouer with him, after his arriuall, owing more good will to the earle of Warwike than to this yoong duke, conueied their ſhips into the hauen of Calis, and in them diuerſe of the earle of Warwikes enimies, as Iamin Findill, Iohn Felow, and diuerſe others, the which being preſented vnto the earle of Warwike, he cauſed their heads forthwith to be ſtriken off.

Haſtie heading.

Shortlie after, Richard lord Riuers, and ſir Anthonie Woduile his valiant ſonne that was after lord Scales, accompanied with foure hundred warlike perſons, were appointed to paſſe ouer to Guiſnes, to aid the duke of Summerſet againſt his aduerſaries, which laie in Calis. But as they ſoiourned at Sandwich abiding for wind and weather to tranſport them ouer, the earles of March and Warwike had knowledge thereof, and ſent Iohn Dinham with a ſmall number of men (but a multitude of valiant hearts) vnto the towne of Sandwich, which ſuddenlie entered the ſame, and tooke the lord Riuers and his ſonne alſo in their beds, robbing houſes, and ſpoiling ſhips. And beſide this, they tooke the principall ſhips of the kings nauie, and had them awaie with them to Calis [one excepted called *Grace de Dieu* which might not be had awaie bicauſe ſhe was broken in the bottome] and there preſented them to the earle of March, of whome he was ioifullie receiued. For though in the fight he was ſore hurt & maimed in the leg, ſo as he halted euer after, yet he bare himſelfe ſo worthilie in that enterpriſe, that his praiſe was great amongſt all men.

Iohn Dinham.

The lord Riuers taken.

Iohn Stow.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 692.

1460

Sir Baldwine Fulford his enterpriſe.

¶ Sir Baldwine Fulford vndertooke on paine of looſing his head, that he would deſtroie the earle of Warwike: but when he had ſpent the king a thouſand marks in monie, he returned againe.] After this good fortune thus chanced to the lords, diuerſe of the beſt ſhips taken in the hauen of Sandwich, were well vittelled and manned, and with them the earle of Warwike ſailed into Ireland, to common with the duke of Yorke of their great affaires and buſineſſe. The weather and wind were ſo fauourable to the earles purpoſe, that within leſſe than thirtie daies he paſſed and repaſſed from Calis to Dublin, and backe againe.

The duke of Exceſter, being cheefe admerall of the ſea, laie in the weſt countrie, and durſt not once meddle with the earle of Warwikes nauie, as he came by; by reaſon of the miſtruſt which he had in the capteins and mariners of his owne nauie: who by their murmuring well ſhewed that they wiſhed the earle of Warwikes good ſucceſſe. ¶ But here is to be remembred, that after the great diſcomfiture of the lords (as before you haue heard) and proclamation made againſt them as traitors, the duke of Yorke and the earles of Saliſburie and Warwike had conference; and therevpon concluded with one aſſent, to write a letter excuſatorie (ſuppoſing thereby to ſalue vp the ſore) in all their names to the king: and ſo did, as followeth.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 688, 689, 690, 691.

A copie of the ſaid letter excuſa*torie written by the ſaid duke* and earles.

MOſt chriſtian king, right high and mightie prince, and our moſt dread ſoueraigne lord, after as humble recommendations to your high excellencie as will ſuffice. Our true intent to the proſperitie and augmentation of your high eſtate, and to the common-weale of this realme, hath beene ſhewed vnto your highneſſe in ſuch writing as we make thereof. And ouer that, an indenture ſigned by our hands in the church cathedrall of Worceſter, comprehending the proofe of the truth and dutie that (God knoweth) we beare to your ſaid eſtate, and to the preheminence and prerogatiue thereof, we ſent vnto your good grace by the prior of the ſaid church, and diuerſe other doctors, and among other, by maiſter William Linwood doctor of diuinitie, which miniſtred vnto vs ſeuerallie the bleſſed ſacrament of the bodie of Ieſus, wherevpon we and euerie of vs depoſed for our ſaid truth and dutie, according to the tenor of the ſaid indenture.

And ſince that time we haue certified at large in writing and by mouth, by Garter king of armes, not onelie to your ſaid highneſſe, but alſo to the good and worthie lords being about your moſt noble preſence, the largeneſſe of our ſaid truth and dutie, and our intent and diſpoſition, to ſearch all the motions that might ſerue conuenientlie to the affirmation thereof, and to our perfect ſuerties from ſuch inconuenient and vnreuerent ieopardies as we haue beene put in diuerſe times here before. Whereof we haue cauſe to make, and ought to make ſuch exclamation and complaint; not without reaſon, as is not vnknowen to all the ſaid worthie lords, and to all this land; and will offer vs to your high preſence, to the ſame intent, if we might ſo doo, with our ſaid ſuertie, which onelie cauſeth vs to keepe ſuch fellowſhip as we doo in our leefull manner.

And hereto we haue forborne, and auoided all things that might ſerue to the effuſion of chriſtian bloud, of the dread that we haue of God, and of your roiall maieſtie: and haue alſo eſchued to approch your ſaid moſt noble preſence, for the humble obeiſance and reuerence wherein we haue, and (during our life) will haue the ſame. And yet neuertheleſſe we heare, that we be proclamed and defamed in our name vnrightlie, vnlawfullie, and (ſauing your high reuerence) vntrulie, and otherwiſe (as God knoweth) than we haue giuen cauſe; knowing certeinelie, that the bleſſed and noble intent of your ſaid good grace, and the righteouſneſſe thereof is, to take, repute, and accept your true and lawfull ſubiects; and that it accordeth neither with your ſaid intent, nor with your will or pleaſure, that we ſhould be otherwiſe taken or reputed. And ouer that, our lordſhips and tenants beene of high violence robbed and ſpoiled, againſt your peace and lawes, and all righteouſneſſe.

We therfore, as we ſuffice, beſeech your ſaid good grace, to take, repute, and receiue thereunto our ſaid truth and intent, which to God is knowne, as we ſhew it by the ſaid tenor of the ſame indenture. And not applie your ſaid bleſſedneſſe, ne the great righteouſneſſe and equitie wherewith God hath euer indued your high nobilitie, to the importune impatience and violence of ſuch perſons, as intend of extreame malice to proceed (vnder the ſhadow of your high might and preſence) to our deſtruction, for ſuch inordinate couetiſe (whereof God is not pleaſed) as they haue to our lands, offices, and goods, not letting or ſparing therefore, to put ſuch things in all lamentable and too ſorowfull ieopardie, as might in all wiſe take effect, by the myſterie of Gods will and power.

Not hauing regard to the effuſion of chriſtian bloud, ne anie tenderneſſe to the noble bloud of this land, ſuch as ſerue to the tuition and defenſe thereof, ne not waieng the loſſe of your true liege men of your ſaid realme, that God defend, which knoweth our intent, and that we haue auoided there-from as farre as we may with our ſuerties; not of anie dread that we haue of the ſaid perſons, but onelie of the dread of God and of your ſaid highneſſe, and will not vſe our ſaid defenſe vntill the time that we be prouoked of neceſſitie, whereof we call heauen and earth vnto witneſſe and record, and therein beſéech God to be our iudge, and to deliuer vs according to our ſaid intent, and our ſaid truth & dutie to your ſaid highneſſe, and to the ſaid common-weale.

Moſt chriſtian king, right high and mightie prince, and moſt dread ſoueréigne lord, we beſéech our bleſſed Lord to preſerue your honour and eſtate in ioy and felicitie. Written at Ludlow the tenth daie of October: R. Yorke, R. Warwike, R. Saliſburie.

A parlement at Couentrie.

Duke of Yorke and others attainted.

During this time the king called a parlement in the citie of Couentrie, which began the twentith of September, in the which were attainted of high treaſon, Richard duke of Yorke, Edward erle of March his ſonne and heire, Richard earle of Warwike, Edmund earle of Rutland, Richard earle of Saliſburie, John lord Clifford, lord Clinton, ſir Thomas Harington, ſir John Wenlock, Thomas Neuill & John Neuill ſons of the earle of Saliſburie, James Pickering, John Coniers, Thomas Par, William Oldhall, and Henrie Ratford knights; John Bowſer, Thomas Cooke, John Claie, Richard Giton, Robert Browne, Edward Bowſer, Thomas Vaughan, John Roger, Richard Greie, Walter Deuoreux, Walter Hopton, Roger Kinderton, Will. Bowes, Foulke Stafford, the lord Powis, and Alice counteſſe of Saliſburie, their goods and poſſeſſions eſcheted, and their heires diſherited vnto the ninth degrée, their tenants ſpoiled of their goods, maimed and ſlaine; the towne of Ludlow, belonging to the duke of Yorke, was robbed to the bare wals, & the dutches of Yorke ſpoiled of hir goods.]

Ludlow ſpoiled.

Whethamſted.

The kings inclination to mercie.

But (ſaith another) when the king ſhould come to giue his conſent vnto the acts paſſed in the ſame parlement, and that the clerke of the parlement had read that ſtatute of the attaindor of thoſe lords; ſuch was the kings modeſtie and great zeale vnto mercie, that he cauſed a prouiſo to be put in, and added vnto the ſame ſtatute, that it might be lawfull vnto him at all times fullie without authoritie of anie other parlement, to pardon the ſame noble men, and reſtore them againe to their former eſtats, degrées, and dignities in all things, ſo they would come in vnto him, and in the ſpirit of humbleneſſe beſéech him of grace and fauour. ¶ Wherin the king gaue euident teſtimonie, that he was indued with thoſe qualities of mind which the poet aſcribed vnto Ceſar (namelie ſlow to puniſh, & ſad when he was conſtreined to be ſeuere: ſith the one commended his lenitie, the other ſauoured of tyrannie) in this diſtichon of like termination:

Abr.Fl.

Ouid. de Ponto. lib. 1.

Eſt piger ad pœnas princeps, ad præmia velox,
Cuiq; dolet quoties cogitur eſſe ferox.]

Herewith alſo order was taken for the defenſe of the hauens & landing places alongſt the ſea coaſts. Sir Simon Montford, with a great crew of men, was appointed to kéepe the downes, and the fiue ports; and all men paſſing into Flanders were vpon paine of death prohibited to paſſe by Calis, leaſt the lords there ſhould borrow of them anie preſt monie, as they did latelie before of the merchants of the ſtaple the ſumme of eightéene thouſand pounds. The lords were not ignorant of all the kings prouiſions made againſt them, but were aſcerteined dailie what was doone euen in the kings priuie chamber: wherefore firſt they ſent a companie to Sandwich vnder the gouernance of the lord Fauconbridge, who tooke the towne, & ſir Simon or Oſbert Montford within it, and ſent him with all his mates to Calis, where incontinentlie he with twelue of his chiefe fellowes loſt their heads on the ſand before Riſebanke.

Oſbert Môtford eſquier ſaith Whethamſted, who ſhould alſo haue gone ouer to Guines with fiue hundred ſoulдiers to the aid of the duke of Summerſet.

The lord Faucôbridge was chiefe of this enterpriſe ſaith Whethamſted.

Thirtéene beheaded at once.

Abr.Fl. ex I.S. pag. 692, 693,

¶ The earles at Calis ſent to the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and to the commons of England at large certeine articles in writing, beginning thus: Worſhipfull ſirs, we the duke of Yorke, the earles of March, Warwike, and Saliſburie, ſued and offered to haue come to the king our ſoueréigne lords moſt noble preſence, to haue declared there afore him for our dutie to God and to his highneſſe, and to the proſperitie and welfare of his noble eſtate, and to the common-weale of all his land as true liege men, the matters following.

694, 695, 696, 697, in Quar.

Articles ſent from the duke of Yorke, *and the earles, to the archbiſhop of Canturburie* and the commons.

In primis, the great oppreſſion, extortion, robberie, murther, and other violences doone to Gods church, and to his miniſters thereof, againſt Gods and mans law.

2 Item, the pouertie and miſerie that to our great heauineſſe our ſoueréigne lord ſtandeth in, not hauing anie liuelod of the crowne of England whereof he may kéepe his honorable houſhold, which cauſeth the ſpoiling of his ſaid liege men by the takers of his ſaid houſhold, which liuelod is in their hands that haue béene deſtroiers of his ſaid eſtate, and of the ſaid common-weale.

3 Item, how his lawes be parciallie and vnrightfullie guided, and that by them that ſhould moſt loue and tender his ſaid lawes, the ſaid oppreſſion and extortion is moſt fauoured and ſupported; and generallie, that all righteouſneſſe and iuſtice is exiled out of the ſaid land, and that no man dreadeth to offend againſt the ſaid lawes.

4 Item, that it will pleaſe his ſaid good grace to liue vpon his owne liuelod, wherevpon his noble progenitors haue in daies heretofore liued as honorablie and as worthilie as anie chriſtian princes, and not to ſuffer the deſtroiers of the ſaid land, and of his true ſubiects, to liue therevpon, and therfore to lacke the ſuſtenances that ſhould be belonging to his ſaid eſtate, and find his ſaid houſhold vpon his poore commons, without paiement, which neither accordeth with Gods nor mans law.

5 Item, how oft the ſaid commons haue béene greatlie and marueilouſlie charged with taxes and tallages to their great impoueriſhing, whereof little good hath either growne to the king or to the ſaid land, and of the moſt ſubſtance thereof the king hath left to his part not halfe ſo much; and other lords and perſons, enimies to the ſaid common-weale, haue to their owne vſe, ſuffering all the old poſſeſſions that the king had in France and Normandie, Aniou and Maine, Gaſcoine and Guien, woone and gotten by his father of moſt noble memorie, and other his noble progenitors, to be ſhamefullie loſt or ſold.

6 Item, how they can not ceaſſe therewith, but now begin a new charge of impoſition and tallages vpon the ſaid people, which neuer afore was ſéene; that is to ſaie, euerie towneſhip to find men for the kings gard, taking example therein of our enimies and aduerſaries of France. Which impoſition & tallage, if it be continued to heire, heires, and ſucceſſors, will be the heanieſt charge and worſt example that euer grew in England; and the foreſaid ſubiects, and the ſaid heires and ſucceſſors in ſuch bondage, as their anceſtors were neuer charged with.

7 Item, where the king hath now no more liuelod out of his realme of England, but onelie the land of Ireland, and the towne of Calis, and that no king chriſtened hath ſuch a land and a towne without his realme; diuerſe lords haue cauſed his highneſſe to write letters vnder his priuie ſeale, vnto his Iriſh enimies, which neuer king of England did heretofore,

fore, wherby they may haue comfort to enter into the conqueſt of the ſaid land, which letters the ſame Iriſh enimies ſent vnto me the ſaid duke of Yorke, and maruelled greatlie that anie ſuch letters ſhould be to them ſent, ſpeaking therin great ſhame and villanie of the ſaid realme.

8 Item, in like wiſe the king by excitation and labour of the ſame lords, wrote other letters to his enimies and aduerſaries in other lands, that in no wiſe they ſhould ſhew anie fauour or good will to the towne of Calis, whereby they had comfort inough to procéed to the winning thereof. Conſidered alſo, that it is ordeined by the labour of the ſaid lords, that no where vittels nor other thing of refreſhing or defenſe ſhould come out of England, to the ſuccour or reliefe of the ſaid towne, to the intent that they would haue it loſt, as it may openlie appeare.

9 Item, it is déemed and ought greatlie to be déemed, that after the ſame lords would put the ſame rule of England, if they might haue their purpoſe and intent, into the hands and gouernance of the ſaid enimies.

10 Item, how continuallie ſince the pitious, ſhamefull, and ſorrowfull murther to all England, of that noble, worthie, and chriſtian prince Humfreie duke of Gloceſter the kings true vncle, at Burie, it hath béene laboured, ſtudied, and conſpired, to haue deſtroied and murthered the ſaid duke of Yorke, and the iſſue that it pleaſed God to ſend me of the roiall bloud, and alſo of vs the ſaid earles of Warwike and Saliſburie, for none other cauſe but for the true hart that (God knoweth) we euer haue borne, and beare to the profit of the kings eſtate, to the common-weale of the ſame realme, and defenſe thereof.

11 Item, how the earles of Shreweſburie and Wilſhire, and the lord Beaumont, our mortall and extreme enimies now, and of long time paſt, hauing the guiding about the moſt noble perſon of our ſaid ſoueraigne lord, whoſe highneſſe they haue reſtreined & kept from the libertie & fréedome that belongeth to his ſaid eſtate, & the ſupporters & fauourers of all the premiſſes, would not ſuffer the kings ſaid good grace to receiue and accept vs, as he would haue doone, if he might haue had his owne will, into his ſaid preſence, dreading the charge that would haue béene laid vpon them, of the miſerie, deſtruction, and wretchedneſſe of the ſaid realme, whereof they be cauſes, and not the king, which is himſelfe as noble, as vertuous, as righteous and bleſſed of diſpoſition, as anie prince earthlie.

12 Item, the earles of Wilſhire and Shreweſburie, and the lord Beaumont, not ſatiſfied nor content with the kings poſſeſſions and his goods, ſtirred and excited his ſaid highneſſe to hold his parlement at Couentrie, where an act is made by their prouocation and labour, againſt vs the ſaid duke of Yorke, my ſonnes March and Rutland, and the earles of Warwike and Saliſburie, and the ſonnes of the ſaid earle of Saliſburie, & manie other knights and eſquiers of diuerſe matters falſelie and vntrulie imagined, as they will anſwer afore almightie God in the daie of doome; the which the ſaid earles of Shreweſburie & Wilſhire, and the lord Beaumont prouoked to be made, to the intent of our deſtruction and of our iſſue; and that they might haue our liuelod and goods, as they haue openlie robbed and deſpoiled all our places and our tenements, and manie other true men, and now procéed to hanging and drawing of men by tyrannie, and will therin ſhew the largeneſſe of their violence and malice as vengeablie as they can, if no remedie be prouided at the kings highnes, whoſe bleſſednes is neither aſſenting nor knowing thereof.

We therefore, ſéeing all the ſaid michiefes, hearing alſo that the French king maketh in his land great aſſemblie of his people, which is greatlie to be dread for manie cauſes, purpoſe yet againe with Gods grace to offer vs to come againe to the ſaid preſence of our ſaid ſoueraigne lord, to open and declare vnto him there, the miſchiefes aboue declared; and in the name of the land to ſue, in as reuerent and lowlie wiſe as we can, to his ſaid good grace, to haue pittie and compaſſion vpon his ſaid true ſubiects, and not to ſuffer the ſame miſchiefs to reigne vpon them. Requiring you in Gods behalfe, and praieng you in our owne, therein to aſſiſt vs, dooing alwaie the duetie of liege men in our perſons to our ſoueraigne lord, to his eſtate, prerogatiue, and preheminence, and to the ſuertie of his moſt noble perſon, whereunto we haue euer béene and will be as true as anie of his ſubiects aliue, whereof we call God, our ladie ſaint Marie, and all the ſaints in heauen to witneſſe.

The earle of Wilſhire and other ſpoiled Newberie.

In the meane time, the earle of Wilſhire treaſuror of England, the lord Scales & the lord Hungerford went to Newberie, which belonged to the duke of Yorke, and there made inquiſition of all them that in anie wiſe had fauoured the ſaid duke; whereof ſome were found guiltie, and were drawen, hanged, and quartered, and all the inhabitants of the towne were ſpoiled of their goods. From thenſe the earle of Wilſhire went to Southampton; where, vnder colour to take the earle of Warwike, he armed fiue great caracks of Iene with ſouldiers, taking vittels of the kings price without paiment, and put a great part of his treaſure into the ſaid caracks, and after ſailed about in the ſea, and at laſt ſtale into Dutchland, ſending backe againe his ſouldiers into England. Then were the kings priuie ſeales directed to all biſhops, abbats, priors, and other ſtates, to lend the king monie, therewith to wage ſouldiers to kéepe the ſea-coaſts.]

The earle of Wilſhire ſtale ouer the ſeas.

Priuie ſeales for monie.

After the kings nauie was gained, and his capteins (as before yée haue heard) on the ſea taken; the lords lieng at Calis, being aduertiſed from the lord Fauconbridge (who after the taking of Montford laie ſtill in Kent) that the people of that countrie and other parts were altogither bent in their fauor [and no leſſe addicted to doo them ſeruice both with bodie and goods, than the Iriſhmen ſéemed to be at their receiuing of the ſaid duke of Yorke, and his yoonger ſonne Edmund earle of Rutland, whom they ſo highlie honoured, that they offered to liue and die in their quarell] they conceiued therevpon ſo great hope in their fréends within the realme, that they determined to paſſe the ſea, and therewith entring their ſhips with fiftéene hundred men landed all at Sandwich.

Abr. Flem.

[But it is to be read in a late writer, that the commons of Kent dreading the like vengeance towards them, as fell vpon them of Newberie, ſent priuilie meſſengers to Calis to the foreſaid erles, beſéeching them in all haſt poſſible to come to their ſuccour. Wherevpon the ſaid earles ſent ouer into Kent the lord Fauconbridge, to know if their déeds would accord with their woods: ſo that anon the people of Kent and the other ſhires adioining, reſorted to the ſaid lord Fauconbridge in great number. Wherefore when the earles knew the willing harts of thoſe people, they prepared to come into this land. Againſt whoſe comming, a long ballet was fixed vpon the gates of Canturburie, made in fauour of the duke of Yorke and the ſaid earles, beginning thus: In the daie of faſt and ſpirituall affliction, the celeſtiall influence of bodies tranſitorie, &c.]

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 697.

The men of Kent ſent to Calis for the earles.

Now as they paſſed through Kent, there came to them the lord Cobham, Iohn Gilford, William Pech, Robert Horne, and manie other gentlemen; ſo that before they approched to London, their num-

Whethamſted

1460

ber was eſtéemed aboue fourtie thouſand fighting men, for the fame of their landing being once knowen, gentlemen and yeomen reſorted to them out of all the ſouth parts of the relme. Vpon which rumor, Thomas lord Scales, a man in great fauour with the king & quéene, accompanied with the earle of Kendall a Gaſcoigne, and the lord Louell, reſorted to London with a great companie of armed men, declaring to the maior, that their repaire onelie was to defend and kéepe the citie from ſpoile of ſuch traitors as the king was crediblie informed were thither comming. To whom the maior anſwered, that he néeded no fellow helper, either to defend or gouerne the citie to him committed in charge. With which anſwer the lord Scales and his aſſociats nothing contented, entred into the Tower, dailie deuiſing waies how to grieue the citizens, whom he perceiued to fauour rather the duke of Yorks part, than the kings.

But ſhortlie after the earles of March and Warwike, and other of their affinitie, came to London, and were of the maior and citizens ioiouſlie receiued, to whome reſorted Thomas archbiſhop of Canturburie, the biſhops of London, Lincolne, Saliſburie, Elie, and Exceſter, with manie other prelats and religious perſons: amongſt whome alſo was the popes legat to treat of peace, if néed ſo required. Vpon good deliberation and aduiſe had and taken amongſt theſe lords how to go forward with their weightie enterpriſe, the earles of March and Warwike, William lord Fauconbridge, Henrie lord Bourchier, called earle of Eu, with a great number of men which came out of Kent, Eſſex, Surrie, and Suſſex, to the number (as ſome writers affirme) of fiue and twentie thouſand perſons, departed from London toward the king lieng at Couentrie, then called the quéenes ſecret harbour, leauing behind them to kéepe the Londoners in their promiſed fréendſhip, the earle of Saliſburie, the lord Cobham, and ſir Iohn Wenlocke, which tooke ſuch order, and watched the gates and entries on ech ſide ſo diligentlie, that no ſuccours might come to the lord Scales lodging in the tower; who tooke therewith ſuch diſpleaſure, that he ſhot out his great ordinance againſt them within the citie, and they likewiſe ſhot at him againe, to the hurt and no pleaſure of both parts.

Couentrie the quéenes ſecret harbour.

The king hauing knowledge of all theſe doings, aſſembled a great armie, and accompanied with the duke of Summerſet (latelie come from Guiſnes) and the duke of Buckingham, and diuerſe other great lords that tooke his part, came to Northampton; where the quéene perceiuing hir puiſſance to be able to match in fight with the aduerſaries, tooke vpon hir to incourage hir fréends and well-willers: for the king ſtudied of nothing but of peace, quietneſſe, and ſolitarie life. When the whole hoaſt of the kings part was aſſembled, the ſame iſſued forth of the towne, and paſſing ouer the riuer of Tine, lodged in the new field betwéene Harſington and Sandifford, ſtronglie fenſing themſelues about with high banks, and déepe trenches. On the other part, the lords being herewith aduanced verie néere the place where the kings people laie without Northampton; the biſhops that were there with them, by the aduiſe and conſent of the ſaid lords, ſent vnto the king the biſhop of Saliſburie, to vnderſtand his mind, and to moue him vnto ſome treatie of peace, and to admit the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the other biſhops there preſent, to be mediatours in the matter, that ſome good accord might be concluded betwixt the parties, ſo as an vniuerſall peace might be reſtored in all parts through the whole realme.

The quéene the better capteine.

Whethamſted

The biſhop of Saliſburie dooing this meſſage not ſo circumſpectlie as had béene conuenient, returned without bringing anie towardlie anſwer; but rather words of high deſpite and vtter defiance. For the lords that were about the king, truſting in their warlike engines and ſtrength of place, in which they were incamped, though otherwiſe inferior in number of men, purpoſed to abide the brunt of battell; and ſo led with the ſpirit of raſhneſſe, ſent none other anſwer backe againe by the biſhop, but contumelious words ſounding greatlie to the reproch of their aduerſaries; who being ſore offended therewith, determined to ſéeke reuenge with dint of ſword. The earle of March as then being in the floure of his luſtie and moſt couragious youth, lieng betwéene Toucetor and Northampton, determined to ſet on the kings armie without longer delaie: and therevpon in the night ſeaſon remooued his campe toward Northampton, and in marching forward ſet his men in order of battell: wherof the vant-ward was led by the earle of Warwike, which either by ſtrength or ſtealth wan a ſtreict which the lord Beaumont kept, going toward the kings campe; and herewith entring freſhlie with his people, began the battell about ſeauen of the clocke the ninth daie of Iulie. After him followed the earle of March with the banner of his father. ¶ Others write, that the earle of March led the fore-ward, the erle of Warwike the middle-ward, and the lord Fauconbridge the rere-ward.

The battell of Northamptõ.

Whethamſted

Moreouer, that Edmund lord Greie of Ruthen, who was on the kings ſide, failed in the truſt committed to him: for where the enimies could not (without great danger) enter vpon the kings campe, by reaſon of a mightie trench and rampire pight full of piles and ſharpe ſtakes, wherewith the campe was compaſſed about: the ſaid lord Graie came with his men, and with helping hands pulled the enimies vp, and receiued them into the field, where the battell was begun with great force & violence. For being now entred the field, they ſet vpon the kings people ſo fiercelie, that it ſéemed they ment either to obteine the victorie, or to die for it, euen all the whole number of them. The fight continued right fierſe and cruell, with vncerteine victorie, till the houre of nine: at which time the kings armie was diſcomfited, and of the ſame ſlaine and drowned in the riuer, few leſſe than ten thouſand; and the king himſelfe left comfortleſſe alone was taken by the aduerſaries, as a man in great miſerie.

The L. Greie of Ruthen.

Edw. Hall.

The kings part diſcomfited.

The K. taken.

At this battell fought at Northampton, were ſlaine Humfreie duke of Buckingham, Iohn Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, a valiant perſon, and not degenerating from his noble parents, Thomas lord Egremond, Iohn viſcont Beaumont, and ſir William Lucie, which made great haſt to come to part of the fight, and at his firſt approch was ſtriken in the head with an ax. Beſides theſe that were ſlaine, manie were taken priſoners, bicauſe they left their horſſes, alighting to fight on foot. The duke of Summerſet, and other, which narrowlie eſcaped, fled with the quéene and prince into the biſhoprike of Durham. The earles, hauing got the victorie in this bloudie battell, conueied the king to London, and lodged him in the biſhops palace. After whoſe comming to the citie, the Tower was deliuered to the erle of March, vpon a certeine compoſition; but the lord Scales ſuſpecting the ſequele of the deliuerie thereof, tooke a wherrie priuilie, intending to haue fled to the quéene; but he was eſpied by diuerſe watermen belonging to the earle of Warwike (which waited for his forth comming on the Thames) and ſuddenlie taken, was ſhortlie ſlaine with manie darts & daggers, and his bodie left naked and all bloudie at the gate of the clinke, and after was buried in the church adioining.

The Tower deliuered to the earle of March.

The lord Scales ſlaine.

Then were diuerſe perſons apprehended, and indicted of treaſon, wherof ſome were pardoned, and ſome executed. Thomas Thorpe ſecond baron of the eſcheker,

Thomas Thorpe.

ker, was committed to the Tower, where he remained long after, for that he was knowne to be great fréend to the houſe of Lancaſter. ¶ When quéene Margaret heard that the K. was taken, ſhe with hir ſonne, and eight perſons fled to the caſtell of Hardlagh in Wales, and was robbed by the waie in Lancaſhire of all hir goods, to the value of ten thouſand markes: from thence ſhe went into Scotland. Thus you ſée what fruits the trée of ciuill diſcord dooth bring foorth; that euill trée, which whileſt ſome haue taken paine to plant, and ſome to proine and nouriſh, for others confuſion (to whome they haue giuen a taſte of thoſe apples which it bare, far more bitter than coloquintida) themſelues haue béene forced to take ſuch ſhare as befell them by lot. For as it is not poſſible that a cõmon fier, whoſe heat & flame is vniuerſallie ſpred, ſhould ſpare any particular place (for ſo ſhould it not be generall) no more is it likelie that in ciuill commotions, rebellions, inſurrections, and partakings in conflicts and pitched féelds (ſpeciallie vnder ringleaders of great countenance and perſonage, ſuch as be the péeres and ſtates of kingdoms) anie one ſhould, though perhaps his life, yet (a thouſand to one) not ſaue his bloud vnſpilt, nor his goods vnſpoiled.] During this trouble, a parlement was ſummoned to begin at Weſtminſter, in the moneth of October next following.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 700.

Anno Reg. 39.

Whethamſted

The duke of Yorke commeth foorth of Ireland.

In the meane time the duke of Yorke, aduertiſed of all theſe things, ſailed from Dubline towards England, and landed at the red banke néere to the citie of Cheſter, with no ſmall companie: and from Cheſter by long iournies he came to the citie of London, which he entred the fridaie before the feaſt of S. Edward the Confeſſor, with a ſword borne naked before him, with trumpets alſo ſounding, and accompanied with a great traine of men of armes, and other of his fréends and ſeruants. At his comming to Weſtminſter he entred the palace, and paſſing foorth directlie through the great hall, ſtaied not till he came to the chamber, where the king and lords vſed to ſit in the parlement time, cõmonlie called the vpper houſe, or chamber of the péeres, and being there entred, ſtept vp vnto the throne roiall, and there laieng his hand vpon the cloth of eſtate, ſéemed as if he meant to take poſſeſſion of that which was his right (for he held his hand ſo vpon that cloth a good pretie while) and after withdrawing his hand, turned his face towards the people, beholding their preaſſing togither, and marking what countenance they made.

Whethamſted

A ſtrange demeanor of the duke of Yorke.

Whileſt he thus ſtood and beheld the people, ſuppoſing they reioiſed to ſée his preſence, the archbiſhop of Canturburie (Thomas Bourcher) came to him, & after due ſalutations, aſked him if he would come and ſée the king. With which demand he ſéeming to take diſdaine, anſwered bréefelie, and in few words thus: I remember not that I know anie within this realme, but that it beſéemeth him rather to come and ſée my perſon, than I to go and ſée his. The archbiſhop hearing his anſwer, went backe to the king, and declared what anſwer he had receiued of the dukes owne mouth. After the archbiſhop was departed to the king that laie in the quéenes lodging, the duke alſo departed, and went to the moſt principall lodging that the king had within all his palace, breaking vp the lockes and doores, and ſo lodged himſelfe therein, more like to a king than a duke, continuing in the ſame lodging for a time to the great indignation of manie, that could not in anie wiſe like of ſuch preſumptuous attempts made by the duke, to thruſt himſelfe in poſſeſſion of the crowne, and to depoſe king Henrie, who had reigned ouer them ſo long a time.

His bold ſpeech.

Maiſter Edward Hall in his chronicle maketh mention of an oration, which the duke of Yorke vttered, ſitting in the regall ſeat there in the chamber of the péeres, either at this his firſt comming in amongſt them, or elſe at ſome one time after, the which we haue thought good alſo to ſet downe: though Iohn Whethamſted the abbat of ſaint Albons, who liued in thoſe daies, and by all likelihood was there preſent at the parlement, maketh no further recitall of anie words, which the duke ſhould vtter at that time in that his booke of records, where he intreateth of this matter. But for the oration (as maiſter Hall hath written thereof) we find as followeth. ¶ During the time (ſaith he) of this parlement, the duke of Yorke with a bold countenance entered into the chamber of the péeres, and ſat downe in the throne roiall, vnder the cloth of eſtate (which is the kings peculiar ſeat) and in the preſence of the nobilitie, as well ſpirituall as temporall (after a pauſe made) he began to declare his title to the crowne, in this forme and order as inſueth.

Edw. Hall. in Hen. 6. fol. clxxvij, &c.

The duke of Yorks oration made to *the lords of the parlement.*

My ſingular good lords, maruell not that I approch vnto this throne: for I ſit here as in the place to me by verie iuſtice lawfullie belonging; & here I reſt, as to whom this chaire of right apperteineth, not as he which requireth of you fauour, parcialitie, or bearing, but equall right, friendlie indifferencie, and true adminiſtration of iuſtice. For I béeing the partie gréeued, and complainant, can not miniſter to my ſelfe the medicine that ſhould helpe me (as expert léeches & cunning ſurgians maie) except you be to me both faithfull aiders & alſo true councellors. Nor yet this noble realme and our naturall countrie ſhall neuer be vnbuckled from hir dailie feuer, except I (as the principall phyſician, and you as the true and truſtie apothecaries) conſult togither in making of the potion, and trie out the cleane and pure ſtuffe from the corrupt and putrified drugs.

For vndoubtedlie, the root and bottome of this long feſtured canker is not yet extirpate, nor the féeble foundation of this fallible building is not yet eſpied, which hath béene and is the dailie deſtruction of the nobilitie, and the continuall confuſion of the poore communaltie of this realme and kingdome. For all you know (or ſhould know) that the high and mightie prince king Richard the ſecond, was the true and vndoubted heire to the valiant conqueror and renowmed prince king Edward the third, as ſonne & heire to the hardie knight and couragious capteine Edward prince of Wales, duke of Aquitaine and Cornewall, eldeſt ſonne to the ſaid king Edward the third: which king was not onelie in déed, but alſo of all men reputed and taken for the true and infallible heire to the wiſe and politike prince king Henrie the third, as ſonne and heire to king Edward the ſecond, ſonne and heire to king Edward the firſt, the very heire and firſt begotten ſonne of the ſaid noble and vertuous prince king Henrie the third.

Which king Richard of that name the ſecond, was lawfullie & iuſtlie poſſeſſed of the crowne and diadem of this realme and region, till Henrie of Derbie duke of Lancaſter and Hereford, ſonne to Iohn of Gant duke of Lancaſter, the fourth begotten ſonne to the ſaid king Edward the third, and yoonger brother to my noble anceſtor Lionell duke of Clarence, the third begotten ſonne of the ſaid king Edward, by force and violence, contrarie both to the dutie of his allegiance, and alſo to his homage to him both doone and ſworne, raiſed warre and battell at the caſtle of Flint in Northwales, againſt the ſaid king Richard, and him apprehended, and impriſoned within the Tower of London: during whoſe life and captiuitie, he wrongfullie vſurped and intruded vpon the roiall power, and high eſtate of this realme and region, taking vpon him the name, ſtile, and authoritie of king and gouernour of the ſame.

And not therewith ſatiſfied, and contented, compaſſed and accompliſhed the death and deſtruction of his naturall prince, and moſt worthie ſoueraigne lord, not as a common homicide and butcherlie murtherer, but as a regicide, and deſtroier of his king. After whoſe pitious death, and execrable murther, the right and title of the crowne, and ſuperioritie of this realme was lawfullie reuerted & returned to Roger Mortimer earle of March, ſonne and heire to ladie Philip the onelie child of the aboue rehearſed Lionell duke of Clarence, vnto which Rogers daughter called Anne, my moſt deereſt and welbeloued mother, I am the verie true and lineall heire, which deſcent all you can not iuſtlie gaineſay, nor yet trulie denie. Then remember this, if the title be mine, why am I put from it? If I be true heire to the crowne (as I am in deed) why is my right withholden? If my claime be good, why haue I not iuſtice? For ſuerlie, learned men of great ſcience and knowledge ſay and affirme, that lineall deſcent, nor vſurped poſſeſſion can nothing preuaile, if continuall claime be lawfullie made, or openlie publiſhed.

For the auoiding of which ſcruple and ambiguitie: Edmund earle of March my moſt welbeloued vncle, in the time of the firſt vſurper, in deed but not by right called king Henrie the fourth, by his coſines the earle of Northumberland, & the lord Perſie, he being then in captiuitie with Owen Glendouer the rebell in Wales, made his title & righteous claime to the deſtruction of both the noble perſons. Likewiſe my moſt deereſt lord and father, ſo farre ſet forth that right and title, that he loſt his life & worldlie ioy at the towne of Southhampton, more by power than indifferent iuſtice. Since whoſe death, I comming to my full age, haue neuer deſiſted to purſue my title, and require my right, which by meanes of ſiniſter counſell and vniuſt detention, I can neither obteine nor recouer. So that of fine force I am compelled to vſe power in ſteed of praier, and force in ſteed of requeſt; not (as I ſaid before) for my priuat emolument and peculiar profit: but to reſtore peace, loue, and quietneſſe to this our naturall region, which euer ſince the firſt vngodlie vſurpation of the aforenamed Henrie, vntrulie called king Henrie the fourth, hath beene cleerelie baniſhed, and out of the ſame vniuſtlie exiled.

What murthers and manſlaughters haue beene perpetrated and committed within this countrie, ſince the beginning of that vngratious vſurpation? What number of noble men haue beene ſlaine, deſtroied, & executed ſince that infortunate date? It is too lamentable and manifeſt. For although Henrie of Lancaſter earle of Derbie tooke vpon him the ſcepter and the crowne, and wrongfullie bare the name and ſtile of a king; and was not much tickled with mine vncle the earle of March, at that time being within age: yet was he neuer in ſuertie of himſelfe, nor had or inioied any profit & quietneſſe either in mind or in bodie. For ſuerlie, a corrupt conſcience neuer feeleth reſt, but looketh when the ſword of vengeance will deſcend and ſtrike. His ſonne alſo called king Henrie the fift, obteined notable victories, and immortall praiſes for his noble acts doone in the realme of France: yet God (for the offenſe of his vntrue parent) ſuddenlie touched him, vnbodieng his ſoule in the flower of his youth, and in the glorie of his conqueſt.

And although he had a faire ſonne and a yoong heire apparant: yet was this orphan ſuch a one (as preachers ſay) that God threatned to ſend for a puniſhment to his vntrulie and vngratious people, ſaieng by his prophet Eſaie; I ſhall giue you children to be your princes, and infants without wiſedome ſhall haue the gouernance of you. The prophet lied not, if you note all things in an order: for after this Henrie the fift (whoſe fame no man can iuſtlie reproue or deface) ſucceeded his ſonne, whom all we haue called our naturall prince, and obeied as his heire. In whoſe time and wrongfull reigne, I require you diligentlie to conſider, with what great torments and afflictions God hath whipped & ſcourged this miſerable Ile: yea with ſuch and ſo manie ſcourges and plagues, as no nation (the Aegyptians onelie excepted) were euer tormented or afflicted withall. I will not ſpeake of rebellious murthers and oppreſſions, which of late haue beene doone and exerciſed heere among vs. But I will declare & manifeſt to you, how the crowne and glorie of this realme is by the negligence of this ſillie man, and his vnwiſe councell miniſhed, defaced, and alſo diſhonoured.

Is not Normandie, which his father gat, regained & conquered againe, by the inſolencie of him & his couetous councell? Is not the whole duchie of Aquitaine, by two hundred and od yeares peaceable poſſeſſed by the kings of this realme, in one yeare and a little more, gotten out of our hands & ſeigniorie: What ſhould I ſpeake of Aniou & Maine, or the loſſe of the Ile of France, with the rich citie of Paris. Alas it is too apparant. Neither will I moleſt you with the recitall of all the particulars thereof. But now in the middeſt of this affliction, and to make an end of the ſame: God of his ineffable goodneſſe, looking on this countrie with his eies of pitie & mercie, hath ſent me in the truth, to reſtore againe this decaid kingdome to his ancient fame and old renowme whereof heere in open parlement, according to my iuſt & true title, I haue and doo take poſſeſſion of this roiall throne: not putting diffidence, but firme hope in Gods grace, that by his diuine aid, and aſſiſtance of you the peeres of this realme, I ſhall beautifie & mainteine the ſame to the glorie of him, honour of my bloud, and to the publike wealth as well of you all heere preſent, as of all the poore commons and ſubiects of this kingdome and regiment.

When the duke had made an end of his oration, the lords ſat ſtill as men ſtriken into a certeine amazedneſſe, neither whiſpering nor ſpeaking foorth a word, as though their mouthes had béene ſowed vp. The duke not verie well content with their ſilence, aduiſed them to conſider throughlie, and ponder the whole effect of his words and ſaiengs: and ſo neither fullie diſpleaſed, nor yet altogither content, departed to his lodging in the kings palace. While he was declaring thus his title in the higher houſe among the peeres, there happened a ſtrange chance in the verie ſame, inſtant amongeſt the commons in the nether houſe. A crowne which did hang in the middle of the ſame, to garniſh a branch to ſet lights vpon, without touch of man, or blaſt of wind, ſuddenlie fell downe. About the ſame time alſo fell downe the crowne which ſtood on the top of Douer caſtell. Which chances were conſtrued to be ſignes, that the crowne of the realme ſhould ſome waie haue a fall.

Prodigious tokens.

The lords forgot not the dukes demand, and to take ſome direction therein, diuerſe of them, as ſpirituall and temporall, with manie graue and ſage perſons of the commonaltie dailie aſſembled at the Blackefriers, and other places, to treat of this matter, being of ſo great importance. During which time the duke of Yorke, although he and the king were both lodged in the palace of Weſtminſter; yet would he not for anie praiers or requeſts once viſit the king, till ſome concluſion were taken in this matter: ſaieng, that he was ſubiect to no man, but only to God, vnder whoſe mercie none here ſuperiour but he. ¶ The king of Scots, partlie incouraged thorough the ciuill diſcord here in England, and partlie for the diſpleaſure which he had conceiued for the death of Edmund duke of Summerſet his moothers brother, this yeare beſieged the caſtell of Roxburgh: and by the breaking of a bombard, as the ſame was ſhot off againſt the caſtell, he chanced to be ſlaine. Yet the Scots left not off their enterpriſe, aſſaulting the caſtell till they gat it, and then defended it a long time after, till Richard duke of Gloceſter wan it againe, and raced it.

The caſtell of Roxburgh beſieged.

The king of Scots thorough miſfortune ſlaine.

After long debating of the matter, and deliberate conſultation amongeſt the peeres, prelats, and commons, vpon the vigill of All ſaints, it was condeſcended: for ſo much as king Henrie had béene taken as king by the ſpace of thirtie and eight yeares and more, that he ſhould inioy the name and title of king, and haue poſſeſſion of the realme during his naturall life. And if he either died, or reſigned, or forfeited the ſame, by breaking or going againſt anie point of this concord, then the ſaid crowne & authoritie roiall ſhould immediatlie be deuoluted and come to the duke of Yorke, if he then liued; or elſe to the next heire of his linage. And that the duke of Yorke from thenſe foorth ſhould be protector and regent of the land. ¶ This was the determination of the parlement to & fro, tending to peace betwéene the king & the duke (which was ratified accordinglie) as by the articles inſuing dooth appeare.

The determination of the parlement concerning the intailing of crowne.

Abr.Fl.ex I.S. pag.700,701, &c.in Quart.

The articles betvvixt king Henrie *and the duke of Yorke.*

BLeſſed be Ieſu, in whoſe hands and bountie reſteth and is the peace and vnitie betwixt princes, and the weale of euerie realme: by whoſe direction (I know) agreed it is, appointed, and accorded as followeth, betwixt the moſt high and moſt mightie prince king Henrie the ſixt, king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, on the one partie, and the right high & mightie prince Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke on the other partie: vpon certeine matters of variance mooued betwixt them, and eſpeciallie vpon the claime and title vnto the crownes of England and of France, and roiall power, eſtate, and dignitie apperteining to the ſame, and lordſhip of Ireland, opened, ſhewed, and declared by the ſaid duke, before all the lords ſpirituall and temporall, being in this preſent parlement.

Firſt, where the ſaid Richard duke of Yorke hath declared and opened (as is aboue ſaid) title & claime in maner as followeth.

That the right noble and worthie prince, Henrie king of England the third had iſſue, and lawfullie got Edward the firſt begotten ſonne, borne at Weſtminſter, the fiftéenth kalends of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 1239, & Edmund his ſecond ſonne which was borne on S. Marcels daie, the yere 1200, the which Edward, after the death of king Henrie his father, intituled & called king Edward the firſt, had iſſue, Edward his firſt begotten ſonne, called (after the deceaſſe of his father) king Edward the ſecond, the which had iſſue, Edward the third; which Edward the third had iſſue, Edward prince of Wales; William of Hatfield his ſecond ſonne; Lionell the third, duke of Clarence; Iohn of Gant fourth, duke of Lancaſter; Edmund of Langleie fift, duke of Yorke; Thomas of Woodſtoke ſixt, duke of Gloceſter; and William of Windſor ſeauenth.

The ſaid Edward prince of Wales, which died in the life time of his father, had iſſue Richard, which ſucéeded Edward the third his grandſire; Richard died without iſſue; William of Hatfield the ſecond ſonne of Edward the third, died without iſſue; Lionell the third ſonne of Edward the third, duke of Clarence, had iſſue Philip his daughter and heire, which was coupled in matrimonie vnto Edmund Mortimer earle of March, and had iſſue Roger Mortimer earle of March hir ſonne and heire; which Roger had iſſue of Edmund erle of March, Roger Mortimer, Anne, Elianor; which Edmund, Roger, and Elianor died without iſſue.

And the ſaid Anne coupled in matrimonie to Richard earle of Cambridge, the ſonne of Edmund of Langleie, the fift ſonne of Henrie the third, and had iſſue Richard Plantagenet, commonlie called duke of Yorke; Iohn of Gant, the fourth ſonne of Edward, and the yoonger brother of the ſaid Lionell, had iſſue Henrie earle of Derbie, who incontinentlie after that king Richard reſigned the crownes of the realmes and lordſhip of Ireland, vnrighteouſlie entered vpon the ſame, then being aliue Edmund Mortimer earle of March, ſonne to Roger Mortimer earle of March, ſonne and heire of the ſaid Philip, daughter and heire of the ſaid Lionell, the third ſonne of the ſaid king Edward the third, to the which Edmund the right and title of the ſaid crownes and lordſhip by law and cuſtome belonged. To the which Richard duke of Yorke, as ſonne to Anne daughter to Roger Mortimer earle of March, ſonne and heire of the ſaid Philip, daughter and heire of the ſaid Lionell, the third ſonne of king Edward the third, the right, title, dignitie roiall, and eſtate of the crownes of the realmes of England and France, and the lordſhip of Ireland perteineth and belongeth afore anie iſſue of the ſaid Iohn of Gant, the fourth ſonne of the ſame king Edward.

The ſaid title notwithſtanding, and without preiudice of the ſaid Richard duke of Yorke, tenderlie deſiring the wealth, reſt, and proſperitie of this land, and to ſet apart all that might be trouble to the ſame, and conſidering the poſſeſſion of the ſaid king Henrie the ſixt, and that he hath for his time béene named, taken, and reputed for king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, is contented, agréed, and conſenteth, that he be had, reputed, and taken for king of England and France, with the roiall eſtate, dignitie, and preheminence belonging therevnto, and lord of Ireland during his naturall life. And for that time, the ſaid duke, without hurt or preiudice of his ſaid right, and title, ſhall take, worſhip, and honour him for his ſoueraigne lord.

Item, the ſaid Richard duke of Yorke, ſhall promit and bind him by his ſolemne oth, in maner and forme as followeth.

The oth of Richard duke of Yorke.

In the name of God Amen: I Richard duke of Yorke, promiſe and ſweare by the faith and truth that I owe to almightie God, that I ſhall neuer conſent, procure, or ſtirre, directlie or indirectlie, in priuie or apert, neither (as much as in me is) ſhall ſuffer to be doone, conſented, procured, or ſtirred, anie thing that may ſound to the abridgement of the naturall life of king Henrie the ſixt, or to the hurt or diminiſhing of his reigne or dignitie roiall, by violence, or anie other waie, againſt his fréedome or libertie: but if any perſon or perſons would doo or preſume anie thing to the contrarie, I ſhall with all my might and power withſtand it, and make it to be withſtood, as far as my power will ſtretch therevnto, ſo helpe me God and his holie euangeliſts.

Item, Edward earle of March, and Edmund earle of Rutland, ſonnes of the ſaid duke of Yorke, ſhall make like oth.

Item, it is accorded, appointed, and agréed, that the ſaid Richard duke of Yorke, ſhall be called and reputed from henceforth, verie and rightfull heire to the crownes, roiall eſtate, dignitie and lordſhip aboue ſaid; and after the deceaſſe of the ſaid king Henrie, or when he will laie from him the ſaid crownes, eſtate, dignitie, and lordſhip, the ſaid duke and his heires ſhall immediatlie ſuccéed to the ſaid crownes, roiall eſtate, dignitie and lordſhip.

Item, the ſaid Richard duke of Yorke, ſhall haue by authoritie of this preſent parlement, caſtels, manors, lands, and tenements, with the wards, marriages, reliefes, ſeruices, fines, amercements, offices, aduouſons, fées, and other appurtenances to them belonging, what ſoeuer they be, to the yearelie value of ten thouſand marks, ouer all charges and repriſes; whereof fiue thouſand marks ſhall be to his owne eſtate, thrée thouſand fiue hundred marks to Edward his firſt begotten ſonne earle of March for his eſtate, and one thouſand pounds to Edmund earle of Rutland his ſecond ſonne for his yearelie ſuſtentation, in ſuch conſideration and ſuch intent as ſhall be declared by the lords of the kings councell.

Item, if anie perſon or perſons imagine or compaſſe the death of the ſaid duke, and thereof probablie be atteinted of open déed doone by folkes of other condition, that it be déemed & adiudged high treaſon.

Item, for the more eſtabliſhing of the ſaid accord, it is appointed and conſented, that the lords ſpirituall and temporall, being in this preſent parlement, ſhall make oths, to accept, take, worſhip, and repute the ſaid Richard duke of Yorke and his heires, as aboue is rehearſed, and kéepe, obſerue, and ſtrengthen (in as much as apperteineth vnto them) all the things aboueſaid, and reſiſt to their power, all them that would preſume the contrarie, according to their eſtates and degrées.

Item, the ſaid Richard duke of Yorke, earles of March, and Rutland, ſhall permit and make other to helpe, aid, and defend the ſaid lords, and euerie of them, againſt all thoſe that will quarell, or anie thing attempt againſt the ſaid lords, or anie of them, by occaſion of agréement or conſenting to the ſaid accord, or aſſiſtance giuing to the duke and earles, or anie of them.

Item, it is agréed and appointed, that this accord, and euerie article thereof, be opened and notified by the kings letters patents, or otherwiſe, at ſuch times and places, and in maner as it ſhall be thought expedient to the ſaid Richard duke of Yorke, with the aduiſe of the lords of the kings councell. The king vnderſtandeth certeinelie the ſaid title of the ſaid Richard duke of Yorke, iuſt, lawfull, and ſufficient, by the aduiſe and aſſent of the lords ſpirituall and temporall, and the commons in this parlement aſſembled; and by authoritie of the ſame parlement declareth, approoueth, ratifieth, confirmeth, and accepteth the ſaid title, iuſt, good, lawfull, and true, and therevnto giueth his aſſent and agréement of his frée will and libertie.

And ouer that, by the ſaid aduiſe and authoritie declareth, intituleth, calleth, eſtabliſheth, affirmeth, & reputeth the ſaid Richard duke of Yorke, verie true and rightfull heire to the crownes, roiall eſtate, and dignitie of the realmes of England and of France, and of the lordſhip of Ireland aforeſaid; and that according to the worſhip and reuerence that thereto belongeth, he be taken, accepted and reputed, in worſhip & reuerence, by all the ſtates of the ſaid realme of England, and of all his ſubiects thereof; ſauing and ordeining by the ſame authoritie, the king to haue the ſaid crownes, realme, roiall eſtate, dignitie, and preheminence of the ſame, and the ſaid lordſhip of Ireland during his life naturall.

And furthermore, by the ſame aduiſe and authoritie willeth, conſenteth and agréeth, that after his deceaſſe, or when it ſhall pleaſe his highneſſe to laie from him the ſaid crownes, eſtate, dignitie, and lordſhip, the ſaid Richard duke of Yorke and his heires ſhall immediatlie ſuccéed him in the ſaid crownes, roiall eſtate, dignitie, and worſhip, and them then haue and inioie: anie act of parlement, ſtatute, or ordinance, or other thing to the contrarie made, or interruption, or diſcontinuance of poſſeſſion notwithſtanding.

And moreouer, by the ſaid aduiſe and authoritie, eſtabliſheth, granteth, confirmeth, approoueth, ratifieth, and accepteth the ſaid accord, and all things therein conteined, and therevnto fréelie and abſolutelie aſſenteth, agréeth; and by the ſame aduiſe and authoritie ordeineth and eſtabliſheth, that if anie perſon or perſons imagine or compaſſe the death of the ſaid duke, & probablie be atteinted of open déed doone by folks of that condition, that it be déemed and adiudged high treaſon.

And furthermore ordeineth and eſtabliſheth by the ſaid aduiſe and authoritie, that all ſtatutes, ordinances, and acts of parlement, made in the time of the ſaid king Henrie the fourth, by the which he and the heires of his bodie, comming of Henrie late king of England the fift, the ſonne and heire of the ſaid king Henrie the fourth, and the heires of king Henrie the fift, were or be inheritable to the ſaid crownes and realmes, or to the heritage of the ſame, be annulled, repealed, damned, cancelled, void, and of none effect.

And ouer this, the king by the ſaid aduiſe, aſſent and authoritie, ordeineth and eſtabliſheth, that all other acts and ſtatutes made afore this time by act of parlement, not repealed or annulled by like authoritie, or otherwiſe void, be in ſuch force, effect, and vertue, as they were afore the making of theſe ordinances; and that no letters patents, roialx of record, nor acts iudiciall, made or doone afore this time not repealed, reuerſed, ne otherwiſe void by law, be preiudiced or hurt by this preſent act.]

This agreement put in articles, was ingroſſed, ſealed, and ſworne vnto by the two parties, and alſo enacted in the parlement. For ioy whereof the king, hauing in his companie the duke of Yorke, road to the cathedrall church of ſaint Paule in London, and there on the day of All ſaints with the crowne on his head went ſolemnelie in proceſſion, and was lodged a good ſpace after in the biſhops palace, neere to the ſaid church. And vpon the ſaturdaie next inſuing, Richard duke of Yorke was by ſound of trumpet ſolemnelie proclamed heire apparant to the crowne of England, and protectour of the realme. After this, the parlement kept at Couentrie the laſt yeare, was declared to be a diueliſh councell, and onelie had for deſtruction of the nobilitie, and was indeed no lawfull parlement: bicauſe they which were returned, were neuer elected according to the due order of the law, but ſecretlie named by them which deſired rather the deſtruction than the aduancement of the common-wealth. When theſe agreements were enacted, the king diſſolued his parlement, which was the laſt parlement that euer he ended.

The duke of Yorke proclamed heire apparant ⁊ protectour of the realme.

The parlemēt at Couentrie made fruſtrat.

The duke of Yorke, well knowing that the queene would ſpurne againſt all this, cauſed both hir and hir ſonne to be ſent for by the king. But ſhe as woont rather to rule, than to be ruled, and thereto counſelled by the dukes of Exceſter and Summerſet, not onelie denied to come, but alſo aſſembled a great armie, intending to take the king by fine force out of the lords hands. The protector in London, hauing knowledge of all theſe doings, aſſigned the duke of Norffolke, and erle of Warwike his truſtie freends to be about the king, while he with the earles of Saliſburie and Rutland, and a conuenient number departed out of London the ſecond daie of December northward, and appointed the earle of March his eldeſt ſonne to follow him with all his power. The duke came to his caſtell of Sandall beſide Wakefield on Chriſtmaſſe euen, ⁊ there began to make muſter of his tenants and freends. The queene thereof aſcerteined, determined to cope with him yer his ſuccour were come.

Now ſhe, hauing in hir companie the prince hir ſonne, the dukes of Exceſter and Summerſet, the earle of Deuonſhire, the lord Clifford, the lord Ros, and in effect all the lords of the north parts, with eighteene thouſand men, or (as ſome write) two and twentie thouſand, marched from Yorke to Wakefield, and bad baſe to the duke, euen before his caſtell gates. He hauing with him not fullie fiue thouſand perſons, contrarie to the minds of his faithfull councellors, would needs iſſue foorth to fight with his enimies. The duke of Summerſet and the queenes part, caſting vpon their moſt aduantage, appointed the lord Clifford to lie in one ſtale, and the earle of Wilſhire in another, and the duke with other to keepe the maine battell. The duke of Yorke with his people deſcended downe the hill in good order and arraie, and was ſuffered to paſſe on towards the maine battell.

But when he was in the plaine field betweene his caſtell and the towne of Wakefield, he was inuironed on euerie ſide, like fiſh in a net, ſo that though he fought manfullie, yet was he within halfe an houre ſlaine and dead, and his whole armie diſcomfited: with him died of his truſtie freends, his two baſtard vncles, ſir Iohn and ſir Hugh Mortimers, ſir Dauie Hall, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir Thomas Neuill, William and Thomas Aparre, both brethren; and two thouſand and eight hundred others, whereof manie were yoong gentlemen, and heires of great parentage in the ſouth parts, whoſe kin reuenged their deaths within foure moneths next, as after ſhall appeare.

The battell at Wakefield.

The duke of Yorke ſlaine.

Onelie ſeauen hundred ſoutherne men ſaith Whethamſted.

In this conflict was wounded and taken priſoner, Richard earle of Saliſburie, ſir Richard Limbricke, Raſe Stanleie, Iohn Harow, capteine Hanſon, and diuerſe others. The lord Clifford, perceiuing where the earle of Rutland was conueied out of the field (by one of his fathers chapleins, and ſcholemaſter to the ſame earle) and ouertaking him, ſtabbed him to the heart with a dagger as he kneeled afore him. This earle was but a child at that time of twelue yeares of age, whome neither his tender yeares, nor dolorous countenance, with holding vp both his hands for mercie (for his ſpeach was gone for feare) could mooue the cruell heart of the lord Clifford to take pitie vpon him, ſo that he was noted of great infamie for that his vnmercifull murther vpon that yoong gentleman.

The cruell murther of the yoong earle of Rutland.

But the ſame lord Clifford not ſatiſfied herewith, came to the place where the dead corpſe of the duke of Yorke laie, cauſed his head to be ſtriken off, and ſet on it a crowne of paper, fixed it on a pole, and preſented it to the queene, not lieng farre from the field, in great deſpite, at which great reioiſing was ſhewed: but they laughed then that ſhortlie after lamented, and were glad then of other mens deaths that knew not their owne to be ſo neere at hand. ¶ Some write that the duke was taken aliue, and in deriſion cauſed to ſtand vpon a molehill, on whoſe head they put a garland in ſteed of a crowne, which they had faſhioned and made of ſedges or bulruſhes; and hauing ſo crowned him with that garland, they kneeled downe afore him (as the Iewes did vnto Chriſt) in ſcorne, ſaieng to him; Haile king without rule, haile king without heritage, haile duke and prince without people or poſſeſſions. And at length hauing thus ſcorned him with theſe and diuerſe other the like deſpitefull words, they ſtroke off his head, which (as yee haue heard) they preſented to the queene.

Whethamſted.

Manie deemed that this miſerable end chanced to the duke of Yorke, as a due puniſhment for breaking his oth of allegiance vnto his ſouereigne lord king Henrie: but others held him diſcharged thereof, bicauſe he obteined a diſpenſation from the pope, by ſuch ſuggeſtion as his procurators made vnto him, whereby the ſame oth was adiudged void, as that which was receiued vnaduiſedlie, to the preiudice of himſelfe, and diſheriting of all his poſteritie. After this victorie by the queene, the earle of Saliſburie and all the priſoners were ſent to Pomfret, and there beheaded, whoſe heads (togither with the duke of Yorkes head) were conueied to Yorke, and there ſet on poles ouer the gate of the citie, in deſpite of them and their linage. The earle of March, now after the death of his father, verie duke of Yorke, lieng at Gloceſter, was wonderfullie amazed, when the ſorrowfull newes of theſe miſhaps came vnto him: but

A purchaſe of Gods curſſe with yͤ popes bleſſing.

The priſoners beheaded

1461

The earle of March now duke of Yorke.

after comfort giuen to him by his faithfull louers and aſſured alies, he remooued to Shreweſburie, declaring to the inhabitants of that towne, and to them of the other townes in thoſe parties the murther of his father, the ieopardie of himſelfe, and the preſent ruine of the common-wealth.

The people on the marches of Wales, for the fauour which they bare to the Mortimers linage, more gladlie offered him their aid and aſſiſtance than he could deſire the ſame; ſo that he had incontinentlie a puiſſant armie, to the number of thrée and twentie thouſand, readie to go againſt the quéene, and the murtherers of his father. But when he was ſetting forward, newes was brought to him, that Iaſper earle of Penbroke halfe brother to king Henrie, and Iames Butler earle of Ormund and Wilſhire, had aſſembled a great number of Welſh and Iriſh people to take him: he herewith quickned, retired backe and met with his enimies in a faire plaine, néere to Mortimers croſſe, not far from Hereford eaſt, on Candlemaſſe daie in the morning. At which time the ſunne (as ſome write) appeared to the earle of March like thrée ſunnes, and ſuddenlie ioined altogither in one. Upon which ſight he tooke ſuch courage, that he fiercelie ſetting on his enimies, put them to flight: and for this cauſe men imagined, that he gaue the ſunne in his full brightneſſe for his badge or cogniſance. Of his enimies were left dead on the ground thrée thouſand and eight hundred.

The earle of Penbroke.

The battell of Mortimers croſſe.

The cogniſãce of bright ſunne.

The earles of Penbroke and Wilſhire fled, but ſir Owen Teuther father to the ſaid earle of Penbroke (which Owen had married king Henries mother, as yee haue heard before) with Dauid Floid, Morgan ap Reuther, and diuerſe other were taken, and beheaded at Hereford. The quéene neuertheleſſe incouraged by hir late victorie, with a multitude of northerne people, marched toward London, intending to vndoo all that had béene ordeined in the laſt parlement. Theſe northerne people, after they were once paſſed ouer the riuer of Trent, ſpoiled and waſted the countrie afore them, in maner as if they had béene in the land of forren enimies. At length, they approched to ſaint Albons, hearing that the duke of Northfolke, and the earle of Warwike, with other whome the duke of Yorke had left to gouerne the king in his abſence, had (by the kings aſſent) aſſembled a great hoaſt, and were incamped néere to that towne.

Owen Teuther and other taken and beheaded.

Whethamſted.

Thoſe northerne lords and other that were with the quéene, made forward, and entring into S. Albons, meant to paſſe through the towne, and ſo to coape with their enimies; but finding a ſort of archers ranged néere to the great croſſe in the market place, to defend their paſſage, they were receiued with ſuch a ſtorme of arrowes, which came flieng about their eares as thicke as haile, that they were quicklie repelled backe, and with loſſe driuen to retire in haſt vnto the weſt end of the towne; where, by a lane that leadeth northwards vp to ſaint Peters ſtréet, they made their entrie, and had there alſo a ſharpe incounter againſt certeine bands of the kings people. But after great ſlaughter on both parts, they got through, and vpon the heath that lieth at the north end of the towne, called Barnard heath, they had a farre greater conflict with foure or fiue thouſand of the kings armie, that ſéemed as they had béene auant courrers.

The northern men enter into S. Albons.

They paſſe through it.

Theſe gaue the onſet ſo fiercelie at the beginning, that the victorie reſted doubtfull a certeine time, ſo that if the eaſterne and ſoutherne men had continued as they began, the field had béene theirs; but after they had ſtood to it a pretie while, and perceiued none of their fellowes from the great armie to come and aſſiſt them, they began to faint, and turning their backes, fled amaine ouer hedge and ditch, through thicke and thin, woods and buſhes, ſéeking ſo to eſcape the hands of their cruell enimies that followed them with eger minds, to make ſlaughter vpon them, namelie, the northern prickers, now in the chaſe purſued moſt hotlie, and bare downe manie, and more had doone, if the night comming vpon, had not ſtaied them.

The ſecond battell at S. Albons.

The kings part fleth.

When the daie was cloſed, thoſe that were about the king (in number a twentie thouſand) hearing how euill their fellowes had ſped, began vtterlie to deſpaire of the victorie, and ſo fell without anie long tarriance to running awaie. By reaſon whereof, the nobles that were about the king, perceiuing how the game went, and withall ſaw no comfort in the king, but rather a good will and affection towards the contrarie part, they withdrew alſo, leauing the king accompanied with the lord Bonneuille, & ſir Thomas Kiriell of Kent; which vpon aſſurance of the kings promiſe, tarried ſtill with him, and fled not. But their truſt deceiued them, for at the quéenes departing from ſaint Albons, they were both beheaded; though contrarie to the mind and promiſe of hir huſband. Sir Thomas Thorp, baron of the eſcheker, was alſo beheaded the ſame daie, at Highgate, by the commons of Kent.

Such was the ſucceſſe of this ſecond battell fought at S. Albons, vpon Shrouetueſdaie, the ſeuentéenth of Februarie, in which were ſlaine thrée and twentie hundred men, of whom no noble man is remembred, ſaue ſir Iohn Graie, which the ſame daie was made knight, with twelue other, at the village of Colneie. Now after that the noble men and other were fled, and the king left in maner alone without anie power of men to gard his perſon, he was counſelled by an eſquier called Thomas Hoo, a man well languaged, and well ſéene in the lawes, to ſend ſome conuenient meſſenger to the northerne lords, aduertiſing them, that he would now gladlie come vnto them (whome he knew to be his verie fréends, and had aſſembled themſelues togither for his ſeruice) to the end he might remaine with them, as before he had remained vnder the gouernement of the ſoutherne lords.

1916, as Iohn Stow noteth.

Sir Iohn Graie ſlaine.

According to the aduiſe and counſell of this eſquier, the king thought it good to ſend vnto them, and withall appointed the ſame eſquier to beare the meſſage, who firſt went and declared the ſame vnto the earle of Northumberland, and returning backe to the king, brought certeine lords with him, who conueied the king firſt vnto the lord Cliffords tent, that ſtood next to the place where the kings people had incamped. This doone, they went and brought the quéene and hir ſonne prince Edward vnto his preſence, whome he ioifullie receiued, imbracing and kiſſing them in moſt louing wiſe, and yéelding hartie thanks to almightie God, whome it had pleaſed thus to ſtrengthen the forces of the northerne men, to reſtore his déerelie beloued and onelie ſonne againe into his poſſeſſion. Thus was the quéene fortunate in hir two battels, but vnfortunate was the king in all his enterpriſes: for where his perſon was preſent, the victorie ſtill fled from him to the contrarie part. The quéene cauſed the king to dub hir ſonne prince Edward knight, with thirtie other perſons, which the day before fought on hir ſide againſt his part.

Thomas Hoo eſquier ſent to the northerne lords.

Edw. Hall.

Prince Edward made knight.

This doone, they went to the abbeie, where, of the abbat and moonks they were receiued with hymnes and ſongs, and ſo brought to the high altar, and after to the ſhrine, and ſo to the chamber in which the king was woont to lodge. The abbat made ſute that order might be taken to reſtreine the northerne men from ſpoiling the towne: and proclamation indéed was made to that effect, but it auailed not; for they

main-

The northern men ſpoile the towne of ſaint Albons.

The quéene ſendeth to the maior of London for vittels.

Vittels ſent by the maior, and ſtaid by the commons.

maintеined, that the ſpoile of things was granted them by couenant, after they were once paſſed ouer the riuer of Trent: and ſo not regarding anie proclamation or other commandement, they ſpared nothing that they could laie hands vpon, if the ſame were meet for them to carie awaie. The queene, hauing thus got the victorie, ſent to the maior of London, commanding him without delaie to ſend certeine carts, laden with Lenton vittels, for the refreſhing of hir and hir armie. The maior incontinentlie cauſed carts to be laden, and would haue ſent them forward; but the commons of the citie would not ſuffer them to paſſe, but ſtaied them at Criplegate, notwithſtanding the maior did what he could by gentle perſuaſions to quiet them.

During which controuerſie, diuerſe of the northerne horſſemen, came and robbed in the ſuburbs of the citie, and would haue entred at Criplegate; but they were repelled by the commoners, and thrée of them ſlaine. Wherevpon, the maior ſent the recorder to Barnet to the kings councell there, to excuſe the matter; and the duches of Bedford, the ladie Scales, with diuerſe fathers of the ſpiritualtie, went to the queene, to aſſwage hir diſpleaſure conceiued againſt the citie. The queene at this humble requeſt, by aduiſe of hir councell, appointed certeine lords and knights, with foure hundred tall perſons, to ride to the citie, and there to view and ſee the demeanor and diſpoſition of the people: and diuerſe aldermen were appointed to meet them at Barnet, and to conueie them to London. But what man purpoſeth, God diſpoſeth. All theſe deuiſes were ſhortlie altered to another forme, bicauſe true report came not onelie to the queene, but alſo to the citie; that the earle of March, hauing vanquiſhed the earles of Penbroke and Wilſhire, had met with the earle of Warwike (after this laſt battell at ſaint Albons) at Chipping Norton by Cotſold; and that they with both their powers were cōming toward London. The queene hauing little truſt in Eſſex, and leſſe in Kent, but leaſt of all in London, with hir huſband and ſonne, departed from ſaint Albons, into the north countrie, where the foundation of hir aid and refuge onelie reſted.

The quéene returneth northward.

The duches of Yorke, ſéeing hir huſband and ſonne ſlaine, and not knowing what ſhould ſuccéed of hir eldeſt ſonnes chance, ſent hir two yonger ſonnes, George and Richard, ouer the ſea; to the citie of Vtrecht in Almaine, where they were of Philip duke of Burgognie well receiued; and ſo remained there, till their brother Edward had got the crowne and gouernement of the realme. The earles of March and Warwike, hauing perfect knowlege that the king & queene, with their adherents, were departed from S. Albons, rode ſtraight to London, entring there with a great number of men of warre, the firſt weeke of Lent. Whoſe cōming thither was no ſooner knowne, but that the people reſorted out of Kent, Eſſex, and other the counties adioining, in great numbers, to ſee, aid, and comfort this luſtie prince and flower of chiualrie, in whome the hope of their ioy and truſt of their quietneſſe onelie conſiſted.

The great hope of the people conceiued of the erle of March.

This prudent yoong prince, minding to take time when time ſerued, called a great councell, both of the lords ſpirituall and temporall, and to them repeated the title and right that he had to the crowne, rehearſing alſo the articles concluded betwéene king Henrie and his father, by their writings ſigned and ſealed, and alſo confirmed by act of parlement; the breaches whereof he neither forgat, nor left vndeclared. After the lords had conſidered of this matter, they determined by authoritie of the ſaid councell, that becauſe king Henrie had doone contrarie to the ordinances in the laſt parlement concluded, and was inſufficient of himſelfe to rule the realme, he was therfore to be depriued of all kinglie eſtate: and incontinentlie was Edward earle of March, ſonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke, by the lords in the ſaid councell aſſembled, named, elected, and admitted for king and gouernour of the realme.

The earle of March elected king.

On which daie, the people of the earles part, being in their muſter in S. Johns field, and a great number of the ſubſtantiall citizens there aſſembled, to behold their order; the lord Fauconbridge, who tooke the muſters, wiſelie anon declared to the people the offenſes and breaches of the late agréement, committed by king Henrie the ſixt; and demanded of the people, whether they would haue him to rule and reigne anie longer ouer them? To whome they with whole voice anſwered; Naie, naie. Then he aſked them, if they would ſerue, loue, honour, and obeie the erle of March, as their onlie king and ſoueraigne lord? To which queſtion they anſwered; Yea, yea; crieng (King Edward) with manie great ſhowts & clapping of hands in aſſent and gladneſſe of the ſame.

The lord Fauconbridge.

The lords were ſhortlie aduertiſed of the louing conſent which the commons frankelie and fréelie had giuen. Wherupon incontinentlie, they all with a conuenient number of the moſt ſubſtantiall commons repaired to the erle at Bainards caſtell, making iuſt and true report of their election and admiſſion, and the louing aſſent of the commons. The earle, after long pauſing, firſt thanked God of his great grace and benefit towards him ſhewed; then the lords and commons for their fauour and fidelitie: notwithſtanding, like a wiſe prince, he alleged his inſufficiencie for ſo great a roome and weightie burthen, as lacke of knowledge, want of experience, and diuerſe other qualities to a gouernour apperteining. But yet in concluſion, being perſuaded by the archbiſhop of Canturburie, the biſhop of Exceſter, and other lords then preſent, he agréed to their petition, and tooke vpon him the charge of the kingdome, as forfeited to him by breach of the couenants eſtabliſhed in parlement.

The earle of March taketh vpon him as king.

Abr.Flem.

¶Thus farre touching the tragicall ſtate of this land vnder the rent regiment of king Henrie, who (beſides the bare title of roialtie and naked name of king) had little apperteining to the port of a prince. For whereas the dignitie of princedome ſtandeth in ſoueraigntie; there were of his nobles that imbecilled his prerogatiue by ſundrie practiſes, ſpeciallie by maine force; as ſeeking either to ſuppreſſe, or to exile, or to obſcure, or to make him awaie: otherwiſe what ſhould be the meaning of all thoſe foughten fields from time to time, moſt miſerablie falling out both to prince, péere, and people? As at ſaint Albons, at Bloreheath, at Northampton, at Banberie, at Barnet, & at Wakefield; to the effuſion of much bloud, and pulling on of manie a plage, which otherwiſe might haue béene auoided. All which battels, togither with thoſe that were tried betweene Edward the fourth, after his inthronization; and Henrie the ſixt after his extermination (as at Exham, Doncaſter, and Teukeſburie) are remembred by *Anglorum prælia* in good order of pithie poetrie, as followeth;

Nobilitata inter plures hæc ſunt loca cæde,
Albani fanum, Blorum, borealis & Ampton,
Banbrecum campis, Barnettum collibus hærens,
**Experrectorum pagus, fanúmq; ſecundo*
Albani, propior Scoticis confinibus Exam,
Contiguóq; iſtis habitantes rure coloni,
Mœrentes hodie, quoties proſcindit arator
Arua propinqua locis dentale reuellere terra
Semiſepulta virûm ſulcis Cerealibus oſſa:
Mæſta execrantur planctu ciuile duellum,
Quo periere hominum plus centum millia cæſa,
Nobile Todcaſtrum clades accepta coegit

*Wakefield.

Millibus enectis ter denis nomen habere.
Vltima poſtremæ locus eſt Teuxburia pugnæ,
Oppidulis his accedens certiſſima teſtis,
Bello inteſtino fluuios fluxiſſe cruoris.]

But now before we procéed anie further, ſith the reigne of king Henrie maie ſéeme here to take end, we will ſpecifie ſome ſuch learned men as liued in his time. John Leland, ſurnamed the elder (in reſpect of the other John Leland, that painefull antiquarie of our time) wrote diuerſe treatiſes, for the inſtruction of grammarians; John Hainton, a Carmelit or white frier (as they called them) of Lincolne; Robert Colman, a Franciſcane frier of Norwich, and chancellor of the vniuerſitie of Oxenford; William White a prieſt of Kent, profeſſing the doctrine of Wickliffe, and forſaking the order of the Romane church, married a wife, but continued his office of preaching, till at length, in the yeare 1428, he was apprehended, and by William biſhop of Norwich, and the doctors of the friers mendicants, charged with thirtie articles, which he mainteined, contrarie to the doctrine of the Romane church, and in September the ſame yeare ſuffered death by fire.

Peter Baſſet wrote king Henrie the fift his life.

Alexander Carpentar, a learned man, ſet forth a booke called *Deſtructorium vitiorum*, wherein he inueieth againſt the prelats of the church of that time, for their crueltie vſed, in perſecuting the poore and godlie chriſtians; Richard Kendall, an excellent grammarian; John Bate, warden of the white friers in Yorke, but borne in the borders of Wales, an excellent philoſopher, and a diuine, he was alſo ſéene in the Gréeke toong, a thing rare in thoſe daies; Peter Baſſet, eſquier of the priuie chamber to king Henrie the fift, whoſe life he wrote; John Pole a prieſt, that wrote the life of ſaint Walburgh, daughter to one Richard, a noble man of this realme of England, which Walburgh (as he affirmeth) builded our ladie church in Antwerpe; Thomas Iſmaelit, a monke of Sion; Walter Hilton, a Chartreaux monke alſo of Shiene, either of thoſe wrote certeine treatiſes full of ſuperſtition, as John Bale noteth.

Thomas Walden ſo called of the towne where he was borne, but his fathers ſurname was Netter, a white frier of London, and the thrée and twentith prouinciall gouernour of his order, a man vndoubtedlie learned, and thoroughlie furniſhed with cunning of the ſchooles, but a ſore enimie to them that profeſſed the doctrine of Wickliffe, writing ſundrie great volumes and treatiſes againſt them, he died at Rone in Normandie, the ſecond of Nouember, in the yeare one thouſand foure hundred and thirtie; Richard Vllerſton, borne in Lancaſhire, wrote diuerſe treatiſes of diuinitie; Peter Clearke, a ſtudent in Oxenford, and a defendor of Wickliffes doctrine, wherevpon when he feared perſecution here in England, he fled into Boheme, but yet at length he was apprehended by the imperialiſts, and died for it, as ſome write, but in what order, is not expreſſed.

Fabian and Caxton.

Robert Hounſlow, a religious man of an houſe in Hounſlow beſide London, whereof he tooke his ſurname; Thomas Walſingham, borne in Norfolke, in a towne there of the ſame name, but profeſſed a monke in the abbeie of ſaint Albons, a diligent hiſtoriographer; John Tilneie, a white frier of Yermouth, but a ſtudent in Cambridge, and prooued an excellent diuine; Richard Fleming, a doctor of diuinitie in Oxenford, of whome more at large before, pag. 604. John Low borne in Worceſtershire, an Auguſtine frier, a doctor of diuinitie, and prouinciall in England of his order, and by king Henrie the ſixt, made firſt biſhop of ſaint Aſaph, and after remooued from thenſe to Rocheſter; Thomas Kingſted the yonger, not the ſame that was biſhop, but a doctor of the law, and vicar of Mildenhall in Suffolke, a notable preacher, and wrote diuerſe treatiſes.

John Felton, a doctor of diuinitie of Magdalen college in Oxenford; Nicholas Botleſham, a Carmelit frier borne in Cambridgeſhire, and ſtudent firſt in the vniuerſitie of Cambridge, and after in Paris, where he procéeded doctor of diuinitie; Thomas Rudburne, a monke of Wincheſter, and an hiſtoriographer; John Holbrooke, borne in Surrie, a great philoſopher, and well ſéene in the mathematiks; Peter Paine, an earneſt profeſſor of Wickliffes doctrine, and fearing perſecution here in England, fled into Boheme, where he remained in great eſtimation for his great learning & no leſſe wiſedome; Nicholas Vpton, a ciuilian, wrote of heraldrie, of colours in armorie, and of the dutie of chiualrie; William Beckeleie, a Carmelit frier of Sandwich, & warden of the houſe there, a diuine, and profeſſed degrée of ſchoole in Cambridge; John Torpe, a Carmelit frier of Norwich.

John Capgraue borne in Kent, an Auguſtine frier, procéeded doctor of diuinitie in Oxenford, was admitted prouinciall of his order, and prooued (without controuerſie) the beſt learned of anie of that order of friers here in England, as John Bale affirmeth, he wrote manie notable volumes, and finallie departed this life at Lin in Norffolke, the twelfth of Auguſt, in the yere 1464, which was in the fourth yeare of king Edward the fourth; Humfrie duke of Gloceſter, earle of Penbroke, and lord chamberlaine of England, alſo protector of the realme, during the minoritie of his nephue king Henrie the ſixt, was both a great fauourer of learned men, and alſo verie well learned himſelfe, namelie in aſtrologie, whereof (beſide other things) he wrote a ſpeciall treatiſe intituled, *Tabula directionum.*

John Whethamſted, otherwiſe called Frumentarius, was abbat of ſaint Albons, and highlie in fauor with the good duke of Gloceſter laſt remembred, he wrote diuerſe treatiſes, and among others, a booke as it were of the records of things, chancing whileſt he was abbat, which booke I haue ſéene, and partlie in ſome parcell of this kings time haue alſo followed; Roger Onleie, borne in the weſt countrie (as Bale thinketh) was accuſed of treaſon, for practiſing with the ladie Eleanor Cobham, by ſorcerie to make the king awaie, and was thereof condemned, and died for it, though he were innocent thereof, as ſome haue thought, he wrote a treatiſe intituled, *Contra vulgi ſuperſtitiones*, alſo another *De ſua innocentia*; Nicholas Cantlow, a Welſhman borne, deſcended of an ancient familie in Southwales, as by Bale it ſhould appeare, he became a frier Carmelit in Briſtow; Henrie Wichingham, a Carmelit frier of Norwich, a notable diuine, a great preacher, and wrote alſo ſundrie treatiſes of diuinitie.

John Lidgate, a monke of Burie, an excellent poet, and chiefe in his time in that facultie, of all other that practiſed the ſame within this land, he trauelled thorough France and Italie to learne the languages and ſciences, how greatlie he profited in atteining to knowledge, the workes which he wrote doo ſufficientlie teſtifie; Nicholas Hoſtreſham, an excellent phyſician; John Blackeneie, a religious man, of the order of the Trinitie intituled, *De redemptione captiuorum*, and prior of an houſe of the ſame order, at Ingham in Norffolke, he was ſurnamed Blackeneie, of the towne where he was borne; Thomas Beckington, biſhop of Bath, wrote againſt the law Salique, by which law the Frenchmen would ſeclude the princes of this realme from their title vnto the crowne of France; John Baringham, a Carmelite frier of Gipſwich in Suffolke; Dauid Bois, borne in Wales, and a frier Carmelit, profeſſed in Glouceſter, a doctor of diuinitie.

John Brome, an Auguſtine frier; Michaell Triguríe, a Corniſhman borne, whome for his excellencie and learning, king Henrie the fift appointed to be gouernour of that ſchoole or vniuerſitie, which he inſtituted in the citie of Caen in Normandie, after he had brought it vnder his ſubiection; John Amundiſham, a monke of ſaint Albons; Oſwald *Anglicus*, a monke of the Chartreux order; John Keningale, a Carmelit frier of Norwich; Peter *De ſancta fide*, a Carmelit alſo of Norwich; Reginald Pecocke, biſhop of Chicheſter, of whome ye haue heard before, he was borne in Wales, and ſtudent in Oriall college in Oxenford, where he procéeded doctor of diuinitie, he wrote manie treatiſes touching the chriſtian religion; John ſurnamed Burie of the towne where he was borne, an Auguſtine frier in the towne of Clare in Suffolke.

Robert Fleming, a man perfect in the Gréeke and Latine tong [among whoſe works ſome haue béene ſéene vnder theſe titles: namelie, *Lucubrationum Tiburtinarm lib.* 1. a dictionarie in Gréeke and Latine, and a worke in verſe of ſundrie kinds, this man was of moſt fame in the yeare of our Lord 1470, which was in the tenth yeare of Edward the fourth, though he were not obſcure alſo in the daies of this Henrie the ſixt;] Thomas Gaſcoigne, borne at Hunfléete in Yorkeſhire, of that worſhipfull familie of the Gaſcoignes there, a doctor of diuinitie, and chancellor of the vniuerſitie of Oxenford; William Stapilhart, borne in Kent, but by profeſſion a white frier in London; Robert Fimingham borne in Norffolke a Franciſcan frier in Norwich; Nicholas Montacute, an hiſtoriographer; John Chandler, chancellor of Welles; William Botoner, deſcended of a good houſe, a knight by degrée, and borne in Briſtow, verie ſtudious in antiquities, and other ſciences.

John Stow, a monke of Norwich, but ſtudent in Oxenford, where he procéeded doctor of diuinitie; Thomas Langleie, a monke of Hulme; Nicholas Bungeie, borne in a towne of Norffolke of that name, wrote an hiſtorie, called *Adunationes chronicorum*; Henrie Beauford biſhop of Wincheſter, baſe ſonne to John duke of Lancaſter, of whome before we haue made ſufficient mention, made cardinall by pope Martine the fourth, in the yeare 1426; Adam Homlington, a Carmelit frier; William Coppinger, maiſter of the vniuerſitie of Oxenford; Thomas Stacie, an expert mathematician, and no leſſe ſkilfull in aſtronomie; John Talaugerne, a monke of Worceſter; William Sutton, an aſtrologian; Robert Balſacke, wrote a booke intituled *De re militari*, that is to ſaie, of warre or chiualrie, ſo that (as is thought) he was both a good ſouldier, and a painefull ſtudent of good letters.

Thomas Dando, a Carmelit frier of Marleburgh, he wrote the life of Alphred king of weſt Saxons; William Graie, borne of the noble houſe of the Graies of Codnor, he went to atteine to ſome excellencie of learning in Italie, where he heard that noble clearke Guarinus Veronenſis read in Ferrara, he was preferred to the biſhoprike of Elie, in the yéere 1454, by pope Nicholas the fift, when Thomas Bourchier was tranſlated from thenſe to Canturburie; John Kempe, archbiſhop of Yorke, and after remooued from thenſe to Canturburie (as before ye haue heard) he was made cardinall of S. Albin, by pope Eugenie the fourth; Adam Molins (as Bale calleth him) kéeper of the kings priuie ſeale, excellentlie learned, in time of the ciuill warre betwixt king Henrie, and the duke of Yorke, in which he loſt his head.

Thomas Chillenden, a doctor both of the law ciuill and canon, became at length a monke in Canturburie; Robert Bale, ſurnamed the elder, excellentlie learned in the lawes of the realme, recorder of London, gathered as it were a chronicle of the cuſtomes, lawes, foundations, changes, reſtoring magiſtrats, offices, orders, and publike aſſemblies of the citie of London, with other matters, touching the perfect deſcription of the ſame citie; he wrote other works alſo touching the ſtate of the ſame citie, and the acts of king Edward the third; he departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 1461, euen about the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, vnto whome we will now againe returne.

Thus farre the tragicall hiſtorie of Henrie the ſixt depriued of his roialtie.

Edward the fourth earle of March, ſonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke.

Anno Reg. 1.

The earle of March taketh vpon him as king.

AFter that this prince Edward earle of March had taken vpon him the gouernement of this realme of England (as before ye haue heard) the morow next inſuing, being the fourth of March, he rode to the church of ſaint Paule, and there offered; and after *Te Deum* ſong, with great ſolemnitie he was conueied to Weſtminſter, and there ſet in the hall with the ſcepter roiall in his hand, whereto people in great numbers aſſembled. His claime to the crowne was declared to be by two maner of waies, the firſt, as ſonne and heire to duke Richard his father, right inheritor to the ſame; the ſecond, by authoritie of parlement, and forfeiture committed by king Henrie. Wherevpon it was againe demanded of the commons, if they would admit and take the ſaid erle as their prince and ſoueraigne lord, which all with one voice cried, Yea, yea.

His title declared.

This

He is proclamed king.

This part thus plaied, he entered into Weſtminſter church vnder a canopie with ſolemne proceſſion, and there as king offered; and herewith taking the homages of all the nobles there preſent, he returned by water to London, and was lodged in the biſhops palace; and on the morrow after, he was proclamed king by the name of Edward the fourth, throughout the citie. This was in the yeare of the world 5427, and after the birth of our Sauiour 1461 after our accompt, beginning the yeare at Chriſtmaſſe; but after the vſuall accompt of the church of England 1460, the twentith of emperour Frederike the third; the nine and thirtith and laſt of Charles the ſeuenth French king; and firſt yeare of the reigne of Iames the third king of Scots.

Whileſt theſe things were adoing in the ſouthparts, king Henrie being in the north countrie, aſſembled a great armie, truſting (for all this) to ſubdue his enimies; namelie, ſith their chiefe ringleader the duke of Yorke was diſpatched out of the waie. But he was deceiued: for out of the ded ſtocke ſprang a branch more mightie than the ſtem; this Edward the fourth, a prince ſo highlie fauoured of the people, for his great liberalitie, clemencie, vpright dealing, and courage, that aboue all other, he with them ſtood in grace alone: by reaſon whereof, men of all ages and degrees to him dailie repaired, ſome offering themſelues and their men to ieopard their liues with him, and other plentiouſlie gaue monie to ſupport his charges, and to mainteine his right.

By which meanes, he gathered togither a puiſſant armie, to the intent by battell (ſithens none other waies would ſerue) at once to make an end of all. So, his armie and all things prepared, he departed out of London the twelfe daie of March, and by eaſie iournies came to the caſtell of Pomfret, where he reſted, appointing the lord Fitz Walter to kéepe the paſſage at Ferribridge with a good number of tall men. King Henrie on the other part, hauing his armie in readineſſe, committed the gouernance thereof ts the duke of Summerſet, the earle of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford, as men deſiring to reuenge the death of their parents, ſlaine at the firſt battell at ſaint Albons. Theſe capteins leauing king Henrie, his wife, and ſonne, for the moſt ſafegard within the citie of Yorke, paſſed the riuer of Wharfe with all their power, intending to ſtop king Edward of his paſſage ouer the riuer of Aire.

The lord Fitz water ſlaine.

And the better to bring that to paſſe, the lord Clifford determined to make a charge vpon them that kept the paſſage of Ferribridge; and ſo he departed with his light horſſemen from the great armie on the ſaturdaie before Palmeſundaie; and earelie yer his enimies were aware, ſlue the kéepers and wan the bridge. The lord Fitz Walter hearing the noiſe, ſuddenlie roſe out of his bed, and vnarmed with a pollar in his hand, thinking that it had béene but a fraie amongſt his men, came downe to appeaſe the ſame; but yer he knew what the matter meant was ſlaine, and with him the baſtard of Saliſburie brother to the earle of Warwike, a valiant yoong gentleman, and of great audacitie.

The earle of Warwike.

A proclamation.

When the earle of Warwike was informed hereof, like a man deſperat, he mounted on his hacknie, and haſted puffing and blowing to king Edward, ſaieng; Sir, I praie God haue mercie of their ſoules, which in the beginning of your enterpriſe haue loſt their liues. And bicauſe I ſée no ſuccors of the world but in God, I remit the vengeance to him our creator and redéemer. With that he alighted downe, and ſlue his horſe with his ſword, ſaieng; Let him flée that will, for ſuerlie I will tarrie with him that will tarrie with me: and kiſſed the croſſe of his ſword as it were for a vow to the promiſe. King Edward, perceiuing the courage of his truſtie friend the earle of Warwike, made proclamation, that all men which were afraid to fight, ſhould depart: and to all thoſe that tarried the battell, he promiſed great rewards, with addition, that anie ſouldier which voluntarilie would abide, and afterwards, either in or before the fight ſhould ſéeme to flée or turne his backe, then he that could kill him, ſhould haue a great reward and double wages.

The lord Clifford ſlaine.

Dintingdale.

Crueltie paid with ſudden miſchiefe.

After this proclamation ended, the lord Fauconbridge, ſir Walter Blunt, Robert Horne with the fore-ward, paſſed the riuer at Caſtelford, thrée miles from Ferribridge, intending to haue inuironed the lord Clifford and his companie. But they being thereof aduertiſed, departed in great haſt toward king Henries armie; yet they met with ſome that they looked not for, & were ſo trapt yer they were aware. For the lord Clifford, either for heat or paine, putting off his gorget, ſuddenlie with an arrow (as ſome ſaie) without an head, was ſtriken into the throte, and immediatlie rendred his ſpirit; and the earle of Weſtmerlands brother, and all his companie almoſt were there ſlaine, at a place called Dintingdale, not far from Towton. This end had the lord Clifford, which ſlue the earle of Rutland kneeling on his knees, whoſe yoong ſonne Thomas Clifford was brought vp with a ſhéepheard in poore habit, euer in feare to be knowne, till king Henrie the ſeuenth obteined the crowne, by whom he was reſtored to his name and poſſeſſions.

The lord Fauconbridge.

Sarton.

Whethamſted ſaith, that K. Henries power exceeded in number king Edwards by twentie thouſand men.

An heauie proclamation.

Palmeſundaie field.

When this conflict was ended at Ferribridge, the lord Fauconbridge, hauing the fore-ward, bicauſe the duke of Norffolke was fallen ſicke, valiantlie vpon Palmeſundaie in the twilight ſet foorth his armie and came to Sarton, where he might apparantlie behold the hoſt of his aduerſaries, which were accompted thréeſcore thouſand men, and thereof aduertiſed king Edward, whoſe whole armie amounted to eight and fortie thouſand ſix hundred and thréeſcore perſons: which incontinentlie with the earle of Warwike ſet forward, leauing the rere-ward vnder the gouernance of ſir Iohn Wenlocke, ſir Iohn Dinham, and other. And firſt of all, he made proclamation, that no priſoner ſhould be taken. So the ſame daie about nine of the clocke, which was the nine and twentith daie of March, being Palmeſundaie, both the hoſtes approched in a faire plaine field, betwéene Towton and Sarton.

When ech part perceiued other, they made a great ſhout; and at the ſame inſtant there fell a ſmall ſléete or ſnow, which by violenee of the wind that blew againſt them, was driuen into the faces of king Henries armies, ſo that their ſight was ſomewhat dimmed. The lord Fauconbridge, leading K. Edwards fore-ward, cauſed euerie archer vnder his ſtandard to ſhoot one flight (which before he cauſed them to prouide) and then made them to ſtand ſtill. The northerne men féeling the ſhot, but by reaſon of the ſléet, not well viewing the diſtance betwéene them and their enimies, like forward men ſhot their ſheafe arrowes as faſt as they might: but all to loſſe, for they came ſhort of the ſoutherne men by thréeſcore yards.

The earle of Northumberland.

So their ſhot almoſt ſpent, the lord Fauconbridge marched forward with his archers, which not onelie ſhot their whole ſheafes, but alſo gathered the arrowes of their enimies, and let a great part flie againſt their firſt owners, and ſuffered a great ſort of them to ſtand, which ſore troubled the legs of the northerne men, when the battell ioined. The earle of Northumberland and Andrew Trollop, chiefe capteins of king Henries vawward, ſéeing their ſhot not to preuaile, haſted to ioine with their enimies, and the other part ſlacked not their paſe. This battell was ſore foughten, for hope of life was ſet aſide on either part, & taking of priſoners proclamed a great offenſe, ſo euerie man determined to vanquiſh or die in the field.

The obſtinate minds of both parts.

This deadlie conflict continued ten houres in doubtfull ſtate of victorie, vncerteinlie heauing and ſetting on both ſides; but in the end, king Edward ſo couragiouſlie comforted his men, that the other part was diſcomfited and ouercome, who like men amazed, fled toward Tadcaſter bridge to ſaue themſelues, where in the mid waie is a little brooke called Cocke, not verie broad, but of a great déepeneſſe, in which, what for haſt to eſcape, and what for feare of their followers, a great number was drowned there. It was reported, that men aliue paſſed the riuer vpon dead carcaſſes, and that the great riuer of Wharfe whereinto that brooke dooth run, and of all the water comming from Cowton, was coloured with bloud.

King Henries part diſcomfited.

Cocke or riuer.

The chaſe continued all night, and the moſt part of the next daie, and euer the northerne men (as they ſaw anie aduantage) returned againe, and fought with their enimies, to the great loſſe of both parts. For in theſe two daies were ſlaine (as they that knew it wrote) on both parts ſix and thirtie thouſand ſeuen hundred thréeſcore & ſixtéene perſons, all Engliſhmen and of one nation, whereof the chiefe were the earles of Northumberland and Weſtmerland, the lord Dacres, and the lord Welles, ſir Iohn Neuill, Andrew Trollop, Robert Horne, and manie other knights and eſquiers, and the earle of Deuonſhire was taken priſoner, but the dukes of Summerſet and Exceſter fled from the field and ſaued themſelues.

The number ſlaine in battell of Saxtõ, otherwiſe called Palmeſundaie field.

After this great victorie, king Edward rode to Yorke, where he was with all ſolemnitie receiued; and firſt he cauſed the heads of his father, the earle of Saliſburie, and other his fréends, to be taken from the gates, and to be buried with their bodies: and there he cauſed the earle of Deuonſhire, and thrée other to be beheaded, and ſet their heads in the ſame place. King Henrie, after he heard of the irrecouerable loſſe of his armie, departed incontinentlie with his wife and ſonne to the towne of Berwike, and leauing the duke of Summerſet there, went into Scotland, and comming to the king of Scots, required of him and his councell, aid, and comfort.

King Henrie withdraweth to Berwike, & from thence into Scotland.

The yoong king of Scots, lamenting the miſerable ſtate of king Henrie, comforted him with faire words and friendlie promiſes, and aſſigned to him a competent penſion to liue on, during his abode in Scotland. King Henrie, in recompenſe of this courteſie and friendſhip, deliuered to the king of Scots the towne of Berwike, whereof he had got poſſeſſion. He faithfullie ſupported the part of king Henrie, and concluded a mariage betwixt his ſiſter, and the yoong prince of Wales, but the ſame was neuer conſummate, as after ye ſhall heare. When king Henrie was ſomwhat ſetled in the relme of Scotland, he ſent his wife and his ſonne into France to king Reiner hir father, truſting by his aid and ſuccour to aſſemble an armie, and once againe to recouer his right and dignitie: but he in the meane time made his aboad in Scotland, to ſée what waie his friends in England would ſtudie for his reſtitution.

Quéene Margaret with hir ſonne goeth into France.

The quéene being in France, did obteine of the yoong French king then Lewes the eleuenth, that all hir huſbands friends, and thoſe of the Lancaſtriall band, might ſafelie and ſuerlie haue reſort into anie part of the realme of France, prohibiting all other of the contrarie faction anie acceſſe, or repaire into that countrie. ¶ Thus ye haue heard, how king Henrie the ſixt, after he had reigned eight and thirtie yeares & od moneths, was driuen out of this realme. But now leauing him with the princes of his part, conſulting togither in Scotland, and quéene Margaret his wife gathering of men in France, I will returne where I left, to procéed with the dooings of king Edward.

This yoong prince, hauing with proſperous ſucceſſe obteined ſo glorious a victorie in the mortall battell at Cowton, and chaſed all his aduerſaries out of the realme, or at the leaſt waies put them to ſilence, returned after the maner and faſhion of a triumphant conquerour, with great pompe vnto London; where according to the old cuſtome of the realme, he called a great aſſemblie of perſons of all degrées, and the nine & twentith daie of Iune was at Weſtminſter with ſolemnitie crowned and annointed king. ¶ In which yeare, this king Edward called his high court of parlement at Weſtminſter, in the which, the ſtate of the realme was greatlie reformed, and all the ſtatutes made in Henrie the ſixt his time (which touched either his title or profit) were reuoked.

In the ſame parlement, the earle of Oxford far ſtriken in age, and his ſonne and heire the lord Awbreie Véer, either through malice of their enimies, or for that they had offended the king, were both, with diuerſe of their councellors, attainted, and put to execution; which cauſed Iohn earle of Oxford euer after to rebell. There were alſo beheaded the ſame time, ſir Thomas Tudenham knight, William Tirell, and Iohn Montgomerie eſquiers, and after them diuerſe others. Alſo after this, he created his two yoonger brethren dukes, that is to ſaie, lord George duke of Clarence, lord Richard duke of Gloceſter; and the lord Iohn Neuill, brother to Richard earle of Warwike, he firſt made lord Montacute, and afterwards created him marques Montacute.

Beſide this, Henrie Bourchier brother to Thomas archbiſhop of Canturburie, was created earle of Eſſex; and William lord Fauconbridge was made earle of Kent. To this Henrie lord Bourchier, a man highlie renowmed in martiall feats, Richard duke of Yorke long before this time, had giuen his ſiſter Elizabeth in mariage, of whome he begat foure ſonnes, William, Thomas, Iohn, and Henrie: the which William being a man of great induſtrie, wit, and prouidence in graue and weightie matters, maried the ladie Anne Wooduile, deſcended of high parentage, whoſe mother Iaquet was daughter to Peter of Lutzenburgh earle of ſaint Paule, by the which Anne he had lord Henrie earle of Eſſex, one daughter named Cicile, maried to Water lord Ferrers of Chartleie and an other called Iſabell, which died vnmaried.

1462
Iohn Stow.

The earle of Kent was appointed about this time to kéepe the ſeas, being accompanied with the lord Audeleie, the lord Clinton, ſir Iohn Howard, ſir Richard Walgraue, and others, to the number of ten thouſand, who landing in Britaine, wan the towne of Conquet, and the Iſle of Reth, and after returned. When all things were brought in order, and framed as king Edward in maner could wiſh, Henrie duke of Summerſet, ſir Rafe Perſie, and diuerſe other, being in deſpaire of all good chance to happen vnto king Henrie, came humblie, & ſubmitted themſelues vnto king Edward, whome he gentlie receiued. Which clemencie notwithſtanding, both the one and the other (when time ſerued) reuolted from king Edward, and betooke themſelues to take part with Henrie, vnto whom they had béene adherents before: bicauſe they grew in hope that in the end the confederats, to whom they ſo cloſelie did cleaue both in affection and ſeriouſneſſe of labour (though they pretended a temporall renunciation of all dutie and ſeruice for their ſecuritie ſake) ſhould haue the honor of victorie againſt their gainſtanders. But as commonlie the euents of enterpriſes fall out flat contrarie to

Anno Reg. 2.
The duke of Summerſet & other, ſubmit them to king Edward.

where (in deſpite of the earle of Northumberland, who then kept himſelfe in the realme of Scotland) he created ſir Iohn Neuill, lord Montacute earle of Northumberland; and in reproofe of Iaſper earle of Penbroke, he created William lord Herbert earle of the ſame place. But after, when by mediation of friends, the earle of Northumberland was reconciled to his fauour, he reſtored him to his poſſeſſions, name, and dignitie; and preferred the lord Montacute to the title of marques Montacute: ſo that in degree, he was aboue his elder brother the earle of Warwike; but in power, policie, & poſſeſſions, far meaner.

1464
Anno Reg.4.

King Edward, though all things might ſeeme now to reſt in good caſe, yet he was not negligent, in making neceſſarie prouiſion againſt all attempts of his aduerſarie king Henrie, and his partakers; and therefore raiſed bulworks, and builded fortreſſes on ech ſide of his realme, where anie danger was ſuſpected for the landing of anie armie. He cauſed alſo eſpials to be laid vpon the marches, fore againſt Scotland, that no perſon ſhould go out of the realme to king Henrie and his companie, which then ſoiourned in Scotland. But all the doubts of trouble that might inſue by the means of king Henries being at libertie, were ſhortlie taken away and ended: for he himſelfe, whether he was paſt all feare; or that hee was not well eſtabliſhed in his wits and perfect mind; or for that he could not long keepe himſelfe ſecret, in diſguiſed atire boldlie entred into England.

King Henrie taken.

He was no ſooner entred, but he was knowne and taken of one Cantlow, and brought toward the king, whom the earle of Warwike met on the way by the kings commandement, and brought him through London to the Tower, & there he was laid in ſure hold. ¶ But it is worthie the noting, which I haue obſerued in a late chronographers report touching this matter; namelie, that king Henrie was taken in Cletherwood, beſide Bungerleie Hippingſtons in Lancaſhire, by Thomas Talbot ſonne and heire to ſir Edward Talbot of Baſhall, and Iohn Talbot his coſin of Colebrie, which deceiued him being at his dinner at Wadington hall, and brought him toward London, with his legs bound to the ſtirrups, where he was met by the earle of Warwike, and areſted at Eſildon; doctor Manning deane of Windſor, doctor Bedle, and yoong Ellerton being in his companie, with their feet bound vnder the horſſe bellies were brought alſo to the Tower of London.]

Abr.Fl. ex I.S. pag.717.

Queene Margaret, hearing of the captiuitie of hir husband, miſtruſting the chance of hir ſonne, all deſolate and comfortleſſe departed out of Scotland, and paſſed into France, where ſhe remained with hir father duke Reiner, till ſhe returned into England to hir harme, as after ye ſhall heare. The new duke of Summerſet, and his brother Iohn, ſailed into France, where they alſo liued in great miſerie; till duke Charles, bicauſe he was of their kin, as deſcended of the houſe of Lancaſter by his mother, ſuccoured them with a ſmall penſion, which was to them a great comfort. The earle of Penbroke went from countrie to countrie, not alwaies at his hearts eaſe, nor in ſafetie of life. [As for his dignitie and reputation, it was the more obſcured, for that he had loſt the title of his honor, and left at his wits end, doubtfull and vncerteine in contrarie factions (as manie more) what to ſay or doo for his beſt ſecuritie. Neuertheleſſe he concealed his inward diſcontentment, and as opportunitie of time miniſtred matter, ſo he grew in courage, and fell to practiſes of force (with other complices) therby to accompliſh the cloudie conceits of his troubled mind, being perſuaded, that temporall miſfortunes are, if not vtterlie auoidable, yet manfullie to be withſtood, or at leaſt with audacitie & courage to be ſuffered, as the poet properlie ſaith:

The earle of Penbroke.

Ab.Flem.

Tu ne cede malis, ſed contra audentior ito.]

Vir.Aen.6.

King Edward being thus in more ſuertie of his life than before, diſtributed the poſſeſſions of ſuch as tooke part with king Henrie the ſixt, to his ſouldiers and capteins, which he thought had well deſerued: and beſides this, he left no other point of liberalitie vnſhewed, whereby he might allure to him the beneuolent minds and louing hearts of his people. And moreouer, to haue the loue of all men, he ſhewed himſelfe more familiar both with the nobilitie and communaltie, than (as ſome men thought) was conuenient, either for his eſtate, or for his honor: notwithſtanding the ſame liberalitie he euer after vſed. The lawes of the realme, in part he reformed, and in part he newlie augmented. The coine both of gold and ſiluer (which yet at this day is) he newlie deuiſed, and diuided; for the gold he named rotals and nobles, and the ſiluer he called grotes and halfe grotes.

New coine ſtamped.

Abr.Fl.ex I.S. pag.716.
Sergeants feaſt.
Regiſter of maiors.

¶ In Michaelmaſſe terme were made ſergeants at law, Thomas Yoong, Nicholas Geneie, Richard Neale, Thomas Brian, Richard Pigot, Iohn Greenfield, Iohn Cateſbie, and Gwie Fairfar, which held their feaſt in the biſhop of Elies place in Holborne. To the which feaſt the maior of London, with the aldermen, ſhiriffes, and commons of diuerſe crafts being bidden, repaired. But when the maior looked to be ſet to keepe the ſtate in the hall, as it had beene vſed in all places of the citie and liberties, out of the kings preſence (vnknowne to the ſergeants and againſt their wils, as they ſaid) the lord Graie of Ruthen then treaſuror of England was there placed. Whervpon the maior, aldermen, and commons departed home, and the maior made all the aldermen to dine with him. Howbeit he and all the citizens were greatlie diſpleaſed that he was ſo dealt with, and the new ſergeants and others were right ſorie therefore, and had rather than much good it had not ſo happened. This was then (as my record reporteth more at large) regiſtred to be a preſident in time to come.]

The maior of London departeth from the ſergeants feaſt.

After that king Edward had reduced the ſtate of the publike affaires vnto his liking; to purchaſe himſelfe a good opinion and fauourable iudgement among the commons, he made proclamations, that all perſons, which were adherents to his aduerſaries part, & would leaue their armour, and ſubmit themſelues wholie to his grace and mercie, ſhould be cleerelie pardoned and forgiuen. By this kind of courteous dealing he wan him ſuch fauour of the people, that euer after, in all his warres, he was (thorough their aid and ſupport) a victor and conquerour. When his realme was thus brought into a good & quiet eſtate, it was thought meet by him and thoſe of his councell, that a marriage were prouided for him in ſome conuenient place; and therefore was the earle of Warwike ſent ouer into France, to demand the ladie Bona, daughter to Lewes duke of Sauoie, and ſiſter to the ladie Carlot, then queene of France; which Bona was at that time in the French court.

The earle of Warwike, comming to the French king, then lieng at Tours, was of him honourablie receiued, and right courteouſlie interteined. His meſſage was ſo well liked, and his requeſt thought ſo honourable for the aduancement of the ladie Bona, that hir ſiſter queene Carlot obteined both the good will of the king hir husband, and alſo of hir ſiſter the foreſaid ladie: ſo that the matrimonie on that ſide was cleerelie aſſented to, and the erle of Dampmartine appointed (with others) to ſaile into England, for the full finiſhing of the ſame. But here conſider the old prouerbe to be true, which ſaith, that marriage goeth by deſtinie. For, during the time that the earle of Warwike was thus in France, and (according to his inſtructions) brought the effect of his com-

The earle of warwike ſent into France about a marriage.

The ladie Elizabeth Graie.

commiſſion to paſſe, the king being on hunting in the forreſt of Wichwood beſides Stoniſtratford, came for his recreation to the manor of Grafton, where the ducheſſe of Bedford then ſoiourned, wife to ſir Richard Wooduile lord Riuers, on whome was then attendant a daughter of hirs, called the ladie Elizabeth Graie, widow of ſir John Graie knight, ſlaine at the laſt battell of ſaint Albons, as before ye haue heard.

This widow, hauing a ſute to the king for ſuch lands as hir huſband had giuen hir in iointure, ſo kindled the kings affection towards hir, that he not onelie fauoured hir ſute, but more hir perſon; for ſhe was a woman of a more formall countenance than of excellent beautie; and yet both of ſuch beautie and fauour, that with hir ſober demeanour, ſwéete looks, and comelie ſmiling (neither too wanton, nor too baſhfull) beſides hir pleaſant toong and trim wit, ſhe ſo allured and made ſubiect vnto hir the heart of that great prince, that after ſhe had denied him to be his paramour, with ſo good maner, and words ſo well ſet as better could not be deuiſed; he finallie reſolued with himſelfe to marrie hir, not aſking counſell of anie man, till they might perceiue it was no bootie to aduiſe him to the contrarie of that his concluded purpoſe; ſith he was ſo farre gone that he was not reuocable, and therefore had fixed his heart vpon the laſt reſolution: namelie, to applie an holeſome, honeſt, and honourable remedie to his affections fiered with the flames of loue, and not to permit his heart to the thraldome of vnlawfull luſt: which purpoſe was both princelie and profitable; as the poet ſaith:

Ouid. de rem. am. lib. 1.

Vtile propoſitum eſt ſæuas extinguere flammas,
Nec ſeruum vitijs pectus habere ſuum.

1465
Anno Reg. 5.

But yet the ducheſſe of Yorke his mother letted this match as much as in hir laie: & when all would not ſerue, ſhe cauſed a precontract to be alleged, made by him with the ladie Elizabeth Lucie. But all doubts reſolued, all things made cléere, and all cauillations auoided, priuilie in a morning he married the ſaid ladie Elizabeth Graie at Grafton beforeſaid, where he firſt began to fanſie hir. And in the next yere after ſhe was with great ſolemnitie crowned quéene at Weſtminſter. Hir father alſo was created earle Riuers, and made high conſtable of England: hir brother lord Anthonie was married to the ſole heire of Thomas lord Scales: ſir Thomas Graie ſonne to ſir John Graie the quéenes firſt huſband, was created marques Dorſet, and married to Cicelie heire to the lord Bonuille. The French king was not well pleaſed to be thus dallied with; but he ſhortlie (to appeaſe the gréefe of his wife and hir ſiſter the ladie Bona) married the ſaid ladie Bona to the duke of Millan.

The earle of Warwike offended with the kings mariage.

Now when the earle of Warwike had knowledge by letters ſent to him out of England from his truſtie friends, that king Edward had gotten him a new wife, he was not a little troubled in his mind, for that he tooke it his credence thereby was greatlie miniſhed, and his honour much ſtained, namelie in the court of France: for that it might be iudged he came rather like an eſpiall, to moue a thing neuer minded, and to treat a marriage determined before not to take effect. Suerlie he thought himſelfe euill vſed, that when he had brought the matter to his purpoſed intent and wiſhed concluſion, then to haue it quaile on his part; ſo as all men might thinke at the leaſt wiſe, that his prince made ſmall account of him, to ſend him on ſuch a ſléeueleſſe errand.

All men for the moſt part agrée, that this marriage was the onlie cauſe, why the earle of Warwike conceiued an hatred againſt king Edward, whome he ſo much before fauoured. Other affirme other cauſes; and one ſpeciallie, for that king Edward did attempt a thing once in the earles houſe, which was much againſt the earles honeſtie (whether he would haue defloured his daughter or his néece, the certeintie was not for both their honours openlie reuealed) for ſuerlie, ſuch a thing was attempted by king Edward; which loued well both to behold and alſo to féele faire damſels. But whether the iniurie that the earle thought he receiued at the kings hands, or the diſdaine of authoritie that the earle had vnder the king, was the cauſe of the breach of amitie betwixt them: truth it is, that the priuie intentions of their harts brake into ſo manie ſmall péeces, that England, France, and Flanders, could neuer ioine them againe, during their naturall liues.

The earle of Warwike kéepeth his gréefe ſecret.

But though the earle of Warwike was earneſtlie inflamed againſt the king, for that he had thus married himſelfe without his knowledge, hauing regard onelie to the ſatiſfieng of his wanton appetite, more than to his honour or ſuertie of his eſtate; yet did he ſo much diſſemble the matter at his returne into England, as though he had not vnderſtood anie thing thereof: but onelie declared what he had doone, with ſuch reuerence, and ſhew of fréendlie countenance, as he had béene accuſtomed. And when he had taried in the court a certeine ſpace, he obteined licence of the king to depart to his caſtell of Warwike, meaning (when time ſerued) to vtter to the world, that which he then kept ſecret, that is to ſaie, his inward grudge, which he bare towards the king, with deſire of reuenge, to the vttermoſt of his power. Neuertheleſſe, at that time he departed (to the outward ſhew) ſo farre in the kings fauour, that manie gentlemen of the court for honours ſake gladlie accompanied him into his countrie.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 717.

Long piked ſhooes forbidden.

¶ This yéere it was proclamed in England, that the beakes or pikes of ſhooes and boots ſhould not paſſe two inches, vpon paine of curſing by the cleargie, and forfeiting twentie ſhillings, to be paid one noble to the king, an other to the cordwainers of London, and the third to the chamber of London; and for other cities and townes the like order was taken. Before this time, and ſince the yeare of our Lord 1382, the pikes of ſhooes and boots were of ſuch length, that they were faine to be tied vp vnto the knees with chaines of ſiluer and gilt, or at the leaſt with ſilken laces.]

1466.
Anno Reg. 6.

Cotteſhold ſhéepe tranſported into Spaine.

Truce with Scots.

In this yeare alſo, the kings daughter, the ladie Elizabeth, after wife to king Henrie the ſeauenth, was borne; king Edward concluded an amitie and league with Henrie king of Caſtile, and John king of Aragon; at the concluding whereof, he granted licence for certeine Cotteſhold ſhéepe, to be tranſported into the countrie of Spaine (as people report) which haue there ſo multiplied and increaſed, that it hath turned the commoditie of England much to the Spaniſh profit. Beſide this, to haue an amitie with his next neighbour the king of Scots, he winked at the loſſe of Berwike, and was contented to take a truce for fiftéene yeares. Thus king Edward, though for refuſall of the French kings ſiſter in law he wan him enimies in France; yet in other places he procured him fréends: but thoſe fréends had ſtood him in ſmall ſtéed, if fortune had not holpe him to an other, euen at his elbow.

1467
Anno Reg. 7.

This was Charles earle of Charolois, the ſonne and heire apparant vnto Philip duke of Burgognie, which Charles being then a widower, was counſelled to be ſuter vnto king Edward, for to haue in mariage the ladie Margaret, ſiſter to the ſaid king, a ladie of excellent beautie, and indued with ſo manie worthie gifts of nature, grace, and fortune, that ſhe was thought not vnworthie to match with the greateſt prince of the world. The lord Anthonie baſtard brother to the ſaid earle Charolois, commonlie

The baſtard of Burgognie ambaſſadour into England.

called the baſtard of Burgognie, a man of great wit, courage, and valiantneſſe, was appointed by his father duke Philip, to go into England in ambaſſage, about this ſute; who being furniſhed of plate and apparell, neceſſarie for his eſtate, hauing in his companie gentlemen, and other expert in all feats of chiualrie and martiall proweſſe, to the number of foure hundred horſſes, tooke his ſhip, and arriued in England, where he was of the king & nobles honourablie receiued.

This meſſage being declared, ye may be ſure the ſame was ioifullie heard of the king and his councell; the which by that affinitie, ſaw how they might be aſſured of a buckler againſt France. But yet the earle of Warwike, bearing his heartie fauour vnto the French king, did as much as in him laie by euill reports to hinder this marriage: but this notwithſtanding, at length, the king granted to the baſtards requeſt; and the ſaid baſtard openlie in the kings great chamber contracted the ſaid ladie Margaret, for, and in the name of his brother the ſaid earle of Charolois. After this marriage thus concluded, the baſtard challenged the lord Scales, brother to the queene, a man both equall in hart and valiantneſſe with the baſtard, to fight with him both on horſſebacke, and on foot: which demand the lord Scales gladlie accepted.

Iuſts betwixt the baſtard of Burgognie & the lord Scales.

The king cauſing liſts to be prepared in Weſtſmithfield for theſe champions, and verie faire and coſtlie galleries for the ladies, was preſent at this martiall enterpriſe himſelfe. The firſt daie they ran togither diuerſe courſes with ſharpe ſpeares, and departed with equall honor. The next day they turnoied on horſſebacke. The lord Scales horſſe had on his chafron a long ſharpe pike of ſteele, and as the two champions coped togither, the ſame horſſe (whether thorough cuſtome or by chance) thruſt his pike into the noſethrils of the baſtards horſſe; ſo that for verie paine he mounted ſo high, that he fell on the one ſide with his maiſter, and the lord Scales rode round about him with his ſword in his hand, vntill the king commanded the marſhall to helpe vp the baſtard, which openlie ſaid; I can not hold me by the clouds, for though my horſſe faileth me, ſuerlie I will not faile my contercompanion. The king would not ſuffer them to doo anie more that daie.

The morow after, the two noblemen came into the field on foot, with two polares, and fought valiantlie: but at the laſt, the point of the polar of the lord Scales happened to enter into the ſight of the baſtards helme, and by fine force might haue plucked him on his knees: the king ſuddenlie caſt downe his warder, and then the marſhals them ſeuered. The baſtard not content with this chance, and truſting on the cunning which he had at the polar, required the king of iuſtice, that he might performe his enterpriſe. The lord Scales refuſed it not, but the king ſaid, he would aſke counſell: and ſo calling to him the conſtable, and the marſhall, with the officers of armes, after conſultation had, and the lawes of armes rehearſed, it was declared for a ſentence definitiue, by the duke of Clarence, then conſtable of England, and the duke of Norffolke, then marſhall; that if he would go forward with his attempted challenge, he muſt by the law of armes be deliuered to his aduerſarie, in the ſame ſtate and like condition as he ſtood when he was taken from him.

The law of armes.

The baſtard hearing this iudgement, doubted the ſequele of the matter; and ſo relinquiſhed his challenge. Other challenges were doone, and valiantlie atchiued by the Engliſhmen, which I paſſe ouer. Shortlie after came ſorowfull tidings to the baſtard, that his father duke Philip was dead, who therevpon taking his leaue of king Edward, and of his ſiſter the new ducheſſe of Burgognie, liberallie rewarded with plate and iewels, with all ſpeed returned to his brother the new duke, who was not a little glad of the contract made for him with the ſaid ladie, as after well appeared. In this ſame yeare, king Edward, more for the loue of the marques Montacute, than for anie fauour he bare to the earle of Warwike, promoted George Neuill their brother to the archbiſhoprike of Yorke.

The death of the duke of Burgognie.

George Neuill archbiſhop of Yorke.

1468.
Anno Reg. 8.

Charles duke of Burgognie, reioiſing that he had ſo well ſped, for concluſion of marriage with king Edwards ſiſter, was verie deſirous to ſee hir, of whome he had heard ſo great praiſe, & wrote to king Edward, requiring him to ſend his ſiſter ouer vnto him, according to the couenants paſſed betwixt them. King Edward being not ſlacke in this matter, appointed the dukes of Exceſter and Suffolke, with their wiues, being both ſiſters to the ladie Margaret, to attend hir, till ſhe came to hir huſband. And ſo after that ſhips, and all other neceſſarie prouiſions were readie, they being accompanied with a great ſort of lords and ladies, and others, to the number of fiue hundred horſſe, in the beginning of Iune departed out of London to Douer, and ſo ſailed to Sluis, and from thenſe was conueied to Bruges, where the marriage was ſolemnized betwixt the duke and hir, with great triumphs, & princelie feaſtings. Touching the pompe had and vſed at the ſetting forward of this ladie on hir voiage it is a note worth the reading; and therefore neceſſarilie here interlaced for honours ſake.

The ladie Margaret ſiſter to king Edward, ſent ouer to the duke of Burgognie.

Abr.Fl. ex I.S. pag.719,720. in Quart.

¶ On the eighteenth of Iune, Margaret ſiſter to K. Edward the fourth began hir iornie from the Wardrobe in London, toward hir marriage with Charles duke of Burgognie: firſt ſhe offered in the church of ſaint Paule, and then rode thorough the citie, the earle of Warwike riding before hir, with earles and barons a great number; the ducheſſe of Norffolke, with other ladies and gentlewomen in great number. And at hir entrie into Cheape, the maior of London and his brethren the aldermen preſented hir with a paire of rich baſons, & in them an hundred pounds of gold, and that night ſhe lodged at the abbeie of Stratford, where the king then laie: from thenſe ſhe tooke hir iournie to Canturburie.

The king riding after to ſee hir ſhipping, on the firſt of Iulie, ſhe tooke the ſea at Margate, and there tooke leaue of the king hir brother, and departed. There returned backe againe with the king, the duke of Clarence, the duke of Gloceſter, the earles of Warwike, Shrewesburie, and Northumberland. And there abode with hir in the ſhip, the lord Scales, the lord Dacres hir chamberlaine, ſir Iohn Woduile, ſir Iohn Howard, and manie other famous knights and eſquiers. She was ſhipped in the new Ellen of London, and in hir nauie the Iohn of Newcaſtell, the Marie of Saliſburie, and manie other roiall ſhips, and on the morrow landed at Sluis in Flanders. Now as ſoone as hir ſhip & companie of ſhips were entered into the hauen, there receiued hir ſir Simon de Lelein and the water bailiffe, in diuerſe boats and barks apparelled readie for hir landing.

The firſt eſtate that receiued hir was the biſhop of Vtright well accompanied, and the counteſſe of Shorne baſtard daughter to duke Philip of Burgognie, and with hir manie ladies and gentlewomen; and ſo proceeding in at the gate of the towne, the ſame towne was preſented to hir, ſhe to be ſoueraigne ladie thereof: alſo they gaue to hir twelue marks of gold Troie weight, the which was two hundred pounds of Engliſh monie: and ſo proceeded thorough the towne to hir lodging, euerie houſholder ſtanding in the ſtreet with a torch in his hand burning. On the morow the old ducheſſe of Burgognie came to hir, accompanied with manie great eſtates. On the third of Iulie came the duke of Burgognie to Sluis, with twentie perſons ſecretlie, and was there openlie affianced to the ladie Margaret, by the biſhop of Saliſburie and the lord Scales, in preſence of the lord Dacres, the ducheſſe of Norffolke, the ladie Scales, and all the knights ⁊ eſquiers; gentlewomen inuironing the chamber.

On the 8 of Iulie (being ſaturdaie) by the duke of Burgognies appointment, the lady Margaret remoued by water to the Dame. And on the ſunday in the morning betwixt fiue and ſix of the clocke, the mariage was ſolemnized betwixt them, by the biſhops of Saliſburie and of Turneie; there being preſent the old duches of Burgognie, the lord Scales, the lord Dacres, with the knights, eſquiers, ladies ⁊ gentlewomen that came out of England. The great triumphs, feaſtings, ſhewes of pageants, with other ſtrange deuiſes, and iuſtings, were ſuch as I haue not read the like, and would be ouer long in this place to ſet downe.

Abr. Fl.

* Giuen at Richmont on the firſt of October, An. Dom. 1585. & Anno Reg. 27.

¶ Of this aliance with other more mention is honorablie made in the * declaration of the cauſes that moued the Queene of England to giue aid to the defenſe of the people afflicted ⁊ oppreſſed in the low countries, by the Spaniards, namelie for the maintenance of perpetuall amitie. Which declaration is ſo ſet forth in this booke, as the ſame in the ſeuen and twentith yeare of hir maieſties reigne was publiſhed: vnto which yeare I remit the reader (for the further ſearch thereof) for that it conteineth much memorable matter, touching the manifeſt cauſes of concord to be continued betweene them of the low countries and vs Engliſh.]

Fabian. 497.
Sir Thomas Cooke.

Sir Thomas Cooke late maior of London, was by one named Hawkins appeached of treaſon, for the which he was ſent to the Tower, and his place within London ſeized by the lord Riuers, and his wife and ſeruants cleerelie put out therof. The cauſe was this. The forenamed Hawkins came vpon a ſeaſon vnto the ſaid ſir Thomas, requeſting him to lend a thouſand markes vpon good ſuertie, whereunto he anſwered, that firſt he would know for whome it ſhould be and for what intent.

At length, vnderſtanding it ſhould be for the vſe of queene Margaret, he anſwered he had no currant wares whereof anie ſhifts might be made without too much loſſe: and therefore required Hawkins to mooue him no further in that matter, for he intended not to deale withall: yet the ſaid Hawkins exhorted him to remember, what benefits he had receiued by hir when ſhe was in proſperitie, as by making him hir wardrober, and cuſtomer of Hampton, ⁊c.

But by no meanes the ſaid Cooke would grant goods nor monie, although at laſt the ſaid Hawkins required but an hundred pounds, he was faine to depart without the value of a penie, and neuer came againe to mooue him, which ſo reſted two or three years after, till the ſaid Hawkins was caſt in the Tower, and at length brought to the brake, called the duke of Exceſters daughter, by meanes of which paine he ſhewed manie things, amongſt the which the motion was one that he had made to ſir Thomas Cooke, and accuſed himſelfe ſo farre, that he was put to death.

By meane of which confeſſion, the ſaid ſir Thomas was troubled (as before is ſhewed) when the ſaid ſir Thomas had laine in the Tower from Whitſuntide till about Michaelmas, in the which ſeaſon manie inquiries were made to find him guiltie, and euer quit, till one iurie (by meanes of ſir Iohn Fog) indicted him of treaſon, after which an oier and terminer was kept at the Guildhall, in which ſat with the maior the duke of Clarence, the earle of Warwike, the lord Riuers, ſir Iohn Fog, with other of the kings councell.

To the which place the ſaid Thomas was brought, and there arreigned vpon life and death, where he was acquited of the ſaid indictement, and had to the counter in Breadſtreet, and from thence to the kings bench. After a certeine time that he was thus acquited, his wife got againe the poſſeſſion of hir houſe, the which ſhe found in an euill plight; for ſuch ſeruants of the lord Riuers and ſir Iohn Fog, as were aſſigned to keepe it, made hauocke of what they liſted.

Alſo at his place in Eſſex named Giddihall, were ſet an other ſort to keepe that place, the which deſtroied his deere in his parke, his conies, and his fiſh, without reaſon, and ſpared not braſſe, pewter, bedding, ⁊ all that they might carie, for the which might neuer one penie be gotten in recompenſe, yet could not ſir Thomas Cooke be deliuered, till he had paied eight thouſand pounds to the king, and eight hundred pounds to the queene.]

In this meane time, the earle of Warwike bearing a continuall grudge in his hart toward king Edward, ſince his laſt returne out of France, perſuaded ſo with his two brethren, the archbiſhop, and the marques, that they agreed to ioine with him in anie attempt which he ſhould take in hand againſt the ſaid king. The archbiſhop was eaſilie allured to the earles purpoſe, but the marques could by no meanes be reduced to take anie part againſt king Edward of a long time, till the earle had both promiſed him great rewards and promotions, and alſo aſſured him of the aid and power of the greateſt princes of the realme. And euen as the marques was loth to conſent to his vnhappie conſpiracie, ſo with a faint hart he ſhewed himſelfe an enimie vnto king Edward, which double diſſimulation was both the deſtruction of him and his brethren. ¶ And that they were perſuaſions of no ſmall force, which the earle of Warwike vſed to the archbiſhop and marques, I haue thought good here to interlace, as I find remembred by Edward Hall in forme following.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. in Edw. 4. fol. cxcviij, &c.

The perſuaſions of the earle of Warwike *vnto his two brethren againſt* king Edward the fourth.

My deere and welbeloued brethren, the incredible faithfulneſſe, the ſecret ſoberneſſe, and the politike prudence that I haue euer by long continuance of time experimented in you both, dooth not onelie incourage my heart, yea and ſetteth me in great hope of obteining my purpoſe, but alſo putteth me out of all dread and miſtruſt, firmelie beleeuing, and ſuerlie iudging, that you both will with tooth and naile endeuour your ſelues, to the vttermoſt of your power, to bring to effect and purpoſe the thing that I now ſhall declare vnto you. Suerlie, I would in no wiſe that you ſhould thinke, that that which I ſhall ſpeake to you of king Edward and king Henrie, ſhould riſe of any lightneſſe or phantaſie of my mind, or anie trifeling toie latelie fallen into my imagination; but the true experience and iuſt iudgement that I haue of them both, their qualities and conditions, in manner compell and conſtraine me to ſaie as I ſay, and to doo as I doo.

For ſuerlie, king Henrie is a godlie, good, and a vertuous perſon, neither forgetting his freends, nor putting in obliuion anie benefit by him of a meane perſon receiued, nor yet anie paine for his cauſes ſuſteined hath he left vnrewarded: to whome God hath ſent a ſonne, called prince Edward, borne to be of great worthineſſe & praiſe, of much bountifulneſſe and liberalitie, of whome men may manie laudable things coniecture, conſidering the paine, labour, and trauell, that he taketh to helpe his father out of captiuitie and thraldome. King Edward on the contrarie ſide, is a man contumelious, opprobrious, and an iniurious perſon; to them that deſerue kindneſſe he ſheweth vnkindneſſe, and them that loue him he deadlie hateth, now deteſting to take anie paine for the preferment or maintenance of the publike wealth of this realme, but all giuen to paſtime, pleaſure, and daliance; ſooner preferring to high eſtate men deſcended of low bloud and baſe degree, than men of old and vndefiled houſes, which haue both ſupported him and the commonwealth of his realme.

So that I now perceiue, that it is euen come to this point, that he will deſtroie all the nobilitie; or elſe the nobilitie muſt ſhortlie of verie neceſſitie deſtroie and confound him. But reaſon would, that we that were firſt hurt, ſhould firſt reuenge our cauſe: for it is not vnknowen to you both, how that he, immediatlie after he had obteined the crowne, began firſt ſecretlie, & then openlie to enuie, diſdaine, and impugne the fame, glorie, and renowme of our houſe and familie; as who ſaid, that all the honor, preferment, and authoritie that we haue, we had onelie receiued at his hands, and that we had neither obteined dignitie nor rule by our great labour, aid and trauell. Which to all men may ſeeme vntrue, that conſider that our name, chiefe title, and principall authoritie, was to vs giuen by king Henrie the ſixt, and not by him. But if euerie man will remember, who firſt toke part with his father, when hee claimed the crowne (who at that time, for that cauſe was in great ieopardie, and almoſt ſlaine by the kings meniall ſeruants, and who neuer left this man in proſperitie nor aduerſitie, till he had the garland, and the realme in quietneſſe) ſhall manifeſtlie perceiue, that we and our bloud haue ſhewed our ſelues more like fathers to him, than he like a freend to vs.

If we haue receiued any benefits of him, ſuerlie they be not ſo much as we haue deſerued, nor ſo much as we looked for; and yet they be much more than he would we ſhuld inioy, as ye both well perceiue and know. Let theſe things ouerpaſſe, and ſpeake of the vngentle, vntrue, and vnprincelie handling of me in the laſt ambaſſage, being ſent to the French king for to treat a mariage for him, hauing full authoritie to bind and to loſe, to contract and conclude. Which thing when I had finiſhed & accompliſhed: how lightlie his mind changed, how priuilie he vowed, and how ſecretlie he maried, both you know better than I. So that by this meanes, I was almoſt out of all credence in the court of France, both with the king and queene, as though I had come thither like an eſpiall, to moue a thing neuer minded; or to treat of a mariage determined before neuer to take effect. Whereby the fame of all our eſtimation, which all kings and princes haue conceiued in vs (partlie obteined by the vertue & proweſſe of our noble anceſtors, and partlie atchiued by our owne paines & forward acts) ſhall now be obfuſcate, vtterlie extinguiſhed, and nothing ſet by.

What worme is touched, and will not once turne againe? What beaſt is ſtriken, that will not rore or ſound? What innocent child is hurt that will not crie? If the poore and vnreaſonable beaſts, if the ſelie babes that doo lacke diſcretion, grone againſt harme to them proffered; how ought an honeſt man to be angrie, when things that touch his honeſtie be dailie againſt him attempted? But if a meane perſon in that caſe be angrie: how much more ought a noble man to fume & ſtirre coales, when the high type of his honour is touched, his fame in maner brought to infamie, and his honour almoſt blemiſhed & appalled, without his offenſe or deſert? All this brethren you know to be true, the diſhonor of one is the diſhonor of vs all, and the hurt of one is the hurt of all: wherefore, rather than I will liue vnreuenged; or ſuffer him to reigne, which hath ſought my decaie and diſhonor, I will ſuerlie ſpend my life, lands, and goods, in ſetting vp that iuſt and good man king Henrie the ſixt: and in depoſing this vntrue, vnfaithfull, and vnkind prince (by our onelie means) called king Edward the fourth.

Beſide all this, the earle of Warwike, being a far caſting prince, perceiued ſomewhat in the duke of Clarence, whereby he iudged that he bare no great good will towards the king his brother; and therevpon, feeling his mind by ſuch talke as he of purpoſe miniſtred, vnderſtood how he was bent, and ſo wan him to his purpoſe: and for better aſſurance of his faithfull friendſhip, he offered him his eldeſt daughter in mariage, with the whole halfe deale of his wiues inheritance. And herevpon, after conſultation had of their weightie buſineſſe and dangerous affaires, they ſailed ouer to Calis, of the which towne the earle was capteine, where his wife & two daughters then ſoiourned, whome the duke (being in loue with hir perſon) had great deſire to viſit.

But the earle, hauing in continuall remembrance his purpoſed enterpriſe, appointed his brethren, the archbiſhop and the marqueſſe, that they ſhould by ſome meanes in his abſence ſtir vp ſome new rebellion in the countie of Yorke, and other places adioining, ſo that this ciuill warre ſhould ſeeme to all men to haue beene begun without his aſſent or knowlege, being on the further ſide of the ſeas. The duke of Clarence being come to Calis with the earle of Warwike, after he had ſworne on the ſacrament to keepe his promiſe and pact made with the ſaid earle whole and inuiolate, he married the ladie Iſabell, eldeſt daugh-

1469

Anno Reg. 9.

daughter to the earle, in our ladies church there. Shortlie after, according as had beene aforehand deuiſed, a commotion was begun in Yorkeſhire, to the great diſquieting of that countrie. The ſame chanced by this meanes.

A commotion in Yorkeſhire.

Saint Leonards hoſpitall in Yorke.

There was in the citie of Yorke an old and rich hoſpitall, dedicated to ſaint Leonard, for the harbourough and releeuing of poore people. Certeine euill diſpoſed perſons of the earle of Warwikes faction, intending to ſet a broile in the countrie, perſuaded the husbandmen to refuſe to giue anie thing to the ſaid hoſpitall, affirming that the corne giuen to that good intent, came not to the vſe of the poore; but was conuerted to the behoofe of the maiſter of the hoſpitall, and the preeſts, whereby they grew to be rich, and the poore people wanted their due ſuccour and releefe. And not content with theſe ſaiengs, they fell to doings: for when the proctors of the hoſpitall, according to their vſage, went about the countrie to gather the accuſtomed corne, they were ſore beaten, wounded, and euill intreated.

A rebellion.

Shortlie after, the conſpiracie of the euill diſpoſed people grew to an open rebellion, ſo that there aſſembled to the number of fifteene thouſand men, euen readie bent to ſet on the citie of Yorke. But the lord marqueſſe Montacute, gouernour and preſident of that countrie for the king, taking ſpeedie counſell in the matter, with a ſmall number of men, but well choſen, incountred the rebels before the gates of Yorke: where (after a long conflict) he tooke Robert Huldorne their capteine, and before them commanded his head to be ſtriken off, and then (bicauſe it was a darke euening) he cauſed his ſouldiers to enter into Yorke, and there to refreſh them. Heere manie men haue maruelled, whie the marqueſſe thus put to death the capteine of thoſe people, which had procured this their rebellious enterpriſe.

Robert Huldorne capteine of the rebels taken and beheaded.

Some ſaie he did it, to the intent to ſeeme innocent and faultleſſe of his brothers doings. But other iudge, that he did it, for that contrarie to his promiſe made to his brother, he was determined to take part with king Edward, with whome (as it ſhall after appeare) he in ſmall ſpace entered into grace and fauour. The rebels being nothing diſmaied with the death of their capteine, but rather the more bent on miſcheefe, by faire meanes and craftie perſuaſions got to them Henrie, ſonne to the lord Fitz Hugh, and ſir Henrie Neuill ſonne and heire to the lord Latimer, the one being nephue and the other couſine germane to the erle of Warwike. Although theſe yoong gentlemen bare the names of capteins, yet they had a gouernour that was ſir John Coniers, a man of ſuch courage & valiantneſſe, as few were to be found in his daies within the north parts.

Sir John Coniers.

After they ſaw that they could not get Yorke, bicauſe they wanted ordinance, they determined with all ſpeed to march toward London, intending to raiſe ſuch a toie in the peoples minds, that they ſhould thinke king Edward neither to be a lawfull prince, nor yet profitable to the common-wealth. King Edward hauing perfect knowledge of all the doings of the earle of Warwike, and of his brother the duke of Clarence, was by diuerſe letters certified of the great armie of the northerne men, with all ſpeed comming toward London; and therefore in great haſt he ſent to William lord Herbert, whom (as yee haue heard) he had created earle of Penbroke; requiring him without delaie to raiſe his power, and incounter with the northerne men.

The earle of Penbroke.

The earle of Penbroke, commonlie called the lord Herbert, both readie to obeie the kings commandement, according to his dutie, and alſo deſirous to reuenge the malice which he bare to the earle of Warwike, for that he knew how he had beene the onelie let whie he obteined not the wardſhip of the lord Bonneuilles daughter and heire for his eldeſt ſonne; accompanied with his brother ſir Richard Herbert, a valiant knight, and aboue ſix or ſeauen thouſand Welſhmen, well furniſhed, marched forward to incounter with the northerne men. And to aſſiſt him with archers, was appointed Humfrie lord Stafford of Southwike, named but not created earle of Deuonſhire by the king, in hope that he would ſerue valiantlie in that iournie: he had with him eight hundred archers.

The lord Stafford.

When theſe two lords were met at Cotteſhold, they heard how the northerne men were going toward Northampton: whervpon the lord Stafford, and ſir Richard Herbert, with two thouſand well horſed Welſhmen, rode forth afore the maine armie, to ſee the demeanour of the northerne men: and at length, vnder a woods ſide, they couertlie eſpied them paſſing forward, and ſuddenlie ſet on the rere-ward: but the northerne men with ſuch nimbleneſſe turned about, that in a moment the Welſhmen were diſcomfited, and manie taken, the remnant returned to the armie with ſmall gaine. The northerne men well cooled with this ſmall victorie, went no further ſouthwards, but tooke their waie toward Warwike, looking for aid of the earle, which was latelie come from Calis, with his ſonne in law the duke of Clarence, and was raiſing men to aid his freends and kinſfolke.

The welſhmen diſcomfited.

The king likewiſe aſſembled people to aid the erle of Penbroke, but before either part receiued ſuccour from his freend or partaker, both the armies met by chance in a faire plaine, neere to a towne called Hedgecote, foure miles diſtant from Banberie, where there are three hilles, not in equall quantitie, but lieng in maner (although not fullie) triangle. The Welſhmen got firſt the weſt hill, hoping to haue recouered the eaſt hill alſo, which if they might haue obteined, the victorie had beene theirs, as their fooliſh propheſiers told them before. Theſe northerne men incamped on the ſouth hill; the earle of Penbroke and the lord Stafford of Southwike were lodged in Banberie, the daie before the field, which was ſaint James daie, and there the earle of Penbroke put the lord Stafford out of an Inne, wherein he delighted much to be, for the loue of a damoſell that dwelled in the houſe: and yet it was agreed betwixt them, that which of them ſoeuer obteined firſt a lodging, ſhould not be diſplaced.

Hedgecote. Bāberie field

Diſcord what it breweth.

The lord Stafford in great deſpite departed with his whole band of archers, leauing the earle of Penbroke almoſt deſolate in the towne, who with all diligence returned to his hoſt, lieng in the field vnpurueied of archers. Sir Henrie Neuill, ſonne to the lord Latimer, tooke with him certeine light horſſemen, and ſkirmiſhed with the Welſhmen in the euening, iuſt before their campe, where dooing right valiantlie, but a little too hardilie aduenturing himſelfe, was taken and yeelded, and yet cruellie ſlaine. Which vnmercifull act the Welſhmen ſore rued the next day yer night: for the northerne men ſore diſpleaſed for the death of this noble man, in the next morning valiantlie ſet on the Welſhmen, and by force of archers cauſed them quicklie to deſcend the hill, into the vallie, where both the hoaſts fought.

The earle of Penbroke did right valiantlie, and ſo likewiſe did his brother ſir Richard Herbert, in ſo much that with his polax in his hand, he twiſe by fine force paſſed thorough the battell of his aduerſaries, and without anie hurt or mortall wound returned. But ſee the hap, euen as the Welſhmen were at point to haue obteined the victorie, John Clappam eſquier, ſeruant to the earle of Warwike, mounted vp the ſide of the eaſt hill, accompanied

The valiant manhood of ſir Richard Herbert.

John Clappam.

onelie with fiue hundred men, gathered of the raſcals of the towne of Northampton, and other villages about, hauing borne before them the ſtandard of the earle of Warwike, with the white beare, crieng; A Warwike, a Warwike.

The welſhmen ſlaine.

The Welſhmen, thinking that the earle of Warwike had come on them with all his puiſſance, ſuddenlie as men amazed, fled: the northerne men them purſued, and ſlue without mercie, ſo that there died of the Welſhmen that daie, aboue fiue thouſand, beſides them that fled and were taken. The earle of Penbroke, and his brother ſir Richard Herbert, with diuerſe gentlemen, were taken and brought to Banberie, where the earle with his brother, and other gentlemen, to the number of ten, that were likewiſe taken, loſt their heads. But great mone was made for that noble and hardie gentleman, ſir Richard Herbert, being able for his goodlie perſonage and high valiancie, to haue ſerued the greateſt prince in chriſtendome. [But what policie or puiſſance can either preuent or impugne the force of fate, whoſe law as it ſtandeth vpon an ineuitable neceſſitie; ſo was it not to be diſpenſed withall; and therfore deſtinie hauing preordeined the maner of his deth, it was patientlie to be ſuffered, ſith puiſſantlie it could not be auoided, nor politikelie preuented, nor violentlie reſiſted: for

Abr. Flem.

———*ſua quenq; dies ad funera raptat.*]

Robin of Reddeſdale. The erle Riuers and his ſonne beheaded.

The Northamptonſhire men, with diuerſe of the northerne men by them procured, in this furie made them a capteine, called Robert Hilliard, but they named him Robin of Reddeſdale, and ſuddenlie came to Grafton, where they tooke the earle Riuers, father to the queene, and his ſon ſir John Wooduile, whome they brought to Northampton, and there beheaded them both without iudgement. The king aduertiſed of theſe miſchances, wrote to the ſhiriffes of Summerſetſhire, and Deuonſhire, that if they might by anie meanes take the lord Stafford of Southwike, they ſhould without delaie put him to death. Herevpon ſearch was made for him, till at length he was found in a village within Brentmarch, and after brought to Bridgewater where he was beheaded.

The lord Stafford of Southwike beheaded.

After the battell was thus fought at Hedgecote commonlie called Banberie field, the northerne men reſorted toward Warwike, where the earle had gathered a great multitude of people, which earle receiued the northerne men with great gladnes, thanking ſir John Coniers, and other their capteins for their paines taken in his cauſe. The king in this meane time had aſſembled his power, and was comming toward the earle, who being aduertiſed thereof, ſent to the duke of Clarence, requiring him to come and ioine with him. The duke being not farre off, with all ſpeed repaired to the earle, and ſo they ioined their powers togither, and vpon ſecret knowledge had, that the king (bicauſe they were entered into termes by waie of communication to haue a peace) tooke ſmall heed to himſelfe, nothing doubting anie outward attempt of his enimies.

The earle of Warwike, intending not to leeſe ſuch opportunitie of aduantage, in the dead of the night, with an elect companie of men of warre (as ſecretlie as was poſſible) ſet on the kings field, killing them that kept the watch, and yer the king was ware (for he thought of nothing leſſe than of that which then hapned) at a place called Wolnie, foure miles from Warwike, he was taken priſoner and brought to the caſtell of Warwike. And to the intent his friends ſhould not know what was become of him, the earle cauſed him by ſecert iournies in the night to be conueied to Middleham caſtell in Yorkeſhire, and there to be kept vnder the cuſtodie of the archbiſhop of Yorke, and other his freends in thoſe parties. King Edward being thus in captiuitie, ſpake euer faire to the archbiſhop, and to his other keepers, ſo that he had leaue diuerſe daies to go hunt. [Which exerciſe he vſed, as it ſhould ſeeme, not ſo much for regard of his recreation, as for the recouerie of his libertie: which men eſteeme better than gold, and being counted a diuine thing, doth paſſe all the wealth, pleaſure, and treaſure of the world; according to the old ſaieng:

King Edward taken priſoner.

Middleham caſtell.

Abr. Flem.

Non bene pro fuluo libertas venditur auro,
Hoc cœleſte bonum præterit orbis opes.]

Now on a daie vpon a plaine when he was thus abrode, there met with him ſir William Stanleie, ſir Thomas a Borough, and diuers other of his friends, with ſuch a great band of men, that neither his keepers would, nor once durſt moue him to returne vnto priſon againe. Some haue thought that his keepers were corrupted with monie, or faire promiſes, and therfore ſuffred him thus to ſcape out of danger. After that he was once at libertie, he came to Yorke, where he was ioifullie receiued, and taried there two daies: but when he perceiued he could get no armie togither in that countrie to attend him to London, he turned from Yorke to Lancaſter, where he found his chamberleine the lord Haſtings well accompanied, by whoſe aid and ſuch others as drew to him, being well furniſhed, he came ſafelie to the citie of London.

Sir william Stanleie. K. Edward is deliuered out of captiuitie.

He commeth to London.

When the earle of Warwike, and the duke of Clarence had knowledge how king Edward by the treaſon or negligence of them (whome they had put in truſt) was eſcaped their hands, they were in a wonderfull chafe: but ſith the chance was paſt, they began eftſoones to prouide for the warre, which they ſaw was like to inſue; and found much comfort, in that a great number of men, deliting more in diſcord than in concord, offered themſelues to aid their ſide. But other good men deſirous of common quiet, and lamenting the miſerable ſtate of the realme, to redreſſe ſuch miſchiefe as appeared to be at hand by theſe tumults, tooke paine, and road betweene the king, the earle, and the duke, to reconcile them ech to other.

Their charitable motion and cauſes alledged, bicauſe they were of the chiefeſt of the nobilitie, and therfore caried both credit and authoritie with them, ſo aſſwaged the moods both of the king, the duke, and the earle, that ech gaue faith to other to came and go ſafelie without ieopardie. In which promiſe both the duke and earle putting perfect confidence, came both to London. At Weſtminſter, the king, the duke, and the earle, had long communication togither for to haue come to an agreement: but they fell at ſuch great words vpon reherſall of old matters, that in great furie without any concluſion they departed; the king to Canturburie, and the duke and the earle to Warwike, where the earle procured a new armie to be raiſed in Lincolneſhire, and made capteine thereof ſir Robert Welles, ſonne to Richard lord Welles, a man of great experience in warre.

1470

The king aduertiſed hereof, without delaie prepared an armie, and out of hand he ſent to Richard lord Welles, willing him vpon the ſight of his letters, to repaire vnto him: which to doo he had oftentimes refuſed, excuſing himſelfe by ſickeneſſe and feebleneſſe of bodie. But when that excuſe ſerued not, he thinking to purge himſelfe ſufficientlie of all offenſe and blame before the kings preſence, tooke with him ſir Thomas Dimmocke, who had maried his ſiſter, and ſo came to London. And when he was come vp, being admoniſhed by his freends that the king was greatlie with him diſpleaſed, he with his brother in law tooke the ſanctuarie at Weſtminſter.

Sir Thomas Dimmocke.

But king Edward, truſting to pacifie all this buſie tumult without anie further bloudſhed, promiſed both thoſe perſons their pardons, cauſing them vpon his promiſe to come out of ſanctuarie to his pre-

ſence,

Anno Reg. 10.

ſence, and calling to him the lord Welles, willed him to write to his ſonne to leaue off the warre, and in the meane ſeaſon he with his armie went forward, hauing with him the lord Welles, and ſir Thomas Dimmocke. And being not paſt two daies iournie from Stamford, where his enimies had ptiched their field, and hearing that ſir Robert Welles, not regarding his fathers letters, kept his campe ſtill, he cauſed the lord Welles, father to the ſaid ſir Robert, and ſir Thomas Dimmocke to be beheaded, contrarie to his promiſe.

The lord Welles and Thomas Dimmocke beheaded.

Sir Robert Welles, hearing that the king approched, and that his father and ſir Thomas Dimmocke were beheaded, though he was ſomewhat doubtfull to fight, before the earle of Warwike were with his power aſſembled, yet hauing a yong and luſtie courage, manfullie ſet on his enimies. The battell was ſore fought on both ſides, and manie a man ſlaine; till ſir Robert, perceiuing his people at point to flie, was buſilie in hand to exhort them to tarie, and in the meane time compaſſed about with enimies was there taken, & with him ſir Thomas de Land knight, and manie more. After the taking of their capteine, the Lincolneſhire men amazed, threw awaie their coats the lighter to run awaie, and fled amaine, and therefore this battell is called there yet vnto this daie, Loſecote field.

Loſecote field

The king reioiſing at this victorie, cauſed ſir Robert Welles, and diuerſe other to be put to execution in the ſame place. The fame went that at this battell were ſlaine ten thouſand men at the leaſt. The earle of Warwike laie at the ſame time at his caſtell of Warwike, and meant to haue ſet forward the next daie toward his armie in Lincolnſhire. But when he heard that the ſame was ouerthrowne, he tooke new counſell, and with all diligence imagined how to compaſſe Thomas lord Stanleie, which had maried his ſiſter, that he might be one of the conſpiracie. Which thing when he could not bring to paſſe (for the lord Stanleie had anſwered him, that he would neuer make warre againſt king Edward) he thought no longer to ſpend time in waſt; and miſtruſting he was not able to méet with his enimies, he with his ſonne in law the duke of Clarence departed to Exceſter, and there carieng a few daies, determined to ſaile into France, to purchaſe aid of king Lewes.

The faithfulneſſe of the lord Stanlie.

The duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwike take the ſea.

Now reſting vpon this point, he hired ſhips at Dartmouth: and when the ſame were readie trimmed and decked, the duke and the earle with their wiues, and a great number of ſeruants imbarked themſelues, and firſt tooke their courſe towards Calis, whereof the earle was capteine, thinking there to haue left his wife and daughters, till he had returned out of France. But when they were come before the towne of Calis, they could not be ſuffered to enter: for the lord Vauclere a Gaſcoigne, being the earles deputie in that towne, whether he did it by diſſimulation, or bearing good will to king Edward (as by the ſequele it may be doubted whether he did or no) in ſteed of receiuing his maſter with triumph, he bent and diſcharged againſt him diuerſe péeces of ordinance, ſending him word he ſhould not there take land.

The earle of Warwike kept out of Calis.

This nauie lieng thus before Calis at anchor, the ducheſſe of Clarence was there deliuered of a faire ſonne, which child the earles deputie would ſcarſe ſuffer to be chriſtened within the towne; nor without great intreatie would permit two flagons of wine to be conueied abord to the ladies lieng in the hauen. The king of England aduertiſed of the refuſall made by monſieur de Vauclere to the earle of Warwike, was ſo much pleaſed therewith, that incontinentlie he made him chiefe capteine of the towne of Calis by his letters patents, which he ſent to him out of hand, and thereof diſcharged the earle as a traitor and rebell. Thus was the one in reſpect of his accepted ſeruice honorablie aduanced; and the other, in regard of his diſloialtie ſhamefullie diſgraced: whereof as the one tooke occaſion of inward delight; ſo the other could not be void of grudging conceipts.

Monſieur de Vauclere made deputie of Calis.

The duke of Burgognie (vnto whome king Edward had written, that in no wiſe he ſhould receiue the earle of Warwike, nor anie of his friends within his countries) was ſo well pleaſed with the doings of monſieur de Vauclere, that he ſent to him his ſeruant Philip de Cumins, and gaue him yéerelie a thouſand crownes in penſion, praieng and requiring him to continue in truth and fidelitie toward king Edward, as he had ſhewed and begun. But although monſieur de Vauclere ſware in the ſaid Philips préſence, trulie to take king Edwards part; yet he ſent priuilie to the earle of Warwike lieng at Whitſanbaie, that if he landed, hée ſhould be taken and loſt: for all England (as he ſaid) tooke part againſt him; the duke of Burgognie, and all the inhabitants of the towne, with the lord Duras the kings marſhall, and all the retinue of the garriſon were his enimies.

The double dealing of monſieur de Vauclere. The lord Duras was a Gaſcoigne alſo.

The earle, hauing this aduertiſement from his feigned enimie, with his nauie ſailed toward Normandie, and by the waie ſpoiled and tooke manie ſhips of the duke of Burgognies ſubiects, and at the laſt (with all his nauie and ſpoiles) he tooke land at Diepe in Normandie, where the gouernor of the countrie friendlie welcomed him, and aduertiſed king Lewes of his arriuall. The French king, deſirous of nothing more than to haue occaſion to pleaſure the erle of Warwike, of whom the hie renowme cauſed all men to haue him in admiration, ſent vnto him, requiring both him and his ſonne in law the duke of Clarence, to come vnto his caſtell of Ambois, where he then ſoiourned. The duke of Burgognie, hearing that the duke and earle were thus receiued in France, ſent a poſt with letters vnto king Lewes, partlie by waie of requeſt, and partlie by way of menacing, to diſſuade him from aiding of his aduerſaries, the ſaid duke and earle.

The earle of Warwike landed at Diepe.

Ambois.

But the French king little regarded this ſute of the duke of Burgognie, and therefore anſwered, that he might and would ſuccour his friends, and yet breake no leage with him at all. In the meane time, K. Edward made inquirie for ſuch as were knowne to be aiders of the earle of Warwike within his realme, of whom ſome he apprehended as guiltie, and ſome (doubting themſelues) fled to ſanctuarie, and other truſting to the kings pardon, ſubmitted themſelues, as Iohn marques Montacute, whom he courteouſlie receiued. When quéene Margaret that ſoiourned with duke Reiner hir father, heard tell that the earle of Warwike was come to the French court, with all diligence ſhée came to Ambois to ſée him, with hir onelie ſonne prince Edward.

Iohn marques Montacute.

With hir alſo came Iaſper earle of Penbroke, and Iohn earle of Oxford, which after diuerſe impriſonments latelie eſcaped, fled out of England into France, and came by fortune to this aſſemblie. Theſe perſons, after intreatie had of their affaires, determined by meanes of the French king to conclude a league and amitie betwéene them. And firſt to begin withall, for the ſure foundation of their new intreatie, Edward prince of Wales wedded Anne ſecond daughter to the earle of Warwike, which ladie came with hir mother into France. After which mariage, the duke and the earles tooke a ſolemne oth, that they ſhould neuer leaue the warre, till either king Henrie the ſixt, or his ſonne prince Edward, were reſtored to the crowne; and that the quéene and the prince ſhould

The earles of Penbroke & Oxford.

A league.

Edward prince of Wales maried.

ſhuld depute and appoint the duke and the earle to be gouernors & conſeruators of the common wealth, till time the prince were come to eſtate. Manie other conditions were agréed, as both reaſon & the weightineſſe of ſo great buſineſſe required.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in dooing in the French court, there landed a damſell, belonging to the ducheſſe of Clarence; as ſhe ſaid: which made monſieur de Vauclére beleeue, that ſhe was ſent from king Edward to the duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwike with a plaine ouerture and declaration of peace. Of the which tidings Vauclére was verie glad for the earles ſake. But this damſell comming to the duke, perſuaded him ſo much to leaue off the purſute of his conceiued diſpleaſure towards his brother king Edward, that he promiſed at his returne into England, not to be ſo extreme enimie againſt his brother as he was taken to be: and this promiſe afterward he did képe. With this anſwer the damſell returned into England, the earle of Warwike being thereof clearelie ignorant.

The promiſe of the duke of Clarence.

The French king lent both ſhips, men, and monie vnto quéene Margaret, and to hir partakers, and appointed the baſtard of Burbon, admerall of France, with a great nauie to defend them againſt the nauie of the duke of Burgognie, which he laid at the mouth of the riuer Saine, readie to incounter them, being of greater force than both the French nauie and the Engliſh fléet. And yet king Reiner did alſo helpe his daughter with men and munition of warre. When their ſhips and men were come togither to Harflue, the erle of Warwike thought not to linger time: bicauſe he was certified by letters from his friends out of England, that aſſoone as he had taken land, there would be readie manie thouſands to doo him what ſeruice and pleaſure they could or might. And beſide this, diuerſe noble men wrote that they would helpe him with men, armor, monie, and all things neceſſarie for the warre, and further to aduenture their owne bodies in his quarell.

The loue which the people bare to the earle of Warwike.

Suerlie his preſence was ſo much deſired of all the people, that almoſt all men were readie in armour, looking for his arriuall: for they iudged that the verie ſunne was taken from the world when hée was abſent. When he had receiued ſuch letters of comfort, he determined with the duke, and the earles of Oxford and Penbroke (bicauſe quéene Margaret and hir ſonne were not yet fullie furniſhed for the iournie) to go before with part of the nauie, and part of the armie. And euen as fortune would, the nauie of the duke of Burgognie at the ſame time by a tempeſt was ſcattered, & driuen beſide the coaſt of Normandie: ſo that the earle of Warwike in hope of a bonne voiage, cauſed ſailes to be halſed vp, and with good ſpéed landed at Darmouth in Deuonſhire, from whence almoſt ſix moneths paſſed he tooke his iournie toward France (as before ye haue heard.) When the earle had taken land, he made proclamation in the name of king Henrie the ſixt, vpon high paines commanding and charging all men able to beare armor, to prepare themſelues to fight againſt Edward duke of Yorke, which contrarie to right had vſurped the crowne. It is almoſt not to be beléeued, how manie thouſands men of warre at the firſt tidings of the earles landing reſorted vnto him.

A proclamation.

King Edward wakened with the newes of the earles landing, and the great repaire of people that came flocking in vnto him, ſent forth letters into all parts of his realme to raiſe an armie: but of them that were ſent for, few came, and yet of thoſe few the more part came with no great good willes. Which when he perceiued, he began to doubt the matter, and therefore being accompanied with the duke of Gloceſter his brother, the lord Haſtings his chamberlaine, which had maried the earles ſiſter, and yet was euer true to the king his maiſter, and the lord Scales brother to the quéene, he departed into Lincolneſhire. And bicauſe he vnderſtood that all the realme was vp againſt him, and ſome part of the earle of Warwiks power was within halfe a daies iournie of him, following the aduiſe of his counſell, with all haſt poſſible he paſſed the Waſhes in great ieopardie, & comming to Lin found there an Engliſh ſhip, and two hulkes of Holland readie (as fortune would) to make ſaile.

King Edward cōmeth to Lin and taketh ſhip to paſſe ouer ſeas.

Whervpon he with his brother the duke of Gloceſter, the lord Scales, and diuerſe other his truſtie friends, entered into the ſhip. The lord Haſtings taried a while after, exhorting all his acquaintance, that of neceſſitie ſhould tarie behind, to ſhew themſelues openlie as friends to king Henrie for their owne ſafegard, but hartilie required them in ſecret to continue faithfull to king Edward. This perſuaſion declared, he entered the ſhip with the other, and ſo they departed, being in number in that one ſhip and two hulkes, about ſeuen or eight hundred perſons, hauing no furniture of apparell or other neceſſarie things with them, ſauing apparell for warre. [For it was no taking of leaſure to prouide their corporall neceſſaries (though the want of them could hardlie be borne) in a caſe of preſent danger; conſidering that they were made againſt by the contrarie faction with ſuch ſwift purſute. And it had bene a point of extreme follie, to be carefull for the accidents, permitmitting in the meane time the ſubſtance vnto the ſpoile.]

The lord Haſtings.

The number that paſſed ouer with king Edward.

Abr. Fl.

As king Edward with ſaile and ore was thus making courſe towards the duke of Burgognies countrie (whither he determined at the firſt to go) it chanced that ſeuen or eight gallant ſhips of Eaſterlings, open enimies both to England and France, were abrode on thoſe ſeas, and eſpieng the kings veſſels, began to chaſe him. The kings ſhip was good of ſaile, and ſo much gat of the Eaſterlings, that he came on the coaſt of Holland, and ſo deſcended lower before a towne in the countrie called Alquemare, and there caſt anchor as néere the towne as was poſſible, bicauſe they could not enter the hauen at an ebbing water. The Eaſterlings alſo approched the Engliſh ſhip, as néere as their great ſhips ſhould come at the low water, intending at the floud to haue their preie: as they were verie like to haue atteined it in déed, if the lord Gronture, gouernor of that countrie for the duke of Burgognie, had not by chance béene at the ſame time in that towne.

King Edward arriued at Alquemare.

The lord Gronture.

This lord (vpon knowledge had of king Edwards arriuall there in the hauen, and in what danger he ſtood by reaſon of the Eaſterlings) commanded them not to be ſo hardie as once to meddle with anie Engliſhmen, being both the dukes fréends and alies. Then did king Edward & all his companie come on land. Who after they had béene well refreſhed & gentlie comforted by the lord Gronture, they were by him brought to the Hagh, a rich towne in Holland, where they remained a while, hauing all things neceſſarie miniſtred to them by order of the duke of Burgognie, ſent vnto the lord Gronture, immediatlie vpon certificat from the ſaid lord Gronture of king Edwards arriuall. [Héere we ſée in what perplexities king Edward and his retinue were, partlie by enimies at home in his owne countrie, whoſe hands he was conſtreined to flée from by the helpe of the ſea; partlie alſo by aduerſaries abroad, ſeeking opportunitie to offer him not the incounter onelie, but the ouerthrow. And ſuerly, had not good fortune fauoured him, in preparing readie meanes for him to auoid thoſe imminent dangers; he had doubtleſſe fallen among the weapons of his owne countrimen, and ſo neuer haue feared forren force: but in eſcaping both the one and the other, euen with ſhift of ſo ſpéedie expedition, it is a note (if it be well looked into) of happineſſe, if anie happineſſe may be in preſeruation from ruine and reproch.]

Edw. Hall. fol.ccix.

Now let all Engliſhmen (ſaith Edward Hall) conſider (as before is rehearſed) what profit, what commoditie, and what helpe in diſtreſſe, the mariage of the ladie Margaret, king Edwards ſiſter to the duke Charles, did to him in his extreame neceſſitie; and but by that meane vncurable extremitie: for his alies and confederats in Caſtile and Arragon were too far from him, either ſpéedilie to flie to, or ſhortlie to come fro with anie aid or armie. The French king was his extreme enimie, and fréend to king Henrie, for whoſe cauſe in the king of Scots (for all the leage betwéene them) he did put little confidence and leſſe truſt. The ſtates and all Eaſtland were with him at open war, and yet by this marriage, God prouided him a place to flie to, both for refuge and reléefe.

Abr. Flem.

[But for the further and cléerer explanation of theſe ſtratagems, or rather ciuill tumults, it ſhall not be amiſſe to inſert in this place (ſith I cannot hit vpon one more conuenient) a verie good note or addition receiued from the hands of maiſter Iohn Hooker chamberlaine of Exceſter; the contents whereof are of ſuch qualitie, that they cannot ſtand in concurrence with anie matter introduced within the compaſſe of the ninth yeare of this kings reigne (as he had quoted it) and therfore I thought it méet to tranſfer the ſame to this tenth yeare; conſidering that ſome part of the matter by him largelie touched, is briefelie in the premiſſes alreadie remembred.]

Iohn Hooker, alias Vowell.

¶ This yeare (ſaith he) was verie troubleſome, and full of ciuill wars and great diſcords. For after that king Edward the fourth was eſcaped out of priſon, at Wolneie beſides Warwike, he muſtered and prepared a new armie. Wherevpon the earle of Warwike and the duke of Clarence, miſtruſting themſelues, prepared to paſſe the ſeas ouer to Calis, and firſt of all ſent awaie the duches of Clarence daughter to the ſaid earle, who was then great with child, and ſhe being accompanied with the lord Fitz Warren, the lord Dinham, and the baron of Carew, and a thouſand fighting men came to this citie of Exceſter the eightéenth daie of March, and was lodged in the biſhops palace. Sir Hugh, or (as ſome ſaie) ſir William Courtneie, who then fauoured the partie of king Edward the fourth, aſſembled a great troope and armie of all the fréends he could make, and inuironing the citie, beſieged the ſame; he pulled downe all the bridges, rampered vp all the waies, and ſtopped all the paſſages, ſo that no vittels at all could be brought to this citie for twelue daies togither, which being doone vpon a ſudden and vnlooked for, vittels waxed ſhort and ſcant within the citie, and by reaſon of ſo great a multitude within the ſame, the people for want of food began to murmur and mutter.

Lord Dinhã, and baron Carew, with their power come to Exceſter.

The duches and the lords of hir companie, miſtruſting what might and would be the ſequele hereof, began to deale with the maior, and required to haue the keies of the gates to be deliuered into their hands and that they would vndertake the ſafe cuſtodie of the citie. Likewiſe ſir William Courtneie did ſend his meſſenger to the maior, and required the gates to be opened and to giue him entrance: or els he would with ſword and fier deſtroie the ſame. The maior and his brethren being in great perplexities, and hauing to anſwer not onelie the lords within and the knight without, but moſt of all doubting the common people within, who being impatient of penurie, were deafe to all perſuaſions and liſten to any counſels: did ſo order and handle the matter, as that by good ſpéeches and courteous vſages, euerie partie was ſtopped and ſtaied, vntill by means and mediations of certeine good and godlie men, an intreatie was made, the matter was compounded and the ſiege raiſed, and euerie man ſet at libertie.

The duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwike ſoiorne at Exceſter, and the purſue of the king.

The next daie after which concluſion, the gates being opened, to wit, the third of Aprill 1470, the earle of Warwike and the duke of Clarence came to this citie, and here reſted, and ſoiorned themſelues vntill ſufficient ſhipping was prouided for their paſſage ouer the ſeas, and then they all imbarked themſelues, and paſſed ouer to Calis. The king in this meane time muſtered his armie, and prepared with all ſpéed all things neceſſarie to follow and purſue his ſaid aduerſaries, and came to this citie, thinking to find them here the fouretéenth of Aprill being ſaturdaie 1470, with fortie thouſand fighting men: but the birds were fled awaie before his comming. Neuertheleſſe the king came and entred into the citie, being accompanied with ſundrie noble men; namelie, the biſhop of Elie then lord treaſuror, the duke of Norffolke earle marſhall, the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Wilſhire ſonne to the duke of Buckingham, the earle of Worceſter conſtable of England, the earle of Shreweſburie, the earle Riuers, the lord Haſtings, the lord Graie of Codnor, the lord Audelie, the lord Saie, the lord Sturton, the lord Dacres, the lord Montioie, the lord Stanleie, the lord Ferris, and the baron of Dudleie.

The king is receiued verie honorablie into the citie of Exceſter.

Before whoſe comming, the maior being aduertiſed thereof, tooke order, and gaue commandement to euerie citizen and inhabitant, being of abilitie, to prouide and prepare for himſelfe a gowne of the cities liuerie, which was then red colour, and to be in a readineſſe for receiuing of the king, which was accordinglie doone. And when the king was come néere to the citie, the maior being verie well attended with foure hundred perſons well and séemelie apparelled in the cities liuerie, went to the ſouth gate, and without the ſame attended the kings comming. Who when he was come, the maior did his moſt humble obeiſance, and therewith Thomas Dowriſh then recorder of the citie made vnto his grace an humble oration, congratulating his comming to the citie: which ended, the maior deliuered vnto the king the keies of the gates and the maces of his office, and therewith a purſſe of one hundred nobles in gold, which his grace tooke verie thankfullie. The monie he kept, but the keies and the maces he deliuered backe to the maior; and then the maior tooke the mace and did beare it through the citie bare-headed before the king, vntill he came to his lodging.

The citizens beneuolence to the king.

The next daie following, being Palmeſundaie, the king in moſt princelie and roiall maner came to the cathedrall church of ſaint Peters, to heare the diuine ſeruice, where he followed and went in proceſſion after the maner as was then vſed, round about the churchyard, to the great ioy and comfort of all the people: he continued in the citie thrée daies vntill the tueſdaie then following; who when he had dined tooke his horſſe and departed backe towards London, and gaue to the maior great good thanks for his interteinement. About foure moneths after this, in Auguſt, the duke of Clarence and the erle of Warwike returned againe from Calis, with all their retinue, & landed ſome at Plimmouth, ſome at Dartmouth, and ſome at Exmouth: but all met in this citie, and from hence they all paſſed towards London, and at euerie place they proclamed king Henrie the ſixt, Which when king Edward heard, he was very much troubled therewith: and not able then to withſtand their force, he paſſed the ſeas to his brother in law the duke of Burgognie.

How long the king continued in the citie.

The duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwike arriue on the Engliſh coaſts.

This yeare alſo, being verie troubleſome, and the gouerne-

The practiſe of a knight being chiefe iuſtice at the law to rid himſelfe of life.

gouernement vncerteine, men were in great perplexities, & wiſt not what to doo. And among manie there was one ſpeciallie to be remembred, who to rid himſelfe out of theſe troubles, did deuiſe this practiſe: his name was ſir William Haukeſford knight, a man verie well learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the chiefe iuſtices at the law: he dwelled at Annorie in Deuonſhire, a gentleman of great poſſeſſions, and hauing neuer a ſonne, the lord Fitz Warren, ſir Iohn Sentleger, & ſir William Bulleine, who maried his daughters, were his heires. This man being one of the chiefeſt lawiers in the land, was dailie ſought to and his counſell aſked: and he conſidering that when the ſword ruled, law had a ſmall courſe, and finding by experience what fruits inſue ſuch counſell as dooth not beſt like the parties, was verie heauie, ſorrowfull, and in great agonies.

In vniuſt or ſurmiſed charge of the knight againſt the kéeper of his parke.

Herevpon ſuddenlie he called vnto him the kéeper of his parke, with whom he fell out and quareled, bicauſe (as he ſaid) he was ſlouthfull and careles, and did not walke in the nights about the parke, but ſuffered his game to be ſpoiled and his déere to be ſtolen, therefore he willed him to be more vigilant and carefull of his charge: and alſo commanded him that if he met anie man in his circuit and walke in the night time, and would not ſtand nor ſpeake vnto him, he ſhould not ſpare to kill him what ſo euer he were. This knight, hauing laid this foundation, and minding to performe what he had purpoſed for the ending of his dolefull daies, did in a certeine darke night ſecretlie conueie himſelfe out of his houſe, and walked alone in his parke. Then the kéeper in his night walke hearing one ſtirring and comming towards him, aſked who was there? but no anſwer was made at all.

The kéeper killeth his maiſter the knight with an arrow.

Then the kéeper willed him to ſtand, which when he would not doo, the kéeper nocked his arrow and ſhot vnto him, and killed him; who when he perceiued that it was his maiſter, then he called to remembrance his maiſters former commandement. And ſo this knight, otherwiſe learned and wiſe, being affraid to diſpleaſe man, did diſpleaſe God, and verie diſorderlie ended his life. It is inrolled amongſt the records of this citie, of a commiſſion directed to Iohn earle of Deuonſhire, & from him ſent to the maior of the citie of Exceſter to be proclamed. The words be theſe: *Decimoquarto die Aprilis, vz. in vigilia Paſchæ, An, 49. Hen. 6. commiſsio domini regis directa Iohanni comiti Deuon. miſſa eſt maiori vt proclamaretur.* And likewiſe in an other place: *Quatuor marcæ ſunt ſolutæ Iohanni comiti Deuon. ex aſſenſu maioris.* Howbeit, certeine it is there was no ſuch earle of that name, onelie there was Iohn Holland then liuing duke of Exceſter, wherefore ſomething is miſtaken herein.

Abr. Flem.

But was this a practiſe (thinke you) beſéeming a man of worſhip, learning, and iudgement, to make awaie himſelfe, bicauſe he ſaw a temporall interruption of his proſperitie? Suerlie how much learning ſo euer he had in the lawes of the land, litle at all or none (as appeareth) had he in ſuffering the forces of aduerſitie, whom the feare of it did ſo terrifie, that it droue him to his end. Wiſe therefore is the counſell of the comedie-writer, and worthie of imitation, that a man, when he is in beſt caſe and higheſt degrée of welfare, ſhould euen then meditate with himſelfe how to awaie with hardneſſe, with penurie, perils, loſſe, baniſhment, and other afflictions: for ſo ſhall he prepare himſelfe to beare them with patience when they happen: as ſouldiers trained vp in militarie exerciſes at home, are ſo much the forwarder for the field, & fitter to incounter their foes (with leſſe dread of danger) when they come abroad to be tried: and therefore it is wiſelie (& to the purpoſe) ſaid of Virgil:

Aeneid. 5.

——*ſuperando omnis fortuna ferendo eſt.*]

But to returne to the princes affaires. When the fame was once ſpred abroad that K. Edward was fled the relme, an innumerable number of people reſorted to the earle of Warwike to take his part, but all K. Edwards truſtie fréends went to diuerſe ſanctuaries, and amongſt other his wife quéene Elizabeth tooke ſanctuarie at Weſtminſter, and there in great penurie forſaken of all hir friends, was deliuered of a faire ſon called Edward, which was with ſmall pompe like a poore mans child chriſtened, the godfathers being the abbat and prior of Weſtminſter, and the godmother the ladie Scroope. [But what might be the heauineſſe of this ladies hart (thinke we) vpon conſideration of ſo manie counterblaſts of vnhappineſſe inwardlie conceiued? Hir husband had taken flight, his adherents and hir fréends ſought to ſhroud themſelues vnder the couert of a new protector, ſhe driuen in diſtreſſe forſooke not that ſimple refuge which hir hard hap forced vpon hir; and (a kings wife) wanted in hir neceſſitie ſuch things as meane mens wiues had in ſuperfluitie, & (a coroſiue to a noble mind) a prince of renowmed parentage was (by conſtreint of vnkind fortune) not vouchſafed the ſolemnitie of chriſtendome due and decent for ſo honorable a perſonage.]

K. Edwards fréends take ſanctuarie.

Quéene Elizabeth deliuered of a prince.

Ab. Flem.

The Kentiſhmen make an hurlie burlie.

The Kentiſhmen in this ſeſon (whoſe minds be euer moueable at the change of princes) came to the ſuburbs of London, ſpoiled manſions, robbed béerehouſes, and by the counſell of ſir Geffrie Gates and other ſanctuarie men, they brake vp the kings Bench and deliuered priſoners, and fell at Ratcliffe, Limehouſe, & S. Katharins, to burning of houſes, ſlaughter of people, and rauiſhing of women. Which ſmall ſparkle had growne to a greater flame, if the earle of Warwike with a great power had not ſuddenlie quenched it, and puniſhed the offendors: which benefit by him doone, cauſed him much more to be eſtéemed and liked amongſt the commons than he was before. When he had ſettled all things at his pleaſure, vpon the twelfe daie of October he rode to the Tower of London, and there deliuered king Henrie out of the ward, where he before was kept, and brought him to the kings lodging, where he was ſerued according to his degrée.

King Henrie fetched out of the Tower & reſtored to his kinglie gouernement.

On the fiue and twentith day of the ſaid moneth, the duke of Clarence accompanied with the earles of Warwike and Shreweſburie, the lord Strange, and other lords and gentlemen, ſome for feare, and ſome for loue, and ſome onelie to gaze at the wauering world, went to the Tower, and from thenſe brought king Henrie apparelled in a long gowne of blew veluet, through London to the church of ſaint Paule, the people on euerie ſide the ſtréets reioiſing and crieng; God ſaue the king: as though ech thing had ſucceeded as they would haue had it: and when he had offered (as kings vſe to doo) he was conueied to the biſhops palace, where he kept his houſhold like a king. [Thus was the principalitie poſted ouer ſomtimes to Henrie, ſometimes to Edward; according to the ſwaie of the partie preuailing: ambition and diſdaine ſtill caſting fagots on the fire, whereby the heat of hatred gathered the greater force to the conſumption of the péeres and the deſtruction of the people. In the meane time, neither part could ſecurelie poſſeſſe the regalitie, when they obteined it; which highmindedneſſe was in the end the ouerthrow of both principals and acceſſaries, according to the nature thereof noted in this diſtichon by the poet:

Faſtus habet lites, offenſis faſtus abundat,
Faſtus ad interitum præcipitare ſolet.]

A parlement.

When king Henrie had thus readepted and effſoones gotten his regall power and authoritie, he called his high court of parlement to begin the ſix and twentith day of Nouember, at Weſtminſter; in the

K. Edward adiudged an vſurper.

which king Edward was adiudged a traitor to the countrie, and an vſurper of the realme. His goods were confiſcat and forfeited. The like ſentence was giuen againſt all his partakers and freends. And beſides this it was inacted, that ſuch as for his ſake were apprehended, and were either in captiuitie or at large vpon ſuerties, ſhould be extremelie puniſhed according to their demerits, amongſt whome was the lord Tiptoft earle of Worceſter lieutenant for king Edward in Ireland, exerciſing there more extreme crueltie than princelie pietie, and namelie on two infants being ſonnes to the earle of Deſmond.

Abr.Fl. ex I.S. pag.725. The earle Tiptoft beheaded.

[This earle of Worceſter, being found in the top of an high three, in the forreſt of Waibridge, in the countie of Huntington, was brought to London, and either for treaſon to him laid, or malice againſt him conceiued, was atteinted, and beheaded at the Tower hill, and after buried at the Blacke friers.] Moreouer, all ſtatutes made by king Edward were clearlie reuoked, and the crownes of the realmes of England and France were by authoritie of the ſame parlement intailed to king Henrie the ſixt, and to his heires male; and for default of ſuch heires, to remaine to George duke of Clarence, & to his heires male: and further, the ſaid duke was inabled to be next heire to his father Richard duke of Yorke, and to take from him all his landes and dignities, as though he had beene his eldeſt ſonne at the time of his death. Iaſper earle of Penbroke, and Iohn earle of Oxford, with diuerſe other by king Edward atteinted, were reſtored to their old names, poſſeſſions, and ancient dignities.

The crowne intailed.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 722, 723. The earle of Warwike his houſekeeping. Fabian.

Beſide this, the earle of Warwike, as one to whom the common-wealth was much bounden [and euer had in great fauour of the commons of this land, by reaſon of the exceeding houſhold which he dailie kept in all countries where euer he ſoiourned or laie: and when he came to London, he held ſuch an houſe, that ſix oxen were eaten at a breakefaſt, and euerie tauerne was full of his meat, for who that had anie acquaintance in that houſe, he ſhould haue had as much ſod and roſt as he might carrie vpon a long dagger] he (I ſaie) was made gouernour of the realme, with whom as fellow was aſſociat George duke of Clarence. And thus was the ſtate of the realme quite altered. To this parlement came the marqueſſe Montacute, excuſing himſelfe, that for feare of death he declined to take king Edwards part, which excuſe was accepted. When queene Margaret vnderſtood by hir huſbands letters, that the victorie was gotten by their freends, ſhe with hir ſonne prince Edward and hir traine entered their ſhips, to take their voiage into England: but the winter was ſo ſharpe, the weather ſo ſtormie, and the wind ſo contrarie, that ſhe was faine to take land againe, and to deferre hir iournie till another ſeaſon.

The earle of Warwike inſtituted gouernour of the realme.

Iaſper earle of Penbroke.

About the ſame ſeaſon, Iaſper earle of Penbroke went into Wales, to viſit his lands in Penbrokeſhire, where he found lord Henrie ſonne to his brother Edmund earle of Richmond, hauing not full ten yeares of age; he being kept in maner like a captiue, but honorablie brought vp by the ladie Herbert, late wife to William earle of Penbroke, beheaded at Banburie (as ye before haue heard.) This Henrie was borne of Margaret the onelie daughter and heire of Iohn the firſt duke of Summerſet, then not being full ten yeares of age, the which ladie though ſhe were after ioined in mariage with lord Henrie ſonne to Humfreie duke of Buckingham, and after to Thomas Stanleie earle of Derbie, both being yoong and apt for generation, yet ſhe had neuer anie more children, as though ſhe had doone hir part to bring foorth a man child, and the ſame to be a king (as he after was indeed) intituled by the name of Henrie the ſeuenth (as after ye ſhall heare.)

Margaret counteſſe of Richmond and Derbie.

The earle of Penbroke tooke this child, being his nephue, out of the cuſtodie of the ladie Herbert, and at his returne brought the child with him to London to king Henrie the ſixt, whome when the king had a good while beheld, he ſaid to ſuch princes as were with him: Lo, ſuerlie this is he, to whom both we and our aduerſaries leauing the poſſeſſion of all things ſhall hereafter giue roome and place. So this holie man ſhewed before the chance that ſhould happen, that this earle Henrie ſo ordeined by God, ſhould in time to come (as he did indeed) haue and inioy the kingdome and whole rule of this realme of England. ¶ So that it might ſeeme probable by the coherence of holie Henries predictions with the iſſue falling out in truth with the ſame; that for the time he was indued with a propheticall ſpirit. And ſuerlie the epithet or title of holie is not for naught attributed vnto him, for it is to be read in writers, that he was by nature giuen to peaceableneſſe, abhorring bloud and ſlaughter, deteſting ciuill tumults, addicted to deuotion, verie frequent in praier, and not eſteeming ſo highlie of courtlie gallantneſſe as ſtood with the dignitie of a prince. In conſideration wherof, he procured againſt himſelfe an apoſtaſie of his people both natiue and forren; who reuolted and fell from fealtie. And whie? The reaſon is rendred by the ſame writer, namelie:

The ſaieng of king Henrie the ſixt, of Henrie of Richmond after king Henrie the ſeuenth.

Ab.Flem.

Quod tales homines populus ſceleratior odit,
Faſtidit, deteſtatur: non conuenit inter
Virtutem & vitium, lucem fugère tenebræ.]

The earle of Warwike, vnderſtanding that his enimie the duke of Burgognie had receiued king Edward, and meant to aid him for recouerie of the kingdome, he firſt ſent ouer to Calis foure hundred archers on horſſebacke to make warre on the dukes countries; and further, prepared foure thouſand valiant men to go ouer ſhortlie, that the duke might haue his hands euen full of trouble at home. And where ye haue heard that the erle of Warwike was kept out of Calis at his fleeing out of England into France, ye ſhall note that within a quarter of an houre after it was knowne that he was returned into England; and had chaſed king Edward out of the realme; not onelie monſieur de Vauclere, but alſo all other of the garriſon & towne ſhewed themſelues to be his freends; ſo that the ragged ſtaffe was taken vp and worne in euerie mans cap, ſome ware it of gold enameled, ſome of ſiluer; and he that could haue it neither of gold nor ſiluer, had it of whitiſh ſilke or cloth: ſuch wauering minds haue the common people, bending like a reed with euerie wind that bloweth.

The ragged ſtaffe.

The duke of Burgognie, hauing an armie readie at the ſame time to inuade the frontiers of France, to recouer the townes of ſaint Quintines and Amiens, latelie by the French king taken from him, doubted to be hindered greatlie by the Engliſhmen, if he ſhould be conſtreined to haue warre with them: for the duke of Burgognie held not onlie at that ſeaſon Flanders, but alſo Bulleine, and Bullennois, and all Artois, ſo that he was thereby in danger to receiue harme out of Calis on ech ſide. Therefore he ſent ambaſſadors thither, which did ſo much with the councell there, that the league was newlie confirmed betwixt the realme of England and the dukes countries; onelie the name of Henrie put in the writing in ſteed of Edward. This matter hindered ſore the ſute of king Edward, dailie ſuing to the duke for aid at his hands, the more earneſtlie indeed, bicauſe of ſuch promiſes as by letters were made vnto him out of England, from his aſſured freends there.

The duke of Burgognie ſendeth ambaſſadors to Calis.

1471

He aideth K. Edward vnder hand.

But duke Charles would not conſent openlie to aid king Edward; but yet ſecretlie vnder hand by others he lent vnto him fiftie thouſand florens of the croſſe of S. Andrew, and further cauſed foure great ſhips to be appointed for him in the hauen of de Veere, otherwiſe called Camphire in Zeland, which in thoſe daies was frée for all men to come vnto, and the duke hired for him fouretéene ſhips of the Eaſterlings well appointed, & for the more ſuertie tooke a bond of them to ſerue him trulie, till he were landed in England, and fiftéene daies after. The Eaſterlings were glad of this iournie, truſting if he got againe the poſſeſſion of England, they ſhould the ſooner come to a peace, and obteine reſtitution of their liberties and franchiſes, which they claimed of former time to haue within this realme. The duke of Burgognie cared not much, on whoſe ſide the victorie fell, ſauing for paiment of his monie: for he would oft ſaie, that he was fréend to both parties, and either part was fréendlie to him.

In déed, as he was brother in law to the one, ſo was he of kin to the other, as by his grandmother being daughter to Iohn of Gant duke of Lancaſter. When therefore all king Edwards furniture and prouiſion for his iournie were once readie, hauing now with him about two thouſand able men of warre, beſide mariners, he entered into the ſhips with them, in the hauen before Fliſhing in Zeland, vpon the ſecond day of March: and bicauſe the wind fell not good for his purpoſe, he taried ſtill aboord for the ſpace of nine daies, before it turned méet for his iournie. But after that the wind once came about (as he wiſht) the ſails were hoiſſed vp on the 11 of March being mondaie, & forward they ſailed, directing their courſe ſtreight ouer towards the coaſt of Norffolke. On the next day being tueſday, & the twelfe of March, toward the euening, they road before Cromer, where the king ſent to land ſir Robert Chamberleine, with ſir Gilbert Debenham knights, and diuerſe other, to the end they might diſcouer the countrie, and vnderſtand how the people within the land were bent towards him, eſpeciallie thoſe countries there next adioining.

W. Fleetwood.

He arriueth on the coaſt of Norffolke.

Anno Reg. 11. The earle of Oxford.

Vpon their returne, he vnderſtood that there was no ſuertie for him to land in thoſe parties, by reaſon of the good order which the earle of Warwike, and the earle of Oxford eſpeciallie had taken in that countrie to reſiſt him: for not onelie the duke of Norffolke, but all other the gentlemen (whome the earle of Warwike had in anie ſuſpicion) were by letters of priuie ſeale ſent for, and either committed to ſafe kéeping about London, or elſe inforced to find ſuertie for their loiall demeanor towards king Henrie: yet thoſe knights and other that were thus ſent forth to make inquirie, were well receiued of their frends, and had good cheare. But after the king perceiued by their report, how things ſtood thereabouts, he cauſed his ſhips to make courſe towards the north parts.

The ſame night folowing, a great ſtorme of winds and weather roſe, ſore troubling the ſeas, and continued till the fourtéenth day of that moneth being thurſday, on the which day with great danger, by reaſon of the tempeſtuous rage and torment of the troubled ſeas, he arriued at the head of Humber, where the other ſhips were ſcattered from him, each one ſeuered from other; ſo that of neceſſitie they were driuen to land in ſunder where they beſt might, for doubt to be caſt awaie in that perillous tempeſt. The king with the lord Haſtings his chamberleine, and other to the number of fiue hundred men being in one ſhip, landed within Humber on Holderneſſe ſide, at a place called Rauenſpurgh, euen in the ſame place where Henrie erle of Derbie, after called king Henrie the fourth landed, when he came to depriue king Richard the ſecond of the crowne, and to vſurpe it to himſelfe.

He arriueth at the head of Humber.

He landeth at Rauenſpurgh

Richard duke of Gloceſter, and thrée hundred men in his companie, tooke land in another place foure miles diſtant from thence, where his brother king Edward did land. The earle Riuers, and with him two hundred men, landed at a place called Pole, fourtéene miles from the hauen where the king came on land. The reſidue of his people landed ſome here ſome there, in place where for their ſuerties they thought beſt. On the morrow, being the fiftéenth of March, now that the tempeſt ceaſed, and euerie man being got to land, they drew from euerie of their landing places towards the king, who for the firſt night was lodged in a poore village, two miles from the place where he firſt ſet foot on land. [As for his traine, though the ſeaſon of the yeere was naturallie cold, & therefore required competent refection by warmth, it is to be ſuppoſed, that all their lodgings were hard inough, ſith the principals prouiſion was ſorie inough. But what of that? Better (in caſes of extremitie) an hard ſhift than none at all.]

Touching the folks of the countrie, there came few or none to him. For by the incenſing of ſuch as had bin ſent into thoſe parts from the erle of Warwike, and other his aduerſaries, the people were ſhrewdlie induced to ſtand againſt him. But yet, in reſpect of the good will that manie of them had borne to his father, they could haue béene content, that he ſhould haue inioied his right to his due inheritance of the duchie of Yorke, but in no wiſe to the title of the crowne. And herevpon they ſuffered him to paſſe, not ſéeking to annoie him, till they might vnderſtand more of his purpoſed meaning. The king, perceiuing how the people were bent, noiſed abroad that hée came to make none other chalenge but to his inheritance of the duchie of Yorke: and withall ment to paſſe firſt into the citie of Yorke, and ſo forward towards London, to incounter with his aduerſaries that were in the ſouth parts.

For although his néereſt waie had béene through Lincolneſhire: yet bicauſe in taking that waie hée muſt haue gone againe to the water, in paſſing ouer Humber; he doubted leaſt it would haue bin thought that he had withdrawne himſelfe to the ſea for feare. And to auoid the rumors that might haue béene ſpred thereof, to the hinderance of his whole cauſe, he refuſed that waie, and tooke this other, ſtill bruting it (as before we ſaid) that his comming was not to chalenge the crowne, but onelie to be reſtored vnto his fathers right and inheritance of the duchie of Yorke, which was deſcended to him from his father. And here it ſéemed that the colour of iuſtice hath euer ſuch a force in it ſelfe amongſt all men, that where before few or none of the commons could be found that would offer themſelues to take his part: yet now that he did (as they thought) claime nothing but that which was his right, they began ſtreight to haue a liking of his cauſe.

And where there were gathered to the number of ſix or ſeuen thouſand men in diuerſe places, vnder the leading chiefie of a prieſt and of a gentleman called Martine de la Mare, in purpoſe to haue ſtopped his paſſage: now the ſame perſons tooke occaſion to aſſiſt him. And when he perceiued mens minds to bée well qualified with this feined deuiſe, he marched forth till he came to Beuerleie, which ſtood in his direct waie as he paſſed toward Yorke. He ſent alſo to Kingſton vpon Hull, diſtant from thence ſix miles, willing that he might be there receiued: but the inhabitants, who had bene laboured by his aduerſaries, refuſed in anie wiſe to grant therevnto.

Martine de la Mare or Martine of the ſea.

He paſſeth toward Yorke.

The earle of Warwike aduertiſed by meſſengers of king Edwards arriuall, and of his turning toward Yorke, with all haſt wrote to his brother the marqueſſe Montacute, who had laine at the caſtell of Pomfret all the laſt winter with a great number of ſouldiers, willing him to conſider in what caſe their affaires ſtood, and thervpon with all ſpéed to ſet vpon king Edward, or elſe to kéepe the paſſages, and to ſtaie him from comming anie further forward, till he himſelfe as then being in Warwikeſhire buſie to aſſemble an armie, might come to his aid with the ſame. [Thus laboured the earle of Warwike by policie and puiſſance, as well of his owne as others power, to further his owne purpoſe, hauing ſworne in heart a due performance of that, which he had ſolemnlie vowed and promiſed before.]

Sée before page 664.

But this notwithſtanding, although there were great companies of people of the countries there abouts aſſembled, yet they came not in ſight of the king, but ſuffered him quietlie to paſſe; either bicauſe they were perſuaded that he ment (as he in outward words pretended) not to claime anie title to the crowne, but onelie his right to the duchie of Yorke; or elſe for that they doubted to ſet vpon him, although his number were farre vnequall to theirs; knowing that not onelie he himſelfe, but alſo his companie were minded to ſell their liues dearlie, before they would ſhrinke an inch from anie that was to incounter them. It maie be that diuerſe of the capteins alſo were corrupted: and although outwardlie they ſhewed to be againſt him, yet in heart they bare him right good will, and in no wiſe minded to hinder him. So forward he marched, till he came to Yorke, on a monday being the eightéenth day of March.

K. Edward without interruption paſſeth forward to Yorke.

Before he came to the citie by the ſpace of thrée miles, the recorder of Yorke, whoſe name was Thomas Coniers (one knowne in déed not to beare him anie faithfull good will) came vnto him; & gaue him to vnderſtand, that it ſtood in no wiſe with his ſuertie, to preſume to approch the citie: for either hée ſhould be kept out by force, or if he did enter, he ſhuld be in danger to be caſt away by his aduerſaries that were within. King Edward neuertheleſſe, ſith he was come thus farre forward, knew well inough there was no going backe for him, but manfullie to procéed forward with his begun iournie, and therefore kept on his way. And ſhortlie after there came to him out of the citie, Robert Clifford, and Richard Burgh, who aſſured him that in the quarell which he pretended to purſue, to wit, for the obteining of his right to the duchie of Yorke, he ſhould not faile but be receiued into the citie.

Thomas Coniers recorder of Yorke.

But immediatlie after came the ſaid Coniers againe, with the like tale and information as he had brought before. And thus king Edward one while put in comfort, and another while diſcouraged, marched forth till he came to the gates of the citie, where his people ſtaied; whileſt he and about ſixtéene or ſeuentéene other ſuch as he thought méeteſt, went forth and entred the citie with the ſaid Clifford & Burgh. And (as ſome write) there was a prieſt readie to ſaie maſſe, in which maſſe time the king receiued the ſacrament of the communion, & there ſolemnlie ſware to kéepe and obſerue two ſpeciall articles: although it was farre vnlike that he minded to obſerue either of them: the one was that he ſhould vſe the citizens after a gentle and courteous maner: and the other, that he ſhould be faithfull and obedient vnto king Henries commandements.

K. Edward commeth to Yorke.

He receiueth an oth.

For this wilfull periurie (as hath béene thought) the iſſue of this king ſuffered (for the fathers offenſe) the depriuation not onelie of lands and worldlie poſſeſſions, but alſo of their naturall liues, by their cruell vncle K. Richard the third. [And it may well be. For it is not likelie that God, in whoſe hands is the beſtowing of all ſoueraigntie, will ſuffer ſuch an indignitie to be doone to his ſacred maieſtie, and will ſuffer the ſame to paſſe with impunitie. And ſuerlie, if an oth among priuate men is religiouſlie to be kept, ſith in the ſame is an exact triall of faith and honeſtie; doubtleſſe of princes it is verie nicelie and preciſelie to be obſerued: yea they ſhould rather ſuſteine a blemiſh and diſgrace in their roialtie, than preſume to go againſt their oth and promiſe, ſpeciallie if the ſame ſtand vpon conditions of equitie: otherwiſe they proue themſelues to be impugners of fidelitie, which is a iewell ſurpaſſing gold in price and eſtimation, as the poet prudentlie ſaith:

Charior eſt auro non ſimulata fides.

When king Edward had thus gotten into the citie of Yorke, he made ſuch meanes among the citizens, that he got of them a certeine ſumme of monie; and leauing a gariſon within the citie contrarie to his oth, for feare leaſt the citizens after his departure, might happilie moue ſome rebellion againſt him, he ſet forward the next day toward Todcaſter, a towne ten miles from thence, belonging to the earle of Northumberland. The next day he tooke his waie toward Wakefield and Sendall, a caſtell and lordſhip belonging to the inheritance of the dukes of Yorke, leauing the caſtell of Pomfret vpon his left hand, where the marques Montacute with his armie laie, and did not once offer to ſtop him.

The marques Montacute ſuffereth king Edward to paſſe by him.

Whether the marques ſuffered him to paſſe by ſo, with his good will or no, diuerſe haue diuerſlie coniectured. Some thinke that it lay not in the power of the marques greatlie to annoie him, both for that the king was well beloued in thoſe parties; & againe, all the lords & commons there for the moſt part were towards the earle of Northumberland, and without him or his commandement they were not willing to ſtirre. And therefore the earle in ſitting ſtill and not mouing to and fro, was thought to doo king Edward as good ſeruice as if he had come to him, and raiſed people to aſſiſt him; for diuerſe happilie that ſhould haue come with him, remembring diſpleaſures paſt, would not haue béene ſo faithfull as the earle himſelfe, if it had come to the iumpe of anie hazard of battell.

About Wakefield and the parts there adioining, ſome companie of his freends came to him, whereby his power was increaſed; but nothing in ſuch numbers as he looked for. From Wakefield he croſſed on the left hand, ſo to come againe into the high waie, and came to Doncaſter, and from thence vnto Notingham. Here came to him ſir William Parre, and ſir Iames Harrington, with ſix hundred men well armed and appointed: alſo there came to him ſir Thomas Burgh, & ſir Thomas Montgomerie with their aids, which cauſed him at their firſt comming to make proclamation in his owne name, to wit, of K. Edward the fourth, boldlie affirming to him, that they would ſerue no man but a king.

K. Edward commeth to Northampt.

Edw. Hall.

Whileſt he remained at Notingham, and alſo before he came there, he ſent abroad diuerſe of his auant courrers to diſcouer the countrie, and to vnderſtand if there were anie power gathered againſt him. Some of them that were thus ſent, approached to Newarke, and vnderſtood that within the towne there, the duke of Exceſter, the earle of Oxenford, the lord Bardolfe, and other were lodged with a great power to the number of foure thouſand men, which they had aſſembled in Eſſex, Norffolke, Suffolke, and in the ſhires of Cambridge, Huntington, and Lincolne. The duke of Exceſter, and the earle of Oxenford, with other the chéefe capteins, aduertiſed that king Edwards forriders had béene afore the towne in the euening, ſuppoſed verelie that he and his whole armie were comming towards them.

The duke of Exceſter with a power at Newarke.

Héere vpon, they not thinking it good to abide longer there, determined with all ſpéed to diſlodge, and ſo about two of the clocke after midnight they departed from Newarke, leauing ſome of their people behind, which either ſtale awaie from them, and taried of purpoſe, or could not get awaie ſo ſoone as their fellowes. In déed the foreriders that ſo diſcouered them within the towne of Newarke, aduertiſed the king thereof in all poſt haſt, who incontinentlie aſſembled his people, and forthwith marched towards them: but before he came within thrée miles of the towne, he had knowledge that they were fled and gone from Newarke. Wherevpon he returned againe to Notingham, intending to kéepe on his néereſt waie towards the earle of Warwike, whome he vnderſtood to be departed from London, and to be come into Warwikeſhire, where & in the countries adioining he was buſied in leuieng an armie, with the which he purpoſed to diſtreſſe him.

K. Edward commeth to Leiceſter.

The king then from Notingham came to Leiceſter, where thrée thouſand able men, and well furniſhed for the warre came vnto him. Theſe were ſuch as he knew would liue and die in his quarrell, the moſt part of them belonging vnto the lord Haſtings the kings chamberlaine. And thus he, being more ſtronglie accompanied than before, departed from Leiceſter, and came before the wals of the citie of Couentrie, the nine and twentith daie of March. The earle of Warwike was withdrawne into this citie, kéeping himſelfe incloſed therein with his people, being in number ſix or ſeauen thouſand men. The king ſent to him, and willed him to come forth into the field, and there to make an end of the quarell in plaine battell: but the earle at that preſent refuſed ſo to doo.

The earle of Warwike in Couentrie.

K. Edward prouoketh the earle of Warwike to fight.

For although, vnder pretenſe of king Henries authoritie, he was reputed the kings generall lieutenant of the whole realme, whereby he had got ſuch power togither, as was thought able inough to match with the king for number; yet bicauſe he doubted how they were bent in his fauour, he durſt not commit the matter vnto the doubtfull chance of battell, till he had more of his truſtie fréends about him. The king therefore thrée daies togither prouoked him to come forth, but when he ſaw it would not be, he remooued to Warwike an eight miles from Couentrie, where he was receiued as king, and ſo made his proclamations from that time forth in all places where he came, vnder his accuſtomed name and title of king.

He cõmeth to Warwike.

He lodged héere at Warwike, the rather (as was thought) to prouoke the earle to iſſue forth of Couentrie to giue him battell, howbeit that deuiſe nothing auailed. But yet there came dailie diuerſe perſons on the earls behalfe to treat with the king about a peace, that ſome good compoſition might haue béene concluded; & the king for the aduancement of peace and tranquillitie within the realme, offered large conditions; as a frée pardon of life to the earle, and all his people, with manie other beneficiall articles on their behalfes, which to manie ſéemed verie reaſonable, conſidering their heinous offenſes. But the earle would not accept anie offers, except he might haue compounded ſo as it pleaſed himſelfe, & as was thought in no wiſe to ſtand with the kings honour, and ſuertie of his eſtate.

A treatie for peace.

The duke of Clarence.

In this meane while, the earle of Warwike ſtill looked for the duke of Clarence, who by the ſaid earls appointment had aſſembled a power of men of war about London: but when the earle perceiued that the duke lingered forth the time, and did not vſe ſuch diligence as was requiſit, as one that had béene in doubt of warre or peace, he began to ſuſpect that the duke was of his brother corrupted, and therein he was nothing deceiued. For true it is, that whileſt the king was as yet beyond the ſeas, in the dominion of the duke of Burgognie, the duke of Clarence began to weie with himſelfe the great inconuenience into the which as well his brother king Edward, as himſelfe and his yonger brother the duke of Gloceſter were fallen, through the diſſention betwixt them: (which had béene compaſſed and brought to paſſe by the politike working of the earle of Warwike and his complices.)

As firſt the diſheriting of them all from their rightfull title to the crowne; ſecondlie the mortall and deteſtable war that could not but inſue betwixt them, to ſuch miſchéefe, that to whether part the victorie inclined, the victor ſhould remaine in no more ſuertie of his owne perſon or eſtate after the vpper hand got, than before; and thirdlie he well perceiued alreadie, that he was had in great ſuſpicion, and not heartilie beloued of anie the lords and rulers that were aſſured partakers with king Henrie and the Lancaſtrian faction: inſomuch they ſticked not dailie to go about to breake and make void the appointments, articles, and couenants, made and promiſed to him, and of likelihood would dailie more and more intend thereto: for in truth he ſaw, that they purpoſed nothing ſo much as the deſtruction both of him and all his bloud.

All which things throughlie conſidered, with manie other as they were laid afore him by right wiſe and circumſpect perſons, which in this behalfe had conference with him, he conſented that by ſome ſecret waies and meanes a reconciliation might be had betwixt him and his brethren, the king and the duke of Gloceſter. The which to bring to ſome good and full effect, theſe honorable perſonages following became dealers therein. Firſt of all the duches of Yorke their mother, the duches of Exceſter, and the duches of Suffolke their ſiſters; the lord cardinall of Canturburie, the biſhop of Bath, the earle of Eſſex; but moſt ſpeciallie the duches of Burgognie their ſiſter alſo, and diuerſe other right wiſe and prudent perſonages, who wrought by mediation of certeine préeſts, and others, ſuch as they vſed for meſſengers betwixt them.

Préeſts vſed for priuie meſſengers.

Finallie, by the earneſt trauell and diligence ſhewed by the ſaid duches of Burgognie (who inceſſantlie ſent to and fro ſuch hir truſtie meſſengers now to the king being on that ſide the ſeas, and then to the duke remaining héere in England) at length they were made fréends, and a perfect agréement concluded and ratified, with aſſurance betwixt them ſo ſtronglie as might be. To the furthering whereof the kings chamberlaine the lord Haſtings failed not to doo his beſt, ſo as by his good diligence, it was thought the king was the ſooner induced to wiſh to ioine eftſoones in true fréendſhip with his ſaid brother of Clarence. And as it well appeared, the duke of Clarence acquitted himſelfe faithfullie therein.

K. Edward and his brother of Clarence reconciled vnwitting to the earle of Warwike.

The diſſimulation of the duke of Clarence.

For hearing now that his brother king Edward was landed and comming forward towards London, he gathered his people, outwardlie pretending to paſſe with them to the aid of the earle of Warwike againſt his brother: although inwardlie he meant the contrarie, and ſo accompanied with aboue foure thouſand men, he marched forth towards the place where he thought to find his brother. King Edward being then at Warwike, and vnderſtanding that his brother of Clarence approched, in an afternoone iſſued forth of that towne with all his forces, and paſſed on till he came into a faire large field thrée miles diſtant from Warwike towards Banburie, where he might behold his brother of Clarence in good arraie of battell, comming towards him.

When they were now within halfe a mile approched togither, the king placed his people in order of battell vnder their baners, and ſo left them ſtanding ſtill, and appointed them to kéepe their ground, whileſt he taking with him his brother of Gloceſter, the lord

Riuers, the lord Haſtings, & a few other, went forth to meet his brother of Clarence: and in like ſort the duke of Clarence tooke with him a few of the nobilitie that were about him, and leauing his armie in good order, departed from them to meet the king, and ſo they met betwixt both the hoaſts, with ſo ſweet ſalutations, louing demeanor, and good countenances, as better might not be deuiſed betwixt brethren of ſo high and noble eſtate. O what a hearts ioy was this to the people, to ſee ſuch an accord and mutuall attonement betweene theſe peeres! It was the onelie pleaſure in the world, to the which all other compared are but counterfet, and that doth the pſalmiſt teſtifie,

The brethren meet louinglie togither.

Buchan. in pſal. 133.

Nil charitate mutua fratrum, nihil
Iucundius concordia.

Beſides this, the like freendlie intertainment, and courteous demeanour appeared in the ſalutings of other noble men that were on them attendant; whereof all ſuch as ſaw it, and loued them, greatlie reioiſed; giuing God thanks for that ioifull meeting, vnitie, and concord, appearing thus manifeſtlie betwixt them: and herewith the trumpets and other inſtruments ſounded, & the king withall brought the duke vnto his armie, whom he ſaluting in moſt courteous wiſe, welcomed them into the land; and they humblie thanking him, did to him ſuch reuerence as apperteined to the honour of ſuch a worthie perſonage. This was a goodlie and a gratious reconcilement, beneficiall to the princes, profitable to the peeres, and pleaſurable to the people, whoſe part had beene deepeſt in dangers and loſſe, if diſcord had not beene diſcontinued.

This doone, the king leauing his hoaſt againe, keeping their ground with the ſame few perſons which he tooke with him before, went with his brother of Clarence vnto his armie, and ſaluting them with ſweete and courteous words, was ioifullie of them welcomed: and ſo after this, they all came togither ioining in one. And either part ſhewing themſelues glad thus to meet as freends with the other, they went louinglie togither vnto Warwike with the king, where and in the countrie thereabouts they lodged, as they thought ſtood moſt with their eaſe and ſafeties. Herewith the duke of Clarence deſired aboue all things to procure ſome good and perfect accord betwixt his brother the king, and the earle of Warwike.

In this was he the more ſtudious, bicauſe he ſaw that ſuch an accord ſhould bring great quietneſſe to the land, and deliuer the common-wealth of manie dangers that might inſue by reaſon of ſuch numbers of partakers, as well lords as other that were confederat with the earle. The ſaid duke treated with the king preſent, and ſent meſſengers vnto Couentrie to the earle, mouing as well the one as the other moſt inſtantlie to frame their minds vnto a pacification. The king at the inſtance of his brother was contented to offer large conditions, and verie beneficiall for the earle and his partakers, if they would haue accepted them.

The duke of Clarence ſeeketh to make peace betwixt the king and the earle of Warwike.

But the earle, whether vtterlie deſpairing of his owne ſafetie, if he ſhould agree to anie peace; or elſe happilie for that he thought it ſtood with his honour to ſtand vnto ſuch promiſes and couenants as he had made with the French king, and with the queene Margaret, and hir ſonne prince Edward (to whome he was bound by oth not to ſhrinke or ſwarue from the ſame) he refuſed all maner of ſuch conditions as were offered. Inſomuch that when the duke had ſent to him, both to excuſe himſelfe of the act which he had doone, and alſo to require him to take ſome good waie with king Edward, now while he might, the earle (after he had patientlie heard the dukes meſſage) he ſeemed greatlie to abhorre his vnfaithfull dealing, in turning thus from his confederats and alies, contrarie to his oth and fidelitie.

To the meſſengers (as ſome write) he gaue none other anſwer but this, that he had rather be like himſelfe, than like a falſe and periured duke; and that he was fullie determined neuer to leaue warre, till he had either loſt his owne life, or vtterlie ſubdued his enimies. As it was thought, the earle of Oxenfords perſuaſion wanted not, to make him the more ſtiffe to hold out; and rather to trie the vttermoſt hazard of warre, than to agree to acknowledge king Edward for his lawfull ſoureigne lord and king. Wherevpon no appointment nor anie agreement at all could be brought to paſſe; and ſo all that treatie, which the duke of Clarence had procured, brake off & tooke none effect. There came to the earle of Warwike, whileſt he laie thus at Couentrie (beſides the earle of Oxenford) the duke of Exceſter, and the lord marqueſſe Montacute, by whoſe comming that ſide was greatlie ſtrengthened, and the number much increaſed.

The earle of Warwiks anſwer to the duke of Clarence meſſage.

The king, vpon conſideration hereof, and perceiuing he could not get the earle to come forth of Couentrie, departed from Warwike, and eftſoones ſhewing himſelfe with his people before the citie of Couentrie, deſired the earle and his power to come forth into the fields, that they might end their quarrell by battell: which the earle and the other lords with him vtterlie refuſed as then to doo. This was the fift of Aprill being fridaie. The king herevpon was reſolued to march towards London, where his principall aduerſarie king Henrie remained, vſing his kinglie authoritie by diuerſe ſuch of the nobilitie as were about him, whereby king Edward was barred and diſappointed of manie aids and aſſiſtants, which he was ſure to haue, if he could once breake that force of the roiall authoritie, that was ſtill thus exerciſed againſt him in king Henries name.

K. Edward paſſeth London.

Wherefore (by the aduiſe of his brethren and others of his councell) accordinglie as it had beene ordeined before this his laſt ſetting forth from Warwike, he kept on his waie towards London, comming to Dantrie on the ſaturdaie at night: & on the morow being Palmeſundaie, he heard ſeruice in the church there, & after rode to Northhampton, where he was ioifullie receiued. From thenſe he tooke the next way towards London, leauing continuallie behind him (as he paſſed forth) a competent band of ſpeares and archers, to beat backe ſuch of the earle of Warwiks people, as peraduenture he might ſend abroad to trouble him and his armie by the waie. Which prouidence and foreſight he thought it not vnneceſſarie to vſe; for that he knew well enough, that the heart of an enimie, frieng in the fire of hatefull hoſtilitie, will pretermit no opportunitie either of time or place to laie in wait for his deſtruction, againſt whom he beareth an inward grudge, with a deſire of vengeance to the death.

In this meane while, that things paſſed in maner (as before ye haue hard) Edmund duke of Summerſet, & his brother Iohn marqueſſe Dorſet, Thomas Courtneie earle of Deuonſhire, and others being at London, had knowledge by aduertiſements out of France, that queene Margaret with hir ſonne prince Edward, the counteſſe of Warwike, the prior of S. Iohns, the lord Wenlocke, and diuerſe others their adherents and partakers, with all that they might make, were readie at the ſea ſide, purpoſing with all ſpeed to ſaile ouer into England, and to arriue in the weſt countrie. Wherevpon they departed forth of London, and with all haſt poſſible drew weſtward, there to raiſe what forces they could, to ioine with thoſe their freends, immediatlie after they ſhould once come on land, and ſo to aſſiſt them againſt king

Edward and his partakers.

True it is, that the queene with hir ſonne, and the other perſons before mentioned, tooke their ſhips, the foure and twentith daie of March, continuing on the ſeas before they could land (thorough tempeſts and contrarie winds) by the ſpace of twentie daies, that is, till the thirteenth of Aprill: on which daie, or rather on the fourteenth, they landed at Weimouth, as after ſhall appeare. But now touching king Edwards proceeding forward on his iournie toward London, ye haue to vnderſtand, that vpon the tueſdaie the ninth of Aprill he came to ſaint Albons, from whenſe he ſent comfortable aduertiſements to the queene his wife remaining within the ſanctuarie at Weſtminſter, and to others his faithfull freends in and about London, to vnderſtand by couert meanes how to deale to obteine the fauour of the citizens, ſo as he might be of them receiued.

The archbiſhop of Yorke.

The earle of Warwike, vnderſtanding all his doings and purpoſes, wrote to the Londoners, willing & charging them in anie wiſe to keepe king Edward out of their citie, and in no condition to permit him to enter: and withall he ſent to his brother the archbiſhop of Yorke, willing him by all meanes poſſible to perſuade the Londoners not to receiue him; but to defend the citie againſt him for the ſpace of two or three daies at the leaſt: promiſing not to faile but to come after him, and to be readie to aſſaile him on the backe, not doubting but wholie to diſtreſſe his power and to bring him to vtter confuſion. The archbiſhop herevpon, on the ninth of Aprill, called vnto him at Paules, all ſuch lords, knights, and gentlemen, with others that were partakers on that ſide, to the number in all of ſix or ſeauen thouſand men in armour.

King Henrie ſheweth himſelfe to the Londoners.

Herewith alſo he cauſed king Henrie to mount on horſſebacke, and to ride from Paules thorough Cheape downe to Walbroke, & ſo to fetch a compaſſe (as the cuſtome was when they made their generall proceſſions) returning backe againe to Paules vnto the biſhops palace, where at that time he was lodged. The archbiſhop ſuppoſed, that ſhewing the king thus riding thorough the ſtreets, he ſhould haue allured the citizens to aſſiſt his part. True it is, the maior & aldermen had cauſed the gates to be kept with watch and ward: but now they well perceiued that king Henries power was too weake, as by that ſhew it had well appeared, to make full reſiſtance againſt king Edward, and ſo not for them to truſt vnto, if king Edward came forward, and ſhould attempt to enter the citie by force: for it was not vnknowne vnto them, that manie of the worſhipfull citizens, and others of the commons in great numbers, were fullie bent to aid king Edward, in all that they might, as occaſion ſerued.

The Londoners reſolue to receiue king Edward.

The archbiſhop of Yorke.

Thus, what thorough loue that manie bare to king Edward, and what thorough feare that diuerſe ſtood in, leaſt the citie being taken by force might happilie haue beene put to the ſacke, with the loſſe of manie an innocent mans life; the maior, aldermen, and others the worſhipfull of the citie fell at a point among themſelues, to keepe the citie to K. Edwards vſe, ſo as he might haue free paſſage and entrie into the ſame at his pleaſure. The archbiſhop of Yorke, perceiuing the affections of the people, and how the moſt part of them were now bent in fauour of king Edward vpon the ſaid kings approch towards the citie, he ſent foorth ſecretlie a meſſenger to him, beſeeching him to receiue him againe into his fauour, promiſing to be faithfull to him in time to come, and to acquit this good turne hereafter with ſome ſingular benefit and pleaſure.

The Tower recouered to king Edwards vſe.

K. Edward entereth into London.

King Henrie is deliuered to him.

The king, vpon good cauſes and conſiderations therevnto him mouing, was contented to receiue him againe into his fauour. The archbiſhop hereof aſſured, reioiſed greatlie, well & trulie acquiting him concerning his promiſe made to the king in that behalfe. The ſame night following was the Tower of London recouered to king Edwards vſe. And on the morow being thurſdaie, and the eleuenth of Aprill, king Edward quietlie made his entrie into the citie with his power, hauing fiue hundred ſmokie gunners marching foremoſt, being ſtrangers, of ſuch as he had brought ouer with him. He firſt rode vnto Paules church, & from thenſe he went to the biſhops palace, where the archbiſhop of Yorke preſented himſelfe vnto him, and hauing king Henrie by the hand, deliuered him vnto king Edward, who being ſeized of his perſon, and diuerſe other his aduerſaries, he went from Paules to Weſtminſter, where he made his deuout praiers, giuing God moſt heartie thanks for his ſafe returne thither againe.

This doone, he went to the queene to comfort hir, who with great patience had abidden there a long time, as a ſanctuarie woman, for doubt of hir enimies; and in the meane ſeaſon was deliuered of a yoong prince, whome ſhe now preſented vnto him, to his great hearts reioiſing & comfort. From Weſtminſter the king returned that night vnto London againe, hauing the queene with him, and lodged in the houſe of the ducheſſe his moother. On the morow being good fridaie, he tooke aduiſe with the lords of his bloud, and other of his councell, for ſuch buſineſſe as he had in hand; namelie, how to ſubdue his enimies as ſought his deſtruction. Thus with conſultation preuenting his actions, he obteined fortunate ſucceſſe, wherwith his hart was the more aduanced to ioine iſſue with his aduerſaries, whome (rather than they ſhould triumph ouer him) he was reſolutelie minded to vanquiſh, if his proceedings might proue proſperous as his preſent good lucke.

The earle of Warwike followeth the king.

The earle of Warwike, calling himſelfe lieutenant of England, vnder the pretenſed authoritie of king Henrie, hoping that king Edward ſhould haue much a doo to enter into London, marched foorth from Couentrie with all his puiſſance, following the king by Northhampton, in hope to haue ſome great aduantage to aſſaile him, ſpeciallie if the Londoners kept him out of their citie, as he truſted they would; for then he accounted himſelfe ſure of the vpper hand: or if he were of them receiued, yet he hoped to find him vnprouided in celebrating the feaſt of Eaſter; and ſo by ſetting vpon him on the ſudden, he doubted not by that meanes to diſtreſſe him. But king Edward, hauing intelligence of the earles intention, prouided all things neceſſarie for battell; & hearing that the earle of Warwike was now come vnto S. Albons with his armie, he determined to march foorth to incounter him before he ſhould approch neere the citie.

Edw. Hall.

The earle of Warwike, accompanied with John duke of Exceter, Edmund duke of Summerſet, John earle of Oxford, and John Neuill marqueſſe Montacute his brother, vnderſtanding that king Edward was not onelie receiued into London, but alſo had got king Henrie into his hands, perceiued that the triall of the matter muſt needs be committed to the hazard of battell; and therefore being come to the towne of ſaint Albons, he reſted there a while, partlie to refreſh his ſouldiers, and partlie to take counſell how to proceed in his enterpriſe. At length, although he knew that his brother the marqueſſe Montacute was not fullie well perſuaded with himſelfe, to like of this quarell which they had in hand; yet the brotherlie affection betwixt them tooke awaie all ſuſpicion from the earle, and ſo he vtterlie reſolued to giue battell, meaning to trie whereto all this tumult would grow; and counting it a blemiſh to his honor, not to proſequute that with the ſword, which he had ſolemnelie vowed to doo on his word.]

Gladmore heath.

Hervpon remoued they towards Barnet, a towne ſtanding in the midwaie betwixt London and ſaint Albons aloft on a hill; at the end whereof towards ſaint Albons there is a faire plaine for two armies to meet vpon, named Gladmore heath. On the further ſide of which plaine towards ſaint Albons the earle pight his campe. King Edward on the other part, being furniſhed with a mightie armie (hauing ioined to that power which he brought with him certeine new ſupplies) vpon Eaſter euen the thirteenth of Aprill in the after noone marched forth, hauing his ſaid armie diuided into foure battels. He tooke with him king Henrie, and came that euening vnto Barnet, ten ſmall miles diſtant from London; in which towne his forериders finding certeine of the earle of Warwikes forериders, beat them out, & chaſed them ſomewhat further than halfe a mile from the towne, where, by an hedge ſide they found readie aſſembled a great number of the earle of Warwiks people.

The ordering of the kings armie.

K. Edward lodged before his enimies.

The king after this comming to Barnet, would not ſuffer a man to remaine in the towne (that were of his hoſt) but commanded them all to the field, and with them drew toward his enimies, and lodged with his armie more neere to them than he was aware of, by reaſon it was darke, ſo as he could not well diſcerne where they were incamped, fortifieng the field the beſt he could for feare of ſome ſudden inuaſion. He tooke his ground not ſo euen afore them as he would haue doone, if he might haue diſcouered the place where they had lien; and by reaſon thereof he incamped ſomewhat aſide ſlips of them, cauſing his people to keepe as much ſilence as was poſſible, [leaſt making anie noiſe with the buſſeling of their armour and weapons or otherwiſe with their tongs, the enimie might haue come to ſome knowledge of the kings priuie purpoſe, and ſo by preuention haue diſappointed his policie by ſome prouident deuiſe; which bicauſe they wanted for the preſent time, it turned to their diſaduantage; after the old prouerbe:

Neſcit prodeſſe qui neſcit prouidus eſſe.]

Artillerie.

A good policie.

They had great artillerie on both parts, but the earle was better furniſhed therewith than the king, and therefore in the night time they ſhot off from his campe in maner continuallie; but dooing little hurt to the kings people, ſtill ouerſhooting them, by reaſon they laie much neerer than the earle or anie of his men did eſteeme. And ſuch ſilence was kept in the kings campe, that no noiſe bewraied them where they laie. For to the end it ſhould not be knowne to the enimies, how neere the king with his armie was lodged vnto them, the king would not ſuffer anie of his gunnes in all that night to be ſhot off, leaſt thereby they might haue geſſed the ground, and ſo leuelled their artillerie to his annoiance.

Edw. Hall.

The order of the battell of both ſides.

Earlie on the next morning betwixt foure and fiue of the clocke, notwithſtanding there was a great miſt that letted the ſight of both parts to diſcouer the fields, the king aduanced his banners, and cauſed his trumpets to ſound to the battell. On the other part, the earle of Warwike, at the verie breake of the daie, had likewiſe ſet his men in order of battell in this maner. In the right wing he placed the marqueſſe Montacute, and the earle of Oxford with certeine horſſemen, and he with the duke of Exceſter tooke the left wing. And in the middeſt betweene both, he ſet archers, appointing the duke of Summerſet to guide them as their chiefteine. King Edward had ſet the duke of Glouceſter in the fore-ward. The middle-ward he himſelfe with the duke of Clarence, hauing with them king Henrie, did rule & gouerne. The lord Haſtings led the rere-ward, and beſide theſe three battels, he kept a companie of freſh men in ſtore, which did him great pleaſure before the end of the battell.

Here is to be remembred, that aſwell the king on his part, as the earle of Warwike on his, vſed manie comfortable words to incourage their people, not forgetting to ſet forth their quarels as iuſt and lawfull; the king naming his aduerſaries traitors and rebels, & the earle accounting him a tyrant, & an iniurious vſurper. But when the time came that they once got ſight either of other, the battell began verie ſharpe and cruell, firſt with ſhot, and after by ioining at hand blowes. Yet at the firſt they ioined not front to front, as they ſhould haue doone, by reaſon of the miſt that tooke awaie the ſight of either armie, and ſuffered the one not to diſcerne perfectlie the order of the other; inſomuch that the one end of the earle of Warwikes armie ouerraught the contrarie end of the kings battell which ſtood weſtward, and by reaſon thereof (through the valiancie of the earle of Oxford that led the earles voward) the kings people on that part were ouermatched, ſo that manie of them fled towards Barnet, and ſo to London, bringing newes that the erle of Warwike had woone the field.

The valiancie of the earle of Oxford.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 727.

[Which report happilie might haue beene iuſtified and fallen out to be true, had not prepoſterous fortune happened to the earle of Oxford and his men, who had a ſtarre with ſtreames on their liueries; as king Edwards men had the ſunne with ſtreames on their liueries: wherevpon the earle of Warwiks men, by reaſon of the miſt not well diſcerning the badges ſo like, ſhot at the earle of Oxfords men that were on their owne part, and then the earle of Oxford and his men cried treaſon, and fled with eight hundred men.]

The martiall courage of the earle of Warwike.

But touching the kings people which were purſued in the chaſe as they fled, and were put to the worſt, manie were wounded, and manie ſlaine outright. But the reſidue of thoſe that fought in other parts could not perceiue this diſtreſſe of the kings people, bicauſe the thicke miſt would not ſuffer them to ſee anie ſpace farre off, but onelie at hand: and ſo the kings battell that ſaw not anie thing what was doone beſide them, was nothing diſcouraged. For (a few excepted that ſtood next to that part) there was not anie one that wiſt of that diſcomfiture; and the other of the earle of Warwikes men, that fought in other places ſomewhat diſtant from them, were nothing the more incouraged by this proſperous ſucceſſe of their fellowes, for they perceiued it not. And in like caſe as at the weſt end the earles battell ouerreached the kings, ſo at the eaſt end the kings ouerreached the earls, and with like ſucceſſe put the earls people in that place to the worſe.

At length after ſore fight, and greater ſlaughter made on both ſides, king Edward hauing the greater number of men (as ſome write, though other affirme the contrarie) began ſomewhat to preuaile: but the earle on the other ſide remembring his ancient fame and renowme, manfullie ſtucke to it, and incouraged his people, ſtill ſupplieng with new ſuccors in places where he ſaw expedient, and ſo the fight renewed more cruell, fierce, & bloudie than before, inſomuch that the victorie remained ſtill doubtfull, though they had fought from morning till it was now far in the daie. K. Edward therefore willing to make an end of ſo long a conflict, cauſed new power of freſh men (which he had for this purpoſe kept in ſtore) to ſet on his enimies.

The earle of Warwike was nothing abaſhed herewith, but vnderſtanding that this was all the reſidue of king Edwards power, comforted his men to beare out this laſt brunt, and in ſo dooing the victorie was ſure on their ſide, and the battell at an end: but king Edward ſo manfullie and valiantlie aſſailed his aduerſaries, in the middle and ſtrongeſt part of their battell, that with great violence he bare downe all that ſtood in his waie; for he was followed and aſſiſted by a number of moſt hardie and faithfull men of warre, that ſhewed notable proofe of tried manhood in that inſtant neceſſitie. The earle of Warwike (when his ſouldiers all wearied with long fight, and ſore weakened with woundes and hurts receiued in the battell) gaue little heed to his words (being a man of an inuincible ſtomach) ruſhed into the middeſt of his enimies, whereas he (aduenturing ſo farre from his companie, to kill and ſlea his aduerſaries, that he could not be reſcued) was amongſt the preaſſe of his enimies ſtriken downe and ſlaine.

The earle of Warwike ſlaine.

The marqueſſe Montacute ſlaine. Abr. Flem.

The marqueſſe Montacute, thinking to ſuccour his brother, was likewiſe ouerthrowne and ſlaine, with manie other of good calling, as knights and eſquiers, beſide other gentlemen. [But ſome ſaie that the ſaid marqueſſe, hauing agreed priuilie with king Edward, did weare his liuerie, whome one of his brother the earle of Warwiks men eſpieng, fell vpon him and killed him outright.] Some write that this battell was ſo driuen to the vttermoſt point, that king Edward was conſtreined to fight in his owne perſon, and that the earle of Warwike, which was wont euer to ride on horſebacke from place to place, and from ranke to ranke, comforting his men, was now aduiſed by the marqueſſe his brother, to leaue his horſſe, and to trie the extremitie by hand ſtrokes, [which may be probable & likelie. But by the report of ſome it ſeemeth that he was not ſlaine in the heat of the conflict, among the rout of the fighting men, but afterwards in this ſort. For when he ſaw the kings power preuaile and his owne ſore impaired and paſt hope of good ſpeed, with the ſlaughter of his adherents (gentlemen of name) and himſelfe in the verie mouth of the enimie in poſſibilitie to be deuoured, he lept vpon a horſſe to flie, and comming into a wood where was no paſſage, one of king Edwards men came to him, killed him, and ſpoiled him to the naked ſkin. Sir William Tirrell knight was killed on the earle of Warwikes part.]

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag.727.

The number ſlaine at Barnet field.

On both parties were ſlaine (as Ed. Hall ſaith) ten thouſand at the leaſt, where Fabian ſaith but fifteene hundred and ſomewhat aboue. Other write that there died in all about three thouſand. Vpon the kings part were ſlaine, the lord Crumwell, the lord Saie, the lord Montiois ſonne and heire, ſir Humfrie Bourchier ſonne to the lord Berners, and diuerſe other knights, eſquiers, and gentlemen. The battell indured the ſpace of three hours verie doubtfull by reaſon of the miſt, and in ſkirmiſhing and fighting, now in this place, now in that, but finallie the victorie fell on the kings ſide; and yet it could not be eſteemed that his whole armie paſſed nine thouſand fighting men (as ſome write) where his aduerſaries (as by the ſame writers appeareth) were farre aboue that number. But bicauſe thoſe that ſo write, ſeeme altogither to fauor king Edward, we maie beleeue as we liſt.

The duke of Summerſet and the earle of Oxford. Hall.

The duke of Exceſter.

Abr. Flem.

The duke of Summerſet, and the earle of Oxford fled in companie of certeine northerne men, which had beene at the battell; and (as ſome write) the earle of Oxford kept forth with them, and retired after into Scotland. But yet as well the duke of Summerſet, as the ſaid earle of Oxford, in fleeing toward Scotland, changed their purpoſe vpon the waie, and turned into Wales to Iaſper earle of Penbroke. The duke of Exceſter being ſtriken downe and ſore wounded, was left for dead in the field, amongſt other the dead bodies, bicauſe he was not knowne, and by reaſon thereof comming to himſelfe, got vp, and in great danger eſcaped vnto Weſtminſter, and there tooke ſanctuarie. [But ſome ſay, that after hee had lien in the field, ſpoiled, wounded, and (to ſee to) void of life, from ſeuen of the clocke in the morning, till foure at after noone, he was caried to a ſeruants houſe of his there by (named Ruthland) where (after his wounds were ſearched and dreſſed by a ſurgian) he was conueied into Weſtminſter ſanctuarie.]

Edw. Hall.

King Edward hauing got this victorie, refreſhing himſelfe and his people a while at Barnet, returned the ſame daie vnto London, like a triumphant conqueror, leading with him king Henrie as a captiue priſoner: & ſo making a ſolemne entrie at the church of ſaint Paule, offred his ſtandard. The dead bodies of the earle and marques were brought to London in a coffin, & before they were buried, by the ſpace of three daies laie open viſaged in the cathedrall church of S. Paule, to the intent that all men might eaſilie perceiue, that they vnfeinedlie were dead. The common brute ran, that the king was not ſo ioious of the erles death, as ſorowfull for the loſſe of the marques, whom he full well knew (and no leſſe was euident to other) to be his faithfull friend and well-willer; for whoſe onelie ſake, he cauſed both their bodies to be buried with their anceſtors in the priorie of Biſſam.

Queene Margaret landeth with a power out of France

On the tueſdaie in Eaſter weeke came knowledge to king Edward, that queene Margaret the wife of king Henrie, with hir ſonne prince Edward was landed vpon Eaſter day at Weimouth in Dorſetſhire, accompanied with Iohn Longſtrother prior of ſaint Iohns, commonlie called lord treaſuror of England, who went ouer into France to fetch them: alſo the lord Wenlocke, a man made onelie by king Edward, beſide diuerſe other knights and eſquiers, of whome part had beene long forth of the realme, and part newlie gone ouer thither to them, in companie of the lord treaſuror. They tooke their ſhips at Hunflue, the foure and twentith of March (as before you haue heard) but through contrarie winds and tempeſts, they were driuen backe, and conſtreined to abide for conuenient wind.

Now, although it came ſometimes about fit for their purpoſe, yet it continued not long in that end; ſo as if therevpon they tooke the ſea at anie time, they were forced to returne backe againe to land yer they could paſſe halfe the way ouer. And thus being diuerſe times vnder ſaile, in hope to paſſe the ſeas hither into England, they were ſtill driuen backe againe, till the thirteenth of Aprill being Eaſter euen; on which day the wind comming fauorablie about, they tooke the ſeas, and ſailed forward towards this land. The counteſſe of Warwike, hauing a ſhip of aduantage, arriued before the other at Porteſmouth, and from thence ſhe went to Southhampton, meaning to haue gone to Weimouth, where ſhe vnderſtood that the queene was landed: but here had ſhee knowledge of the loſſe of Barnet field, and that hir huſband was there ſlaine. Wherevpon ſhe went no further towards the queene, but ſecretlie got hir ouer the water into the new forreſt, and tooke ſanctuarie within the abbeie of Beaulieu.

The counteſſe of Warwike taketh ſanctuarie.

The duke of Summerſet, and the earle of Deuonſhire cõfort queene Margaret.

Queene Margaret, and hir ſonne prince Edward, with the other that landed at Weimouth, went from thence to an abbeie neere by called Cerne. Thither came vnto them Edmund duke of Summerſet, and Thomas Courtneie earle of Deuonſhire, with others, and welcommed them into England, comforting the queene in the beſt maner they could, and willed hir not to deſpaire of good ſucceſſe; for albeit they had loſt one field (whereof the queene had knowledge the ſame day being mondaie in eaſter weeke, the fifteenth of Aprill, and was therefore right ſorowfull) yet they doubted not but to aſſemble ſuch a puiſſance (and that verie ſhortlie) forth of diuerſe parts of the realme, as being faithfull, and wholie bent to ſpend their liues, and ſhed the beſt bloud in their bodies for hir ſake, & hir ſonnes, it ſhould be hard for king Edward to reſiſt them with all the power he had or

Edw.Hall.

could make.

The preſence of theſe noble men greatlie comforted hir, and relieued hir of the ſorrowes that in maner ouerwhelmed hir penſiue heart: for ſhe doubted ſore the end of all theſe procéedings, the which they concluded to follow vpon the aduancement of hir and hirs. Speciallie it miſgaue hir, that ſome euill ſhould chance to hir ſonne prince Edward, for ſhée greatlie weied not of hir owne perill (as ſhe hir ſelfe confeſſed) and therefore ſhe would gladlie haue had them either to haue deferred the battell till a more conuenient time: or elſe that hir ſonne might haue béene conueied ouer into France againe, there to haue remained in ſafetie, till the chance of the next battell were tried: but they being of a contrarie mind, and namelie the duke of Summerſet, ſhe at length conſented vnto that which they were reſolued vpon.

The feare which quéene Margaret had for hir ſonne.

Thus euerie man being bent to battell, gathered his power by himſelfe, firſt in Summerſetſhire, Dorſetſhire, and part of Wiltſhire, and after in Deuonſhire and Cornewall. For the better incouraging of which countries to ioine with them in their quarrell, they repaired to Exceſter. Here they ſent for ſir Iohn Arundell, and ſir Hugh Courtenie, and manie other in whom they had anie confidence. To be ſhort, they wrought ſo, that they raiſed the whole powers of Cornewall and Deuonſhire, and with a great armie departing forth of Exceſter, they tooke the right waie to Glaſtenburie, and from thence to Bath, raiſing the people in all parts where they came: for thoſe countries had bene ſo laboured, firſt by the earle of Warwike, and after by the duke of Summerſet, and the earle of Deuonſhire (which two noble men were reckoned as old inheritors of the ſame countries) that the people ſéemed there greatlie inclined to the fauor of king Henrie.

King Edward, being at London, was dailie aduertiſed by faithfull eſpials of all the doings of his aduerſaries, and was in no ſmall agonie, bicauſe he could not learne what waie his enimies ment to take; for he purpoſed to incounter them in one place or other, before they ſhould approch néere to London. And vpon ſuch reſolution, with ſuch an armie as he had got about London, furniſhed with all artillerie and other prouiſions neceſſarie, he ſet forward the nintéenth of Aprill, and came to Windſore, where he ſtaied a ſeaſon, as well to celebrate the feaſt of ſaint George, as to abide the comming of ſuch bands as he had appointed to repaire thither vnto him, making there his generall aſſemblie.

K. Edward ſetteth forward againſt his enimies.

The enimies to maſker him the more, ſent forth their foreriders vnto ſundrie townes, both aſwell to raiſe people in the countries about, as to make the king beléeue that their purpoſe was to paſſe thoſe waies, where they ment not once to come. And herevpon when they departed from Exceſter, they ſent firſt their foreriders ſtreight to Shafteſburie, and after to Saliſburie, and then they tooke the ſtreight waie to Taunton, Glaſtenburie, and after to Wels, where houering about in the countrie, they ſent another time their foreriders to a towne called Yuell, and to Bruton, as if their meaning had béene to draw towards Reading, and ſo through Barkeſhire, and Oxfordſhire to haue marched ſtreight to London, or elſe to haue ſet vpon the king at ſome aduantage, if it were offered.

But king Edward, conſidering aduiſedlie of the matter, perceiued well that they being in an angle of the realme, if they ment to go to London, they muſt either hold the ſtreight waie forth by Saliſburie, or elſe drawing vp to the ſea ſide, paſſe alongſt through Hampſhire, Suſſex and Kent; or happilie if they miſtruſted their owne ſtrengths, as not able to match with his puiſſance, they would then ſlip on the left hand, and draw towards Cheſhire, and Lancaſhire, there to increaſe their forces, and peraduenture by the waie to ioine with a power of Welſhmen, vnder the leading of Iaſper earle of Penbroke, who had béene ſent into Wales long afore, to frame and put in a readines the people there to aſſiſt king Henries friends at their comming thitherwards. And ſuch was there purpoſe in déed, for they had great confidence in ſuch aid, as they truſted to haue of the Cheſhire and Lancaſhire men.

King Edward, meaning to approch néerer vnto them, that he might the ſooner make waie to ſtop them of their paſſage, on which hand ſoeuer they drew, departed from Windeſore the morrow after ſaint Georges day, being the foure and twentith day of Aprill, kéeping forth his iournie, till on ſaturdaie the twentie and ſeuenth of Aprill he came to Abington, where he laie ſundaie all daie. On mondaie he marched forward to Chicheſter, where he had ſure aduertiſement, that they intended to be at Bath the next daie being tueſdaie, and on wedneſdaie to come forward to giue him battell. Wherevpon king Edward, deſirous to ſée his people in order of battell, drew them forth of the towne, and incamped in the field thrée miles diſtant from thence, ſtill buſieng himſelfe about his neceſſarie affaires, affording no time to idleneſſe or loitering: for he knew that there was no waie more expedite and readie to tire him in trauell, than to be giuen to negligence and ſlouth, the two weariers of well dooing, as the old ſaieng is:

Deſidia preſſus erit in ſtudio cito feſſus.

On the morrow, hearing no certeintie of their comming forward, he marched to Malmeſburie, ſtill ſéeking to incounter them: but héere he had knowledge, that they hauing changed their purpoſe, meant not to giue him battell; and therefore were turned aſide, and gone to Briſtow, where they were receiued, reléeued, and well refreſhed by ſuch as fauoured their cauſe, as well with vittels, men, and monie, as good ſtore of artillerie. Wherevpon they were ſo incouraged, that the thurſdaie after they tooke the field againe, purpoſing to giue king Edward battell indéed; and for the ſame intent had ſent their foreriders to a towne, diſtant from Briſtow nine miles, called Sudburie, appointing a ground for their field, a mile from the ſame towne, toward the kings campe, called Sudburie hill.

Sudburie hill.

The king héereof aduertiſed, the ſame thurſdaie, being the firſt of Maie, with his armie faire ranged in order of battell, came towards the place by them appointed for their field: but they came not there. For hearing that king Edward did thus approach, vpon a new change of reſolution, they left that waie: albeit ſome of their herbingers were come as farre as Sudburie towne, and there ſurpriſed fiue or ſix of the kings partie, which were raſhlie entred that towne, attending onelie to prouide lodgings for their maiſters. The lords thus hauing eftſoones changed their purpoſe, not meaning as yet to fight with the king, directed their waie ſtreight towards Berkelie, trauelling all that night. From Berkelie they marched forward towards Gloceſter.

The king in the meane time, on the thurſdaie in the after noone, came to the ſame ground called Sudburie hill, and there ſtaied a certeine ſpace, ſending forth ſcowriers, to hearken what they might vnderſtand of the enimies, whome he tooke to be ſomewhere at hand. But when he could not heare anie certeintie of them, he aduanced forward, lodging his vant-gard in a vallie beyond the hill, towards the towne of Sudburie, and laie himſelfe (with the reſidue of his people) at the ſame place, called Sudburie hill. About thrée of the clocke after midnight, he was aduertiſed, that his enimies had taken their waie by Berkeleie, towards Gloceſter. Héerevpon, taking aduiſe of his councell what was beſt to doo, he was counſelled to ſend ſome of his ſeruants with all ſpéed vnto Gloceſter, to Richard Beauchampe, ſonne and heire to the lord Beauchampe of Powike, to whome he had (before this preſent) committed the rule and cuſtodie of the towne and caſtell of Gloceſter.

The king ſent therefore with all ſpéed vnto him, commanding him to doo his beſt to defend the towne and caſtell againſt his enimies, if they came to aſſaile the ſame, as it was ſuppoſed they intended: and if they ſo did, he promiſed to come with his whole armie preſentlie to the reſcue. The meſſengers did their diligence, and ſo being ioifullie receiued into Gloceſter, the towne and caſtell, by the vigilant regard of the ſaid Richard Beauchampe, was put in ſafe kéeping. And this meſſage was doone in good time, for true it is, there were diuerſe in the towne, that could haue béene well contented that the quéene, and the lords with hir, ſhould haue béene receiued there, and would haue aduentured to haue brought it to paſſe, if they had not béene thus preuented.

Againe, the quéene and the lords with hir had good intelligence, with diuerſe in the towne, ſo as they were put in great hope to haue entred the ſame: wherevpon they trauelled their people right ſore all that night and morning, comming before the towne of Gloceſter vpon the fridaie about ten of the clocke. And when they perceiued that they were diſappointed of their purpoſe, and their entrie flatlie denied, they were highlie therewith diſpleaſed; for they knew verie well, that diuerſe within the towne bare their good willes towards them: but after they had vſed certeine menacing braueries, and made a ſhew as if they had meant to aſſalt the gates and walles, & ſo to haue entred by force, they departed their waies, marching with all ſpéed poſſible towards Teukeſburie.

Gloceſter, whie it was not aſſaulted.

It might be maruelled at, whie they attempted not the winning of Gloceſter indéed, conſidering the fréends which they knew they had within it. But the cauſe which mooued them chéeflie to forbeare, was, for that as well they without, as the other within the towne, knew that king Edward approached at hand, and was readie to ſet vpon them on the backes, if they had once begun to haue aſſaulted the towne; and ſo, neither they within the towne that were the kings fréends doubted the enimies forces, nor the enimie indéed durſt attempt anie ſuch enterpriſe againſt them. About foure of the clocke in the afternoone, they came to Teukeſburie, hauing trauelled that night laſt paſt, and that daie, ſix and thirtie long miles, in a foule countrie, all in lanes and ſtonie waies, betwixt woods, without anie good refreſhing, ſo that as well the men as the horſſes were right wearie.

A long march.

And where the more part of their armie conſiſted of footmen, the capteins could not haue gone anie further, except they would haue left their footmen behind them, and ſo of neceſſitie they were driuen to ſtaie there, determining to abide the aduenture that God would ſend them. For well they knew that the king followed them verie néere at hand, ſo as if they ſhould haue gone further, and left the moſt part of their companie behind, as it could not otherwiſe haue chanced, he would haue béene readie to haue taken the aduantage wholie, ſo to diſtreſſe them. Héerevpon they pight their field in a cloſe, euen hard at the townes end, hauing the towne and the abbeie at their backes; and directlie before them, and vpon each ſide of them, they were defended with cumberſome lanes, déepe ditches, and manie hedges, beſide hils and dales, ſo as the place ſéemed as noiſome as might be to approach vnto.

The place where yͤ lords incamped.

The king on this fridaie, verie erlie in the morning, aduanced his ſtandards, and in good order of battell hauing diuided his armie into thrée wards, marched through the plaines of Cotteſwold. The daie was verie hot, and hauing in his armie aboue thrée thouſand footmen, he trauelled with them and the reſidue thirtie miles and more. By all which waie, they could find neither horſſemeat, nor mans meat, no not ſo much as water for their horſſes, except one little brooke, of the which they receiued no great reléefe; for what with the horſſes and carriages that paſſed thorough it, the water became ſo troubled, that it ſerued them to no vſe: and ſtill all that daie king Edward with his armie was within fiue or ſix miles of his enimies, he in the plaine countrie, and they among the woods.

The painfull march of king Edward with his armie.

King Edward had euer good eſpials, to aduertiſe him ſtill what his enimies did, and which waie they tooke. At length he came with all his armie vnto a village called Chiltenham, like a fiue miles diſtant from Teukeſburie, where he had certeine knowledge that his enimies were alreadie come to Teukeſburie, and were incamped there, purpoſing to abide him in that place, and to deliuer him battell. King Edward therevpon made no long delaie, but tooke a little refection himſelfe, and cauſed his people to doo the like, with ſuch prouiſion of vittels as he had appointed to be conueied foorth with him for the reléefe of himſelfe and his armie. This doone, he ſet forward towards his enimies, and lodged that night in a field not paſt thrée miles diſtant from them.

Chiltenham.

On the morrow being ſaturdaie, and fourth of Maie, he drew towards his enimies, and marſhalled his armie, diuided into thrée battels in this ſort. He put his brother the duke of Gloceſter in the foreward, and himſelfe in the midle-ward. The lord Marques, and the lord Haſtings led the rere-ward. Héerewith he approached the enimies campe, which was right hard to be aſſailed, by reaſon of the déepe ditches, hedges, trées, buſhes, and cumberſome lanes, wherewith the ſame was fenſed, both a front, and on the ſides, ſo as the king could not well approach them to anie aduantage: and to be the better in a readineſſe to beat backe the kings power, when he ſhould come to aſſault them, they were imbattelled in this order.

The ordering of king Edwards battell.

The duke of Summerſet, and his brother the lord Iohn of Summerſet led the fore-ward. The midleward was gouerned by the prince, vnder the conduct of the lord of ſaint Iohn, and the lord Wenlocke (whome king Edward had aduanced to the degrée of a baron.) The rere-ward was appointed to the rule of the earle of Deuonſhire. Thus may yée perceiue, that king Edward was put to his ſhifts, how (to anie aduantage) to aſſault his enimies. Neuertheleſſe, he being well furniſhed with great artillerie, the ſame was aptlie lodged to annoie the enimies, that they receiued great damage thereby; and the duke of Gloceſter, who lacked no policie, galled them gréeuouſlie with the ſhot of arrowes: and they rewarded their aduerſaries home againe with like paiment, both with ſhot of arrowes, and great artillerie, although they had not the like plentie of guns as the king had. The paſſages were ſo cumberſome, that it was not poſſible to come vpon anie euen hand, to ioine at handblowes.

The ordering of the lords hoaſt.

The duke of Gloceſter.

Teukeſburie field.

The duke of Gloceſter, vpon a politike purpoſe (as ſome haue written) reculed backe with all his companie, which when the duke of Summerſet perceiued, either mooued therewith; or elſe bicauſe he was too ſore annoied with the ſhot in that place where he and his fore-ward ſtood, like a knight more couragious than circumſpect, came out of his ſtrength with his whole battell, and aduanced himſelfe ſome-

The duke of Summerſet.

what aſide ſlips the kings voward, and by certeine paſſages aforehand, and for that purpoſe prouided (to the kings part, although vnknowne) he paſſed a lane, and came into a faire open cloſe right before the king, where he was imbattelled, not doubting but the prince and the lord Wenlocke, with the midle-ward, had followed iuſt at his backe. But whether the lord Wenlocke diſſembled the matter for king Edwards ſake, or whether his hart ſerued him not, ſtill he ſtood, and gaue the looking on.

Edw. Hall.

The king, or (as other haue) the duke of Gloceſter, taking the aduantage that he aduentured for, turned againe face to face vnto the duke of Summerſet his battell, and winning the hedge and ditch of him, entred the cloſe, and with great violence put him and his people vp towards the hill from whence they were deſcended. Heere is to be noted, that when the king was come before his enimies, yer he gaue the onſet, he perceiued that vpon the right hand of their campe there was a parke, and much ſtore of wood growing therein; and doubting leaſt his aduerſaries had laid an ambuſh within that wood, he choſe foorth of his companies two hundred ſpeares, commanding them to keepe a ſtale, like a quarter of a mile from the field, to attend vpon that corner of the wood out of the which the ambuſh, if anie were, was to iſſue, and to incounter with them, as occaſion ſerued: but if they perceiued that there was no ambuſh at all, then to imploie their ſeruice as they ſhould ſee it expedient and behouefull for the time.

The politike foreſight of the king.

This politike prouiſion for danger that might haue inſued (although there was none that waie foorth) ſerued yet before the end of the battell, to great good purpoſe. For when thoſe ſpeares perfectlie vnderſtood that there was no ambuſh within the wood, and withall ſaw conuenient time to imploie themſelues, they came and brake with full rendon vpon the duke of Summerſet and his voward a flanke, in ſo violent wiſe vpon the ſudden, that where they had before inough to doo with thoſe with whom they were firſt matched, now with this new charge giuen on them by thoſe two hundred ſpeares, they were not a little diſmaied; and to conclude, ſo diſcouraged, that ſtreightwaie they tooke them to flight. Some fled into the parke, other into the meadow there at hand, ſome into the lanes, & ſome hid them in ditches, each one making what ſhift he could, by the which he hoped beſt to eſcape: but manie neuertheleſſe were beaten downe, ſlaine, and taken priſoners.

The vãtgard of the lords diſtreſſed.

A terrible ſtroke.

The duke of Summerſet ſeeing this vnfortunate chance, as ſome write, turned to the midle-ward, and there finding the lord Wenlocke ſtanding ſtill, after he had reuiled him, and called him traitor, with his ax he ſtroke the braines out of his head. The duke of Gloceſter purſuing after them that fled with the duke of Summerſet to their campe, where the reſt of their armie ſtood, entred the trench, and after him the king, where he bare himſelfe ſo knightlie, that therevpon the queenes part went to wracke, and was put to flight; the king and other falling in chaſe after them, ſo that manie were ſlaine, but eſpeciallie at a mill in the meadow faſt by the towne a great ſort were drowned. Manie ran towards the towne, ſome to the church, and diuerſe to the abbeie, and other to other places, where they thought beſt to ſaue themſelues. [This was the laſt fought field or pight battell tried betweene the potentats of this land in king Edward the fourths daies (which chanced on the fourth of Maie, being ſaturdaie, in the eleauenth yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord, 1471) as *Anglorum prælia* affirmeth, ſaieng:

Vltima poſtremæ locus eſt Teuxburia pugnæ.]

Abr. Flem.

Edw. Hall.
Prince Edward taken.

In the winning of the campe, ſuch as ſtood to it were ſlaine out of hand Prince Edward was taken as he fled towards the towne, by ſir Richard Crofts, and kept cloſe. In the field and chaſe were ſlaine, the lord Iohn of Summerſet, called marqueſſe Dorſet, Thomas Courtenie earle of Deuonſhire, ſir Iohn Delues, ſir Edward Hampden, ſir Robert Whitingham, and ſir Iohn Leukener, with three thouſand others. After the field was ended, proclamation was made, that whoſoeuer could bring foorth prince Edward aliue or dead, ſhould haue an annuitie of a hundred pounds during his life, and the princes life to be ſaued, if he were brought foorth aliue. Sir Richard Crofts, nothing miſtruſting the kings promiſe, brought foorth his priſoner prince Edward, being a faire and well proportioned yoong gentleman; whom when king Edward had well aduiſed, he demanded of him, how he durſt ſo preſumptuouſlie enter into his realme with banner diſplaied.

Nobles ſlain

Sir Richard Crofts deliuereth the prince in hop that his life ſhould haue beene ſaued.

Wherevnto the prince boldlie anſwered, ſaieng; To recouer my fathers kingdome & heritage, from his father and grandfather to him, and from him after him to me lineallie deſcended. At which words king Edward ſaid nothing, but with his hand thruſt him from him, or (as ſome ſaie) ſtroke him with his gantlet; whom incontinentlie, George duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Gloceſter, Thomas Greie marqueſſe Dorcet, and William lord Haſtings that ſtood by, ſuddenlie murthered: for the which cruell act, the more part of the dooers in their latter daies dranke of the like cup, by the righteous iuſtice and due puniſhment of God. His bodie was homelie interred with the other ſimple corpſes, in the church of the monaſterie of blacke monks in Teukeſburie.

Prince Edward murthered.

After the victorie was thus atchiued, the king repaired to the abbeie church there, to giue God thanks for that good ſucceſſe, which it had pleaſed him to bleſſe him with: and there finding a great number of his enimies, that were fled thither to ſaue themſelues, he gaue them all his free pardon; albeit there was no franchiſe there for rebels, but that he might haue commanded them to haue beene drawen foorth without breach of anie liberties of that church. He granted alſo that the dead bodies, as well of the lords as other, ſlaine in that battell, might be buried in the ſame church, or elſe where it pleaſed their freends or ſeruants, without anie quartering & heading, or ſetting vp the heads or quarters in any publike places. [O the patience and clemencie of this good king, who (beſides the putting vp of wrongs doone to him by violence of foes without vengeance) freelie forgaue the offendors, and did ſo honorablie temper his affections!]

There were found in the abbeie and other places of the towne, Edmund duke of Summerſet, Iohn Lonſtrother lord prior of S. Iohn, ſir Thomas Treſham, ſir Gerueis Clifton, and diuerſe other knights and eſquiers, which were apprehended, and all of them being brought before the duke of Gloceſter, ſitting as conſtable of England, and the duke of Norfolke, as marſhall in the middeſt of the towne, they were arreigned, condemned, and iudged to die; and ſo vpon the tueſdaie, being the ſeuenth of Maie, the ſaid duke and the lord prior, with the two forenamed knights, and twelue other knights, were on a ſcaffold, ſet vp in the middle of the towne for that purpoſe, beheaded, and permitted to be buried, without anie other diſmembring, or ſetting vp of their heads in anie one place or other.

The duke of Summerſet & others beheded.

The ſame tueſdaie, the king departed from Teukeſburie towards Worceſter, and by the waie had knowledge that queene Margaret was found in a poore houſe of religion, not far from thence, into the which ſhe was withdrawen for ſafegard of hir ſelfe, on ſaturdaie in the morning, being the daie of the battell. She was after brought to London as priſoner,

Queene Margaret taken.

ner, and ſo kept, till hir father ranſomed hir with great ſummes of monie, which he borowed of Lewes the eleuenth king of France. And bicauſe he was not able to make repaiment thereof, he ſold vnto the ſaid Lewes (as the French writers affirme) the kingdomes of Naples, and both the Sicils, with the countie of Prouance. King Edward being at Worceſter, had aduertiſements brought foorth of the north parts, that the people there were about to aſſemble in armour againſt him, in fauour of king Henrie: wherevpon he left the right way to London, and rode to Couentrie, meaning to increaſe the number of his people, and ſo with a puiſſant armie to go northwards.

Herevpon, comming to Couentrie the eleuenth of Maie, and remaining there thrée daies, he well refreſhed ſuch as had béene with him at Tewkeſburie field. Hither was brought to him quéene Margaret, from whence ſhe was conueied to London, there to remaine in ſafe kéeping (as before you haue hard.) Whileſt he was buſie in ſending abroad vnto his friends to leauie an armie, he was aduertiſed that the commotion in the north was pacified. For after it was knowen abroad, how he obteined the victorie, as well at Tewkeſburie, as at Barnet, and in manner ſubdued all his enimies, the capteins that had ſtirred the people to that rebellion, began to quaile, and forſoke their companies.

Rebellion in the north pacified.

The earle of Northumberland.

Diuerſe of them made ſute to the earle of Northumberland, that it might pleaſe him to be a mediator to the king for their pardon; ſo that now, there was no rebellion in all the north parts, but that as well the citie of Yorke, as all other places, were at the kings commandement, readie in all things to obeie him as true and loiall ſubiects. And this was confirmed by the earle of Northumberlands owne mouth, who on the fouretéenth of Maie came to the king, as yet remaining at Couentrie: by reaſon whereof it was not thought néedfull, that the king ſhould trauell anie further northward at that time, either about the pacifieng of the people, or to ſée execution doone vpon the offendors, ſith all was there in good tranquillitie and quiet.

Thomas Neuill baſtard Fauconbridge.

But now when all things ſéemed to be at reſt, and no rebellion after ſo happie victories doubted, newes came to him before his cōming to Couentrie, from the lords of his bloud, abiding at London, that one Thomas Neuill, baſtard ſonne to that valiant capteine the lord Thomas Fauconbridge (who had latelie before béene ſent to the ſea by the earle of Warwike, and after fallen to practiſe piraſie) had ſpoiled diuerſe merchants ſhips, Portingals and others, in breach of the ancient amitie that long had continued betwixt the realms of England and Portingale; and furthermore, had now got to him a great number of mariners, out of all parts of the land, and manie traitors and miſgouerned people from each quarter of the realme, beſide diuerſe alſo foorth of other countries that delighted in theft and robberies, meaning to worke ſome exploit againſt the king.

The baſtard Fauconbridge before London with an armie.

And verelie, his puiſſance increaſed dailie, for hauing béene at Calis, and brought from thence into Kent manie euill diſpoſed perſons, he began to gather his power in that countrie, meaning (as was thought) to attempt ſome great and wicked enterpriſe. After the kings comming to Couentrie, he receiued aduertiſements, that this baſtard was come before London, with manie thouſands of men by land, and alſo in ſhips by water, purpoſing to rob and ſpoile the citie. Manie Kentiſhmen were willing to aſſiſt him in this miſchieuous enterpriſe, and other were forced againſt their wils to go with him, or elſe to aid him with their ſubſtance and monie, inſomuch that within a ſhort time, he had got togither ſixtéene or ſeuentene thouſand men, as they accompted themſelues.

With theſe he came before the citie of London the twelfe of Maie, in the quarell (as he pretended) of king Henrie, whome he alſo meant to haue out of the Tower, & to reſtore him againe vnto his crowne & roiall dignitie. And for that intent, he required to enter the citie with his people, that receiuing king Henrie foorth of the Tower, they might paſſe with him through the citie, and ſo to march ſtreight towards king Edward, whoſe deſtruction they vowed to purſue, with all their vttermoſt indeuors. But the maior and aldermen of the citie would not in anie wiſe agrée to ſatiſfie their requeſt herein, vtterlie refuſing to receiue him or anie of his companie into the citie.

Succours ſent to the citie of London.

King Edward from time to time by poſts was informed of all theſe doings, & by aduiſe of his councell, the fouretéenth of Maie, ſent to the ſuccors of the maior and aldermen fiftéene hundred of the choiſeſt ſouldiers he had about him, that they might helpe to reſiſt the enimies, till he had got ſuch an armie togither as was thought neceſſarie, meaning with all conuenient ſpéed to come therewith to the reſcue of the citie, and preſeruation of the quéene, prince, and his daughters, that were within the Tower, not in verie good ſafegard, conſidering the euill diſpoſitions of manie within the citie of London, that for the fauour they had borne to the earle of Warwike, and deſire to be partakers of the ſpoile, cared not if the baſtard might haue atteined to his full purpoſe and wiſhed intent.

The baſtards purpoſe to ſpoile the ſuburbs of London.

On the ſixtenth of Maie, king Edward ſet forth of Couentrie towards London. But here ye haue to vnderſtand, that when the baſtard could not be receiued into the citie, neither by gentle perſuaſions, nor gréeuous threatnings, he made ſemblance to paſſe ouer the Thames at Kingſton bridge, ten miles from London, and thitherwards he drew with his whole power by land, leauing his ſhips afore ſaint Katharines and thereabouts. His pretenſe was, to ſpoile and deſtroie Weſtminſter, and the ſuburbs of the citie on that ſide, and after to aſſault the citie it ſelfe, to trie if he might enter by force, and ſo to be reuenged of the citizens that had refuſed to receiue him. [Notwithſtanding all which ſtirring of coles & proud port, with hautineſſe of hart & violence of hand thinking to beare downe the people, as an inundation or flowing of water ſtreams doth all before it: yet he came ſhort of his purpoſe, & pulled vpon his owne pate finall deſtruction: though he thought himſelfe a man ordeined to glorie, & was tickled with the like flatring perſuaſion that one had in his hart, who ſaid:

Magnum iter aſcendo, ſed dat mihi gloria vires.]

Prop. lib. 4.

The baſtard altereth his purpoſe.

Now as he was onwards vpon his iornie, he was aduertiſed, that king Edward was preparing to come forwards againſt him, aſſiſted in manner with all the great lords of the realme, and others in great number, more than he had béene at anie time before. By reaſon whereof, doubting what might follow, if paſſing the riuer he ſhould fortune ſo to be incloſed, that he ſhould be driuen thereby to incounter with the kings power at ſuch ods, he thought it beſt to alter his purpoſe; and ſo returning, came backe againe before London, & muſtered his people in S. Georges field, ranged and placed in one entier battell.

And to the intent they might worke their purpoſed feat, before the kings comming to the reſcue, they reſolued with all their forces to aſſault the citie, and to enter it if they could by plaine ſtrength, that putting it to the ſacke, they might conueie the riches to their ſhips, which laie in the riuer betwixt ſaint Katharins and Blackewall, neere to Ratcliffe. Herevpon hauing brought certeine péeces of artillerie foorth of their ſhips, they planted the ſame alongſt the water ſide, right ouer againſt the citie, and ſhot off luſtilie, to annoie them within ſo much as was poſſible.

The baſtard meaneth to enter the citie by force.

But the citizens on the other ſide lodged their great artillerie againſt their aduerſaries, and with violent ſhot therof ſo galled them, that they durſt not abide in anie place alongſt the water ſide, but were driuen euen from their owne ordinance. Yet the baſtard not meaning to leaue anie waie vnaſſaied that might aduance his purpoſe, appointed a great number of his retinue to ſet fire on the bridge, ſo to open the paſſage, and to enter into the citie that way forth; and withall, he cauſed aboue thrée thouſand other to paſſe by ſhips ouer the Thames; giuing order, that when they were got ouer, they ſhould diuide themſelues into two battels, the one to aſſault Algate, and the other Biſhops gate, which order accordinglie was executed.

Algate and Biſhops gate aſſaulted.

For they did their beſt at both places to force the gates, not ſparing to bend and diſcharge ſuch guns as they had brought with them againſt the ſame, nor ceaſſing with arrowes to annoie thoſe that there ſtood at defenſe: whereby much hurt was doone, as well at the one place as the other, fire being ſet on both the gates, in purpoſe to haue burnt them vp, and ſo to haue entered. The fire which they had kindled on the bridge little auailed them, although they burnt there to the number of a thréeſcore houſes. For the citizens had laid ſuch péeces of ordinance directlie in their waie, that although the paſſage had béene wholie open, they ſhould haue had hard entering that waie forth. The maior, aldermen, and other worſhipfull citizens were in good arraie, and each man appointed and beſtowed where was thought néedfull.

Houſes burnt on the bridge.

The earle of Eſſex, and manie knights, eſquiers, and gentlemen, with their fréends and ſeruants, came to aid the citizens, taking great paine to place them in order, for defenſe of the gates and walles: and furthermore, deuiſed how and in what ſort they might make a ſallie forth vpon the enimies to diſtreſſe them: and ſuerlie, by the intermingling of ſuch gentlemen and lords ſeruants in euerie part with the citizens, they were greatlie incouraged to withſtand their enimies. Yet the rebels, vnder the leading of one Spiſing, bare themſelues ſo ſtoutlie at Algate, that they wan the bulworks there, and droue the citizens backe within the portculice, & entered with them, to the number of ſix or eight: but ſome of them were ſlaine with the fall of the portculice that was let downe vpon them, to kéepe the reſidue out, and thoſe that were entered within the gate were ſuddenlie diſpatched.

The valiancie of Robert Baſſet alderman.

Hérewith they laſhed fréelie the one part at the other with guns and bowes, although no great hurt was doone with ſhot; till at length Robert Baſſet alderman (that was appointed to the kéeping of this gate, with the moſt part of the citizens) and the recorder, named Vrſewike, either of them being well armed in ſtrong iackes, commanded the portculice to be drawen vp, and maintenantlie ruſhed forth vpon their enimies, putting them backe vnto ſaint Bothulpes church. At the ſame inſtant, the earle Riuers, hauing got togither a foure or fiue hundred men, well choſen and apparelled for the warre, iſſued forth at the poſterne by the Tower, and aſſailing the Kentiſhmen, euen vpon the point as they were thus put backe, mightilie laid vpon them.

And firſt he plaged them with the ſwift and thicke flight of his arrowes, and after ioining with them at handſtrokes, ſlue and tooke manie of them priſoners; ſo that the rebels were fullie put to flight, and followed firſt to Mile-end, and from thenſe ſome vnto Poplar, ſome to Stratford, and Stepnith, and in maner each waie forth about that part of the citie, the chaſe being followed for the ſpace of two miles in length. Manie of them were of Eſſex, and ſo made their courſe homewards; but the more part of them fled to the water ſide, and getting to their ſhips, paſſed ouer the Thames to the reſt of their companie. The other likewiſe that were buſie to aſſault Biſhops gate, when they vnderſtood that their fellowes were diſcomfited and fled from Algate, they likewiſe ſlipped awaie, and made the beſt ſhift they could to ſaue themſelues.

There were a ſeauen hundred of them that fled from Algate, and other places, ſlaine outright, beſide the priſoners. And yet there were fiers burning all at once at Algate, Biſhops gate, & on the bridge, and manie houſes conſumed with the ſame fiers. But now the baſtard, vnder whome that companie was directed that had ſet fire on the bridge, when he ſaw that he might not preuaile, and vnderſtood the euill ſucces of thoſe which he had ſet ouer the Thames, he withdrew alſo, and left the bridge. Here the hardie manhood of Rafe Joſſelin alderman is not to be paſſed with ſilence; who (after he had valiantlie reſiſted the baſtard & his band that aſſaulted the bridge) vpon their retire ſallied forth vpon them, and following them in chaſe alongſt the water ſide, till they came beyond Ratcliffe, ſlue and tooke verie manie of them.

Rafe Joſſelin.

The baſtard incampeth on Blackeheath.

The baſtard notwithſtanding gathered his companies togither, and with ſuch as were willing to remaine with him incamped on Blackeheath, by the ſpace of thrée daies next inſuing, to wit, the ſixteenth, ſeauentéenth, and eightéenth of Maie, vtterlie deſpairing of his wiſhed preie, ſith he had béene repelled from London, to his vtter confuſion. And now to conclude, hearing that king Edward was comming with a right puiſſant armie, the ſaid baſtard and his people durſt no longer abide; but brake vp and diſperſed themſelues, ſome one waie, and ſome an other. They of Calis got them thither againe with all ſpéed, and ſuch as were of other countries repaired likewiſe to their homes, and manie of the Kentiſhmen went alſo to their houſes. The baſtard with his mariners, and ſuch riotous rebels, robbers, and wicked perſons, as ſought nothing but ſpoile, got them to ſhipbord, and with all their veſſels drew downe to the coaſt.

King Edward, hauing aſſembled an armie of thirtie thouſand men (as ſome write) and accompanied in maner with all the great lords of England, came to London the one and twentith of Maie, being tueſdaie, where he was honourablie receiued by the maior, aldermen, and other worſhipfull citizens: where euen vpon their firſt méeting with him he dubbed diuerſe of them knights; as the maior, the recorder, & other aldermen, and worſhipfull commoners of the citie, which had manfullie and valiantlie acquit themſelues againſt the baſtard Fauconbridge & his wicked companie of rebels. Moreouer, here is to be remembred, that poore king Henrie the ſixt, a little before depriued (as ye haue heard) of his realme and imperiall crowne, was now in the Tower ſpoiled of his life, by Richard duke of Glouceſter (as the conſtant fame ran) who (to the intent that his brother king Edward might reigne in more ſuertie) murthered the ſaid king Henrie with a dagger.

Edw. Hall. King Henrie the ſixt murthered in the Tower.

Howbeit, ſome writers of that time, fauoring altogither the houſe of Yorke, haue recorded, that after he vnderſtood what loſſes had chanced vnto his fréends, and how not onelie his ſonne, but alſo all other his chéefe partakers were dead and diſpatched, he tooke it ſo to hart, that of pure diſpleaſure, indignation, and melancholie, he died the thrée and twentith of Maie. The dead corps on the Aſcenſion euen was conueied with billes and glaiues pompouſlie (if

you

The nine and twentith of Maie.

you will call that a funerall pompe) from the Tower to the church of ſaint Paule, and there laid on a beire or coffen bare faced, the ſame in preſence of the beholders did bleed; where it reſted the ſpace of one whole daie. From thenſe he was caried to the Blackfriers, and bled there likewiſe: and on the next daie after, it was conueied in a boat, without prieſt or clerke, torch or taper, ſinging or ſaieng, vnto the monaſterie of Chertſeie, diſtant from London fifteene miles, and there was it firſt buried: but after, it was remooued to Windeſor, and there in a new vawt, newlie intoomed. He reigned eight and thirtie yeares, ſix moneths and od daies, and after his readeption of the crowne ſix moneths. He liued two and fiftie yeares, hauing by wife one onelie ſonne, called Edward, prince of Wales.

He was of a ſeemelie ſtature, of bodie ſlender, to which proportion all other members were anſwerable; his face beautifull, wherein continuallie was reſident the bountie of mind with the which he was inwardlie indued. Of his owne naturall inclination he abhorred all the vices as well of the bodie as of the ſoule. His patience was ſuch, that of all the iniuries to him doone (which were innumerable) he neuer aſked vengeance, thinking that for ſuch aduerſitie as chanced to him, his ſinnes ſhould be forgotten and forgiuen. What loſſes ſoeuer happened vnto him, he neuer eſteemed, nor made anie account thereof; but if anie thing were doone, that might ſound as an offenſe towards God, he ſore lamented, and with great repentance ſorowed for it.

So then verie vnlike it is, that he died of anie wrath, indignation, and diſpleaſure bicauſe his buſineſſe about the keeping of the crowne on his head tooke no better ſucceſſe: except peraduenture ye will ſaie, that it greeued him, for that ſuch ſlaughters and miſcheeues as had chanced within this land, came to paſſe onelie through his follie and default in gouernment: or (that more is) for his fathers, his grandfathers, and his owne vniuſt vſurping and deteining of the crowne. But howſoeuer it was, for theſe before remembred, and other the like properties of reputed holineſſe, which was ſaid to reſt in him, it pleaſed God to worke miracles for him in his life time, as men haue liſted to report.

Canonizing of kings, deere.

By reaſon whereof, king Henrie the ſeauenth ſued to Pope Iulio the ſecond, to haue him canonized a ſaint. But for that the canonizing of a king ſeemed to be more coſtlie than for a biſhop, the ſaid king left off his ſute in that behalfe; thinking better to ſaue his monie, than to purchaſe a new holie daie of ſaint Henrie with ſo great a price, remitting to God the iudgement of his will and intent. ¶ But bicauſe princes princelie qualified, can not be too highlie praiſed, I will here record a collection of his commendable conditions, doings, and ſaiengs, as I find them ſet downe to my hand, to his perpetuall renowme; and right worthie of imitation, not onelie of ſuch as are ſingled out from among infinite thouſands, to be magnified with roialtie; but alſo of priuat and meane men that conuerſe and liue one with an other in the world.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 730, 731, &c.

This king hauing inioied as great proſperitie as fauourable fortune could afoord, & as great troubles on the other ſide as ſhe frowning could powre out; yet in both the ſtates he was patient and vertuous, that he maie be a patterne of moſt perfect vertue, as he was a worthie example of fortunes inconſtancie. He was plaine, vpright, farre from fraud, wholie giuen to praier, reading of ſcriptures, and almeſdeeds; of ſuch integritie of life, that the biſhop which had beene his confeſſour ten yeares, auouched that he had not all that time committed anie mortall crime: ſo continent, as ſuſpicion of vnchaſt life neuer touched him: and hauing in Chriſtmaſſe a ſhew of yoong women with their bare breaſts laid out preſented before him, he immediatlie departed with theſe words: Fie, fie, for ſhame; forſooth you be too blame.

Before his marriage, he liked not that women ſhould enter his chamber, and for this reſpect he committed his two brethren by the mothers ſide, Iaſper and Edmund, to moſt honeſt & vertuous prelats to be brought vp. So farre he was from couetouſneſſe, that when the executors of his vncle the biſhop of Wincheſter, ſurnamed the rich cardinall, would haue giuen him two thouſand pounds, he plainelie refuſed it, willing them to diſcharge the will of the departed, and would ſcarſelie condeſcend at length to accept the ſame ſumme of monie toward the indowing of his colleges in Cambridge & Eaton. He was religiouſlie affected (as the time then was) that at principall holidaies, he would weare ſackecloth next his ſkin. Oth he vſed none, but in moſt earneſt matters theſe words: Forſooth and forſooth.

He was ſo pitifull, that when he ſaw the quarter of a traitor againſt his crowne ouer Criplegate, he willed it to be taken awaie, with theſe words: I will not haue anie chriſtian ſo cruellie handled for my ſake. Manie great offenſes he willinglie pardoned, and receiuing at a time a great blow by a wicked man which compaſſed his death, he onelie ſaid; Forſooth forſooth, yee doo fowlie to ſmite a king annointed ſo. An other alſo which thruſt him into the ſide with a ſword when he was priſoner in the Tower, was by him pardoned when he was reſtored to his ſtate and kingdome. Not long before his death, being demanded whie he had ſo long held the crowne of England vniuſtlie; he replied: My father was king of England, quietlie inioieng the crowne all his reigne; and his father my grandſire was alſo king of England, and I euen a child in my cradell was proclamed and crowned king without anie interruption; and ſo held it fortie yeares well-neere, all the ſtates dooing homage vnto me, as to my anteceſſors: wherefore I maie ſaie with king Dauid; The lot is fallen vnto me in a faire ground; yea, I haue a goodlie heritage, my helpe is from the Lord which ſaueth the vpright in heart.

The kings colledge in Cambridge.

This good king, being of himſelfe alwaies naturallie inclined to doo good, and fearing leaſt he might ſeeme vnthankefull to almightie God for his great benefits beſtowed vpon him, ſince the time he firſt tooke vpon him the regiment of his realme, determined about the ſix and twentith yeare of his reigne, for his primer notable worke (as by the words of his will I find expreſſed) to erect and found two famous colledges in the honor and worſhip of his holy name, and for the increaſe of vertue, the dilatation of cunning, and eſtabliſhment of chriſtian faith, whereof the one in Cambridge, to be called his colledge roiall of our ladie and ſaint Nicholas: and the other at Eaton beſide Windſore, to be called his colledge of our bleſſed ladie.

And for the performance of this his deuout purpoſe, he infeoffed certeine biſhops, with other noble and worſhipfull perſonages, by his letters patents, with lands and poſſeſſions, parcell of his inheritance of the duchie of Lancaſter, to the cleare value of well neere foure & thirtie hundred pounds by yeere. Which letters patents he after confirmed by his act of parlement, declaring alſo by his will vnto his ſaid feoffees, his intent and meaning, how the ſame ſhuld be imploied vpon the edifications of his ſaid two colledges. Whereof (in my iudgement) the deuiſe is ſo excellent, and the buildings ſo princelie and apt for that purpoſe, as I cannot omit to ſet forth vnto you the verie plot of the whole colledge in Cambridge, euen as I find mentioned almoſt verbatim in his will, ſuppoſing that if the reſt of the houſe had procéeded according to the chappell alreadie finiſhed (as his full intent and meaning was) the like colledge could ſcant haue béene found againe in anie chriſtian land. The words of the will are thus.

The chappell. The bodie of the church. The quiere. The roodloft. The height of the chappell. The eaſt window.

As touching the dimenſions of the church of my ſaid colledge of our ladie and S. Nicholas of Cambridge, I haue deuiſed and appointed, that the ſame church ſhall conteine in length 288 foot of aſſiſe, without anie Iles, and all of the wideneſſe of fortie foot. And the length of the ſame church from the weſt end vnto the altars at the quiere doore, ſhall conteine an hundred and twentie foot. And from the prouoſts ſtall, vnto the gréece called *Gradus chori* ninetie foot; for thirtie ſix ſtalles on either ſide of the ſame quiere, anſwering to thréeſcore and ten fellowes, and ten prieſts conducts, which muſt be *De prima forma*. And from the ſaid ſtalles vnto the eaſt end of the ſaid church, thréeſcore & two foot of aſſiſe. Alſo a reredoſſe bearing the roodloft, departing the quiere and the bodie of the church, conteining in length fortie foot, and in breadth fourtéene foot. The walles of the ſame church to be in height ninetie foot imbattelled, vawted, and chareroffed, ſufficientlie butteraced, and euerie butterace fined with finials. And in the eaſt end of the ſame church, ſhall be a window of nine daies, and betwixt euerie butterace a window of fiue daies.

The ſide chappels. The veſtrie. The cloiſter.

And betwixt euerie of the ſame butteraces in the bodie of the church, on both ſides of the ſame church, a cloſet with an altar therein, conteining in length twentie foot, and in breadth ten foot, vawted and finiſhed vnder the ſoile of the Ile windowes. And the pauement of the church to be inhanced foure foot aboue the ground without. And the height of the pauement of the quiere one foot and an halfe aboue the pauement of the church. And the pauement of the altar thrée foot aboue that. And on the north ſide of the quiere a veſtrie conteining in length fiftie foot, and in breadth twentie and two foot, departed into two houſes beneath, & two houſes aboue, which ſhall conteine in height twentie two foot in all, with an entrie from the quiere vawted. And at the weſt end of the church a cloiſter ſquare, the eaſt pane conteining in length an hundred ſeuentie and fiue foot, and the weſt pane as much. The north pane two hundred foot, and the ſouth pane as much, of the which the deambulatorie thirtéene foot wide, and in height twentie foot to the corbill table, with cleare ſtories and butteraces with finials, vawted & imbattelled. And the ground thereof foure foot lower than the church ground.

The ſtéeple. The baſe court. The eaſt pane. The great gate.

And in the middle of the weſt pane of the cloiſter a ſtrong tower ſquare, conteining foure and twentie foot within the walles. And in the height one hundred and twentie foot to the corbill table. And foure ſmall turrets ouer that fined with pinacles. And a doore into the ſaid cloiſter inward, but outward none. And as touching the dimenſions of the houſing of the ſaid colledge, I haue deuiſed and appointed in the ſouthſide of the ſaid church a quadrant, cloſing to both ends of the ſame church; the eaſt pane whereof ſhall conteine two hundred and thirtie foot in length, and in breadth within the walles two and twentie foot. In the ſame panes middle, a tower for a gatehouſe, conteining in length thirtie foot, and in breadth two and twentie, and in height thréeſcore foot, with thrée chambers ouer the gate, euerie one ouer the other. And on either ſide of the ſame gate foure chambers, euerie one conteining in length fiue & twentie foot, and in bredth two and twentie foot. And ouer euerie of theſe chambers, two chambers aboue of the ſame meaſure or more, with two towers outward, and two towers inward.

The ſouth pane. The weſt pane. The librarie. The diſputation houſe.

The ſouth pane ſhall conteine in length two hundred thirtie and eight foot, and in breadth two and twentie foot within, in which ſhalbe ſeuen chambers, euerie one conteining in length nine and twentie foot, and in breadth twentie and two, with a chamber parcell of the prouoſts lodging, conteining in length thirtie and fiue foot, and with a chamber in the eaſt corner of the ſame pane, conteining in length twentie and fiue foot, and in breadth thirtie and two foot. And ouer euerie of all theſe chambers two chambers, and with fiue towers outward, and thrée towers inward. The weſt pane ſhall conteine in length two hundred and thirtie foot, and in breadth within twentie & foure foot, in which at the end toward the church ſhall be a librarie, conteining in length an hundred and ten foot, and in breadth twentie and foure foot. And vnder it a large houſe for reading and diſputations, conteining in length eleuen foot. And two chambers vnder the ſame librarie, each conteining twentie and nine foot in length, and in breadth foure and twentie foot.

The wardrobe. The hall. The pantrie and butterie. The colledge kitchin.

And ouer the ſaid librarie a houſe of the ſame largeneſſe, for diuerſe ſtuffe of the ſaid colledge. In the other end of the ſame pane a hall, conteining in length an hundred foot, vpon a vawt of twelue foot high, ordeined for the cellar and butterie: and the breadth of the hall ſix and thirtie foot. On euerie ſide thereof a baie window. And in the nether end of the ſame hall toward the middle of the ſame pane, a pantrie & butterie, euerie of them in length twentie foot, and in breadth ſeuentéene foot. And ouer that two chambers for officers. And at the nether end of the hall toward the weſt, a goodlie kitchin. And the ſame pane ſhall haue inward two towers, ordeined for the waies into the hall and librarie. And in euerie corner of the ſaid quadrant, ſhall be two corner towers, one inward, and one outward, more than the towers aboue rehearſed.

The prouoſts lodging. The bakehouſe and brewhouſe. The woodyard. The conduit.

And at the vpper end of the hall, the prouoſts lodging, that is to wit, more than the chambers for him aboue ſpecified, a parlour on the ground, conteining ſix and thirtie foot in length, and two and twentie foot in breadth, & two chambers aboue of the ſame quantitie. And weſtward cloſing thereto a kitchin for him, a larderhouſe, ſtables, and other neceſſarie houſings and grounds. And weſtward beyond theſe houſes, and the ſaid kitchin ordeined for the hall, a bakehouſe, a brewhouſe, and other houſes of office: betwixt which there is left a ground ſquare of fourſcore foot in euerie pane for wood and ſuch ſtuffe. And in the middle of the ſaid large quadrant, ſhall be a conduit, goodlie deuiſed for the eaſe of the ſame colledge. And I will, that the edification procéed in large forme of my ſaid colledge cleane and ſubſtantiall, ſetting apart ſuperfluitie of ſo great curious workes of intaile and buſie moulding.

The precinct of the colledge. The water gate.

And I haue deuiſed and appointed that the precinct of my ſaid colledge, as well on both ſides of the garden from the colledge to the water, as in all other places of the ſame precinct, be incloſed with a ſubſtantiall wall, of the height of fourtéene foot, with a large tower at the principall entrie againſt the middle of the eaſt pane, out of the high ſtréet. And in the ſame tower a large gate, and another tower in the middle of the weſt end at the new bridge. And the ſame wall to be creaſted, imbattelled, and fortified with towers, as manie as ſhall be thought conuenient thervnto. And I will that my ſaid colledge be edified of the moſt ſubſtantiall & beſt abiding ſtuffe, of ſtone, lead, glaſſe, and iron, that maie beſt be had and prouided thereto. ¶ Thus much I haue inlarged by occaſion of reading this good kings will: the cunning deuiſe whereof I leaue to the conſiderate iudgement of ſuch as be expert in architecture, heartilie deſiring almightie God to put into the heart of ſome noble prince of this land, one day to make perfect this roiall worke ſo charitablie begun.]

Sandwich kept by the rebels.

But now to returne to king Edward. Ye ſhall vnderſtand, that after his comming to London, hée reſted there but one daie, or two at the moſt, taking his iournie forthright into Kent with all his armie, folowing the baſtard, and other his complices, to ſuppreſſe them, if they were in anie place aſſembled againe to reſiſt him. But after they were once diſperſed, they durſt not ſhew themſelues againe in armor, thoſe onlie excepted that were withdrawne vnto Sandwich with the baſtard; which for the more part were mariners, about eight or nine hundred, beſide certeine other euill diſpoſed perſons, that accompanied him as his ſouldiers, and men of warre, with whoſe aſſiſtance the baſtard kept that towne by ſtrength, hauing in the hauen ſeuen and fortie ſhips, great and ſmall, vnder his gouernance.

The rebels ſue for pardon.

But vpon the kings approching néere vnto thoſe parties, they ſent to him for pardon, promiſing that vpon a reaſonable appointment, for the ſafegard of their liues, and other indemnities to be had for their benefit, they would become his faithfull ſubiects, and deliuer into his hands all the ſhips. Their offer the king vpon great conſiderations, and by good deliberate aduiſe of counſell, thought beſt to accept: and therevpon (being at that time in Canturburie) hée granted to their petitions, and ſent immediatlie vnto Sandwich his brother Richard duke of Glouceſter, to receiue them to mercie, togither with all the ſhips, which according to their promiſe they deliuered into his hands.

The baſtard of Fauconbridge beheaded.

Roger Vaughan taken and beheaded.

But notwithſtanding that (as ſome write) the baſtard Fauconbridge, and other of his companie that were got to Sandwich, had thus their pardons by compoſition at the kings hand; we find neuertheleſſe, that the ſaid baſtard Fauconbridge, being afterwards at ſea (a rouing belike, as he had vſed before) came at length into the open hauen at Southhampton, and there taking land, was apprehended, and ſhortlie after beheaded. This chanced (as ſhould appeare by Fabian) about the latter end of October. Moreouer, Roger Vaughan that had béene ſent by king Edward into Wales, anon after Teukeſburie field (being a man of great power in that countrie) to intrap and ſurpriſe by ſome ſecret ſleight the earle of Penbroke, the ſaid earle being thereof aduertiſed, tooke the ſame Roger, and without delay ſtroke off his head.

Dauid Thomas.

The earle of Penbroke with his nephue the earle of Richmond paſſe ouer into Britaine.

Execution.

After this, was the earle beſieged in the towne of Penbroke by Morgan Thomas; but the ſiege was raiſed by Dauid Thomas, brother to the ſaid Morgan, a faithfull friend to the earle; and then the earle by his helpe was conueied to Tinbie, where he got ſhips, and with his nephue the lord Henrie earle of Richmond ſailed into Britaine, where, of the duke they were courteouſlie interteined; with aſſurance made, that no creature ſhould doo them anie wrong or iniurie within his dominions. King Edward viſiting diuerſe places in Kent, ſate in iudgement on ſuch as had aided the baſtard in the laſt commotion, of whome diuerſe were condemned and executed, as Spiſing one of the capteins that aſſaulted Algate, whoſe head was ſet vp ouer the ſame gate: and ſo likewiſe was the head of one Quintine, a butcher, that was an other capteine amongeſt them, and chiefe of thoſe that aſſaulted Biſhops gate, as ſome write.

Moreouer, at Canturburie the maior of that citie was executed, and diuerſe other at Rocheſter, Maidſton and Blackeheath: for the lord marſhall and other iudges, being appointed to hold their oier and determiner in that countrie of Kent, there were aboue an hundred indicted and condemned. Diuerſe alſo of Eſſex men that had béene partakers in this rebellion with the baſtard, & holpe to ſet fire on Biſhops gate and Algate, were hanged betwixt Stratford and London. Manie alſo of the wealthie commons in Kent were put to grieuous fines.

Fabian.

The archbiſhop of Yorke.

The earle of Oxford.

1472

Now when the king had made an end of his buſineſſe in that countrie, he returned to London, comming thither againe vpon Whitſun éeuen, being the firſt of Iune. And hauing thus within the ſpace of eleuen wéekes recouered in maner the whole poſſeſſion of his realme, being relieued of the moſt part of all his doubtfull feare, he ment to remooue all ſtops out of the waie. Wherefore he ſent the archbiſhop of Yorke, brother to the earle of Warwike, and to the marques Montacute ouer to Guiſnes, there to be kept in ſafe cuſtodie within the caſtell, where he continued a long ſeaſon, till at length he was by friendſhip deliuered, and ſhortlie after (through verie anguiſh of mind) departed this life; whome Laurence Bath, and after him Thomas Rotheram in the ſée of Yorke, did ordinarilie ſuccéed. Beſide this, Iohn earle of Oxford, which after Barnet field both manfullie and valiantlie kept ſaint Michaels mount in Cornewall, either for lacke of aid, or perſuaded by his friends, gaue vp the mount, and yéelded himſelfe to king Edward (his life onelie ſaued) which to him was granted. But to be out of all doutfull imaginations, king Edward alſo ſent him ouer the ſea to the caſtell of Hammes, where, by the ſpace of twelue yéeres hée was in ſtrong priſon ſhut vp and warilie looked to.

Anno Reg. 12.

Meſſengers ſent to the duke of Britaine.

King Edward was not a litle diſquieted in mind, for that the earls of Penbroke & Richmond were not onlie eſcaped out of the realme, but alſo well receiued and no worſſe interteined of the duke of Britaine: he ſent therefore in ſecret wiſe graue & cloſe meſſengers to the ſaid duke, the which ſhould not ſticke to promiſe the duke great and rich rewards, ſo that he would deliuer both the earles into their hands and poſſeſſion. The duke, after he had heard them that were ſent, made this anſwer, that he could not with his honor deliuer them, to whome he had giuen his faith to ſée them preſerued from all iniurie: but this (he ſaid) he would doo for the king of England, that they ſhould be ſo looked vnto, as he néeded not to doubt of any attempt to be made againſt him by them, or by their meanes.

1473

Anno Reg. 13.

A parlement.

The king receiuing this anſwer, wrote louinglie to the duke of Britaine, that he would conſider his fréendſhip with conuenient rewards, if it ſhould pleaſe him to be as good as his promiſe. The duke, perceiuing gaine comming by the abode of the two Engliſh earles in his countrie, cauſed them to be ſeparated in ſunder, and all their ſeruants being Engliſhmen to be ſequeſtred from them, and in their places appointed Britains to attend them. In the thirtéenth yéere of his reigne, king Edward called his high court of parlement at his palace of Weſtminſter, in the which all lawes and ordinances made by him before that daie were confirmed, and thoſe that king Henrie had abrogated, after his readeption of the crowne, were againe reuiued. Alſo lawes were made for the confiſcation of traitors goods, and for the reſtoring of them that were for his ſake fled the realme, which of his aduerſaries had béene atteinted of high treaſon, and condemned to die.

A ſubſidie.

A pardon.

Ambaſſadors from the duke of Burgognie.

Moreouer, towards his charges of late ſuſteined, a competent ſumme of monie was demanded, and fréelie granted. There was alſo a pardon granted almoſt for all offenſes; and all men then being within the realme, were releaſed and diſcharged of all high treaſons and crimes, although they had taken part with his aduerſaries againſt him. In this ſeaſon the duke of Burgognie had ſore wars with the French king; and to be the more ſpéedlie reuenged on his aduerſarie, he ſent ambaſſadors into England, to perſuade king Edward to make warre alſo on the French king, for the recouerie of his ancient right to the realme of France, by the ſame French king againſt all equitie withholden and deteined. In which attempt of his, there was ſome fauour of diſcréet policie, and a prouident forecaſt for his greater ſafetie, beſides the likelie poſſibilitie to obteine that whereto he made chalenge: ſith the huger hoſts (if the hardier hearts) are of moſt force, according to that ſaieng:

Virtus vnita fortior.

And therefore, by procuring the king of Englands power to ioine with his, he ſuppoſed his purpoſe atchiueable with the more facilitie. King Edward not ſo much for the loue he bare to the duke of Burgognie, as for deſire to be reuenged on the French king, whome he tooke to be his enimie for aiding the earle of Warwike, quéene Margaret, and hir ſonne prince Edward, with their complices, gaue good eare to the duke of Burgognie his meſſengers, and finallie (after he had taken aduiſe of his councell) the ſaid meſſengers were anſwered, that king Edward in the beginning of the next yeare would land at Calis with a puiſſant armie, both to reuenge ſuch iniuries as he had receiued at the French kings hands, and alſo to recouer his right, which he wrongfullie deteined from him.

Opportunitie not to be neglected.

The earle of S.Paule.

In déed the time ſerued verie well for the Engliſhmen to atchiue ſome high enterpriſe in France at that preſent. For not onelie the duke of Burgognie as then made warre againſt the French king, but alſo manie great men within the realme of France, miſliking the manners of their king, began to haue ſecret intelligence with the ſaid duke; and namelie Lewes of Lutzenburgh earle of ſaint Paule conſtable of France was ſecretlie confederate with the duke of Burgognie, intending verelie to bring the French king to ſome great hinderance, the better to haue his purpoſe accompliſhed in certeine weightie matters. King Edward vnderſtanding all theſe things, was greatlie incouraged to make a iournie into France, and therevpon with all diligence prepared all things readie for the ſame.

A ſhift to recouer monie.

But bicauſe he wanted monie, and could not well charge his commons with a new ſubſidie, for that he had receiued the laſt yeare great ſummes of monie granted to him by parlement, he deuiſed this ſhift, to call afore him a great number of the wealthieſt ſort of people in his realme; and to them declaring his néed, and the requiſite cauſes thereof, he demanded of euerie of them ſome portion of monie, which they ſticked not to giue. And therefore the king willing to ſhew that this their liberalitie was verie acceptable to him, he called this grant of monie, A beneuolence: notwithſtanding that manie with grudge gaue great ſums toward that new found aid which of them might be called, A meleuolence. But the king vſed ſuch gentle faſhions toward them, with fréendlie praier of their aſſiſtance in his neceſſitie, that they could not otherwiſe doo, but franklie and fréelie yéeld and giue him a reaſonable and competent ſumme.

Abr.Flem. ex Edw.Hall. fol.Ccxxvj.

¶ But here I will not let paſſe a pretie conceipt that happened in this gathering, in the which you ſhall not onelie note the humilitie of a king, but more the fantaſie of a woman. King Edward had called before him a widow, much abounding in ſubſtance, and no leſſe growne in yeares, of whome he merilie demanded what ſhe gladlie would giue him toward his great charges: By my trueth quoth ſhe, for thy louelie countenance thou ſhalt haue euen twentie pounds. The king looking ſcarſe for the halfe of that ſumme, thanked hir, and louinglie kiſt hir. Whether the flauor of his breath did ſo comfort hir ſtomach, or ſhe eſtéemed the kiſſe of a king ſo pretious a iewell, ſhe ſwore incontinentlie, that he ſhould haue twentie pounds more, which ſhe with the ſame will paied that ſhe offered it. ¶ This yeare the duke of Exceſter was found dead in the ſea betwéene Douer and Calis, but how he came there the certeintie could not be knowne.]

Iohn Stow.

1474 Anno Reg.14.

The K. with an armie paſſeth ouer into France.

When all things conuenient for ſuch an enterpriſe were in a readineſſe, the king came to Douer, where he found fiue hundred ſhips and hoies readie to tranſport him and his armie. And ſo the fourth daie of Iulie he paſſed ouer, and landed at Calis with great triumph; but his armie, horſſes, and munitions of war ſcarſe paſſed ouer in twentie daies. In this armie (being one of the beſt appointed that had paſſed out of England into France in manie yeares before) were fiftéene hundred men of armes well horſſed, of the which the moſt part were barded and richlie trapped, and manie of them trimmed in one ſute. There were alſo fiftéene thouſand archers with bowes and arrowes, of the which a great number were on horſbacke. There were alſo a great companie of other fighting men, and of ſuch as ſerued to ſet vp tents and pauilions, to attend the artillerie and to incloſe their campe, and otherwiſe to labour and be imploied in ſeruice.

The ſiege of Nuſſe.

The lord Scales.

In all this armie was there not one page. The king of England was at his ariuall highlie diſpleaſed with the duke of Burgognie, who in the word of a prince had promiſed to méet him at his landing, with two thouſand men of armes and light horſſemen, beſides a great number of lanceknights and halberdiers, and that he would haue begun the war thrée moneths before the kings tranſporting; whereas contrarilie the duke laie lingering at the ſiege of Nuſſe, and let paſſe the occaſion of atchiuing a more profitable enterpriſe. King Edward incontinentlie diſpatched the lord Scales in poſt vnto the duke, to put him in remembrance of his promiſe, and to aduiſe him to come and ioine with him before the ſummer were ſpent.

A defiance ſent to the French king.

Before king Edward departed from Douer, he ſent an officer of armes vnto the French king with a defiance. The French king, receiuing the king of Englands letters at the meſſengers hand, read the ſame; and after he had conſidered thereof at leaſure, he called the Engliſh herald aſide, and to him declared the little truſt that was to be put in the duke of Burgognie and the conſtable, by whoſe procurement he knew that king Edward was procured to come at that ſeaſon into France; and therefore it ſhould be better for him to haue peace with an old enimie, than to ſtaie vpon the promiſes and familiaritie of a new diſſembling fréend, which peace did highlie pleaſe God, & was the thing that he moſt deſired. ¶ But to giue the greater grace to the matter in hand, it is good to laie downe the forme of the French kings ſpéech to the ſaid herald, to whome he vttered theſe words in his wardrobe, as Edward Hall reporteth.

Abr.Fl. ex Edw.Hall. fol.Ccxxvj.

Sir I know and well wot, that the king of Eng- ”
land your maiſter, is neither deſcended in theſe parts ”
of his owne frée motion, nor yet of vs required; but
onelie entiſed and prouoked by the duke of Burgog- ”
nie, and ſomewhat inforced by the commons of his
realme. But now you may ſée that the ſeaſon of the ”
yeare paſſeth, and the duke of Burgognie is in poore
eſtate, returning from Nuſſe almoſt diſcomforted. ”
The conſtable alſo, with whome the king your ſoue- ”
reigne lord (I am ſure) hath ſome intelligence, for fa-
uour that your maiſter hath maried his néece, is not ”
ſo ſure a fréend as he is taken for. And if all the world
knew how I haue promoted him, and what I haue ”
doone for him, they would little thinke, that he would
ſo vntrulie handle me as he dooth. For I aſſure you, ”
he is a déepe diſſembler, & in continuall diſſimulati- ”
on

“ on intendeth to lead his life, interteining all men
for his owne profit. And although the king your maiſter
“ be vnſure of all his other promiſes, yet of one
thing he ſhall be ſure, that is, he ſhall be euer diſſembled
“ withall. And therefore I ſaie to you, and not to
your maiſter, that he were better haue a peace with
“ an old enimie, than the promiſes and familiaritie of
“ a new diſſembling freend, which peace moſt pleaſeth
God, and is the thing that I moſt doo deſire.]

The office of an herald.

When he had thus ſaid, he gaue the herald three hundred crownes, promiſing him a thouſand crownes if anie good appointment came to paſſe. This herald was borne in Normandie, who being more couetous of the crownes than ſecret (according as of dutie by his office he ought to haue beene) promiſed to doo all things that in him laie, and further ſhewed waies by the which the French king might enter into the port of treatie for peace, the which he doubted not would ſort to a good concluſion. The French king glad to heare theſe things, gaue to the herald when he ſhould depart, beſide the other reward, a peece of crimſon veluet of thirtie yards long. The lord Scales, comming to the duke of Burgognie before Nuſſe, could not perſuade him to raiſe his field, and (as it ſtood him vpon) to come and ioine with king Edward, till at length conſtreined thereto by other means, he left Nuſſe vnconquered, and ſending the moſt part of his armie into Lorraine, came with a ſmall companie to king Edward lieng before Calis.

The duke of Burgognie commeth to king Edward

King Edward at the firſt comming of the duke vnto him, ſeemed much to reproove his vnwiſe dealing, in making ſo ſlow haſt to ioine with him at this time, ſith for his ſake, and at his ſute, he had paſſed the ſeas with his armie, to the intent to make wars in France in reuenge of both their iniuries; the time ſeruing their turnes ſo well as they could wiſh or deſire, the opportunitie whereof could neuer happilie be recouered againe. The duke after he had excuſed himſelfe, with alledging the diſhonour that ſhould haue redounded to him, if he had left the ſiege of Nuſſe without meane of ſome ſhew of compoſition, incouraged king Edward to aduance forward with manie golden promiſes, aſwell of his owne part, as of the conſtable. The king agreed to the dukes perſuaſion, and ſo ſet forward.

But yet when he was entred into the dukes countries, the Engliſhmen were not ſo freendlie interteined as they looked to haue beene: for at their comming to Peronne, there were but a few ſuffered to enter the gates, the remnant were driuen to lodge in the fields, better purueied of their owne, than of the dukes prouiſion. And at their comming before ſaint Quintines (which towne the conſtable had promiſed to deliuer into the hands of the duke of Burgognie) the artillerie ſhot off, and they of the towne came foorth both on horſſebacke and foot to ſkirmiſh with them that approached, of the which two or three were ſlaine. This interteinment ſeemed ſtrange to king Edward, pondering the laſt daies promiſe with this daies dooing. But the duke excuſed the matter, and would haue perſuaded him to make countenance to beſiege the towne, that the conſtable might haue a colour to render it into his hands, as though he did it by conſtraint.

The conſtable of France a deepe diſſembler.

But the king, remembring what had beene told to his herald by the French K. how he ſhould be diſſembled with, perceiued the French kings words to be too true, and therefore thought it more ſure to heare the faire words of the conſtable and the duke, than to giue credit to their vntrue and deceitfull doings. The Engliſhmen returned vnto their campe in a great chafe towards the conſtable; and the next daie to increaſe their diſpleaſure, an other coroſiue was miniſtred, that ſmarted ſorer. For duke Charles of Burgognie tooke his leaue ſuddenlie of king Edward, alledging that he muſt needs ſee his armie in Artois, promiſing ſhortlie with all his puiſſance to returne againe to the great commoditie of them both. This departing much troubled the king of England, bicauſe he looked for no ſuch thing; but thought rather that he ſhould haue had the duke his continuall fellow in armes: and therefore this diſſembling and vnſtedfaſt working cauſed the king to thinke that he neuer thought, and to doo that he neuer intended.

The duke of Burgognie departeth.

The French king in this meane while had aſſembled a mightie power; ouer the which he had made monſieur Robert de Eſtoutuile capteine, whome he ſent to Artois, to defend the frontiers there againſt the king of Englands entrie, and he himſelfe tarried ſtill at Senlis: but though he ſhewed countenance thus of warre, yet inwardlie deſirous of peace, according to the aduiſe giuen him by the Engliſh herald, he cauſed a varlet or yeoman (as I may call him) to be put in a coat armour of France, which for haſt was made of a trumpet baner. For king Lewes was a man nothing preciſe in outward ſhewes of honor, oftentimes hauing neither officer of armes, trumpet in his court, nor other roiall appurtenances belonging to the port of a prince, which ſhould be glorious and repleniſhed with pompe, as the poet ſaith:

Regia mirifici fulgent inſignia regis.

A meſſenger ſent to the king of England.

This counterfeit herald, being throughlie inſtructed in his charge, was ſent to the king of England, and ſo paſſing foorth: when he approched the Engliſh campe, he put on his coat of armes, & being eſpied of the outriders, was brought to a tent, where the lord Howard and the lord Stanleie were at dinner, of whome he was courteouſlie receiued, and by them conueied to the kings preſence, vnto whom he declared his meſſage ſo wittilie, that in the end he obteined a ſafe conduct for one hundred horſſes, for ſuch perſons as his maiſter ſhould appoint to meet, as manie to be aſſigned by king Edward in ſome indifferent place betweene both armies, to haue a like ſafe conduct from his ſaid maiſter, as he receiued from him. ¶ The words of which herald are woorth the noting, reported in writers as followeth.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxxix, ccxxx.

The heralds oration to the king *vttered with boldneſſe of face and* libertie of toong.

RIght high and mightie prince, right puiſſant and noble king, if your excellent wiſedome did perfectlie know, or your high knowledge did apparantlie perceiue, what inward affection and feruent deſire the king my maiſter hath alwaies had, to haue a perfect peace, a ſure vnitie, & a brotherlie concord, betweene your noble perſon and your realme, and his honorable perſonage and his dominions, you would & (for truths ſake) ſhould confeſſe and ſaie, that neuer chriſtian prince more thirſted for an amitie, nor yet no louer hath more ſought to atteine to the fauour of his paramor, than he hath ſought to haue with you a perpetuall freendſhip, amitie, and aliance: to the intent that the ſubiects of both the relms, quietlie liuing vnder two princes, confederate and combined togither in an indiſſoluble confederacie and league, may mutuallie imbrace ech other in their harts, may perſonallie haue reſort and frequent each others princes territories and dominions, with their merchandizes and wares: and finallie, the one to liue with the other, as freend with freend, brother with brother, companion with companion, in continuall loue, reſt, and tranquilitie. And for his part he dooth affirme & ſaie, that ſince he receiued firſt the crowne of his kingdome, and was annointed with the holie ampull, he neuer attempted, nor yet once imagined anie war, or thing preiudiciall toward your roiall perſon, your realme, or your people.

If you peraduenture will ſaie, that he ſupported & mainteined the earle of Warwike againſt your maieſtie, he ſuerlie that dooth & will denie: for he aided him againſt the duke of Burgognie, whom he knew not onelie to be his extreame enimie, but alſo to laie in wait (both by ſea and land) either to take him, or vtterlie to deſtroie him. Which duke of Burgognie, onelie for his owne cauſe, hath excited and ſolicited your highneſſe to come ouer the troublous and tempeſtuous ſeas, to the intent to cauſe (yea in maner to compell) the king my maſter, to condeſcend to ſuch treatie and appointment, as ſhould be to his onlie profit, and neither to your honour, nor yet to your gaine. For if he & ſuch other as dailie flattered him for their peculiar profits (as he had manie in deed that dailie ſucked at his elbow) had once obteined the thing that they breathed for, all your affaires were put in obliuion, and left at large for them, or their aſſiſtants, euen as they be at this daie. Hath not the duke of Burgognie cauſed you firſt to come into France; after to ſet forward your armie; and in concluſion, for lacke of his promiſe, to looſe the faire ſeaſon of the yeare, and to lie in the fields in winter? Which warre (if it continue) ſhall neither be profitable to you, nor to your nobilitie, nor yet pleaſant but painefull to your communaltie: and finallie to both the realmes, and eſpeciallie to merchant men ſhall bring both miſerie, pouertie, and calamitie.

Came the duke of Burgognie from Nuſſe to Calis, onlie to viſit you? Rode he all that poſt haſt onelie to blind you? Returned he backe into Loraine againe for anie cauſe, but onelie to leaue you deſolate, & to abandon you? Did he or the conſtable keepe anie one promiſe with you? Why doo you then beleeue, and yet ſtill truſt them, in whome you neuer found faith nor fidelitie? But if God will it ſo ordeine, that you and my maſter may ioine in league and amitie, I dare both ſaie and ſweare, that the fine ſteele neuer cleaued faſter to the adamant ſtone, than he will ſticke & claſpe with you, both in wealth and wo, in proſperitie and aduerſitie. And if it ſhall pleaſe you, to harken to anie reaſonable treatie, I being a poore man, ſhall (on ieopardie of my life which is my chiefe treaſure) vndertake, that this communication ſhall ſort and come to ſuch an effect, that both you & your nobilitie, ſhall be glad and reioiſe, and your commons ſhall be contented and pleaſed; and they that haue deceiued you, ſhall be both abaſhed and aſhamed. Moſt humblie beſeeching your highneſſe, if your pleaſure ſhall incline this waie, that I may haue a ſure ſafe conduct for one hundred horſſes, for ſuch perſonages as the king my maſter ſhall ſend vnto you with further intimation of his mind and purpoſe. And if your pleaſure ſhall be to haue the communication in anie place indifferent betweene both the armies, then ſhall I warrant you the like ſafe conduct for your men, as you doo ſend for ours.

When he had accompliſhed his meſſage and inſtructions, the king of England and his councell highlie commended his audacitie, his toong, and his ſoberneſſe, giuing to him in reward a faire gilt cup, with a hundred angels: deliuering him a ſafe conduct according to his requeſt and demand, with the which he with ſpeed departed, hauing with him an Engliſh herald to bring a like ſafe conduct from the French king.]

Commiſſioners appointed to treat of peace.

After that the ſafe conducts were deliuered on both parts, the ambaſſadours met at a village beſide Amiens. On the king of Englands ſide, the lord Howard; ſir Thomas Saintleger; doctor Morton after biſhop of Elie, & chancellor of England, were cheefe. For the French king, the baſtard of Burbon admerall of France; the lord Saint Pierre; & the biſhop of Eureux called Heberge, were appointed as principall. The Engliſhmen demanded the whole realme of France, or at the leaſt Normandie and whole Aquitaine. The allegations were proued by the Engliſhmen, and politikelie defended by the Frenchmen, ſo that with arguments, without concluſion, the day paſſed, and the commiſſioners departed, and made relation to their maiſters. The French king and his councell would not conſent, that the Engliſhmen ſhould haue one foot of land within France; but rather determined to put him ſelfe & the whole realme in hazard and aduenture.

Articles of agreement betweene king Edward and the French king.

At the next meeting the commiſſioners agreed vpon certeine articles, which were of both the princes accepted and allowed. It was firſt accorded, that the French king ſhould paie to the king of England without delaie ſeauentie & fiue thouſand crownes of the ſunne; and yearelie fiftie thouſand crownes to be paid at London during king Edwards life. And further it was agreed, that Charles the Dolphin ſhould marrie the ladie Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter to king Edward, and they two to haue for the maintenance of their eſtates the whole duchie of Guien, or elſe fiftie thouſand crownes yearelie to be paid within the Tower of London by the ſpace of nine yeares; and at the end of that terme, the Dolphin and his wife to haue the whole duchie of Guien, and of the charge the French king to be cleerelie acquit. And it was alſo concluded, that the two princes ſhould come to an interview, and there take a corporall oth for the performance of this peace, either in ſight of other.

Want of monie procureth peace.

On the king of Englands part were compriſed as alies (if they would thereto aſſent) the dukes of Burgognie and Britaine. It was alſo couenanted, that after the whole ſumme aforeſaid of ſeuentie and fiue thouſand crownes were paid to king Edward, he ſhould leaue in hoſtage the lord Howard, and ſir John Cheinie maiſter of his horſſe, vntill he with all his armie was paſſed the ſeas. This agreement was verie acceptable to the French king; for he ſaw himſelfe and his realme thereby deliuered of great perill that was at hand: for not onelie he ſhould haue beene aſſailed (if this peace had not taken place) both by the power of England and Burgognie, but alſo by the duke of Britaine, and diuerſe of his owne people, as the conſtable and others. The king of England alſo vnderſtanding his owne ſtate, for want of monie, to mainteine the warres, if they ſhould long continue (though otherwiſe he deſired to haue attempted ſome high enterpriſe againſt the Frenchmen) was the more eaſilie induced to agree by thoſe of his councell, that loued peace better than warre, and their wiues ſoft beds better than hard armor and a ſtonie lodging.

The duke of Gloceſter an enimie to peace.
Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall fol.Ccxxxj.

But the duke of Gloceſter ⁊ others, whoſe ſwords thirſted for French bloud, cried out on this peace; ſaieng that all their trauell, paines, ⁊ expenſes were to their ſhame loſt and caſt awaie, and nothing gained but a continuall mocke [and dailie deriſion of the French king and all his minions. This imagination tooke effect without delaie. For a gentleman of the French kings chamber, after the peace was concluded, did demand of an Engliſhman, how manie battels king Edward had vanquiſht? He anſwered, nine: wherein he himſelfe perſonallie had beene. A great honour ſaid the Frenchman. But I praie you (quoth he ſmiling) how manie hath he loſt? The Engliſhman perceiuing what he meant, ſaid: one, which you by policie, and by no ſtrength, haue cauſed him to looſe.

Well ſaid the Frenchman, you maie ponder in a paire of balance, the gaine of nine gotten battels, and the rebuke of this one in this maner loſt: for I tell you, that we haue this ſaieng; The force of England hath and dooth ſurmount the force of France: but the ingenious wits of the Frenchmen excell the dull braines of Engliſhmen. For in all battels you haue beene the gainers, but in leagues and treaties our wits haue made you looſers: ſo that you maie content your ſelues with the loſſe in treaties, for the ſpoile that you gat in warres and battels. This communication was reported to the French king, who priuilie ſent for the Engliſhman to ſupper, and not onlie made him good cheere, but alſo gaue him a thouſand crownes, to praiſe the peace and to helpe to mainteine the ſame. Yet neuertheleſſe, he being not a little mooued with theſe brags, declared all the communication to the duke of Gloceſter; who ſware, that he would neuer haue ſet foot out of England, if he had not thought to haue made the Frenchmen once to aſſaie the ſtrength ⁊ puiſſance of the Engliſhmen: but what ſo euer he thought, all things were tranſferred vnto an other end than he could imagine.]

The duke of Burgognie commeth in haſt to the king of England.

When the duke of Burgognie heard that there was a peace in hand betwixt king Edward and the French king, he came in no ſmall haſt from Lutzenburgh, onelie accompanied with ſixteene horſſes into the king of Englands lodging, and began as one in a great chafe ſore to blame his dooings, declaring in plaine termes how diſhonorable this peace ſhould be vnto him, hauing atchiued nothing of that about the which he came. The king of England, after he had giuen him leaue to ſpeake his fanſie, anſwered him ſomewhat roundlie againe, openlie reproouing him for his promiſe-breaking and vncourteous dealing with him: where for his cauſe cheeflie he had paſſed the ſeas, and now found him not to keepe touch in anie one point which he had couenanted.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol.Ccxxxj.

¶ But to adde more weight to the matter in hand, ſith it was ſo ſeriouſlie debated betweene the two potentats, let vs heare what talke hiſtoriens report to haue beene interchanged betweene them. The king of England (ſaith mine author) not a little abaſhed both at the dukes ſudden comming, and his fierce countenance, like one that would rather bite than whine, demanded of him the cauſe of his ſudden comming. The duke ſharpelie anſwered, to know whether he had either entered into anie communication, or onelie had abſolutelie concluded a peace betweene the French king and him. King Edward declared how that for ſundrie and diuerſe great and vrgent cauſes, touching as well the vniuerſall publike wealth of the whole chriſtianitie, as their owne priuate commoditie and the quietneſſe of their realmes, he and the French king had concluded a peace and amitie for terme of nine yeares, in the which were compriſed, as fellowes and freends, both he and the duke of Britaine, requiring him to condeſcend and agree to the ſame.

Oh Lord, oh ſaint George (quoth the duke of Burgognie) haue you thus doone in deed? Haue you paſſed the ſeas, entered into France, and without killing of a poore flie, or burning of a ſeelie ſheepecote, and haue taken a ſhamefull truce? Did your noble anceſtor, K. Edward the third, euer make armie into France (as he made manie) in the which he did not either gaine victorie in battell, or profit in conquering cities, townes, and countries? That victorious prince, as neere kin to me, as you to king Henrie the fift, I meane whoſe bloud you haue either rightfullie or wrongfullie (God knoweth) extinguiſhed ⁊ deſtroied, with a ſmall puiſſance entered into France, conquered whole Normandie, and not alonelie conquered it, but peaceablie kept it, and neuer would either commen or agree to anie league, vntill he had the whole realme of France offered him; ⁊ was thereof made regent and heire apparant. And you without anie thing dooing, or anie honour or profit gaining, haue condeſcended to a peace, both as honourable and as profitable to you as a peaſecod, and not ſo wholeſome as a pomegranat. Thinke you that I either mooued you, or once intiſed you to take this iournie for my peculiar aduantage or commoditie (which of my power am able to reuenge mine owne cauſes, without helpe of others) but onelie to haue you recouer your old rights and poſſeſſions, which were from you both tortiouſlie and wrongfullie withholden? And to the intent that you ſhall know that I haue no need of your aid, I will neither enter into your league, nor take truce with the French king, till you be paſſed the ſea, and haue beene there three moneths.

When duke Charles had thus ſaid, he furiouſlie threw downe his chaire, and would haue departed. But the king him ſtaid ⁊ ſaid: Brother Charles, ſith you haue ſpoken at leaſure what you would, you muſt and ſhall heare againe what you would not. And firſt, as concerning our entrie into France, no man liuing knoweth that occaſion, neither ſo well, nor hath cauſe halfe ſo well to remember it as you: for if you haue not fullie put your greateſt things (to be had in memorie) in your box of obliuion, you be not yet out of mind how the French king, for all your power, tooke from you the faire towne of Amiens, and the ſtrong pile of ſaint Quintins, with diuerſe other townes, which you neither durſt nor yet were able either to reſcue or defend. Since which time, how he hath plagued you, how he hath taken from you your freends; yea, of your priuie chamber and ſecret councell (by whome all your ſecrets be to him reuealed and made open) you know or haue better cauſe to remember, and not to forget them. And when you determined to beſiege the towne of Nuſſe, you thought your ſelfe in a great doubt, whether you ſhould looſe more at home by your abſence (the French king dreaming and waiting like a fox for his preie) or gaine more in Germanie by your power and preſence. And to keepe the woolfe from the fold, that is, the French king from your caſtels and dominions, was the cheefe and principall cauſe whie you ſo faire praid me, ſo ſore laboured and intiſed me to paſſe ouer the ſea, promiſing mounteins of gold, which turned into ſnow and waſted into water, boaſting and craking to ſend horſſemen and footmen; and yet ſhewing neither lackie nor page. If we had made our enterpriſe for our ſelfe ſolie and in our owne quarell, thinke you that we would haue expected your comming? If the aduenture had beene for to haue recouered our right, imagine you that we would haue paſſed the ſea ſo ſlenderlie as we did, looking for your aid? Nay, nay, you ſhould haue well knowen, if we had intended a conqueſt, that we would haue ſo ſtronglie inuaded & ſet on the realme of France, that what with ſauour of burning of townes, and infection of the aier, corrupted by the multitude of dead carcaſes of our ſlaine enimies, your countries of Flanders & Brabant ſhould haue had cauſes enow to woonder at: truſting that that which we had gotten, we would haue kept as well as anie of our anceſtors haue doone.

But bicauſe the verie occaſion of the warre was yours, and that you wilfullie (I will not ſaie cowardlie) did not proſecute the ſame, the French king, who neuer offended me nor my ſubiects (except in mainteining the earle of Warwike, for the diſpleaſure that you bare him againſt me) offered me, being deſtitute of all your ſuccour and aid, both honourable and honeſt ouertures of peace, which offers I was in maner inforced (by verie reaſon) to incline to and accept, and ſo haue concluded a truce, which (God willing) I will both keepe and obſerue. God ſend you ioy (quoth the duke) and ſo abruptlie ended his talke for that time.]

He departeth from the king in a rage.

Heerwith (being in a great rage) he bad the king of England farewell, and ſuddenlie tooke his horſſe, and rode againe to Lutzenburgh, promiſing not to enter into anie league with the French king, till king Edward was paſſed the ſeas againe into England, and had beene there three moneths: but this promiſe was not performed, for of neceſſitie he tooke a wiſer waie, and agreed with the French king vpon a truce immediatlie after the departure of the Engliſh armie out of his countrie. The conſtable of France alſo, doubting that his vntruth would be diſcloſed to his deſtruction, by means of this agreement betweene the kings of England and France, as ſoone as he heard they were entred into communication thereof, ſent to king Edward, requiring him not to credit the French kings promiſes, which he would no longer obſerue, than vntill he ſhould once vnderſtand, that he was on the other ſide of the ſea: and rather than he ſhould agree for want of monie, he offered to lend him fiftie thouſand crownes. But the king of England, ſith the accord was paſſed and agreed, would not change anie thing for the promiſes of ſo ſlipper a merchant as he knew the conſtable to be.

The conſtable of France his offer to K. Edward.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxxxij, Ccxxxiij.

¶Then was the conſtable in maner on all ſides in deſpaire, but yet he wrote to the French king by his meſſengers, beſeeching him to giue no credit or beleefe to anie tale told or fained againſt him, without hearing his anſwer, affirming that the king had alwaies knowen his truth and fidelitie toward the crowne of France, and ſo ſhould he ſtill find him till his dieng daie; promiſing and warranting him, if that it ſhould ſtand with his pleaſure, that he would ſo compaſſe the duke of Burgognie, that they two ſhould vtterlie deſtroie the king of England and his armie yer they returned. The councellors of the French king made anſwer, that their maſter and the king of England were ioined and confedered in a ſure amitie. Wherfore they would in no wiſe know nor condeſcend to anie thing that might be either preiudiciall, or once ſound to the detriment of the Engliſhmen: but they ſaid, that the king their maſter much truſted the conſtable, and that for his ſake he would talke with them in his priuie chamber. The French king, before their entrie into his chamber, cauſed the lord of Contaie, ſeruant vnto the duke of Burgognie, accompanied with the lord of Argenton, one of his priuie councell, to ſtand ſecretlie behind a ſeeling or hanging in his chamber, & he himſelfe ſat in a chaire directlie before that place, ſo that what ſoeuer were purpoſed to him, they ſtanding behind the cloth, might plainlie ſee and eaſilie heare the ſame.

Lewes de Creuell and his fellow entered into the kings chamber, of nothing thinking leſſe than of the ſpirits incloſed. They declared what paine their maſter had taken for the French kings ſake, to ſend, moue and entiſe the duke of Burgognie to leaue, and cleerelie to forſake the king of England, which duke they found in ſuch a rage and furie againſt the Engliſhmen, that at their requeſt he was not onelie vtterlie determined to forſake and refuſe their amitie, but alſo would ſend out aduenturers and lanceknights, to rob and ſpoile them in their returning. And in ſpeaking theſe words (thinking ſuerlie much to pleaſe the king) the ſaid Lewes counterfeted the faſhion and geſture of the duke of Burgognie, and began to ſtampe with his foot on the ground, and beat with his fiſt on the table, ſwearing by ſaint George that the king of England was not extracted of anie noble houſe, but was a yeomans ſonne; and that when he was not woorth one halfepenie, he was reſtored to his kingdome, and made king onelie by his aid, reprouing and reuiling him with ſuch ill words, and ſo ſhamefull termes, that all the hearers abhorred it.

Shamefull & ſlanderous words againſt the K. of Englan

The French king, faining that he was thicke of hearing, cauſed him to reiterate his ſaieng againe, who ſo counterfeited the verie geſture of the dukes angrie countenance and roring voice, that no man hath ſeene a better counterfeitor or actor in anie comedie or tragedie. The lord of Contaie was ſore diſpleaſed to ſee his maſter made a ieſting ſtocke; but he kept all theſe things ſecret, till his returne to his maſter. When the pageant was plaied, the king bad the meſſengers of the conſtable to haue him commended to his brother their maſter; and to declare to him that as newes roſe & grew, he would therof aduertiſe him, & ſo gaue them licence to depart to their maſter, who thought himſelfe now to be in great ſuertie of his eſtate, when in deed he was neuer ſo neere his fall and perdition: eſteeming the duke of Burgognie to be his aſſured freend, who hated him more than a Painime or Turke, accompting alſo the French king to haue no ill ſuſpicion in him, who neither truſted nor yet beleeued anie word, writing or meſſage that was either written or ſent from him. Such end hath diſſimulation, ſuch fruit ſpringeth of double dealing and craftie conueieng. For if either the conſtable had beene faithfull to the king his maſter, as of bounden dutie and allegiance he ought to be, or elſe had kept his promiſe made to the king of England and duke of Burgognie, and not dallied and diſſembled with them, he had ſuerlie in his extremitie beene aided, ſuccoured and comforted of one of theſe three at the leaſt; where now he was of all three forſaken, and yet not forſaken, but ſought for, looked for, and watched for; not for his profit or promotion, but for his vndoing and deſtruction: whereof he was the principall procurer, as manie a one beſides; wherto the poet had an eie, when he made this outcrie of inward greefe ſeaſoned with ſorrow and repentance:

Heu patior telis vulnera facta meis.]

After the peace was concluded, the Engliſhmen were permitted to enter into the towne of Amiens, and there to buie all ſuch neceſſarie things as they wanted, and had plentie of wine (for the French king had ſent into their armie a hundred carts of the beſt wine that could be gotten) and good cheere made them of his owne caſts. For at the enterie of euerie gate, there were two long tables ſet on euerie ſide of the ſtreet where they ſhould paſſe; and at euerie table fiue or ſix gentlemen of the beſt companions of all the countrie were appointed to interteine the Engliſhmen as they entered, not onelie to ſee them ſerued without lacking [but alſo to drinke and make good cheere, and keepe companie with them. And euer as they entered into the towne, they were taken by the bridels and in maner inforced to drinke, whereſoeuer they came they paied no monie, but were ſent ſcot free.] This cheere laſted three or foure daies not onelie to the French kings coſt, but alſo to his vnquietneſſe at length, doubting to haue beene diſpoſſeſſed of his towne.

Abr. Flem. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccxxxiij.

For on a daie there entered the number of nine thouſand Engliſhmen well armed in ſundrie companies, ſo that no Frenchman durſt once forbid them to enter. But finallie, order was taken by the king of England, who meant no deceit, that no greater number ſhould enter than was conuenient, and the other were called backe; ſo that the French king and his councell were well quieted, and rid of caſting further perils than need required. After this, both the kings enterviewed togither at Picquenie on the water of Some three leagues aboue Amiens, ſhewing great courteſie either to other. The letters of both their agreements were opened and red, ⁊ then either prince laid his right hand on the miſſall, and his left hand on the holie croſſe (as it was termed) and tooke there a ſolemne oth to obſerue and keepe the treatie for nine yeares concluded betweene them, with all their confederates and alies, compriſed, mentioned and ſpecified in the ſame, and further to accompliſh the marriage of their children.

The enterview betwixt king Edward the fourth, ⁊ the French king.

There was with either prince twelue noble men at this meeting, which was vpon a bridge caſt ouer the water of Some, a grate being ſet ouerthwart the ſame in the midſt, ſo from ſide to ſide, that the one prince could not come vnto the other; but onelie to imbrace ech other, in putting their armes through the holes of the *grate. There were foure Engliſhmen appointed to ſtand with the Frenchmen on the bridge to ſee their demeanour; and likewiſe foure Frenchmen were appointed to the Engliſhmen for the ſame purpoſe. There were with the king of England his brother the duke of Clarence, the earle of Northumberland, the biſhop of Elie his chancellor, the lord Haſtings his chamberleine, and eight others. They had louing and verie familiar talke togither a good ſpace, both afore their companie, and ſecretlie alone, whileſt their companie (of courteſie) withdrew ſomewhat backe.

*Of timber like to the grate where the lions be kept in the Tower.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw Hall. fol. Ccxxxiiij.

¶But it is noteworthie which I read touching both the kings meeting, the manner of their attire, and demeanour; namelie that when the token of meeting by the ſhot of the artillerie was knowne, the French king with twelue noble men entered the bridge, and came to the cloſure, with whome was Iohn duke of Burbon, and the cardinall his brother, a prelat more meet for a ladies carpet, than for an eccleſiaſticall pulpit, and ten other, amongſt whome the lord of Argenton was in like diſguiſed attire as the French king ware, for ſo was his pleaſure that daie to haue him adorned. The king of England and foure other with him were apparelled in cloth of gold friſed, hauing on his bonet of blacke veluet a flower delice of gold, ſet with verie rich and orient ſtones; he was a goodlie faire and beautifull prince, beginning a litle to grow in fleſh. Now when he approched neere the grate, hee tooke off his cap, and made a low and ſolemne obeiſance: the French king made to him an humble reuerence, but after his faſhion ſomewhat homelie. King Lewes imbraced king Edward through the barriers, ſaieng: Cooſine you be right heartilie welcome into theſe parties, aſſuring you that there is no man in the world that I haue more deſired to ſee and ſpeake with, than with you: and now lauded be almightie God, we be here met togither for a good and godlie purpoſe, whereof I doubt not but that we ſhall haue cauſe to reioiſe. The king of England thanked him, and anſwered to his words ſo ſoberlie, ſo grauelie, and ſo princelie, that the Frenchmen thereat not a litle muſed. The chancellor of England made there a ſolemne oration in laud and praiſe of peace, concluding on a propheſie, which ſaid that at Picquenie ſhould be concluded a peace both honorable and profitable to the realmes of England and France.

When the oth was taken and ſworne (as before you haue heard) the French king ſaid merilie to king Edward; Brother, if you will take pains to come to Paris, you ſhall be feaſted and interteined with ladies; and I ſhall appoint you the cardinall of Burbon for your confeſſor, which ſhall gladlie abſolue you of ſuch ſinnes, if anie be commited. The king of England tooke theſe words pleaſantlie and thankefullie, for he was informed that the cardinall was a good companion, and a chapleine meet for ſuch a dalieng paſtime. When this communication was merilie ended, the French king, intending to ſhew himſelfe like a maiſter amongſt his ſeruants, made all his companie to draw backe from him, meaning to commune with the king of England ſecretlie. The Engliſhmen withdrew them without any commandement: Then the two kings communed alone ſecretlie, I thinke not to the profit of the conſtable of France. The French king demanded of king Edward, whether the duke of Burgognie would accept the truce? King Edward anſwered that he would once againe make an offer; and then vpon the refuſall, he would referre and report the truth to them both. Then king Lewes began to ſpeake of the duke of Britaine, whome he would faine haue excepted out of the league. To whom the king of England anſwered: Brother, I require you to moue no warre to the duke of Britaine; for on my fidelitie, in the time of my need and aduerſitie, I neuer found a more friendlie, ſure and ſtedfaſt louer than he.

The manerlie Engliſh, and vnmanerlie French.

Then king Lewes called his companie againe, and with moſt lowlie and amiable commendations tooke his leaue of the king of England, ſpeaking certeine friendlie words to euerie Engliſhman: king Edward dooing likewiſe to the Frenchmen. Then both at one time departed from the barriers, ⁊ mounted on horſſebacke, and departed; the French king to Amiens, and king Edward to his armie. To whom was ſent out of the French kings houſe, all things neceſſarie for a prince, inſomuch that neither torches nor torchets lacked vnſent. When the French king was departed from Picquenie, he called to him the lord of Argenton, ſaieng: By the peace of God, the king of England is an amorous and a faire prince, he at the firſt becke would gladlie ſee Paris, where he might fortune to find ſuch pleaſant and talkatiue dames, which with faire words ⁊ pleaſant paſtimes might ſo allure him to their fantaſies, that it might breed occaſion in him to come ouer the ſea againe, which I would not gladlie ſee. For his progenitors haue beene too long and too often both in Paris and Normandie. On this ſide the ſea I loue neither his ſight nor his companie; but when he is at home I loue him as my brother, and take him as my friend.

French loue.

The French king, after this departing, ſore deſired to make warre on the duke of Britaine: which he could not doo, except he were left out of the treatie.

Wherefore he ſent the lord of Bouchage, and the lord of ſaint Pierre, to the king of England, intreating him by all waies and motions poſſible, to leaue the duke of Britaine for his alie, and not to haue him comprehended in the league. The king of England hearing them ſo ſeriouſlie and ſo feruentlie ſpeake againſt the duke of Britaine; with an earneſt countenance anſwered, ſaieng: My lords, I aſſure you, “if I were peaceablie at home in my realme, yet for the defenſe of the duke of Britaine and his countrie, “I would paſſe the ſeas againe, againſt all them that “either would doo him iniurie, or make warre vpon him. The French lords nothing further ſaieng, much maruelled why the king of England ſo ſuerlie claue to the duke of Britains partie: but they knew not (or elſe at the leaſt remembred not) that Henrie earle of Richmond was within the power and dominion of the duke of Britaine, whome king Edwards phantaſie euer gaue him would make once a title to the crowne of England, as next heire to the houſe of Lancaſter. For he knew well, that if the duke of Britaine would tranſport him into England (where hee had both kinſfolks and friends) with neuer ſo ſmall an aid (yea, though it were but the ſhadow of an armie) then were he inforced newlie to begin againe a conqueſt, as though he had neuer woone the crowne, nor obteined the poſſeſſion of the realme, which was the verie cauſe why he ſtucke ſo ſore to the duke of Britains part.

The ſame night the lords returned to Amiens, and reported to their maiſter king Edwards anſwer, who therewith was not the beſt pleaſed. But pleaſure or diſpleaſure, there was no remedie but to diſſemble the matter. This ſame night alſo, there came the lord Howard, and two other of the king of Englands councell, who had beene coadiutors toward the peace, to the French king to ſupper. The lord Howard ſaid to the French king ſecretlie in his eare, that if it ſtood with his pleaſure, he could perſuade the king of England to come to Amiens, yea, peraduenture as farre as Paris, familiarlie and friendlie to ſolace himſelfe with him, as his truſtie friend and faithfull brother. The French king, to whom this motion was nothing pleaſant, calling for water, waſhed, and roſe without anie anſwer making: but he ſaid to one of his councell, that he imagined in his owne conceipt, that this requeſt would be made. The Engliſhmen began againe to commune of that matter, the Frenchmen politikelie brake their communication, ſaieng: that the king with all celeritie muſt march forward againſt the duke of Burgognie.

Although this motion ſeemed onelie to increaſe loue and continuall amitie betweene the princes; yet the Frenchmen, hauing in their perfect remembrance the innumerable damages and hurts, which they of late daies had ſuſteined by the Engliſh nation (whereby continuall hatred increaſed againſt them in France) thought by policie and wiſedome, with faire words and friendlie countenance, to put by this requeſt, and to motion them rather to depart homeward, than to pricke them forward to Paris; where peraduenture they might be ſo interteined at this time, that they would at another come thither, both vndeſired and vnwelcomed. This peace was ſaid to be made onelie by the Holie-ghoſt, bicauſe that on the daie of meeting, a white doue ſat on the top of the king of Englands tent: whether ſhe ſate there to drie hir, or came thither as a token giuen by God, I referre it to your iudgment. At this treatie and meeting was not the duke of Gloceſter, nor other lords which were not content with this truce; but the duke came afterwards to Amiens', with diuerſe other lords of England, to the French king, which both highlie feaſted them, and alſo preſented them with plate and horſſes well garniſhed.

King Lewes, conſidering what gaine the Engliſhmen had gotten by making warre in France; and what miſerie, what calamitie, and what pouertie the French nation had ſuffered, and manie yeares ſuſteined, by reaſon of the ſaid warres; determined clearelie rather to pacifie and interteine the Engliſh nation by faire words and great rewards (although it were to his great charge) than by too much hardineſſe to put himſelfe, his nobilitie & realme in hazard, by giuing them battell, as his predeceſſors had vnwiſelie doone at Poitiers, and at Agincourt. Wherefore to buie peace, he granted king Edward for a yearelie tribute fiftie thouſand crownes, to be paied at London; which, accounting a crowne at foure ſhillings, amounteth to ten thouſand pounds. And to haue the fauour and good will of his chiefe councellors, he gaue great penſions, amounting to the ſumme of ſixteene thouſand crownes a yeere, that is to ſaie: to his chancellor, to the lord Haſtings his chiefe chamberleine, a man of no leſſe wit than vertue, and of great authoritie with his maiſter, and that not without cauſe; for he had as well in time of aduerſitie, as in the faire flattering world, well and trulie ſerued him: and to the lord Howard, to ſir Thomas Montgomerie, to ſir Thomas Sentleger, to ſir Iohn Cheinie maiſter of the kings horſſes, to the marques Dorſſet, ſonne to the queene, and diuerſe other, he gaue great and liberall rewards, to the intent to keepe himſelfe in amitie with England, while he wan and obteined his purpoſe and deſire in other places.

These perſons had giuen to them great gifts, beſide yearelie penſions. For Argenton his councellor affirmed of his owne knowledge, that the lord Howard had in leſſe than the tearme of two yeares, for reward in monie and plate, foure and twentie thouſand crownes; & at the time of this meeting, he gaue to the lord Haſtings the kings chiefe chamberleine, (as the Frenchmen write) an hundred markes of ſiluer, made in plate, whereof euerie marke is eight ounces ſterling. But the Engliſh writers affirme, that he gaue the lord Haſtings foure and twentie dozen bolles, that is to ſaie, twelue dozen gilt, & twelue dozen vngilt, euerie cup weieng ſeuenteene nobles: which gift, either betokened in him a great liberall nature, or elſe a great and eſpeciall confidence that he had repoſed in the ſaid lord chamberleine. Beſide this, he gaue him yearelie two thouſand crownes penſion, the which ſumme he ſent to him by Piers Cleret, one of the maiſters of his houſe, giuing him in charge to receiue of him an acquittance for the receipt of the ſame penſion, to the intent that it ſhould appeare in time to come, that the chancelor, chamberleine, admerall, maiſters of the horſſes to the king of England, and manie other of his councell, had bin in fee and penſionaries of the French king, whoſe yearelie acquittances (the lord Haſtings onelie excepted) remaine of record to be ſhewed in the chamber of accounts in the palace of Paris.

When Piers Cleret had paied the penſion to the lord Haſtings, he gentlie demanded of him an acquittance for his diſcharge. Which requeſt when he denied, he then onlie aſked of him a bill of three lines to be directed to the king, teſtifieng the receipt of the penſion: to the intent that the king your maiſter ſhould not thinke the penſion to be imbeſelled. The lord Haſtings, although he knew that Piers demanded nothing but reaſon, anſwered him: Sir this ” gift commeth onelie of the liberall pleaſure of the king his maiſter, and not of my requeſt: if it be his ” determinat will that I ſhall haue it, then put you it into my ſleeue; and if not, I praie you render to him ” his gift againe: for neither he nor you ſhall haue either letter, acquittance, or ſcroll ſigned with my hand of the receipt of anie penſion, to the intent to brag another daie, that the kings chamberleine of England hath béene penſionarie with the French king, ⁊ ſhew his acquittance in the chamber of accounts, to his diſhonor. Piers left his monie behind, and made relation of all things to his maiſter: which although that he had not his will, yet he much more praiſed the wiſdome and policie of the lord Haſtings, than of the other penſionaries, cõmanding him yearlie to be paied, without anie diſcharge demanding.]

K. Edward returneth into England.
Edw. Hall fol. Ccxxxvj.

When the king of England had receiued his monie, and his nobilitie their rewards, he truſſed vp his tents, laded his baggage, and departed towards Calis. [But yer he came there, he remembring the craftie diſſimulation, and the vntrue dealing of Lewes earle of ſaint Paule, high conſtable of France, intending to declare him to the French king in his verie true likeneſſe and portrature, ſent vnto him two letters of credence, written by the ſaid conſtable, with the true report of all ſuch words and meſſages as had béene to him ſent, and declared by the ſaid conſtable and his ambaſſadours. Which letters the French king gladlie receiued, and thankefullie accepted, as the chéefe inſtrument to bring the conſtable to his death: which he eſcaped no long ſeaſon after, ſuch is the end of diſſemblers.] When king Edward was come to Calis, and had ſet all things in an order, he tooke ſhip, and ſailed with a proſperous wind into England, and was roiallie receiued vpon Blackheath by the maior of London and the magiſtrates, and fiue hundred commoners apparelled in murrie, the eight and twentith daie of September, and ſo conueied through the citie of Weſtminſter, where for a while (after his long labour) he repoſed himſelfe [euerie daie almoſt talking with the quéene his wife of the marriage of his daughter, whome he cauſed to be called Dolphineſſe: thinking nothing ſurer than that marriage to take effect, according to the treatie. The hope of which marriage cauſed him to diſſemble, and doo things which afterward chanced greatlie to the French kings profit, ⁊ ſmallie to his.]

Edw. Hall fol. Ccxxxvj.

About the ſame ſeaſon, the French king, to compaſſe his purpoſe for the getting of the conſtable into his hands, tooke truce with the duke of Burgognie for nine yeares, as a contractor in the league, and not comprehended as an other princes alie. The king of England aduertiſed hereof, ſent ouer ſir Thomas Montgomerie to the French king, offering to paſſe the ſeas againe the next ſummer in his aid, to make warres on the duke Burgognie; ſo that the French king ſhould paie to him fiftie thouſand crownes for the loſſe which he ſhould ſuſteine in his cuſtome, by reaſon that the wolles at Calis (bicauſe of the warres) could haue no vent, and alſo paie halfe the charges and halfe the wages of his ſouldiers and men of warre. The French king thanked the king of England for his gentle offer, but he alledged that the truce was alreadie concluded, ſo that he could not then attempt anie thing againſt the ſame without reproch to his honour.

Sir Thomas Mõtgomerie.

But the truth was, the French king neither loued the ſight nor liked the companie of the king of England on that ſide the ſea; but when he was here at home, he both loued him as his brother, and tooke him as his fréend. Sir Thomas Montgomerie was with plate richlie rewarded, and ſo diſpatched. There returned with him the lord Howard and ſir John Cheinie, which were hoſtages with the French king, till the Engliſh armie were returned into England. King Edward, hauing eſtabliſhed all things in good order, as men might iudge, both within his realme and without, was yet troubled in his mind, for that Henrie the earle of Richmond (one of the blood of king Henrie the ſixt) was aliue, and at libertie in Britaine; therefore to attempt eftſoones the mind of Francis duke of Britaine, he ſent ouer vnto the ſaid duke, one doctor Stillington, and two other his ambaſſadors laden with no ſmall ſumme of gold.

1475
Anno Reg. 15.

Henrie earle of Richmond.

These ambaſſadors, declaring their meſſage, affirmed that the king their maiſter willed to haue the earle of Richmond onelie for this purpoſe, to ioine with him in aliance by marriage, and ſo to plucke vp all the leauings of diſcord betwéene him and the contrarie faction. The duke gentlie heard the orators. And though at the firſt he by excuſes denied their requeſt, yet at the length, beléeuing that king Edward would giue to the earle his eldeſt daughter, the ladie Elizabeth in marriage, he conſented to deliuer him, and receiued of the Engliſh orators a great ſumme of monie. But yer they were imbarked with their preie, the duke being aduertiſed, that the earle of Richmond was not ſo earneſtlie ſought for, to be coupled in mariage with king Edwards daughter; but rather that his head might be chopped off with an hatchet, cauſed his treaſuror Peter Landoiſe to conueie the ſaid earle of Richmond into a ſanctuarie at S. Malo, where the Engliſh ambaſſadors then laie, onelie ſtaieng for a conuenient wind: who complained, that they were euill vſed, to be ſpoiled both of their monie and merchandize.

Ambaſſadors into Britaine

The earle of Richmond taketh ſanctuarie.

Yet bicauſe the matter was ſo handled, that it ſéemed the earle eſcaped into the ſanctuarie through their owne negligence, after they had receiued him into their hands; they were ſoone anſwered: but yet promiſe was made, that the earle ſhould be ſafelie kept, either in the ſanctuarie, or elſe as priſoner in the dukes houſe, that they ſhould not néed to feare him more than his ſhadow. And thus the king of England purchaſed for his monie the kéeping of his enimie, the ſpace onelie of thrée daies and no more. King Edward was ſomewhat diſpleaſed with this chance, but yet truſting that the duke of Britaine would (according to promiſe) ſée the earle of Richmond ſafelie kept from dooing anie gréeuance to him or his ſubiects, put all doubts thereof out of his mind, and began to ſtudie how to kéepe a liberall princelie houſe, and thereupon ſtoring his cheſts with monie, he imploied no ſmall portion in good houſekéeping.

¶But hauing ſpoken thus much of the earle of Richmond, whome Edward Hall compareth to a ſhéepe betraied into the téeth and clawes of the wolfe, you ſhall vnderſtand, that at ſuch time as his troubles were ſet freſh abroach, and he knowing that he was going towards his death, for verie penſifeneſſe and inward thought, fell into a feruent and ſore ague. In which verie ſeaſon, one John Cheulet, ſo eſtéemed among the princes of Britaine as few were in all the countrie, and in much credit, and well accepted with the duke, was (when theſe things were thus concluded) for his ſolace in the countrie. Who being hereof certified, was chaſed with the abhomination of the fact, reſorted to the court, and familiarlie came to the dukes preſence, where he ſtood ſo ſadlie and ſo palie, without anie word ſpeaking, that the duke was much abaſhed, and ſuddenlie maruelled at his ſad and frowning countenance, and demanded of him what ſhould ſignifie that dumpiſhneſſe of mind, and inward ſighing, the which by his countenance manifeſtlie appeared and was euident. He modeſtlie anſwered; Moſt noble and redoubted lord, this paleneſſe of viſage and deadlie looke dooth prognoſticate the time of my death to approach and be at hand, which if it had chanced to me before this daie, I aſſure you, it had much leſſe hurt me. For then had I not béene reſerued to féele the dolorous pangs and ſorowfull ſighings, which a fact by you doone (that I thought

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall fol. Ccxxxvij.

(impoſſible to be obteined) hath printed in my ſtomach and in my heart deeplie grauen: ſo that I well perceiue, that either I ſhall loſe my life, or elſe liue in perpetuall diſtreſſe and continuall miſerie.

For you my ſingular good lord, by your vertuous acts and noble feats, haue gotten to you in manner an immortall fame, which in euerie mans mouth is extolled & aduanced aboue the high clouds. But alas me ſeemeth (I praie you pardon me my rudeneſſe) that now that you haue obteined ſo high praiſe and glorie, you nothing leſſe regard than to keepe and preſerue the ſame inuiolate, conſidering that you, forgetting your faith and faithfull promiſe made to Henrie earle of Richmond, haue deliuered the moſt innocent yoong gentleman to the cruell tormentors, to be afflicted, rent in peeces, and ſlaine. Wherefore all ſuch as loue you, of the which number I am one, cannot chooſe but lament & be ſorie, when they ſee openlie the fame and glorie of your moſt renowmed name, by ſuch a diſloialtie and vntruth againſt promiſe, to be both blotted and ſtained with a perpetuall note of ſlander and infamie. Peace mine owne good John (quoth the duke) I praie thee, beleeue me there is no ſuch thing like to happen to the earle of Richmond: for king Edward hath ſent for him, to make of him, being his ſuſpected enimie, his good and faire ſonne in law.

Well well (quoth John) my redoubted lord, giue credence vnto me: the earle Henrie is at the verie brinke to periſh, whome if you permit once to ſet but one foot out of your power and dominion, there is no mortall creature able heereafter to deliuer him from death. The duke being moued with the perſuaſions of John Cheulet, which either little beleeued, or ſmallie ſuſpected king Edward, to deſire the earle for anie fraud or deceipt, or elſe ſeduced by blind auarice and loue of monie, more than honeſtie, fidelitie, or wiſedome would require, did not conſider what he vnaduiſedlie did, or what he aduiſedlie ſhould haue doone. Wherefore, with all diligence he ſent foorth Peter Landoiſe his cheefe treaſuror, commanding him to intercept and ſtaie the earle of Richmond, in all haſt poſſible, as before you haue heard.]

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 752.
Sir John Croſbie his gift to the citie.

¶In this yeare deceaſſed ſir John Croſbie knight, (not long before this, maior of London) and was buried in the pariſh church of ſaint Helen in Biſhops gate ſtreet, vnto the reparing of which pariſh church he gaue fiue hundred marks, and thirtie pounds to be diſtributed to poore houſholders in the ward of Biſhops gate: to the reparing of the pariſh church at Heneworth in Middleſex fortie pounds: to the repairing of London wall one hundred pounds: toward the making of a new tower of ſtone at the ſouth end of London bridge, if the ſame were begun by the maior and communaltie within ten yeares next after his deceaſſe, one hundred pounds: to the reparations of Rocheſter bridge ten pounds: to euerie the priſons in and about London liberallie. Alſo he gaue to the wardens and communaltie of the grocers in London two large pots of ſiluer chaſed halfe guilt, weieng thirteene pounds and fiue ounces of Troie weight, to be occupied in their common hall, and elſewhere, at their diſcretions.

I.S. pag. 745.
Knights made by the king.

In this yeare were inhanced to the honour of knighthood, after the cuſtome of England, in the time of peace the kings eldeſt ſon Edward prince of Wales, duke of Cornewall, and earle of Cheſter, his ſecond ſonne the duke of Yorke, and with them the earle of Lincolnes ſonne and heire, the duke of Suffolke, the lord Thomas Greie, the queenes ſonne, and Richard his brother, the earle of Shrewesburie, the earle of Wilſhire, maſter Edward Woduile, the lord Neuill, the lord Barkleis ſonne and heire, the lord Audelies ſonne and heire, the lord ſaint Amand, the lord Stanleis ſonne and heire, the lord Suttons ſonne and heire, the lord Haſtings ſonne and heire, the lord Ferrers of Charleis ſonne and heire, maſter Herbert brother to the earle of Penbroke, maſter Vaughan Brian chiefe iudge, Litilton one of the iudges of the common plees, maſter Bedringham, maſter Brian Stapleton, Kneuit, Pilkinton, Ludlow, Charleton, &c. The ſame daie the king created the lord Thomas marqueſſe Dorſet before dinner, and ſo in the habit of a marqueſſe aboue the habit of his knighthood he began the table of knights in ſaint Edwards chamber. At that time he ordeined that the kings chamberleine ſhould go with the ancient and well nurtered knight, to aduertiſe and teach the order of knighthood to the eſquiers, being in the baine. The king himſelfe came in perſon and did honour to all the companie with his noble councell.]

Litilton.

1476
Anno Reg. 16.
The death of the duke of Burgognie.

This yeare the duke of Burgognie was ſlaine by the Switzers, before the towne of Nancie in Loraine, after whoſe death the French king wan all the townes which the ſaid duke held in Picardie and Artois. And bicauſe that the towne of Bullen and countie of Bullenois apperteined by right of inheritance vnto the lord Berthram de la Toure, earle of Auuergne, the French king bought of him his right and title in the ſame, and recompenſed him with other lands in the countie of Foreſts, and in other places. And bicauſe the forenamed towne and countie were holden of the earledome of Artois, he changed the tenure, and auowed to hold the ſame towne & countie of our ladie of Bolongne, and therof did homage to the image in the great church of Bolongne, offering there an hart of gold, weieng two thouſand crownes; ordeining further, that his heires and ſucceſſors at their entrie into their eſtates, by themſelues or their deputies, ſhould offer an hart of like weight and value, as a reliefe and homage for the ſame towne and countie.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 746.
Agnes Daintie on the pillorie.

¶ This yeare was Robert Baſſet maior of London, who did ſharpe correction vpon bakers, for making of light bread, he cauſed diuerſe of them to be ſet on the pillorie in Cornehill. And alſo one Agnes Daintie a butterwife for ſelling of butter new and old mingled togither, being firſt trapped with butter diſhes, was then ſet on the pillorie. ¶The counteſſe of Oxford deceaſſed and was buried at Windſore. ¶Alſo this yeare Richard Rawſon one of the ſhiriffes of London, cauſed to be builded one houſe in the church yard of S. Marie hoſpitall without Biſhops gate of London, where the maior of that citie and his brethren the aldermen vſe to ſit and heare the ſermons in the Eaſter holiedaies, as in times paſt appeared by an inſcription on the front of the ſame houſe, now by wethering defaced, which I haue read in theſe words: Praie for the ſoules of Richard Rawſon late Mercer and alderman of London, and Iſabell his wife, of whoſe goods this worke was made and founded. Anno Dom. 1488.]

1477
Part of London wall new builded.
John Rouſe.
Biſhops gate new builded.

By the diligence of Ralph Joſſeline maior of London, the wall about London was new made betwixt Algate and Creplegate: he cauſed the Moore field to be ſearched for claie, and bricke to be made and burnt there: he alſo cauſed chalke to be brought out of Kent, and in the ſame Moore field to be burnt into lime, for the furtherance of that worke. The maior with his companie of the drapers made all that part betwixt Biſhops gate and Alhalowes church in the ſame wall. Biſhops gate it ſelfe was new built by the merchants Almans of the Stilliard, and from Alhalowes church toward Moore gate a great part of the ſame was builded of the goods, & by the executors of ſir John Croſbie ſomtimes an alderman of London, as may appeare by his armes in two places fixed. The companie of Skinners made that part of the wall betweene Algate and Buries markes towards Biſhops gate, as may appeare by their armes in three places fixed: the other companies of the citie made the other deale of the ſaid wall, which was a great worke to be doone in one yeare.

Burdet for a word ſpoken beheaded.

Enguerant.

Regiſter of the Greie friers.

Alſo this yeare Thomas Burdet an eſquier of Arrow in Warwikeſhire, ſonne to ſir Nicholas Burdet (who was great butler of Normandie in Henrie the ſixt daies) was beheaded for a word ſpoken in this ſort. King Edward in his progreſſe hunted in Thomas Burdets parke at Arrow, and ſlue manie of his deere, amongſt the which was a white bucke, whereof Thomas Burdet made great account. And therefore when he vnderſtood thereof, he wiſhed the buckes head in his bellie that moued the king to kill it. Which tale being told to the king, Burdet was apprehended and accuſed of treaſon, for wiſhing the buckes head (hornes and all) in the kings bellie: he was condemned, drawne from the Tower of London to Tiburne, and there beheaded, and then buried in the Greie friers church at London. Wherefore it is good counſell that the wiſeman giueth, ſaieng: Keepe thy tong & keepe thy life, for manie times we ſee, that ſpeech offendeth & procureth miſcheefe, where ſilence is author neither of the one nor the other, as it is trulie and in praiſe of ſilence ſpoken by the poet:

-nulli tacuiſſe nocet, nocet eſſe loquutum.]

About this ſeaſon, through great miſhap, the ſparke of priuie malice was newlie kindled betwixt the king and his brother the duke of Clarence, inſomuch that where one of the dukes ſeruants was ſuddenlie accuſed (I can not ſaie whether of truth, or vntrulie ſuſpected by the dukes enimies) of poiſoning, ſorcerie or inchantment, and thereof condemned, and put to execution for the ſame; the duke which might not ſuffer the wrongfull condemnation of his man (as he in his conſcience iudged) nor yet forbeare but to murmur and reproue the dooing thereof, moued the king with his dailie exclamation to take ſuch diſpleaſure with him, that finallie the duke was caſt into the Tower, and therewith adiudged for a traitor, and priuilie drowned in a butt of malmeſie, the eleuenth of March, in the beginning of the ſeuententh yeare of the kings reigne.

Anno Reg. 17. George duke of Clarence drowned in a butt of malmeſie.

Some haue reported, that the cauſe of this noble mans death roſe of a fooliſh propheſie, which was, that after K. Edward one ſhould reigne, whoſe firſt letter of his name ſhould be a G. Wherewith the king and queene were ſore troubled, and began to conceiue a greeuous grudge againſt this duke, and could not be in quiet till they had brought him to his end. And as the diuell is woont to incumber the minds of men which delite in ſuch diueliſh fantaſies, they ſaid afterward, that that propheſie loſt not his effect, when after king Edward, Gloceſter vſurped his kingdome. Other alledged, that the cauſe of his death was for that the duke, being deſtitute of a wife, by the meanes of his ſiſter the ladie Margaret, ducheſſe of Burgognie, procured to haue the ladie Marie, daughter and heire to hir huſband duke Charles.

Propheſies diueliſh fantaſies.

Which marriage king Edward (enuieng the proſperitie of his brother) both gainesaid and diſturbed, and thereby old malice reuiued betwixt them: which the queene and hir bloud (euer miſtruſting, and priuilie barking at the kings linage) ceaſſed not to increaſe. But ſure it is, that although king Edward were conſenting to his death; yet he much did both lament his infortunate chance, & repent his ſudden execution: inſomuch that when anie perſon ſued to him for the pardon of malefactors condemned to death, he would accuſtomablie ſaie, & openlie ſpeake: « Oh infortunate brother, for whoſe life not one would « make ſute. Openlie and apparantlie meaning by ſuch words, that by the meanes of ſome of the nobilitie he was deceiued and brought to confuſion.

This duke left behind him two yoong infants begot of the bodie of his wife, the daughter of Richard late earle of Warwike: which children by deſtinie as it were, or by their owne merits, following the ſteps of their anceſtors, ſucceeded them in like miſfortune and ſemblable euill chance. For Edward his heire, whom king Edward had created earle of Warwike was three and twentie yeares after, in the time of Henrie the ſeauenth, atteinted of treaſon, and on the Tower hill loſt his head. Margaret his ſole daughter maried to ſir Richard Pole knight, and by Henrie the eight reſtored to the name, title, & poſſeſſions of the earledome of Saliſburie, was at length for treaſon committed againſt the ſaid Henrie the eight atteinted in open parlement; and ſixtie two yeares after hir father had ſuffered death in the Tower, ſhe on the greene within the ſame place was beheaded. In whoſe perſon died the verie ſurname of Plantagenet, which from Geffrie Plantagenet ſo long in the bloud roiall of this realme had floriſhed and continued.

Edward erle of warwike ſonne & heire to George duke of Clarence.

Margaret ducheſſe of Saliſburie.

A great peſtilence.

After the death of this duke, by reaſon of great heat and diſtemperance of aire, happened ſo fierce & quicke a peſtilence, that fifteene yeares warre paſt conſumed not the third part of the people, that onelie foure moneths miſerablie and pitifullie diſpatched & brought to their graues. So that if the number had beene kept by multiplieng of vnities, & out of them to haue raiſed a complet number, it would haue mooued matter of verie great admiration. But it ſhould ſeeme that they were infinit, if conſideration be had of the compariſon, inferred for the more effectuall ſetting foorth of that cruell and ceaſeleſſe contagion. And ſuerlie it ſoundeth to reaſon, that the peſtilence ſhould fetch awaie ſo manie thouſands, as in iudgement by proportion of fifteene yeares warre one maie gather; and manie more too. For euerie man knoweth that in warres, time, place, perſons, and meanes are limited: time of warre begun and ended; place circumſcribed; perſons imbattelled, and weapons alſo whereby the fight is tried: ſo that all theſe haue their limitations, beyond which they haue no extent. But the peſtilence, being a generall infection of the aire, an element ordeined to mainteine life, though it haue a limitation in reſpect of the totall compaſſe of the world; yet whole climats maie be poiſoned; and it were not abſurd to ſaie, that all and euerie part of the aire maie be peſtilentlie corrupted; and ſo conſequentlie not limited: wherefore full well it maie be ſaid of the peſtilence (procuring ſo great a depopulation) as one ſaith of ſurfetting:

Enſe cadunt multi, perimit ſed crapula plures.

Auſon.

1478. Anno Reg. 18.

The councellors of the yoong ducheſſe of Burgognie ſent to K. Edward for aid againſt the French king. About the ſame time had the queene of England ſent to the ladie Margaret ducheſſe of Burgognie, for the preferrement of hir brother Anthonie erle Riuers to the yoong damſell. But the councell of Flanders, conſidering that he was but an earle of meane eſtate, and ſhe the greateſt inheritrice of all chriſtendome at that time, gaue but deafe eare to ſo vnmeet a requeſt. To which deſire, if the Flemings had but giuen a liking eare by outward ſemblance, and with gentle words delaied the ſute, ſhe had beene both ſuccoured and defended. Whether king Edward was not contented with this refuſall, or that he was loth to breake with the French king, he would in no wiſe conſent to ſend an armie into Flanders againſt the French king: but yet he ſent ambaſſadours to him with louing and gentle letters, requiring him to grow to ſome reaſonable order & agreement with the yoong ducheſſe of Burgognie, or at the leaſt to take a truce with hir at his requeſt.

The ambaſſadours of England were highlie receiued, bountifullie feaſted, and liberallie rewarded, but anſwer to their deſire had they none; ſauing that ſhortlie after, the French king would ſend ambaſſadours, hoſtages, and pledges to the king of England their maiſter, for the perfecting and concluding of all things depending betweene them two; ſo that their ſouereigne lord & they ſhould haue cauſe to be contented and pleaſed. Theſe faire words were onelie delaies to driue time, vntill he might haue ſpace to ſpoile the yoong damſell of hir townes and countries. And beſide this, to ſtaie king Edward from taking part with hir, he wrote to him, that if he would ioine with him in aid, he ſhould haue and inioie to him and his heires the whole countie & countrie of Flanders, diſcharged of homage, ſuperioritie and reſort, to be claimed by the French king, or his ſucceſſors.

Large offers made to the king of England by the French king.

He alſo wrote that he ſhould haue the whole duchie of Brabant, whereof the French king offered at his owne coſt and charge to conquer foure of the chiefeſt and ſtrongeſt townes within the ſaid duchie, & them in quiet poſſeſſion to deliuer to the king of England: granting further to paie him ten thouſand angels toward his charges, with munitions of warre and artillerie, which he promiſed to lend him, with men and carriage for the conueiance of the ſame. The king of England refuſed to make anie warres againſt thoſe countries that were thus offered to him: but if the French king would make him partner of his conqueſts in Picardie, rendering to him part of the townes alreadie gotten, as Bologne, Monſterell, and Abuile, then he would ſuerlie take his part, and aid him with men at his owne coſts and charges.

1479
Anno Reg. 19.

Thus paſſed faire words and golden promiſes betweene theſe two princes: and in the meane time the yoong ducheſſe of Burgognie was ſpoiled of hir townes, caſtels & territories, till at length for maintenance ſhe condeſcended to marrie with Maximilian ſonne to the emperour Frederike, that he might keepe the woolfe from the fold. King Edward in the nineteenth yeare of his reigne began (more than he was before accuſtomed) to ſerch the forfeiture of penall lawes and ſtatutes, as well of the cheefe of his nobilitie as of other gentlemen, being proprietaries of great poſſeſſions, or abundantlie furniſhed with goods; likewiſe of merchants, and other inferior perſons. By reaſon whereof, it was of all men iudged that he would proue hereafter a ſore and a rigorous prince among his ſubiects. But this his new inuented practiſe and couetous meaning (by reaſon of foreine affaires and abridgement of his daies in this tranſitorie life, which were within two yeares after conſumed) tooke ſome (but not great) effect.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 747, 748.
Peſtilence.

Vnaduiſed & vnſeemelie demeanor puniſhed with a fine.

Conduit in Cheape builded.

¶ In this yeare was great mortalitie and death by the peſtilence, not onelie in London, but in diuerſe parts of the realme, which began in the latter end of September in the yeare laſt before paſſed, and continued all this yeare till the beginning of Nouember, which was about fourteene moneths: in the which ſpace died innumerable of people in the ſaid citie & elſe-where. ¶ This yeare alſo the maior of London being in Paules, kneeling in his deuotions at ſaint Erkenwalds ſhrine, Robert Bifield one of the ſhiriffes vnaduiſedlie kneeled downe nigh vnto the maior: whereof afterward the maior charged him to haue doone more than becomed him. But the ſhiriffe anſwering rudelie and ſtubbornlie, would not acknowledge to haue committed anie offenſe: for the which he was afterward by a court of aldermen fined at fiftie pounds to be paid toward the reparations of the conduits in London, which was trulie paid. ¶ This yeere Thomas Ilam one of the ſhirifs of London newlie builded the great conduit in Cheape, of his owne charges. ¶ This yeare alſo king Edward began his Chriſtmaſſe at Waking, and at fiue daies end remooued to Greenewich, where he kept out the other part of his Chriſtmaſſe with great roialtie.]

1480
Anno Reg.20

Ambaſſadours were ſent to and fro betwixt the king of England and France, and ſtill the French king fed the king of England with faire words, putting him in hope to match his ſonne and heire the Dolphin with the ladie Elizabeth daughter to the king of England, according to the concluſions of agreement had and made at Picquenie betwixt them, although in verie deed he meant nothing leſſe. His ambaſſadours euer made excuſes if anie thing were amiſſe, and he vſed to ſend change of ambaſſadours; ſo that if thoſe which had beene here before, and were returned, had ſaid or promiſed anie thing (though they were authoriſed ſo to doo) which might turne to their maſters hinderance, the other that came after, might excuſe themſelues by ignorance of that matter; affirming that they wanted commiſſion once to talke or meddle with that matter: or if he perceiued that anie thing was like to be concluded contrarie to his mind, for a ſhift he would call his ambaſſadours home in great haſt, and after ſend an other with new inſtructions nothing depending on the old.

The French king feedeth the king of England with faire words and promiſes.

Thus the French king vſed to dallie with king Edward in the caſe of this mariage, onelie to keepe him ſtill in amitie. And certeinelie the king of England, being a man of no ſuſpicious nature, thought ſooner that the ſunne ſhould haue fallen from his circle, than that the French king would haue diſſembled or broken promiſe with him. But there is none ſo ſoone beguiled, as he that leaſt miſtruſteth; nor anie ſo able to deceiue, as he to whome moſt credence is giuen. But as in miſtruſting nothing, is great lightneſſe; ſo in too much truſting, is too much follie: which well appeared in this matter. For the French king, by cloking his inward determinate purpoſe with great diſſimulation and large promiſes, kept him ſtill in freendſhip with the king of England, till he had wrought a great part of his will againſt the yoong ducheſſe of Burgognie. Which king Edward would not haue ſuffered, if he had put anie great doubt in the French kings faire promiſes, conſidering that the crowne of France was in this meane time ſo much increaſed in dominions, to the great reenforcement of that realme.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 748, 749.
Fiue theeues for ſacrilege ſeuerelie executed.

¶ On the two and twentith of Februarie were fiue notable theeues put to death, for robbing the church called ſaint Martins le grand in London, and other places; three of them were drawne to the Tower hill, hanged & burnt, the other two were preſſed to death. A ſore and ſeuere kind of execution no doubt, but yet thought by iuſtice meritorious in the malefactors, for their offenſes of ſacrilege. Heinous enough had it beene to ſpoile a priuat man of his goods, and by law of nations puniſhable with death; but much more horrible, that prophane perſons with polluted hands ſhould priuilie or openlie ſo touch holie & conſecrated things, as to take them out of a ſacred place, whereto (for holy vſes) they were dedicated, & applie them to the ſatiſfieng of the corrupt concupiſcences of their owne hearts, the bottomleſſe gulfe whereof bicauſe no booties nor ſpoiles could ſatiſfie; it ſtood with the high praiſe of iuſtice that they and their ceaſeleſſe deſires were ſeuered by deſerued death; wherefore it is wiſelie ſaid by the comicall poet of ſuch greedie guts:

Plau. in Pe

Quam quis auidus poſcit eſcam auariter,
Decipitur in tranſenna peritque auaritia.

In this yeare king Edward required great ſums of monie to be lent him. The citizens of London granted him fiue thouſand marks, which were ſeized of the fiue and twentie wards: which fiue thouſand marks was trulie repaid againe in the next yeare following. ¶Alſo this yeare on Whitſundaie K. Edward the fourth created the lord Berkleie, vicount Berkeleie, at Greenewich. ¶ In this yeare alſo an houſe on London bridge called the common ſiege, or priuie, fell downe into the Thames, where through it fiue perſons were drowned. ¶This yeare the king with his queene kept a roiall Chriſtmas at Windſor.

Scala temporum.

The king feaſteth the maior and aldermen.

Alſo this yeere was one Richard Chawrie maior of London, whome king Edward ſo greatlie fauoured, that he tooke him (with certeine of his brethren the aldermen, & commons of the citie of London) into the foreſt of Waltham, where was ordeined for them a pleaſant lodge of greene boughs, in which lodge they dined with great cheere; & the king would not go to dinner vntill he ſaw them ſerued. Moreouer he cauſed the lord chamberlaine, with other lords, to cheere the ſaid maior and his companie ſundrie times whileſt they were at dinner. After dinner they went a hunting with the king, and ſlue manie deare, as well red as fallow, whereof the king gaue vnto the maior and his companie good plentie, and ſent vnto the ladie maireſſe and hir ſiſters the aldermens wiues, two harts, ſix bucks, and a tun of wine to make them merrie with, which was eaten in the drapers hall. The cauſe of which bountie thus ſhewed by the king, was (as moſt men did take) for that the maior was a merchant of woonderous aduentures into manie and ſundrie countries. By reaſon whereof, the king had yearelie of him notable ſummes of monie for his cuſtomes, beſide other pleaſures that he had ſhewed vnto the king before times. ¶ This yeere the Scots begen to ſtir, againſt whom the king ſent the duke of Gloceſter & manie others, which returned againe without any notable battell.]

Fabian pag. 512.

Ambaſſadors forth of Scotland.

In this verie ſeaſon James the third of that name king of Scots ſent into England a ſolemne ambaſſage for to haue the ladie Cicilie, king Edwards ſecond daughter, to be married to his eldeſt ſonne James, prince of Scotland, duke of Rothſaie, and earle of Caricke. King Edward and his councell, perceiuing that this affinitie ſhould be both honourable and profitable to the realme, did not onelie grant to his deſire; but alſo before hand diſburſed certeine ſummes of monie, to the onelie intent that the marriage hereafter ſhould neither be hindered nor broken. With this condition, that if the ſaid mariage by anie accidentall meane ſhould in time to come take none effect; or that king Edward would notifie to the king of Scots, or his councell, that his pleaſure was determined to haue the ſaid marriage diſſolued: then the prouoſt and merchants of the towne of Edenburgh, ſhould be bound for repaiment of the ſaid ſummes againe. All which things were with great deliberation concluded, paſſed, and ſealed, in hope of continuall peace and indiſſoluble amitie.

But king James was knowne to be a man ſo wedded to his owne opinion, that he could not abide them that would ſpeake contrarie to his fanſie: by meanes whereof, he was altogither led by the counſell and aduiſe of men of baſe linage, whome for their flatterie he had promoted vnto great dignities and honourable offices. By which perſons diuerſe of the nobilitie of his realme were greatlie miſuſed and put to trouble, both with impriſonment, exactions, & death; inſomuch that ſome of them went into voluntarie exile. Amongſt whome Alexander duke of Albanie, brother to king James, being exiled into France, & paſſing through England, taried with K. Edward: and vpon occaſion mooued him to make warre againſt his brother, the ſaid king James, for that he forgetting his oth, promiſe, and affinitie concluded with king Edward, cauſed his ſubiects to make roads and forraies into the Engliſh borders, ſpoiling, burning, and killing king Edwards liege people.

King Edward, not a little diſpleaſed with this vnprincelie dooing, prouoked and ſet on alſo by the duke of Albanie, determined to inuade Scotland with an armie, as well to reuenge his owne iniuries receiued at the hands of king James, as to helpe to reſtore the duke of Albanie vnto his countrie and poſſeſſions againe. Herevpon all the Winter ſeaſon he muſtered his men, prepared his ordinance, rigged his ſhips, and left nothing vnprouided for ſuch a iournie: ſo that in the beginning of the yeare, all things apperteining to the warre, and neceſſarie for his voiage, were in a readineſſe. To be the cheefteine of his hoaſt, and lieutenant generall, Richard duke of Gloceſter was appointed by his brother king Edward; and with him were adioined as aſſociats, Henrie the fourth earle of Northumberland, Thomas lord Stanleie lord ſteward of the kings houſe, the lord Louell, the lord Greieſtocke, and diuerſe other noble men and worthie knights.

Preparation for warre againſt Scotland.

1482

Anno Reg.22.

An armie ſent into Scotland.

These valiant capteins came to Alnewike in Northumberland, about the beginning of Julie, where they firſt incamped themſelues, & marſhalled their hoaſt. The fore-ward was led by the earle of Northumberland, vnder whoſe ſtandard were the lord Scroope of Bolton, ſir John Middleton, ſir John Dichfield, and diuerſe other knights, eſquiers, & ſouldiers, to the number of ſix thouſand and ſeauen hundred. In the midle-ward was the duke of Gloceſter, and with him the duke of Albanie, the lord Louell, the lord Greieſtocke, ſir Edward Wooduile, and other, to the number of fiue thouſand & eight hundred men. The lord Neuill was appointed to follow, accompanied with three thouſand. The lord Stanleie led the wing on the right hand of the dukes battell with foure thouſand men of Lancaſhire & Cheſhire. The lord Fitz Hugh, ſir William a Parre, ſir James Harrington, with the number of two thouſand ſouldiers, guided the left wing. And beſide all theſe, there were one thouſand appointed to giue their attendance on the ordinance.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 749.

Creplegate builded.

¶In this yeare Edmund Shaw goldſmith and maior of London newlie builded Creplegate from the foundation, which gate in old time had bene a priſon, whereunto ſuch citizens and other as were arreſted for debt (or like treſpaſſes) were committed, as they be now to the counters, as maie appeare by a writ of king Edward the ſecond, in theſe words: *Rex vic London ſalutem. Ex graui querela capti & detenti in priſona noſtra de Creplegate, pro x. li. quas coram Radulpho Sandwico, tunc cuſtode ciuitatis noſtræ London, & I. de Blackewell cuſtode recognit. debitorum, &c.* King Edward held his Chriſtmas at Eltham, and kept his eſtate all the whole feaſt in his great chamber; and the queene in hir chamber, where were dailie more than two thouſand perſons. The ſame yeare on Candlemas day, he with his queene went on proceſſion from ſaint Stephans chappell into Weſtminſter hall, accompanied with the earle of Angus, the lord Greie, & ſir James Liddall, ambaſſadors from Scotland. And at his proceeding out of his chamber he made ſir John Wood vnder-treaſuror of England, & ſir William Cateſbie one of the iuſtices of the cōmon plees, knights.]

Records.

Anno reg.23.

1483

Berwike wonne by the Engliſhmen.

But to returne to the kings affaires concerning Scotland. The roiall armie aforeſaid, not intending to loſe time, came ſuddenlie by the water ſide to the towne of Berwike, and there (what with force, and what with feare of ſo great an armie) tooke and entered the towne: but the earle of Bothwell, being capteine of the caſtell, would in no wiſe deliuer it; wherfore the capteins, vpon good and deliberate aduiſe, planted a ſtrong ſiege round about it. When this ſiege was laid, the two dukes and all the other ſouldiers (except the lord Stanleie, ſir Iohn Elrington treaſuror of the kings houſe, ſir William a Parre, and foure thouſand men that were left behind to keepe the ſiege before the caſtell) departed from Berwike toward Edenburgh; and in marching thitherward, they burnt and deſtroied manie townes and baſtiles. King Iames hauing ſmall confidence in his communaltie, and leſſe truſt in his nobilitie, kept himſelfe within the caſtell of Edenburgh.

The duke of Gloceſter entered into the towne, and at the eſpeciall deſire of the duke of Albanie ſaued the towne, and the inhabitants from fire, bloud, and ſpoile, taking onelie of the merchants, ſuch preſents as they gentlie offered to him and his capteins, cauſing Gartier principall king at armes to make a publike proclamation at the high croſſe in the market place of Edenburgh; by the which he warned and admoniſhed king Iames, to kéepe, obſerue, and performe, all ſuch promiſes, compacts, conenants, and agréements, as he had concluded and ſealed with the king of England, and alſo to make ſufficient recompenſe vnto his ſubiects, for the tyrannie, ſpoile, and crueltie which he and his people had committed and doone, contrarie to the league, within the marches of his realme of England, before the firſt daie of Auguſt next inſuing: and further without delaie to reſtore his brother the duke of Albanie to his eſtate, & all his poſſeſſions, offices, and authorities, in as large maner as he occupied & inioied the ſame before. Or elſe the duke of Gloceſter, lieutenant generall for the king of England, was readie at hand to deſtroie him, his people, and countries, with ſlaughter, flame, and famine.

King Iames would make no anſwer, neither by word nor writing, but kept himſelfe cloſe within the caſtell. But the lords of Scotland lieng at Hadington with a great puiſſance, determined firſt to practiſe with the duke of Gloceſter for a peace, and after by ſome meanes to allure the duke of Albanie from the Engliſh amitie. And vpon this motion, the ſecond daie of Auguſt they wrote to the duke of Gloceſter, requiring that the mariage betwéene the prince of Scotland, and king Edwards daughter might be accompliſhed, according to the couenants: and further, that a peace from thenceforth might be louinglie concluded betwéene both the realmes. The duke of Gloceſter anſwered againe vnto theſe demands; that for the article of the mariage, he knew not the king his brothers determinate pleaſure, either for the affirmance or deniall of the ſame; but neuertheleſſe he deſired full reſtitution of all the ſums of monie preſſed out in lone vpon the ſame mariage. And as for peace, he aſſured them that he wold agrée to none, except the caſtell of Berwike might be to him deliuered; or at the leaſt wiſe, that he ſhould vndertake that the ſiege lieng afore the ſame ſhould not be troubled by the king of Scots, nor by anie of his ſubiects, nor by his or their procurement or meanes.

The biſhop elect of Murreie ſent to the duke of Gloceſter.

The Scottiſh lords, vpon this anſwer and demands of the duke of Gloceſter, ſent to him the elect of Murreie, and the lord Dernleie, which excuſed the matter touching the repaiment of the monie: for that the time of the lawfull contract of the ſaid mariage was not yet come, and no daie appointed for the monie to be paied before the contract begun. But for further aſſurance either for the contract to be made, or for the paiment of the monie, they promiſed therevnto accordinglie (as reaſon ſhould require) to agrée. Secondarilie, as touching the caſtell of Berwike, they alledged that it apperteined to the realme of Scotland, as the old inheritance of the ſame.

The duke, notwithſtanding all that they could ſaie, would agrée to no peace, except the caſtell of Berwike might be deliuered to the K. of England. And ſo the meſſengers departed. The ſame daie the archbiſhop of S. Andrews, the biſhop of Dunkeld, Colin earle of Argile, lord Campbell, and lord Andrew lord of Anandale chancellor of Scotland, wrote to the duke of Albanie, a ſolemne and an autenticall inſtrument, ſigned and ſealed with their hands and ſeales, concerning a generall pardon to him and his ſeruants, vpon certeine conditions to be granted; which conditions ſéemed to be ſo reaſonable, that the duke of Albanie, deſirous to be reſtored to his old eſtate, poſſeſſions, and natiue countrie, willinglie accepted the ſame.

But before he departed from the duke of Gloceſter, he promiſed both by word and writing of his owne hand, to doo and performe all ſuch things, as he before that time had ſworne and promiſed to king Edward: notwithſtanding anie agréement now made, or after to be made with the lords of Scotland. And for performance of the effect hereof, he againe tooke a corporall oth, and ſealed the writing before the duke of Gloceſter, in the Engliſh campe at Leuington beſides Hadington, the third daie of Auguſt, in the yeare 1482. After he was reſtored, the lords of Scotland proclamed him great lieutenant of Scotland; and in the kings name made proclamation, that all men within eight daies ſhould be readie at Crauſhaus, both to raiſe the ſiege before the caſtell, and for the recouering againe of the towne of Berwike.

The duke of Albanie reſtored home.

He is created great lieutenant of Scotland.

The duke of Albanie wrote all this preparation to the duke of Gloceſter, requiring him to haue no miſtruſt in his dealings. The duke of Gloceſter wrote to him againe his mind verie roundlie, promiſing that he with his armie would defend the beſiegers from all enimies that ſhould attempt to tronble them, or elſe die in the quarell. To be briefe, when the lords of Scotland ſaw that it booted them not to aſſaie the raiſing of the ſiege, except they ſhould make account to be fought withall, they determined to deliuer the caſtell of Berwike to the Engliſhmen, ſo that therevpon there might be an abſtinence of warre taken for a ſeaſon.

And herewith they ſent to the duke of Gloceſter a charter indented, which was dated the foure and twentith daie of Auguſt, in the ſaid yeare 1482, contracted betwéene the duke of Gloceſter lieutenant generall for the king of England, & Alexander duke of Albanie lieutenant for Iames king of Scots; that an eſpeciall abſtinence of warre ſhould be kept betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, as well by ſea as by land, to begin the eighth daie of September next comming, & to indure till the fourth daie of Nouember next following. And in the ſame ſeaſon, the towne & caſtle of Berwike to be occupied and remaine in the reall poſſeſſion of ſuch, as by the king of Englands deputie ſhould be appointed.

The caſtell of Berwike deliuered.

Herevnto the duke of Gloceſter agreed, and ſo then was the caſtell of Berwike deliuered to the lord Stanleie, and other thereto appointed; who therein put both Engliſhmen and artillerie, ſufficient to defend it againſt all Scotland, for ſix months. The duke of Albanie alſo cauſed the prouoſt and burgeſſes of Edenburgh, to make a ſufficient inſtrument obligatorie to king Edward, for the true ſatiſfaction and contentation of the ſame monie, which he alſo ſent by the ſaid prouoſt to the duke of Gloceſter to Alnewike; the verie copie whereof hereafter followeth.

The true copie of the ſaid inſtrument *obligatorie.*

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol. Ccl

BE it knowne to all men by theſe preſent letters, vs Walter Bertraham, prouoſt of the towne of Edenburgh in Scotland, and the whole fellowſhip, merchants, burgeſſes, & communaltie of the ſame towne, to be bound and obliged by theſe preſents, vnto the moſt excellent, and moſt mightie prince Edward, by the grace of God king of England. That where it was communed and agreed betweene his excellencie on the one part, and the right high & mightie prince our ſouereigne lord, Iames king of Scots on the other part, that mariage and matrimonie ſhould haue beene ſolemnized and had betwixt a mightie and excellent prince Iames the firſt begotten ſonne and heire apparant to our ſouereigne lord aforeſaid, & the right noble princeſſe Cicilie, daughter to the ſaid Edward K. of England; and for the ſaid mariage to haue beene performed, certeine and diuerſe great ſummes of monie bene paid and contented by the moſt excellent prince, vnto our ſouereigne lord aforeſaid, as by certeine writings betwixt the ſaid princes therevpon made more at large plainlie appeares.

That if it be the pleaſure of the ſaid Edward king of England, to haue the ſaid mariage to be performed and completed, according to the ſaid communication in writing, that then it ſhall be well and trulie, without fraud, deceipt, or colluſion obſerued, kept, and accompliſhed on the partie of our ſouereigne lord aforeſaid, & the nobles ſpirituall and temporall of the realme of Scotland. And if it be not the pleaſure of the ſaid excellent prince Edward king of England, to haue the ſaid mariage performed and completed; that then we Walter, prouoſt, burgeſſes, merchants, and commons of the aboue named towne of Edenburgh, or anie of vs, ſhall paie and content to the king of England aforeſaid, all the ſummes of monie that was paied for the ſaid mariage, at ſuch like termes & daies immediatlie inſuing after the refuſall of the ſaid mariage, and in ſuch like maner & forme as the ſaid ſummes were afore deliuered, contented and paied; that then this obligation and bond to be void, and of no ſtrength. Prouided alwaies, that the ſaid Edward king of England, ſhall giue knowledge of his pleaſure and election in the premiſſes in taking or refuſing of the ſaid mariage, or of repaiment of the ſaid ſums of monie, to our ſaid ſouereigne lord, or lords of his councell, or to vs the ſaid prouoſt, merchants, or any of vs, within the realme of Scotland, being for the time, betwixt this & the feaſt of Alhalowes next to come.

To the which paiment well and trulie to be made, we bind and oblige vs, & euerie of vs, our heires, ſucceſſors, executors, and all our goods, merchandizes, & things what ſoeuer they be, where ſoeuer, or in what place, by water or by land, on this ſide the ſea or beyond, we ſhall happen to be found, anie league, anie truce or ſafegard made or to be made, notwithſtanding. In witneſſe whereof to this our preſent writing, and letters of bond, we, the ſaid prouoſt, burgeſſes, merchants, and communitie, haue ſet our common ſeale of the ſaid towne of Edenburgh, the fourth daie of Auguſt, the yeare of our Lord God, 1482. Giuen in the preſence of the right mightie prince Richard duke of Gloceſter, Alexander duke of Albanie, the reuerend father in God Iames biſhop of Dunkeld, & the right noble lord Henrie earle of Northumberland, Colin earle of Argile, Thomas lord Stanleie, maiſter Alexander Engliſh, and others, &c.

So that you ſee it was conteined in the ſaid inſtrument or writing, that king Edward ſhould intimate his pleaſure vnto the ſaid prouoſt and burgeſſes of Edenburgh, before the feaſt of Alſaints next following, whether he would the mariage ſhould take place, or that he would haue the paiment of the monie. According to which article, king Edward ſent Gartier his principall king of armes, and Northumberland herald, to declare his refuſall of the mariage, and the election and choiſe of the repaiment of the monie. They came to Edenburgh eight daies before the feaſt of Alſaints, where (according to their commiſſion and inſtructions) Gartier declared the pleaſure of the king his maiſter vnto the prouoſt and burgeſſes of Edenburgh, to whom he [illegible]nlie ſaid as followeth.

Gartier king of armes is ſent into Scotland.

The intimation of Gartier king *of armes to the Edenburghers.*

Abr.Fl. ex Edw.Hall. fol.Ccxlvij.

I Gartier king of armes, ſeruant, proctour and meſſenger vnto the moſt high and mightie prince, my moſt dread ſouereigne lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, by vertue [illegible] letters of procuracie here readie to be ſhewed to me, by my ſaid ſouereigne lord made and giuen, make notice and giue knowledge vnto you prouoſt, burgeſſes, merchants and communaltie of the towne of Edenburgh in Scotland, that whereas it was ſometime communed and agreed betweene my ſaid ſouereigne lord on the one partie, and the right high & mightie prince Iames king of Scots on the other partie, that mariage and matrimonie ſhould haue beene ſolemnized, and had betweene Iames the firſt begotten ſonne of the ſaid king of Scots, and ladie Cicilie, daughter to my ſaid ſouereigne lord the king of England.

And for the ſaid mariage to haue beene performed, certeine and diuers great ſums of monie beene paied and contented by my ſaid ſouereigne lord, which ſummes of monie, in caſe of refuſall of the ſaid mariage, by my ſaid ſouereigne lord to be made and declared, yee the ſaid prouoſt, burgeſſes, merchants, and communaltie, and euerie one of you are bound and obliged by your letters, vnder your common ſeale of your towne of Edenburgh, to repaie vnto his highnes vnder like forme, & at ſuch termes as they were firſt paied. So that the king my ſouereigne lord would make notice and knowledge of his pleaſure and election in taking or refuſing of the ſaid mariage, of the repaiment of the ſaid ſums of monie, before the feaſt of Alhalowes next to come; like as in your ſaid letters, bearing date at Edenburgh the fourth daie of Auguſt laſt paſt, it was conteined all at large.

The pleaſure and election of my ſaid ſoueraigne lord, for diuerſe cauſes and conſiderations him mouing, is to refuſe the accompliſhment of the ſaid mariage, and to haue the repaiment of all ſuch ſummes of monie, as (by occaſion of the ſaid betruſted mariage) his highneſſe had paied. The ſaid repaiment to be had of you prouoſt, burgeſſes, merchants, and communaltie, and euerie of you, your heires and ſucceſſours, according to your bond and obligation afore rehearſed. And therefore I giue you notice & knowledge by this writing, which I deliuer vnto you, within the terme in your ſaid letters limited and expreſſed, to all intents and effects, which thereof may inſue.

When Gartier had thus declared all things giuen to him in charge, the prouoſt and other burgeſſes made anſwer, that they now knowing the kings determinat pleaſure, would (according to their bond) prepare for the repaiment of the ſaid ſummes; and gentlie interteining Gartier conueied him to Berwike, from whence he departed to Newcaſtell, to the duke of Gloceſter, making relation to him of all his doings: which duke with all ſpéed returned to Shrifhuton, and there abode. Shortlie after Gartiers departing, the duke of Albanie, thinking to obteine againe the high fauour of the king his brother, deliuered him out of captiuitie and priſon, wherin he had a certeine ſpace continued (not without the dukes aſſent, which beſieged him in the caſtell of Edenburgh a little before) and ſet him at large, of whome outwardlie he receiued great thanks, when inwardlie nothing but reuenging & confuſion was in the kings ſtomach fullie ſetled. So that ſhortlie after in the kings preſence he was in ieopardie of his life, and all vnprouided for dread of death, conſtrained to take a ſmall balinger, and to ſaile into France, where ſhortlie after riding by the men of armes, which incountered at the tilt, by Lewes then duke of Orleance, after French king, he was with miſcharging of a ſpeare by fortunes peruerſe countenance pitifullie ſlaine and brought to death, leauing after him one onelie ſon named Iohn, which being baniſhed Scotland, inhabited & maried in France, and there died.

How dolorous, how ſorrowfull is it to write, and much more painefull to remember the chances and infortunities that happened within two yeares in England & Scotland, betwéene naturall brethren. For king Edward, ſet on by ſuch as enuied the eſtate of the duke of Clarence, forgetting nature and brotherlie amitie, conſented to the death of his ſaid brother. Iames king of Scots, putting in obliuion that Alexander his brother was the onelie organ and inſtrument, by whome he obteined libertie & fréedome, ſeduced and led by vile and malicious perſons, which maligned at the glorie and indifferent iuſtice of the duke of Albanie, imagined and compaſſed his death, and exiled him for euer. What a pernicious ſerpent, what a venemous toade, and what a peſtiferous ſcorpion is that diueliſh whelpe, called priuie enuie? Againſt it no fortreſſe can defend, no caue can hide, no wood can ſhadow, no fowle can eſcape, nor no beaſt can auoid. Hir poiſon is ſo ſtrong, that neuer man in authoritie could eſcape from the biting of hir téeth, ſcratching of hir pawes, blaſting of hir breth, & filth of hir taile. Notable therefore is the Gréeke epigram in this behalfe, touching enuie of this kind, which ſaith, that a worſſe thing than enuie there is not in the world, and yet hath it ſome goodneſſe in it; for it conſumeth the eies and the hart of the enuious. The words in their owne tong ſententiouſlie ſound thus:

ὁ φθόνος ἐστὶ κάκιστον, ἔχει δέ τι καλὸν ἐν αὐτῷ,
τήκει γὰρ φθονερῶν ὄμματα καὶ κραδίαν.]

Although king Edward reioiſed that his buſineſſe came to ſo good a concluſion with the Scots, yet he was about the ſame time ſore diſquieted in his mind towards the French king, whome he now perceiued to haue dallied with him, as touching the agreement of the mariage to be had betwixt the Dolphin and his daughter the ladie Elizabeth. For the lord Howard, being as then returned out of France, certified the king (of his owne knowledge) how that he being preſent, ſaw the ladie Margaret of Auſtrich daughter to duke Maximilian, ſonne to the emperor Frederike, receiued into France with great pompe and roialtie, and at Ambois to the Dolphin contracted and eſpouſed. King Edward highlie diſpleaſed with ſuch double and vniuſt dealing of the French king, called his nobles togither, and opened to them his gréefes; who promiſed him for redreſſe thereof, to be readie with all their powers to make warres in France at his pleaſure and appointment.

But whileſt he was buſie in hand to make his purueiance for warres thus againſt France, whether it was with melancholie and anger, which he tooke with the French kings doings and vncourteous vſage; or were it by any ſuperfluous ſurfet (to the which he was verie much giuen) he ſuddenlie fell ſicke, and was ſo gréeuouſlie taken, that in the end he perceiued his naturall ſtrength in ſuch wiſe to decaie, that there was little hope of recouerie in the cunning of his phyſicians, whome he perceiued onlie to prolong his life for a ſmall time. Wherefore he began to make readie for his paſſage into another world, not forgetting (as after ſhall appeare) to exhort the nobles of his realme (aboue all things) to an vnitie among themſelues. And hauing (as he tooke it) made an attonement betwixt the parties that were knowne to be ſcant fréends, he commended vnto their graue wiſedoms the gouernment of his ſonne the prince, and of his brother the duke of Yorke, during the time of their tender yeares. But it ſhall not be amiſſe to adde in this place the words which he is ſaid to haue ſpoken on his death-bed, which were in effect as followeth.

The words of king Edward vttered *by him on his death-bed.*

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall, fol. Ccxlviij, Ccxlix.

My welbeloued and no leſſe betruſted fréends, councellors, and alies, if we mortall men would dailie and hourlie with our ſelues reuolue, and intentiuelie in our hearts ingraue, or in our minds ſeriouſlie ponder, the fraile and fading imbecillitie of our humane nature, and the vnſtableneſſe of the ſame: we ſhould apparantlie perceiue, that we being called reaſonable creatures, and in that predicament compared and ioined with angels, be more worthie to be named and déemed perſons vnreaſonable, and rather to be aſſociate in that name with brute beaſts called vnreaſonable (of whoſe life and death no creature ſpeaketh) rather than in that point to be reſembled to the angelicall ſocietie and reaſonable companie.

For while health in vs floriſheth, or proſperitie aboundeth, or the gloſing world laugheth, which is he, ſo reaſonable of vs all, that can ſaie (if he will not erre from the truth) that he once in a wéeke remembreth his fatall end, or the preſcribed terme of his induring; or once prouided by labour, ſtudie, or otherwiſe, to ſet a ſtedfaſt and ſure order for the ſecuritie, profit, and continuance either of his poſſeſſions & dominions, or of his ſequele and poſteritie which after him ſhall naturallie ſucceed. Such is the blindneſſe of our fraile and weake nature, euer giuen to carnall concupiſcence and worldlie delectations, dailie darkened and ſeduced with that lithargious and deceiuable ſerpent called hope of long life, that all we put in obliuion our duetie preſent, and leſſe remember the politike purueiance for things to come: for blindlie we walke in this fraile life, till we fall groueling with our eies ſuddenlie vpon death.

The vanities of this world be to vs ſo agreeable, that when we begin to liue, we eſteeme our life a whole world; which once ouerpaſſed, it ſheweth no better but duſt driuen awaie with a puffe of wind. I ſpeake this to you of my ſelfe, and for your ſelues to you; ſore lamenting and inwardlie bewailing, that I did not performe & finallie conſummate ſuch politike deuiſes, & good and godlie ordinances, in my long life and peaceable proſperitie, which then I fullie determined to haue begun, ſet forward, and completlie to haue finiſhed. Which now for the extreame paines and tortures of my angrie maladie, and for the ſmall terme of my naturall life, I can neither performe, neither yet liue to ſee either to take effect, or to ſort to anie good concluſion.

For God I call to record, my heart was fullie ſet, and my mind deliberatlie determined, ſo to haue adorned this realme with wholeſome lawes, ſtatutes and ordinances; ſo to haue trained and brought vp mine infants and children in vertue, learning, actiuitie, and policie, that, what with their roiall puiſſance, & your freendlie aſſiſtance, the proudeſt prince of Europe durſt not once attempt to mooue anie hoſtilitie, againſt them, you, or this realme. But oh Lord, all things that I of long time haue in my mind reuolued and imagined, that ſtealing theefe death goeth about to ſubuert, and in the moment of an houre cleerelie to ouertred. Wherefore (as men ſaie) I now being driuen to the verie hard wall, haue perfect confidence and ſure hope in the approoued fidelitie, and conſtant integritie, which I haue euer experimented and knowne to be rooted and planted in the hearts of your louing bodies, towards me and mine.

So that I may ſaie and auouch, that neuer prince bearing ſcepter and crowne ouer realmes and regions, hath found or prooued more faithfull councellors, nor truer ſubiects, than I haue doone of you; nor neuer potentate nor gouernour put more affiance and truſt in his vaſſals and ſeruants, than I, ſince the adeption of the crowne, firmelie haue fixed in your circumſpect wiſedoms and ſober diſcretions. And now of very force compelled, lieng in a doutfull hope, betweene liuing and dieng, betweene remembrance and obliuion, I doo require you, and inſtantlie mooue you, that as I haue found you faithfull, obedient, and to all my requeſts and deſires (while I was here in health conuerſant with you) diligent and intentiue: ſo after my death, my hope is with a ſure anchor grounded, & mine inward conceipt vndoubtedlie reſolued, that the eſpeciall confidence and inward fidelitie, which ſo long hath continued betweene vs, being together liuing, ſhall not wholie by my death be extinct and vaniſhed like ſmoke.

For what auaileth freendſhip in life, when truſt deceiueth after death? What profiteth amitie in apparant preſence, when confidence is fraudulentlie beguiled in abſence? What loue groweth by coniunction of matrimonie, if the ofſpring after doo not agree and accord? Or what profiteth princes to aduance and promote their ſubiects, if after their death, the bountifulneſſe by them ſhewed, be of the receiuers of the ſame and their ſequele neither regarded nor yet remembred? The parents make the marriage for an indiſſoluble amitie. Princes promote ſomtime for fauour, ſometime for deſert, & ſometime for pleaſure: yet (if you will conſider) the verie ſcope, to the which all gifts of promotions doo finallie tend, is to haue loue, fauour, faithfull counſell, and diligent ſeruice, of ſuch as be by them promoted and exalted, not onelie in their owne liues, being but breefe and tranſitorie: but alſo that they and their progenie, calling to remembrance the fauor, eſtimation, and aduancement, which they of ſo liberall and munificent a prince had receiued and obteined, ſhould with ſpeare and ſhield, toong and wit, hand and pen, continuallie ſtudie to defend, counſell and preferre, not onelie him during his life; but alſo to ſerue, aſſiſt, and mainteine his ſequele and lineall ſucceſſion, as the verie images and carnall portratures of his ſtirpe, line, and ſtemme, naturallie deſcended.

In this caſe am I, whome you know, not without vnſpeakable trouble & moſt dangerous war to haue obteined the ſcepter and diademe of this realme and empire. During which reigne, I haue had either litle peace, or ſmall tranquillitie: and now when I thought my ſelfe ſure of a quiet life, and worldlie reſt, death hath blowne his terrible trumpet, calling and ſummoning me (as I truſt) to perpetuall tranquillitie and eternall quietneſſe. Therefore now, for the perfect and vnmoueable confidence that I haue euer had in you, and for the vnfeined loue that you haue euer ſhewed vnto me, I commend and deliuer into your gouernance, both this noble realme, and my naturall children, and your kinſmen. My children by your diligent ouerſight and politike prouiſion to be taught, informed, and inſtructed, not onelie in the ſciences liberall, vertues morall, and good literature: but alſo to be practiſed in trickes of martiall actiuitie, and diligent exerciſe of prudent policie. For I haue heard clarkes ſaie, although I am vnlettered, that fortunate is that realme where philoſophers reigne, or where kings be philoſophers and louers of wiſedome.

In this tender age, you may writh and turne them into euerie forme and faſhion. If you bring them vp in vertue, you ſhall haue vertuous princes. If you ſet them to learning, your gouernours ſhall be men of knowledge. If you teach them actiuitie, you ſhall haue valiant capteins. If they practiſe policie, you ſhall haue both politike and prudent rulers. On the other ſide, if by your negligence they fall to vice (as youth is to all euill prone and readie) not onelie their honor, but alſo your honeſtie ſhall be ſpotted and appalled. If they be ſluggards and giuen to ſlouth, the publike wealth of this realme muſt ſhortlie decaie. If they be vnlearned, they may by flatterie ſoone be blinded, and by adulation often deceiued. If they lacke actiuitie, euerie creature (be he neuer ſo baſe of birth) ſhall foile and ouerthrow them like dum beaſts and beaſtlie daſtards. Therefore I deſire you, and in Gods name adiure you, rather to ſtudie to make them rich in godlie knowledge, and vertuous qualities; than to take paine to glorifie them with abundance of worldlie treaſure, and mundane ſuperfluitie.

And certeinlie, when they come to ripeneſſe of age, and ſhall peraduenture conſider, that by your omiſſion and negligent education, they haue not ſuch graces, nor are indued with ſuch notable qualities as they might haue beene, if you had performed the truſt to you by me committed: they ſhall not onelie deplore and lament their vngarniſhed eſtate, and naked condition; but alſo it may fortune, that they ſhall conceiue inwardlie againſt you ſuch a negligent vntruth, that the ſequele thereof may rather turne to diſpleaſure than thanks, and ſooner to an ingratitude than to a reward. My kingdome alſo I leaue in your gouernance, during the minoritie of my children, charging you (on your honors oths and fidelitie made and ſworne to me) ſo indifferentlie to order and gouerne the ſubiects of the ſame, both with iuſtice and mercie, that the wils of malefactors haue not too large a ſcope, nor the harts of the good people by too much extremitie be neither ſorowfullie daunted, nor vnkindlie kept vnder. Oh I am ſo ſléepie, that I muſt make an end. And now before you all I commend my ſoule to almightie God my ſauiour and redéemer, my bodie to the wormes of the earth, my kingdome to the prince my ſonne: and to you my louing fréends my heart, my truſt, and my whole confidence. [And euen with that he fell on ſléepe.]

Hauing thus ſpoken, and ſet things in good ſtaie, as might be ſuppoſed, he ſhortlie after departed this life at Weſtminſter the ninth of Aprill, in the yeare 1483, after he had reigned two and twentie yeares, one moneth, and eight daies. His bodie was with funerall pompe conueied to Windſore, and there buried. He left behind him iſſue by the quéene his wife two ſonnes, Edward and Richard, with fiue daughters; Elizabeth that was after quéene, married to Henrie the ſeauenth; Cicilie married to the vicount Welles; Briget a nunne profeſſed in Sion or Dertford, as ſir Thomas More ſaith; Anne married to the lord Thomas Howard, after earle of Surrie, and duke of Norffolke; Katharine wedded to the lord William Courtenie ſonne to the earle of Deuonſhire. Beſide theſe he left behind him likewiſe a baſe ſonne named Arthur, that was after vicount Liſle. For the deſcription of his perſon & qualities I will referre you to that which ſir Thomas More hath written of him in that hiſtorie, which he wrote and left vnfiniſhed of his ſonne Edward the fift, and of his brother king Richard the third: which we ſhall (God willing) hereafter make you partaker of, as we find the ſame recorded among his other workes, word for word; when firſt we haue (according to our begun order) rehearſed ſuch writers of our nation as liued in his daies.

As firſt, Nicholas Kenton borne in Suffolke a Carmelit frier in Gippeſwich, prouinciall of his order through England; Henrie Parker a Carmelit frier of Doncaſter, preached againſt the pride of prelats, and for ſuch doctrine as he ſet foorth, was impriſoned with his fellow Thomas Holden, and a certeine blacke frier alſo for the like cauſe; Parker was forced to recant thrée ſpeciall articles, as Bale noteth out of Leland; Iohn Harding an eſquier borne in the north parts, wrote a chronicle in Engliſh verſe, and among other ſpeciall points therein touched, he gathered all the ſubmiſſions and homages had and made by the Scotiſh kings, euen from the daies of king Athelſtan [whereby it euidentlie may appeare, how the Scotiſh kingdome euen in manner from the firſt eſtabliſhing thereof here in Britaine, hath béene apperteining vnto the kings of England, and holden of them as their chéefe & ſuperior lords.]

William Iue a doctor of diuinitie and prebendarie of ſaint Paules in London; Thomas Wilton a diuine, and deane of the ſaid church of Paules in London; Iulian Bemes, a gentlewoman indued with excellent gifts both of bodie and mind, wrote certeine treatiſes of hawking and hunting, delighting greatlie hir ſelfe in thoſe exerciſes and paſtimes; ſhe wrote alſo a booke of the lawes of armes, and knowledge apperteining to heralds; Iohn Stamberie borne in the weſt parts of this realme, a Carmelit frier, and confeſſor to king Henrie the ſixt, he was alſo maiſter of Eaton colledge, and after was made biſhop of Bangor, and remooued from thence to the ſée of Hereford; Iohn Sluelcie an Auguſtine frier, prouinciall of his order; Iohn Forteſcue a iudge and chancellor of England, wrote diuerſe treatiſes concerning the law and politike gouernement.

Rochus a Chaterhouſe monke borne in London, of honeſt parents, and ſtudied in the vniuerſitie of Paris, he wrote diuerſe epigrams; Iohn Phreas borne alſo in London was fellow of Balioll colledge in Oxenford, and after went into Italie, where he heard Guarinus that excellent philoſopher read in Ferrara, he prooued an excellent phyſician and a ſkilfull lawier, there was not in Italie (whileſt he remained there) that paſſed him in eloquence & knowledge of both the toongs, Gréeke and Latine; Walter Hunt a Carmelit frier, a great diuine, and for his excellencie in learning ſent from the whole bodie of this realme, vnto the generall councell holden firſt at Ferrara, and after at Florence by pope Eugenius the fourth, where he diſputed among other with the Gréekes, in defenſe of the order and ceremonies of the Latine church; Thomas Wighenhall a monke of the order called Premonſtratenſis in the abbie of Durham in Norffolke.

Iohn Gunthorpe went into Italie, where he heard that eloquent learned man Guarinus read in Ferrara, after his comming home into England he was deane of Welles, and kéeper of the priuie ſeale; Iohn Hambois an excellent muſician, and for his notable cunning therein made doctor of muſicke; William Caxton wrote a chronicle called *Fructus temporum*, and an appendix vnto Treuiſa, beſide diuerſe other bookes and tranſlations; Iohn Miluerton a Carmelit frier of Briſtow, and prouinciall of his order through England, Ireland, and Scotland, at length (bicauſe he defended ſuch of his order as preached againſt endowments of the church with temporall poſſeſſions) he was brought into trouble, committed to priſon in caſtell S. Angelo in Rome, where he continued thrée yeares, and at length was deliuered thorough certeine of the cardinals that were appointed his iudges; Dauid Morgan a Welſh man, treaſuror of the church of Landaffe, wrote of the antiquities of Wales, & a deſcription of the countrie.

Iohn Tiptoft, a noble man borne, a great traueller, excellentlie learned, and wrote diuerſe treatiſes, and finallie loſt his head in the yeare 1471, in time of the ciuill warre betwixt the houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter; Iohn Shirwood biſhop of Durham; Thomas Kent an excellent philoſopher; Robert Huggon borne in Norffolke in a towne called Hardingham, wrote certeine vaine propheſies; Iohn Marfield a learned phyſician; William Gréene a Carmelit frier; Thomas Norton borne in Briſtow an alcumiſt; Iohn Meare a monke of Norwich; Richard Porland borne in Norffolke a Franciſcane frier, and a doctor of diuinitie; Thomas Milling a monke of Weſtminſter, a doctor of diuinitie and preferred to the biſhoprike of Hereford; Scogan a learned gentleman and ſtudent for a time in Oxford, of a pleſant wit, and bent to merrie deuiſes, in reſpect whereof he was called into the court, where giuing himſelfe to his naturall inclination of mirth & pleaſant paſtime, he plaied manie ſporting parts, although not in ſuch vnciuill maner as hath béene of him reported.

Thus farre the proſperous reigne of Edward the fourth, ſonne and heire to Richard duke of Yorke.

The

and k

by

1483

K

prill, the yeare c
hundred fourеſc
ſue, that is to w
yeares of age;
yonger; Eliza
ter to be quéene,
and mother vnt
as faire; Brig
hir, whoſe name
ligious life in D
Anne, that was
mas, then lord
and Katharine,
tune, ſometime
laſt, if this be the
nignitie of hir
verie proſperou
vertue.

This noble pr
minſter, and wi
of his people fr
Windſor. A k
time of peace (fo
thers enimie) t
this land, attei
lie be loued with
himſelfe ſo ſpec
time of his dea
ter his deceaſſe,
ble of the temp
toward him mo
the diſpleaſure o
Henries ſake th
aſſwaged, & in e
were dead in m
a great part of
the meane ſeaſo
he was neuer

He was a g
hold, of heart co
uerſitie nothing
than proud, in
ſharpe and fierc
theles no further

*She liued at ſuch time as this ſtorie was penned.

The loue of the people.

Deſcription of Edward the fourth.

The hiſtorie of king Edward the fift, and king Richard the third vnfiniſhed, written

by maiſter Thomas More then one of the vnder ſhiriffes
of London, about the yeare of our Lord 1513, accor-
ding to a copie of his owne hand, printed
among his other workes.

1483

KIng Edward the fourth of that name, after that he had liued fiftie & three yeeres, ſeuen moneths, and ſix daies, and thereof reigned two and twentie yeares, one moneth, & eight daies, died at Weſtminſter the ninth daie of Aprill, the yeare of our redemption, a thouſand foure hundred foureſcore and three; leauing much faire iſſue, that is to wit, Edward the prince, a thirteene yeares of age; Richard duke of Yorke two yeares yoonger; Elizabeth, whoſe fortune and grace was after to be queene, wife vnto king Henrie the ſeuenth, and mother vnto the eight; Cicilie, not ſo fortunate as faire; Briget, which repreſenting the vertue of hir, whoſe name ſhe bare, profeſſed and obſerued a religious life in Dertford, an houſe of cloſe nunnes; Anne, that was after honorablie married vnto Thomas, then lord Howard, and after earle of Surrie; and Katharine, which long time toſſed in either fortune, ſometime in wealth, oft in aduerſitie, at the laſt, if this be the laſt (for * yet ſhe liueth) is by the benignitie of hir nephue king Henrie the eight, in verie proſperous eſtate, and worthie hir birth and vertue.

*She liued at ſuch time as this ſtorie was penned.

The loue of the people.

This noble prince deceaſſed at his palace of Weſtminſter, and with great funerall honor and heauines of his people from thence conueied, was interred at Windſor. A king of ſuch gouernance & behauior, in time of peace (for in warre each part muſt needs be others enimie) that there was neuer anie prince of this land, atteining the crowne by battell, ſo heartilie beloued with the ſubſtance of the people: nor hee himſelfe ſo ſpeciallie in anie part of his life, as at the time of his death. Which fauour and affection, yet after his deceaſſe, by the crueltie, miſchiefe, and trouble of the tempeſtuous world that followed, highlie toward him more increaſed. At ſuch time as he died, the diſpleaſure of thoſe that bare him grudge for king Henries ſake the ſixt, whome he depoſed, was well aſſwaged, & in effect quenched, in that manie of them were dead in more than twentie yeres of his reigne, a great part of a long life: and manie of them in the meane ſeaſon growne into his fauour, of which he was neuer ſtrange.

Deſcription of Edward the fourth.

He was a goodlie perſonage, and princelie to behold, of heart couragious, politike in counſell, in aduerſitie nothing abaſhed, in proſperitie rather ioifull than proud, in peace iuſt and mercifull, in warre ſharpe and fierce, in the field bold and hardie, and natheles no further (than wiſdome would) aduenturous, whoſe warres who ſo well conſidered, he ſhall no leſſe commend his wiſedome where he voided, than his manhood where he vanquiſhed. He was of viſage louelie, of bodie mightie, ſtrong, and cleane made: howbeit, in his latter daies with ouer liberall diet ſomewhat corpulent and borelie, and natheleſſe not vncomelie. He was of youth greatlie giuen to fleſhlie wantonneſſe: from which health of bodie, in great proſperitie and fortune, without a ſpeciall grace hardlie reſtraineth, the poet implieng no leſſe and ſaieng:

Mens erit apta capi tunc cùm lætiſſima rerum,
Vt ſeges in pingui luxuriabit humo.

This fault not greatlie greeued the people: for neither could anie one mans pleaſure ſtretch and extend to the diſpleaſure of verie manie, and was without violence, and ouer that in his latter daies leſſed, and well left. In which time of his latter daies this realme was in quiet and proſperous eſtate, no feare of outward enimies, no warre in hand, nor none toward, but ſuch as no man looked for. The people toward the prince, not in a conſtreined feare, but in a willing and louing obedience: among themſelues the commons in good peace. The lords, whome hee knew at variance, himſelfe in his death bed appeaſed: he had left all gathering of monie (which is the onelie thing that withdraweth the hearts of Engliſh men from the prince) nor anie thing intended he to take in hand, by which he ſhould be driuen therto: for his tribute out of France he had before obteined; and the yeare foregoing his death, he had obteined Berwike.

And albeit that all the time of his reigne he was with his people, ſo benigne, courteous, and ſo familiar, that no part of his vertues was more eſteemed: yet the condition in the end of his daies (in which manie princes by a long continued ſoueraigntie decline into a proud port from debonair behauior of their beginning) maruellouſlie in him grew and increaſed: ſo farre forth, that in ſummer (the laſt that euer hee ſaw) his highnes being at Windſor in hunting, ſent for the maior & aldermen of London to him for none other errand, but to haue them hunt & be merrie with him, where he made them not ſo ſtatelie, but ſo freendlie and familiar cheere, and ſent veniſon from thence ſo freelie into the citie, that no one thing in manie daies before gat him either more hearts, or more heartie fauour amongeſt the common people; which oftentimes more eſteeme and take for greater kindneſſe a little courteſie, than a great benefit.

See before pag. 705.

So deceaſſed (as I haue ſaid) this noble king, in that time in which his life was moſt deſired. Whoſe loue of his people, and their entier affection towards him,

The hiſtorie of king Edward the fift, and king Richard the third vnfiniſhed, written

by maiſter Thomas More then one of the vnder ſhiriffes
of London, about the yeare of our Lord 1513, accor-
ding to a copie of his owne hand, printed
among his other workes.

1483 KIng Edward the fourth of that name, after that he had liued fiftie & thrée yéeres, ſeuen moneths, and ſix daies, and thereof reigned two and twentie yeares, one moneth, & eight daies, died at Weſtminſter the ninth daie of Aprill, the yeare of our redemption, a thouſand foure hundred foureſcore and thrée; leauing much faire iſſue, that is to wit, Edward the prince, a thirtéene yeares of age; Richard duke of Yorke two yeares yoonger; Elizabeth, whoſe fortune and grace was after to be quéene, wife vnto king Henrie the ſeuenth, and mother vnto the eight; Cicilie, not ſo fortunate as faire; Briget, which repreſenting the vertue of hir, whoſe name ſhe bare, profeſſed and obſerued a religious life in Dertford, an houſe of cloſe nunnes; Anne, that was after honorablie married vnto Thomas, then lord Howard, and after earle of Surrie; and Katharine, which long time toſſed in either fortune, ſometime in wealth, oft in aduerſitie, at the laſt, if this be the laſt (for * yet ſhe liueth) is by the benignitie of hir nephue king Henrie the eight, in verie proſperous eſtate, and worthie hir birth and vertue.

* She liued at ſuch time as this ſtorie was penned.

The loue of the people.

This noble prince deceaſſed at his palace of Weſtminſter, and with great funerall honor and heauines of his people from thence conueied, was interred at Windſor. A king of ſuch gouernance & behauior, in time of peace (for in warre each part muſt néeds be others enimie) that there was neuer anie prince of this land, atteining the crowne by battell, ſo heartilie beloued with the ſubſtance of the people: nor hée himſelfe ſo ſpeciallie in anie part of his life, as at the time of his death. Which fauour and affection, yet after his deceaſſe, by the crueltie, miſchiefe, and trouble of the tempeſtuous world that followed, highlie toward him more increaſed. At ſuch time as he died, the diſpleaſure of thoſe that bare him grudge for king Henries ſake the ſixt, whome he depoſed, was well aſſwaged, & in effect quenched, in that manie of them were dead in more than twentie yeres of his reigne, a great part of a long life: and manie of them in the meane ſeaſon growne into his fauour, of which he was neuer ſtrange.

Deſcription of Edward the fourth.

He was a goodlie perſonage, and princelie to behold, of heart couragious, politike in counſell, in aduerſitie nothing abaſhed, in proſperitie rather ioifull than proud, in peace iuſt and mercifull, in warre ſharpe and fierce, in the field bold and hardie, and natheles no further (than wiſdome would) aduenturous, whoſe warres who ſo well conſidered, he ſhall no leſſe commend his wiſedome where he voided, than his manhood where he vanquiſhed. He was of viſage louelie, of bodie mightie, ſtrong, and cleane made: howbeit, in his latter daies with ouer liberall diet ſomewhat corpulent and boorelie, and natheleſſe not vncomelie. He was of youth greatlie giuen to fleſhlie wantonneſſe: from which health of bodie, in great proſperitie and fortune, without a ſpeciall grace hardlie reſtraineth, the poet implieng no leſſe and ſaieng:

Mens erit apta capi tunc cùm lætiſsima rerum,
Vt ſeges in pingui luxuriabit humo.

This fault not greatlie gréeued the people: for neither could anie one mans pleaſure ſtretch and extend to the diſpleaſure of verie manie, and was without violence, and ouer that in his latter daies leſſed, and well left. In which time of his latter daies this realme was in quiet and proſperous eſtate, no feare of outward enimies, no warre in hand, nor none toward, but ſuch as no man looked for. The people toward the prince, not in a conſtreined feare, but in a willing and louing obedience: among themſelues the commons in good peace. The lords, whome hée knew at variance, himſelfe in his death bed appeaſed: he had left all gathering of monie (which is the onelie thing that withdraweth the hearts of Engliſh men from the prince) nor anie thing intended he to take in hand, by which he ſhould be driuen therto: for his tribute out of France he had before obteined; and the yeare foregoing his death, he had obteined Berwike.

And albeit that all the time of his reigne he was with his people, ſo benigne, courteous, and ſo familiar, that no part of his vertues was more eſtéemed: yet the condition in the end of his daies (in which manie princes by a long continued ſoueraigntie decline into a proud port from debonair behauior of their beginning) maruellouſlie in him grew and increaſed: ſo farre forth, that in ſummer (the laſt that euer hée ſaw) his highnes being at Windſor in hunting, ſent for the maior & aldermen of London to him for none other errand, but to haue them hunt & be merrie with him, where he made them not ſo ſtatelie, but ſo fréendlie and familiar chéere, and ſent veniſon from thence ſo fréelie into the citie, that no one thing in manie daies before gat him either more hearts, or more heartie fauour amongeſt the common people; which oftentimes more eſtéeme and take for greater kindneſſe a little courteſie, than a great benefit.

Sée before pag. 705.

So deceaſſed (as I haue ſaid) this noble king, in that time in which his life was moſt deſired. Whoſe loue of his people, and their entier affection towards him, had béene to his noble children (hauing in themſelues alſo as manie gifts of nature, as manie princelie vertues, as much goodlie towardneſſe as their age could receiue) a maruellous fortreſſe and ſure armor, if diuiſion and diſſention of their fréends had not vnarmed them, and left them deſtitute, and the execrable deſire of ſouereigntie prouoked him to their deſtruction: which if either kind or kindneſſe had holden place, muſt néeds haue béene their chéefe defenſe. For Richard the duke of Gloceſter, by nature their vncle, by office their protector, to their father beholden, to themſelues by oth and allegiance bounden, all the bands broken that bind man and man togither, without anie reſpect of God or the world, vnnaturallie contriued to beréeue them, not onelie their dignitie, but alſo their liues.

Richard duke of Yorke.

But forſomuch as this dukes demeanor miniſtreth in effect all the whole matter whereof this booke ſhall intreat, it is therefore conuenient ſomewhat to ſhew you yer we further go, what maner of man this was, that could find in his hart ſuch miſchiefe to conceiue. Richard duke of Yorke, a noble man and a mightie, began not by warre, but by law to chalenge the crowne, putting his claime into the parlement, where his cauſe was either for right or fauor ſo farre foorth aduanced, that king Henrie his bloud (albeit he had a goodlie prince) vtterlie reiected, the crowne was by authoritie of parlement intailed vnto the duke of Yorke and his iſſue male in remainder, immediatlie after the death of king Henrie. But the duke not induring ſo long to tarrie, but intending vnder pretext of diſſention and debate ariſing in the realme, to preuent his time, and to take vpon him the rule in king Henrie his life, was with manie nobles of the realme at Wakefield ſlaine, leauing thrée ſonnes, Edward, George, and Richard.

Edward.

George duke of Clarence.

*had not ſet

All thrée as they were great ſtates of birth, ſo were they great and ſtatelie of ſtomach, gréedie and ambitious of authoritie, and impatient of partners. Edward reuenging his fathers death, depriued king Henrie, and atteined the crowne. George duke of Clarence was a goodlie noble prince, and at all times fortunate, if either his owne ambition had not ſet him againſt his brother, or the enuie of his enimies *his brother againſt him. For were it by the quéene and lords of hir bloud, which highlie maligned the kings kinred (as women commonlie not of malice, but of nature hate them whome their huſbands loue) or were it a proud appetite of the duke himſelfe, intending to be king; at the leaſt wiſe heinous treaſon was there laid to his charge: and finallie, were hée faultie, were he faultleſſe, atteinted was he by parlement, and iudged to the death, and there vpon haſtilie drowned in a butt of malmeſie. Whoſe death king Edward (albeit he commanded it) when he wiſt it was doone, pitiouſlie bewailed, and ſorrowfullie repented.

The deſcription of Richard the third.

Richard the third ſonne, of whome we now intreat, was in wit and courage equall with either of them, in bodie and proweſſe farre vnder them both, litle of ſtature, ill featured of limmes, crooke backed, his left ſhoulder much higher than his right, hard fauoured of viſage, and ſuch as is in ſtates called warlie, in other men otherwiſe; he was malicious, wrathfull, enuious, and from afore his birth euer froward. It is for truth reported, that the ducheſſe his mother had ſo much adoo in hir trauell, that ſhe could not be deliuered of him vncut; and that he came into the world with the féet forward, as men be borne outward, and (as the fame runneth alſo) not vntoothed, whether men of hatred report aboue the truth, or elſe that nature changed hir courſe in his beginning, which in the courſe of his life manie things vnnaturallie committed. So that the full confluence of theſe qualities, with the defects of fauour and amiable proportion, gaue proofe to this rule of phyſiognomie:

Diſtortum vultum ſequitur diſtorſio morum.

None euill capteine was he in the warre, as to which his diſpoſition was more méetly than for peace. Sundrie victories had he, & ſometimes ouerthrowes; but neuer on default as for his owne perſon, either of hardineſſe or politike order. Frée was he called of diſpenſe, and ſomewhat aboue his power liberall: with large gifts he gat him vnſtedfaſt fréendſhip, for which he was faine to pill and ſpoile in other places, and got him ſtedfaſt hatred. He was cloſe and ſecret, a déepe diſſembler, lowlie of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardlie companiable where he inwardlie hated, not letting to kiſſe whome he thought to kill: deſpitious and cruell, not for euill will alway, but ofter for ambition, and either for the ſuertie or increaſe of his eſtate.

The death of king Henrie the ſixt.

Friend and fo was much what indifferent, where his aduantage grew, he ſpared no mans death whoſe life withſtoode his purpoſe. He ſlue with his owne hands king Henrie the ſixt, being priſoner in the Tower, as men conſtantlie ſaid, and that without commandement or knowledge of the king, which would vndoubtedlie (if he had intended that thing) haue appointed that butcherlie office to ſome other, than his owne borne brother. Some wiſe men alſo wéene, that his drift couertlie conueied, lacked not in helping foorth his brother of Clarence to his death: which he reſiſted openlie, howbeit ſomewhat (as men déemed) more faintlie than he that were hartilie minded to his wealth.

And they that thus déeme, thinke that he long time in kings Edwards life forethought to be king; in caſe that the king his brother (whoſe life he looked that euill diet ſhould ſhorten) ſhould happen to deceaſſe (as in déed he did) while his children were yoong. And they déeme, that for this intent he was glad of his brothers death the duke of Clarence, whoſe life muſt néeds haue hindered him ſo intending, whether the ſame duke of Clarence had kept him true to his nephue the yoong king, or enterpriſed to be king himſelfe. But of all this point is there no certeintie, and who ſo diuineth vpon coniectures, maie as well ſhoot too farre as too ſhort.

Howbeit this haue I by credible information learned, that the ſelfe night, in which king Edward died, one Miſtlebrooke, long yer morning, came in great haſt to the houſe of one Pottier dwelling in Redcroſſe-ſtréete without Creplegate: and when he was with haſtie rapping quickelie letten in, he ſhewed vnto Pottier, that king Edward was departed. By my truth man quoth Pottier, then will my » maiſter the duke of Gloceſter be king. What cauſe he had ſo to thinke, hard it is to ſaie; whether he being toward him, anie thing knew that he ſuch thing purpoſed, or otherwiſe had anie inckeling thereof: for he was not likelie to ſpeake it of nought.

But now to returne to the courſe of this hiſtorie. Were it that the duke of Gloceſter had of old foreminded this concluſion, or was now at erſt thereunto moued, and put in hope by the occaſion of the tender age of the yoong princes, his nephues (as opportunitie & likelihood of ſpéed putteth a man in courage of that he neuer intended) certeine it is that he contriued their deſtruction, with the vſurpation of the regall dignitie vpon himſelfe. And forſomuch as he well wiſt and holpe to mainteine a long continued grudge and heart-burning betwéene the quéens kinred and the kings bloud, either partie enuieng others authoritie, he now thought that their diuiſion ſhould be (as it was in déed) a furtherlie beginning to the purſuit of his intent.

Nay he was reſolued, that the ſame was a ſure ground for the foundation of all his building, if he might firſt (vnder the pretext of reuenging of old diſpleaſure) abuſe the anger and ignorance of the tone partie to the deſtruction of the tother; and then win to his purpoſe as manie as he could, and thoſe that could not be wonne, might be loſt yer they looked therfore. For of one thing was he certeine, that if his intent were perceiued, he ſhould ſoone haue made peace betweene both the parties with his owne bloud. King Edward in his life, albeit that this diſſention betweene his freends ſomewhat irked him: yet in his good health he ſomewhat the leſſe regarded it: bicauſe he thought whatſoeuer buſineſſe ſhould fall betweene them, himſelfe ſhould alwaie be able to rule both the parties.

But in his laſt ſickeneſſe, when he perceiued his naturall ſtrength ſo ſore infeebled, that he deſpaired all recouerie, then he, conſidering the youth of his children, albeit he nothing leſſe miſtruſted than that that hapned; yet well foreſeeing that manie harmes might grow by their debate, while the youth of his children ſhould lacke diſcretion of themſelues, & good counſell of their freends, of which either partie ſhould counſell for their owne commoditie, & rather by pleſant aduiſe to win themſelues fauor, than by profitable aduertiſement to doo the children good, he called ſome of them before him that were at variance, and in eſpeciall the lord marqueſſe Dorſet the queenes ſonne by hir firſt huſband.

Haſtings lord chamberleine maligned of the queene & hir kin.

So did he alſo William the lord Haſtings a noble man, then lord chamberleine, againſt whome the queene ſpeciallie grudged, for the great fauour the king bare him: and alſo for that ſhe thought him ſecretlie familiar with the king in wanton companie. Hir kinred alſo bare him ſore, as well for that the king had made him capteine of Calis, which office the lord Riuers, brother to the queene, clamed of the kings former promiſe, as for diuerſe other great gifts which he receiued, that they looked for. When theſe lords, with diuerſe other of both the parties, were come in preſence, the king lifting vp himſelfe, and vnderſet with pillowes, as it is reported, on this wiſe ſaid vnto them.

The oration of the king on *his death-bed.*

My lords, my deere kinſmen and alies, in what plight I lie you ſee, and I feele. By which the leſſe while I looke to liue with you, the more deepelie am I mooued to care in what caſe I leaue you, for ſuch as I leaue you, ſuch be my children like to find you. Which if they ſhould (as God forbid) find you at variance, might hap to fall themſelues at warre, yer their diſcretion would ſerue to ſet you at peace. Ye ſee their youth, of which I reckon the onelie ſuertie to reſt in your concord. For it ſufficeth not that all you loue them, if ech of you hate other: if they were men, your faithfulneſſe happilie would ſuffice. But childhood muſt be mainteined by mens authoritie, and ſlipper youth vnderpropped with elder counſell, which neither they can haue but ye giue it, nor ye giue it if ye gree not.

For where ech laboureth to breake that the other maketh, and for hatred of ech of others perſon impugneth ech others counſell, there muſt it needs be long yer anie good concluſion go forward. And alſo while either partie laboureth to be cheefe, flatterie ſhall haue more place than plaine and faithfull aduiſe: of which muſt needs inſue the euill bringing vp of the prince, whoſe mind in tender youth infect, ſhall redilie fall to miſcheefe and riot, and draw downe with his noble relme to ruine. But if grace turne him to wiſedome: which if God ſend, then they that by euill meanes before pleaſed him beſt, ſhall after fall furtheſt out of fauour: ſo that euer at length euill drifts ſhall draw to nought, and good plaine waies proſper.

Great variance hath there long beene betweene you, not alwaie for great cauſes. Sometimes a thing right well intended, our miſconſtruction turneth vnto worſe; or a ſmall diſpleaſure doone vs, either our owne affection or euill toongs aggreeueth. But this wot I well, ye neuer had ſo great cauſe of hatred, as ye haue of loue. That we be all men, that we be chriſtian men, this ſhall I leaue for preachers to tell you; and yet I wot neere whether anie preachers words ought more to mooue you, than his that is by & by going to the place that they all preach of.

But this ſhall I deſire you to remember, that the one part of you is of my bloud, the other of mine alies; and ech of you with other either of kinred or affinitie; which ſpirituall kinred of affinitie, if the ſacraments of Chriſts church beare that weight with vs that would God they did, ſhould no leſſe mooue vs to charitie, than the reſpect of fleſhlie conſanguinitie. Our Lord forbid, that you loue together the worſe, for the ſelfe cauſe that you ought to loue the better. And yet that happeneth, and no where find we ſo deadlie debate, as among them, which by nature and law moſt ought to agree togither. Such a peſtilent ſerpent is ambition and deſire of vaine glorie and ſouereigntie, which among ſtates where ſhe once entereth, creepeth forth ſo farre, till with diuiſion and variance ſhe turneth all to miſcheefe: firſt longing to be next vnto the beſt, afterward equall with the beſt, & at laſt cheefe and aboue the beſt.

The nature of ambition.

Of which immoderat appetite of worſhip, and thereby of debate and diſſention, what loſſe, what ſorow, what trouble hath within theſe few yeares growne in this realme, I praie God as well forget, as we well remember. Which things if I could as well haue foreſeene, as I haue with my more paine than pleaſure prooued, by Gods bleſſed ladie (that was euer his oth) I would neuer haue woone the courteſie of mens knees, with the loſſe of ſo manie heads. But ſithens things paſſed can not be gaine called, much ought we the more beware, by what occaſion we haue taken ſo great hurt afore, that we eftſoones fall not in that occaſion againe.

Now be thoſe greefs paſſed, and all is (God be thanked) quiet, and likelie right well to proſper in wealthfull peace vnder your cooſins my children, if God ſend them life and you loue. Of which two things, the leſſe loſſe were they, by whom though God did his pleaſure, yet ſhould the realme alwaie find kings, and peraduenture as good kings.

But if you among your ſelues in a childs reigne fall at debate, manie a good man ſhall periſh, and happilie he too, and ye too, yer this land find peace againe. Wherfore in theſe laſt words that euer I looke to ſpeake with you, I exhort you and require you all, for the loue that you haue euer borne to me; for the loue that I haue euer borne vnto you; for the loue that our Lord beareth to vs all; from this time forward (all greefs forgotten) ech of you loue other. Which I verelie truſt you will, if ye anie thing earthlie regard, either God or your king, affinitie or kinred, this realme, your owne countrie, or your owne ſuertie. And therewithall the king no longer induring to ſit vp, laid him downe on his right ſide, his face towards them: and none was there preſent that could refraine from weeping.

But the lords recomforting him with as good words as they could, and anſwering for the time as they thought to ſtand with his pleaſure, there in his preſence, as by their words appeared, ech forgaue other, and ioined their hands togither, when (as it after appeared by their deeds) their hearts were farre aſunder. As ſoone as the king was departed, the noble prince his ſonne drew toward London, which at the time of his deceaſſe kept his houſhold at Ludlow in Wales, which countrie being farre off from the law and recourſe to iuſtice, was begun to be farre out of good rule, and waxen wild robbers and reauers, walking at libertie vncorrected. And for this occaſion the prince was in the life of his father ſent thither, to the end that the authoritie of his preſence ſhould refraine euill diſpoſed perſons from the boldneſſe of their former outrages.

A counterfet and pretended reconcilement.

To the gouernance and ordering of this yoong prince at his ſending thither, was there appointed ſir Anthonie Wooduile lord Riuers, and brother vnto the queene, a right honourable man, as valiant of hand as politike in counſell. Adioined were there vnto him other of the ſame partie; and in effect euerie one as he was neereſt of kin vnto the queene, ſo was he planted next about the prince. That drift by the queene not vnwiſelie deuiſed, whereby hir bloud might of youth be rooted into the princes fauour, the duke of Gloceſter turned vnto their deſtruction; and vpon that ground ſet the foundation of all his vnhappie building. For whome ſoeuer he perceiued either at variance with them, or bearing himſelfe their fauour, he brake vnto them ſome by mouth, & ſome by writing.

Lord Riuers.

The duke of Gloceſters ſolicitations.

Nay, he ſent ſecret meſſengers ſaieng, that it neither was reaſon, nor in anie wiſe to be ſuffered, that the yoong king their maiſter and kinſman, ſhould be in the hands and cuſtodie of his mothers kinred, ſequeſtred in maner from their companie and attendance, of which euerie one ought him as faithfull ſeruice as they, and manie of them farre more honourable part of kin than his mothers ſide. Whoſe bloud (quoth he) ſauing the kings pleaſure, was full vnmeetelie to be matched with his: which now to be as who ſay remooued from the king, and the leſſe noble to be left about him, is (quoth he) neither honourable to his maieſtie nor to vs, and alſo to his grace no ſuertie, to haue the mightieſt of his freends from him; and vnto vs no little ieopardie, to ſuffer our well prooued euill willers to grow in ouer-great authoritie with the prince in youth; namelie, which is light of beleefe and ſoone perſuaded.

Yee remember (I trow) king Edward himſelfe, albeit he was a man of age & diſcretion, yet was he in manie things ruled by the bend, more than ſtood either with his honor, or our profit, or with the cõmoditie of any man elſe, except onlie the immoderate aduancement of themſelues. Which, whether they ſorer thirſted after their owne weale, or our wo, it were hard (I weene) to geſſe. And if ſome folks freendſhip had not holden better place with the king, than anie reſpect of kinred, they might peraduenture eaſilie haue betrapped and brought to confuſion ſome of vs yer this. Why not as eaſilie as they haue doone ſome other alreadie, as neere of his roiall bloud as we? But our Lord hath wrought his will, and (thanks be to his grace) that perill is paſt. Howbeit as great is growing, if we ſuffer this yoong king in our enimies hand, which without his witting might abuſe the name of his commandement, to anie of our vndooing, which thing God [defend] and good prouiſion forbid.

Of which good prouiſion none of vs hath anie thing the leſſe need, for the late made attonement, in which the kings pleaſure had more place than the parties willes. Nor none of vs (I beleeue) is ſo vnwiſe, ouerſoone to truſt a new freend made of an old fo; or to thinke that an hourlie kindnes, ſuddenlie contracted in one houre, continued yet ſcant a fortnight, ſhould be deeper ſettled in their ſtomachs, than a long accuſtomed malice manie yeares rooted. With theſe words and writings, and ſuch other, the duke of Gloceſter ſoone ſet on fire them that were of themſelues eaſie to kindle, & in ſpeciallie twaine, Edward duke of Buckingham, and William lord Haſtings then chamberleine, both men of honour & of great power; the one by long ſucceſſion from his anceſtrie, the other by his office and the kings fauour. Theſe two, not bearing ech to other ſo much loue, as hatred both vnto the queenes part: in this point accorded togither with the duke of Gloceſter, that they would vtterlie remoue from the kings companie all his mothers freends, vnder the name of their enimies.

A conſent to worke wickedneſſe.

Vpon this concluded the duke of Gloceſter, vnderſtanding that the lords, which at that time were about the king, intended to bring him vp to his coronation accõpanied with ſuch power of their freends, that it ſhould be hard for him to bring his purpoſe to paſſe, without the gathering and great aſſemblie of people and in maner of open warre, whereof the end (he wiſt) was doubtfull, and in which the king being on their ſide, his part ſhould haue the face and name of a rebellion: he ſecretlie therfore by diuers means cauſed the queene to be perſuaded and brought in the mind, that it neither were need, and alſo ſhould be ieopardous, the king to come vp ſtrong.

For whereas now euerie lord loued other, and none other thing ſtudied vpon, but about the coronation and honor of the king: if the lords of hir kindred ſhould aſſemble in the kings name much people, they ſhould giue the lords, betwixt whome and them had beene ſometime debate, to feare and ſuſpect, leaſt they ſhould gather this people, not for the kings ſafegard, whome no man impugned, but for their deſtruction, hauing more regard to their old variance, than their new attonement. For which cauſe they ſhould aſſemble on the other partie much people againe for their defenſe, whoſe power ſhe wiſt well far ſtretched: and thus ſhould all the realme fall on a rore. And of all the hurt that thereof ſhould inſue, which was likelie not to be little, and the moſt harme there like to fall where ſhe leaſt would, all the world would put hir and hir kindered in the wight, and ſaie that they had vnwiſelie and vntrulie alſo broken the amitie & peace, that the king hir huſband ſo prudentlie made, betwéene his kin and hirs in his death bed, and which the other partie faithfullie obſerued.

The quéene, being in this wiſe perſuaded, ſuch word ſent vnto hir ſonne, and vnto hir brother being about the king, and ouer that the duke of Glouceſter himſelfe and other lords the chiefe of his bend, wrote vnto the king ſo reuerentlie, and to the quéenes fréends there ſo louinglie, that they nothing earthlie miſtruſting, brought the king vp in great haſt, not in good ſpéed, with a ſober companie. Now was the king in his waie to London gone from Northampton, when theſe dukes of Glouceſter and Buckingham came thither, where remained behind the lord Riuers the kings vncle, intending on the morrow to follow the king, and to be with him at Stonie Stratford [certeine] miles thence earlie yer he departed. So was there made that night much fréendlie chéere betwéene theſe dukes & the lord Riuers a great while. But incõtinent, after that they were openlie with great courteſie departed, and the lord Riuers lodged, the dukes ſecretlie with a few of their moſt priuie fréends ſet them downe in councell, wherein they ſpent a great part of the night.

The practiſes of the duke of Buckingham & Glouceſter.

And at their riſing in the dawning of the daie, they ſent about priuilie to their ſeruants in their Ins & lodgings about, giuing them commandement to make themſelues ſhortlie readie, for their lords were to horſſe backeward. Vpon which meſſages, manie of their folke were attendant, when manie of the lord Riuers ſeruants were vnreadie. Now had theſe dukes taken alſo into their cuſtodie the keies of the In, that none ſhould paſſe forth without their licence. And ouer this, in the high waie toward Stonie Stratford, where the king lay, they had beſtowed certeine of their folke, that ſhould ſend backe againe, and compell to returne, anie man that were gotten out of Northampton, toward Stonie Stratford, till they ſhould giue other licence. For aſmuch as the dukes themſelues intended for the ſhew of their diligence, to be the firſt that ſhould that daie attend vpon the kings highneſſe out of that towne. Thus bare they folke in hand.

But when the lord Riuers vnderſtood the gates cloſed, and the waies on euerie ſide beſet, neither his ſeruants nor himſelfe ſuffered to gone out, perceiuing well ſo great a thing without his knowledge not begun for naught, comparing this manner preſent with this laſt nights chéere, in ſo few houres ſo great a change, maruellouſlie miſliked. Howbeit, ſith he could not get awaie, and kéepe himſelfe cloſe, he would not, leaſt he ſhould ſéeme to hide himſelfe for ſome ſecret feare of his owne fault, whereof he ſaw no ſuch cauſe in himſelfe; he determined vpon the ſuertie of his owne conſcience, to go boldlie to them, and inquire what this matter might meane. Whom aſſoone as they ſaw, they began to quarrell with him and ſaie, that he intended to ſet diſtance betwéene the king and them, and to bring them to confuſion, but it ſhould not lie in his power.

The lord Riuers put in ward.

And when he began (as he was a verie well ſpoken man) in goodlie wiſe to excuſe himſelfe, they taried not the end of his anſwer, but ſhortlie tooke him, and put him in ward, and that doone, forthwith went to horſſebacke, and tooke the waie to Stonie Stratford, where they found the king with his companie, readie to leape on horſſebacke, and depart forward to leaue that lodging for them, bicauſe it was too ſtreight for both companies. And aſſoone as they came in his preſence, they light adowne with all their companie about them. To whome the duke of Buckingham ſaid; Go afore gentlemen, & yeomen kéepe your roomes. And thus in a goodlie araie, they came to the king, and on their knées in verie humble wiſe ſaluted his grace, which receiued them in verie ioious and amiable manner, nothing earthlie knowing nor miſtruſting as yet.

The lord Greie is quarelled againſt.

But euen by and by in his preſence they piked a quarrell to the lord Richard Greie, the kings other brother by his mother, ſaieng, that he with the lord marqueſſe his brother, & the lord Riuers his vncle, had compaſſed to rule the king and the realme, and to ſet variance among the ſtates, and to ſubdue and deſtroie the noble bloud of the Realme. Toward the accõpliſhing wherof they ſaid that the lord marqueſſe had entered into the Tower of London, & thence taken out the kings treaſure, and ſent men to the ſea. All which things theſe dukes wiſt well were doone for good purpoſes and neceſſarie, by the whole councell at London, ſauing that ſomewhat they muſt ſaie.

Vnto which words the king anſwered; What my brother marqueſſe hath doone I cannot ſaie, but in good faith I dare well anſwer for mine vncle Riuers and my brother here, that they be innocent of anie ſuch matter. Yea my liege (quoth the duke of Buckingham) they haue kept their dealing in theſe matters farre fro the knowledge of your good grace. And forthwith they areſted the lord Richard and ſir Thomas Vaughan knight, in the kings preſence; and brought the king and all backe vnto Northampton, where they tooke againe further counſell. And there they ſent awaie from the king, whom it pleaſed them, and ſet new ſeruants about him, ſuch as liked better them than him. At which dealing he wept, and was nothing content; but it booted not.

And at dinner, the duke of Glouceſter ſent a diſh from his owne table vnto the lord Riuers, praieng him to be of good chéere: all ſhould be well inough. And he thanked the duke, and praied the meſſenger to beare it to his nephue the lord Richard, with the ſame meſſage for his comfort, who he thought had more néed of comfort, as one to whome ſuch aduerſitie was ſtrange. But himſelfe had béene all his daies in vre therewith, & therefore could beare it the better. But for all this comfortable courteſie of the duke of Glouceſter, he ſent the lord Riuers, and the lord Richard, with ſir Thomas Vaughan into the north countrie, into diuerſe places to priſon, and afterward all to Pomfret, where they were in concluſion beheaded.

The death of the lord Riuers & other.

In this wiſe the duke of Glouceſter tooke vpon himſelfe the order and gouernance of the yoong king, whome with much honor and humble reuerence he conueied vpward towards the citie. But anon, the tidings of this matter came haſtilie to the quéene a a little before the midnight following, and that in the ſoreſt wiſe; that the king hir ſon was taken, hir brother, hir ſonne, & hir other fréends arreſted, and ſent no man wiſt whither, to be doone with God wot what. With which tidings the quéene in great flight & heauineſſe, bewailing hir childes reigne, hir fréends miſchance, and hir owne infortune, damning the time that euer ſhe diſſuaded the gathering of power about the king, gat hir ſelfe in all the haſt poſſible with hir yoonger ſonne and hir daughters out of the palace of Weſtminſter, in which ſhe then laie, into the ſanctuarie, lodging hir ſelfe and hir companie there in the abbats place.

The quéene taketh ſanctuarie.

Now came there one in likewiſe not long after midnight from the lord chamberleine, to doctor Rotheram the archbiſhop of Yorke, then chancellor of England, to his place not farre from Weſtminſter, And for that he ſhewed his ſeruants that he had tidings of ſo great importance, that his maiſter gaue him in charge, not to forbeare his reſt, they letted not to wake him, nor he to admit this meſſenger in, to his bed ſide. Of whom he heard that theſe dukes were gone backe with the kings grace from Stonie Stratford vnto Northampton. Notwithſtanding ſir (quoth he) my lord ſendeth your lordſhip word, that there is no feare: for he aſſureth you that all ſhall be well. I aſſure him (quoth the archbiſhop) be it as well as it will, it will neuer be ſo well as we haue ſéene it.

And there vpon, by and by after the meſſenger departed, he cauſed in all the haſt all his ſeruants to be called vp, and ſo with his owne houſhold about him, and euerie man weaponed, he tooke the great ſeale with him, and came yet before daie vnto the quéene. About whom he found much heauineſſe, rumble, haſt and buſineſſe, carriage and conueiance of hir ſtuffe into ſanctuarie, cheſts, coffers, packs, fardels, truſſed all on mens backs, no man vnoccupied, ſome lading, ſome going, ſome diſcharging, ſome comming for more, ſome breaking downe the walles to bring in the next waie, and ſome yet drew to them that holpe to carrie a wrong waie: ſuch made their lucre of others loſſe, praiſing a bootie aboue beautie, to whome the poets verſe may be well applied, to wit:

Tibul. lib. 2. eleg. 3.

Ferrea non Venerem ſed prædam ſæcula laudant.

The deſolate ſtate of the quéene.

The quéene hir ſelfe ſate alone alow on the ruſhes all deſolate and diſmaid, whome the archbiſhop comforted in beſt manner he could, ſhewing hir that he truſted the matter was nothing ſo ſore as ſhe tooke it for, and that he was put in good hope and out of feare by the meſſage ſent him from the lord chamberleine. Ah wo worth him (quoth ſhe) for he is one of them that laboreth to deſtroie me and my bloud. Madame (quoth he) be yée of good chéere, for I aſſure you, if they crowne anie other king than your ſonne, whome they now haue with them, we ſhall on the morow crowne his brother, whome you haue here with you. And here is the great ſeale, which in likewiſe as that noble prince your huſband deliuered it vnto me; ſo here I deliuer it vnto you, to the vſe and behoofe of your ſonne: and therewith he betooke hir the great ſeale, and departed home againe, yet in the dawning of the daie.

By which time, he might in his chamber window ſée all the Thames full of boates of the duke of Gloceſters ſeruants, watching that no man ſhould go to ſanctuarie, nor none could paſſe vnſearched. Then was there great commotion and murmur, as well in other places about, as ſpeciallie in the citie, the people diuerſlie diuining vpon this dealing. And ſome lords, knights, and gentlemen, either for fauour of the quéene, or for feare of themſelues, aſſembled in ſundrie companies, and went flockmele in harneſſe: and many alſo, for that they reckoned this demeanor attempted, not ſo ſpeciallie againſt the other lords, as againſt the king himſelfe in the diſturbance of his coronation. But then by and by the lords aſſembled togither at [a certeine place.]

Toward which méeting, the archbiſhop of Yorke fearing that it would be aſcribed (as it was indéed) to his ouermuch lightneſſe, that he ſo ſuddenlie had yéelded vp the great ſeale to the quéene, to whome the cuſtodie thereof nothing perteined, without eſpeciall commandement of the king, ſecretlie ſent for the ſeale againe, and brought it with him after the cuſtomable maner. And at this méeting the lord Haſtings (whoſe truth toward the king no man doubted, nor néeded to doubt) perſuaded the lords to beléeue, that the duke of Gloceſter was ſure and faſtlie faithfull to his prince, and that the lord Riuers, and lord Richard with the other knights, were for matters attempted by them againſt the duke of Gloceſter and Buckingham, put vnder arreſt for their ſuertie, not for the kings ieopardie: and that they were alſo in ſafegard, and there no longer ſhould remaine, than till the matter were, not by the dukes onelie, but alſo by all the other lords of the kings councell indifferentlie examined, & by others diſcretions ordered, and either iudged or appeaſed.

Neuertheleſſe he was depriued thereof ſhortlie after.

But one thing he aduiſed them beware, that they iudged not the matter too farre forth, yer they knew the truth; nor turning their priuate grudges into the common hurt, irriting and prouoking men vnto anger, and diſturbing the kings coronation, towards which the dukes were comming vp, that they might peraduenture bring the matter ſo farre out of ioint, that it ſhould neuer be brought in frame againe. Which ſtrife if it ſhould hap (as it were likely) to come to a field, though both parties were in all other things equall; yet ſhould the authoritie be on that ſide where the king is himſelfe. With theſe perſuaſions of the lord Haſtings, whereof part himſelfe beléeued, of part he wiſt the contrarie, theſe commotions were ſomewhat appeaſed. But ſpeciallie by that, that the dukes of Gloceſter and Buckingham were ſo néere and came ſo ſhortlie on with the king, in none other manner, with none other voice or ſemblance than to his coronation, cauſing the fame to be blowen about, that theſe lords and knights which were taken, had contriued the deſtruction of the dukes of Gloceſter and Buckingham, and of other the noble bloud of the realme, to the end that themſelues would alone demeane and gouerne the king at their pleaſure.

And for the colourable proofe thereof, ſuch of the dukes ſeruants as rode with the carts of their ſtuffe that were taken (among which ſtuffe, no maruell though ſome were harneſſe, which at the breaking vp of that houſhold muſt néeds either be brought awaie or caſt awaie) they ſhewed vnto the people all the waies as they went; „Lo here be the barrels of harneſſe that theſe traitors had priuilie conueid in their carriage to deſtroie the noble lords withall. This deuiſe albeit that it made the matter to wiſe men more vnlikelie, well perceiuing that the intendors of ſuch a purpoſe would rather haue had their harneſſe on their backs, than to haue bound them vp in barrels, yet much part of the common people were therewith verie well ſatiſfied, and ſaid it were almeſſe to hang them.

When the king approched néere to the citie, Edmund Shaw goldſmith, then maior, with William White, and Iohn Mathew ſhiriffes, and all the other aldermen in ſcarlet, with fiue hundred horſſe of the citizens, in violet, receiued him reuerentlie at Harneſie; and riding from thence accompanied him into the citie, which he entered the fourth daie of Maie, the firſt and laſt yeare of his reigne. But the duke of Gloceſter bare him in open ſight ſo reuerentlie to the prince, with all ſemblance of lowlineſſe, that from the great obloquie in which he was ſo late before, he was ſuddenlie fallen in ſo great truſt, that at the councell next aſſembled he was made the onelie man, choſen and thought moſt méet to be protector of the king and his realme, ſo that (were it deſtinie or were it follie) the lambe was betaken to the woolfe to kéepe.

The kings comming to London.

The duke of Gloceſter made protector.

At which councell alſo, the archbiſhop of Yorke chancellor of England, which had deliuered vp the great ſeale to the quéene, was thereof greatlie reprooued, and the ſeale taken from him, and deliuered to doctor Ruſſell biſhop of Lincolne, a wiſe man and a good, and of much experience, and one of the beſt learned men vndoubtedlie that England had in his time. Diuerſe lords and knights were appointed vnto diuerſe roomes. The lord chamberleine and ſome other kept ſtill their offices that they had before. Now all were it ſo that the protector ſo ſore thirſted for the finiſhing of that he had begun, that thought euerie daie a yeare till it were atchiued; yet durſt he no further

The biſhop of Lincolne made lord chancellor.

ther attempt, as long as he had but halfe his preie in his hand.

The protectors oration.

And why? Well did he wéet, that if he depoſed the one brother, all the realme would fall to the other, if he either remained in ſanctuarie, or ſhould happilie be ſhortlie conueied to his fathers libertie. Wherfore incontinent at the next méeting of the lords at the councell, he propoſed to them, that it was a heinous déed of the quéene, & procéeding of great malice toward the kings councellors, that ſhe ſhould kéepe in ſanctuarie the kings brother from him, whoſe ſpeciall pleaſure & comfort were to haue his brother with him. And that by hir doone to none other intent, but to bring all the lords in obloquie and murmur of the people.

As though they were not to be truſted with the kings brother, that by the aſſent of the nobles of the land, were appointed as the kings néereſt fréends, to the tuition of his owne roiall perſon. The proſperitie whereof ſtandeth (quoth he) not all in kéeping from enimies, or ill viand, but partlie alſo in recreation, and moderate pleaſure: which he cannot (in this tender youth) take in the companie of ancient perſons, but in the familiar conuerſation of thoſe that be neither farre vnder, nor farre aboue his age: and neuertheleſſe of eſtate conuenient to accompanie his noble maieſtie. Wherefore, with whome rather, than with his owne brother?

And if anie man thinke this conſideration light (which I thinke none thinks that loues the king) let him conſider, that ſometime without ſmall things, greater cannot ſtand. And verelie, it redoundeth greatlie to the diſhonor both of the kings highneſſe, and of all vs that béene about his grace, to haue it run in euerie mans mouth, not in this realme onlie, but alſo in other lands (as euill words walke far) that the kings brother ſhould be faine to kéepe ſanctuarie. For euerie man will wéene, that no man will ſo doo for naught. And ſuch euill opinion once faſtned in mens harts, hard it is to wreſt out, and may grow to more gréefe than anie man can here diuine.

The lord cardinall thought the fitteſt man to deale with the quéene for the ſurrendring of hir ſonne.

Wherefore me thinketh it were not worſt to ſend vnto the quéene, for the redreſſe of this matter, ſome honorable truſtie man, ſuch as both tendereth the kings weale and the honour of his councell, and is alſo in fauour and credence with hir. For all which conſiderations, none ſéemeth more méetlie, than our reuerend father here preſent, my lord cardinall, who may in this matter doo moſt good of anie man, if it pleaſe him to take the paine; which I doubt not of his goodneſſe he will not refuſe for the kings ſake and ours, and welth of the young duke himſelfe, the kings moſt honorable brother, and (after my ſouereigne lord himſelfe) my moſt déere nephue, conſidered that thereby ſhall be ceaſſed the ſlanderous rumor and obloquie now going, and the hurts auoided that thereof might inſue, and much reſt and quiet grow to all the realme.

And if ſhe be percaſe ſo obſtinate, and ſo preciſelie ſet vpon hir owne will, that neither his wiſe and faithfull aduertiſement can not mooue hir, nor anie mans reaſon content hir; then ſhall we by mine aduiſe, by the kings authoritie fetch him out of that priſon, and bring him to his noble preſence, in whoſe continuall companie he ſhall be ſo well cheriſhed and ſo honorablie intreated, that all the world ſhall to our honour and hir reproch perceiue, that it was onelie malice, frowardneſſe, or follie, that cauſed hir to kéepe him there. This is my purpoſe and mind in this matter for this time, except anie of your lordſhips anie thing perceiue to the contrarie; for neuer ſhall I (by Gods grace) ſo wed my ſelfe to mine owne will, but that I ſhall be readie to change it vpon your better aduiſes.

When the protector had ſaid, all the councell affirmed, that the motion was good and reaſonable; and to the king and the duke his brother, honorable; and a thing that ſhould ceaſſe great murmur in the relme, if the mother might be by good means induced to deliuer him. Which thing the archbiſhop of Yorke, whome they all agréed alſo to be thereto moſt conuenient, tooke vpon him to mooue hir, and therein to doo his vttermoſt deuoir. Howbeit, if ſhe could be in no wiſe intreated with hir good will to deliuer him, then thought he, and ſuch other as were of the ſpiritualtie preſent, that it were not in anie wiſe to be attempted to take him out againſt hir will.

Reaſons why it was not thought méet to fetch the quéens ſon out of ſanctuarie.

For it ſhould be a thing that would turne to the great grudge of all men, and high diſpleaſure of God, if the priuilege of that holie place ſhould now be broken, which had ſo manie yeares be kept, which both kings and popes ſo good had granted, ſo manie had confirmed, and which holie ground was more than fiue hundred yeares ago (by ſaint Peter in his owne perſon in ſpirit accompanied with great multitudes of angels by night) ſo ſpeciallie halowed, & dedicated to God (for the proofe wherof, they haue yet in the abbeie ſaint Peters cope to ſhew) that from that time hitherward, was there neuer ſo vndeuout a king that durſt that ſacred place violate, or ſo holie a biſhop that durſt it preſume to conſecrate.

And therefore (quoth the archbiſhop of Yorke) God forbid that anie man ſhould for anie thing earthlie, enterpriſe to breake the immunitie & libertie of the ſacred ſanctuarie, that hath béene the ſafegard of ſo manie a good mans life. And I truſt (quoth he) with Gods grace, we ſhall not néed it. But for anie maner néed, I would not we ſhould doo it. I truſt that ſhée ſhall be with reaſon contented, and all things in good maner obteined. And if it happen that I bring it not ſo to paſſe, yet ſhall I toward it ſo farre forth doo my beſt, that ye ſhall all well perceiue, that no lacke of my deuoire, but the mothers dread and womaniſh feare ſhall be the let.

The duke of Buckinghãs words againſt the quéene.

Womaniſh feare, naie womaniſh frowardnes (quoth the duke of Buckingham.) For I dare take it vpon my ſoule, ſhe well knoweth ſhe néedeth no ſuch thing to feare, either for hir ſon or for hir ſelfe. For as for hir, here is no man that will be at war with women. Would God ſome of the men of hir kin were women too, & then ſhould all be ſoone in reſt. Howbeit there is none of hir kin the leſſe loued, for that they be hir kin, but for their owne euill deſeruing. And natheleſſe, if we loued neither hir nor hir kin, yet were there no cauſe to thinke that wee ſhould hate the kings noble brother, to whoſe grace we our ſelues be of kin. Whoſe honor, if ſhe as much deſired as our diſhonor, and as much regard tooke to his wealth as to hir owne will, ſhe would be as loth to ſuffer him to be abſent from the king, as anie of vs be. For if ſhe haue anie wit (as would God ſhe had as good will as ſhe hath ſhrewd wit) ſhe reckoneth hir ſelfe no wiſer than ſhe thinketh ſome that be here, of whoſe faithfull mind ſhe nothing doubteth, but verelie beléeueth and knoweth, that they would be as ſorie of his harme as hir ſelfe, and yet would haue him from hir if ſhe bide there: and we all (I thinke) contented, that both be with hir, if ſhe come thence, and bide in ſuch place where they may with their honors be. Now then, if ſhe refuſe in the deliuerance of him, to follow the counſell of them, whoſe wiſdome ſhe knoweth, whoſe truth ſhe well truſteth: it is eaſie to perceiue, that frowardneſſe letteth hir, and not feare. But go to, ſuppoſe that ſhe feare (as who maie let hir to feare hir owne ſhadow) the more ſhe feareth to deliuer him, the more ought we feare to leaue him in hir hands.

For if ſhe caſt ſuch fond doubts, that ſhe feare his hurt: then will ſhe feare that he ſhall be fet thence.

For ſhe will ſone thinke, that if men were ſet (which God forbid) vpon ſo great a miſchiefe, the ſanctuarie would little let them: which good men might (as me thinketh) without ſinne ſomewhat leſſe regard than they doo. Now then, if ſhe doubt, leaſt he might be fetched from hir, is it not likelie inough that ſhe ſhall ſend him ſome where out of the realme? Verelie I looke for none other. And I doubt not, but ſhee now as ſore mindeth it, as we the let thereof. And if ſhe might happen to bring that to paſſe (as it were no great maiſtrie, we letting hir alone) all the world would ſaie, that we were a wiſe ſort of councellors about a king, that let his brother be caſt awaie vnder our noſes.

And therefore, I inſure you faithfullie for my mind, I will rather (mauger hir mind) fetch him awaie, than leaue him there, till hir frowardneſſe and fond feare conueie him awaie. And yet will I breake no ſanctuarie therefore. For verely, ſith the priuileges of that place, and other like, haue béene of long continued, I am not he that would be about to breake them. And in good faith, if they were now to begin, I would not be he that ſhould be about to make them. Yet will I not ſay naie, but that it is a déed of pitie, that ſuch men as the ſea, or their euill debtors haue brought in pouertie, ſhould haue ſome place of libertie, to kéepe their bodies out of danger of their cruell creditors.

Of ſanctuaries.

And alſo, if the crowne happen (as it hath doone) to come in queſtion, while either part taketh other as traitors, I will well there be ſome places of refuge for both. But as for théeues, of which theſe places be full, and which neuer fall from the craft, after they once fall thereto, it is pitie the ſanctuarie ſhould ſerue them. And much more, mankillers, whome God bad to take from the altar and kill them, if their murther were wilfull. And where it is otherwiſe, there néed we not the ſanctuaries that God appointed in the old law. For if either neceſſitie, his owne defenſe, or miſfortune draweth him to that déed, a pardon ſerueth, which either the law granteth of courſe, or the king of pitie maie. Then looke me now how few ſanctuarie men there be, whome anie fauourable neceſſitie compelled to go thither. And then ſée on the other ſide, what a ſort there be commonlie therin of them, whom wilfull vnthriftineſſe hath brought to naught.

Weſtminſter and ſaint Martins.

The abuſe of ſanctuaries.

What a rabble of théeues, murtherers, and malicious heinous traitors, and that in two places ſpeciallie; the one at the elbow of the citie, the other in the verie bowels. I dare well auow it, weie the good that they doo, with the hurt that commeth of them, and ye ſhall find it much better to lacke both, than haue both. And this I ſaie, although they were not abuſed as they now be, & ſo long haue be, that I feare me euer they will be, while men be afraid to ſet their hands to the mendment, as though God & S. Peter were the patrones of vngratious liuing. Now vnthrifts riot & run in debt, vpon boldneſſe of theſe places, yea, and rich men run thither with poore mens goods, there they build, there they ſpend, & bid their creditors go whiſtle them. Mens wiues run thither with their husbands plate, & ſaie they dare not abide with their husbands for beating. Théeues bring thither their ſtollen goods, and there liue thereon.

There deuiſe they new robberies, nightlie they ſteale out, they rob, and reaue, and kill, and come in againe, as though thoſe places gaue them not onelie a ſafegard for the harme they haue doone, but a licence alſo to doo more. Howbeit, much of this miſchiefe (if wiſe men would ſet their hands to it) might be amended, with great thanks to God, and no breach of the priuilege. The reſidue, ſith ſo long ago, I wote néere what pope, and what prince more pitious than politike, hath granted it, & other men ſince, of a certeine religious feare, haue not broken it, let vs take a paine therewith, and let it a Gods name ſtand in force, as farre foorth as reaſon will, which is not fullie ſo farre foorth, as may ſerue to let vs of the fetching foorth of this noble man to his honor and wealth, out of that place, in which he neither is, nor can be a ſanctuarie man.

The vſe of ſanctuaries.

A ſanctuarie ſerueth alwaie to defend the bodie of that man that ſtandeth in danger abroad, not of great hurt onlie, but alſo of lawfull hurt: for againſt vnlawfull harmes, neuer pope nor king intended to priuilege anie one place, for that priuilege hath euerie place. Knoweth anie man, anie place wherein it is lawfull one man to doo another wrong? That no man vnlawfullie take hurt, that libertie, the king, the law, and verie nature forbiddeth in euerie place, and maketh (to that regard) for euerie man euerie place a ſanctuarie. But where a man is by lawfull means in perill, there néedeth he the tuition of ſome ſpeciall priuilege, which is the onelie ground and cauſe of all ſanctuaries.

From which neceſſitie, this noble prince is farre, whoſe loue to his king, nature and kinred prooueth; whoſe innocencie to all the world, his tender youth prooueth; and ſo ſanctuarie, as for him, neither none he néedeth, nor alſo none can haue. Men come not to ſanctuarie, as they come to baptiſme, to require it by their godfathers; he muſt aſke it himſelfe that muſt haue it, and reaſon; ſith no man hath cauſe to haue it, but whoſe conſcience of his owne fault maketh him fain, néed to require it. What will then hath yonder babe, which and if he had diſcretion to require it, if néed were, I dare ſay would now be right angrie with them that kéepe him there? And I would thinke without anie ſcruple of conſcience, without anie breach of priuilege, to be ſomewhat more homelie with them that be there ſanctuarie men in déed.

For if one go to ſanctuarie with another mans goods, whie ſhould not the king, leauing his bodie at libertie, ſatiſfie the partie of his goods, euen within the ſanctuarie? For neither king nor pope can giue anie place ſuch a priuilege, that it ſhall diſcharge a man of his debts, being able to paie. [And with that, diuerſe of the clergie that were preſent (whether they ſaid it for his pleaſure, or as they thought) agréed plainelie, that by the law of God, and of the church, the goods of a ſanctuarie man ſhould be deliuered in paiment of his debts, and ſtollen goods to the owner, and onlie libertie reſerued him to get his liuing with the labor of his hands.]

Verelie (quoth the duke) I thinke you ſay verie truth. And what if a mans wife will take ſanctuarie, bicauſe ſhe luſt to run frõ hir husband, I would wéen if ſhe could alledge none other cauſe, he maie lawfullie without anie diſpleaſure to ſaint Peter, take hir out of ſaint Peters church by the arme. And if no bodie maie be taken out of ſanctuarie, that ſaith hée will bide there; then if a child will take ſanctuarie, bicauſe he feareth to go to ſchoole, his maiſter muſt let him alone. And as ſimple as that ſample is, yet is there leſſe reaſon in our caſe than in that; for therein, though it be a childiſh feare, yet is there at the leaſt wiſe ſome feare, and herein is there none at all. And verelie, I haue often heard of ſanctuarie men, but I neuer heard earſt of ſanctuarie children.

And therefore, as for the concluſion of my mind, who ſo maie haue deſerued to néed it, if they thinke it for their ſuertie, let them kéepe it. But he can be no ſanctuarie man, that neither hath wiſdome to deſire it, nor malice to deſerue it; whoſe life or libertie can by no lawfull proceſſe ſtand in ieopardie. And he that taketh one out of ſanctuarie to doo him good, I ſaie plainlie, that he breaketh no ſanctuarie. When the duke had doone, the temporall men whole, and a good part of the ſpirituall alſo, thinking no hurt earthlie meant toward the yoong babe, condeſcended in effect, that if he were not deliuered, he ſhould be fetched. Howbeit they thought it all beſt, in the auoiding of all maner of rumor, that the lord cardinall ſhould firſt aſſaie to get him with hir good will.

Wherevpon all the councell came vnto the Starre chamber at Weſtminſter; and the lord cardinall, leauing the protector with the councell in the Starchamber, departed into the ſanctuarie to the quéene, with diuers other lords with him: were it for the reſpect of his honor, or that ſhe ſhould by preſence of ſo manie perceiue, that this errand was not one mans mind: or were it, for that the protector intended not in this matter to truſt anie one man alone; or elſe, that if ſhe finallie were determined to kéepe him, ſome of that companie had happilie ſecret inſtruction, incontinent (maugre hir mind) to take him, and to leaue hir no reſpit to conueie him, which ſhe was likelie to mind after this matter broken to hir, if hir time would in anie wiſe ſerue hir.

When the quéene and theſe lords were come togither in preſence, the lord cardinall ſhewed vnto hir, that it was thought vnto the protector, and vnto the whole councell, that hir kéeping of the kings brother in that place, was the thing which highlie ſounded, not onelie to the great rumor of the people and their obloquie; but alſo to the importable gréefe and diſpleaſure of the kings roiall maieſtie, to whoſe grace it were as ſingular a comfort, to haue his naturall brother in companie, as it was their both diſhonour, and all theirs and hirs alſo, to ſuffer him in ſanctuarie, as though the one brother ſtood in danger and perill of the other [and therefore more conuenient it were they ſhould be togither, than parted aſunder; that the world may well thinke and ſaie both of their kinred and alſo of them, when they ſhall ſée and heare how they kéepe continuall companie, and liue in mutuall amitie (as becometh brethren) which bringeth commodities with it, for number, infinite; and for vſe, comfortable and neceſſarie; as it is truelie ſaid:

Quæ ligat vnanimes fœlix concordia fratres,
O quales fructus vtilitatis habet!]

The cardinall ſhewed hir likewiſe, that the councell therefore had ſent him vnto hir, to require hir the deliuerie of him, that he might be brought vnto the kings preſence at his libertie, out of that place, which they reckoned as a priſon; and there ſhould he be demeaned according to his eſtate: and ſhe in this dooing, ſhould both doo great good to the realme, pleaſure to the councell, and profit to hir ſelfe, ſuccour to hir fréends that were in diſtreſſe, and ouer that (which he wiſt well ſhe ſpeciallie tendered) not onelie great comfort and honor to the king, but alſo to the yoong duke himſelfe, whoſe both great wealth it were to be togither, as well for manie greater cauſes, as alſo for their both diſport & recreation. Which thing the lord eſtéemed no ſlight, though it ſéeme light, well pondering that their youth without recreation and plaie cannot indure; nor anie ſtranger, for the conuenience of both their ages and eſtates, ſo méetlie in that point for anie of them, as either of them for other.

Protector.

The quéenes anſwer.

My lord (quoth the quéene) I ſaie not naie, but that it were verie conuenient, that this gentleman, whome yée require, were in companie of the king his brother: and in good faith, me thinketh it were as great commoditie to them both, as for yet awhile, to béene in the cuſtodie of their mother, the tender age conſidered of the elder of them both, but ſpeciallie the yoonger, which (beſides his infancie, that alſo néedeth good looking to) hath awhile béene ſo ſore diſeaſed, vexed with ſickneſſe, and is ſo newlie rather a little amended, than well recouered, that I dare put no perſon earthlie in truſt with his kéeping, but my ſelfe onelie, conſidering that there is (as phyſicians ſaie) and as we alſo find, double the perill in the recidination, than was in the firſt ſickneſſe, with which diſeaſe nature being ſore laboured, forewearied and weakened, wareth the leſſe able to beare out and ſuſteine a new ſurfet. And albeit there might be founden other that would happilie doo their beſt vnto him, yet is there none that either knoweth better how to order him, than I that ſo long haue kept him: or is more tenderlie like to cheriſh him, than his owne mother that bare him.

The quéene is loth to part with hir ſon.

No man denieth, good madame (quoth the cardinall) but that your grace were of all folke moſt neceſſarie about your children: and ſo would all the councell not onelie be content, but glad that ye were (if it might ſtand with your pleaſure) to be in ſuch place as might ſtand with their honour. But if you doo appoint your ſelfe to tarrie héere, then thinke they it more conuenient that the duke of Yorke were with the king honourablie at his libertie, to the comfort of them both: than héere as a ſanctuarie man, to their both diſhonour and obloquie, ſith there is not alwaie ſo great neceſſitie to haue the child to be with the mother: but that occaſion may ſometime be ſuch, that it ſhould be more expedient to kéepe him elſewhere. Which in this well appeareth, that at ſuch time as your déereſt ſonne then prince, and now king, ſhould for his honor, and good order of the countrie, kéepe houſhold in Wales, farre out of your companie: your grace was well content therewith your ſelfe.

Not verie well content (quoth the quéene) and yet the caſe is not like, for the tone was then in health, and the tother is now ſicke. In which caſe, I maruell greatlie, that my lord protector is ſo deſirous to haue him in his kéeping, where if the child in his ſickneſſe miſcarried by nature, yet might he run into ſlander and ſuſpicion of fraud. And where they call it a thing ſo ſore againſt my childes honor, and theirs alſo, that he bideth in this place: it is all their honours there to ſuffer him bide, where no man doubteth he ſhall be beſt kept; and that is héere, while I am héere, which as yet intend not to come foorth and ieopard my ſelfe after other of my fréends, which would God were rather héere in ſuertie with me, than I were there in ieopardie with them.

The quéenes miſtruſt of the lord protector.

Whie madame (quoth another lord) know you anie thing whie they ſhould be in ieopardie? Naie verelie ſir (quoth ſhée) nor whie they ſhould be in priſon neither, as they now be. But it is (I trow) no great maruell though I feare, leaſt thoſe that haue not letted to put them in dureſſe without colour, will let as little to procure their deſtruction without cauſe. The cardinall made a countenance to the other lord, that he ſhould harpe no more vpon that ſtring; and then ſaid he to the quéene, that he nothing doubted, but that thoſe lords of hir honorable kin, which as yet remained vnder arreſt, ſhould vpon the matter examined, doo well inough: and as toward hir noble perſon, neither was nor could be anie maner ieopardie.

The lord Howard, ſaith Edw. Hall.

Whereby ſhould I truſt that (quoth the quéene) in that I am giltleſſe? As though they were giltie, in that I am with their enimies better loued than they? When they hate them for my ſake, in that I am ſo néere of kin to the king? And how far they be off, if that would helpe, as God ſend grace it hurt not, and therefore as for me, I purpoſe not as yet to depart hence. And as for this gentleman my ſonne, I mind that he ſhall be where I am, till I ſée further: for I aſſure you, for that I ſée ſome men ſo gréedie, without anie ſubſtantiall cauſe to haue him, this maketh me much the more fearder to deliuer him.

Truelie madame, quoth he, and the fearder that you be to deliuer him, the fearder bin other men to ſuffer you to kéepe him, leaſt your cauſeleſſe feare might cauſe you further to conueie him; and manie be there that thinke he can haue no priuilege in this place, which neither can haue will to aſke it, nor malice to deſerue it. And therefore, they reckon no priuilege broken, though they fetch him out; which if yée finallie refuſe to deliuer him, I verelie thinke they will. So much dread hath my lord his vncle, for the tender loue he beareth him, leaſt your grace ſhould hap to ſend him awaie.

The quéenes replie vpon the lord cardinall.

A ſir (quoth the quéene) hath the protector ſo tender zeale, that he feareth nothing but leaſt he ſhould eſcape him? Thinketh he that I would ſend him hence, which neither is in the plight to ſend out. And in what place could I reckon him ſure, if he be not ſure in this ſanctuarie, whereof was there neuer tyrant yet ſo diueliſh that durſt preſume to breake? And I truſt God is as ſtrong now to withſtand his aduerſaries, as euer he was. But my ſonne can deſerue no ſanctuarie, and therefore he can not haue it. Forſooth he hath found a goodlie gloſe, by which that place that may defend a théefe, may not ſaue an innocent. But he is in no ieopardie, nor hath no néed thereof, would God he had not.

Troweth the protector (I praie God he may proue a protector) troweth he that I perceiue not wherevnto his painted proceſſe draweth? It is not honourable that the duke bide héere: it were comfortable for them both, that he were with his brother, bicauſe the king lacketh a plaifellow. Be you ſure? I praie God ſend them both better plaifellowes than him, that maketh ſo high a matter vpon ſuch a trifling pretext: as though there could none be founden to plaie with the king, but if his brother that hath no luſt to plaie for ſickneſſe, come out of ſanctuarie out of his ſafegard to plaie with him. As though princes (as yoong as they be) could not plaie but with their péeres, or children could not plaie but with their kinred, with whome for the more part they agrée much worſe than with ſtrangers.

But the child cannot require the priuilege. Who told him ſo? He ſhall heare him aſke it, and he will. Howbeit, this is a gaie matter. Suppoſe he could not aſke it, ſuppoſe he would not aſke it, ſuppoſe he would aſke to go out. If I ſaie he ſhall not; if I aſke the priuilege but for my ſelfe, I ſay he that againſt my will taketh him out, breaketh the ſanctuarie. Serueth this libertie for my perſon onelie, or for my goods too? Yée may not hence take my horſſe fro me: and may you take my child fro me? He is alſo my ward: for as my learned counſell ſheweth me, ſith he hath nothing by deſcent holden by knights ſeruice, the law maketh his mother his gardian. Then may no man I ſuppoſe take my ward fro me out of ſanctuarie, without the breach of the ſanctuarie.

And if my priuilege could not ſerue him, nor he aſke it for himſelfe, yet ſith the law committeth to me the cuſtodie of him, I may require it for him, except the law giue a child a gardian onelie for his goods and lands, diſcharging him of the cure and ſafe kéeping of his bodie, for which onelie both lands and goods ſerue. (*) And if examples be ſufficient to obteine priuilege for my child, I néed not farre to ſéeke. For in this place in which we now be (and which is now in queſtion whether my child may take benefit of it) mine other ſonne now king was borne, and kept in his cradle, and preſerued to a more proſperous fortune, which I praie God long to continue. And as all you know, this is not the firſt time that I haue taken ſanctuarie.

This that is héere betwéene this marke (*) & this marke (*) was not writtẽ by him in Engliſh but is tranſlated out of this hiſtorie which he wrote in Latine.

For when my lord my husband was baniſhed, and thruſt out of his kingdome, I fled hither, being great with child, and héere I bare the prince. And when my lord my husband returned ſafe againe, and had the victorie, then went I hence to welcome him home, and from hence I brought my babe the prince vnto his father, when he firſt tooke him in his armes. And I praie God that my ſonnes palace may be as great ſafegard vnto him now reigning, as this place was ſometime to the kings enimie. In which place I intend to kéepe his brother, ſith, &c. (*) Wherefore héere intend I to kéepe him, ſith mans law ſerueth the gardian to kéepe the infant.

The law of nature will the mother to kéepe hir child, Gods law priuilegeth the ſanctuarie, and the ſanctuarie my ſonne, ſith I feare to put him in the protectors hands that hath his brother alreadie, and were (if both failed) inheritour to the crowne. The cauſe of my feare hath no man to doo to examine. And yet feare I no further than the law feareth, which (as learned men tell me) forbiddeth euerie man the cuſtodie of them, by whoſe death he maie inherit leſſe land than a kingdome. I can no more, but whoſoeuer he be that breaketh this holie ſanctuarie, I praie God ſhortlie ſend him néed of ſanctuarie, when he maie not come to it. For taken out of ſanctuarie would I not my mortall enimie were.

The lord cardinall vſeth an other way to perſuade the quéene.

The lord cardinall, perceiuing that the quéene waxed euer the longer the farther off, and alſo that ſhe began to kindle and chafe, and ſpake more biting words againſt the protector, and ſuch as he neither beléeued, and was alſo loth to heare, he ſaid to hir for a finall concluſion, that he would no longer diſpute the matter: but if ſhe were content to deliuer the duke to him, and to the other lords preſent, he durſt laie his owne bodie & ſoule both in pledge, not onelie for his ſuertie, but alſo for his eſtate. And if ſhe would giue them a reſolute anſwer to the contrarie, he would forthwith depart therwithall, and ſhift who ſo would with this buſineſſe afterwards: for he neuer intended more to mooue hir in that matter, in which ſhe thought that he & all other alſo (ſaue hir ſelfe) lacked either wit or truth: wit, if they were ſo dull that they could nothing perceiue what the protector intended: truth, if they ſhould procure hir ſonne to be deliuered into his hands, in whom they ſhould perceiue toward the child anie euill intended.

The quéene with theſe words ſtood a good while in a great ſtudie. And forſomuch as hir ſéemed the cardinall more readie to depart than ſome of the remnant, and the protector himſelfe readie at hand; ſo that ſhe verelie thought ſhe could not kéepe him, but that he ſhould incontinentlie be taken thenſe; and to conueie him elſe-where, neither had ſhe time to ſerue hir, nor place determined, nor perſons appointed, all things vnreadie, this meſſage came on hir ſo ſuddenlie, nothing leſſe looking for, than to haue him fet out of ſanctuarie, which ſhe thought to be now beſet in ſuch places about, that he could not be conueied out vntaken, and partlie as ſhe thought it might fortune hir feare to be falſe, ſo well ſhe wiſt it was either néedleſſe or bootleſſe: wherefore if ſhe ſhould needs go from him, ſhe déemed it beſt to deliuer him.

She falleth to a reſolution touching hir ſonnes deliuerie.

And ouer that, of the cardinals faith ſhe nothing doubted, nor of ſome other lords neither, whome ſhe there ſaw. Which as ſhe feared leaſt they might be deceiued: ſo was ſhe well aſſured they would not be corrupted. Then thought ſhe it ſhould yet make them the more warilie to looke to him, and the more circumſpectlie to ſée to his ſuertie, if ſhe with hir owne hands betooke him to them of truſt. And at the laſt ſhe tooke the yoong duke by the hand, and ſaid vnto the lords: My lords (quoth ſhe) and all my lords, I neither am ſo vnwiſe to miſtruſt your wits, nor ſo ſuſpicious to miſtruſt your truths: of which thing I purpoſe to make you ſuch a proofe, as if either of both in you, might turne both you and me to great ſorow, the realme to much harme, and you to great reproch.

For lo, here is (quoth ſhe) this gentleman, whom I doubt not but I could here keepe ſafe, if I would, what euer anie man ſay: & I doubt not alſo, but there be ſome abroad ſo deadlie enimies vnto my bloud, that if they wiſt where anie of it laie in their owne bodie, they would let it out. We haue alſo experience that deſire of a kingdome knoweth no kinred. The brother hath beene the brothers bane: and maie the nephues be ſure of their vncle? Ech of theſe children is the others defenſe while they be aſunder, and ech of their liues lieth in the others bodie. Keepe one ſafe and both be ſure, and nothing for them both more perillous, than to be both in one place. For what wiſe merchant aduentureth all his goods in one ſhip?

All this notwithſtanding, here I deliuer him and his brother in him, to keepe, into your hands, of whom I ſhall aske them both afore God & the world. Faithfull ye be that wot I well, & I know well you be wiſe. Power and ſtrength to keepe him (if you liſt) lacke ye not of your ſelfe, nor can lacke helpe in this cauſe. And if ye can not elſe-where, then maie you leaue him here. But onelie one thing I beſeech you, for the truſt which his father put in you euer, & for the truſt that I put in you now, that as farre as ye thinke that I feare to much, be you well ware that you feare not as farre to little. And therewithall ſhe ſaid vnto the child; Fare well mine owne ſweete ſonne, God ſend you good keeping: let me kiſſe you yet once yer you go, for God knoweth when we ſhall kiſſe togither againe. And therewith ſhe kiſſed him and bleſſed him, turned hir backe and wept and went hir waie, leauing the child weeping as faſt. [Howbeit ſhe was ſorie afterwards that ſhe had ſo parted from hir ſon (when it was paſt hir power to procure remedie, & no hope of helpe left againſt afterclaps) which is the common caſe of all that kind, as the prouerbe ſaith:

Femineus verè dolor eſt poſt facta dolere.]

O diſſimulation.

When the lord cardinall, and theſe other lords with him, had receiued this yong duke, they brought him into the Star chamber, where the protector tooke him in his armes and kiſſed him with theſe words: Now welcome my lord euen with all my verie heart. And he ſaid in that of likelihood as he thought. Therevpon forthwith they brought him vnto the king his brother into the biſhops palace at Paules, and from thenſe thorough the citie honourablie into the Tower, out of the which after that daie they neuer came abroad. (*) When the protector had both the children in his hands, he opened himſelfe more boldlie, both to certeine other men, and alſo cheeflie to the duke of Buckingham. Although I know that manie thought that this duke was priuie to all the protectors counſell, euen from the beginning; and ſome of the protectors freends ſaid, that the duke was the firſt moouer of the protector to this matter, ſending a priuie meſſenger vnto him, ſtreict after king Edwards death.

This that is here betweene this marke (*) & this marke (*) was not written by him in Engliſh but is tranſlated out of his hiſtorie which he wrote in Latine.

But others againe, which knew better the ſubtill wit of the protector, denie that he euer opened his enterpriſe to the duke, vntill he had brought to paſſe the things before rehearſed. But when he had impriſoned the queenes kinſfolks, & gotten both hir ſonnes into his owne hands, then he opened the reſt of his purpoſe with leſſe feare to them whome he thought meet for the matter, and ſpeciallie to the duke, who being wonne to his purpoſe, he thought his ſtrength more than halfe increaſed. The matter was broken vnto the duke by ſubtill folks, and ſuch as were their craftes-maſters in the handling of ſuch wicked deuiſes: who declared vnto him that the yong king was offended with him for his kinſfolks ſake, and if he were euer able he would reuenge them, who would pricke him forward therevnto if they eſcaped (for they would remember their impriſonment) or elſe if they were put to death, without doubt the yong K. would be carefull for their deaths, whoſe impriſonment was greeuous vnto him.

Alſo that with repenting the duke ſhould nothing auaile, for there was no waie left to redeeme his offenſe by benefits, but he ſhould ſooner deſtroie himſelfe than ſaue the king, who with his brother and his kinſfolks he ſaw in ſuch places impriſoned, as the protector might with a becke deſtroie them all: and that it were no doubt but he would do it in deed, if there were anie new enterpriſe attempted. And that it was likelie, that as the protector had prouided priuie gard for himſelfe, ſo had he ſpials for the duke, and traines to catch him, if he ſhould be againſt him; and that peraduenture from them, whome he leaſt ſuſpected. For the ſtate of things and the diſpoſitions of men were then ſuch, that a man could not well tell whome he might truſt, or whome he might feare.

The dukes full reſolution, to go thorough with his enterpriſe.

Theſe things and ſuch like, being beaten into the dukes mind, brought him to that point, that where he had repented the waie that he had entered; yet would he go forth in the ſame; and ſith he had once begun, he would ſtoutlie go thorough. And therefore to this wicked enterpriſe, which he beleeued could not be voided, he bent himſelfe, and went through; and determined, that ſith the common miſcheefe could not be amended, he would turne it as much as he might to his owne commoditie. Then it was agreed, that the protector ſhuld haue the dukes aid to make him king, and that the protectors onelie lawfull ſonne ſhould marrie the dukes daughter, and that the protector ſhould grant him the quiet poſſeſſion of the earldome of Hereford, which he claimed as his inheritance, and could neuer obteine it in king Edwards time.

Beſides theſe requeſts of the duke, the protector of his owne mind promiſed him a great quantitie of the kings treaſure, and of his houſhold ſtuffe. And when they were thus at a point betweene themſelues, they went about to prepare for the coronation of the yong king, as they would haue it ſeeme. And that they might turne both the eies and minds of men from perceiuing of their drifts other-where, the lords being ſent for from all parts of the realme, came thicke to that ſolemnitie. But the protector and the duke, after that they had ſent the lord cardinall, the archbiſhop of Yorke then lord chancellor, the biſhop of Elie, the lord Stanleie, and the lord Haſtings then lord chamberlaine, with manie other noble men (*) to common & deuiſe about the coronation in one place, as faſt were they in an other place, contriuing the contrarie, and to make the protector king.

To which councell albeit there were adhibited verie few, and they were ſecret: yet began there here and there abouts, ſome maner of muttering among the people, as though all ſhould not long be well, though they neither wiſt what they feared, nor wherefore: were it, that before ſuch great things, mens hearts of a ſecret inſtinct of nature miſgiue them; as the ſea without wind ſwelleth of himſelfe ſometime before a tempeſt: or were it that ſome one man, happilie ſomewhat perceiuing, filled manie men with ſuſpicion, though he ſhewed few men what he knew. Howbeit ſomewhat the dealing it ſelfe made men to muſe on the matter, though the councell were cloſe. For by little and little all folke withdrew from the Tower, and drew vnto Croſbies in Biſhops gates ſtreet, where the protector kept his houſhold. The protector had the reſort, the king in maner deſolate.

While ſome for their buſineſſe made ſute to them that had the doing, ſome were by their freends ſecretlie warned, that it might happilie turne them to no good, to be to much attendant about the king without the protectors appointment, which remoued alſo diuerſe of the princes old ſeruants from him, and ſet new about him. Thus manie things comming togither, partlie by chance, partlie of purpoſe, cauſed at length not common people onelie, that wond with the wind; but wiſe men alſo, and ſome lords eke to marke the matter and muſe thereon; ſo farre foorth that the lord Stanleie that was after earle of Derbie, wiſelie miſtruſted it, and ſaid vnto the lord Haſtings, that he much miſliked theſe two ſeuerall councels. For while we (quoth he) talke of one matter in the tone place, little wot we wherof they talke in the tother place.

My lord (quoth the lord Haſtings) on my life neuer doubt you: for while one man is there, which is neuer thenſe, neuer can there be thing once moued, that ſhould ſound amiſſe toward me, but it ſhould be in mine eares yer it were well out of their mouths. This ment he by Cateſbie, which was of his neere ſecret councell, and whome he verie familiarlie vſed, and in his moſt weightie matters put no man in ſo ſpeciall truſt, reckoning himſelfe to no man ſo liefe, ſith he well wiſt there was no man ſo much to him beholden as was this Cateſbie, which was a man well learned in the lawes of this land, and by the ſpeciall fauour of the lord chamberlaine, in good authoritie, and much rule bare in all the countie of Leiceſter, where the lord chamberlains power cheefelie laie.

Cateſbie and his conditions deſcribed.

But ſuerlie great pitie was it, that he had not had either more truth, or leſſe wit. For his diſſimulation onelie kept all that miſcheefe vp. In whome if the lord Haſtings had not put ſo ſpeciall truſt, the lord Stanleie & he had departed with diuerſe other lords, and broken all the danſe, for manie ill ſignes that he ſaw, which he now conſtrues all to the beſt. So ſuerlie thought he, that there could be none harme toward him in that councell intended, where Cateſbie was. And of truth the protector and the duke of Buckingham made verie good ſemblance vnto the lord Haſtings, and kept him much in companie. And vndoubtedlie the protector loued him well, and loth was to haue loſt him, ſauing for feare leaſt his life ſhould haue quailed their purpoſe.

For which cauſe he moued Cateſbie to prooue with ſome words caſt out a farre off, whether he could thinke it poſſible to win the lord Haſtings vnto their part. But Cateſbie, whether he aſſaied him, or aſſaied him not, reported vnto them, that he found him ſo faſt, and heard him ſpeake ſo terrible words, that he durſt no further breake. And of truth, the lord chamberlaine of verie truſt ſhewed vnto Cateſbie the diſtruſt that others began to haue in the matter. And therefore he, fearing leaſt their motion might with the lord Haſtings miniſh his credence, whervnto onelie all the matter leaned, procured the protector haſtilie to rid him. And much the rather, for that he truſted by his death to obteine much of the rule that the lord Haſtings bare in his countrie: the onelie deſire whereof was the allectiue that induced him to be partner, and one ſpeciall contriuer of all this horrible treaſon.

An aſſemblie of lords in the Tower.

Whervpon ſoone after, that is to wit, on the fridaie [being the thirteenth of Iune] manie lords aſſembled in the Tower, and there ſat in councell, deuiſing the honourable ſolemnitie of the kings coronation, of which the time appointed then ſo neere approched, that the pageants and ſubtilties were in making daie & night at Weſtminſter, and much vittels killed therfore, that afterward was caſt awaie. Theſe lords ſo ſitting togither communing of this matter, the protector came in amongſt them, firſt about nine of the clocke, ſaluting them courteouſlie, and excuſing himſelfe that he had beene from them ſo long, ſaieng merilie that he had beene a ſleeper that daie.

After a little talking with them, he ſaid vnto the biſhop of Elie; My lord you haue verie good ſtrawberries at your garden in Holborne, I require you let vs haue a meſſe of them. Gladlie my lord (quoth he) would God I had ſome better thing as readie to your pleaſure as that! And therewithall in all the haſt he ſent his ſeruant for a meſſe of ſtrawberies. The protector ſet the lords faſt in communing, & therevpon praieng them to ſpare him for a little while, departed thenſe. And ſoone after one houre, betweene ten & eleuen he returned into the chamber amongſt them all, changed with a woonderfull ſoure angrie countenance, knitting the browes, frowning and fretting, and gnawing on his lips: and ſo ſat him downe in his place.

The behauiour of the lord protector in the aſſemblie of the lords.

All the lords were much diſmaid and ſore marueled at this maner of ſudden change, and what thing ſhould him aile. Then, when he had ſitten ſtill a while, thus he began: What were they worthie to haue that compaſſe and imagine the deſtruction of me, being ſo neere of bloud vnto the king, and protector of his roiall perſon and his realme? At this queſtion, all the lords ſat ſore aſtonied, muſing much by whome this queſtion ſhould be meant, of which euerie man wiſt himſelfe cleere. Then the lord chamberlaine (as he that for the loue betweene them thought he might be boldeſt with him) anſwered and ſaid, that they were worthie to be puniſhed as heinous traitors, whatſoeuer they were. And all the other affirmed the ſame. That is (quoth he) yonder ſorcereſſe my brothers wife, and other with hir (meaning the queene.)

At theſe words manie of the other lords were greatlie abaſhed, that fauoured hir. But the lord Haſtings was in his mind better content, that it was moued by hir, than by anie other whome he loued better: albeit his heart ſomewhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counſell in this matter, as he was of the taking of hir kinred, and of their putting to death, which were by his aſſent before deuiſed to be beheaded at Pomfret this ſelfe ſame daie, in which he was not ware that it was by other deuiſed, that he himſelfe ſhould be beheaded the ſame daie at London. Then ſaid the protector: Ye ſhall all ſee in what wiſe that ſorcereſſe, and that other witch of hir councell Shores wife, with their affinitie, haue by their ſorcerie and witchcraft waſted my bodie. And therwith he plucked vp his dublet ſleeue to his elbow vpon his left arme, where he ſhewed a weeriſh withered arme, and ſmall; as it was neuer other.

Herevpon euerie mans mind ſore miſgaue them, well perceiuing that this matter was but a quarell. For they well wiſt that the queene was too wiſe to go about anie ſuch follie. And alſo if ſhe would, yet would ſhe of all folke leaſt, make Shores wife of hir counſell, whome of all women ſhe moſt hated, as that concubine whome the king hir huſband had moſt loued. And alſo, no man was there preſent, but well knew that his arme was euer ſuch ſince his birth. Naththeleſſe, the lord chamberlaine (which from the death of king Edward kept Shores wife, on whome he ſomewhat doted in the kings life, ſauing (as it is ſaid) he that while forbare hir of reuerence toward the king, or elſe of a certeine kind of fidelitie to his freend) anſwered and ſaid: Certeinelie my lord, if they haue ſo heinouſlie doone, they be worthie heinous puniſhment.

What (quoth the protector) thou ſerueſt me I weene with ifs and with ands, I tell thee they haue ſo doone, and that I will make good on thy bodie traitor: and therewith as in a great anger, he clapped his fiſt vpon the bord a great rap. At which token one cried, Treaſon, without the chamber. Therewith a doore clapped, and in come there ruſhing men in harneſſe, as manie as the chamber might hold. And anon the protector ſaid to the lord Haſtings: I arreſt thée traitor: What me my lord? (quoth he.) Yea thée traitor quoth the protector. And an other let flie at the lord Stanleie, which ſhrunke at the ſtroke, & fell vnder the table, or elſe his head had béene cleft to the téeth: for as ſhortlie as he ſhranke, yet ran the bloud about his eares.

The lord Stanleie wounded.

Then were they all quickelie beſtowed in diuerſe chambers, except the lord chamberleine, whome the protector bad ſpéed and ſhriue him apace, for by ſaint Paule (quoth he) I will not to dinner till I ſée thy head off. It booted him not to aſke whie, but heauilie tooke a prieſt at aduenture, & made a ſhort ſhrift: for a longer would not be ſuffered, the protector made ſo much haſt to dinner, which he might not go to, vntill this were doone, for ſauing of his oth. So was he brought foorth to the gréene beſide the chappell within the Tower, and his head laid downe vpon a long log of timber, and there ſtriken off, and afterward his bodie with the head interred at Windſor beſide the bodie of king Edward, both whoſe ſoules our Lord pardon. [Thus began he to eſtabliſh his kingdome in bloud, growing thereby in hatred of the nobles, and alſo abridging both the line of his life, and the time of his regiment: for God will not haue bloudthirſtie tyrants daies prolonged, but will cut them off in their ruffe; according to Dauids words:

Lord Haſtings lord chamberleine beheaded.

Impio, fallaci, auidóque cædis
Fila mors rumpet viridi in iuuenta.]

Buchan. in pſal. 55.

A maruellous caſe is it to heare either the warnings of that he ſhould haue voided, or the tokens of that he could not void. For the ſelfe night next before his death, the lord Stanleie ſent a truſtie meſſenger vnto him at midnight in all the haſt, requiring him to riſe and ride awaie with him, for he was diſpoſed vtterlie no longer to bide, he had ſo fearfull a dreame; in which him thought that a boare with his tuſkes ſo raſed them both by the heads, that the bloud ran about both their ſhoulders. And forſomuch as the protector gaue the boare for his cogniſance, this dreame made ſo fearefull an impreſſion in his heart, that he was throughlie determined no longer to tarie, but had his horſſe readie, if the lord Haſtings would go with him, to ride yet ſo farre the ſame night, that they ſhould be out of danger yer daie.

The lord Stanleies dreame.

Ha good Lord (quoth the lord Haſtings to this meſſenger) leaneth my lord thy maiſter ſo much to ſuch trifles, and hath ſuch faith in dreames, which either his owne feare fantaſieth, or doo riſe in the nights reſt by reaſon of his daies thought? Tell him it is plaine witchcraft to beléeue in ſuch dreames, which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh he not that we might be as likelie to make them true by our going, if we were caught & brought backe, as fréends faile fliers; for then had the boare a cauſe likelie to raſe vs with his tuſks, as folke that fled for ſome falſehood. Wherefore, either is there perill, or none there is in déed: or if anie be, it is rather in going than biding. And in caſe we ſhould néeds fall in perill one waie or other, yet had I rather that men ſhould ſée that it were by other mens falſehood, than thinke it were either by our owne fault, or faint heart. And therefore go to thy maiſter (man) and commend me to him, & praie him be merie & haue no feare: for I inſure him I am as ſure of the man that he woteth of, as I am of mine owne hand. God ſend grace ſir (quoth the meſſenger) and went his waie.

Foretokens of imminent miſfortune to the lord Haſtings.

Certeine is it alſo, that in riding towards the Tower, the ſame morning in which he was beheded, his horſſe twiſe or thriſe ſtumbled with him, almoſt to the falling. Which thing albeit ech man wote well dailie happeneth to them, to whom no ſuch miſchance is toward; yet hath it béene of an old rite and cuſtome obſerued, as a token oftentimes notablie foregoing ſome great miſfortune. Now this that followeth was no warning, but an enuious ſcorne. The ſame morning yer he was vp, came a knight vnto him, as it were of courteſie, to accompanie him to the councell; but of truth ſent by the protector to haſt him thitherwards, with whome he was of ſecret confederacie in that purpoſe; a meane man at that time, and now of great authoritie.

This knight (I ſay) when it happened the lord chamberleine by the waie to ſtaie his horſſe, & common a while with a prieſt whom he met in the Tower ſtréet, brake his tale, and ſaid merilie to him; What my lord, I pray you come on, whereto talke you ſo long with that prieſt? you haue no néed of a prieſt yet: and therwith he laughed vpon him, as though he would ſay, Ye ſhall haue ſoone. But ſo little wiſt the tother what he ment, and ſo little miſtruſted, that he was neuer merier, nor neuer ſo full of good hope in his life, which ſelfe thing is oft ſéene a ſigne of change. But I ſhall rather let anie thing paſſe me, than the vaine ſuertie of mans mind ſo néere his death [flattering himſelfe with deceitfull conceipts of inward motions of life to be prolonged, euen in preſent caſes of deadlie danger, and heauie miſfortunes offering great miſtruſt; as he did that is noted for ſpeaking like a foole:

Non eſt (crede mihi) ſapientis dicere, Viuam:
Naſcentes morimur, finiſq; ab origine pendet.]

Manil. lib. 4. Aſtro.

Vpon the verie Tower wharfe, ſo neare the place where his head was off ſoone after, there met he with one Haſtings a purſeuant of his owne name. And at their méeting in that place, he was put in remembrance of another time, in which it had happened them before to méet in like manner togither in the ſame place. At which other time the lord chamberleine had béene accuſed vnto king Edward by the lord Riuers the quéenes brother, in ſuch wiſe, as he was for the while (but it laſted not long) farre fallen into the kings indignation, & ſtood in great feare of himſelfe. And forſomuch as he now met this purſeuant in the ſame place, that ieopardie ſo well paſſed, it gaue him great pleaſure to talke with him thereof, with whom he had before talked thereof in the ſame place, while he was therein.

And therefore he ſaid: Ha Haſtings, art thou remembred when I met thée here once with an heauie heart? Yea my lord (quoth he) that remember I well, and thanked be God, they gat no good, nor you no harme thereby. Thou wouldeſt ſay ſo (quoth he) if thou knewest as much as I know, which few know elſe as yet, and mo ſhall ſhortlie. That meant he by the lords of the quéenes kinred that were taken before, and ſhould that daie be beheaded at Pomfret: which he well wiſt, but nothing ware that the ax hung ouer his owne head. In faith man (quoth he) I was neuer ſo ſorie, nor neuer ſtood in ſo great dread in my life, as I did when thou and I met here. And lo how the world is turned, now ſtand mine enimies in the danger (as thou maieſt hap to heare more hereafter) and I neuer in my life ſo merrie, nor neuer in ſo great ſuertie.

O good God, the blindneſſe of our mortall nature, when he moſt feared, he was in good ſuertie; when he reckoned himſelfe ſureſt, he loſt his life, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honorable man, a good knight and a gentle, of great authoritie with his prince, of liuing ſomewhat diſſolute, plaine and open to his enimie, & ſecret to his friend, eaſie to beguile, as he that of good heart and courage foreſtudied no perils, a louing man, and paſſing well beloued: verie faithfull, and truſtie inough, truſting too much. Now flew the fame of this lords death

The deſcription of the lord Haſtings.

ſwiftlie through the citie, and ſo forth further about like a wind in euerie mans eare. But the protector, immediatlie after dinner, intending to ſet ſome colour vpon the matter, ſent in all the haſt for manie ſubſtantiall men out of the citie into the Tower.

Now at their comming, himſelfe with the duke of Buckingham, ſtood harneſſed in old ill faring briganders, ſuch as no man ſhould weene, that they would vouchſafe to haue put vpon their backs, except that ſome ſudden neceſſitie had conſtreined them. And then the protector ſhewed them, that the lord chamberleine, and other of his conſpiracie, had contriued to haue ſuddenlie deſtroied him, and the duke, there the ſame day in the councell. And what they intended further, was as yet not well knowne. Of which their treaſon he neuer had knowledge before ten of the clocke the ſame forenoone, which ſudden feare draue them to put on for their defenſe ſuch harneſſe as came next to hand. And ſo had God holpen them, that the miſchiefe turned vpon them that would haue doone it. And this he required them to report.

The protectors proclamation.

Euerie man anſwered him faire, as though no man miſtruſted the matter, which of truth no man beleeued. Yet for the further appeaſing of the peoples minds, he ſent immediatlie after diner in all the haſt one herald of armes, with a proclamation to be made through the citie in the kings name, conteining, that the lord Haſtings, with diuerſe other of his traitorous purpoſe, had before conſpired the ſame day to haue ſlaine the lord protector, and the duke of Buckingham ſitting in the councell; and after to haue taken vpon them to rule the king & the realme at their pleaſure, and therby to pill and ſpoile whome they liſt vncontrolled. And much matter there was in that proclamation, deuiſed to the ſlander of the lord chamberleine, as that he was an ill councellor to the kings father, intiſing him to manie things highlie redounding to the miniſhing of his honour, and to the vniuerſall hurt of the realme.

The life and deeds of the lord chamberleine laid open

The meanes whereby; namelie, his euill companie, ſiniſter procuring, and vngratious example, as well in manie other things, as in the vicious liuing and inordinate abuſion of his bodie, both with manie other, and alſo ſpeciallie with Shores wife, which was one alſo of his moſt ſecret counſell in this moſt heinous treaſon, with whom he laie nightlie, and namelie the night laſt paſt next before his death. So that it was the leſſe maruell, if vngratious liuing brought him to an vnhappie ending, which he was now put vnto by the moſt dred commandement of the kings highneſſe, and of his honorable and faithfull councell, both for his demerits, being ſo openlie taken in his falſlie conceiued treaſon, and alſo leaſt the delaieng of his execution might haue incouraged other miſchiefous perſons, partners of his conſpiracie, to gather and aſſemble themſelues togither, in making ſome great commotion for his deliuerance: whoſe hope being now by his well deſerued death politikelie repreſſed, all the realme ſhould (by Gods grace) reſt in good quiet and peace.

Now was this proclamation made within two houres after that he was beheaded, and it was ſo curiouſlie indicted, & ſo faire written in parchment, in ſo well a ſet hand, and therewith of it ſelfe ſo long a proceſſe, that euerie child might well perceiue that it was prepared before. For all the time, betweene his death and the proclaming, could ſcant haue ſufficed vnto the bare writing alone, all had it bene but in paper, and ſcribled forth in haſt at aduenture. So that vpon the proclaming thereof, one that was ſchoolemaiſter of Powles, of chance ſtanding by, and comparing the ſhortneſſe of the time with the length of the matter, ſaid vnto them that ſtood about him; Here is a gaie goodlie caſt foule caſt awaie for haſt. And a merchant anſwered him, that it was written by propheſie.

Shores wife ſpoiled of all that ſhe had.

Now then by and by, as it were for anger, not for couetiſe, the protector ſent into the houſe of Shores wife (for hir huſband dwelled not with hir) and ſpoiled hir of all that euer ſhe had, aboue the value of two or three thouſand markes, and ſent hir bodie to priſon. And when he had a while laid vnto hir (for the maner ſake) that ſhe went about to bewitch him, and that ſhe was of counſell with the lord chamberleine to deſtroie him: in concluſion, when that no colour could faſten vpon theſe matters, then he laid heinouſlie to hir charge, that thing that hir ſelfe could not denie, and that all the world wiſt was true, and that natheleſſe euerie man laughed at, to heare it then ſo ſuddenlie ſo highlie taken, that ſhee was naught of hir bodie.

Shores wife put to open penance.

And for this cauſe (as a goodlie continent prince, cleane and faultleſſe of himſelfe, ſent out of heauen into this vicious world for the amendment of mens maners) he cauſed the biſhop of London to put hir to open penance, going before the croſſe in proceſſion vpon a ſundaie with a taper in hir hand. In which ſhe went in countenance and paſe demure ſo womanlie; that albeit ſhe were out of all araie, ſaue hir kirtle onelie, yet went ſhe ſo faire and louelie, namelie while the woondering of the people caſt a comelie rud in hir cheeks (of which ſhe before had moſt miſſe) that hir great ſhame wan hir much praiſe among thoſe that were more amorous of hir bodie, than curious of hir ſoule. And manie good folks alſo that hated hir liuing, & glad were to ſee ſin corrected: yet pitied they more hir penance, than reioiſed therin, when they conſidered that the protector procured it, more of a corrupt intent, than anie vertuous affection.

The deſcription of Shores wife.

This woman was borne in London, worſhipfullie friended, honeſtlie brought vp, and verie well maried, ſauing ſomewhat too ſoone, hir huſband an honeſt citizen, yoong and goodlie, & of good ſubſtance. But forſomuch as they were coupled yer ſhe were well ripe, ſhe not verie feruentlie loued him, for whom ſhe neuer longed, which was happilie the thing that the more eaſilie made hir incline vnto the kings appetite, when he required hir. Howbeit the reſpect of his roialtie, the hope of gaie apparell, eaſe, and other wanton wealth, was able ſoone to pearſe a ſoft tender heart, [ſo that ſhe became flexible and pliant to the kings appetite and will; being ſo blinded with the bright glorie of the preſent courtlie brauerie which ſhee inioied, that ſhe vtterlie forgat how excellent a treaſure good name and fame is, and of what incomparable ſweetneſſe, euen by the iudgement of him, whoſe match for wiſdome the world neuer bred vp, ſaieng:

Eob. Heſſ. in Eccleſ. Sal.

Sunt optanda magis puræ bona nomina famæ,
Nobilis vnguenti quàm pretioſus odor.]

But when the king had abuſed hir, anon hir huſband (as he was an honeſt man, and one that could his good, not preſuming to touch a kings concubine) left hir vp to him altogither. When the king died, the lord chamberleine tooke hir, which in the kings daies, albeit he was ſore inamoured vpon hir, yet he forbare hir; either for reuerence, or for a certeine friendlie faithfulneſſe. Proper ſhe was and faire; nothing in hir bodie that you would haue changed, but if ye would haue wiſhed hir ſomewhat higher. Thus ſaie they that knew hir in hir youth. Albeit ſome that now ſee hir (for yet* ſhe liueth) deem hir neuer to haue beene well viſaged; whoſe iudgement ſeemeth me ſomewhat like, as though men ſhould geſſe the beautie of one long before departed, by hir ſcalpe taken out of the charnell houſe.

* Meaning when this ſtorie was written.

For now is ſhe old, leane, withered, and dried vp, nothing left but riuelled ſkin, and hard bone. And yet being euen ſuch, who ſo well aduiſe hir viſage, might geſſe and deuiſe, which parts how filled would make it a faire face. Yet delighted not men ſo much in hir beautie, as in hir pleaſant behauiour. For a proper wit had ſhe, and could both read well and write, merrie in companie, readie and quicke of anſwer, neither mute, nor full of bable, ſomtime tawnting without diſpleaſure, and not without diſport. The king would ſaie that he had three concubins, which in three diuerſe properties diuerſlie excelled. One the merrieſt, another the wilieſt, the third the holieſt harlot in his realme, as one whome no man could get out of the church lightlie to any place, but it were to his bed.

K. Edwards three concubines.

The other two were ſomewhat greater perſonages, and natheleſſe of their humilitie content to be nameleſſe, and to forbeare the praiſe of thoſe properties: but the merieſt was this Shores wife, in whom the king therefore tooke ſpeciall pleaſure. For manie he had, but hir he loued; whoſe fauour to ſay the truth (for ſin it were to beelie the diuell) ſhe neuer abuſed to anie mans hurt, but to manie a mans comfort and releefe. Where the king tooke diſpleaſure, ſhee would mitigate and appeaſe his mind: where men were out of fauour, ſhe would bring them in his grace. For manie that had highlie offended ſhee obteined pardon. Of great forfeitures ſhe gat men remiſſion.

Finallie, in manie weightie ſutes ſhe ſtood manie a man in great ſtead, either for none or verie ſmall rewards, and thoſe rather gaie than rich; either that ſhe was content with the deed it ſelfe well doone; or for that ſhe delighted to be ſued vnto, and to ſhew what ſhe was able to doo with the king; or for that wanton women and wealthie be not alwaies couetous. I doubt not ſome ſhall thinke this woman too ſlight a thing to be written of, and ſet among the remembrances of great matters: which they ſhall ſpeciallie thinke, that happilie ſhall eſteeme hir onelie by that they now ſee hir.

But me ſeemeth the chance ſo much the more worthie to be remembred, in how much ſhe is now in the more beggerlie condition, vnfreended and worne out of acquaintance, after good ſubſtance, after as great fauour with the prince, after as great ſute and ſeeking to with all thoſe, that thoſe daies had buſineſſe to ſpeed, as manie other men were in their times, which be now famous onelie by the infamie of their ill deeds. Hir doings were not much leſſe, albeit they be much leſſe remembred, bicauſe they were not ſo euill. For men vſe if they haue an euill turne, to write it in marble: and who ſo dooth vs a good turne, we write it in duſt, which is not worſt proued by hir: for at this daie ſhe beggeth of manie at this daie liuing, that at this daie had begged if ſhe had not beene.

Now was it ſo deuiſed by the protector and his councell, that the ſelfe daie, in which the lord chamberleine was beheaded in the Tower of London, and about the ſelfe ſame houre, was there (not without his aſſent) beheaded at Pomfret, the foreremembred lords & knights that were taken from the king at Northampton and Stonie Stratford. Which thing was doone in the preſence, and by the order of ſir Richard Ratcliffe knight, whoſe ſeruice the protector ſpeciallie vſed in that councell, and in the execution of ſuch lawleſſe enterpriſes, as a man that had beene long ſecret with him, hauing experience of the world, and a ſhrewd wit, ſhort & rude in ſpeech, rough and boiſterous of behauiour, bold in miſchiefe, as far from pitie as from all feare of God.

Sir Richard Ratcliffe.

This knight bringing them out of the priſon to the ſcaffold, and ſhewing to the people about that they were traitors (not ſuffering them to declare & ſpeake their innocencie, leaſt their words might haue inclined men to pitie them, and to hate the protector and his part) cauſed them haſtilie, without iudgement, proceſſe, or maner of order to be beheaded, and without other earthlie gilt, but onelie that they were good men, too true to the king, and too nigh to the queene. Now when the lord chamberleine & theſe other lords and knights were thus beheaded, and rid out of the waie: then thought the protector, that when men muſed what the matter meant, while the lords of the realme were about him out of their owne ſtrengths, while no man wiſt what to thinke, nor whom to truſt, yer euer they ſhould haue ſpace to diſpute and digeſt the matter and make parties; it were beſt haſtilie to purſue his purpoſe, and put himſelfe in poſſeſſion of the crowne, yer men could haue time to deuiſe anie waie to reſiſt.

The lord Riuers & other beheaded.

But now was all the ſtudie by what meanes this matter, being of it ſelfe ſo heinous, might be firſt broken to the people, in ſuch wiſe that it might be well taken. To this councell they tooke diuerſe, ſuch as they thought meetlie to be truſted, likelie to be induced to that part, and able to ſtand them in ſteed either by power or policie. Among whome they made of councell Edmund Shaw knight then maior of London, which vpon truſt of his owne aduancement, whereof he was of a proud heart highlie deſirous, ſhould frame the citie to their appetite. Of ſpirituall men they tooke ſuch as had wit, and were in authoritie among the people for opinion of their learning, and had no ſcrupulous conſcience. Among theſe had they Iohn Shaw clearke brother to the maior, and frier Penker, prouinciall of the Auguſtine friers both doctors of diuinitie, both great preachers, both of more learning than vertue, of more fame than learning. For they were before greatlie eſteemed among the people: but after that neuer.

Edmund Shaw maior of London.

Of theſe two the one had a ſermon in praiſe of the protector before the coronation, the other after, both ſo full of tedious flatterie, that no mans eares could abide them. Penker in his ſermon ſo loſt his voice, that he was faine to leaue off, and come downe in the midſt. Doctor Shaw by his ſermon loſt his honeſtie, & ſoone after his life, for verie ſhame of the world, into which he durſt neuer after come abroad. But the frier forced for no ſhame, and ſo it harmed him the leſſe. Howbeit ſome doubt, and manie thinke, that Penker was not of counſell in the matter before the coronation, but after the common maner fell to flatterie after: namelie ſith his ſermon was not incontinentlie vpon it, but at ſaint Marie hoſpitall at the Eaſter after.

Doct. Shaw. Frier Penker.

But certeine it is, that doctor Shaw was of counſell in the begining, ſo farre foorth that they determined that he ſhould firſt breake the matter in a ſermon at Paules croſſe, in which he ſhould (by the authoritie of his preaching) incline the people to the protectors ghoſtlie purpoſe. But now was all the labor and ſtudie in the deuiſe of ſome conuenient pretext, for which the people ſhould be content to depoſe the prince, and accept the protector for king. In which diuerſe things they deuiſed. But the cheefe thing & the weightieſt of all that inuention reſted in this, that they ſhould alledge baſtardie, either in king Edward himſelfe, or in his children, or both. So that he ſhould ſeeme diſabled to inherit the crowne, by the duke of Yorke, and the prince by him.

The chiefeſt deuiſe to depoſe the prince.

To laie baſtardie in king Edward, ſounded openlie to the rebuke of the protectors owne mother, which was mother to them both; for in that point could be no other color, but to pretend that his owne mother was an adultreſſe, which notwithſtanding, to further this purpoſe he letted not. But neuertheleſſe he would that point ſhould be leſſe and more fauourablie handled: not euen fullie plaine and directlie, but that the matter ſhould be touched aſlope craftilie, as though men ſpared in that point to ſpeake all the truth, for feare of his diſpleaſure. But the other point concerning the baſtardie that they deuiſed to ſurmize in king Edwards children, that would he ſhould be openlie declared and inforced to the vttermoſt. The colour and pretext whereof cannot be well perceiued, but if we firſt repeat you ſome things long before doone about king Edwards mariage.

Sée before pag. 667, 668.

After that king Edward the fourth had depoſed king Henrie the ſixt, and was in peaceable poſſeſſion of the realme, determining himſelfe to marie (as it was méet both for him ſelfe & the realme) he ſent ouer in ambaſſage the erle of Warwike, with other noble men in his companie to Spaine, to treat & conclude a mariage betwéene K. Edward & the kings daughter of Spaine. In which thing the erle of Warwike found the parties ſo toward & willing, that he ſpéedily (according to his inſtructions without any difficultie) brought the matter to very good cõcluſion. Now happened it, that in the meane ſeaſon there came to make a ſute by petition to the king dame Elizabeth Greie, which was after his quéene, at that time a widow, borne of noble bloud, by hir mother, duches of Bedford, yer ſhe maried the lord Wooduile, hir father.

Dame Elizabeth Greie.

Howbeit, this dame Elizabeth hir ſelfe, being in ſeruice with quéene Margaret, wife vnto king Henrie the ſixt, wis maried vnto one [Iohn] Greie an eſquier, whome king Henrie made knight vpon the field that he had on [Barnet heath by ſaint Albons] againſt king Edward. But litle while inioied he that knighthood: for he was at the ſame field ſlaine. After which doone, and the earle of Warwike, being in his ambaſſage about the afore remembred mariage, this poore ladie made humble ſute vnto the king, that ſhe might be reſtored vnto ſuch ſmall lands as hir late huſband had giuen hir in iointure. Whome when the king beheld, and heard hir ſpeake, as ſhe was both faire and of a goodlie fauor, moderate of ſtature, well made, and verie wiſe: he not onelie pitied hir, but alſo waxed inamoured of hir. And taking hir afterward ſecretlie aſide, began to enter in talking more familiarlie. Whoſe appetite when ſhe perceiued, ſhe vertuouſlie denied him.

A wiſe anſwer of a chaſt and continent ladie.

But that did ſhe ſo wiſelie, and with ſo good maner, and words ſo well ſet, that ſhe rather kindled his deſire than quenched it. And finallie, after manie a méeting, much wooing, and many great promiſes, ſhe well eſpieng the kings affection toward hir ſo greatlie increaſed, that ſhe durſt ſomewhat the more boldlie ſaie hir mind, as to him whoſe hart ſhe perceiued more feruentlie ſet, than to fall off for a word. And in concluſion, ſhe ſhewed him plaine, that as ſhe wiſt hir ſelfe too ſimple to be his wife, ſo thought ſhe hir ſelfe too good to be his concubine. The king much maruelling at hir conſtancie (as he that had not béene wont elſewhere to be ſo ſtiffelie ſaid naie) ſo much eſtéemed hir continencie and chaſtitie, that he ſet hir vertue in the ſtéed of poſſeſſion and riches: and thus taking counſell of his deſire, determined in all poſſible haſt to marie hir.

The kings mother.

Now after he was thus appointed, and had betwéene them twaine inſured hir: then aſked he counſell of his other fréends, and that in ſuch maner, as they might then perceiue it booted not greatlie to ſay naie. Notwithſtanding the duches of Yorke his mother was ſo ſore-moued therewith, that ſhe diſſuaded the mariage as much as ſhe poſſible might; alledging that it was his honour, profit, and ſuertie alſo, to marie in a noble progenie out of his realme, wherevpon depended great ſtrength to his eſtate, by the affinitie and great poſſibilitie of increaſe of his poſſeſſion. And that he could not well otherwiſe doo, ſéeing that the earle of Warwike had ſo farre moued alreadie: which were not likelie to take it well, if all his voiage were in ſuch wiſe fruſtrate, and his appointment deluded. And ſhe ſaid alſo, that it was not princelie to marie his owne ſubiect, no great occaſion leading therevnto, no poſſeſſions, or other commodities depending therevpon; but onlie as it were a rich man that would marie his maid, onelie for a little wanton dotage vpon hir perſon.

In which mariage manie mo commend the maidens fortune, than the maiſters wiſedome. And yet therein (ſhe ſaid) was more honeſtie than honour in this mariage. For ſomuch as there is betwéene no merchant and his owne maid ſo great difference, as betwéene the king and this widow. In whoſe perſon, albeit there was nothing to be miſliked; yet was there (ſhe ſaid) nothing ſo excellent, but that it might be found in diuerſe other that were more méetlie (quoth ſhe) for your eſtate, and maidens alſo; whereas the onelie widowhead of Elizabeth Greie, though ſhe were in all other things conuenient for you, ſhuld yet ſuffice (as me ſéemeth) to refraine you from hir mariage, ſith it is an vnfitting thing, and a verie blemiſh and high diſparagement to the ſacred maieſtie of a prince, that ought as nigh to approch prieſthood in cleanneſſe as he dooth in dignitie, to be defiled with bigamie in his firſt mariage.

The kings anſwer to his mother.

The king, when his mother had ſaid, made hir anſwer, part in earneſt, part in plaie merilie, as he that wiſt himſelfe out of hir rule. And albeit he would gladlie that ſhe ſhould take it well, yet was at a point in his owne mind, tooke ſhe it well or otherwiſe. Howbeit ſomewhat to ſatiſfie hir, he ſaid, that albeit mariage (being a ſpirituall thing) ought rather to be made for the reſpect of God, where his grace inclineth the parties to loue togither, as he truſted it was in his, than for the regard of anie temporall aduanuantage: yet neuertheleſſe, him ſéemed that this mariage, euen worldlie conſidered, was not vnprofitable. For he reckoned the amitie of no earthlie nation ſo neceſſarie for him, as the fréendſhip of his owne, which he thought likely to beare him ſo much the more hartie fauour, in that he diſdeined not to marie with one of his owne land.

And yet if outward aliance were thought ſo requiſite, he would find the means to enter thereinto, much better by other of his kin, where all the parties could be contented, than to marie himſelfe whome he ſhould happilie neuer loue; and for the poſſibilitie of more poſſeſſions, léeſe the fruit and pleaſure of this that he had alreadie. For ſmall pleaſure taketh a man of all that euer he hath beſide, if he be wiued againſt his appetite. And I doubt not (quoth he) but there be (as ye ſay) other, that be in euerie point comparable with hir. And therefore I let not them that like them to wed them. No more is it reaſon, that it miſlike anie man, that I marrie where it liketh me. And I am ſure that my couſine of Warwike neither loueth me ſo little, to grudge at that I loue; nor is ſo vnreaſonable, to looke that I ſhould in choiſe of a wife, rather be ruled by his eie, than by mine owne: as though I were a ward that were bound to marie by the appointment of a gardian.

Libertie preferred before a kingdome.

I would not be a king with that condition, to forbeare mine owne libertie in choiſe of mine owne mariage. As for poſſibilitie of more inheritance by new affinitie in ſtrange lands, is oft the occaſion of more trouble than profit. And we haue alreadie title by that meanes vnto ſo much, as ſufficeth to get and kéepe well in one mans daies. That ſhe is a widow, and hath alreadie children; by Gods bleſſed ladie, I am a bacheler, and haue ſome too, and ſo ech of vs hath a proofe that neither of vs is like to be barren. And therefore (madame) I praie you be content, I truſt in God ſhe ſhall bring foorth a yoong prince that ſhall pleaſe you. And as for the bigamie, let the biſhop hardlie laie it in my waie when I come to take orders. For I vnderſtand it is forbidden a preeſt, but I neuer wiſt it yet, that it was forbidden a prince. [This ſpake he as alluding to the libertie of princes, whoſe luſt ſtandeth oftentimes for law, and their opinion for reaſon, according to the ſaieng of the poet;

———tunc omnia iure tenebis,
Cùm poteris rex eſſe.]

Claudi.

The duches with theſe words nothing appeaſed, and ſeeing the king ſo ſet thereon, that ſhe could not pull him backe, ſo highlie ſhe diſdained it, that vnder pretext of hir dutie to Godward, ſhe deuiſed to diſturbe this mariage, and rather to helpe that he ſhould marie one dame Elizabeth Lucie, whome the king had alſo not long before gotten with child. Wherefore the kings mother openlie obiected againſt his mariage, as it were in diſcharge of hir conſcience, that the king was ſure to dame Elizabeth Lucie and hir huſband before God. By reaſon of which words, ſuch obſtacle was made in the matter, that either the biſhops durſt not, or the king would not proceed to the ſolemnization of this wedding, till theſe ſame were clearlie purged, and the truth well and openlie teſtified. Wherevpon dame Elizabeth Lucie was then ſent for.

Elizabeth Lucie.

And albeit that ſhe was by the kings mother and manie other put in good comfort, to affirme that ſhe was enſured vnto the king: yet when ſhe was ſolemnlie ſworne to ſaie the truth, ſhe confeſſed that they were neuer enſured. Howbeit ſhe ſaid his grace ſpake ſo louing words vnto hir, that ſhe verelie hoped he would haue married hir. And that if it had not beene for ſuch kind words, ſhe would neuer haue ſhewed ſuch kindneſſe to him, to let him ſo kindlie get hir with child. This examination ſolemnelie taken, when it was cleerelie perceiued, that there was none impediment: the king with great feaſt and honourable ſolemnitie married dame Elizabeth Greie, and hir crowned queene that was his enimies wife, and manie times had praied full hartilie for his loſſe, in which God loued hir better than to grant hir hir boone.

The kings mariage.

But when the earle of Warwike vnderſtood of this marriage, he tooke it ſo highlie that his ambaſſage was deluded, that for verie anger and diſdaine he (at his returning) aſſembled a great puiſſance againſt the king, and came ſo faſt vpon him yer he could be able to reſiſt, that he was faine to void the realme, and flee into Holland for ſuccor, where he remained for the ſpace of two yeares, leauing his new wife at Weſtminſter in ſanctuarie, where ſhe was deliuered of Edward the prince, of whome we before haue ſpoken. In which meane time the earle of Warwike tooke out of priſon, and ſet vp againe king Henrie the ſixt, who was before by king Edward depoſed, and that much what by the power of the erle of Warwike, which was a wiſe man, and a couragious warriour, and of ſuch ſtrength, what for his lands, his aliance, and fauor with all people, that he made kings and put downe kings almoſt at his pleaſure, and not impoſſible to haue atteined it himſelfe, if he had not reckoned it a greater thing to make a king than to be a king.

The king fled.

The prince borne.

King Henrie the ſixt ſet vp.

Of the earle of Warwike.

But nothing laſteth alwaie: for in concluſion, king Edward returned, and with much leſſe number than he had at Barnet on the Eaſterdaie field, ſlue the earle of Warwike, with manie other great eſtates of that partie, & ſo ſtablie atteined the crowne againe, that he peaceablie enioied it vntill his dieng daie: and in ſuch plight left it, that it could not be loſt but by the diſcord of his verie friends, or falſhood of his feined friends. I haue rehearſed this buſineſſe about this marriage ſomewhat the more at length, bicauſe it might thereby the better appeare, vpon how ſlipperie a ground the protector builded his colour, by which he pretended king Edwards children to be baſtards. But that inuention, ſimple as it was, it liked them to whome it ſufficed to haue ſomewhat to ſaie, while they were ſure to be compelled to no larger proofe than themſelues liſt to make.

The earle of Warwike ſlaine.

Now then (as I began to ſhew you) it was by the protector and his councell concluded, that this doctor Shaw ſhould in a ſermon at Pauls croſſe ſignifie to the people, that neither king Edward himſelfe, nor the duke of Clarence, were lawfullie begotten, nor were not the verie children of the duke of Yorke, but gotten vnlawfullie by other perſons, in adulterie, of the duches their mother. And that alſo dame Elizabeth Lucie was verelie the wife of king Edward, and ſo the prince and all his children baſtards, that were begotten vpon the queene. According to this deuiſe doctor Shaw the ſundaie after, at Paules croſſe in a great audience (as alwaie aſſembled great number to his preaching) he tooke for his theame; *Spuria vitilamina non agent radices altas*, that is to ſaie; Baſtard ſlippes ſhall neuer take deepe root.

Doc. Shaws ſermon.

Therevpon when he had ſhewed the great grace that God giueth, and ſecretlie infundeth in right generation after the lawes of matrimonie, then declared he, that commonlie thoſe children lacked that grace, and for the puniſhment of their parents were (for the more part) vnhappie, which were gotten in baſe, and ſpeciallie in adulterie. Of which, though ſome, by the ignorance of the world and the truth hid from knowledge, inherited for the ſeaſon other mens lands, yet God alwaie ſo prouideth, that it continueth not in their bloud long: but the truth comming to light, the rightfull inheritors be reſtored, and the baſtard ſlip pulled vp yer it can be rooted deepe. And ſo he did laie for the proofe and confirmation of this ſentence certeine inſamples taken out of the old teſtament, and other ancient hiſtories.

Then began he to deſcend into the praiſe of the lord Richard late duke of Yorke, calling him father to the lord protector, and declared the title of his heires vnto the crowne, to whome it was (after the death of king Henrie the ſixt) intailed by authoritie of parlement. Then ſhewed he that his verie right heire of his bodie lawfullie begotten was onelie the lord protector. For he declared then, that king Edward was neuer lawfullie married vnto the queene, but was before God huſband vnto dame Elizabeth Lucie, and ſo his children baſtards. And beſides that, neither king Edward himſelfe, nor the duke of Clarence, among thoſe that were ſecret in the houſhold, were reckoned verie ſuerlie for the children of the noble duke, as thoſe that by their fauours more reſembled other knowne men than him. From whoſe vertuous conditions he ſaid alſo that the late king Edward was far off.

This preacher was taught his leſſon yer he came into the pulpit.

K. Edward ſlandered in a ſermon.

But the lord protector he ſaid, the verie noble prince, the ſpeciall paterne of knightlie proweſſe, as well in all princelie behauior, as in the lineaments and fauour of his viſage, repreſented the verie face of the noble duke his father. This is, quoth he, the fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the verie print of his viſage, the ſure vndoubted image, the plaine expreſſe likeneſſe of that noble duke. Now was it before deuiſed, that in the ſpeaking of theſe words, the protector ſhould haue comen in among the people to the ſermon ward, to the end that thoſe words meeting with his preſence, might haue beene taken among the hearers, as though the Holie ghoſt had put them in the preachers mouth, & ſhould haue moued the people euen there to crie; King Richard, king Richard: that it might haue beene after ſaid, that he was ſpeciallie choſen by God, and in

A maruelous deuiſe to moue the aſſemblie.

maner by miracle. But this deuiſe quailed, either by the protectors negligence, or the preachers ouermuch diligence.

K. Richard commended by the preacher.

For while the protector found by the waie tarieng leaſt he ſhould preuent thoſe words, and the doctor fearing that he ſhould come yer his ſermon could come to theſe words, haſted his matter thereto, he was come to them and paſt them, and entred into other matters yer the protector came. Whome when he beheld comming, he ſuddenlie left the matter with which he was in hand, and without anie deduction therevnto, out of all order and out of all frame, began to repeat thoſe words againe: This is the verie noble prince, the ſpeciall patrone of knightlie proweſſe, which as well in all princelie behauior, as in the lineaments & fauor of his viſage, repreſenteth the verie face of the noble duke of Yorke his father: this is the fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the verie print of his viſage, the ſure vndoubted image, the plaine expreſſe likeneſſe of the noble duke, whoſe remembrance can neuer die while he liueth.

Note ẏ course of Gods iudgement.

While theſe words were in ſpeaking, the protector accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, went through the people into the place where the doctors commonlie ſtand in the vpper ſtorie, where he ſtood to hearken the ſermon. But the people were ſo farre fro crieng; K. Richard, that they ſtood as they had beene turned into ſtones, for wonder of this ſhamefull ſermon. After which once ended, the preacher gat him home, and neuer after durſt looke out for ſhame, but kept him out of ſight like an owle. And when he once aſked one that had beene his old friend what the people talked of him, all were it that his owne conſcience well ſhewed him that they talked no good; yet when the tother anſwered him, that there was in euerie mans mouth ſpoken of him much ſhame, it ſo ſtrake him to the heart, that within few daies after he withered and conſumed awaie [for verie thought and inward pine, procured by irrecouerable cares, whoſe nature is noted by obſeruation of their effects:

Ouid. lib.3. met.

Attenuant vigiles corpus miſerabile curæ.]

Then on the tueſdaie following this ſermon, there came to the Guildhall in London the duke of Buckingham, accompanied with diuerſe lords and knights mo than happilie knew the meſſage that they brought. And there in the eaſt end of the hall, where the maior keepeth the Huſtings, the maior and all the aldermen being aſſembled about him, all the commons of the citie gathered before them. After ſilence commanded vpon great paine in the protectors name: the duke ſtood vp, and (as he was neither vnlearned, and of nature maruelouſlie well ſpoken) he ſaid vnto the people with a cleare and lowd voice in this maner of wiſe.

The duke of Buckinghams oration to *the aſſemblie of the maior, aldermen,* and commoners.

FRiends, for the zeale and heartie fauour that we beare you, we be comen to breake vnto you of a matter right great and weightie, and no leſſe weightie than pleaſing to God, and profitable to all the realme: nor to no part of the realme more profitable, than to you the citizens of this noble citie. For whie, that thing that we wote well ye haue long time lacked, and ſore longed for, that yee would haue giuen great good for, that yee would haue gone farre to fetch; that thing we be come hither to bring you without your labour, paine, coſt, aduenture or ieopardie. What thing is that? Certes the ſuertie of your owne bodies, the quiet of your wiues and your daughters, the ſafegard of your goods: of all which things in times paſt ye ſtood euermore in doubt. For who was there of you all, that would reckon himſelfe lord of his own goods among ſo manie grens & traps as was ſet therefore, among ſo much pilling and polling, among ſo manie taxes and tallages, of which there was neuer end, & oftentimes no need? Or if anie were, it rather grew of riot, and vnreaſonable waſt, than anie neceſſarie or honourable charge.

A notable perſuaſion.

So that there was dailie pilled fro good men and honeſt, great ſubſtance of goods, to be laſhed out among vnthrifts; ſo far forth, that fifteenes ſufficed not, nor anie vſuall names of knowne taxes: but vnder an eaſie name of beneuolence and good will, the commiſſioners ſo much of euerie man tooke as no man could with his good will haue giuen. As though that name of beneuolence had ſignified, that euerie man ſhould paie, not what himſelfe of his owne good will liſt to grant, but what the king of his good will liſt to take. Which neuer aſked little, but euerie thing was hawſed aboue the meaſure, amercements turned into fines, fines into ranſoms, ſmall treſpaſſes into miſpriſon, miſpriſon into treaſon. Whereof (I thinke) no man looketh that we ſhould remember you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten, that was for a word ſpoken in haſt cruellie beheaded, by the miſconſtruing of the laws of this realme, for the princes pleaſure.

Burdet.

Markam.

Coke.

With no leſſe honour to Markam then cheefe iuſtice, that left [the benefit & dignitie] of his office, rather than he would aſſent to the diſhoneſtie of thoſe, that either for feare or flatterie gaue that iudgement. What Cooke, your owne worſhipfull neighbour, alderman and maior of this noble citie, who is of you ſo either negligent that he knoweth not, or ſo forgetfull that he remembreth not, or ſo hard hearted that he pittieth not that worſhipfull mans loſſe? What ſpeake we of loſſe? His vtter ſpoile and vndeſerued deſtruction, onelie for that it hapned thoſe to fauour him whome the prince fauoured not. We need not (I ſuppoſe) to rehearſe of theſe anie mo by name, ſith there be (I doubt not) manie heere preſent, that either in themſelues or in their nigh friends haue knowne, as well their goods as their perſons greatlie indangered, either by feigned quarels, or ſmall matters aggreeued with heinous names. And alſo there was no crime ſo great, of which there could lacke a pretext.

For ſith the king, preuenting the time of this inheritance, atteined the crowne by battell: it ſufficed in a rich man for a pretext of treaſon, to haue beene of kinred or aliance, neer familiaritie, or legier acquaintance with anie of thoſe that were at anie

time

Open warre not ſo ill as ciuill.

time the kings enimies, which was at one time and other more than halfe the relme. Thus were neither your goods in ſuertie, and yet they brought your bodies in ieopardie, beſide the common aduenture of open warre, which albeit that it is euer the will and occaſion of much miſchæfe, yet is it neuer ſo miſchæuous, as where anie people fall at diſtance among themſelues; nor in none earthlie nation ſo deadlie and ſo peſtilent, as when it hapneth among vs; and among vs neuer ſo long continued diſſention, nor ſo manie batels in that ſeaſon, nor ſo cruell and ſo deadlie fought, as was in that kings daies that dead is, God forgiue it his ſoule.

Ciuill warre the occaſion of manie great inconueniences.

In whoſe time, and by whoſe occaſion, what about the getting of the garland, kæping it, læſing and winning againe, it hath coſt more Engliſh bloud, than hath twiſe the winning of France. In which inward war among our ſelues, hath bæne ſo great effuſion of the ancient noble bloud of this realme, that ſcarſelie the halfe remaineth, to the great infæbling of this noble land, beſide manie a good towne ranſacked and ſpoiled by them, that haue bæne going to the field or comming from thence. And peace long after not much ſurer than war. So that no time was therein, which rich men for their monie, and great men for their lands, or ſome other for ſome feare, or ſome diſpleaſure were not out of perill. For whom truſted he that miſtruſted his owne brother? Whome ſpared he that killed his owne brother? Or who could perfectlie loue him, if his owne brother could not?

Shores wife more ſued vnto than all the lords in England.

What maner of folke he moſt fauoured we ſhall for his honour ſpare to ſpeake of. Howbeit this wote you well all, that who ſo was beſt, bare alwaie leaſt rule; & more ſute was in his daies to Shores wife, a vile and an abhominable ſtrumpet, than to all the lords in England: except vnto thoſe that made hir their proctor. Which ſimple woman was well named & honeſt, till the king for his wanton luſt and ſinfull affection bereft hir from hir huſband, a right honeſt ſubſtantiall yoong man among you. And in that point, which in good faith I am ſorie to ſpeake of, ſauing that it is in vaine to kæpe in counſell that thing that all men know, the kings grædie appetite was inſatiable, and euerie where ouer all the realme intollerable.

For no woman was there anie where, yoong or old, rich or poore, whome he ſet his eie vpon, in whome he anie thing liked, either perſon or fauour, ſpæch, paſe, or countenance, but without anie feare of God, or reſpect of his honour, murmur or grudge of the world, he would importunelie purſue his appetite, and haue hir, to the great deſtruction of manie a good woman, and great dolor to their huſbands, and their other frends; which being honeſt people of them ſelues, ſo much regard the cleanneſſe of their houſe, the chaſtitie of their wiues, and their children, that them were leauer to læſe all that they had beſide, than to haue ſuch a villanie doone them. And all were it that with this and other importable dealing, the realme was in euerie part annoied: yet ſpeciallie yæ hære the citizens of this noble citie, as well for that amongeſt you is moſt plentie of all ſuch things as miniſter matter to ſuch iniuries as for that you were næreſt at hand, ſith that nære hære abouts was commonlie his moſt abiding.

He directeth his ſpæch to ẏ communaltie of the citie.

London the kings ſpeciall chamber.

And yet be yæ the people, whome he had as ſingular cauſe well and kindlie to intreat, as anie part of his realme; not onelie for that the prince (by this noble citie, as his ſpeciall chamber, & the ſpeciall well renowmed citie of this realme) much honourable fame receiueth among all other nations; but alſo for that yæ (not without your great coſt, & ſundrie perils & ieopardies in all his warres) bare euen your ſpeciall fauor to his part. Which your kind minds borne to the houſe of Yorke, ſith he hath nothing worthilie acquited, there is of that houſe that now by Gods grace better ſhall: which thing to ſhew you is the whole ſumme and effect of this our preſent errand. It ſhall not (I wot well) næd that I rehearſe you againe, that yæ haue alreadie heard of him that can better tell it, and of whome I am ſure yæ will better beleeue it. And reaſon is that it ſo be.

Doct. Shaw commended by the duke of Buckinghã.

I am not ſo proud, to looke therefore that yæ ſhould reckon my words of as great authoritie as the preachers of the word of God, namlie a man ſo cunning and ſo wiſe, that no man better woteth what he ſhould ſaie, and thereto ſo good and vertuous, that he would not ſaie the thing which he wiſt he ſhould not ſaie, in the pulpit namelie, into the which no honeſt man commeth to lie. Which honorable preacher, yæ well remember, ſubſtantiallie declared vnto you at Paules croſſe, on ſundaie laſt paſſed, the right & title that the moſt excellent prince Richard duke of Gloceſter, now protector of this realme, hath vnto the crowne and kingdome of the ſame. For as the worſhipfull man groundlie made open vnto you, the children of king Edward the fourth were neuer lawfullie begotten, forſomuch as the king (leauing his verie wife dame Elizabeth Lucie) was neuer lawfullie maried vnto the quæne their mother, whoſe bloud, ſauing that he ſet his voluptuous pleaſure before his honor, was full vnmætlie to be matched with his; and the mingling of whoſe bloud togither, hath bæne the effuſion of a great part of the noble bloud of this realme.

A ſlanderous lie confirmed.

Wherby it may well ſæme the mariage not well made, of which there is ſo much miſchæfe growne. For lacke of which lawfull coupling, & alſo of other things which the ſaid worſhipfull doctor rather ſignified than fullie explaned, & which things ſhall not be ſpoken for me, as the thing wherein euerie man forbereth to ſay that he knoweth in auoiding diſpleaſure of my noble lord protector, bearing (as nature requireth) a filiall reuerence to the ducheſſe his mother. For theſe cauſes (I ſay) before remembred, that is to wit, for lacke of other iſſue lawfullie of the late noble prince Richard duke of Yorke, to whoſe roiall bloud the crowne of England and of France is by the high authoritie of parlement intailed, the right and title of the ſame is by the iuſt courſe of inheritance (according to the cōmon lawes of the land) deuolued & commen vnto the moſt excellent prince the lord protector, as to the verie lawfullie begotten ſonne of the foreremembred noble duke of Yorke.

The title of K. Richard to the crowne.

Which thing well conſidered, and the great knightlie prowеſſe pondered, with manifold vertues, which in his noble perſon ſingularlie abound; the nobles and commons alſo of this realme, and ſpeciallie of the north part, not willing anie baſtard bloud to haue the rule of the land, nor the abuſions before in the ſame vſed anie longer to continue, haue condeſcended and fullie determined, to make humble petition to the moſt puiſſant prince the lord protector, that it maie like his grace (at our humble requeſt) to take vpon him the guiding and gouernance of this realme, to the wealth and increaſe of the ſame, according to his verie right and iuſt title. Which thing I wote it well, he will be loth to take vpon him, as he whoſe wiſdome well perceiueth the labor and ſtudie both of mind and bodie, that come therewith, to whomſoeuer ſo will occupie the roome, as I dare ſay hee will, if he take it. Which roome I warne you well is no childs office. And that the great wiſe man well perceiued, when hee ſaid: *Væ regno cuius rex puer eſt:* Wo is that realme that hath a child to their king.

The dignitie and office of a king full of care & ſtudie.

Wherefore ſo much the more cauſe haue we to thanke God, that this noble perſonage, which is ſo rightlie intituled thervnto, is of ſo ſad age, & thereto ſo great wiſedome ioined with ſo great experience, which albeit hee will bee loth (as I haue ſaid) to take it vpon him, yet ſhall he to our petition in that behalfe more gratiouſlie incline, if ye the worſhipfull citizens of this the cheefe citie of this realme, ioine with vs the nobles in our ſaid requeſt. Which for your owne weale (we doubt not) but ye will: and natheleſſe I heartilie pray you ſo to doo, whereby you ſhall doo great profit to all this realme beſide, in chooſing them ſo good a king, and vnto your ſelues ſpeciall commoditie, to whom his maieſtie ſhall euer after beare ſo much the more tender fauor, in how much he ſhall perceiue you the more prone and beneuolentlie minded toward his election. Wherin deere friends what mind you haue, wee require you plainlie to ſhew vs.

When the duke had ſaid, and looked that the people, whome he hoped that the maior had framed before, ſhould after this propoſition made, haue cried; King Richard, king Richard: all was huſht and mute, and not one word anſwered thervnto. Wherewith the duke was maruellouſlie abaſhed, and taking the maior neerer to him, with other that were about him priuie to that matter, ſaid vnto them ſoftlie. What meaneth this, that the people be ſo ſtill? Sir (quoth the maior) percaſe they perceiue you not well. That ſhall we mend (quoth he) if that will helpe. And by & by ſomwhat lowder he reherſed to them the ſame matter againe in other order, and other words, ſo well and ornatlie, and natheleſſe ſo euidentlie and plaine, with voice, geſture, and countenance ſo comelie, and ſo conuenient, that euerie man much maruelled that heard him, and thought that they neuer had in their liues heard ſo euill a tale ſo well told [inſomuch that he ſeemed as cunning an orator, as he, of whome the poet ſpake to his high praiſe & cōmendation, ſaieng:

Quælibet eloquio cauſa fit apta ſuo.]

The election of K. Richard hardlie to be preferred.

But were it for woonder or feare, or that each looked that other ſhould ſpeake firſt: not one word was there anſwered of all the people that ſtood before, but all was as ſtill as the midnight, not ſomuch as rowning amongeſt them, by which they might ſeeme to commune what was beſt to do. When the maior ſaw this, he with other partners of that councell drew about the duke, and ſaid that the people had not beene accuſtomed there to be ſpoken vnto, but by the recorder, which is the mouth of the citie, and happilie to him they will anſwer. With that the recorder, called Fitz William, a ſad man, & an honeſt, which was ſo new come into that office, that he neuer had ſpoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to begin, notwithſtanding thervnto commanded by the maior, made rehearſall to the commons of that the duke had twiſe rehearſed to them himſelfe.

Fitz William recorder.

But the recorder ſo tempered his tale, that he ſhewed euerie thing as the dukes words, and no part his owne. But all this noting no change made in the people, which alwaie after one ſtood as they had beene men amazed. Whervpon the duke rowned vnto the maior and ſaid; This is a maruellous obſtinate ſilence: and therewith he turned vnto the people againe with theſe words; Deere friends, we come to mooue you to that thing, which peraduenture we not ſo greatlie needed, but that the lords of this realme, and the commons of other parties might haue ſufficed, ſauing that we ſuch loue beare you, and ſo much ſet by you, that we would not gladlie doo without you, that thing in which to be partners is your weale and honor, which (as it ſeemeth) either you ſee not, or weie not. Wherefore we require you giue vs anſwer one way or other, whether you be minded, as all the nobles of the realme be, to haue this noble prince, now protector, to be your king or not.

At theſe words the people began to whiſper among themſelues ſecretly, that the voice was neither lowd nor diſtinct, but as it were the ſound of a ſwarme of bees, till at the laſt in the nether end of the hall, an ambuſhment of the dukes ſeruants and Naſhfields, and other belonging to the protector, with ſome prentiſſes and lads that thruſt into the hall amongſt the preaſe, began ſuddenlie at mens backes to crie out, as lowd as their throtes would giue; King Richard, king Richard: and threw vp their caps in token of ioy. And they that ſtood before, caſt backe their heads maruelling therof, but nothing they ſaid. Now when the duke and the maior ſaw this maner, they wiſelie turned it to their purpoſe, and ſaid it was a goodlie crie, & a ioifull, to heare euerie man with one voice, no man ſaieng naie.

K. Richards election preferred by voices of confederacie.

Wherefore friends (quoth the duke) ſith we perceiue it is all your whole minds to haue this noble man for your king (whereof we ſhall make his grace ſo effectuall report, that we doubt not but it ſhall redound vnto your great weale and commoditie) we require ye, that ye to morrow go with vs, and we with you vnto his noble grace, to make our humble requeſt vnto him in maner before remembred. And therewith the lords came downe, and the companie diſſolued and departed, the more part all ſad: ſome with glad ſemblance that were not verie merrie, and ſome of thoſe that came thither with the duke not able to diſſemble their ſorrow, were faine at his backe to turne their face to the wall, while the dolor of their hearts burſt out of their eies.

The maiors comming to Bainards caſtell vnto the lord protector.

Then on the morrow after, the maior with all the aldermen, and chiefe commoners of the citie, in their beſt maner appareled, aſſembling themſelues togither, reſorted vnto Bainards caſtell, where the protector laie. To which place repaired alſo (according to their appointment) the duke of Buckingham, and diuerſe noble men with him, beſide manie knights and other gentlemen. And therevpon the duke ſent word vnto the lord protector, of the being there of a great and honourable companie, to moue a great matter vnto his grace. Wherevpon the protector made difficultie to come out vnto them, but if he firſt knew ſome part of their errand, as though he doubted and partlie miſtruſted the comming of ſuch a number vnto him ſo ſuddenlie, without anie warning or knowledge, whether they came for good or harme.

Then the duke, when he had ſhewed this to the maior and other, that they might thereby ſée how little the protector looked for this matter, they ſent vnto him by the meſſenger ſuch louing meſſage againe, and therewith ſo humblie beſought him, to vouchſafe that they might reſort to his preſence to propoſe their intent, of which they would vnto none other perſon anie part diſcloſe; that at the laſt he came forth of his chamber, and yet not downe vnto them, but ſtood aboue in a gallerie ouer them, where they might ſée him, and ſpeake to him, as though he would not yet come too néere them till he wiſt what they ment. And therupon the duke of Buckingham firſt made humble petition vnto him on the behalfe of them all, that his grace would pardon them, and licence them to propoſe vnto his grace the intent of their comming, without his diſpleaſure, without which pardon obteined, they durſt not be bold to moue him of that matter.

In which albeit they ment as much honor to his grace, as wealth to all the realme beſide, yet were they not ſure how his grace would take it, whome they would in no wiſe offend. Then the protector (as he was verie gentle of himſelfe, and alſo longed ſore to wit what they ment) gaue him leaue to propoſe what him liked, verelie truſting (for the good mind that he bare them all) none of them anie thing would intend vnto himward, wherewith he ought to bée gréeued. When the duke had this leaue and pardon to ſpeake, then waxed he bold to ſhew him their intent and purpoſe, with all the cauſes mouing them therevnto (as ye before haue heard) and finallie to beſéech his grace, that it would like him, of his accuſtomed goodneſſe and zeale vnto the realme, now with his eie of pitie to behold the long continued diſtreſſe and decaie of the ſame, and to ſet his gratious hands to redreſſe and amendment thereof.

All which he might well doo, by taking vpon him the crowne and gouernance of this realme, according to his right and title lawfullie deſcended vnto him, and to the laud of God, profit of the land, & vnto his noble grace ſo much the more honour, and leſſe paine, in that, that neuer prince reigned vpon anie people, that were ſo glad to liue vnder his obeiſance, as the people of this realme vnder his. When the protector had heard the propoſition, he looked verie ſtrangelie thereat, and anſwered; that all were it that he partlie knew the things by them alledged to be true, yet ſuch entire loue he bare vnto king Edward and his children, that ſo much more regarded his honour in other realmes about, than the crowne of anie one of which he was neuer deſirous, that he could not find in his hart in this point to incline to their deſire. For in all other nations, where the truth were not well knowne, it ſhould peraduenture be thought, that it were his owne ambitious mind and deuiſe, to depoſe the prince, and take himſelfe the crowne.

O ſingular diſſimulation of king Richard.

With which infamie he would not haue his honour ſtained for anie crowne, in which he had euer perceiued much more labour and paine, than pleaſure to him that ſo would vſe it, as he that would not, were not worthie to haue it. Notwithſtanding, he not onlie pardoned them the motion that they made him, but alſo thanked them for the loue and hartie fauour they bare him, praieng them for his ſake to giue and beare the ſame to the prince, vnder whom he was, and would be content to liue, and with his labour and counſell (as farre as ſhould like the king to vſe him) he would doo his vttermoſt deuoir to ſet the realme in good ſtate, which was alreadie in this little while of his protectorſhip (the praiſe giuen to God) well begun, in that the malice of ſuch as were before occaſion of the contrarie, and of new intended to be, were now partlie by good policie, & partlie more by Gods ſpeciall prouidence, than mans prouiſion, repreſſed.

K. Richard ſpake otherwiſe than he meant.

Vpon this anſwer giuen, the duke by the protectors licence, a little rowned aſwell with other noble men about him, as with the maior and recorder of London. And after that (vpon like pardon deſired & obteined) he ſhewed alowd vnto the protector, that for a finall concluſion, that the realme was appointed K. Edwards line ſhould not anie longer reigne vpon them, both for that they had ſo farre gone, that it was now no ſuertie to retreat, as for that they thought it for the weale vniuerſall to take that waie, although they had not yet begun it. Wherefore, if it would like his grace to take the crowne vpon him, they would humblie beſéech him therevnto. If he would giue them a reſolute anſwer to the contrarie, which they would be loth to heare, then muſt they néeds ſéeke and ſhould not faile to find ſome other noble man that would. Theſe words much moued the protector, which elſe (as euerie man may wéet) would neuer of likelihood haue inclined therevnto.

But when he ſaw there was none other waie, but that either he muſt take it, or elſe he and his both go from it, he ſaid vnto the lords and commons; Sith we perceiue well that all the realme is ſo ſet, whereof we be verie ſorie, that they will not ſuffer in any wiſe king Edwards line to gouerne them, whom no man earthlie can gouerne againſt their willes; & we well alſo perceiue, that no man is there, to whome the crowne can by iuſt title apperteine, as to our ſelues, as verie right heire lawfully begotten of the bodie of our moſt déere father Richard late duke of Yorke, to which title is now ioined your election, the nobles and commons of this realme, which we of all titles poſſible take for the moſt effectuall: we be content and agrée fauourablie to incline to your petition and requeſt, and (according to the ſame) here we take vpon vs the roiall eſtate, preheminence and kingdome of the two noble realmes, England and France: the one from this daie forward by vs and our heires to rule, gouerne, and defend; the other by Gods grace, and your good helpe, to get againe and ſubdue, and eſtabliſh for euer in due obedience vnto this realme of England, the aduancement whereof we neuer aſke of God longer to liue than we intend to procure.

The protector taketh vpon him to be king.

With this there was a great ſhout, crieng; King Richard, king Richard. And then the lords went vp to the king (for ſo was he from that time called) and the people departed, talking diuerſlie of the matter, euerie man as his fantaſie gaue him. But much they talked and maruelled of the maner of this dealing, that the matter was on both parts made ſo ſtrange, as though neither had euer communed with other thereof before, when that themſelues wiſt there was no man ſo dull that heard them, but he perceiued well inough that all the matter was made betwéene them. Howbeit ſome excuſed that againe, and ſaid all muſt be doone in good order though: and men muſt ſometime for the maners ſake, not be aknowen what they know [though it be hard to outreach the circumſpect, wiſe, & vigilant minded man; as the poet ſaith:

A made match to couſen the people.

Iuuenal. ſat. 2.

——— *non facile eſt tibi*
Decipere Vlyſſem.]

For at the conſecration of a biſhop, euerie man woteth well by the paieng for his buls, that he purpoſeth to be one, & though he paie for nothing elſe. And yet muſt he be twiſe asked whether he will be biſhop or no, and he muſt twiſe ſaie naie, and the third time take it, as compelled therevnto by his owne will. And in a ſtage plaie, all the people know right well, that one plaieng the Soldan, is percaſe a ſowter; yet if one ſhould can ſo little good, to ſhew out of ſeaſon what aquaintance he hath with him, and call him by his owne name while he ſtandeth in his maieſtie, one of his tormentors might hap to breake his head (and worthie) for marring of the plaie. And ſo they ſaid, that theſe matters be kings games, as it were ſtage plaies, and for the more part plaied vpon ſcaffolds, in which poore men be but the lookers on. And they that wiſe be will meddle no further. For they that ſometime ſtep vp, and plaie with them, when they can not plaie their parts, they diſorder the plaie, and do themſelues no good.

Thus farre Edward the fift, who was neuer king crowned, but ſhamefullie by his vncle ſlaine, as in the proceſſe following appeereth.

Richard the third, third ſonne to Richard duke of Yorke, and vncle *to Edward the fift.*

Anno Reg. 1. 1483

(*) This that is here betwéene this marke & this marke (*) was not written by maiſter More in this hiſtorie written by him in Engliſh, but is tranſlated out of this hiſtorie which he wrote in Latine.

(*) THe next daie the protector with a great traine went to Weſtminſter hall, & there when he had placed himſelfe in the court of the Kings bench, declared to the audience, that he would take vpon him the crowne in that place there, where the king himſelfe ſitteth and miniſtreth the law, bicauſe he conſidered that it was the chiefeſt dutie of a king to miniſter the lawes. Then with as pleaſant an oration as he could, he went about to win vnto him the nobles, the merchants, the artificers, and in concluſion all kind of men, but eſpeciallie the lawiers of this realme. And finallie, to the intent that no man ſhould hate him for feare, and that his deceitfull clemencie might get him the good will of the people, when he had declared the diſcommodities of diſcord, & the cõmodities of concord & vnitie, he made an open proclamation, that he did put out of his mind all enimities, and that he there did openlie pardon all offenſes committed againſt him.

And to the intent that he might ſhew a proofe thereof, he commanded that one Fog, whom he had long deadlie hated, ſhould be brought then before him, who being brought out of the ſanctuarie (for thither had he fled for feare of him) in the ſight of the people, he tooke him by the hand. Which thing the common people reioiſed at, and praiſed, but wiſe men tooke it for a vanitie. In his returne homeward, whom ſo euer he met, he ſaluted. For a mind that knoweth it ſelfe guiltie, is in a manner deiected to a ſeruile flatterie [which refuſeth no dutifulneſſe, tend the ſame to neuer ſo hie a degrée of indignitie; which one noteth, ſaieng:

——— *rides? maiore cachinno*
Concutitur; flet, ſi lachrymas aſpexit amici;
Frigeſcis? friget; ſi dixeris, æſtuo, ſudat.]

When he had begun his reigne in the moneth of Iune, after this mockiſh election, then was he crowned king in the verie ſame moneth. And that ſolemnitie was furniſhed, for the moſt part, with the ſelfe ſame prouiſion that was appointed for the coronation of his nephue. (*) But here to ſhew the maner of his coronation, as the ſame is inſerted in this pamphlet of ſir Thomas More, by maiſter Edward Hall and Richard Grafton (although not found in the ſame pamphlet) thus we find it by them reported. (*) Firſt, to be ſure of all enimies (as he thought) he ſent for fiue thouſand men of the north againſt his coronation, which came vp euill apparelled, and worſe harneſſed, in ruſtie harneſſe, neither defenſible, nor ſcowred to the ſale, which muſtered in Finſburie field to the great diſdaine of the lookers on. [By which beginning it appéered to the world that he had his ſtate in ſuſpicion, otherwiſe he would not haue procured ſuch a power to be attendant at his commandement, and that at ſuch time as (all weapons laid aſide) peace and tranquillitie ſhould haue béene ſought after for the comforts of the peoples minds, & the ſafetie of his owne perſon; but being verie miſtruſtfull & fraught with carefull thoughts, he was in a maze betwéene hope and feare, according to this verie true ſaieng:

From this marke (*) to this (*) is not found in ſir Thomas More but in maiſter Hall and Grafton.

Sollicita

Sollicitæ mentes
The fourth daie of
water with his wife,
mas lord Howard du
mas Howard his ſon
and William lord B
of Nottingham, and
made vicount Loue
leine, and the lord S
ward, for feare of his
was then in Lancat
ſaid) and the ſaid lord
his houſhold: likewiſ
deliuered, but Morto
ted to the duke of B
which ſent him to hi
Wales, from whence
confuſion.
The ſame night, the
of the Bath, whoſe n
duke of Suffolks ſon
of Kents ſonne, ſir
ſonne, ſir Henrie
Willoughbie, ſir W
Babington, ſir Th
Bologne, ſir Geru
Saie, ſir Edmund
derbie, ſir Thomas
mon, ſir John Bro
The next daie, being
rode through the citie
ſter with great pom
theſe dukes, earles, lo
follow. Edward prin
ſonne. Dukes: the d
Buckingham, the d
earle of Northumb
the earle of Kent, th
Wilſhire, the earle
Nottingham, the ea
Lincolne. Lords:
Louell vicount, the
the lord Dacres, the
lord Powes, the lo
Scroope of Bolton,
Greie of Wilton, th
ham, the lord Morlei
lord Zouch, the lord
Welles, the lord L
lord Herbert, the lord
Tirell, ſir William
ſir William Stanl
George Browne, ſ
Henningham, ſir
Montgomerie, ſir
Debnam, ſir Terri
don, ſir John Sauel
ward Stanleie, ſir
am Yong, ſir Thoma
field, ſir Thomas W
Charles of Pilkingt
John Aſhleie, ſir
Becham, ſir Willia
ſir Robert Dimmoc
Ludlow, ſir John C
ſir Richard Dudleie,
Twaights, ſir Edm
ton, ſir Richard Cha
Philip Berkeleie, ſir
Greſſleie, ſir Richar
ris, ſir Thomas S
ſir John Conias,
Courtneie, ſir Will
medilton, ſir Roger

Seuentéene knights of the bath created by king Richard.

What péeres & ſtates were attendant on him going to his coronation.

sollicitæ mentes ſpéque metúque pauent.]

The fourth daie of Iulie he came to the Tower by water with his wife, and the fift daie he created Thomas lord Howard duke of Norffolke, and ſir Thomas Howard his ſonne he created earle of Surrie, and William lord Berkeleie was then created erle of Nottingham, and Francis lord Louell was then made vicount Louell, and the king his chamberleine, and the lord Stanleie was deliuered out of ward, for feare of his ſonne the lord Strange, which was then in Lancaſhire, gathering men (as men ſaid) and the ſaid lord was made ſteward of the king his houſhold: likewiſe the archbiſhop of Yorke was deliuered, but Morton biſhop of Elie was committed to the duke of Buckingham to kéepe in ward, which ſent him to his manour of Brecknocke in Wales, from whence he eſcaped to king Richard his confuſion.

Seuentéene knights of the bath created by king Richard.

The ſame night, the king made ſeuentéene knights of the Bath, whoſe names inſue: Sir Edmund the duke of Suffolks ſonne, ſir George Greie, the earle of Kents ſonne, ſir William, the lord Zouches ſonne, ſir Henrie Aburgauennie, ſir Chriſtopher Willoughbie, ſir William Berkeleie, ſir Henrie Babington, ſir Thomas Arundell, ſir Thomas Bologne, ſir Gerueis of Clifton, ſir William Saie, ſir Edmund Bedingfield, ſir William Enderbie, ſir Thomas Lekenor, ſir Thomas of Vrmon, ſir Iohn Browne, ſir William Berkeleie. The next daie, being the fift daie of Iulie, the king rode through the citie of London toward Weſtminſter with great pompe, being accompanied with theſe dukes, earles, lords, and knights, whoſe names follow. Edward prince of Wales, the kings onelie ſonne. Dukes: the duke of Norffolke, the duke of Buckingham, the duke of Suffolke. Earles: the earle of Northumberland, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Kent, the earle of Surrie, the earle of Wilſhire, the earle of Huntington, the earle of Nottingham, the earle of Warwike, the earle of Lincolne. Lords: the lord Liſle vicount, the lord Louell vicount, the lord Stanleie, the lord Audleie, the lord Dacres, the lord Ferrers of Chertleie, the lord Powes, the lord Scroope of Vpſall, the lord Scroope of Bolton, the lord Greie Codner, the lord Greie of Wilton, the lord Sturton, the lord Cobham, the lord Morleie, the lord Aburgauennie, the lord Zouch, the lord Ferrers of Grobie, the lord Welles, the lord Lomleie, the lord Matreuers, the lord Herbert, the lord Becham. Knights: ſir Iames Tirell, ſir William Kneuet, ſir Thomas Aborow, ſir William Stanleie, ſir William Aparre, ſir George Browne, ſir Robert Middleton, ſir Iohn Henningham, ſir Nicholas Latimer, ſir Thomas Montgomerie, ſir Thomas Delamer, ſir Gilbert Debnam, ſir Terrie Robſart, ſir William Brandon, ſir Iohn Sauell, ſir Henrie Wentford, ſir Edward Stanleie, ſir Henrie Sentmount, ſir William Yoong, ſir Thomas Bowſer, ſir Henrie Winkefield, ſir Thomas Wortleie, ſir Iohn Sentlow, ſir Charles of Pilkington, ſir Iames Harrington, ſir Iohn Aſhleie, ſir Thomas Berkeleie, ſir Richard Becham, ſir William Hopton, ſir Thomas Perſie, ſir Robert Dimmocke, ſir Iohn Cheinie, ſir Richard Ludlow, ſir Iohn Eldrington, ſir William Sands, ſir Richard Dudleie, ſir William Sentlow, ſir Tho. Twaights, ſir Edmund of Dudleie, ſir Rafe Aſhton, ſir Richard Charlington, ſir Thomas Greie, ſir Philip Berkeleie, ſir Robert Harington, ſir Thomas Greſſleie, ſir Richard Harecourt, ſir William Noris, ſir Thomas Selenger, ſir Richard Hodleſton, ſir Iohn Conias, ſir William Stoner, ſir Philip Courtneie, ſir William Gaſcoigne, ſir Richard Amedilton, ſir Roger Fines, ſir George Véere, ſir Henrie Perſie, ſir Iohn Wood, ſir Iohn Aparre, ſir Iohn Greie, ſir Iohn Danbie, ſir Richard Tailebuſh, ſir Iohn Rudet, ſir Iohn Herring, ſir Richard Enderbie, ſir Iohn Berkeleie, ſir Iames Stranguiſh, ſir Rafe Carnbrecke, ſir Iohn Conſtable, ſir Robert Eliard, ſir Richard Derell, ſir Iohn Gilford, ſir Iohn Lekenor, ſir Iohn Morleie, ſir Iohn Hues, ſir Iohn Bologne, ſir Edmund Shaw alderman.

What péeres & ſtates were attendant on him going to his coronation.

The ſolemne ceremonies vſed at king Richards coronation.

On the morow, being the ſixt daie of Iulie, the king with quéene Anne his wife, came downe out of the White hall into the great hall at Weſtminſter, and went directlie into the kings Bench. And from thenſe, the king and the quéene going vpon raie cloth barefooted, went vnto ſaint Edwards ſhrine, and all his nobilitie going with him, euerie lord in his degrée. And firſt went the trumpets, and then the heralds of armes in their rich coats, & next followed the croſſe with a ſolemne proceſſion, the prieſts hauing fine ſurpliſſes and graie amiſſes vpon them. The abbats and biſhops mitred and in rich copes, & euerie of them caried their croſiers in their hands. The biſhop of Rocheſter bare the croſſe before the cardinall. Then followed the earle of Huntington bearing a paire of gilt ſpurres, ſignifieng knighthood. Then followed the earle of Bedford bearing ſaint Edwards ſtaffe for a relike.

After them came the earle of Northumberland bare-headed, with the pointleſſe ſword naked in his hand, which ſignified mercie. The lord Stanleie bare the mace of the conſtableſhip. The earle of Kent bare the ſecond ſword on the right hand of the king naked, with a point, which ſignified iuſtice vnto the temporaltie. The lord Louell bare the third ſword on the left hand with a point, which ſignified iuſtice to the cleargie. The duke of Suffolke followed with the ſcepter in his hand, which ſignified peace. The earle of Lincolne bare the ball and croſſe, which ſignified a monarchie. The erle of Surrie bare the fourth ſword before the king in a rich ſcabberd, and that is called the ſword of eſtate. Then went thrée togither, in the middeſt went Garter king at armes in his rich cote: and on his left hand went the maior of London, bearing a mace: and on his right hand went the gentleman vſher of the priuie chamber. Then followed the duke of Norffolke, bearing the kings crowne betwéene his hands.

Then followed king Richard in his robes of purple veluet, and ouer his head a canopie, borne by foure barons of the cinque ports. And on euerie ſide of the king there went one biſhop, that is to ſaie, the biſhop of Bath, and the biſhop of Durham. Then followed the duke of Buckingham bearing the kings traine, with a white ſtaffe in his hand, ſignifieng the office of the high ſteward of England. Then there followed a great number of earles and barons before the quéene. And then came the earle of Huntington, who bare the quéenes ſcepter, and the vicount Liſle bearing the rod with the doue. And the earle of Wilſhire bare the quéenes crowne. Then followed quéene Anne daughter to Richard earle of Warwike in robes like to the king, betwéene two biſhops, and a canopie ouer hir head borne by the barons of the ports. On hir head a rich coronet ſet with ſtones and pearle.

Quéene Anne wife to king Richard and daughter to Richard earle of Warwike, and hir traine,

After hir followed the counteſſe of Richmond heire to the duke of Summerſet, which bare vp the quéenes traine. After followed the ducheſſe of Suffolke and Norffolke, with counteſſes, baroneſſes, ladies, and manie faire gentlewomen. In this order they paſſed through the palace, and entered the abbeie at the weſt end; and ſo came to their ſeats of eſtate. And after diuerſe ſongs ſolemnelie ſoong, they both aſcended to the high altar, and were ſhifted from their robes, and had diuerſe places open from the middle vpward, in which places they were annointed. Then both the king and the queene changed them into cloth of gold, and aſcended to their ſeats, where the cardinall of Canturburie, & other biſhops them crowned according to the cuſtome of the realme, giuing him the ſcepter in the left hand, & the ball with the croſſe in the right hand; and the queene had the ſcepter in hir right hand, and the rod with the doue in hir left hand.

The king & queene crowned.

On euerie ſide of the king ſtood a duke, and before him ſtood the earle of Surrie with the ſword in his hands. And on euerie ſide of the quéene ſtanding a biſhop, & a ladie kneeling. The cardinall ſoong maſſe, and after pax, the king and the queene deſcended, and before the high altar they were both houſeled, with one hoſt diuided betweene them. After maſſe finiſhed, they both offered at ſaint Edward his ſhrine, and there the king left the crowne of ſaint Edward, and put on his owne crowne. And ſo in order as they came, they departed to Weſtminſter hall; and ſo to their chambers for a ſeaſon: during which time the duke of Norffolke came into the hall, his horſſe trapped to the ground in cloth of gold, as high marſhall, and voided the hall. About foure of the clocke, the king and queene entered the hall, and the king ſate in the middle, and the queene on the left hand of the table, and on euerie ſide of hir ſtood a counteſſe, holding a cloth of pleaſance, when ſhe liſt to drinke.

And on the right hand of the king ſat the biſhop of Canturburie. The ladies ſat all on one ſide, in the middle of the hall. And at the table againſt them ſat the chancellor and all the lords. At the table next the cupboord, ſat the maior of London; and at the table behind the lords, ſat the barons of the ports: and at the other tables ſat noble and worſhipfull perſonages. When all perſons were ſet, the duke of Norffolke earle marſhall, the earle of Surrie, conſtable for that daie, the lord Stanlie lord ſteward, ſir William Hopton treaſuror, & ſir Thomas Perſie controllor, came in and ſerued the king ſolemnelie, with one diſh of gold, and an other of ſiluer, and the quéene all in gilt veſſell, and the biſhop all in ſiluer.

Sir Robert Dimmocke the kings champion his challenge in the behalfe of king Richard.

At the ſecond courſe came into the hall ſir Robert Dimmocke the kings champion, making proclamation, that whoſoeuer would ſaie, that king Richard was not lawfull king, he would fight with him at the vtterance, and threw downe his gantlet, and then all the hall cried; King Richard. And ſo he did in thrée parts of the hall, and then one brought him a cup of wine couered, and when he had drunke, he caſt out the drinke, and departed with the cup. After that, the heralds cried a largeſſe thriſe in the hall, and ſo went vp to their ſtage. At the end of dinner, the maior of London ſerued the king & quéene with ſwéete wine, and had of each of them a cup of gold, with a couer of gold. And by that time that all was doone, it was darke night. And ſo the king returned to his chamber, and euerie man to his lodging.

A gaie pretenſe of iuſtice and equitie.

When this feaſt was thus finiſhed, the king ſent home all the lords into their countries that would depart, except the lord Stanleie, whome he reteined, till he heard what his ſonne the lord Strange went about. And to ſuch as went home, he gaue ſtreight charge and commandement, to ſée their countries well ordered, and that no wrong nor extortion ſhould be doone to his ſubiects. And thus he taught other to execute iuſtice and equitie, the contrarie whereof he dailie exerciſed. He alſo with great rewards giuen to the Northernemen, which he ſent for to his coronation, ſent them home to their countrie with great thanks: whereof diuerſe of them (as they be all of nature verie gréedie of authoritie, & ſpeciallie when they thinke to haue anie comfort or fauour) tooke on them ſo highlie, and wrought ſuch maiſteries, that the king was faine to ride thither in his firſt yeare, and to put ſome in execution, and ſtaie the countrie, or elſe no ſmall miſcheefe had inſued.

Sir Thomas More egaine.

Now fell there miſcheefs thicke. And as the thing euill gotten is neuer well kept, thorough all the time of his reigne neuer ceaſſed there cruell death and ſlaughter, till his owne deſtruction ended it. But as he finiſhed his time with the beſt death and the moſt rigtehous, that is to wit, his owne; ſo began he with the moſt pitious and wicked, I meane the lamentable murther of his innocent nephues, the yoong king and his tender brother: whoſe death and finall infortune hath naitheleſſe comen ſo farre in queſtion, that ſome remaine yet in doubt, whether they were in his daies deſtroied or no. Not for that onelie that Perkin Werbecke by manie folks malice, and mo folks follie, ſo long ſpace abuſing the world, was as well with princes as the poorer people reputed and taken for the yonger of theſe two; but for that alſo that all things were in late daies ſo couertlie demeaned, one thing pretended, and an other meant.

Perkin Werbecke.

Cloſe dealing is euer ſuſpected.

Inſomuch that there was nothing ſo plaine and openlie prooued, but that yet for the common cuſtome of cloſe and couert dealing, men had it euer inwardlie ſuſpect; as manie well counterfaited iewels make the true miſtruſted. Howbeit, concerning the opinion, with the occaſions mooving either partie, we ſhall haue place more at large to intreat, if we hereafter happen to write the time of the late noble prince of famous memorie king Henrie the ſeauenth, or percaſe that hiſtorie of Perkin in anie compendious proceſſe by it ſelfe. But in the meane time, for this preſent matter, I ſhall rehearſe you the dolorous end of thoſe babes, not after euerie waie that I haue heard, but after that waie that I haue ſo heard by ſuch men and by ſuch meanes, as me thinketh it were hard but it ſhould be true.

King Richard after his coronation, taking his waie to Glouceſter to viſit (in his new honour) the towne of which he bare the name of his old, deuiſed (as he rode) to fulfill the thing which he before had intended. And forſomuch as his mind gaue him, that his nephues liuing, men would not reckon that he could haue right to the realme: he thought therefore without delaie to rid them, as though the killing of his kinſmen could amend his cauſe, and make him a kindlie king. Wher vpon he ſent one John Gréene, (whom he ſpeciallie truſted) vnto ſir Robert Brakenberie, conſtable of the Tower, with a letter and credence alſo, that the ſame ſir Robert ſhould in anie wiſe put the two children to death.

John Gréene, Robert Brakenberie conſtable of the Tower.

The murther of the two yoong princes ſet abroch.

This John Gréene did his errand vnto Brakenberie, knéeling before our ladie in the Tower. Who plainelie anſwered, that he would neuer put them to death to die therefore. With which anſwer John Gréene returning, recounted the ſame to king Richard at Warwike yet in his waie. Where with he tooke ſuch diſpleaſure & thought, that the ſame night he ſaid vnto a ſecret page of his: Ah! whom ſhall a man truſt? Thoſe that I haue brought vp my ſelfe, thoſe that I had wéent would moſt ſuerlie ſerue me, euen thoſe faile me, and at my commandement will doo nothing for me. Sir (quoth his page) there lieth one on your pallet without, that I dare well ſaie, to doo your grace pleaſure, the thing were right hard that he would refuſe. Meaning this by ſir James Tirrell, which was a man of right goodlie perſonage, and for natures gifts worthie to haue ſerued a much better prince, if he had well ſerued God, and by grace obteined as much truth and good will as he had ſtrength and wit.

Sir James Tirrell deſcribed.

The man had an high heart, & ſore longed vpward, not riſing yet ſo faſt as he had hoped, being hindered & kept vnder by the meanes of ſir Richard Ratcliffe,

Authoritie loueth no partners.

and ſir William Cateſbie, which longing for no mo parteners of the princes fauour; and namelie, not for him, whoſe pride they wiſt would beare no péere, kept him by ſecret drifts out of all ſecret truſt, which thing this page well had marked and knowne. Wherefore this occaſion offered, of verie ſpeciall friendſhip he tooke his time to put him forward, and by ſuch wiſe doo him good, that all the enimies he had (except the deuill) could neuer haue doone him ſo much hurt. For vpon this pages words king Richard aroſe (for this communication had he ſitting at the draught, a conuenient carpet for ſuch a councell) and came out into the pallet chamber, on which he found in bed ſir Iames and ſir Thomas Tirrels, of perſon like, and brethren of bloud, but nothing of kin in conditions.

Then ſaid the king merilie to them; What ſirs, be ye in bed ſo ſoone? And calling vp ſir Iames, brake to him ſecretlie his mind in this miſchéeuous matter. In which he found him nothing ſtrange. Wherefore on the morow he ſent him to Brakenberie with a letter, by which he was commanded to deliuer ſir Iames all the keies of the Tower for one night, to the end he might there accompliſh the kings pleaſure, in ſuch things as he had giuen him commandement. After which letter deliuered, & the keies receiued, ſir Iames appointed the night next inſuing to deſtroie them, deuiſing before and preparing the meanes. The prince (as ſoone as the protector left that name, and tooke himſelfe as king) had it ſhewed vnto him, that he ſhould not reigne, but his vncle ſhuld haue the crowne. At which word the prince ſore abaſhed, began to ſigh, and ſaid: Alas, I would my vncle would let me haue my life yet, though I léeſe my kingdome.

…conſtable
…the Tower
…uereth the
…es to ſir
…mes Tir-
… vpon the
…ngs com-
…andement.

Then he that told him the tale, vſed him with good words, and put him in the beſt comfort he could. But forthwith was the prince and his brother both ſhut vp, & all other remooued from them, onelie one (called Blacke Will, or William Slaughter) excepted, ſet to ſerue them and ſée them ſure. After which time the prince neuer tied his points, nor ought rought of himſelfe; but with that yoong babe his brother, lingered with thought and heauineſſe, vntill this traitorous death deliuered them of that wretchedneſſe. For ſir Iames Tirrell deuiſed, that they ſhould be murthered in their beds. To the execution whereof, he appointed Miles Forreſt, one of the foure that kept them, a fellow fleſhed in murther before time. To him he ioined one Iohn Dighton his owne horſſe-keeper, a big, broad, ſquare, and ſtrong knaue.

…he two
…inces ſhut
… in cloſe
…ld.

…he two
…urtherers of
…he two prin-
…es appointed.

Then all the other being remooued from them, this Miles Forreſt, and Iohn Dighton, about midnight (the ſéelie children lieng in their beds) came into the chamber, & ſuddenlie lapping them vp among the clothes, ſo to bewrapped them and intangled them, kéeping downe by force the fether-bed and pillowes hard vnto their mouths, that within a while, ſmoothered and ſtifled, their breath failing, they gaue vp to God their innocent ſoules into the ioies of heauen, leauing to the tormentors their bodies dead in the bed. Which after that the wretches perceiued, firſt by the ſtrugling with the paines of death, and after long lieng ſtill, to be thoroughlie dead, they laid their bodies naked out vpon the bed, and fetched ſir Iames to ſée them; which vpon the ſight of them, cauſed thoſe murtherers to burie them at the ſtaire foot, méetlie déepe in the ground, vnder a great heape of ſtones.

…he yong K.
…and his bro-
…ther murthe-
…red in their
…beds at mid-
…night in the
…Tower.

Then rode ſir Iames in great haſt to king Richard, and ſhewed him all the maner of the murther; who gaue him great thanks, and (as ſome ſaie) there made him knight. But he allowed not (as I haue heard) the burieng in ſo vile a corner, ſaieng, that he would haue them buried in a better place, bicauſe they were a kings ſonnes. Lo the honourable courage of a king. Wher vpon they ſaie, that a prieſt of ſir Robert Brakenberies tooke vp the bodies againe, and ſecretlie interred them in ſuch place, as by the occaſion of his death, which onelie knew it, could neuer ſince come to light. Verie truth is it, and well knowne, that at ſuch time as ſir Iames Tirrell was in the Tower, for treaſon committed againſt the moſt famous prince king Henrie the ſeauenth, both Dighton and he were examined, and confeſſed the murther in maner aboue written: but whither the bodies were remooued, they could nothing tell.

The murther confeſſed.

And thus (as I haue learned of them that much knew, and little cauſe had to lie) were theſe two noble princes, theſe innocent tender children, borne of moſt roiall bloud, brought vp in great wealth, likelie long to liue, reigne, and rule in the realme, by traitorous tyrannie taken, depriued of their eſtate, ſhortlie ſhut vp in priſon, and priuilie ſlaine and murthered, their bodies caſt God wot where, by the cruell ambition of their vnnaturall vncle & his deſpiteous tormentors. Which things on euerie part well pondered, God neuer gaue this world a more notable example, neither in what vnſuertie ſtandeth this worldlie weale; or what miſchéefe worketh the proud enterpriſe of an high heart; or finallie, what wretched end inſueth ſuch deſpiteous crueltie.

The iuſt iudgement of God ſeuerelie reuenging the murther of the innocent princes vpon the malefactors.

For firſt, to begin with the miniſters, Miles Forreſt, at S. Martins péecemeale rotted awaie. Dighton in déed yet walketh on aliue in good poſſibilitie to be hanged yer he die. But ſir Iames Tirrell died at the Tower hill beheaded for treaſon. King Richard himſelfe, as ye ſhall hereafter heare, ſlaine in the field, hacked and hewed of his enimies hands, harried on horſſe-backe dead, his haire in deſpite torne and tugged like a curre dog; and the miſchéefe that he tooke, within leſſe than thrée yeares of the miſchéefe that he did: and yet all (in the meane time) ſpent in much paine & trouble outward, much feare, anguiſh and ſorow within. For I haue heard by credible report of ſuch as were ſecret with his chamberleine, that after this abhominable déed doone, he neuer had a quiet mind. [Than the which there can be no greater torment. For a giltie conſcience inwardlie accuſing and bearing witneſſe againſt an offendor, is ſuch a plague and puniſhment, as hell it ſelfe (with all the féends therein) can not afford one of greater horror & affliction; the poet implieng no leſſe in this triſtichon:

Pœna autem vehemens, ac multo ſæuior illis,
Quas & Cæditius grauis inuenit & Radamanthus,
Nocte diéque ſuum geſtare in pectore teſtem.

Perſ. ſat. 3.

He neuer thought himſelfe ſure. Where he went abroad, his eies whirled about, his bodie priuilie fenſed, his hand euer vpon his dagger, his countenance and maner like one alwaies readie to ſtrike againe, he tooke ill reſt a nights, laie long waking and muſing, ſore wearied with care and watch, rather ſlumbered than ſlept, troubled with fearefull dreames, ſuddenlie ſometime ſtart vp, lept out of his bed, and ran about the chamber; ſo was his reſtleſſe heart continuallie toſſed and tumbled with the tedious impreſſion and ſtormie remembrance of his abhominable déed. Now had he outward no long time in reſt. For herevpon, ſoone after began the conſpiracie, or rather good confederation, betwéene the duke of Buckingham and manie other gentlemen againſt him. The occaſion wherevpon the king and the duke fell out, is of diuerſe folke in diuerſe wiſe pretended.

The outward and inward troubles of tyrants by meanes of a grudging conſcience.

This duke (as I haue for certeine béene informed) as ſoone as the duke of Glouceſter, vpon the death of king Edward, came to Yorke, & there had ſolemne funerall ſeruice for king Edward, ſent thither in the moſt ſecret wiſe he could, one *Perſall his truſtie ſeruant, who came to Iohn Ward a chamberer of like ſecret truſt with the duke of Glouceſter, deſiring that

*Perſiuall, ſaith Ed. Hall.

in the moſt cloſe and couert maner, he might be admitted to the preſence and ſpéech of his maiſter. And the duke of Gloceſter aduertiſed of his deſire, cauſed him in the dead of the night (after all other folke auoided) to be brought vnto him in his ſecret chamber, where Perſall (after his maiſters recommendations) ſhewed him that he had ſecret ſent him to ſhew him, that in this new world he would take ſuch part as he would, & wait vpon him with a thouſand good fellowes, if néed were.

The meſſenger ſent backe with thanks, & ſome ſecret inſtruction of the protectors mind, yet met him againe with further meſſage from the duke his maſter within few daies after at Notingham: whither the protector from Yorke with manie gentlemen of the north countrie, to the number of ſix hundred horſſes, was come on his waie to London-ward, & after ſecret méeting and communication had, eftſoones departed. Wherevpon at Northhampton, the duke met with the protector himſelfe with thrée hundred horſſes, and from thenſe ſtill continued with him partner of all his deuiſes; till that after his coronation, they departed (as it ſéemed) verie great fréends at Gloceſter. From whenſe as ſoone as the duke came home, he ſo lightlie turned from him, and ſo highlie conſpired againſt him, that a man would maruell whereof the change grew. And ſuerlie, the occaſion of their variance is of diuerſe men diuerſelie reported.

Cauſes of the duke of Buckingham and K. Richards falling out.

Some haue I heard ſay, that the duke a little before his coronation, among other things, required of the protector the duke of Herefords lands, to the which he pretended himſelfe iuſt inheritor. And forſomuch as the title, which he claimed by inheritance, was ſomwhat interlaced with the title to the crowne by the line of king Henrie before depriued, the protector conceiued ſuch indignation, that he reiected the dukes requeſt with manie ſpitefull and minatorie words. Which ſo wounded his heart with hatred and miſtruſt, that he neuer after could indure to looke aright on king Richard, but euer feared his owne life; ſo far forth, that when the protector rode through London toward his coronation, he feined himſelfe ſicke, bicauſe he would not ride with him. And the other alſo taking it in euill part, ſent him word to riſe, and come ride, or he would make him be caried. Wherevpon he rode on with euill will, and that notwithſtanding on the morow, roſe from the feaſt, feining himſelfe ſicke, and king Richard ſaid it was doone in hatred and deſpite of him.

The duke of Buckingham and king Richard miſtruſt each other.

And they ſaid, that euer after continuallie, each of them liued in ſuch hatred and diſtruſt of other, that the duke verelie looked to haue béene murthered at Gloceſter: from which natheleſſe, he in faire maner departed. But ſuerlie ſome right ſecret at that daie denie this: and manie right wiſe men thinke it vnlikelie (the déepe diſſembling nature of both thoſe men conſidered, and what néed in that gréene world the protector had of the duke, and in what perill the duke ſtood, if he fell once in ſuſpicion of the tyrant) that either the protector would giue the duke occaſion of diſpleaſure, or the duke the protector occaſion of miſtruſt. And verelie, men thinke, that if king Richard had anie ſuch opinion conceiued, he would neuer haue ſuffered him to eſcape his hands. Verie truth it is, the duke was an high minded man, and euill could beare the glorie of another; ſo that I haue heard of ſome that ſay they ſaw it, that the duke, at ſuch time as the crowne was firſt ſet vpon the protectors head, his eie could not abide the ſight thereof, but wried his head another way.

But men ſay, that he was of truth not well at eaſe, and that both to king Richard well knowne, and not euill taken; nor anie demand of the dukes vncourteouſlie reiected; but he both with great gifts, and high beheſts, in moſt louing and truſtie maner departed at Gloceſter. But ſoone after his comming home to Brecknocke, hauing there in his cuſtodie by the commandement of king Richard doctor Morton biſhop of Elie, who (as ye before heard) was taken in the councell at the Tower, waxed with him familiar, whoſe wiſedome abuſed his pride to his owne deliuerance, and the dukes deſtruction. The biſhop was a man of great naturall wit, verie well learned, and honorable in behauior, lacking no wiſe waies to win fauour. He had béene faſt vpon the part of king Henrie, while that part was in wealth; and natheleſſe left it not, nor forſooke it in wo, but fled the realme with the quéene & the prince, while king Edward had the king in priſon, neuer came home, but to the field.

Docto ton bi Elie, a pagam placed,

After which loſt, and that part vtterlie ſubdued, the other (for his faſt faith and wiſedome) not onelie was content to receiue him, but alſo wooed him to come, and had him from thenceforth both in ſecret truſt, and verie ſpeciall fauour, which he nothing deceiued. For he being (as yée haue heard) after king Edwards death, firſt taken by the tyrant for his truth to the king, found the meane to ſet this duke in his top, ioined gentlemen togither in the aid of king Henrie, deuiſing firſt the mariage betwéene him & king Edwards daughter: by which his faith he declared the good ſeruice to both his maſters at once, with infinit benefit to the realme by the coniunction of thoſe two bloods in one, whoſe ſeuerall titles had long diſquieted the land, he fled the realme, went to Rome, neuer minding more to meddle with the world; till the noble prince king Henrie the ſeuenth gat him home againe, made him archbiſhop of Canturburie, and chancellor of England, whereunto the pope ioined the honour of cardinall. Thus liuing manie daies in as much honor as one man might well wiſh, ended them ſo godlie, that his death with Gods mercie well changed his life.

The high nour of Morton.

This man therefore (as I was about to tell you) by the long & often alternate proofe, as well of proſperitie as aduerſe fortune, had gotten by great experience (the verie mother and miſtreſſe of wiſedome) a déepe inſight in politike worldlie drifts. Whereby perceiuing now this duke glad to commune with him, fed him with faire words, and manie pleaſant praiſes. And perceiuing by the proceſſe of their communications, the dukes pride now and then belking out a little breath of enuie toward the glorie of the king, and thereby féeling him eaſie to fall out if the matter were well handled: he craftilie ſought the waies to pricke him forward, taking alwaies the occaſion of his comming, and ſo kéeping himſelfe ſo cloſe within his bounds, that he rather ſéemed to follow him, than to lead him. For when the duke firſt began to praiſe and boaſt the king, and ſhew how much profit the realme ſhould take by his reigne: my lord Morton anſwered thus.

Biſhop Mortons ſubtil vndermining of the duke.

Suerlie, my lord, follie were it for me to lie, for if I would ſweare the contrarie, your lordſhip would not (I wéene) beléeue; but that if the world would haue gone as I would haue wiſhed, king Henries ſonne had had the crowne, and not king Edward. But after that God had ordered him to léeſe it, and king Edward to reigne, I was neuer ſo mad that I would with a dead man ſtriue againſt the quicke. So was I to king Edward a faithfull chapleine, & glad would haue béene that his child had ſuccéeded him. Howbeit, if the ſecret iudgment of God haue otherwiſe prouided, I purpoſe not to ſpurne againſt a pricke, nor labour to ſet vp that God pulleth downe. And as for the late protector and now king. And euen there he left, ſaieng that he had alreadie medled to much with the world, and would from that daie meddle with his booke and his beads, and no further.

Then longed the duke ſore to heare what he would haue ſaid, bicauſe he ended with the king, and there ſo ſuddenlie ſtopped, and exhorted him ſo familiarlie betwéene them twaine to be bold to ſaie whatſoeuer he thought; whereof he faithfullie promiſed there ſhould neuer come hurt, and peraduenture more good than he would wéene; and that himſelfe intended to vſe his faithfull ſecret aduiſe & counſell, which (he ſaid) was the onelie cauſe for which he procured of the king to haue him in his cuſtodie, where he might reckon himſelfe at home, and elſe had he béene put in the hands of them with whome he ſhould not haue found the like fauour. The biſhop right humblie thanked him, and ſaid: In good faith my lord, I loue not to talke much of princes, as a thing not all out of perill, though the word be without fault, forſomuch as it ſhall not be taken as the partie ment it, but as it pleaſeth the prince to conſtrue it.

Princes matters perillous to meddle in.

And euer I thinke on Aeſops tale, that when the lion had proclaimed that (on paine of death) there ſhould no horned beaſt abide in that wood: one that had in his forehed a bunch of fleſh, fled awaie a great pace. The fox that ſaw him run ſo faſt, aſked him whither he made all that haſt? And he anſwered, In faith I neither wote, nor recke, ſo I were once hence, bicauſe of this proclamation made of horned beaſts. What foole (quoth the fox) thou maieſt abide well inough; the lion ment not by thée, for it is no horne that is in thine head. No marie (quoth he) that wote I well inough. But what and he call it an horne, where am I then? The duke laughed merilie at the tale, and ſaid, My lord; I warrant you, neither the lion nor the bore ſhall pike anie matter at anie thing héere ſpoken: for it ſhall neuer come néere their eare.

In good faith ſir (ſaid the biſhop) if it did, the thing that I was about to ſay, taken as well as (afore God I ment it) could deſerue but thanke: and yet taken as I wéene it would, might happen to turne me to to little good, and you to leſſer. Then longed the duke yet much more to wit what it was. Wherevpon the biſhop ſaid; In good faith (my lord) as for the late protector, ſith he is now king in poſſeſſion, I purpoſe not to diſpute his title; but for the weale of this realme, whereof his grace hath now the gouernance, and whereof I am my ſelfe one poore member, I was about to wiſh, that to thoſe good habilities whereof he hath alreadie right manie, little néeding my praiſe, it might yet haue pleaſed God, for the better ſtore, to haue giuen him ſome of ſuch other excellent vertues, méet for the rule of a realme, as our Lord hath planted in the perſon of your grace: and there left againe.

Here endeth ſir Thomas Moore, & this that followeth is taken out of maſter Hall.

The duke ſomewhat maruelling at his ſudden pauſes, as though they were but parentheſes, with a high countenance ſaid: My lord, I euidentlie perceiue, and no leſſe note your often breathing, and ſudden ſtopping in your communication; ſo that to my intelligence, your words neither come to anie direct or perfect ſentence in concluſion, whereby either I might perceiue and haue knowledge, what your inward intent is now toward the king, or what affection you beare toward me. For the compariſon of good qualities aſcribed to vs both (for the which I my ſelfe acknowledge and recogniſe to haue none, nor looke for no praiſe of anie creature for the ſame) maketh me not a little to muſe, thinking that you haue ſome other priuie imagination, by loue or by grudge, ingrauen and imprinted in your heart, which for feare you dare not, or for childiſh ſhamefaſtneſſe you be abaſhed to diſcloſe and reueale and ſpeciallie to mée being your fréend; which on my honor doo aſſure you, to be as ſecret in this caſe, as the deafe and dumbe perſon is to the ſinger, or the trée to the hunter.

The biſhop being ſomewhat bolder, conſidering the dukes promiſe, but moſt of all animated and incouraged bicauſe he knew the duke deſirous to bée exalted and magnified; and alſo he perceiued the inward hatred and priuie rancor which he bare toward king Richard: was now boldened to open his ſtomach euen to the verie bottome, intending thereby to compaſſe how to deſtroie, and vtterlie confound king Richard, and to depriue him of his dignitie roiall; or elſe to ſet the duke ſo on fire with the deſire of ambition, that he himſelfe might be ſafe and eſcape out of all danger and perill. Which thing he brought ſhortlie to concluſion, both to the kings deſtruction, and the dukes confuſion, and to his owne ſafegard, and finallie to his high promotion.

Biſhop Morton buildeth vpō the dukes ambition.

And ſo (as I ſaid before) vpon truſt and confidence of the dukes promiſe, the biſhop ſaid: My ſingular good lord, ſince the time of my captiuitie, which being in your graces cuſtodie, I may rather call it a liberall libertie, more than a ſtreict impriſonment, in auoiding idleneſſe, mother and nouriſher of all vices, in reading bookes and ancient pamphlets I haue found this ſentence written, that no man is borne frée, and in libertie of himſelfe onelie: for one part of dutie he oweth or ſhould owe to his parents for his procreation, by a verie naturall inſtinct and filiall courteſie: another part to his fréends and kinſfolke; for proximitie of bloud and naturall amitie dooth euerie dutie chalenge and demand: but the natiue countrie, in the which he taſted firſt the ſwéet aires of this pleaſant and flattering world after his natiuitie, demandeth as a debt by a naturall bond, neither to be forgotten, nor yet to be put in obliuion.

Which ſaieng cauſeth me to conſider in what caſe this realme my natiue countrie now ſtandeth, and in what eſtate and aſſurance (before this time) it hath continued: what gouernour we now haue, and what ruler we might haue. For I plainelie perceiue the realme being in this caſe, muſt néeds decaie, and be brought to vtter confuſion, and finall extermination. But one hope I haue incorporat in my breſt, that is, when I conſider, and in my mind doo diligentlie remember, and dailie behold your noble perſonage, your iuſtice, and indifferencie, your feruent zeale, and ardent loue toward your naturall countrie, and in like manner, the loue of your countrie toward you, the great learning, pregnant wit, and goodlie eloquence, which ſo much dooth abound in the perſon of your grace, I muſt néeds thinke this realme fortunate, yea twiſe more than fortunate, which hath ſuch a prince in ſtore, méet and apt to be a gouernour, in whoſe perſon (being indued with ſo manie princelie qualities) conſiſteth and reſteth the verie vndoubted ſimilitude and image of true honour.

The duke of Buckingham highlie commended.

But on the other ſide, when I call to memorie the good qualities of the late protector, and now called king, ſo violated and ſubuerted by tyrannie, ſo changed and altered by vſurped authoritie, ſo clouded and ſhadowed by blind and inſatiable ambition; yea, and ſo ſuddenlie (in manner by a metamorphoſis) transformed from politike ciuilitie, to deteſtable tyrannie: I muſt néeds ſaie, & iuſtlie affirme, that he is neither méet to be a king of ſo noble a realme, nor ſo famous a realme méet to be gouerned by ſuch a tyrant [whoſe kingdome (if it were of more ampleneſſe than it is) could not long continue; neither would the Lord ſuffer him in his bloudthirſtines to abuſe the holie and diuine eſtate of a prince by the cruell title of tyrannie. For ſuch he will ouerthrow, yea he will bring moſt horrible ſlaughter vpō them, as it is propheſied:

Diſpraiſe of the lord protector or king in eſſe.

Impius ad ſummos quamuis aſcendat honores,
Aſpice quas clades tempora ſæua vehent.

Was not his firſt enterpriſe to obteine the crowne begun and incepted by the murther of diuerſe noble, valiant true, and vertuous perſonages? O holie beginning to come to a miſcheeuous ending! Did he not ſecondarilie proceed (contrarie to all lawes of honeſtie) ſhamefullie againſt his owne naturall mother, being a woman of much honour and more vertue, declaring hir openlie to be a woman giuen to carnall affection, and diſſolute liuing? Which thing if it had beene true, as it was not indeed, euerie good & naturall child would haue rather mummed at it, than haue blaſted it abroad, and eſpeciallie ſhe being aliue. Declaring furthermore his two brethren, and his two nephues to be baſtards, and to be borne in adulterie: yet was he not with all this content.

After that he had obteined the garland, for the which he ſo long thirſted, he cauſed the two poore innocents his nephues, committed to him for eſpeciall truſt, to be murthered and ſhamefullie to be killed. The bloud of which ſeelie and litle babes dailie crie to God from the earth for vengeance. Alas, my hart ſobbeth, to remember this bloudie butcher, and cruell monſter. What ſuertie ſhall be in this realme to anie perſon, either for life or goods vnder ſuch a cruell prince, which regardeth not the deſtruction of his owne bloud, and then leſſe the loſſe of other? And moſt eſpeciallie (as oftentimes it chanceth) where a couetous or a cruell prince taketh ſuſpicion, the ſmalleſt ſwaruing that is poſſible (if the thing be miſconſtrued) may be the cauſe of the deſtruction of manie guiltleſſe perſons: and in eſpeciall of noble and wealthie perſonages, hauing great poſſeſſions and riches; ſuch a lord is Lucifer when he is entered into the hart of a proud prince, giuen to couetouſneſſe and crueltie.

Suſpicion in a prince how miſcheefous it is.

But now my lord to conclude what I meane toward your noble perſon, I ſaie and affirme, if you loue God, your linage, or your natiue countrie, you muſt your ſelfe take vpon you the crowne and imperiall diademe of this noble empire, both for the maintenance of the honour of the ſame (which ſo long hath flouriſhed in fame and renowme) as alſo for the deliuerance of your naturall countrimen, from the bondage and thraldome (worſe than the captiuitie of Aegypt) of ſo cruell a tyrant and arrogant oppreſſor. For thus I dare ſaie, if anie forren prince or potentate, yea the Turke himſelfe would take vpon him the regiment here, and the crowne, the commons would rather admit and obeie him, than to liue vnder ſuch a bloudſucker and child-killer. But how much more ioifull and glad would they be to liue vnder your grace, whome they all know to be a ruler meet and conuenient for them, and they to be louing and obedient ſubiects, meet to liue vnder ſuch a gouernour? Deſpiſe not, nor forſake not ſo manifeſt an occaſion ſo louinglie offered.

And if you your ſelfe, knowing the paine and trauell that apperteineth to the office of a king, or for any other conſideration, will refuſe to take vpon you the crowne and ſcepter of this realme: then I adiure you, by the faith that you owe to God, by your honor and by your oth made to ſaint George, patrone of the noble order of the garter (whereof you be a companion) and by the loue and affection that you beare to your natiue countrie, and the people of the ſame; to deuiſe ſome waie, how this realme (now being in miſerie) may by your high diſcretion and princelie policie, be brought and reduced to ſome ſuertie and conuenient regiment, vnder ſome good gouernour by you to be appointed: for you are the verie patrone, the onelie helpe, refuge and comfort for the poore amazed and deſolate commons of this realme.

The biſhop adiureth the duke to releaſe the realme by ſome deuiſe from the preſent euill ſtate.

For if you could either deuiſe to ſet vp againe the linage of Lancaſter, or aduance the eldeſt daughter of king Edward to ſome high and puiſſant prince, not onelie the new crowned king ſhall ſmall time inioy the glorie of his dignitie; but alſo all ciuill war ſhould ceaſſe, all domeſticall diſcord ſhould ſleepe, and peace, profit and quietneſſe ſhould be ſet forth and imbraced. When the biſhop had thus ended his ſaieng, the duke ſighed, and ſpake not of a great while. Which ſore abaſhed the biſhop, and made him change colour. Which thing when the duke perceiued, he ſaid; Be not afraid my lord, all promiſes ſhall be kept, to morrow we will common more; let vs go to ſupper. So that night they communed no more, not a little to the diſquieting of the biſhop, which now was euen as deſirous to know the dukes mind and intent, as the duke longed the daie before to know his opinion and meaning.

A new conference betweene the biſhop and the duke.

So the next daie, the duke ſent for the biſhop, and rehearſed to him in maner (for he was both wittie and eloquent) all the communication had betweene them before, and ſo pauſed a while, and after a little ſeaſon, putting off his bonet, he ſaid: O Lord God creator of all things, how much is this relme of England, and the people of the ſame, bounden vnto thy goodneſſe! For where we now be in vexation and trouble with great ſtormes oppreſſed, ſailing and toſſing in a deſperate ſhip, without good maiſter or gouernour: yet by thy helpe good Lord I truſt per long time paſſe, that we ſhall prouide for ſuch a ruler, as ſhall be both to thy pleaſure, and alſo to the ſecuritie and ſafegard of this noble realme.

And then he put on his bonet, ſaieng to the biſhop; My lord of Elie, whoſe true hart and ſincere affection toward me at all times I haue euidentlie perceiued and knowen, and now moſt of all in our laſt priuie communication and ſecret deuiſing; I muſt needs in hart thinke, and with mouth confeſſe and ſaie, that you be a ſure freend, a truſtie councellor, a vigilant foreſeer, a verie louer of your countrie, and a naturall countrieman: for which kindnes for my part, I moſt louinglie render to you my hartie thanks now with words, hereafter truſting to recompenſe and remunerate you with deeds, if life and power ſhall ſerue.

And ſith, at our laſt communication, you haue diſcloſed and opened the verie ſecrets and priuities of your ſtomach, touching the duke of Glocester now vſurper of the crowne; and alſo haue a little touched the aduancement of the two noble families of Yorke and Lancaſter: I ſhall likewiſe not onelie declare and manifeſt vnto you all my open acts, attempts, and doings, but alſo my priuie intents, and ſecret cogitations. To the intent that as you haue vnbuckeled the bouget of your priuie meanings, and ſecret purpoſes to me: ſo ſhall all my cloudie workings, cloſe deuiſes, and ſecret imaginations be (as cleere as the ſunne) reuealed, opened, and made lightſome to you.

The duke openeth himſelfe and his ſecrets to the biſhop.

And to begin, I declare, that when king Edward was deceaſſed, to whome I thought my ſelfe little or nothing beholden (although we two had maried two ſiſters) bicauſe he neither promoted, nor preferred me, as I thought I was worthie, and had deſerued; neither fauoured nor regarded me, according to my degree and birth (for ſuerlie I had by him little authoritie, and leſſe rule, and in effect nothing at all: which cauſed me leſſe to fauour his children, bicauſe I found ſmall humanitie, or none in their parent) I then began to ſtudie, and with ripe deliberation to ponder and conſider, how and in what manner this realme ſhould be ruled and gouerned. And firſt I remembred an old prouerbe worthie of memorie, that often rueth the realme where children rule, and women gouerne.

The duke complaineth of want of preferment in king Edwards daies.

This old adage ſo ſanke and ſettled in my head, that I thought it a great errour, and extreame miſchiefe to the whole realme, either to ſuffer the yoong king to rule, or the quéene his mother to be a gouerneſſe ouer him, conſidering that hir brethren, and hir firſt children (although they were not extract of high and noble linage) tooke more vpon them, and more exalted themſelues, by reaſon of the quéene, than did the kings brethren, or anie duke in his realme: which in concluſion turned to their confuſion. Then I being perſuaded with my ſelfe in this point, thought it neceſſarie both for the publike and profitable wealth of this realme, and alſo for mine owne commoditie and emolument, to take part with the duke of Gloceſter; whom (I aſſure you) I thought to be as cleane without diſſimulation, as tractable without iniurie, as mercifull without crueltie; as now I know him perfectlie to be a diſſembler without veritie, a tyrant without pitie, yea & worſe than the tyrant Phalaris, deſtitute of all truth and clemencie.

And ſo by my meanes, at the firſt councell holden at London, when he was moſt ſuſpected of that thing that after happened (as you my lord know well inough) he was made protector and defendor both of the king and of the realme, which authoritie once gotten, & the two children partlie by * policie brought vnder his gouernance, he being moued with that gnawing and couetous ſerpent deſire to reigne, neuer ceaſſed priuilie to exhort and require, yea and ſometimes with minatorie tearmes to perſuade me and other lords, as well ſpirituall as temporall, that he might take vpon him the crowne, till the prince came to the age of foure and twentie yeares, and were able to gouerne the realme, as a ripe and ſufficient king.

* An vnhappie policie tending to ſlaughter & bloudſhed.

Which thing when he ſaw me ſomewhat ſticke at, both for the ſtrangeneſſe of the example (bicauſe no ſuch preſident had béene ſéene) and alſo bicauſe we remembred that men once aſcended to the higheſt type of honour and authoritie, will not gladlie deſcend againe; he then brought in inſtruments, autentike doctors, proctors, and notaries of the law, with depoſitions of diuerſe witneſſes, teſtifieng king Edwards children to be baſtards. Which depoſitions then I thought to be as true, as now I know them to be feined; and teſtified by perſons with rewards vntrulie ſuborned. When the ſaid depoſitions were before vs read and diligentlie heard, he ſtood vp bareheaded, ſaieng: Well my lords, euen as I and you (ſage and diſcréet councellors) would that my nephue ſhould haue no wrong; ſo I praie you doo me nothing but right. For theſe witneſſes & ſaiengs of famous doctors being true, I am onelie the vndubitate heire to lord Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, adiudged to be the verie heire to the crowne of this relme by authoritie of parlement.

Which things ſo by learned men to vs for a veritie declared, cauſed me and other to take him for our lawfull and vndoubted prince and ſoureigne lord. For well we knew that the duke of Clarence ſonne, by reaſon of the atteindor of his father, was diſabled to inherit; and alſo the duke himſelfe was named to be a baſtard, as I my ſelfe haue heard ſpoken, and that vpon great preſumptions more times than one: ſo againe, by my aid and fauour, he of a protector was made a king, and of a ſubiect made a gouernor. At which time he promiſed me on his fidelitie (laieng his hand in mine at Bainards caſtell) that the two yoong princes ſhould liue, and that he would ſo prouide for them, and ſo mainteine them in honorable eſtate, that I and all the realme ought and ſhould be content. [But his words wanted weight, which is a foule diſcredit to a prince, to a péere, yea to a priuat and meane common man, as teſtifieth this ſentence:

Dedecus eſt rebus cum bona verba carent.

For when he was once crowned king, and in full poſſeſſion of the whole realme, he caſt awaie his old conditions as the adder dooth hir ſkin, verifieng the old prouerbe; Honours change manners, as the pariſh préeſt remembreth that he was neuer pariſh clearke. For when I my ſelfe ſued vnto him for my part of the earle of Herefords lands which his brother king Edward wrongfullie deteined and withheld from me; and alſo required to haue the office of the high conſtableſhip of England, as diuerſe of my noble anceſtors before this time haue had, and in long deſcent continued: in this my firſt ſute ſhewing his good mind toward me; he did not onelie firſt delaie me, and afterward denaie me, but gaue me ſuch vnkind words, with ſuch tawnts & retawnts, ye in manner checke and checkemate, to the vttermoſt proofe of my patience: as though I had neuer furthered him, but hindered him; as though I had put him downe, and not ſet him vp.

The principall cauſe why the duke of Buckingham cõceiued ſuch inward grudge againſt king Richard.

Yet all theſe ingratitudes and vndeſerued vnkindneſſes I bare cloſelie, & ſuffered patientlie, and couertlie remembred, outwardlie diſſembling that I inwardlie thought: and ſo with a painted countenance, I paſſed the laſt ſummer in his laſt companie, not without manie faire promiſes, but without anie good déeds. But when I was credible informed of the death of the two yoong innocents, his owne naturall nephues contrarie to his faith and promiſe, to the which (God be my iudge) I neuer agréed, nor condeſcended; O Lord, how my veines panted, how my bodie trembled, and how my heart inwardlie grudged! inſomuch that I ſo abhorred the ſight, and much more the companie of him, that I could no longer abide in his court, except I ſhould be openlie reuenged: the end whereof was doubtfull. And ſo I feined a cauſe to depart, and with a merrie countenance and a deſpitefull heart I tooke my leaue humblie of him (he thinking nothing leſſe than that I was diſpleaſed) and ſo returned to Brecknocke to you.

But in that iournie (as I returned) whither it were by the inſpiration of the Holie-ghoſt, or by melancholious diſpoſition, I had diuerſe and ſundrie imaginations how to depriue this vnnaturall vncle, and bloudie butcher, from his roiall ſeat, and princelie dignitie. Firſt I fantiſed, that if I liſt to take vpon me the crowne, and imperiall ſcepter of the realme, now was the time propice and conuenient. For now was the waie made plaine, and the gate opened, and occaſion giuen: which now neglected, ſhould peraduenture neuer take ſuch effect and concluſion. For I ſaw he was diſdeined of the lords temporall, abhored and accurſſed of the lords ſpirituall, deteſted of all gentlemen, and deſpiſed of all the communaltie: ſo that I ſaw my chance as perfectlie as I ſaw mine owne image in a glaſſe, that there was no perſon (if I had béene gréedie to attempt the enterpriſe) could nor ſhould haue woone the ring, or got the gole before me. And on this point I reſted in imagination ſecretlie with my ſelfe two daies at Tewkeſburie.

The imaginations of the duke of Buckingham to depriue K. Richard.

From thence ſo iournieng, I muſed and thought that it was not beſt nor conuenient to take vpon me as a conqueror. For then I knew that all men, and eſpeciallie the nobilitie, would with all their power withſtand me, both for reſcuing of poſſeſſions and tenures, as alſo for ſubuerting of the whole eſtate, laws and cuſtomes of the realme: ſuch a power hath a conqueror, as you know well inough my lord. But at the laſt, in all this doubtfull caſe there ſprang a new branch out of my head, which ſuerlie I thought ſhould haue brought forth faire floures; but the ſunne was ſo hot, that they turned to drie wéeds. For I ſuddenlie remembred that the lord Edmund duke of Summerſet my grandfather, was with king Henrie the ſixt in the two and thrée degrées, from John

Note the working of ambition in the duke.

duke of Lancaſter lawfullie begotten: ſo that I thought ſure, my mother being eldeſt daughter to duke Edmund, that I was next heire to king Henrie the ſixt of the houſe of Lancaſter.

This title pleaſed well ſuch as I made priuie of my counſell, but much more it incouraged my fooliſh deſire, and eleuated my ambitious intent; inſomuch that I cleerelie iudged, and in mine owne mind was determinatlie reſolued, that I was indubitate heire of the houſe of Lancaſter, and therevpon concluded to make my firſt foundation, and erect my new building. But whether God ſo ordeined, or by fortune it ſo chanced, while I was in a maze either to conclude ſuddenlie on this title, & to ſet it open amongſt the common people, or to keepe it ſecret a while, ſee the chance: as I rode betweene Worceſter and Bridgenorth, I incountered with the ladie Margaret counteſſe of Richmond, now wife vnto the lord Stanlie, which is the verie daughter and ſole heire to lord Iohn duke of Summerſet, my grandfathers elder brother, which was as cleane out of my mind, as though I had neuer ſeene hir: ſo that ſhe and hir ſonne the earle of Richmond be both bulworke and portcullice betweene me and the gate, to enter into the maieſtie roiall and getting of the crowne.

Now when we had communed a little concerning hir ſonne, as I ſhall ſhew you after, and were departed, ſhee to our ladie of Worceſter, and I to Shrewſburie: I then new changed, and in maner amazed, began to diſpute with my ſelfe, little conſidering that thus my earneſt title was turned to a tittell not ſo good as Eſt Amen. Eftſoones I imagined whether were beſt to take vpon me, by election of the nobilitie and communaltie, which me thought eaſie to be done, the vſurper king thus being in hatred and abhorred of this whole realme; or to take it by power, which ſtandeth in fortunes chance, and difficile to be atchiued and brought to paſſe. Thus tumbling and toſſing in the waues of ambiguitie, betweene the ſtone and the ſacrifice, I conſidered firſt the office, dutie, and paine of a king, which ſuerlie thinke I that no mortall man can iuſtlie and trulie obſerue, except he be called, elected, and ſpeciallie appointed by God as K. Dauid, and diuerſe other haue beene.

The office of a king verie hard to diſcharge.

But further, I remembred that if I once tooke on me the ſcepter, and the gouernance of the realme; that of two extreame enimies I was dailie ſure, but of one truſtie friend (which now a daies be gone a pilgrimage) I was neither aſſured nor credible aſcerteined; ſuch is the worlds mutation. For I manifeſtlie perceiued, that the daughters of king Edward, and their alies and freends, which be no ſmall number, being both for his ſake much beloued, and alſo for the great iniurie & manifeſt tyrannie doone to them by the new vſurper, much lamented and pitied, would neuer ceaſſe to barke if they cannot bite at the one ſide of me. Semblablie, my coſine the earle of Richmond, his aids and kinſfolks, which be not of little power, will ſuerlie attempt like a fierce greihound, either to bite or to pearſe me on the other ſide. So that my life and rule ſhould euer hang by a haire, neuer in quiet, but euer in doubt of death, or depoſition.

And if the ſaid two linages of Yorke and Lancaſter, which ſo long haue ſtriued for the imperiall diadem, ſhould ioine in one againſt me, then were I ſuerlie mated, and the game gotten. Wherefore I haue cleerelie determined, and with my ſelfe concluded, vtterlie to relinquiſh all ſuch fantaſticall imaginations, concerning the obteining of the crowne. But all ſuch plagues, calamities and troubles, which I feared and ſuſpected might haue chanced on me if I had taken the rule and regiment of this realme, I ſhall with a reredemaine ſo make them rebound to our common enimie that calleth himſelfe king, that the beſt ſtopper that he hath at tenice ſhall not well ſtop without a fault.

The dukes reſolution not to medle in ſeeking to obteine the crowne.

For (as I told you before) the counteſſe of Richmond in my returne from the new named king, meeting me in the high waie, praied me firſt for kinred ſake, ſecondarlie for the loue that I bare to my grandfather duke Humfrie, which was ſworne brother to hir father, to moue the king to be good to hir ſonne Henrie earle of Richmond, and to licence him with his fauour to returne againe into England. And if it were his pleaſure ſo to doo, ſhe promiſed that the earle hir ſonne ſhould marrie one of king Edwards daughters, at the appointment of the king, without anie thing to be taken or demanded for the ſaid eſpouſals, but onelie the kings fauour: which requeſt I ſoone ouerpaſſed, and gaue hir faire words, and ſo departed.

But after in my lodging, when I called to memorie with a deliberate ſtudie, and did circumſpectlie ponder them, I fullie adiudged, that the Holie-ghoſt cauſed hir to moue a thing (the end whereof ſhe could not conſider) both for the ſecuritie of the realme, as alſo for the preferment of hir child, and the deſtruction and finall confuſion of the common enimie king Richard. Which thing, ſhe neither then thought (I am ſure) as I by hir words could make coniecture, nor I my ſelfe caſt not hir deſire to be ſo profitable to the realme, as I now doo perceiue. But ſuch a Lord is God, that with a little ſparkle he kindleth a great fire, and (to the admiration of the world) of impoſſibilities he maketh poſſibilities, of ſmall beginnings mightie increaſings, of drops great floods.

And ſo finallie to declare to you the verie concluſion, to the which I am both bent and ſet, my mind is, and my power and purſſe ſhall helpe, that the earle of Richmond, verie heire of the houſe of Lancaſter (in the quarrell of the which linage, both my father and grandfather loſt their liues in battell) ſhall take to wife ladie Elizabeth eldeſt daughter to king Edward, by the which mariage both the houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter may be ioined and vnited in one, to the cleere eſtabliſhment of the title to the crowne of this noble relme. To which concluſion if the mothers of both parts, and eſpeciallie the earle himſelfe, and the ladie will agree: I doubt not but the * bragging bore, which with his tuskes raſeth euerie mans skin, ſhall not onelie be brought to confuſion (as he hath deſerued) but that this empire ſhall euer be certeine of an vndubitate heire, & then ſhall all ciuill and inteſtine warre ceaſe, which ſo long hath continued to the paring of manie mens crownes, and this realme ſhall be reduced againe to quietneſſe, renowme and glorie.

The duke of Buckingham reſolued to helpe to depoſe king Richard, and to prefer the erle of Richmond to the crowne.

* The duke of Glouceſter now king.

This inuention of the duke manie men thought after, that it was more imagined for the inward hatred that he bare to king Richard, than for anie fauor that he bare to the earle of Richmond. But of ſuch doubtfull matter it is not beſt to iudge, for erring to farre from the mind and intent of the author. But whatſoeuer he intended, this deuiſe once opened to king Richard was the verie occaſion, that he was rounded ſhorter by the whole head, without attaindor or iudgement. When the duke had ſaid, the biſhop which fauoured euer the houſe of Lancaſter, was wonderous ioifull, and much reioiſed to heare this deuiſe. For now came the wind about euen as he would haue it, ſith all his imagination tended to this effect, to haue king Richard ſubdued, and to haue the lines of king Edward, and king Henrie the ſixt againe raiſed and aduanced.

The ſumme of the dukes purpoſe.

But lord how he reioiſed, to thinke how that by this marriage the linages of Yorke and Lancaſter ſhould be conioined in one, to the verie ſtedfaſtneſſe of the publike wealth of this realme. And leaſt the dukes courage ſhould ſwage, or his mind ſhould againe alter, as it did often before (as you may eaſilie perceiue by his owne tale) he thought to ſet vp all the ſailes that he had, to the intent that the ſhip of his pretended purpoſe might come ſhortlie to ſome ſure port, and ſaid to the duke: My lord, ſith by Gods prouiſion and your incomparable wiſedome and policie, this noble coniunction is firſt moued, now is it conuenient, yea and neceſſarie, to conſider what perſonages, and what fréends we ſhall firſt make priuie of this high deuiſe and politike concluſion: [which is not raſhlie & without aduiſement to be aduentured, for therin is danger, as the wiſeman ſaith:

Semper habet damnum mentis temerarius ardor.]

The motion for the coniunction of the two houſes of Lancaſter & Yorke (deuiſed by ẏ duke) furthered.

By my truth, quoth the duke, we will begin with the ladie Richmond, the earles mother, which knoweth where he is, either in captiuitie, or at large in Britaine. For I heard ſaie, that the duke of Britaine reſtored him to libertie, immediatlie after the death of king Edward, by whoſe means he was reſtreined. Sith you will begin that waie (ſaid the biſhop) I haue an old fréend with the counteſſe, a man ſober, ſecret, and well witted, called Reginald Braie; whoſe prudent policie I haue knowne to haue compaſſed things of great importance, for whome I ſhall ſecretlie ſend, if it be your pleaſure; and I doubt not but he will gladlie come and that with a good will. So with a little diligence the biſhop wrote a letter to Reginald Braie, requiring him to come to Brecknocke with ſpéed, for great and vrgent cauſes touching his miſtreſſe: and no other thing was declared in the letter. So the meſſenger rode into Lancaſhire where Braie was with the counteſſe, and lord Thomas Stanlie hir huſband, and deliuered the letter: which when he had read, he tooke it as a ſigne or preſage of ſome good fortune to come.

Then he (with the meſſenger) came to the caſtell of Brecknocke, where the duke and the biſhop declared what thing was deuiſed, both for to ſet the relme in a quiet ſtedfaſtneſſe, as alſo for the high preferment of the earle of Richmond, ſonne to his ladie and miſtreſſe: willing hir firſt to compaſſe how to obteine the good will of quéene Elizabeth, and alſo of hir eldeſt daughter bearing the ſame name: and after ſecretlie to ſend to hir ſonne into Britaine, to declare what high honor was prepared for him, if he would ſweare to marrie the ladie Elizabeth aſſoone as he was king, and in roiall poſſeſſion of the relme. Reginald Braie with a glad heart, forgetting nothing giuen to him in charge, in great haſt and with good ſpéed returned to the counteſſe his ladie and miſtreſſe.

When Braie was departed, and this great doubtfull veſſell once ſet abroach, the biſhop thirſting for nothing more than for libertie: when he ſaw the duke pleaſant and well minded toward him; he told the duke, that if he were in his Ile of Elie, he could make manie fréends to further their enterpriſe: and if he were there and had but foure daies warning, he little regarded the malice of king Richard, his countrie was ſo ſtrong. The duke knew well all this to be true, but yet loth he was that the biſhop ſhould depart: for he knew well, that as long as the biſhop was with him, he was ſure of politike aduiſe, ſage counſell, and circumſpect procéeding. And ſo he gaue the biſhop faire words, ſaieng, that he ſhould ſhortlie depart, and that well accompanied for feare of enimies.

Biſhop Mortons deuiſe for to be at his owne libertie in his biſhoprike of Elie.

The Biſhop being as wittie as the duke was wilie, did not tarrie till the dukes companie were aſſembled, but ſecretlie diſguiſed, in a night departed (to the dukes great diſpleaſure) and came to his ſée of Elie; where he found monie and fréends; and ſo ſailed into Flanders, where he did the earle of Richmond good ſeruice, and neuer returned againe, till the erle of Richmond (after being king) ſent for him, and ſhortlie promoted him to the ſee of Canturburie. Thus the biſhop woond himſelfe from the duke when he had moſt néed of his aid, for if he had taried ſtill, the duke had not made ſo manie blabs of his counſell, nor put ſo much confidence in the Welſhmen, nor yet ſo temerariouſlie ſet forward (without knowledge of his fréends) as he did, which things were his ſudden ouerthrowe (as they that knew it did report) [and might perhaps haue béene auoided by the biſhops wiſdome for the dukes ſaftie, as his owne, ſith

Qui ſapit, ille poteſt alios ſapuiſſe docere.]

The biſhop of Elie ſaileth into Flanders to the earle of Richmond.

When Reginald Braie had declared his meſſage and priuie inſtruction to the counteſſe of Richmond his miſtreſſe, no maruell though ſhe were ioious and glad, both of the good newes, and alſo for the obteining of ſuch a high fréend in hir ſonnes cauſe as the duke was. Wherefore ſhe willing not to ſléepe this matter, but to further it to the vttermoſt of hir power and abilitie, deuiſed a means how to breake this matter to quéene Elizabeth then being in ſanctuarie at Weſtminſter. And therevpon ſhe, hauing in hir familie at that time (for the preſeruation of hir health) a certeine Welſhman called Lewes, learned in phyſicke, which for his grauitie and experience, was well knowne, and much eſtéemed amongeſt great eſtates of the realme, brake hir mind to him.

For with this Lewes ſhe vſed ſometime liberallie and familiarlie to talke, and now hauing opportunitie and occaſion to expreſſe hir hart vnto him in this weightie matter, declared that the time was come that hir ſonne ſhould be ioined in marriage with ladie Elizabeth, daughter and heire to king Edward; and that king Richard being taken and reputed of all men for the common enimie of the relme, ſhould out of all honor & eſtate be deiected, & of his crowne and kingdome be cléerelie ſpoiled and expelled: and required him to go to quéene Elizabeth (with whome in his facultie he was of counſell) not as a meſſenger, but as one that came fréendlie to viſit and conſolate hir, and (as time & place ſhould require) to make hir priuie of this deuiſe; not as a thing concluded, but as a purpoſe by him imagined.

This phyſician did not long linger to accompliſh hir deſire, but with good diligence repaired to the quéene, being ſtill in the ſanctuarie at Weſtminſter. And when he ſaw time propice and conuenient for his purpoſe, he ſaid vnto hir: Madame, although my imagination be verie ſimple, and my deuiſe more fooliſh; yet for the entier affection that I beare toward you and your children, I am ſo bold to vtter vnto you a ſecret and priuie conceit that I haue caſt and compaſſed in my fantaſticall braine. When I well remembred and no leſſe conſidered the great loſſe and damage that you haue ſuſteined, by the death of your noble and louing huſband; and the great dolour and ſorow that you haue ſuffered and tollerated, by the cruell murther of your innocent children: I can no leſſe doo both of bounden duetie and chriſtian charitie, than dailie to ſtudie, and hourelie imagine, not onelie how to bring your hart to comfort and gladneſſe, but alſo deuiſe how to reuenge the righteous quarell of you and your children on that bloudie bloudſupper, and cruell tyrant king Richard.

Lewes the phyſician ſheweth the quéene the whole conceipt and deuiſe of the matter.

And firſt conſider, what battell, what manſlaughter, what miſchéefe hath riſen in this realme by the diſſention betwéene the two noble houſes of Yorke & Lancaſter. Which two families (as I haue contriued) if they may be ioined in one, I thinke, yea and doubt not, but your line ſhall be againe reſtored to the priſtinate eſtate and degrée; to your great ioie and comfort, and to the vtter confuſion of your mortall enimie the vſurper king. You know verie well madame, that of the houſe of Lancaſter, the earle of Richmond is next of bloud, who is liuing, and a luſtie yong batcheler, and to the houſe of Yorke your daughters now are heires. If you could agree and inuent the meane how to couple your eldeſt daughter with the yong earle of Richmond in matrimonie, no doubt but the vſurper of the realme ſhould be ſhortlie depoſed, and your heire againe to hir right reſtored.

The coniunction of the two families moued to the Q. by the phyſician.

When the queene had heard this friendlie motion (which was as farre from hir thought, as the man that the rude people ſaie is in the moone) lord how hir ſpirits reuiued, and how hir heart leapt in hir bodie for ioie and gladneſſe! And firſt giuing laud to almightie God, as the chiefe authour of hir comfort, ſecondarilie to maiſter Lewes, as the deuiſer of theſe good newes & tidings, ſhe inſtantlie beſought him, that as he had béene the firſt inuenter of ſo great an enterpriſe, ſo now he would not relinquiſh nor deſiſt to follow the ſame: requiring him further (bicauſe he was apperteining to the counteſſe of Richmond mother to the erle Henrie) that he would with all diligent celeritie reſort to hir, then lodging in hir husbands place, within the citie of London: and to declare on the quéenes behalfe to the counteſſe, that all the friends and fautors of king Edward hir husband, ſhould aſſiſt and take part with the earle of Richmond hir ſonne, ſo that he would take a corporall oth after the kingdome obteined, to eſpouſe and take to wife the ladie Elizabeth hir daughter, or elſe ladie Cicilie, if the eldeſt daughter were not then liuing.

The quéenes readineſſe to ſet forward this cõcluſion.

Maiſter Lewes with all dexteritie ſo ſped his buſineſſe, that he made and concluded a finall end and determination of this enterpriſe betwene the two mothers. And bicauſe he was a phyſician, and out of all ſuſpicion and miſdéeming, he was the common curror and dailie meſſenger betwéene them, aiding and ſetting forth the inuented conſpiracie againſt king Richard. So the ladie Margaret counteſſe of Richmond, brought into a good hope of the preferment of hir ſonne, made Reginald Braie hir moſt faithfull ſeruant, chiefe ſollicitor and priuie procuror of this conſpiracie; giuing him in charge ſecretly to inuegle and attract ſuch perſons of nobilitie to ioine with hir and take hir part, as he knew to be ingenious, faithfull, diligent, and of actiuitie. This Reginald Braie within few daies brought vnto his lure (firſt of all taking of euerie perſon a ſolemne oth to be true and ſecret) ſir Giles Daubneie, ſir Iohn Cheinie knight, Richard Gilford, and Thomas Rame eſquiers, and diuers other. The counteſſe of Richmond was not ſo diligent for hir part, but quéene Elizabeth was as vigilant on the other ſide, and made friends, and appointed councellors to ſet forward and aduance hir buſineſſe.

In the meane ſeaſon, the counteſſe of Richmond tooke into hir ſeruice Chriſtopher Vrſwike, an honeſt and wiſe prieſt, and (after an oth of him for to be ſecret taken and ſworne) ſhe vttered to him all hir mind and counſell, adhibiting to him the more confidence and truth, that he all his life had fauoured and taken part with king Henrie the ſixt, and as a ſpeciall iewell put to hir ſeruice by ſir Lewes hir phyſician. So the mother, ſtudious for the proſperitie of hir ſon, appointed this Chriſtopher Vrſwike to ſaile into Britaine to the earle of Richmond, and to declare and reueale to him all pacts and agréements betwene hir & the quéene agréed and concluded. But ſuddenlie ſhe remembring that the duke of Buckingham was one of the firſt inuentors, and a ſecret founder of this enterpriſe, determined to ſend ſome perſonage of more eſtimation than hir chapleine.

The counteſſe of Richmond vttereth the matter to Vrſwike hir chapleine, ſwearing him to be ſecret.

Herevpon ſhe elected for a meſſenger Hugh Conweie eſquier, & ſent him into Britaine with a great ſum of monie to hir ſonne, giuing him in charge, to declare to the earle the great loue and eſpeciall fauor that the moſt part of the nobilitie of the realme bare toward him, the louing hearts & beneuolent minds which the whole communaltie of their owne frée will frankelie offered, and liberallie exhibited to him, willing and aduiſing him not to neglect ſo good an occaſion apparantlie offered; but with all ſpéed and diligence, to addict and ſettle his mind & full intention how to returne home againe into England, where he was both wiſhed and looked for: giuing him further monition and counſell, to take land and arriuall in the principalitie of Wales, where hée ſhould not doubt to find both aid, comfort and friends.

Hugh Cõweie eſquire ſent ouer to the erle of Richmond to informe him of his roiall preferment.

Richard Gilford, leaſt Hugh Conweie might fortune to be taken, or ſtopped at Plimmouth, where he intended to take his nauigation, ſent out of Kent Thomas Rame with the ſame inſtructions: and both made ſuch diligence, and had ſuch wind and weather, the one by land from Calis, and the other by water from Plimmouth, that within leſſe than an houre both arriued in the duke of Britains court, and ſpake with the earle of Richmond, which (from the death of king Edward) went at pleaſure and libertie, and to him counted and manifeſted the cauſe and effect of their meſſage and ambaſſage. When the earle had receiued this meſſage (which was the more pleaſant, bicauſe it was vnlooked for) he rendered to Ieſu his ſauiour, his moſt humble & heartie thanks, being in firme credence and beléefe, that ſuch things as hée with buſie mind and laborious intent had wiſhed & deſired, could neuer haue taken anie effect, without the helpe and preferment of almightie God.

Tho. Rame ſent ouer for the ſame purpoſe for feare of interception.

And now being put in comfort of his long longing, he did communicate & breake to the duke of Britaine all his ſecrets, and priuie meſſages, which were to him declared; aduertiſing him that he was entered into a ſure and ſtedfaſt hope, to obteine and get the crowne and kingdome of the realme of England, deſiring him both of his good will and friendlie helpe toward the atchiuing of his offered enterpriſe, promiſing him when he came to his intended purpoſe, to render to him againe equall kindnes, and condigne recompenſe. Although the duke of Britaine before that daie, by Thomas Hutton ambaſſadour from king Richard, had both by monie and praiers béene ſollicited and moued to put againe into ſafe cuſtodie the earle of Richmond, he neuertheleſſe promiſed faithfullie to aid him; and his promiſe hée trulie performed.

The earle of Richmond maketh the duke of Britaine priuie to the matter.

Wherevpon the earle with all diligence ſent into England againe Hugh Conweie, and Thomas Rame, which ſhould declare his comming ſhortlie into England: to the intent that all things, which by counſell might be for his purpoſe prouided, ſhould be ſpéedilie and diligentlie doone; and that all things doubtfull, ſhould of his friends be prudentlie foreſéene, in auoiding all engines or ſnares which king Richard had or might ſet in diſturbance of his purpoſe: and he in the meane ſeaſon would make his abode ſtill in Britaine, till all things neceſſarie for his iournie were prepared, and brought in a readineſſe. In the meane ſeaſon, the chiefteins of the coniuration in England began togither manie enterpriſes: ſome in conuenient fortreſſes put ſtrong garriſons, ſome kept armed men priuilie, to the intent that when they ſhould haue knowledge of the earles landing, they would begin to ſtir vp the war: other did ſecretlie moue and ſolicit the people to riſe & make an inſurrection: other (amongſt whom Iohn Morton biſhop of Elie then being in Flanders was chiefe) by priuie letters and cloked meſſengers did ſtir

Hugh Cõweie and Thomas Rame returne into England and deliuer their anſwer.

Preparation to bring in, receiue, & erect the earle to the kingdome.

and moue to this new coniuration, all ſuch which they certeinlie knew to haue a rooted hatred, or to beare cankered malice toward king Richard and his proceedings.

Although this great enterpriſe were neuer ſo priuilie handled, and ſo ſecretlie amongſt ſo circumſpect perſons treated, compaſſed and conueied; yet knowledge therof came to the eares of king Richard, who with the ſudden chance was not a little mooued and aſtonied. Firſt, bicauſe he had no hoſt readie prepared; ſecondlie, if he ſhould raiſe an armie ſo ſuddenlie, he knew not where to méet his enimies, or whither to go, or where to tarrie. Wherefore he determined to diſſemble the matter, as though he knew nothing, till he had aſſembled his hoſt; and in the meane ſeaſon either by the rumour of the common people, or by the diligence of his eſpials to ſearch out all the counſels, determinations, intents, and compaſſes of his cloſe aduerſaries; or elſe by policie to intercept and take ſome perſon of the ſame coniuration, conſidering that there is no more ſecret nor hid eſpiall, than that which lurketh in diſſimulation of knowledge and intelligence, or is hidden in name and ſhadow of counterfeit humanitie and feined kindneſſe. But yet wiſedome hath a deuiſe to auoid & ſhift off all ſuch deceiuers, as the poet well ſaieth:

K. Richards purpoſe in the caſe of coniuration againſt him.

Diſsimulatores vitat prudentia vafros.

The duke of Buckingham conſpireth againſt king Richard.

And bicauſe he knew the duke of Buckingham to be the chiefe head and aid of the coniuration, hée thought it moſt neceſſarie to plucke him from that part, either by faire promiſes or open warre. Whereupon he addreſſed his louing letters to the duke, full of gentle words, & moſt friendlie ſpeach; giuing further in charge to the meſſenger that caried the letter to promiſe the duke (in his behalfe) golden hilles, and ſiluer riuers, and with all gentle and pleaſant means to perſuade and exhort the duke to come to the court. But the duke as wilie as the king, miſtruſting the faire flattering words, and the gaie promiſes to him ſo ſuddenlie without any cauſe offered, knowing the craftie caſts of king Richards bow, which in diuerſe affaires before time he had ſéene practiſed, required the king to pardon him, excuſing himſelfe that he was ſo diſeaſed in his ſtomach, that ſcant he could either take refection or reſt.

King Richard not being content with this excuſe, would in no wiſe admit the ſame; but incontinent directed to the duke other letters, of a more rougher and hautier ſort, not without tawnting and biting tearmes, and checking words, commanding him (all excuſes ſet apart) to repaire without anie delaie to his roiall preſence. The duke made to the meſſeng a determinate anſwer, that he would not come to his mortall enimie, whome he neither loued, nor fauoured: and immediatlie prepared open warre againſt him, and perſuaded all his complices and partakers, that euerie man in his quarter, with all diligence ſhould raiſe vp people & make a commotion. And by this means almoſt in one moment Thomas marques Dorſet came out of ſanctuarie, where ſince the begining of K. Richards daies he had continued, whoſe life by the onelie helpe of ſir Thomas Louell was preſerued from all danger & perill in this troublous world, gathered togither a great band of men in Yorkeſhire.

The duke of Buckingham a profeſſed enimie to king Richard.

Sir Edward Courtneie, and Peter his brother biſhop of Exceſter, raiſed an other amie in Deuonſhire and Cornewall. In Kent Richard Gilford and other gentlemen collected a great companie of ſouldiers, and openlie began warre. But king Richard, who in the meane time had gotten togither a great ſtrength and puiſſance, thinking it not moſt for his part beneficiall, to diſperſe and diuide his great armie into ſmall branches, and particularlie to perſecute anie one of the coniuration by himſelfe, determined (all other things being ſet aſide) with his whole puiſſance to ſet on the chiefe head, which was the duke of Buckingham. And ſo remoouing from London, he tooke his iournie toward Saliſburie, to the intent that in his iournie he might ſet on the dukes armie, if he might know him in anie place incamped, or in order of battell arraied.

K. Richards fault in the diſpoſing of his armie.

The king was ſcarſe two daies iournie from Saliſburie, when the duke of Buckingham accompanied with a great power of wild Welſhmen, whom he (being a man of great courage and ſharpe ſpéech) in maner againſt their willes had rather thereto inforced and compelled by lordlie and ſtreict commandement, than by liberall wages and gentle demenour, which thing was the verie occaſion why they left him deſolate, & cowardlie forſooke him. The duke with all his power marched through the foreſt of Deane, intending to haue paſſed the riuer Seuerne at Glouceſter, & there to haue ioined his armie with the Courtneis, and other weſterne men of his confederacie and affinitie. Which if he had doone, no doubt but king Richard had béene in great ieopardie, either of priuation of his realme, or loſſe of his life, or both.

The duke of Buckinghãs power of wild Welſhmen (falſeharted) doo faile him.

But ſée the chance. Before he could atteine to Seuerne ſide, by force of continuall raine and moiſture, the riuer roſe ſo high that it ouerflowed all the countrie adioining, inſomuch that men were drowned in their beds, and houſes with the extreame violence were ouerturned, children were caried about the fields ſwimming in cradels, beaſts were drowned on hilles. Which rage of water laſted continuallie ten daies, inſomuch that in the countrie adioining they call it to this daie, The great water; or, the duke of Buckinghams great water. By this floud the paſſages were ſo cloſed, that neither the duke could come ouer Seuern to his adherents, nor they to him. During the which time, the Welſhmen lingring idelie, and without monie, vittels, or wages, ſuddenlie ſcattered and departed: and for all the dukes faire promiſes, threatnings, and inforcements, would in no wiſe either go further nor abide.

A ſore floud or high water dooing much harme, called the duke of Buckinghãs great water.

The duke (being thus left almoſt poſt alone) was of neceſſitie compelled to flie, and in flight was with this ſudden fortune maruellouſlie diſmaid: and being vnpurueied what counſell he ſhould take, and what waie he ſhould follow, like a man in deſpaire, not knowing what to doo, of verie truſt & confidence conueied himſelfe into the houſe of Humfreie Banaſter his ſeruant beſide Shrewesburie, whome he had tenderlie brought vp, and whome he aboue all men loued, fauoured, and truſted; now not doubting but that in his extreame neceſſitie he ſhould find him faithfull, ſecret, and truſtie, intending there couertlie to lurke, till either he might raiſe againe a new armie, or elſe ſhortlie to ſaile into Britaine to the earle of Richmond. [But alas (good duke) the meanes (by occaſion of Gods prouidence, ſhaking men out of their ſhifts of ſuppoſed ſafetie) failed him, and he fell infortunatlie into the hands of the foming bore, that tare him in péeces with his tuſkes.]

Now when it was knowne to his adherents, which were redie to giue battell, that his hoſt was ſcatred, and had left him almoſt alone, and was fled, & could not be found; they were ſuddenlie amazed & ſtriken with a ſudden feare, that euery man like perſons deſperate ſhifted for himſelfe & fled. Some went to ſanctuarie, and to ſolitarie places; ſome fled by ſea, whereof the moſt part within a few daies after arriued ſafelie in the duchie of Britaine. Among which number were theſe perſons; Peter Courtneie biſhop of Exceſter, and ſir Edmund Courtneie his brother, by king Henrie the ſeuenth after created earle of Deuonſhire; Thomas marqueſſe Dorſet, John lord

The dukes adherents & their powers diſperſed.

Welles, ſir John Bourchier, ſir Edward Wooduile, a valiant man in armes, brother to quéene Elizabeth, ſir Robert Willoughbie, ſir Giles Daubneie, ſir Thomas Arundell, ſir John Cheinie and his two brethren, ſir William Barkelie, ſir William Brandon, & Thomas his brother, ſir Richard Edgecombe: all theſe for the moſt part being knights, John Halowell, and Edward Poinings, a politike capteine.

At this verie ſeaſon, John Morton biſhop of Elie, and Chriſtopher Urſwike prieſt, and an other companie of noble men ſoiourned in Flanders; and by letters and meſſengers procured manie enimies againſt king Richard, which vſing a vigilant eie, and a quicke remembrance, being newlie come to Saliſburie, hauing perfect notice and knowledge how the duke was fled, and how his complices intended to paſſe out of the realme; firſt he ſent men of warre to all the next ports and paſſages, to kéepe ſtreictlie the ſea coaſt, ſo that no perſon ſhould paſſe outward, nor take land within the realme without their aſſent and knowledge; ſecondarilie he made proclamation, that what perſon could ſhew and reueale where the duke of Buckingham was, ſhould be highlie rewarded; if he were a bondman, he ſhould be infranchiſed and ſet at libertie; if he were of frée bloud, he ſhould haue a generall pardon, and be rewarded with a thouſand pounds.

A proclamation for the apprehenſion of the duke of Buckinghã with large rewards to the apprehendor.

Furthermore, bicauſe he vnderſtood by Thomas Hutton, which (as you haue heard) was newlie returned out of Britaine, that Francis duke of Britaine not onelie refuſed to kéepe the earle of Richmond as a priſoner, at his contemplation, and for his ſake; but alſo that he was readie to aid and ſuccour the ſaid earle, with men, monie, and all things neceſſarie for his tranſporting into England: he therefore rigged and ſent out ſhips of warre, well furniſhed and decked with men and artillerie, to ſcowre and kéepe that part of the ſea that lieth ouer againſt Britaine, to the intent that if the earle of Richmond would aduenture to ſaile toward England, either he ſhould be taken captiue, or be beaten and driuen from the coaſt of England. And moreouer, to the intent that euerie coaſt, waie, paſſage, and corner, ſhould be diligentlie watched & kept, he ſet at euerie doubtfull and ſuſpected place men of warre, to ſéeke, ſearch, and inquire, if anie creature could tell tidings of the duke of Buckingham; or of anie or his confederation, adherents, fautors or partakers.

K. Richard ſendeth forth a nauie to ſcowre the ſea ouer againſt Britaine.

While this buſie ſearch was diligentlie applied and put in execution, Humfreie Banaſter (were it more for feare of life and loſſe of goods, or allured & prouoked by the auaricious deſire of the thouſand pounds) he bewraied his gueſt and maiſter to John Mitton then ſhiriffe of Shropſhire; which ſuddenlie with a ſtrong power of men in harneſſe apprehended the duke in a little groue adioining to the manſion of Humfreie Banaſter, and in great haſt and euill ſpéed conueied him apparelled in a pilled blacke cloake to the towne of Shrewſburie, where king Richard then kept his houſhold. Whether this Banaſter bewraied the duke more for feare than couetous, manie men doo doubt: but ſure it is, that ſhortlie after he had betraied the duke his maſter; his ſonne and heire waxed mad, & ſo died in a bores ſtie; his eldeſt daughter of excellent beautie, was ſuddenlie ſtriken with a foule leproſie; his ſecond ſonne maruellouſlie deformed of his lims, and made lame; his yoonger ſonne in a ſmall puddle was ſtrangled and drowned; and he being of extreame age, arreigned, and found guiltie of a murther, and by his cleargie ſaued. And as for his thouſand pounds, K. Richard gaue him not one farthing, ſaieng that he which would be vntrue to ſo good a maiſter, would be falſe to all other: howbeit ſome ſaie that he had a ſmall office or a farme to ſtop his mouth withall.

Humfrie Banaſter ſeruant vnto the duke of Buckingham betraied his maiſter.

Gods ſecret iudgements vpon Banaſter and his children after the duke was apprehended.

The duke being by certeine of the kings councell diligentlie vpon interrogatories examined, what things he knew preiudiciall vnto the kings perſon, opened and declared franklie and fréelie all the coniuration, without diſſembling or gloſing; truſting, bicauſe he had trulie and plainelie reuealed and confeſſed all things that were of him required, that he ſhould haue licence to ſpeake to the king: which (whether it were to ſue for pardon and grace, or whether he being brought to his preſence, would haue ſticked him with a dagger as men then iudged) he ſore deſired and required. But when he had confeſſed the whole fact & conſpiracie, vpon All ſoules daie, without arreignment or iudgement, he was at Saliſburie in the open market place, on a new ſcaffold beheaded and put to death.

The duke of Buckingham beheaded without arreignment or iudgement.

This death (as a reward) the duke of Buckingham receiued at the hands of king Richard, whom he before in his affaires, purpoſes and enterpriſes had holpen, ſuſteined, and ſet forward, aboue all Gods forbode. By this all men may eaſilie perceiue, that he not onelie loſeth both his labour, trauell, and induſtrie (and further ſtaineth and ſpotteth his line with a perpetuall ignominie and reproch) which in euill and miſchiefe aſſiſteth and aideth an euill diſpoſed perſon, conſidering for the moſt part, that he for his fréendlie fauour ſhould receiue ſome great diſpleaſure or importunate chance. Beſide that, God of his iuſtice in concluſion appointed to him a condigne paine and affliction for his merits and deſerts. [Auailable therefore, and for his beſt aduantage had it béene, to haue followed the wiſe counſell of him, that willed him, and ſuch as he, to kéepe them from the man that hath power to ſlaie; ſo ſhalt thou doubt (ſaith he) the feare of death. And if thou come vnto him make no fault, leaſt he take awaie thy life: remember that thou goeſt in the middeſt of ſnares, & that thou walkeſt vpon the towers of the citie. Which aduiſe a learned man, in good place, and neceſſarie ſeruice about the prince, neatlie compriſed in theſe few verſes:

Vtere principibus modicè, nimis eſſe propinquus
Si cupis, in vitæ multa pericla rues.
Si tua te fortuna facit ſeruire potenti,
Diſpice ne titubes, atque repentè cadas,
Sollicitè vigiles, laquei ſunt vndique fuſi,
Turribus in ſummis es ſitus, ergo caue.]

Gu. Ha.

The earle of Richmonds preparation of ſhips and ſouldiers to the ſea.

While theſe things were thus handled and ordered in England, Henrie earle of Richmond prepared an armie of fiue thouſand manlie Britons, and fortie well furniſhed ſhips. When all things were prepared in a readineſſe, and the daie of departing and ſetting forward was appointed, which was the twelfe daie of the moneth of October, the whole armie went on ſhipbord, and halſed vp their ſailes, and with a proſperous wind tooke the ſea. But toward night the wind changed, and the weather turned, and ſo huge and terrible a tempeſt ſo ſuddenlie aroſe, that with the verie power and ſtrength of the ſtorme, the ſhips were diſparkled, ſeuered & ſeparated aſunder: ſome by force were driuen into Normandie, ſome were compelled to returne againe into Britaine. The ſhip wherein the earle of Richmond was, aſſociat onelie with one other barke, was all night toſſed and turmoiled.

His ſhips diſparkled by tempeſt.

In the morning after, when the rage of the furious tempeſt was aſſwaged, and the ire of bluſtering wind was ſome deale appeaſed; about the houre of noone the ſame daie, the earle approched to the ſouth part of the realme of England, euen at the mouth of the hauen of Pole, in the countie of Dorſet, where he might plainelie perceiue all the ſea bankes & ſhores garniſhed and furniſhed with men of warre and ſouldiers, appointed and deputed there to defend his arriuall and landing (as before is mentioned.) Wherefore he gaue ſtreict charge, and ſore commandement,

He ſéeth all the ſea bankes furniſhed with ſouldiers.

that

He ſendeth to know whether they were with him or againſt him.

that no perſon ſhould once preſume to take land, and go to ſhore, vntill ſuch time as the whole nauie were aſſembled and come togither. And while he taried and lingered, he ſent out a ſhipboate toward the land ſide, to know whether they, which ſtood there in ſuch a number, and ſo well furniſhed in apparell defenſiue, were his foes and enimies, or elſe his fréends and comfortors.

A forged tale to intrap the earles meſſengers.

They that were ſent to inquire, were inſtantlie deſired of the men of warre keeping the coaſt (which thereof were before inſtructed ⁊ admoniſhed) to deſcend and take land, affirming that they were appointed by the duke of Buckingham there to await and tarie for the arriuall and landing of the earle of Richmond, and to conduct him ſafelie into the campe, where the duke not far of laie incamped with a mightie armie, and an hoſt of great ſtrength and power, to the intent that the duke and the earle, ioining in puiſſances and forces togither, might proſecute and chaſe king Richard being deſtitute of men, and in maner deſperate, and ſo by that meanes, and their owne labours, to obteine the end of their enterpriſe which they had before begun.

The earle of Richmond ſuſpecting their flattering requeſt to be but a fraud (as it was in déed) after he perceiued none of his ſhips to appeare in ſight, he weied vp his anchors, halſed vp his ſailes, ⁊ hauing a proſperous and ſtreinable wind, and a freſh gale ſent euen by God to deliuer him from that perill and ieopardie, arriued ſafe and in all ſecuritie in the duchie of Normandie, where he (to refreſh and ſolace his ſoldiers and people) tooke his recreation by the ſpace of thrée daies, and cléerelie determined with part of his companie to paſſe all by land againe into Britaine. And in the meane ſeaſon he ſent ambaſſadors to the French king, called Charles the eight, which newlie ſuccéeded his father king Lewes the eleuenth, not long before departed to God, requiring of him a ſafe conduct and licence to paſſe thorough his countrie of Normandie into Britaine.

The earle arriueth in Normandie ⁊ paſſeth by land into Britaine againe.

Charles the 8. of France his beneuolence to the earle of Richmond.

This yoong king, hauing compaſſion of the miſfortune of the earle of Richmond, not onelie gentlie granted and aſſigned to him a paſport; but alſo liberallie diſburſed to him a great ſumme of monie for his conduct and expenſes neceſſarie in his long iournie and paſſage. But the earle truſting in the French kings humanitie, aduentured to ſend his ſhips home into Britaine, and to ſet forward himſelfe by land on his iournie, making no great haſt till his meſſengers were returned. Which being with that benefit ſo comforted, and with hope of proſperous ſucceſſe ſo incouraged, marched towards Britaine with all diligence, intending there to conſult further with his louers ⁊ fréends of his affaires and enterpriſes. When he was returned againe into Britaine, he was certified by credible information, that the duke of Buckingham had loſt his head; and that the marqueſſe Dorſet, and a great number of noble men of England, had a little before inquired and ſearched for him there, and were now returned to Vannes.

The earle lamenteth and reioiſeth.

When he had heard theſe newes thus reported, he firſt ſorowed and lamented his firſt attempt and ſetting forward of his fréends, and in eſpeciall of the nobilitie, not to haue more fortunatelie ſuccéeded. Secondarilie, he reioiſed on the other part, that God had ſent him ſo manie valiant and prudent capteins to be his companions in his martiall enterpriſes, truſting ſuerlie and nothing doubting in his owne opinion, but that all his buſineſſe ſhould be wiſelie compaſſed, and brought to a good concluſion. Wherefore he determining with all diligence to ſet forward his new begun buſineſſe, departed to Rheims, and ſent certeine of his priuie ſeruitours to conduct and bring the marqueſſe and other noble men to his preſence. When they knew that he was ſafelie returned into Britaine, Lord how they reioiſed! for before that time they miſſed him, and knew not in what part of the world to make inquirie or ſearch for him. For they doubted and no leſſe feared leaſt he had taken land in England, ⁊ fallen into the hands of king Richard, in whoſe perſon they knew well was neither mercie nor compaſſion.

Wherefore in all ſpéedie maner they galoped toward him, and him reuerentlie ſaluted. Which méeting after great ioy and ſolace, and no ſmall thanks giuen and rendered on both parts, they aduiſedlie debated and commined of their great buſineſſe and weightie enterpriſe. In the which ſeaſon the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our ſauiour Chriſt happened, on which daie all the Engliſh lords went with their ſolemnitie to the chéefe church of the citie, and there ech gaue faith and promiſe to other. The earle himſelfe firſt tooke a corporall oth on his honor, promiſing that incontinent after he ſhuld be poſſeſſed of the crowne and dignitie of the realme of England, he would be conioined in matrimonie with the ladie Elizabeth daughter to king Edward the fourth. Then all the companie ſware to him fealtie, and did to him homage (as though he had béene that time the crowned king, and annointed prince) promiſing faithfullie, and firmelie affirming, that they would not onelie looſe their worldlie ſubſtance; but alſo be depriued of their liues and worldlie felicitie, rather than to ſuffer king Richard that tyrant longer to rule and reigne ouer them.

The Engliſh lords giue faith and promiſe either to other.

The earle of Richmond ſweareth to marrie Elizabeth daughter to Edward the fourth, after poſſeſſion of the crowne.

Which ſolemne oths made and taken, the earle of Richmond declared and communicated all theſe doings to Francis duke of Britaine, deſiring ⁊ moſt heartilie requiring him to aid him with a greater armie to conduct him into his countrie, which ſo ſore longed and looked for his returne, and to the which he was by the more part of the nobilitie and communaltie called and deſired. Which (with Gods aid, and the dukes comfort) he doubted not in ſhort time to obteine; requiring him further to preſt to him a conuenient ſumme of monie; affirming that all ſuch ſummes of monie which he had receiued of his eſpeciall fréends, were ſpent and conſumed in preparation of his laſt iourneie made toward England; which ſummes of monie, after his enterpriſe once atchiued, he in the word of a prince faithfullie promiſed to repaie and reſtore againe. The duke promiſed him aid and helpe. Vpon confidence whereof he rigged his ſhips, and ſet forth a nauie well decked with ordinance, and warlikelie furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, to the intent to ſaile forward ſhortlie, and to looſe no time.

Diuerſe of the earle of Richmonds faction apprehended and executed.

In the meane ſeaſon king Richard apprehended in diuerſe parts of the realme certeine gentlemen of the earle of Richmonds faction, ⁊ confederation, which either intended to ſaile into Britaine toward him, or elſe at his landing to aſſiſt and aid him. Amongſt whome ſir George Browne, ſir Roger Clifford, and foure other were put to execution at London, and ſir Thomas Sentleger which had married the ducheſſe of Exceſter the kings owne ſiſter, and Thomas Rame, and diuerſe other were executed at Exceſter. Beſide theſe perſons, diuerſe of his houſhold ſeruants, whome either he ſuſpected or doubted, were by great crueltie put to ſhamefull death. [By the obſeruation of which mens names, the place, and the action here mentioned, with the computation of time, I find fit occaſion to interlace a note (newlie receiued from the hands of one that is able to ſaie much by record) deliuering a ſummarie (in more ample ſort) of their names, whome king Richard did ſo tyrannicallie perſecute and execute: as followeth.]

Abr.Flem.

King Richard (ſaith he) came this yeare to the citie, John Hooker, alias Vowel.

K. Richard commeth to Excester, and is receiued with preſents.

A propheſie, the memorie whereof did appall the kings ſpirits.

tie, but in verie ſecret maner, whome the maior & his brethren in the beſt maner they could did receiue, and then preſented to him in a purſe two hundred nobles; which he thankefullie accepted. And during his abode here he went about the citie, & viewed the ſeat of the ſame, & at length he came to the caſtell: and when he vnderſtood that it was called Rugemont, ſuddenlie he fell into a dumpe, and (as one aſtonied) ſaid; Well, I ſée my daies be not long. He ſpake this of a propheſie told him, that when he came once to Richmond, he ſhould not long liue after; which fell out in the end to be true, not in reſpect of this caſtle, but in reſpect of Henrie earle of Richmond, who the next yeare following met him at Boſworth field where he was ſlaine. But at his being here, he did find the gentlemen of this countrie not to be beſt affected towards him, and after his departure, did alſo heare that the marqueſſe of Dorſet, the biſhop of Excester, and ſundrie other gentlemen were in a confederacie againſt him for the aſſiſting of the erle of Richmond.

Lord Scrope by the kings commiſſion kept a ſeſſion againſt diuerſe indicted of high treſon.

More than fiue hundred indicted, whereof ſome eſcaped, and ſome were executed.

Wherefore he ſent downe John lord Scrope with a commiſſion to kéepe a ſeſſion; who ſat at Torrington, & then & there were indicted of high treaſon, Thomas marqueſſe Dorſet, Peter biſhop of Excester, Thomas Sentleger, and Thomas Fulford knights as principals, and Robert Willoughbie and Thomas Arundell knights, John Arundell deane of Excester, Dauid Hopton archdeacon of Excester, Oliuer abbat of Buckland, Bartholomew Sentleger, William Chilſon, Thomas Gréenefield, Richard Edgecombe, Robert Burnbie, Walter Courtneie, Thomas Browne, Edward Courtneie, Hugh Lutterell, John Crocker, John Hallewell, and fiue hundred others were indicted as acceſſaries. All which fled and ſhifted for themſelues, ſome into Britaine, and ſome elſe where; ſauing ſir Thomas Sentleger, and one ſir John Rame; who were brought to Excester, and there at the Carefox were beheaded.]

1484

The earle of Richmōd atteinted in parlement, and all other that fled ouer ſea to take his part.

After this, king Richard called a parlement, in the which he atteinted the earle of Richmond and all other perſons which were fled out of the realme for feare, or anie other cauſe, as enimies to him, and to their naturall countrie; & all their lands, goods, & poſſeſſions, were confiſcate and ſeized to the kings vſe. And yet not content with this preie, which no doubt was of no ſmall valour and moment, he laid on the peoples necks a great tax and tallage, and ſuerlie neceſſitie to that act in maner him compelled. For what with purging and declaring his innocencie concerning the murther of his nephues toward the world, and what with coſt to obteine the loue and fauour of the communaltie (which outwardlie gloſed, and openlie diſſembled with him) he gaue prodigallie ſo manie and ſo great rewards, that now both he lacked, and ſcarſe wiſt honeſtlie how to borow.

Anno Reg. 2.

King Richard chargeth the lord Stanleie to kéepe his wife in ſome ſecret place from dealing againſt him.

In this troublous ſeaſon, nothing was more maruelled at, than that the lord Stanleie had not béene taken, and reputed as an enimie to the king; conſidering the working of the ladie Margaret his wife, mother to the earle of Richmond. But forſomuch as the enterpriſe of a woman was of him reputed of no regard or eſtimation; and that the lord Thomas hir husband had purged himſelfe ſufficientlie to be innocent of all doings and attempts by hir perpetrated and committed: it was giuen him in charge to kéepe hir in ſome ſecret place at home, without hauing anie ſeruant or companie: ſo that from thenſe forth ſhe ſhould neuer ſend letter or meſſenger vnto hir ſonne, nor anie of his fréends or confederats, by the which the king might be moleſted or troubled, or anie hurt or preiudice might be attempted againſt his realme and communaltie. Which commandement was a while put in execution and accompliſhed, according to his dreadfull commandement.

Yet the wild worme of vengeance wauering in his head, could not be content with the death of diuerſe gentlemen ſuſpected of treaſon; but alſo he muſt extend his bloudie furie againſt a poore gentleman called Collingborne, for making a ſmall rime of thrée of his vnfortunate councellors, which were the lord Louell, ſir Richard Ratcliffe his miſcheeuous minion, and ſir William Cateſbie his ſecret ſeducer, which méeter or rime was thus framed:

The Cat, the Rat, and Louell our dog,
Rule all England vnder an hog.

Collingborne executed.

Meaning by the hog, the dreadfull wild boare, which was the kings cogniſance. But bicauſe the firſt line ended in dog, the metrician could not (obſeruing the regiments of méeter) end the ſecond verſe in boare, but called the boare an hog. This poeticall ſchoolemaiſter, corrector of bréefs and longs, cauſed Collingborne to be abbreuiated ſhorter by the head, and to be diuided into foure quarters.

Collingbornes indictement.

Collingborne a fauourer of the earle of Richmond.

Here is to be noted, that beſide the rime which is reported by ſome to be the onelie cauſe for which this gentleman ſuffered, I find in a regiſter booke of indictements concerning fellonies and treaſons by ſundrie perſons committed, that the ſaid Collingborne (by the name of William Collingborne) late of Lidyard in the countie of Wilſhire eſquier, and other his aſſociats were indicted in London: for that they about the tenth daie of Julie, in this ſecond yeare of king Richards reigne, in the pariſh of ſaint Botulphes in Portſoken ward had ſolicited and requeſted one Thomas Yate, offering to him for his paines eight pounds, to go ouer into Britaine vnto Henrie erle of Richmond, Thomas marqueſſe Dorſet, John Cheineie eſquier, and others, which in the laſt parlement holden at Weſtminſter had béene atteinted of ſundrie high treaſons by them practiſed within the kings dominion.

Collingbornes purpoſe to aid the erle at his arriuall at Pole in Dorſetſhire.

Beſides this, to declare vnto them that they ſhould do verie well, to returne into England with all ſuch power as they might get before the feaſt of S. Luke the euangeliſt next inſuing; for ſo they might receiue all the whole reuenues of the realme due at the feaſt of ſaint Michaell next before the ſaid feaſt of ſaint Luke. And that if the ſaid earle of Richmond and his partakers, following the counſell of the ſaid Collingborne, would arriue at the hauen of Pole in Dorſetſhire, he the ſaid Collingborne and other his aſſociats would cauſe the people to riſe in armes, and to leuie warre againſt king Richard, taking part with the ſaid earle and his fréends; ſo that all things ſhould be at their commandements. Moreouer, to moue the ſaid earle to ſend the ſaid John Cheineie vnto the French king, to aduertiſe him that his ambaſſadors ſent into England ſhould be dallied with, onelie to driue off the time till the winter ſeaſon were paſt, and that then in the beginning of ſummer king Richard meant to make warre into France, inuading that realme with all puiſſance: and ſo by this meanes to perſuade the French king to aid the earle of Richmond and his partakers, in their quarell againſt king Richard.

Collingborne indicted to be a libeller againſt king Richard.

Further, that the ſaid William Collingborne, being confederate with the ſaid earle and other his adherents, as well within the realme as without, the eightéenth day of Julie, in the ſaid ſecond yeare, within the pariſh of ſaint Gregories in Faringdon ward within, had deuiſed certeine bils and writings in rime, to the end that the ſame being publiſhed, might ſtir the people to a commotion againſt the king. And thoſe bils and writings in rime ſo deuiſed and written, the ſame Collingborne the daie and yeare laſt mentioned, had faſtened and ſet vpon diuerſe doores of the cathedrall church of ſaint Paule, for the more ſpéedie furthering of his intended purpoſe. Thus farre the indictement. But whether he was giltie in part or in all, I haue not to ſaie.

King Richard being thus diſquieted in mind, and doubtfull for the ſuertie of his owne eſtate, called to remembrance that confederations, honeſt bands and pacts of amitie, concluded and had betwixt princes and gouernours, are the efficient cauſe that realmes and common wealths are ſtrengthened with double power, that is, with aid of fréends abroad, and their owne forces at home. Wherevpon he deuiſed how to conclude a league and amitie with his neighbour the king of Scots: who not long before had made diuerſe incurſions and roads into the realme of England. And although he had not much gotten; yet verelie he loſt not much. And now euen as king Richard could haue wiſhed, he of himſelfe made ſute for peace or truce to be had betwixt him and king Richard; who willinglie giuing eare to that ſute, commiſſioners were appointed to méete about the treatie thereof, as in the hiſtorie of Scotland it maie appeare.

Sée Scotland pag. 284,285.

A truce betwixt England ⁊ Scotland with a treatie of aliance.

At length they agréed vpon a truce for thrée yéeres, and withall for a further increaſe of firme fréendſhip and ſure amitie (betwixt him and the king of Scots) king Richard entered into a treatie alſo of aliance for the concluding of a marriage betwixt the duke of Rothſaie (eldeſt ſonne to the king of Scots) and the ladie Anne de la Poole daughter to John duke of Suffolke and the ducheſſe Anne, ſiſter to king Richard: which ſiſter he ſo much fauoured, that ſtudieng by all waies and meanes poſſible how to aduance hir linage, he did not onelie thus ſéeke to preferre hir daughter in marriage; but alſo after the death of his ſonne, he proclamed John earle of Lincolne hir ſonne and his nephue, heire apparant to the crowne of England, diſheriting king Edwards daughters, whoſe brethren (as ye haue heard) he moſt wickedlie had cauſed to be murthered and made awaie.

John earle of Lincolne proclamed heire apparant to the crowne.

The king of Scots ſtanding in néed of fréends, although not ſo greatlie as king Richard, did willinglie conſent to that motion of marriage, firſt broched by king Richard, inſomuch that it tooke effect, and by commiſſioners was paſſed and concluded, in maner as in the hiſtorie of Scotland it likewiſe appeareth. But albeit that by this league and amitie thus couenanted and concluded, it might be thought, that all conſpiracies, coniurations, and confederacies againſt king Richard had béene extinct, eſpeciallie conſidering the duke of Buckingham and his alies were diſpatched out of the waie, ſome by death, and ſome by flight and baniſhment into farre countries: yet king Richard, more doubting than truſting to his owne people and fréends, was continuallie vexed and troubled in mind for feare of the earle of Richmonds returne: which dailie dread and hourelie agonie cauſed him to liue in dolefull miſerie, euer vnquiet, and in maner in continuall calamitie.

A marriage concluded betwixt the prince of Rothſaie ⁊ the duke of Suffolkes daughter.

Wherefore he intending to be reléeued, and to haue an end of all his doubtfull dangers, determined cléerelie to extirpate and plucke vp by the roots all the matter and ground of his feare and doubts. Inſomuch that (after long and deliberate conſultation had) nothing was for his purpoſe and intent thought either more neceſſarie or expedient than once againe with price, praier, and rewards, to attempt the duke of Britaine, in whoſe territorie the earle of Richmond then abode, to deliuer the ſaid earle into his hands: by which onelie meanes he ſhould be diſcharged of all feare and perill, and brought to reſt and quietneſſe both of bodie and mind. Wherefore incontinent he ſent certeine ambaſſadors to the duke of Britaine, which tooke vpon them (beſide the great and ample rewards that they brought with them into Britaine) that king Richard ſhould yearelie paie and anſwer the duke of all the reuenues, rents, and profits of the ſeigniories, lands, and poſſeſſions, as well belonging and apperteining to the erle of Richmond, as to anie other noble or gentleman, which then were in the earles companie; if he after that time would kéepe them in continuall priſon, and reſtraine them from libertie.

King Richard attempteth the duke of Britaine to deliuer the earle of Richmond into his hands.

A great temptation with large offers.

The ambaſſadors (furniſhed with theſe and other inſtructions) arriued in Britaine, and came to the dukes houſe; where with him they could haue no maner of communication concerning their weightie affaires: by reaſon that he being faint and weakened by a long and dailie infirmitie, began a little to wax idle and weake in his wit and remembrance. For which cauſe Peter Landoiſe his chéefe treaſuror, a man both of pregnant wit and great authoritie, ruled and adiudged all things at his pleaſure and commandement, for which cauſe (as men ſet in authoritie be not beſt beloued) he excited ⁊ prouoked againſt him the malice and euill will of the nobilitie of Britaine, which afterward (for diuerſe great offenſes by him during his authoritie perpetrate ⁊ committed) by their meanes was brought to death ⁊ confuſion.

The Engliſh ambaſſadors mooued their meſſage and requeſt to Peter Landoiſe, and to him declared their maiſters commandement, inſtantlie requiring and humblie deſiring him (in whoſe power it laie to doo all things in Britaine) that he would fréendlie aſſent to the requeſt of king Richard: offering to him the ſame rewards and lands, that they ſhould haue offered to the duke. This Peter (which was no leſſe diſdeined than hated almoſt of all the people of Britaine) thought that if he did aſſent ⁊ ſatiſfie king Richards petition and deſire, he ſhould be of power and abilitie ſufficient to withſtand and refell the malicious attempts and diſdeinfull inuentions of his enuious aduerſaries. Wherefore he faithfullie promiſed to accompliſh king Richards requeſt ⁊ deſire: ſo that he kept promiſe with him, that he might be able to withſtand the cankered malice of his ſecret enimies.

Peter Landoiſe is mooued by the ambaſſadors of king Richard in their ſute.

Note what loue of lucre or gréedie gaping after rewards dooth.

This act that he promiſed to doo, was not for anie grudge or malice that he bare vnto the erle of Richmond: for (as you haue heard before) he deliuered him from the perill of death at ſaint Malos, when he was in great doubt of life, and ieopardie. But as cauſe ariſeth we euer offend, and that curſſed hunger of gold, and execrable thirſt of lucre, and inward feare of loſſe of authoritie, driueth the blind minds of couetous men, ⁊ ambitious perſons to euils and miſchéefs innumerable, not remembring loſſe of good name, obloquie of the people, nor in concluſion the puniſhment of God for their merits and deſerts. [Which vengeance of God for ſuch falſhood was more to be feared, than the gaie offers of the king to be deſired; for the one was ſure to fall, the other was likelie to faile. Wherefore it is wiſedome to make choiſe of a fréend, by the rule of the wiſeman to be obſerued in wine, which is drunke with pleaſure when it is old. Neither dooth it ſtand with a mans ſafetie to truſt a fréend too farre: for occaſions maie fall out wherby he ſhall become an enimie, as the poet ſaith:

Hoſtis erit forſan qui tuus hoſpes erat.]

Sée page.701.

Abr. Fl.

But fortune was ſo fauourable to the publike wealth of the realme of England, that this deadlie and dolorous compact tooke none effect or place. For while poſts ran, and letters were ſent to and fro for the finiſhing of this great enterpriſe betwéene king Richard and Peter Landoiſe, John Morton biſhop of Elie (ſoiourning then in Flanders) was of all this craftie conueiance certified by his ſecret and ſure fréends. Wherefore he ſent Chriſtopher Urſwike (which at that verie ſeaſon was come out of Britaine

Biſhop Morton preuenteth ⁊ defeateth the practiſes of king Richard and Peter Landoiſe.

into Flanders) to declare to the earle of Richmond how all the deceit and craftie working was conueied and compaſſed, giuing him charge to counſell and aduiſe the earle in all haſt poſſible with all his companie to retire out of Britaine into France.

When theſe newes were brought to the earle, he then kept houſe in Vannes, and incontinent diſpatched againe Chriſtopher Vrſwike vnto Charles the French king, requiring him that he and his might ſafelie paſſe into France. Which deſire being obteined, the meſſenger ſhortlie returned to his lord and prince. The earle, well perceiuing that it was expedient and neceſſarie, with all ſpéed and diligence to looke to this weightie matter, calling verie few to counſell, he made inquirie and ſearch of all ſecret & by-waies, & ſent before all his noble men, as though for a certeine familiaritie and kindneſſe they ſhould viſit and comfort the duke, which then (for recreation and change of aire) laie on the borders and confines of France. And ſecretlie he gaue charge to the earle of Penbroke, which was the leader and conductor of his companie, that when they approched the marches and limits of Britaine, they ſhould diuert and take the next waie into France.

The earle of Penbroke cõductor of the earle of Richmonds companie.

The noble men ſomewhat ſuſpicious of things newlie imagined without any tarieng, ſcowring the waies as faſt as their horſſes could runne, came out of the duchie of Britaine into the duchie of Aniou in the dominion of France, where they taried the erles comming, which two daies after departed out of Vannes, onelie accompanied with fiue ſeruitors, as though he had gone ſecretlie to viſit a familiar friend of his, in a ſmall village adioining. No man ſuſpected that he would depart, conſidering that a great multitude of Engliſhmen were left and continued in the citie. But after that he had paſſed directlie fiue miles forward, he ſuddenlie turned into a ſolitarie wood next adioining, where clothing himſelfe in the ſimple coat of his poore ſeruant, made and appointed his ſaid miniſter leader and maiſter of his ſmall companie, & he as an humble page diligentlie followed and ſerued his counterfeit gouernor, neither reſting nor refreſhing themſelues, except the baiting of their horſſes, till they by waies vnknowne, now this way, now turning that way, came to their companie abiding them in Angiers.

The earles ſmall traine for a policie.

The earle apparelled like a page attẽdeth vpõ one of his men as his maiſter.

The fourth day after the earle of Richmond was thus departed, that craftie merchant Peter Landoiſe, thirſting ſtill after his preie promiſed by king Richard, was readie to ſet forward his crew of ſouldiers, which he priuilie had conſigned, with certeine truſtie capteins for that onelie purpoſe appointed and elected, to performe and atchiue his pretended enterpriſe; diſſembling and feining them to be conducted and hired by him to ſerue the earle of Richmond, and him to conduct in his returne toward his natiue countrie: meaning no other thing but to apprehend him, and the other noble men in his retinue, which no ſuch fraud ſuſpected, nor yet anie treaſon imagined, vnware and vnprouided, and deſtitute of all aid, and them to caſt and commit ſuddenlie into continuall captiuitie and bondage, to the intent that by this his wretched and naughtie act, he might ſatiſfie the charitable requeſt and louing deſire of good king Richard, more for his owne profit than king Richards gaine.

Peter Landoiſe his expectation diſappointed by the priuie and vnknowne departing of the earle.

But when this craftie diſſembler Peter Landoiſe, which was no wilier than an old fox, perceiued that the earle was departed (thinking that to be true that he imagined) Lord how currors ran into euerie coaſt! how light horſſemen galloped in euerie ſtréet to follow and deteine him, if by anie poſſibilitie hée could be met with and ouertaken, and him to apprehend and bring captiue into the citie of Vannes. The horſſemen made ſuch diligence, and with ſuch celeritie ſet forward their iournie, that nothing was more likelie than they to haue obteined, yea and ſeized their preie. For the earle of Richmond was not entered into the realme of France ſcarſe one houre, but the followers came to the limits and confines of Britaine, and durſt aduenture no further, but vainlie (without their deſire) ſorowfullie returned.

At which ſeaſon were left at Vannes about the number of thrée hundred Engliſhmen, which not being called to counſell, and vnware of this enterpriſe, but knowing of the earles ſudden departure, were ſo incontinentlie aſtonied, that in maner they were all in deſpaire, both of him, and their owne ſuertie and ſafegard. But fortune turned hir ſaile, and otherwiſe it happened than their feare them incumbered. For the duke of Britaine, now being ſomewhat recouered, was ſore diſpleaſed, and nothing contented, that the earle of Richmond was in his dominion ſo vncourteouſlie vſed and intreated, that he ſhould be by fraud and vntruth compelled to leaue and flie out of his duchie and countrie, contrarie to his honour. Wherfore he tooke verie great diſpleaſure with Peter Landoiſe his treaſuror, to whome (although he knew not, and was ignorant that all the drift was driuen and deuiſed by him) he laid the fault, and imputed the crime.

The duke of Britains to the earle of Richmond, & the care of his ſafetie.

Herevpon he ſent for Edward Wooduile, and Edward Poinings, valiant eſquiers of England, and deliuered vnto them monie ſufficient for their conduct, willing them to conueie the reſt of the Engliſhmen being in Britaine, to the erle of Richmonds preſence. When the earle was thus furniſhed, and appointed with his truſtie companie, and was eſcaped all the dangers, labirinths, and ſnares that were ſet for him: no maruell though he were iocund and glad of the proſperous ſucceſſe that happened in his affaires. Wherefore, leaſt he ſhould ſéeme to be blotted with the note of ingratitude, he ſent diuerſe of his gentlemen to the duke of Britaine, the which ſhould publiſh and declare to him on the behalfe of the earle, that he and his were onelie by his benefit and fauour conſerued and deliuered from the imminent danger that they were like to be trapped in. Wherefore at that time he rendered vnto him his moſt hartie thanks in words, truſting and not doubting, but in time to come liberallie to recompenſe him with acts and déeds.

Edw. Wooduile & Edward Poinings receiue monie of the duke to the earles conduct and his companie.

After this, the earle tooke his iournie to Charles the French king, lieng then at Langes vpon the riuer of Loire, to whome (after great thanks giuen for manifold pleaſures by him to the earle ſhewed) hée diſcloſed and manifeſted the cauſe and occaſion of his acceſſe and repaire to his perſon. After that, hée required of him helpe and ſuccour, to the intent that by his immortall benefit to him at that time ſhewed, hée might ſafelie returne vnto the nobilitie of his realme; of whome he was generallie called to take vpon him the crown & ſcepter of the realme, ſith they much hated and abhorred the tyrannie of king Richard. King Charles promiſed him aid and comfort, and bade him be of good courage, and make good cheare; for he aſſured him that he would gladlie ſhew to him his beneuolent mind and bountifull liberalitie. Which king from thence remoued to Mountargis, leading with him the earle of Richmond, and all the noble perſonages of his retinue and faction.

The earle of Richmond goeth to the French king, and telleth him the cauſe of his comming.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. page 13.

¶ This is that Charles the French K. in whoſe time France was all aflant, for the ſtate of that realme is ſaid, that then it was verie populous in multitudes of men, for wealth and riches euerie particular region moſt fertile and plentifull, for glorie in armes moſt floriſhing & a renowmed, policie well directed, diſcipline adminiſtred, an authoritie dreadfull, and in opinion and hope moſt mightie; laſtlie their generall conditions and faculties ſo well furniſhed, as perhaps it was not more happie in theſe mortall felicities ſince the daies of Charlemaine. It was newlie amplified in euerie one of the thrée parts wherein all Gall ſtood diuided by the ancients: for fortie yéers before vnder Charles the ſeuenth (a prince for his victories obteined with great dangers called Happie) Normandie and the duchie of Guien, holden by the Engliſhmen, were reduced to the obedience of the French crowne. And in the laſt daies of Lewes the eleuenth, the earldome of Prouince, the dukedome of Burgognie, almoſt all Picardie, togither with the duchie of Britaine, were by a new mariage inueſted in the power of Charles the eight.]

Sir John Vere earle of Oxford getteth out of priſon, & he with others go to the earle of Richmond.

While the earle was thus attendant in the French court, John Vere earle of Oxford, which (as you haue heard before) was by king Edward kept in priſon within the caſtell of Hammes, ſo perſuaded James Blunt capteine of the ſame fortreſſe, and ſir John Forteſcue porter of the towne of Calis, that he himſelfe was not onelie diſmiſſed and ſet at libertie; but they alſo abandoning and leauing their fruitfull offices, did condeſcend to go with him into France to the earle of Richmond, and to take his part. But James Blunt, like a wiſe capteine, bicauſe he left his wife remaining in the caſtell before his departure, did fortifie the ſame both with new munitions, and freſh ſouldiers. [And here bicauſe the names of Vere and Forteſcue are remembred, it ſhall not be amiſſe, ſomewhat out of due place, yet better a little out of order than altogither to omit the ſame, to adde a ſupplement for the further perfecting of a report recorded in page 693, and adding ſome light alſo to this preſent place touching the ſaid perſons, with others.]

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 733.

¶Know you therefore, that this ſir John Vere earle of Oxford (that withdrew himſelfe from Barnet field, and with all ſpéed fled into Scotland) in the yere 1473, and the thirtéenth of Edward the fourth, did (after he had ſometime ſoiourned there) ſaile into France, about the borders whereof he was continuallie houering, as hoping to win ſome preie (to ſupport his eſtate) of ſuch paſſengers as for merchandize cauſe or otherwiſe muſt kéepe their courſe a long the ſea. Whoſe good ſucceſſe therein did not deceiue his mind. For in the end (what of one and other) hée got ſuch riches and other furniture, as he was able to ſupport a choſen number of followers. Wherwith he (being reléeued and incouraged to aduenture to ſet foot in his countrie in deſpite of king Edward) did with his companie of 397 perſons, and with his ſaile of ſhips land in the weſt countrie the laſt of ſeptember, where (partlie by force of his, and partlie through feare of the inhabitants, but moſtlie by a ſubtill ſhift) he gat and entered the caſtell of ſaint Michaels mount, a place of ſtrength, and ſuch an harborough, as he determined to kéepe the ſame againſt all aſſailants. During the time of his remaine there, he would with his companie manie times deſcend the hill, and come abrode in the countrie, where (for his loue, for his honour, and for the hatred they bare to king Edward) he was well interteined of manie gentlemen and others of the countrie.

The earle of Oxford leuieth a power and commeth into England.

But this matter vnpoſſible long to be kept in ſecret, was at the length brought to the knowledge of king Edward; who being ſomewhat moued, thought in the beginning to withſtand ſuch miſchéefe, leaſt ſuffering too long, & the earle growing to ſtrength, he might be put to as great plunge for the crowne as he had bene twiſe before: wherwith ſéeing he was poſſeſſed, he grew reſolute to kéepe it both by policie and puiſſance, maugre the open violence and priuie practiſes as well of his profeſſed as ſecret enimies. For he ran through the pikes yer he could obteine it, and offered his bodie to manie deſperate perils in hope to get it: which if he had either feared or ſhunned, it is a matter of demand whether he had euer had it. For pretious things, as principalities and ſuch like, vnleſſe they be hereditarie, as they are hardlie kept, ſo are they not eaſilie gotten: for he that deſireth to gather a roſe, muſt not be tender ouer his fingers bicauſe of thornes; and he that would taſt honie freſh out of the hiue, muſt not be ſcared with the ſtinging of bées, as the poet verie ſwéetlie noteth:

Non quiſquam fruitur veris odoribus,
Hyblæos latebris nec ſpoliat fauos,
Si fronti caueat ſi timeat rubos,
Armat ſpina roſas, mella tegunt apes.

Shiriffe Bodringham beſiegeth the mount that the earle had taken.

Wherefore king Edward gaue in charge to Bodringham, ruler or ſhiriffe of Cornewall, to aſſemble ſuch power as he could; and beſieging the mount, he ſhould either take or kill the earle of Oxford. The which the ſhiriffe did accordinglie, but that ſo feintlie and fauourablie, as he permitted the earle of Oxford (now in diſtreſſe) to reuittell the mount, knowing that there was no waie to expell the earle from thence but by famine. Theſe things thus doone (the king not pleaſed, and the earle not diſpleaſed) one Forteſcue (which ſurname is deduced from the ſtrength of his ſhield, whereof that familie had firſt originall) was with a ſtronger and faithfuller companie ſent by king Edward to laie ſiege to the caſtell; which he did, and long continued. For it was not eaſie to be had, being (of it ſelfe) by nature ſtronglie ſet, by policie well vittelled, and by manhood valiantlie defended: which moued the king to aſſay an other means therefore, and to ſée if policie might doo that which force could not.

The name of Forteſcue wherevpon it grew.

For which cauſe, as Forteſcue ſtill continued the ſaid ſiege, the K. ſuppoſed it beſt (if poſſiblie he might) to weaken the earles part, by withdrawing the ſtrength and hearts of his people from him: which might not be doone but with rich promiſes and ſtrong pardons. On which conſideration he ſent liberallie pardons to them, and in the end ſo ſecretlie wrought with the earles men: that if the earle (fearing the worſt, and iudging it better to trie the kings mercie, than to hazard the extreamitie of taking, in which reſted nothing but aſſured death) had not wholie ſubmitted himſelfe to king Edward, he had béene by his owne men moſt diſhoneſtlie betraied, and ſuddenlie taken priſoner. Wherevpon the earle comming forth to Forteſcue, did there yéeld himſelfe and the caſtell into the kings hands. At what time (being the fiftéenth of Februarie, which from the firſt entrance of the earle into that caſtell being the laſt of ſeptember, was about foure moneths and fouretéene daies) the ſame Forteſcue entred the mount, & tooke poſſeſſion thereof, finding it yet ſufficientlie vittelled to haue ſuſteined an other ſiege more than one halfe yeare. After all things were thus quieted, the earle, the lord Beaumont, two brothers of the ſaid earle, and Thomas Clifford, were brought vp as priſoners vnto king Edward. And now to our preſent hiſtorie againe.]

Deuiſes to withdraw the earles power from him.

The earle of Oxford ſubmitteth himſelfe & yéeldeth the caſtell into the kings hands.

When the earle of Richmond ſaw the earle of Orenford, he was rauiſhed with an incredible gladneſſe, that he being a man of ſo high nobilitie, of ſuch knowledge and practiſes in feates of warre, and ſo conſtant, truſtie and aſſured (which alwaie had ſtudied for the maintenance and preferment of the houſe of Lancaſter) was now by Gods prouiſion deliuered out of captiuitie and impriſonment; and in time ſo neceſſarie and conuenient come to his aid, ſuccour, and aduancement; in whome more ſurer than anie other he might put his truſt and confidence, and take leſſe paine and trauell in his owne perſon. For it was not hid from him, that ſuch as euer had taken part with king Edward before this time, came to doo him ſeruice, either for malice they bare king Richard, or elſe for feare to liue vnder his cruell rule and tyrannous gouernance.

Not long after, the French king returned againe to Paris, whome the earle of Richmond followed, intending there to ſolicit his matter to the concluſion. Wherevpon he beſought king Charles to take vpon him the whole tuition and defenſe of him and his cauſe, ſo that he and his companie being (by his means) aided and comforted, ſhould confeſſe and ſaie, their wealth, victorie, and aduancement to haue flowed and budded forth of his bountifulneſſe and liberalitie, which they would (God willing) ſhortlie acquite. In the meane ſeaſon, diuerſe Engliſhmen, which either fled out of England for feare, or were at Paris to learne and ſtudie good literature and vertuous doctrine, came voluntarilie and ſubmitted themſelues to the earle of Richmond, and vowed & ſware to take his part. Amongſt whom was Richard Fox a prieſt, a man of great wit and no leſſe learning, whome the earle incontinent receiued into ſecret familiaritie, and in breefe time erected and aduanced him to high dignities and promotions, and in concluſion made him biſhop of Wincheſter.

Diuers Engliſh doo voluntarilie ſubmit themſelues to the earle of Richmond in France.

In the meane ſeaſon, king Richard was credible aduertiſed, what promiſes and oths the earle and his confederates had made and ſworne togither at Reimes, and how by the earles means all the Engliſhmen were paſſed out of Britaine into France. Wherefore being ſore diſmaid, and in a maner deſperate, bicauſe his craftie chieuance tooke none effect in Britaine, he imagined & deuiſed how to infringe and diſturbe the earles purpoſe by an other meane; ſo that by the marriage of ladie Elizabeth his neece, he ſhould pretend no claime nor title to the crowne. For he thought if that marriage failed, the earles cheefe combe had beene clearlie cut. And bicauſe that he being blinded with the ambitious deſire of rule before this time in obteining the kingdome, had committed and doone manie curſſed acts, and deteſtable tyranies, yet according to the old prouerbe; Let him take the bull that ſtale awaie the calfe: he thought all facts by him committed in times paſſed to be but of ſmall moment, and not to be regarded in compariſon of that miſcheeuous imagination, which he now newlie began and attempted.

K. Richards deuiſe to infringe and defeat the earle of Richmōds purpoſe.

There came into his vngratious mind a thing not onelie deteſtable to be ſpoken of in the remembrance of man, but much more cruell and abhominable to be put in execution. For when he reuolued in his wauering mind, how great a founteine of miſcheefe toward him ſhould ſpring, if the earle of Richmond ſhould be aduanced to the marriage of his neece: which thing he heard ſaie by the rumor of the people, that no ſmall number of wiſe and wittie perſonages enterpriſed to compaſſe and bring to concluſion; he cleerelie determined to reconcile to his fauour his brothers wife queene Elizabeth, either by faire words, or liberall promiſes; firmelie beleeuing hir fauour once obteined, that ſhe would not ſticke to commit (and louinglie credit) to him the rule and gouernance both of hir and hir daughters, and ſo by that meanes the earle of Richmond of the affinitie of his neece ſhould be vtterlie defrauded and beguiled.

A ſubtill and lewd practiſe of king Richard to beguile the earle of Richmond.

And if no ingenious remedie could be otherwiſe inuented, to ſaue the innumerable miſcheefes which were euen at hand, and like to fall, if it ſhould happen queene Anne his wife to depart out of this preſent life, then he himſelfe would rather take to wife his couſine and neece the ladie Elizabeth; than for lacke of that affinitie the whole realme ſhould run to ruine, as who ſaid, that if he once fell from his eſtate and dignitie, the ruine of the relme muſt needs ſhortlie inſue and follow. Wherefore he ſent to the queene (being in ſanctuarie) diuerſe and often meſſengers, which firſt ſhould excuſe and purge him of all things before againſt hir attempted or procured, and after ſhould ſo largelie promiſe promotions innumerable, and benefits, not onelie to hir, but alſo to hir ſonne lord Thomas Marqueſſe Dorſet, that they ſhould bring hir (if it were poſſible) into ſome wanhope, or (as men ſaie) into a fooles paradiſe.

The meſſengers, being men both of wit and grauitie, ſo perſuaded the queene with great and pregnant reaſons, & what with faire and large promiſes, that ſhe began ſomewhat to relent, and to giue to them no deafe eare; inſomuch that ſhe faithfullie promiſed to ſubmit and yeeld hir ſelfe fullie and frankelie to the kings will and pleaſure. And ſo ſhe putting in obliuion the murther of hir innocent children, the infamie and diſhonour ſpoken by the king hir huſband, the liuing in adulterie laid to hir charge, the baſtarding of hir daughters; forgetting alſo the faithfull promiſe and open oth made to the counteſſe of Richmond mother to the earle Henrie, blinded by auaricious affection, & ſeduced by flattering words, firſt deliuered into king Richards hands hir fiue daughters, as lambs once againe committed to the cuſtodie of the rauenous woolfe.

The inconſtancie of Q. Elizabeth.

After ſhe ſent letters to the marqueſſe hir ſonne, being then at Paris with the earle of Richmond, willing him in anie wiſe to leaue the earle, and without delaie to repaire into England, where for him were prouided great honours, and honourable promotions; aſcerteining him further, that all offenſes on both parts were forgotten and forgiuen, and both he and ſhe highlie incorporated in the kings heart. Suerlie the inconſtancie of this woman were much to be maruelled at, if all women had beene found conſtant; but let men ſpeake, yet women of the verie bond of nature will follow their owne ſex. [But it was no ſmall allurement that king Richard vſed to ouercome hir (for we know by experience that women are of a proud diſpoſition, and that the waie to win them is by promiſes of preferment) and therefore it is the leſſe maruell that he by his wilie wit had made conqueſt of hir wauering will. Beſides that, it is to be preſumed that ſhe ſtood in feare to impugne his demands by denials, leaſt he in his malicious mood might take occaſion to deale roughlie with hir, being a weake woman, and of a timorous ſpirit.]

Queene Elizabeth allureth hir ſonne the marqueſſe Dorſet home out of France.

Now when king Richard had thus with glorious promiſes, and flattering words, pleaſed and appeaſed the mutable mind of queene Elizabeth, which knew nothing leſſe than that he moſt intended; he cauſed all his brothers daughters to be conueied into his palace with ſolemne receiuing: as though with his new familiar and louing interteinment they ſhould forget, and in their minds blot out the old committed iniurie, and late executed tyrannie. Now nothing was contrarie and againſt his diuelliſh purpoſe, but that his manſion was not void of his wife, which thing he in any wiſe adiudged neceſſarie to be doone. But there was one thing that ſo much feared and ſtaied him from committing this abhominable murther, bicauſe (as you haue heard before) he began to counterfet the image of a good and well diſpoſed perſon: and therefore he was afeard leaſt the ſudden death of his wife once openlie knowne, he ſhould looſe the good and credible opinion which the people had of him, without anie deſert, conceiued and reported.

But in concluſion, euill counſell preuailed in a wit latelie minded to miſcheefe, and turned from all goodneſſe. So that his vngratious deſire ouercame his honeſt feare. And firſt to enter into the gates of his imagined enterpriſe, he abſteined both from the bed and companie of his wife. Then he complained to diuerſe noble men of the realme, of the infortunate ſterilitie and barenneſſe of his wife, bicauſe ſhe brought forth no fruit and generation of hir bodie. And in eſpeciall he recounted to Thomas Rotheram archbiſhop of Yorke (whome latelie he had deliuered out of ward and captiuitie) theſe impediments of his queene, and diuerſe other, thinking that he would reueale to hir all theſe things, truſting the ſequele hereof to take due effect, that ſhe hearing this grudge of hir huſband, & taking therefore an inward thought, would not long liue in this world.

A forged cōplaint of king Richard againſt his wife to be rid of hir.

Of this the biſhop gathered (which well knew the complexion and vſage of the king) that the queenes daies were ſhort, and that he declared to certeine of his ſecret freends. After this he procured a common rumor (but he would not haue the author knowne) to be publiſhed and ſpred abroad among the common people, that the queene was dead; to the intent that ſhe taking ſome conceit of this ſtrange fame, ſhould fall into ſome ſudden ſickneſſe or greeuous maladie: and to proue if afterwards ſhe ſhould fortune by that or anie other waies to leaſe hir life, whether the people would impute hir death to the thought or ſickneſſe, or thereof would laie the blame to him. Now when the queene heard tell that ſo horrible a rumor of hir death was ſprung amongſt the communaltie, ſhe ſore ſuſpected and iudged the world to be almoſt at an end with hir. And in that ſorowfull agonie ſhe with lamentable countenance and ſorowfull cheare, repaired to the preſence of the king hir huſband, demanding of him what it ſhould meane, that he had iudged hir worthie to die.

A rumor ſpred abroad of the queenes death at the procurement of king Richard.

The king anſwered hir with faire words, and with ſmiling and flattering leaſings comforted hir, and bid hir be of good cheere, for (to his knowledge) ſhe ſhould haue no other cauſe. But howſoeuer that it fortuned, either by inward thought and penſiueneſſe of hart, or by infection of poiſon (which is affirmed to be moſt likelie) within few daies after the queene departed out of this tranſitorie life, and was with due ſolemnitie buried in the church of S. Peter at Weſtminſter. This is the ſame Anne, one of the daughters of the earle of Warwike, which (as you haue heard before) at the requeſt of Lewes the French king was maried to prince Edward, ſonne to king Henrie the ſixt. The king thus (according to his long deſire) loſed out of the bonds of matrimonie, began to caſt a fooliſh fantaſie to ladie Elizabeth his neece, making much ſute to haue hir ioined with him in lawfull matrimonie.

The queene wife to king Richard the third ſuddenlie dead.

K. Richard caſteth his loue on his neece purpoſing to marie hir.

But bicauſe all men and the maiden hirſelfe moſt of all deteſted and abhorred this vnlawfull, and in maner vnnaturall copulation; he determined to prolong and defer the matter, till he were in a more quietneſſe. For all that verie ſeaſon he was oppreſſed with great, weightie, and vrgent cauſes, and buſineſſes on euerie ſide; conſidering that dailie, part of the nobilitie failed into France to the earle of Richmond: other priuilie fauoured and aided certeine of the coniuration, ſo that of his ſhort end few or none were in doubt. And the common people (for the moſt part) were brought to ſuch deſperation, that manie of them had rather be reputed and taken of him in the number of his enimies, than to abide the chance and hazard to haue their goods taken as a ſpoile of victorie, by his enimies. [In ſuch hatred they had the wretch, wiſhing his hart in their hands with the hazard of their heads. For how can people ſaie well or thinke well of tyrants, whoſe propertie it is to teare them in peeces with their clawes, like a woolfe let looſe among a fold of ſheepe? Whereto Homer had an eie when he ſaid in pithie ſenſe as here followeth:

Quiſquis inhumanis ſtudet inteſtabilis vti
Moribus, huic omnes viuo clàm dira precantur:
Huic omnes credunt fas inſultare perempto.]

Hom. Odyſſ. lib. 19.

Amongſt the noble men whome he moſt miſtruſted, theſe were the principall. Thomas lord Stanleie, ſir William Stanleie his brother, Gilbert Talbot, and ſix hundred other: of whoſe purpoſes although king Richard were not ignorant, yet he gaue neither confidence nor credence to anie one of them; and leaſt of all to the lord Stanleie, bicauſe he was ioined in matrimonie with the ladie Margaret, mother to the earle of Richmond, as afterward apparantlie yee may perceiue. For when the ſaid lord Stanleie would haue departed into his countrie to viſit his familie, and to recreate and refreſh his ſpirits (as he openlie ſaid, but the truth was, to the intent to be in a perfect readineſſe to receiue the earle of Richmond at his firſt arriuall in England) the king in no wiſe would ſuffer him to depart, before he had left as an hoſtage in the court George Stanleie lord Strange, his firſt begotten ſonne and heire.

What noble men K. Richard moſt miſtruſted.

1485
Anno Reg. 3.

While king Richard was thus troubled and vexed with imaginations of the troublous time that was like to come: lo, euen ſuddenlie he heard newes, that fire was ſprung out of the ſmoke, and the war freſhlie begun; and that the caſtell of Hammes was deliuered into the hands of the earle of Richmond, by the meanes of the earle of Oxford; and that not onlie he, but alſo James Blunt capteine of the caſtell, were fled into France to aid the earle Henrie. Wherefore he, thinking it great policie to withſtand the firſt brunt, ſent the moſt part of the garriſon of Calis, to recouer againe by force the caſtell of Hammes. They which were in the caſtell, perceiuing their aduerſaries to approch, prepared munitions and engines for their defenſe, and ſent alſo to the earle of Richmond, to aduertiſe him of their ſudden inuaſion, requiring him of haſtie aid and ſpeedie ſuccour.

The caſtell of Hammes deliuered vnto the earle of Richmond.

The earle ſleeping not this firſt begun aſſault, ſent the earle of Oxford with an elected companie of ſouldiers to raiſe the ſiege, and reſcue the caſtell: which at their firſt arriuing pitched their campe not far from their enimies. Now while king Richards men gaue vigilant eie, waiting leaſt the earle of Oxford ſhould take anie aduantage of them that laie on that ſide of the caſtell; Thomas Brandon with thirtie approued men of war by a mariſh, which laie on the other ſide, entered into the caſtell. The ſouldiers within greatlie incouraged, & much comforted by this new ſuccour and aid, grieued the enimies, by ſhooting from the walles more than they were accuſtomed to doo. Then they of the caſtell vexed their enimies on the fore part: and the earle of Oxford no leſſe moleſted & vnquieted them on the other part. Which was the occaſion that king Richards men offered (of their owne meere motion) licence to all being within the caſtell to depart in ſafetie, with bag and baggage, nothing excepted.

Thomas Brandon entereth the caſtell.

Why king Richard gaue licence to all in the caſtell to depart in ſafetie with bag and baggage.

Which condition the earle of Oxford, comming onelie for that purpoſe to deliuer his louing freends out of all perill and danger, and chieflie of all, his old hoſteſſe Jane Blunt, wife to James Blunt the capteine, would in no wiſe forſake or refuſe: and ſo leauing the caſtell bare and vngarniſhed both of vittels and artillerie, came ſafelie to the earle of Richmond ſoiourning in Paris. During this time, king Richard was credible informed of his inquiſitors and eſpials, that the earle of Richmond was with long ſute in the court of France ſore wearied; and deſiring great aid, could obteine ſmall reliefe: in ſomuch that all things went ſo farre backwards, that ſuch things as were with great diligence (and no leſſe deliberation) purpoſed and determined to be ſet forward, were now daſhed and ouerthrowne to the ground.

K. Richard calleth home his ſhips of warre from the narrow ſeas.

King Richard either being too light of credence, or ſeduced and deluded by his craftie taletellers, greatlie reioiſed, as though he had obteined the ouer hand of his enimies with triumphant victorie, and thought himſelfe neuer ſo ſuerlie deliuered of all feare and dreadfull imaginations: ſo that he néeded now no more once for that cauſe either to wake, or to breake his golden ſléepe. Wherefore he called home againe his ſhips of warre, which he had appointed to kéepe the narrow ſeas, and diſpatched all ſuch ſouldiers as he had deputed to kéepe certeine garriſons, and to ſtop certeine paſſages (as you haue heard before.) Yet leaſt he might for lacke of prouiſion be ſuddenlie trapped, he ſtreightlie charged and gaue in commandement to all noblemen, and eſpeciallie ſuch as inhabited néere the ſea coaſt, and on the frontiers of Wales, that (according to the vſage of the countrie) they ſhould kéepe diligent watch and ſtrong ward, to the intent that his aduerſaries in no wiſe ſhould haue anie place opportune eaſilie to take land, without defenſe or rebutting backe.

The vſe of beacons in countries néere the ſea coaſts.

For the cuſtome of the countries adioining néere to the ſea is (eſpeciallie in the time of warre) on euerie hill or high place to erect a beacon with a great lanterne in the top, which may be ſéene and diſcerned a great ſpace off. And when the noiſe is once bruted that the enimies approch néere the land, they ſuddenlie put fire in the lanternes, and make ſhouts and outcries from towne to towne, and from village to village. Some run in poſt from place to place, admoniſhing the people to be readie to reſiſt the ieopardie, and defend the perill. And by this policie the fame is ſoone blowne to euerie citie and towne, in ſomuch that aſwell the citizens as the rurall people be in ſhort ſpace aſſembled and armed, to repell and put backe the new arriued enimies. [Whereas if the neceſſarie vſe of this viſible warning were neglected, the policie of the enimie might priuilie ſo preuaile, as that the people ſhould ſooner fall into perill irrecouerable, than they could thinke on (much leſſe prouide) meanes to auoid it.]

But now to returne to our purpoſe. King Richard thus ſomewhat eaſed of his accuſtomed penſiueneſſe, began to be a little more merrie, & tooke leſſe thought and care for outward enimies than he was woont to doo; as who ſay, that he with politike prouiſion ſhould withſtand the deſtinie which hoong ouer his head, and was ordeined in briefe time ſuddenlie to fall. Such is the force and puiſſance of diuine iuſtice, that euerie man ſhall leſſe regard, leſſe prouide, leſſe be in doubt of all things, when he is moſt néereſt puniſhment, and next to his miſchance for his offenſes & crimes. [For though God did forbeare him a while, yet was that forbearance no acquittance, but rather a time of preparing & making vp that which wanted of the plagues that God had purpoſed in iuſtice to powre vpon and ouerwhelme him for his fowle offenſes, which could not ſcape heauie iudgment & vengeance:

Nam ſcelus admiſſum pœna ſeuera premit.]

Diſſention among the péeres of France made the earle of Richmond renew his ſute and put him to his ſhifts.

About this ſeaſon, while the earle of Richmond was deſiring aid of the French king, certeine noble men were appointed to rule the realme of France, during the minoritie of king Charles, which amongſt themſelues were not of one opinion. Of which diſſention, Lewes duke of Orleance was the chiefe ſtirrer, who bicauſe he had maried ladie Ioane ſiſter to the French king, tooke vpon him aboue other the rule and adminiſtration of the whole realme. By reaſon of which controuerſie, no one man was ſuffered to rule all. Wherefore the earle of Richmond was compelled to make ſute to euerie one of the councell ſeuerallie one after another, requiring and deſiring them of aid and reliefe in his weightie buſineſſe, and ſo his cauſe was prolonged and deferred. During which time, Thomas marqueſſe Dorſet, which was (as you haue heard) intiſed by his mother to returne againe into England, partlie deſpairing in the good ſucceſſe of the earle of Richmond, and partlie ouercome and vanquiſhed with the faire gloſing promiſes of king Richard: ſecretlie in the night ſeaſon ſtale out of Paris, and with all diligent expedition tooke his iournie toward Flanders.

The marques Dorſet forſaketh the earle.

When relation of his departure was made to the earle of Richmond, and the other noble men, no maruell though they were aſtonied and greatlie amazed. Yet that notwithſtanding, they required of the French king, that it might be lawfull for them in his name, and by his commandement, to take and ſtaie their companion, confederate, and partaker of all their counſell, in what place within his realme and territorie ſo euer they could find him. Which petition once obteined, they ſent out currors into euerie part, amongſt whom Humfreie Cheinie (plaieng the part of a good bloudhound) followed the tract of the fleer ſo euen by the ſent, that he ouertooke and apprehended him not far from Campeigne; and ſo what with reaſon, and what with faire promiſes, being perſuaded, he returned againe to his companions.

The earle of Richmond vnburdened of this miſaduenture, leaſt by lingering of daies, and prolonging of time, he might looſe the great opportunitie of things to him offered and miniſtred: alſo leaſt he ſhould further wound and moleſt the minds of his faithfull and aſſured fréends, which dailie did expect and tarie for his comming, determined no longer to protract and deferre the time; but with all diligence and celeritie attempted his begun enterpriſe. And ſo obteining of king Charles a ſmall crew of men, and borrowing certeine ſummes of monie of him, and of diuerſe other his priuate fréends, for the which he left as debter (or more likelie as a pledge or hoſtage) lord Thomas marqueſſe Dorſet (whome he halfe miſtruſted) and ſir Iohn Bourchier, he departed from the French court, and came to the citie of Rone.

The earle of Richmond hath men and monie of the French king for hoſtages.

While he taried there, making prouiſion at Harfléet in the mouth of the riuer of Sene for all things neceſſarie for his nauie, tidings were brought to him that king Richard (being without children, & now a widower) intended ſhortlie to marie the ladie Elizabeth his brothers daughter; and to prefer the ladie Cicilie hir ſiſter to a man found in a cloud, and of an vnknowne linage and familie. He tooke theſe newes as a matter of no ſmall moment; and ſo (all things conſidered) it was of no leſſe importance than he tooke it for. For this thing onelie tooke awaie from him and all his companions their hope and courage, that they had to obteine an happie enterpriſe. And therefore no maruell though it nipped him at the verie ſtomach: when he thought, that by no poſſibilitie he might atteine the mariage of any of K. Edwards daughters, which was the ſtrongeſt foundation of his building; by reaſon whereof he iudged that all his fréends in England would abandon and ſhrinke from him.

The earle is gréeued at the newes of king Richards intended mariage with his néece.

Wherefore, making not manie of his counſell, after diuerſe conſultations, he determined not yet to ſet forward: but to tarie and attempt how to get more aid, more fréends, and more ſtronger ſuccours. And amongſt all other, it was thought moſt expedient to allure by affinitie in his aid, as a companion in armes, ſir Walter Herbert, a man of an ancient ſtocke, & of great power among the Welſh, who had with him a faire ladie to his ſiſter, of age ripe to be coupled with him in matrimonie. And for the atchiuing of this purpoſe, meſſengers were ſecretlie ſent to Henrie earle of Northumberland (which had be-

Sir Walter Herbert.

A mariage purpoſed but diſappointed.

fore maried another ſiſter of ſir Walter Herberts) to the intent that he ſhould ſet forward all this deuiſe and purpoſe: but the waies were ſo narowlie watched, and ſo manie ſpies laid, that the meſſenger procéeded not in his iournie and buſineſſe.

But in the meane ſeaſon, there came to the earle a more ioifull meſſage from Morgan Kidwellie, learned in the temporall law, which declared that Rice ap Thomas, a man of no leſſe valiantneſſe than actiuitie, and Iohn Sauage an approoued capteine, would with all their power be partaker of his quarell. And that Reginald Breie had collected and gotten togither no ſmall ſumme of monie for the paiment of the wages to the ſouldiers and men of warre: admoniſhing him alſo to make quicke expedition, and to take his courſe directlie into Wales. The earle of Richmond, bicauſe he would no longer linger and wearie his fréends, liuing continuallie betwéene hope and feare, determined in all conuenient haſt to ſet forward, and caried to his ſhips armor, weapons, vittels, and all other ordinances expedient for warre.

The welſhmen offer to aid the earle of Richmond.

After that all things were in readineſſe, the earle being accompanied onelie with two thouſand men, and a ſmall number of ſhips, weied vp his anchors, and halſed vp his ſailes in the moneth of Auguſt, and ſailed from Harfléet with ſo proſperous a wind, that the ſeuenth daie after his departure, he arriued in Wales in the euening, at a place called Milford hauen, and incontinent tooke land, and came to a place called Dalle; where he heard ſaie that a certeine companie of his aduerſaries were laid in gariſon to defend his arriuall all the laſt winter. And the earle at the ſunne riſing remooued to Hereford weſt, being diſtant from Dalle not full ten miles, where he was ioifullie receiued of the people, and he arriued there ſo ſuddenlie, that he was come and entered the towne at the ſame time when the citizens had but knowledge of his comming.

The earle arriueth at Milford hauen.

A falſe rumor ſtill newes.

Here he heard newes, which were as vntrue as they trulie were reported to him in Normandie; that Rice ap Thomas, and Iohn Sauage, with bodie and goods, were determined to aid king Richard. While he and his companie were ſome what aſtonied at theſe new tidings, there came ſuch meſſage from the inhabitants of the towne of Penbroke, that refreſhed and reuiued their froſen harts and daunted courages. For Arnold Butler a valiant capteine, which firſt aſked pardon for his offenſes before time committed againſt the earle of Richmond, and that obteined, declared to him that the Penbrochians were readie to ſerue and giue their attendance on their naturall and immediat lord Iaſper earle of Penbroke. The earle of Richmond, hauing his armie thus increaſed, departed from Hereford weſt to the towne of Cardigan, being fiue miles diſtant from thence.

While the ſouldiers were refreſhing and trimming themſelues in their campe, ſtrange tidings ſprong among them without anie certeine author; that ſir Walter Herbert, which laie with a great crue of men at Carmarden, was now with a great armie readie to approch and bid them battell. With which newes the armie was ſore troubled, and euery man aſſaied his armour and prooued his weapon, and were preſt to defend their enimies. And as they were in this fearfull doubt, certeine horſſemen, which the earle had ſent to make inquirie and ſearch, returned and reported all the countrie to be quiet, and no let nor impediment to be laid or caſt in their iournie. And euen at the ſame time, the whole armie was greatlie recomforted, by reaſon that the comming of Richard Griffith, a man of great nobilitie, the which notwithſtanding that he was confederate with ſir Walter Herbert, and Richard ap Thomas; yet at that verie inſtant he came to the earle of Richmond with all his companie; which were of no great number. After him the ſame daie came Iohn Morgan with his men.

The earle of Richmonds power made ſtronger by acceſſe of confederats.

Then the earle aduanced forward in good haſt, making no repoſe or abode in anie one place. And to the intent to paſſe forward with ſure and ſhort expedition, he aſſaulted euerie place where his enimies had ſet anie men of warre; which with ſmall force, and leſſe difficultie, he brieflie did ouercome & vanquiſh. And ſuddenlie he was by his eſpials aſcerteined, that ſir Walter Herbert, and Rice ap Thomas were in harneſſe before him, readie to incounter with his armie, and to ſtop their paſſage. Wherefore like a valiant capteine he firſt determined to ſet on them, and either to deſtroie or to take them into his fauour, and after with all his power and puiſſance to giue battell to his mortall enimie king Richard. But to the intent his fréends ſhould know in what readineſſe he was, and how he procéeded forward; he ſent of his moſt ſecret and faithfull ſeruants with letters and inſtructions to the ladie Margaret his mother, to the lord Stanleie and his brother, to ſir Gilbert Talbot, and to other his truſtie fréends; declaring to them that he being ſuccoured and holpen with the aid and reliefe of his fréends, intended to paſſe ouer the riuer of Seuerne at Shreweſburie, and ſo to paſſe directlie to the citie of London.

The erle ſendeth ſecret word to his mother and other his fréends that he meant a direct paſſage to London & their conference.

Wherefore he required them, as his ſpeciall truſt and confidence was fixed in the hope of their fidelitie, that they would méet him by the waie with all diligent preparation; to the intent that he and they, at time and place conuenient, might communicate togither the déepeneſſe of all his doubtfull and weightie buſineſſe. When the meſſengers were diſpatched with theſe commandements and admonitions, he marched forward toward Shreweſburie: and in his paſſing, there met and ſaluted him Rice ap Thomas with a goodlie band of Welſhmen, which making an oth and promiſe to the earle, ſubmitted himſelfe wholie to his order and commandement. For the earle of Richmond two daies before made to him promiſe, that if he would ſweare to take his part and be obedient to him, he would make him chiefe gouernour of Wales: which part as he faithfullie promiſed and granted, ſo (after that he had obteined and poſſeſſed the realme and diademe) he liberallie performed and accompliſhed the ſame.

Rice ap Thomas ſweareth fealtie and ſeruice to the earle of Richmond.

In the meane time the meſſengers, that were ſent, diligentlie executed their charge, and laden with rewards of them to whom they were ſent, returned to him the ſame day that he entered into Shreweſburie: and made relation to him that his fréends were readie in all points to doo all things for him, which either they ought or might doo. The earle Henrie brought in good hope with this pleaſant meſſage, continued forth his intended iournie, and came to a little towne called Newport, and pitching his campe on a little hill adioining, repoſed himſelfe there that night. In the euening the ſame daie came to him ſir Gilbert Talbot, with the whole power of the yoong earle of Shreweſburie, then being in ward, which were accounted to the number of two thouſand men. And thus his power increaſing, he arriued at the towne of Stafford, and there pauſed.

There alſo came ſir William Stanleie accompanied with a few perſons. And after that the earle and he had communed no long time togither; he reuerted to his ſouldiors, whom he had aſſembled togither to ſerue the earle: which from thence departed to Lichfield, and lay without the walles in his campe all the night. The next morning he entered into the towne, and was with all honor like a prince receiued. A daie or two before, the lord Stanleie, hauing in his band almoſt fiue thouſand men, lodged in

The lord Stanleies deuiſe to auoid ſuſpicion of K. Richard and to ſaue his ſonnes life.

ſame towne. But hearing that the erle of Richmond was marching thitherward, gaue to him place, diſlodging him and his, and repaired to a towne called Aderſtone, there abiding the comming of the earle. And this wilie fox did this act, to auoid all ſuſpicion on king Richards part.

For the lord Stanleie was afraid, leaſt if he ſhould ſéeme openlie to be a fautor or aider to the earle his ſonne in law, before the day of the battell, that king Richard, which yet vtterlie did not put in him diffidence and miſtruſt, would put to ſome cruell death his ſonne and heire apparant George lord Strange, whome king Richard (as you haue heard before) kept with him as a pledge or hoſtage, to the intent that the lord Stanleie his father ſhould attempt nothing preiudiciall to him. King Richard at this ſeaſon kéeping his houſe in the caſtle of Notingham, was informed that the earle of Richmond, with ſuch baniſhed men as were fled out of England to him, were now arriued in Wales, and that all things neceſſarie to his enterpriſe were vnprouided, vnpurueied, and verie weake, nothing méet to withſtand the power of ſuch as the king had appointed to méet him.

K. Richard contemneth the earle and his power.

This rumor ſo inflated his mind, that in maner diſdeining to heare ſpeake of ſo ſmall a companie, he determined at the firſt to take little or no regard to this ſo ſmall a ſparkle, declaring the earle to be innocent and vnwiſe, bicauſe that he raſhly attempted ſuch a great enterpriſe with ſo ſmall and thin a number of warlike perſons: and therefore he gaue a definitiue ſentence, that when he came to that point that he ſhould be compelled to fight againſt his will, hée either ſhould be apprehended aliue, or elſe by all likelihood he ſhould of neceſſitie come to a ſhamefull confuſion: and that he truſted to be ſhortlie done by ſir Walter Herbert, and Rice ap Thomas, which then ruled Wales with equall power and like authoritie.

But yet reuoluing and caſting in his mind, that a ſmall war begun and winked at, and not regarded, maie turne to a great broile and trouble; and that it was prudent policie not to contemne and diſdeine the little power and ſmall weakeneſſe of the enimie (be it neuer ſo ſmall) thought it neceſſarie to prouide for afterclaps that might happen & chance. [For victorie doth not alwaies follow the greateſt multitude, neither is it a neceſſarie conſequent, that the biggeſt bodie is indued with moſt force. For we ſee that the ſmall viper is the huge buls deadlie bane, and a little curre doth catch a bore boiſterous and big; as the poet properlie (and to the purpoſe) verie well ſaith:

Ouid.

Parua necat morſu ſpatioſum vipera taurum,
A cane non magno ſæpè tenetur aper.

The king ſendeth to his friends for a choſen power of men.

Wherefore he ſent to Iohn duke of Norffolke, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas earle of Surrie, and to other of his eſpeciall & truſtie friends of the nobilitie, which he iudged more to preferre and eſtéeme his wealth and honour, than their owne riches and priuate commoditie; willing them to muſter and view all their ſeruants and tenants, and to elect and chooſe the moſt couragious and actiue perſons of the whole number, and with them to repaire to his preſence with all ſpéed and diligence. Alſo hée wrote to Robert Brakenberie lieutenant of the Tower, commanding him with his power to come to his armie, and to bring with him (as fellowes in armes) ſir Thomas Bourchier, & ſir Walter Hungerford, and diuerſe other knights and eſquiers, in whom he caſt no ſmall ſuſpicion.

Now while he was thus ordering his affaires, tidings came that the earle of Richmond was paſſed Seuerne, & come to Shrewesburie without anie detriment or incumbrance. At which meſſage he was ſore moued and broiled with melancholie and dolor, crieng out, & asking vengeance of them that (againſt their oth and promiſe) had ſo deceiued him. For which cauſe he began to haue diffidence in other, inſomuch that he determined himſelfe out of hand the ſame daie to méet with and reſiſt his aduerſaries: and in all haſte ſent out eſpials to view and eſpie what waie his enimies kept and paſſed. They diligentlie doing their dutie, ſhortlie after returned, declaring to the king that the earle was incamped at the towne of Lichfield.

The earle is incamped at Lichfield.

The ordering of king Richards armie.

When he had perfect knowledge where the earle with his armie was ſoiourning, he hauing continuall repaire of his ſubiects to him, began incontinentlie without delaie to marſhall and put in order his battels (like a valiant capteine and politike leder) and firſt he made his battels to ſet forward, fiue and fiue in a ranke, marching toward that way where his enimies (as was to him reported) intended to paſſe. In the middle part of the armie, he appointed the traffike and cariage perteining to the armie. Then he (inuironed with his gard) with a frowning countenance and cruell viſage, mounted on a great white courſer, and followed with his footmen, the wings of horſſemen coaſting and ranging on euerie ſide: and kéeping this arraie, he with great pompe entered the towne of Leiceſter after the ſunne ſet [full of indignation & malice, which vttered it ſelfe from the inward hart by the mouth, out of which flowed ſpeaches of horrible heate, tempered with cruell threatnings, equall to his of whome it was thus ſaid long ago:

Horrebant ſæuis omnia verba minis.]

The earle of Richmond remoueth his power to Tamworth.

The earle of Richmond raiſed his campe, and departed from Lichfield to the towne of Tamworth thereto néere adioining, and in the mid way paſſing, there ſaluted him ſir Walter Hungerford, and ſir Thomas Bourchier knights, and diuerſe other which yéelded and ſubmitted themſelues to his pleaſure. For they, being aduertiſed that king Richard had them in ſuſpicion and gelouſie, a little beyond Stonie Stratford left and forſooke priuilie their capteine Robert Brakenberie; and wandering by night, and in maner by vnknowne paths, and vncerteine waies ſearching, at the laſt came to earle Henrie. Diuerſe other noble perſonages, which inwardlie hated king Richard worſe than a tode or a ſerpent, did likewiſe reſort to him with all their power and ſtrength, wiſhing and working his deſtruction, who otherwiſe would haue béene the inſtrument of their caſting away.

A ſtrange chance that happened to the earle of Richmond.

There happened in this progreſſion to the earle of Richmond a ſtrange chance worthie to be noted. For albeit he was a man of valiant courage, & that his armie increaſed, and dailie more and more he waxed mightier and ſtronger; yet he was not a little afeard, bicauſe he could in no wiſe be aſſured of his father in law Thomas lord Stanleie, which for feare of the deſtruction of the lord Strange his ſonne (as you haue heard) as yet inclined to neither partie. For if he had gone to the earle, and that notified to king Richard, his ſonne had béene ſhortlie executed. Wherefore he accompanied with twentie light horſſemen lingered in his iournie, as a man muſing & imagining what was beſt to be doone. And the more to aggrauate his penſiueneſſe, it was ſhewed him, that king Richard was at hand with a ſtrong power & a great armie.

The earle of Richmond put to a hard ſhift.

While he thus heauilie dragged behind his hoſt, the whole armie came before the towne of Tamworth; and when he for the déepe darkneſſe could not perceiue the ſteps of them that paſſed on before, and had wandered hither & thither, ſéeking after his companie, and yet not once hearing anie noiſe or whiſpering of them; he turned to a verie little village, being about thrée miles from his armie, taking great thought, and much fearing leaſt he ſhould be eſpied, and ſo trapped by king Richards ſcoutwatch. There he taried all night, not once aduenturing to aſke or demand a queſtion of any creature, he being no more amazed with the ieopardie & perill that was paſſed, than with this preſent chance, ſore feared that it ſhuld be a prognoſtication or ſigne of ſome infortunate plage afterward to ſucceed. As he was not merie being abſent from his armie, ſo likewiſe his armie much maruelled, and no leſſe mourned for his ſudden abſence.

The next morning earlie in the dawning of the day he returned, and by the conduct of good fortune, eſpied and came to his armie, excuſing himſelfe not to haue gone out of the way by ignorance: but that for a policie (deuiſed for the nonce) he went from his campe to receiue ſome glad meſſage from certeine of his priuie freends and ſecret alies. This excuſe made, he priuilie departed againe from his hoſt to the towne of Aderſton, where the lord Stanleie and ſir William his brother with their bands were abiding. There the erle came firſt to his father in law, in a litle cloſe, where he ſaluted him, and ſir William his brother: and after diuerſe and freendlie imbracings, each reioiſed of the ſtate of other, and ſuddenlie were ſurpriſed with great ioy, comfort, and hope of fortunate ſucceſſe in all their affaires and doings. Afterward they conſulted togither how to giue battell to king Richard if he would abide, whome they knew not to be farre off with an huge hoſt.

The lord Stanleie, the earle of Richmond, & others meet, embrace, and conſult.

In the euening of the ſame day, ſir Iohn Sauage, ſir Brian Sanford, ſir Simon Digbie, and manie other, leauing king Richard, turned and came to the part of the earle of Richmond, with an elect companie of men. Which refuſall of king Richards part, by men of ſuch experience, did augment and increaſe both the good hope, and the puiſſance of the earle of Richmond. In the meane ſeaſon, king Richard which was appointed now to finiſh his laſt labor by the very diuine iuſtice & prouidence of God (which called him to condigne puniſhment for his miſchiefous deſerts) marched to a place meet for two battels to incounter, by a village called Boſworth, not farre from Leiceſter: and there he pitched his field on a hill called Anne Beame, refreſhed his ſouldiers, and tooke his reſt.

The principals of K. Richards power fall from him.

The fame went, that he had the ſame night a dreadfull and terrible dreame: for it ſeemed to him being aſleepe, that he did ſee diuerſe images like terrible diuels, which pulled and haled him, not ſuffering him to take anie quiet or reſt. The which ſtrange viſion not ſo ſuddenlie ſtrake his heart with a ſudden feare, but it ſtuffed his head and troubled his mind with manie buſie and dreadfull imaginations. For incontinent after, his heart being almoſt damped, he prognoſticated before the doubtfull chance of the battell to come; not vſing the alacritie and mirth of mind and countenance as he was accuſtomed to doo before he came toward the battell. And leaſt that it might be ſuſpected that he was abaſhed for feare of his enimies, and for that cauſe looked ſo pitiouſlie; he recited and declared to his familiar freends in the morning his wonderfull viſion and fearefull dreame.

The dreame of king Richard the third foretelling him of his end.

But I thinke this was no dreame, but a punction and pricke of his ſinfull conſcience: for the conſcience is ſo much more charged and aggreeued, as the offenſe is greater & more heinous in degree. [So that king Richard, by this reckoning, muſt needs haue a wonderfull troubled mind, becauſe the deeds that he had doone, as they were heinous and vnnaturall, ſo did they excite and ſtirre vp extraordinarie motions of trouble and vexations in his conſcience.] Which ſting of conſcience, although it ſtrike not alwaie; yet at the laſt daie of extreame life, it is wont to ſhew and repreſent to vs our faults and offenſes, and the paines and puniſhments which hang ouer our heads for the committing of the ſame, to the intent that at that inſtant, we for our deſerts being penitent and repentant, maie be compelled (lamenting and bewailing our ſinnes like forſakers of this world) iocund to depart out of this miſcheefe life.

Now to returne againe to our purpoſe. The next daie after, king Richard being furniſhed with men & all ablements of warre, bringing all his men out of their campe into the plaine, ordered his fore-ward in a maruellous length, in which he appointed both horſmen and footmen, to the intent to imprint in the hearts of them that looked a farre off, a ſudden terror and deadlie feare, for the great multitude of the armed ſouldiers: and in the fore-front he placed the archers like a ſtrong fortified trench or bulworke. Ouer this battell was capteine, Iohn duke of Norffolke, with whome was Thomas earle of Surrie his ſonne. After this long vant-gard, followed king Richard himſelfe with a ſtrong companie of choſen and approoued men of warre, hauing horſſemen for wings on both ſides of his battell.

King Richard bringeth all his men into the plaine.

The duke of Norffolke and the earle of Surrie on K. Richards ſide.

After that the earle of Richmond was departed from the communication of his freends (as you haue heard before) he began to be of a better ſtomach, and of a more valiant courage, and with all diligence pitched his field iuſt by the campe of his enimies, and there he lodged that night. In the morning betimes, he cauſed his men to put on their armour, and apparell themſelues readie to fight and giue battell; and ſent vnto the lord Stanleie (which was now come with his band into a place indifferent betweene both the armies) requiring him with his men to approch neere to his armie, and to helpe to ſet the ſouldiers in arraie. But he anſwered that the earle ſhould ſet his owne men in good order of battell, while he would arraie his companie, and come to him in time conuenient. Which anſwer made otherwiſe than the earle thought or would haue iudged, conſidering the opportunitie of the time & the weight of the buſineſſe. And although he was therwithall a little vexed, & began ſomewhat to hang the head; yet he without anie time delaieng, compelled of neceſſitie, after this maner inſtructed and ordered his men.

The lord Stanleie refuſeth to ſet the earles men in battell raie.

He made his fore-ward ſomewhat ſingle and ſlender, according to the ſmall number of his people. In the front he placed the archers, of whome he made capteine Iohn earle of Oxenford. To the right wing of the battell he appointed ſir Gilbert Talbot to be the leader. To the left wing, he aſſigned ſir Iohn Sauage, who had brought thither with him a crue of right able perſonages, clad in white coats and hoods, which muſtered in the eies of their aduerſaries right brimlie. The earle of Richmond himſelfe, with aid of the lord Stanleie, gouerned the battell, accompanied with the earle of Penbroke, hauing a good companie of horſſemen, and a ſmall number of footmen. For all his whole number exceeded not fiue thouſand men, beſide the power of the Stanleies, wherof three thouſand were in the field, vnder the ſtandard of ſir William Stanleie. The kings number was double ſo much and more. When both theſe armies were thus ordered, and all men readie to ſet forward, king Richard called his chiefteins togither, and to them ſaid as followeth.

The earle ſetteth his men in order and appointeth cheefteins.

The oration of king Richard the third *to the chiefteins of his armie.*

My moſt faithfull and aſſured fellowes, moſt truſtie & welbeloued freends, & elected capteins, by whoſe wiſedome and policie I haue obteined the crowne, and type of this famous realme, and noble region: by whoſe puiſſance & valiantneſſe I haue inioid and poſſeſſed the ſtate roiall & dignitie of the ſame, maugre the ill will and ſeditious attempts of all my cankered enimies, and inſidious aduerſaries: by whoſe prudent & politike counſell I haue ſo gouerned my realme, people, & ſubiects, that I haue omitted nothing apperteining to the office of a iuſt prince; nor you haue pretermitted nothing belonging to the dutie of wiſe and ſage councellors. So that I maie ſaie, and trulie affirme, that your approoued fidelitie & tried conſtancie, maketh me to beleeue firmelie, and thinke that I am an vndoubted king, and an indubitate prince.

King Richard iuſtifieth himſelfe and his gouernement.

And although in the adeption and obteining of the garland, I being ſeduced, and prouoked by ſiniſter counſell, and diabolicall temptation, did commit a wicked and deteſtable act: yet I haue with ſtreict penance and ſalt tears (as I truſt) expiated & cleerelie purged the ſame offenſe: which abhominable crime I require you of frendſhip as cleerelie to forget, as I dailie remember to deplore and lament the ſame. If ye will euen now diligentlie call to remembrance in what caſe and perplexitie we doo ſtand; and in what doubtfull perill we be all intrapped; I doubt not but you in heart will thinke, and with mouth confeſſe, that if euer amitie and faith preuailed betweene prince and ſubiects, or betweene ſubiect and ſubiect; or if euer bond of alegiance obliged the vaſſall to loue and ſerue his naturall ſoueraigne lord; or if anie obligation of dutie bound anie prince to aid & defend his ſubiects; all theſe loues, bonds, and duties of neceſſitie are now this day to be tried, ſhewed, and put in experience.

For if wiſe men ſaie true (as they doo not lie) there is ſome policie in getting, but much more in keeping; the one being but fortunes chance, & the other high wit and policie. For which cauſe, I with you, and you with me, muſt needs this day take labour and paine, to keepe and defend with force, that preheminence and poſſeſſion, which by your prudent deuiſes I haue gotten & obteined. I doubt not but you know how the diuell (continuall enimie to humane nature, diſturber of concord, & ſower of ſedition) hath entered into the heart of an vnknowne Welſhman (whoſe father I neuer knew, nor him perſonallie ſaw) exciting him to aſpire and couet our realme, crowne, and dignitie, and thereof cleerelie to depriue and ſpoile vs and our poſteritie. Ye ſee further, how a companie of traitors, theeues, outlawes, and runnagates of our owne nation, be aiders and partakers of his feat and enterpriſe, readie at hand to ouercome and oppreſſe vs.

He ſpeaketh opprobriouſlie of the earle of Richmond.

You ſee alſo, what a number of beggerlie Britans and faint-hearted Frenchmen be with him arriued to deſtroie vs, our wiues and children. Which imminent miſcheefs and apparant inconueniences, if we will withſtand & refell, we muſt liue togither as brethren, fight togither like lions, & feare not to die togither like men. And obſeruing and keeping this rule and precept, beleeue me, the fearefull hare neuer fled faſter before the greedie greihound, nor the ſillie larke before the ſparrowhawke, nor yet the ſimple ſheepe before the rauenous woolfe; than your proud bragging aduerſaries, aſtonied and amazed with the onelie ſight of your manlie viſages, will flee, run, and ſkir out of the field. For if you conſider and wiſelie ponder all things in your mind, you ſhall perceiue, that we haue manifeſt cauſes, and apparant tokens of triumph and victorie.

And to begin with the erle of Richmond capteine of this rebellion, he is a Welſh milkeſop, a man of ſmall courage, and of leſſe experience in martiall acts and feats of warre, brought vp by my mothers meanes, and mine, like a captiue in a cloſe cage in the court of Francis duke of Britaine; and neuer ſaw armie, nor was exerciſed in martiall affaires: by reaſon wherof he neither can, nor is able by his owne will or experience to guide or rule an hoaſt. For in the wit and policie of the capteine conſiſteth the cheefe adeption of the victorie, and ouerthrow of the enimies. Secondarilie feare not, but put awaie all doubts; for when the traitors and runnagates of our realme, ſhall ſee vs with banner diſplaied come againſt them, remembring their oth, promiſe, and fidelitie made vnto vs, as to their ſoueraigne lord and annointed king; they ſhall be ſo pricked and ſtoong in the bottome of their ſcrupulous conſciences, that they for verie remorſe and dread of the diuine plague, will either ſhamefullie flee, or humblie ſubmit themſelues to our grace and mercie.

The K. ſeeketh perſuade his capteins that the earle of Richmond is no warrior.

And as for the Frenchmen and Britans, their valiantneſſe is ſuch, that our noble progenitors, and your valiant parts haue them oftener vanquiſhed and ouercome in one moneth, than they in the beginning imagined poſſiblie to compaſſe and finiſh in a whole yeare. What will you make of them? braggers without audacitie, drunckards without diſcretion, ribalds without reaſon, cowards without reſiſting, and in concluſion, the moſt effeminate and laſciuious people that euer ſhewed themſelues in front of battell; ten times more couragious to flee & eſcape, than once to aſſault the breaſt of our ſtrong & populous armie. Wherefore conſidering all theſe aduantages, expell out of your thoughts all douts, auoid out of your minds all feare; and like valiant champions aduance foorth your ſtandards, & aſſaie whether your enimies can decide and trie the title of battell by dint of ſword. Aduance (I ſay againe) forward my capteins, in whome lacketh neither policie, wiſedome, nor yet puiſſance. Euerie one giue but one ſure ſtripe, & ſuerlie the iournie is ours. What preuaileth a handfull to a whole realme?

Frenchmen & Britans great boſters ſmall roſters.

Deſiring you (for the loue that you beare to me) and the affection that you haue to your natiue and naturall countrie, and to the ſafegard of your prince & your ſelues, that you will this daie take to you your accuſtomed courage and couragious ſpirits, for the defenſe and ſafegard of vs all. And as for me, I aſſure you, this daie I will triumph by glorious victorie, or ſuffer death for immortall fame. For they be maimed and out of the palace of fame diſgraded, dieng without renowme, which doo not aſmuch prefer and exalt the perpetuall honour of their natiue countrie, as their owne mortall and tranſitorie life. Now ſaint George to borow, let vs ſet forward, and remember well, that I am he which ſhall with high aduancements reward and preferre the valiant and hardie champions, and puniſh and torment the ſhamefull cowards, and dreadfull daſtards.

K. Richards vaine confidence and bootleſſe courage.

This exhortation incouraged all ſuch as fauoured him; but ſuch as were preſent (more for dread than loue) kiſſed them openlie, whome they inwardlie hated. Other ſware outwardlie to take part with ſuch, whoſe death they ſecretlie compaſſed, and inwardlie imagined. Other promiſed to inuade the kings enimies, which fled and fought with fierce courage againſt the king. Other ſtood ſtill and looked on, intending to take part with the victors and ouercommers. So was his people to him vnſure and vnfaithfull at his end, as he was to his nephues vntrue and vnnaturall in his beginning. [How then was it poſſible that this princes regiment could long ſtand, ſeeing the preſeruation and prorogation of his reigne conſiſted not in the loue of his ſubiects? In place whereof bicauſe feare (yea ſeruile and forced feare ſucceeded) he was the ſooner forſaken of his people, whoſe harts fell from him as iſicles from a penthouſe in a ſunnie daie; and in this caſe the poet ſaith truelie, and was well worthie of credit when he craued it, ſaieng:

Credite quem metuit quiſq; perire cupit.]

When the earle of Richmond knew by his foreriders that the king was ſo neere imbatelled, he rode about his armie from ranke to ranke, & from wing to wing, giuing comfortable words to all men, and that finiſhed (being armed at all peeces, ſauing his helmet) mounted on a little hill, ſo that all his people might ſee and behold him perfectlie, to their great reioiſing. For he was a man of no great ſtature, but ſo formed and decorated with all gifts and lineaments of nature, that he ſeemed more an angelicall creature, than a terreſtriall perſonage. His countenance and aſpect was cheerefull and couragious, his haire yellow like the burniſhed gold, his eies graie ſhining and quicke; prompt and readie in anſwering, but of ſuch ſobrietie, that it could neuer be iudged whether he were more dull than quicke in ſpeaking (ſuch was his temperance.) Now when he had ouerlooked his armie ouer euerie ſide, he pauſed awhile, and after with a lowd voice and bold ſpirit ſpake to his companions theſe, or the like words following.

The perſon of the earle of Richmond deſcribed.

The oration of king Henrie the seauenth to his armie.

If euer God gaue victorie to men fighting in a iuſt quarrell, or if he euer aided ſuch as made warre for the wealth & tuition of their owne naturall and nutritiue countrie, or if he euer ſuccoured them which aduentured their liues for the releefe of innocents, ſuppreſſing of malefactors and apparant offendors; no doubt my fellowes & freends, but he of his bountifull goodneſſe will this daie ſend vs triumphant victorie, and a luckie iournie ouer our proud enimies, and arrogant aduerſaries: for if you remember and conſider the verie cauſe of our iuſt quarell, you ſhall apparantlie perceiue the ſame to be true, godlie, and vertuous. In the which I doubt not, but God will rather aid vs (yea and fight for vs) than ſee vs vanquiſhed and ouerthrowne by ſuch as neither feare him nor his laws, nor yet regard iuſtice or honeſtie.

The earles cauſe iuſt and right, & therefore likelie of good ſucceſſe.

Our cauſe is ſo iuſt, that no enterpriſe can be of more vertue, both by the lawes diuine & ciuill. For what can be a more honeſt, goodlie, or godlie quarrell, than to fight againſt a capteine, being an homicide and murtherer of his owne bloud or progenie, an extreame deſtroier of his nobilitie, and to his and our countrie and the poore ſubiects of the ſame a deadlie mallet, a firie brand, and a burthen intollerable? Beſide him, conſider who be of his band and companie: ſuch as by murther and vntrueth committed againſt their owne kin and linage, yea againſt their prince and ſoueraigne lord, haue diſherited me and you, and wrongfullie deteine and vſurpe our lawfull patrimonie & lineall inheritance. For he that calleth himſelfe king, keepeth from me the crowne and regiment of this noble realme and countrie, contrarie to all iuſtice and equitie.

A great motiue to the nobles & gentles aſſiſting the earle.

Likewiſe, his mates and friends occupie your lands, cut downe your woods, and deſtroie your manors, letting your wiues and children range abroade for their liuing: which perſons for their penance and puniſhment I doubt not, but God of his goodnes will ether deliuer into our hands, as a great gaine and bootie; or cauſe them (being greeued and compuncted with the pricke of their corrupt conſciences) cowardlie to flie, and not abide the battell. Beſide this I aſſure you, that there be yonder in the great battell, men brought thither for feare, and not for loue; ſouldiers by force compelled, and not with good will aſſembled; perſons which deſire rather the deſtruction than ſaluation of their maiſter and capteine: and finallie, a multitude, whereof the moſt part will be our friends, and the leaſt part our enimies.

For truelie I doubt which is greater, the malice of the ſoldiors toward their capteine; or the feare of him conceiued of his people. For ſuerlie this rule is infallible, that as ill men dailie couet to deſtroie the good; ſo God appointeth the good men to confound the ill. And of all worldlie goods the greateſt is to ſuppreſſe tyrants, and releeue innocents; whereof the one is as much hated, as the other is beloued. If this be true (as clearkes preach) who will

K. Richards offenſes and ill qualities ſummarilie touched by the earle.

ſpare yonder tyrant Richard duke of Gloceſter, vntruelie calling himſelfe king, conſidering that he hath violated and broken both the lawes of God and man? What vertue is in him which was the confuſion of his brother, and murtherer of his nephues? What mercie is in him that ſleieth his truſtie freends as well as his extreame enimies? Who can haue confidence in him which putteth diffidence in all men?

If you haue not read, I haue heard good clearkes ſaie, that Tarquine the proud for the vice of the bodie loſt the kingdome of Rome; and the name of Tarquine baniſhed the citie for euer: yet was not his fault ſo deteſtable as the fact of cruell Nero, which ſlue his own mother, and opened hir entrailes, to behold the place of his conception. Behold yonder Richard, which is both Tarquine and Nero: yea a tyrant more than Nero, for he hath not onlie murthered his nephue being his king and ſoueraigne lord, baſtarded his noble brethren, and defamed the wombe of his vertuous and womanlie mother; but alſo compaſſed all the meanes and waies that he could inuent, how to defile and carnallie know his owne neece, vnder the pretenſe of a cloked matrimonie, which ladie I haue ſworne and promiſed to take to my make and wife, as you all know and beleeue.

K. Richard a notorious tyrant.

If this cauſe be not iuſt, and this quarell godlie; let God (the giuer of victorie) iudge and determine. We haue (thanks be giuen to Chriſt) eſcaped the ſecret treaſons in Britaine, and auoided the ſubtill ſnares of our fraudulent enimies there, paſſed the troublous ſeas in good and quiet ſafegard, and without reſiſtance haue ouergone the ample region & large countrie of Wales, and are now come to the place which we ſo much deſired: for long we haue ſought the furious bore, and now we haue found him. Wherefore let vs not feare to enter into the toile, where we may ſuerlie ſleie him; for God knoweth that we haue liued in the vales of miſerie, toſſing our ſhips in dangerous ſtormes: let vs not now dread to ſet vp our full ſailes in faire weather, hauing with vs both God and good fortune.

Incouragements to his armie to plaie the men in a iuſt cauſe.

If we had come to conquer Wales and had atchiued it, our praiſe had beene great, and our gaine more: but if we win this battell, the whole rich realme of England, with the lords and rulers of the ſame, ſhall be ours; the profit ſhall be ours, and the honour ſhall be ours. Therefore labour for your gaine, & ſweat for your right. While we were in Britaine, we had ſmall liuings and little plentie of wealth or welfare; now is the time come to get aboundance of riches, and copie of profit; which is the reward of your ſeruice, and merit of your paines. And this remember with your ſelues, that before vs be our enimies; and on either ſide of vs be ſuch, as I neither ſuerlie truſt, nor greatlie beleeue; backeward we cannot flee; ſo that heere we ſtand like ſheepe in a fold, circumuented and compaſſed betweene our enimies and our doutfull friends.

Therefore let all feare be ſet aſide, and like ſworne brethren let vs ioine in one; for this daie ſhall be the end of our trauell, and the gaine of our labour, either by honorable death or famous victorie: and as I truſt, the battell ſhall not be ſo ſowre, as the profit ſhall be ſweet. Remember that victorie is not gotten with the multitudes of men, but with the courages of hearts, and valiantneſſe of minds. The ſmaller that our number is, the more glorie is to vs if we vanquiſh: if we be ouercome, yet no laud is to be attributed to the victors, conſidering that ten men fought againſt one. And if we die ſo glorious a death in ſo good a quarell, neither fretting time, nor cancarding obliuion, ſhall be able to darken or raſe out of the booke of fame either our names, or our godlie attempt. And this one thing I aſſure you, that in ſo iuſt and good a cauſe, and ſo notable a quarrell, you ſhall find me this daie rather a dead carrion vpon the cold ground, than a free priſoner on a carpet in a ladies chamber.

Victorie conſiſteth not in multitude but in manlineſſe.

Let vs therefore fight like inuincible giants, and ſet on our enimies like vntimorous tigers, & baniſh all feare like ramping lions. And now aduance forward true men againſt traitors, pitifull perſons againſt murtherers, true inheritors againſt vſurpers, the ſcourges of God againſt tyrants. Diſplaie my banner with a good courage, march forth like ſtrong and robuſtious champions, and begin the battell like hardie conquerors. The battell is at hand, and the victorie approcheth; and if we ſhamefullie recule, or cowardlie flee; we and all our ſequele be deſtroied, and diſhonored for euer. This is the daie of gaine, and this is the time of loſſe; get this daie victorie, and be conquerors: and leeſe this daies battell, and be villaines. And therefore in the name of God and S. George, let euerie man couragiouſlie aduance forth his ſtandard.

Theſe chéerefull words he ſet forth with ſuch geſture of his bodie, & ſmiling countenance, as though alreadie he had vanquiſhed his enimies, and gotten the ſpoile. He had ſcantlie finiſhed his ſaieng, but the one armie ſpied the other. Lord how haſtilie the ſoldiers buckled their healmes, how quicklie the archers bent their bowes and fruſhed their feathers, how readilie the bilmen ſhooke their billes, and prooued their ſtaues, readie to approach and ioine, when the terrible trumpet ſhould ſound the bloudie blaſt to victorie or death! Betwéene both armies there was a great mariſh then (but at this preſent, by reaſon of diches caſt, it is growne to be firme ground) which the earle of Richmond left on his right hand; for this intent, that it ſhould be on that ſide a defenſe for his part, and in ſo dooing he had the ſunne at his backe, and in the faces of his enimies. When king Richard ſaw the earles companie was paſſed the mariſh; he did command with all haſt to ſet vpon them. Then the trumpets ſounded, and the ſouldiers ſhouted, and the

The battell betweene king Richard and king Henrie the ſeuenth, called Boſworth field.

The policie of the earle.

kings archers couragiouſlie let flie their arrowes. The earles bowmen ſtood not ſtill, but paied them home againe.

The earle of Oxfords charge to his band of men.

The terrible ſhot once paſſed, the armies ioined and came to hand-ſtrokes, where neither ſword nor bill was ſpared. At which incounter, the lord Stanleie ioined with the earle. The earle of Oxford in the meane ſeaſon, fearing leaſt while his companie was fighting, they ſhould be compaſſed and circumuented with the multitude of the enimies, gaue commandement in euerie ranke, that no man ſhould be ſo hardie, as to go aboue ten foot from the ſtandard. Which commandment once knowne, they knit themſelues togither, and ceaſſed a little from fighting. The aduerſaries ſuddenlie abaſhed at the matter, and miſtruſting ſome fraud and deceit, began alſo to pauſe and left ſtriking; and not againſt the wils of manie, which had rather had the king deſtroied, than ſaued, and therefore they fought verie faintlie, or ſtood ſtill.

The earle of Oxfords valiancie.

The earle of Oxford, bringing all his band togither on the one part, ſet on his enimies freſhlie againe. The aduerſaries perceiuing that, placed their men ſlender and thin before, but thicke and broad behind, beginning againe hardilie the battell. While the two fore-wards thus mortallie fought, ech intending to vanquiſh and conuince the other; king Richard was admoniſhed by his explorators and eſpials, that the earle of Richmond (accompanied with a ſmall number of men of armes) was not far off. And as he approched and marched toward him, he perfectlie knew his perſonage by certeine demonſtrations and tokens, which he had learned and knowen of others that were able to giue him full information. Now being inflamed with ire, and vexed with outragious malice, he put his ſpurres to his horſſe, and rode out of the ſide of the range of his battell, leauing the vant-gard fighting; and like a hungrie lion ran with ſpeare in reſt toward him. The earle of Richmond perceiued well the king furiouſlie comming toward him, and bicauſe the whole hope of his wealth and purpoſe was to be determined by battell, he gladlie proffered to incounter with him bodie to bodie, and man to man.

The earle of Richmond proffereth to incounter K. Richard bodie to bodie.

Sir William Brandon ſlaine.

King Richard ſet on ſo ſharplie at the firſt brunt, that he ouerthrew the earles ſtandard, and ſlue ſir William Brandon his ſtandard-bearer (which was father to ſir Charles Brandon by king Henrie the eight created duke of Suffolke) and matched hand to hand with ſir Iohn Cheinie, a man of great force and ſtrength, which would haue reſiſted him: but the ſaid Iohn was by him manfullie ouerthrowen. And ſo he making open paſſage by dint of ſword as he went forward, the earle of Richmond withſtood his violence, and kept him at the ſwords point without aduantage, longer than his companions either thought or iudged: which being almoſt in deſpaire of victorie, were ſuddenlie recomforted by ſir William Stanleie, which came to his ſuccors with three thouſand tall men. At which verie inſtant, king Richards men were driuen backe and fled, & he himſelfe manfullie fighting in the middle of his enimies, was ſlaine, and (as he worthilie had deſerued) came to a bloudie death, as he had lead a bloudie life.

The kings armie fleeth.

In the meane ſeaſon, the earle of Oxford with the aid of the lord Stanleie, after no long fight, diſcomfited the fore-ward of king Richard, whereof a great number were ſlaine in the chaſe and fight: but the greateſt number which (compelled by feare of the king, and not of their meere voluntarie motion) came to the field, gaue neuer a ſtroke, and hauing no harme nor damage, ſafelie departed, which came not thither in hope to ſee the king proſper and preuaile, but to heare that he ſhould be ſhamefullie confounded and brought to ruine. In this battell died few aboue the number of a thouſand perſons: and of the nobilitie were ſlaine Iohn duke of Norffolke, which was warned by diuerſe to reſtraine from the field, in ſo much that the night before he ſhould ſet forward toward the king, one wrote this rime vpon his gate:

Duke of Norffolke ſlaine in the field.

Iacke of Norffolke be not too bold,
For *Dikon thy maiſter is bought and ſold.

*Richard.

Yet all this notwithſtanding, he regarded more his oth, his honor, and promiſe made to king Richard, like a gentleman; and as a faithfull ſubiect to his prince, abſented not himſelfe from his maiſter; but as he faithfullie liued vnder him, ſo he manfullie died with him, to his great fame and laud. [And therfore, though his ſeruice was ill imploied in aid of a tyrant (whome it had beene more honorable to haue ſuppreſſed than ſupported) yet bicauſe he had vpon his fealtie vndertaken to fight in his quarell, he thought it leſſe loſſe of life and liuing than of glorie & honour: ſo that he might haue ſaid, in reſpect of his loialtie & promiſed truth teſtified with conſtancie to the death:

Eſt mihi ſupplicium cauſa fuiſſe pium.

Ouid.

What perſons of name were ſlaine on king Richards ſide.

There were ſlaine beſide him, Walter lord Ferrers of Chartleie, ſir Richard Radcliffe, and Robert Brakenberie lieutenant of the Tower, and not manie gentlemen more. Sir William Cateſbie learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the cheefe councellors to the late king, with diuerſe other, were two daies after beheaded at Leiceſter. Amongſt them that ran awaie, were ſir Francis vicount Louell, and Humfreie Stafford, and Thomas Stafford his brother, which tooke ſanctuarie in ſaint Iohns at Gloceſter. Of captiues and priſoners there were a great number. For after the death of king Richard was knowne and publiſhed, euerie man in manner vnarming himſelfe, & caſting awaie his abiliments of warre, meekelie ſubmitted themſelues to the obeiſance and rule of the earle of Richmond: of the which the more part had gladlie ſo doone in the beginning, if they might haue conuenientlie eſcaped from king Richards eſpials, which hauing as cleere eies as Lynx, and open eares as Midas, ranged & ſearched in euerie quarter.

Amongſt theſe was Henrie the fourth earle of Northumberland, which (whether it was by the commandement of king Richard, putting diffidence in him; or he did it for the loue and fauour that he bare vnto the earle) ſtood ſtill with a great companie, and intermitted not in the battell, which was incontinentlie receiued into fauour and made of the councell. But Thomas Howard earle of Surreie, which ſubmitted himſelfe there, was not taken to grace; bicauſe his father was chiefe councellor, and he greatlie familiar with king Richard, but committed to the Tower of London, where he long remained; and in concluſion deliuered, was for his truth and fidelitie after promoted to high honors, offices and dignities. On the earle of Richmonds part were ſlaine ſcarſe one hundred perſons, among whome the principall was ſir William Brandon his ſtandard-bearer. This battell was fought at Boſworth in Leiceſterſhire, the two and twentith daie of Auguſt, in the yeare of our redemption 1485. The whole conflict indured litle aboue two houres.

Erle of Surreie cōmitted to the Tower notwithſtanding his ſubmiſſion.

How king Richard might haue eſcaped.

King Richard (as the fame went) might haue eſcaped and gotten ſafegard by fleeing. For when they, which were next about his perſon, ſaw and perceiued at the firſt ioining of the battell the ſouldiers faintlie and nothing couragiouſlie to ſet on their enimies; and not onlie that, but alſo that ſome withdrew themſelues priuilie out of the preaſe and departed; they began to ſuſpect fraud and to ſmell treaſon; and not onelie exhorted, but determinatlie aduiſed him to ſaue himſelfe by flight. And when the loſſe of the battell was imminent and apparant, they brought to him a ſwift and a light horſſe, to conueie him awaie. He which was not ignorant of the grudge and ill will that the common people bare toward him, caſting awaie all hope of fortunate ſucceſſe and happie chance to come, anſwered (as men ſaie) that on that daie he would make an end of all battels, or elſe there finiſh his life. Such a great audacitie and ſuch a ſtomach reigned in his bodie.

For ſuerlie he knew that to be the daie, in the which it ſhould be decided and determined whether he ſhould peaceablie obteine and inioy his kingdome during his life, or elſe vtterlie forgo and be depriued of the ſame. With which too much hardines he being ouercome, haſtilie cloſed his helmet, and entered fiercelie into the hard battell, to the intent to obteine that daie a quiet reigne and regiment; or elſe to finiſh there his vnquiet life, and vnfortunat gouernance. And ſo this miſer at the ſame verie point had like chance and fortune, as happeneth to ſuch which in place of right iuſtice and honeſtie, following their ſenſuall appetite, loue, and vſe to imbrace miſchiefe, tyrannie, and vnthriftineſſe. Suerlie theſe be examples of more vehemencie, than mans toong can expreſſe, to feare and aſtoniſh ſuch euill perſons, as will not liue one houre vacant from dooing and exerciſing crueltie, miſchiefe, or outragious liuing.

The deuout behauiour of the earle of Richmond after the victorie.

When the earle had thus obteined victorie, and ſlaine his mortall enimie, he kneeled downe and rendred to almightie God his hartie thanks, with deuout and godlie oriſons; beſeeching his goodneſſe to ſend him grace to aduance and defend the catholike faith; and to mainteine iuſtice and concord amongſt his ſubiects and people, by God now to his gouernance committed & aſſigned. Which praier finiſhed, he repleniſhed with incomparable gladneſſe aſcended vp to the top of a little mounteine, where he not onelie praiſed and lauded his valiant ſouldiers; but alſo gaue vnto them his hartie thanks, with promiſe of condigne recompenſe for their fidelitie and valiant facts, willing and commanding all the hurt and wounded perſons to be cured, and the dead carcaſſes to be deliuered to the ſepulture. Then the people reioiſed, and clapped their hands, crieng vp to heauen; King Henrie, king Henrie.

The lord Stanleie ſetteth yͤ crowne on king Henries head.

When the lord Stanleie ſaw the good will and gladneſſe of the people, he tooke the crowne of king Richard which was found amongſt the ſpoile in the field, and ſet it on the earles head; as though he had beene elected king by the voice of the people, as in ancient times paſt in diuerſe realmes it hath beene accuſtomed: and this was the firſt ſigne and token of his good lucke and felicitie. ¶I muſt put you here in remembrance, how that king Richard (putting ſome diffidence in the lord Stanleie) had with him as an hoſtage the lord Strange, his eldeſt ſonne, which lord Stanleie (as ye haue heard before) ioined not at the firſt with his ſonne in lawes armie, for feare the king would haue ſlaine the lord Strange his heire.

The lord Stanlies bold anſwer to K. Richards purſeuant.

When king Richard was come to Boſworth, he ſent a purſeuant to the lord Stanleie, commanding him to aduance forward with his companie, and to come to his preſence; which thing if he refuſed to doo, he ſware by Chriſtes paſſion, that he would ſtrike off his ſonnes head before he dined. The lord Stanleie anſwered the purſeuant that if the king did ſo, he had more ſonnes aliue; and as to come to him, he was not then ſo determined. When king Richard heard this anſwer, he commanded the lord Strange incontinent to be beheaded; which was at that verie ſame ſeaſon, when both the armies had ſight ech of other. But the councellors of king Richard pondered the time and cauſe, knowing alſo the lord Strange to be innocent of his fathers offenſe, & perſuaded the king that it was now time to fight, & no time to execute.

Beſides that, they aduiſed him to keepe the lord Strange as priſoner till the battell were ended, and then at leiſure his pleaſure might be accompliſhed. So (as God would) king Richard brake his holie oth, and the lord was deliuered to the keepers of the kings tents, to be kept as priſoner. Which, when the field was doone, and their maiſter ſlaine, and proclamation made to know where the child was, they ſubmitted themſelues as priſoners to the lord Strange, and he gentlie receiued them, and brought them to the new proclamed king; where, of him and of his father he was receiued with great ioy. After this the whole campe remooued with bag and baggage.

Proclam made to in the lo Strange.

The ſame night in the euening, king Henrie with great pompe came to the towne of Leiceſter; where as well for the refreſhing of his people & ſouldiers, as for preparing all things neceſſarie for his iournie toward London, he reſted and repoſed himſelfe two daies. In the meane ſeaſon the dead corps of king Richard was as ſhamefullie caried to the towne of Leiceſter, as he gorgeouſlie (the day before) with pompe and pride departed out of the ſame towne. For his bodie was naked and deſpoiled to the ſkin, and nothing left about him, not ſo much as a clout to couer his priuie members, and was truſſed behind a purſeuant of arms, one Blanch Senglier, or White bore, like a hog or calfe, his head and armes hanging on the one ſide of the horſſe, and his legs on the other ſide, and all beſprinkled with mire and bloud he was brought to the graie friers church within the towne, and there laie like a miſerable ſpectacle.

The sham full cariag K. Richar bodie to Le ceſter.

But ſuerlie conſidering his miſchiefous acts and vngratious doings, men maie wonder at ſuch a caitife, who although he deſerued no buriall place either in church or churchyard, chappell or chancell, but otherwiſe to haue bin beſtowed: yet in the ſaid church he was with no leſſe funerall pompe & ſolemnitie interred, than he would to be doone at the buriall of his innocent nephues, whome he cauſed cruellie to be murthered, and vnnaturallie killed. Now when his death was knowne, few lamented, and manie reioiced. The proud bragging white bore (which was his badge) was violentlie raſed & plucked downe from euerie ſigne and place where it might be eſpied: ſo ill was his life, that men wiſhed the memorie of him to be buried with his carren corps. He reigned two yeers, two moneths, and one daie [too long by ſix and twentie moneths, and foure and twentie houres in moſt mens opinions, to whome his name and preſence was as ſweet and delectable, as his doings princelie, and his perſon amiable.]

K. Richar badge and cognisanc euerie wher defaced.

As he was ſmall and little of ſtature, ſo was he of bodie greatlie deformed; the one ſhoulder higher than the other; his face was ſmall, but his countenance cruell, and ſuch, that at the firſt aſpect a man would iudge it to ſauour and ſmell of malice, fraud, and deceit. When he ſtood muſing, he would bite and chaw buſilie his nether lip; as who ſaid, that his fierce nature in his cruell bodie alwaies chafed, ſtirred, and was euer vnquiet: beſide that, the dagger which he ware, he would (when he ſtudied) with his hand plucke vp & downe in the ſheath to the midſt, neuer drawing it fullie out: he was of a readie, pregnant, and quicke wit, wilie to feine, and apt to diſſemble: he had a proud mind, and an arrogant ſtomach, the which accompanied him euen to his death, rather chooſing to ſuffer the ſame by dint of ſword, than being forſaken and left helpeleſſe of his vnfaithfull companions, to preſerue by cowardlie flight ſuch a fraile and vncerteine life, which by malice, ſickneſſe, or condigne puniſhment was like ſhortlie to come to confuſion.

The deſcrip tion of king Richard.

Thus ended this prince his mortall life with infamie and diſhonor, which neuer preferred fame or honeſtie before ambition, tyrannie and miſchiefe. And if he had continued ſtill protector, and ſuffered his nephues to haue liued and reigned, no doubt but the realme had proſpered, & he as much praiſed & loued as he is now had in hatred: but to God, which knew his inward thoughts at the houre of his death, I remit the puniſhment of his offenſes commited in his life; [which if the one be as manifold as the other, Gods iuſtice were not to be charged with crueltie. For by nature he is mercifull, ſlow to anger, and loth to ſmite: but yet euerie ſinne (in reſpect of his righteouſneſſe) being deadlie (much more heinous and horrible) how can he but by iuſtice (which is an eſſentiall vertue in him) puniſh it ſeuerelie? And if he did it with ten thouſand torments, who ſhall be ſo hardie as to expoſtulate and reaſon why he ſo dooth?]

Sée pag.690, 691.

But to leaue the tyrant as he died, you ſhall vnderſtand that K. Henrie the ſeuenth cauſed a toome to be made and ſet vp ouer the place where he was buried, in the church of the graie friers at Leiceſter, with a picture of alabaſter repreſenting his perſon, dooing that honour to his enimie, vpon a princelie regard and pitifull zeale, which king Richard (mooued of an hypocriticall ſhew of counterfeit pitie) did to king Henrie the ſixt, whom he had firſt cruellie murthered, and after in the ſecond yeare of his vſurped reigne, cauſed his corps to be remooued from Chertſeie vnto Windſore, and there ſolemnlie interred. And now to conclude with this cruell tyrant king Richard, we may conſider in what ſort the ambitious deſire to rule and gouerne in the houſe of Yorke, was puniſhed by Gods iuſt prouidence.

Sée pag. 659.

Sée pag.703.

For although that the right might ſéeme to remaine in the perſon of Richard duke of Yorke, ſlaine at Wakefield: yet maie there be a fault worthilie reputed in him, ſo to ſéeke to preuent the time appointed him by authoritie of parlement to atteine to the crowne intailed to him and his iſſue; in whome alſo, and not onelie in himſelfe, that offenſe (as maie bée thought) was dulie puniſhed. For although his eldeſt ſonne Edward the fourth, béeing a prince right prouident and circumſpect for the ſuertie of his owne eſtate and his children, inſomuch that not content to cut off all his armed and apparant enimies, he alſo of a gealous feare, made awaie his brother the duke of Clarence, and ſo thought to make all ſure: yet Gods vengeance might not be diſappointed, for (as ye haue partlie heard) he did but further thereby the deſtruction of his iſſue, in taking awaie him that onlie might haue ſtaied the crueltie of his brother of Gloceſter, who inraged for deſire of the kingdome, bereft his innocent nephues of their liues & eſtates.

And as it thus well appeared, that the houſe of Yorke ſhewed it ſelfe more bloudie in ſéeking to obteine the kingdome, than that of Lancaſter in vſurping it: ſo it came to paſſe, that the Lords vengeance appeared more heauie towards the ſame than towards the other, not ceaſſing till the whole iſſue male of the ſaid Richard duke of Yorke was extinguiſhed. For ſuch is Gods iuſtice, to leaue no vnrepentant wickedneſſe vnpuniſhed, as eſpeciallie in this caitife Richard the third, not deſeruing ſo much as the name of a man, much leſſe of a king, moſt manifeſtlie appeareth. [At whom we will end, with a compariſon of the like practiſe in Lodowike Sforce, aſpiring to the dukedome of Millane, the name, armes and title thereof he tooke vpon him, hauing ſecretlie proteſted before, that he receiued them as apperteining to him by the inueſtiture of the king of Romans.

Abr.Flem. ex Guic. pag.49.
Lodowike Sforce duke of Millan by vſurpation.

It was publiſhed that the death of Galeas (his late predeceſſor) happened by immoderate cohabitation, but the vniuerſall iudgment of Italie was, that he died not of infirmities naturall, nor by incontinencie, but by poiſon and violent compulſion. Wherof Theodor de Pauia, one of the phyſicians, aſſiſting when the king viſited him, aſſured the king to ſée moſt apparant and manifeſt ſignes: and if hée were diſpatched by poiſon, there was none that doubted that his vncle was innocent, either directlie or indirectlie; as he, who not content with an abſolute power to be gouernor of the ſtate, but aſpiring according to the common deſires of great men, to make themſelues glorious with titles and honors; and ſpeciallie he iudged, that both for his proper ſuertie and the ſucceſſion of his children, the death of the lawfull prince was neceſſarie, and therefore thought to eſtabliſh in himſelfe the power and name of duke. Wherein ambition and couetouſneſſe preuailed aboue conſcience and law of nature, and the gealous deſire of dominion inforced his diſpoſition (otherwiſe abhorring bloud) to that vile action.

Sée page 627.

Guic.pag.12.

But to end with king Richard ſometimes duke of Gloceſter, a title of dignitie ioined with miſfortune and vnluckineſſe (as is noted * before.) So that for infelicitie it might well be compared vnto the name of Ione, a name vnhappie and much accurſſed for the kingdome of Naples. As for king Richard, better had it béene for him to haue contented his heart with the protectorſhip, than to haue caſt vp his ſnout, or lifted vp his hornes of ambition ſo high (and that with a ſetled intent) as to hacke and hew downe by violent blowes all likelie impediments betwixt him and home. Better (I ſay) had it béene for him to haue dwelt vpon his firſt honor, than to haue wandered in princelineſſe; and better had it béene for him neuer to haue inioied the flattering proſperitie of a king, than afterwards to fall, and neuer to recouer loſſe or ruine, as is noted by the poet, ſaieng:

Eſt melius nunquam felicia tempora noſſe,
Quàm poſt blanditias fortunæ, fata maligna
Nec reparanda pati infortunia ſortis iniquæ.]

T.Wat.in Am. Quer.7.

Fr.Thin.
The death of of William Dudleie, biſhop of Durham, deſcended of the honorable houſe of the Dudleies.

¶In this yere 1483 died William Dudleie who (by the tranſlation of Laurence Booth biſhop of Durham and chancellor of England from the ſée of Durham to the citie of Yorke) was made biſhop of Durham (in place of the ſaid Laurence) by the popes bulles. For by vertue thereof, Edward the fourth in the ſixtéenth yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of Chriſt 1476, directed his letters patents to the knights and other frée men of that biſhoprike, with all ſolemnitie to inſtall the ſaid William Dudleie (borne of the honorable houſe of the lords Dudleies) in the ſaid biſhoprike of Durham, and to deliuer him quiet poſſeſſion therof, who was conſecrated thereunto in the yeare of Chriſt 1477, in which he worthilie gouerned ſix yeares, and died in this yeare, as before.]

Now of learned men that liued, and wrote in the daies of this vſurper and his nephue king Edward the fift, theſe we find recorded by Iohn Bale. Firſt, Iohn Penketh an Auguſtine frier of Warington in Lancaſhire, a right ſubtill fellow in diſputation, following the footſteps of his maſter Iohn Duns, whome he chieflie ſtudied, he wrote diuers treatiſes, and made that infamous ſermon at Paules croſſe, in fauour of the duke of Gloceſter then protector, to the diſheriting of Edward the fift, his lawfull king and gouernor; Iohn Kent or Caileie borne in Southwales; George Ripleie, firſt a chanon of Bridlington, and after a Carmelit frier in Boſton, a great mathematician, rhetorician, and poet; Iohn Spine a Carmelit frier of Briſtow, that procéeded doctor of diuinitie in Cambridge: and ſuch like.

Thus farre Richard the vſurper, vnnaturall vncle to Edward the fift
and Richard duke of Yorke, brethren.

Henrie the ſeauenth, ſonne to Edmund earle of Richmond, which Edmund *was brother by the moothers ſide to* Henrie the ſixt.

Anno Reg. 1.

KIng Henrie hauing thus got the victorie at Boſworth, and ſlaine his mortall enimie there in the field, did ſend before his departure from Leiceſter, ſir Robert Willoughbie knight, to the manour of Sheriffehuton in the countie of Yorke, for Edward Plantagenet earle of Warwike, ſonne and heire to George duke of Clarence then being of the age of fiftéene yeares; whome king Richard had kept there as priſoner during the time of his vſurped reigne. Sir Robert Willoughbie receiuing the yoong earle of the conſtable of that caſtell conueied him to London, where he was ſhut vp in the Tower, for doubt leaſt ſome vnquiet and euill diſpoſed perſons might inuent ſome occaſion of new trouble by this yoong gentleman: and therefore king Henrie thought good to haue him ſure.

Edward Plantagenet earle of Warwike ſonne and heire to George duke of Clarence committed to the Tower.

There was beſide him in the caſtell of Sheriffehuton the ladie Elizabeth eldeſt daughter to king Edward the fourth, whome king Richard (as ye haue heard) meant to haue married: but God otherwiſe ordeined for hir, and preſerued hir from that vnlawfull copulation and inceſtuous bed. Shortlie after, ſhe being accompanied with a great number as well of noblemen, as honourable matrons, was with good ſpéed conueied to London, and brought to hir mother. In the meane ſeaſon king Henrie remooued forward by ſoft iournies towards London, the people comming in from all ſides to behold him, and excéedinglie reioiſing at his preſence, as by their voices and geſtures it well appeared.

King Henrie commeth to London.

At his approching néere to the citie, the maior and his brethren, with other worſhipfull citizens, being clothed in violet, met him at Shordich, and reuerentlie ſaluted him: and ſo with great pompe and triumph he rode thorough the citie to the cathedrall church of S. Paule, where he offered thrée ſtandards. In the one was the image of ſaint George, in an other was a red fierie dragon beaten vpon white and gréene ſarcenet, and in the third was painted a dun cow vpon yellow tarterne. After his praiers ſaid, and *Te Deum* ſoong, he departed to the biſhops palace, and there ſoiourned a ſeaſon. Anon after, he aſſembled togither the ſage councellors of the realme, in which councell like a prince of iuſt faith, and true of promiſe, to auoid all ciuill diſcord, he appointed a daie to ioine in marriage with the ladie Elizabeth, heire of the houſe of Yorke; with his noble perſonage, heire to the line of Lancaſter. Which thing not onelie reioiſed the hearts of the nobles and gentlemen of the realme, but alſo gained the fauours and good wils of all the commons.

After this, with great pompe he rowed vnto Weſtminſter, & there the thirtith daie of October he was with all ceremonies accuſtomed, annointed, & crowned king, by the whole aſſent as well of the commons as of the nobilitie, and called Henrie the ſeauenth of that name: which was in the yeare of the world 5452, and after the birth of our Lord 1485, in the fortie and ſixt yeare of Frederike the third then emperour of Almaine, Maximilian his ſonne being newlie elected king of the Romans, in the ſecond yeare of Charles the eight then king of France, and in the fiue and twentith of king Iames then ruling the realme of Scotland. For the eſtabliſhing of all things, as well touching the preſeruation of his owne eſtate, as the commendable adminiſtration of iuſtice and preferrement of the common wealth of his realme, he called his high court of parlement at Weſtminſter the ſeauenth daie of Nouember, wherein was atteinted Richard late duke of Glouceſter, calling and naming himſelfe by vſurpation, king Richard the third.

Henrie the ſeuenth crowned king.

1485

A parlement at Weſtminſter, with an atteindor and a pardon generall.

Likewiſe there was atteinted as chéefe aiders and aſſiſtants to him in the battell at Boſworth, aduanced againſt the preſent king, Iohn late duke of Norfolke, Thomas earle of Surrie, Francis Louell knight vicount Louell, Walter Deuereux knight late lord Ferrers, Iohn lord Zouch, Robert Harrington, Richard Charleton, Richard Ratcliffe, William Berkeleie of Weleie, Robert Middleton, Iames Harrington, Robert Brakenberie, Thomas Pilkington, Walter Hopton, William Cateſbie, Roger Wake, William Sapcote of the countie of Huntington, Humfrie Stafford, William Clerke of Wenlocke, Geffrie ſaint Germaine, Richard Watkins herald of armes, Richard Reuell of Derbiſhire, Thomas Pulter of the countie of Kent, Iohn Welſh otherwiſe called Haſtings, Iohn Kendall late ſecretarie to the ſaid Richard late duke of Glouceſter, Iohn Bucke, Andrew Rat, and William Brampton of Burford.

In which atteindor neuertheleſſe there were diuerſe clauſes and prouiſos for the benefit of their wiues and other perſons, that had or might claime anie right, title, or intereſt lawfullie vnto anie caſtels, manours, lordſhips, townes, towneſhips, honours, lands, tenements, rents, ſeruices, fée farmes, annuities, knights fées, aduouſons, reuerſions, remainders, and other hereditaments; whereof the ſaid perſons atteinted were poſſeſſed or ſeized to the vſes of ſuch other perſons: with a ſpeciall prouiſo alſo, that the ſaid atteindor ſhould not be preiudiciall to Iohn Cateſbie knight, Thomas Reuell, and William Aſhbie eſquiers, in, of, & vpon the manour of Kirkebie vpon Wretheke in the countie of Leiceſter, nor in, of, and vpon anie other lands and tenements in Kirkebie aforeſaid, Melton, Somerbie, Thropſeghfield, and Godebie, which they had of the gift & feoffement of Thomas Dauers, & Iohn Lie. And further, notwithſtanding this atteindor, diuerſe of the ſaid perſons afterwards were not onelie by the king pardoned, but alſo reſtored to their lands and liuings.

Moreouer, in this preſent parlement, he cauſed proclamation to be made, that all men were pardoned and acquited of their offenſes, which would ſubmit themſelues to his mercie, and receiue an oth to be true and faithfull vnto him: whereupon manie that came out of ſanctuaries and other places were receiued to grace, and admitted for his ſubiects. After this, he began to remember his ſpeciall fréends, of whome ſome he aduanced to honour and dignitie, and ſome he inriched with goods and poſſeſſions, euerie man according to his deſerts and merits. And to begin, his vncle Iaſper earle of Penbroke, he created duke of Bedford; Thomas lord Stanleie was created earle of Derbie; and the lord Chendew of Britaine his eſpeciall fréend, he made earle of Bath; ſir Giles Daubeneie was made lord Daubeneie; ſir Robert Willoughbie was made lord Broke. And Edward Stafford eldeſt ſonne to Henrie late duke of Buckingham, he reſtored to his name, dignitie, & poſſeſſions, which by king Richard were confiſcat and atteinted. Beſide this, in this parlement was this notable act aſſented to and concluded as followeth; to the pleaſure of almightie God, wealth, proſperitie, and ſuertie of this realme of England, and to the ſingular comfort of all the kings ſubiects of the ſame, in auoiding all ambiguities and queſtions.

The king aduanceth his fréends.

An act for the eſtabliſhing of the *crowne in the line of Henrie* the ſeauenth.

BE it ordeined, eſtabliſhed, and enacted by this preſent parlement, that the inheritance of the crowne of this realme of England, & alſo of France, with all the preheminence, and dignitie roiall to the ſame apperteining, all other ſeigniories to the king belonging beyond the ſea, with the appurtenances thereto in anie wiſe due or apperteining, ſhall reſt, remaine, and abide, in the moſt roiall perſon of our now ſoureigne lord king Henrie the ſeuenth, and in the heires of his bodie lawfullie comming, perpetuallie, with the grace of God ſo to indure, and in none other.

Beſide this act, all atteindors of this king enacted by king Edward and king Richard were adnihilated, and the record of the ſame iudged to be defaced; and all perſons atteinted for his cauſe and occaſion were reſtored to their goods, lands, and poſſeſſions. Diuerſe acts alſo made in the time of king Edward and king Richard were reuoked, and other adiudged more expedient for the common wealth were put in their places and concluded. After the diſſolution of this parlement, the king remembring his fréends left in hoſtage beyond the ſeas, that is to wit, the marqueſſe Dorſet, & ſir Iohn Bourchier, he with all conuenient ſpéed redéemed them, and ſent alſo into Flanders for Iohn Morton biſhop of Elie. Theſe acts performed, he choſe to be of his councell a conuenient number of right graue and wiſe councellors.

The king redemeth his hoſtages.

¶ This did he, that he might the more roiallie gouerne his kingdome, which he obteined and inioied as a thing by God elected and prouided, and by his eſpeciall fauour and gratious aſpect compaſſed and atchiued. Inſomuch that men commonlie report that ſeauen hundred nintie & ſeauen yéeres paſſed, it was by a heauenlie voice reuealed to Cadwalader laſt king of Britains, that his ſtocke & progenie ſhould reigne in this land & beare dominion againe. Whervpon moſt men were perſuaded in their owne opinion, that by this heauenlie voice he was prouided & ordeined long before to inioy & obteine this kingdome. Which thing K. Henrie the ſixt did alſo ſhew before, as it were by propheticall inſpiration, at ſuch time as the earle of Penbroke preſented the ſaid Henrie (at that time a proper child) vnto Henrie the ſixt, whome after he had beheld, and a good while viewed the comelineſſe of his countenance, and orderlie lineaments of his bodie, he ſaid to ſuch péeres as ſtood about him: Lo, ſuerlie this is he, to whome both we and our aduerſaries, leauing the poſſeſſion of all things, ſhall hereafter giue roome and place: & ſo it came to paſſe by the appointment of God, to whoſe gouernement, gift, and diſpoſing, all realmes and all dominions are ſubiect, as king Dauid confeſſeth, ſaieng:

Omnia ſunt regno ſubdita regna Deo.]

Abr. Flem. *ex ſubſequentib.* Sée the hiſtorie of Englād pag.124. Sée alſo D. Powels hiſtorie of Wales, pag.2, and 376, 377, &c.

Sée before in Edward the fourth, pag. 678.

Gu.Ha in pſal. 103.

Now although by this meanes all things ſéemed to be brought in good and perfect order, yet there lacked a wreſt to the harpe, to ſet all the ſtrings in a monocord and perfect tune, which was the matrimonie to be finiſhed betwéene the king and the ladie Elizabeth, daughter to king Edward. Which like a good prince, according to his oth, & promiſe, he did both ſolemnize & conſummate ſhortlie after, that is to ſaie, on the eightéenth daie of Ianuarie. By reaſon of which marriage, peace was thought to deſcend out of heauen into England, conſidering that the lines of Lancaſter and Yorke were now brought into one knot, and connexed togither, of whoſe two bodies one heire might ſucceed to rule and inioie the whole monarchie and realme of England, which before was rent and diuided into factions & partakings, whereby manie a mans life was loſt, great ſpoiles made of peoples goods, waſt of wealth, worſhip, and honor, all which ended in this bleſſed and gratious connexion, authoriſed by God, as our *Anglorum prælia* ſaith:

Hoc Deus omnipotens pacis confecerat author,
Ciuiliſque habuit talem contentio finem.

King Henrie the ſeuenth taketh to wife Elizabeth eldeſt daughter of Edward the fourth.

1486

In Hen.7.

Shortlie after, for the better preſeruation of his roiall perſon, he conſtituted and ordeined a certeine number, as well of archers, as of diuerſe other perſons, hardie, ſtrong, and actiue to giue dailie attendance on his perſon, whom he named yeomen of his gard, which preſident men thought that he learned of the French king when he was in France. For it is not remembred, that anie king of England before that daie vſed anie ſuch furniture of dailie ſouldiers.

yeomen of the gard firſt brought in.

¶ In this ſame yéere a new kind of ſickenes inuaded ſuddenlie the people of this land, paſſing through the ſame from the one end to the other. It began about the one and twentith of September, and continued vntill the latter end of October, being ſo ſharpe and deadlie, that the like was neuer heard of to anie mans remembrance before that time.

For ſuddenlie a deadlie burning ſweat ſo aſſailed their bodies, and diſtempered their bloud with a moſt ardent heat, that ſcarſe one amongſt an hundred that ſickened did eſcape with life: for all in maner as ſoone as the ſweat tooke them, or within a ſhort time after, yéelded the ghoſt. Beſide the great number which deceaſſed within the citie of London, two maiors ſucceſſiuelie died within eight daies and ſix aldermen. At length, by the diligent obſeruation of thoſe that eſcaped (which marking what things had

The ſweating ſickeneſſe.

A remedie for the ſweating ſickeneſſe.

doone them good, and holpen to their deliuerance, vſed the like againe. When they fell into the ſame diſeaſe, the ſecond or third time, as to diuerſe it chanced, a remedie was found for that mortall maladie, which was this. If a man on the day time were taken with the ſweat, then ſhould he ſtreight lie downe with all his clothes and garments, and continue in his ſweat foure and twentie houres, after ſo moderate a ſort as might be.

If in the night he chanced to be taken, then ſhould he not riſe out of his bed for the ſpace of foure and twentie houres, ſo caſting the clothes that he might in no wiſe prouoke the ſweat, but lie ſo temperatlie, that the water might diſtill out ſoftlie of the owne accord, and to abſteine from all meat if he might ſo long ſuffer hunger, and to take no more drinke neither hot nor cold, than would moderatelie quench and aſſwage his thirſtie appetite. Thus with lukewarme drinke, temperate heate, and meaſurable cloaths manie eſcaped: few which vſed this order (after it was found out) died of that ſweat. Marie one point diligentlie aboue all other in this cure is to be obſerued, that he neuer did put his hand or feet out of the bed to refreſh or coole himſelfe, which to doo is no leſſe ieopardie than ſhort and preſent death. Thus this diſeaſe comming in the firſt yeare of king Henries reigne, was iudged (of ſome) to be a token and ſigne of a troublous reigne of the ſame king, as the proofe partlie afterwards ſhewed it ſelfe.

The king requeſted a preſt of ſix thouſand markes.

The king ſtanding in need of monie to diſcharge ſuch debts, and to mainteine ſuch port as was behouefull, ſent the lord treaſuror with maiſter Reginald Braie, and others, vnto the lord maior of London, requiring of the citie a preſt of ſix thouſand marks. Whervpon the ſaid lord maior and his brethren, with the commons of the citie, granted a preſt of two thouſand pounds, which was leuied of the companies, and not of the wards: and in the yeare next inſuing, it was well and trulie againe repaid euerie penie, to the good contentation and ſatiſfieng of them that diſburſed it. The king conſidering that the ſuertie of his roiall eſtate and defenſe of the realme conſiſted cheefelie in good lawes and ordinances to be had and obſerued among his people, ſummoned eftſoones his high court of parlement, therein to deuiſe and eſtabliſh ſome profitable acts and ſtatutes, for the wealth and commoditie of his people.

A parlement ſummoned & new lawes for the commonwealth enacted.

The king goeth into the North.

After this, hauing ſet things in quiet about London, he tooke his iournie into the North parts, there to purge all the dregs of malicious treſon that might reſt in the hearts of vnquiet perſons, and namelie in Yorkeſhire, where the people bare more fauour vnto king Richard in his life time, than thoſe of anie other part of the realme had commonlie doone. He kept the feaſt of Eaſter at Lincolne; where he was certified that the lord Louell and Humfrie Stafford, and Thomas Stafford, his brother, were departed out of the ſanctuarie at Colcheſter, to what place or whither, no man as yet could tell. The king little regarding the matter, kept on his iournie, and came to Yorke, where as ſoone as he was once ſetled, it was openlie ſhewed and declared for a truth to the king himſelfe, that Francis lord Louell was at hand with a ſtrong and mightie power of men, and would with all diligence inuade the citie.

A rebellion made by the lord Louell and others.

Humfrie Stafford. Thomas Stafford.

It was alſo told him, that the forenamed Staffords were in Worceſterſhire, and had raiſed a great band of the countrie people and commons there, and had caſt lots what part ſhould aſſault the gates, what men ſhould ſcale the wals of the citie of Worceſter, and who ſhould let the paſſages for letting of reſcues and aiders. The king could not beleeue this report to be true at the firſt, but after that, by letters of credence ſent from his freends, he was fullie perſuaded that it was too true, he was put in no ſmall feare, and not without great cauſe. For he wiſelie conſidered, that he neither had anie competent armie readie, nor conuenient furniture to arme them that were preſent; and alſo he was in ſuch place, where he could not aſſemble anie power, but of thoſe whome he ſore miſtruſted, as freends to them that were moſt his enimies; the memorie of king Richard as yet being not amongſt them forgotten nor worne out of mind.

The duke of Bedford againſt the lord Louell in armes.

But bicauſe the matter required quicke expedition, he appointed the duke of Bedford with three thouſand men not altogither the beſt armed (for their breſt plates for the moſt part were of tanned leather) to march forth againſt the lord Louell, and to ſet vpon him without anie lingering of time. The duke haſting forward, approched to the campe of his enimies, & before he would aſſaile them, he cauſed the heralds to make proclamation, that all thoſe that would depart from their armour, and ſubmit themſelues as ſubiects vnto their naturall prince and ſoucreigne lord, ſhould be pardoned of all former offenſes. The lord Louell vpon this proclamation, either putting miſtruſt in his ſouldiers, or fearing himſelfe in his owne behalfe, fled priuilie in a night from his companie, and left them as a flocke of ſheepe without a ſheepeheard.

The lord Louell eſcapeth.

Which departure of the lord when his armie vnderſtood, it put the ſoldiours in ſuch deſpaire of atchiuing anie further enterpriſe, that they immediatlie put off their armour, and came directlie vnto the duke, euerie man humblie ſubmitting himſelfe, and deſiring pardon of his offenſes. So in this wiſe was that dangerous ſtorme and cruell rage of thoſe furious rebels appeaſed, which was doubted would haue growne to the deſtruction of manie a man. The lord Louell the procurer of this buſineſſe, eſcaping awaie got him into Lancaſhire, and there for a certeine ſpace lay lurking in ſecret with ſir Thomas Broughton knight, which in thoſe parties was a man of no ſmall authoritie and power.

Sir Humfrie Stafford taken out of Colnham ſanctuarie, and executed.

Sir Humfreie Stafford alſo, hearing what had happened to the lord Louell, in great diſpleaſure and ſorrowe, and for feare leſt his enterpriſe, and in like manner fled, and tooke ſanctuarie at Colnham, a village not paſt two miles from Abindon. But bicauſe that ſanctuarie was not a ſufficient defenſe (as was prooued before the iuſtices of the kings Bench) for traitours, he was taken from that place, & brought to the Tower, & after put to execution at Tiborne: but his brother Thomas that was with him, was pardoned, bicauſe he was thought not to haue attempted anie thing of himſelfe otherwiſe than by the euill counſell and perſuaſion of his elder brother. After that the king had quieted all theſe commotions and tumults, and reformed the rude and brabling people of the North parts, he returned to London.

Anno Reg. 2.

Abr. Fl. ex epitome Rich. Grafton.

One of the maiors officers choſen ſhiriffe of London and lord maior.

¶In this yeare Iohn Perſiuall, one of the maior of Londons officers, and his caruer, was choſen one of the ſhiriffes of London. For when the maior (as the cuſtome of London is) dooth elect one of the ſhiriffes of London for the yeare inſuing, by taking and drinking a cup of wine to ſuch a one as he luſt to name ſhiriffe; the maior for the time being, whoſe name was ſir Henrie Collet, tooke the cup of wine, and dranke vnto the aforeſaid Iohn Perſiuall his caruer ſtanding bareheaded before him, and waiting vpon his boord, and called him ſhiriffe of London for the yeare inſuing: and forthwith the ſaid maior cauſed the ſame Perſiuall to ſit downe at his owne table, and to couer his head. And the ſame Perſiuall tooke vpon him the office of ſhirialtie, and after was maior of London, and was made knight.]

In this meane time, of a ſmall matter, and the ſame altogither falſe and fained, there was an open path made and beaten forth, for a greater inconuenience to inſue. The which matter might ſeeme verie ſtrange, how ſuch trouble and miſcheefe ſhould grow thereof, if the time were not conſidered, in which it happened. For in thoſe daies manie perſons, either borne in the wombe of continuall diſſention, or nouriſhed with the milke of ciuill ſedition, could not forbeare their vſuall cuſtome of mouing ſtrife, and ſowing debate, euer glad to haue anie occaſion, though neuer ſo ſmall, to ſtirre vprores of warre, and ſlaughter of people. Which men if they knew (a matter of weightie conceipt) the hurts thereof, they would be as earneſt in ſeeking after peace as they are greedie in purſuit of warre, ſpeciallie ciuill warre: but the cauſe whie they are defectiue therein, is the want of meekeneſſe and humilitie, as the wiſeman ſaith:

Mite cor horribili ſeditione vacat.

Sir Richard Simond a fraudulent preeſt.

Lambert Simenell the counterfeit earle of Warwike.

Amongſt other ſuch monſters and limmes of the diuell, there was one ſir Richard Simond preeſt, a man of baſe birth, and yet well learned, but not ſo learned as wilie, nor ſo wilie as vngratious, delighting in fraud & deceit, euen from his youth. He had a ſcholer called Lambert Simenell, one of a gentle nature and pregnant wit, to be the organe and cheefe inſtrument, by the which he might conueie and bring to paſſe his miſcheeuous attempt. The diuell cheefe maſter of ſuch practiſes, put in the venemous braine of this diſloiall and traitorous preeſt, to deuiſe how he might make his ſcholer the foreſaid Lambert to be reputed as right inheritour to the crowne of this realme: namelie, for that the fame went that king Edwards children were not dead, but fled ſecretlie into ſome ſtrange place, and there to be liuing: and that Edward earle of Warwike, ſonne and heire to the duke of Clarence, either was, or ſhortlie ſhould be put to death.

Theſe rumors though they ſeemed not to be grounded of anie likelihood to the wiſer ſort of men, yet incouraged this peeuiſh prieſt to thinke the time come, that his ſcholer Lambert might take vpon him the perſon and name of one of king Edwards children. And herevpon at Oxford, where their abiding was, the ſaid preeſt inſtructed his pupill both with princelie behauiour, ciuill maners, and good literature, declaring to him of what linage he ſhould affirme himſelfe to be deſcended, and omitted nothing that might ſerue for his purpoſe. Soone after, the rumor was blowne abroad, that the earle of Warwike was broken out of priſon. And when the preeſt ſir Richard Simond heard of this, he ſtreight intended now by that occaſion to bring his inuented purpoſe to paſſe, and changing the childes name of baptiſme, called him Edward, after the name of the yoong earle of Warwike, the which were both of like yeares, and of like ſtature.

Thomas Gerardine chancellor of Ireland interteineth the counterfeit earle verie honorablie.

Then he with his ſcholer ſailed into Ireland, where he ſo ſet forth the matter vnto the nobilitie of that countrie, that not onelie the lord Thomas Gerardine chancellor of that land deceiued through his craftie tale, receiued the counterfeit earle into his caſtell with all honour and reuerence; but alſo manie other noble men determined to aid him (with all their powers) as one deſcended of the bloud roiall, and lineallie come of the houſe of Yorke, which the Iriſh people euermore highlie fauoured, honoured, and loued aboue all other. By this meanes euerie man throughout all Ireland was willing and readie to take his part, and to ſubmit themſelues to him; alreadie reputing and calling him of all hands king. So that now they of this ſect (by the aduiſe of the preeſt) ſent into England certeine priuie meſſengers to get freends heere.

Margaret ducheſſe of Burgognie ſiſter to king Edward the fourth, hir malicious mind to Lancaſter houſe.

Alſo they ſent into Flanders to the ladie Margaret, ſiſter to king Edward, & late wife to Charles duke of Burgognie, to purchaſe aid and helpe at hir hands. This ladie Margaret bare no ſmall rule in the low countries, and in verie deed ſore grudged in hir heart, that king Henrie (being deſcended of the houſe of Lancaſter) ſhould reigne and gouerne the realme of England: and therefore, though ſhe well vnderſtood that this was but a coloured matter; yet to worke hir malicious intention againſt king Henrie, ſhe was glad to haue ſo fit an occaſion: and therefore promiſed the meſſengers all the aid that ſhe ſhould be able to make in furtherance of the quarell; and alſo to procure all the freends ſhe could in other places, to be aiders and partakers of the ſame conſpiracie.

A generall pardon excepting no offenſe.

Order taken that the yoong earle of Warwike ſhould be ſhewed abroad.

King Henrie aduertiſed of all theſe doings, was greatlie vexed therewith: and therefore to haue good aduiſe in the matter, he called togither his councell at the Charterhouſe beſide his manor of Richmond, and there conſulted with them, by which means beſt this begun conſpiracie might be appeaſed and diſappointed without more diſturbance. It was therefore determined, that a generall pardon ſhould be publiſhed to all offendors that were content to receiue the ſame. This pardon was ſo freelie granted, that no offenſe was excepted, no not ſo much as high treaſon committed againſt the kings roiall perſon. It was further agreed in the ſame councell for the time then preſent, that the earle of Warwike ſhould perſonallie be ſhewed abroad in the citie, and other publike places: whereby the vntrue report falſelie ſpred abroad, that he ſhould be in Ireland, might be among the communaltie proued and knowne for a vaine imagined lie.

Ladie Elizabeth late wife to king Edward the fourth, adiudged to forfeit all hir lands, for promiſe-breaking.

In this ſolemne councell, diuerſe & manie things for the wealth of the realme were debated and concluded. And among other it was determined, that the ladie Elizabeth wife to king Edward the fourth, ſhould looſe and forfeit all hir lands and poſſeſſions, bicauſe ſhe had voluntarilie ſubmitted hir ſelfe and hir daughters wholie to the hands of king Richard, contrarie to hir promiſe made to the lords and nobles of this realme in the beginning of the conſpiracie made againſt king Richard, whereby ſhe did inough to haue quailed all the purpoſe of them that ioined with hir in that matter. But though hir fault was greeuous, yet was it iudged by ſome men that ſhe deſerued not by equitie of iuſtice ſo great a loſſe and puniſhment. Howbeit, this iudgement was altogither affectionate and parciall in hir behalfe; beſides that it was reaſonable in great meaſure (all circumſtances conſidered) for ſhe was not lightlie induced to doo as ſhe did, neither ſtood it with the frailtie of a woman to withſtand the temptations of a mightie man, or rather a reaching tyrant.

Queenes colledge in Cambridge founded by the ladie Elizabeth king Edward the fourth his wife.

But ſuch was hir chance by hir lightneſſe and inconſtancie, that ſhe wan the diſpleaſure of manie men, and for that cauſe liued after in the abbeie of Bermondſeie beſide Southwarke a wretched and a miſerable life, where not manie yeares after ſhe deceaſſed, and is buried with hir huſband at Windſore. Though fortune thus ruleth manie things at hir pleſure, yet one worke that this queene accompliſhed cannot be forgotten; for in the life time of hir huſband king Edward the fourth, ſhe founded and erected a notable colledge in the vniuerſitie of Cambridge, for the finding of ſcholers and ſtudents of the ſame vniuerſitie, and endowed it with ſufficient poſſeſſions for the long maintenance of the ſame, which at this daie is called the Queenes colledge.

When all things in this counſell were ſagelie concluded and agreed to the kings mind, he returned to London; giuing in commandement, that the next ſundaie inſuing, Edward the yoong earle of Warwike

Edward the right earle of Warwike ſhewed openlie in proceſſion.

wike ſhould be brought from the Tower through the moſt publike ſtreets in all London, to the cathedrall church of ſaint Paule, where he went openlie in proceſſion, that euerie man might ſée him, hauing communication with manie noble men, and with them eſpeciallie that were ſuſpected to be partakers of the late begun conſpiracie; that they might perceiue how the Iriſhmen vpon a vaine ſhadowe mooued warre againſt the king and his realme. But this medicine little auailed euill diſpoſed perſons. For the earle of Lincolne ſonne to Iohn de la Poole duke of Suffolke, and Elizabeth ſiſter to king Edward the fourth, thought it not méet to neglect and omit ſo readie an occaſion of new trouble.

An ill matter followed to the prooſe.

Wherefore they determined to vphold the enterpriſe of the Iriſhmen, and other complices of this conſpiracie: ſo that conſulting with ſir Thomas Broughton, and certeine other of his moſt truſtie freends, he purpoſed to ſaile into Flanders to his aunt the ladie Margaret ducheſſe of Burgognie, truſting by hir helpe to make a puiſſant armie, and to ioine with the companions of the new raiſed ſedition. Therefore after the diſſolution of the parlement which then was holden, he fled ſecretlie into Flanders vnto the ſaid ladie Margaret; where Francis lord Louell landed certeine daies before. Héere after long conſultation had how to proceed in their buſineſſe, it was agreed, that the earle of Lincolne, and the lord Louell ſhould go into Ireland; and there to attend vpon the ducheſſe hir counterfeit nephue, and to honor him as a king, and with the power of the Iriſhmen to bring him into England.

The earle of Lincolnes flight into Flanders doubted of king Henrie.

Now they concluded, that if their dooings had ſucceſſe, then the foreſaid Lambert (miſnamed the earle of Warwike) ſhould by conſent of the councell be depoſed, and Edward the true earle of Warwike deliuered out of priſon and annointed king. King Henrie ſuppoſing that no man would haue béene ſo mad as to haue attempted anie further enterpriſe in the name of that new found & counterfeit earle, he onelie ſtudied how to ſubdue the ſeditious conſpiracie of the Iriſhmen. But hearing that the earle of Lincolne was fled into Flanders, he was ſomwhat mooued therewith, and cauſed ſoldiors to be put in a readineſſe out of euerie part of his realme, and to bring them into one place aſſigned, that when his aduerſaries ſhould appeare, he might ſuddenlie ſet vpon them, vanquiſh and ouercome them.

The marques Dorſet committed to the Tower.

1487

Thus diſpoſing things for his ſuertie, he went towards S. Edmunds burie, and being certified that the marqueſſe Dorſet was comming towards his maieſtie, to excuſe himſelfe of things that he was ſuſpected to haue doone when he was in France, he ſent the earle of Oxford to arreſt the ſaid marqueſſe by the waie, and to conueie him to the Tower of London, there to remaine till his truth might be tried. From thence the K. went forth to Norwich, and tarrieng there Chriſtmaſſe daie, he departed after to Walſingham, where he offered to the image of our ladie, and then by Cambridge he ſhortlie returned to London. In which meane time, the earle of Lincolne had gotten togither by the aid of the ladie Margaret about two thouſand Almains, with one Martine Sward, a valiant and noble capteine to lead them.

Martin Sward a valiant capteine of ỹ Almains, aſſiſtant to the earle of Lincolne.

The counterfeit earle of Warwike with all his adherents landeth in England.

With this power the earle of Lincolne ſailed into Ireland, and at the citie of Diuelin cauſed yoong Lambert to be proclaimed and named king of England, after the moſt ſolemne faſhion, as though he were the verie heire of the bloud roiall lineallie borne and deſcended. And ſo with a great multitude of beggerlie Iriſhmen, almoſt all naked and vnarmed, ſauing ſkains and mantels, of whome the lord Thomas Gerardine was capteine and conductor, they ſailed into England with this new found king, and landed for a purpoſe at the pile of Fowdreie, within a little of Lancaſter, truſting there to find aid by the means of ſir Thomas Broughton, one of the chéefe companions of the conſpiracie.

The king had knowledge of the enimies intent before their arriuall, and therefore hauing aſſembled a great armie (ouer the which the duke of Bedford, and the earle of Oxenford were chéefe capteins) he went to Couentrie, where he was aduertiſed, that the earle of Lincolne was landed at Lancaſter with his new king. Héere he tooke aduiſe of his councellors what was beſt to be doone, whether to ſet on the enimies without further delaie, or to protract time a while. But at length it was thought beſt to delaie no time, but to giue them battell, before they ſhould increaſe their power, and thervpon he remooued to Notingham, & there by a little wood called Bowres, he pitched his field.

K. Henries power ſoone increaſed.

The earle of Lincolne entreth Yorkeſhire.

Shortlie after this came to him the lord George Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, the lord Strange, ſir Iohn Cheinie, right valiant capteins, with manie other noble and expert men of warre, namelie of the countries neere adioining; ſo that the kings armie was woonderfullie increaſed. In this ſpace the earle of Lincolne being entered into Yorkeſhire, paſſed ſoftlie on his iournie without ſpoiling or hurting of anie man, truſting thereby to haue ſome companie of people reſort vnto him. But after he perceiued few or none to follow him, and that it was too late now to returne backe, he determined to trie the matter by dint of ſword, and herevpon directed his waie from Yorke to Newarke vpon Trent.

The battell of Stoke.

But before he came there, king Henrie knowing all his enimies purpoſes, came the night before the daie of the battell to Newarke; and tarrieng there a little, went thrée miles further, and pitching his field, lodged there that night. The earle of Lincolne certified of his comming, was nothing abaſhed, but kept ſtill on his iournie; and at a little village called Stoke, nigh to the king and his armie, ſet downe his campe. The next daie the king diuided his whole power into thrée battels, and after in good arraie approached nigh to the towne of Stoke. The earle likewiſe ſet forth his armie, and incountring with the kings people in a faire plaine there, meet for the triall of ſuch a conflict, ſet vpon them with a manlie courage, deſiring his ſoldiors to remember his honour and their owne liues.

The armies ioine.

Martine Sward a péerleſſe warrior.

Then both the armies ioined and fought verie earneſtlie, in ſo much that the Almains, being tried and expert men of warre, were in all things, as well in ſtrength as policie, equals and matches to the Engliſhmen. But as for Martine Sward their coronell, few of the Engliſhmen, either in valiant courage, or ſtrength, and nimbleneſſe of bodie was to him comparable. On the other ſide, the Iriſhmen, although they fought manfullie, and ſtucke to it valiantlie; yet bicauſe they were (after the maner of their countrie) almoſt naked, without anie conuenable furniture of armour, they were ſtriken downe and ſlaine like dull & brute beaſts, which was a great diſcouragement to the reſidue of the companie. Thus they fought for a ſpace ſo ſore and ſo egerlie on both parts, that no man could well iudge to whome the victorie was like to incline.

The kings power ouercommeth.

But at length the kings fore-ward being full of people, and well fortified with wings, which onelie both began and continued the fight, ſet vpon the aduerſaries with ſuch force and violence, that firſt they oppreſſed and killed ſuch capiteins, one by one, as reſiſted their might and puiſſance: and after that, put all the other to flight, the which were either apprehended as priſoners in their running awaie, or elſe ſlaine and brought vnto confuſion in a ſmall moment. Now when this battell was ended, and fought out to the extremitie, then it well appeared, what high proweſſe, what manfull ſtomachs, what hardie and couragious hearts reſted in the kings aduerſaries. For there the cheefe capteins, the earle of Lincolne, and the lord Louell, ſir Thomas Broughton, Martine Sward, and the lord Gerardine capteine of the Iriſhmen were ſlaine, and found dead in the verie places which they had choſen aliue to fight in, not giuing one foot of ground to their aduerſaries.

All the capteins of the aduerſe part againſt the king ſlaine.

Howbeit ſome affirme, that the lord Louell tooke his horſſe, and would haue fled ouer Trent, but was not able to recouer the further ſide for the highneſſe of the banke, and ſo was drowned in the riuer. There were killed at that battell, with their fiue capteins before reherſed, of that partie about foure thouſand. Of the kings part there were not halfe of them which fought in the fore-ward, and gaue the onſet ſlaine or hurt. Then was Lambert the yoongling, which was falſlie reported to be the ſonne of the duke of Clarence, and his maiſter ſir Richard Simond prieſt both taken, but neither of them put to death; bicauſe that Lambert was but an innocent, and of yeares inſufficient of himſelfe to doo any ſuch enterpriſe; and the other was pardoned of life, bicauſe he was a prieſt, and annointed man; but yet was committed to perpetuall priſon.

The number of the ſlaine that were againſt the king.

Lambert and his maiſter Simond takē.

Lambert was at length made one of the kings falconers, after that he had béene a turnebroch for a ſpace in the kings kitchen. This battell was fought on a ſaturdaie being the ſixteenth daie of Iune, in this ſecond yeere of his reigne. In this yéere died Thomas Bourchier archbiſhop of Canturburie: and Iohn Morton biſhop of Elie, a man of excellent learning, vertue and policie, ſucceeded in his place, whom Alexander pope of Rome, the ſixt of that name, created a cardinall, and the king created him alſo chancellor of England. Of which pope (hauing ſo conuenient a place to ſpeake) it were a fault to omit the ambition, accompanied with other diſorders vnbeſéeming a ſucceſſor of Peter (but neither perſonallie nor locallie) as all the brood of them brag of themſelues, & will be intituled with a primaſie, vſurped.

Morton biſhop of Elie made archbiſhop of Canturburie and chancellor of England.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag 4, 5.

Creation of pope Alexander the ſixt, Otherwiſe called Roderike Borgia borne at Venice.

¶ This Alexander the ſixt pope of that name, was ſometime an ancient cardinall, and one of the greateſt in all the court of Rome. One meane that raiſed him to the ſeat of the pope, was the difference betweene the cardinals Aſcanius Sforce, and Iulian S. Petri ad Vincula: but the chiefeſt thing that accompliſhed his election, was, that with a new example for that time, he bought by the conſent and knowledge of euerie one, partlie for monie, and partlie with promiſes of offices and great dignities, manie voices of the cardinals, who reiecting the inſtruction of the goſpell, were not aſhamed to paſſe to him by ſale, an authoritie and power to make merchandize of the holie treſures, & that with the name of the celeſtiall authoritie in the moſt high part of the temple.

Corruption of Cardinals in the election of the pope.

To which abhominable & too too prophane negotiation manie of them were induced by the cardinall Aſcanius, but that was not more with perſuaſions and ſutes, than with his example: for that being corrupted with the infinit deſire of riches, he made the pope promiſe him for his hire and recompenſe of ſo great wickedneſſe, the office of vicechancellorſhip (the principalleſt place in the court of Rome) togither with benefices, caſtels, and his palace of Rome full of mooueables of great valour. But the pope for all this could not auoid; neither for the time to come, the iudgment and iuſtice of God; nor for the preſent, the infamie and iuſt hate of men, in whom for this election was no ſmall impreſſions of aſtoniſhment and horror, not onelie for that it was intangled with meanes diſhoneſt, but alſo bicauſe the natures and conditions of the man choſen, were (for the greateſt part) knowen to manie.

Manie ſentences and coniectures were made of his ſucceſſe. And amongſt other, Ferdinand king of Naples, diſſembling openlie the griefe he had of that election, ſignified to the quéene his wife with teares (which he was woont to forbeare euen in the death of his children) that there was created a pope who wold be moſt hurtfull to Italie, and the whole common weale of chriſtendome. A iudgement not vnworthie of the wiſedome of ſuch a prince: for that in Alexander the ſixt (for ſo would this new pope be called) was a ſubtiltie, ſharpeneſſe, and expedition of wit moſt ſingular, a counſell excellent, a woonderfull efficacie in perſuaſion, and in all great affaires a iudgement and care incredible. But theſe vertues were maruellouſlie defaced by his vices, for touching his maners and cuſtomes, they were verie diſhoneſt, in his adminiſtrations he expreſſed little ſinceritie, in his countenance no ſhame, in his words ſmall truth, in his heart little faith, and in his opinion leſſe religion. Of the contrarie, all his actions were defiled with an inſatiable couetouſneſſe, and immoderate ambition, a barbarous crueltie, and a burning deſire to raiſe and make great (by what meanes ſoeuer) his children, who were manie in number; and amongſt others, one no leſſe deteſtable than the father, to whoſe curſed counſels he became a wicked inſtrument. Thus much (by waie of digreſſion) of Alexander, a pope (as you heare) well qualified, and therefore forward enough to creat cardinals both in England and elſewhere of like diſpoſition. But to returne to the ſtorie.]

Pope Alexander the ſixt corrupted with manie vices.

After that the king had got the vpper hand of his enimies, he remooued to Lincolne, and there taried thrée dais, cauſing euerie of the ſame daies ſolemne proceſſions to be made in rendering thanks to God for his fortunate victorie. Then cauſed he execution to be done, of ſuch rebels & traitors as were taken in the field, either at the battell, or in the chaſe. And ſhortlie after he went into Yorkſhire, & there coaſted the countrie ouerthwart, ſearching out ſuch as had aided his enimies, and were thought to be ſeditious perſons, whome he puniſhed, ſome by impriſonment, ſome by fines, and ſome by death: according to the qualitie of their offenſes, and as was thought moſt expedient [not by extremitie of rigor inclining to tyrannie, but by due moderation of iuſtice tempering execution with clemencie; according to the good rule of iuſtice preſcribed by the wiſe mans, ſaieng:

Thanks giuen to God after victorie.

Execution vpon the offendors.

Sobria commiſſum plectat clementia crimen,
Parua negat pœnam culpa ſubire grauem.]

Gu. Ha. in eccle. cap. 10.

Anno. Reg. 3.

About the middeſt of Auguſt entering into the third yere of his reigne, he came to Newcaſtell vpon Tine, and from thence ſent in ambaſſage into Scotland Richard Fox, latelie before made biſhop of Exceſter, and with him Richard Edgecombe knight, controller of his houſe, to conclude ſome peace or truce with king Iames of Scotland. The Engliſh ambaſſadors were honorablie receiued, and louinglie interteined of the ſaid king, who gladlie would haue concluded a perpetuall peace with the king of England, if he might haue bene licenced ſo to haue doone: but his people being ſtedfaſt in their old accuſtomed vſage, would not agrée to anie peace, but yet were contented to gratifie their king, that he ſhould take truce with England for the tearme of ſeuen yeares, which was concluded.

Fox biſhop of Exceſter ſent ambaſſador into Scotland.

A truce with Scotland for ſeuen yeares.

Then was ſecret promiſe made by king Iames, that he would not onlie obſerue peace, & continue in perfect amitie with the king of England during his life, but alſo would renew againe this truce new taken for other ſeuen yeers, before the firſt ſeuen yeers were fullie expired. The king of Scots indéed was as deſirous of the king of Englands friendſhip, as the king of England was of his: bicauſe that his ſubiects bare him much euill will, miſliking with all things that either he could doo or ſaie. [So that his regiment was no longer liked, than they were in a good mood, which was when they were well minded; and that was neuer: for that if by gentleneſſe he allured them, they eſteemed him a flatterer; if by ſeueritie, a tyrant. And therefore it ſtood him vpon to ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt ſuch a people, of whoſe pleaſure & diſpleaſure depended his eſtate.]

King Henrie returneth out of the north countrie.

K. Henrie after the returne of his ambaſſadors out of Scotland, came from Newcaſtell to Yorke, and ſo toward London, and in the way being at Leiceſter, there came to him ambaſſadors from Charles the French king, which declared both the recouerie of certeine townes out of the hands of Maximilian king of Romans, which he had wrongfullie deteined from the crowne of France before that time; and alſo that their maiſter king Charles had now wars in hand againſt Francis duke of Britaine, bicauſe that he ſuccoured and mainteined diuers noble men, as the duke of Orleance and others, that were rebels and traitors, againſt him and the realme of France. Wherefore his requeſt was, that for the old familiaritie that had bene betwixt them, he would either aſſiſt and helpe him, or elſe ſtand neuter betwixt them, neither helping nor yet hurting the one nor the other.

The French kings requeſt for aid againſt Frãcis duke of Britaine.

Vpon good and deliberate aduiſe taken in this matter, bicauſe it was iudged weightie, the king for anſwer told the French ambaſſadors, that he would neither ſpare paine nor coſt, to ſet ſome reaſonable ſtaie betwixt their ſoueraigne lord king Charles, and the duke of Britaine: ſo that a finall end and ſome perfect concluſion of friendſhip might be had betwixt them. And ſo as ſoone as the French ambaſſadors were returned home, the king ſent his chapleine Chriſtopher Vrſwike ouer into France to king Charles, as well to ſhew that he was glad of the victorie which he had againſt Maximilian; as to declare what a tempeſtuous ſtorme of ciuill rebellion himſelfe had eſcaped & ouercome heere in England.

King Henries offer to make an attonement betwixt the French king and the duke.

But the chiefeſt point of Vrſwikes errand conſiſted in this, that he ſhould intimate to the French king, how his maiſter king Henrie offered himſelfe as a mediator betwixt him and the duke of Britaine, to make them friends: and if he perceiued that the French king gaue eare hereunto, then ſhould he go into Britaine, to mooue the duke there to be contented, that ſome reaſonable order might be taken for a quietneſſe to be had betwixt the French king and him. Whileſt Vrſwike was trauelling in this matter (according to his commiſſion) the king came backe againe to London, where he was receiued of the citizens with great ioy and triumph, they being heartilie glad and greatlie reioiſing that he with ſuch good ſucceſſe had ſubdued his enimies.

Chriſtopher Vrſwike.

The marques Dorſet deliuered out of the Tower.

The kings loue to his wife queene Elizabeth.

Shortlie after, he deliuered the lord Thomas marques Dorſet out of the Tower, receiuing him againe to his former fauor and old familiaritie: bicauſe his truth and loialtie by diuers aſſaies and ſundrie arguments had beene throughlie tried, and ſufficientlie prooued. In which meane time, the king for the great loue that he bare to his wife queene Elizabeth, cauſed hir to be crowned and anointed queene on ſaint Katharins day in Nouember, with all ſolemnitie, as in ſuch caſes apperteineth. In the meane ſeaſon Chriſtopher Vrſwike (according to his commiſſion) trauelled betweene the French king and the duke of Britaine in the king of Englands name, to make them friends. But although the French king ſeemed willing enough to haue peace, yet meant he nothing leſſe. For he had as manie ſubtilties in his heart, as there be faces in the world, according to the poet:

Pectoribus fraudes tot ſunt quot in orbe figuræ.

For whileſt he went about with faire words, courteous letters, and ſweet promiſes to beare the king of England in hand to labour a peace betwixt him and the Britains, he inforced his whole puiſſance to ſubdue them, and beſieged the citie of Nants. And on the other part, the duke of Orleance being withdrawne to the duke of Britaine, and one that ruled moſt about him, had no liking to heare of peace, but did what he could to hinder it. The Engliſh ambaſſador Chriſtopher Vrſwike (hauing thus paſſed from the French king to the duke of Britaine, and backe againe to the French king) returned ſhortlie after into England, and ſhewed vnto king Henrie what he had doone betwixt them.

The duke of Orleance partaker with the duke of Britaine.

Immediatlie after came to the French king the lord Bernard Daubeneie a Scot borne, which on the French kings behalfe required K. Henrie to make ſome maner of end of thoſe Brittiſh warres, whatſoeuer it were. King Henrie being deſirous of the ſame, ſent ouer againe into France, Iohn the abbat of Abingdon, ſir Richard Edgecombe knight, and the forenamed Chriſtopher Vrſwike, with full and perfect commiſſion & long inſtructions how to proceed, in driuing of ſome agreement betwixt the Frenchmen and the Britons. Theſe orators (according as they had in commandement) firſt went vnto the French king, and after they had communed with him, ſir Richard Edgecombe, and Chriſtopher Vrſwike departed ſtreight to the duke of Britaine, in full hope to conclude a peace, vpon ſuch offers and articles as they had to propone vnto him.

But all their hope was vaine, for the duke refuſed to agree vpon anie ſuch articles and conditions as they offered; and ſo without concluding anie thing with the duke, they returned backe into France; and from thence ſignified to the king of England by letters all that they knew, or had doone. But in the meane time, Edward lord Woduile, vncle to the queene, ſued to king Henrie that he might haue a power of men appointed to him, with the which he would ſteale priuilie ouer without licence or paſſeport, ſo that euerie man ſhould thinke that he was fled the realme, without knowledge of the king, for that no warre ſhould ariſe by his meanes betwixt the realmes of France and England, and yet ſhould the duke of Britaine be aided againſt the power of the Frenchmen, which ſought to vanquiſh him, that they might ioine his countrie vnto the dominion of France: which in no wiſe ought to be ſuffered, conſidering what annoiance & hurt the ſame might bring to the realme of England in time to come.

1488

Edward lord Woduile aideth the duke of Britaine without the kings conſent.

Although this requeſt was vtterlie denied, and that the lord Woduile was ſtreightlie commanded by the king to make no ſuch attempt; yet could not all that ſtaie him, but that withdrawing him into the Ile of Wight, whereof he was made ruler and capteine, he there gathered togither a crue of tall & hardie perſonages, to the number of 400, & with proſperous wind & weather arriued in Britaine, and ioined himſelfe with the Britons againſt the Frenchmen. The French king aduertiſed herof, was not well pleaſed in his mind towards the king of England; till K. Henrie by new meſſengers informed him how guiltleſſe he was in the matter, and that by plaine and euident proofes. With the which excuſe the French king ſeemed to be the better pacified, and was content to diſſemble the matter.

Lord Woduile gathereth a power in the Ile of Wight.

Then the Engliſh ambaſſadors, renewing the league and amitie betwixt king Henrie & the French king, for the ſpace of twelue moneths, they returned into England, and ſhewed the king all things that they had either heard or ſeene; ſo that he perceiued that the French king dealt craftilie in this matter of Britaine,

The league renewed betweene England and France.

The king calleth a parlement.

Britaine, ſtill motioning peace when he meant nothing elſe but warre. He therefore called his high court of parlement, in the which it was not onelie determined that the duke of Britaine ſhould be aided with a power of men againſt the wrongfull inuaſions of the Frenchmen, but alſo there were diuerſe ſummes of monie granted to the furniſhing forth and maintenance of the ſame. And immediatlie herevpon, the king ſent his ambaſſadors into France to certifie the French king what the eſtates aſſembled in parlement here in England had decreed.

A peremptorie ambaſſage out of England into France.

Wherefore he required him either to ſurceaſſe the warres which he had in hand againſt the Britons, or elſe not to be greeued though he condeſcended to the iudgement and determination of the lords both ſpirituall and temporall, and commons of his realme, in taking vpon him the defenſe of the duke of Britaine; promiſing neuertheleſſe that the Engliſh armie ſhould onelie take land within the duchie of Britaine, and ſeeke to defend the ſame againſt all thoſe that did inuade it, and not to make anie warre within the French dominions. This meſſage was nothing regarded of the French king, in ſo much that the French armie proceeded in oppreſſing the Britons, deſtroieng the countrie, and beſieging townes.

The battell of ſaint Aulbin in Britaine, betweene the duke of Britaine and the French king.

Lord Wooduile ſlaine.

At length on the ſeuen and twentith, or (as the chronicles of Anion haue) the eight and twentith daie of Iulie, the duke of Britains armie gaue battell to the French hoſt neere to a towne called ſaint Aulbin, hauing apparelled a thouſand and ſeuen hundred of the Britons in coates with red croſſes, after the Engliſh faſhion, to make the Frenchmen beleeue that they had a great number of Engliſhmen, although they had but foure hundred onelie with the lord Wooduile. The victorie in this battell fell to the Frenchmen, ſo that almoſt all the Engliſhmen were ſlaine with the lord Wooduile, beſide ſix thouſand Britons. The duke of Orleance and the prince of Orainge were taken priſoners, which were there on the Britons part. The Frenchmen loſt twelue hundred men, and amongſt other, that valiant Italian capteine Iames Galeot.

King Henrie ſendeth foorth his armie againſt the French.

Theſe newes being brought into England, cauſed king Henrie to make haſt in ſending forth his armie, and therefore was the lord Brooke, with ſir Iohn Cheinie, ſir Iohn Middleton, ſir Rafe Hilton, ſir Richard Corbet, ſir Thomas Leighton, ſir Richard Laton, and ſir Edmund Cornewall ſent ouer into Britaine with all conuenient ſpeed, hauing with them an eight thouſand men, well armed and furniſhed in warlike wiſe, to aid the duke of Britaine againſt the Frenchmen. Theſe luſtie capteins being arriued in Britaine, after they had a little refreſhed them, marched forward, and comming neere to their enimies, pitched downe their field, not farre from the Frenchmens campe.

When the French be inuincible.

Francis duke of Britaine dieth.

The Frenchmen by experience knowing the Engliſhmen (ſo long as they be freſh and luſtie) in maner to be inuincible, thought not good to match with them in open battell, till they were ſomewhat wearied with lieng and lingering abroad in the field. And therefore at the firſt they ſought to wearie them with light ſkirmiſhes, appointing their horſſemen to giue them alarmes, & ſome ſkirmiſhes; in the which the Frenchmen, by reaſon of the Engliſh archers (which galled both men and horſſes) were euer put to the worſſe. But behold the mutabilitie of worldlie chances! Whiles this warre was thus ſet forward, Francis duke of Britaine departed this life, & then the cheefe rulers of Britain, falling at diſſention among themſelues, tendered not the defenſe of their countrie, but rather minded the deſtruction thereof.

Herevpon the Engliſhmen, perceiuing in what danger they were, and conſidering that it was in the middeſt of winter, a time not meet for men of warre to lie in the cold and froſtie fields, they returned into England, within fiue monethes after their firſt ſetting forth. So that finallie the French king got the vpper hand of the Britons, and did incorporate that duchie to his realme and crowne of France, as in the hiſtorie of France it may appeere at large. ¶ In Iulie this yeere was a preſt leuied for the king in the citie of London, of foure thouſand pounds, which was repaied the yeare next following. In September, the queene was deliuered at Wincheſter of hir firſt ſonne, named prince Arthur; and the fiue and twentith of Nouember (next inſuing) ſhe was crowned at Weſtminſter with all due ſolemnitie.

The duchie of Britaine incorporated to the realme of France.

Iohn Stow.

The birth of prince Arthur.

Anno Reg. 4.

Yee haue heard, how there was in the laſt parlement monie granted for the furniſhing forth of the armie into Britaine; that is to wit, it was agreed, that euerie man ſhould be taxed after the rate of his ſubſtance, to paie the tenth penie of his goods. Which monie the moſt part of them that dwelled in the biſhoprike of Durham, and in the parties of Yorkeſhire refuſed vtterlie to paie: either for that they thought themſelues ouercharged with the ſame; or were procured to ſhew themſelues diſobedient, thorough the euill counſell of ſome ſeditious perſons, which conſpired againſt the king, to put him to new trouble. Therefore ſuch as were appointed collectors, after that they could not get the monie, according to their extract deliuered to them by the commiſſioners, they made their complaint priuilie to Henrie the fourth earle of Northumberland, chiefe ruler of the North parts.

The collectors of the ſubſidie complaine to the earle of Northumberland that they cannot get in the tax monie.

1489

The earle forthwith ſignified to the king all that matter, and the king not willing to pardon them of anie one penie (leaſt the example might doo hurt by incouraging others to ſhew the like ſtubbornes in other parts of the realme) cõmanded the earle either by diſtreſſe or otherwiſe, to leuie the monie as he ſhould thinke moſt meet. The rude and beaſtlie people hearing of this anſwer from the king, by and by with great violence ſet vpon the earle by the exciting of a ſimple fellow named Iohn a Chamber, whome the erle with faire words ſought to appeaſe. But they like vnreaſonable villaines, alledging all the fault to be in him, as chiefe author of the tax, furiouſlie and cruellie murthered both him and diuerſe of his houſhold ſeruants. Diuerſe affirme that the Northerne men bare againſt this earle continuall grudge euer ſince the death of king Richard, whome they entirelie fauoured.

The earle of Northumberland murthered by the northerne rebels at the inſtigation and ſetting on of Iohn a Chamber.

A rebellion in the north for a tax granted by parlement.

Sir Iohn Egremond capteine rebell.

Although this offenſe was great and heinous; yet there ſucceeded a more miſchiefe: for incontinentlie (to cloke this preſumptuous murther) the Northerne men got them to armour, and aſſembling togither, choſe them a capteine, no leſſe ſeditious than deſirous of trouble, called ſir Iohn Egremond knight; and paſſing by the countries, they publiſhed and declared that they would bid the king battell onlie in defenſe of their liberties & common freedome, of the which he went about to bereaue them. But when the matter ſhould come to be tried with blowes, their harts ſo fainted that they ſcattered awaie, euerie man ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe by flight: but that little auailed them.

Thomas erle of Surrie ſent with a power againſt the north rebels.

For the king hearing of this buſineſſe, ſent forth Thomas earle of Surreie (whome not long before he had deliuered out of the Tower, and receiued to his ſpeciall fauour) with a crue of men, to chaſtiſe thoſe rebels of the north parts, who ſkirmiſhed with a certeine companie of them, and them diſcomfited, and tooke aliue Iohn a Chamber, the firſt beginner of this rebellion. The king himſelfe road after into Yorkeſhire, of whoſe comming the ſturdie rebels were ſo abaſhed and afraid, that they fled more and leſſe: which afterward were apprehended, and puni-

John a Chãber hanged like an archtraitor.

ſhed according to their demerits. Yet the king of his clemencie pardoned the innocent people, and executed the chiefe procurers. For John a Chamber was hanged at Yorke on a gibbet ſet vpon a ſquare paire of gallowes like an archtraitor, and his complices and lewd diſciples were hanged on the lower gallowes round about their maiſter, to the terrible example of other.

Sir John Egremond flieth into Flanders.

The king borroweth a gret ſumme of monie of the chãber of Londõ.

But ſir John Egremond fled into Flanders to the ladie Margaret ducheſſe of Burgognie, that euer enuied the proſperitie of king Henrie. After this the king returned to London, leauing the earle of Surreie to rule the north parts, and appointed ſir Richard Tunſtall, a man of great wit and policie, to gather the ſubſidie to him due of the people. This yeare the king borrowed of euerie alderman of London two hundred pounds, and of the Chamber nine thouſand eightie two pounds ſeuenteene ſhillings foure pence; which he repaied againe to the vttermoſt, with great equitie and thankefulnes. [A vertue verie laudable in this good king, and ſo much the more noteworthie as it is rare; ſpeciallie in mightie men and great eſtates of the world, that count what ſoeuer they can catch their owne, as though the purſſes of the people were theirs to poſſeſſe at pleaſure & vſe at luſt, without conſcience or care of reſtitution. Which foule fault Eccleſiaſticus noteth (affirming that all is loſt that is lent them) in expreſſe words, ſaieng:

Gu. Ha. in Eccle, cap. 8.

Reddere magnates nolunt, quæ mutua ſumunt,
Mutua quæ trades interijſſe ſcias.]

A rebellion in Flanders.

Maximilian king of Romans impriſoned at Bruges by the townesmen.

In this ſeaſon, the emperour Frederike made warre againſt the Flemings, namelie againſt Bruges and certeine townes of Flanders, which had rebelled againſt his ſonne Maximilian king of Romans, their liege and ſouereigne lord; in ſo much that they of Bruges had not onelie ſlaine his officers but impriſoned him within their towne, till they had cauſed him to pardon all their offenſes, and alſo to ſweare neuer to remember, nor reuenge the ſame in time to come. But his father Frederike the emperour could not ſuffer ſuch a reproch & diſhonour doone to his ſonne (whoſe fame & princelie eſtate as he tendered and had in geloſie; ſo was it his hart greefe and immoderat vexation that he ſhould be abuſed of open contemners, in ſuch villanous ſort as tended highlie to the indignitie of his perſon, and the aggrauating of their offenſe and puniſhment) to paſſe vnreuenged, & therefore ſcourged the countrie of Flanders with ſharpe and cruell warre.

The lord of Rauenſteine being driuen to take the ſame oth, that his maſter Maximilian tooke at Bruges, to ſhew that the warre was not begun with his aſſent, forſooke Maximilian his lord, and tooke the townes of Ipre and Sluis, with both the caſtels of the ſame hauen, and further did not onelie ſtir the Gantois, Brugeans, and other towns of Flanders, to rebell againſt their ſouereigne lord; but alſo ſent to the French kings lieutenant in Picardie, the lord Cordes, to aid him to conquer ſuch townes of Flanders, as were not of his opinion. The lord Cordes, otherwiſe called monſieur de Querdes, was glad to haue ſo good occaſion to ſet foot in Flanders, as he that had ſufficient inſtructions of his maiſter the French king, vpon anie ſuch offred occaſion ſo to doo, ſent forthwith to the aid of the Flemings eight thouſand Frenchmen, commanding them to conquer ſuch townes, as were in the waie betwixt France and Bruges.

The lord Cordes maketh aduantage of occaſion.

The capteins, according to his deuiſe, beſieged a little walled towne called Dixmew, to whome came foure thouſand Flemings with vittels and artillerie, ſent from the lord of Rauenſtein. They laid ſiege on the north ſide of the towne, in a mariſh ground then being drie, and ſo deepelie ditched and rampired their campe about (on which rampire they laid their ordinance) that it was in maner impoſſible to enter their campe, or doo them anie diſpleaſure or damage. The K. of England was dailie aduertiſed of theſe doings, which nothing leſſe deſired than to haue the Engliſh pale inuironed with French fortreſſes. Wherefore to preuent that miſchiefe in time, with all expedition he ſent ouer to the lord Daubeneie, then his deputie of Calis, the lord Morleie, with a crue of valiant archers & ſouldiers, to the number of a thouſand men, with priuie inſtructions what they ſhould doo.

King Henrie ſendeth the lord Daubeneie and the lord Morleie againſt the French.

At their comming ouer it was bruted abroad, that they were ſent onelie to defend the Engliſh pale, againſt all attempts that might vpon the ſudden in anie wiſe be made by the Frenchmen, or Flemings: but their enterpriſe was all otherwiſe. For on a tueſdaie at the ſhutting of the gates at night, the lord Daubneie chiefeteine of the armie, the lord Morleie, ſir James Tirrell capteine of Guiſnes, ſir Henrie Willoughbie, ſir Gilbert Talbot, and ſir Humfreie Talbot marſhall of Calis, with diuerſe other knights, and eſquiers, and other of the gariſons of Hammes, Guiſnes, and Calis, to the number of two thouſand men or thereabouts, iſſued priuilie out of Calis, & paſſed the water of Graueling in the morning betimes; and left there for a ſtale, and to keepe the paſſage, ſir Humfreie Talbot, with ſix ſcore archers, and came to Newport, where they found the ſouereigne of Flanders with ſix hundred Almaines, and there they ſtaied that night.

Sir Humfreie Talbot with his ſix ſcore archers.

The good ſeruice of a wretch that ſhould haue beene hanged

On the next daie they went toward Dixmew, and by the guiding of a priſoner, that ſhould haue beene hanged on the next morning, they iſſued out of the ſouth gate of the towne of Dixmew, and were conueied by their ſaid guide by an high banke ſet with willowes; ſo that the Gantois could not well eſpie them, and ſo ſecretlie gat to the end of their enimies campe, and there pauſed. The lord Daubeneie commanded all men to ſend their horſſes and wagons backe, but the lord Morleie ſaid he would ride till he came to hand ſtrokes. Thus they marched forth till they came to a low banke, and no deepe ditch, where the ordinance laie; and there the archers ſhot altogither, euerie man an arrow, and ſo fell proſtrate to the ground. The enimies herewith diſcharged their ordinance, and ouerſhot them.

A policie.

The Almains lept ouer the ditch with their morice pikes. The Engliſhmen in the fore-front waded the ditch, and were holpen vp by the Almains, and ſet on their enimies, and tooke manie priſoners. The other Engliſhmen haſted by the cauſie to enter in at the north gate of the campe, where the lord Morleie being on horſſebacke in a rich coate, was ſlaine with a gun. When his death was knowen, euerie man killed his priſoner, and ſlue all ſuch as did withſtand them, to the number of eight thouſand men; in ſo much that of two thouſand that came out of Bruges (as the Flemiſh chronicle reporteth) there came not home one hundred. On the Engliſh part was ſlaine the lord Morleie, and not an hundred more.

The lord Morleie ſlaine.

The number of the ſlaine on both parts.

The Engliſhmen tooke their ordinance and ſent it to Newport, with all the ſpoile and great horſſes. And by the waie hearing certeine Frenchmen to be at Oſtend, they made thitherward: but the Frenchmen fled, and ſo they burned part of the towne, and came againe to Newport, where the lord Daubeneie left all the Engliſhmen that were hurt and returned to Calis, where he buried the bodie of the lord Morleie. The Engliſhmen got great riches at this field, for they that went forth in cloth, came home in ſilke, and thoſe that went out on foot, came home on great horſſes. The lord Cordes being at Ipre with twentie thouſand men, was ſore diſpleaſed with this ouerthrow; & therefore thinking to be reuenged, beſieged

The Engliſh ſouldiers enriched.

the

Newport beſieged by the Frenchmen.

towne of Newport right ſtronglie, and ſhot dailie at the wals, breaking them in manie places.

Engliſh archers.

But the Engliſhmen that were hurt at Dixmew field before, and might either ſtand or draw bowe, neuer came from the wals. On a daie the Frenchmen gaue a great aſſault to a tower, and perforce entered it, and ſet vp the banner of the lord Cordes. But ſée the chance! During the time of the aſſault, there arriued a barke with foure ſcore freſh Engliſh archers, which came ſtreight to the tower, and did ſo much, that what with the helpe of ſuch as before were wounded and hurtmen, and of the couragious harts of the new come archers incouraged greatlie by the women of the towne, crieng; Shoot Engliſhmen, ſhoot: the tower was regained out of the Frenchmens hands, and the banner of the lord Cordes rent in péeces, and in place thereof the penon of ſaint George ſet vp. Then the Frenchmen, ſuppoſing a great aid of Engliſhmen to haue béene come to the towne by ſea, left the aſſault.

The malicious and foliſh words of the lord Cordes.

James king of Scots ſlaine by his owne ſubiects.

And the night following, the enuious lord Cordes (which ſo ſore longed for Calis, that he would commonlie ſaie, that he could be content to lie ſeuen yeares in hell, ſo that Calis were in poſſeſſion of the Frenchmen) brake vp his ſiege, and returned to Helding with ſhame. And the Engliſhmen glad of this victorie returned to Calis. This yeare James the third of that name king of Scots was ſlaine by his owne ſubiects, after they had vanquiſhed him in a pight field. About the ſame time one Adrian an Italian was ſent in ambaſſage from pope Innocent the eight into Scotland, to haue taken vp the variance betwixt the king there and his people. But being arriued here in England, he was informed that king James was ſlaine, and therfore taried here certeine moneths.

Adrian an Italian made biſhop of Hereford, and after of Bath and welles.

And for that he was a man of excellent learning, vertue, and humanitie, the archbiſhop of Canturburie John Morton ſo commended him to the king, that he made him firſt biſhop of Hereford, and ſhortlie after, that reſigned and giuen ouer, he promoted him to the biſhoprike of and Bath Welles. And after that with theſe honors he was returned to Rome, he was aduanced by all the degrées of ſpirituall dignities into the college of the cardinals. And worthie ſure he was of great preferment, for by his meanes, learned men were mooued to ſéeke out the vſe of eloquent writing and ſpeaking in the Latine toong, he being the firſt in the time of our fathers that taught the trade to chooſe and vſe apt words and fit termes.

1490

Anno Reg. 6.

Ambaſſadors from ẏ Frẽch king to the king of England.

In the ſixt yeare of king Henries reigne there came ambaſſadors to him from the French king the lord Francis of Lutzenburgh, Charles Marignane, and Robert Gaguine miniſter of the Bonnehommes of the trinitie. The effect of their comming was to haue concluded a peace with king Henrie, and that with good will the French king might diſpoſe of the mariage of the yoong ducheſſe of Britaine, as he ſhould thinke good; and to make void the contract and former mariage, which by proxie the deputie of Maximilian king of Romans had before time contracted & made with hir. But thereto would not king Henrie giue his conſent, euer harping on this ſtring, that the maiden being once lawfullie combined in matrimonie with Maximilian, ought not to be compelled againſt hir will and promiſe (yea and contrarie to all law, right and equitie) to take anie other perſon than him to hir ſpouſe and huſband.

K. Henrie is loth that the French king ſhould marrie the ducheſſe of Britaine.

In déed king Henrie was loth that the French king ſhould marrie the ducheſſe of Britaine himſelfe (as he perceiued his meaning was) and ſo ioine the duchie of Britaine to the crowne of France: and therefore he did what he could to hinder that bargaine. Yet at length it was agréed that a forme of a league ſhould be drawen with conditions, clauſes, and couenants. And for full concluding of the ſame, it was thought expedient, that the king of England ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to the French king to finiſh all matters betwixt them. Wherevpon the French ambaſſadors being diſmiſſed with great rewards, ſtreightwaies Thomas erle of Ormond, and Thomas Goldenſton prior of Chriſtes church in Canturburie, were appointed by the king to follow them into France, inſtructed fullie in althings that he would haue on his behalfe either moued or determined.

Lionell biſhop of Concordia ſent from the pope to the French king.

In this meane ſpace, Lionell the biſhop of Concordia was ſent as oratour from pope Alexander the ſixt to the French king for certeine matters: and amongſt other things, he had in charge to conclude a peace and vnitie betwixt the French king and the king of England. He moouing this matter to the French king, found him nothing ſtrange to incline to his motion. Wherevpon the biſhop of Concordia conceiuing good hope, and therewith deſirous (as became him beſt bearing that title) to ſet an attonement betwixt thoſe two kings, tooke his iournie towards England, to the intent he might mooue king Henrie to be agréeable therevnto, and ſo comming to Calis, found the Engliſh ambaſſadors there, being ſo farre on their waie towards the French king; and being honorablie receiued of them into that towne, after they had communed togither, the biſhop tooke the ſea, and was tranſported ouer into England, and the ambaſſadors departed towards the French king.

After the biſhop of Concordia had talked with king Henrie, and perceiued that (vpon reaſonable conditions) he could be content to conclude a peace with all chriſtian princes, and to liue in reſt after ſo manie troubles afore time ſuſteined, the ſaid biſhop returned backe into France to ſollicit this purpoſe to ſome perfect concluſion. But the Frenchmen ſo handled the matter, that whileſt they outwardlie ſhewed how they deſired nothing but fréendſhip and amitie, they allured the yoong dutcheſſe of Britaine to ſubmit hirſelfe wholie to their diſcretion, ſo that ſhortlie after ſhe was maried to king Charles. Now the Engliſh ambaſſadors, after they perceiued which waie the wind would blow, returned againe to their countrie, and nothing doone or agréed vpon in their matter.

The ducheſſe of Britaine maried to K. Charles.

A parlement wherin king Henrie openeth the iuſt cauſe of making warres againſt France.

King Henrie ſore troubled in his mind therwith, determining no more with peaceable meſſages, but with open warre to determine all controuerſies betwixt him and the French king, called his high court of parlement, and there declared the cauſe why hée was iuſtlie prouoked to make warre againſt the Frenchmen: and therefore deſired them of their beneuolent aid of men and monie toward the maintenance therof. The cauſe was ſo iuſt, that euerie man allowed it; and to the ſetting foorth of the war taken in hand for ſo neceſſarie an occaſion, euerie man promiſed his helping hand. The king commended them for their true and faithfull hearts. And to the intent that he might ſpare the poorer ſort of the commons (whome he euer deſired to kéepe in fauor) he thought good firſt to exact monie of the richeſt ſort by waie of a beneuolence.

Who firſt deuiſed the exaction of monie called a beneuolence.

Sée pag. 694.

Which kind of leuieng monie was firſt deuiſed by king Edward the fourth, as it appeareth before in his hiſtorie. King Henrie following the like example, publiſhed abroad, that by their open gifts he would meaſure and ſearch their beneuolent hearts and good minds toward him; ſo that he that gaue moſt, ſhould be iudged to be his moſt louing fréend; and he that gaue little, to be eſtéemed according to his gift. By this it appeareth, that whatſoeuer is practiſed for the princes profit, and brought to a preſident by matter of record, maie be turned to the great preiudice of the people, if rulers in authoritie will ſo adiudge and determine it. But by this means king Henrie got innumerable great ſummes of monie, with ſome grudge of the people, for the extremitie ſhewed by the commiſſioners in diuers places.

1491.

Ye haue heard before, how the lord of Rauenſtein, by the aid of Bruges & Gant, had taken the towne and two caſtels of Sluis, which he kept againſt his ſoueraigne lord Maximilian, and getting into the hauen certeine ſhips and barks, robbed, ſpoiled, & tooke priſoners the ſhips and veſſels of all nations that paſſed alongeſt by that coaſt, towards the mart at Antwerpe, or into anie part of Brabant, Zeland, or Friſeland, and was euer ſufficientlie vittelled out of France and Picardie. There was a little towne alſo two miles from Bruges towards the ſea, called Dam, which was a bulworke to Bruges, and an hedſpring to Sluis. The king of Romans had attempted the wining of this towne diuers times, but miſſed his purpoſe; till at length Albert duke of Saxonie, a great fréend to the king of Romans, by policie found meanes to get it.

Albert the duke of Saxonies policie to get the towne of Dam.

This duke feining himſelfe as a neuter betwixt the king of Romans, and the rebels of Flanders, required of the lords of Bruges, that he might enter peaceablie into their towne according to his eſtate, with a certeine number of men of armes, to communicate with them diuerſe matters of great weight, and ſent before his cariages and herbengers to make prouiſion. They of Bruges were in no doubt of him, ſo that his men of warre entered into the citie in good order, and he followed. They that went before, inquired for innes and lodgings, as though they would haue reſted there all the night, and ſo went forth ſtill in order aſking after lodgings, till they came at the gate that leadeth directlie toward Dam, diſtant from Bruges a Flemiſh mile, which is called the bulworke of Bruges.

The capteins and inhabitants of Dam ſuſpecting no harme to come out of Buges, thought their fréends (knowing ſome danger towards) had ſent them aid, and ſo nothing miſtruſting thoſe that approched their towne, ſuffered them to enter, and ſo was the towne of Dam taken by ſleight, which could not be woone by open force. This chance ſore diſpleaſed them of Bruges, for now could they haue no recourſe to the ſea; ſo that they muſt néeds fall into ruine and decaie. The duke of Saxonie thus hauing woone the towne of Dam, ſent to the king of England, that if it would pleaſe him to miniſter anie aid by ſea, hée would beſiege Sluis by land. Wherevpon the king of England, vpon due conſideration of the dukes motion (as he was wiſe enough in all his enterpriſes, and no leſſe fortunate in the iſſue of the ſame) would conclude nothing vpon the ſudden, but (as he did alwaies) ruled his affaires by good counſell, like to the wiſe man commended in the holie ſcripture:

The duke of Saxonie ſendeth for aid to king Henrie to win Sluis

Conſilio ſapiens ſemper ſua facta gubernat.

Gu. Ha. in Tob. 4.

At laſt he well remembring that Sluis was a ronſeneſt, and a verie den of théeues to them that trauerſed the ſeas towards the eaſt parts, incontinentlie diſpatched ſir Edward Poinings a right valiant knight and hardie capteine, with twelue ſhips well furniſhed with bold ſouldiers and ſufficient artillerie. Which ſir Edward ſailed into the hauen, and kept the lord of Rauenſtein from ſtarting by ſea. The Duke of Saxonie beſieged one of the caſtels, lieng in a church ouer againſt it: and the Engliſhmen aſſaulted the leſſe caſtell, and iſſued out of their ſhips at the ebbe, neuer ſuffering their enimies to reſt in quiet one day togither, for the ſpace of twentie dais, and euerie day ſlue ſome of their aduerſaries; and on the Engliſh part were ſlaine one Vere, brother to the earle of Oxford, and fiftie more.

Sir Edward Poinings a valiant capiteine ſent into Flanders with an armie

One Vere brother to the earle of Oxford ſlaine.

The lord of Rauenſtein had made a bridge of botes betwéene both the caſtels, to paſſe from the one to the other; which bridge one night the Engliſhmen did ſet on fire. Then he, perceiuing that he muſt loſe his caſtels by force, and that the Flemings could not aid him, yéelded the caſtels to ſir Edward Poinings, and the towne to the duke of Saxonie, vpon certeine conditions. Sir Edward Poinings kept the caſtels a while, of whom the Almains demanded their wages, bicauſe the duke had nothing to paie. Then theſe two capteins ſo handled them of Bruges, that they not onelie ſubmitted themſelues to their lord Maximilian; but alſo were contented to paie and diſpatch the Almains. And ſo ſir Edward Poinings taried there a long ſpace, and at length returned to the king before Bullogne.

The firſt day of Aprill this preſent yeare, the nobles of the realme aſſembled in the cathedrall church of S. Paule in London, where the maior of the ſame citie, his brethren the aldermen, and the crafteſmen in their liueries alſo aſſembled: to whome doctor Morton chancellor made an oration, declaring how the king of Spaine had woone the great and rich citie & countrie of Granado from the Turks: for ioy whereof *Te Deum* was ſoong with great ſolemnitie. ¶ But bicauſe it is requiſite and neceſſarie in this ample volume, to ſet downe the report of accidents as they are to be found at large in our owne Engliſh writers: you ſhall heare for the furtherance of your knowledge in this matter concerning Granado, what Ed. Hall hath left noted in his chronicle. Which although it conteine diuerſe actions of ſuperſtition, and popiſh trumperie: yet ſhould it not offend the reader, conſidering that a people eſtranged from the true knowledge of God and ſincere religion put the ſame in practiſe, as ſuppoſing principall holineſſe to conſiſt in that blind deuotion.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 866.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall, in Hen. 7. fo. xxiij. &c.

Granado woone from the Turkes or Saracens.

On the firſt of Aprill (ſaith he) this yéere, the king commanded all the nobilitie of his realme to aſſemble at the cathedrall church of S. Paule in London, where (after *Te Deum* ſolemnlie ſoong) the cardinall of Canturburie, ſtanding on the ſteps before the quier doore, declared to the people, how the famous citie of Granado, which manie yeares had béene poſſeſſed of the Mores or Mauritane nation, being infidels & vnchriſtened people, was now of late beſieged a great time by Don Ferdinando and Elizabeth his wife, king and quéene of Spaine, Arragon, and Caſtile. And the ſaid infidels, by reaſon of ſiege brought to great penurie and miſerie, for lacke of vittels & neceſſarie viands, perceiuing that all ſuccours were clerelie ſtopped and excluded from them, and ſo brought into vtter deſpaire of aid, or comfort, after long conſultation had amongſt them, determined to render themſelues and their citie to the ſaid king vpon diuerſe couenants and conditions, and therevpon ſent to him diuerſe ſenators of the citie fullie inſtructed of their mind and purpoſe.

The king of Spaine and his councell, conſidering and ſagelie pondering that winter approched & was at hand, and that the chriſtian hoſt had long lien in the fieldes in ſore tempeſts and gréeuous ſtormes (which they gladlie ſuffered for Chriſtes ſake, in whoſe cauſe and quarell they made that preſent warre) reremembring alſo that the citie was of ſuch riches, fame, and eſtimation, that it conteined an hundred and fiftie thouſand houſes of name, beſide other ſmall houſes and cotages; & that it was repleniſhed with people innumerable, and furniſhed with thrée ſcore and ten thouſand good fighting men; and finallie, perceiuing that he might inioy now the poſſeſſion of the ſame, without aſſault or effuſion of chriſtian

The citie of Granado conteined an hundred and fiftie thouſand houſes, beſides cotages & ſmall dwellings.

bloud by the aduiſe of his councell, he accepted, accorded, and agreed to their offers the twentie and fift of Nouember, in the yeare of Chriſts incarnation 1491, then being the daie of ſaint Katharine.

By the which compoſition, the roiall citie of Granado, with all the holds and fortreſſes of the realme, and the towers and caſtels of Alpuſſarate was rendered into the hands of the ſaid king of Spaine; and that the king of Granado ſhould become ſubiect and vaſſall to the king of Spaine, and to relinquiſh and forſake the vſurped name of a king for euer: and that all the men of warre ſhould frankelie depart out of the citie, and none there to remaine, but artificers and merchants: and all theſe things to be doone before the fiue & twentith day of Ianuarie. But the time was preuented, for the Moores on the firſt day of Ianuarie ſent ſix hundred notable perſonages out of the citie with their children for hoſtages into the campe of the king of Spaine, to the intent that he ſhould put no diffidence nor miſtruſt in the citizens, but that he might peaceablie and quietlie with his people enter into the citie, and take poſſeſſion of the ſame. The which hoſtages were diſtributed and lodged in the tents and pauillions of the Spaniſh armie.

Hoſtages deliuered to the K. of Spaine for his ſecuritie.

The third of Ianuarie, the lord of Guitterins Cardenes, great maſter & gouernor of Lion, of the order of S. Iames, departed from the armie, noblie and triumphantlie accompanied with fiue hundred horſmen, and thrée thouſand footmen toward the citie. And as he approched néere to the ſuburbs, there iſſued out diuers noble and valiant capteins of the Moores, making to him humble obeiſance, and conducted him to a palace adioining to the citie, called the palace of Anararas, and from thenſe conueied him to the palace roiall of the ſame citie called Alhambra, whereof hée tooke quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion, to the behoofe of the king of Spaine, whome the Moores promiſed and confeſſed to take and obeie, as their king and ſoueraigne lord. And in ſigne and token that they thought in their hearts, that which they promiſed by mouth; they proſtrated and humbled themſelues before the ſaid great maſter, and with dolorous lamentation and ſalt teares deliuered to him the keies of the ſaid palace.

The vanquiſhed people humblie ſubmit thẽſelues to the kings vicegerent, & deliuer vp the keies of the citie.

When he had the keies, and was alſo poſſeſſed of that ſtrong and magnificent place, he firſt of all diſpatched the houſe of all the Moores and pagans, and appointed a garriſon of valiant and noble chriſtians, to kéepe and defend the ſame: and the ſame day cauſed a maſſe ſolemnlie to be celebrate in a place of the ſame palace called Melchita; which done and finiſhed, he tooke poſſeſſion of all the fortreſſes, towers, and holds to the ſaid citie and towne of Granado belonging or apperteining. And then he cauſed to be erected and ſet vp on the higheſt tower of the palace (where it might beſt be ſéene) the ſigne and token of the croſſe, whereon Chriſt for vs ſinners ſuffered his bitter paſſion. At the raiſing whereof were preſent an archbiſhop, and thrée biſhops, with other prelats, which deuoutlie ſang this antheme: *O crux, aue ſpes vnica.*

The ſaid croſſe was thrée times deuoutlie lifted, and at euerie exaltation, the Moores being within the citie, rored, howled, & cried, proſtrating themſelues, groueling on the ground, & making dolorous noiſe and pitifull outcries. The armie incamped without the citie, ſéeing theſe things, humbled themſelues méekelie before the croſſe, rendering to almightie God their moſt humble and heartie thankes. The king of Spaine, being mounted on horſſebacke, perceiuing the erection of the croſſe, deſcended from his genet, and knéeled downe on the bare ground; and rendered to God, laud, honour, and praiſe; for that noble and triumphant victorie. And after that the croſſe was thus ſet vp on the high tower, the banner of ſaint Iames, and the kings banners were pitched and fixed vpon the turrets and pinacles of the citie: an herald ſtanding in the top of the high tower, proclaming and publiſhing theſe words following.

The maner of the Spaniſh kings giuing of thanks for victorie.

Saint Iames, ſaint Iames, ſaint Iames; Caſtile, Caſtile, Caſtile; Granado, Granado, Granado. By high and mightie power, lord Ferdinando and Elizabeth, king and quéene of Spaine, haue woone from the infidels and Moores the citie and realme of Granado, through the helpe of our Lord God, & the moſt glorious virgin his mother, and the vertuous apoſtle S. Iames, and the holie father Innocent the eight, togither with the aids and ſuccours of the great prelats, knights, and other gentlemen borne, and commons of their realmes and countries. When the herald had finiſhed, the artillerie ſounded, the minſtrels blew, the people applauded and clapped their hands for gladneſſe, that the earth ſéemed to tremble and quake vnderneath them.

The Spaniards reioiſing & triumphing after the conqueſt of the Moores.

After this ioy ended, there iſſued out of the citie in maner of proceſſion, ſeuen hundred and mo chriſtians, as well men, as women and children, which had bin there priſoners and liued in bonds, ſeruitude, and miſerable captiuitie, whereof the moſt part were naked, wounded, and in maner famiſhed for hunger. To whome the king (of his great liberalitie) gaue both apparell, viands and monie. Theſe poore priſoners comming out of the citie ſang this pſalme; *Benedictus Dominus Deus Iſrael, qui viſitauit & fecit redemptionem plebꝰ ſuæ*; Bleſſed be the Lord God of Iſrael, which hath viſited and redeemed his people. And ſo ſinging foorth the pſalme, went to the church of ſaint Faith, which the king Ferdinando had cauſed to bée moſt ſumptuouſlie edified during the time of the ſiege, being diſtant from Granado two or thrée miles.

Now as this poore proceſſion paſſed by the hoſt, one eſpied his ſonne, and another ſaw his brother; and the ſon perceiued the father, and the father found the daughter, which were now deliuered out of miſerable ſeruitude and bondage. But they could not refraine nor bridle themſelues from diſtilling of teares and ſobbing, ſéeing their parents and kinſfolke reſtored to libertie & fréedome. And when theſe people had ſaid their oriſons in the church of ſaint Faith, and were come to the armie, they knéeled before the king, kiſſed his féet, crieng with one voice; God grant to the king of Spaine euerlaſting life. The next daie after the lord Euerus de Mendoza, earle of Tendiglie, was by the king made capteine of the houſe roiall and principall tower of the citie of Granado, called Alhambra, hauing to him appointed and aſſigned one thouſand men of armes, and two thouſand footmen. Unto the which earle, the great maſter deliuered the keies of the ſaid palace and tower, and other ports and fortreſſes.

The lord Euerus de Mẽdoza made capteine of the houſe roiall.

On ſaturday the eight daie of Ianuarie, in the yeare of our Lord 1492, Ferdinando K. of Spaine & Granado, the quéene, & their eldeſt ſon Don Iohn prince of Spaine, the lord Peter of Mendoza, the archbiſh. of Toledo, the patriarch of Alexandria, the cardinall of Spaine, the lord Peter prince of Lion, the duke of Gaditan, the marques of Uillena & Moia, the erle of Capre, the erle of Uienna of Ciſnentes, and manie other earles, barons, and nobles, whereof ſome were Engliſhmen (whoſe names I haue not) with ten thouſand horſſemen, and fiftie thouſand footmen, with great triumph and roialtie entered into the citie of Granado, and thereof tooke reall poſſeſſion & ſeazine, and cauſed maſſe to be ſoong in a great place called Melchita, where hée cauſed a ſolemne church to be builded in the honour of God and his

A great number of ſtates with their traine enter triumphantlie into Granado to take reall poſſeſſion.

mother. When maſſe was ended, the king and queene repaired to the palace roiall of Alhambra, the which was wonderfull, both in qualitie & ſumptuous building, which houſe was adorned with rich arras and tapeſtrie in euerie chamber.

The earle of Tendiglie capteine of the palace, feaſted the king and queene, and all the nobilitie at his owne coſtes and charges. So the king of Spaine there remained till the countrie was reduced into a good conformitie and order, and diuerſe fortreſſes and caſtels were made for the ſafegard and tuition of the realme. And bicauſe this victorie obteined, was to the glorie of God, and to the publike wealth of all chriſtianitie, the * ſaid cardinall of Canturburie declared to the people, that the king had ſent him and the other nobles thither that day, not onelie to notifie and declare to them the veritie of the fact; but alſo to exhort them to giue lauds and praiſings to almightie God, for deliuering ſo goodlie a citie, ſo plentifull a countrie, and ſo notable a region out of the hands of his enimies, and perſecutors of his faith and religion. Which declaration ended, the archbiſhop with the cleargie & the nobles with the communaltie, in moſt deuout maner went in generall proceſſion, rendering to God for this great atchiued enterpriſe, glorie, honour, and moſt reuerent thanks.]

* Namelie doctor Morton, of whom mentiō is made in the beginning of this hiſtorie.

Abr.Fl. ex I. S. pag.866.

¶ In the moneth of Maie next and immediatlie following this triumph, was holden a great and valiant iuſting within the kings palace of Shine, now named Richmond, the which indured by the ſpace of a moneth, ſometime within the ſaid palace, and ſometime without, vpon the greene before the gate of the ſaid palace. In which iuſtes ſir Iames Parker knight, running againſt a gentleman named Hugh Vaughan, by caſualtie was ſo ſore hurt and bruſed, that he died thereof. This yeare alſo two pardoners were ſet on the pillorie in Cornehill three market daies, for forging of falſe pardons, wherewith they had deceiued the people, & got much monie. And for that one of them had feined himſelfe to be a prieſt, hee was ſent to Newgate, where he died: the other was driuen out of London with ſhame enough. ¶ Alſo this yere was Robert Fabian ſhiriffe of London & alderman, who made a chronicle of England & of France, beginning at the creation of the world, and ending in the third yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, which booke is now imprinted to the end of Richard the third.]

Sir Iames Parker by caſualtie at iuſtes mortallie wounded.

Two pardoners ſet on the pillorie.

Robert Fabian.

Maximilian king of Romans, intending to be reuenged on the Frenchmen for the manie iniuries doone to him of late (and eſpeciallie for that king Charles had forſaken his daughter ladie Margaret, and purpoſed to take to wife the ladie Anne of Britaine) bicauſe he was not rich enough to mainteine the warre of himſelfe, he ſent his ambaſſadour, one Iames Contibald, a man of great wiſedome, to require the king of England to take his part againſt the French king, making diuers great offers on his owne behalfe, if it ſhould pleaſe him ſo to doo.

King Henrie and Maximilian agree to plague the Frenchmen.

King Henrie no leſſe deſirous than Maximilian to put the French king to trouble, and chieflie to aid the Britains in the extremitie of their buſineſſe, gladlie conſented to the requeſt of Maximilian; and promiſed to prepare an armie with all ſpeed, and in time conuenient to paſſe the ſeas with the ſame, and inuade the French territories. In this verie ſeaſon, Charles the French king receiued the ladie Anne of Britaine, as his pupill into his hands, and with great ſolemnitie hir eſpouſed, hauing with hir in dower, the whole duchie of Britaine.

Anno. Reg.7.

The cauſe of Maximilians malice againſt Charles of France.

Now was Maximilian in great chafe toward the French king, not onelie for that he had refuſed his daughter, but alſo had bereued him of his aſſured wife the ſaid ladie Anne, contrarie to all right and conſcience. Wherefore he ſent vnto king Henrie, deſiring him with all ſpeed to paſſe the ſeas with his armie, that they might purſue the warre againſt their aduerſarie, with fire, ſword and bloud. King Henrie hearing this, and hauing no miſtruſt in the promiſe of Maximilian, with all ſpeed leuied an armie, and rigged his nauie of ſhips. And when all things were readie, he ſent his almoner Chriſtopher Vrſwike, and ſir Iohn Riſeleie knight vnto Maximilian, to certifie him, that the king was in a readineſſe, and would arriue at Calis, as ſoone as he ſhould be aduertiſed that Maximilian and his men were readie to ioine with him.

These ambaſſadors comming into Flanders, perceiued that Maximilian was neither purueted of men, monie, nor armor, nor of any other thing neceſſarie for the ſetting forth of warre; ſauing onlie that his will was good, although his power was ſmall. King Henrie being aduertiſed hereof by letters ſent to him from his ſaid ambaſſadors, was ſore diſquieted in his mind, and was almoſt brought to his wits end, to conſider how his companions in arms ſhould thus faile him at need; but taking aduiſe of his counſell, at length he determined not to ſtay his prepenſed iournie, and therfore he ſo increaſed his numbers before he tooke ſhip, that he with his owne power might be able to match with his aduerſaries. When he had thus gathered and aſſembled his armie, hee ſailed to Calis the ſixt day of October, and there incamped himſelfe for a ſpace, to ſee all his men and prouiſion in ſuch readineſſe, as nothing ſhould be wanting.

Maximilian dealeth diſhoneſtlie with the king of England to his great vexation.

In this place all the armie had knowledge by the ambaſſadours (which were newlie returned out of Flanders) that Maximilian could not ſet forth anie armie, for lacke of monie: and therefore there was no ſuccour to be looked for at his hand. But the Engliſhmen were nothing diſmaid therewith, as they that iudged themſelues able enough to match the Frenchmen without the helpe of anie other nation. In the meane ſeaſon, although the French king had an armie togither, both for number and furniture able to trie in battell with the Engliſhmen: yet he made ſemblance as though he deſired nothing more than peace, as the thing much more profitable to him than warre: conſidering the minds of the Britains were not yet wholie ſetled.

Maximilian king of Romans breaketh promiſe with king Henrie in ioining with him to inuade France.

The diſſimulation of the French king.

And againe, he was called into Italie to make warre againſt the king of Naples, whoſe kingdome he pretended to apperteine to him by lawfull ſucceſſion from his father king Lewes, to whome Reine duke of Aniou laſt king of Sicill, of the houſe of Aniou, had transferred his right to that kingdome (as partlie before ye haue heard) wrongfullie and without cauſe diſinheriting his coſine, godſonne and heire, Reine duke of Lorraine and Bar. The lord Chordes hauing commiſſion from his maiſter the French king to make ſome entrie into a treatie for peace with the king of England, wrote letters to him before he paſſed ouer to Calis, ſignifieng to him that if it might ſtand with his pleaſure to ſend ſome of his councellors to the borders of the Engliſh pale adioining to France, there ſhould be ſo reaſonable conditions of peace proffered, that he douted not but his grace might with great honour breake vp his campe, and retire his armie home againe.

A motion on the French part for a treatie of peace with the Engliſh.

The king of England conſidering that Britaine was cleerelie loſt, and paſt recouerie, and that Maximilian for lacke of monie, and miſtruſt which he had in his owne ſubiects, laie ſtill like a dormouſe dooing nothing; and herewith weieng that it ſhould be honorable to him, and profitable to his people to determine this great warre without bloudſhed, appointed the biſhop of Exceſter, and Giles lord Daubenie to

paſſe

Commiſſioners ſent ouer to Calis about the ſaid peace.

paſſe the ſeas to Calis, and ſo to commun with the lord Cordes of articles of peace, which tooke effect as after ye ſhall perceiue. In the meane time, whileſt the commiſſioners were communing of peace on the marches of France, the king of England (as ye haue heard) was arriued at Calis: from whenſe after all things were prepared for ſuch a iournie, he remoued in foure battels forward, till he came néere to the towne of Bullogne, & there pitched his tents before it in a conuenient place for his purpoſe, meaning to aſſaile the towne with his whole force & puiſſance.

Bullogne beſieged by the Engliſhmen the king himſelfe preſent.

But there was ſuch a ſtrong gariſon of warlike ſouldiers within that fortreſſe, and ſuch plentie of artillerie, and neceſſarie munitions of warre, that the loſſe of Engliſhmen aſſaulting the towne (as was doubted) ſhould be greater damage to the realme of England, than the gaining thereof ſhould be profit. Howbeit the dailie ſhot of the kings battering peeces brake the wals, and ſore defaced them. But when euerie man was readie to giue the aſſault, a ſudden rumor roſe in the armie that peace was concluded: which brute as it was pleaſant to the Frenchmen, ſo was it diſpleſant to the Engliſhmen, bicauſe they were preſt and readie at all times to ſet on their enimies, and brought into great hope to haue béene inriched by the ſpoile and gaine to haue fallen to their lots of their enimies goods, beſide the glorious fame of renowmed victorie.

Why the Engliſh preferred warre before peace.

And therefore to be defrauded hereof by an vnprofitable peace, they were in great fume, and verie angrie: and namelie, for that diuerſe of the capteins to ſet themſelues and their bands the more gorgeouſlie forward, had borrowed large ſummes of monie, and for the repaiment had morgaged their lands and poſſeſſions, and ſome happilie had made through ſale thereof, truſting to recouer all againe by the gaines of this iournie. Wherefore offended with this ſudden concluſion of peace, they ſpake euill both of the king and his councell. But the king like a wiſe prince aſſwaged their diſpleaſure in part with excuſing the matter, alleaging what loſſe and bloudſhed was like to inſue both of capteins and ſouldiers, if the aſſault ſhould haue béene giuen to the vtterance, eſpeciallie ſith the towne was ſo well furniſhed with men and munitions. When he had ſomewhat appeaſed their minds with theſe and manie other reaſons, he returned backe againe to Calis.

Polydor.

Sir Iohn Sauage ſlaine at this ſiege.

There were not manie of the Engliſh armie loſt at this ſiege of Bullogne, & few or no men of name, ſauing that valiant capteine ſir Iohn Sauage knight, the which, as he and ſir Iohn Riſelie rode about the wals of the towne, to view in what place it might be eaſilieſt aſſaulted, was compaſſed about by certeine Frenchmen that were iſſued out of the towne, and there ſlaine ſtanding at defenſe, and vtterlie refuſing to yéeld himſelfe as priſoner. But ſir Iohn Riſelie eſcaped by flieng awaie. When the K. was thus returned to Calis, he began to ſmell a certeine ſecret ſmoke, which was like to turne to a great flame, without wiſe foreſight, and good looking to. For by the craftie inuention, and diuelliſh imagination of the ladie Margaret ducheſſe of Burgognie, a new idoll was ſet vp in Flanders, and by a forged name called Richard Plantagenet ſecond ſonne to king Edward the fourth, as though he had béene raiſed from death to life.

Richard Plantagenet a counterfeit of ladie Margarets imagining.

The newes hereof ſomewhat troubled him, ſo that he was with better will content to receiue the honorable conditions of peace offered of his enimie: bicauſe he ſhould not be conſtreined at one time to make warre both at home, and alſo in a forren region. The concluſion of this agréement made with the Frenchmen, was this: That this peace ſhould continue both their liues; and that the French king ſhould pay to the king of England a certeine ſumme of monie in hand, according as the commiſſioners ſhould appoint for his charges ſuſteined in this iournie. Which (as the king certified the maior of London by his letters the ninth of Nouember) amounted to the ſumme of ſeuen hundred fortie and fiue thouſand duckats: the which is of ſterling monie, one hundred foure ſcore and ſix thouſand, two hundred and fiftie pounds. It was alſo concluded that he ſhould yearelie (for a certeine ſpace) paie or cauſe to be paid, for the monie that the K. had ſpent & expended in the defenſe of the Britans fiue & twentie thouſand crowns.

The concluſion of peace betwéene the Engliſh and French.

Which yearelie tribute the French king (afterwards continuallie occupied in the wars of Italie) yearelie ſatiſfied & paid ſo long as K. Henrie liued; who after he had taried a conuenient ſpace at Calis, tooke the ſea, and arriued at Douer, and ſo came to his manour of Gréenewich. Immediatlie after his returne thus into England, he elected into the fellowſhip of ſaint George, commonlie called the order of the garter, Alphonſe duke of Calabre, ſonne and heire to Ferdinando king of Naples. Chriſtopher Vrſwike the kings almoner was ſent to him vnto Naples with the garter, collar, mantell, and other habilments apperteining to the companions of that noble order. The which was reuerentlie receiued of the ſaid duke, who in a ſolemne preſence reueſted himſelfe with that habit, ſuppoſing by the countenance of that apparell to be able to reſiſt his aduerſarie the French king, ſith he was now made a fréend and companion in order with the king of England: but that little auailed him, as after it was right apparant. [And here, bicauſe in ſundrie actions we haue ſéene and obſerued the French kings ſubtilties, his inconſtancie, lacke of truth, honeſtie, and kinglie modeſtie; we maie be bold to ſet downe the deſcription of his perſon, as we find the ſame readie drawne to hand; that by a view thereof we maie conclude that his properties were proportioned to his perſon.

Alphonſe duke of Calabre made knight of the garter.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 43.

The French king deſcribed.

It is verie certeine (ſaith mine author) that king Charles from his infancie was of complexion verie delicate, and of bodie vnſound and diſeaſed, of ſmall ſtature, and of face (if the aſpect and dignitie of his eies had béene taken awaie) fowle and deformed, his other members bearing ſuch equall proportion, that he ſéemed more a monſter than a man: he was not onelie without all knowledge of good ſciences, but ſcarſelie he knew the diſtinct characters of letters: his mind deſirous to command, but more proper to anie other thing, for that being inuironed alwaies with his familiars and fauourits, he reteined with them no maieſtie or authoritie: he reiected all affaires and buſineſſe, and yet if he did debate and conſider in anie, he ſhewed a weake diſcretion and iudgement. And if he had any thing in him that caried apparance of merit or praiſe, yet being thoroughlie weied and ſounded, it was found further off from vertue than from vice: he had an inclination to glorie, but it was tempered more with raſhneſſe and furie than with moderation and counſell: his liberalities were without diſcretion, meaſure, or diſtinction: immoueable oftentimes in his purpoſes, but that was rather an ill grounded obſtinacie than conſtancie. And that which manie call bountie, deſerued more reaſonablie in him the name of coldneſſe & ſlackeneſſe of ſpirit.]

The birth of Henrie duke of Yorke, after crowned king by the name of Henrie the eight.

This yeare the two and twentith of Iune, was borne at Gréenewich the lord Henrie, ſecond ſonne to this king Henrie the ſeuenth, which was created duke of Yorke, & after prince of Wales, and in concluſion ſuccéeded his father in gouernance of this realme, by the name of Henrie the eight, father to our gratious ſoueraigne quéene Elizabeth. But now to returne to the new found ſonne of king Edward, coniured by mens policies from death to life: ye ſhall vnderſtand that the ducheſſe of Burgognie euer deſiring to caſt a ſcorpion in the boſome of king Henrie, not for anie diſpleaſure by him towards hir wrought or done; but onelie bicauſe he was deſcended of the houſe of Lancaſter, being an enimie to hir line, began to ſpin a new web, like a ſpider that dailie weaueth when his kall is torne: for after that the earle of Lincolne, which was by hir ſet forth, had miſſed the cuſhin, and loſt both horſſe and ſpurres, ſhe could not be quiet, vntill ſhe had practiſed a new deuiſe to put king Henrie to trouble. And as the diuell prouideth venemous ſauce to corrupt ſtomachs, ſo for hir purpoſe ſhe eſpied a certeine yong man of viſage beautifull, of countenance demure, and of wit craftie and ſubtill.

1492

The malice of the ducheſſe of Burgognie to the line of Lancaſter.

This youths name was Peter Warbecke, one for his faintneſſe of ſtomach of the Engliſhmen in deriſion called Perkin Warbecke, according to the dutch phraſe, which change the name of Peter to Perkin, of yonglings and little boies, which for want of age, lacke of ſtrength, and manlike courage, are not thought worthie of the name of a man. This yong man trauelling many countries, could ſpeake Engliſh and diuerſe other languages; & for his baſeneſſe of birth and ſtocke, was almoſt vnknowne of all men; and driuen to ſéeke liuing from his childhood, was conſtreined to go and trauell thorough manie countries. The ducheſſe glad to haue got ſo méet an organ for the conueieng of hir inuented purpoſe, as one not vnlike to be taken and reputed for the duke of Yorke, ſonne to hir brother king Edward, which was called Richard, kept him a certeine ſpace with hir priuilie.

Perkin warbecke ẏ counterfeit duke of Yorke.

Beſides that, ſhe with ſuch diligence inſtructed him both in the ſecrets and common affaires of the realme of England, and of the linage, deſcent and order of the houſe of Yorke, that like a good ſcholer, not forgetting his leſſon, he could tell all that was taught him promptlie without anie ſtackering or ſtaie in his words. And beſides that, he kept ſuch a princelie countenance, and ſo counterfeit a maieſtie roiall, that all men in manner did firmelie beléeue, that he was extracted of the noble houſe and familie of the dukes of Yorke. For ſuerlie, it was a gift giuen to that noble progenie, as of nature planted in the root, that all the ſequels of that line and ſtocke did ſtudie and deuiſe how to be equiualent in honour and fame with their forefathers and noble predeceſſors.

The readie wit of Perkin to learne all that made for his preferment to honor.

The emulatiõ of the dukes of Yorke.

When the duches had framed hir cloath méet for the market, ſhe was informed that king Henrie prepared to make warre againſt Charles the French king. Wherefore ſhe, thinking that the time ſerued well for the ſetting forth of hir malicious inuention, ſent this Perkin hir new inuented mawmet, firſt into Portingale, and ſo craftilie into the countrie of Ireland; to the intent that he, being both wittie and wilie, might inuegle the rude Iriſhmen (being at thoſe daies more inclined to rebellion than to reaſonable order) to a new ſeditious commotion. Shortlie after his arriuall in Ireland, whether by his ſhrewd wit, or the malicious exhortation of the ſauage Iriſh gouernours, he entred ſo farre in credit with the people of that Ile, that his words were taken to be as true, as he vntruelie with falſe demonſtrations ſet forth and publiſhed them.

Perkin warbecke arriueth in Ireland.

The French king aduertiſed hereof, then being in diſpleaſure with king Henrie, ſent into Ireland for Perkin, to the intent to ſend him againſt king Henrie, which was then inuading France (as yée before haue heard.) Perkin thought himſelfe aloft, now that he was called to the familiaritie of kings, and therefore with all diligence ſailed into France, and comming to the kings preſence, was of him roiallie receiued, and after a princelie faſhion interteined, and had a gard to him aſſigned, whereof was gouernour the lord Congreſhall: and to him being at Paris, reſorted ſir George Neuill baſtard, ſir Iohn Tailor, Rowland Robinſon, and an hundred Engliſh rebels. Now, after that a peace (as before is ſaid) was concluded betwixt the French king, and the king of England, the French king diſmiſſed Perkin, and would no longer kéepe him.

Perkin ſailleth into France eft aſſant.

But ſome haue ſaid (which were there attending on him) that Perkin, fearing leaſt the French king ſhould deliuer him to the king of England, beguiled the lord Congreſhall, and fled from Paris by night. But whether the French king knew of his departure or not, the truth is, that he being in maner in deſpaire, returned to his firſt founder the ladie Margaret, of whome he was ſo welcomed to all outward appearance, that it ſéemed ſhe could not haue reioiſed at anie earthlie thing more, than ſhe did at his preſence, and (as ſhe could well diſſemble) ſhe made ſemblance as though ſhe had neuer ſéene him before that time. Now as ſhe had ſore longed to know not once, but diuerſe times in open audience, and in ſolemne preſence, ſhe willed him to declare and ſhew by what means he was preſerued from death and deſtruction, and in what countries he had wandered and ſought fréendſhip; and finallie, by what chance of fortune he came to hir court.

Perkin returneth to the ladie Margaret his firſt founder.

This did ſhée, to the intent that by the open declaration of theſe fained phantaſies, the people might be perſuaded to giue credit, and beléeue that he was the true begotten ſonne of hir brother king Edward. And after this, ſhée aſſigned to him a gard of thirtie perſons in murrie and blew, and highlie honoured him as a great eſtate, and called him the white roſe of England. The nobilitie of Flanders did to him all reuerence. [All which port and pompe exhibited in moſt ſolemne ſort, he was well content to take vpon him, forgetting the baſeneſſe of his birth, and glorieng in the counterfeit title of honour: much like the iay that would be called a ſwan, or like the crow that trimming hir ſelfe with the ſtolne feathers of a pecocke, would ſéeme Iunos bird; as the poet ſaith:

Perkin named by the dutches of Burgognie the white roſe of England.

1493

——mentito nomine cygnum
Graculus appellat ſeſe, cornicula plumas
Pauonis furata cupit pauo ipſa videri.

M.Pal. in vir.

¶In this yeare was one Hugh Clopton maior of London, and of the ſtaple, a gentleman, borne at Clopton village, halfe a mile from Stratford vpon Auen by north, who continued (during his life) a bacheler: he builded the great and ſumptuous bridge of Stratford vpon Auen, at the eaſt end of the towne. This bridge hath fouretéene great arches, and a long cawſie with ſmaller arches, all made of ſtone, new walled on each ſide. At the weſt end of the bridge, he builded a faire large chappell. Toward the ſouth end of that towne, & néere vnto the ſame, a pretie houſe of bricke and timber, where he laie, and ended his life. He glaſed the chancell of the pariſh church in that towne, and made a waie of foure miles long, thrée miles from Aleſburie towards London, and one mile beyond Aleſburie.]

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 865.

Stratford bridge vpon Auen builded.

But to returne to Perkin: the brute of whome in England, blowne throughout the realme, ſore diſquieted the people, inſomuch that not onelie the meaner ſort, but alſo manie of the nobles and worſhipfull perſonages beléeued and publiſhed it abroad, that all was true which was reported of him. And not onelie they that were in ſanctuaries, but alſo manie other that were fallen in debt, aſſembled in a companie, and paſſed ouer the ſeas into Flanders, to their counterfeit duke of Yorke, otherwiſe rightlie named Perkin Warbecke. Truelie the realme of England

Such long and looked for alteration of ſtates.

was

Felſe rumors occaſions of great diſquietnes.

was in maner diuided (with the rumor and vaine fable ſpred abroad of this twiſe borne duke) into partakings and contrarie factions. And ſome of the noble men conſpired togither, purpoſing to aid the foreſaid Perkin, as the man whome they reputed to be the verie ſonne of king Edward; and that the matter was not feigned, but altogither true, iuſt, and not imagined of anie malicious pretenſe or euill purpoſe.

Anno Reg. 8.

And bicauſe the thing was weightie, and required great aid and aſſiſtance, therefore they determined to ſend meſſengers vnto the ladie Margaret, to know when Richard duke of Yorke might conuenientlie come into England; to the intent that they being thereof certified, might be in a readineſſe to helpe and ſuccour him at his arriuall. So by the common conſent of the conſpirators, ſir Robert Clifford knight, and William Barleie, were ſent into Flanders, which diſcouered to the duches all the ſecret intents and priuie meanings of the fréends and fautors of the new found duke. The duches gladlie receiued this meſſage, and after ſhée had heard their errand, ſhée brought the meſſenger to the ſight of Perkin, who ſo well counterfeited the geſture, countenance, and maner of Richard duke of Yorke, that ſir Robert Clifford beléeued verelie, that he was the ſecond ſonne of king Edward; and therefore wrote a letter of credit into England to his complices: and to put them out of doubt, he affirmed that he knew him to be king Edwards ſonne by his face, and other lineaments of his bodie.

Perkin counterfeiteth the duke of Yorke verie cunninglie.

Vpon this letter, the chéefe dooers in this buſineſſe ſpred the ſignification thereof abroad through the realme, to the intent to ſtirre the people to ſome new tumult and commotion: but it was doone by ſuch a ſecret craft, that no man could tell who was the author of that rumor. The king perceiued that this vaine fable was not vaniſhed out of the mad brains of the common people. To prouide therefore againſt all perils that might thereby inſue, he ſent certeine knights that were ſkilfull men of warre, with competent bands of ſoldiers, to kéepe the ſea coaſts and hauens, to vnderſtand who came in and went out of the realme; doubting leaſt ſome great conſpiracie were in brewing againſt him. He alſo ſent into the low countries certeine perſons, to learne the truth of this forged dukes progenie, where ſome of them that were ſo ſent, comming to Tournie, got knowlege that he was borne in that citie, of baſe linage, and named Perkin Warbecke.

Perkins true linage.

The king then aduertiſed not onelie by his eſpials vpon their returne, but alſo from other his truſtie fréends, determined with all ſpéed to haue the fraud publiſhed, both in England and forren parts: and for the ſame cauſe ſent ſir Edward Poinings knight, & ſir William Warram doctor of the laws vnto Philip archduke of Burgognie, and to his councellors (bicauſe he was not of age able to gouerne of himſelfe) to ſignifie to him and them, that the yong man, being with the ladie Margaret, had falſelie and vntruelie vſurped the name of Richard duke of Yorke, which long before was murthered with his brother Edward in the Tower of London, by the commandement of their vncle king Richard, as manie men then liuing could teſtifie.

Ambaſſadors ſent to Philip archduke of Burgognie.

The ambaſſadors comming to the court of Philip the archduke, were honorablie interteined of him and of his councell, and willed to declare the effect of their meſſage. William Warram made to them an eloquent oration, and in the later end ſomewhat inueihed againſt the ladie Margaret, not ſparing to declare, how ſhe now in hir later age had brought forth (within the ſpace of a few yeares togither) two deteſtable monſters, that is to ſaie, Lambert (of whom yée heard before) and this ſame Perkin Warbecke, and being conceiued of theſe two great babes, was not deliuered of them in eight or nine moneths as nature requireth; but in one hundred and eightie moneths, for both theſe at the leſt were fiftéene yéers of age, yer ſhe would be brought in bed of them, and ſhew them openlie; and when they were newlie crept out of hir wombe, they were no infants but luſtie yonglings, and of age ſufficient to bid battell to kings. Although theſe tawnts angred the ladie Margaret to the hart, yet Perkin was more vexed with the things declared in this oration, and eſpeciallie bicauſe his cloaked iuggling was brought to light.

The ſum of D. Warrams ſpéech to the archduke.

The duches intending to caſt hot ſulphur into the new kindled fire, determined with might and maine to arme and ſet forward prettie Perkin againſt the king of England. When the ambaſſadors had doone their meſſage, and that the archdukes councell had long debated the matter; they made anſwer, that to haue the king of Englands loue, the archduke and they would neither aid nor aſſiſt Perkin nor his complices in anie cauſe or quarrell. Yet notwithſtanding if the ladie Margaret, perſiſting in hir roted malice towards the king of England, would be to him aiding and helping, it was not in their power to withſtand it; for bicauſe in the lands aſſigned to hir for hir dower, ſhe might franklie and fréelie order all things at hir will and pleaſure, without contradiction of anie other gouernour.

Anno Reg. 9. Eſpials ſent into Flanders from the king for a ſubtill policie.

After that the ambaſſadors were returned with this anſwer, the king ſtreight ſent forth certeine eſpials into Flanders, which ſhould feigne themſelues to haue fled to the duke of Yorke; and thereby ſearch out the whole intent of the conſpiracie, and after what ſort they meant to procéed in the ſame. Others were ſent alſo to intiſe ſir Robert Clifford and William Barleie, to returne into England, promiſing to them pardon of all their offenſes, and high rewards, for obeieng the kings requeſt. They that were ſent, did ſo earneſtlie and prudentlie applie their buſineſſe, that they brought all things to paſſe at their owne deſires. For firſt they learned who were the chéefe conſpirators, and after perſuaded ſir Robert Clifford to giue ouer that enterpriſe, which had no grounded ſtaie to reſt vpon. Albeit William Barleie at the firſt would not leaue off, but continued his begun attempt; till after two yeares, he repenting him of his follie, & hauing pardon granted him of the king, returned home into his natiue countrie.

When the king had knowledge of the chiefe capteins of this conſpiracie (by the ouerture of his eſpials which were returned) he cauſed them to be apprehended, and brought to London before his preſence. Of the which the chiefe were Iohn Ratcliffe, lord Fitz-Water, ſir Simon Montford, ſir Tho. Thwaits knights, William Daubeneie, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Creſſenor, and Thomas Aſtwood. Alſo certeine préeſts & religious men, as ſir William Richford doctor of diuinitie, and ſir Thomas Poines, both friers of ſaint Dominikes order, doctor William Sutton, ſir William Worſeleie deane of Paules, Robert Laiborne, and ſir Richard Leſſeie. Other which were guiltie, hearing that their fellowes were apprehended, fled and tooke ſanctuarie. The other that were taken were condemned, of the which ſir Simon Montford, Robert Ratcliffe, and William Daubenie were beheaded.

The conſpiring fautors of the counterfeit duke of Yorke.

Some had their pardons, and the préeſts alſo for their order ſake; but yet few of them liued long after. The lord Fitz-Water pardoned of life, was conueied to Calis, and there laid in hold, & after loſt his head; bicauſe he went about to corrupt his kéepers with rewards, that he might eſcape, intending (as was thought) to haue gone to Perkin. [Thus by

Abr. Flem.

the policie and ſubtile deuiſe of the king, practiſed to the point by his eſpials, the ſinewes of this conſpiracie was rent in ſunder. So that the malicious ladie Margaret was not a little ſwolne with indignation when ſhe ſaw the courſe of hir deuiſe (now that it had paſſed ſo far as that it was knowne to people on this ſide and beyond the ſeas) ſtopped, and the confederacie (whereto ſhe ſpeciallie truſted) diſſolued. Yet notwithſtanding, as women will not (to die for it) giue ouer an enterpriſe, which of an enuious purpoſe they attempt; ſo ſhe put hir irons afreſh into the fier to ſet hir hatred forward: whome a while we will leaue at worke, and ſhew ſome doings betwéene England and Flanders.]

Flemiſh wares forbidden.

The mart kept at Calis.

Engliſh commodities baniſhed out of Flanders.

King Henrie taking diſpleaſure with the king of Romans, for that he kept not touch in aiding him againſt the French king, and partlie diſpleaſed with the Flemings, but ſpeciallie with the ladie Margaret, for kéeping and ſetting forward Perkin Warbecke, not onelie baniſhed all Flemiſh wares and merchandizes out of his dominions, but alſo reſtreined all Engliſh merchants from their repaire and traffike into anie of the lands and territories of the king of Romans, or of the archduke Philip, ſonne to the ſame king of the Romans; cauſing the mart to be kept at Calis, of all Engliſh merchandizes and commodities. Wherefore the ſaid king and his ſonne baniſhed out of their lands and ſeigniories all Engliſh clothes, yarne, tin, lead, and other commodities of this realme. The reſtreint made by the king ſore hindered the merchants aduenturers; for they had no occupieng to beare their charges, and to ſupport their credit withall.

A riot made vpon the Eaſterlings.

And that moſt greeued them, the Eaſterlings being at libertie, brought to the realme ſuch wares as they were woont, & ſo ſerued their cuſtomers throughout the realme. Wherevpon there inſued a riot by the ſeruants of the mercers, haberdaſhers, & clothworkers in the citie of London, the tueſdaie before ſaint Edwards day. For they perceiuing what hinderance grew to their maiſters, in that they were not able ſo well to kéepe them as before they had doone, aſſembled togither in purpoſe to reuenge their malice on the Eſterlings, & ſo came to the Stilliard, & began to rifle & ſpoile ſuch chambers & warehouſes as they cold get into. So that the Eaſterlings had much adoo to withſtand them, & kéepe them back out of their gates, which with helpe of carpenters, ſmiths, and other that came to them by water out of Southwarke, they ſhored & ſo fortified, that the multitude of the ſeruants and prentiſes, being aſſembled, could not preuaile.

At length came the maior with a number of men, defenſiblie weaponed, to remooue the force; at whoſe approch thoſe riotous perſons fled awaie like a flocke of ſhéepe. But diuerſe of them were apprehended, and vpon inquirie made before the kings commiſſioners, aboue foure ſcore ſeruants & apprentiſes were found to be conſpired togither, and ſworne not to reueale it; of whome ſome of the chiefe beginners were committed to the Tower, and there long continued. But in concluſion, bicauſe none of their maiſters, nor anie one houſholder was found culpable, the king of his clemencie pardoned their offenſe, and reſtored them to libertie. [For he thought it no credit to his crowne to take vengeance of ſuch ſillie ſoules by ſeueritie of death, whom in clemencie pardoning he might reſtore to a reformed life.]

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 867.

Execution for ſeditious bils againſt the kings perſon.

Vittels plentie ſold good cheape.

¶ On the two & twentith of Februarie in this yéere were arreigned in the Guildhall of London foure perſons, Thomas Bagnall, Iohn Scot, Iohn Heath, and Iohn Kenington, the which were ſanctuarie men of ſaint Martins le grand in London, and latelie before were taken out of the ſaid ſanctuarie, for forging of ſeditious bils, to the ſlander of the king, & ſome of his councell, for the which thrée of them were iudged to die; and the fourth named Bagnall, pleaded to be reſtored to ſanctuarie: by reaſon whereof he was repriued to the Tower till the next tearme: and on the ſix and twentith of Februarie, the other thrée with a Fleming, and a yeoman of the crowne, were all fiue executed at Tiborne. ¶ On the eight and twentith of Aprill Ione Boughton widow was burnt in Smithfield, for holding certeine opinions of Iohn Wickliffe. Wheat was ſold at London at ſix pence the buſhell, baie ſalt for thrée pence halfe penie the buſhell, Nantwich ſalt was ſold for ſix pence the buſhell, white herings nine ſhillings the barrell, red herings at thrée ſhillings the cade, red ſprots ſix pence the cade, & Gaſcoigne wine for ſix pounds the tun.]

1494 Anno Reg. 10.

Policie of K. Henrie againſt Robert Clifford.

Shortlie after ſir Robert Clifford, partlie truſting on the kings promiſe, and partlie miſtruſting the deſperat begun enterpriſe, returned ſuddenlie againe into England. The king certified before of his comming, went ſtreight to the Tower of London the morow after the day of Epiphanie, & there taried till ſuch time as ſir Robert Clifford was there preſented to his perſon. This was doone for a policie, that if ſir Robert accuſed anie of the nobilitie, they might be called thither without ſuſpicion of anie euill, and their attached and laid faſt. Some thought alſo, that for a policie king Henrie ſent ſir Robert Clifford ouer as an eſpie, or elſe he would not ſo ſoone haue receiued him into fauour againe. Neuertheleſſe, there were great preſumptions that it was nothing ſo, for both was he in great danger after his begun attempt, and neuer was ſo much eſtéemed with the king afterward as he was before.

Sir william Stanleie a fauourer of Perkin.

But this is true, vpon his comming to the kings preſence, he beſought him of pardon, and obteined it; and therewith opened all the maner of the conſpiracie, ſo far as he knew, and who were aiders, fautors, and chiefe beginners of it; amongſt whome he accuſed ſir William Stanleie, whome the king had made his chiefe chamberleine, and one of his priuie councell. The king was ſorie to heare this, and could not be induced to beléeue that there was ſo much vntruth in him, till by euident proofes it was tried againſt him. Then the king cauſed him to be reſtreined from his libertie in his owne chamber within the quadrat tower, and there appointed him by his priuie councell to be examined, in which examination he nothing denied, but wiſelie and ſagelie agréed to all things laid to his charge, if he were faultie therein.

The offenſe of ſir william Stanleie.

Coniectures of ſir william Stanleies alienated mind from king Henrie.

The report is, that this was his offenſe. When communication was had betwixt him, and the aboue mentioned ſir Robert Clifford, as concerning Perkin, which falſelie vſurped the name of K. Edwards ſonne; ſir William Stanleie ſaid, that if he knew certeinlie that the yoong man was the indubitate heire of king Edward the fourth, he would neuer fight or beare armour againſt him. This point argued, that he bare no hartie good will toward king Henrie as then. But what was the cauſe that he had conceiued ſome inward grudge towards the king; or how it chanced that the king had withdrawen his ſpeciall fauor from him, manie haue doubted. Some indéed haue geſſed, that ſir William Stanlie, for the ſeruice which he ſhewed at Boſworth field, thought that all the benefits which he receiued of the king to be farre vnder that which he had deſerued, in preſeruing not onelie the kings life; but alſo in obteining for him the victorie of his enimies, ſo that his aduerſarie was ſlaine in the field.

Wherfore deſiring to be created earle of Cheſter, and therof denied, he began to diſdeine the king. And one thing incouraged him much, which was the riches and treaſure of king Richard, which he onlie poſſeſſed at the battell of Boſworth; by reaſon of which

riches

King Henrie in a quandare.

riches and great power of men, he ſet naught by the king his ſoueraigne lord and maiſter. The king hauing thus an hole in his coat, doubted firſt what he ſhould doo with him; for loth he was to loſe the fauour of his brother the earle of Derbie: and againe to pardon him, he feared leaſt it ſhould be an euill example to other, that ſhould go about to attempt the like offenſe. And ſo at length, ſeueritie got the vpper hand, & mercie was put backe, in ſo much that he was arreigned at Weſtminſter and adiudged to die, and (according to that iudgement) was brought to the Tower hill the ſixteenth daie of Februarie, and there had his head ſtriken off.

1495.

Sir william Stanleie beheaded.

Abr. Flem.

Sée pag. 760.

[This was the end of ſir William Stanleie the chiefeſt helper of king Henrie to the crowne at Boſworth field againſt king Richard the third, and who ſet the ſame crowne firſt vpon the kings head, when it was found in the field trampled vnder féet. He was a man (while he liued) of great power in his countrie, and alſo of great wealth; in ſomuch as the common fame ran, that there was in his caſtell of Holt found in readie coine, plate, and iewels, to the value of fortie thouſand markes or more, and his land and fées extended to thrée thouſand pounds by yeare. Neuerthéleſſe all helped not; neither his good ſeruice in Boſworth field, neither his forwardneſſe (euen with the hazard of life) to prefer K. Henrie to the crowne, neither his faithfulneſſe in cleauing to him at all brunts, neither the bond of aliance betwixt them, neither the power that he was able to make, neither the riches which he was worth, neither interceſſion of fréends, which he wanted not; none of theſe, nor all theſe could procure the redemption of his loſt life:

O fluxum decus hominum, ô variabile tempus.]

John Stow pag. 969.

The king and quéene dine at ſergeants feaſt kept at Elie place.

I wonder to be noted in a corpſe that laie long in the ground.

¶On the ſixtéenth of Nouember was holden the ſergeants feaſt at the biſhops place of Elie in Holborne, where dined the king, quéene, and all the chiefe lords of England. The new ſergeants names were maiſter Mordant, Higham, Kingſmill, Coniſbie, Butler, Pakeſleie, Frowicke, Oxenbridge, & Conſtable. In digging for to laie a new foundation in the church of ſaint Marie hill in London, the bodie of Alice Hackneie, which had béene buried in the church the ſpace of 175 yeares, was found whole of ſkinne, & the ioints of hir armes pliable: which corpſe was kept aboue ground foure daies without annoiance, and then buried againe. ¶Alſo this yeare (as maiſter

Rich. Grafton.

Grafton ſaith) at the charges of maiſter John Tate alderman of London was the church of ſaint Anthonies founded, & annexed vnto the college of Windſore, wherein was erected one notable and frée ſchoole to the furtherance of learning, and a number of poore people (by the name of almeſmen, which were poore, aged, and decaied houſholders) releeued, to the great commendation of that worthie man, who ſo liued in worſhip, that his death by his worthie doings maketh him ſtill aliue; for he was not forgetfull to beautifie the good ſtate of this citie, in which by wealth he had taſted of Gods bleſſings.]

Anno Reg. 11.

Lord Daubenie the kings chéefe chamberleine.

Sir Edward Poinings ſent into Ireland with an armie.

About this ſame time, diuerſe men were puniſhed that had vpon a preſumptuous boldneſſe ſpoken manie ſlanderous words againſt the kings maieſtie; hoping ſtill for the arriuall of the feigned Richard duke of Yorke. After the death of ſir William Stanleie, Giles lord Daubenie was elected and made the kings chéefe chamberleine. Alſo, the K. ſent into Ireland (to purge out the euill & wicked ſéeds of rebellion amongeſt the wild & ſauage Iriſh people, ſowed there by the craftie conueiance of Perkin Warbecke) ſir Henrie Deane, late abbat of Langtonie (whome he made chancellor of that Ile) & ſir Edward Poinings knight, with an armie of men. The fauourers of Perkin, hearing that ſir Edward Poinings was come with a power to perſecute them, withdrew ſtreightwaies, and fled into the woods and mariſhes for the ſafegard of themſelues.

Sir Edward Poinings according to his commiſſion, intending to puniſh ſuch as had aided and aduanced the enterpriſe of Perkin, with his whole armie marched forward againſt the wild Iriſhmen, bicauſe that all other being culpable of that offenſe, fled and reſorted to them for ſuccour. But when he ſaw that his purpoſe ſucceeded not as he would haue wiſhed it; both bicauſe the Iriſh lords ſent him no ſuccour according to their promiſes; and alſo for that his owne number was not ſufficient to furniſh his enterpriſe, bicauſe his enimies were diſperſed amongſt woods, mounteins, and mariſhes: he was conſtreined to recule backe, ſore diſpleaſed in his mind againſt Gerald earle of Kildare, being then the kings deputie.

Gerald earle of Kildare deputie of Ireland apprehended.

Now, the cauſe of this his diſcontentment was, for that the ſaid earle was ſuſpected to be the meane that he had no ſuccours ſent him, and was ſo informed in déed by ſuch as bare the earle no good will. And therefore ſuddenlie he cauſed the earle to be apprehended, and as a priſoner brought him in his companie into England. Which earle being examined, and ſundrie points of treaſon laid to him, he ſo auoided them all, & laid the burthen in other mens necks, that he was diſmiſſed, and ſent into Ireland againe, there to be deputie and lieutenant as he was before. The king being now in ſome better ſuertie of his eſtate, did take his progreſſe into Lancaſhire the fiue & twentith daie of June, there to make merrie with his mother the counteſſe of Derbie, which then laie at Lathome in the countrie.

King Henries progreſſe into Lancaſhire.

In this meane while, Perkin Warbecke, being in Flanders, ſore troubled that his iuggling was diſcouered, yet he determined not to leaue off his enterpriſe, in hope at length to atteine the crowne of England: and ſo gathering a power of all nations, ſome bankrupts, ſome falſe Engliſh ſanctuarie men, ſome théeues, robbers, and vagabunds, which deſiring to liue by rapine, were glad to ſerue him. And thus furniſhed, he tooke ſuch ſhips as his fréends had prouided for him: and departing from Flanders towards England, he arriued vpon the Kentiſh coaſt, & there caſt anchor, purpoſing to prooue how the people there were affected towards him: and therefore he ſent certeine of his men to land, to ſignifie to the countrie his arriuall with ſuch power, that the victorie muſt incline to his part.

Perkin attempteth to land in Kent in hope of victorie.

The Kentiſhmen vnderſtanding that Perkin was but Perkin, and had none with him (to make account of) but ſtrangers borne, like faithfull ſubiects determined to fall vpon thoſe that were thus new come to land, and to trie if they might allure the whole number out of their ſhips, ſo to giue them battell. But Perkin wiſelie conſidering that the maner of a multitude is not to conſult, and ſagelie to aduiſe with themſelues in anie deliberate ſort, but ſuddenlie and raſhlie to run headlong into rebellion, would not ſet one foot out of his ſhip, vntill he ſaw all things ſure. Yet he permitted ſome of his ſouldiers to go on land, which being trained forth a pretie waie from their ſhips, were ſuddenlie compaſſed about and beſet of the Kentiſhmen, and at one ſtroke vanquiſhed and driuen backe to their ſhips.

Perkins men diſcomfited.

Perkins capteins taken & executed.

Of theſe diſcomfited ſoules were taken priſoners an hundred and fortie perſons, whereof fiue, Montfort, Corbet, White, Belt, Quintin (or otherwiſe Genin) being capteins were brought to London by ſir John Pechie, ſhiriffe of Kent, railed in ropes like horſſes drawing in a cart, & after vpon their arreignment confeſſed their offenſe, and were executed, ſome at London, and other in the townes adioining to the ſea coaſt. And thus Perkin, miſſing of his purpoſe,

Perkin recuileth into Flanders.

fled

The death of Cicilie ducheſſe of Yorke mother to Edward the fourth.

fled backe into Flanders. In this verie ſeaſon departed to God Cicilie ducheſſe of Yorke mother to king Edward the fourth, at hir caſtell of Berkhamſted, a woman of ſmall ſtature, but of much honour and high parentage, and was buried by hir huſband in the college of Fodringeie.

Sir Richard Gilford.

The king being aduertiſed that his enimies were landed, leauing off his progreſſe, purpoſed to haue returned to London; but being certified the next day of the luckie ſpeed of his faithfull ſubiects, continued his progreſſe, & did ſend ſir Richard Gilford both to commend the fidelitie and manhood of the Kentiſhmen, and alſo to render to them moſt hartie thanks for the ſame. He alſo cauſed order to be taken for the erecting of beacons, and watching of them. Perkin then perceiuing that he ſhould not be receiued into England, ſailed into Ireland, truſting there to augment his numbers, and then to returne towards the coaſt of England againe, and to take land in the Weſt countrie, if occaſion ſerued; but if not, then he determined to ſaile ſtreight into Scotland, to ſeeke freendſhip there.

Perkin ſaileth into Ireland and is in ſundrie opinions.

Katharine daughter to the earle of Huntleie maried to Perkin.

After he had therefore ſtaid a while in Ireland, and perceiued that the hope of victorie conſiſted not in the Iriſh nation, being naked people, without furniture of armour or weapon, he tooke the ſea againe at Corke, and ſailed into Scotland; where comming to the preſence of king Iames, he forged ſuch a painted proceſſe to mooue him to beleeue that he was the verie ſonne of king Edward: that the Scotiſh king, whether blinded with errour, or vſing diſſimulation, that he might vnder a colourable pretext make war againſt England, began to haue Perkin in great honour, and cauſed him openlie to be called duke of Yorke. And to perſuade the world that ſo he was indeed, he cauſed the ladie Katharine, daughter to Alexander earle of Huntleie, his nigh kinſman, to be eſpouſed to him. [But yer we paſſe anie further, you ſhall ſee and peruſe (if you will) the ſaid painted proceſſe of Perkin, as it is left in record by Edward Hall for an example what working force is in words (ſpeciallie where the hearers are eaſie to be ſeduced) and not to be ouer haſtie to giue them too quicke & haſtie credit. For the poet ſaith of gaie words void of truth:

M.Pal. in Virg.

Verba nitent phaleris, at nullas verba medullas
Intus habent.

The colourable oration or counterfeit *tale that Perkin told the king of Scots to* iuſtifie his falſe title.

Abr.Flem.ex Edw. Hall fol.xxxviij, xxxix.

Perkin ſaith that he is Edward the fourths lawfull ſonne.

I Thinke it is not vnknowne vnto you (moſt noble king and puiſſant prince) into what ruine the ſtocke, houſe, and familie of Edward the fourth, of that name king of England, is now of late brought to and fallen in, either by Gods permiſſion, or by diuine puniſhment; whoſe indubitate ſonne (if you know not alreadie) I am, and by the power of almightie God, preſerued aliue to this houre from the mightie hand of a tyrant. For my father king Edward (when he died) appointed his brother Richard duke of Gloceſter to be our gouernour, protector, and defendor; whome the more that he loued & ſtudied to aduance and promote, the better he thought that he would loue, fauour, and tender his children. But alas my vnfortunate chance I may ſay! how hath his truſt beene turned into treaſon, and his hope into hinderance, all men know and I feele. Our vncle was not the tutor and preſeruer of our ſtocke and linage, but the confounder & deſtroier of our bloud and progenie. For that tyrant, blinded and glutted with the deſire of ruling and ſoueraigntie, commanded Edward my brother & me to be ſlaine and diſpatched out of this mortall life. Wherevpon that perſon, to whome the weightie and cruell charge was committed and giuen to oppreſſe and deſtroie vs poore innocent infants and giltleſſe babes, the more that he abhorred this heinous and butcherlie offenſe, the more he feared to commit it.

Perkin telleth the king how he was preſerued and kept aliue.

And ſo wauering in mind and doubtfull what to doo, at the length willing in part to ſtanch the bloudie thirſt of the vnnaturall tyrant, and in part to abſteine from ſo heinous & deteſtable homicide, he deſtroied my brother and preſerued me; like the good preeſt Ioiada, who ſaued little Ioas, when all the children of the bloud roiall were commanded by Athalia the queene to be ſlaine and vtterlie deſtroied. And further, to the intent that my life might be in ſuertie, he appointed one to conueie me into ſome ſtrange countrie; where when I was furtheſt off, and had moſt need of comfort he forſooke me ſuddenlie (I thinke he was ſo appointed to doo) and left me deſolate alone without freend or knowlege of anie releeſe or refuge. And ſo king Richard did obteine the crowne as a preie miſcheeuouſlie gotten by the diſpatching awaie of my brother and me. So that I thus eſcaping, by reaſon of my tender infancie, forgat almoſt my ſelfe, and knew not well what I was. But after long wandering from countrie to countrie, and from citie to citie, I perceiued and learned by little and little what was my eſtate & degree; and ſo in concluſion came to mine owne aunt the ladie Margaret lieng in Flanders, which was ſometime married to Charles duke of Burgognie, which as ioifullie receiued and welcomed me, as if I had come out of hell into heauen, as the onelie type and garland of hir noble ſtirpe and linage. But forſomuch as ſhe being onelie Dowager of the duchie of Burgognie, and hauing nothing but hir dowrie proper to hir ſelfe, was not of power to helpe me with men and munitions of warre, as ſhe would gladlie haue doone for the recouerie of my fathers relme & rightfull inheritance: I therefore am driuen to ſeeke further aid and ſuccour.

Perkin calleth the ladie Margaret ducheſſe of Burgognie his owne aunt.

Perkin craueth aid of the Scotiſh king toward the recouerie of the crowne of England from king Henrie the ſeuenth.

And therefore by hir counſell and aduertiſement, with this ſmall handfull of men of warre and ſouldiers, I am repaired to your preſence for ſuccours; of whome (as the publike fame is ſpred ouer the whole world) there was neuer man by wrong or iniurie chaſed or driuen out of his countrie, region, or inheritance, or by extort power and tyrannie kept out of the ſame (as I my ſelfe from mine infancie haue beene) whoſe requeſt was fruſtrate and denied at your hand. Therefore, by the maieſtie of your realme & countrie I deſire, & heartilie with praier as I can, I beſéech and exhort you to helpe and reléeue me now in my extreame neceſſitie. And if it chance me by your aid and ſuccour to recouer & poſſeſſe my fathers realme and dignitie; not onelie I, but all the kings of our linage, which hereafter ſhall obteine the ſame, ſhall be ſo much obliged and bound vnto you; that they muſt néeds thinke, that dooing to you all the pleaſure and benefits that they can, yet with all thanks that can be giuen your great kindneſſe can neuer in full meaſure be recompenſed.

When he had thus ſaid, the king bad him be of good comfort, and promiſed him that whatſoeuer he were, it ſhould neuer repent him of his comming to him.] Shortlie after, hauing this Perkin with him in companie, he entered into England with a puiſſant armie, and cauſed proclamation to be made, to ſpare all thoſe that would ſubmit themſelues vnto Richard duke of Yorke. Héerewith they began the warre in moſt cruell maner, with ſlaughter of men, burning of townes, ſpoiling of houſes, and committing of all other deteſtable enormities; ſo that all the countrie of Northumberland was by them in maner waſted, and deſtroied. At length, when the ſouldiers were laden with ſpoiles, and ſaciate with bloud, perceiuing that no ſuccoures came out of England vnto the new inuented duke, contrarie to that which he had made them to beléeue would come to paſſe; they determined to retire rather with aſſured gaine, than to tarrie the vncerteine victorie of that counterfeit duke, and ſo therevpon they withdrew backe into Scotland inriched with preies and booties.

1496

The Scotiſh king inuadeth Englãd with a great armie in Perkin his behalfe.

It is ſaid, that Perkin Warbecke, being returned into Scotland with the king of Scots, vnder a cloked pretenſe ſhould ſore lament the great ſlaughter, ſpoile, and damage, which had béene doone at this laſt roade made into England; and therefore as one that bare a naturall loue toward his natiue countrie, beſought the king of Scots, that from thenſeforth, he would no more ſo deface his naturall relme, and deſtroie his ſubiects with ſuch terrible fire, flame and hauocke; as who ſhould ſaie, he being ouercome now with compaſſion, did bewaile the cruell deſtruction of his naturall countrie of England. But the Scotiſh K. told him, that he ſéemed to take thought for that which appeared to be none of his, ſith that not ſo much as one gentleman or yeoman (for ought he could ſée) would once ſhew themſelues readie to aid him in the warre begun for his cauſe, & in his name, within that realme which he pretended ſo cléerelie to apperteine to him.

The counterfeit compaſſion of Perkin.

Anno Reg. 12.

The king of England being certified of this inuaſion, prepared an armie with all diligence to haue reſiſted the Scots: but they were returned yer the Engliſh power could aſſemble togither. Now when the king was truelie certified that the Scotiſh king was returned home, he ſtaied all the preparations made at that time to go againſt him. But yet meaning to be reuenged of the wrongs doone to him by king Iames and his people; he firſt called a parlement, and in that aſſemblie of thrée eſtates of the realme, he declared the cauſe of the inſtant warre, and how neceſſarie it ſhould be for the ſuertie and wealth of the realme of England to haue that warre purſued againſt thoſe enimies that had begun it. To this motion all the nobilitie wholie agréed. And to the maintenance of that warre, a ſubſidie was by whole aſſent of the parlement fréelie giuen and granted. Which paiment though it was not great, yet manie of the common people ſore grudged to pay the ſame, as they that euer abhorre ſuch taxes and exactions. At the ſame parlement were diuerſe acts and ſtatutes made, neceſſarie & expedient (as was thought) for the publike weale of the realme.

A parlement of the thrée eſtates of the realme.

A ſubſidie.

In the meane ſeaſon the king of Scots, perceiuing that the Engliſhmen would ſhortlie go about to reuenge the iniuries doone to them by him and his people, aſſembled eftſoones a puiſſant armie, that he might either defend his realme againſt the Engliſh power, attempting to inuade his countrie, or elſe afreſh to enter into the Engliſh borders. And thus theſe two mightie princes minded nothing more than the one to indamage the other. But the king of England would not deferre one houre by (his good will) till he were reuenged, and therefore prepared a mightie armie to inuade Scotland, and ordeined for chéefteine thereof the lord Daubeneie. But as this armie was aſſembled, and that the lord Daubenie was forward on his iournie towards Scotland, he was ſuddenlie ſtaid and called backe againe, by reaſon of a new commotion begun by the Corniſhmen for the paiment of the ſubſidie which was granted at the laſt parlement.

1497

The king of England and Scotlãd prepare for mutuall warre.

These vnrulie people the Corniſhmen, inhabiting in a barren countrie and vnfruitfull, at the firſt ſore repined that they ſhould be ſo gréeuouſlie taxed, and burdened the kings councell as the onelie cauſe of ſuch polling and pilling: and ſo being in their rage, menaced the chéefe authors with death and preſent deſtruction. And thus being in a rore, two perſons of the ſame affinitie, the one called Thomas Flammocke, a gentleman, learned in the lawes of the realme; and the other Michaell Ioſeph, a ſmith, men of ſtout ſtomachs and high courages, tooke vpon them to be capteins of this ſeditious companie. They laid the fault and cauſe of this exaction vnto Iohn Morton archbiſhop of Canturburie, and to ſir Reginald Braie; bicauſe they were chéefe of the kings councell. Such rewards haue they commonlie that be in great authoritie with kings and princes.

A rebellion in Cornewall for the paiment of a ſubſidie.

The two capteins in this commotion.

The capteins Flammocke and Ioſeph exhorted the common people to put on harneſſe, and not to be afeard to follow them in that quarrell, promiſing not to hurt anie creature, but onelie to ſée them puniſhed that procured ſuch exactions to be laid on the people, without anie reaſonable cauſe, as vnder the colour of a little trouble with the Scots, which (ſith they were withdrawne home) they tooke to be well quieted and appeaſed. So theſe capteins bent on miſchéefe, (were their outward pretenſe neuer ſo finelie coloured) perſuaded a great number of people to aſſemble togither, and condeſcended to doo as their capteins would agrée and appoint. Then theſe capteins praiſing much the hardines of the people, when all things were readie for their infortunate iournie, ſet forward with their armie, and came to Taunton, where they ſlue the prouoſt of Perin, which was one of the commiſſioners of the ſubſidie, and from thence came to Welles, ſo intending to go to London, where the king then ſoiourned.

The prouoſt of Perin ſlaine by the rebels.

When the king was aduertiſed of theſe dooings, he was ſomewhat aſtonied, and not without cauſe; being thus troubled with the warre againſt the Scots, and this ciuill commotion of his ſubiects at one inſtant. But firſt meaning to ſubdue his rebellious ſubiects; and after to procéed againſt the Scots, as occaſion ſhould ſerue, he reuoked the lord Daubenie which (as you haue heard) was going againſt the Scots, and increaſed his armie with manie choſen and piked warriors. Alſo miſtruſting that the Scots might now (hauing ſuch opportunitie) inuade the relme againe; he appointed the lord Th. Howard erle of Surrie (which after the death of the lord Dinham was made high treaſuror of England) to gather a

Thomas Howard earle of Surrie high treaſuror of England.

band of men in the countie Palatine of Durham, that they with the aid of the inhabitants adioining, and the borderers, might keepe backe the Scots if they chanced to make anie inuaſion. The nobles of the realme hearing of the rebellion of the Corniſhmen, came to London, euerie man with as manie men of warre as they could put in a readineſſe, to aid the king if need ſhould be. In the which number were the earle of Eſſex, and the lord Montioy, with diuerſe other.

Iames Twichet lord Audelie cheefe capteine of the Corniſh rebels.

In the meane time, Iames Twichet lord Audeleie being confederate with the rebels of Cornewall ioined with them, being come to Welles, and tooke vpon him as their cheefe capteine to lead them againſt their naturall lord and king. From Welles they went to Saliſburie, and from thence to Wincheſter, and ſo to Kent, where they hoped to haue had great aid, but they were deceiued in that their expectation. For the erle of Kent, George lord of Aburgauenie, Iohn Brooke, lord Cobham, ſir Edward Poinings, ſir Richard Gilford, ſir Thomas Bourchier, Iohn Peche, William Scot, and a great number of of people, were not onelie preſt and readie to defend the countrie, to keepe the people in due obedience, but bent to fight with ſuch as would lift vp ſword, or other weapon againſt their ſoueraigne lord: inſomuch that the Kentiſhmen would not once come neere the Corniſhmen, to aid or aſſiſt them in anie maner of wiſe.

Manie of the Corniſhmen take their heels by night.

Which thing maruelouſlie diſmaid the hearts of the Corniſhmen, when they ſaw themſelues thus deceiued of the ſuccours which they moſt truſted vpon, ſo that manie of them (fearing the euill chance that might happen) fled in the night from their companie, and left them, in hope ſo to ſaue themſelues. The capteines of the rebels, perceiuing they could haue no helpe of the Kentiſhmen, putting their onelie hope in their owne puiſſance, brought their people to Blacke heath, a foure miles diſtant from London, and there in a plaine on the top of an hill, they ordered their battels, either readie to fight with the king if he would aſſaile them, or elſe to aſſault the citie of London: for they thought the king durſt not haue encountred with them in battell. But they were deceiued: for the king although he had power inough about to haue fought with them before their comming ſo neere to the citie; yet he thought it beſt to ſuffer them to come forward, till he had them farre off from their natiue countrie, and then to ſet vpon them being deſtitute of aid in ſome place of aduantage.

The citie of London ſore afraid of the rebels.

The citie was in a great feare at the firſt knowledge giuen, how the rebels were ſo neere incamped to the citie, euerie man getting himſelfe to harneſſe, and placing themſelues, ſome at the gates, ſome on the walles, ſo that no part was vndefended. But the king deliuered the citie of that feare: for after that he perceiued how the Corniſhmen were all daie readie to fight, and that on the hill; he ſent ſtraight Iohn Earle of Oxenford, Henrie Bourchier, earle of Eſſex, Edmund de la Poole, earle of Suffolke, ſir Riſe ap Thomas, and ſir Humfreie Stanleie, noble warriors, with a great companie of archers and horſſemen, to enuiron the hill on the right ſide, and on the left, to the intent that all bywaies being ſtopped and forecloſed, all hope of flight ſhould be taken from them. And incontinentlie he himſelfe, being as well incouraged with manlie ſtomachs as furniſhed with a populous armie and plentie of artillerie, ſet forward out of the citie, and incamped himſelfe in ſaint Georges field, where he on the fridaie at night then lodged.

On the ſaturdaie in the morning, he ſent the lord Daubeneie with a great companie to ſet on them earlie in the morning, which firſt got the bridge at Dertford Strand, which was manfullie defended by certeine archers of the rebels, whoſe arrowes (as is reported) were in length a full cloth yard. While the earles ſet on them on euerie ſide, the lord Daubenie came into the field with his companie, and without long fighting, the Corniſhmen were ouercome; and firſt they tooke the lord Daubenie priſoner: but whether it were for feare, or for hope of fauour, they let him go at libertie, without hurt or detriment. There were ſlaine of the rebels which fought and reſiſted, aboue two thouſand men (as Edward Hall noteth) and taken priſoners an infinite number, & amongſt them the blacke ſmith, and other the cheefe capteins, which were ſhortlie after put to death. When this battell was ended, the king wanted of all his numbers but three hundred, which were ſlaine at that conflict.

Blackheath field.

Three hundred ſlaine, & a thouſand fiue hundred taken priſoners, as Iohn Stow ſaith.

Some affirme, that the king appointed to haue fought with them not till the mondaie, and preuenting the time ſet on them on the ſaturdaie before, taking them vnprouided, and in no arraie of battell; and ſo by that policie obteined the field and victorie. The priſoners as well capteins as other, were pardoned, ſauing the cheefe capteins and firſt beginners, to whome he ſhewed no mercie at all. The lord Audeleie was drawne from Newgate to the Tower hill in a coate of his owne armes, painted vpon paper reuerſed and all to torne, and there was beheaded the foure and twentith of Iune. Thomas Flammocke & Michaell Ioſeph were hanged, drawne, and quartered after the maner of traitors, & their heads and quarters were pitched vpon ſtakes, and ſet vp in London, and in other places: although at the firſt, the king meant to haue ſent them into Cornewall, to haue béene ſet vp there for a terror to all others. But hearing that the Corniſhmen at home were readie to begin a new conſpiracie, leaſt he ſhould the more irritate and prouoke them by that diſpleaſant ſight, he changed his purpoſe, for doubt to wrap himſelfe in more trouble than needed.

Iames lord Audeleie ignominiouſlie drawne to execution and beheaded.

Anno Reg. 13.

The Scots inuade the Engliſh borders.

While theſe things were adoing in England, the king of Scots being aduertiſed of the whole matter and rebellion of the Corniſhmen, thought not to let paſſe that occaſion: and therefore he eftſoones inuaded the frontiers of England, waſting the countrie, burning townes, and murthering the people, ſparing neither place nor perſon: and while his light horſmen were riding to forraie and deſtroie the biſhoprike of Durham, and there burned all about, he with an other part of his armie did beſiege the caſtell of Norham. The biſhop of Durham Richard Fox, being owner of that caſtell, had well furniſhed it both with men and munitions aforehand, doubting leaſt that would follow which came now to paſſe. The biſhop, after that the Scots made this inuaſion, aduertiſed the king (as then being at London) of all things that chanced in the North parts; and ſent in all poſt haſt to the earle of Surrie, to come to the reſcue. The earle being then in Yorkeſhire, and hauing gathered an armie, vpon knowledge giuen to him from the biſhop, with all diligence marched forward, and after him followed other noble men out of all the quarters of the North, euerie of them bringing as manie men as they could gather, for defenſe of their countrie.

Fox biſhop of Durham owner of Norham caſtell.

What lords & knights with their companies went to the reſcue of the caſtell againſt the Scots.

Amongſt theſe, the cheefe leaders were, Raſe earle of Weſtmerland, Thomas lord Dacres, Raſe lord Neuill, George lord Strange, Richard lord Latimer, George lord Lumleie, Iohn lord Scroope, Henrie lord Clifford, George lord Ogle, William lord Coniers, Thomas lord Darcie. Of knights, Thomas baron of Hilton, ſir William Perſie, ſir William Bulmer, ſir William Gaſcoigne, ſir Raſe Bigod,

ſir

Raſe Bowes, ſir Thomas a Parre, ſir Raſe Ellecker, ſir John Conſtable, ſir John Ratcliffe, ſir John Sauill, ſir Thomas Strangweis, and a great number of other knights and eſquiers beſides. The whole armie was little leſſe than twentie thouſand men, beſide the nauie, whereof the lord Brooke was admerall.

When the Scots had diuerſe waies aſſaulted and beaten the caſtell of Norham, but could make no batterie to enter the ſame, they determined of their owne accord to raiſe the ſiege, and returne; and that ſo much the ſooner in verie déed, bicauſe they heard that the earle of Surrie was within two daies iournie of them, with a great puiſſance. Wherefore king James raiſed his ſiege, and returned home into his owne realme. When the earle knew of the kings returne, he followed him with all haſt poſſible, truſting ſuerlie to ouertake him, and to giue him battell. When the earle was entred Scotland, he ouerthrew and defaced the caſtell of Cawdcſtreimes, the tower of Hetenhall, the tower of Edington, the tower of Fulden: and he ſent Norreie king at armes to the capteine of Haiton caſtell, which was one of the ſtrongeſt places betwixt Berwike and Edenburgh, to deliuer him the caſtell. Which he denied to doo, affirming that he was ſure of ſpéedie ſuccours.

The earle of Surrie entreth Scotland defacing caſtels and towers.

The earle héerevpon laid his ordinance to the caſtell, and continuallie beat it, from two of the clocke till fiue at night, in ſuch wiſe, that they within rendered vp the place, their liues onelie ſaued. The earle cauſed his minors to raſe & ouerthrow the fortreſſe to the plaine ground. The Scotiſh king was within a mile of the ſiege, and both knew it, and ſaw the ſmoke, but would not ſet one foot forward to the reſcue. While the erle laie at Haiton, the king of Scots ſent to him Machemont, and an other herald, deſiring him at his election, either to fight with whole puiſſance againſt puiſſance, or elſe they two to fight perſon to perſon; requiring that if the victorie fell to the Scotiſh king, that then the earle ſhould deliuer for his ranſome, the towne of Berwike, with the fiſhgarths of the ſame.

The valiant hart of the erle of Surrie reioiſing at his hap likelie to fight hand to hand with the K. of Scots.

The earle made anſwer hereto, that the towne of Berwike was the king his maiſters, and not his, the which he neither ought nor would laie to pledge, without the king of Englands aſſent; but he would gage his bodie, which was more pretious to him than all the townes of the world, promiſing on his honour, that if he tooke the king priſoner in that ſingular combat, he would releaſe to him all his part of the fine and ranſome; and if it chanced the king to vanquiſh him, he would gladlie paie ſuch ranſome as was conuenient for the degrée of an earle, and thanked him greatlie for the offer: for ſuerlie he thought himſelfe much honored, that ſo noble a prince would vouchſafe to admit ſo poore an earle to fight with him bodie to bodie. When he had rewarded and diſmiſſed the heralds, he ſet his armie in a readineſſe, to abide the comming of the king of Scots, and ſo ſtood all daie.

But king James not regarding his offers, would neither performe the one nor the other; fearing to cope with the Engliſh nation in anie condition; and ſo therevpon fled in the night ſeaſon with all his puiſſance. When the earle knew that the king was reculed, and had béene in Scotland ſix or ſeuen daies, being dailie and nightlie vexed with continuall wind and raine, vpon good and deliberate aduiſe returned backe to the towne of Berwike, and there diſſolued his armie, tarieng there himſelfe, till he might vnderſtand further of the kings pleaſure. In the meane time there came an ambaſſadour to the K. of Scots from the K. of Spaine, one Peter Hialas, a man of no leſſe learning than wit & policie, to mooue & intret a peace betwéene the two kings of England & Scotland [that their people might fall to their neceſſarie trades of aduantage with quietneſſe, and friend with friend, huſband with wife, father with children, and maiſters with ſeruants dwell and accompanie: a diſſolution and ſeparation of whome one from another is procured by bloudie warre, wherein as there is no pitie, ſo is there is no pietie, as one ſaith full trulie:

An ambaſſadour from the K. of Spaine to treat a peace betwixt England and Scotland.

Nulla fides pietáſque viris qui caſtra ſequuntur,
Nulla ſalus bello.]

Luc. lib. 10.

This Spaniſh ambaſſadour ſo earneſtlie trauelled in his meſſage vnto the king of Scots, that at length he found him conformable to his purpoſe: and therefore wrote to the king of England, that it would pleaſe him to ſend one of his nobilitie or councell, to be aſſociat with him in concluding of peace with the Scotiſh king. The king of England was neuer dangerous to agrée to anie reaſonable peace, ſo it might ſtand with his honour; and therefore appointed the biſhop of Durham doctor Fox, to go into Scotland about that treatie which Peter Hialas had begun. The biſhop (according to his commiſſion) went honorablie into Scotland, where he and Peter Hialas at the towne of Jedworth, after long arguing and debating of matters with the Scotiſh commiſſioners, in ſtéed of peace concluded a truce for certeine yeares; vpon condition, that James king of Scots ſhould conueie Perkin Warbecke out of his realme, ſeigniories, and dominions.

About the ſame time, king Henrie receiued the ambaſſadors that were ſent to him from the French king, and had béene ſtaied at Douer, till the Corniſh rebels were vanquiſhed and ſubdued. Alſo the lord of Camphire, and other oratours of Philip archduke of Auſtrich, and duke of Burgognie came to him for the concluſion of amitie, and to haue the Engliſh merchants to reſort againe to their countrie. Which requeſt being verie agréeable to the quietneſſe and wealth of his realme, and eſpeciallie at that time, he did fauourablie grant and agrée vnto. And ſo did the Engliſhmen reſort againe into the archdukes dominions, and were receiued into Antwerpe with generall proceſſion: ſo glad was that towne of their returne. Shortlie after the concluding of the truce betwéene England and Scotland, Perkin Warbecke being willed of the king of Scots to depart out of the Scotiſh dominions, failed with his wife and familie into Ireland, there determining with himſelfe either to repaire into Flanders to his firſt ſetter vp the duches of Burgognie, or elſe ioine and take part with the Corniſhmen.

The Engliſh merchants receiued into Antwerpe with generall proceſſion.

Perkin is faine to pack & out of Scotland.

But howſoeuer it came to paſſe, whileſt he laie in Ireland, he had knowledge from the Corniſhmen, that they were readie to renew the warre againe. Wherevpon he minding not to let paſſe ſo faire an occaſion, hauing with him foure ſmall ſhips, and not aboue ſix ſcore men, ſailed into Cornewall; and there landed in the moneth of September, and came to a towne called Bodman, and there did ſo prouoke the wauering people, what with faire words and large promiſes, that he gathered to him aboue thrée thouſand perſons, which immediatlie called him their capteine, promiſing to take his part, and follow him to the death. Then Perkin well incouraged, made proclamations in the name of king Richard the fourth, as ſonne to king Edward the fourth. And by the aduiſe of his thrée councellors, John Heron mercer a bankrupt, Richard Skelton a tailor, and John Aſtelie a ſcriuener determined firſt of all to aſſaie the winning of Exceſter.

Perkin Warbeck arriueth in Cornwall.

Another rebellion by the Corniſhmen.

Perkins thrée councellors.

Then haſting thither, he laid ſiege to it, and wanting ordinance to make batterie, ſtudied all waies poſſible how to breake the gates, and what with caſting of ſtones, heauing with iron barres, and kindling

Exceſter aſſaulted by Perkin & the Corniſhmen.

of fire vnder the gates, he omitted nothing that could be deuiſed for the furtherance of his purpoſe. The citizens, perceiuing in what danger they ſtood, firſt let certeine meſſengers downe by cords ouer the wall, that might certifie the king of their neceſſitie & trouble. And herewith taking vnto them boldneſſe of courage, determined to repell fire with fire, and cauſed fagots to be brought and laid to the inward parts of the gates, and ſet them all on fire; to the intent that the fire being inflamed on both ſides the gates, might as well keepe out their enimies from entring, as ſhut in the citizens from fleeing out, and that they in the meane ſeaſon might make trenches and rampires to defend their enimies in ſteed of gates and bulworks. Thus by fire was the citie preſerued from fire.

The citie of Exceſter preſerued from fire by fire.

Then Perkin of verie neceſſitie compelled to forſake the gates, aſſaulted the towne in diuerſe weake and vnfortified places, and ſet vp ladders to take the citie. But the citizens, with helpe of ſuch as were come forth of the countrie adioining to their aid, ſo valiantlie defended the walles, that they ſlue aboue two hundred of Perkins ſouldiers at that aſſault. The king hauing aduertiſement of this ſiege of Exceſter, haſted forth with his hoſt, in as much ſpeed as was poſſible, and ſent the lord Daubeneie with certeine bands of light horſſemen before, to aduertiſe all men of his comming at hand. But in the meane ſeaſon, the lord Edward Courtneie earle of Deuonſhire, and the valiant lord William his ſonne, accompanied with ſir Edmund Carew, ſir Thomas Trenchard, ſir William Courtneie, ſir Thomas Fulford, ſir John Halewell, ſir John Croker, Water Courtnie, Peter Edgecombe, William ſaint Maure, with all ſpeed came into the citie of Exceſter, and holpe the citizens, and at the laſt aſſault was the earle hurt in the arme with an arrow, and ſo were manie of his companie but verie few ſlaine.

The king maketh out his power againſt Perkin.

When Perkin ſaw that he could not win the citie of Exceſter, ſith he ſawe it was ſo well fortified both with men and munitions, he departed from thence, and went vnto Taunton, and there the twentith day of September he muſtered his men; as though he were readie to giue battell: but perceiuing his number to be miniſhed, by the ſecret withdrawing of ſundrie companies from him, he began to put miſtruſt in all the remnant. In deed when the people that followed him, in hope that no ſmall number of the nobilitie would ioine with him, ſaw no ſuch matter come to paſſe, they ſtale awaie from him by ſecret companies. When the king heard that he was gone to Taunton, he followed after him with all ſpeed. And by the way there came to him Edward duke of Buckingham, a yoong prince of great towardneſſe; and him followed a great companie of noble men, knights and eſquiers, as ſir Alexander Bainam, ſir Maurice Barkleie, ſir Robert Tame, ſir John Guiſe, ſir Robert Pointz, ſir Henrie Vernon, ſir John Mortimer, ſir Thomas Tremaile, ſir Edward Sutton, ſir Amiſe Paulet, ſir John Birkneill, ſir John Sapcotes, ſir Hugh Lutterell, ſir Francis Cheineie, and diuerſe other.

Edward the yoong duke of Buckingham and his companie ioine with the king.

At the kings approching to the towne of Taunton, he ſent before him Robert lord Brooke lord ſteward of his houſe, Giles lord Daubeneie his chiefe chamberleine, and ſir Rice ap Thomas. But as ſoone as Perkin was informed that his enimies were readie to giue him battell, he that nothing leſſe minded than to fight in open field with the kings puiſſance, diſſembled all the daie time with his companie, as though nothing could make him afraid: and about midnight, accompanied with three ſcore horſſemen, he departed from Taunton in poſt to a ſanctuarie towne beſide Southampton, called Beaudlie, & there he and John Heron with other regiſtred themſelues as perſons priuileged. When as king Henrie knew that Perkin was thus fled, he ſent after him the lord Daubeneie with fiue hundred horſſemen toward the ſea ſide, to apprehend him before he ſhould get away. Although Perkin eſcaped (as I haue ſaid) vnto ſanctuarie, yet manie of his chiefe capteins were taken and preſented to the king.

Perkin fleeth and taketh Beaudlie ſanctuarie.

Alſo the horſſemen that were ſent, without anie ſtop or ſtaie came to ſaint Michaels mount, and there (as chance was) found the ladie Katharine Gordon wife to Perkin, and brought hir ſtreight to the king. At whoſe beautie and amiable countenance the king much maruelled, and thought hir a preie more meet for a prince, than for the meane ſouldiers, and ſent hir incontinentlie vnto London to the queene, accompanied with a ſort of ſage matrones and gentlewomen, bicauſe ſhe was but yoong. The common people that had followed Perkin, after that their cheefeteine was fled, threw awaie their armour as people amazed, and ſubmitted themſelues to the king, humblie beſeeching him of mercie, which he moſt gentlie granted, and receiued them to his fauour. After this the king road to Exceſter, and there not onelie commended the citizens, but alſo hartilie thanked them for dooing ſo well their duties in defending their citie from their enimies. He alſo put there to execution diuerſe Corniſhmen, which were the authors and principall beginners of this new conſpiracie and inſurrection. Neuertheleſſe, he vſed maruellous clemencie alſo in pardoning a great number of the rebels.

The beautifull ladie Katharine (Perkins wife) preſented to the king.

¶ For when king Henrie was come to Exceſter with a great armie, mooued thereunto (as you haue heard) by reaſon of the rebellion of Perkin Warbecke, who was fled before the kings comming, he ſtaied a few daies about the examination of the ſaid rebellion, and the executing of the chiefe and principall capteins. In the end, the multitude of the offendors being great, and moſt humblie crauing for pardon, the king cauſed them all to be aſſembled in the churchyard of ſaint Peters, where they all appeared bare headed, in their ſhirts, and with halters about their necks. His grace was then lodged in the treaſurors houſe, lieng faſt vpon the churchyard, and out of a faire and large window (made for the purpoſe) he tooke the view of them, who ſhouted and cried out for pardon. At length, when the king had pauſed, hee made a ſpeach vnto them, exhorting them to obedience, and in hope he ſhould thenceforth find them dutifull, he pardoned them all: whereat they all made a great ſhout, gaue the king thanks, and hurled awaie their halters. Yet neuertheleſſe, ſome returned againe, and ioined themſelues with the Corniſh people, which had not all ſubmitted themſelues, nor ſought for pardon.]

John Hooker, *alias* Vowell.

All Perkins partakers in their ſhirts with halters about their necks appeare before the king.

Now while he remained at Exceſter, he conſidered with himſelfe, that he had doone nothing, if he could not get into his hands the chiefe head of this trouble and ſeditious buſineſſe. Wherefore he cauſed the ſanctuarie wherein Perkin was incloſed, to be inuironed with two bands of light horſſemen, to watch diligentlie, that Perkin ſhould not eſcape by anie meanes forth of that place vntaken: and withall attempted by faire promiſes of pardon and forgiuenes, if Perkin would ſubmit himſelfe to him and become his man. Perkin perceiuing himſelfe ſo ſhut vp, that he could no waie eſcape, of his owne free will came out of the ſanctuarie, and committed himſelfe to the kings pleaſure. When the king had thus atchiued his purpoſe, he returned to London, and appointed certeine keepers to attend on Perkin, which ſhould not (the bredth of a naile) go from his perſon; leaſt he ſhould conueie himſelfe by anie meanes out of

the

Perkin in ſanctuarie aſſaulted.

Perkin ſubmitteth himſelfe to the king, and is ſtreictlie ſeene to.

the land [and ſet new troubles abroch by ſuch practiſes as he had tofore vſed, for the aduancement of himſelfe to the eſtate of a king, by aſſuming vnto himſelfe the name of a kings ſonne, when in déed hée was come of baſe parentage. But Jacke will bée a gentleman, the long eared aſſe will be taken for a leopard, & the pelting piſmire for a lion, as one ſaith:

M Pal. in Virg.

Nunc ſe aſinus pardum vocat & formica leonem.]

After this, the king cauſed inquiries to be made, of all ſuch as had aided with men or monie the Corniſh rebels, ſo that diuerſe perſons as well in Summerſetſhire as Deuonſhire were detected of that offenſe, which he minded for example ſake ſhould taſt ſome part of due puniſhments for their crimes, according to the qualitie thereof. And therefore he appointed Thomas lord Darcie, Amiſe Paulet knight, and Robert Sherborne deane of Poules (that was after biſhop of Chicheſter) to be commiſſioners for aſſeſſing of their fines that were found culpable. Theſe commiſſioners ſo beſtirred themſelues, in toſſing the coffers and ſubſtance of all the inhabitants of both thoſe ſhires, that there was not one perſon imbrued or ſpotted with the filth of that abhominable crime, that eſcaped the paine which he had deſerued: but to ſuch yet as offended rather by conſtreint than of malice, they were gentle and fauourable, ſo that equitie therein was verie well and iuſtlie executed.

Cõmiſſioners appointed for aſſeſſing of their fines that fauoured the Corniſh rebels.

1498

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 872.

Gardens in More field laid waſt to make archers game.

Price of haie doubled.

Sebaſtian Gabato his diſcouerie of an Iland of rich commodities.

¶In this yeare all the gardens which had béene continued time out of mind, without More gate of London, were deſtroied, and of them was made a plaine field for archers to ſhoot in. Alſo this yéere was a great drought, by reaſon whereof a load of haie, which was before ſold at London at fiue ſhillings, was this yeare ſold for ten or twelue more. Alſo this yeare, one Sebaſtian Gabato, a Genoas ſonne, borne in Briſtow, profeſſing himſelfe to be expert in knowledge of the circuit of the world, and Ilands of the ſame, as by his charts and other reaſonable demonſtrations he ſhewed, cauſed the king to man and vittell a ſhip at Briſtow, to ſearch for an Iland which he knew to be repleniſhed with rich commodites. In the ſhip diuerſe merchants of London aduentured ſmall ſtocks, and in the companie of this ſhip ſailed alſo out of Briſtow thrée or foure ſmall ſhips fraight with ſlight and groſſe wares, as courſe cloath, caps, laſes, points, and ſuch other.

Sir Humfrie Gilbert knight, in his booke intituled, A diſcouerie for a new paſſage to Cataia, writeth thus; Sebaſtian Gabato, by his perſonall experience and trauell, hath deſcribed and ſet forth this paſſage in his charts, which are yet to be ſéene in the quéenes maieſties priuie gallerie at White hall, who was ſent to make this diſcouerie by king Henrie the ſeuenth, and entered the ſame fret, affirming that hée ſailed verie farre weſtward, with a quarter of the north, on the north ſide of *terra de Labrador*, the eleuenth of June, vntill he came to the ſeptentrionall latitude of 67½ degrées, and finding the ſeas ſtill open, ſaid, that he might & would haue gon to Cataia, if the enmitie of the maiſter and mariners had not béene. Neuertheleſſe, he went verie farre, euen to a nation inhabited with people more like beaſts than men, as appeareth in the yeare 1502, and the ſeuentéenth of this kings reigne, when the ſaid traueller was returned, and preſented himſelfe to the kings maieſtie.]

Anno Reg. 14.

England and Scotland like to go togither by the eares afreſh.

In this yeare the warre had like to haue béene reuiued betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland by a ſmall occaſion, as thus. Certeine yongmen of the Scots came arriued before Norham caſtell, & beheld it wonderous circumſpectlie, as though they would faine haue béene of counſell to know what was doone therein. The kéepers not perceiuing anie damage attempted againſt them for the firſt time, determined not to moue anie queſtion to them, or once to ſtirre out. But when they came againe the next day, and viewed it likewiſe, the kéepers of the caſtell ſuſpecting ſome euill meaning, demanded of them what their intent was, and why they viewed and aduiſed ſo the caſtell. The Scots anſwered them roughlie with diſdainfull words, ſo that the Engliſhmen fell to and replied with ſtrokes; and after manie blowes giuen and receiued, diuerſe Scots were wounded, and ſome ſlaine; and the reſidue ouermatched with multitude of the Engliſhmen, fled as faſt as their horſſes could carie them.

The Scotiſh king hereof aduertiſed, was highlie diſpleaſed, and in all haſt ſignified to king Henrie by his herald Marchemont, in what ſort his people (to the breach of the truce) were abuſed and handled. King Henrie being not in will to breake with anie of his neighbours, excuſed the matter, affirming that he was not of knowledge to the miſdemeanor of thoſe that had the caſtell in kéeping; requiring the king of Scots not to thinke the truce broken for anie thing doone without his conſent; promiſing in the word of a king to inquire of the truth, and if the offenſe were found to be begun on the partie of the kéepers of the caſtell, he aſſured him that they ſhould for no méed nor fauour eſcape due correction and puniſhment.

The biſhop of Durham aſſwageth the kings diſpleaſure by leters.

This anſwer (though it was more than reaſonable) could not pacifie the king of Scots, till the biſhop of Durham (that was owner of the caſtell of Norham) who ſore lamented, that by ſuch as he appointed kéepers there, the warre ſhould be renewed) with ſundrie letters written to the Scotiſh king, at length aſſwaged his diſpleaſure, ſo that the ſaid king wrote courteouſlie to the biſhop againe, ſignifieng that bicauſe he had manie ſecret things in his mind, which he would communicate onelie with him touching this matter now in variance; therefore he required him to take the paine to come into his countrie, truſting that he ſhould thinke his labor well beſtowed. The biſhop was glad, and ſent word hereof to the king his maſter, who willed him to accompliſh the deſire of the Scotiſh king, which he tooke to bée reaſonable.

The biſhop of Durham goeth into Scotland.

At his comming into Scotland, he was courteouſlie receiued of the king himſelfe at the abbeie of Melroſſe. And there, after the king had (for a countenance) complained much of the vniuſt ſlaughter of his men late committed at Norham: vpon the biſhops gentle anſwers thervnto, he forgaue the ſame, and after began to talke ſecretlie without witneſſes alone with the biſhop. And firſt he declared what iuſt cauſes moued him in times paſt to ſéeke amitie with the king of England: which now he deſired much more to haue confirmed, for further maintenance & increaſe thereof. Which he doubted not but ſhould ſort to a fortunate concluſion, if the king of England would vouchſafe to giue to him in matrimonie his firſt begotten daughter the ladie Margaret, vpon which point he purpoſed latelie to haue ſent his ambaſſadors into England, which thing he would the ſooner doo if he knew the biſhops mind therein to bée readie to further his ſute. The biſhop anſwered but few words, ſauing that when he were returned to the king his maiſter, he would doo the beſt in the matter that he could.

The Scotiſh king deſireth the ladie Margaret eldeſt daughter of K. Henrie the ſeuenth to be his wife.

When the biſhop was returned into England, and come to the king, he declared to him all the communication had betwéene king James and him, from point to point in order. The king liked well thereof, as he to whom peace was euer a ſouereigne ſolace and comfort. In this meane time Perkin Warbecke, diſappointed of all hope to eſcape out of the Engliſhmens hands (which was the onelie thing that he moſt deſired) found meanes yet at length to

1499

Perkin warbecke eſcapeth from his keepers.

deceiue his keepers, & took him to his heels. But when he came to the ſea coaſts, and could not paſſe, he was in a maruellous perplexitie: for euerie byway, lane, and corner was laid for him, and ſuch ſearch made, that being brought to his wits end, and cut ſhort of his pretenſed iournie, he came to the houſe of Bethlem, called the priorie of Sheene beſide Richmond in Southerie, and betooke himſelfe to the prior of that monaſterie, requiring him for the honour of God, to beg his pardon of life of the kings maieſtie.

The prior, which for the opinion that men had conceiued of his vertue, was had in great eſtimation, pitieng the wretched ſtate of that caitife, came to the king, and ſhewed him of this Perkin, whoſe pardon he humblie craued, and had it as freelie granted. Incontinentlie after was Perkin brought to the court againe at Weſtminſter, and was one day ſet fettered in a paire of ſtocks, before the doore of Weſtminſter hall, and there ſtood a whole day, not without innumerable reproches, mocks and ſcornings. And the next daie he was caried through London, and ſet vpon a like ſcaffold in Cheape by the ſtandard, with like ginnes and ſtocks as he occupied the daie before, and there ſtood all daie, and read openlie his owne confeſſion, written with his owne hand, the verie copie whereof here inſueth.

The confeſſion of Perkin as it was written *with his owne hand, which he read openlie* vpon a ſcaffold by the ſtandard *in Cheape.*

Perkin maketh an anatomie of his deſcent or linage.

IT is firſt to be knowne, that I was borne in the towne of Turneie in Flanders, and my fathers name is Iohn Oſbecke, which ſaid Iohn Oſbecke was controllor of the ſaid towne of Turneie, and my moothers name is Katharine de Faro. And one of my grandſires vpon my fathers ſide was named Diricke Oſbeck, which died. After whoſe death my grandmoother was maried vnto Peter Flamin, that was receiuer of the forenamed towne of Turneie, & deane of the botemen that row vpon the water or riuer called le Scheld. And my grandſire vpon my moothers ſide was Peter de Faro, which had in his keeping the keies of the gate of S. Iohns within the ſame towne of Turneie. Alſo I had an vncle called maiſter Iohn Stalin, dwelling in the pariſh of S. Pias within the ſame towne, which had maried my fathers ſiſter, whoſe name was Ione or Iane, with whome I dwelt a certeine ſeaſon.

Perkins education or bringing vp.

And after I was led by my moother to Antwerpe for to learne Flemiſh, in a houſe of a couſine of mine, an officer of the ſaid towne, called Iohn Stienbecke, with whome I was the ſpace of halfe a yeare. And after that I returned againe to Turneie, by reaſon of warres that were in Flanders. And within a yeare following I was ſent with a merchant of the ſaid towne of Turneie, named Berlo, to the mart of Antwerpe, where I fell ſicke, which ſickeneſſe continued vpon me fiue moneths. And the ſaid Berlo ſet me to boord in a ſkinners houſe, that dwelled beſide the houſe of the Engliſh nation. And by him I was from thenſe caried to Barow mart, and I lodged at the ſigne of the old man, where I abode for the ſpace of two moneths.

After this, the ſaid Berlo ſet me with a merchant of Middleborow to ſeruice for to learne the language, whoſe name was Iohn Strew, with whome I dwelt from Chriſtmaſſe to Eaſter, and then I went into Portingall in companie of ſir Edward Bramptons wife, in a ſhip which was called the queens ſhip. And when I was come thither, then was I put in ſeruice to a knight that dwelled in Luſhborne, which was called Peter Vacz de Cogna, with whome I dwelled an whole yeare, which ſaid knight had but one eie. And bicauſe I deſired to ſee other countries, I tooke licence of him, and then I put my ſelfe in ſeruice with a Britan, called Pregent Meno, which brought me with him into Ireland. Now when we were there arriued in the towne of Corke, they of the towne (bicauſe I was arraied with ſome cloths of ſilke of my ſaid maiſters) came vnto me, & threatned vpon me that I ſhould be the duke of Clarences ſonne, that was before time at Dublin.

Perkin a notable landloper.

But forſomuch as I denied it, there was brought vnto me the holie euangeliſts, and the croſſe, by the maior of the towne, which was called Iohn Leweline, and there in the preſence of him and others, I tooke mine oth (as the truth was) that I was not the foreſaid dukes ſonne, nor none of his bloud. And after this came vnto me an Engliſhman, whoſe name was Stephan Poitron, and one Iohn Water, and ſaid to me in ſwearing great oths, that they knew well that I was king Richards baſtard ſonne: to whome I anſwered with like oths, that I was not. Then they aduiſed me not to be afeard, but that I ſhould take it vpon me boldlie: and if I would ſo doo, they would aid and aſſiſt me with all their power againſt the king of England; & not onelie they, but they were well aſſured, that the earle of Deſmond & Kildare ſhould doo the ſame.

The Iriſh would haue Perkin take vpon him to be the duke of Clarences ſonne.

They beare Perkin downe with oths that he is king Richards baſtard.

For they forced not what part they tooke, ſo that they might be reuenged on the king of England: and ſo againſt my will made me to learne Engliſh, and taught me what I ſhould doo and ſaie. And after this they called me duke of Yorke, ſecond ſonne to king Edward the fourth, bicauſe king Richards baſtard ſonne was in the hands of the king of England. And vpon this the ſaid Water, Stephan Poitron, Iohn Tiler, Hughbert Burgh, with manie others, as the foreſaid earles, entered into this falſe quarell, and within ſhort time others. The French K. ſent an ambaſſador into Ireland, whoſe name was Loit Lucas, and maiſter Stephan Friham, to aduertiſe me to come into France. And thenſe I went into France, and from thenſe into Flanders, & from Flanders into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, & ſo into England.

They call him duke of Yorke.

Then

When the night of the ſame daie (being the fiftéenth of June) was come, after he had ſtood all that daie in the face of the citie, he was committed to the Tower, there to remaine vnder ſafe kéeping, leaſt happilie he might eftſoones run awaie, and eſcape out of the land, to put the king and realme to ſome new trouble. For he had a wonderfull dexteritie and readineſſe to circumuent, a heart full of ouerreaching imaginations, an aſpiring mind, a head more wilie (I wiſſe) than wittie; bold he was and preſumptuous in his behauiour, as forward to be the inſtrument of a miſchéefe, as anie deuiſer of wickedneſſe would wiſh; a féend of the diuels owne forging, nurſed and trained vp in the ſtudie of commotions, making offer to reach as high as he could looke; ſuch was his inordinate ambition, wherewith he did ſwell as coueting to be a princes péere: much like the tode that would match the bull in drinking, but in the end ſhe burſt in péeces and neuer dranke more; as the poet telleth the tale (by the imitation of the fabler) ſaieng:

——— cupiens æquare bibendo
Rana bouem, rupta nunquam bibit ampliùs aluo.

M.Pal. in Virg.

Anno Reg. 15. Patrike an Auguſtine frier.

In this yeare was an Auguſtine frier called Patrike in the parties of Suffolke, the which hauing a ſcholer named Rafe Wilford (a ſhoomakers ſonne of London as Stow noteth) had ſo framed him to his purpoſe, that in hope to worke ſome great enterpriſe, as to diſappoint the king of his crowne and ſeat roiall, tooke vpon him to be the earle of Warwike, inſomuch that both the maiſter and ſcholer hauing counſelled betwéene themſelues of their enterpriſe, they went into Kent, & there began the yoong mawmet to tell priuilie to manie, that he was the verie earle of Warwike, and latelie gotten out of the Tower, by the helpe of this frier Patrike. To which ſaiengs when the frier perceiued ſome light credence to be giuen, he declared it openlie in the pulpit, and deſired all men of helpe. But the danger of this ſeditious attempt was ſhortlie remooued and taken awaie, the maiſter and ſcholer being both apprehended and caſt into priſon and atteinted.

Rafe wilford the counterfeit earle of warwike.

The counterfeit earle is executed.

The ſcholer was hanged on Shroouetueſdaie at ſaint Thomas Waterings, and the frier condemned to perpetuall priſon. For at that time ſo much reuerence was attributed to the holie orders, that to a préeſt (although he had committed high treaſon againſt his ſoueraigne lord) his life was ſpared, in like caſe as to anie other offendor in murther, rape, or theft, that had receiued anie of the thrée higher holie orders. [The chéefe cauſe (ſaith Edward Hall) of this fauour was this, bicauſe biſhops of a long time and ſeaſon did not take knowledge, nor intermix themſelues with the ſearch & puniſhment of ſuch heinous and deteſtable offenſes: by reaſon whereof they did not diſgrade and depriue from the holie orders ſuch malefactors and wicked perſons, which without that ceremonie by the canon lawes could not be put to death.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. in Hen.7.fol lj. The cauſe why the clergie neuer ſo heinouſlie offending was ſo fauoured.

Furthermore, what ſhould a man ſaie, it was alſo vſed, that he that could but onelie read (yea although he vnderſtood not what he read) how heinous or deteſtable a crime ſo euer he had committed (treaſon onelie excepted) ſhould likewiſe as affines & alies to the holie orders be ſaued, and committed to the biſhops priſon. And to the intent that if they ſhould eſcape, and be againe taken, committing like offenſe, that their liues be no more to them pardoned: it was ordeined that murtherers ſhould be burnt on the brawne of the left hand with an hot iron ſigned with this letter M. and théeues in the ſame place with this letter T. So that if they, which were once ſigned with anie of theſe marks or tokens did reiterate like crime & offenſe againe, ſhould ſuffer the paines and puniſhments which they had both merited and deſerued. Which decrée was enacted and eſtabliſhed in a ſeſſion of parlement kept in the time of this kings reigne, and taken (as I coniecture) of the French nation, which are wont, if they take anie ſuch offendor, to cut off one of his eares, as a ſure token and marke hereafter of his euill dooing.]

Burning in the hand when enacted.

Perkin corrupted his kéepers.

Perkin Warbecke (as before ye haue heard) being now in hold, by falſe perſuaſions and great promiſes corrupted his kéepers, Stranguiſh, Blewet, Aſtwood, and long Roger, ſeruants to ſir John Digbie lieutenant of the Tower. Inſomuch that they (as it was at their arreignment openlie prooued) intended to haue ſlaine their maiſter, and to haue ſet Perkin and the earle of Warwike at large. Which earle of Warwike had béene kept in priſon within the Tower almoſt from his tender yeares, that is to ſaie, from the firſt yeare of the king, to this fiftéenth yeare, out of all companie of men & ſight of beaſts, inſomuch that he could not diſcerne a gooſe from a capon, and therefore by common reaſon and open apparance could not of himſelfe ſéeke his owne death and deſtruction. But yet by the drift and offenſe of an other he was brought to his death and confuſion.

Edward Plantagenet earle of Warwike a verie innocent.

For being made priuie of this enterpriſe deuiſed by Perkin and his complices, therevnto (as all naturall creatures loue libertie) he aſſented and agréed. But this craftie deuiſe and ſubtill imagination being reuealed, ſorted to none effect, ſo that Perkin and John Awater ſometime maior of Corke in Ireland, one of his chéefe founders, and his ſonne, were on the ſixtéenth daie of Nouember arreigned and condemned at Weſtminſter. And on the thrée and twentith daie of the ſame moneth, Perkin and John Awater were drawne to Tiburne, where Perkin ſtanding on a little ſcaffold, read his confeſſion (as before he had doone in Cheape ſide) taking it on his death to be true. And ſo he and John Awater aſked the king forgiueneſſe, and died patientlie.

Perkin and John Awater executed at Tiburne.

This was the reward of the feined gloſe and counterfeit comment of Perkin Warbecke, the which as by his falſe ſurmiſes in his life time had brought manie honourable perſonages to their deaths, and vndoone manie an honeſt man: ſo now at his death he brought other of the ſame ſort to their not altogither vndeſerued puniſhment. And amongeſt others Edward Plantagenet the forenamed erle of Warwike, which (as the fame went) conſented to breake priſon, and to depart out of the realme with Perkin (which in priſoners is high treaſon) was the one and twentith daie of the ſaid moneth arreigned at Weſtminſter before the earle of Oxenford then high ſteward of England of the ſaid treaſon, which (whether it were by intiſement and perſuaſion of other, or of his owne frée will manie doubted, bicauſe of his innocencie) confeſſed the fact, and ſubmitted himſelfe to the kings mercie; and vpon his confeſſion had his iudgement, and according therevnto the eight and twentith daie of Nouember in the yeare 1499, was brought to the ſcaffold on the Tower hill, and there beheaded.

Edward Plantagenet the yoong earle of warwike beheaded.

The fame after his death ſprang abroad, that Ferdinando king of Spaine would make no full concluſion of the matrimonie to be had betwéene prince Arthur and the ladie Katharine daughter to the ſaid Ferdinando, nor ſend hir into England as long as this earle liued. For he imagined that ſo long as anie earle of Warwike liued, England ſhould neuer be purged of ciuill warre and priuie ſedition; ſo much was the name of Warwike in other regions had in feare and gealouſie. The next yeare after there was a great plague, whereof men died in manie places verie ſore; but ſpeciallie and moſt of all in the citie of London, where died in that yeare thirtie thouſand. The foure and twentith of Februarie in this fiftéenth

1500

A great plague.

Edward the kings third ſonne chriſtened.

The manour of Shéene burnt & Richmond built in place thereof. I.S.pag.874.

yeare of this kings reigne his third ſon was chriſtened and was named Edward. Alſo in this yeare was burned a place of the kings, called the manour of Shéene ſituate nigh the Thames ſide, which he after builded againe ſumptuouſlie, and changed the name of Shéene, and called it Richmond; bicauſe his father and he were earles of Richmond: or (as ſome note) for that ſo manie notable and rich iewels were there burnt. He alſo new builded Bainards caſtell in London, and repaired Gréenewich.]

King Henrie the ſeuenth ſaileth to Calis.

The king, whether to auoid the danger of ſo great and perilous ſickeneſſe, then raging, or to take occaſion to commen with the duke of Burgognie, did perſonallie take his ſhip at Douer in the beginning of Maie, and ſailed to Calis, whither the duke of Burgognie ſent to him honourable perſonages in ambaſſage to welcome him into thoſe parties, and to declare that the ſaid duke would gladlie repaire perſonallie to his preſence with ſuch a number as the king ſhould appoint, ſo that it were within no walled towne nor fortreſſe. For hauing denied the French king to enter into anie of his fortreſſes to talke with him, he would be loth now to giue a preſident to him to deſire the like méeting. The king interteining the ambaſſadours, and thanking the duke of his courteous offer, appointed the place at ſaint Peters church without Calis.

The king of England and the duke of Burgognie méet at ſaint Peters church without Calis. Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall, in Hen. 7. fol. lij.

Vpon tueſdaie in Whitſunwéeke the archduke Philip came thither with a conuenient companie. The king and the quéene with manie a luſtie lord and ladie rode thither to welcome him. [And when the king approched, the duke at his lighting offered to hold his ſtirrupe, which the king in no wiſe would ſuffer to be doone. When the king was deſcended from his horſſe, he and the archduke imbraced each other with moſt princelie familiaritie, and then the quéene and all the nobls ſaluted him.] And after moſt louing interteinments, bankettings, mirth, and paſtime ſhewed amongeſt them, there was communication of marriages, treating of further ſtrengthening of leagues, requeſts of tolles in Flanders to be miniſhed: with manie other things touching the commoditie and traffike of both their countries. And when all things were ſet in order, the two princes tooke their leaue, and departed; the king to Calis, and the archduke to S. Omers. After his departing, there came as ambaſſadors from the French king, the lord Gronthouſe gouernour of Picardie, and the lord Meruelliers bailiffe of Amiens, which declared to the king the getting of Millaine and taking of the duke. The king highlie feaſted them, and rewarded them princelie at their departing.

Anno Reg. 16.

Soone after, when the death was ſlaked, the king returned againe into England about the end of Iune. Shortlie after there came to him one Gaſper Pons a Spaniard, a man of excellent learning and moſt ciuill behauiour, ſent from Alexander the biſhop of Rome to diſtribute the heauenlie grace (as he termed it) to all ſuch as (letted by anie forceable impediment) could not come to Rome that yeare to the Iubile, which was there celebrate, being the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour, 1500. This beneuolent liberalitie was not altogither fréelie giuen. For Alexander looking to the health of mens ſoules, thought to doo ſomewhat for his owne priuat commoditie, & therefore he ſet a certeine price of that his grace and pardon. And to the end that the king ſhould not hinder his purpoſe, he offered part of his gaines to the king.

A yeare of Iubile.

Pope Alexander maketh profit of his great pardon or heauenlie grace, as he termeth it.

And to colour the matter with ſome fauourable pretext, and to make men the better willing, & more readie to giue franklie, he promiſed with that monie to make warre againſt the Turke. By this meanes the pope got a great maſſe of monie, which he had conueied ouer vnto him by ſuch truſtie meſſengers (doubt you not) as he had appointed; and yet nothing doone againſt the Turks, which in the meane ſeaſon did much hurt to the chriſtians. [For it was no part of his meaning (what colourable ſhew ſoeuer he made of tendering the ſuccourleſſe people) to impart anie portion thereof to ſo good a vſe; but rather for the ſupportation of him and his ſwarme, who before they will bate an ace of their gorgeous gallantneſſe, the whole world ſhalbe couſened. Such is the colluſion of the pope, ſuch be the ſhameleſſe ſhifts of him and his cleargie for the maintenance of their owne courtlie brauerie, which is wicked vanitie; farre paſſing the pompe of anie prince, were the ſame of neuer ſo rare magnificence; as he well noteth that ſaid full trulie:

Abr. Flem.

———immenſo princeps non viſus in orbe eſt,
Cui tanti faſtus tantáue pompa fuit.
Ingreditur quando miſeræ Babylonis in vrbes,
Cernitur hîc pluſquam regia pompa comes.
Huic equus eſt ſpumans oſtróq; inſignis & auro,
Altiſono cuius ſub pede terra fremit, &c.]

Antith. Chriſt. & pape. pag. 38, 40.

About this time died thrée biſhops in England, Iohn Morton archbiſhop of Canturburie, Thomas Langton biſhop of Wincheſter, and Thomas Rotheram archbiſhop of Yorke. After him ſuccéeded Thomas Sauage biſhop of London, a man of great honour and worthineſſe: in whoſe place ſuccéeded William Warham, of whome before is made mention. And Henrie Deane biſhop of Saliſburie, was made archbiſhop of Canturburie, and Richard Fox was remooued from Durham to the ſée of Wincheſter. Alſo this yeare two notable mariages were concluded, but not conſummate till afterwards, as you ſhall heare in place conuenient. For king Henrie granted his daughter ladie Margaret to Iames the fourth king of Scots. And Ferdinando king of Spaine gaue his daughter ladie Katharine to Arthur prince of Wales, ſonne and heire apparant to the king of England.

Thrée biſhops dead in one yeare.

Two notable mariages.

1501

Katharine daughter to Ferdinando K. of Spaine affied to Arthur prince of wales.

Among other articles of the mariage concluded with the Scotiſh king this was one, that no Engliſhmen ſhould be receiued into Scotland without letters commendatorie of their ſoueraigne lord, or ſafe conduct of his warden of the marches; and the ſame prohibition was in like maner giuen to the Scots. This yeare the ladie Katharine of Spaine was ſent by hir father king Ferdinando with a puiſſant nauie of ſhips into England, where ſhe arriued in the hauen of Plinmouth the ſecond daie of October then being ſaturdaie. Vpon the twelfe of Nouember ſhe was conueied from Lambeth through London with all triumph and honour that might be deuiſed to the biſhops palace, the ſtréets being hanged, and pageants erected after the maner as is vſed at a coronation: which ſolemnitie Edward Hall deſcribeth with the ſumptuous ſhewes then gliſtering in the beholders eies.

Anno Reg. 17.

The fourth of October as Stow hath noted.

¶ I paſſe ouer (ſaith he) the wiſe deuiſes, the prudent ſpéeches, the coſtlie works, the cunning portratures, practiſed and ſet forth in ſeuen goodlie beautifull pageants, erected and ſet vp in diuerſe places of the citie. I leaue alſo the goodlie ballades, the ſwéet harmonie, the muſicall inſtruments, which ſounded with heauenlie noiſe on euerie ſide of the ſtréets. I omit further, the coſtlie apparell both of goldſmiths worke and imbroderie, the rich iewels, the maſſie chaines, the ſtirring horſſes, the beautifull bards and the glittering trappers, both with belles and ſpangels of gold. I pretermit alſo the rich apparell of the princeſſe, the ſtrange faſhion of the Spaniſh nation, the beautie of the Engliſh ladies, the goodlie demeanure of the yong damoſels, the amorous countenance of the luſtie bachelers. I paſſe ouer alſo the fine ingrained clothes, the coſtlie furs of the citizens, ſtanding

Abr. Flem. ex Edw. Hall fol. liij.

on ſcaffolds, raiſed from Gracechurch to Paules. What ſhould I ſpeake of the odoriferous ſcarlets, the fine veluets, the pleaſant furres, the maſſie chaines, which the maior of London with the ſenat, ſitting on horſſebacke at the little conduit in Cheape, ware on their bodies and about their necks? I will not ſpeake of the rich arras, the coſtlie tapeſtrie, the fine clothes both of gold and ſiluer, the curious veluets, the beautifull ſattens, nor the pleaſant ſilkes which did hang in euerie ſtréet where ſhe paſſed, the wine that ran continuallie out of the conduits, and the graueling of the ſtréets néedeth not to be remembred.]

Whileſt this ladie ſoiourned for hir recreation in the biſhops palace of London, being in the meane time viſited of the king, the quéene, and the kings mother, there was erected in the bodie of S. Paules church a long bridge made of timber, extending from the weſt doore of the church to the ſtep at the entring into the quéere, which was ſix foot from the ground. On the ſaid bridge or ſtage, euen directlie before the conſiſtorie of the church, was a place raiſed like a mount for eight perſons to ſtand vpon, compaſſed round about with ſteps to aſcend and deſcend, which was couered with fine red worſted, and in likewiſe were all the railes of the ſaid ſtage. On the north ſide of this mount was a place decked and trimmed for the king and quéene, and ſuch other as they appointed to haue. On the ſouth ſide of the ſame mount ſtood the maior and the magiſtrates of the citie.

When all things were prepared and ſet in order, vpon the fouretéenth of Nouember then being ſundaie, the foreſaid ladie was led to the ſaid mount, and there prince Arthur openlie eſpouſed hir, both being clad in white, both luſtie and amorous, he of the age of fiftéene and more, and ſhe of the age of eightéene or thereabouts, the king and quéene ſtanding priuily on their ſtage. After the matrimonie celebrated, the prince and his wife went vp into the quéere, and there heard a ſolemne maſſe ſoong by the archbiſhop of Canturburie, aſſociat with ninetéene prelats mitred. And after the maſſe finiſhed, the bride was led homewards to the biſhops palace by the duke of Yorke being then a goodlie yoong prince, and the legat of Spaine. Next after followed the ladie Cicilie ſiſter to the quéene, ſupporting the traine of the ſpouſe.

The ſolemnization of the mariage betwéene Arthur prince of wales & Katharine daughter to the king of Spaine.

But to ſpeake of all the ſolemne pompe, noble companie of lords and ladies, and what a ſumptuous feaſt and plentifull was kept, with danſing and diſguiſings, words might ſooner faile than matter worthie of rehearſall. Howbeit euerie daie endeth and night inſueth, and ſo when night was come, the prince and his beautifull bride were brought and ioined togither in one bed, where they laie as man and wife all that night. ¶ Now when the morning appéered, the prince(as his familiar ſeruitors, which had then neither cauſe nor reward to lie or faine, openlie told the tale)called for drinke, which he before times was not accuſtomed to doo. At which thing one of his chamberleines maruelling, aſked the cauſe of his drouth. To whome the prince anſwered merilie, ſaieng; I haue this night béene in the middeſt of Spaine, which is a hot region, and that iournie maketh me ſo drie: and if thou haddeſt béene vnder that hot climat, thou wouldeſt haue béene drier than I.]

Edw. Hall fol. liij.

Shortlie after the king and the quéene, with the new wedded ſpouſes went from Bainards caſtell by water to Weſtminſter, on whom the maior and communaltie of London in barges gorgeouſlie trimmed gaue their attendance. And there in the palace were ſuch martiall feats, valiant iuſts, vigorous turneis, and ſuch fierce fight at the barriers, as before that time was of no man had in remembrance. Of this roiall triumph lord Edward duke of Buckingham was chiefe chalenger, and lord Thomas Greie marqueſſe Dorſet chiefe defender, which with their aids and companions bare themſelues ſo valiantlie, that they got great praiſe and honour, both of the Spaniards, and of their owne countriemen. During the time of theſe iuſts and triumphs, were receiued into London, an earle, a biſhop, and diuerſe noble perſonages ſent from the king of Scots into England, for concluſion of the mariage betwéene the ladie Margaret and him; which earle by proxie, in the name of king Iames his maiſter, affied and contracted the ſaid ladie. Which affiance was publiſhed at Paules croſſe, the daie of the conuerſion of ſaint Paule: in reioiſing whereof *Te Deum* was ſoong, and great fiers made through the citie of London.

Margaret eldeſt daughter to king Henrie affied to Iames king of Scots.

1502

Theſe things being accompliſhed, the ambaſſadors as well of Spaine as Scotland tooke their leaue of the king, & not without great rewards returned into their countries. When the ambaſſadors were departed, he ſent his ſonne prince Arthur againe into Wales, to kéepe that countrie in good order; appointing to him wiſe and expert councellors, as ſir Richard Poole his kinſman, which was his chiefe chamberleine, alſo ſir Henrie Vernon, ſir Richard Crofts, ſir Dauid Philip, ſir William Vdall, ſir Thomas Englefield, ſir Peter Newton knights; Iohn Walleſton, Henrie Marion, & doctor William Smith, preſident of his councell, and doctor Charles; of the which two doctors, the one was after biſhop of Lincolne, and the other biſhop of Hereford.

Prince Arthur is ſent into wales.

¶ This yeare Iohn Shaw (who was maior of London) cauſed his brethren the aldermen to ride from the Guildhall vnto the water ſide, when he went to Weſtminſter to be preſented in the excheker. He alſo cauſed the kitchens and other houſes of office to be builded at the Guildhall, where ſince that time the maiors feaſts haue béene kept, which before had béene in the groſers or tailors hall. About Eaſter, all the Greie friers in England changed their habit, for whereas of long time before they had vſed to weare browne ruſſet of foure ſhillings, ſix ſhillings, and eight ſhillings the yard; now they were compelled to weare ruſſet of two ſhillings the yard and not aboue, which was brought to paſſe by the friers of Gréenewich. This yeare, the dike called Turnemill brooke, with all the courſe of Fléet dike, were ſo ſcowred downe to the Thames, that boates with fiſh and fewell were rowed vp to Holborne bridge, as they of old time had béene accuſtomed: which was a great commoditie to all the inhabitants in that part of London. Alſo the tower néere to the Blacke friers was taken downe by the commandement of the maior. Alſo this yeare were brought vnto the king thrée men taken in the new found Ilands, by Sebaſtian Gabato, before named in Anno 1468. Theſe men were clothed in beaſts ſkins, and eat raw fleſh, but ſpake ſuch a language as no man could vnderſtand them, of the which thrée men, two of them were ſéene in the kings court at Weſtminſter two yeares after, clothed like Engliſhmen, and could not be diſcerned from Engliſhmen.]

Iohn Stow pag. 874, 875.

The maiors feaſt firſt kept at Guildhall.

woollen cloth of two ſhillings the brode yard.

Dikes of Lōdon clenſed.

Men brought from the new found Ilands.

A few moneths before the mariage of prince Arthur, Edmund de la Poole earle of Suffolke, ſonne to Iohn duke of Suffolke, and ladie Elizabeth ſiſter to king Edward the fourth, being bold and raſh withall, was indicted of murther, for ſleaing of a meane perſon in his rage & furie. And although the king pardoned him whome he might iuſtlie haue put to death for that offenſe; yet bicauſe he was brought to the barre before the kings Bench, and arraigned (which fact he tooke as a great blemiſh to his honour) ſhortlie after vpon that diſpleaſure he fled into Flanders vnto his aunt the ladie Margaret, the king not being priuie to his going ouer. Neuertheleſſe, whe-

Edmund erle of Suffolke flieth into Flanders.

ther he was perſuaded by his fréends therevnto, whom the king had willed to deale with him therein; or whether vpon truſt of his innocencie: true it is that he returned againe, and excuſed himſelfe to the king, ſo that he thought him to be giltleſſe of anie crime that might be obiected againſt him.

But when the mariage betwixt the prince & the ladie Katharine of Spaine was kept at London, this erle either for that he had paſſed his compaſſe in exceſſiue charges and ſumptuouſneſſe at that great triumph and ſolemnitie, and by reaſon thereof was farre run into debt; either elſe through the procurement of his aunt the foreſaid ladie Margaret; or pricked with ſome priuie enuie, which could not patientlie with open eies behold king Henrie (being of the aduerſe faction to his linage) ſo long to reigne in wealth and felicitie: in concluſion with his brother Richard fled againe into Flanders. This departure of the earle ſore vexed the king, doubting of ſome new trouble to inſue thereof.

The diſcontented mind of the earle of Suffolke.

But yet to vnderſtand the full meaning of the ſaid earle, the king vſed his old fetch: for immediatlie after the earle was fled, he appointed ſir Robert Curſon, whome he had aduanced to the order of knighthood, and made capteine of Hammes caſtell, a valiant man and a circumſpect, to diſſemble himſelfe one of that conſpiracie; who went into Flanders, to eſpie what was doone there by the ladie Margaret, and hir nephue the earle of Suffolke. After that the ſaid ſir Robert Curſon was thus gone into Flanders, the king to put him out of all ſuſpicion with the ſaid ladie Margaret and the earle, cauſed the ſaid earle, and ſir Robert Curſon, and fiue perſons more to be accurſſed at Paules croſſe, the firſt ſundaie of Nouember, as enimies to him and his realme.

The kings woonted policie now againe practiſed.

To be bréefe, the king by his meanes, and other ſuch diligent inquiſition as he made, tried out ſuch as he ſuſpected, partlie to be deuiſers of miſchéefe againſt him, and partlie to beare no ſincere affection towards his perſon, ſo that he could readilie name them: whereof a great part were within few daies apprehended and taken. And amongſt them William lord Courtneie, ſonne to the earle of Deuonſhire, which maried the ladie Katharine, daughter to king Edward the fourth; lord William de la Poole, brother to the foreſaid earle of Suffolke, ſir Iames Tirrell, & ſir Iohn Windam. Both the Williams were rather taken of ſuſpicion, bicauſe they were ſo néere of kin to the conſpirator, than for anie prooued matter. But ſir Iames Tirrell and Iohn Windam, bicauſe they were traitors, and ſo attainted, the firſt daie of Maie after their apprehenſion, they were on the Tower hill beheaded.

Tirrell and Windam beheaded.

When the earle of Suffolke heard what fortune thus happened to his fréends, as one in vtter deſpaire to haue anie good ſucceſſe in his pretenſed enterpriſe, wandred about all Germanie and France, to purchaſe ſome aid and ſuccour, if by anie means he might. But when he perceiued no ſtedfaſt ground to catch anchor hold vpon, he ſubmitted himſelfe vnder the protection of Philip archduke of Auſtrich. But his brother Richard, being a politike man, ſo wiſelie ordered himſelfe in this ſtormie tempeſt, that he was not intrapped either with net or ſnare. The king not yet out of all doubt of ciuill ſedition, bicauſe a great number of euill diſpoſed perſons partakers of this conſpiracie, were fled into ſundrie ſanctuaries, deuiſed to haue all the gates of ſanctuaries and places priuileged ſhut and locked vp, ſo that none ſhould iſſue out from thence to perturbe and diſquiet him.

And for that intent he wrote vnto pope Alexander, deſiring him by his authoritie to adiudge all Engliſhmen, being fled to ſanctuarie for the offenſe of treaſon as enimies to the chriſtian faith, interdicting and prohibiting the refuge and priuilege of ſanctuarie to all ſuch, as once had enioied the libertie and protection of the ſame, and after that fled out, and eftſoones returned againe. Which thing after that the pope had granted, turned to the great quietneſſe of the king and his realme. For manie that had offended, for feare to fall into danger, returned to the due ſubiection of their prince; and other that were yet frée from perill, durſt not hazard themſelues ſo boldlie as they durſt haue doone before, vpon hope of ſuch ſtarting holes.

Sanctuaries reſtrained.

When the king had thus ſetled things to his owne contentation and pleaſure, there ſuddenlie happened to him a lamentable chance. For that noble prince Arthur, the kings firſt begotten ſonne, after he had béene maried to the ladie Katharine his wife, the ſpace of fiue moneths, departed out of this tranſitorie life, in his caſtell of Ludlow, and with great funerall obſequie was buried in the cathedrall church of Worceſter. His brother the duke of Yorke was ſtaied from the title of Prince by the ſpace of a moneth, till to women it might appeare whether the ladie Katharine wife to the ſaid prince Arthur was conceiued with child or not. [It is reported that this ladie Katharine thought and feared ſuch dolorous chance to come: for when ſhe had imbraced hir father, and taken hir leaue of hir noble and prudent mother, and ſailed towards England, ſhe was continuallie ſo toſſed and tumbled hither and thither with boiſterous winds, that what for the rage of the water, and contrarietie of the winds, hir ſhip was prohibited diuerſe times to approach the ſhore and take land.]

The death of Arthur prince of wales.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 7. fol. lv.

In this eightéenth yeare, the twentie fourth daie of Ianuarie, a quarter of an houre afore thrée of the clocke at after noone of the ſame daie, the firſt ſtone of our ladie chapell within the monaſterie of Weſtminſter was laid, by the hands of Iohn Iſlip abbat of the ſame monaſterie, ſir Reginald Braie knight of the garter, doctor Barnes maiſter of the rolles, doctor Wall chapleine to the kings maieſtie, maiſter Hugh Oldham chapleine to the counteſſe of Darbie and Richmond the kings mother, ſir Edward Stanhope knight, and diuerſe others. Vpon the ſame ſtone was this ſcripture ingrauen: *Illuſtriſſimus Henricus ſeptimus rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, poſuit hanc petram in honore beatæ virginis Mariæ, 24. die Ianuarij; anno Domini 1502. Et anno dicti regis Henrici ſeptimi, decimo octauo.* The charges whereof amounted (as ſome report, vpon credible information as they ſaie) to fouretéene thouſand pounds.

Anno Reg. 18. 1503

King Henrie the ſeauenths chapell at weſtminſter firſt builded.

Quéene Elizabeth lieng within the Tower of London, was brought a bed of a faire daughter on Candlemaſſe daie, which was there chriſtened and named Katharine; and the eleuenth of the ſame moneth the ſaid quéene there deceaſed, and was buried at Weſtminſter, whoſe daughter alſo liued but a ſmall ſeaſon after hir mother. [King Henrie the ſeauenth being himſelfe a brother of the tailors companie in London, as diuerſe other his predeceſſors kings before him had béene (to wéet Richard the third, Edward the fourth, Henrie the ſixt, Henrie the fift, Henrie the fourth, and Richard the ſecond; alſo of dukes eleuen, earles eight and twentie, and lords eight and fortie) he now gaue to them the name and title of merchant tailors, as a name of worſhip to indure for euer. This yeare, about the later end of March, the prior of the Charterhouſe of Shene was murthered in a cell of his owne houſe, by meanes of one Godwine, a monke of the ſame cloiſter, and his adherents artificers of London. A drie ſummer, hauing no notable raine from Whitſuntide to the later ladie daie in harueſt.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 876.

Six kings of England brethren with the tailors companie in London, before they were intituled merchant tailors.

Prior of Shene murthered.

A drie ſummer.

The eightéenth of Februarie, the king at his palace of Weſtminſter created his onelie ſonne Henrie prince of Wales, earle of Cheſter, &c: who afterward ſucceeded his father in poſſeſſion of the regall crowne of this realme. Moreouer, this yeare alſo, after the deceaſſe of that noble queene, for hir vertue commonlie called good queene Elizabeth, departed out of this world alſo ſir Reginald Braie knight of the garter, a verie father of his countrie, for his high wiſedome and ſingular loue to iuſtice well worthie to beare that title. If anie thing had beene doone amiſſe contrarie to law and equitie, he would after an humble ſort plainelie blame the king, and giue him good aduertiſement, that he ſhould not onelie reforme the ſame, but alſo be more circumſpect in anie other the like caſe. Of the ſame vertue and faithfull plainneſſe was Iohn Morton archbiſhop of Canturburie, which died (as is ſhewed aboue) two yeares before.

Sir Reginald Braie his death.

Iuſt commendations of Morton archbiſhop of Canturburie and ſir Reginald Braie.

So theſe two perſons were reſtrainers of the kings vnbrideled libertie; whereas the common people (ignorant altogither of the truth in ſuch matters) iudged and reported, that the counſell of thoſe two worthie perſonages corrupted the kings cleane and immaculate conſcience, contrarie to his princelie diſpoſition and naturall inclination; ſuch is euer the errour of the common people. ¶About this time died Henrie the archbiſhop of Canturburie, whoſe roome doctor William Warham biſhop of London ſupplied. And to the ſee of London William Barnes was appointed, and after his death ſucceeded one Richard fitz Iames. This yeare alſo the lord Caſſimire marqueſſe of Brandenburgh, accompanied with an earle, a biſhop, and a great number of gentlemen well apparrelled, came in ambaſſage from the emperor Maximilian, and were triumphantlie receiued into London, and lodged at Croſbies place.

Caſſimire ambaſſadour from the emperour Maximilian.

Their meſſage was for three cauſes, one to comfort the king in his time of heauineſſe for the loſſe of his wife. The ſecond for the renewing of amitie, and the old league. The third (which was not apparant) was to moue the king to marie the emperours daughter, the ladie Margaret, ducheſſe Dowager of Sauoie. The two firſt tooke effect: for the king vpon Paſſion ſundaie road to Paules in great triumph, the ſaid marqueſſe riding on his left hand. And there the biſhop made to the king an excellent conſolatorie oration concerning the death of the queene. And there alſo the king openlie ſware to keepe the new reuiued league and amitie during their two liues. But the third requeſt (whether the let was on the mans ſide, or on the womans) neuer ſorted to anie concluſion.

The ladie Margaret the kings daughter, affied (as yee haue heard) to the king of Scots, was appointed to be conueied into Scotland, by the earle of Surrie: and the earle of Northumberland, as warden of the marches, was commanded to deliuer hir at the confines of both the realmes. And ſo heere vpon, after hir comming to Berwike, ſhe was conueied to Lamberton kirke in Scotland, where the king of Scots, with the flower of all the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, was readie to receiue hir: to whome the earle of Northumberland (according to his commiſſion) deliuered hir. The ſaid earle of Northumberland that daie, what for the riches of his coat being goldſmithes worke, garniſhed with pearle and ſtone, and what for the gallant apparell of his Henchmen, and braue trappers of his horſſe, beſide foure hundred tall men well horſſed and apparelled in his colours, was eſteemed both of the Scots and Engliſhmen more like a prince than a ſubiect.

The ſumptuous araie of the earle of Northumberland.

The mariage betweene the k. of Scots & ladie Margaret king Henries eldeſt daughter.

From Lamberton, the foreſaid ladie was conueied to Edenburgh, and there the daie after, king Iames the fourth, in the preſence of all his nobilitie, eſpouſed hir, and feaſted the Engliſh lords, and ſhewed iuſts and other paſtimes verie honourablie, after the faſhion of that countrie. And after all things were finiſhed according to their commiſſion, the erle of Surrie with all the Engliſh lords and ladies returned into their countrie. In this yeare the king kept his high court of parlement, in the which diuerſe acts eſteemed neceſſarie for the preſeruation of the common-wealth were eſtabliſhed: and amongſt other, it was enacted, that theeues and murtherers duelie conuicted by the law to die, and yet ſaued by their books, ſhould be committed to the biſhops cuſtodie. After this, a ſubſidie was granted, both of the temporaltie, and ſpiritualtie, and ſo that parlement ended.

Anno Reg. 19.

The king couetous in his old age.

1504

But the king now drawing into age, and willing to fill his cheſts with aboundance of treaſure, was not ſatiſfied with this onelie ſubſidie, but deuiſed an other meane how to inrich himſelfe, as thus. He conſidered that the Engliſhmen little regarded the keeping of penall lawes, and pecuniall ſtatutes, deuiſed for the good preſeruation of the common-welth. Wherefore he cauſed inquiſition to be made of thoſe that had tranſgreſſed anie of the ſame lawes, ſo that there were but few noble men, merchants, farmers, huſbandmen, graſiers, or occupiers, that could cleerlie proue themſelues faultleſſe, but had offended in ſome one or other of the ſame lawes. At the firſt, they that were found giltie were eaſilie fined. But after, there were appointed two maiſters and ſurueiors of his forfeits, the one ſir Richard Empſon, and the other Edmund Dudleie.

Richard Empſon & Edmund Dudleie.

Theſe two were learned in the lawes of the realme, who meaning to ſatiſfie their princes pleaſure, and to ſee their commiſſion executed to the vttermoſt, ſeemed little to reſpect the perill that might inſue. Wherevpon they being furniſhed with a ſort of accuſers, commonlie called promoters, or (as they themſelues will be named) informers, troubled manie a man, whereby they wan them great hatred, and the king (by ſuch rigorous proceedings) loſt the loue and fauour which the people before time had borne towards him; ſo that he for ſetting them a worke, and they for executing of it in ſuch extreame wiſe, ran into obloquie with the ſubiects of this realme.

Promoters.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag.876.

Sergeants feaſt whereat were the king and all his nobles at dinner.

¶On the thirteenth of Nouember was holden within the palace of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, at Lambeth, the ſergeants feaſt, where dined the king and all his nobles. And vpon the ſame day, Thomas Granger, newlie choſen ſhiriffe of London, was preſented before the barons of the kings exchequer, there to take his oth, and after went with the maior vnto the ſame feaſt, which ſaued him monie in his purſſe; for if that day that feaſt had not beene kept, he muſt haue feaſted the maior, aldermen, and others, worſhipfull of the citie. This feaſt was kept at the charge of ten learned men, newlie admitted to bee ſergeants to the kings law, whoſe names were, Robert Bridnell, William Greuill, Thomas Marow, George Edgore, Iohn Moore, Iohn Cutler, Thomas Eliot, Lewes Pollard, Guie Palmis, William Fairefax. On the one and twentith of Nouember at night, began a perillous fier at the ſigne of the panier vpon London bridge, neere to ſaint Magnus church; where ſix tenements were burned yer the ſame could be quenched. On the ſeuenth of Ianuarie, were certeine houſes conſumed with fire againſt ſaint Butolphes church in Thames ſtreet. On the fiue and twentith of Ianuarie began a parlement at Weſtminſter, of the which was choſen ſpeaker for the commons, maiſter Edmund Dudleie.]

Fire on London bridge.

Fire.

Parlement.

Anno reg.20.

A new coine of ſiluer was ordeined of grotes and halfe grotes, which bare but halfe faces; and ſome peeces of the value of twelue penſe were then

ſtamped,

Alum deere.

ſtamped, though very few of that ſort came abroad. In this yeare, alum, which manie yeares had bene ſold for ſix ſhillings an hundred, and lower, aroſe to fiue nobles an hundred, and after to foure marks, &c. Sir William Capell, who for this yeare was maior, cauſed in euerie ward of London a cage with a paire of ſtocks, therein to puniſh vagabunds. Alſo he cauſed all Hunſditch to be ouerpaued, which manie yeares before lay full noiouſlie and perillouſlie for all trauellers that way. About Chriſtmas, the more part of the priſoners of the Marſhalſeie in Southwarke brake out, and manie of them being ſhortlie after taken, were put to execution, ſpeciallie thoſe which had laine for felonie or treaſon. On the fifteenth of Aprill, a monie maker, one of the coiners of the Tower, was drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged.

Cages and ſtockes ordeined.

Hunſditch paued.

Priſoners of the Marſhalſeie brake out.

Iohn Hooker, *aliàs* Vowell.

A beneuolence put into the kings heed to be leuied ouer the whole land.

¶ In this twentith yeare (ſaith one of Exceſter) the king (hauing ſome need of monie) was by his councell aduiſed (by way of beneuolence) to leuie the ſame vpon the whole realme, as well of the cleargie as of the laitie. And for the ſame, commiſſioners were aſſigned accordinglie. For the cleargie, Richard Fox, ſometime biſhop of Exceſter, but now of Wincheſter, a verie wiſe, graue, and truſtie councellor, was appointed chiefe commiſſioner, and had the chiefeſt dealing therein. He at daies and times appointed, aſſembled the cleargie before him, and (according to the truſt committed vnto him) he perſuaded them by all the meanes he could, to be liberall contributors to the king, conſidering his preſent need, and who (for their cauſes, & the ſafetie of all the common-wealth) was now to vſe and imploie ſome monie.

The cleargie of two ſorts, and both deſirous to ſpare their purſſes.

The cleargie was of two ſorts, the one ſhewing themſelues as they were wealthie, ſeemelie, & comelie; the other pretending that which was not, pouertie, bareneſſe, and ſcarſitie: but both were of one mind, and deuiſed all the waies they could to ſaue their purſſes. The firſt being called, alledged that they were dailie at great charges and expenſes in keeping of hoſpitalitie, in mainteining themſelues, their houſe and familie; beſides extraordinaries which dailie did grow and increaſe vpon them: and by that meanes they were but bare and poore, and praied that they might be borne withall, and pardoned for that time.

The other ſort alledged, that their liuings were but ſmall and ſlender, and ſcarſe able to mainteine themſelues withall, which compelled them to go bare, and to liue a hard and a poore life, and therefore (they hauing nothing) praied that they might be excuſed. The biſhop when he had heard them at full, and well conſidered thereof, verie wittilie, and with a pretie dilemma anſwered them both, ſaieng to the firſt: It is true, you are at great charges, and are well beſeene in your apparell, well mounted vpon your faire palfreies, and haue your men waiting vpon you in good order; your hoſpitalitie is good, and your dailie expenſes are large, and you are for the ſame well reported amongſt your neighbours; all which are plaine demonſtrations of your wealth and abilitie, otherwiſe you would not be at ſuch voluntarie charges. Now hauing ſtore to ſpend in ſuch order, there is no reaſon, but that to your prince you ſhould much more be well willing & readie to yeeld your ſelues contributorie and dutifull, and therefore you muſt paie. To the other ſort he ſaid: Albeit your liuings be not of the beſt, yet good, ſufficient, and able to mainteine you in better eſtate than you doo imploie it: but it appeareth that you are frugall and thriftie men; and what others doo voluntarilie ſpend in apparell, houſe, and familie, you warilie doo keepe, and haue it to lie by you; and therefore it is good reaſon that of your ſtore you ſhould ſpare with a good will and contribute to your prince; wherefore be contented, for you ſhall paie. And ſo by this pretie dilemma he reduced them to yeeld a good paiment to the king.]

The wiſdome of biſhop Fox in procuring theſe cleargie men to be contributors to this beneuolence.

They are perſuaded to contribute.

1505

The king after he had gotten a great maſſe of monie togither, hauing pitie on the people, which oppreſſed with the ſharpe proceedings of his greedie officers, cried daily to God for vengeance, ment to haue depriued them of their offices (as ſome write) & that ſuch monie as had beene violentlie exacted, ſhould haue beene reſtored and deliuered againe, if he had not bene preuented by death. And yet by his laſt will he commanded that it ſhould be dulie and trulie performed, but in the meane ſeaſon many mens coffers were emptied. [¶ Thomas Kneiſworth maior of London for this yeare, of his owne goods, builded the conduit at Biſhops gate. He gaue to the fiſhmongers certeine tenements, for the which they be bound to find foure ſcholers that ſtudie art; two at Oxford, and two at Cambrige, euerie of them foure pounds the yeare. They be bound alſo to giue to twelue aged poore people of their companie, to euerie one of them at Bartholomew tide a winter garment for euer. Alſo to giue to the priſoners of Ludgate and Newgate euerie yeare fortie ſhillings, &c. The fift of Ianuarie in the night, the kings chamber was fired at Richmond, the which might not be quenched, till manie curteins, carpets, rich beds, and much other ſtuffe was conſumed.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 878.

Conduit at Biſhops gate builded.

Richmond on fire.

Anno Reg. 21.

1506

In this verie ſeaſon, and the yeare of our Lord 1506, Elizabeth queene of Caſtile died without iſſue male, by reaſon whereof the inheritance of Caſtile (bicauſe that kingdome is not partible) deſcended to ladie Iane hir eldeſt daughter by king Ferdinando, the which was maried to Philip archduke of Auſtrich. Wherefore the yeare following, about the ſixt day of Ianuarie, hauing a great nauie prepared, he intituled now king of Caſtile, ſailed out of Flanders with his wife towards Spaine; but by a mightie tempeſt of wind and foule weather, the whole nauie was diſperſed and ſparkled abroad in diuerſe places on the coaſts of England. The kings ſhip with two other veſſels were blowne by tempeſt on the weſt part of the realme, to the port of Weimouth in Dorſetſhire. The king being wearied with the toſſing of the ſeas, as one not accuſtomed thereto, contrarie to the mind of his councellors, came on land to refreſh him ſelfe.

Philip archduke of Auſtrich landeth in the weſt parts of England.

When it was knowne that ſtrange ſhips were arriued in that place, there came thither a great number, as well of gentlemen as commons of the countrie, to beat them backe if they proued to be enimies. But when they perceiued that the king of Spaine was there driuen on land by force of weather, ſir Thomas Trenchard knight, cheefe of that companie, went with great humbleneſſe vnto him, and did what he could to haue him to his houſe, being not farre off, and ſo to cauſe him to ſtay, till ſuch time as king Henrie might be certified of his arriuall; to whome with all ſpeed he ſent diuerſe poſts to aduertiſe him of king Philips landing. In this meane while came people in from all ſides, vpon knowlege of this ſtrange princes comming. And among other there came ſir Iohn Carew, with a goodlie band of piked men. Which ſir Iohn and ſir Thomas Trenchard intreated the king of Caſtile not to depart, vntill ſuch time as he had ſpoken with the king.

The king of Caſtile excuſed him by neceſſitie of his weightie enterpriſe: but when he perceiued that if he would proffer to go once aboord to his ſhips againe, he might be letted, and was like ſo to bee; hee thought good rather to aſſent to their humble requeſt and ſo ſeeme to gratifie them; than by denieng it to procure their euill willes, and yet neuer the neerer of his purpoſe. When king Henrie was informed of his landing, he was right glad therof, and wrote vnto ſir Iohn Carew, and to ſir Thomas Trenchard, that they ſhould interteine him in the moſt honorable ſort they could deuiſe, till he might come himſelfe in perſon to welcome him. Beſide this, he ſent the earle of Arundell with manie lords and knights to attend vpon him. Which earle (according to the kings letters) receiued him with thrée hundred horſſes, all by torchlight, to the great admiration of the ſtrangers.

The king of Caſtile interteined honorablie.

King Philip ſéeing no remedie but that he muſt néeds tarie, would no longer gaze after king Henries comming, but tooke his iournie toward Windſore caſtell, where the king laie: and fiue miles from Windſore the prince of Wales, accompanied with fiue earles, and diuerſe lords and knights, and other to the number of fiue hundred perſons gorgiouſlie apparelled, receiued him after the moſt honorable faſhion. And within halfe a mile of Windſore, the king, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and a great part of the nobilitie of this realme, welcomed him, & ſo conueied him to the caſtell of Windſore, where he was made companion of the noble order of the garter. After him came to Windſore his wife quéene Iane, ſiſter to the princeſſe Dowager, late wife to prince Arthur.

After the two kings had renewed & confirmed the league and amitie betwixt them, king Henrie deſired to haue Edmund de la Poole earle of Suffolke to be deliuered into his hands. To whome the king of Caſtile anſwered, that he verelie was not within his dominion: and therefore it laie not in him to deliuer him. In déed he was loth to be the authour of his death that came to him for ſuccour, and was receiued vnder his protection: yet vpon the earneſt requeſt and aſſured promiſe of king Henrie (that he would pardon him of all executions and paines of death) he granted to king Henries deſire; and ſo incontinentlie cauſed the ſaid earle ſecretlie to be ſent for. After this, to protract time till he were poſſeſſed of his preie, king Henrie conueied the king of Caſtile vnto the citie of London, that he might ſée the head citie of his realme.

King Henrie deſireth to haue Edmund de la Poole earle of Suffolke deliuered into his hands.

Then he led him from Bainards caſtell by Cheape to Barking; and ſo returned by Watling ſtréet againe: during which time there was ſhot out of the Tower a woonderfull peale of ordinance. But he would not enter into the Tower, bicauſe (as ye haue heard before) he had aduowed not to enter the fortreſſe of anie forren prince, in the which a garriſon was mainteined. From London the king brought him to Richmond, where manie notable feates of armes were prooued both of tilt, turnie, and barriers. In the meane ſeaſon the erle of Suffolke, perceiuing what hope was to be had in forreine princes, and truſting that after his life to him once granted, king Henrie would bréeflie ſet him at his full libertie, was in maner contented to returne againe into his natiue countrie.

The king of Caſtiles vow inuiolablie kept.

When all pacts and couenants betwéene the kings of England and Caſtile were appointed, concluded, and agréed; king Philip tooke his leaue of king Henrie, yéelding to him moſt heartie thanks for his high chéere and princelie interteinement. And being accompanied with diuers lords of England, he came to the citie of Exceſter, and ſo to Falmouth in Cornewall, and there taking ſhip ſailed into Spaine, where ſhortlie after he died being thirtie yeares of age. He was of ſtature conuenient, of countenance amiable of bodie ſomewhat groſſe, quicke witted, bold and hardie ſtomached. The tempeſt that he ſuffered on the ſea was huge, and woonderfull alſo vpon the land, inſomuch that the violence of the wind blew downe an eagle of braſſe, being ſet to ſhew on which part the wind blew, from a pinacle or ſpire of Paules church, and in the falling, the ſame eagle brake and battered an other eagle that was ſet vp for a ſigne at a tauerne doore in Cheapeſide.

The death & deſcription of Philip king of Spaine.

Herevpon men that were giuen to geſſe things that ſhould happen by marking of ſtrange tokens, déemed that the emperour Maximilian, which gaue the eagle, ſhould ſuffer ſome great miſfortune: as he did ſhortlie after by the loſſe of his ſonne, the ſaid king Philip. ¶And ſuerlie theſe prodigious accidents are not to be omitted as matter of courſe; for they haue their weight, and ſhew their truth in the iſſue. Examples in this booke be diuerſe, among which one is verie memorable, mentioned in the thirtie & ninth yeare of Henrie the ſixt. At what time the duke of Yorke making an oration to the lords of the parlement, for the iuſtifieng of his title to the crowne, it chanced that a crowne which hoong in the middle of the nether houſe (to garniſh a branch to ſet lights vpon) without touch of man or blaſt of wind ſuddenlie fell downe. About which ſeaſon alſo fell downe the crowne which ſtood on the top of Douer caſtell. Which things were conſtrued to be ſignes that the crowne of the realme ſhould ſome waie haue a fall; and ſo it came to paſſe.

Prodigious tokens or accidents haue their iſſue in truth.

Sée pag. 651.

And bicauſe the euents of theſe foreſhewes had their truth, as manie more of the like nature; it ſhall not be amiſſe here to ad (by waie of digreſſion) what hath béene obſerued in former ages by forren writers in and about ſuch foretokens. The conſent of the heauens and of men, pronounced to Italie their calamities to come: for that ſuch as made profeſſion to haue iudgement either by ſcience or diuine inſpiration in the things to come, aſſured with one voice that there were in preparing, both more great mutations and more ſtrange and horrible accidents, than for manie worlds before had béene diſcerned in anie part or circuit of the earth. There were ſéene in the night in Pouille thrée ſuns in the middeſt of the firmament, but manie clouds about them, with right fearefull thunders and lightnings. In the territorie of Aretze, were viſiblie ſéene paſſing in the aire, infinit numbers of armed men vpon mightie horſſes, with a terrible noiſe of drums and trumpets. The images & figures of ſaints did ſweat in manie parts of Italie.

Abr. Flem. ex Guic. pag. 40.

Thrée ſunnes ſéene at once in the night.

In euerie place of the countrie were brought foorth manie monſters of men and other creatures, with manie other things againſt the order of nature concurring all at one time, but in diuerſe places: by means wherof the people were caried into incredible feares, being alreadie amazed with the brute of the French powers & furie of that nation, with which (according to the teſtimonie of hiſtories) they had aforetime run ouer all Italie, ſacked and made deſolate with fire and ſword the citie of Rome, and ſubdued in Aſia manie prouinces; and generallie no part of the world which had not felt the vertue of their armes. But albeit theſe iudgements are oftentimes fallible, and rather coniectures vncerteine, than effects happening: yet the accidents that drew on, brought to them, in the ſpirits of fraile men, an abſolute faith, credit, & religion. So that there is in foreſhewes matter of moment worthie to be obſerued, howſoeuer the world lulled aſléep in the lap of ſecuritie is touched with no feare of change. But alas the Heathen could ſée the contrarie, and therefore ſaid:

Omnia mortali mutantur lege creata,
Nec ſe cognoſcunt terræ veteribus annis
Exutas variam faciem per ſecula gentes.]

Manil. lib. Aſtr. 1.

But to returne to our owne ſtorie. Shortlie after the departing of king Philip, the king of England began to ſuſpect ſir George Neuill lord of Aburgauennie, and ſir Thomas Gréene of Gréenes Norton, as partakers in the beginning of the conſpiracie with the earle of Suffolke; and ſo vpon that ſuſpicion they were commanded to the Tower. But ſhortlie after, when they had béene tried and purged of that ſuſpicion, he commanded them both to be ſet at libertie. But ſir Thomas Gréene fell ſicke before, and remained in the Tower, in hope to be reſtored to his health as well as to his libertie, but by death he was preuented. [And here bicauſe it is good to ſée the conſent of hiſtories in the report of accidents, it ſhall not be amiſſe to repeat the entier relation of a late writer ſtranger touching this caſualtie which befell to king Philip, in ſuch ſort to be caſt vpon the Engliſh coaſts; as alſo the promiſe of the ſaid king to deliuer the duke of Suffolke into the hands of king Henrie, with the cauſe (as it is ſuppoſed) why the king deſired to haue him within his owne reach.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 355.
King Philip ſaileth out of Flanders into Spaine.

¶King Philip was imbarked to ſaile out of Flanders into Spaine with a great armie by ſea; and to reduce his going to a more facilitie and ſafetie (for he feared leaſt his father in law by the aid of the French would hinder his paſſage) he practiſed the Spaniſh ſubtilties, and agréed with him to leaue vnto him the managing and policie of the moſt part of affaires, and that they ſhuld take in common the title of king of Spaine, according to the example in the quéenes time: and laſtlie, that the reuenues and tributes ſhould be diuided in an order certeine & indifferent. By reaſon of which accord, his father in law, notwithſtanding he was not aſſured of the obſeruation, ſent him into Flanders manie ſhips to furniſh his voiage: with the which, hauing imbarked his wife, and Ferdinand his ſecond ſonne, he tooke his courſe into Spaine with forward winds, which, within two dais turning cleane contrarie, after his nauie had runne a dangerous fortune, and made a wearie reſiſtance againſt the furie of the ſea, his ſhips were caſt vpon ſundrie coaſts of England and Britaine; his owne perſon with two or thrée ſhips being driuen with manifeſt perill vpon England into the hauen of Southhampton.

King Philip caſt by caſualtie of ſea vpon the coaſts of England.

Whereof Henrie the ſeuenth then king of that nation being aduertiſed, ſent to him with ſpéed manie barons to doo him honour, and deſire him to come to his court, then at London: a requeſt which Philip could not denie, the king of Englands demand béeing no leſſe honourable, than his owne eſtate full of neceſſitie and nakedneſſe. He remained in the court of England, vntill all his nauie was reaſſembled, and eftſoones rigged, making in the meane while betwéene them new capitulations: wherein albeit Philip in all other things held himſelfe vſed as a king, yet in this one thing complained, that he was conſtreined as a priſoner, to conſent to redeliuer to K. Henries hands the duke of Suffolke, whom he held priſoner within the caſtell of Namur, and whom the king of England deſired much to haue in his power, for that he quarrelled the title of the crowne, pretending the right of the kingdome to apperteine to him: onelie the king of England aſſured Philip by the faith and word of a king, that he would not put him to death. Which he did as iuſtlie performe, as he had honorablie promiſed, kéeping him in priſon ſo long as he liued, and afterwards was beheaded vnder the reigne and commandement of his ſonne.]

Philip promiſeth to redeliuer to king Henrie the duke of Suffolke.

Anno Reg. 22.

This yeare the king began to be diſeaſed of a certeine infirmitie, which thriſe euerie yeare, but ſpecially in the ſpringtime ſore vexed him. And bicauſe for the moſt part the harme that chanceth to the prince, is parted with his ſubiects, the ſweating ſickneſſe, which (as ye haue heard) in the firſt yeare of the king firſt afflicted the people of this realme, now aſſailed them againe; howbeit by the remedie found at the begining of it, nothing the like number died thereof now this ſecond time, as did at the firſt time till the ſaid remedie was inuented. But now the third plage equall to the peſtilence inſued, by the working of the maiſters of the forfeitures, and ſuch informers as were appointed thereto. By whoſe meanes manie a rich & wealthie perſon by the extremitie of the lawes of the realme were condemned and brought to great loſſe and hinderance.

The ſweting ſickneſſe eftſoones returneth.

A great part of which their vndooings procéeded by the inconuenience of ſuch vnconſcionable officers, as by the abuſe of exigents outlawed thoſe that neuer heard, nor had knowledge of the ſutes commenſed againſt them, of which hard and ſharpe dealing (the harme that thereof inſueth conſidered) if the occaſion might be taken awaie by ſome other more reaſonable forme and order of law deuiſed, whereby the parties might haue perſonall warning, it would both preſerue manie an innocent man from vndeſerued vexation, and danger of vnmercifull loſſe of goods; and alſo redound highlie to the commendation of the prince, and ſuch other as chanced to be reformers of that colourable law, where they be called onelie in the counties without other knowledge giuen to them or theirs at their dwelling houſes.

But now to returne. Such maner of outlawries, old recogniſances of the peace, and good abearings, eſcapes, riots, & innumerable ſtatutes penall, were put in execution, and called vpon by Empſon and Dudleie; ſo that euerie man, both the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie, hauing either lands or ſubſtance, were inuited to that plucking banket. For theſe two rauening woolues had a gard of falſe periured perſons apperteining to them, which were impanelled in euerie queſt. Learned men in the law, when they were required of their aduiſe, would ſay; To agrée is the beſt counſell that I can giue you. By this vndue meanes, theſe couetous perſons filled the kings coffers, and inriched themſelues. And at this vnreaſonable and extort dooing, noble men grudged, meane men kicked, poore men lamented, preachers openlie at Poules croſſe and other places exclamed, rebuked, and deteſted. Howbeit the good king in his laſt daies conſerued and pardoned his poore ſubiects of ſuch vncharitable yokes and ponderous burdens as they were laden withall.

Ed. Hall in Hen. 7. fol. 59.

1507

Sir Gilbert Talbot knight, and Richard Bere abbat of Glaſtenburie, and doctor Robert Sherborne deane of Poules, were ſent as ambaſſadors from the K. to Rome, to declare to Pius the third of that name newlie elected pope in place of Alexander the ſixt deceaſed, what ioy and gladneſſe had entered the kings heart for his preferment. But he taried not the comming of thoſe ambaſſadors, for within a moneth after that he was inſtalled, he rendered his debt to nature, and ſo had ſhort pleaſure of his promotion [not beguiling the hopes which the cardinals conceiued of him at the time of his creation, the ſix & twentith day after his election, which was in ſhort time to die. This popes name was Francis Piccolomini cardinall of Sienna, in whom was no expectation of long life, both for his extreame age, and preſent ſickeneſſe: a cardinall ſure of vnſpotted report, and for his other conditions not vnworthie that degrée; who to renew the memorie of Pius ſecundus his vncle, tooke vpon him the name of Pius the third.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 314.
Pag. 311.
Pag. 307.

He ſuccéeded Alexander the ſixt, who went to ſupper in a vineyard néere the Vatican to reioiſe in the delight & pleſure of the freſh aire, & was ſuddenlie caried for dead to the biſhops palace; his ſonne alſo communicating in the ſame accident, but with better fortune. For the day folowing, which was the eightenth day of Auguſt, the dead corps of the pope (according to cuſtome) was borne into the church of ſaint Peter, blacke, ſwolne, and moſt deformed; moſt manifeſt ſignes of poiſon. But Valentinois, what by the vigour and ſtrength of his youth, and readie helpe of ſtrong medicines and counterpoiſons, had his life ſaued, remaining notwithſtanding oppreſſed with long and gréeuous ſickeneſſe: it was aſſuredlie beléeued that the accident procéeded of poiſon, the diſcourſe whereof (according to common report) was in this ſort.

A practiſe of cuſtome by poiſon to an ill purpoſe vſed.

The duke Valentinois, who was to be preſent at that ſupper, had determined to poiſon Adrian cardinall of Cornette, reſeruing that time and place to execute his bloudie reſolution: for it is moſt certeine that in his father and him were naturall cuſtomes to vſe poiſon, not onelie to be reuenged of their enimies, or to be aſſured of ſuſpicions; but alſo vpon a wicked couetouſneſſe, to deſpoile rich men of their goods, whether they were cardinals or courtiers, although they had neuer doone them wrong, as hapned to the cardinall ſaint Ange, who was verie rich. This maner of rage they would vſe alſo againſt their greateſt friends ⁊ familiars, and ſuch as had bin their moſt faithfull ſeruants, ſuch as were the cardinals of Capua and Modeno: a recompenſe vnworthie the merits of good men, and not diſagréeable to the diſpoſition of ſuch a father and ſonne, whereof the one made all things lawfull by vile diſpenſation; and with the other nothing was diſhoneſt wherein was opportunitie to his purpoſes. The duke Valentinois ſent before certeine flagons with wine infected with poiſon, which he gaue to a ſeruant that knew nothing of the matter, commanding that no perſon ſhould touch them.

A commandemeent preiudiciall to his maiſter, as the ignorance of the ſeruant was the inſtrument in the euill that happened both to the father and ſon. Such is the ſufferance of God, who in the execution of his iudgements raiſeth one murtherer to kill another, ⁊ breaketh the brands of the fire vpon the head of him that firſt kindled it: for the pope comming by aduenture ſomewhat before ſupper, and ouercome with the drought and immoderate heat of the time, called for drinke. And bicauſe his owne prouiſion was not yet brought from the palace, he that had the infected wine in charge, thinking it to be recommended to his kéeping for a wine moſt excellent, gaue the pope to drinke of the ſame wine which Valentinois had ſent; who arriuing while his father was drinking drunke alſo of the ſame wine, being but iuſt that they both ſhould taſt of the ſame cup which they had brued for the deſtruction of others. All the towne of Rome ran with great gladneſſe to ſaint Peters about the dead bodie of the pope, their eies not ſatiſfied to ſée ded and deſtroied a ſerpent, who with his immoderate ambition and poiſoned infidelitie, togither with all the horrible examples of crueltie, luxurie, and monſtruous couetouſneſſe, ſelling without diſtinction both holie things and prophane things, had infected the whole world.

The pope poiſoned with the wine that his owne ſon had ſent to poiſon the cardinall of Cornette.

And yet was he accompanied with a moſt rare, ⁊ almoſt perpetuall proſperitie euen from his yoong age, to the end of his life; deſiring alwaies great things, and obteining moſt often that he deſired. An example of much importance, to confound the arrogancie of thoſe men, who preſuming to know and ſée perfectlie with humane eies the depth of Gods iudgements, doo aſſure, that what happeneth either good or ill to mortall men, procéedeth either of their merits or faults: as though we ſaw not dailie manie good men vniuſtlie tormented, ⁊ wicked perſons aboue their deſeruings liue in eaſe and honour: wherein who makes an other interpretation, derogates the iuſtice and power of God, the greatneſſe of which being not to be conteined within any ſcripts or tearms preſent, knoweth how well and largely to diſcerne in an other time and place the iuſt from the vniuſt, and that with rewards and eternall puniſhments. In the meane time he powreth out his vengeance vpon the imaginers of miſchéefe in this life; ſo prouiding, as that they are caught in their owne ſnares, and ouertaken with ſuch deſtruction as they had prepared for others, according to that ſaieng of the Pſalmiſt:

Effodit puteum, foueámque eduxit ab imo,
Et miſer in latebras incidit ipſe ſuas.
In verticem ipſius recurrit
Pernicies, recidúntque fraudes.]

Eob.Heſſ.&.G. Buch. in Pſal.7.

The lord Daubenie dieth.

At the ſame time died Giles lord Dawbenie the kings chéefe chamberleine, whoſe office Charles, baſtard ſonne to Henrie laſt duke of Summerſet occupied and enioied; a man of good wit, and great experience. Soone after, the king cauſed Guidebald duke of Vrbine to be elected knight of the order of the garter, in like maner as his father duke Frederike had béene before him, which was choſen and admitted into the order by king Edward the fourth. Sir Gilbert Talbot, and the other two ambaſſadors being appointed to kéepe on their iournie vnto pope Iulie the ſecond, elected after the death of the ſaid Pius the third, bare the habit and collar alſo vnto the ſaid duke Guidebald; which after he had receiued the ſame, ſent ſir Balthaſar Caſtalio, knight, a Mantuan borne, as his orator vnto king Henrie, which was for him inſtalled, according to the ordinances of the order.

Anno Reg. 23. Guidebald duke of Vrbin in Italie made knight of the garter.

Thomas Sauage archbiſhop of Canturburie deceaſſed.

This yeare that worthie prelate Thomas Sauage archbiſhop of Yorke departed this life at his caſtell of Cawood: a man beſide the worthineſſe of his birth highlie eſtéemed with his prince for his faſt fidelitie and great wiſedome. He beſtowed great coſt in repairing the caſtell of Cawood and the manor of Scrobie. His bodie was buried at Yorke, but he appointed by his teſtament, that his hart ſhould be buried at Macclesfield in Cheſhire, where he was borne, in a chapell there of his foundation, ioining to the ſouth ſide of the church, meaning to haue founded a college there alſo, if his purpoſe had not béene preuented by death. After him ſuccéeded doctor Benbridge in the archbiſhops ſée of Yorke, being the fiftie and ſixt archbiſhop that had ſat in that ſée.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic.pag.184.

About this ſame time Lewes the French king, the twelfe of that name (who ſuccéeded Charles the eighth that died at Amboiſe the night before the eighth daie of Aprill, of a catarrhe, which the phyſicians call an apoplexie, the ſame riſing in him with ſuch aboundance, as he beheld a match plaied at tenniſſe, that in few houres he ended at the ſame place his life: during the which, he had with greater importunitie than vertue troubled the whole world with great apparance of danger to kindle eftſoones new fiers of innouation and troubles) maried his eldeſt daughter named Clare, vnto Francis de Valois Dolphin of Vienne, and duke of Angoleſme, which ladie was promiſed vnto Charles the king of Caſtile: wherevpon by ambaſſadors ſent to and fro betwixt king Henrie and the ſaid king of Caſtile, a mariage was concluded betwixt the ſaid king of Caſtile, and the ladie Marie, daughter to king Henrie, being about the age of ten yeares. For concluſion of which mariage, the lord of Barolo, ⁊ other ambaſſadors were ſent into England from the emperor Maximilian which with great rewards returned.

1508

Abr.Fl. ex I.S.pag.879.

William Capell ſued by the king Tho.Kneiſworth impriſoned.

¶ William Browne mercer maior of London this yeare deceaſſed, and forthwith ſir Laurence Ailmer draper was choſen and ſworne, and went home in a graie cloake, with the ſword borne before him, on the eight and twentith daie of March. Item he tooke his oth at the Tower, and kept no feaſt. William Capell was put in ſute by the king for things by him doone in his maioraltie. Alſo Thomas Kneiſworth that had béene maior of London, and his ſhiriffes, were ſent to the kings Bench, till they were put to

their

Norwich on fier.

their fines of foureteene hundred pounds. In the moneth of June, the citie of Norwich was ſore periſhed, & neere conſumed with fier, that began in a Frenchmans houſe named Peter Johnſon, a ſurgian, in the pariſh of ſaint George.

Free ſchoole at Wilfrunehampton.

Stephan Genings merchant tailor, maior of London, founded a free grammar ſchoole at Wilfrunehampton in Staffordſhire, with conuenient lodgings for the maiſter and vſher, in the ſame place where he was borne. He gaue lands ſufficient for the maintenance, leauing the ouerſight thereof to the merchant tailors in London, who haue hitherto iuſtlie dealt in that matter, and alſo augmented the building there. Maiſter Nichols, who maried the onelie daughter and heire of the aforeſaid Stephan Genings, gaue lands to mainteine the pauements of that towne. Alſo, John Lencſon eſquier, about Anno 1556, gaue lands, whereof foure pounds ſhould be dealt euerie yeare, on good fridaie, to the poore people of Wilfrunehampton, and ſix and twentie ſhillings eight pence yeerelie, towards the reparation of the church there.

John Ligh of Wilfrunehampton, his rare example of charitie.

Moreouer, about Anno 1566, ſir John Ligh a preeſt, which had ſerued in that church there, the ſpace of threeſcore years, for fiue pounds, ſix ſhillings eight pence the yeare, without anie other augmentation of his liuing, who would neuer take anie benefice, or other preferment, gaue twentie pounds, to purchaſe twentie ſhillings the yeare lands, the ſame to be giuen yearelie for euer to the poore of Wilfrunehampton vpon good fridaie; & twelue pounds thirteene ſhillings foure pence, to purchaſe a marke a yeare lands, the ſame to be giuen to the poore of Chiſnall, in the countie of Salope, where the ſaid Ligh was borne. This man liued nigh one hundred years. He beſtowed beſides his owne labour which was great (in bearing of ſtones, &c.) aboue twentie pounds on the high waies about that towne of Wilfrunehampton.

Wilfrunehampton, corruptlie called Wolnerhampton.

Ex charta Regia

This towne of Wilfrunehampton, is now corruptlie called Wolnerhampton: for in Anno 996, in king Ethelreds time (who wrote himſelfe *Rex Anglorum & princeps Northumbrorum Olympiade tertia regni ſui*, for ſo he wrote the count of his reigne then, which was the fifteenth yeare) it was then called Hampton, as appeareth by an old charter written by the notarie of the ſaid king Ethelred, which charter I haue ſeene and read. And for that a noble woman named Wilfrune a widow, ſometime wife to Althelme duke of Northampton, did obteine of the ſaid king to giue lands vnto the church there which ſhe had founded, the ſaid towne tooke the addition of the ſame Wilfrune, for that charter ſo nameth hir Wilfrune, and the towne Hampton.

Smart.
Hoſpitall of the Sauoie.

Rec. of Canturb. church.

In this yeare was finiſhed the goodlie hoſpitall of the Sauoie neere vnto Charing croſſe, which was a notable foundation for the poore, doone by king Henrie the ſeauenth, vnto the which he purchaſed and gaue lands for the releeuing of one hundred poore people. This was firſt named Sauoie place, by Peter earle of Sauoie, father to Boniface archbiſhop of Canturburie, about the nine and twentith yeare of king Henrie the third, who made the ſaid Peter erle of Richmond. This houſe belonged ſince to the duke of Lancaſter, and at this time was conuerted to an hoſpitall, ſtill reteining the firſt name of Sauoie. King Henrie alſo builded three houſes of Franciſcane friers, which are called obſeruants, at Richmond, Greenewich, and Newarke; and three other of the familie of Franciſcane friers which are called conuentuals, at Canturburie, Newcaſtell, and Southhampton.]

Fr. Thin.
Thomas Ruthall biſhop of Durham.

The ſituation of Ciceſter.

¶This yeare was Thomas Ruthall made biſhop of Durham by Henrie the ſeauenth, touching whoſe place of birth (being at Cirenceſter now Ciceſter) and himſelfe, I will not refuſe to ſet downe what Leland (about the yeare 1542) hath written, not being vnfit heere to be recorded. Cirenceſter (ſaith he) in Latine called *Corinium* ſtandeth on the riuer Churne. There haue beene three pariſh churches, whereof ſaint Cicilies church is cleane downe, being of late but a chappell. Saint Laurence yet ſtandeth, but it is no pariſh church. There be two poore almes women endued with land. There is now but one pariſh church in all Cirenceſter that is verie faire, the bodie of which church is all new worke, to the which Ruthall biſhop of Durham (borne and brought vp in Cirenceſter) promiſed much, but (preuented by death) gaue nothing. One Anne Aueling aunt to doctor Ruthall by the mothers ſide, gaue one hundred markes to the building of that church. King Henrie the firſt made the hoſpitall of ſaint Johns at Cirenceſter. Thus farre Leland.

The biſhop was one of K. Henrie the eights priuie councell.

The king commandeth him to write a booke of the whole eſtate of þ kingdom.

This man thus borne at Cirenceſter in Gloceſterſhire, and made biſhop of Durham, was after the death of king Henrie the ſeauenth, one of the priuie councell to king Henrie the eight; in whoſe court he was ſo continuallie attendant, that he could not ſteale anie time to attend the affaires of his biſhoprike. But yet not altogither careleſſe (though not ſo much as he ought to haue beene) of the place and cauſe from whence and for which he receiued ſo great reuenues, as came vnto his hands from that ſee. He repaired the third part of Tine bridge next vnto the ſouth, which he might well doo; for he was accompted the richeſt ſubiect through the realme. To whome (remaining then at the court) the king gaue in charge to write a booke of the whole eſtate of the kingdome, bicauſe he was knowne to the king to be a man of ſufficiencie for the diſcharge thereof, which he did accordinglie.

Afterwards, the king commanded cardinall Wolſeie to go to this biſhop, and to bring the booke awaie with him to deliuer to his maieſtie. But ſee the miſhap! that a man in all other things ſo prouident, ſhould now be ſo negligent: and at that time moſt forget himſelfe, when (as it after fell out) he had moſt need to haue remembred himſelfe. For this biſhop hauing written two bookes (the one to anſwer the kings command, and the other intreating of his owne priuate affaires) did bind them both after one ſort in vellame, iuſt of one length, bredth, and thickneſſe, and in all points in ſuch like proportion anſwering one an other, as the one could not by anie eſpeciall note be diſcerned from the other: both which he alſo laid vp togither in one place of his ſtudie.

The biſhops booke of his priuat affaires vnaduiſedlie deliuered in ſtead of the kings.

Now when the cardinall came to demand the booke due to the king: the biſhop vnaduiſedlie commanded his ſeruant to bring him the booke bound in white vellame lieng in his ſtudie in ſuch a place. The ſeruant dooing accordinglie, brought forth one of thoſe bookes ſo bound, being the booke intreating of the ſtate of the biſhop, and deliuered the ſame vnto his maiſter, who receiuing it (without further conſideration or looking on) gaue it to the cardinall to beare vnto the king. The cardinall hauing the booke, went from the biſhop, and after (in his ſtudie by himſelfe) vnderſtanding the contents thereof, he greatlie reioiſed, hauing now occaſion (which he long ſought for) offered vnto him to bring the biſhop into the kings diſgrace.

The biſhops owne booke diſaduantageable to himſelfe.

Wherefore he went forthwith to the king, deliuered the booke into his hands, and breefelie informed the king of the contents thereof; putting further into the kings head, that if at anie time he were deſtitute of a maſſe of monie, he ſhould not need to ſeeke further therefore than to the cofers of the biſhop, who by the tenor of his owne booke had accompted his proper riches and ſubſtance to the value of a hundred

thou-

The biſhop dieth of a ſorowfull and penſiue conceipt.

thouſand pounds. Of all which when the biſhop had intelligence(what he had don, how the cardinall vſed him, what the king ſaid, and what the world reported of him)he was ſtriken with ſuch greefe of the ſame, that he ſhortlie through extreame ſorrow ended his life at London, in the yeare of Chriſt 1523. After whoſe death the cardinall, which had long before gaped after the ſaid biſhoprike, in ſingular hope to atteine therevnto, had now his wiſh in effect: which he the more eaſilie compaſſed, for that he had his nets alwaies readie caſt, as aſſuring himſelfe to take a trout: following therein a prophane mans cautelous counſell, and putting the ſame in practiſe; who ſaith:

Ouid.

Caſus vbiq; valet, ſemper tibi pendeat hamus,
Quo minimè credis gurgite piſcis erit.]

1509
Anno Reg. 24.

The death of king Henrie the ſeuenth.

The ſickneſſe which held the king dailie more and more increaſing, he well perceiued that his end drew neere, and therefore meaning to doo ſome high pleaſure to his people, granted of his free motion a generall pardon to all men, for all offenſes doone ⁊ committed againſt anie his lawes or ſtatutes; theeues, murtherers, ⁊ certeine other were excepted. He paied alſo the fees of all priſoners in the gaoles in and about London, abiding there onelie for that dutie. He paied alſo the debts of all ſuch perſons as laie in the counters or Ludgate for fourtie ſhillings, ⁊ vnder; and ſome he releeued that were condemned in ten pounds. Hervpon were proceſſions generallie vſed euerie daie in euerie citie and pariſh, to praie to almightie God for his reſtoring to health and long continuance of the ſame. Neuertheleſſe, he was ſo waſted with his long maladie, that nature could no longer ſuſteine his life, and ſo he departed out of this world the two and twentith of Aprill, in his palace of Richmond, in the yeere of our Lord 1509. His corpſe was conueied with all funerall pompe to Weſtminſter, and there buried by the good queene his wife in a ſumptuous chapell, which he not long before had cauſed to be builded.

What children he had.

The deſcription of king Henrie the ſeuenth.

He reigned three and twentie yeares, and more than ſeuen moneths, and liued two and fiftie yeares. He had by his queene Elizabeth foure ſonnes, and foure daughters, of the which three remained aliue behind him. Henrie his ſecond ſon prince of Wales, which after him was king, Margaret queene of Scots, and the ladie Marie promiſed to Charles king of Caſtile. He was a man of bodie but leane and ſpare, albeit mightie and ſtrong therewith, of perſonage and ſtature ſomewhat higher than the meane ſort of men, of a wonderfull beautie and faire complexion, of countenance merie and ſmiling, eſpeciallie in his communication, his eies graie, his teeth ſingle, and haire thin, of wit in all things quicke and prompt, of a princelie ſtomach and hautie courage. In great perils, doubtfull affaires, and matters of importance, ſupernaturall and in maner diuine; for he ordered all his dooings aduiſedlie and with great deliberation.

Iuſtice mingled with mercie.

Beſides this, he was ſober, moderate, honeſt, courteous, bountious, and ſo much abhorring pride and arrogancie, that he was euer ſharpe and quicke to them that were noted with that fault. He was alſo an indifferent and vpright iuſticer, by the which one thing he allured to him the hearts of manie people, and yet to this ſeueritie of his he ioined a certeine mercifull pitie, which he did extend to thoſe that had offended the penall lawes, and were put to their fines by his iuſtices. He did vſe his rigour onelie(as he ſaid himſelfe) to dant, bring low, and abate the high minds and ſtout ſtomachs of the wealthie and wild people, nouriſhed vp in ſeditious factions and ciuill rebellions, rather than for the greedie deſire of monie; although ſuch as were ſcourged with amerciaments cried out, and ſaid it was rather for the reſpect of gaine, than for anie politike prouiſion. Indeed he left his coffers well ſtuffed, for he was no waſtfull conſumer of his riches by anie inordinat meanes.

Out of the biſhop of Rocheſters funerall ſermon preached in Paules church at London.

To conclude, he had aſmuch in him of gifts both of bodie, mind and fortune, as was poſſible for anie potentate or king to haue. His politike wiſedome in gouernance was ſingular, his wit alwaie quicke and readie, his reaſon pithie and ſubſtantiall, his memorie freſh and holding, his experience notable, his counſels fortunate and taken by wiſe deliberation, his ſpeech gratious in diuerſe languages, his perſon (as before ye haue heard) right comelie, his naturall complexion of the pureſt mixture, leagues and confederations he had with all chriſtian princes. His mightie power was dread euerie where, not onelie within his realme but without. Alſo his people were to him in as humble ſubiection as euer they were to king; his land manie a daie in peace and tranquillitie, his proſperitie in battell againſt his enimies was maruellous, his dealing in time of perils and dangers was cold and ſober, with great hardineſſe. If anie treaſon were conſpired againſt him, it came out wonderfullie. His buildings moſt goodlie, and after the neweſt caſt, all of pleaſure.

And ſo this king liuing all his time in fortunes fauour, in high honour, wealth and glorie, for his noble acts and prudent policies is worthie to be regiſtred in the booke of fame, leaſt time (the conſumer of all worthie things) ſhould blot out the memorie of his name here in earth, whoſe ſoule we truſt liueth in heauen, enioieng the fruition of the godhead, ⁊ thoſe pleaſures prepared for the faithfull. [In memorie of whome, his manifold vertues, with the fortunat ſucceſſe of his affaires, and the gratious deſcent of his loines, as they procured a famous report in nations farre and neere; ſo haue ſome at the contemplation of his princelineſſe, and euerie waie crowned with felicitie, made memorials of his magnificence; to the immortalitie of his high praiſe and vnblemiſhable renowme: among whome (for the truth of the report iuſtifiable by the contents of this hiſtorie) one commeth to mind, which may well ſerue for an epitaph:

Septimus Henricus factis eſt nomen adeptus
Præclarum claris ventura in ſecula famæ:
Ciuibus ille ſuis fuerat chariſſimus, hoſtes
Omnes iure ipſum metuebant: numinis almi
Relligioſus erat cultor, pietatis & æqui,
Verſutos hominéſque malos vehementiùs odit.
Viginti totos charus tréſque ampliùs annos
Regibus externis in ſummo vixit honore:
Magnanimus, iuſtus rex, prudens atque modeſtus,
Henrico hæredi moriens ſua regna reliquit,
Diuitiáſque, immenſum argenti pondus & auri.

Abr.Fl. ex I. S. pag.892.

Sepulture of Henrie the ſeuenth.

Executors to Henrie the ſeuenth.

¶ The altar and ſepulture of the ſame king Henrie the ſeuenth, wherein he now reſteth, in his new chappell at Weſtminſter, was made and finiſhed in the yeare of our Lord 1519, by one Peter T. a painter of the citie of Florence, for the which he receiued one thouſand pounds ſterling for the whole ſtuffe and workemanſhip, at the hands of the kings executors, Richard biſhop of Wincheſter, Richard Fitz Iames biſhop of London, Thomas biſhop of Dureſme, Iohn biſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas duke of Norfolke treaſuror of England, Edward earle of Worceſter the king chamberleine, Iohn F. knight, chiefe iuſtice of the kings Bench, Robert R. knight, chiefe iuſtice of the common plees, ⁊c.]

Of learned men that liued in this kings daies(as maiſter Bale noteth them) theſe are recorded. Firſt George Rippeleie a Carmelite frier at Boſton, ſeene in the mathematikes, he wrote diuerſe treatiſes, and after his deceaſe was accounted a nekromancer; Iohn Erghom borne in Yorke, a blacke frier, a doctor of diuinitie profeſſed in Oxford, ſtudious of propheſies, as by the title of the works which he wrote it may appeare; Iohn Perſiuall a Chartreux monke; Thomas Maillorte a Welſhman borne, he wrote (I wote not what) of king Arthur, and of the round table; Iohn Rouſſe borne in Warwikeſhire, a diligent ſearcher of antiquities, wherupon few libraries were any where to be ſeene in England and Wales, where he made not ſearch for the ſame, and wrote ſundrie treatiſes of hiſtoricall arguments. He deceaſſed at Warwike the fourteenth of Ianuarie in the yeare 1491, and was buried in our ladie church there.

Thomas Scrope, otherwiſe ſurnamed Bradleie, deſcended of the noble familie of the Scrops, profeſſed ſundrie kinds of religions, as that of the order of ſaint Benet, and ſaint Dominike, and likewiſe he became a Carmelite, and laſt of all he fell to and preached the goſpell in haire and ſackecloth, till he vnderſtood himſelfe to be in the diſpleaſure of Walden and other, that could not alwais with ſuch ſingularitie in him or other, ſounding (as they tooke it) to the danger of bringing the doctrine of the Romiſh church in miſliking with the people; for then he withdrew himſelfe to his houſe againe, and there remained twentie yeares, leading an anchors life, but yet after that time he came abroad, and was aduanced to be a biſhop in Ireland, and went to the Roades in ambaſſage, from whence being returned, he went barefooted vp and downe in Norffolke, teaching in townes and in the countrie abroad the ten commandements, he liued till he came to be at the point of an hundred yeares old, & departed this life the fifteenth day of Ianuarie in the yeare of our Lord 1491, and was buried at Leſtolfe in Suffolke.

Dromorenſis epiſcopus.

Iohn Conneis a diuine and an Auguſtine frier in Norwich, wrote certeine rules of grammar, and other things printed by Richard Pinſon; Gefferie ſurnamed the Grammarian; Iohn Alcocke biſhop of Elie, changed a nunrie at Cambridge into a college named Ieſus college, about the yeere of Chriſt 1496. The chiefe cauſe of ſuppreſſing the nunrie is noted to be, for that the abbeſſe and other of the conuent liued diſſolute liues; Stephan Hawes a learned gentleman, and of ſuch reputation, as he was admitted to be one of the priuie chamber to king Henrie the ſeuenth; William Bintree, ſo called of a towne in Norffolke where he was borne, by profeſſion a Carmelite frier in Burnham, a great diuine; William Gallion an Auguſtine frier in Lin, and at length became prouinciall of his order.

Robert Fabian a citizen and merchant of London, an hiſtoriographer, he was in his time in good eſtimation for his wiſedome and wealth in the citie, ſo that he bare office and was ſhiriffe in the yeare 1493; William Celling, borne beſide Feuerſham in Kent, a monke of Canturburie; Thomas Bourchier deſcended of the noble linage of the earles of Eſſex, was firſt biſhop of Elie, and after remoued from thenſe to Canturburie, ſucceeding Iohn Kemp in that archbiſhops ſee, at length created by pope Paule the ſecond a cardinall; Philip Bromierd a Dominicke frier, a diuine; Iohn Miles a doctor of both the lawes, ciuill and canon, he ſtudied in Oxenford in the college of Braſen noſe, newlie founded in the daies of this king Henrie the ſeuenth by William Smith biſhop of Lincolne; Richard Shirborne biſhop of Chicheſter, and imploied in ambaſſage to diuerſe princes, as a man moſt meet thereto for his ſingular knowledge in learning and eloquence.

Robert Viduus vicar of Thakeſteed in Eſſex, and a prebendarie canon of Welles, an excellent poet; Peter Kenighall a Carmelit frier, but borne of worſhipfull linage in France, hauing an Engliſhman to his father, was ſtudent in Oxenford, and became a notable preacher; Iohn Morton firſt biſhop of Elie, and after archbiſhop of Canturburie the ſixtie and fourth in number that ruled that ſee, he was aduanced to the dignitie of a cardinall, and by king Henrie the ſeuenth made lord chancellor, a worthie councellor and a modeſt, he was borne of worſhipfull parents in Cheſhire, & departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 1500; Henrie Medwall chapleine to the ſaid Morton; Edmund Dudleie borne of noble parentage, ſtudied the lawes of this land, and profited highlie in knowledge of the ſame, he wrote a booke intituled *Arbor rei publicæ*, the tree of the common wealth: of this man ye haue heard before in the life of this king, and more (God willing) ſhall be ſaid in the beginning of the next king, as the occaſion of the hiſtorie leadeth; Iohn Wokingham an excellent ſcholeman; William Blackeneie a Carmelit frier, a doctor of diuinitie, and a nekromancer.

Thus farre Henrie the ſeuenth, ſonne to Edmund
earle of Richmond.

Henrie the eight, ſonne and ſucceſſor to Henrie the ſeuenth.

AFter the death of the noble prince Henrie the ſeauenth, his ſonne Henrie the eight began his reigne the two and twentith daie of Aprill in the yeare of the world 5475, after the birth of our ſauiour 1509, and in the eightéenth yeare of his age, in the ſixtéenth yeare of Maximilian then being emperour, in the eleuenth yeare of Lewes the twelfe that then reigned in France, and in the twentith yeare of king James the fourth as then ruling ouer the Scots. Whoſe ſtile was proclamed by the ſound of a trumpet in the citie of London, the thrée and twentith daie of the ſaid moneth, with much gladneſſe and reioiſing of the people. And the ſame daie he departed from his manour of Richmond, to the Tower of London, where he remained cloſelie and ſecret with his councell, till the funerals of his father were finiſhed.

1509 Anno Reg.1.

Henrie the eight proclamed king.

Although this king now comming to the crowne, was but yong (as before is ſaid) yet hauing béene in his firſt yeares trained vp in learning, did for reſpect of his owne ſuertie and good gouernement of his people, prudentlie (by the aduiſe of his grandmother the counteſſe of Richmond and Derbie) elect & chooſe forth of the moſt wiſe and graue perſonages to be of his priuie councell, namelie ſuch as he knew to be of his fathers right déere and familiar fréends, whoſe names were as followeth. William Warham archbiſhop of Canturburie and chancellor of England, Richard Fox biſhop of Wincheſter, Thomas Howard earle of Surrie, and treaſuror of England, George Talbot earle of Shreweſburie, and lord ſteward of the kings houſhold, Charles Summerſet lord chamberleine, ſir Thomas Louell, ſir Henrie Wiat, doctor Thomas Ruthall, and ſir Edward Poinings.

Polydor.

Councellors to king Henrie the eight.

Theſe graue and wiſe councellors, fearing leaſt ſuch abundance of riches and welth as the king was now poſſeſſed of, might moue his yong yeares vnto riotous forgetting of himſelfe (for vnto no king at anie time before, was left greater or the like riches, as well in readie coine, as in iewels and other moueables, as was left to him by his father) they therefore his ſaid councellors trauelled in ſuch prudent ſort with him, that they got him to be preſent with them when they ſat in councell; ſo to acquaint him with matters perteining to the politike gouernment of the realme, that by little and little he might applie himſelfe to take vpon him the rule and adminiſtration of publike affaires, with the which at the firſt he could not well indure to be much troubled, being rather inclined to follow ſuch pleaſant paſtimes as his youthfull yong yeares did more delite in, and therefore could be verie well contented, that other graue perſonages ſhould take paines therein.

King Henries riches.

His councellors good meaning.

The ſame daie alſo that the king came to the Tower, the lord Henrie Stafford brother to the duke of Buckingham was arreſted, and committed to the Tower: and the ſame daie alſo doctor Ruthall was named biſhop of Durham. The fiue and twentith daie of Aprill was proclamed, that the kings grace ratified all the pardons granted by his father, and alſo pardoned all ſuch perſons as were then in ſute for anie offenſe whatſoeuer it was; treaſon, murther, and fellonie onelie excepted. And now, whereas the performance of the deceaſſed kings will was thought right expedient with all ſpéed to be performed, a proclamation was alſo ſet forth and publiſhed thorough the realme, that if anie man could proue himſelfe to be hurt, and depriued of his goods wrongfullie by the commiſſioners of the forfeitures; he ſhould come and preſent his plaint to the king, being readie to ſatiſfie euerie one of all iniuries ſuſteined.

A proclamation.

After this proclamation was notified abroad, all ſuch as had béene conſtreined either by right or by wrong (as Polydor ſaith) to paie anie thing for anie forfeitures of lawes and cuſtomes by them tranſgreſſed, came flocking to the court, & there declared their gréefs, in what ſort they had wrongfullie béene compelled (as they ſurmiſed) to paie this or that ſumme. The councell heard euerie mans complaint, and ſuch as were found to haue paid anie thing without plaine proofe of iuſt cauſe, they tooke ſuch order for them, that they had their monie againe. Which being once knowne, it was a ſtrange thing to ſée how thicke other came in; yea euen thoſe that had béene worthilie fined & puniſhed for their diſorderlie tranſgreſſions, making earneſt ſute for reſtitution, feining and forging manie things to make their cauſe ſéeme good, and to ſtand with equitie.

Multitudes of ſuters what ſhifts they made to be heard.

And the better to be heard in their ſute, they made friends as well with bribes and large gifts as otherwiſe, leauing no waies vnaſſaied to compaſſe their deſires. Which gréedines in ſuch multitude of ſuters, brought the commiſſioners, and others that had delt in the forfeitures into danger, and did themſelues no good: for the councell perceiuing that it was not poſſible to ſatiſfie them all, refuſed to heare anie further complaints or ſutes for reſtitution: but thought it beſt to commit thoſe to priſon, by whom the complainants pretended themſelues to haue béene wronged. And herevpon was ſir Richard Empſon knight, and Edmund Dudleie eſquier, great councellors to the late king attached, and brought to the Tower, thereby to quiet mens minds, that made ſuch importunate ſute to haue their monie againe reſtored, which in the late kings daies they had béene compelled to

Empſon and Dudleie committed to the Tower.

diſburſe, thorough the rigorous proceedings, as they alleged, of the ſaid two councellors, and others.

Promoters puniſhed.

I.S. pag.893.

Trulie great exclamation was made againſt them, as often happeneth; that where anie thing is doone contrarie to the liking of the people, thoſe that be dealers vnder the prince, and by his commandement proceed in the execution thereof, run in hatred of the multitude. But how ſo euer it was, their apprehenſion and committing to priſon was thought by the wiſe to be procured by the malice of them that in the late kings daies were offended with their authoritie. Shortlie after (as Edward Hall ſaith) were apprehended diuerſe other perſons, that were called promoters, as Canbie, Page, Smith, Derbie, Wright, Simſon, and Stocton; of which the more part ware papers, and ſtood on the pillorie. [And (as an other ſaith, who termeth them ringleaders of falſe queſts in London) they rode about the citie with their faces to the horſſes tailes, and papers on their heads, and after they had beene ſet on the pillorie in Cornehill, they were brought againe to Newgate, where they died all within ſeauen daies after for verie ſhame.]

The funerall pompe and ſolemnitie of Henrie the ſeuenth.

When all things were prepared readie for the funerall of the late king, his corps with all ſumptuous pompe and ſolemne ceremonies, was conueied from Richmond to ſaint Georges field, where the clergie of the citie met it: and at the bridge the maior and his brethren with manie commoners all clothed in blacke likewiſe met it, and gaue their attendance on the ſame thorough the citie, to the cathedrall church of ſaint Paule, where was ſoong a ſolemne dirige and maſſe, and a ſermon made by the biſhop of Rocheſter Iohn Fiſher. The next daie the corps was had to Weſtminſter, and there the daie following, put into the earth with all due ſolemnities as apperteined. [Notwithſtanding this breefe remembrance of king Henries ſolemne funerall, might ſeeme ſufficient in the iudgement of ſome, without further amplification; yet bicauſe it is good in others opinion (and thoſe not of meaneſt wit) to ſet downe things of ſtate at large, if conuenient helps thereto maie be had: therefore you ſhall haue the whole ſolemnitie of the ſaid roiall funerall, as it is found recorded by Edward Hall.

Edw.Hall, in Hen.8.fol j.

After that all things (ſaith he) neceſſarie for the interrement and funerall pompe of the late king, were ſumptuouſlie prepared and doone: the corps of the ſaid deceaſſed king was brought out of his priuie chamber into the great chamber, where he reſted three daies, and euerie daie had there dirige and maſſe ſoong by a prelat mitred. From thenſe he was conueied into the hall, where he was alſo three daies, and had like ſeruice there; and ſo three daies in the chappell. And in euerie of theſe three places, was a hearſe of wax garniſhed with baners, and nine mourners giuing their attendance all the ſeruice time: and euerie daie they offered, and euerie place hanged with blacke cloth. Vpon Wedneſdaie the ninth daie of Maie, the corps was put into a charriot, couered with blacke cloth of gold, drawne with fiue great courſers all couered with blacke veluet, garniſhed with cuſhins of fine gold: and ouer the corps was an image or repreſentation of the late king, laied on cuſhins of gold, and the ſaid image was apparelled in the kings rich robes of eſtate, with a crowne on the head with ball and ſcepter in the hands: the charriot was garniſhed with baners and pencels of the armes of his dominions, titles and genealogies.

The corps put into a charriot ſumptuouſlie garniſhed.

The order of the pompe and mourners.

When the charriot was thus ordered, the kings chappell, and a great number of prelats ſet forward praieng. Then followed all the kings ſeruants in blacke, then followed the charriot: and after the charriot nine mourners, and on euerie ſide were caried long torches & ſhort, to the number of ſix hundred, & in this order they came to ſaint Georges field, from Richmond. There met with them all the preeſts and clerks and religious men within the citie & without, which went formoſt before the K. chappell. The maior and his brethren with manie commoners all clothed in blacke, met with the corps at London bridge, and ſo gaue their attendance on the ſame through the citie. And in good order the companies paſſed thorough the citie, whereof the ſtreets on euerie ſide were ſet with long torches, and on the ſtals ſtood yoong children holding tapers; & ſo with great reuerence the charriot was brought to the cathedrall church of S. Paule, where the bodie was taken out and caried into the quire, and ſet vnder a goodlie hearſe of wax garniſhed with baners, pencels, and cuſhins, where was ſoong a ſolemne dirige and a maſſe with a ſermon made by the biſhop of Rocheſter. During which time, the kings houſhold and the mourners repoſed them in the biſhops palace.

The charriot brought into Paules church.

Deſcription of the curious hearſe at Weſtminſter.

The next daie the corps in like order was remoued towards Weſtminſter: ſir Edward Howard bearing the kings baner on a courſer trapped in the armes of the deceaſed king. In Weſtminſter was a curious hearſe, made of nine principals, all full of lights, which were lighted at the comming of the corps, which was taken out of the charriot by ſix lords and ſet vnder the hearſe; the image or the repreſentation lieng vpon the cuſhin on a large pall of gold. The hearſe was double railed; within the firſt railes ſat the mourners, and within the ſecond raile ſtood knights bearing baners of ſaints, and without the ſame ſtood officers of armes. When the mourners were ſet, Gartier king at armes, cried; For the ſoule of the noble prince king Henrie the ſeauenth late king of this realme: then the quire began *Placebo*, and ſo ſoong dirige: which being finiſhed, the mourners departed into the palace, where they had a void, and ſo repoſed for that night. The next daie were three maſſes ſolemnelie ſoong by biſhops, and at the laſt maſſe was offered the kings baner and courſer, his coat of armes, his ſword, his target, and his helme: and at the end of maſſe the mourners offered vp rich palles of cloath of gold and baudekin: and when the quire ſang, *Libera me*; the bodie was put into the earth.

The bodie of the dead king interred.

Then the lord treaſuror, lord ſteward, lord chamberleine, the treaſuror and comptrollor of the kings houſhold, brake their ſtaues and caſt them into the graue. Then Gartier cried with a lowd voice; Viue le roy Henrie le huicteſme, roy d'Angleterre, & de France, ſire d'Irland. Then all the mourners, and all other that had giuen their attendance on this funerall obſequie, departed to the palace, where they had a great and a ſumptuous feaſt. Wonder it were to write of the lamentation that was made for this prince amongſt his ſeruants, and other of the wiſeſt ſort; and the ioie that was made for his death by ſuch as were troubled by rigour of his law: yet the toward hope which in all points appeared in the yoong king did both repaire and comfort the heauie hearts of them, which had loſt ſo wiſe and ſage a prince: and alſo did put out of the minds of ſuch as were releeued by the ſaid kings death, all their old grudge and rancor, and confirmed their new ioie by the new grant of his pardon.

After that the funerals of the ſaid late king were once ended, great preparation was made for the coronation of the new king, which was appointed on Midſummer daie next inſuing. During the time of which preparation, the king was aduiſed by ſome of his councell to take to wife the ladie Katharine, late wife to his brother prince Arthur, leaſt ſhe hauing ſo great a dowrie as was appointed to hir, might mar-

Ladie Katharine prince Arthur his widow married to his brother king Henrie the eight.

rie out of the realme, which ſhould be to his hinderance. The king being hereto perſuaded, eſpouſed the ſaid ladie Katharine the third daie of Iune, the which marriage was diſpenſed with by pope Iulie, at the ſute of hir father king Ferdinando. On the eleuenth daie of this moneth of Iune, the king came from Gréenewich to the Tower ouer London bridge and ſo by Grace church, with whome came manie a gentleman richlie apparelled, but ſpeciallie the duke of Buckingham, which had a gowne all of goldſmiths worke, verie coſtlie.

The duke of Buckinghams rich arraie.

On fridaie the two and twentith day of Iune, the king with the quéene being in the Tower of London, made foure and twentie knights of the Bath. And the morow following, being ſaturdaie the foure and twentith of Iune, his grace with the quéene departed from the Tower through London, the ſtréets being hanged with tapeſtrie and cloth of arras, verie richlie; and a great part of the ſouth ſide of Cheape with cloth of gold, & ſo was ſome part of Cornehill. The ſtréets were railed & barred on the one ſide, from ouer againſt Grace church to Bredſtréet in Cheapeſide, where euerie occupation ſtood in their liueries in order, beginning with baſe and meane occupations, and ſo aſcending to the worſhipfull crafts. Higheſt and laſtlie ſtood the maior with the aldermen. The goldſmiths ſtals vnto the end of the Old change, being repleniſhed with virgins in white, with branches of white wax: the prieſts and clearkes in rich copes, with croſſes and cenſers of ſiluer, with cenſing his grace and the quéene alſo, as they paſſed. The features of his bodie, his goodlie perſonage, his amiable viſage, princelie countenance, with the noble qualities of his roiall eſtate, to euerie man knowen, néedeth no reherſall, conſidering that (for lacke of cunning) I cannot expreſſe the gifts of grace and of nature that God indued him with all.

Ed Hall in Hen.8.fol.ij.

A trim ſight of virgins in white, with branches of white wax.

K. Henries apparell at his coronatiõ.

Yet partlie to deſcribe his apparell, it is to be noted, his grace ware in his vppermoſt apparell, a robe of crimſin veluet, furred with ermins, his iacket or coat of raiſed gold, the placard imbrodered with diamonds, rubies, emerauds, great pearles, and other rich ſtones, a great bauderike about his necke of great balaſſes. The trapper of his horſſe damaſke gold, with a déepe purfle of ermins. His knights and eſquiers for his bodie in crimſin veluet; and all the gentlemen, with other of his chappell, and all his officers and houſhold ſeruants were appareled in ſcarlet. The barons of the fiue portes bare the canopie or cloth of eſtate. For to recite vnto you the great eſtates by name, the order of their going, the number of the lords ſpirituall & temporall, knights, eſquiers, and gentlemen, and their coſtlie and rich apparell of ſeuerall deuiſes and faſhions, who tooke vp his horſſe beſt, or who was richeſt beſéene; it would aſke long time, and yet I ſhould omit manie things, and faile of the number, for they were verie manie: wherefore I paſſe ouer. But this I dare well ſaie, there was no lacke or ſcarſitie of cloth of tiſſue, cloth of gold, cloth of ſiluer, broderie, or of goldſmiths works: but in more plentie and aboundance than hath béene ſéene or read of at anie time before, and thereto manie and great numbers of chaines of gold, & bauderikes both maſſie and great.

The kings traine and the pompe of the ſame.

Alſo before the kings highneſſe rode two gentlemen richlie apparelled, and about their bodies ouerthwart, they bare two robes, the one of the duchie of Guien, and the other for the duchie of Normandie, with hats on their heads powdered with ermins, for the eſtate of the ſame. Next followed two perſons of good eſtate, the one bearing his cloke, the other his hat, apparelled both in goldſmiths worke and broderie, their horſſes trapped in burned ſiluer, drawen ouer with cordes of gréene ſilke and gold, the edges and borders of their apparell being fretted with gold of damaſke. After them came ſir Thomas Brandon maſter of the kings horſſe, clothed in tiſſue, brodered with roſes of fine gold, and ouerthwart his bodie a great bauderike of gold, great and maſſie; his horſſe trapped in gold, leading by a raine of ſilke; the kings ſpare horſſe trapped bard wiſe, with harneſſe brodred with bullion gold, curionſlie wrought by goldſmiths. Then next followed the nine children of honor vpon great courſers, appareled on their bodies in blue veluet, powdered with floure delices of gold, & chaines of goldſmiths worke, euerie one of their horſſes trapped with a trapper of the kings title, as of England and France, Gaſcoigne, Guien, Normandie, Angiou, Cornewall, Wales, Ireland, &c: wrought vpon veluets, with imbroderie, and goldſmiths worke.

The quéenes traine and the ſumptuouſneſſe of the ſame.

Then next following in order, came the quéenes retinue, as lords, knights, eſquiers, and gentlemen in their degrées, well mounted, and richlie apparelled in tiſſue, cloth of gold, of ſiluer, tinſels, and veluets imbrodered, freſh and goodlie to behold. The quéene then by name Katharine, ſitting in hir litter borne by two white palfries, the litter couered and richlie appareled, and the palfries trapped in white cloth of gold; hir perſon apparelled in white ſatin imbrodered, hir haire hanging downe to hir backe of very great length, beautifull and goodlie to behold, & on hir head a coronall ſet with manie rich orient ſtones. Next after, ſix honorable perſonages on white palfries all apparelled in cloth of gold, and then a chariot couered, and the ladies therein all apparelled in cloth of gold. And another ſort of ladies, and then another chariot, then the ladies next the chariot, and ſo in order, euerie one after their degrées in cloth of gold, cloth of ſiluer, tinſels, and veluet, with imbroderies. Euerie couplement of the ſaid chariots, and the draught harneſſes were powdered with ermins mixt with cloth of gold: & ſo with much ioy & honour they came to Weſtminſter, where was high preparation made, aſwell for the ſaid coronation, as alſo for the ſolemne feaſts and iuſts therevpon to be had and doone

The coronation of king Henrie and quéene Katharine.

The morrow following being ſundaie, and alſo Midſummer daie, this noble prince with his quéene at time conuenient, vnder their canopies borne by the barons of the fiue ports, went from the ſaid palace to Weſtminſter abbaie vpon cloth, called vulgarlie cloth of raie; the which cloth was cut and ſpoiled by the rude and common people, immediatlie after their repaire into the abbaie; where, according to the ſacred obſeruance & ancient cuſtome, his grace with the quéene were annointed and crowned by the archbiſhop of Canturburie, with other prelats of the realme there preſent, and the nobilitie, with a great multitude of commons of the ſame. It was demanded of the people, whether they would receiue, obeie, and take the ſame moſt noble prince for their king? Who with great reuerence, loue, and deſire, ſaid and cried; Yea yea. After the which ſolemnitie and coronation finiſhed, the lords ſpirituall and temporall did to him homage, and returned to Weſtminſter hall with the quéenes grace, euerie one vnder their canopies; where, by the lord Marſhall & his tipped ſtaues was made roome, and euerie lord, and other noble men, according to their tenures, before claimed and viewed, ſéene and allowed by the lords, and other of his graces councell, entred into ſuch roome and office that daie, to execute their ſeruices accordinglie.

Homage doone to the king at his coronatiõ both of the lords ſpirituall & temporall.

The kings eſtate on the right hand, & the quéenes on the left hand, the cupboord of nine ſtages, their noble perſonages being ſet: firſt, at the bringing of the firſt courſe, the trumpets ſounded. And in came the duke of Buckingham, mounted vpon a great courſer, richlie trapped and imbrodered, and the lord ſteward in likewiſe on an horſſe trapped in cloth of gold, riding before the ſeruice, which was ſumptuous, with manie ſubtilties, ſtrange deuiſes, with ſeuerall poſes, and manie deintie diſhes. At the kings feet vnder the table were certeine gentlemen; and in likewiſe with the queene, who there continued, during that long and roiall feaſt. What ſhould I ſpeake or write of the ſumptuous, fine, and delicate meats prepared for this high and honorable coronation, prouided for aſwell in the parties beyond the ſeas, as in manie and ſundrie places within this realme, where God ſo aboundantlie hath ſent ſuch plentie and foiſon? Or of the honorable order of the ſeruices, the cleane handeling and breaking of meats, the ordering of the diſhes, with the plentifull abundance? So that none of anie eſtate being there did lacke, nor no honorable or worſhipfull perſon went vnfeaſted.

Sir Robert Dimmocke the kings champion.

The knights anſwer to the king of heralds.

The ſecond courſe being ſerued: in at the hall doore entered a knight, armed at all points, his baſes rich tiſſue embrodered, a great plume and a ſumptuous of oſtrich feathers on his helmet, ſitting on a great courſer, trapped in tiſſue, and embrodered with the armes of England, and of France, and an herald of armes before him. And paſſing through the hall, he preſented himſelfe with humble reuerence before the kings maieſtie, to whome Gartier king of heralds cried and ſaid with a lowd voice; Sir knight from whence come you, and what is your pretenſe? This knights name was ſir Robert Dimmocke, champion to the king by tenure of his inheritance, who anſwered the ſaid king of armes in effect after this maner: Sir, the place that I come from is not materiall, nor the cauſe of my repaire hither is not concerning anie matter of anie place or countrie, but onelie this: and therewithall commanded his herald to make an O yes. Then ſaid the knight to the king of armes; Now ſhall ye heare the cauſe of my cōming and pretenſe. Then he commanded his owne herald, by proclamation to ſaie; If there be anie perſon, of what eſtate or degree ſoeuer he be, that will ſaie or proue, that king Henrie the eight is not the rightfull inheritor and king of this realme, I ſir Robert Dimmocke here his champion, offer my gloue, to fight in his quarell with any perſon to the vtterance. Which proclamation was made in ſundrie places of the hall: and at euerie time his gantlet caſt downe, in the maintenance thereof.

The maner of the ſame knights tenure.

After theſe ſeuerall proclamations doone, and offers made, the ſaid knight or champion eftſoones repaired to the kings preſence, demanding drinke; to whome the kings grace ſent a cup of gold with wine, whereof after this knight had drunke, he demanded the couer of the ſaid cup, which to him alſo was deliuered: that doone he departed out of the hall, with the ſaid cup and couer as his owne. The maner of his tenure is this, that at the coronation of the king, he ſhall go to the armorie, and there take the kings beſt harneſſe ſaue one, the beſt and rich baſes ſauing one, then of the plumes or other things for the garniſhing of his creaſt or helme; and ſo to the ſtable, there taking the next courſer or horſſe to the beſt, with like trappers, & ſo furniſhed, to enter (as afore) and his office doone, to haue all theſe things with the cup of gold and couer to his owne vſe. After the departure of the ſaid champion, the king of armes with all the heralds and other officers of armes, made proclamations in ſeuerall places of the hail, crieng largeſſe. Brieflie I paſſe ouer this high and long ſolemnitie of this honorable coronation and feaſt, more honorable than of the great Ceſar, whome manie hiſtoriographers ſo highlie ſet out and magnifie.

Sir Stephā Genings maior of London.

Now when the tables were voided, the wafers were brought. Then ſir Stephan Genings that time maior of London, whome the king before he ſat downe to dinner had dubbed knight, which began the earles table that daie, aroſe from the place where he ſat, to ſerue the king with ipocras in a cup of gold: which cup, after his grace had dronken thereof, was with the couer giuen vnto the ſaid ſir Stephan, like as other his predeceſſors, maiors of the ſaid citie, were wont to haue at the coronation of the king. Then after the ſurnap laied, and that the kings grace and the queene had waſhed, euerie of them vnder their cloths of eſtate, the tables being auoided, went vnto their chambers. For the more honour and innobling of this triumphant coronation, there were prepared both iuſts and turneis to be doone in the palace of Weſtminſter, where, for the kings grace and the queene, was framed a faire houſe, couered with tapeſtrie, and hanged with rich clothes of arrais, and in the ſaid palace was made a curious founteine and ouer it a caſtell, on the top therof a great crowne imperiall, all the imbatelling with roſes and pomegranats gilded.

Iuſts and turnements.

Vnder and about the ſaid caſtell, a curious vine, the leaues and grapes thereof gilded with fine gold, the walles of the ſame caſtell coloured white & greene loſengis, and in euerie loſing either a roſe or a pomegranat, and a ſheafe of arrowes, or elſe H. and K. gilded with fine gold, with certeine arches and turrets gilded, to ſupport the ſame caſtell. And the targets of the armes of the defendants, appointed for the ſaid iuſts, therevpon ſumptuouſlie ſet. And out at ſeuerall places of the ſame caſtell, aſwell on the daie of the coronation, as on the ſaid daies of the iuſts & turneies, out of the mouthes of certeine beaſts or gargels did run red, white, and claret wine. The enterpriſers of theſe iuſts, was Thomas lord Howard, heire apparant to the earle of Surrie, ſir Edward Howard admerall his brother, the lord Richard brother to the Marques Dorſet, ſir Edmund Howard, ſir Thomas Kneuet, and Charles Brandon eſquier. The trumpets blew to the field, the freſh yoong galants and noble men gorgeouſlie apparrelled, with curious deuiſes of cuts and of embroderies, as well in their coates as in trappers for their horſſes, ſome in gold, ſome in ſiluer, ſome in tinſels, and diuerſe other in goldſmithes worke, goodlie to behold.

The enterpriſers of the ſaid iuſts.

Goodlie ſhews & delightfull.

Theſe firſt entred the field, in taking vp & turning their horſſes, netlie and freſhlie. Then followed a deuiſe (caried by ſtrength of men and other prouiſion) framed like a caſtell, or a turret, wrought with fine cloth of gold: the top whereof was ſpred with roſes and pomegranats, hanging downe on euerie ſide of the ſaid deuiſe; wherein was a ladie, bearing a ſhield of chriſtall named Pallas. After whom the ſaid lord Howard with his companions followed, armed at all points, their baſes and bards, or trappers, were of greene veluet, beaten with roſes and pomegranats of gold, brodred with fringes of damaſke gold. The ſaid deuiſe or turret, being brought before the king, the ladie Pallas preſented the ſaid perſons, whom ſhe named hir ſcholers, to the kings highnes, beſeeching the ſame to accept them as hir ſcholers, who were deſirous to ſerue him, to the increaſe of their honours; which ſaid ſcholers had about them on foot to the number of an hundred perſons, freſhlie apparrelled, in veluets of ſundrie colours, with hoſe & bonets according to the ſame. And further, the ſaid ladie deſired the king, that it might pleaſe his grace, that hir ſaid ſcholers might be defendants to all commers, which requeſt was granted.

Pallas knights the defendants.

Another band of horſſemen richlie arraied.

Then came in an other band of horſſemen, freſhlie and well apparelled in cloth of gold, in ſiluer, in goldſmithes worke, & broderie, to the number of three ſcore, with trappers according to their garments, with great bauderikes, collars, and chaines of gold about their necks and trauerſe their bodies, euerie man with a coife of gold on his head, and a great plume of feathers thervpon, ſome of one colour and ſome of an other, entering before into the field with drums and fifes a great number, euerie man taking vp his horſſe in his beſt maner, as well for their ladies, as alſo for laud or praiſe to be giuen them. After whome followed a good number of footmen, in veluets and other ſilkes, cut and embrodered, with hoſe to the ſame accordinglie, and bonets and other furniture, after a freſh and luſtie faſhion. Next to them came on horſſebacke eight perſons, whoſe names were, ſir Iohn Pechie, ſir Edward Neuill, ſir Edward Guildeford, ſir Iohn Carre, ſir William Parre, ſir Giles Capell, ſir Griffith Dun, and ſir Rouland, armed alſo at all points, with ſhields of their owne armes, with rich plumes, and other deuiſes on their head péeces, their baſes and trappers of tiſſue, cloth of gold, ſiluer and veluet; and next before them, a gentleman on horſſebacke, in a coat of blue veluet, embrodered with gold, and his horſſe trapped in the ſame ſute, with a ſpeare of gold on his thigh, and the ſame preſented to the quéene: ſaieng, that it was informed thoſe knights of his companie, how that dame Pallas had preſented ſix of hir ſcholers to the king, but whether they came to learne, or to teach feats of armes they knew not.

Eight knights armed at all points.

He further declared, that his knights were come to doo feats of armes, for the loue of ladies. Wherfore he beſought hir grace, to licence thoſe knights to prooue themſelues againſt dame Pallas ſcholers: and that in caſe hir ſcholers brake more ſpeares on the ſaid knights, by the view of the iudges, and the report of the heralds, than the ſame knights ſhould doo on them; then the ſaid ſcholers of Pallas knights to haue the ſpeare of gold for their priſe. And if the knights brake more ſpeares than dame Pallas ſcholers, the ſaid knights to haue the chriſtall ſhield. The which requeſt to them granted, the iuſts began, where euerie man did acquite himſelfe well and valiantlie: but who had the priſe of other, I know not. The night cōming on, the iuſts ended. The next daie approached the foreſaid defenders, ſcholers to Pallas on horſſebacke, armed * cape a pie, the one ſide of their baſes and bards of their horſſes white veluet, embrodered with roſes of gold and other embroderies; the other ſide gréene veluet embrodered with pomegranats of gold, euerie one of them on his head péece had an heare of flat gold of damaſke, and ſo preſented themſelues before the king readie to tourneie.

* From head to foot.

Dianas knights.

Then immediatlie on the other part came in the forenamed eight knights, readie armed, their baſes and bards of their horſſe gréene ſattin, embrodered with freſh deuiſes of bramble branches, of fine gold curiouſlie wrought, powdered all ouer. And after them a great number of hornes blowne, by men apparelled in gréene cloth, with caps and hoſen of like ſute, as foreſters or kéepers; & a pagent made like a parke, paled with pales of white and greene, wherein were certeine fallow deare, and in the ſame parke curious trées made by craft, with buſhes, fernes, and other things in likewiſe wrought, goodlie to behold. The which parke or deuiſe, being brought before the quéene, had certeine gates thereof opened, the deare ran out therof into the palace, the greiehounds were let ſlip and killed the deare: the which deare ſo killed, were preſented to the quéene and the ladies by the foreſaid knights.

A conceipt or deuiſe of a parke with deare, &c.

Crocheman, which the daie before brought in the ſpeare of gold, there declared, that the ſame knights were ſeruants to Diana, and being in their paſtime of hunting, newes were brought vnto them, that dame Pallas knights were come into thoſe parts, to doo déeds of armes: wherefore they had left their hunting and chaſe, and repaired alſo thither, to encounter with the knights of Pallas, and ſo to fight with them for the loue of ladies, to the vtterance: ſaieng, that if Pallas knights vanquiſhed the other, or made them to leaue the field, then they to haue the deare killed, and the greiehounds that ſlue them. And in caſe Dianas knights ouercame the other, they to haue their ſwords, and none other thing more. Wherevpon the queene and ladies ſent to the king to haue his aduiſe and pleaſure in this behalfe. His grace conceiuing that there was ſome grudge and diſpleaſure betwéene them, thinking if ſuch requeſt were to them granted ſome inconuenience might inſue, would not therevnto agrée: ſo that for the appeaſing thereof it was awarded, that both parties ſhould tourneie togither, giuing but ſome certeine ſtrokes, which doone they departed: and ſo theſe iuſts brake vp, and the priſes giuen to euerie man after his deſerts.]

The kings wiſedome in preuenting an inconuenience

The king pardoned the lord Henrie brother to the duke of Buckingham, committed to the Tower (as yée haue heard) vpon ſuſpicion of treaſon: but when nothing could be prooued againſt him, he was ſet at libertie, and at the parlement after created earle of Wilſhire. Alſo this yeare the king ordeined fiftie gentlemen to be ſpeares, euerie of them to haue an archer, a demilance, and a cuſtrell; and euerie ſpeare to haue thrée great horſſes to be attendant on his perſon, of the which band the earle of Eſſex was lieutenant, and ſir Iohn Pechie capteine. This ordinance continued but a while, the charges was ſo great; for there were none of them, but they and their horſſes were apparelled and trapped in cloth of gold, ſiluer & goldſmithes worke. This yeare alſo was a great peſtilence in the towne of Calis, ſo that the king ſent one ſir Iohn Pechie with thrée hundred men to tarrie there vpon the defenſe of that towne till the ſickneſſe was ceaſſed. Furthermore, this yeare the king ſummoned his parlement in the moneth of Nouember, to begin in the moneth of Ianuarie next enſuing: whereof ſir Thomas Inglefield was choſen ſpeaker.

Henrie ÿ duke of Buckinghams brother created erle of Wilſhire.

A great plague in Calis.

A parlement.

At this parlement ſir Richard Empſon knight, and Edmund Dudleie eſquier late councellors vnto king Henrie the ſeauenth, were atteinted of high treaſon. They were charged with manie offenſes committed in the late kings daies, as partlie before yée haue heard; who being brought before the councell, as they were graue and wiſe perſonages, and both of them learned and ſkilfull in the lawes of the realme: ſo had they vtterance verie readie whereby to deliuer the conceipts of their minds with ſingular dexteritie, ſpeciallie in a caſe of importance; in ſo much that when the ſaid parties were conuented before the aſſemblie of the lords, they alleged for themſelues right conſtantlie (in their owne defenſes) much good and ſufficient matter, of whome Empſon (being the elder in yeares) had theſe words.

Empſon and Dudleie atteinted of treaſon.

Polydor.

A ſpeech vttered by Empſon to the *lords of the councell to find* fauour.

I know (right honorable) that it is not vnknowne to you, how profitable and neceſſarie lawes are for the good preſeruation of mans life: without the which neither houſe, towne, nor citie can long continue or ſtand in ſafetie. Which lawes héere in England, thorough negligence of magiſtrates, were partlie decaied, and partlie quite forgotten and worne out of vſe; the

miſchéefe

miſcheefe whereof dailie increaſing, Henrie the ſeauenth a moſt graue and prudent prince wiſhed to ſuppreſſe, and therefore appointed vs to ſee, that ſuch lawes as were yet in vſe might continue in their full force; and ſuch as were out of vſe might againe be reuiued and reſtored to their former ſtate; & that alſo thoſe perſons which tranſgreſſed the ſame, might be puniſhed according to their demerits. Wherein we diſcharged our dueties in moſt faithfull wiſe, and beſt maner we could, to the great aduantage & commoditie (no doubt) of the whole commonwealth. Wherfore we moſt humblie beſeech you in reſpect of your honours, courteſie, goodneſſe, humanitie, and iuſtice, not to decree any greeuous ſentence againſt vs, as though we were worthie of puniſhment, but rather to appoint how with thankfull recompenſe our paines & trauell may be worthilie conſidered.

Moſt of the lords of the councell againſt Empſon.

Manie of the councell thought that he had ſpoken well, and ſo as ſtood with great reaſon: but yet the greater number (ſuppoſing that the reuiuing of thoſe lawes had proceeded rather of a couetous meaning in the king and them, than of anie zeale of iuſtice, and hauing alſo themſelues felt the ſmart latelie before for their owne offenſes and tranſgreſſions) had conceiued ſuch malice towards the men, that they thought it reaſon, that ſuch as had beene dealers therein, were worthie to loſe their heads, in like ſort as they had cauſed others to loſe their monie. Hereupon, their accuſors were mainteined, and manie od matters narrowlie ſought out againſt them, as by two ſeuerall inditements framed againſt ſir Richard Empſon (the copies whereof I haue ſeene) it may well appeare.

Matters obiected againſt Empſon.

In the one he is charged, that to win the fauour and credit of the late king, not weieng his honor nor the proſperitie of him, or wealth of his realme, hee had (in ſubuerſion of the lawes of the land) procured diuerſe perſons to be indicted of diuerſe crimes and offenſes ſurmiſed againſt them, and thervpon to be committed to priſon, without due proces of law; who not ſuffered to come to their anſwers, were kept in durance, till they had compounded for their fines, to their great importable loſſes, and vtter impoueriſhment. Alſo diuerſe vntrue offices of intruſions and alienations, made by ſundrie the late kings liege people, into manors, lands, and tenements were found; it being vntrulie alleged, that they held the ſame of the king *In capite*. And when ſuch perſons as were thus vexed, offered to trauerſe thoſe offices, they could not be admitted thereto, in ſuch due and lawfull forme as in ſuch caſes the law prouideth, till they had compounded to paie great fines and ranſomes.

Wrong mainteined againſt the kings liege people.

Iniurie doone to the kings wards.

Moreouer the kings wards, after they had accompliſhed their full age, could not be ſuffered to ſue their liueries, till they had paied exceſſiue fines and ranſomes, vnto their great annoiance, loſſe, and diſquieting, and to no leſſe contempt of the ſaid king. And further, whereas diuerſe perſons had beene outlawed, as well at the ſute of their aduerſaries, as of the ſaid late king; they could not be allowed to purchaſe their charters of pardon out of the chancerie, according to the law of the realme, till they were driuen to anſwer halfe the iſſues and profits of all their lands and tenements by the ſpace of two yeares, which the king receiued to his vſe, by the ſaid Richard Empſons procurement, who informed him that hee might lawfullie take the ſame, although he knew that it was contrarie to the lawes and cuſtomes of the realme. Wherevpon the people, vexed and moleſted by ſuch hard dealings, ſore grudged againſt the ſaid late king, to the great perill and danger of his perſon and realme, and ſubuerſion of the lawes and ancient cuſtomes thereof.

A charge of manifeſt oppreſſion and extortion.

Alſo it was alleged againſt the ſaid Empſon, that he had ſent foorth precepts directed vnto diuerſe perſons, commanding them, vpon great penalties, to appeare before him, and other his aſſociats, at certeine daies and times within his houſe in S. Brides pariſh, in a ward of London, called Farringdon without: where they making their appearances, according to the ſame precepts, were impleaded afore him and other his ſaid aſſociats, of diuerſe murthers, felonies, outlawries, and of the articles in the ſtatute of prouiſors conteined; alſo of wilfull eſcapes of felonies, and ſuch like matters and articles apperteining to the plees of the crowne, and common lawes of the realme. And that doone, the ſaid perſons were committed to diuerſe priſons, as the Fleet, the Tower, and other places, where they were deteined, till they had fined at his pleaſure, as well for the commoditie of the ſaid late king, as for the ſingular aduantage of the ſaid ſir Richard Empſon.

Empſon ſomtime recorder of Couentrie.

Moreouer, whereas the ſaid Empſon, being recorder of Couentrie, and there ſate with the maior and other iuſtices of the peace, vpon a ſpeciall gaole deliuerie within that citie, on the mondaie before the feaſt of ſaint Thomas the apoſtle, in the ſixteenth yeare of the late kings reigne; a priſoner that had beene indicted of felonie, for taking out of an houſe in that citie, certeine goods to the value of twentie ſhillings, was arreigned before them. And bicauſe the iurie would not find the ſaid priſoner giltie, for want of ſufficient euidince (as they after alleged) the ſaid ſir Richard Empſon, ſuppoſing the ſame euidence to be ſufficient, cauſed them to be committed to ward, wherein they remained foure daies togither, till they were contented to enter bond in fortie pounds a peece, to appeare before the king and his councell, the ſecond returne of the tearme then next inſuing, being *Quindena Hilarij*. Wherevpon they keeping their daie, and appearing before the ſaid ſir Richard Empſon, and other of the kings councell, according to their bonds, were adiudged to paie euerie of them eight pounds for a fine, and accordinglie made paiment thereof, as they were then thought well worthie ſo to doo. But now this matter ſo long paſt, was ſtill kept in memorie, and ſo earneſt ſome were to inforce it to the vttermoſt againſt the ſaid Empſon, that in a ſeſſions holden at Couentrie now in this firſt yeare of this kings reigne, an indictment was framed againſt him for this matter, and thereof he was found giltie, as if therein he had committed ſome great and heinous offenſe againſt the kings peace, his crowne and dignitie.

Empſon indicted & found giltie.

Thus haue I thought good to ſhew what I find hereof, to the end ye may perceiue how glad men were to find ſome colour of ſufficient matter, to bring the ſaid ſir Richard Empſon, and maiſter Edmund Dudleie, within danger of the lawes; whereby at length they were not onelie condemned by act of parlement, through malice of ſuch as might ſeeme to ſeeke their deſtruction for priuat grudges; but in the end alſo, they were arreigned: as firſt the ſaid Edmund Dudleie in the Guildhall of London, the ſeuenteenth of Iulie; and ſir Richard Empſon at Northampton in October next inſuing: and being there condemned, was from thence brought backe againe to the Tower of London, where he remained till the time of his execution; as after yee ſhall heare.

The plague.
1510

This yeare the plague was great, and reigned in diuerſe parts of this realme. The king kept his Chriſtmas at Richmond. The twelfe of Ianuarie, diuerſe gentlemen prepared to iuſt, and the king and one of his priuie chamber called William Compton, ſecretlie armed themſelues in the little parke of Richmond, & ſo came into the iuſtes, vnknowne to all perſons. The king neuer ran openlie before, and did exceeding well. Maiſter Compton chanced to be ſore hurt by Edward Neuill eſquier, brother to the lord of Aburgauennie, ſo that he was like to haue died. One perſon there was that knew the king, and cried; God ſaue the king: and with that, all the people were aſtonied, and then the king diſcouered himſelfe, to the great comfort of the people. The king ſoone after came to Weſtminſter, and there kept his Shrouetide with great bankettings, danſings, and other iollie paſtimes.

The king runneth at tilt in his owne perſon.

Edw. Hall in H.8. fol. vj.
The king with other nobles diſguiſed like Robin hoods men for diſport.

And on a time the king in perſon, accompanied with the earles of Eſſex, Wilſhire and other noble men, to the number of twelue, came ſuddenlie in a morning into the queenes chamber, all apparelled in ſhort coates of Kentiſh Kendall, with hoodes on their heads & hoſen of the ſame, euerie one of them his bow and arrowes, and a ſword and a buckler, like outlawes, or Robin Hoods men. Whereat the queene, the ladies, and all other there were abaſhed, as well for the ſtrange ſight, as alſo for their ſudden comming, and after certeine danſes and paſtime made, they departed. On Shroueſundaie the ſame yeare, the king prepared a goodlie banket in the parlement chamber at Weſtminſter, for all the ambaſſadors, which then were here out of diuerſe realmes and countries. The banket being readie, the king leading the queene, entered into the chamber, then the ladies, ambaſſadours, and other noble men followed in order.

A banket.

The king and others diſguiſed after the Turkiſh faſhion.

The king cauſed the queene to keepe the eſtate, and then ſate the ambaſſadours and ladies, as they were marſhalled by the K. who would not ſit, but walked from place to place, making cheare to the queene and the ſtrangers: ſuddenlie the king was gone. And ſhortlie after, his grace, with the earle of Eſſex, came in apparelled after the Turkie faſhion, in long robes of baudekin, powdered with gold, hats on their heds of crimſin veluet, with great rolles of gold, girded with two ſwords called cimiteries, hanging by great bauderiks of gold. Then next came the lord Henrie earle of Wilſhire, and the lord Fitzwater, in two long gownes of yellow ſattin, trauerſed with white ſattin, and in euerie band of white was a band of crimſin ſattin after the faſhion of Ruſſia or Ruſland, with furred hats of graie on their heads, either of them hauing an hatchet in their hands, and boots with pikes turned vp.

And after them came ſir Edward Howard then admerall, and with him ſir Thomas Parre, in doublets of crimſin veluet, voided low on the backe, and before to the chanell bone, laſed on the breaſts with chaines of ſiluer, and ouer that ſhort cloakes of crimſin ſattin, and on their heads hats after danſers faſhion, with feaſants feathers in them: they were apareled after the faſhion of Pruſia or Spruce. The torchbearers were apparelled in crimſin ſattin and greene, like Moreſkoes, their faces blacke: and the king brought in a mummerie. After that the queene, the lords, & ladies (ſuch as would) had plaied, the ſaid mummers departed, and put off the ſame apparell, and ſoone after entered into the chamber in their vſuall apparell. And ſo the king made great cheere to the queene, ladies and ambaſſadours. The ſupper or banket ended, and the tables voided, the king in communication with the ambaſſadours, the queene with the ladies tooke their places in their degrees.

A maſke wherein the king was an actor.

Then began the danſing, and euerie man tooke much heed to them that danſed. The king perceiuing that, withdrew himſelfe ſuddenlie out of the place, with certeine other perſons appointed for that purpoſe. And within a little while after there came in a drum and a fife apparelled in white damaſke & greene bonnets, and hoſen of the ſame ſute. Then certeine gentlemen followed with torches, apparelled in blue damaſke, purfelled with amis greie, faſhioned like an albe, and hoods on their heads, with robes and long tippets to the ſame of blue damaſke, in viſards. Then after them came a certeine number of gentlemen, whereof the king was one, apparelled all in one ſute of ſhort garments, little beneath the points, of blue veluet and crimſin, with long ſleeues, all cut and lined with cloth of gold. And the vtter part of the garments were powdered with caſtels and ſheafes of arrowes of fine ducket gold; the vpper parts of their hoſen of like ſute and faſhion, the nether parts were of ſkarlet, powdered with timbrels of fine gold, on their heads bonnets of damaſke, with ſiluer flat wouen in the ſtole, & therevpon wrought with gold, and rich fethers in them, all with viſors.

Certeine ladies richlie attired and after a ſtrange faſhion.

After them entered ſix ladies, whereof two were apparelled in crimſin ſattin and purple, embrodered with gold, and by viniets ran floure delices of gold, with maruellous rich & ſtrange tiers on their heads. Then two ladies in crimſin and purple, made like long ſlops embrodered and fret with gold after antike faſhion: and ouer that garment was a ſhort garment of cloth of gold ſcant to the knee, faſhioned like a tabard all ouer, with ſmall double rolles, all of flat gold of damaſke, fret with friſed gold, and on their heads ſkarfs and wrappers of damaſke gold, with flat pipes, that ſtrange it was to behold. The other two ladies were in kirtels of crimſin & purple ſattin, embrodered with a viniet of pomegranats of gold, all the garments cut compaſſe wiſe, hauing but demie ſleeues, naked downe from the elbowes, and ouer their garments were vochets of pleaſants, rolled with crimſin veluet, and ſet with letters of gold like characts, their heads rolled in pleaſants and tipets like the Aegyptians, embrodered with gold. Their faces, necks, armes, and hands, couered in fine pleaſants blacke: ſome call it Lumbardines, which is maruellous thin; ſo that the ſame ladies ſeemed to be Nigers or blacke Mores. Of theſe foreſaid ſix ladies, the ladie Marie ſiſter vnto the king was one, the other I name not. After that the kings grace and the ladies had danſed a certeine time, they departed euerie one to his lodging.

The ladie Marie ſiſter to the king.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. vij.
Running at the ring.

The king verie roiallie arraied runneth at the ring in the ſight of the ambaſſadours & beareth the priſe awaie.

In this yeare alſo came ambaſſadors, not onelie from the king of Arragon and Caſtile, but alſo from the kings of France, Denmarke, Scotland, and other places, which were highlie welcomed, and noblie interteined. It happened on a daie, that there were certeine noble men made a wager to run at the ring and parties were taken, and which partie atteined or tooke awaie the ring oftneſt with certeine courſes, ſhould win the wager. Whereof the kings grace hearing, offered to be on the one partie with ſix companions. The ambaſſadors hearing thereof, were much deſirous to ſee this wager tried, and ſpeciallie the ambaſſadours of Spaine, who had neuer ſeene the king in harneſſe. At the daie appointed, the king was mounted on a goodlie courſer, trapped in purple veluet cut, the inner ſide whereof was wrought with flat gold of damaſke in the ſtole, and the veluet on the other ſide cut in letters: ſo that the gold appeared as though it had beene embrodered with certeine reaſons or poſies. And on the veluet betweene the letters were faſtened caſtels and ſheafs of arrowes of ducket gold, with a garment, the ſléeues compaſſed ouer his harneſſe, and his baſes of the ſame worke, with a great plume of feathers on his head péece, that came downe to the arſon of his ſaddle, and a great companie of freſh gentlemen came in with his grace richlie armed and decked, with manie other right gorgeouſlie apparelled, the trumpets before them goodlie to behold, whereof manie ſtrangers (but ſpeciallie the Spaniards) much reioiſed; for they had neuer ſéene the king before that time armed.

On the other ſide came in another band of gentlemen freſhlie apparelled, and pleaſant to behold, all apparelled in cloth of gold, checkered with flat gold of damaſke, & poudered with roſes; and ſo euerie man ran: but to conclude, the priſe was giuen vnto the king. Euerie man did run twelue courſes, the king did beare away the ring fiue times, and atteined it thrée. And theſe courſes thus finiſhed, the Spaniſh ambaſſadours deſired to haue ſome of the badges or deuiſes, which were on the kings trapper. His grace therof knowing, commanded euerie of them to take thereof what it pleaſed them, who in effect tooke all or the more part; for in the beginning they thought they had béene counterfeit, and not of gold; as they were. On Maie day then next folowing in the ſecond yeare of his reigne, his grace being yoong, and willing not to be idle, roſe in the morning verie earlie to fetch maie or gréene boughs, himſelfe freſh & richlie apparelled; and clothed all his knights, ſquiers and gentlemen in white ſattin, and all his gard and yeomen of the crowne in white ſarcenet: and ſo went euerie man with his bow and arrowes ſhooting to the wood, and ſo repaired againe to the court, euerie man with a gréene bough in his cap.

King Henrie goeth a maieng with other of his courtiers.

Now at his returning, manie hearing of his going on maieng, were deſirous to ſée him ſhoot, for at that time his grace ſhot as ſtrong and as great a length as anie of his gard. There came to his grace a certeine man with bow and arrowes, and deſired his grace to take the muſter of him, and to ſée him ſhoot; for at that time his grace was contented. The man put the one foot in his boſome, and ſo did ſhoot, and ſhot a verie good ſhoot, and well towards his marke: whereof, not onelie his grace, but all other greatlie maruelled. So the king gaue him a reward for his ſo dooing; which perſon afterwards of the people, and of them in the court, was called, Foot in boſome. The ſame yeare in the feaſt of Pentecoſt, holden at Gréenwich, that is to ſay, the thurſdaie in the ſame wéeke, his grace with two other with him, chalenged all commers, to fight with them at the barriers with target, and caſting the ſpeare of eight foot long; and that doone, his grace with the ſaid two aides to fight euerie of them twelue ſtrokes with two handed ſwordes, with and againſt all commers, none excepted being a gentleman; where the K. behaued himſelfe ſo well, and deliuered himſelfe ſo valiantlie by his hardie proweſſe and great ſtrength, that the praiſe and laud was giuen to his grace, and his aides: notwithſtanding that diuerſe and ſtrong perſons had aſſailed him and his aides.

The king a good archer.

The king chalengeth all commers at ſundrie exerciſes of actiuitie

From thenſe the whole court remoued to Windſor, then begining his progreſſe, & exerciſing himſelfe dailie in ſhooting, ſinging, danſing, wreſtling, caſting of the barre, plaieng at the recorders, flute, virginals, in ſetting of ſongs, and making of ballads; he did ſet two full maſſes, euerie of them fiue parts, which were ſoong oftentimes in his chappell, and afterwards in diuerſe other places. And when he came to Oking, there were kept both iuſtes and turneies: the reſt of this progreſſe was ſpent in hunting, hawking, and ſhooting. ¶ Doctor Colet deane of Poules erected a frée ſchoole in Poules church yard in London, and committed the ouerſight thereof to the maſters and wardens of the mercers, bicauſe himſelfe was borne in London, & was ſonne to Henrie Colet mercer, ſometime lord maior of the citie of London. On Midſummer night, the king came priuilie into Cheape, in one of the cotes of his gard; and on ſaint Peters night, the king and quéene came riding roiallie to the kings hed in Cheape, there to behold the watch of the citie.]

Abr.Fl. ex I.S. pag.894.
Pouls ſchoole.

The king apparelled like one of the gard.

Now when the ſaid progreſſe was finiſhed, his grace, the quéene, with all their whole traine, in the moneth of October following, remooued to Gréenewich. The king not minded to ſée yoong gentlemen vnexpert in martiall feates, cauſed a place to be prepared within the parke of Gréenwich, for the quéene and the ladies to ſtand & ſée the fight with battle axes that ſhould be doone there, where the king himſelfe armed, fought with one Giot a gentleman of Almaine, a tall man, and a good man of armes. And then after they had doone, they marched alwaies two and two togithers, and ſo did their feats and enterpriſes euerie man verie well. Albeit, it happened the ſaid Giot to fight with ſir Edward Howard, which Giot was by him ſtriken to the ground. The morow after this enterpriſe doone, the king with the quéene came to the Tower of London. And to the intent that there ſhould no diſpleaſure nor malice be borne by anie of thoſe gentlemen, which fought with the ax againſt other; the king gaue vnto them a certeine ſumme of gold, valued at two hundred markes, to make a banket among themſelues withall. The which banket was made at fiſhmongers hall in Thames ſtréet, where they all met to the number of foure and twentie, all apparelled in one ſute or liuerie, after Almaine faſhion; that is to ſay, their vtter garments all of yellow ſattin, yellow hoſen, yellow ſhooes, girdels, ſcabberds, and bonnets with yellow feathers, their garments and hoſen all cut & lined with white ſattin, and their ſcabberds wound about with ſattin. After their banket ended, they went by torchlight to the Tower, & preſented themſelues before the king, who tooke pleaſure to behold them.

The king fighteth with a battle axe againſt an Almaine.

From thence the eight day of Nouember, his grace remooued to Richmond, and willed to be declared to all noble men and gentlemen, that his grace with two aides, that is to wit, maiſter Charles Brandon, and maiſter Compton, during two daies would anſwer all commers; with ſpeare at the tilt one daie, and at turneie with ſwords the other. And to accompliſh this enterpriſe, on the thirtéenth day of Nouember, his grace armed at all péeces with his two aides entered the field, their baſes and trappers were of cloth of gold, ſet with red roſes, wrought with gold of broderie. The counterpart came in freſhlie apparelled, euerie man after his deuiſe. At theſe iuſtes the king brake more ſtaues than anie other, & therefore had the priſe. At the turneie in likewiſe, the honour was his. The ſecond night were diuerſe ſtrangers of Maximilian the emperours court and ambaſſadors of Spaine with the king at ſupper. When they had ſupped, the king willed them to go into the quéenes chamber, who ſo did.

The king (with his aſſiſtants) chalengeth all commers at tilt.

In the meane ſeaſon, the king with fiftéene other, apparelled in Almaine iackets of crimſin and purple ſattin, with long quartered ſléeues, and hoſen of the ſame ſute, their bonnets of white veluet, wrapped in flat gold of damaſke, with viſards and white plumes, came in with a mummerie; and after a certeine time that they had plaied with the quéene and the ſtrangers, they departed. Then ſuddenlie entered ſix minſtrels richlie apparelled, plaieng on their inſtruments; and then followed fourtéene perſons, gentlemen, all apparelled in yellow ſattin, cut like Almains, bearing torches. After them came ſix diſguiſed in white ſattin and gréene, embrodered and ſet

A roiall mummerie.

A maſke of fourtéene gentlemen ſtrangelie attired.

with letters and caſtels of fine gold in bullion, the garments were of ſtrange faſhion, with alſo ſtrange cuts, euerie cut knit with points of fine gold, and taſſels of the ſame, their hoſen cut and tied in likewiſe, their bonnets of cloth of ſiluer woond with gold. The firſt of theſe ſix was the king, the earle of Eſſex, Charles Brandon, ſir Edward Howard, ſir Thomas Kneuet, and ſir Henrie Guilford.

Then part of the gentlemen bearing torches departed, and ſhortlie returned, after whom came in ſix ladies, apparelled in garments of crimſin ſattin embrodered and trauerſed with gloth of gold, cut in pomegranats and yokes, ſtringed after the faſhion of Spaine. Then the ſaid ſix men danſed with theſe ſix ladies: and after that they had danſed a ſeaſon, the ladies tooke off the mens viſors, whereby they were knowen: whereof the quéene and the ſtrangers much praiſed the king, and ended the paſtime. It is to be noted, that at this time the quéene was great with child, & ſhortlie after this paſtime, ſhe tooke hir chamber at Richmond, for the which cauſe the king kept his Chriſtmaſſe there. And on Newyeares daie the firſt daie of Ianuarie the quéene was deliuered of a prince to the great gladneſſe of the realme, for the honour of whome fiers were made, and diuerſe veſſels with wine ſet for ſuch as would take thereof in certeine ſtréets in London, and generall proceſſions therevpon to laud God. As touching the preparation of the princes chriſtening, I ouerpaſſe, which was honorablie doone, whoſe godfathers at the font were the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the earle of Surreie, & godmother the ladie Katharine counteſſe of Deuonſhire, daughter to king Edward the fourth: his name was Henrie.

The birth of the firſt begotten ſonne of king Henrie the eight.

Againſt the twelfe daie or the daie of the Epiphanie at night, before the banket in the hall at Richmond, was a pageant deuiſed like a mounteine, gliſtering by night as though it had béene all of gold and ſet with ſtones, on the top of which mounteine was a trée of gold, the branches and boughes friſed with gold, ſpreading on euerie ſide ouer the mounteine with roſes and pomegranats, the which mounteine was with vices brought vp towards the king, and out of the ſame came a ladie apparelled in cloth of gold, and the children of honour called the henchmen, which were freſhlie diſguiſed, and danſed a morice before the king; and that doone, reentred the mounteine, which then was drawen backe, and then was the waſſaill or banket brought in, and ſo brake vp Chriſtmaſſe. Shortlie after and before the quéenes churching, the K. rode to Walſingham. The quéene being churched or purified, the king and ſhe remooued from Richmond to Weſtminſter, where was preparation for ſolemne iuſts in the honor of the quéene; the king being one, and with him thrée aides: his grace being called Cure loial, the lord William erle of Deuonſhire called Bon voloire, ſir Thomas Kneuet named Bon eſpoir, ſir Edward Neuill called Valiant deſire, whoſe names were ſet vpon a goodlie table, & the table hanged in a trée curiouſlie wrought, and they were called Les quater cheualiers de la forreſt ſaluigne, theſe foure to run at the tilt againſt all commers, with other certeine articles compriſed in the ſaid table.

A goodlie deuiſe of a moueable pageant.

A ſolemne iuſts at Weſtminſter.

A place in the palace was prepared for the king and quéene, richlie hanged, the inner part with cloth of gold, & the vtter with rich cloth of arras. Theſe iuſts began the thirtéenth daie of Februarie. Now after that the quéene with hir traine of ladies had taken their places, into the palace was conueied a pageant of a great quantitie, made like a forreſt with rockes, hils, and dales, with diuerſe ſundrie trées, floures, hathornes, ferne, and graſſe, with ſix foreſters ſtanding within the ſame forreſt, garniſhed in cotes and hoods of gréene veluet, by whome laie a great number of ſpeares; all the trées, hearbs, and floures of the ſame forreſt were made of gréene veluet, gréene damaſke, & ſilke of diuerſe colours, as ſattin & ſarcenet. In the middeſt of this forreſt was a caſtell ſtanding made of gold, and before the caſtell gate ſat a gentleman freſhlie apparelled, making a garland of roſes for the priſe. This forreſt was drawen as it were by ſtrength of two great beaſts, a lion and an antelop; the lion floriſhed all ouer with damaſke gold, the antelop was wrought all ouer with ſiluer of damaſke, his beames or hornes and tuſkes of gold.

A pageant made like a wild forreſt verie cunninglie.

Theſe beaſts were led with certeine men apparelled like wild men, or woodhouſes, their bodies, heads, faces, hands, and legs couered with gréene ſilke floſſhed: on either of the ſaid antelop and lion ſat a ladie richlie apparelled, the beaſts were tied to the pageant with great chaines of gold, as horſſes be in the cart. When the pageant reſted before the quéene, the forenamed foreſters blew their horns, then the deuiſe or pageant opened on all ſides, and out iſſued the foreſaid foure knights armed at all péeces, euerie of them a ſpeare in his hand on horſſebacke with great plumes on their heads, their baſes and trappers of cloth of gold, euerie of them his name embrodered on his baſe and trapper. On the other part with great noiſe aſwell of trumpets as of drums entered into the field, the erle of Eſſex, the lord Thomas Howard with manie other cleane armed, their trappers and baſes all of crimſin ſatin embrodered with branches of pomegranats of gold and poſies; with manie a freſh gentleman riding before them, their footmen well apparelled: and ſo the iuſts began and endured all that daie.

The foure knights iſſue out of the pageant all armed.

The morrow, being the thirtéenth of Februarie after dinner, at time conuenient, the quéene with the ladies repaired to ſée the iuſts, the trumpets ſounded, and in came manie a noble man and gentleman richlie apparelled, taking vp their horſſes; after whom followed certeine lords apparelled, they and their horſſes in cloth of gold and ruſſet tinſell: knights in cloth of gold and ruſſet veluet; and a great number of gentlemen on foot in ruſſet ſattin and yellow, and yeomen in ruſſet damaſke and yellow, all the nether part of euerie mans hoſen ſcarlet and yellow caps. Then came the king vnder a pauilion of cloth of gold and purple veluet embrodered, and powdered with H. and K. of fine gold, the compaſſe of the pauilion aboue embrodered richlie, and balanſed with flat gold, beaten in wire, with an imperiall crowne in the top of fine gold, his baſes and trappers of cloth of gold, fretted with damaſke gold, the trapper pendant to the taile. A crane and chafron of ſtéele, in the front of the chafron was a goodlie plume ſet full of muſers or trembling ſpangles of gold. After followed his thrée aids, euerie of them vnder a pauilion of crimſin damaſke and purple, powdered with H. and K. of fine gold, balanſed and fringed with gold of damaſke: on the top of euerie pauilion a great K. of goldſmiths worke.

Gorgeous ſhewes in apparell.

The king vnder a pauilion of cloth of gold and purple veluet, &c.

The number of the gentlemen and yeomen attending on foot, apparelled in ruſſet and yellow, was an hundred thréeſcore and eight. Then next theſe pauilions came twelue children of honour, ſitting euerie of them on a great courſer richlie trapped and embrodered in ſeuerall deuiſes and faſhions, where lacked neither broderie nor goldſmiths worke, ſo that euerie child and horſſe in deuiſe and faſhion was contrarie to other, which was goodlie to behold. Then on the contrarie part entered ſir Charles Brandon, firſt on horſſebacke in a long robe of ruſſet ſattin, like a recluſe or religious perſon, and his horſſe trapped in the ſame ſute, without drum or noiſe of minſtrelſie, putting a bill of petition to the quéene, the effect whereof

Sir Charles Brandon on horſſebacke in a long robe of ruſſet ſattin like a religious perſon.

of was, that if it would pleaſe hir to licence him to run in hir preſence, he would doo it gladlie; and if not, then he would depart as he came. After that his requeſt was granted, then he put off his ſaid habit, and was armed at all peeces with rich baſes and horſſe alſo richlie trapped, and ſo did run his horſſe to the tilt end, where diuerſe men on foot apparelled in ruſſet ſattin waited on him.

Henrie Guilford eſquier in ruſſet cloth of gold, with his deuiſe.

Next after came in alone yoong Henrie Guilford eſquier, himſelfe and his horſſe in ruſſet cloth of gold and cloth of ſiluer, cloſed in a deuiſe, or a pageant made like a caſtell or a turret, wrought of ruſſet ſarcenet Florence, wrought and ſet out in gold with his word or poſie, and all his men in ruſſet ſattin & white, with hoſen to the ſame, and their bonets of like colours, demanding alſo licence of the queene to run; which to him granted, he tooke place at the tilts end. Then came next the marqueſſe Dorſet and ſir Thomas Bullen like two pilgrims from ſaint Iames, in taberds of blacke veluet, with palmers hats on their helmets, with long Iacobs ſtaues in their hands, their horſſe trappers of blacke veluet, their taberds, hats, and trappers ſet with ſcalop ſhels of fine gold, and ſtrips of blacke veluet, euerie ſtrip ſet with a ſcalop ſhell, their ſeruants all in blacke ſattin with ſcalop ſhels of gold in their breaſts. Soone after came in the lord Henrie of Buckingham earle of Wilſhire, himſelfe and his horſſe apparelled in cloth of ſiluer, embrodered with his poſie or word, and arrowes of gold in a poſie, called La maiſon du refuge, made of crimſin damaſke brodered with roſes & arrowes of gold, on the top a greihound of ſiluer, bearing a tree of pomegranats of gold, the branches whereof were ſo large that it ouerſpred the pageant in all parts.

The marqueſſe Dorſet and ſir Thomas Bullen like pilgrims.

Then entered ſir Giles Capell, ſir Rouland with manie other knights richlie armed and apparelled. And thus began the iuſts, which was valiantlie atchiued by the king and his aids, among whom his grace atteined the priſe. Theſe iuſts finiſhed, euerie man withdrew, the king was diſarmed, and at time conuenient he and the queene heard euenſong, and that night all the ambaſſadors ſupped with the king and had a great banket. After ſupper, his grace with the queene, lords & ladies came into the White hall within the ſaid palace, which was hanged richlie, the hall was ſcaffolded and railed on all parts. There was an enterlude of the gentlemen of his chapell before his grace, and diuerſe freſh ſongs: that doone, his grace called to him a great man, or a lord of Ireland called O neall, whome in the preſence of the ſaid ambaſſadors he made knight: then the minſtrels began to plaie, the lords & ladies began to danſe. Now in the midſt of this paſtime, when all perſons were moſt attentiue to behold the danſing, the king was ſuddenlie gone, vnknowen to the moſt part of the people there, vnleſſe it were of the queene and certeine other. Within a little while after his departing, the trumpets at the end of the hall began to ſound.

The great O neall made knight.

A pageant deuiſed to run vpon wheeles.

Then was there a deuiſe or a pageant vpon wheels brought in, out of the which pageant iſſued out a gentleman richlie apparelled, that ſhewed how in a garden of pleaſure there was an arbor of gold, wherin were lords and ladies, much deſirous to ſhew paſtime to the queene & ladies, if they might be licenced ſo to doo: who was anſwered by the queene, how ſhe & all other there were verie deſirous to ſee them and their paſtime. Then a great cloth of arras that did hang before the ſame pageant was taken awaie, and the pageant brought more neere. It was curiouſlie made and pleſant to behold, it was ſolemne and rich; for euerie poſt or piller thereof was couered with friſed gold, therin were trees of hathorne, eglantine, roſiers, vines, and other pleaſant floures of diuerſe colours, with gillofers, and other hearbs all made of ſattin, damaſke, ſiluer and gold, accordinglie as the naturall trees, hearbs, or floures ought to be.

In this arbor were ſix ladies, all apparelled in white ſatin and greene, ſet and embrodered full of H. and K. of gold, knit togither with laces of gold of damaſke, and all their garments were repleniſhed with glittering ſpangels gilt ouer, on their heads were bonets all opened at the foure quarters, ouerfriſed with flat gold of damaſke, the orrellets were of rolles, wrethed on lampas doucke holow, ſo that the gold ſhewed through the lampas doucke; the faſſis of their head ſet full of new deuiſed faſhions. In this garden alſo was the king and fiue with him apparelled in garments of purple ſattin, all of cuts with H. and K. euerie edge garniſhed with friſed gold, and euerie garment full of poſies, made of letters of fine gold in bullion as thicke as they might be, and euerie perſon had his name in like letters of maſſie gold. The firſt Cure loial, the ſecond Bon voloire, the third Bon eſpoir, the fourth Valiant deſire, the fift Bon foy, the ſixt Amour loial, their hoſen, caps, and coats were full of poſies, with H. & K. of fine gold in bullion, ſo that the ground could ſcarſe appeere, & yet was in euerie void place ſpangles of gold. When time was come, the ſaid pageant was brought foorth into preſence, and then deſcended a lord and a ladie by couples, and then the minſtrels which were diſguiſed alſo danſed, and the lords and ladies danſed, that it was a pleaſure to behold.

A goodlie ſhew of the king & fiue other with him.

In the meane ſeaſon the pageant was conueied to the end of the palace, there to tarie till the danſes were finiſhed, & ſo to haue receiued the lords & ladies againe; but ſuddenlie the rude people ran to the pageant, and rent, tare, and ſpoiled the pageant, ſo that the lord ſteward nor the head officers could not cauſe them to abſteine, except they ſhould haue foughten and drawen bloud, and ſo was this pageant broken. Then the king with the queene and the ladies returned to his chamber, where they had a great banket, and ſo this triumph ended with mirth & gladnes. At this ſolemnitie a ſhipman of London caught certeine letters, which he ſold to a goldſmith for three pounds fourteene ſhillings & eight pence; by reaſon wherof it appeered that the garments were of a great value. After this great ioy came a ſorowfull chance, for the yoong prince which was borne vpon Newyeares day laſt paſt, vpon the two and twentith daie of Februarie, being then the euen of ſaint Matthie, departed this world at Richmond, and from thence was caried to Weſtminſter and buried. The king like a wiſe prince tooke this dolorous chance wonderous wiſelie; and the more to comfort the queene he diſſembled the matter, and made no great mourning outwardlie: but the queene, like a naturall woman, made much lamentation; howbeit, by the kings good perſuaſion and behauiour, hir ſorow was mitigated, but not ſhortlie.

The rudenes of the people aſſembled to ſee the ſhewes.

The departure of the kings yoong ſonne out of this life.

Embaſſadors from the king of Spaine for aid againſt the Moores.

In the moneth of Februarie this yeare came ambaſſadors from the king of Arragon and Caſtile, to require an aid of fifteene hundred archers to be ſent to the ſame king, hauing at that time war againſt the Moores, enimies of the chriſtian faith. The king hearing their meſſage gentlie granted their requeſt. And bicauſe the lord Thomas Darcie a knight of the garter, made humble ſute to the king to be generall of the crue that ſhould be thus ſent into Spaine, the king vpon truſt of his approued valiancie granted his deſire. There were appointed to go with him the lord Anthonie Greie brother to the marqueſſe Dorſet, Henrie Guilford, Weſton Browne, and William Sidneie eſquiers of the kings houſe, ſir Robert Conſtable, ſir Roger Haſtings, and ſir Raſe Elderton, with other gentlmen to be capteins.

Lord Darcie knight of the garter.

In

Anno reg. 2.

In this ſecond yeare, the king being forth on his progreſſe, heard euerie daie more & more complaints of Empſon and Dudleie, ſet forth and aduanced no doubt by the drift of their deadlie enimies. Wherefore, he ſent writs to the ſhiriffes of London, to put them to execution, and ſo the ſeuentéenth daie of Auguſt, they were both beheaded at the Tower hill, and both their bodies and heads buried, the one at the White friers, and the other at the Blacke friers. The king about this ſeaſon was much giuen to plaie at teniſſe, and at the diſe, which appetite certeine craftie perſons about him perceiuing, brought in Frenchmen and Lombards to make wagers with him, & ſo loſt much monie; but when he perceiued their craft, he eſchued their companie and let them go.

The ſeuenth daie hath Iohn Stow.

Empſon and Dudleie beheaded.

The king loſt much monie at teniſe.

Anno. Reg. 3. Ed. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. xj. xij.

¶ On the firſt daie of Maie the king accompanied with manie luſtie batchelers, on great and well dooing horſſes rode to the wood to fetch Maie, where a man might haue ſéene manie a horſſe raiſed on high with carrier, gallop, turne, and ſtop, merueſlous to behold: where he & thrée other, as ſir Edward Howard, Charles Brandon, and Edward Neuill, which were challengers with the king, ſhifted themſelues into coats of gréene ſattin garded with crimſin veluet. On the other part the earles of Eſſex, of Deuonſhire, the marqueſſe Dorſet, & the lord Howard were all in crimſin ſatin, garded with a pounced gard of gréene veluet. And as they were returning on the hill, a ſhip met with them vnder ſaile: the maiſter hailed the king and that noble companie, and ſaid that he was a mariner, and was come from many a ſtrange port, and came thither to ſée if anie déeds of armes were to be doone in the countrie, of the which he might make true report in other countries. An herald demanded the name of his ſhip; he anſwered ſhe is called Fame, & is laden with good Renowme: then ſaid the herald, If you will bring your ſhip into the baie of Hardineſſe, you muſt double the point of Gentleneſſe, and there you ſhall ſée a companie that will meddle with your merchandize. Then ſaid the king, Sithens Renowme is their merchandize, let vs buie it if we can. Then the ſhip ſhot a peale of guns, and ſailed forth before the kings companie, full of flags and banners, till it came to the tilt yard.

The king and thrée other courtiers challengers.

A deuiſe of a ſhip vnder ſaile.

At after noone, the king and his thrée fellowes entered into the field, their bards and baſes of crimſin and blue veluet, cut in quadrant cuts, embrodered full of pomegranats, and all the waiters in ſilke of the ſame colour. The other partie were in crimſin ſattin and gréene veluet. Then began the trumpets to ſound, and the horſſes to run, that manie a ſpeare was burſt, and manie a great ſtripe giuen: and for a truth the king excéeded in number of ſtaues all other euerie daie of the thrée daies. Wherefore on the third daie, the quéene made a great banket to the king and all them that had iuſted: and after the banket doone, ſhe gaue the chiefe priſe to the king, the ſecond to the earle of Eſſex, the third to the earle of Deuonſhire, and the fourth to the lord marqueſſe Dorſet. Then the heralds cried; My lords, for your noble feats in armes, God ſend you the loue of your ladies that you moſt deſire. The king euer deſirous to ſerue Mars, began another iuſts the fiftéenth daie of the ſaid moneth. The king & his band were all in gréene ſilke, and the earle of Eſſex and his band in blue, garded with gold, and all the ſpeares were painted of the ſame colours. There was good running and manie a ſpeare bruſt: but for all the ſport euerie man feared leaſt ſome ill chance might happen to the king, and faine would haue had him a looker on rather than a dooer, and ſpake thereof as much as they durſt: but his courage was ſo noble that he would euer be at the one end.]

The king brake more ſtaues than the reſt and had the priſe giuen him.

The lord Darcie and his companie readie at Plimmouth.

In this meane time, the lord Darcie and other appointed to the viage againſt the Mores, made ſuch diligence, that they and all their people were readie at Plimmouth by the middes of Maie, and there muſtered their ſouldiers before the lord Brooke, and other the kings commiſſioners. The lord Darcie as capteine generall, ordeined for his prouoſt marſhall Henrie Guilford eſquier, a luſtie yoong man, & welbeloued of the king, for his manifold good ſeruice. On the mondaie in the Rogation wéeke, they departed out of Plimmouth hauen with foure ſhips roiall, and the wind was ſo fauourable to them, that the firſt daie of Iune, being the euen of the feaſt of Pentecoſt, he arriued at the port of Calis in ſouth Spaine; and immediatlie by the aduiſe of his councell, he diſpatched meſſengers to the king, whom they found beſide the citie of Ciuill where he then laie, and declared to him, how the lord Darcie by the king their maiſters appointment, was come thither with ſixtéene hundred archers, and laie ſtill at Calis to know his pleaſure. The king of Caſtile anſwered them gentlie, that the lord Darcie and all other that were come from his louing ſonne were welcome, and hartilie thanked them of their paines, requiring the meſſengers to returne to their capteine, and tell him that in all haſt he would ſend certeine of his councell to him.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. xij.

¶ Hereupon they departed from the king, and made report to the lord Darcie, which kept his ſhip in great eſtate, and would not land, but onelie ſuffered ſuch as were ſicke and féeble, and few other to go aland. The Engliſhmen which went aland, fell to drinking of hot wines, & were ſcarſe maiſters of themſelues, ſome ran to the ſtewes, ſome brake hedges and ſpoiled orchards and vineyards, and orenges before they were ripe, and did manie outragious déeds: wherefore the chiefe of the towne of Calis came to complaine to the lord Darcie in his ſhip, which ſent forth his prouoſt marſhall, who ſcarſelie with paine refrained the yeoman archers, they were ſo hot and wilfull, yet by commandement & policie they were all brought on bord to their ſhips.]

The vnrulie behauiour of the Engliſhmen.

Then vpon ſaturdaie, the eight of Iune, a biſhop and other of the kings councell came to Calis, and there abode till wedneſdaie, being the euen of Corpus Chriſti; at which daie, the lord capteine tooke land, and was honorablie receiued of the king of Aragons councell, and on the morrow was highlie feaſted at dinner and ſupper. And at after ſupper, the biſhop declared the king his maiſters pleaſure, giuing to the lord capteine as heartie thankes for his pains and trauell, as if he had gone forward with his enterpriſe againſt the Mores. But whereas by the aduiſe of his councell, circumſpectlie conſidering the ſuertie of his owne realme, vpon perfect knowledge had that the Frenchmen meant to inuade his dominions in his abſence, he had altered his former determination, and taken an abſtinence of war with the Mores, till an other time.

The lord Darcie honorablie receiued of the K. of Aragons councell.

He therefore required the lord Darcie to be contented to returne home againe, promiſing him wages for all his ſoldiers; and if it ſhould pleaſe him to come to the court, he ſhould receiue high thanks of the king, and ſuch chéere as there could be made him, The lord Darcie was nothing pleaſed with this declaration, but ſith he ſaw there was no remedie, he ſaid, that whatſoeuer the king had concluded, he could not be againſt it, conſidering he was ſent to him: but ſuerlie it was againſt his mind to depart home, without dooing anie thing againſt Gods enimies, with whome he had euer a deſire to fight. And as for his comming to court, he ſaid, he could not leaue his men whome he had brought out of their countrie, without an head; and as for the kings banket, it was not the thing that he deſired.

The lord Darcie diſcontented at the biſhops declaration.

A ſhrewd fraie begun vpon a ſmall occaſion.

Edw. Hall.

On the next daie in the morning, monie was ſent to paie the ſouldiers their wages for their conduction againe into England, with diuerſe gifts giuen to the lord Darcie, and other gentlemen; yet notwithſtanding, he was highlie diſpleaſed: howbeit, like a wiſeman he diſſembled the matter. The ſame daie, being the fourteenth daie of Iune, and fridaie, there chanced a fraie to be begun in the towne of Calis, betwixt the Engliſhmen, and them of the towne; by reaſon that an Engliſhman would haue had for his monie a loafe of bread from a maid that had beene at the bakers to buie bread, not to ſell, but to ſpend in hir miſtreſſe houſe. Howbeit the Engliſhman followed hir, as making proffer not to be denied, in ſo much that the maid perceiuing what he went about, cried out; A force, a force. Then was the common bell rong, and all the towne went to harneſſe, and thoſe few Engliſhmen that were a land, went to their bowes. The Spaniards caſt darts, and the Engliſhmen ſhot. But the capteins of England, and the lords of the councell for their part, tooke ſuch paine, that the fraie was ceaſſed, and but one Engliſhman ſlaine, though diuerſe were hurt: and of the Spaniards diuerſe were ſlaine. Thus of a ſparkle was kindled a flame to the ſpoiling of manie; which is no rare thing to ſee, according to the ſcriptum eſt:

Concitat ingentes flammas ſcintilla minuta.

The Engliſhmen deſire to ſee the Spaniſh court.

After this, vpon requeſt made by the lords of Spaine, the lord Darcie and all his men the ſame night went abord their ſhips, but Henrie Guilford, Weſton Browne, and William Sidneie, yoong and luſtie eſquiers, deſired licence to ſee the court of Spaine: which being granted, they went thither, where they were of the king highlie interteined. Henrie Guilford and Weſton Browne were made knights by the king, who alſo gaue to ſir Henrie Guilford a canton of Granado, and to ſir Wolſton Browne an egle of Sicill on a chefe, to the augmentation of their armes. William Sidneie ſo excuſed himſelfe, that he was not made knight. When they had ſoiourned there a while, they tooke their leaue of the king and queene, and returned through France into England.

The lord Darcie returneth out of Spaine.

The ducheſſe of Sauoie ſendeth to king Henrie for aid againſt the duke of Gelders.

During which ſeaſon, the lord Darcie made ſaile toward England, and arriuing at Plimmouth, came to the king at Windſore, and ſo this iourneie ended. During the time that the lord Darcie was in Spaine, the ladie Margaret duches of Sauoie, and daughter vnto Maximilian the emperour, and gouernour of Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Zeland, & other the low countries apperteining to Charles the yoong prince of Caſtile, ſent in the end of Maie to the king of England, to haue fifteene hundred archers, to aid hir againſt the duke of Gelders, which ſore troubled the countries aforeſaid. The king tenderlie regarding the requeſt of ſo noble a ladie, moſt gentlie granted hir requeſt, and appointed ſir Edward Poinings, knight of the garter, and comptroller of his houſe, a valiant capteine and a noble warriour, to be lieutenant and leader of the ſaid fifteene hundred archers.

This gentleman accompanied with his ſonne in law the lord Clinton, ſir Matthew Browne, ſir Iohn Digbie, Iohn Werton, Richard Wethrill, & Shrelleie eſquiers, with other gentlemen and yeomen, to the foreſaid number of fifteene hundred, tooke their ſhips a mile beſide Sandwich, the eighteenth daie of Iulie, and landed at Armew the nineteenth daie, not without ſome trouble, by reaſon of a little ſtorme. From thence they were conducted to Barowe, whither the ladie Regent came to welcome them. On the ſundaie, being the ſeuen & twentith of Iulie, they departed to Roſſindale, and on thurſdaie the laſt of Iulie they came to Bulduke. And the next daie the whole armie of the Almans, Flemings, and other apperteining to the ſaid ladie, met with the Engliſhmen without Bulduke, where they ſet forth in order; the ladie Regent being there preſent, which tooke hir leaue of all the capteins, and departed to Bulduke.

Thom. Hert gouernour of the Engliſh ordinance. The fort is wonne.

The armie, to the number of ten thouſand, beſide the fifteene hundred Engliſh archers, paſſed forward; and the tenth daie of Auguſt, being ſaint Laurence daie, came before a little caſtle, ſtanding on the higher ſide of the Maze, called Brimnoiſt, belonging to the baſtard of Gelderland. The ſame night, Thomas Hert, cheefe gouernour of the ordinance of the Engliſh part, made his approach; and in the morning, made batterie ſo, that the aſſault there vpon being giuen, the fortreſſe was wonne, and the capteine with eightie and od men were ſlaine, and nineteene taken; of the which, eleuen were hanged. Iohn Morton, capteine of one hundred Engliſhmen, and one Guiot an eſquier of Burgognie, crieng ſaint George, were the firſt that entered; at which aſſault, there was but one Engliſhman ſlaine. On thurſdaie, the fourteenth of Auguſt, the armie feried ouer the riuer of Maze into Gelderland. The next daie, they came to a little towne called Aiſke.

The towne of Aiſke burned.

The people were fled; but there was a little caſtell raſed, and caſt downe, which was newlie built vp on the ſide of the ſaid riuer. Vpon the twentith daie of Auguſt, they burnt the foreſaid towne of Aiſke, and all the countrie about it, and came at the laſt to a towne called Straulle, being verie ſtrong, double diked and walled. Within it were three hundred & ſixtie good men of war, beſide the inhabitants. At the firſt, they ſhewed good countenance of defenſe but when they ſaw their enimies approach neere vnto them with rampiers and trenches, they yeelded by compoſition, ſo that the ſouldiers might depart with a little ſticke in their hands. But the towneſmen reſted priſoners, at the will of the prince of Caſtile. And ſo on S. Bartholomews day the admerall of Flanders, and ſir Edward Poinings entred the towne with great triumph.

Venlow beſieged by the Engliſh.

On the ſix and twentith daie, the armie came before Venlow, and ſent an herald called Arthois, to ſummon the towne; but they within would not heare but ſhot guns at him. On the eight and twentith daie, the armie remooued vnto the north ſide of Venlow, and part went ouer the water, and made trenches to the water, & ſo beſieged the towne as ſtreictlie as their number would giue them leaue; but yet for all that they could doo without, they within kept one gate euer open. At length, the Engliſh capteins perceiuing that they laie there in vaine, conſidering the ſtrength of the towne, and alſo how the armie was not of number ſufficient to enuiron the ſame on each ſide, wrote to the king, who willed them with all ſpeed to returne, and ſo they did. Sir Edward Poinings went to the court of Burgognie, where he was receiued right honorablie of the yoong prince of Caſtile and of his aunt the ladie Margaret.

The ducheſſe of Sauoie beſtoweth new coats on the Engliſh ſoldiors.

Iohn Norton, Iohn Fog, Iohn Scot, and Thomas Linde, were made knights by the prince. And the ladie Margaret perceiuing the ſoldiers coates to be worne and foule with lieng on the ground (for euerie man laie not in a tent) gaue to euerie yeoman a coate of woollen cloth of yeallow, red, white, and greene colours, not to hir little laud & praiſe among the Engliſhmen. After that ſir Edward Poinings had beene highlie feaſted and more praiſed of all men for his valiantneſſe and good order of his people, he returned with his crue into England, and had loſt by war and ſickneſſe not fullie an hundred perſons. When the Engliſhmen were departed, the Gelders iſſued out of the gates of Venlow, dailie ſkirmiſhed with the Burgognions, and aſked for their archers, and héerewith winter began ſharplie to approach, and the riuer of Maze by aboundance of raine roſe ſo high, that it drowned vp the trenches: ſo that all things conſidered, the capteins without determined to raiſe their ſiege, and ſo they did, and after they had waſted all the countrie about Venlow, they returned euerie man to his home.

Andrew Barton a Scotiſh pirat.

In Iune the king being at Leiceſter, heard tidings, that one Andrew Barton a Scotiſhman and pirat of the ſea, ſaieng that the king of Scots had warre with the Portingals, robbed euerie nation, and ſtopped the kings ſtreames, that no merchant almoſt could paſſe. And when he tooke Engliſhmens goods, he bare them in hand that they were Portingals goods, and thus he hanted and robbed at euerie hauens mouth. The king diſpleaſed herewith, ſent ſir Edward Howard lord admerall of England, and lord Thomas Howard, ſonne and heire to the earle of Surrie in all haſt to the ſea, which haſtilie made readie two ſhips, and taking ſea, by chance of weather were ſeuered. The lord Howard lieng in the downes, perceiued where Andrew was making toward Scotland, and ſo faſt the ſaid lord chaſed him, that he ouertooke him; and there was a ſore battell betwixt them. Andrew euer blew his whiſtle to incourage his men, but at length the lord Howard and the Engliſhmen did ſo valiantlie, that by cleane ſtrength they entered the maine decke. The Scots fought ſore on the hatches: but in concluſion Andrew was taken, and ſo ſore wounded, that he died there. Then all the remnant of the Scots were taken with their ſhip called the Lion.

A cruell fight on the ſea, betwéene the ſaid pirat and the lords Howards.

Andrew Bartõ ſlaine.

All this while was the lord admerall in chaſe of the barke of Scotland, called Iennie Pirwine, which was wont to ſaile with the Lion in companie, & ſo much did he with other, that he laid him aboord: and though the Scots manfullie defended themſelues, yet the Engliſhmen entered the barke, ſlue manie, and tooke all the reſidue. Thus were theſe two ſhips taken, and brought to Blackewall the ſecond of Auguſt [and all the Scots were ſent vnto the biſhop of Yorkes place, where they remained at the kings charge, till other direction was taken for them. After this, the king ſent the biſhop of Wincheſter, and certeine of his councell, to the archbiſhop of Yorkes place, where the Scots were priſoners: and there the biſhop rehearſed to them, whereas peace was yet betwéene England and Scotland, that they contrarie to that, as théeues & pirats, had robbed the kings ſubiects within his ſtreames. Wherefore they had deſerued to die by the law, and to be hanged at the low water marke. Then ſaid the Scots; We acknowledge our offenſe, and aſke mercie and not the law. Then a préeſt which was alſo a priſoner, ſaid; My lords we appeale from the kings iuſtice to his mercie.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall in H8. fol. xvj.

The Scots priſoners in the biſhop of Yorks place.

Then the biſhop aſked him if he were authoriſed by them to ſaie ſo, and they cried all; Yea, yea. Then (ſaid he) you ſhall find the kings mercie aboue his iuſtice. For where you were dead by the law, yet by his mercie he will reuiue you; wherefore you ſhall depart out of this realme within twentie daies, vpon paine of death, if you be found after the twentith daie; and praie for the king: and ſo they paſſed into their countrie.] Thus was their captiuitie conuerted into libertie, and their liues ſaued by the kings mercie. The king of Scots hearing of the death of Andrew Barton, and the taking of the two ſhips, was wonderfull wroth, and ſent letters to the king requiring reſtitution, according to the league and amitie. The king wrote to the king of Scots againe with brotherlie ſalutation, of the robberies doone by the ſaid Andrew, and that it became not a prince to laie breach of peace to his confederat, for dooing iuſtice vpon a pirat and théefe: and that all the Scots that were taken, had deſerued to die by iuſtice, if he had not extended his mercie. And with this anſwer the Scotiſh herald departed.

About this ſeaſon, the French king made ſharpe warre againſt pope Iulie: wherefore the king of England wrote to the French king, that he ſhould leaue off to vex the pope in ſuch wiſe, being his fréend and confederat. But when the French king ſéemed little to regard that requeſt, the king ſent him word to deliuer him his lawfull inheritance both of the duchie of Normandie and Guien, and the countries of Anjou & Maine, and alſo of his crowne of France; or elſe he would come with ſuch a power, that by fine force he would obteine his purpoſe: but notwithſtanding thoſe writings, the French king ſtill purſued his warres in Italie. Wherevpon the king of England, ioining in league with Maximilian the emperour, and Ferdinando king of Spaine, with diuerſe other princes, was reſolued by aduiſe of his councell to make warre on the French king and his countries, and made preparation both by ſea and land, ſetting foorth ſhips to the ſea for ſafegard of his merchants.

King Henrie the eight taketh the popes part againſt the French king.

¶ The foreſaid pope Iulie, the kings confederat, was (before his aduancement to the popedome) cardinall of ſaint Petri ad Vincula, a man mightie in fréends, reputation, and riches, who had drawne to him the voices of ſo manie cardinals, that entering the conclaue, he was with an example all new and without ſhutting the conclaue, elected pope the verie ſame night following the deceaſſe of his predeceſſor pope Pius (thoſe that were of the contrarie opinion not daring to oppoſe againſt him.) He, either hauing regard to his firſt name Iulie, or (as coniectures were made) to ſignifie the greatneſſe of his conceptions, or laſtlie bicauſe he would not giue place to Alexander, no not in the excellencie of name, tooke vpon him the name of Iulie, the ſecond of that name. Amongeſt all the popes that had paſſed, it was wondered that by ſo great conſent, they had created for pope, a cardinall who was knowne to be of a diſpoſition rigorous and terrible, and in whome was no expectation of reſt and tranquillitie, hauing conſumed his youth in continuall trauels, offended manie by neceſſitie, and exerciſed hatreds againſt manie great perſonages; a man to whoſe wit nothing was more more familiar, than the inuention of trouble, faction, and conſpiracie.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 314.

Cardinall S. Petri ad vincula made pope.

Pope Iulie a factious fellow and an enimie to peace.

But on the other ſide, the cauſes of his election to that degrée appeared cléerelie, and ſurmounted all other difficulties: for he had béene of long time a cardinall of great power and might; & with his magnificence, wherein he had alwaies excéeded the reſidue, and with the greatneſſe of his ſpirit, by the which he did great things, he had not onelie made himſelfe mightie in opinion and fréends; but by times and degrées had erected high his authoritie in the court of Rome, bearing the name, title, and dignitie of the principall defendor of the eccleſiaſtike libertie. But that which ſerued moſt to his aduancement, was the promiſes immoderate and infinite which he made to the cardinals, princes, and barons, and to all others whome he might make profitable to him in that action. Beſides, he had the meane to diſtribute monie, benefices, and ſpirituall dignities, as well ſuch as were his owne, as thoſe that were the rights of others; for that ſuch was the brute & renowme of his liberalitie, that manie made willing offers to him to diſpoſe as he beſt liked of their treaſures, their names, their offices, and benefices.

Indirect meanes to atteine the popedome.

¶ They conſidered not that his promiſes were farre to great, than that being pope he was either able or ought to obſerue, for that he had of ſo long continuance inioied the name of iuſt and vpright, that pope Alexander himſelfe (his greateſt enimie) ſpeaking ill of him, in all other things could not but confeſſe him to be true of his word. A praiſe which he made no care to defile and ſtaine, to the end to become pope; knowing that no man more eaſilie beguileth an other, than he that hath the cuſtome and name neuer to deceiue anie. Which practiſe of diſſimulation was much frequented of thoſe that aſpired & poſſeſſed the popedom; inſomuch that the ſame was in Alexander the ſixt ſo notable, that it was a prouerbe ordinarilie in Rome, that the pope did neuer the thing which he ſaid, and his ſonne the duke of Valentinois ſeldome ſpake that which he ment. Which kind of people (pretend they what they will) are excluded from the reſt of Sion, as the pſalmiſt ſaith;

A prouerbe vpon the popes diſſembling, Guicc. 305.

Buch. in Pſal. 15.

Quem fraudis expers ſimplicitas iuuat,
Vrgétque rectum propoſiti tenax,
Nec mente ſæuus grata blandam
Edocuit ſimulare linguam,
Perpetua requie fruetur.]

1512
Abr. Fl. ex Ed. Hall in Hen. 8 fol. xv.
Chriſtmaſſe paſtimes or delights at Gréenwich.

In this yeare the king kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Gréenewich, where was ſuch abundance of viands ſerued to all comers of anie honeſt behauiour, as hath béene few times ſéene. And againſt Newyéeres night was made in the hall a caſtell, gates, towers, and dungeon, garniſhed with artillerie and weapon after the moſt warlike faſhion: and on the front of the caſtell, was written Le fortereſſe dangereux, and within the caſtell were ſix ladies, cloathed in ruſſet ſattin, laid all ouer with leaues of gold, and euerie one knit with laces of blew ſilke and gold. On their heads, coifs, and caps all of gold. After this caſtell had béene caried about the hall, and the quéene had beheld it, in came the king with fiue other, apparelled in coats, the one halfe of ruſſet ſattin, ſpangled with ſpangles of fine gold, the other halfe of rich cloth of gold, on their heads caps of ruſſet ſattin, embrodered with works of fine gold bullion.

The king & fiue other aſſaile the caſtell.

Theſe ſix aſſaulted the caſtell. The ladies ſéeing them ſo luſtie and couragious, were content to ſolace with them, & vpon further communication, to yéeld the caſtell and ſo they came downe & danſed a long ſpace. And after the ladies led the knights into the caſtell, and then the caſtell ſuddenlie vaniſhed out of their ſights. On the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the king with eleuen other were diſguiſed, after the maner of Italie, called a maſke, a thing not ſéene before in England: they were apparelled in garments long and broad, wrought all with gold, with viſors and caps of gold. And after the banket doone, theſe maſkers came in, with ſix gentlemen diſguiſed in ſilke, bearing ſtaffe torches, and deſired the ladies to danſe; ſome were content, and ſome refuſed. And after they had danſed, and communed togither, as the faſhion of the maſke is, they tooke their leaue and departed, and ſo did the quéene, and all the ladies.]

Maſkers diſguiſed after the Italian faſhion.

A parlement.
The ſumme of the biſhop of Canturburies oration in the parlement.

The fiue and twentith daie of Ianuarie began the parlement, where the biſhop of Canturburie began his oration with this verſe *Iuſtitia & pax oſculatæ ſunt.* Upon which words he declared how iuſtice ſhould be miniſtred, and peace ſhould be nouriſhed, and by what meanes iuſtice was put by, and peace turned into warre. And therevpon he ſhewed how the French king would doo no iuſtice in reſtoring to the king his right inheritance: wherfore for lacke of iuſtice, peace of neceſſitie muſt be turned into warre. In this parlement was granted two fiftéens of the temporaltie, and of the clergie two tenths. After that it was concluded by the whole bodie of the realme in the high court of parlement aſſembled, that warre ſhould be made on the French king and his dominions. Wherevpon was wonderfull ſpéed made in preparing all things neceſſarie both for ſea and land.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 896.

In this parlement was ſir Robert Sheffeld knight, ſometime recorder of London, ſpeaker for the commons. During this parlement, in the moneth of March, a yeoman of the crowne, one of the kings gard, named Newbolt, ſlue within the palace of Weſtminſter a ſeruant of maiſter Willoughbies, for the which offenſe the king commanded to be ſet vp a new paire of gallowes in the ſame place where the ſaid ſeruant loſt his life; and vpon the ſame the ſaid Newbolt was hanged, and there remained on the gallowes by the ſpace of two daies. A notable example of iuſtice, whereby the king verefied the report that was commonlie noiſed abroad of him; namelie that he could not abide the ſhedding of mans bloud, much leſſe wilfull murther. Wherein he ſhewed how tender he was ouer his ſubiects, and alſo how ſeuere againſt malefactors, ſpeciallie mankillers; whome he thought vnworthie of life, that had béene the inſtruments of others death; according to the law:

Newbolt a yeoman of the gard hanged.

——— *oculos oculis & dentibus eſſe*
Penſandos dentes: ſic par erit vltio culpæ.

Gu. Ha. in Mar. 5.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8 fol. xvj.
Ierome Bonuiſe the popes collector and proctor in England a falſe knaue.

¶ In this ſeaſon one Ierome Bonuiſe, which was borne in Luke, and was factor in London for merchants of that nation, and had plaied bankerupt, and was conueied out of the realme for debt, was now in ſuch fauour with pope Iulie, that he made him his collector and proctor in England: & ſo he kept a great port, and reſorted to the king and his councell for the popes affaires (which then was ſore troubled by the French king) ſo that he knew both the popes councell and the kings, and falſelie and vntrulie reſorted by night to the French ambaſſadours lieng in London, and to them diſcouered what the king and the pope intended, which was not ſo cloſelie doone, but the king knew it: and ſo he was laid for, & was taken communing with one of the ſaid ambaſſadours vpon London wall at midnight, and brought to the Tower, where he remained vntill by the ſute of his fréends he was deliuered, and ſhortlie for ſhame voided the realme.]

The French king hath his hands full of troubles.

The king of Aragon alſo, hauing at that time warre with the French king, wrote to his ſonne in law king Henrie, that if he would ſend ouer an armie into Biſkaie, and ſo to inuade France on that ſide, for the recouerie firſt of his duchie of Guien; he would aid them with ordinance, horſſemen, beaſts, and cariages, with other neceſſaries apperteining to the ſame. The king and his councell putting their affiance in this promiſe of king Ferdinando, prepared a noble armie all of footmen, and ſmall artillerie, appointing the noble lord Thomas Greie marqueſſe Dorſet to be chéefe conductor of the ſame. The king daylie ſtudieng to ſet forth his warre which he had begun againſt the French king, cauſed ſir Edward Howard his admerall with diligence to make readie diuerſe goodlie tall ſhips, as the Soueraigne and others, to the number of eightéene, beſide other ſmaller veſſels.

Anno Reg. 4.
Sir Edmund Howard lord admerall.

Noblemen appointed for the voiage to Biſkaie.

Therewith hauing in his companie ſir Weſton Browne, Griffith Downe, Edward Cobham, Thomas Windham, Thomas Lucie, William Pirton, Henrie Shirbourne, Stephan Bull, George Witwange, Iohn Hopton, William Gunſton, Thomas Draper, Edmund Coke, Iohn Burdet, and diuerſe others, he tooke the ſea, and ſcowring the ſame, about the middeſt of Maie he came before Porteſmouth. About the verie ſelfe time the lord marqueſſe Dorſet, and other noblemen appointed for the iournie of Biſkaie, as the lord Howard ſonne and heire to the earle of Surrie, the lord Brooke, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Ferrers, the lord Iohn, the lord Anthonie, and the lord Leonard Greies, all thrée brethren to the marqueſſe, ſir Griffith ap Rice, ſir

Morris Berkeleie, ſir William Sands, the baron of Burford, ſir Richard Cornewall brother to the ſaid baron, William Huſſeie, Iohn Melton, William Kingſton eſquiers, ſir Henrie Willoughbie, and diuerſe others, with ſouldiers to the number of ten thouſand.

Amongſt theſe were fiue hundred Almans clad all in white, vnder the leading of one Guiot a gentleman of Flanders, all which (with the reſidue abouenamed) came to Southampton, and there muſtered their bands which were appointed and trimmed in the beſt maner. On the ſixtéenth daie of Maie they were all beſtowed abord in Spaniſh ſhips furniſhed with vittels, and other neceſſaries for that iournie. The wind ſerued ſo well for their purpoſe, that they came all in ſafetie on the coaſt of Biſkaie at the port of Paſſagh ſouthweſt of Fonterabie; and ſo the third daie of Iune they landed, and tooke the field, imbatteling themſelues for their ſafegard right ſtronglie. Within thrée daies after that the armie was thus aland, there came to the marqueſſe an earle and an other noble man, to welcome him and his companie.

The Engliſh nobles arriue on the coaſt of Biſkaie.

Then the lord capteine remooued his field, & tooke an other place néerer to Fonterabie, where he laie a long time, looking euerie daie to haue aid of horſſemen and artillerie of the king of Aragon, but none came. Sir Iohn Stile cauſed to be bought two hundred mulets and aſſes of ſuch price as the Spaniards gained greatlie, and when they were put to carie and draw, they would not ſerue the turne, for they were not exerciſed thereto before that time; and ſo for want of beaſts to draw ſuch ordinance as the Engliſhmen had there with them, they loſt the dooing of ſome great exploit againſt the Frenchmen on the frontiers of Gaſcoigne, for they might haue run a great waie into that countrie, being as then deſtitute and vnpurueied of men and munitions.

The Engliſh campe greatlie hindered for want of beaſts to draw their ordinance.

On a daie the Frenchmen made a ſkrie toward the Engliſh campe, but the Engliſhmen perceiuing them, paſſed the riuer that was betwixt them, and with arrowes chaſed the Frenchmen; ſo that for haſt manie of their horſſes foundered, and fell, yer they came to Baion: if there had béene anie horſſemen amongſt the Engliſhmen, they had ſore indamaged their enimies. The king of Nauarre doubting leaſt the Engliſhmen were come into thoſe parties for no good meaning towards him, ſent to the lord marqueſſe a biſhop, and diuerſe other, offering to miniſter vittels vnto the Engliſhmen for their monie, if it ſhould ſtand ſo with his pleaſure. The lord marqueſſe thanked him for the offer, and promiſed that if they of Nauarre would vittell his people, they ſhould paie them well and trulie for the ſame.

A gentle offer by the king of Nauarre to yͤ Engliſhmen.

He ſaid alſo that he would warrant their paſſing and repaſſing in ſafetie, and that by the Engliſhmen no preiudice ſhould be doone to his realme. Herevpon were the Engliſhmen vittelled out of Nauarre, to their great comfort. After that the armie had laine thirtie daies in the ſecond campe, there came from the king of Aragon a biſhop and other nobles of his councell. This biſhop was the ſame that made the anſwer to the lord Darcie at Calis the laſt yeare. The effect of his meſſage was, to deſire the lord capteine and his people to take patience for a while, and they ſhould ſée that ſuch preparation ſhould be made for the furniſhing of their enterpriſe, as ſhould ſtand with the honour of his maiſter and their aduancements.

The effect of the biſhops meſſage ſent from the king of Aragon to the lord marqueſſe.

The Engliſhmen ſore diſcontented with their idle lieng ſtill in the field, miſliked with his excuſes, ſuppoſing the ſame (as they prooued in déed) to be nothing but delaies. In the meane time that the Engliſhmen thus lingered without attempting any exploit, their vittels were much part garlike, & they eating thereof with all their meats, and drinking hot wines, & féeding alſo on hot fruits, procured their bloud to boile within their bellies, that there fell ſicke thrée thouſand of the flix: & thereof died an eightéene hundred perſons. The lord marqueſſe perceiuing this miſchéefe, ſent to the king of Spaine certeine of his capteins to know his pleaſure. The king told them that ſhortlie the duke of Alua ſhould ioine with them, bringing with him a mightie power; ſo that they might the more aſſuredlie procéed in their enterpriſe. With this anſwer they returned to the lord marqueſſe, who liked it neuer a deale; bicauſe he iudged that the king meant but to driue time with him, as after it prooued.

Great death of the flix by vnwoonted diet.

The lord marqueſſe ſendeth to the K. of Spaine to performe promiſe.

In the meane time there began a mutinie in the Engliſh campe thorough a falſe report, contriued by ſome malicious perſon; which was, that the capteins ſhould be allowed eight penſe for euerie common ſouldier; where the truth was, that they had allowed to them but onelie ſix penſe. The lord generall aduertiſed that the ſouldiers began to gather in companies, found meanes to apprehend the chéefe beginner, and deliuered him vnto William Kingſton eſquier, then prouoſt marſhall; and ſo was he put to death to the terrour of all other. Whileſt the Engliſhmen laie thus in campe on the borders of Biſkaie towards Guien, the archers went oftentimes a forraging into the French confines almoſt to Baion, and burnt manie prettie villages. The king of Spaine raiſed an armie, and ſent forth the ſame vnder the leading of the duke of Alua, which came forward as though he meant to haue come to the Engliſhmen; who being aduertiſed of his approch, were maruellouſlie glad thereof, in hope that then they ſhould be imploied about the enterpriſe for the which they were come.

The king of Spaines armie vnder the conduct of the duke of Alua.

But the duke intending an other thing, when he was aduanced forth within a daies iournie of them, ſuddenlie remooued his armie toward the realme of Nauarre, and entering the ſame, chaſed out of his realme the king of that land, and conquered the ſame to the king of Spains vſe, as in the hiſtorie of Spaine more plainelie it dooth appeare. After that the king of Spaine was thus poſſeſſed of the kingdome of Nauarre, he ſent vnto the lord marqueſſe, promiſing to ioine with him ſhortlie, and ſo to inuade the borders of France; but he came not. Wherefore the Engliſhmen thought themſelues not well vſed: for it gréeued them much, that they ſhould lie ſo long idle, ſith there was ſo great hope conceiued at their ſetting forth, that there ſhould be ſome great exploit atchiued by them, thorough the aid that was promiſed by the king of Spaine.

The kingdom of Nauarre gotten to the K. of Spains.

Thus whileſt the armie lingered without remoouing, there chanced an affraie to riſe betwixt the Engliſhmen and the townes-men of *Sancta Maria*, a village ſo called, wherevnto ſuch Engliſhmen as fell ſicke, had their reſort; and therevpon the alarms brought into the campe, the Engliſhmen and Almans ran in great furie to the ſuccour of their fellowes: and notwithſtanding all that the capteins could doo to ſtaie them, they ſlue and robbed the people without mercie. The Biſkaines that could get awaie, fled ouer that water into Guien. The capteins yet ſo ordered the matter, that all the pillage was reſtored, and one and twentie ſouldiers were condemned, which were apprehended as they were fléeing awaie with a bootie of ten thouſand duckats into Gaſcoigne; ſeauen of them were executed, and the reſidue pardoned of life, at the ſute of certeine lords of Spaine, which were as then preſent.

A fraie betwéene the Engliſhmen & the towneſmen of *Sancta Maria*.

The Frenchmen hearing of this riot came forth

S. Iehans burnt by the Engliſh.

of Baion, to ſee and vnderſtand the maner thereof: but perceiuing that the Engliſhmen had deſcried them, ſuddenlie they returned. The Engliſhmen followed, & comming to the towne of S. Iehan de Lucie, they burnt and robbed it, & ſlue the inhabitants. Diuerſe other villages they ſpoiled on the borders of Guien; but bicauſe they wanted both horſſes of ſeruice, and horſſes to draw forth their ordinance, they could not doo anie ſuch damage as they might and would haue doone, if they had béene furniſhed according to their deſires in that point. Thus continued the Engliſh armie in ſuch weariſome ſort till the moneth of October, and then fell the lord marqueſſe ſicke, and the lord Howard had the chéefe gouernance of the armie.

Then were ſent from the king of Spaine diuerſe lords of his priuie councell vnto the ſaid lord Howard, to excuſe the matter for that he came not according to his promiſe, requiring them, that ſith the time of the yeare to make warre was paſt, it might pleaſe them to breake vp their campe, and to diuide themſelues abroad into the townes and villages of his realme till the ſpring time of the yeare, that they might then go forward with their firſt pretended enterpriſe. The lord Howard ſhewed well in words that the Engliſhmen could not thinke well of the king of Spaines fained excuſes, and vnprofitable delaies, to his ſmall honor & their great hinderance & loſſe, hauing ſpent the king their maiſter ſo much treaſure, and doone ſo little hurt to his aduerſaries. The Spaniards gaue faire words; and ſo in courteous maner departed.

The Engliſh campe in Biſkaie breaketh vp.

The armie diſperſed into ſundrie villages.

Then about the end of October it was agréed amongeſt all the lords of the Engliſh hoaſt that they ſhould breake vp their campe, and ſo they did. The lord marqueſſe and his people went to ſaint Sebaſtian, the lord Howard and his retinue to Rendre, the lord Willoughbie to Garſchang, and ſir William Sands with manie other capteins repaired to Fonterabie, and ſo euerie capteine with his retinue was placed in one towne or other. The king of England aduertiſed of the king of Spaine his meaning, ſent an herald called Windſor with letters vnto his armie, willing his men there to tarie, & promiſing to ſend ouer to them right ſhortlie a new ſupplie, vnder the guiding of the lord Herbert his chamberleine.

Vnappeaceable rage amongeſt the Engliſh ſouldiers.

When this letter was read, and the contents thereof notified, the ſouldiers began to be ſo highlie diſpleaſed; and ſpake ſuch outragious words, as it was maruell to heare: & not contented with words, they were bent to haue doone outragious déeds; inſomuch that in their furie they had ſlaine the lord Howard and diuerſe others, if they had not followed their intents: and herevpon they were glad to hire ſhips, and ſo imbarked themſelues in the moneth of Nouember. When the lord marqueſſe was brought aboord, he was ſo weake and féeble of remembrance thorough ſickeneſſe, that he aſked where he was. In the beginning of December they landed here in England, and were glad to be at home, and got out of ſuch a countrie, where they had little health, leſſe pleaſure, and much loſſe of time. The king of Spaine ſéemed to be ſore diſcontented with their departure, openlie affirming, that if they had taried vntill the next ſpring, he would in their companie haue inuaded France.

The Engliſh armie returneth out of Biſkaie.

The lord admerall in Britaine.

About the ſame time that the marqueſſe went into Spaine, that is to wit, about the middeſt of Maie, ſir Edward Howard lord admerall of England, being on the ſea afore Porteſmouth, made forth againe to the ſea, and directing his courſe towards Britaine on Trinitie ſundaie arriued at Berthram baie with twentie great ſhips, and ſuddenlie ſet his men on land, and there wan a bulworke, which the Britains kept and defended a while; but being ouercome, fled out of their hold, & left it to the Engliſhmen. Then the lord admerall paſſed ſeauen miles into the countrie, burning and waſting townes and villages, and in returning, ſkirmiſhed with diuerſe men of ames, and ſlue ſome of them: and notwithſtanding that the Britains fought valiantlie in defenſe of their countrie; yet they were put to the worſſe, and ſo the lord admerall returned to his ſhips.

Conquet and diuerſe other places burnt by ſir Edward Howard lord admerall of England.

On the thrée & twentith daie of Maie being mondaie, he landed in the morning, and commanded to burne the houſe of the lord Piers Moguns, with the towne of Conquet, & diuerſe other places, and chaſed the Britains into the caſtell of Breſt: and notwithſtanding all the aſſemblies and ſhewes that the Britains made, yet they ſuffered the Engliſh peaceablie to returne with their preies and booties. The firſt of Iune the Engliſhmen tooke land in Croiton baie, and then the lords of Britaine ſent word to the lord admerall, that if he would abide, they would giue him battell. The admerall rewarded the meſſenger, and willed him to ſay to them that ſent, that all that day they ſhould find him in that place tarieng their comming.

Diuers gentlemen knighted by the lord admerall.

Then to incourage diuerſe gentlemen the more earneſtlie to ſhew their valiancie, he dubbed them knights; as ſir Edward Brooke, brother to the lord Cobham, ſir Griffith Downe, ſir Thomas Windham, ſir Thomas Lucie, ſir Iohn Burdet, ſir William Pirton, ſir Henrie Shirborne, and ſir Stephan Bull. When the lord admerall ſaw the Frenchmen come, he comforted his men with pleaſant words, therby the more to incourage them. The whole number of the Engliſhmen was not much aboue 25 hundred, where the Frenchmen were at the leaſt ten thouſand; and yet when they ſaw the order of the Engliſhmen, they were ſuddenlie aſtonied.

Then a gentleman of good experience and credit amongeſt them, aduiſed the other capteins not to fight; but to retire a little and take a ſtrong ground, there to remaine till the Engliſhmen returned toward their ſhips: and then to take the aduantage. And ſo the capteins began to retire, which when the commons ſaw, they all ran awaie as faſt as they might, ſuppoſing that the capteins had ſéene or knowne ſome great perill at hand, bicauſe they were not priuie to the purpoſe of their capteins. The lord admerall ſéeing what happened, when the night came departed to his ſhips. After this the gentlemen of Britaine ſent to the admerall for a ſafeconduct for diuerſe perſons, which they ment to ſend to him about a treatie. The lord admerall was of his gentleneſſe content to grant their requeſt. Then certeine lords of Britaine tooke a bote, and came to the ſhip of the lord admerall, where he was ſet with all his councell of the armie about him.

The requeſt of the lords of Britaine to the lord admerall.

The requeſt of the Britains was, that it might pleaſe him to ſurceaſe his cruell kind of warre, in burning of townes and villages: but the admerall plainlie told them, that he was ſent to make warre and not peace. Then they required a truce for ſix daies, which would not be granted; and to their reproofe, the admerall told them, that gentlemen ought to defend their countrie by force, rather than to ſue for peace. And thus (making them a banket) he ſent them awaie. And after hearing that there was ſhips of warre on the ſeas, he coaſted from thence alongſt the countrie of Normandie, ſtill ſcowring the ſea, ſo that no enimie durſt appeare. And at length he came and laie by the Ile of Wight, to ſée if anie enimies would appéere. During which time, diuers ſhips were kept in the north ſeas, vnder the conduct of ſir Edward Ichingham, Iohn Lewes, Iohn Louedaie, and others.

A truce required for ſix daies.

This

Iuſtes at Greenewich.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall fol.xxj.

A deſcription of the ſhewes and triumphs then ſolemnlie held.

This yeare alſo in Iune, the king kept a ſolemne iuſtes at Greenewich, the king & ſir Charles Brandon taking vpon them to abide all commers. ¶ Firſt came the ladies all in white and red ſilke, ſet vpon courſers trapped in the ſame ſute, freated ouer with gold; after whom followed a founteine curiouſlie made of ruſſet ſattin, with eight gargils ſpowting water: within the founteine ſat a knight armed at all peeces. After this founteine followed a ladie all in blacke ſilke dropped with fine ſiluer, on a courſer trapped in the ſame. Then followed a knight in a horſſelitter, the courſers & litter apparelled in blacke with ſiluer drops. When the fountein came to the tilt, the ladies rode round about, and ſo did the founteine, and the knight within the litter. And after them were brought two goodlie courſers apparelled for the iuſts: and when they came to the tilts end, the two knights mounted on the two courſers abiding all commers. The king was in the founteine, and ſir Charles Brandon was in the litter. Then ſuddenlie with great noiſe of trumpets entred ſir Thomas Kneuet in a caſtell of cole blacke, and ouer the caſtell was written, The dolorous caſtell, and ſo he and the earle of Eſſex, the lord Howard, and other ran their courſes with the king and ſir Charles Brandon, and euer the king brake moſt ſpeares, and likelie was ſo to doo yer he began, as in former time; the priſe fell to his lot: ſo luckie was he and fortunat in the proofe of his prowes in martiall actiuitie, whereto from his yong yeers he was giuen, as the poet ſaith:

Huic erat à teneris annis ars bellica cordi.]

After this, the king hauing prepared men and ſhips readie to go to the ſea vnder the gouernance of ſir Anthonie Oughtred, ſir Edward Ichingham, William Sidneie, and diuerſe other gentlemen, appointed them to take the ſea, and to come before the Ile of Wight, there to ioine with the lord admerall, which they did, but in their paſſage a gallie was loſt by negligence of the maiſter. The king hauing a deſire to ſee his nauie togither, rode to Porteſmouth, and there appointed capteins for one of his chiefeſt ſhips called the Regent, ſir Thomas Kneuet maſter of his horſſes, & ſir Iohn Carew of Deuonſhire; and to the Souereigne he appointed for capteins, ſir Charles Brandon, and ſir Henrie Gilford; and with them in the Souereigne were put threeſcore of the talleſt yeoman of the kings gard. Manie other gentlemen were ordeined capteins in other veſſels. And the king made them a banket before their ſetting forward, and ſo commited them to God. They were in number fiue and twentie faire ſhips of great burden, well furniſhed of all things neceſſarie.

The king riding to Portſmouth appointeth capteins ouer his ſhips.

The kings nauie ſetteth out.

The French king in this meane while had prepared a nauie of thirtie nine ſaile in the hauen of Breſt; and for chiefe he ordeined a great Carrike of Breſt, apperteining to the queene his wife, called Cordelier a verie ſtrong ſhip, and verie well appointed. This nauie ſet forward out of Breſt the tenth of Auguſt, and came to Britaine baie, in the which the ſame day was the Engliſh fleet arriued. When the Engliſhmen perceiued the Frenchmen to be iſſued foorth of the hauen of Breſt, they prepared themſelues to battell, and made foorth towards their enimie, which came fiercelie forward; and comming in ſight ech of other, they ſhot off their ordinance ſo terriblie togither, that all the ſea coaſt ſounded of it. The lord admerall made with the great ſhip of Deepe, and chaſed hir; ſir Henrie Gilford and alſo ſir Charles Brandon made with the great Carrike of Breſt, being in the Souereigne, and laid ſtem to ſtem to the Carrike; but by negligence of the maſter, or elſe by ſmoke of the ordinance, or otherwiſe, the Souereigne was caſt at the ſterne of the Carrike, with which aduantage the Frenchmen ſhouted for ioy.

The Engliſh nauie incountereth with the French vpon the coaſt of Britaine.

But when ſir Thomas Kneuet, who was readie to haue boorded the great ſhip of Deepe, ſaw that the Souereigne miſſed the Carrike, ſuddenlie he cauſed the Regent (in the which he was aboord) to make to the Carrike, and to grapple with hir a long boord And when they of the Carrike perceiued they could not depart, they let ſlip an anchor, and ſo with the ſtreame the ſhips turned, and the Carrike was on the weather ſide, and the Regent on the lie ſide. The fight was cruell betwixt theſe two ſhips, the archers on the Engliſh ſide, & the croſſebowes on the French part dooing their vttermoſt to annoie each other: but finallie the Engliſhmen entered the Carrike, which being perceiued by a gunner, he deſperatlie ſet fire in the gunpowder, as ſome ſay; though there were that affirmed, how ſir Anthonie Oughtred folowing the Regent at the ſterne, bowged hir in diuerſe places, and ſet hir powder on fire.

A cruell fight betwixt the two nauies.

The Engliſh Regent, and the French Carrik burnt togither.

But howſoeuer it chanced, the whole ſhip by reaſon of the powder was ſet on fire, & ſo both the Carrike and the Regent being grappled togither, ſo as they could not fall off, were both conſumed by fire at that inſtant. The French nauie perceiuing this, fled in all haſt, ſome to Breſt, and ſome to the Iles adioining. The Engliſhmen made out boats to helpe them in the Regent: but the fire was ſo terrible, that in maner no man durſt approch; ſauing that by the Iames of Hull certeine Frenchmen that could ſwim were ſaued. Capteine of this Carrike was ſir Piers Morgan, and with him he had in the ſame nine hundred men: and with ſir Thomas Kneuet and ſir Iohn Carew were ſeuen hundred; but all drowned and burnt. The Engliſhmen that night laie in Berthram baie, for the French fleet was diſperſt (as ye haue heard.) The lord admerall after this miſchance thus happened to theſe two worthie ſhips, made againe to the ſea, and ſcowred all alongeſt the coaſts of Britaine, Normandie, and Picardie, taking manie French ſhips, and burning ſuch as they could not well bring away with them.

The French nauie flieth.

The king of England hearing of the loſſe of the Regent, cauſed a great ſhip to be made, ſuch a one as the like had neuer beene ſeene in England, and named it Henrie grace de Dieu. The French king about the ſame time ſent to a knight of the Rhodes called Priour Iehan, a Frenchman borne, of the countrie of Guien, requiring him to come by the ſtreicts of Marrocke into Britaine: the which he did, bringing with him three gallies of force, with diuerſe foiſts and row-gallies, ſo well ordinanced and trimmed, as the like had not beene ſeene in theſe parties before his comming. He had laine on the coaſts of Barbarie to defend certeine of the religion, as they came from Tripolie. This yeare in the moneth of Nouember the king called his high court of parlement, in the which it was concluded, that the king himſelfe in perſon with an armie roiall ſhuld inuade France; wherevpon notice being giuen to ſuch as ſhuld attend, they made their puruciance with all diligence that might be. In this parlement was granted to the king two fifteens, and foure demies; and head monie, of euerie duke ten markes, an earle fiue pounds, a lord foure pounds, a knight foure marks, & euerie man rated at eight hundred pounds in goods, to paie foure marks, and ſo after that rate, till him that was valued at fortie ſhillings, paied twelue pence, and euerie man that tooke fortie ſhillings wages twelue pence, and euerie man and woman of fifteene yeares or vpward foure pence. The ſteeple and lanterne of Bow church in Cheape was this yeare finiſhed. By fire this yeare a great part of the kings palace of Weſtminſter, and the chappell in the Tower of London, and manie other places in England were burned. In Aprill, the king ſent a great nauie of twelue

thouſand

The kings ſhip roiall called Henrie grace de Dieu

A parlement wherein it was concluded that king Henrie in proper perſon ſhould inuade France.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 897.

Great ſubſidie.

Bow ſteeple builded.

Kings palace at weſtminſter burned.

Edmund de la Poole beheaded.

1513

thouſand men to the ſea. On Maie euen, Edmund de la Poole was beheaded on the Tower hill, his brother Richard was after ſlaine in France.]

Ed.Hall in Hen.8.fol.xxij.

The deſcription of a rich mount being a Chriſtmaſſe ſhew.

After this parlement was ended, the king kept a ſolemne Chriſtmaſſe at Gréenwich, with danſes and mummeries in moſt princelie maner. And on the Twelfe daie at night came into the hall a mount, called the rich mount. The mount was ſet full of rich flowers of ſilke, and eſpeciallie full of broome ſlips full of cods, the branches were gréene ſattin, and the flowers flat gold of damaſke, which ſignified Plantagenet. On the top ſtood a goodlie beacon giuing light, round about the beacon ſat the king and fiue other, all in cotes and caps of right crimſin veluet, embrodered with flat gold of damaſke, their cotes ſet full of ſpangles of gold. And foure woodhouſes drew the mount till it came before the quéene, and then the king and his companie deſcended and danſed. Then ſuddenlie the mount opened, and out came ſix ladies all in crimſin ſattin and plunket, embrodered with gold and pearle, with French hoods on their heads, and they danſed alone. Then the lords of the mount tooke the ladies and danſed togither: and the ladies reentered, and the mount cloſed, and ſo was conueied out of the hall. Then the king ſhifted him, and came to the quéene, and ſat at the banket which was verie ſumptuous.

Sir Charles Brandon created vicount Liſle.

The nauie ſet out againe.

After Candlemaſſe, the king created ſir Charles Brandon vicount Liſle. In March following was the kings nauie of ſhips roiall & other ſet forth to the number of fortie and two, beſide other balangers vnder the conduct of the lord admerall, accompanied with ſir Walter Deuereux, lord Ferrers, ſir Wolſtan Browne, ſir Edward Ichingham, ſir Anthonie Pointz, ſir John Wallop, ſir Thomas Windam, ſir Stephan Bull, William Fitz Williams, Arthur Plantagenet, William Sidneie eſquiers, and diuerſe other noble and valiant capteins. They ſailed to Porteſmouth, and there laie abiding wind, and when the ſame ſerued their turne, they weied anchor, & making ſaile into Britaine, came into Berthram baie, and there laie at anchor in ſight of the French nauie, which kept it ſelfe cloſe within the hauen of Breſt, without proffering to come abroad.

The Engliſh nauie purpoſing to ſet vpon the French in the hauen, are defeated by a miſchãce.

The Engliſh perceiuing the maner of the Frenchmen, determined to ſet on them in the hauen, and making forward in good order of battell, at their firſt entrie one of their ſhips, whereof Arthur Plantagenet, was capteine, fell on a blind rocke, and burſt in ſunder, by reaſon whereof, all the other ſtaied: and ſo the Engliſh capteins perceiuing that the hauen was dangerous to enter without an expert lodeſman, they caſt about, and returned to their harborough at Berthram baie againe. The Frenchmen perceiuing that the Engliſhmen meant to aſſaile them, moored their ſhips ſo néere to the caſtell of Breſt as they could, and placed bulworks on the land on euerie ſide, to ſhoot at the Engliſhmen. Alſo they trapped togither foure and twentie great hulkes that came to the baie for ſalt, and ſet them on a row, to the intent that if the Engliſhmen had come to aſſault them, they would haue ſet thoſe hulks on fire, and haue let them driue with the ſtreame amongſt the Engliſh ſhips.

The lord admerall would haue the king preſent in perſon at the encounter, and is rebuked.

Prior Jehan alſo laie ſtill in Blanke ſable baie, and plucked his gallies to the ſhore, ſetting his baſiliſkes and other ordinance in the mouth of the baie, which baie was bulworked on euerie ſide, that by water it was not poſſible to be wonne. The lord admerall perceiuing the French nauie thus to lie in feare, wrote to the king to come thither in perſon, and to haue the honour of ſo high an enterpriſe: which writing the kings councell nothing allowed, for putting the king in ieopardie vpon the chance of the ſea. Wherefore the king wrote to him ſharplie againe, commanding him to accompliſh that which apperteined to his duetie: which cauſed him to aduenture things further than wiſedome would he ſhould (as after yée ſhall heare) to his vtter vndooing and caſting awaie, God hauing ordeined the means by his prouidence, which the pagans implied (though wanting the light of grace) in the name of deſtinie, of them counted ineuitable. [A deſtinie lamentable conſidering the qualitie of the perſon, with the maner of his dieng. Wherein although manie vainlie diſpute, that fortune led him to ſo miſerable an accident: yet if we will lift vp our conſiderations to God, we ſhall find that he hath reſerued ſuch a prerogatiue ouer all things which he hath created, that to him onelie belongeth the authoritie to diſpoſe all things by the ſame power wherewith he hath created them of nothing.] And yet the fooliſh world (doting in blind ignorance, but pretending a ſingular inſight in matters of ſecrecie) bluſheth not to talke or rather to aſſeuere, caſualtie, chancemedlie, miſfortune, and ſuch like fooliſh imaginations: whereas (indéed) the prouidence of God compaſſeth all things whatſoeuer, for nothing can be priuileged from the ampleneſſe of the ſame.

Guic.pag.315.

Anno Reg.5.

Prior Jehan kéeping him ſtill within his hold, as a priſoner in a dungeon, did yet ſometime ſend out his ſmall foiſts to make a ſhew before the Engliſh nauie, which chaſed them to the baie. But bicauſe the Engliſh ſhips were mightie veſſels, they could not enter the baie: and therefore the lord admerall cauſed certeine boats to be manned forth, which tooke one of the beſt foiſts that Prior Jehan had, and that with great danger: for the gallies and bulworks ſhot ſo freſhlie all at one inſtant, that it was maruell how the Engliſhmen eſcaped. The lord admerall perceiuing that the Frenchmen would not come abroad, called a councell, wherein it was determined, that firſt they would aſſaile Prior Jehan and his gallies lieng in Blanke ſable baie, and after to ſet on the reſidue of the French fléet in the hauen of Breſt. Then firſt it was appointed, that the lord Ferrers, ſir Stephan Bull, and other, ſhould go aland with a conuenient number to aſſault the bulworkes, while the admerall entered with row barges and little gallies into the baie, and ſo ſhould the Frenchmen be aſſailed both by water and land.

A conſultatiõ about the aſſaulting of Prior Jehan.

The lord admerall by the counſell of a Spaniſh knight called ſir Alfonſe Charant, affirming that he might enter the baie with little ieopardie, called to him William Fitz Williams, William Coke, John Colleie, and ſir Wolſtan Browne, as his chéefe and moſt truſtie fréends, making them priuie to his intent; which was to take on him the whole enterpriſe, with their aſſiſtance. And ſo on S. Markes daie, which is the fiue and twentith of Aprill, the ſaid admerall put himſelfe in a ſmall row barge, appointing thrée other ſmall rowing ſhips, and his owne ſhip bote to attend him; and therewith vpon a ſudden rowed into the baie, where Prior Jehan had moored vp his gallies iuſt to the ground: which gallies with the bulworkes on the land, ſhot ſo terriblie, that they that followed were afraid. But the admerall paſſed forward, & as ſoone as he came to the gallies, he entered & droue out the Frenchmen. William Fitz Williams within his ſhip was ſore hurt with a quarell. The baie was ſhallow, and the other ſhips could not enter, for the tide was ſpent.

The admerall roweth into the baie where the Prior laie.

Which thing the Frenchmen perceiuing, they entered the gallies againe with moris pikes, and fought with the Engliſh in the gallies. The admerall perceiuing their approch, thought to haue entred againe into his row barge, which by violence of the tide was driuen downe the ſtreame, and with a pike he was

throwne

Sir Edward lord Howard admerall drowned.

throwne ouer the boord, and ſo drowned, and alſo the forenamed Alfonſe was there ſlaine: all the other boates and veſſels eſcaped verie hardlie awaie: for if they had taried, the tide had failed them, and then all had béene loſt. The lord Ferrers and the other capteins were right ſorowfull of this chance: but when there was no remedie, they determined not to attempt anie further, till they might vnderſtand the kings pleaſure, and ſo they returned into England.

The French gallies land in Suſſex, and burne certeine cotages.

The Frenchmen perceiuing that the Engliſh fléet departed from the coaſts of Britaine and drew towards England, did come forth of their hauens, and Prior Iehan ſet forth his gallies and foiſts, and drawing alongſt the coaſts of Normandie and Britaine, coaſted ouer to the borders of Suſſex with all his companie, and there landed, and ſet fire on certeine poore cotages. The gentlemen that dwelt néere, raiſed the countrie, and came to the coaſt, and droue Prior Iehan to his gallies. The king was right ſorie for the death of his admerall; but ſorrow preuaileth not when the chance is paſt. Therefore the king hearing that the French nauie was abroad, called to him the lord Thomas Howard eldeſt brother to the late admerall, and ſonne and heire apparant to the earle of Surrie, whome he made admerall, willing him to reuenge his brothers death. The lord Howard humblie thanked his grace of the truſt that he put in him, and ſo immediatlie went to the ſea, and ſcowred the ſame, that no Frenchman durſt ſhew himſelfe on the coaſt of England, for he fought with them at their owne ports.

The lord Thomas Howard made admerall.

The king hauing all his prouiſions readie for the warre, and meaning to paſſe the ſea in his owne perſon, for the better taming of the loftie Frenchmen, appointed that worthie councellor and right redoubted chéefteine, the noble George Talbot earle of Shreweſburie, high ſteward of his houſhold, to be capteine generall of his fore-ward; and in his companie were appointed to go, the lord Thomas Stanleie earle of Derbie, lord Decowreie prior of ſaint Iohns, ſir Robert Ratcliffe lord Fitzwater, the lord Haſtings, the lord Cobham, ſir Rice ap Thomas, ſir Thomas Blunt, ſir Richard Sacheuerell, ſir Iohn Digbie, ſir Iohn Aſkew, ſir Lewes Bagot, ſir Thomas Cornewall, and manie other knights, eſquiers, and ſouldiers; to the number of eight thouſand men. Theſe paſſed the ſea, and came all to Calis about the middle of Maie.

The earle of Shreweſburie ſent into France with an armie.

The lord Herbert called ſir Charles Summerſet, lord chamberleine to the king, in the end of the ſame moneth followed the ſaid earle of Shreweſburie, with ſix thouſand men: in whoſe companie were the erls of Northumberland Percie, of Kent Greie, of Wilſhire Stafford, the lord Dudleie, the lord Delaware, and his ſonne ſir Thomas Weſt, ſir Edward Huſſeie, ſir Edward Dimmocke, ſir Dauid Owen, with manie other knights, eſquiers, and gentlemen. After they had ſoiourned certeine daies in Calis, and that all their neceſſaries were readie, they iſſued forth of the towne, ſo to begin their campe. And firſt the earle of Shreweſburie and his companie tooke the field, and after him the lord Herbert with his retinues in manner of a rere-ward. Then followed that valiant knight ſir Rice ap Thomas, with fiue hundred light horſſemen and archers on horſſebacke, who ioined himſelfe to the fore-ward, a gentleman of ſuch ſpirit and hardineſſe, that he is named the floure of the Welſhmen, as the poet ſaith:

——*Ricius Thômas flos Cambrobritannûm.*

Theſe two lords thus imbattelled did remoue the ſeuentéenth of Iune to Sandifield, & on the eightéenth they came to Marguiſon, on the further ſide of the water, as though they would haue paſſed ſtreight waies to Bullongne. But they meaning an other thing, the next daie tooke an other waie, and ſo coaſted the countrie with ſuch diligence, that the two and twentith of Iune they came before the ſtrong citie of Terrouan, and pight their tents a mile from the towne. The ſame night (as certeine capteins were in councell within the lord Herberts tent) the baron Carew was ſlaine with a bullet ſhot out of the towne; which ſudden aduenture much diſmaied the aſſemblie, but the lord Herbert comforted them with manlie words, and ſo his death was paſſed ouer. All the countrie of Artois and Picardie fortified their holds, and made ſhewes as the Engliſh armie paſſed, but they durſt not once aſſaile them.

The Engliſh armie marcheth vnto Terwine.

The baron of Carew ſlaine.

The citie of Terrouan was ſtronglie fortified with walles, rampiers, bulworks, and large ditches. The lord Pontremie was gouernour within it, hauing with him ſix hundred horſſemen, and 2500 Almans, beſides the inhabitants. The walles & towers were full of ordinance, which oftentimes did much diſpleaſure to the Engliſhmen. The earle of Shreweſburie planted his ſiege on the northweſt ſide of the towne, and the lord Herbert on the eaſt ſide, cauſing great trenches to be made to couer his people withall: for on that ſide there was no hill to ſuccour or defend him. The Frenchmen and Almans would diuerſe times iſſue out, but the archers were euer readie to beat them into the citie againe. The earle of Shreweſburie got into an hollow ground or vallie néere to the citie, and likewiſe the lord Herbert (by reaſon of his trenches) approched likewiſe verie néere to the ditches.

The lord Pontremie capteine of Terwine.

Terwine beſieged.

The ſeuen and twentith daie of Iune being mondaie, ſir Nicholas Vaux and ſir Edward Belknap, hauing with them foure hundred and thrée ſcore men ſet from Guiſnes to conduct foure and twentie carts laden with vittels towards the ſiege at Terrouan; but the duke of Vandoſme lieutenant of Picardie with eight hundred horſſemen ſet on them as they paſſed through Ard, and found them ſo out of order, that notwithſtanding all that the Engliſh capteins could doo to bring men into arraie, it would not be: for the Frenchmen ſet on ſo readilie, that they kept the Engliſhmen in ſunder. Yet the horſſemen of Guiſnes, being not paſt foure and twentie in all, tooke their ſpeares and ioined with the Frenchmen right manfullie, and likewiſe thrée ſcore archers ſhot freſhlie at their enimies; but the Frenchmen were ſo manie in number, that they obteined the place, ſlue eight gentlemen, and diuerſe archers. Sir Nicholas Vaux and ſir Edward Belknap fled toward Guiſnes.

Thus were the vittels loſt, and yet the Frenchmen went not awaie with cléere hands: for thoſe few archers that cloſed togither, ſhot ſo egerlie, that they ſlue and hurt diuerſe Frenchmen; and on the field laie foure ſcore and ſeuen great horſſes, which died there in the place, and neuer went further. On the fiftéenth day of Iune the K. departed from Gréenewich, taking his iourneie towards Douer, whither he came by eaſie iournies, and the quéene in his companie. After he had reſted a ſeaſon in the caſtell of Douer, and taken order for the rule of the realme in his abſence, he tooke leaue of the quéene, and entring his ſhip the laſt daie of Iune, being the daie of ſaint Paule: he ſailed ouer to Calis, where he was receiued with great ioy by the deputie ſir Gilbert Talbot and all other there. At his entring into Calis, all the baniſhed men entred with him, and were reſtored to the libertie of the towne. The king laie in Calis a certeine time, till all his prouiſions were readie, but the armie laie in campe at Newnham bridge.

The king in perſon paſſeth ouer into France.

On the one and twentith of Iulie, the kings maieſtie paſſed forth of Calis, and tooke the field, diui-

ding

The order of the kings armie.

ding the armie which he had there with him into thrée battels. The lord Liſle marſhall of the hoſt was capteine of the fore-ward, and vnder him thrée thouſand men: ſir Richard Carew with thrée hundred kept on the right ſide of the ſame fore-ward as a wing thereto: and the lord Darcie with other thrée hundred men was a wing on the left hand. The fore-riders of this battell were the Northumberland men on light geldings. The earle of Eſſex was lieutenant generall of the ſpeares, and ſir Iohn Pechie was vicegouernour of all the horſſemen, and ſir Iohn Burdet ſtandard-bearer to the kings ſpears. An eight hundred Almans went on a plumpe by themſelues before the kings battell, and the duke of Buckingham with ſix hundred men was on the kings left hand, equall with the Almans, in like maner as ſir Edward Poinings was on the right hand, with other ſix hundred men equall with the Almans.

* This man was afterward cardinall.

In the kings battell, where was the ſtandard of the armes of England borne by ſir Henrie Guilford, there were thrée thouſand; & the lord of Aburgauenie with eight hundred men was wing on the right hand, and ſir William Compton with the retinue of the biſhop of Wincheſter, and of maiſter * Wolſeie the kings almoner, being in number eight hundred was in manner of a rere-gard. Sir Anthonie Oughtred and ſir Iohn Neuill with the kings ſpeares that followed were foure hundred, and ſo the whole armie conteined eleuen thouſand and thrée hundred men. The number of the cariages were thirtéene hundred, and the number of them that attended the ſame were ninetéene hundred men, and all theſe were reckoned in the battell: but of good fighting men & ſouldiers appointed for the purpoſe, there were not full nine thouſand. In this order the king with his armie marched forward through the confines of his enimies to the ſiege of Terrouan, entring into the French ground the fiue and twentith of Iulie being mondaie. On the morrow after as the armie marched forward, by negligence of the carters that miſtooke the waie, a great curtall (called the Iohn Euangeliſt) was ouerthrowne in a déepe pond of water and could not quicklie be recouered.

The French armie approcheth, & their number.

The king being aduertiſed that the Frenchmen approched to fight with him, left the gun (bicauſe the maiſter carpenter vndertooke to weie it ſhortlie out of the water) & ſet forward, paſſing on by Tornohan, which he left on his right hand, and a little beyond pitched downe his field abiding for his enimies, the which (as he was informed) were not far off. On the morrow after being wedneſdaie, the Reliefe of the ſpeares brought word that they had aſcried the French armie comming forward in order of battell, to the number of eleuen thouſand footmen, and foure thouſand horſſemen. Capteins of this armie were the lord de la Palice, the lord de Priennes, the duke of Longuile, the earle of S. Paule, the lord of Floringes, the lord of Cleremont, & Richard de la Poole a baniſhed man, ſon to Iohn duke of Suffolke. They came within two miles of the kings armie, and there the footmen ſtaled, and came no further.

The northern prickers plaie the men.

But certeine of the horſſemen to the number of thrée thouſand came forward, and at the end of a wood ſhewed themſelues in open ſight of the Engliſh armie. And thus they ſtood countenancing the Engliſhmen. Some of the northerne prickers made to them, and in ſkirmiſhing with them, tooke ſome of them priſoners. About noone the ſame daie, that valiant Welſh knight ſir Rice ap Thomas with his retinue of horſſemen being departed from the ſiege of Terrouan came to the king, and ſtreightwaies was ſent to the earle of Eſſex, which with two hundred ſpeares was laid in a ſtale, if the Frenchmen had come nerer. When they were ioined togither, they drew about the hill, hauing with them ſir Thomas Guilford, with two hundred archers on horſſebacke, meaning to ſet on the Frenchmen: which perceiuing that, and doubting leaſt more companie had followed, they ſuddenlie drew backe, and ioined them with their great battell.

Then the earle of Eſſex and the Engliſh horſſemen followed them, till they came néere to the armie of France, and then ſcaled and ſent forth light horſſemen to view the demeanor of the Frenchmen. When the Frenchmen of armes were returned to their battell, then both the horſſemen and footmen withdrew in order of battell, and ſtill the Engliſh currors followed them for the ſpace of thrée leagues, and then returned to the earle, making report to him of that they had ſéene, who then brake vp his ſtale, and came to the king, declaring to him how the Frenchmen were gone backe. This was called the drie wedneſdaie; for the daie was wonderfull hot, and the king with his armie ſtood in order of battell, from ſix of the clocke in the morning till thrée of the clocke in the after noone. And ſome died for lacke of moiſture, and generallie euerie man was burned about the mouth with heat of the ſtomach; for drinke lacked, and water was not neere.

The drie wedneſdaie.

The bombard called the red gun ouerthrowne.

After this the king remooued toward Terrouan, and as he was ſetting forward, the lord Walon of Flanders came to him with his horſſemen, which were alreadie in the kings wages. As the armie paſſed, by negligence the ſame daie in a lane was ouerthrowne one of the kings bombards of iron, called the red gun, and there left. The king lodged that night two miles from ſaint Omers on the north ſide of the towne. On the thurſdaie, being the eight and twentith of Iulie, the maiſter carpenter with an hundred carpenters and labourers, without knowledge of the marſhall, went to weie vp the great gun that was in the pond (as ye haue heard) and by force of engins drew it vp, and carted it readie to bring awaie: but ſuddenlie there came an eight hundred Frenchmen with ſpeares, croſſebowes, and handguns, which ſet on the labourers ſo fiercelie, that notwithſtanding their manfull defenſe, the moſt part of them were ſlaine and the reſidue taken, and both they and the péece of ordinance conueied to Bullongne.

The great gun gotten by the French, by the foliſh hardineſſe of the maiſter carpenter.

The Frenchmen glad of this chance, aſſembled a great number to fetch the other gun, which laie yet in the lane. But the lord Berners being capteine of the pioners, and hearing all theſe things, prepared to recouer that gun; and ſo in the morrow went to fetch it. There were appointed to go backe to ſee him ſafe conducted, the earle of Eſſex with his companie of ſpeares, ſir Rice ap Thomas with his retinue, and ſir Iohn Neuill with the Northumberland men. The Almans alſo were commanded to retire backe to the ſuccours of them that were gone for the gun. The Almans went forth, till they came within two miles of the place where the gun laie, and further they would not go. The Frenchmen to the number of nine or ten thouſand men (as ſome eſtéemed) were abroad, and came toward the place where the Engliſhmen were carting the péece of ordinance.

The Northumberland horſſemen hauing eſpied them, gaue knowledge to the reſidue of the Engliſhmen, who prepared themſelues to defend their ground againſt the enimies: and the earle of Eſſex ſent to the lord Walon, willing him with his companie to come to his aid: but the lord Walon ſent word againe, that he was come to ſerue the king of England more than for one daie, and therefore he wiſhed that all the Engliſhmen would returne, ſith that with the great power of France they were not able to match. This anſwer was much diſpleaſant to the earle of Eſſex and the other capteins. In this meane

The lord Walon ſendeth the earle of Eſſex word that he is come to ſerue the king of England.

time the foreriders of the French part were come to the hands of the Engliſhmen, and ſo they fell in ſkirmiſh very hotlie: but at length all things conſidered, and ſpeciallie the ſmall number of the Engliſhmen, being not aboue ſeuen hundred horſſemen, it was thought beſt that they ſhould returne and follow the gun, which they had ſent forward.

Herevpon they retreited in order, and not in anie flieng manner, ſtill following the gun. The Frenchmen perceiuing that, pricked forward to the number of two thouſand horſſemen, & came iuſt to the backs of the Engliſhmen, who therewith caſt about, and made returne to the Frenchmen. Sir William Tiler and ſir Iohn Sharpe were the firſt that charged, and after all the other Engliſhmen. The Frenchmen fled immediatlie ſo faſt backe, that happie was he that might be formoſt. The whole hoſt ſéeing their horſſemen thus had in chaſe, ſuddenlie returned. The earle of Eſſex withdrew to an hill, and there cauſed his trumpet to blow to the ſtandard for feare of ſubtile dealing; and when his men were come in, and gathered togither, he returned. On the ſame daie being fridaie, the nine and twentith of Iulie, the king came to Arkes, & there incamped; whither the earle of Eſſex came to him, and declared what had béene done that daie, the king thanking him and other the capteins for their paines and diligence.

The king incampeth to Arkes.

The king laie here at Arkes till mondaie the firſt of Auguſt, and then remooued to a village midwaie betwixt Terwine and ſaint Omers, where he lay till thurſdaie the fourth of Auguſt, and came that daie in good order of battell before the citie of Terwine, & there pight vp his tents and pauillions in moſt roiall manner, fenſing his campe right ſtronglie with ordinance and other warlike deuiſes. [The king for himſelfe had a houſe of timber with a chimnie of iron, and for his other lodgings he had great and goodlie tents of blew water worke garniſhed with yellow and white, diuerſe roomes within the ſame for all offices neceſſarie. On the top of the pauillions ſtood the kings beaſts holding fanes, as the lion, the dragon, the greihound, the antelope, the dun cow: all within the lodging was pointed full of the ſunnes riſing, the lodging was one hundred and fiue and twentie foote in length.]

The king commeth to the ſiege.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. 28.

The king lieng before Terwine, his great ordinance did ſore beat the towne walles, & they within likewiſe ſhot ordinance out of the towne, and ſlue diuerſe Engliſhmen in the trenches, among which ſhots they had one gun that euerie daie and night was ordinarilie ſhot at certeine houres without faile: this gun was of the Engliſhmen called the whiſtling gun, but it neuer did harme in the kings field. The ſiege thus lieng before the citie of Terwine, ſir Alexander Bainam a capteine of the miners, cauſed a mine to be enterpriſed to enter into the towne: but the Frenchmen perceiuing that, made a countermine, and ſo deſtroied the other mine, and diuerſe miners ſlaine within the ſame. The French armie houered euer a farre to take the Engliſhmen at aduantage, as they went a forraging; and manie a ſkirmiſh was doone, and manie good feates of armes atchiued on both ſides, and diuerſe priſoners taken. Among the Frenchmen were certeine light horſſemen called Stradiots, with ſhort ſtirrops, beuer hats, ſmall ſpeares, and ſwords like cimiteries of Turkie: diuerſe times the northerne light horſſmen vnder the conduct of ſir Iohn Neuill ſkirmiſhed with theſe Stradiots and tooke diuerſe of them priſoners, and brought them to the king.

Stradiots deſcribed and incountered of the Engliſh light horſſemen.

While the king laie thus before Terwine, the capteine of Bullongne knowing by his eſpials, that manie of the garriſon of Calis were with the king at the ſiege, and alſo that vittels were dailie brought out of England to Calis to ſuccour the campe, imagined a great enterpriſe, and ſent for all the men of warre vnder his dominion and rule, and declared to them what honour they ſhould obteine if they hurted or ſpoiled the out parts of Calis, the king of England on that ſide of the ſea. The men of warre perceiuing the good courage of the capteine, aſſented to his purpoſe, and ſo with all diligence they, to the number of a thouſand men, in the euening ſet forward, & came to Newnam bridge by thrée of the clocke in the morning, and found the watchmen that kept the bridge aſléepe, & ſo entred the bulworke and ſlue the watchmen, and tooke the ordinance of the bridge, and then let the bridge fall, ſo that all entred that would.

The capteine of Bullongne kept ſix hundred men for a ſtale at the bridge, & ſent the other into the mariſhes and meddows to fetch awaie the beaſts and cattell which they ſhould find there. This was doone, and ſome of them came ſo néere the walles of Calis, that they were eſcried. And about a ſix ſcore coupers, bakers, ſhipmen & other which laie without the towne, hearing the alarme, got togither, & ſetting on theſe Frenchmen which were aduanced ſo néere the towne, ſlue them downe that abode, chaſed them that fled euen into Newnam bridge, and recouered the ſame, and put backe their enimies. About fiue of the clocke in the morning, the gate of Calis called Bullongne gate was opened, and then by permiſſion of the deputie, one Culpeper the vnder-marſhall with two hundred archers vnder a banner of ſaint George iſſued forth.

watchmen found ſléeping ſerued iuſtlie.

Culpeper vnder-marſhall of Calis.

All theſe in great haſt came to Newnam bridge, where they found the other Engliſhmen that had woone the bridge of the Frenchmen, and ſo altogither ſet forward to aſſaile the Frenchmen that kept the ſtale, and taried till the reſidue of their companie which were gone a forraging vnto Calis walles were come: for the other that had ſpoiled the mariſhes were returned with a great bootie. At the firſt, when the Frenchmen ſaw the Engliſhmen approch, they thought they had bene their owne fellowes. But when they ſaw the banner of ſaint George, they perceiued how the matter went, & ſo determined to defend themſelues againſt their enimies; but the Engliſhmen ſet ſo fiercelie on, that finallie the Frenchmen were diſcomfited, and foure and twentie of them ſlaine, beſide twelue ſcore that were taken priſoners, and all the ordinance and bootie againe recouered.

Theſe priſoners were brought to Calis, & there ſold in open market. [Among all other, a couper of the towne of Calis bought a priſoner of this bootie that dwelt in Bullongne, and had of the priſoner an hundred crowns for his ranſome. When the monie was paied, the Frenchman praied the couper to ſée him ſafe deliuered, and to conduct him out of danger. The couper gentlie granted, and without anie knowledge of his friends, all alone went with the Frenchman till he came beyond the cauſeie, & there would haue departed: but the Frenchman perceiuing that the couper was aged, and that no reſkue was nie, by force tooke the couper priſoner, and caried him to Bullongne, & made him paie two hundred crowns for his ranſome: thus through follie was the poore couper deceiued. Wherefore it is wiſedome for a man to hold faſt his poſſeſſion, and to ſupplie his want of ſtrength by ſubtiltie; imitating therein the fox, which although in force he be inferior to the lion, as not able to beare the yerking of his taile, or a pelt of his paw; yet in craft he goeth beyond that boiſterous beaſt, and ſo eſcapeth danger, which otherwiſe he might ſuſteine.]

Abr. Fl. ex Ed. Hall in H 8. fol. xxviij.

The follie of a couper.

On the eleuenth day of Auguſt, being thurſday, the king lieng at the ſiege of Terwine, had knowledge that Maximilian the emperour was in the towne of Aire.

The emperor Maximilian and the king of England méet.

Aire. The king prepared all things neceſſarie to méet with the emperour in triumph. The noble men of the kings campe were gorgeouſlie apparelled, their courſers barded with cloth of gold, of damaſke and broderie, their apparell all tiſſue, cloth of gold and ſiluer, and goldſmiths worke, great chains of bauderikes of gold, and belles of bullion: but in eſpeciall the duke of Buckingham, he was in purple ſattin, his apparell and his bard full of antelops and ſwans of fine gold bullion, and full of ſpangles, & little bels of gold maruellous coſtlie and pleaſant to behold. The K. was in a garment of great riches in iewels and ſtone, he was armed in a light armour. The maſter of his horſſe followed him with a ſpare horſſe, the henchmen followed bearing the kings péeces of harneſſe, euerie one mounted on a great courſer.

The kings harneſſe and forniture.

The one bare his helmet, the ſecond his grangard, the third his ſpeare, the fourth his axe, and ſo euerie one had ſomething belonging to a man of armes. The apparell of the nine henchmen were white cloth of gold, and crimſin cloth of gold, richlie embrodered with goldſmithes worke, the trappers of the courſers were mantell harneſſe coulpened, and in euerie bent a long bell of fine gold, and on euerie pendent a déepe taſſell of fine gold in bullion, which trappers were verie rich. The king and the emperour met betwéene Aire and the campe, in the fouleſt weather that lightlie hath béene ſéene. The emperour gentlie interteined the king, and the king likewiſe him, and after a little communication had betwene them, bicauſe the weather was foule, they parted for that time. The emperour & all his men were at that daie all in blacke cloth, for the empreſſe his wife was latelie deceaſed.

A letter of defiance ſent by the Scotiſh king to king Henrie.

Within a day or two after this interuiew, and that the king was returned to his campe, thither came a king at armes of Scotland called Lion, with his cote of armes on his backe, who within ſhort time was by Gartier king of armes brought to the kings preſence, where he being almoſt diſmaid to ſée the king ſo noblie accompanied, with few words & méetlie good countenance, deliuered a letter to the king, which his grace receiued and read it himſelfe; and therewith hauing conceiued the whole contents thereof, made this anſwer immediatly to the herald.

The king of Englands ſpeach to the Scotiſh kings herald vttered without premeditation.

Now we perceiue the king of Scots our brother in law, and your maſter to be the ſame perſon whom we euer tooke him to be, for we neuer eſtéemed him to be of anie truth: and ſo now we haue found it. For notwithſtanding his oth, his promiſe in the word of a king, and his owne hand and ſeale; yet now he hath broken his faith & promiſe to his great diſhonour and infamie for euer, and intendeth to inuade our realme in our abſence, which he durſt not once attempt, our owne perſon being preſent. But he ſheweth himſelfe not to be degenerat from the conditions of his forfathers, whoſe faiths (for the moſt part) haue euer béene violated, and their promiſes neuer obſerued, further than they liſt. Therefore tell thy maſter, firſt, that he ſhall neuer be compriſed in anie league wherein I am a confederat; and alſo that I ſuſpecting his truth (as now the déed prooueth) haue left an earle in my realme at home, which ſhall be able to defend him and all his power. For we haue prouided ſo, that he ſhall not find our land deſtitute of people as he thinketh to doo: but this ſaie to thy maſter, that I am the very owner of Scotland, & that he holdeth it of me by homage. And inſomuch as now, contrarie to his bounden dutie, he being my vaſſall, dooth rebell againſt me, with Gods helpe I ſhall at my returne expell him his realme, and ſo tell him.

Sir ſaid the king of armes, I am his naturall ſubiect, and he is my naturall lord, and that he commandeth me to ſay, I may boldlie ſay with fauour, but the commandements of other I may not, nor dare ſay to my ſouereigne: but your letters, with your honor ſent, may declare your pleaſure, for I may not ſay ſuch words of reproch to him, to whom I owe onelie mine allegiance and faith. Then ſaid the king, Wherfore came you hither? will you receiue no anſwer? Yes ſaid Lion, but your anſwer requireth dooing and no writing, that is, that immediatlie you ſhould returne home. Well ſaid the king; I will returne to your damage, and not at thy maiſters ſummoning. Then the king commanded Gartier to take him to his tent, and to make him good cheare, which ſo did, and cheriſhed him well: for he was ſore abaſhed.

The effect of the Scotiſh kings letter to K. Henrie. Sée hiſtorie of Scotland, pa. 295, and Edw. Hall, in H.8. fol. xxix, xxx.

After he was departed, the king ſent for all the capteins, and before them and his councell cauſed the letter to be read, the contents wherof were, that king Henrie had not dealt with him vprightlie in ſundrie points, as in mainteining of thoſe which had ſlaine his people of Scotland by ſea, and alſo in ſuccouring baſtard Heron with his complices, which had (vnder truſt of daies of méeting for iuſtice) ſlaine his warden. Alſo his wiues legacie was by him withholden: & moreouer, where firſt he had deſired him in fauour of his dere couſin the duke of Gelder, not to attempt anie thing againſt him; yet had he ſent his people to inuade the ſaid dukes countrie, which did what in them lay to deſtroie and diſhinherit the ſaid duke, that had nothing offended againſt him.

And now againe, where he had made the like requeſt for his brother & couſine the moſt chriſtian king of France: yet notwithſtanding, had the king of England cauſed him to loſe his duchie of Millaine, and at this preſent inuaded his realme with all his puiſſance, to deſtroie him and his ſubiects, whereas yet the ſaid king of France had béene euer fréend to him, & neuer giuen him occaſion thus to doo. In conſideration of which iniuries receiued in his owne perſon, and in his friends, he muſt néeds ſéeke redreſſe, and take part with his brother and couſine the ſaid king of France. Wherefore he required him to deſiſt from further inuaſion and deſtruction of the French dominions, which to doo if he refuſed, he plainlie declared by the ſame letters, that he would doo what he could to cauſe him to deſiſt from further purſute in that his enterpriſe, & alſo giue letters of marque to his ſubiects for the deniall of iuſtice made to them by the king of England.

King Henrie his anſwere to the Scotiſh kings letters. Sée hiſtorie of Scotland pag. 297, and Edw. Hall in He.8. fol. 30, 31.

The letters thus ſent to the king of England, were dated at Edenburgh the ſix and twentith daie of Iulie, and giuen vnder the ſignet of the ſaid Scotiſh king. When the king had thus cauſed theſe letters to be read, and throughlie conſidered of them as apperteined, he ſent them ſtraight to the earle of Surrie, which then laie at Pomfret, and cauſed other letters to be deuiſed to the king of Scots, the effect whereof was; that although he well perceiued by the kings letters, which he had receiued from him, in what ſort, vnder colour of contriued occaſions and feined quarrelles, he meant to breake the peace, he did not much maruell thereat, conſidering the ancient accuſtomed manners of ſome his progenitors.

An euill déed to breake the league of peace.

Howbeit, if loue and dread of God, nighneſſe of blood, honour of the world, law and reaſon had bound him, it might be ſuppoſed, that he would neuer ſo farre haue procéeded; wherein the pope and all princes chriſtned might well note in him diſhonorable demeanor, which had diſſembled the matter, whileſt he was at home in his realme; and now in his abſence thus went about vpon forged cauſes to vtter his old rancor, which in couert manner he had long kept ſecret. Neuertheleſſe, vpon miſtruſt of ſuch vnſtedfaſtneſſe, he had put his realme in a readineſſe to reſiſt his enterpriſes, as he doubted not through Gods fauour, and the aſſiſtance of his confederats, he ſhould be able to reſiſt the malice of all ſchiſmatikes, and their adherents, being by generall councell expreſlie excommunicated & interdicted, truſting in time conuenient to remember his friends, & requite his foes.

The king of Nauarre a king without a realme, and why.

Moreouer, he willed him to ſet before his eies the example of the king of Nauarre, who for aſſiſtance giuen to the French king was now a king without a realme. And as touching anſwere to be made to the manifold griefs in the Scotiſh kings letters ſurmiſed, if law or reaſon could haue remoued him from his ſenſuall opinions, he had béene manie times alreadie anſwered ſufficientlie to the ſame; vnleſſe to the pretended griefs therein amongſt other compriſed, for denieng of a ſafe conduct to the Scotiſh ambaſſadour to haue béene laſtly ſent vnto him. Wherevnto thus he anſwered; that the ſame ſafe conduct had béene granted, if the Scotiſh herald would haue taken it with him.

The king of Englands anſwere to the laſt clauſe of the Scotiſh kings letter.

And finallie, as touching the Scotiſh kings requeſt, to deſiſt from further attempting againſt the French K. he ſignified to him, that he knew him for no competent iudge of ſo high authoritie, as to require him in that behalfe, and therefore God willing he ment with the aid and aſſiſtance of his confederats & alies to proſecute his begun attempt. And as the Scotiſh king ſhould doo to him, & to his realme, ſo it ſhould be hereafter remembred and acquited. Theſe letters were written in the campe before Terwine the twelfe of Auguſt, and giuen vnder the kings ſignet, and therewith deliuered to Lion king of armes, who had of the king 100 angels in reward.

An hundred angels to a Scotiſh herald for a reward.

Then departed he with his letters into Flanders, there to take ſhip to ſaile into Scotland, but yer he could haue a veſſell and wind for his purpoſe, his maiſter was ſlaine, as after ye ſhall heare. In this meane while the Frenchmen being aſſembled and lodged in campe at Blangie on this ſide Amiens, the French king appointed that all the horſſmen to the number of eight thouſand (as Paulus Iouius recordeth) ſhould go with vittels vnto Terwine, and put the ſame into the towne, if by anie meanes they might, for that thoſe within ſtood as then in great neceſſitie for want of vittels.

Fourtéene hundred men of armes hath Monſieur de Langeie.

Monſieur de Piennes appointed by the French king to vittell Terwine.

The charge of this conueie was committed vnto Monſieur de Piennes, becauſe he was lieutenant of thoſe marches: notwithſtanding there were amongſt the number, other noble men of more high degrée in honor, and alſo of great proweſſe, fame, and experience, furniſhed with ſundrie bands of men at armes of long approoued valiancie, and vſed to go awaie with victorie in manie a dangerous conflict and battell, wanting at this preſent nothing but their old accuſtomed good fortune. Whileſt the Frenchmen were thus prepared to come with vittels to Terwine, the emperour Maximilian came from Aire to the kings campe before Terwine the twelfe of Auguſt, wearing a croſſe of ſaint George as the kings ſouldier, & receiuing of him ſalarie for ſeruice; which *Anglorum prælia* noteth as noteworthie, ſaieng:

The emperor Maximilian weareth a croſſe of ſaint George as ſouldier to the king of England.

Sub rege Anglorum magnus meret induperator.

The emperour was honourablie receiued, and lodged in a rich tent of cloth of gold prepared for him, according as was conuenient for his eſtate. He taried vntill ſundaie being the fouretéenth of Auguſt, and then returned to Aire: and on the morrow after came againe being mondaie the fiftéenth of Auguſt, on which daie there chanced a great fraie betwixt the Almans of the kings campe, and the Engliſhmen, inſomuch that manie were ſlaine. The Almans ran to the kings ordinance and tooke it, and imbattelled themſelues, and bent the ordinance againſt the king and his campe. The Engliſh prepared their bowes, and the Almans made redie their pikes: but the capteins tooke ſuch paines in the matter, that the fraie was appeaſed.

A fraie betwéene the Almans of the kings campe, and the Engliſhmen well appeaſed by the diſcretion of the capteins.

Now as this trouble was in hand, the emperour came from Aire, and ſaw all the demeanour of both parts, and was glad to behold the diſcréet behauiour of the capteins. After that the emperour was thus come to the kings field, the king called a councell, at the which the emperour was preſent, where it was debated, by what meanes they might beſt conſtreine them within to deliuer vp the towne, and eſpeciallie how to kéepe them from vittels & other ſuccours, which the French armie (as it was knowne) meant verie ſhortlie to miniſter vnto them. Some were of this mind, and namelie the emperour; that bridges ſhould be made ouer the riuer, to paſſe ouer a part of the armie to beſiege the towne on that ſide; where otherwiſe the French armie might vittell the towne at their pleaſures.

The king and the emperour conſult which waies were beſt to beſiege Terwine, to preuent the vittelling of it.

Others were of a contrarie mind, doubting what might happen, if the armie ſhould be ſo diuided, leaſt the Frenchmen ſetting on the backe of the one part of the armie, and they within the towne to ſallie out in their faces, ſome miſfortune might happen yer the other part could paſſe the riuer to the ſuccour of their fellowes. Yet at length the former purpoſe was allowed as moſt neceſſarie; and therefore commandement was giuen to the maiſter of the ordinance, that in all haſt he ſhould cauſe fiue bridges to be made ouer the water for the armie to paſſe. The carpenters ſo applied their worke that night, that the bridges were made by the next morow, and all the horſſemen firſt paſſed ouer, and then the king with his whole battell, and the great ordinance followed and paſſed ouer to the other ſide of the water. This was on the ſixtéenth daie of Auguſt being tueſdaie.

Fiue bridges made in one night for the armie to paſſe ouer the riuer at Terwine.

On the ſame morning the Frenchmen were comming with their conueie of vittels to refreſh the towne, hauing appointed one part of their troops to kéepe on that ſide the riuer where the Engliſh armie was firſt incamped, and where the earle of Shrewſburie ſtill kept his field; that in offering the ſkirmiſh on that ſide, the reſidue of the horſſemen might with more eaſe and ſafetie put the vittels and other neceſſarie things into the towne on the other ſide. Here might a man haue ſéene of what force in wars ſudden chance is oftentimes. For the king thus with his battell paſſing the riuer, meaning to beſiege the towne on euerie ſide, and the Frenchmen at that ſame inſtant hauing alſo paſſed the riuer with other carriages laden with vittels, purpoſing to reléeue the towne on that ſide, cauſed no ſmall doubt to be conceiued of ech others meaning, on both parts, leaſt that the one, hauing knowlege of the others purpoſe, had béene prepared for to hinder the ſame.

Polydor.

The force of ſudden chance in warre.

And yet was it nothing ſo, for neither the king knew of the Frenchmens approch that daie, neither they of his paſſing ouer the water. But when the king had aduertiſement giuen him (by the light horſſemen that were ſent abroad to diſcouer the countrie) how the Frenchmen were at hand; he prepared himſelfe to the battell, and firſt ſet forth his horſſemen, and then followed himſelfe with his battell of footmen. The French capteins being hereof aduiſed, determined not to fight without their footmen; and therefore with all ſpéed ſent backe their carriages, and ſtaied with their horſſemen, vntill the carriages might haue leaſure to get out of danger. In the meane time the Engliſhmen aduanced forward, and their horſſemen mounted vp the hill, where the French horſſemen were in troope, with thirtie and thrée ſtandards ſpred, & might ſée the Engliſhmen comming, and the kings battell marching forward with the Almans.

Edw. Hall. Polydor.

The king with his battell of footmen.

There were amongeſt the Frenchmen certeine companies of Eſtradiots, which being placed before the French hoaſt, as they came downe the hill to

The Eſtradiots miſtaking footmen for horſſemen fled firſt.

ſkirmiſh with the Engliſhmen ſaw where the banners of the Engliſh horſſemen were comming, and the kings battell following vpward, wéening verelie that all had béene horſſemen, wherevpon they caſt themſelues about and fled. The Frenchmen were ſo faſt in arraie, that the Eſtradiots could not enter; and ſo they ran ſtill by the ends of the Frenchmens ranks. Herewith the Engliſh horſſemen ſet on, and about an hundred archers on horſſe-backe, being lighted beſide their horſſes, and ſet by an hedge all alongeſt a village ſide called Bomie, ſhot freſhlie at their enimies; & alſo certeine culuerings being placed on the top of an hill were diſcharged amongeſt the thickeſt preaſe of the Frenchmen; ſo that finallie the French were diſcomfited: for thoſe that were behind ſaw the fall of ſome of their ſtandards, which the Engliſhmen ouerthrew, and their Eſtradiots alſo (in whome they had great confidence) returne.

A great ouerthrow giuen to the French, king Henrie in perſon being preſent.

They that were furtheſt off fled firſt, and then the Engliſhmen & Burgognian horſſemen, which were with them, egerlie followed the chaſe, in the which were taken the duke of Longuile, brother to the earle of Dunois that had married the daughter and heire to the marqueſſe of Rothlois, the lord of Cleremont, capteine Baiard, monſieur de Buſie, and other, to the number of twelue ſcore priſoners, and all brought to the kings preſence with ſix ſtandards, which were likewiſe taken. The Burgognians brought not their priſoners to ſight. Monſieur de la Palice, and monſieur de Imbrecourt being taken of them and knowne, were put to their ranſomes, and licenced maintenantlie to depart vpon their word. Thus was the power of the French horſſemen by the ſharpe incounter of the Engliſh horſſemen, and full flight of the battels of the footmen, following in arraie at the backs of the horſſemen, and the diſcharging of certeine culuerings amongſt them, quickelie put to flight without anie great reſiſtance.

The emperor incourageth his Almans to plaie the men.

The emperour Maximilian was preſent with the king, and ware ſaint Georges croſſe, greatlie incouraging the Almans to ſhew themſelues like men, ſith the place was fortunate to him and them, to trie the chance of battell in: as they might call to remembrance by the victorie there obteined againſt the Frenchmen a foure and twentie yeares paſt. This incounter chancing thus on the ſixtéenth daie of Auguſt, being tueſdaie, in this fift yeare of king Henries reigne, which was the yeare after the incarnation 1513, was called the battell *Des eſprons*, by the Frenchmen themſelues, that is to ſaie, the battell of ſpurres: forſomuch as they in ſtéed of ſword and lance vſed their ſpurres, with all might and maine to pricke foorth their horſſes to get out of danger; ſo that in them was verefied the old prouerbe, One paire of héeles is worth two paire of hands.

The battell of ſpurres.

That wing of the horſſemen alſo, which was appointed to ſkirmiſh with the Engliſhmen on the other ſide the riuer, whileſt the other might haue conueied the vittels into the towne, was fiercelie beaten backe by the martiall proweſſe of the valiant erle of Shreweſburie, ſir Rice ap Thomas, and other worthie capteins, which laie on that ſide the water. The duke of Alanſon, the earle of ſaint Paule, and monſieur de Florenges, had the leading of thoſe Frenchmen. They within the towne were in great hope of ſuccour this daie, and when they ſaw the French power approch, they ſallied foorth on that ſide where the lord Herbert laie, and ſkirmiſhed with his people verie proudlie, but they were repelled to the gates of their towne, and manie of them ſlaine by the high valiancie of the ſaid lord Herbert and his capteins.

Sir John Pechie made baneret, and John Carre knight.

After that the Engliſhmen were returned from the chaſe of the Frenchmen, whome they had followed a thrée long miles from the field, the king made ſir John Pechie a baneret, and John Carre knight, which was ſore hurt: ſir John Pechie had his guidon taken, and diuerſe of his men hurt, they followed ſo farre in the chaſe. After this ouerthrow of the French horſſemen, the K. compaſſed the towne more ſtreictlie on ech ſide, and the batterie was brought ſo nigh the wals as might be, wherwith breaches were made in ſundrie places, by meanes whereof the lord Pontremie deſpairing any long time to kéepe the towne, fell to a compoſition, and yéelded it vp to the kings hands. This incounter and ouerthrow, with the giuing vp of Terwine, is extant to the knowledge of forren nations (to be read) recorded as followeth:

Terwine yéelded vp to king Henrie.

Francorum pugnax equitatus prælia miſcet,
Succurrúntque ſuis, ſed fruſtra infirmior arma
Turba capit; palmam bellando potentior Anglus
Aufert, læthifera transfoſſus hoſtilibus haſta.
Diruta turrifragis bombardis mœnia præbent
Brutigenæ ingreſſum facilem, Galliſque timorem
Inijciunt, tandem Terrouana deditur Anglo.

Howbeit this yéelding vp of the ſaid towne was with condition, that the ſouldiers might depart with horſſe and armour, & that ſuch towneſmen as would there remaine, might haue their liues and goods ſaued. Thus (I ſaie) was the citie of Terwine deliuered vp to the king of England, with all the ordinance and munitions then being found within the ſame. This was on the eightéenth of Auguſt. The earle of Shreweſburie entered the ſame night, and cauſed the banner of ſaint George to be ſet vp in the higheſt place of the towne in ſigne of victorie. When the lord Pontremie, and all the ſouldiers were departed, and that the earle of Shreweſburie had ſearched all the towne to ſée that euerie thing was ſure, he called the towneſmen afore him, and ſware them to be true to the king of England. The foure and twentith of Auguſt the king himſelfe entered the towne with great and roiall triumph, and dined in the biſhops palace. At after noone he returned to his campe, and on the ſix and twentith daie of Auguſt he remooued againe to Guingate, where he firſt incamped after the chaſe of the French horſſemen.

The citizens of Terwine ſworne to king Henrie.

The king entereth into Terwine.

Here it was determined in councell, that the wals and fortifications of Terwine ſhould be raſed, which was doone, and the towne burned; except the cathedrall church and the palace. All the ordinance was ſent to Aire to be kept there to the kings vſe. After this, it was concluded that the king ſhould laie ſiege to the citie of Tornaie; wherevpon he ſet forward in thrée battels; the earle of Shreweſburie leading the va-ward, the king and the emperour gouerning the battell, and the lord Chamberleine following with the rere-ward. The firſt night they incamped beſide Aire. Diuerſe Engliſhmen tarieng behind at Terwine for pillage, were ſurpriſed by the Frenchmen, which ſlue ſome of them, & caſt ſome into the fire. Thoſe that fled eſcaped verie narrowlie. The king with his armie paſſed forward towards Tornaie, and by the waie viſited the yoong prince of Caſtile and the ladie Margaret, gouernor of the prince, in the towne of Liſlie, whileſt his armie laie abroad in the fields beyond Pont Auandien.

Terwine burnt.

King Henrie marcheth on with his armie to beſiege Tornaie.

The king goeth to Liſle to viſit the yoong prince of Caſtile.

There was appointed to attend the king vnto Liſlie the duke of Buckingham, the lord marqueſſe Dorſet, the earle of Eſſex, and the lord Liſle, with diuerſe other; the charge of his campe he committed for the time to his councell. Then mounted the king vpon a courſer, his apparrell & bard were cloth of ſiluer of ſmall quadrant cuts trauerſed and edged with cut cloth of gold, and the border ſet full of red roſes, his armour freſh & ſet full of iewels. The maiſter of his horſſe ſir Henrie Guilford, and the henchmen

Sir Henrie Guilford maiſter of the kings horſſe.

followed (as you haue heard before) and the courſers richlie apparelled, and ſo were manie capteins that waited on the king: by the waie met the king the lord Raueſten with manie noble men. And a mile without the towne there met with him the burgeſſes of Liſle, and preſented to him the keies of the towne, ſaieng, that the emperor their ſouereigne lord had ſo commanded them to doo.

The Palſgraue of Rhene & his traine come to receiue the K. of England.

The king praiſed their obedience to their ſouereigne, and thanked the emperour and them for ſo high a preſent as the keies of ſuch a towne. Neuertheleſſe, he had ſuch confidence in them, that he truſted them no leſſe than his owne ſubiects, and ſo deliuered the keies to the prouoſt of the towne, which was well accompanied. Then met the king a great number of nobles of Flanders, Brabant, Holland, and Henaud, which noblie receiued him. After them came the countie Palatine or Palſgraue, one of the electors of the empire, with thirtie horſſes, all his men gorgiouſlie apparelled after the faſhion of his countrie, and humblie ſaluted the king. At the gate of Liſle the capiteine of the towne ſtood with a garriſon in armor well appointed, all the ſtréets were ſet on both ſides with burning torches and diuerſe goodlie pageants pleaſant to behold. Thus he paſſed thorough the towne with his ſword and maces borne before him, and alighted at the hall doore with his ſword borne, where met with him the emperour, the prince of Caſtile, and the ladie Margaret, and humblie ſaluted him.

A falſe rumor of the kings death.

Then for reuerence of the emperour, the king cauſed his ſword to be put vp, and his maces to be laid downe; & ſo was the king and all other nobles lodged and feaſted according to their degrées. In the towne of Liſle was a noiſe that thrée gunners with handguns ſhould haue ſlaine the king: for which rumor manie were attached, but nothing prooued. But when theſe tidings came to the campe, they were neuer merrie till they ſaw the king againe. Great was the chéere, with bankets, plaies, comedies, maſkes, and other paſtimes that were ſhewed to the king in the court of Burgognie, and ſo in ſolace he ſoiorned there ſundaie and mondaie the ninetéenth daie of September. On the twentith daie he ſent word that his armie ſhould remooue toward Tornaie, and ſo they remooued to a place conuenient betwéene Tornaie and Liſle, and certeine capiteins were appointed to kéepe the paſſage at the bridge of Auandien.

After that the king had taried at Liſle thrée daies, and had well repoſed himſelfe, he tooke his leaue, and thanked the emperour and the yoong prince, the ladie Margaret & all the ladies for all his high chéere and ſolace; and about ſix of the clocke at night, he departed out of Liſle, and the noble men brought the king forth and ſo returned, and then the capteine ſhut the gates. When the king was a mile and more out of the towne, he aſked where his campe laie? And no man there could tell the waie, and guide had they none, the night was ſo darke & miſtie. Thus the king taried a long while, and wiſt not whither to go; at laſt they met with a vitteler comming from the campe, which was their guide and brought them thither. The maiſter of the ordinance ſhot diuerſe péeces of ordinance, but they were not heard; but in ſafetie the king with all his companie returned.

The king and his traine ignorant of the waie to his campe by meanes of a miſt.

On the one and twentith daie of September the king remooued his campe toward Tornaie, and lodged within thrée miles of the citie, on a corne ground by the riuer. On which night came to the king the emperour and the Palſgraue, which were lodged in rich tents, and noblie ſerued of all viands and things neceſſarie. The people about Tornaie were with their goods fled to the citie, and yet the citie had no men of warre to defend it, but with multitude of inhabitants the ſame was well repleniſhed. The king commanded ſir Rice and his horſſemen to view one quarter, and the earle of Eſſex and his companie another quarter; and the lord Wallon and the lord Lignie the other quarters. Then the two and twentith daie of September, theſe foure capteins at one time were ſéene openlie with banners diſplaied before the towne, and there made a long ſtale, and returned.

Tornaie ſummoned by Gartier king of armes.

Then the king ſent Gartier king of armes to ſummon them to yéeld it ouer into his hands, to whome they made anſwer, that they receiued no citie of the king of England to kéepe, nor anie would they render him, with which anſwer he departed. Then they fortified their wals, and made prouiſion for vittels, corne, wine, and artillerie, and for all fortifications that might be gotten. And the citie of it ſelfe was ſtrong, well walled, and turrited with good bulworks and defenſes. But when they ſaw the king with ſuch a puiſſance draw néere the citie, they were ſore abaſhed, and called a generall councell. Then the prouoſt ſaid; Brethren, you know how that the king of England ſent an herald to ſummon vs to render vp to him this citie, or elſe he would put it and vs to the ſword, fier, and bloud. We anſwered we would be at defenſe. Now he is come in our ſight to fulfill the meſſage ſent by the herald, & now is come the time of our defenſe.

The prouoſt of Tornaies words to the diſtreſſed townesmen.

Howbeit in this matter ſtandeth thrée miſchéefs, one is our bounden duetie and allegiance that we owe to our ſouereigne lord king Lewes of France; the ſecond the liues of vs, our wiues, children, and neighbors; the third how to defend the finall deſtruction of this ancient citie, now likelie to fall, which citie was neuer conquered. Now our citie is whole, your liues in ſafetie, your goods your owne; determine whether you will haue war or peace. Then the common people cried all; War, war, war. Then ſaid the prouoſt, Take compaſſion of wiues and children and of the old folke; conſider if you haue no quicke reſcue, you cannot continue againſt yonder puiſſance, although your courages were neuer ſo great, this the wiſeſt of the citie and I haue conſidered. Then ſuddenlie was there in the councell a vauntparler, a botcher, which hearing this, called a great number of his affinitie, and went out of the councell and ſo out of the gates, and ſet fire of the ſuburbs on all ſides. When the councell ſaw the minds of the commons, and that their waies might not be followed, they comforted the people, and mainteined them for their defenſe.

After this the king approched the citie with his whole armie, and they of the citie iſſued forth to proffer the ſkirmiſh: but the archers beat them backe. Alſo the carriage men that came with the herbingers, ſaw where certeine wagons were entring the citie, vnto the which they ran, and tooke ſome of them. At this ſkirmiſh the horſſe of the lord Iohn Graie was ſlaine vnder him, as he came to defend the carriage men; but he himſelfe had no hurt. The king with his battell planted his ſiege on the north ſide the citie. The earle of Shrewſburie with the foreward lodged toward the ſouth ſide of the riuer, and there laie that night. The lord Herbert with the rereward incamped himſelfe on the weſt ſide, and beat the wals and towers of the citie with the great ordinance. The next daie after their comming thither, being the thrée and twentith of September, the earle of Shreweſburie with the fore-ward paſſed the riuer, & planted his ſiege on the ſouthſide of the citie, ſtretching to the eaſt end, and bent his ordinance againſt the walles. And thus was the citie of Tornaie beſieged on all parts.

Tornaie beſieged by king Henrie.

On the fiue and twentith daie of September, the

Sée Hall in Henrie.8.fol. 37,38. & hiſtorie of Scotland, pag. 297, 298.

king receiued letters from the earle of Surrie with the Scottiſh kings gantlet, wherby he was certified of the ſlaughter of the ſaid king, and how all things had béene handled at the battell of Floddon, whereof héereafter yée ſhall find further mention. The king thanked God of the newes, and highlie commended the prowesse of the earle, and other the capteins: howbeit he had a ſecret letter, that Cheſhiremen and other fled from ſir Edmund Howard in the battell, which letter cauſed great hartburning, and manie words: but the king tooke all things in good part, and would that no man ſhould be diſpraiſed. On the ſix and twentith daie, fiers were made in the hoaſt, in token of that victorie againſt the Scots, and on the ſeauen and twentith daie being tueſdaie, maſſe was ſoong by them of the kings chappell, with *Te Deum*, and the biſhop of Rocheſter made a ſermon, declaring the death of the king of Scots, and lamenting his euill hap and periurie. But now to our purpoſe of the ſiege of Tornaie.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall in Hen.8.fo.xliiij, xlv.

The citie of Tornaie on all ſides beſieged.

¶ The king of England lieng afront before Tornaie, cauſed his great ordinance to be planted round about the citie, and diuerſe trenches were caſt, and rampiers made, and the lord Liſle and the lord Willoughbie were appointed to mainteine the ordinance with their bands, and the earle of Kent was lodged before the gate called port Valencien; ſo that the citizens could not iſſue out, nor no aid could come in. The ordinance dailie beat the gates, towers, & wals, which made a great batterie: and a few Engliſhmen aſſaulted the port coquerell, but they were too few in number; and if they had béene more in number, they had taken the towne, as the Tornaſins confeſſed after. The citizens of Tornaie conſidering their eſtate came togither to councell, and there the prouoſt ſaid in effect as followeth. Friends and bretheren of this noble citie, I cannot too much praiſe your truth and fidelitie to your ſoueraigne lord the king of France; conſidering how manfullie you haue defended this citie ſince the beginning of this ſiege.

The prouoſts words to the townesmen.

But alas! although it be written on the gates grauen in ſtone, Iammes ton ne a perdeu ton pucellage, that is to ſaie; Thou haſt neuer loſt thy maidenhed: yet if this citie had not béene well furniſhed and euer at the daie appointed ſure of reſcue, it could not haue continued. Now you ſée that reſcue faileth, our gates be raſed, our towers beaten downe, our chiefe tower like to fall, ſo that if this perilous ſiege continue, or elſe if our enimies aſſault vs, we be not able to defend vs: wherefore now, all theſe things conſidered, I would know whether you will treat with the king of England or abide the chance. Then they which at the laſt councell cried War, war; now cried Peace, peace: yet all were not agréed. Then one wiſe man ſaid, Sirs if the towne be aſſaulted once againe with a great number, ſuerlie it will be taken: you ſaw the experience at the laſt aſſault, and then conſider if it be taken by force, who is there that can ſaie he is ſure of his life: but by intreatie, the king of England is ſo mercifull that we may fortune to ſaue both life and goods. Then finallie all agréed to treat.

The prouoſt with eleuen more ſubmit themſelues & yéeld vp the citie to the king.

Then the prouoſt ſent to the king a trumpet, deſiring a ſafe conduct for him & certeine other to come and to ſpeake with him: which requeſt was to him granted. Then the prouoſt of the citie, accompanied with eleuen with him of the beſt of the citie, came to the armie, & ſpake with the lords of the councell, and after were led to the kings preſence. The prouoſt knéeled downe and all his companie, and ſaid: Right high and mightie prince, although the citie of Tornaie is ſtrong, well walled, well repleniſhed with people, vittels, artillerie, yea and the people in feare and dread of nothing; yet we know that againſt your great puiſſance it can not continue long, although it were ten times as ſtrong as it is. Wherefore we knowing by report your honor, your wiſedome, your iuſtice, & noble hart, are content to become your ſubiects & vaſſals, ſo that we may haue and inioy our old lawes, cuſtomes, liberties, and franchiſes, vnder you; as we haue before this doone vnder other princes.

Then ſaid the king; We haue well heard your petition, we will common with our councell & make you anſwer. And when he had communed with his councell, he anſwered ſaieng: Sirs, he that aſketh mercie of vs, ſhall not be denied; and ſéeing you come to treat, we remit you to our councell. Then they went into the tent of councell, & there the Tornaſins fell at a point, and in concluſion they yéelded the citie and ten thouſand pounds ſterling for the redemption of their liberties, and ſo departed to the citie, making relation of the king and his noble courage. On thurſdaie the nine and twentith daie of September, the king was in his rich tent of cloth of gold vnder his cloth of eſtate, to whome came the citizens of the citie, and were ſworne to him, and became his ſubiects.

The poſſeſſiō taken in the king of Englands behalfe.

Then the king appointed the lord Liſle, the lord Aburgauenie, & the lord Willoughbie to take poſſeſſion, which with ſix thouſand men entered the citie, and tooke the market place and the wals, and ſearched the houſes for feare of treaſon. Then maiſter Thomas Wolſie the kings almoner called before him all the citizens yong and old, and ſware them to the king of England, the number whereof was foure ſcore thouſand. Thus the king of England by conqueſt came to the poſſeſſion of the citie of Tornaie. On ſundaie the ſecond daie of October, the king entered the citie of Tornaie at port founteine, and foure of the chiefe of the citie ouer him bare a canopie with all the armes of England. Euerie perſon was in his beſt apparell, the ladies & gentlewomen laie in the windowes beholding the king and his nobilitie, euerie citizen had in his hand a ſtaffe torch. The king himſelfe was richlie apparelled in rich armour on a barded courſer, his henchmen bearing his péeces of war, as ax, ſpeare, and other, their courſers were barded with the armes of England, France, Ireland, and other the kings dominions all richlie brodered. Thus the king with his nobilitie all richlie apparelled with his ſword borne before him, his heralds and ſergeants of armes with trumpets and minſtrelſie entered the citie, and came to our ladie church, and there *Te Deum* was ſoong.

The king maketh certeine gentlemẽ (for their good ſeruice) knights.

Then the king called to his preſence, Edward Guilford, William Fitz Williams, Iohn Danſie, William Tiler, Iohn Sharpe, William Huſſe, Iohn Sauage, Chriſtopher Garniſh, and diuerſe other valiant eſquiers, and gaue to them the order of knighthood, and then went to his lodging, and at after noone he came to the market place, were was prepared for him a roome. Then he cauſed a proclamation to be made in his name king of England & France, that no man ſhould gréeue the citizens. During which proclamation the Tornaſins ſcarſe looked vp, nor ſhewed once to him any amiable countenance, which was much marked. The crie finiſhed, the king departed to his campe, leauing the citie in ſafe kéeping. This wéeke the king rode to ſée the caſtell of Morton, and there his grace tooke great pleaſure. The king remembring the great chéere that the prince of Caſtile and the ladie Margaret had made him at Liſle, which was but twelue miles Engliſh from Tornaie, deſired the ſaid prince & ladie, with diuerſe other to come to him to his citie of Tornaie, and made preparation for the ſame, and appointed a iuſts, whereof he himſelfe would be one; and cauſed a tilt to be made in the market place.

While theſe things were preparing, the king and

his

Sir Edward Poinings made lieutenant of Tornaie.

his councell ordered for the ſure keeping of the citie of Tornaie, and there ordeined ſir Edward Poinings knight of the order of the garter to be his lieutenant with foure hundred archers, with capteins, horſſemen, and artillerie conuenient, and to haue aid of Henaud and other the kings friends adioining; and of his gard he left there foure hundred archers, and ordinance was appointed for the defenſe of the ſame. On mondaie the eleuenth daie of October the king without the towne receiued the prince of Caſtile, the ladie Margaret, and diuerſe other nobles of their countries, and them brought into Tornaie with great triumph. The noiſe went that the lord Liſle made requeſt of mariage to the ladie Margaret duches of Sauoie, and daughter to the emperour Maximilian, which before that time was departed from the king with manie rich gifts and monie borrowed: but whether he proffered mariage or not, ſhe fauoured him highlie. There the prince and duches ſoiourned with great ſolace by the ſpace of ten daies.

Iuſtes held at Tornaie for diſport of the prince of Caſtile & the ducheſſe of Sauoie.

During which time, the eighteenth daie of October began the iuſts, the king and the lord Liſle anſwering all commers: vpon the king attended foure & twentie knights on foot in coats of purple veluet and cloth of gold. A tent of cloth of gold was ſet in the place for the armorie & Reliefe. The king had a baſe and a trapper of purple veluet both ſet full of SS of bullion, and the lord Liſle in the ſame ſuite, there were manie ſpeares broken, and manie a good buffet giuen; the ſtrangers, as the lord Walon and lord Emerie and other did right well. When the iuſts were doone, the king & all the other vnhelmed them, & rode about the tilt, and did great reuerence to the ladies, and then the heralds cried to lodging. This night the K. made a ſumptuous banket of an hundred diſhes to the prince of Caſtile and the ladie Margaret, and to all other lords and ladies; and after the banket the ladies danſed, and then came in the king and eleuen in a maſke, all richlie apparelled with bonets of gold, and when they had paſſed the time at their pleaſure, the garments of the maſke were caſt off amongſt the ladies, take who could take.

The prince & the ducheſſe returne to Liſle.

The king returneth into England.

On the twentith daie of October, the prince of Caſtile and the ladie Margaret (with manie great gifts to them giuen) returned to Liſle and all their traine. After that the king was informed that all directions were taken, and euerie thing put in an order for the ſure keeping of the citie of Tornaie, he betooke the ſame to ſir Edward Poinings knight, which valiantlie kept it in good order and iuſtice. The king & his councell before this conſidering, that the Frenchmen would giue them no battell, and that winter approched, which was no time to lie at ſiege of other townes, concluded to keepe Tornaie ſafelie, and to breake vp his campe for that winter, and to begin againe warre in the ſpring of the yeare. This was a full concluſion taken by the king and his councell, and ſo the king and all his people (except ſuch as were appointed to be with ſir Edward Poinings) departed out of Tornaie the twentith daie of September: and the king and the noble men made ſuch ſpeed, that ſhortlie they came to Calis.

A mortalitie.

Thither came the lord admerall, whome the king heartilie thanked of his paines, and there euerie man was paied his full wages and conduct monie, and ſhips prepared for the paſſage; and ſo the foure and twentith daie of September, the king with a priuie companie tooke ſhip, and the ſame day landed at Douer, and ſhortlie after all his people followed; then he with a ſmall companie rode to Richmond in poſt to the queene, where was ſuch a louing meeting, that euerie creature reioiſed. This ſeaſon began a great mortalitie in London and other places, where much people died. All this winter the kings nauie kept the ſeas, and robbed and ſpoiled the Frenchmen on their coaſts, ſo that they were euerie foot afflicted by the Engliſh, & wiſt not which way to remedie it, bearing grudge in their hearts, and wiſhing a generall deſtruction of their enimies, againſt whome they did ſwell with malignitie and indignation, both for their late ouerthrowes and loſſes aſwell of lands as liues; the ſurrender of Terwin ſticking in their ſtomachs, and the yeelding of Tornaie nipping them at the heart, which had loſt the propertie, & was now forced to obeie new lords and new lawes, as our poet ſaith:

——dominorum ſerua nouorum,
**Accipit ecce nouas Henrico principe leges.*

* *Vrbs Tornaci.*

Lord Humes entereth the borders of England.

But now I muſt returne to ſpeake of the doings in the North parts, betweene the Engliſhmen and Scots. Whileſt the king was occupied in his warres againſt France in the ſummer of this yeare (as before is mentioned) yee haue heard how the king of Scots ſent his letters vnto the king, as then lieng at the ſiege before Terwine, and what anſwer was made thereto by the king. Immediatlie vpon the ſending of thoſe his letters conteining in effect a defiance, the king of Scots aſſembled his people to inuade the Engliſh confines: but before his whole power was come togither, the lord Humes that was lord chamberleine of Scotland, on a day in Auguſt entered England with ſeuen or eight thouſand men, and getting togither a great bootie of cattell, thought to haue returned therewith into his countrie.

Engliſhmen aſſaile the Scots.

Scots put to flight.

Lord chamberleine eſcapeth.

The ill road.

Norham caſtell beſieged.

But as he came to paſſe through a field ouergrowne with broome, called Milfield, the Engliſhmen vnder the leading of ſir William Bulmer, and other valiant capteins, hauing with them not paſt a thouſand ſouldiers, being laid within that field in ambuſhment, brake forth vpon him: and though the Scots on foot defended themſelues right manfullie, yet the Engliſh archers ſhot ſo wholie togither, that the Scots were conſtreined to giue place. There were of them ſlaine at this bickering fiue or ſix hundred, and foure hundred or more taken priſoners; the lord chamberleine himſelfe eſcaped by flight, but his banner was taken. This was called by the Scots the ill rode. In the meane time was the whole power of Scotland aſſembled, with the which king Iames approching to the borders, and comming to Norham caſtell, laid ſiege thereto, hauing there with him an hundred thouſand men.

Norham caſtell deliuered.

The earle of Surrie lieutenant of the north raiſeth an armie.

The lord admerall ioineth with the earle of Surrie his father.

After he had beaten this caſtell with his ordinance for the ſpace of ſix daies togither, the ſame was deliuered vp into his hands; for the capteine was ſo liberall of his ſhot and powder, ſpending the ſame ſo freelie before he had cauſe ſo to doo, that when it ſhuld haue ſtood him in ſtead, he had none left to aid him, ſo that in the end he yeelded himſelfe without more reſiſtance. In which meane time the earle of Surreie being lieutenant of the north parts of England, in abſence of king Henrie, had giuen order to aſſemble a power of ſix and twentie thouſand men; and comming to Alnwike the third of September being ſaturdaie, taried there all the next day till the whole number of his people were come, which by reaſon of the foule way were ſtaied, and could not come forward with ſuch ſpeed as was appointed. This fourth daie of September then being ſundaie, his ſonne the lord admerall, with a thouſand ſouldiers and able men of warre, which had beene at ſea, came to his father; whereof he greatlie reioiſed for the great wiſedome, manhood, and experience, which he knew to be in him.

The lord Howard admerall capteine of the foreward.

Then the earle and his councell, with great deliberation appointed his battels in order, with wings, and with horſmen neceſſarie. Firſt of the fore-ward was ordeined capteine the lord Howard admerall of England, as well with ſuch as came with him from the ſea, as others. Firſt the lord Clifford, the lord Coniers, the lord Latimer, the lord Scroope of Vpſall, the lord Ogle, the lord Lomlie, ſir Nicholas Appleyard maiſter of the ordinance, ſir Stephan Bull, ſir Henrie Shirburne, ſir William Sidneie, ſir Edward Ichingham, ſir William Bulmer, with the power of the biſhoprike of Durham, ſir William Gaſcoigne, ſir Chriſtopher Ward, ſir John Eueringham, ſir Thomas Metham, ſir Walter Griffith, and manie others.

Of the wing on the right hand of the fore-ward, was capteine ſir Edward Howard knight marſhall of the hoſt, & with him Brian Tunſtall, Rafe Brearton, John Laurence, Richard Bold, eſquiers: ſir John Booth, ſir Thomas Butler, knights: Richard Done, John Bigod, Thomas Fitz Williams, John Claruis, Brian Stapleton, Robert Warcop, Richard Cholmleie, with the men of Hull, and the kings tenants of Hatfield, and others. Of the wing on the left hand, was capteine ſir Marmaduke Conſtable, with his ſonnes and kinſmen, ſir William Perſie, and of Lancaſhire a thouſand men. Of the rere-ward was capteine the earle of Surreie himſelfe, and with him the lord Scroope of Bolton, ſir Philip Tilneie, ſir George Darcie, ſir Thomas Berkleie, ſir John Rocliffe, ſir Chriſtopher Pikering, Richard Tempeſt, ſir John Stanleie, with the biſhop of Elies ſeruants, ſir Brian Stapleton, Lionell Perſie, with the abbat of Whitbies tenants, Chriſtopher Clapham, ſir William Gaſcoigne the yoonger, ſir Guie Dawneie, maiſter Magnus, maiſter Dalbies ſeruants, ſir John Normanuile, the citizens of Yorke, ſir Ninian Markanuile, ſir John Willoughbie, with others.

Of the wing on the right hand, was capteine the lord Dacres with his power. Of the left hand wing, was capteine ſir Edward Stanleie knight, with the reſidue of the power of the two counties palantine of Cheſter and Lancaſter. Thus was the hoſt appointed and diuided into wards and wings at the firſt, though afterward (vpon occaſion) this order was ſomewhat altered. And now that euerie man knew what to doo, the earle of Surrie with his power comming toward the place where he thought to find the Scotiſh hoſt, was informed how king James being remooued ſix miles from Norham, laie imbattelled vpon a great mounteine called Floddon, a place of ſuch ſtrength, as it was not poſſible for the Engliſhmen to come néere him, but to their great diſaduantage: for at the foot of the ſame hill on the left hand, there was a great mariſh ground full of réed and water.

The ſtrength of the place where king James lay incamped, called Floddon.

On the right hand it was defended with a riuer called Till, the courſe whereof being ſo ſwift, and the chanell in ſome places ſo déepe, that it might not conueniently be paſſed. On the backe halfe there were ſuch craggie rocks and thicke woods, that it was not poſſible to aſſaile him to anie aduantage that waie foorth. And on the forepart of the campe, where nature had left an eaſie entrie for men to come to the ſame, all his ordinance was planted aloft vpon the ſides of ſuch trenches, as he had cauſed to be caſt for defenſe on that part. The earle of Surrie herevpon, conſidering with himſelfe, that vnleſſe he might deuiſe ſome policie to cauſe the Scotiſh armie to deſcend the hill, it were not poſſible for him to accompliſh his deſire, he called about him his councell, and with them tooke aduiſe in this point.

An herald ſent from the earle of Surrie to king James.

At length it was concluded and determined among other things, to ſend Rouge Croſſe, purſeuant at armes, with a trumpet to the king of Scots, with a meſſage and certeine inſtructions: which in ſubſtance was, to ſhew and declare vnto the ſaid king of Scots, that where he (contrarie vnto his oth and league, and vnnaturallie againſt all reaſon and conſcience) had entered and inuaded this his brothers realme of England, and doone great hurt to the ſame, in caſting downe caſtels, towers, and houſes, burning, ſpoiling, and deſtroieng the ſame, and cruellie murthering the king of England his brothers ſubiects; he the ſaid earle would be readie to trie the rightfulneſſe of the matter with the king in battell, by fridaie next comming at the furtheſt, if he of his noble courage would giue him tarieng and abode. And the ſame did the ſaid earle promiſe, as he was a true knight vnto God & the king of England his maiſter.

The lord admerals meſſage to the king of Scots.

And before Rouge Croſſe ſhould depart with the ſaid inſtructions, the lord admerall gaue him in credence to ſhew the ſaid king of his comming, and part of his companie from the ſea with him, and that he had ſought the Scotiſh nauie then being on the ſea, but he could not méet with them, bicauſe they were fled into France by the coaſt of Ireland. And in as much as the ſaid king had diuerſe and manie times cauſed the ſaid lord to be called at daies of truce, to make redreſſe for Andrew Barton a pirat of the ſea, long before that vanquiſhed by the ſame lord admerall, he was now come in his owne proper perſon, to be in the vant-gard of the field, to iuſtifie the death of the ſaid Andrew againſt him and all his people, and would ſée what could be laid to his charge the ſaid daie.

Andrew Barton, of whom mention before pag. 811.

Furthermore, that he nor none of his companie ſhould take no Scotiſh noble man priſoner, nor anie other; but they ſhould die if they came in his danger, vnleſſe it were the kings owne perſon; for he ſaid he truſted to none other courteſie at the hands of the Scots. And in this maner he ſhould find him in the vant-gard of the field, by the grace of God, and ſaint George, as he was a true knight. Yet before the departing of Rouge Croſſe, with the ſaid inſtructions and credence, it was thought by the earle & his councell, that the ſaid king would faine and imagine ſome other meſſage, to ſend an herald of his with the ſame, onelie to view and ouerſée the manner and order of the kings roiall armie, ordinance, and artillerie then being with the earle, whereby might haue inſued great danger to the ſame.

A good policie.

And for the eſchuing thereof, he had in commandement, that if anie ſuch meſſage were ſent, not to bring anie perſon comming therewith within thrée or two miles of the field at the nigheſt, where the ſaid earle would come, and heare what he would ſaie. And thus departed Rouge Croſſe, with his trumpet, apparelled in his coat of armes. On mondaie the fift daie of September, the earle tooke his field at Bolton in Glendale, as he had appointed, where all the noble men and gentlemen met him with their retinues, to the number of ſix and twentie thouſand men. And about midnight next inſuing came the trumpet which went to Rouge Croſſe, and declared how the king of Scots, after the meſſage doone to him by Rouge Croſſe, according to his inſtructions, the ſaid king deteined him, & ſent one Ilaie an herald of his with him vnto the earle, to declare to him the kings pleaſure; to whom the earle ſent Yorke herald at armes, to accompanie the ſaid Ilaie, at a village called Milo, two miles from the field, vntill the comming thither of the ſaid earle the next morow.

Ilaie and Yorke heralds.

On the ſixt daie of September, earlie in the morning, the earle accompanied with the moſt part of the lords and knights, and gentlemen of the field, euerie man hauing with him but one ſeruant to hold his horſſe, rode vnto the place: and ſo the ſaid herald met with the earle, and with blunt reuerence declared to him that he was come from his maiſter the king of Scots, which would know whether the earle ſent anie ſuch meſſage by Rouge Croſſe. The earle iuſtified the ſame, ſaieng further; that Rouge Croſſe had the ſame meſſage of him in writing, ſigned with his owne hand. Wherevnto the ſaid Ilaie ſaid: As to the abiding for battell betwéene that and fridaie then next following, the king his maiſter bade him ſhew to the earle, that he was as welcome as anie noble man of England vnto the ſaid king, and that if he had béene at home in his towne of Edenburgh, there receiuing ſuch a meſſage from the ſaid earle, he would gladlie haue come, and fulfilled the ſaid earles deſire.

The Scotiſh herald doth his errand to the earle.

And the herald aſſured the earle, on the king his maiſters behalfe, that the ſame king would abide him battel at the daie prefixed. Wherof the ſaid earle was right ioious, and much praiſed the honorable agréement of the ſaid roiall king, and eſtéemed the ſame to procéed of an high and honorable courage, promiſing the herald, that he, and good ſuertie with him ſhould be bound in ten thouſand pounds ſterling, to kéepe the ſaid daie appointed; ſo that the king would find an earle of his, and thereto a good ſuertie with him to be bound in like ſumme, for the performance of the ſame. And furthermore the earle bade the herald to ſaie vnto his maiſter the king; that if he for his part kept not his appointment, then he was content that the Scots ſhould baffull him, which is a great reproch among the Scots, and is vſed, when a man is openlie periured, and then they make of him an image painted, reuerſed, with his héeles vpward, with his name, woondering, crieng, and blowing out on him with hornes, in the moſt deſpitefull manner they can, in token that he is worthie to be exiled the companie of all good creatures. Then Ilaie deliuered to the earle a little ſchedule written with the kings ſecretaries hand vnſigned, as followeth.

Baffulling what it is among the Scots.

The tenor of the ſaid ſchedule.

AS to the cauſes alledged of our comming into England againſt our band and promiſe (as is alledged) thereto we anſwere; our brother was bound as farre to vs, as we to him. And when we ſware laſt before his ambaſſador, in preſence of our councell; we expreſſed eſpeciallie in an othe, that we would kéepe to our brother, if our brother kept to vs, and not elſe. We ſweare our brother brake firſt vnto vs. And ſince his breach we haue required diuers times him to amend; & latelie we warned our brother, as he did not vs, yer he brake. And this we take for our quarrell, and with Gods grace ſhall defend the ſame at your affixed time, which with Gods grace we ſhall abide.

The Scotiſh herald is deteined of the Engliſh.

And forſomuch as the king kept Rouge Croſſe with him, who was not yet returned, the ſame earle cauſed the ſame Ilaie to be in the kéeping of ſir Humfrie Liſle and Yorke herald in the ſame village, vntill the time that a ſeruant of the ſame Ilaie might ride in all haſt to the king of Scots, for the deliuering of the ſaid Rouge Croſſe. Then the earle ioious of the kings anſwer, returned to his campe, and ſet forward fiue miles, to a place called Woller Haugh, in ſuch order of battell, as euen then he ſhould haue fought, and there lodged for that night, thrée little miles from the king of Scots. And betwéene the king & him was a goodlie & large corne field called Milfield, which was a conuenient & faire ground for two hoſts to fight on: there either hoſt might perceiue other. The earles deſire was to procure the Scots to deſcend the hill into ſome euen ground, where he might fight with them without diſaduantage of place.

But the king, though he had a great deſire to fight, yet vpon diuerſe conſiderations, by aduiſe of his councell he ſtill kept his ground, and meant not to remooue at all out of his ſtrength. Wherevpon the earle of Surrie not able long to continue in ſuch grounds of diſaduantage, by reaſon of mires, and mariſhes, amongſt the which he lodged with his armie that was almoſt famiſhed for lacke of ſufficient vittels, which could not be recouered in ſuch a barren countrie, determined to ſéeke all waies poſſible, if he might conſtreine the Scotiſh king to come downe beſide the hill. He therefore raiſed his campe, and leauing his enimies on the left hand, and paſſing ouer the water of Till, he drew into a more commodious ground, at the end of Barmore wood; to the end he might refreſh his ſouldiers ſomewhat hereby after they had béene toiled for the ſpace of thrée daies togither in cloggie mires, and foule filthie waies, to their diſeaſe and wearineſſe.

The earle of Surrie remooueth his campe ouer the water of Till.

The earle of Surrie being thus lodged, the water of Till ran betwixt the two campes of Scots and Engliſhmen, diuiding them in ſunder: and ſtill by reaſon the one was within the ſhot of a culuering of the other, they ceaſſed not to beſtow ſhot and powder either at other, though without dooing anie great hurt at all. For the Engliſh campe on that part which laie toward the Scots, was couered with an hill riſing from the hither banke of Till water, with an eaſie ſtéepeneſſe to the height of a miles ſpace or thereabouts. Thomas lord Howard ſonne and heire to the earle of Surrie, from the top of this hill beholding all the countrie on euerie ſide about him, declared to his father, that if he did eftſoons remooue his campe, and paſſe the water of Till againe in ſome place a little aboue, and by fetching a ſmall compaſſe come & ſhew himſelfe on the backe halfe of his enimies, the Scotiſh king ſhould either be inforced to come downe forth of his ſtrength and giue battell, or elſe be ſtopped from receiuing vittels or anie other thing out of Scotland.

The lord Howard taketh view of the Scotiſh armie.

The earle of Surrie deſirous of nothing ſo much as to ioine with the Scots in battell; after he vnderſtood that his ſonne had informed him nothing but truth, he raiſed his field: and marching a thrée miles vpward by the riuer ſide, paſſed ouer his armie in two parts at two ſeuerall bridges, all at one time. King Iames when he ſaw this manner of his enimies, and perceiuing what their meaning was, by coniecture of their dooings, thought it ſtood not with his honor to ſit ſtill, and ſuffer himſelfe to be foreſtalled forth of his owne realme: and againe, that it might ſore diminiſh the opinion of his princelie power, if he ſéemed to remaine as it were beſieged within a fortreſſe, hauing more confidence in ſtrength of the place, than in the manhood of his people: wherevpon immediatlie he raiſed his campe, and got an hill, which he doubted leaſt the enimie ſhould haue taken before him.

The earle of Surrie returneth againe ouer the water of Till.

But by ſuch diligence as he vſed, and by reaſon of the great ſmoke which was raiſed and ſpred ouer all the countrie, by burning of the litter and cabbins wherein the Scots had lodged, purpoſelie ſet on fire to the ſame intent, he was got to the place whither he intended, before the Engliſhmen knew for anie certeintie that he was diſlodged, though they were as then within a mile of him. Thus king Iames kéeping the tops of the hils, the earle of Surrie with the Engliſh armie came to the foot of the ſame hils, and ſtaieng there a while, for ſo much as he ſaw how

The valiant determination of the earle to incounter the Scots.

hill to the which the Scots were gotten, was neither ſtéepe nor hard to aſcend, he determined to mount the ſame, and to fight with the Scotiſh hoaſt yer they ſhould haue leaſure to fortifie their campe.

Héerewith calling his people togither, he made vnto them a bréefe oration, declaring vnto them both what neceſſitie there was for them to ſhew their manhood, and what iuſt cauſes they had alſo to fight againſt thoſe enimies, that againſt both the lawes of God and man had moſt cruellie inuaded the relme of England, in the quarrell of a ſchiſmatike, and one that was accurſſed and excommunicated by the cenſures of the church. The Engliſhmen kindled with deſire to fight, the more thorough thoſe words of the earle, required incontinentlie to be led foorth againſt the Scots, that they might ſhew what earneſt wils they had to be reuenged; not onelie of new receiued wrongs, but alſo of ancient iniuries; for there ſhould neither heigth of hill, nor anie other obſtacle hinder them, but they would either returne with victorie, or elſe loſe their liues in the paine.

The ordering of the Engliſh armie.

The earle of Surrie conceiued no ſmall hope of victorie in this chearefull readineſſe of his ſouldiors, and therevpon with all ſpéed (as the occaſion then mooued him at that inſtant) diuided his armie into thrée battels, or rather foure: vnto the vant-gard whereof, the lord Howard was capteine, his brother ſir Edmund Howard was ioined as a wing; the earle himſelfe led the midle-ward, and the rere-ward was guided by ſir Edward Stanleie, afterwards created lord Mounteagle. The lord Dacres with a number of horſſemen was ſet apart by himſelfe to ſuccor where need ſhould ſéeme to appeare. The ordinance was placed in the front of theſe battels, & in places betwéene, as was thought expedient. In this order, forward they made with manlie courages towards the Scots a good marching paſe.

The Scotiſh kings thought at the view of the Engliſh armie.

In the meane time, king Iames beholding all the demeanor of the Engliſhmen, from the heigth of the hill, thought with himſelfe, that there was offered him that daie a goodlie occaſion of victorie, if he might come to fight with the enimies at ſuch aduantage of place and number. And therfore, being haſtned forward through the ſtrenable force of deſtinie, or rather Gods ordinance, he commanded his ſtandards to be raiſed and ſpred, and euerie man to reſort to his appointed place, that they might foorthwith incounter the enimies, that preſumed thus to ſéeke battell. And héerewith turning him to the lords and capteins that ſtood about him, he ſpake vnto them manie comfortable words touching the occaſion offered them at that preſent, to gaine both a famous victorie, and to reuenge ſo manifold iniuries and diſpleaſures, as they had ſuſteined diuerſe waies foorth at the Engliſhmens hands.

King Iames and all the reſt alight from horſſebacke.

He had ſcarſe made an end of his tale, but the ſoldiers with great noiſe and clamor cried; Forward, Vpon them; ſhaking their weapons in ſigne of an earneſt deſire they had (as then they ſhewed) to buckle with the Engliſhmen. Wherevpon, without delaie, king Iames putting his horſſe from him, all other as well nobles as meane men did the like, that the danger being equall, as well to the greateſt as to the meaneſt, and all hope of ſuccour taken awaie, which was to be looked for by flight, they might be the more willing to ſhew their manhood, ſith their ſafegard onelie reſted in the edges and points of their weapons. Then was the whole armie diuided into fiue wards or regiments, to this intent, that the battell wherein the king himſelfe ſtood with his ſtandard, might be incloſed as it were with two wings, on either ſide one. In the right wing, the earles of Huntleie, Crawford, and Montroſſe, were placed as chéefe leaders thereof; and in the left were the earles of Lenox, and Argile, with the lord Hume, lord chamberleine of Scotland, being men of great ſkill in warlike affaires, as was reported.

The order of the Scotiſh hoaſt.

French capteins in the Scotiſh hoaſt.

Moreouer, in euerie band (almoſt generallie thoroughout) there was a knight appointed for capteine and guider, and amongſt them certeine French capteins, the which king Lewes had ſent ouer into Scotland latelie before, to traine the Scots in the practiſe of warres. The ordinance was lodged in places moſt conuenient; though by reaſon they marched downe the hill, their ſhot did ſmall damage to the Engliſhmen comming vpwards towards them, and yet they beſtowed it freſhlie on either ſide one vpon an other. Héerwith ſir Edmund Howard with his wing was got vp on the hill ſide, with whome the lord Hume and the two foreſaid earles of Lenox and Argile incountered with ſuch violence, that this battell of Scots with ſpeares on foot on that part, beat downe and broke that wing of the Engliſhmen, in ſuch wiſe that ſir Edmund Howard was in maner left alone, and felled to the earth, that (had not baſtard Heron come to his ſuccours at that inſtant) he had béene ſlaine there without all remedie.

The battell is begun, and ſir Edmund Howard incountred with the earles of Lenox and Argile.

Thus hath Iouius, although Hall ſaith, that the lord Dacres ſtood ſtill all day vnfoughten with.

On the other part, the lord Dacres watching to aid where need appéered, came in on the ſides of the Scots, & gaue a charge on them with his horſſemen, wherby ſir Edmund Howard being ſomewhat relieued, eſcaped to the Engliſh vant-gard, which was led (as before is mentioned) by his brother, lord Howard, who being now alſo got aloft on the hill, preaſſed ſtill forward to renew the battell, & to ſuccour thoſe whome he ſaw put to the worſe, ſo that thereby they tooke new courages, & laid about them againe. Herewith the earles of Crawford & Montroſſe came with their battell of ſpeares alſo on foot, and incountring with the ſaid lord Howard, after ſore fight on both ſides continued, with more malicious hatred than force of the parties, both the ſaid earles were ſlaine, beſides a great number of other; the whole battell which they led being put to flight and chaſed out of the field, maimed, wounded, and ſlaine. And though they did what they could to the vttermoſt reſiſtance, in hope to haue bathed their blades in Engliſh blood; yet the contrarie came to paſſe, as in ſtories is left recorded, to the honour of the Engliſh; namelie:

The Scots put to the worſſe in the right wing.

Suſtinet inſlictos duris vmbonibus ictus,
Imbuit & gladios manante cruore Britannus.

Sir Edward Stanleie and his archers breake the Scots araie.

On the left hand at the ſame inſtant, ſir Edward Stanlie hauing begun to incounter with the Scots on that ſide, forced them to come downe into a more euen ground; and brought to that point with ſuch inceſſant ſhot of arrowes as his archers beſtowed amongſt them, that to auoid the danger of that ſore and ſharpe ſtorme, the Scots were conſtreined to breake their arraie, & to fight not cloſed togither in order of battell, but inſunder one ſeparated from another, ſo that their ſtandards began to ſhrinke here and there. Which thing when ſir Edward Stanleie perceiued, foorthwith bringing about thrée bands, which he had kept in ſtore for ſuch like purpoſe; he inuaded the open ſides of his enimies by a freſh onſet, and put them in ſuch diſorder, that they were not able anie longer to abide the violence of the Engliſhmen mightilie preaſſing vpon them: ſo that taking themſelues to flight, and running headlong downe the ſtiepe deſcent of the mounteine, they eſcaped to the woods and there ſaued themſelues. But the earles of Argile and Lenox, dooing what they could to ſtaie their people from running awaie, were ſlaine in the ſame place.

The left wing of the Scots is diſcomfited.

In the meane time, the king, who a little before had ioined with the earle of Surreie, perceiuing that the wings of his battell were diſtreſſed, and that his enimies began to incloſe him on ech ſide, he baſhed

nothing

The Scotiſh kings magnanimitie.

A ſore fight.

nothing at the matter,but with aſſured countenance exhorted thoſe that were about him to ſticke to him, and to remember their worthie anceſtors,in committing nothing that might anie waies forth ſound to their reproch. And herewith ruſhing againſt his enimies,a new battell more egre than the firſt began to ariſe;for that battell being well appointed and armed paſſed litle for the Engliſhmens arrowes,in ſo much that perſing the earles battell,they entred well néere ſo farre within the ſame, that they were at point to haue ouerthrowne his ſtandards.

The king fighteth himſelfe right valiantlie.

There were on either part a number of tall men of bodie, choſen forth of purpoſe by the capteins, for the good opinion conceiued of their hardie valiancie, & the battell betwixt them ſéemed long time doubtfull and variable, now one while fauourable to the one part, and an other while to the other. The king himſelfe on foot euen in the formoſt ranke, fought right valiantlie, incouraging his people, as well by example as exhortation, to doo their deuoirs. Neither did the earle of Surrie for his part faile in the dutie of a right worthie generall. But while the battell was thus foughten in moſt earneſt maner about the ſtandards with doubtfull chance of victorie, the lord Howard and ſir Edward Stanleie hauing vanquiſhed the enimies in either wing, returned to the middle-ward, and finding them there thus occupied, they ſet on, in two parts ſeuerallie, with great violence.

The ſtout ſtomach of king James.

He is ſlaine.

At the ſame time, the lord Dacres came with his horſſemen vpon the backs of the Scots; ſo that they being thus aſſailed behind and before, and on either ſide, were conſtreined (as inuironed about) to fight in a round compaſſe. King James as he beheld ſir Adam Forman his ſtandard-bearer beaten downe, thought ſuerlie then, there was no waie for him but death, and that euen out of hand. Wherefore to deliuer himſelfe from ſuch deſpitefull reproch, as was like to follow,he ruſhed forth into the thickeſt preaſe of his enimies; and there fighting in moſt deſperat wiſe, was beaten downe and ſlaine. And a little beſide him, there died with like obſtinate wilfulneſſe, or (if ye liſt ſo to terme it) manhood, diuerſe honorable prelats,as the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrewes,and two other biſhops,beſides foure abbats; alſo of lords and knights of honor a ſix and thirtie.

Two battels of Scots fought not, but gaue the looking on.

Pau. Iouius. Edw. Hall.

Seuen culuerings called ſeuen ſiſters & why.

The lord Hume and the earle of Huntleie got horſſes, and eſcaped awaie togither with certeine bands, placed in two the hindermoſt wards, which of all that daie neuer came to handſtrokes,but ſtood ſtill and gaue the looking on. Thus thorough the power of God, on fridaie being the ninth of September,in the yeare 1513 was James the fourth of that name, king of Scots,ſlaine at Bramxſton, and his armie diſcomfited by the earle of Surrie, lieutenant to Henrie the eight king of England, which a little before had woone the towne of Terwine,and was then preparing to go to beſiege Tornaie. There were ſlaine in this battell on the Scotiſh part, of all ſorts, the number of eight thouſand perſons at the leaſt: ſome ſaie twelue thouſand, beſides priſoners that were taken, as ſir William Scot, chancellor to the ſaid king,and ſir John Forman his ſergeant porter, with diuerſe others. Alſo in maner, all the Scotiſh enſignes were taken, and a two and twentie péeces of great ordinance, amongeſt the which were ſeauen culuerings of a large aſſiſe, and verie faire péeces. King James named them (for that they were in making one verie like to an other) the ſeauen ſiſters. This conflict with egerneſſe on both ſides was continued thrée full houres, as *Anglorum prælia* ſaith:

Iam tres integras pugnatum eſt cominus horas.

Edw. Hall. The Engliſh mens ouerraſh hardineſſe turnes them to hurt.

Though the victorie thus remained with the Engliſhmen, yet they bought it déere, loſing no ſmall number of their people, as well of thoſe that were ſlaine in the field,as of others that were taken priſoners; for the Scots fought verie ſtoutlie,and gaue it not ouer for a little,inſomuch that there were taken and ſlaine about fiftéene hundred men, as appeared by the booke of wages,when the ſouldiers were paid. Manie Engliſhmen that followed ouer raſhlie in the chaſe of the Scots, went ſo farre, that they wiſt not which waie to returne, and ſo were taken of the Scots that were in the two battels that went awaie with cleare hands, and neuer fought. Alſo, diuerſe were taken by the lord chamberleine, which fought with the wing of ſir Edmund Howard,and were caried awaie by him and his companie into Scotland, as John Fitton eſquier, and others. During the time of the fight,and the night after,manie Engliſhmen loſt their horſſes, and ſuch ſtuffe as they left in their tents and pauilions, by the robbers of Tindale and Tiuidale.

The bodie of king James found hauing diuerſe deadlie wounds.

When the field was doone, and that the ſkonts brought word that there was no more appearance of the Scots, but that they were all auoided and gone, the earle gaue thanks to God, and called to him certeine lords and gentlemen,and them made knights; as ſir Edmund Howard his ſonne,the lord Scroope, ſir William Perſie,ſir Edward Gorge, and diuerſe others. The earle and the lord admerall departed to Bermar wood, & there lodged that night, leauing ſir Philip Tilneie knight and diuerſe other worthie capteins, with a conuenient power of men, to kéepe the place where the field had béene fought,for ſafegard of the ordinance. Ths bodie of the king of Scots was not found vntill the next daie, and then being found and knowne by the lord Dacres, there appeared in the ſame diuerſe deadlie wounds,and ſpeciallie, one with an arrow, and an other with a bill. But ſome ſaie he died of two, both which were inflicted vpon him to his deadlie bane (and well worthie for truce-breaking) by the ſword;as *Anglorum prælia* reporteth:

Vulneribus Scotus acceptis cadit enſe duobus,
Perfidiæ meritus fuſo dans ſanguine pœnas.

Scots flie at the peale of guns.

The kings thankfulneſſe ſignified to his good ſeruitors in war.

The ſame daie, there appeared ſome Scots on a hill,but one William Blackenall that had the chéefe rule of the ordinance,cauſed ſuch a peale to be ſhot off at them, that the Scots fled;or elſe the lord admerall, which was come to view the field, had béene in great danger; as was ſuppoſed. But now that the Scots were fled, and withdrawne, all the ordinance was brought in ſafetie to Eitill, and there remained for a time. After that the earle of Surrie had taken order in all things, and ſet the North parts in good quiet, he returned to the quéene with the dead bodie of the Scotiſh king cered. When the king was returned into England from his conqueſt made in France of the cities of Terwine and Tornaie, he forgat not the good ſeruice of thoſe that had béene with the earle of Surrie at the battell at Bramxton: wherefore he wrote to them his louing letters,with ſuch thanks and fauourable words,that euerie man thought himſelfe well rewarded.

1514

Wolſie deſcribed.

On the daie of the Purification of our ladie, at Lambeth,the king created the earle of Surrie duke of Norffolke,with an augmentation of the armes of Scotland, and ſir Charles Brandon vicount Liſle he created duke of Suffolke, and the lord Howard high admerall he created earle of Worceſter: and after this,he alſo made ſir Edward Stanleie (for his good ſeruice ſhewed at Bramxſton field) lord Mounteagle: and in March following was maiſter Thomas Wolſie the kings almoner,conſecrated biſhop of Lincolne. This man was borne at Ipſwich, and was a good philoſopher, verie eloquent and full of wit; but paſſinglie ambitious, as by his doings it well appeared. In the time of king Henrie the ſeauenth uenſh it was agréed betwixt the ſaid king and Philip king of Caſtile (that Charles king Philips eldeſt ſon ſhould marrie the ladie Marie, daughter to the ſaid king Henrie, with a dower to hir appointed: but for want of ſufficient aſſurance of the dower, the reſt of couenants were made void, and yet had the king highlie prouided for the ſending of hir ouer, now after his comming from Tornaie.

Incloſures of the fields about London, caſt downe & ouerthrowne.

This yeare the citizens of London, finding themſelues gréeued with the incloſures of the common fields about Iſlington, Horton, Shorditch, and other places néere to the citie, whereby they could not be ſuffered to exerciſe their bowes, nor other paſtimes in thoſe fields, as before time they had bene accuſtomed, aſſembled themſelues on a morning, and went with ſpades and ſhouels vnto the ſame fields, and there (like diligent workemen) ſo beſtirred themſelues, that within a ſhort ſpace, all the hedges about thoſe towns were caſt downe, and the ditches filled. The kings councell comming to the graie friers, to vnderſtand what was meant by this dooing, were ſo anſwered by the maior and councell of the citie, that the matter was diſſembled: and ſo when the workemen had doone their worke, they came home in quiet maner, and the fields were neuer after hedged.

Anno Reg. 6. Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 902.

George Monox for this yeare Maior of London, of his godlie diſpoſition reedified the decaied ſtéeple of the pariſh church of Walthamſtow, in the countie of Eſſex, adding therevnto a ſide Ile, with a chappell, where he lieth buried. And on the northſide of the churchyard there, he founded a faire large almeſhouſe for an almoſe prieſt or ſchoolemaiſter, and thirtéene poore almes folke, eight men, and fiue women, appointing to the ſaid almes prieſt or ſchoolmaiſter for his yearelie wages, ſix pounds thirtéene ſhillings foure pence; and to euerie one of the ſaid almes folke ſeuen pence a wéeke, and fiue pounds to be beſtowed yearelie amongſt them in coles. And ordeined that the ſaid almes prieſt ſhould on ſundaies and feſtiuall daies, be helping and aſſiſtant to the vicar or curat there in celebration of diuine ſeruice, & on the wéeke daies fréelie to applie and teach yoong children of the ſaid pariſh, to the number of thirtie, in a ſchoolehouſe by him there builded for that purpoſe. Moreouer, hée gaue to the pariſh clearke there for the time being, a yearlie ſtipend of twentie ſix ſhillings eight pence, for euer, and a chamber by the ſaid almes houſe, to the intent he ſhould helpe the ſaid ſchoolemaiſter to teach the ſaid children. And hath giuen faire lands and tenements in the citie of London, for the perpetuall maintenance of the premiſſes to Gods glorie for euer. He alſo for the great commoditie of trauellers on foot, made a continuall cauſie of timber ouer the marſhes from Walthamſtow to Locke bridge towards London.

Frée ſchoole at Walthamſtow.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. 46. The king and the new duke of Suffolke defenders at the tilt againſt all commers.

In the moneth of Maie, the king and the new duke of Suffolke were defenders at the tilt againſt all commers. The king was in a ſcopelarie mantle, an hat of cloth of ſiluer, and like a white hermit, and the duke apparelled like a blacke hermit, all of blacke veluet, both their berds were of damaſke ſiluer: and when they had ridden about the tilt, & ſhewed themſelues to the quéene, then they threw off their apparell, and ſent it to the ladies for a larges. Then was the king in blacke, and the duke in white, with blacke ſtaues, on the ſtaues was written with white letters, Who can hold that will away: this poſie was iudged to be made for the duke of Suffolke, and the ducheſſe of Sauoie. At theſe iuſtes were the duke of Longuile, & the lord Clermont, and there the king & duke did ſo valiantlie, that they obteined the priſe. At theſe iuſtes were broken an hundred and fourtéene ſpeares in a ſhort ſpace. The king at this ſeaſon ſent againe into Flanders, for the performance of the mariage of the yoong prince of Caſtile, and the faire ladie Marie his ſiſter, and ſhewed how he had prepared all things neceſſarie and conuenient for ſuch an high eſtate. The councell of Flanders anſwered, that they would not receiue hir that yeare, with manie ſubtill arguments; by reaſon whereof, the perfect loue betwene England and the low countries was much ſlaked.

A cap of maintenance ſent to the king from the pope.

On the ninetéenth daie of Maie was receiued into London a cap of maintenance & a ſword, ſent from pope Iulie, with a great companie of nobles and gentlemen, which was preſented to the king on the ſundaie then next inſuing, with great ſolemnitie in the cathedrall church of ſaint Paule. Touching this pope (ſaith Guicciardine) diſappointed of ſo manie hopes, we may laie him in compariſon with that which is written by the poets of Anteus, that being tamed by the forces of Hercules, as often as he was throwne to the ground, ſo often did appeare in him a greater ſtrength and courage; ſuch wéening had the pope amidſt his aduerſities, for when he ſéemed moſt abaſed and oppreſſed, it was then that he did moſt lift vp him ſelfe with a ſpirit more conſtant and reſolute, promiſing better of his fortune than euer.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 490. Pope Iulie compared to Anteus.

Guic. pag. 631.

After he had plaied all his troubleſome pageants, and had got by ſundrie aſpiring practiſes I wot not what péereleſſe primaſie, he fell ſicke. And happilie he was then more full of high conceipts and trauelling thoughts than at anie time before: for notwithſtanding he had brought his fortune to be equall with his deſires, & obteined the thing he aſpired vnto, yet his deuiſes and plots did nothing diminiſh, but grew increaſing by the ſame meane which ſhould haue ſatiſfied them. He had determined in the beginning of the ſpring and firſt opening of the yeare, to ſend to the enterpriſe of Ferrara which he ſo much deſired, and his opinion was, that that ſtate was able to make no reſiſtance, both for that it was naked of all ſuccours, and bicauſe the Spaniſh armie was to ioine with his companies: he had ſecretlie bought of Ceſar for the price of thirtie thouſand duckets, the citie of Sienna for the behoofe of the duke of Vrbin, to whome (except Peſera) he would neuer giue anie thing of the eſtate eccleſiaſtike, to the end to reſerue to himſelfe the whole glorie to haue ſimplie and onelie ſtudied for the exaltation of the church. He agréed to lend to Ceſar fortie thouſand duckats, receiuing Modona in gage. He threatned them of Lucquoie, who in the heat of the affaires of the duke of Ferrara, were become lords of Garſagnana, making inſtance that they would deliuer it to him.

The purpoſes of pope Iulie the ſecond and his death.

The popes mal content

He was out of conceit with the cardinall of Medicis, for that he thought him to cleaue more to the king catholike, than to him. And bicauſe he knew he was not able to diſpoſe of the citie of Florence as he thought, he ſtudied alredie new plots, and new practiſes to alter that eſtate. He was ill contented with the cardinall of Sion, from whome he tooke the name of legat, and inioined him to come to Rome, for that in the duchie of Millan he had appropriat to himſelfe a yearelie rent of more than thirtie thouſand duckats, of the eſtates and goods of diuerſe perſons. The better to aſſure the duke of Vrbin of Sienna by intelligences of his neighbours, he had of new taken into his paie Charles Baillon, to chaſe out of Perouſa Iohn Paule, who by affinitie was verie neere ioined to the ſonnes of Pandolffe Petruccio ſucceſſours to the greatneſſe of their father. He would of new create duke of Genes, Octauian Fregoſa, depoſing Ianus from that dignitie: an action whereunto did conſent the others of the houſe of Fregoſa, bicauſe for the degrée that his anceſtors held in that ſtate, it ſéemed beſt to apperteine vnto him.

He ſtudied continuallie either how he might worke out of Italie the Spaniſh armie, or cut it in peeces by the aid of the Swizzers, whome aboue all others he exalted and imbraced. In this deuiſe hee had this intention, that the kingdome of Naples being occupied by him, Italie ſhould remaine free from ſtrangers; a ſpeach that often paſſed out of his mouth: and to that end hee had hindered that the Swizzers did not confederate with the king catholike. And yet, as though it had beene in his power to batter all the world at one time, he continued his accuſtomed rigour againſt the French king. And notwithſtanding he had hard a meſſage from the queene, yet he ſtirred vp to make warre, the king of England, to whome he had transferred by publike decree of the councell of Lateran, the name of *Chriſtianiſſimo*, whereof there was alreadie a bull written, and in it likewiſe was conteined the priuation of the dignitie & name of the king of France, giuing his kingdome to who could occupie it.

The king of England intituled *Chriſtianiſſimo* by the pope.

In theſe conceptions, no leſſe ſtrange for their varietie, than great for the importance they drew, and perhaps in other thoughts more ſecret and ſingular (for in a mind ſo fierce and terrible, all ſorts of imaginations, how great and vaine ſo euer they be, are not incredible) after the continuation of his ſickneſſe for manie daies, he declined towards death: and feeling the end of his mortalitie to haſten on, and the ſame to preuent the execution of his high thoughts, he cauſed to call togither the conſiſtorie, which albeit he could not aſſiſt in perſon by reaſon of his diſeaſe; yet by the authoritie of it, he cauſed to be confirmed the bull which he had publiſhed before againſt ſuch as by ſimonie would clime vp vnto the popedome. He declared, that the election of his ſucceſſor apperteined to the college of cardinals, and not to the councell: and that the cardinals ſchiſmatikes could haue no preſence or communitie there, to whom he proteſted there to pardon the iniuries they had doone him, and praied to God to forgiue them the wrongs they had doone to his church. After this he beſought the college of cardinals, that in his fauor, and for his ſake, they would grant to the duke of Vrbin his nephew, the citie of Peſera in patronage or vicarage, alledging the conſideration, that by meane of the duke it had beene recouered to the church after the death of John Sforce. In no other matter he expreſſed anie priuate or particular affection.

Againſt climing to the popedome by ſimonie.

Inſomuch as Madame Felice his daughter (ioining with hir the petitions of manie others) beſeeching him with great importunitie, to create cardinall Guido de Montfalcon being hir brother by the mothers ſide, he anſwered roundlie, that he was not worthie of that degree. He made not his affections conformable to their deſires. In that laſt action of life he ſhewed no parcialitie in worldlie cauſes: his preſent debilitie could diminiſh nothing of his ancient reſolution, but expreſſed in all things the ſame conſtancie and ſeueritie, togither with that iudgement and force of mind which he had before his ſickneſſe: in which firme eſtate and diſpoſition of ſpirit, he receiued deuoutlie the offices of the church, and the one and twentith daie of Februarie he ended his courſe of theſe mortall and preſent paines. He was a prince of incredible conſtancie and courage, but ſo full of furie & vnrulie conceptions, that the reuerence that was borne to the church, the diſcord of princes, & the conditions of times, did more to ſtaie him from his ruine, than either his moderation or his diſcretion; worthie no doubt of great glorie, if either he had beene a prince ſecular, or if that care and intention which he had to raiſe the church into temporall greatneſſe by the meane of warre, had beene imploied to exalt it by the meane of peace in matters ſpirituall.

Madame Felice the popes daughter hir requeſt.

The deſcription of pope Julie, and his properties.

Neuertheleſſe, he was lamented aboue all his predeceſſors, & no leſſe eſteemed of thoſe, who hauing either loſt the true conſideration of things, or at leaſt ignorant how to diſtinguiſh and peiſe them rightlie, iudged it an office more duelie apperteining to popes to increaſe the iuriſdiction of the ſee apoſtolike by armes and blood of chriſtians, than by good example of holie life and due curing and correction of corrupt maners, to trauell for the ſauing of thoſe ſoules, for whom they glorie ſo much that Jeſus Chriſt hath named them his vicars in earth: and therefore it is a good conſequent that he is a branch or rather a brand of the diuell, as one concludeth againſt him, saieng:

Impius eſt igitur natus cacodæmone papa,
Turpibus & genijs eſt homicida ſatus.]

Antith.Chriſt. & Pape pag.26,28.

About the ſame time the warres yet continuing betweene England & France, Prior Jehan (of whom ye haue heard before in the fourth yeere of this kings reigne) great capteine of the French nauie, with his gallies and foiſts charged with great baſiliſks and other artillerie, came on the borders of Suſſex in the night ſeaſon, at a poore village there called Brighthelmſton, & burnt it, taking ſuch goods as he found. But when the people began to gather, by firing the becons, Prior Jehan ſounded his trumpet, to call his men abord, and by that time it was daie. Then certeine archers that kept the watch folowed Prior Jehan to the ſea, and ſhot ſo faſt, that they beat the gallie men from the ſhore; and wounded manie in the foiſt, to the which Prior Jehan was conſtreined to wade and was ſhot in the face with an arrow, ſo that he loſt one of his eies, and was like to haue died of the hurt: and therefore he offered his image of wax before our ladie at Bullongne, with the Engliſh arrow in the face for a miracle.

Brighthelmſton in Suſſex burnt.

Prior Jehan capteine of the French galies ſhot into the eie with an arrow.

The lord admerall offended with this proud part of the Frenchmen, in making ſuch attempt on the Engliſh coaſts, ſent ſir John Wallop to the ſea with diuers ſhips, which ſailing to the coaſts of Normandie, landed there, and burnt one and twentie villages and townes, with diuerſe ſhips in the hauen of Treaport, Staples, and other where. Men maruelled greatlie at the manfull doings of ſir John Wallop, conſidering he had not paſt an eight hundred men, and tooke land there ſo often. In June ſir Thomas Louell was ſent ouer to Calis with ſix hundred men to ſtrengthen that towne, and other the fortreſſes within the Engliſh pale, for doubt of anie ſudden attempt to be made by the Frenchmen; bicauſe monſieur de Pontremie, with a mightie armie and great ordinance was come downe neere to Ard: howbeit he taried not long, but raiſed his campe within a while after his comming thither, and returned without anie more doing. The French king perceiuing what loſſes he had ſuſteined by the warres againſt England; and doubting leaſt one euill lucke ſhould ſtill follow in the necke of an other, determined to make ſute for peace; and firſt agreeing with pope Leo, deſired him to be a meane alſo for the procuring of ſome agreement betwixt him and the king of England.

Sir John Wallop in Normandie.

The French king procureth the pope to be a meane for peace betweene king Henrie and him.

¶This pope Leo, of that name the tenth, before his election, cardinall of Medicis, bare but ſeauen and thirtie yeeres of age, which albeit was ſo much the more maruellous and wonderfull, by how much the election was contrarie to cuſtome; yet the yong cardinals were the principall cauſers of it by their induſtrie, hauing long time afore ſecretlie agreed amongſt themſelues to create the firſt pope of their number. The moſt parts and nations of chriſtendome reioiſed much at this election, euerie one interteining an aſſured expectation of his vertues, as

Abr. Fl. ex Guic.pag *633*. Creation of pope Leo the tenth.

well by the preſent and gréene memorie of the valor of his late father, as for an vniuerſall reputation that went of his owne inclinations and liberalities. To this eſtimation was ioined a generall opinion of his continencie and life not atteinted, togither with a gladſome hope, that by the example of his father, he would be a furtherer of learning, and beare fauor to wits diſpoſed to ſtudie and knowledge. So that vnto theſe hopes was much helping the manner of the election, being made in his perſon ſincerelie, and without ſimonie or ſuſpicion of other corruption.

Coronation of pope Leo the tenth.

The firſt act of this new pope was his coronation, which was repreſented according to the vſage of his predeceſſors in the church of ſaint Iohn de Lateran. The pompe was ſo great both of his familie and his court, and alſo of the prelates and multitudes that were there, togither with the popular and vniuerſall aſſemblies of people, that by the opinion and iudgement of men, the pride and maieſtie of that action did farre ſurpaſſe all the celebrations doone in Rome ſince the tyrannies of the Goths and ſauage nations. In this ſame ſolemnitie the Gonfalon of the church was caried by Alfonſo de Eſte, who hauing obteined a ſuſpenſion of his cenſures & paines, was come to Rome, with great hope, that by the clemencie and facilitie of the pope, he ſhould be able to compound for his affaires. The Gonfalon of the religion of Rhodes was borne by Iulio de Medicis mounted vpon a ſtatelie courſer armed at all points: by his nature he bare an inclination to the profeſſion of armes; but by deſtinie he was drawen to the life eccleſiaſtike, in which eſtate he maie ſerue as a wonderfull example of the variation of fortune.

Pope Leo a poore priſoner the verie ſame date twelue moneth of his election and inthronization.

One matter that made the memorie of that daie wonderfull, was this conſideration; that the perſon who then in ſo high & rare pompe was honored with the moſt ſupreme and ſouereigne dignitie of the world, was the yéere before, and on the verie ſame daie miſerablie made priſoner. The great magnificence that appéered vpon his perſon, and his expenſes, confirmed in the generalitie and multitude of men, the expectation that was had of him; euerie one promiſing that Rome ſhould be happie vnder a pope ſo plentifullie indued with the vertue of liberalitie, whereof that daie he had giuen an honorable experience, his expenſes being aboue an hundred thouſand duckats. But wiſe men deſired in him a greater grauitie and moderation: they iudged that neither ſuch a maieſtie of pompe was conuenient for popes, neither did the condition of the preſent time require, that he ſhould ſo vnprofitablie diſperſe the treaſures that had béene gathered by his predeceſſour to other vſes.]

The veſſell of amitie betwéene the king of England & the French being firſt broched by this popes letters, the French king by an herald at armes ſent to the king of England, requiring of him a ſafe conduct for his ambaſſadors, which ſhould come to intreat for a peace and attonement to be concluded betwixt them and their realmes. Upon grant obteined thereof, the French king ſent a commiſſion with the preſident of Rone and others, to intreat of peace and aliance betwixt both the princes. And moreouer, bicauſe they vnderſtood that the mariage was broken betwéene the prince of Caſtile and the ladie Marie, they deſired that the ſaid ladie might be ioined in mariage with the French king, offering a great dowrie and ſuerties for the ſame. So much was offered, that the king mooued by his councell, and namelie by Wolſie the biſhop of Lincolne, conſented vpon condition, that if the French king died, then ſhe ſhould (if it ſtood with hir pleaſure) returne into England againe with all hir dowrie and riches.

A mariage concluded.

A peace concluded betwéene England & Fráce.

Polydor.

After that they were accorded vpon a full peace, and that the French king ſhould marrie this yoong ladie, the indentures were drawen, ingroſſed, & ſealed, and peace therevpon proclamed the ſeuenth daie of Auguſt; & the king in preſence of the French ambaſſadors was ſworne to kéepe the ſame: and likewiſe there was an ambaſſage ſent out of England to ſée the French king ſweare the ſame. The dowrie that was aſſigned vnto the bride to be receiued after hir huſbands deceaſſe, if ſhe ſuruiued him, was named to be 32000 crownes of yearelie reuenues, & to be receiued out of certeine lands aſſigned forth therefore during all hir naturall life. And moreouer, it was further agreed & couenanted, that the French king ſhould content and paie yearelie vnto king Henrie, during the ſpace of fiue yeares, the ſumme of one hundred thouſand crownes. By concluſion of this peace was the duke of Longuile with the other priſoners deliuered, paieng their ranſoms, and the ſaid duke affied the ladie Marie in the name of his maiſter king Lewes.

The ladie Marie affied to K. Lewes of France.

In September following, the ſaid ladie was conueied to Douer by the king hir brother & the quéene, and on the ſecond daie of October ſhe was ſhipped, and ſuch as were appointed to giue their attendance on hir, as the duke of Norffolke, the marqueſſe Dorſet, the biſhop of Durham, the earle of Surreie, the lord de la Ware, the lord Berners, the lord Monteagle, the foure brethren of the ſaid marques, ſir Maurice Berklie, ſir Iohn Pechie, ſir William Sands, ſir Thomas Bulleine, ſir Iohn Car, and manie other knights, eſquiers, gentlemen and ladies. They had not ſailed paſt a quarter of the ſea, but that the wind aroſe and ſeuered the ſhips, driuing ſome of them to Calis, ſome into Flanders, and hir ſhip with great difficultie was brought to Bullen not without great ieopardie at the entering of the hauen, for the maiſter ran the ſhip hard on ſhore.

But the boats were readie, and receiued the ladie out of the ſhip, and ſir Chriſtopher Garniſh ſtood in the water and tooke hir in his armes, and ſo caried hir to land, where the duke of Uandoſme, and a cardinall, with manie other great eſtates receiued hir with great honor. From Bullen with eaſie iournies ſhe was conueied vnto Abuile, & there entered the eighth of October [where ſhe was receiued by the Dolphin with great honour, ſhe was apparelled in cloth of ſiluer, hir horſſe was trapped in goldſmiths worke verie richlie. After hir followed 36 ladies all their palfries trapped with crimſin veluet embrodered. After them followed one chariot of cloth of tiſſue, the ſecond cloth of gold, & the third crimſin veluet embrodered with the kings armes & hirs, full of roſes. After them followed a great number of archers, and then wagons laden with their ſtuffe. Great was the riches in plate, iewels, monie, apparell, and hangings that this ladie brought into France.]

Edw. Hall in He.8 fol. xlviij.

The mariage ſolemnized betwéene the French king, and the ladie Marie ſiſter to K. Henrie.

On the morrow following being mondaie, and S. Deniſe day, the mariage was ſolemnized betwixt the French king and the ſaid ladie, with all honour, ioy, & roialtie, both apparelled in goldſmiths worke. Then a great banket and ſumptuous feaſt was made, where the Engliſh ladies were honorablie interteined, according to the dignitie of the perſons, and to the contentment of them that had no dregs of malice or miſlikinge ſettled in their harts. For vnpoſſible it is, that in a great multitude méeting togither, though all about one matter, be it of pleaſure and delight, there ſhould not be one of a repugnant diſpoſition, and (though not apparantlie perceiued traueling with grudge) malignant mind; as we ſée ſome apples vnperiſhed and otherſome wormeaten, albeit one bough beare them, and one trée giue them ſap.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall in H.8. fol. xlviij.

¶ On the tueſdaie being the tenth daie of October, all the Engliſhmen, except a few that were officers

English gentlemen diſcharged of their places and offices vnder the quéene.

cers with the ſaid quéene, were diſcharged; which was a great ſorrow for them, for ſome had ſerued hir long in hope of preferment, & ſome that had honeſt roomes left them to ſerue hir, and now they were without ſeruice, which cauſed them to take thought, in ſo much ſome died by the waie returning, and ſome fell mad, but there was no remedie. After the Engliſh lords had doone their commiſſion, the French king willed them to take no longer paine, and ſo gaue to them good rewards; and they tooke their leaue of the quéene and returned. Then the Dolphin of France called lord Francis duke of Valois, and by his wife duke of Britaine, for the more honour of this mariage before the Engliſhmen departed from Abuile, cauſed a ſolemne iuſts to be proclamed, which ſhould be kept at Paris in the moneth of Nouember next inſuing.

The Dolphin cauſeth ſolemne iuſts to be proclamed at Paris.

Namelie, that he with his nine aids ſhould anſwer all commers, being gentlemen of name and of armes. Firſt to run fiue courſes at the tilt with péeces of aduantage, & alſo fiue courſes at randon with ſharpe ſpeares, and twelue ſtrokes with ſharpe ſwords; and that doone, he and his aids to fight at the barriers with all gentlemen of name and of armes. Firſt ſix foines with hand ſpeares, and after that eight ſtrokes to the moſt aduantage if the ſpeare ſo long held, and after that twelue ſtrokes with the ſword: and if anie man be vnhorſſed or felled with fighting on foot, then his horſſe and armour to be rendered to the officers of armes: and euerie man of this chalenge muſt ſet vp his armes and name vpon an arch triumphant, which ſhalbe made at the place where the iuſtes ſhalbe, and further ſhall write to what point he will anſwer, to one or to all.

English nobilitie craue licence of the king to go ouer to the iuſts.

When this proclamation was reported in England by the noble men that returned from the mariage: the duke of Suffolke, the marqueſſe Dorſet, and his foure bretheren, the lord Clinton, ſir Edward Neuill, ſir Giles Capell, Thomas Cheneie, and other ſued to the king to be at the chalenge, which requeſt he gratiouſlie granted. Then the lords and knights prepared all things neceſſarie for their enterpriſe, and ſhipped there horſſes and harneſſe, and did ſo much by iourneie, that they came to Paris at the end of October, which were hartilie welcomed of the king and the Dolphin: but moſt of all of the French quéene which then laie at ſaint Deniſe, and was not yet crowned nor entered into Paris. The Dolphin deſired the duke of Suffolke and the lord marqueſſe Dorſet, to be two of his immediat aids, which thereto aſſented.

Decrées for the ſaid iuſts.

Therefore was erected an arch of widneſſe at the tornels beſide the ſtréet of ſaint Anthonie, directlie before the baſtell, on the which were ſet foure targets or ſcutchions, the one ſiluer, and he that ſet his name vnder that ſhield, to run at tilt according to the articles. He that put his name vnder the golden target ſhould run with the ſharpe ſpeares and fight with ſharpe ſwords. They that put their names to the blacke ſhield, ſhould fight on foot with ſpeares and ſwords for the one hand. And he that touched the tawnie ſhield ſhould caſt a ſpeare on foot with a target on his arme, and after to fight with a two hand ſword. On this arch aboue ſtood the armes of the king & the quéene, and beneath them ſtood the armes of the Dolphin and his aids, and vnderneath ſtood the foure ſcutchions that you haue heard of, and vnder them all the armes and names of ſuch as ſet their names to anie of the ſaid foure ſcutchions.

The ladie Marie crowned quéene of France.

While all theſe things were preparing, the ladie Marie of England the fift daie of Nouember, then being ſundaie, was with great ſolemnitie crowned quéene of France in the monaſterie of S. Deniſe, and the Dolphin all the ſeaſon held the crowne ouer hir head, bicauſe it was of great weight to hir gréeuance, at which coronation were the lords of England, all according to their degrées well interteined. On mondaie the ſixt daie of Nouember, the ſaid quéene was receiued into the citie of Paris after the order that followeth. Firſt the gard of the citie met with hir without ſaint Deniſe all in coats of goldſmiths worke, with ſhips gilt, and after them met hir all the prieſts and religious, eſtéemed to be thrée thouſand. The quéene was in a chaire couered about (but not ouer hir perſon) in white cloth of gold; the horſſes that drew it, in cloth of gold; on hir head a coronall all of great pearles, hir necke and breſt full of iewels.

She is receiued into Paris.

Before hir went a gard of Almans after their faſhion, and after them all noblemen, as the Dolphin, the duke of Alanſon, the duke of Burbon, the duke of Vandoſme, the duke of Longeuile, and the duke of Suffolke, the marqueſſe Dorſet, fiue cardinals, and a great number of eſtates; about hir perſon rode the kings gard, which were Scots. Thus was this quéene receiued into Paris, and ſo conueied to the cathedrall church, and there offered, & from thence to the palace, where ſhe offered at the holie chappell; and from thence ſhe went to hir lodging for that night: for whome was prouided a great ſupper, and the heralds cried a largeſſe, and had to them giuen a ſhip of ſiluer and gilt, and other plate, to the value of two hundred marks, and after ſupper began danſing and paſtime. On the morow began the iuſts, and the Dolphin with his aids entered the field, the apparell and bards were cloth of gold, cloth of ſiluer, and crimſin veluet kanteled togither all in one ſute, they ſhewed themſelues before the king and quéene, who were on a goodlie ſtage, and the quéene ſtood ſo that all men might ſée hir, and wondered at hir beautie: but the king was féeble & laie on a couch for weakeneſſe.

The heralds reward.

The time how lõg theſe iuſts laſted and the maner therof.

Then entered the counter part by a raile for combring the place. Theſe iuſts continued thrée daies, in the which were anſwered thrée hundred and fiue men of armes, and euerie man ran fiue courſes, and with ſharpe ſpeares; diuerſe were ſlaine & not ſpoken of. At the randon and turneie the duke of Suffolke hurt a gentleman, ſo that he was like to die. The Marques Dorſet ſtroke monſieur Grue an Albanois with his ſpeare, perſed his headpéece, and put him in ieopardie. The duke of Suffolke in the turneie ouerthrew a man of armes, horſſe & man; and ſo did the lord Marqueſſe another, and yet the Frenchmen would in no wiſe praiſe them. At this turneie the Dolphin was hurt in the hand, ſo that he could not performe his chalenge at the barriers, and put one of his aid in his roome. The next daie after began the fight at the barriers. And bicauſe the Dolphin was not preſent, the duke of Suffolke and the lord Marques Dorſet that daie began the field, and tooke the barriers with ſpeares in his hand abiding all commers.

The duke of Suffolke incountreth a tall and ſtrong Alman.

The Dolphin brought a man ſecretlie, which in all the court of France was the talleſt & the ſtrongeſt man, and he was an Alman, and put him in the place of an other perſon to haue had the duke of Suffolke rebuked. The ſame great Alman came to the bars fiercelie with face hid, bicauſe he would not be knowne, and bare his ſpeare to the duke of Suffolke with all his ſtrength, and the duke him receiued and for all his ſtrength put him by ſtrong ſtrokes from the barriers, and with the but end of the ſpeare ſtrake the Alman that he ſtaggered: but for all that the Alman ſtrake ſtronglie and hardlie at the duke, and the iudges ſuffered manie more ſtrokes to be foughten than were appointed; but when they ſaw the Alman réele and ſtagger, then they let fall the raile betwéene them. The lord marqueſſe Dorſet at the ſame time, euen at the ſame barre fought with a gentleman of France that he loſt his ſpeare, and in maner withdrew. When the raile was let fall, theſe two noble men put vp their viſers and tooke aire, and with ſwords, the points and edges abated, they came to the barriers.

The duke foiles the Alman.

The Alman fought ſore with the duke, which imagined that he was a perſon ſet on for the nonce, but the duke by pure ſtrength tooke him about the necke, and pomcled him ſo about the head that the bloud iſſued out of his noſe, and then they were parted, and the Alman was conueied by the Dolphin leaſt he ſhould be knowne. Theſe two noblemen of England that daie fought valiantlie diuerſe feats, and the Frenchmen likewiſe noblie them defended. But it happened the lord Marqueſſe on a time to put for his aid his yoongeſt brother called the lord Edward Greie of the age of ninteene yeare, and to him was put a gentleman of France of great ſtature and ſtrength, to the intent to plucke him ouer the barres, but yet the yoong lord was of ſuch ſtrength, power, & policie, that he ſo ſtroke his aduerſarie that he diſarmd him, all the face bare. Thus were theſe enterpriſes finiſhed to the laud of all parties, & the Engliſhmen receiued much honor and no ſpot of rebuke, yet they were priuilie ſet at & in manie ieopardies.

The yoong lord Greies proweſſe.

A deſcription of the pompe and brauerie in apparell at this ſolemne tilt.

For the declaration of this triumph, he that ſaw it can tell how goodlie the courſers trotted, bounded, and quicklie turned: how valiantlie the men of armes behaued themſelues, and how the duke of Burbons band was apparrelled and baſſed in tawnie veluet, and cloth of ſiluer cloudie, the band of the earle of ſaint Paule apparrelled and barded in purple veluet all to cut on purple ſattin, the infant of Arragon, ſonne to Frederike laſt king of Naples, and his band all in cloth of gold and ſiluer paled. This lord was but yoong, but yet verie toward. The duke of Vandoſme and his band in cloth of gold and plunket veluet. The Dolphin and his aids were euerie daie new apparrelled at his coſt, one daie in ſiluer and gold, another in crimſin veluet and yellow veluet, and another daie in white veluet and greene, ſome daie mixed with ſattin, ſome daie embrodered, ſome daie pounced with gold, and ſo euerie daie in change as the workers fantaſie could deuiſe, but the Engliſhmen had euer on their apparrell red croſſes to be knowne for loue of their countrie.

At this triumph the countie Galeas came into the place on a genet trapped in blew ſatten, and he himſelfe likewiſe apparrelled, and ran a courſe with a ſpeare, which was at the head fiue inches on euerie ſide ſquare, that is twentie inches about, and at the butt nine inches ſquare, that is ſix and thirtie inches, this ſpeare was maſſie timber, and yet for all that he ran cleane with it a long courſe and ſlightlie auoided it to his great honour. Alſo there was another gentleman called Anthonie Bounarme, which came into the field all armed, and on his bodie brought in eighteen ſpeares, that is to wit, three ſpeares ſet in euerie ſtirrop forward, and vnder euerie thigh two ſpeares vpward, and vnder his left arme was one ſpeare backward, and the tenth in his hand; and when he came before the queene, he let his horſſe run, and neuer ſtopped till he had taken euerie ſpeare after oother and broken it on the ground, and he neuer ſtopped his horſſe till all were broken. This gentleman was highlie praiſed, and ſo he was worthie. When all this great triumph was doone, the lords of England tooke their leaue, and were highlie thanked of the king, queene, Dolphin, and all the lords, and ſo departed and came into England before Chriſtmas. ¶In Nouember the queene was deliuered of a prince which liued not long after.]

Anthonie Bounarme with his ten ſpeares all at once about him.

Touching the accord of peace betweene England and France, you ſhall heare the report of Guicciardine, which to this place maketh paſſage to knowledge, as oile giueth maintenance of light to the lampe. [At the firſt opening of this practiſe for peace, there fell out manie difficulties, for that the king of England demanded Bullongne in Picardie, with a great ſumme of monie: but at laſt all the differences fell vpon the towne of Tornaie, the king of England ſtriuing to reteine it, and the French obiecting ſome difficultie: in ſo much as the king of England diſpatched in poſt to the French king the biſhop of Tricaro, whome he charged, without imparting in what nature of particularitie conſiſted the difficultie, to declare to the king from him, that in regard of ſo great a benefit, he ſhould not ſtand vpon ſo manie ſubtile difficulties, but to conſider that in a prince reaſon ſhuld beare more imperie than paſſion.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 675.

Difficulties about the practiſe of peace.

The French king, bicauſe he would neither doo wrong to his crowne, nor ill content his people, the towne of Tornaie being verie noble and loiall to the crowne of France, cauſed the matter to be debated in full councell, wherein was an aſſiſtance of the principals of his court, who aduiſed him with one voice to imbrace peace, yea vnder the condition offered. And yet in that time the king catholike did what he could to breake it, offering the king manie plots and deuiſes, but ſpeciallie to miniſter to him all his means and fauours to conquer the duchie of Millan. But the anſwer being returned into England, that the French king ſtood content with the reſolution of Tornaie, the peace ſucceeded & was concluded in the beginning of Auguſt betweene the two kings during their liues, & a yeare after their death.

The French councell accord for peace.

In the capitulation it was expreſſed, that Tornaie ſhould remaine to the king of England, to whom the French king ſhould paie ſix hundred thouſand crownes, and that in ſuch ſort of diſtribution, that the French king ſhould make paiment of an hundred thouſand franks euerie yeare, vntill the full paiment was ſatiſfied: that they ſhould be bound to defend their eſtates mutuallie and reciprocallie with ten thouſand footmen if the warre went by land, and with ſix thouſand onelie if the warre were made by ſea: that the French king ſhould be bound to ſerue the king of England in all his affaires with twelue hundred lances, and the king of England likewiſe to miniſter to his ſeruices with ten thouſand footmen: the expenſes to be defraied by either of them that ſhould haue need of the men: both the one and the other of them named the Scotiſh king, the archduke, & the empire: but Ceſar and the king catholike were not named: the Swizzers had a nomination, but it bare a condition, that whoſoeuer would defend againſt the French king, the eſtate of Millan, Genes, or Aſt, ſhould be excluded out of the nomination.

The contents of the capitulation for peace.

This peace, which was made with a woonderfull readineſſe, was confirmed by the marriage of the kings ſiſter of England with the French king, vnder condition, that he ſhould acknowledge to haue receiued foure hundred thouſand crownes for hir dowrie: the contract or handfaſtings were made in England, where the king catholiks ambaſſador was not in preſence, for the great hatred the king of England bare to the king his maiſter. And euen vpon the concluſion and reſolution of this peace, came to the court of France the inſtrument of ratification which Ceſar had made, togither with his commiſſion, and the king catholiks, for concluſion of the marriage that was ſolicited betweene Ferdinando de Auſtrich and the ſecond daughter of France not yet foure yeares of age: but the practiſe of that marriage vaniſhed preſentlie by reaſon of the peace that was now eſtabliſhed: and the French king to ſatiſfie better the king of England, gaue order that the duke of Suffolke, capteine generall of the lanceknights that were in his paie, ſhould depart the dominions of France, in whome the honours and re-

The French king marrieth the ladie Marie ſiſter to the king of England.

compenſes that the king made to him ouercame all occaſions of diſcontentment, the bountie and liberalitie of the one being no greater than the affabilitie and diſpoſition of the other.]

Richard Hun hanged in Lollards tower. See Edw. Hall in H.8. fol. l.ij. &c.

In December, one Richard Hun a merchant tailor of London, that was laid in Lollards tower by commandement of the biſhop of London, called Richard Fitz James, and his chancellor doctor Horſſie, was found dead, hanging by the necke in a girdle of ſilke within the ſaid tower. That ye maie vnderſtand the cauſe of his impriſonment, the beginning was this. The ſame Hun had a child that died in his houſe, being an infant; the curat claimed the bearing ſhéet for a mortuarie. Hun anſwered, that the infant had no propertie in the ſhéet. Wherevpon, the préeſt aſcited him in the ſpirituall court. He taking to him counſell, ſued the curat in a premunire: and when this was knowne, meanes was found, that Hun being accuſed of hereſie, was attached, and laid in Lollards tower, where he was found dead, as ye haue heard. Much adoo was made about his death, for the biſhop and the chancellor ſaid, that he hanged himſelfe.

Huns death lamented, and for what cauſes.

But manie of the temporaltie affirmed, that he was murthered, greatlie lamenting the caſe: for he was well beloued, and namelie of the poore, which cried out againſt them that were ſuſpected to haue made him awaie. He was a good almes-man, and greatly reléeued the néedie. The queſtion of his death was ſo farre put forth, that vpon the ſuſpicion he ſhould be murthered, twelue men were charged before the coroner. After they had taken view of the bodie, the ſame was burned in Smithfield by the biſhops appointment: notwithſtanding the coroners queſt indicted doctor Horſſie, with one Iohn Spalding, otherwiſe called Belringer, and Charles Ioſeph the ſummoner of the murthered; howbeit, vpon his arreignement, through great ſute and corruption of monie (as manie iudged) the kings attorneie declared doctor Horſſie not to be giltie.

Edw. Hall. in H.8. fol. lv, vlj. A gorgious & rich maſke wherein the king was an actor.

This Chriſtmaſſe on Newyeares night, the king, the duke of Suffolke, & two other were in mantels of cloath of ſiluer lined with blew veluet, the ſiluer was pounſt in letters that the veluet might be ſéene thorough, the mantels had great capes like to the Portingall ſlops, and all their hoſen, dublets, and coats were of the ſame faſhion cut, and of the ſame ſtuffe. With them were foure ladies in gowns, after the faſhon of Sauoie, of blew veluet, lined with cloath of gold, the veluet all cut, and mantels like tipets knit togither all of ſiluer, and on their heads bonets of burned gold, the foure torch-bearers were in ſattin white and blew. This ſtrange apparell pleaſed much euerie perſon, and in eſpeciall the quéene. And thus theſe foure lords & foure ladies came into the quéenes chamber with great light of torches, and danſed a great ſeaſon, and then put off their viſors, and were all well knowne, and then the quéene hartilie thanked the kings grace for hir goodlie paſtime and diſport.

A tent of cloth of gold with a ſhew of armed men.

Likewiſe on the Twelfe night, the king and the quéene came into the hall of Gréenewich, & ſuddenlie entered a tent of cloath of gold, and before the tent ſtood foure men of armes, armed at all points with ſwords in their hands; and ſuddenlie with noiſe of trumpets entered foure other perſons all armed, and ran to the other foure, and there was a great and a fierce fight. And ſuddenlie came out of a place like a wood eight wildmen, all apparelled in gréene moſſe, made with ſleued ſilke, with ouglie weapons & terrible viſages, and there fought with the knights eight to eight; and after long fighting, the armed knights droue the wild men out of their places, and followed the chaſe out of the hall: and when they were departed, the tent opened, and there came out ſix lords and ſix ladies richlie apparelled, and danſed a great time: when they had danſed their pleaſure, they entered the tent againe, which was conueied out of the hall; then the king & the quéene were ſerued with a right ſumptuous banket.

The king and the marqueſſe Dorſet make a challenge at iuſts.

On the third day of Februarie, the king made a ſolemne iuſts, and he and the marqueſſe Dorſet would anſwer all commers, their apparell and bards were of blew veluet and cloath of ſiluer, all to cut in ſubtill knots, richlie embrodered, all the ſeruitours in white & blew ſilke. The counterpart, which were foureteene in number, richlie apparelled in veluet, cloath of gold, and embroderie, euerie man after his owne deuiſe. The king was that daie highlie to be praiſed, for he brake thrée and twentie ſpeares beſide atteints and bare downe to ground a man of armes and his horſſe: the lord marqueſſe and all other did valiantlie, and had much praiſe, for euerie man did paſſing well, which is ſeldome ſéene in ſuch a caſe. But the king for a ſuertie excéeded all other.

A parlement wherein ſir Thomas Neuill was prolocutor or ſpeaker.

On the fourth daie of October, the king remoued to Lambeth, and on the morow began the high court of parlement, ſir Thomas Neuill was then ſpeaker. In this parlement were diuerſe acts made, but in eſpeciall two, which were much ſpoken of: the one was the act of apparell, and the other act for labourers: of theſe two acts was much communing, and much buſineſſe aroſe. For the labourers would in no wiſe labour by the daie, but all by taſke & in great, and therefore much trouble fell in the countrie, and in eſpeciall in harueſt time, for then husbandmen could ſkarſe get workemen to helpe in their harueſt. This parlement continued vntill Eaſter, in the which diuerſe ſubſidies were granted to the king, toward his great coſts and charges that he had béene at in his viage roiall to France.

Doctor Benbrike archbiſhop of yorke and cardinall poiſoned at Rome.

After Eaſter the ninetéenth daie of the moneth of Aprill, the king deliting to ſet forth yoong gentlemen, called Nicholas Carew, and Francis Brian, and cauſed diuerſe other yoong gentlemen to be on the counter part, and lent to them horſſe and harneſſe to incourage all youth to ſéeke déeds of armes. This yeare died at Rome by poiſon (as was reported) the archbiſhop of Yorke and cardinall, called doctor Benbrike, who was the kings ambaſſadour there: this was a wiſeman and of a iollie courage. The king then gaue the ſaid archbiſhoprike to Thomas Wolſie, then biſhop of Lincolne, who at that time bare all the rule about the king, and what he ſaid was obeied in all places. Now when he was once archbiſhop, he ſtudied daie and night how to be a cardinall, and cauſed the king, and the French king to write to Rome for him, and at their requeſts he obteined his purpoſe, as you ſhall heare afterward.

The K. in perſon purpoſed to paſſe the ſeas to ſée the French king his brother.

At this time was much communing, and verelie (as it appeared) it was intended, that the king in perſon would paſſe the ſea to Calis, and there on the marches of the ſame, the French king and quéene to come and ſée the king their brother: and for the ſame tournie manie coſtlie works were wrought, much rich apparell prouided, and much preparation made againſt the next ſpring: but death which is the laſt end of all things let this tournie. For before the next ſpring the French king died at the citie of Paris, the firſt daie of Ianuarie, when he had béene married to the faire ladie Marie of England foure ſcore and two daies [whom he ſo feruentlie loued, that he gaue himſelfe ouer to behold too much hir excellent beautie bearing then but eightéene yeares of age, nothing conſidering the proportion of his owne yeares, nor his decaied complexion; ſo that he fell into the rage of a feauer, which drawing to it a ſudden flur, ouercame in one inſtant the life, that nature gaue ouer

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 684.

to preſerue anie longer. He was a king iuſt & much beloued of his people, but touching his condition, neither before he was king, nor after he had the crowne he neuer found conſtancie nor ſtabilitie in either fortune.

The variableneſſe of his fortune.

For, riſing from a ſmall duke of Orleance with great happineſſe to the crowne, and that by the death of Charles yonger than he, and two of his ſonnes, he conquered with a verie great facilitie the duchie of Millan and the kingdome of Naples, and almoſt all the reſidue of the regions of Italie, being gouerned for manie yeares by his direction: he recouered with a verie great proſperitie, the ſtate of Genes that was in rebellion: and vanquiſhed with no leſſe glorie the armies of the Venetians, being in perſon at both thoſe victories. But on the other ſide, euen when he was in his youth and beſt diſpoſition of bodie, he was then conſtreined by king Lewes the eleuenth to marrie his daughter that was both barren and deformed; and yet could neuer get the good will nor countenance of his father in law.

And after his death, ſuch was the greatneſſe of the ladie of Burbon, that he could neuer get the inſtitution of the new king, being then in minoritie, being almoſt compelled to retire himſelfe into Britaine: where being taken in the battell of ſaint Aubin, he liued two yeares in the calamitie of a priſoner. To theſe afflictions maie be added the ſiege and famine of Nauarre, the manie diſcomfits he had in the realme of Naples, the loſſe of the eſtate of Millan, Genes, and all the townes which he had taken from the Venetians: and laſtlie the greeuous warre he had in France againſt verie mightie enimies, his eies beholding into what lamentable perils his realme was brought: neuertheleſſe, before he died it ſeemed he had conquered all his aduerſities, and fortune ſhewed good tokens of hir reconcilement, both for that he had defended his kingdome againſt mightie enimies, and alſo eſtabliſhed a perpetuall peace and aliance with the king of England, with whome by how much his amitie was great and aſſured, by ſo much it gaue him hope to be able to reconquer the duchie of Millan.]

The duke of Suffolke and others ſent into France to bring the French queene into England. Abr.Fl. ex Guic.pag.685. Francis the firſt coms to the crowne.

The king of England being aduertiſed of the French kings death, cauſed a ſolemne obſequie to be kept for him in the cathedrall church of S. Paule, with a coſtlie hearſe: at which manie nobles were preſent. After this he ſent a letter to comfort the queene his ſiſter, requiring to know hir pleaſure, whether ſhe would continue ſtill in France, or returne into England. And when he was aduertiſed of hir mind (which was to returne into England) the duke of Suffolke, ſir Richard Wingfield deputie of Calis, and doctor Weſt, with a goodlie band of gentlemen and yeomen, all in blacke, were ſent into France, and comming to Paris, were well receiued of the new French king, Francis the firſt of that name [who was the next heire male of the bloud roiall and of the ſame line of the dukes of Orleance: he was preferred to the ſucceſſion of the kingdome before the daughters of the dead king by vertue and diſpoſition of the law Salike, a law verie ancient in the realme of France, which excludeth from the roiall dignitie all women; ſo long as there is anie iſſue male of the ſame line.

His praiſeworthie properties.

The world had ſuch a hope in his vertues, and ſuch an opinion of his magnanimitie, and ſuch a conceipt of his iudgement and wit, that euerie one confeſſed, that of verie long time there was none raiſed vp to the crowne with a greater expectation. He was made the more agreeable to the fanſies of men, by the conſideration of his age bearing then but two and twentie yeares; his excellent feiture and proportion of bodie, his great liberalitie, and generall humanitie, togither with the ripe knowledge he had in manie things. But ſpeciallie he pleaſed greatlie the nobilitie, to whome he transferred manie ſingular and great fauours. Vnto this king Francis de Angouleſme did the foreſaid Engliſh nobilitie declare the effect of their commiſſion, which was to receiue the queene Dowager, according to the couenants of the marriage.]

The councell of France (by the kings appointment) aſſigned forth hir dowrie, and the duke of Suffolke put in officers, and then was the queene deliuered to the duke by indenture, who behaued himſelfe ſo towards hir, that he obteined hir good will to be hir huſband. It was thought, that when the king created him duke of Suffolke, he perceiued his ſiſters good will towards the ſaid duke; and that he meant then to haue beſtowed hir vpon him; but that a better offer came in the waie. But howſoeuer it was now, he wan hir loue; ſo as by hir conſent, he wrote to the king hir brother, meekelie beſeeching him of pardon in his requeſt, which was humblie to deſire him of his good will and contentation.

The duke of Suffolke winneth the good will of the queene Dowager of France. Polydor. Edw.Hall.

The king at the firſt ſtaid, but after long ſute, and ſpeciallie by meane of the French queene hir ſelfe, and other the dukes freends, it was agreed that the duke ſhould bring hir into England vnmarried, and at his returne to marrie hir in England: but for doubt of change he married hir ſecretlie in Paris at the houſe of Clugnie, as was ſaid. After he had receiued hir with hir dower appointed, & all hir apparell, iewels, and houſhold ſtuffe deliuered, they tooke leaue of the new French king, and ſo paſſing thorough France, came to Calis; where ſhe was honourablie interteined, and after openlie married with great honour vnto the ſaid duke of Suffolke. Doctor Weſt (as then nominated biſhop of Elie) remained behind at Paris, to go through with the full concluſion of a new league betwixt the king of England, and the new French king.

Anno Reg. 7. The French queene married to the duke of Suffolke.

¶ The court lieng at Greenewich, the king and the queene, accompanied with manie lords and ladies, road to the high ground of ſhooters hill to take the open aire; and as they paſſed by the waie, they eſpied a companie of tall yeomen, clothed all in greene with greene hoods, and bowes and arrowes, to the number of two hundred. Then one of them, which called himſelfe Robin hood, came to the king, deſiring him to ſee his men ſhoot; and the king was content. Then he whiſteled, and all the two hundred archers ſhot and loſed at once; and then he whiſteled againe, and they likewiſe ſhot againe; their arrowes whiſteled by craft of the head, ſo that the noiſe was ſtrange and great, and much pleaſed the king, the queene, and all the companie. All theſe archers were of the kings gard, and had thus apparelled themſelues to make ſolace to the king.

Edw.Hall in Hen.8.fol.lvj. Robin hood and his two hundred men preſent themſelues to the king & queene in a maigame.

Then Robin hood deſired the king and queene to come into the greene wood, and to ſee how the outlawes liued. The king demanded of the queene & hir ladies, if they durſt aduenture to go into the wood with ſo manie outlawes. Then the queene ſaid, that if it pleaſed him ſhe was content. Then the hornes blew, till they came to the wood vnder ſhooters hill, & there was an arbor made of boughes with a hall, and a great chamber; and an inner chamber verie well made and couered with floures & ſweet hearbs, which the king much praiſed. Then ſaid Robin hood; Sir, outlawes breakefaſts is veniſon, and therefore you muſt be content with ſuch fare as we vſe. Then the king and queene ſat downe, and were ſerued with veniſon and wine by Robin hood and his men, to their great contentation.

Then the king departed and his companie, and Robin hood and his men them conducted; and as they

were

A ſhew of two ladies in a rich chariot drawne with fiue horſſes.

were returning, there met with them two ladies in a rich chariot drawen with fiue horſſes, and euery horſſe had his name on his head, and on euerie horſſe ſat a ladie with hir name written. On the firſt courſer called Caude, ſat Humidite, or Humide. On the ſecond courſer called Memcon road ladie Ver. On the third called Pheton ſat ladie Vegetiue. On the fourth called Rimphon ſat ladie Pleaſant. On the fift called Lampace ſat ſweet Odour. And in the chaire ſat ladie Maie, accompanied with ladie Flora, richlie apparelled, and they ſaluted the king with diuerſe goodlie ſongs, and ſo brought him to Greenewich. At this maieng was a great number of people to behold it to their great ſolace and comfort.

The king and certeine nobles ran their horſſes volant.

The ſame after noone, the king, the duke of Suffolke, the marqueſſe Dorſet, and the earle of Eſſex, their bardes and baſes of greene veluet and cloth of gold, came into the field on great courſers, on whome waited diuerſe gentlemen in ſilke of the ſame colour. On the other ſide entered ſixteene lords and gentlemen, all apparelled richlie after their deuiſes, and ſo valiantlie they ran their courſes appointed: & after that, they ran volant one as faſt as he might ouertake another, which was a goodlie ſight to ſee: and when all was doone they departed, and went to a goodlie banket. This ſummer the king tooke his progreſſe weſtward, and viſited his townes and caſtels there, and heard the complaints of his poore communaltie; and euer as he road he hunted and liberallie departed with veniſon.]

The archbiſhop of Yorke elected cardinall.

A parlement at Weſtminſter.

This yeare in September, the king being at his manour of Oking, after his returne from his progreſſe which he made that yeare into the weſt parts, the archbiſhop of Yorke came thither to him. Whileſt he ſoiourned there, a letter was brought to the ſaid archbiſhop from Rome, aduertiſing him that he was elected cardinall, which letter incontinentlie he ſhewed to the king, diſabling himſelfe in words, though his intent was otherwiſe; and ſo the king did incourage him, and willed him to take that dignitie vpon him, and called him from thenſeforth my lord cardinall. But his hat, bull, nor other ceremonies were not yet come. In Nouember, the king aſſembled his high court of parlement at Weſtminſter, wherein, diuerſe acts made in the ſirt yeare were reformed and altered, and eſpeciallie the act of apparell, and the act of labourers, as by the booke of ſtatutes more plainelie appeereth.

Cardinall Wolſie made lord chancellor.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 8. fol. lvij.

At the end of this parlement, doctor Warham archbiſhop of Canturburie, and as then lord chancellour, perceiuing how the new lord cardinall medled further in his office of chancellorſhip than he could well ſuffer, except he ſhould aduenture the kings diſpleaſure; for this and for other conſiderations gaue vp his office of chancellor into the kings hands, and deliuered to him the great ſeale, which incontinentlie was deliuered by the king vnto the lord cardinall, and ſo was he made lord chancellor. He was no ſooner in that office, but he directed forth commiſſions into euerie ſhire, for the execution of the ſtatutes of apparell and labourers, and in all his dooings ſhewed himſelfe more loftie and preſumptuous than became him. ¶ And he himſelfe on a daie called a gentleman named Simon Fitz Richard, and tooke from him an old iacket of crimſin veluet and diuerſe brooches, which extreame dooing cauſed him greatlie to be hated: and by his example manie cruell officers for malice euill intreated diuerſe of the kings ſubiects, in ſo much that one Shinning, maior of Rocheſter, ſet a yong man on the pillorie for wearing of a riuen or gathered ſhirt.]

The cardinals hat receiued by the Kentiſh gentlemen with great ſolemnitie.

Guic. pag. 682. Two elefants preſented to the pope.

In the end of Nouember, the cardinals hat was ſent into England, which the gentlemen of Kent receiued, and brought to London with ſuch triumph, as though the greateſt prince in Europe had beene come to viſit the king [much like that of the people at Rome in the yeare 1515, when were ſeene in the ſaid citie two elephants, a nature of creatures which happilie had not beene ſeene in Italie ſince the triumphs and publike plaies of the Romans. Emanuell king of Portingall ſent to pope Leo the tenth a verie honorable ambaſſage, and withall preſented him with theſe huge and ſtatelie elephants, which his ſhips had brought by ſea from India; their entring into Rome was celebrated with a verie great concourſe of people, ſome woondering at the ſtrange forme and ſtature of the beaſts, ſome maruelling to what vſes their nature inclined them, and ſome coniecturing the reſpects and purpoſes of ſuch a preſent, their ignorance making their woonder farre greater than their reaſon.]

Gu. Ha.

No leſſe adoo was there at the bringing of the cardinals hat, who on a ſundaie (in S. Peters church at Weſtminſter) receiued the ſame, with the habit, the piller, and other ſuch tokens of a cardinall. And now that he was thus a perfect cardinall, he looked aboue all eſtates, which purchaſed him great hatred and diſdaine on all ſides. For his ambition was no leſſe diſcernable to the eies of the people, than the ſunne in the firmament in a cleere and cloudleſſe ſummer daie; which procured againſt him the more hatred among the noble and popular ſort; for that his baſe linage was both noted and knowne, in ſo much that his inſatiable aſpiring to ſupereminent degrees of dignitie kindled manifeſt contempt and deteſtation among ſuch as pretended a countenance of good will and honorable dutie vnto him, though in verie deed the ſame parties (if freelie and without checke they might haue ſpoken their fanſie) would haue intituled him a proud popeling; as led with the like ſpirit of ſwelling ambition, wherwith the rable of popes haue beene bladder like puffed and blowne vp: a diuelliſh and luciferian vice, in the iudgements of men abhominable, and in the ſight of God moſt damnable; as the poet in this diſtichon trulie witneſſeth:

Dij ſuperi faſtum, faſtum mortales abhorrent,
Hæc homini leuitas diſplicet atque Deo.

The lord Mountioy made gouernour of Tornaie.

A mutinie amongſt the ſoldiers at Tornaie.

After the end of the parlement, ſir Edward Poinings laboured to be diſcharged of the keeping of Tornaie, bicauſe he could not haue health there: and ſo he was diſcharged, and ſir William Blunt lord Mountioy was ſent thither to haue that roome, and for marſhall was appointed ſir Sampſon Norton. Immediatlie vpon their comming thither chanced a great riot, raiſed by the ſouldiers, ſo that to appeaſe them, the lord Mountioy was put in ieopardie of his life. In concluſion, to quiet them ſir Sampſon Norton was baniſhed the towne for euer, but what the matter was I haue not found rehearſed by anie writer. After that the citie was appeaſed, and euerie thing thought to be forgotten, diuerſe of the offendors were executed, and diuerſe baniſhed the towne, ſome fled, and were confined both out of England and the towne.

The king kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Eltham.

Courtlie paſtime on the Twelf night.

After the parlement was ended, the king kept a ſolemne Chriſtmaſſe at his manor of Eltham; and on the Twelfe night in the hall was made a goodlie caſtell, woonderouſlie ſet out; and in it certeine ladies and knights, and when the king and queene were ſet, in came other knights and aſſailed the caſtell, where manie a good ſtripe was giuen; and at the laſt the aſſailants were beaten awaie. And then iſſued out knights and ladies out of the caſtell, which ladies were rich and ſtrangelie diſguiſed: for all their apparell was in braids of gold, fret with mouing ſpangls of ſiluer and gilt, ſet on crimſin ſattin looſe and not faſtned: the mens apparell of the ſame ſute made like Iulis of Hungarie; and the ladies heads and bodies were after the faſhion of Amſterdam. And when the danſing was doone, the banket was ſerued in of two hundred diſhes, with great plentie to euerie bodie.]

The birth of Margaret daughter to the queene of Scots, and of the earle Angus afterwards maried to the earle of Lenox.

This yeere the new league accorded betwixt king Henrie & the French king was openlie proclaimed through the citie of London by a trumpet. Margaret queene of Scots eldeſt ſiſter to the K. came this yeere into England, & at Harbottell caſtell was deliuered of a daughter, begot by hir ſecond huſband the lord Archembald Dowglaſſe earle of Angus. This daughter was called at the fontſtone after hir mother Margaret. The ſaid queene after the death of hir late huſband king Iames married the ſaid earle of Angus, without conſent of hir brother king Henrie, or other of hir friends; cheeflie (as ſome haue thought) for hir ſonnes ſake, doubting if ſhe ſhould not haue taken hir choiſe at home, ſhe ſhould haue maried in ſome other place, and ſo haue beene ſequeſtred from hir ſonne, whoſe bringing vp apperteined now cheeflie vnto hir. But ſuch contention roſe ſhortlie after in Scotland amongſt the lords, that both ſhe and hir huſband were glad to ſeeke ſuccor in England at hir brothers hand, who was contented to releeue them, aſſigning them the ſaid caſtell of Harbottell to lie in, with apparell and all other neceſſaries, till his further pleaſure ſhould be knowne. The eighteenth daie of Februarie this yeere, the ladie Marie, daughter to king Henrie the eight was borne at Greenwich. This was ſhe that afterwards was queene of this realme, & married the king of Spaine. This yeere alſo died the king of Aragon, father to the queene; for whom was kept a ſolemne obſequie in the cathedrall church of Paules.

Edw. Hall.

The queene of Scots and the earle of Angus hir huſband come into England.

1518

The birth of ladie Marie the kings daughter, afterwards queene.

Anno Reg. 8.

The king ſendeth for the queene of Scots and hir huſband to his court.

As ye haue heard the laſt yeere how the queene of Scots with hir huſband was come for ſuccor into England, and laie at Harbottell in Northumberland, till the kings pleaſure was to ſend for them; ſo now know you that he (like a naturall brother) ſent for hir and hir huſband to come to his court for their ſolace: for the which kindneſſe the earle humblie thanked the king, and promiſed to giue his attendance on the queene his wife to the court. Wherevpon the king ſent William Blacknall eſquier, clerke of his ſpicerie with ſiluer veſſell, plate, and other things neceſſarie for the conueiance of hir, and ſent to hir all manner of officers for hir eſtate conuenient. Now when ſhe was readie to depart, ſhe aſked for hir huſband, but he was departed into Scotland, and left hir alone; nothing remembring his promiſe. Which ſudden departing much made hir to muſe: howbeit, the lords of England greatlie incouraged hir to keepe hir promiſe with the king hir brother.

The queene of Scots comming to London, and ſo to Greenewich.

Three queenes in the Engliſh court at once.

Now when ſhe was ſomewhat appeaſed, ſhe ſet forward; and in euerie towne ſhe was well receiued, & ſo on the third day of Maie ſhe made hir entrie into London, riding on a white palfreie (which the queene of England had ſent vnto hir) behind ſir Thomas Parre richlie beſeene, and with a great companie of lords and ladies ſhe rode through the citie to Bainards caſtell, and from thence ſhe was conueied to Greenwich, and there receiued ioiouſlie of the king, the queene, the French queene hir ſiſter, and highlie was ſhe feaſted. And when the king heard that the earle of Angus hir huſband was departed, he ſaid it was doone like a Scot. This queene ſometime was at the court, and ſometime at Bainards caſtell, and ſo ſhe continued in England all this yeere.

The king for the honour of his ſiſter the nineteenth and twentith daie of Maie prepared two ſolemne daies of iuſts: and the king himſelfe, and the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Eſſex, and Nicholas Carew eſquier, tooke on them to anſwer all commers. The apparell of them and their horſſes was blacke veluet, couered all ouer with branches of honie-ſuckles of fine flat gold of damaſke of looſe worke, euerie leafe of the branch mouing, the embroderie was verie cunning and ſumptuous. On the king was attending in one ſute on horſſebacke, the lord marqueſſe Dorſet, the earle of Surrie, the lord Aburgauennie, the lord Haſtings, ſir Iohn Pechie, the lord Ferrers, ſir William Fitz Williams, and twelue other knights. All theſe were in frockes of blew veluet, garded with rich cloth of gold, and their horſſe trappers of blew veluet fringed with gold: and on foot were fortie perſons all in blew ſattin garded with cloth of gold. And ſo they entred the field with trumpets, drumſlades and other minſtrelſie. Then in came the counterpartie richlie apparelled, to the number of twelue: and on that daie euerie man did well, but the king did beſt, and ſo was adiudged; and ſo at night they ceaſed, and came to ſupper.

The ſecond daie of ſolemne iuſts held by the king and others againſt all commers.

The king the next daie and his companie were apparelled (horſſe and all) in purple veluet, ſet full of leaues of cloth of gold ingrailed with fine flat gold of damaſke embrodered like to roſe leaues, and euerie leafe faſtned to other with points of damaſke gold, and on all their borders were letters of gold bullion. And on the king waited fiue lords, fourteene knights in frockes of yellow veluet, garded and bound with rich cloth of gold: and thirtie gentlemen were in like apparell on foote, and fortie officers in yellow ſattin edged with cloth of gold. Thus with great triumph they entred the field. Then the counterpartie entred all clothed and barded in white ſattin trauerſed with cloth of gold richlie. This daie was manie a great ſtripe giuen. The king and ſir William Kingſton ranne togither; which ſir William Kingſton was a ſtrong and a tall knight, & yet the king by ſtrength ouerthrew him to the ground. And after that the king and his aids had performed their courſes, they ranne volant at all commers, which was a pleaſant ſight to ſee. And when night approched, they all diſarmed them, and went to the queenes chamber, where was a great banket for the welcome of the queene of Scots.

A caſtell builded by the king at Tornaie.

Iuſtice executed by cardinal Wolſie vpon offendors of ſundrie qualities and degrees.

In this moneth of Maie were ſent out of England twelue hundred maſons and carpenters, and three hundred laborers to the citie of Tornaie; for the king and his councell conſidered that the garriſon that was kept there was chargeable: and therefore it was determined that there ſhould be builded a caſtell to chaſtiſe the citie if they rebelled, and to miniſh the garriſon. And therefore theſe workemen were ſent thither, which this yeere began a ſtrong caſtell, and wrought ſtill on it. In this yeere, by the cardinall were all men called to accompt that had the occupieng of the kings monie in the warres or elſewhere, not to euerie mans contentation: for ſome were found in arrerages, and ſome ſaued themſelues by policie and briberie, and waxed rich, and ſome innocents were puniſhed. And for a truth, he ſo puniſhed periurie with open puniſhment, and open papers wearing, that in his time it was leſſe vſed. He puniſhed alſo lords, knights, and men of all ſorts, for riots bearing and mainteining in their countries, that the poore men liued quietlie: who perceiuing that he puniſhed the rich, complained without number, and brought manie an honeſt man to trouble and vexation.

Erection of new courts by the kings commiſſion.

Now when the cardinall at the laſt perceiued their vntrue ſurmiſes, and feined complaints for the moſt part, he then waxed wearie of hearing their cauſes, and ordeined by the kings commiſſion diuerſe vnder courts to heare complaints by bill of poore people. The one was kept in the White hall, the other before the kings almoner doctor Stokeſleie, a man that had more learning than diſcretion to be a iudge, the third was kept in the lord treaſurors chamber beſide the ſtarre chamber, and the fourth at the rols at the after noone. Theſe courts were greatlie haunted for a time: but at the laſt the people perceiued that much delaie was vſed in theſe courts, and few matters ended, and when they were ended, they bound no man by the law; then euerie man was werie of them and reſorted to the common law.

Edw.Hall
Polydor.

It was ſtrange to ſée the cardinall (a man not ſkilled in the laws) ſit in the ſeat of iudgement and pronounce the law, being aided at the firſt by ſuch as (according to the ancient cuſtome) did ſit as aſſociats with him: but he would not ſticke to determine ſundrie cauſes, neither rightlie decided nor adiudged by order of law. And againe, ſuch as were cleare caſes, he would ſometime prohibit the ſame to paſſe, call them into iudgement, frame an order in controuerſies, and puniſh ſuch as came with vntrue ſurmiſes afore the iudges, & ſharpelie reprooue the negligence of the iudges themſelues, which had receiued ſuch ſurmiſes, and not well conſidered of the controuerſies of the parties. And ſuch was the adminiſtration of the cardinall vnder a colour of iuſtice at the firſt: but bicauſe the ſame ſéemed at length to be but a verie ſhadow or colour in déed, it quicklie vaniſhed awaie, he taking vpon him the whole rule himſelfe, for that he ſaw the king made ſmall account of anie other but onelie of him.

Grafton is contrarie to this.

Whereby it came to paſſe, that manie of the péeres and high eſtates of the realme withdrew them from the court; as firſt the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, which got them home into their dioceſſes. But yet before their departure (as good fathers of their countrie) they inſtantlie beſought the king that he would not ſuffer anie ſeruant to excéed and paſſe his maiſter: borrowing that ſentence out of the goſpell of ſaint Iohn, where our Sauiour ſpeaking to his diſciples, ſaith to them; Verelie, verelie, I ſay vnto you, the ſeruant is not greater than his maiſter. Hereunto the king, knowing that they meant this by the cardinall, made this anſwer, That he would diligentlie ſée, that euerie ſeruant ſhould obeie, and not command. But the cardinall notwithſtanding (during the time of his flattering felicitie) held out, thinking ſcorne to be countermanded; behauing himſelfe more like a prince, than a prelat, ſo blinded was he with vaineglorie, and drunken with the tranſitorie delights of the world: obſtinate impediments and moſt horrible hinderances to the permanent ioies of heauen, as the poet ſaith:

Gu.Ha.in Iac.4.

Delicias mundi fragiles qui mente ſequetur,
Perdidit æterni certiſsima gaudia cœli.

The duke of Suffolkes hope hindered by the cardinall.

Edw. Hall.
An ambaſſador from the emperour Maximilian.

After this, the duke of Norffolke departed home into his countrie, and laſt of all the duke of Suffolke alſo followed the other. For he hauing ſpent liberallie in his iournies when he went as ambaſſador into France, alſo in the ſolemnization of his marriage, and in houſkéeping ſince he was maried, borrowed great ſummes of monie of the king, which he hoped ſhould haue béene forgiuen him: but the cardinall would not haue it ſo, to the intent that the duke being behind hand in debt, ſhould be the more at commandement. For as wealth maketh men loftie, ſo dooth want make them lowlie. In the moneth of October, in this eight yeare of king Henrie, Mathew biſhop of Sion or Sittin, a cardinall (commonlie called the cardinall of the Swizzes) came into England from the emperour Maximilian.

At the contemplation of this cardinall, the king lent to the emperour a great ſumme of monie. But the chiefeſt matter that mooued the king to be ſo frée to Maximilian, was bicauſe the ſame monie ſhould be imploied on men of warre againſt the French king, towards whome the king (or rather cardinall Woolſeie) of late had conceiued a grudge, as thus. True it is, that the king beſtowed the reuenues of the ſée of Tornaie vpon the cardinall, at what time that ſée came into the kings hands: and therefore the cardinall being deſirous to aſſure to himſelfe the ſame, made ſute to the French king, that he would prouide Guillard the former biſhop of Tornaie of ſome other biſhoprike in France, ſo that he might reſigne the biſhoprike of Tornaie clearelie into his hands. The French king, perceiuing how much this ſhould make againſt his purpoſe, that vpon occaſion hoped euer to recouer the poſſeſſion of Tornaie, would not gratifie the cardinall herein.

The cardinall an enimie to peace.

Wherevpon the cardinall turning the kings mind at his plaſure, perſuaded him, that the next way to abate the French kings puiſſance (which in the begining of his reigne had recouered Millan, and grew euerie daie in power more than other) ſhould bée to mainteine the emperour with monie againſt him, ſo as the Frenchmen ſhould be chaſtiſed without the trauell of him or his people. Herevpon was Richard Paſe ſent firſt into Germanie with a great ſumme of monie to wage the Swizzes, which vnder the conduct of the emperor Maximilian inuaded the duchie of Millan; but without anie great gaine returned from thence, leauing Millan in the Frenchmens hands at that time. And now for a new reliefe was this cardinall of Sion ſent from Millan, at whoſe inſtance monie was aſſigned to be deliuered, and certeine Genowaies vndertooke the exchange, which made not paiment thereof at the day, although they had receiued it of the king.

Ed.Hall in Hen.8.fol.lix.
A moueable garden called the garden of Eſperance, verie coſtlie & artificiallie wrought.

In this yeare the king kept his Chriſtmaſſe at his manor of Gréenwich, & on the Twelfe night, according to the old cuſtome, he and the quéene came into the hall: and when they were ſet, and the quéene of Scots alſo, there entered into the hall a garden artificiall, called the garden of Eſperance. This garden was towred at euerie corner, and railed with railes gilt, all the bankes were ſet with flowers artificiall of ſilke and gold, the leaues cut of gréene ſattin, ſo that they ſéemed verie flowers. In the midſt of this garden was a piller of antique worke, all gold ſet with pearles and ſtones; and on the top of the piller, which was ſix ſquare, was a louer or an arch embowed, crowned with gold: within which ſtood a buſh of roſes red and white, all of ſilke and gold, and a buſh of pomegranats of like ſtuffe. In this garden walked ſix knights, and ſix ladies richlie apparelled; and then they deſcended and danſed manie goodlie danſes, and ſo aſcended the garden againe, and were conueied out of the hall, and then the king was ſerued of a great banket. After this Chriſtmaſſe the king exerciſed himſelfe much in hawking.

Iohn Hooker, *aliàs* Vowell.
Corpus Chriſti college in Oxford founded by Richard Fox biſhop of Wincheſter.

¶ This yeare, and about this time, Richard Fox biſhop of Wincheſter builded and founded Corpus Chriſti college in Oxford, and minded to haue appointed the ſame for a houſe of monks: but Hugh Oldom then biſhop of Exceſter changed his mind from that purpoſe by theſe meanes. This Hugh Oldom albeit hée were not the beſt learned of himſelfe, yet verie much and well affected towards learning and learned men; and was minded to haue inlarged Exceſter college. But being denied the preferment of a ſcholer, which ſtood then in election for a roome, his good will was withdrawne from that college, and he would haue ioined with William Smith biſhop of Lincolne, who then was in building of Braſen noſe college; but it tooke no effect. And then being aduertiſed that Richard Fox biſhop of Wincheſter was in hand to build Corpus Chriſti college, hée did ſend his letters vnto him, and offered to ioine with him therein, who was verrie glad thereof and well contented. Now theſe two biſhops conferring togither what maner of houſe they ſhould build, and to what end and purpoſe.

Biſhop Oldom of Exceſter is vtterlie againſt Fox's mind to found a college for moonks.

Biſhop Fox was of the mind and determination to haue made the college for religious men. But biſhop Oldom (whether it was bicauſe he fauoured not thoſe ſects of cloiſtered moonks, or whether hee foreſaw anie fall towards of thoſe ſects) diſuaded biſhop Fox what he could from that his purpoſe and opinion, and ſaid vnto him; What my lord, ſhall we “build houſes, and prouide liuelodes for a compa“nie of buſſing moonks, whoſe end and fall we our“ſelues maie liue to ſée? No, no, it is more méet a great deale, that we ſhould haue care to prouide for the increaſe of learning, and for ſuch as who by their “learning ſhall doo good in the church and commonwealth. To this biſhop Fox at length yéelded, and ſo they procéeded in their buildings. Wherin Oldom reſeruing to Fox the name of the founder, was contented with the name of a benefactor, and verie liberallie did contribute great maſſes of monie to the ſame: and ſince (according to his wiſh and deſire) the ſame college hath bene and is the nurſſe of manie notable good ſcholers.]

Oldom giueth Fox the name of founder, & contenteth himſelfe with the name of benefactor.

About this ſeaſon there grew a great hartburning and malicious grudge amongſt the Engliſhmen of the citie of London againſt ſtrangers; and namelie the artificers found themſelues ſore grieued, for that ſuch numbers of ſtrangers were permitted to reſort hither with their wares, and to exerciſe handie crafts to the great hinderance and impoueriſhing of the kings liege people. Beſides that, they ſet nought by the rulers of the citie, & bare themſelues too too bold of the kings fauor, wherof they would inſolentlie boaſt; vpon preſumption therof, & they offred manie an iniurious abuſe to his liege people, inſomuch that among other accidents which were manifeſt, it fortuned that as a carpenter in London called Williamſon had bought two ſtockdoues in Cheape, and was about to pay for them, a Frenchman tooke them out of his hand, and ſaid they were not meate for a carpenter.

Hall in H.8. fol.lix.

The inſolent ſawcineſſe of the Frenchmen againſt the Engliſh.

Well ſaid the Engliſhman I haue bought them and now paid for them, and therefore I will haue them. Naie ſaid the Frenchman I will haue them for my lord the ambaſſadour. And ſo for better or worſſe, the Frenchman called the Engliſhman knaue, and went awaie with the ſtockdoues. The ſtrangers came to the French ambaſſador, and ſurmiſed a complaint againſt the poore carpenter. And the ambaſſador came to the lord maior, and ſaid ſo much, that the carpenter was ſent to priſon: and yet not contented with this, ſo complained to the kings councell, that the kings commandement was laid on him. And when ſir John Baker knight and other worſhipfull perſons ſued to the ambaſſador for him, he anſwered by the bodie of God that the Engliſh knaue ſhould loſe his life, for he ſaid no Engliſhman ſhould denie that the Frenchmen required, and other anſwer had they none.

The diueliſh malice of the Frenchmen.

There was alſo a Frenchman that had ſlaine a man, and ſhould abiure the realme, and had a croſſe in his hand. Then ſuddenlie came a great ſort of Frenchmen about him, and one of them ſaid to the conſtable that led him; Sir is this croſſe the price to kill an Engliſhman. The conſtable was ſomewhat aſtonied & anſwered not. Then ſaid another Frenchman, On that price we ſhould be baniſhed all by the maſſe. This ſaieng was noted to be ſpoken ſpitefullie. Howbeit, the Frenchmen were not alonelie oppreſſors of the Engliſhmen. For a Lombard called Francis de Bard, entiſed a mans wife in Lombard ſtréet to come to his chamber with hir husbands plate, which thing ſhe did. After, when hir husband knew it, he demanded his wife, but anſwer was made he ſhould not haue hir: then he demanded his plate, and in like maner anſwer was made that he ſhould neither haue plate nor wife. And when he had ſued an action againſt the ſtranger in the Guildhall, the ſtranger ſo faced the Engliſhman, that he fainted in his ſute. Then the Lombard arreſted the poore man for his wiues boord, while he kept hir from hir husband in his chamber.

Strangers outface Engliſhmẽ againſt all honeſtie, equitie, and conſcience.

This abuſe was much noted, ſo that the ſame and manie other oppreſſions doone by them, increaſed ſuch a malice in the Engliſhmens harts, that at the laſt it burſt out. For amongſt other that ſore grudged at theſe matters, there was a broker in London called John Lincolne, that buſied himſelfe ſo farre in the matter, that about Palme ſundaie in this eight yeare of the kings reigne, he came to one doctor Henrie Standiſh with theſe words; Sir I vnderſtand that you ſhall preach at the ſanctuarie ſpittle on mondaie in Eaſter wéeke, and ſo it is, that Engliſhmen, both merchants and other are vndoone, for ſtrangers haue more libertie in this land than Engliſhmen, which is againſt all reaſon, and alſo againſt the common-weale of the realme. I beſéech you therefore to declare this in your ſermon, and in ſo dooing yée ſhall deſerue great thanks of my lord maior, and of all his brethren: and héerewith he offered vnto the ſaid doctor Standiſh a bill, conteining this matter more at large.

John Lincolne the author of the inſurrection vpõ ill Maie daie.

But doctor Standiſh (wiſelie conſidering that there might more inconuenience riſe thereof, than he would wiſh, if he ſhould deale in ſuch ſort) both wiſelie refuſed the bill, and told Lincolne plainlie, that he ment not to meddle with anie ſuch matter in his ſermon. Wherevpon the ſaid Lincolne went vnto one doctor Bele a chanon of the foreſaid ſpittle, that was appointed to preach likewiſe vpon the tueſdaie in Eaſter wéeke at the ſame ſpittle, whome he perſuaded to read his ſaid bill in the pulpit. Which bill in effect conteined how miſerablie the common artificers liued, and ſcarſe could get anie worke to find them, their wiues & children: there were ſuch a number of artificers ſtrangers that tooke awaie all their liuing in manner. And alſo how the Engliſh merchants could haue no vtterance, for the merchant ſtrangers bring in all ſilkes, cloth of gold, wine, oile, iron, and ſuch other merchandize, that no man almoſt buieth of an Engliſhman.

The gréefes particulariſed in Lincolns bill for the cities behalfe.

Furthermore, they carie out ſo much Engliſh wooll, tinne, and lead, that Engliſhmen who aduenture outward can haue no liuing: which things (ſaid Lincolne) hath béene ſhewed to the councell, and cannot be heard. And further (ſaid he) the ſtrangers compaſſe the citie round about, in Southwarke, in Weſtminſter, Temple barre, Holborne, ſaint Martins, ſaint Johns ſtréet, Algate, Tower hill, and ſaint Katharins, and foreſtall the market, ſo that no good thing for them commeth to the market: which is the cauſe that Engliſhmen want and ſtarue, & they liue aboundantlie in great pleaſure. Wherfore (ſaid Lincolne) maiſter doctor, ſith you were borne in London, and ſée the oppreſſion of the ſtrangers, and the great miſerie of your owne natiue countrie, exhort all the citizens to ioine in one againſt theſe ſtrangers, rauenors, and deſtroiers of your countrie. Maiſter doctor hearing this, ſaid he much lamented the caſe, if it were as Lincolne had declared.

Lincolne a great enimie to ſtrangers.

Yes ſaid Lincolne, that it is, and much more. For the Dutchmen bring ouer iron, timber, leather, and weinſcot readie wrought; alſo nailes, locks, baſkets, cupboords, ſtooles, tables, cheſts, girdles, with points, ſaddles & painted clothes, ſo that if it were wrought héere, Engliſhmen might haue ſome worke and liuing by it. And beſides this, they grow into ſuch a multitude, that it is to be looked vpon: for I ſaw on a

Lincolne proſecuteth his information of gréeuances by ſpecialties.

ſundaie this Lent, ſix hundred ſtrangers ſhooting at the popingaie with croſbowes, and they kéepe ſuch aſſemblies and fraternities togither, and make ſuch a gathering to their common box, that euerie botcher will hold plée with the citie of London. Well ſaid the doctor, I will doo for a reformation of this matter as much as a préeſt maie do, and ſo receiued Lincolns bill, and ſtudied for his purpoſe. Then Lincolne verie ioious of his enterpriſe, went from man to man, ſaieng that ſhortlie they ſhould heare newes, and dailie excited yoong people and artificers to beare malice to the ſtrangers. When Eaſter came, and doctor Bele ſhould preach the tueſdaie in Eaſter wéeke, he came into the pulpit, and there declared, that to him was brought a pitifull bill, and read it in this wiſe.

The tenor of the bill of complaint *which doctor Bele read in open audience at the Spitle.*

Edw. Hall in Hen.8. fol. 60.

TO all you the worſhipfull lords & maiſters of this citie, that will take compaſſion ouer the poore people your neighbours, and alſo of the great importable hurts, loſſes, and hinderances, whereof procéedeth the extreame pouertie to all the kings ſubiects, that inhabit within this citie and ſuburbs of the ſame. For ſo it is, that the aliens & ſtrangers eat the bread from the fatherleſſe children, and take the liuing from all the artificers, and the intercourſe from all merchants, whereby pouertie is ſo much increaſed, that euerie man bewaileth the miſerie of other; for craftſmen be brought to beggerie, and merchants to néedineſſe. Wherfore the premiſſes conſidered, the redreſſe muſt be of the commons, knit and vnited to one part. And as the hurt and damage gréeueth all men, ſo muſt all men ſet to their willing power for remedie, & not to ſuffer the ſaid aliens ſo highlie in their wealth; & the naturall borne men of this region to come to confuſion'. ¶ Of this letter was more, but the doctor read no further.

An vndiſcreet preacher.

When he had read this letter, or the chiefeſt part thereof, comprehending (as ye haue heard) much ſeditious matter, he began with this ſentence, *Cælum cæli Domino, terram autem dedit filijs hominum,* and vpon this text he intreated, how this land was giuen to Engliſhmen. And as birds defend their neſts, ſo ought Engliſhmen to cheriſh and mainteine themſelues, and to hurt and grieue aliens for reſpect of their common-wealth. And vpon this text *Pugna pro patria,* he brought in, how by Gods law it was lawfull to fight for their countrie. And thus he ſubtilie mooued or rather vndiſcréetlie prouoked the people to rebell againſt ſtrangers. By this fooliſh ſermon, manie a light perſon tooke courage, and openlie ſpake againſt ſtrangers. And as vnhap would, there had béene diuerſe euill parts plaied of late by ſtrangers, in and about the citie of London, which kindled the peoples rancour the more furiouſlie againſt them.

Now as the diuell would, the ſundaie after at Gréenwich in the kings gallerie was Francis de Bard, who (as yée haue heard) kept an Engliſhmans wife and his goods, and yet he could haue no remedie; and with him were Domingo, Anthonie Caueler, and manie more ſtrangers, and there they talking with ſir Thomas Palmer knight, ieſted and laughed how that Francis kept the Engliſhmans wife, ſaieng that if they had the maiors wife of London they would kéepe hir. Sir Thomas ſaid; Sirs you haue too much fauour in England. There were diuerſe Engliſh merchants by, who heard them laugh, and were not content, in ſo much as one William Bolt a mercer ſaid; Well you whoreſon Lombards, you reioiſe and laugh, by the maſſe we will one daie haue a ſting at you, come when it will. And that ſaieng the other merchants affirmed. This tale was reported about London, and the yoong and euill diſpoſed people ſaid they would be reuenged on the merchants ſtrangers as well as on the artificers ſtrangers. ¶ On monday the morow after, the king remoued to his manor of Richmond.]

Note the ſaucie, brode, ſhameleſſe, and diſhoneſt boaſting of the ſtrangers in their lewdnes

On the eight and twentith daie of Aprill, diuerſe yoong men of the citie piked quarels to certeine ſtrangers as they paſſed by the ſtréets, ſome they did ſtrike, ſome they buffeted, and ſome they threw into the kennell: wherfore the maior ſent ſome of the Engliſhmen to priſon, as Stephan Studleie ſkinner, Bets, Stephanſon, and diuerſe other. Then ſuddenlie roſe a ſecret rumour, and no man could tell how it began, that on Maie daie next the citie would rebell and ſlea all the aliens, inſomuch that diuerſe ſtrangers fled out of the citie. This brute ran ſo into euerie mans eares, that it came to the knowledge of the kings councell, whervpon the lord cardinall ſent for the maior, and other of the councell of the citie, giuing them to vnderſtand what he had heard.

Anno Reg. 9. Strangers iniuriouſlie abuſed of diuerſe yonkers.

The maior, as one ignorant of the matter, told the cardinall that he doubted not but ſo to gouerne the citie, as peace ſhould be obſerued. The cardinall willed him ſo to doo; and to take good héed, that if anie ſuch riotous attempt was intended, he ſhould with good policie preuent it. The maior came from the cardinals houſe at foure of the clocke in the after noone on Maie éuen, and in all haſt ſent for his brethren to the Guildhall; yet was it almoſt ſeuen of the clocke yer the aſſemblie was ſet. Upon conference had of the matter touching the rumour that was spred abroad of the rebellion againſt the ſtrangers, ſome thought it neceſſarie that a ſubſtantiall watch ſhould be ſet, of the honeſt citizens houſholders which might withſtand the euill dooers, if they went about anie miſrule.

The cardinals aduiſe to the maior in this hurliburlie.

But other were of this opinion, that it was dangerous to raiſe men in armour, bicauſe it was hard to tell whome they might truſt; but rather they thought it beſt that commandement ſhould be giuen to euerie man through euerie ward, to ſhut in his doores, & to kéepe his ſeruants within. Before eight of the clocke the recorder was ſent to the cardinall with theſe opinions; who hearing the ſame, allowed the latter for beſt and moſt ſureſt. And then the recorder and ſir Thomas More (late vnderſhiriffe of London, and now of the kings priuie councell) came to the Guildhall halfe an houre before nine of the clocke, and there ſhewed the pleaſure of the kings councell; wherevpon euerie alderman ſent to his ward, that no man ſhould ſtirre after ſeauen of the clocke out of his houſe, but to kéepe his doores ſhut, and his ſeruants within, till nine of the clocke in the morning.

Councell taken by the maior and his brethren how to preuent the hurt at hand.

After this commandement giuen, in the euening, as ſir John Mundie (an alderman) came from his ward, and found two yoong men in Cheape plaieng at the bucklers, and a great manie of yoong men looking on them (for the commandement was then ſcarſe knowne) he commanded them to leaue of. And for that one of them aſked, why? he would haue had him to the Counter. Then all the yoong prentiſes ſtept to, and reſiſted the alderman, taking the yoong fellow from him, & cried; Prentiſes and clubs. Then

Euill Maie daie, as Edw. Hall noteth it.

The heat of the hurlie burlie.

out at euerie doore came clubs and weapons. The alderman fled and was in great danger. Then more people aroſe out of euerie quarter, and forth came ſeruingmen, watermen, courtiers, and others; ſo that by eleuen of the clocke, there were in Cheape, ſix or ſeuen hundred; and out of Paules churchyard came thrée hundred, which knew not of the other. So out of all places they gathered, & brake vp the counters, tooke out the priſoners that the maior had thither committed for hurting the ſtrangers, and came to Newgate, and tooke out Studleie and Petit committed thither for that cauſe.

The raging madneſſe of the mutiners.

Nicholas Downes ſore hurt.

The maior and ſhiriffes were preſent there, and made proclamation in the kings name, but nothing was obeied. Herewith being gathered in plumpes, they ran thorough ſaint Nicholas ſhambles, and at ſaint Martins gate there met with them ſir Thomas More, and others, deſiring them to go to their lodgings. And as they were thus intreating, and had almoſt perſuaded the people to depart, they within ſaint Martins threw out ſtones, bats, and hot water; ſo that they hurt diuerſe honeſt perſons that were there with ſir Thomas More, perſuading the rebellious perſons to ceaſſe, inſomuch as at length one Nicholas Downes a ſergeant of armes being there with the ſaid ſir Thomas More, & ſore hurt amongſt others, in a furie, cried; Downe with them. And then all the miſruled perſons ran to the doores and windowes of the houſes with ſaint Martins, and ſpoiled all that they found.

The rioters malicious purpoſe againſt one Mewtas.

After that, they ran headlong into Cornehill, & there likewiſe ſpoiled diuerſe houſes of the French men that dwelled within the gate of maiſter Mewtas houſe called Gréene gate. This maiſter Mewtas was a Picard borne, and reputed to be a great bearer of Frenchmen in their occupiengs and trades, contrarie to the lawes of the citie. If the people had found him, they would ſuerlie haue ſtriken off his head: but when they found him not, the watermen and certeine yoong préeſts that were there fell to rifling, and ſome ran to Blanchapelton, and brake vp the ſtrangers houſes, and ſpoiled them. Thus from ten or eleuen of the clocke, theſe riotous people continued in their outragious dooings till about thrée of the clocke, at what time they began to withdraw, and went to their places of reſort: and by the waie they were taken by the maior and the heads of the citie, and ſent ſome of them to the Tower, ſome to Newgate, and ſome to the Counters, to the number of thrée hundred.

Sir Thomas Parre informeth the king of the riot and rebellion.

Manie fled, and ſpeciallie the watermen, préeſts, & ſeruingmen, but the prentiſes were caught by the backs and had to priſon. In the meane time, whileſt the hotteſt of this ruffling laſted, the cardinall was aduertiſed thereof by ſir Thomas Parre: whervpon the cardinall ſtrengthened his houſe with men and ordinance. Sir Thomas Parre rode in all haſt to Richmond, where the king laie, and informed him of the matter; who incontinentlie ſent forth haſtilie to London, to vnderſtand the ſtate of the citie, and was truelie aduertiſed how the riot was ceaſſed, and manie of the miſdooers apprehended. The lieutenant of the Tower ſir Roger Cholmeleie (no great fréend to the citie) in a frantike furie, during the time of this vprore, ſhot off certeine péeces of ordinance againſt the citie. And though they did no great harme; yet he wan much euill will for his haſtie dooing, bicauſe men thought he did it of malice, rather than of anie diſcretion.

Certeine lords with their powers come to London about this riot.

A commiſſion of oier and determiner to inquire and puniſh the offendors.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall in H.8. fol.lxij.

The cauſe why the citie thought the duke of Norffolke bare them an old grudge.

About fiue of the clocke the earles of Shrewesburie and Surrie, Thomas Dokercie lord of ſaint Iohns, George Neuill lord of Aburgauennie, and others, which had heard of this riot, came to London with ſuch ſtrength as they could make vpon that ſudden, and ſo did the Innes of court. But before they came, whether with feare of the brute of their comming, or otherwiſe, the riotous aſſemblie was broken vp, and manie of the miſdooers taken (as ye haue heard.) Then were the priſoners examined, and the ſermon of doctor Bele called to remembrance, and he taken and ſent to the Tower. Herewith was a commiſſion of oier and determiner directed to the duke of Norffolke, and to diuerſe other lords, to the lord maior of London, and the aldermen, and to all the iuſtices of England, for puniſhment of this inſurrection. [The citie thought the duke bare them a grudge for a lewd préeſt of his, which the yeare before was ſlaine in Cheape, inſomuch that he then in his furie ſaid; I praie God I maie once haue the citizens in my danger! And likewiſe the duke thought that they bare him no good will; wherefore he came into the citie with thirtéene hundred men in harneſſe to kéepe the oier and determiner.

Sir Iohn Fineux.

Now vpon examination it could neuer be prooued of anie méeting, gathering, talking, or conuenticle, at anie daie or time before that date; but that the chance ſo happened without anie matter prepenſed of anie creature ſauing Lincolne, and neuer an honeſt perſon in maner was taken but onelie he. Then proclamations were made, that no women ſhould come togither to babble and talke, but all men ſhould kéepe their wiues in their houſes. All the ſtréets that were notable ſtood full of harneſſed men, which ſpake manie opprobrious words to the citizens, which gréeued them ſore: and if they would haue béene reuenged, the other had had the worſſe: for the citizens were two hundred to one, but like true ſubiects they ſuffred patientlie.] Now for the due correction (according to law) of this diſorder, all the iuſtices with all the kings councell learned in the lawes, aſſembled at the houſe of ſir Iohn Fineux lord chéefe iuſtice of England néere to ſaint Brides by Fléeteſtréet, to take aduiſe, and conclude vpon the order which they ſhould follow in this matter, and firſt there was read the ſtatute of the third yeare of Henrie the fift, the effect whereof inſueth in theſe words following.

The ſtatute made in anno tertio of *Henrie the fift*.

This ſtatute bringeth the rioters within compaſſe of treaſon.

BEcauſe that diuers nations compriſed within the truces concluded as well by our ſouereigne lord the king that now is, as by his right noble father, haue béene robbed and ſpoiled by the kings lieges and ſubiects, as well on the maine ſeas as within the ports and coaſts of England, Ireland, & Wales, by reaſon whereof, the truces and ſafe conducts haue broken and violated, to the damage, diſhonour, and ſlander of the king, and againſt his dignitie, & the manſlaiers, ſpoilers, robbers, & violaters of the ſame truces and ſafe conducts (as before is declared) haue béene recetted, procured, counſelled, vpholden, and mainteined by diuerſe of the kings liege people vpon the coaſts: our ſaid ſouereigne lord the king by the aduiſe and aſſent abouesaid, and at the praier of the ſaid commons, hath ordeined and eſtabliſhed, that all ſuch manſlaiers, robbers, ſpoilers, breakers of truces, and ſafe conducts granted by the king, and the wilfull recetters, abbetters, procurers, counſellors, ſuſteiners and mainteiners of ſuch perſons, hereafter in time to come, being anie of the lieges & ſubiects of this realme of England, Ireland, & Wales, are to be adiudged and determined as giltie of high treaſon committed againſt the crowne & dignitie of the king. And further, in euerie hauen and port of the ſea, there ſhall be from henſe-forth made and aſſigned by the king, by his letters pattents, one lawfull officer named a conſeruator of truces and ſafe conducts granted by the king, which officer ſhall diſpend at the leaſt ten pounds in land by yeare, &c: as in the ſtatute more at large is expreſſed.

Diuers truces betwéene the king and ſundrie forren princes.

The which ſtatute being read and well conſidered of, bicauſe there was diuerſe leagues of truces betwixt the king and diuerſe other princes, as one betwixt him and the French king, and another betwixt him and the archduke of Burgognie, and another betwixt him & the king of Spaine (all the which truces were violated by the ſaid inſurrection) it was determined by the whole councell there aſſembled, that the kings ſergeants and attournies ſhould go to the lord chancellor, to haue a ſight of all the ſaid leagues and charters of truces, to the intent they might frame their indictments according to the matter. And note that iudge Fineux ſaid, that all ſuch as were parties to the ſaid inſurrection, were guiltie of high treaſon, as well thoſe that did not commit anie robberie, as thoſe that were principall dooers therein themſelues, bicauſe that the inſurrection in it ſelfe was high treaſon, as a thing practiſed againſt the regall honour of our ſoueraigne lord the king.

Iudge Fineux interpreteth the ſaid ſtatute.

And the ſame law holdeth of an inſurrection (ſaid Fineux) made againſt the ſtatute of laborers. For ſo (ſaid he) it came to paſſe, that certeine perſons within the countie of Kent began an inſurrection, in diſobedience of the ſtatute of labourers, and were atteinted therfore of high treaſon, and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged, and quartered. He ſhewed where and when this chanced. It was further determined by the ſaid Fineux, and all the iuſtices of the land, that vpon the ſaid commiſſion of oier and terminer in London, the iuſtices named in the ſaid commiſſion, might not arreigne the offendors, and proceed to the triall in one ſelfe daie, no more than might the iuſtices of peace. But iuſtices in oier might ſo doo, aſwell as the iuſtices of gaole deliuerie: and as the ſufficiencie of the iurors within the citie to paſſe betwixt the king and the ſaid traitors, the iuſtices determined, that he that had lands, and goods, to the value of an hundred marks, ſhould be inabled to paſſe vpon the ſaid indictments. And this by the equitie of the ſtatute of *Anno vndecimo Henrici ſeptimi*, the which will, that no man be admitted to paſſe in anie inqueſt in London in a plée of lands, or other action, in which the damages ſhall paſſe the value of fourtie ſhillings, except he be worth in lands or goods the value of an hundred markes.

Order for proceeding againſt the ſaid offendors.

Manie of the offendors indicted at Guildhall.

On ſaturdaie the ſecond of Maie, in this ninth yeare, all the commiſſioners, with the lord maior, aldermen, and iuſtices, went to the Guildhall, where manie of the offendors were indicted, as well of the inſurrection, as of the robberies by them committed againſt the truces. Herevpon they were arreigned, & pleading not guiltie, had day giuen till monday next inſuing. On which daie being the fourth of Maie, the lord maior, the duke of Norffolke, the earle of Surrie and others came to ſit in the Guildhall, to procéed in their oier and terminer as they were appointed. When the lords were ſet, the priſoners were brought through the ſtréets tied in ropes, ſome men, and ſome lads of thirtéene yéeres of age. Among them were diuerſe not of the citie, ſome prieſts, ſome husbandmen, and labourers. The whole number amounted vnto two hundred thrée ſcore and eightéene perſons.

The whole number of the rebellious rout.

This daie was John Lincolne indicted as a principall procurer of this miſchieuous inſurrection, and therevpon hée was arreigned, and pleading not giltie, had daie giuen ouer till wedneſdaie, or (as Hall ſaith) till thurſday next inſuing. He was charged with ſuch matter (as before ye haue heard) concerning his ſute vnto doctor Standiſh, and doctor Bele, for the reading of this bill in their ſermons, and opening the matter (as before ye haue heard) all which matter with the circumſtances he had confeſſed on ſundaie the third of Maie, vnto ſir Richard Cholmleie, ſir John Danſie, & ſir Hugh Skeuington. Diuers other were indicted this mondaie, and ſo for that time the lords departed. The next daie the duke came againe, & the erle of Surrie with 2000 armed men, which kept the ſtréets. When the maior, the duke, the earles of Shrewesburie and Surrie were ſet, the priſoners were arreigned, and thirtéene found guiltie, and adiudged to be hanged, drawne, and quartered. For execution whereof were ſet vp eleuen paire of gallowes in diuerſe places where the offenſes were doone, as at Algate, at Blanchappelton, Gratious ſtréete, Leaden hall, and before euerie counter one, alſo at Newgate, at ſaint Martins, at Alderſgate, and at Biſhopſgate.

What was laid to Lincolnes charge.

Eleuen paire of gallows erected for the executing of the rebels.

Then were the priſoners that were iudged brought to thoſe places of execution: and executed in moſt rigorous maner, in the preſence of the lord Edmund Howard ſon to the duke of Norffolke, & knight marſhall, who ſhewed no mercie, but extreme crueltie to the poore yoonglings in their execution: and likewiſe the dukes ſeruants ſpake manie opprobrious words, ſome bad hang, ſome bad draw, ſome bad ſet the citie on fire, but all was ſuffered. On thurſdaie the ſeuenth of Maie, was Lincolne, Shirwin, and two brethren called Bets, and diuerſe other adiudged to die. Then Lincolne ſaid, My lords, I meant well: for if you knew the miſchiefe that is inſued in this realme by ſtrangers, you would remedie it, & manie times I haue complained, and then I was called a buſie fellow: now our Lord haue mercie on me. They were laid on hardels, & drawne to the ſtandard in Cheape, and firſt was John Lincolne executed. And as the other had the ropes about their neckes, there came a commandement from the king to reſpit the execution. Then the people cried, God ſaue the king, and ſo was the oier and terminer deferred till another daie, and the priſoners ſent againe to ward: the armed men departed out of London, and all things ſet in quiet.

Edw.Hall in Hen.8.fol.lxij.

John Lincolne the author of ill Maie daie executed in Cheape ſide.

Edw.Hall.in H.8.fol.lxii.

On the eleuenth daie of Maie, the king came to his manor of Gréenwich, where the recorder of London and diuerſe aldermen came to ſpeake with his grace, and all ware gownes of blacke colour. And when they perceiued the king comming out of his priuie chamber into his chamber of preſence, they knéeled downe, and the recorder ſaid: Our moſt naturall, benigne, and ſoueraigne lord, we know well that your grace is diſpleaſed with vs of your citie of London, for the great riot late doone: we aſcerteine your grace, that none of vs, nor no honeſt perſon were condeſcending to that enormitie, and yet wée, our wiues, and children, euerie houre lament that your fauour ſhould be taken from vs. And forſomuch as light and idle perſons were the dooers of the ſame, we moſt humblie beſéech your grace to haue mercie of vs for our negligence, and compaſſion of the offendors for their offenſe and treſpaſſe.

The recorder in the behalfe of the citie ſpeaketh humblie to the K. touching the riot.

Trulie ſaid the king, you haue highlie diſpleaſed and offended vs, and you ought to waile and be ſorie for the ſame. And where as you ſaie that you the ſub-

The kings anſwer wherein their ſute is denied.

ſtantiall perſons were not conſenting to the ſame, it appeareth to the contrarie. For you neuer moued to let them, nor ſtirred once to fight with them, which you ſay were ſo ſmall a number of light perſons. Wherefore we muſt thinke, and you can not denie, that you did winke at the matter, but at this time we will grant to you neither our fauour nor good will, nor to the offendors mercie, but reſort to the cardinall our lord chancellour, and he ſhall make you an anſwer, and declare our pleaſure. And with this anſwer the Londoners departed, and made relation to the maior.

The quéene of Scots returneth toward Scotland.

On the eightéenth day of this moneth, the quéene of Scots, which had béene at the court, and at Bainards caſtell, a whole yeare at the kings charge, and was richlie appointed of all things méet to hir eſtate, both of iewels, plate, tapiſtrie, arras, coine, horſſes, & all other things of the kings gift & liberalitie, departed out of London toward Scotland with great riches, albeit ſhe came into England with great pouertie, and ſhe entered into Scotland the thirtéenth daie of Iune, whome hir huſband receiued at Berwike, but the Engliſhmen ſmallie regarded him. All hir charges within the realme, comming to the court and returning, were of the kings purſſe.

The king commeth to Weſtminſter hall, and there ſitteth in iudgement himſelfe.

On thurſdaie the two & twentith daie of Maie, the king came into Weſtminſter hall, for whome at the vpper end was ſet a cloth of eſtate, and the place hanged with arras. With him was the cardinall, the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, the earles of Shrewſburie, of Eſſex, of Wiltſhire, & Surrie, with manie lords and other of the kings councell. The maior & aldermen, with all the chiefe of the citie were there in their beſt liuerie (according as the cardinall had appointed them) by nine of the clocke. Then the king commanded that all the priſoners ſhould bée brought forth, ſo that in came the poore yonglings and old falſe knaues bound in ropes all along, one after another in their ſhirts, and euerie one a halter about his necke, to the number of foure hundred men, and eleuen women. And when all were come before the kings preſence, the cardinall ſore laid to the maior and communaltie their negligence, and to the priſoners he declared that they had deſerued death for their offenſe. Then all the priſoners togither cried; Mercie gratious lord, mercie. Herewith the lords altogither beſought his grace of mercie, at whoſe ſute the king pardoned them all. Then the cardinall gaue vnto them a good exhortation, to the great gladneſſe of the hearers.

The kings gratious and generall pardon.

Now, when the generall pardon was pronounced, all the priſoners ſhowted at once, & all togither caſt vp their halters into the hall roofe, ſo that the king might perceiue they were none of the diſcréeteſt ſort. Here is to be noted, that diuerſe offendors, which were not taken, hearing that the king was inclined to mercie, came well apparelled to Weſtminſter, and ſuddenlie ſtripped them into their ſhirts with halters, and came in among the priſoners willinglie, to be partakers of the kings pardon. By which dooing, it was well knowne, that one Iohn Gelſon yeoman of the crowne was the firſt that began to ſpoile, and exhorted other to doo the ſame: and bicauſe he fled and was not taken, he came in with a rope among the other priſoners, and ſo had his pardon. This companie was after called the blacke wagon. Then were all the gallowes within the citie taken downe, and manie a good praier ſaid for the king, and the citizens tooke more héed to their ſeruants. But the kings mercie miniſtred abundant matter of communication, euerie one (ſpeciallie the pardoned and their allies) ſounding the benefit of his roiall clemencie, whereby of dead men they became liuing, and had ſuſteined the ſeuere ſentence of law, had not mercie remitted the fault and the puniſhment, which breaketh the force of iudgement, as the poet trulie ſaith:

The blacke wagon that followed ill Maie daie.

Iudicij neruos frangit miſeratio clemens.

Solemne iuſtes betwéene the king and others.

In Iune the king had with him diuerſe ambaſſadours, for ſolace of whome he prepared a coſtlie iuſtes, he himſelfe & twelue more againſt the duke of Suffolke and other twelue. His baſe and bard was the one halfe cloth of ſiluer, & the other halfe blacke tinſell. On the ſiluer was a curious loſe worke of veluet imbrodered with gold, cut on the ſiluer, and euerie cut ingrailed with gold, ſo that that ſide was gold, ſiluer, and veluet. On the blacke tinſell ſide was blacke veluet imbrodered with gold, and cut, and euerie cut was ingrailed with flat gold of damaſke. The baſe and bard were brodered with great letters of maſſie gold bullion, full of pearles and ſtones, maruellous rich: all his companie were in like ſute, ſauing that they had no iewels. The king had on his head a ladies ſléeue full of diamonds. On the king attended gentlemen, armourers, and other officers, to the number of an hundred and twentie fiue perſons, all in white veluet and white ſattin, horſſe and harneſſe for horſſemen, caps and hoſen for footmen, all white, at the kings coſt. Thus roiallie the king and his companie with his waiters came to the tilts end.

A gallant and glorious ſhew.

Then entered the duke of Suffolke, with the marques Dorſet, the earls of Eſſex and Surrie, and eight other of his band, in bards and baſes of white veluet and crimſin ſattin loſenged, ſet full of letters of C. M. of gold, for Charles and Marie, and they tooke the other end of the tilt. Then the trumpets blue, and the king and the duke ran fiercely togither, and brake manie ſpeares, and ſo did all the other, that it was hard to ſaie who did beſt. But when the courſes were run, they ran volant one at another, ſo that both by the report of ſir Edward Gilford maiſter of the armourie, and alſo of the iudges and heralds, at theſe iuſtes were broken fiue hundred and ſix ſpears: and then the king the ſame night made the ambaſſadours a ſumptuous banket, with manie riddels and much paſtime. After this great triumph, the king appointed his gheſts for his paſtime this ſummer; but ſuddenlie there came a plague of ſickeneſſe, called the ſweating ſickeneſſe, that turned all his purpoſe.

The king & the duke run perſonallie.

The ſweting ſickneſſe peremptorie and deadlie.

This maladie was ſo cruell, that it killed ſome within thrée houres, ſome within two houres, ſome merrie at dinner, and dead at ſupper. Manie died in the kings court, the lord Clinton, the lord Graie of Wilton, and manie knights, gentlemen, and officers. For this plague Michaelmaſſe tearme was adiourned. And bicauſe that this maladie continued from Iulie to the midſt of December, the king kept himſelfe euer with a ſmall companie, and held no ſolemne Chriſtmaſſe, willing to haue no reſort for feare of infection: but much lamented the number of his people, for in ſome one towne halfe the people died, and in ſome other towne the third part, the ſweat was ſo feruent and infectuous. [By the extremitie whereof, and the multitudes with ſuch ſuddenneſſe and preſent mortalitie dropping awaie: it ſhould ſéeme that they little remembred, or at leaſtwiſe neglected the preſeruatiue remedie vſed in the firſt great ſweating ſickeneſſe in * king Henrie the ſeuenths time, whereby as then manie a mans life was ſaued, ſo now the like benefit (by applieng of the ſame wholſome meanes) might haue redounded to the patients.]

Abr. Flem.

* Sée before pag. 763, 764.

1519

Anno Reg. 1

The tearme begun at Oxford and adiourned to weſtminſter.

In the beginning of this yeare, Trinitie tearme was begun at Oxenford, where it continued but one daie, and was againe adiourned to Weſtminſter. This yeare came to Calis from pope Leo, a legat *De latere*, called Laurence Campeius borne in Bollogne

Cardinall Campeius ſent from the pope. Polydor.

logne la Graſſe, commonlie called cardinall Campeius, to require the king of aid againſt the Turke. At the requeſt of the king of England, and alſo of the French king (which ſought now to be receiued into fréendſhip with the king of England chéeflie by cardinall Woolſies meanes) pope Leo conſtituted the ſaid cardinall Woolſie his legat in England, ioining him in commiſſion with the ſaid Campeius, the which ſtaid at Calis vntill the bulles were brought from Rome touching that matter. There was alſo an other cauſe that ſtaid Campeius at Calis, & that was a ſute which cardinall Woolſie had mooued for the obteining of the biſhoprike of Bath, which benefice cardinall Adrian Caſtalian inioied by the collation of king Henrie the ſeuenth.

Edward Hall. Cauſes of cardinall Campeius ſtaieng at Calis.

This cardinall Adrian being fallen in the popes diſpleaſure, withdrew out of the court of Rome vnto Venice: and in the meane time cardinall Campeius, at the inſtance of cardinall Woolſie, wrote to the pope, that cardinall Adrian might be depriued of that biſhoprike, to the end that cardinall Woolſie might haue the ſame. Which requeſt was accompliſhed, and the bulles ſent vnto Calis; ſo that then cardinall Campeius, after he had remained at Calis thrée moneths, came ouer into England, and was receiued with all pompe & honour that might be deuiſed. ¶ Inſomuch that cardinall Woolſie had ſent to the legat (whileſt he laie at Calis) red cloth to cloath his ſeruants, which at their comming to Calis were but meanelie apparelled. And when all things were readie, he paſſed the ſea and landed at Douer; and ſo kept forth his iournie toward London.

Abr.Fl. ex Edw.Hall in H.8.fol.lxiiij.

Cardinall Campeius receiued with great pompe.

At euerie towne as they paſſed, he was receiued with proceſſion, and accompanied with all the lords & gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Blackeheath, there met him the duke of Norffolke, with a great number of prelats, knights, & gentlemen, all richlie apparelled. And in the waie he was brought into a rich tent of cloath of gold, where he ſhifted himſelfe into the robe of a cardinall, edged with ermins; and ſo tooke his mule riding towards London. The night before he came to London, the cardinall of Yorke, to furniſh the carriages of the cardinall Campeius, ſent to him twelue mulets with emptie coffers couered with red: which twelue mulets were led thorough London amongeſt the mulets of Campeius, which were but eight; and ſo theſe twentie mulets paſſed thorough the ſtréets, as though they had béene full of treaſures, apparell, & other neceſſaries.

What trumperie was incloſed in the lord legats cheſts.

Now when they came into Cheape, one of the mulets brake from hir kéeper, and ouerthrew the cheſts, and ouerturned two or thrée other mulets carriages, which fell with ſuch a violence, that diuerſe of them vnlocked; & out of ſome fell old hoſen, broken ſhooes, and roaſted fleſh, péeces of bread, egges, and much vile baggage. At which ſight the boies cried; Sée, ſée my lord legats treaſure: and ſo the muletters were aſhamed, and tooke vp all their ſtuffe and paſſed forth. About thrée of the clocke in the after noone on the twentie ninth day of Iulie the ſaid legat entered the citie, and in Southworke met him all the clergie of London, with croſſes, cenſors, and copes, and cenſed him with great reuerence. The maior and aldermen, with all the occupations of the citie in their beſt liueries ſtood in the ſtréets, and him highlie honoured: to whome ſir Thomas More made a bréefe oration in the name of the citie.

Now when he came to Paules, there he was receiued with biſhops mitred, and vnder a canopie entered the church: which canopie his ſeruants tooke for their fées. And when he had offered, he gaue his benediction to all the people, & tooke againe his mule, & ſo with all his traine aforeſaid was conueied to Bath place, and there reſted: where he was welcommed of the cardinall of Yorke. On ſundaie next inſuing, theſe two cardinals as legats tooke their barges, & came to Gréenewich, ech of them had beſides their croſſes two pillers of ſiluer, two little axes gilt, and two cloake-bags embrodered, & the cardinals hats borne before them. And when they came to the kings hall, the cardinall of Yorke went on the right hand: and there the king roiallie apparelled and accompanied, met them euen as though both had come from Rome and ſo brought them both vp into his chamber of preſence.

The glorious ſhewes or pompous port of the two cardinals going to the court.

Then a ſolemne oration was made by an Italian, declaring the cauſe of the legacie to be in two articles, one for aid againſt Gods enimies, and the ſecond for reformation of the clergie. And when maſſe was doone, they were had to a chamber, and ſerued of lords and knights, with much ſolemnitie: and after dinner they tooke their leaue of the king, and came to London, and rode through the citie togither, in great pompe and glorie to their lodgings.] This cardinall Campeius for his fréendſhip ſhewed in helping the cardinall of England to the biſhoprike of Bath, was conſidered (beſides other great rewards) with the biſhoprike of Saliſburie, the profits whereof he receiued, vntill the act was eſtabliſhed, that no forrenner ſhould inioie anie ſpirituall benefice within this realme. But for the chéefeſt errand that this cardinall Campeius came, he could haue no toward anſwer: which was (as you haue heard) to haue leuied a ſumme of monie by waie of tenths in this realme, to the maintenance of the warre in defenſe of the chriſtian confines againſt the Turke.

Sée after in the extract out of Guicciardine.

A craftie feare of the pope.

There were at the ſame time other legats ſent into other parts of Chriſtendome about the ſame matter, as into France, Spaine, and Germanie. For pope Leo calling to remembrance, that the feare conceiued of the Turkes had brought no ſmall gaines to diuerſe of his predeceſſors, he began to feare too. But for that ſuch feare was now too well knowne to be vſed as an ordinarie ſhift of the popes, when they ſtood in néed of monie, this practiſe was at this time vſed in vaine; ſo that Campeius hearing that it tooke not place in other parties, left off his earneſt ſute about it, and with great rewards receiued of the king and cardinall, returned to Rome, not without hope yet (by reaſon of promiſes made vnto him by his fréends) that the popes requeſt might hereafter be granted, according to his motion. There attended him to Rome one Iohn Clearke a lawier, as ambaſſadour from the king.

The court of the legat erected by the cardinall.

Examples of great ones what it doth.

This man obteined for the cardinall, authoritie to diſpenſe with all men for offenſes committed againſt the ſpirituall lawes, which part of his power legantine was verie profitable and gainefull. For then he ſet vp a court, and called it the court of the legat: in the which he prooued teſtaments, and heard cauſes, to the great hinderance of all the biſhops of this realme. He viſited biſhops, and all the cleargie exempt and not exempt, and vnder colour of reformation he got much treaſure. For thorough bribes & rewards, notorious offendors were diſpenſed with, ſo that nothing was reformed, but came to more miſchéefe. The example of his pride, cauſed préeſts and all ſpirituall perſons to wax ſo proud, that they ruffled it out in veluet and ſilks, which they ware both in gounes, iackets, doublets, and ſhooes. They vſed open lecherie, and bare themſelues ſo ſtout by reaſon of his authorities and faculties, that no man durſt reproue any thing in them. So that we ſée here verefied in proofe how forcible the examples of great men be in the inferior ſort; as the wiſe man truelie ſaith:

Qualis erit princeps, talis præfectus habetur,
Nobilitas qualis, plebs quoque talis erit.

Gu. Ha. in Eccl. cap.10.

[But before we inferre farther proceſſe of other accidents, it were good to heare a full diſcourſe, for the exact vnderſtanding of the popes affaires, whereabouts he addreſſed ſo manie cardinals into ſo manie parts of chriſtendome, as ſolicitors to obteine ſuccour againſt the Turke. ¶ Now followeth (ſaith mine author) the yeare 1518, in which the regions of Italie, contrarie to the precedent of manie yeares before, felt not the leaſt impreſſion or motion of war, yea there appeared the ſelfe ſame diſpoſition in all other princes of chriſtendome, betwéene whome by the operation of the pope, though happilie more with faire reaſon, than with ſubſtantiall counſels, was ſolicited an vniuerſall expedition of all chriſtendome aginſt the pride of Selim prince of the Turkes.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 756.

The pope ſoliciteth all the princes of chriſtendome againſt the Turke.

This man the yeare before, had ſo inlarged and extended his greatneſſe, that comparing with his power, his ambition to be greater, puſhed on with manie helpes of nature, it was worthilie to be doubted, that if he were not preuented by the inuaſions of the chriſtians, he would in his pride lift vp his victorious hands againſt them. For Selim diſcerning that Baiſeth his father, reduced to extreme old age, ſought to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion of the empire in the perſon of Acomath his elder brother, drew into rebellion againſt him, and by force of armes, concurring the corruption of the ſouldiors of his gard, conſtreined him to reſigne vp to him the authoritie of the gouernment: and not ſuffering his ambition to ſtaie there, it was beléeued of all men, that for his more abſolute aſſurance he tooke awaie his life by poiſon: and afterwards giuing an ouerthrow to his brother in an inconter of a battell, he confirmed fullie the ſeat of his empire, by depriuing him of his life in publike ſhew, exerciſing the like rage of crueltie vpon Corcu the yongeſt brother of all. And being not ſatiſfied according to the tyrannie of the houſe of Ottomanni, with the bloud and ſlaughter of all his nephues, or anie others that remained of that line and ſtocke, he was in thought oftentimes (by the rage and furie of his diſpoſition) to take awaie the life of Soliman his onelie ſonne.

The ambition and tyrannie of Selim againſt his father & affines.

Of theſe beginnings bréeding one warre vpon another, after he had ſubdued the Aduliti, a people of the mountaines, he paſſed ouer into Perſia againſt the Sophi, to whome he gaue battell and ouerthrew him, and in that felicitie of warre he tooke the citie of Tauris the ſoueraigne ſeat of that eſtate, togither with the greateſt part of Perſia which he was conſtreined to abandon, not through the valour of his enimies, who for their diſabilitie to ſupport their army were retired into the mounteins and places deſert, but for the vniuerſall dearth and barrenneſſe of that yeare, he fell into an extreme want of vittels: he returned ſoone after this expedition to Conſtantinople, where after he had doone execution vpon certeine ſouldiers ſeditious, and for certeine moneths had refreſhed his armie, he gaue out that he would eftſoons returne to make warre vpon Perſia. But indéed he turned his forces againſt the Soldan king of Soria and Aegypt, a prince not onelie of moſt ancient reuerence and dignitie for that religion; but moſt mightie for the amplitude of dominion, moſt rich in tributes, and verie glorious by the diſcipline of the Mammelukes, of whoſe armes and forces that ſtate was poſſeſſed with great reputation thrée hundred yeares.

Selim ouerthroweth the Sophi of Perſia.

The ſtate of the Soldan king of Soria and Aegypt.

For that empire, being ruled of the Soldans, they not by ſucceſſion but by election aſcended to it, and to the ſupreme ſeat of gouernement were not preferred but men of manifeſt vertue, and confirmed by all the degrées of warre, in the adminiſtration of prouinces and armies, and alſo the ſinewes and ſtrengthes of their forces ſtood not vpon ſouldiors mercenarie and forreine, but of men elected, who taken of children in the prouinces adioining, and trained vp by ſucceſſion of yeares in hardneſſe of fare, in ſuffering of labour and toile, and in the exerciſe of armes and all cuſtomes apperteining to the diſcipline and law of warre, they aſcribed and inrolled them in the order of the Mammelukes. There ſuccéeded from hand to hand in this order, not the ſons of the Mammelukes that were dead, but others, who being taken of children for ſlaues, had their riſing by the ſame diſcipline, and by the ſame induſtrie and artes, by the which their predeceſſours had paſſed from hand to hand.

Theſe not being in number aboue ſeuentéene or eightéene thouſand, held ſubiected vnder a moſt heauie yoke, all the people of Aegypt and Soria, whom they ſpoiled of the vſe of all armes, and practiſe to manage horſſes: yea ſuch was their fierceneſſe and valour, that oftentimes they made warre of themſelues, for that of their numbers and by their election were choſen the Soldans, and in their power reſted all authoritie to diſtribute the honours, offices, and profits of that moſt rich empire. By the opportunitie of which, hauing ſubdued manie nations adioining, and reduced to obedience the Arabians, and mainteined manie warres with the Turkes, they were manie times victorious, but verie ſeldome or neuer vanquiſhed of others. Againſt theſe people did Selim conuert his forces, whome he ouerthrew in manie battels fought in plaine field, wherein was ſlaine the Soldan, and afterwards in an other battell was taken priſoner the other Soldan his ſucceſſor, whome he cauſed to be publikelie murthered with an vnworthie kind of torment. Thus hauing ſatiſfied his bloudie humour with ſuch great ſlaughters, and alſo waſted the name of the Mammelukes, he procéeded to the inuaſion of Cairo a moſt populous citie, wherein were reſident the Soldans, and in ſhort time ſubdued vnder his iuriſdiction all Soria and Aegypt.

By whoſe election the Soldans were choſen.

The Turke ſlaieth the two Soldans and ſubdueth all Soria and Aegypt.

Theſe drew vnto him ſo great an increaſe of imperie, ſuch amplification of tribute and reuenue, and remouing the impediments of ſo mightie enimies, and of ſo great reputation, that with great reaſon hée was to be feared of the chriſtians. A feare which tooke his degrées of increaſing by this conſideration, that to ſo great a power and valour was ioined a ſettled impreſſion of ambition to beare rule, & by manie victories, to make glorious his name to all poſterities: wherein reading oftentimes the legends and actions of the great Alexander, and Iulius Ceſar, he ſéemed to ſuffer griefe and perplexitie of mind, that his actions & exploits of warre could in no wiſe hold compariſon with ſo manie great triumphs and victories. In which humour, refurniſhing continuallie his armies, and building of new a great number of ſhips, and leuieng all prouiſions neceſſarie for the warre, it was fered when his preparations were accompliſhed, that he would inuade Rhodes, the bulworke of the chriſtians in the eaſt parts, or elſe the kingdome of Hungaria, made fearefull by the valour of the inhabitants to the nation of the Turks, which at that time was in diuiſion amongſt themſelues, and made weake by the minoritie of their king, who was gouerned by the prieſts and barons of the realme.

The Turkes ambition hath no bounds of circumſcription.

Others were of opinion, that he had addreſſed all his thoughts to the inuaſion of Italie, taking his incouragement vpon the diſcord of the potentates and naturall princes, whome he knew to be much ſhaken with the long warres of thoſe regions. To this was ioined the memorie of Mahomet his grandfather, who with a power farre leſſe than his, and with a ſmall nauie ſent vpon the coaſts of the realme of Naples, had woone by aſſault the citie of Otronto: and (ſauing he was preuented by death) had both opened the way, and eſtabliſhed the meane to perſecute the regions of Italie with continuall vexations: ſo that the pope togither with the whole court of Rome being made aſtoniſhed with ſo great ſucceſſe, and no leſſe prouident to eſchew ſo great a danger, making their firſt recourſe vnto the aid and ſuccour of God, cauſed to be celebrated through Rome moſt deuout inuocations, which he did aſſiſt in preſence bare-footed.

The pope put in feare that the Turke will ouerrun the territories of Italie.

And afterwards calling vpon the helpe of men, he wrote letters to all chriſtian princes, both admoniſhing them of the perill, and perſuading them to lay aſide all ciuill diſcords and contentions, and attend ſpeedilie to the defenſe of religion & their common ſafetie, which he affirmed would more and more take increaſe of moſt grieuous danger, if with the vnitie of minds, and concordances of forces, they ſought not to transferre the warre into the empire of the Turks, & inuade the enimie in his owne countrie. Vpon this aduiſe and admonition, was taken the examination and opinion of men of warre, and perſons ſkilfull in the diſcouerie of countries, the diſpoſing of prouinces, and of the nature and vſage of the forces and weapons of that kingdome, and therevpon a reſolution was ſet downe to make great leuies of monie by voluntarie contributions of princes, and vniuerſall impoſts of all people of chriſtendome.

The pope beſtirreth him for his ſecuritie & tuition.

It was thought neceſſarie that Ceſar accompanied with the horſſemen of Hungaria and Polonia, nations warlike, and practiſed in continuall warre againſt the Turke, and alſo with the footmen of Germanie, ſhould ſaile along Danubi into Boſſina called ancientlie Miſia, and from thence to Thracia, and ſo to draw neare Conſtantinople, the ſeat of the empire of Ottomanes: that the French king with all the forces of his kingdome, the Venetians, and the other potentates of Italie, accompanied with the infanterie of Swizzerland, ſhould paſſe from the port of Brindiſi in Albania, a paſſage verie eaſie & ſhort, to inuade Greece, a countrie full of chriſtian inhabitants, and for the intollerable yoke of the Turkes, moſt readie to rebell: that the kings of Spaine, of England, and Portugall, aſſembling their forces togither in Cartagenia, and the ports thereabouts, ſhould take their courſe with two hundred ſhips full of Spaniſh footmen and other ſouldiers, to the ſtreict of Galipoli, to make rodes vp to Conſtantinople, hauing firſt of all ſubdued the caſtels and forts ſtanding vpon the mouth of the ſtreict: and the pope to take the ſame courſe, imbarking at Ancona, with an hundred ſhips armed.

Politike deuiſes to withſtand & preuẽt the Turkes purpoſes.

With theſe preparations, ſeeming ſufficient to couer the land, and ouerſpread the ſea, it was thought that of a warre ſo full of deuotion and pietie, there could not be but hoped a happie end, ſpeciallie adding the inuocation of God, and ſo manie ſeuerall inuaſions made at one time againſt the Turkes, who make their principall foundation of defenſe, to fight in the plaine field. Theſe matters were ſolicited with no ſmall induſtrie, and to ſtop all matter of imputation againſt the office of the pope, the minds of princes were throughlie ſounded, and an vniuerſall truce for fiue yeares betweene all the princes of chriſtendome, publiſhed in the conſiſtorie, vpon paine of moſt grieuous cenſure to ſuch as ſhould impugne it. So that the negociation continuing for all things apperteining to ſo great an enterpriſe, he aſſigned ambaſſadours to all princes: to the emperour he ſent the cardinall S. Siſto, to the French king he diſpatched the cardinall of S. Maria in Portico, the cardinall Giles to the king of Spaine, and the cardinall Campeius to the king of England.

Why it was generallie thought that this warre would haue luckie ſucceſſe.

This openeth the place of our Engliſh hiſtories.

All cardinals of authoritie, either for their experience in affaires, or for opinion of their doctrine, or for their familiaritie with the pope. All which things albeit they were begun with great hope and expectation, and the vniuerſall truce accepted of all men, and all men with no little oſtentation and brauerie of words, made ſhew of their readineſſe with their forces to aduance ſo good a cauſe: yet, what with the conſideration of the perill eſteemed vncerteine and farre off, and extending more to one prince than to another, and what by the difficulties and long tract of time that appeared, to introduce a zeale and vnion ſo vniuerſall, priuat intereſts and reſpects particular ſeemed to preuaile more, than the pietie of the expedition: inſomuch that the negociation ſtood not onelie naked of all hope and iſſue, but alſo it was followed verie lightlie, and as it were by ceremonie.

The popes negociation naked of all hope & iſſue.

This being one propertie in the nature of men, that thoſe things which in their beginnings appeare fearefull, doo dailie take ſuch degrees of diminution and vaniſhing, that vnles the firſt feares be reuiued by new accidents, they lead men in proceſſe of time to ſecuritie. Which propertie of negligence, both touching the affaires publike, and affection of priuate and particular men was well confirmed by the death that ſucceeded not long after to Selim, who, hauing by a long maladie ſuſpended the preparations of the warre, was in the end conſumed by the paſſions of his diſeaſe, and ſo paſſed into the other life, leauing ſo great an empire to Soliman his ſonne, yoong in yeares, and iudged to beare a wit and mind not ſo diſpoſed to the warres, although afterwards the effects declared the contrarie.

The death of Selim; and ſucceſſion of Soliman.

At this time appeared betweene the pope and the French king a moſt great and ſtreict coniuncton: for the king gaue to wife to Laurence his nephue, the ladie Magdalen noblie deſcended of the bloud and houſe of Bullognie, with a yearelie reuenue of ten thouſand crownes, whereof part was of the kings gift, and the reſidue riſing of hir owne patrimonie. Beſides, the king hauing borne to him a ſonne, the pope required that in his baptiſme, he would impoſe vpon him his name. By which occaſion Laurence making preparations to go to marrie his new wife, for his more ſpeed, performed his iournie by poſt into France, where he was receiued with manie amities and much honour of the king, to whome he became verie gratious and of deare account, the rather for that (beſides other generall reſpects) he made a dedication of himſelfe wholie to the king, with promiſe to follow in all accidents, his fortune.]

Aliance betwixt the pope & the French king.

And now to returne to cardinall Wolſie, who grew ſo into exceeding pride, that he thought himſelfe equall with the king. For when he ſaid maſſe (which he did oftener to ſhew his pompe, rather than for anie deuotion) he made dukes and earles to ſerue him of wine, with a ſay taken, and to hold to him the baſon at the lauatorie. Thus was the pride of the cardinall and other prieſts ſo paſt the compaſſe of reaſon, that in maner all good perſons abhorred and diſdeined it [as altogither degenerating from the example of Chriſt & his poore traine, of whome in name and title they ſeemed to be profeſſors, but of their maners and trade of life open defiers; yea in ſuch manifeſt ſort, both in apparell and diet, as alſo in all other reſpects, that few there were (if they perceiued anie thing by diſcretion) but ſaw the euident abuſes of their behauiours, tending greatlie to the diſhonour of the place which they poſſeſſed, as alſo to the no ſmall offenſe of the modeſter ſort of the cleargie, whereof ſome did ſo well like of this ruffling and maſking presbyterie, that they abhorred it as ſtrong poiſon in their broth.]

The exceſſiue pride of the cardinall.

It fortuned that the archbiſhop of Canturburie wrote to the cardinall, anon after that he had recei-

The cardinall taketh it in ſcorne to be called brother by the archbiſhop.

ued his power legantine, the which letter after his old familiar maner he ſubſcribed thus: Your brother William of Canturburie. With which ſubſcription, bicauſe the archbiſhop wrote him brother, he was ſo much offended, as though the archbiſhop had doone him great iniurie, that he could not temper his mood, but in high diſpleaſure ſaid, that he would ſo worke within a while, that he ſhould well vnderſtand how he was his ſuperiour, and not his brother. When the archbiſhop (being a ſober wiſe man) heard of the meſſenger that bare the letter, how the cardinall tooke it not well, but ſo as it might ſéeme there was a great fault in the letter, and reported the tale as one that miſliked the cardinals preſumption herein: Peace (ſaid the archbiſhop) knoweſt thou not how the man is become mad with too much ioy. And thus the cardinall forgetting to hold the right path of true laud and praiſe, ſought to be feared rather than beloued of all good men.

In this meane time the French king greatlie coueting to redéeme the citie of Tornaie out of the hands of the king of England, and knowing that he muſt make waie therevnto thorough the cardinals fréendſhip, ceaſſed not with high gifts to win his good will, and moreouer in often writing to him, exalted him with titles of honor, and ſo magnified him, that the cardinall, as one tickled with vaine-glorie more than can be imagined, thought that he could not doo pleaſure enough to the French king, that did eſtéeme ſo much of him. Hervpon the French king hoping to compaſſe his deſire, after he perceiued the cardinals good will towards him, ſignified his meaning vnto the ſaid cardinall; who found meanes to breake thereof to the king, in ſuch wiſe as he was contented to heare the French kings ambaſſadors, that ſhould be ſent hither to talke of that matter.

The French king writeth to cardinall Wolſie.

Ambaſſadors from the French king.

The French king then vnderſtanding the king of England his pleaſure, ſent ouer the lord Boniuet high admerall of France, and the biſhop of Paris as chéefe ambaſſadours, accompanied with a great ſort of luſtie gentlemen of the French kings court, to the number of foure ſcore and aboue, on whome attended ſuch a companie of other of the meaner ſort, that the whole number amounted to twelue hundred one and other, which were thought to be manie for an ambaſſage. ¶ On mondaie the twentie ſeuenth daie of September, the earle of Surrie high admerall of England, in a coat of rich tiſſue cut on cloath of ſiluer, on a great courſer richlie trapped, and a great whiſtle of gold, ſet with ſtones and pearle, hanging at a great and maſſie chaine baudricke wiſe, accompanied with an hundred and ſixtie gentlemen, richlie apparelled, on goodlie horſſes came to Blackeheath, and there amiablie receiued the ambaſſadours of France. The yoong gallants of France had coats garded with one colour, cut in ten or twelue parts verie richlie to behold: and ſo all the Engliſhmen accoupled themſelues with the Frenchmen louinglie togither, and ſo road to London. After the two admerals followed foure and twentie of the French kings gard, accompanied with foure and twentie of the Engliſh gard. And after them a great numrer of archers, to the number of foure hundred. And in this order they paſſed thorough the citie to tailors hall, and there the chéefe ambaſſadours were lodged, and the remnant in merchants houſes about.

An vnreaſonable number for an ambaſſage.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw.Hall in Hen.8.fol.lxv.

The ambaſſadors of Frãce receiued on Blackeheath.

When theſe lords were in their lodgings, then the French harder men opened their wares, & made the tailors hall like the paund of a mart. At this dooing manie an Engliſhman grudged, but it auailed not. The laſt daie of September, the French ambaſſadours tooke their barge, and came to Gréenewich. The admerall was in a gowne of cloath of ſiluer raiſed, furred with rich ſables; and all his companie almoſt were in a new faſhioned garment, called a ſhemew, which was in effect a gowne cut in the middle. The gentlemen of France were brought into the kings preſence, where the biſhop of Paris made a ſolemne oration; which being ended, & anſwer made thereto, the king highlie interteined the admerall and his companie, and ſo did all the Engliſh lords and gentlemen.]

The French ambaſſadors come to the court.

The ambaſſadours after this were dailie in councell, till at length an agréement was concluded, vnder pretenſe of a marriage to be had betwéene the Dolphin of France, and the ladie Marie, daughter to the king of England: in name of whoſe marriage monie, Tornaie ſhould be deliuered vnto the French king, he paieng to the king of England for the caſtell which he had made in that citie, ſix hundred thouſand crownes, to be paid in twelue yeares ſpace, that is to ſaie, fiftie thouſand euerie yeare during that terme. And if the marriage chanced not to take effect, then ſhould Tornaie be againe reſtored to the king of England. For performance of which article, hoſtages ſhould be deliuered, that is to wit, monſieur de Montmorancie, monſieur de Montpeſac, monſieur de Moie, monſieur de Morret. Moreouer the French king ſhould paie to the lord cardinall of England a thouſand marks of yearelie penſion, in recompenſe of his reuenues before time receiued of the biſhoprike of Tornaie: and likewiſe to other of the kings councell he ſhould alſo giue certeine ſummes of monie as yearelie penſions, in like maner as his anceſtors had doone to the councellors of the kings of England before time.

Articles of agréement for the deliuerie of Tornaie.

The French K. agréed to call backe the duke of Albanie out of Scotland, that the ſuertie of K. James might the better be prouided for, and leſſe occaſion of trouble miniſtred to the king of England. And further the French king was contented that the ſaid king James ſhould be receiued as a confederat in this peace. When all things were concluded, the king and the ambaſſadours road to the cathedrall church of ſaint Paule in London from Durham place, where the cardinall of England ſang the maſſe in moſt pompous maner: and after that maſſe was ended, doctor Pace the kings ſecretarie made an eloquent oration in praiſe of peace: and that doone, the king and his nobles with the ambaſſadours went to the biſhops palace, and there dined, and after dinner, the king rode againe to Durham place. That night the cardinall of Yorke made to the ambaſſadors a ſolemne banket, and them accompanied manie lords and ladies of England. And when the banket was doone, in came ſix minſtrels, richlie diſguiſed, and after them followed thrée gentlemen in wide and long gownes of crimſin ſattin, euerie one hauing a cup of gold in their hands.

Edw.Hall.in H.8.fol.lxv.

The firſt cup was full of angels and rotals, the ſecond had diuerſe bales of dice, and the third had certeine paires of cards. Theſe gentlemen offered to plaie at mumchance, and when they had plaied the length of the firſt boord, then the minſtrels blew vp, and then entered into the chamber certeine ladies diſguiſed, on whome attended twelue knights diſguiſed bearing torches. All theſe thirtie & ſix perſons were in one ſute of fine gréene ſattin, all couered ouer with cloth of gold, vnder tied togither with laces of gold, and maſking hoods on their heads: the ladies had tiers made of braids of damaſke gold with long haire of white gold. All theſe maſkers danſed at one time, and after they had danſed, they put off their viſors, and ſo were they all knowne. The admerall and lords of France hartilie thanked the king, that it pleaſed him to viſit them with ſuch diſport. Then the king & his companie were banketted, and had high chéere; and ſo they departed euerie man to his lodging.

ging. The eight of October at Gréenewich, was ſong a ſolemne maſſe by the biſhop of Durham, and after maſſe, doctor Tunſtall, maiſter of the rolles, made an eloquent propoſition in praiſe of the matrimonie to be had betwixt the Dolphin and the ladie Marie. All that daie were the ſtrangers feaſted, and at night they were brought into the hall, where was a rocke full of all maner of ſtones, verie artificiallie made, and on the top ſtood fiue trées, the firſt an oliue trée, on which hanged a ſhield of the armes of the church of Rome; the ſecond a pineaple trée, with the armes of the emperour; the third a roſier, with the armes of England; the fourth a branch of lillies, bearing the armes of France; and the fift a pomegranat trée, bearing the armes of Spaine: in token that all theſe fiue potentats were ioined togither in one league againſt the enimies of Chriſtes faith.

Doctor Tunſtall maiſter of the rolles.

Ed.Hall in H.8.fol.lxvj.

A pageant verie ſumptuous and of notable deuiſe.

In and vpon the middeſt of the rocke ſate a faire ladie, richlie apparelled with a dolphin in hir lap. In this rocke were ladies and gentlemen apparelled in crimſin ſattin, couered ouer with floures of purple ſattin, embrodered vpon with wrethes of gold, knit togither with golden laces, and on euerie floure a hart of gold mouing. The ladies apparell was after the faſhion of Inde, with kerchiſes of pleaſance, hatched with fine gold, and ſet with letters of Gréeke in gold of bullion; and the edges of their kerchiſes were garniſhed with hanging perle. Theſe gentlemen and ladies ſat on the nether part of the rocke, and out of a caue in the ſaid rocke came ten knights, armed at all points, and fought togither a faire tournie. And when they were ſeuered and departed, the diſguiſors deſcended from the rocke, and danſed a great ſpace: and ſuddenlie the rocke moued and receiued the diſguiſors, and immediatlie cloſed againe.

Then entered a perſon called Report, apparelled in crimſin ſattin full of toongs, ſitting on a flieng horſſe with wings and féet of gold called Pegaſus. This perſon in French declared the mening of the rocke, the trées, and the tournie. After this paſtime ended, the king and the ambaſſadours were ſerued at a banket with two hundred and ſixtie diſhes, and after that a voidee of ſpices with ſixtie ſpice plates of ſiluer and gilt, as great as men with eaſe might beare. This night the cupbord in the hall was of twelue ſtages all of plate of gold, and no gilt plate. When that euerie man had béene plentiouſlie ſerued, the tables were taken vp, and the king with the quéene and all the ſtrangers departed to their lodgings.

A ſtatelie or roiall banket of two hundred and ſixtie diſhes.

After diuerſe iuſts & feaſts made for the ſaid ambaſſadours by the king and lords: ſir Thomas Exmew maior of London made to them a coſtlie dinner at Goldſmiths hall, which dinner they highlie praiſed, it was ſo well ordered. And when the time came, they tooke their leaue of the king, the quéene, and the kings councell, and deliuered into the kings poſſeſſion their foure hoſtages (as you haue heard before.) At which departing the king gaue to the admerall of France a garniſh of gilt veſſell, a paire of couerd baſens gilt, twelue great gilt boles, foure paire of great gilt pots, a ſtanding cup of gold, garniſhed with great pearles: and to ſome other alſo, he gaue plate, to ſome chains of gold, to ſome rich apparell, and to ſome great horſſes with rich bards, ſo that euerie gentleman was well rewarded; which liberalitie the ſtrangers much praiſed: and after that all their truſſes were readie they departed towards the ſea, and tooke ſhip and landed at Bullogne.]

The king of Englands munificence and bountifulneſſe to the French ambaſſadours & gentlemen.

Shortlie after their departure, the earle of Worceſter, lord chamberleine, the biſhop of Elie, the lord of ſaint Iohns, ſir Nicholas Vaux, ſir Iohn Pechie, ſir Thomas Bullen, as ambaſſadours from the king of England, accompanied with thrée ſcore and ten knights, gentlemen and yeomen, to the number of foure hundred and aboue, paſſed the ſea to Calis, and ſo from thenſe went to Paris, where they were noblie receiued, & being brought to the French kings preſence, the biſhop of Elie made a ſolemne oration touching the mariage and peace concluded.

Ambaſſadors ſent from king Henrie to the French king.

[To interteine the Engliſh ambaſſadours and gentlemen, the French king had made a banketting houſe in the baſtill of Paris betwéene foure old walles. This houſe was couered with cords ſtreined by craft, and euerie cord was woond about with box, and ſo laid croſſewiſe one ouer an other in fret, and at the méetings a great knop gilt with gold foile. Ouer their cords was ſtreined woollen cloaths of light blew: this roofe was foure ſcore foot high, and on euerie ſide thrée ſtages high: all the pillers of the ſtages were couered with antike works, & the breſts of the ſtages curiouſlie wrought with armes, viniets, and branches: the roofe was ſet full of ſtarres gilt & furniſhed with glaſſes betwéene the frets. In this houſe was two hundred and twelue branches gilt hanged, & on euerie branch a great number of lights of white wax.

Edw. Hall in H.8.fol.lxvj.

A banketting houſe of the French kings deſcribed.

Diuerſe ſorts of maſkes were ſhewed alſo that night: and at euerie ſide of the palace a great cupbord of maſſie plate of much greatneſſe was ſet, the French king welcomming the lords and ambaſſadours with good countenance.] Here is to be remembred, that immediatlie after the concluſion of the marriage, a rumor was raiſed, that the Dolphin was dead before, and that this marriage was but a colourable pretext, deuiſed of the Frenchmen for a policie to come by their purpoſe: and therefore, after that the Engliſh ambaſſadours had béene feaſted and interteined with banketting and princelie paſtime, the biſhop of Elie, with ſir Thomas Bullen, and ſir Richard Weſton, were appointed to go vnto Conſacke to ſée the Dolphin, where they were honorablie receiued, and brought vnto the preſence of the Dolphin, being a goodlie yoong child, whome they kiſſed and imbraced in moſt louing wiſe.

1520

The earle of Worceſter, and with him ſir Nicholas Vaux, ſir Iohn Pechie, ſir Edward Belknap, and diuerſe others at the ſame time, tooke leaue of the French king, and rode to Tornaie to ſée the citie deliuered to the Frenchmen. Wherevpon, the eight of Februarie, the lord Chatillon came thither with one and twentie hundred men; and after ſome controuerſie moued about the deliuerie of his commiſſion, and ſealing an indenture, which the earle had there readie ingroſſed, conteining the articles of agréement, in conſideration whereof it was deliuered, the capteine ſir Richard Ierningham was diſcharged, and the Frenchmen ſuffered to enter with drumſlads and minſtrelſie, but not with ſtandards nor banners, which the Engliſhmen cauſed them to roll vp greatlie againſt their wils. Before they came to the gates, they ſealed the indenture, confeſſing how they receiued the citie as a gift, and not as a right, and deliuered their commiſſion, whereby they were authoriſed to receiue it, which at the firſt they refuſed to doo, affirming that it was ſufficient for them to ſhew it.

The maner how Tornaie was deliuered to the French king.

Thus was Tornaie deliuered in this tenth yeare of the kings reigne, on the eight daie of Februarie, & the Engliſhmen returned into England, ſore diſpleaſed in their minds. For thereby manie a tall yeoman lacked liuing, the which would not labour after their returne, but fell to robbing, pilfering, ſhifting, and other extraordinarie meanes of maintenance, whereas before they were ſtaied vpon a certeintie of hope, ſo long as they had allowance by the king. So that this reſignation of Tornaie, though it were anſwerable to the deſire of the French king, and commodious for his people, yet that benefit of theirs bred to the Engliſh ſoldiors detriment and loſſe: who wiſhed in their harts to haue left their liues behind them in defenſe of poſſeſſion, rather than it ſhould reuert into the hands of them, by whome it was ſurrendred ⁊ giuen vp to the Engliſh power, whom (bicauſe they were not able to incounter) they let in at their gates by a voluntarie motion and common conſent for their better ſafetie, as a late writer witneſſeth:

Angligenis paſsis intra ſua mœnia portus
Sponte intromittens.

Ed. Hall in H.8. fol.lxvii.

The light and miſliked demeanour of diuerſe yong gentlemen of England ⁊ the French king.

¶During this time remained in the French court diuerſe yong gentlemen of England, and they with the French king rode dailie diſguiſed through Paris, throwing egges, ſtones, and other fooliſh trifles at the people, which light demeanour of a king was much diſcommended and ieaſted at. And when theſe yong gentlemen came againe into England, they were all French, in eating, drinking, and apparell, yea, and in French vices and brags, ſo that all the eſtates of England were by them laughed at: the ladies and gentlewomen were diſpraiſed, ſo that nothing by them was praiſed, but if it were after the French turne, which after turned them to diſpleſure, as you ſhall heare.

After the kings ambaſſadours were returned, and Tornaie deliuered to the Frenchmen vpon the conditions aforeſaid, the hoſtages that were here left for the paiment of the great ſummes and performance of the conditions compriſed in the league (of the which one was, that if the marriage tooke none effect, then the citie of Tornaie ſhould be redeliuered vpon repaiment of the ſame ſummes) the ſaid hoſtages knew not in what caſe they ſtood, but when they knew it, they were verie heauie and ſorowfull: howbeit, they diſſembled the matter in the beſt wiſe they could. The king vſed familiarlie theſe foure hoſtages, and on the ſeuenth daie of Maie prepared a diſguiſing, and cauſed his great chamber at Greenwich to be ſtaged, and great lights to be ſet on pillors that were gilt, with baſons gilt, and the roofe was couered with blue ſattin ſet full of preſſes of fine gold and flowers: and vnder was written *Iammes*, the meaning whereof was, that the flower of youth could not be oppreſſed.

Preparation for ſolemne diſport.

Into this chamber came the king, and the queene, with the hoſtages, and there was a goodlie comedie of Plautus plaied; and that doone, there entered into the chamber eight ladies in blacke veluet bordered about with gold, with hoopes from the waſt downeward, and ſleeues ruffed and plited at the elbow, and plaine in the middeſt, full of cuts, plucked out at euerie cut with fine camerike, ⁊ tired like the Aegyptians verie richlie. And when theſe ladies had paſſed about the place, in came eight noble perſonages in long gownes of taffata ſet with flowers of gold bullion, and vnder that apparell cotes of blacke veluet embrodered with gold all to cut, and plucked out with cuts of white ſarcenet, and euerie man had buſkins of blacke veluet full of agglets of gold.

A comedie of Plautus plaied before the king.

Then the eight men danſed with the eight ladies all being viſarded, and ſuddenlie the men caſt off their large gownes, and then their vnder apparell was ſeene. And when all was doone, euerie lord and ladie put off their viſards, and then it was knowne that the king, the duke of Suffolke, and the French queene were there, which were preſent at the plaie time. On the eight daie of March was a ſolemne iuſtes, the king himſelfe, and eight yong gentlemen baſed and barded in blacke veluet embrodered with gold; againſt the duke of Suffolke, and eight of his band, all in white ſatten with drops of gold. And that daie they all ran exceeding well, which the ſtrangers highlie commended.]

A iuſtes.

About the end of March, the king ſent for all the yeomen of the gard that were come from Tornaie, and after manie good words giuen to them, he granted to euerie of them foure pence the daie without attendance, except they were ſpeciallie commanded.

The ſoldiors of Tornaie rewarded.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 764.

¶And here it ſeemeth requiſit to adde the report of a forreine chronicler touching the league of amitie and conditions of the ſame, knit vp in breuitie and good tearmes as followeth. Now (ſaith he) the differences betweene the French and Engliſh were alſo reconciled. And for the more ſtabilitie of which agreement, it was confirmed with a contract of parentage and aliance, wherein the king of England promiſed to giue his onelie daughter, to whome hauing no ſons, there was hope of the deſcending ⁊ ſucceſſion of the kingdome to the Dolphin the eldeſt ſonne of the crowne of France, adding for a portion foure hundred thouſand duckets. Both the one and the other bore yet ſo tender age, that infinit accidents might happen, before perfection of yeeres would make them able to eſtabliſh matrimonie. There was made betwene them a league defenſiue, wherin were comprehended Ceſar, and the king of Spaine, in caſe they would ratifie it in a certeine time.

The portion giuē with the kings daughter of England.

The king of England bound himſelfe to reſtore Tornaie, receiuing preſentlie for defraiments expended vpon that towne, two hundred and threeſcore thouſand duckets, and three hundred thouſand to bee defalked of the portion, and to paie three hundred thouſand more in the ſpace of twelue yeares. The French king alſo was bound, that if the peace and the parentage folowed not, to render vp againe into the hands of the Engliſh, the towne of Tornaie. Manie ambaſſadours were ſent from both the realmes to negociat this league, and to receiue the ratifications and othes, by whome in the courts of both the kings the acts of the accord were diſpatched with great ſolemnitie and ceremonie, with a reſolution of an interuiew of both the kings betweene Calis and Bullongne, immediatlie after the reſtitution of Tornaie.

About the ſame time, the daughter of the French king, appointed to be married to the king of Spaine, being dead, the former peace and capitulation was eftſoones reconfirmed betweene them, wherein was promiſed the marriage of the ſecond daughter of France. Both the kings celebrated this coniunction with moſt great demonſtrations of perfect amitie: for the king of Spaine, hauing paied in at Lions an hundred thouſand duckets, ware publikelie the order of ſaint Michaell vpon the day of the celebration of the ſame, and in recompenſe of that honour: the French king, vpon the daie dedicated to ſaint Andrew, was honorablie attired in the robes and colour of the golden fleece.

Peace and aliance betwixt the French king and the Spaniſh ſolemnlie celebrated.

About this time, John Ja. Triuulce, whome neither old age reduced almoſt to the laſt time, nor his vertue ſo oftentimes expreſſed in the ſeruice of the truce of France could anie waie aid or comfort (being both ambicious and impatient, and therefore enuied) following the French court, fell ſicke at Charters, where he gaue vp to the king, his innocencie and complaints, and made to God the laſt reckoning of his aged daies. He was a man in the iudgement of manie, and confirmed by ſundrie experiences, of ſingular valour in the diſcipline of warre, and ran a race alwaies oppoſed to the inconſtancie of fortune, who (according to hir mutabilitie) made him feele the operation of both hir humors, ſometimes reioiſing in hir fauour, and erſt againe finding hir ſowre and of a bitter taſt. By his commandement were written vpon his toome theſe words, not diſagreeable to the variable condition and courſe of his naturall life:

The death of John Ja. Triuulce, a noble ſeruitour in the French affaires.

I find the reſt within my graue,
Which in my life I could not haue.]

In

The death of the emperour Maximilian. Guic. pag. 763.

In this yeare the twelfe of Februarie, died the emperour Maximilian, for whome the king cauſed a ſolemne obſequie to be kept in Poules church. ¶ Hée died at Luiz, a towne vpon the marches of Auſtrich, where he remained for his delight and pleaſure in hunting the wild bore, and other chaſes of the field. He liued alwaies vnder one condition of fortune, who manie times fauoured him, in offering him manie faire occaſions, & as often wrought againſt him in not ſuffering him to take the fruit and effect of them. He was by nature inconſtant and remoueable, and had conceipts and impreſſions verie ill diſpoſed and different from the iudgement of other men, ioined to an exceſſiue prodigalitie and diſſipation of monie.

A deſcription of the emperors qualities.

Matters which cut off from him the effects and ſucceſſe of all occaſions, being otherwiſe a prince moſt perfect and inſtructed in the ordering of warre, ſecret to laie and diſpoſe a plot, diligent to follow it, of bodie able and ſuffering, of mind affable and eaſie, and repleniſhed with manie other excellent gifts and ornaments. Unto ſome of theſe properties, the good ſeruice which he did the king of England at Terwin giueth proofe, at what time both he and his people marched vnder the Engliſh enſigne, and receiued paie as ſtipendarie ſouldiors; whoſe wages the king had a care to paie, as maie appeare by his coining of ſiluer monie, whereof was ſcarſitie in his campe, in reſpect of gold, wherewith the ſouldiors were well ſtored, as one doth verie well make report, ſaieng:

Pro mercede nihil niſi fuluum ſoluitur aurum,
Auri militibus radiantis copia totis
Tanta fuit caſtris, vt rex cudiſſe coactus
Nummum ex argento fuerit.

The French king and the Spaniſh began to aſpire to the empire.

Aſſone as the emperour was dead, the French king and the king of Spaine began manifeſtlie to aſpire to the empire, the purchaſe whereof albeit was a matter of right great importance, and no leſſe the emulation running betwéene two ſo mightie princes, yet they ordered their ambition with great modeſtie, neither vſing words of iniurie, nor threats of armes; but either one labouring by his authoritie, & by his meanes, to draw on his ſide the electors. The French king ſundrie times reaſoned touching the election with great comelineſſe with the Spaniſh ambaſſadours, to whom he ſaid it was a matter both agréeable and conuenient, that either of them seuerallie ſhould ſéeke by honeſt meanes to increaſe the honour of his houſe by ſo great a dignitie: which for that in times before had bene transferred into the families of their predeceſſours, there was now the leſſe occaſion to bréed betwéene them two matter of iniurie, nor diminution of their amitie and good will.

But rather he wiſhed, that in the action of the empire, they might follow the example and order of two yoong louers, who albeit they follow the queſt of one ladie, and either one laboureth by his induſtrie to carie hir; yet they forbere to come to contention. The king of Spaine alluded with good right, that the empire apperteined to him, as hauing continued by a long ſucceſſion of time in the houſe of Auſtrich, and that it had not béene the cuſtome of the electors to depriue the iſſue of the emperour, without manifeſt cauſe of their diſabilitie, neither was there anie in Germanie of that puiſſance and authoritie to make him equall to ſtand competitor with him in that election. And leaſt of all did he hold it iuſt or likelie, that the electors would tranſport to a forreine or ſtrange prince, ſo great a dignitie continued by ſo manie ages in the nation of Germanie.

The king of Spains claim to the empire.

And albeit ſome particular amongſt them, either through the inſinuation of monie, or other propertie of corruption, might be allured to another intention, yet he hoped to ſtop him with force prepared in time conuenient, not doubting alſo but the other electors alſo would oppoſe againſt him, and the princes and frée townes of Germanie would not indure ſo vniuerſall an infamie, ſpeciallie to ſuffer it to be laid vpon the perſon of the French king, which would be no other thing than to make great the puiſſance of a king enimie vnto their nation, and from whome there was no ſuertie that the imperiall dignitie would euer returne into Germanie: he thought it would be an action eaſie to obteine and reduce to perfection, that which had bin ſolicited by his grandfather, who had alreadie compounded for recompenſes and donations, and other diuidents for euerie of the electors.

On the other ſide, the deſire of the French king was as great, and no leſſe were his hopes, which tooke their principall foundation vpon an opinion he had to corrupt the voices of the electors with his huge ſummes of monie: eſpeciallie for that there were amongeſt them both penſionaries to him, and otherwiſe aſſured by manie good offices, who incouraging him with the facilitie of the enterpriſe, puſhed him on to imbrace it. And for his part, as mortall men are apt to beléeue the thing they deſire, ſo he nouriſhed that hope with reaſons rather apparant than true: he knew that commonlie it was a matter grieuous to the princes of Germanie to haue the emperors mightie; being gealous that in ſo great a puiſſance, they would not either in part or in all, quarrell the iuriſdictions and authorities imperiall occupied by manie of them. In which reaſon he perſuaded himſelfe, that they would in no ſort conſent to the election of the Spaniard, & ſo of themſelues to ſubiect themſelues to an emperor more mightie than had béene ſince a long deſcent and race of emperors. A matter which in his perſon ſéemed to be qualified, for that hauing neither eſtates nor ancient aliances in Germanie, they had no occaſion of ſuſpicion of his greatneſſe.

The French king in hope to be emperor as well as the Spaniſh.

The ſame reaſon alſo made him beléeue well of the conformitie of the frée townes, in whome much leſſe that the regard of the glorie of the nation would carie it from him, ſéeing it would helpe to peize the ballance on his ſide, for that with moſt men the motions of proper and priuate intereſt maie doo more, than the reſpect of publike and generall profit. He knewe it was not a little grieuous to manie noble houſes of Germanie, pretending to be capable of ſuch a dignitie, to ſée the empire continue ſo long time in one houſe; but much more did it diſcontent them to ſuffer that ſo great an eſtate, which of right ought ſometimes to be giuen to one of them, and ſometime to paſſe to another, ſhould become a perpetuall deſcent and ſucceſſion in one line: inſomuch as they might call inheritance and ſucceſſion that election, which durſt not leaue the line of the emperors. That in that ſort the empire was tranſlated from Albert de Auſtrich to Frederike his brother, and from Frederike to Maximilian his ſonne; and now there was deuiſe to paſſe it from Maximilian to the perſon of Charles his grandchild.

The French king builded his hope vpon the humors of the princes of Germanie.

By theſe humors and indignations of the princes of Germanie, he tooke hope that the diſcords and gealouſies amongſt themſelues might helpe on his cauſe, the rather for that it often happeneth in the contentions of men, that he that is excluded, or the partie whome he fauoureth, runneth with a naturall raſhneſſe rather to call in, and to aduance a third, than to giue place to him that hath oppoſed againſt his intention. Moreouer, the French king was not without his hopes in the fauour of the pope, both in regard of the amitie and aliance newlie paſt betwixt them; and alſo for that he was not ignorant how inconuenient it would be to the ſée apoſtolike to haue the

The French king relieth vpon the fauour of the pope.

the imperiall crowne inueſted in Charls, nor ſo much for his owne greatneſſe, as for that by the opportunitie and neighbourhood of the realme of Naples to the eſtate of the church, and the adherencie of the barons of the Gebelins, he had a plaine and open paſſage to run vp to the gates of Rome.

But in that diſcourſe he conſidered not that the ſame reaſon, which he iudged true againſt Charles, was alſo againſt himſelfe: for that the empire being ioined to his perſon, he was no leſſe to be feared of the pope & all others, than Charles. For that though the one of them poſſeſſed happilie more realmes and ſtates; yet the other was not to be leſſe eſtéemed, hauing his power not diſperſed nor ſeparate in manie places, but was prince of a realme entierlie aſſembled and vnited, where the obedience and fidelitie of his ſubiects was no leſſe woonderfull, than his treaſure and riches infinite. Neuertheleſſe, not knowing in himſelfe that which he conſidered in an other, he had recourſe to the pope, and implored his fauor vnder the offer and proteſtation of his perſon and kingdoms, with all other deuotions of a louing ſon. Notwithſtanding all this, the French king was abuſed by his vaine hope, which fed him with fanſies of the empire, whereto he was not allotted nor elected.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall. in H.8. fol. lxviij, &c.

Charles the fift, king of Spaine choſen emperour.

For on the twentie eight of Iune was elected to be emperor Charles king of Caſtile, and nephue to the quéene, by the whole aſſent of the electors of the empire: namelie, the archbiſhop of Matence, the archbiſhop of Cullen, the count Palatine, and the duke of Saxon. Although the French king ſent his great maiſter to cauſe him to be elected to the high maieſtie of the empire; yet his ambaſſador and great maiſter of his houſhold (called Gonffier lord of Boiſie, and brother to William Gonffier lord Boneuet, admerall of France, which was ambaſſador in England the laſt yéere, as you haue heard) did not ſo his meſſage that it tooke anie effect. The king which had ſent doctor Pace his ſecretarie for the aduancement of his nephue the king of Caſtile, to the dignitie imperiall, becauſe he had the duchie of Auſtrich, and manie other ſeigniories in Almaine, was verie ioious of this election, and cauſed a ſolemne maſſe to be ſoong at Paules the ſeuenth daie of Iulie: at which maſſe was preſent the cardinall Campeius, the cardinall of Yorke, the duke of Buckingham, of Norfolke, & Suffolke, with the ambaſſadours of Spaine, France, Venice, and Scotland.

After maſſe was doone, the quier ſang *Te Deum*, and then all the lords departed to Bainards caſtell to dinner, and that night were ſolemne fires made thorough London, and great plentie of wine giuen by Italians, Dutchmen, and Spaniards for theſe newes. In this yeare the king with all the knights of his order being in England, rode on double horſſes, with the henchmen following the king from Colbrooke to Windſore in gorgious apparell, and there he kept with great ſolemnitie the feaſt of ſaint George, and dined in the hall. The biſhop of Wincheſter prelat of the order ſat at the boords end alone. The king was ſolemnelie ſerued and the ſurnap caſt like the feaſt of a coronation. All things were plentious to ſtrangers that reſorted thither. At the maſſe of *Requiem* were offered the banner & other habillements of honour belonging to Maximilian the emperour late deceaſſed.

The kings affableneſſe & familiaritie with the inferior ſort of people grudged at of the councell.

After this feaſt ended, the king came to Richmond, and ſo to Gréenewich, and there laie all Maie. In which moneth the kings councell ſecretlie communed togither of the kings gentleneſſe and liberalitie to all perſons: by the which they perceiued that certeine yoong men in his priuie chamber, not regarding his eſtate or degrée, were ſo familiar and homelie with him, that they forgat themſelues. Which things although the king of his gentle nature ſuffered, and not rebuked nor reproued it: yet the kings councell thought it not méet to be ſuffered for the kings honour, and therefore they all togither came to the king, beſéeching him to haue more regard to his roialtie.

Certeine of the priuie chamber remooued, and others in their roome appointed.

To whome the king anſwered, that he had choſen them of his councell, both for the maintenance of his honour, and for the defenſe of all things that might blemiſh the ſame: wherefore if they ſaw anie about him miſuſe themſelues, he committed it vnto their reformation. Then the kings councell cauſed the lord chamberleine to call before them diuerſe of the priuie chamber, which had béene in the French court, and baniſhed them the court for diuerſe conſiderations, laieng nothing particularlie to their charges, & they that had offices were commanded to go to their offices. Which diſcharge out of court gréued ſore the hearts of theſe yoong men, which were called the kings minions. Then was there foure ſad & ancient knights put into the K. priuie chamber, whoſe names were; ſir Richard Wingfield, ſir Richard Ierningham, ſir Richard Weſton, and ſir William Kingſton; and diuerſe officers were changed.

The king and quéene at Hauering in the Bower.

In this ſummer the quéene deſired the king to bring to hir manor of Hauering in the Bower in Eſſex the gentlemen of France being hoſtages, for whoſe welcomming ſhe purueied all things in the moſt liberall manner: and eſpeciallie ſhe made to the king ſuch a ſumptuous banket, that the king thanked hir hartilie, & the ſtrangers gaue hir great praiſe. The king lieng there did ſhoot, hunt, and run dailie with the hoſtages to their great ioy. This yéere in September the king laie at his manor of Newhall in Eſſex, otherwiſe called Beaulieu, where the king had newlie builded a coſtlie manſion, there to welcome the quéene, the lords, and the French gentlemen, he made to them a ſumptuous banket, and all along the chamber ſat a ladie & a lord, or a knight, which were plentiouſlie ſerued.

Newhall in Eſſex called Beaulieu.

A maſke of graue and ancient courtiers.

After the banket ended, with noiſe of minſtrels entered into the chamber eight maſkers with white beards, and long and large garments of blew ſattin paned with ſipers, poudered with ſpangles of bullion gold, and they danſed with ladies ſadlie, and communed not with the ladies after the faſhion of maſkers, but behaued themſelues grauelie. Wherfore the quéene plucked off their viſors, and then appeared the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Eſſex, the marqueſſe Dorſet, the lord Aburgauennie, ſir Richard Wingfield, ſir Robert Wingfield, ſir Richard Weſton, ſir William Kingſton: all theſe were ſomewhat aged, the yoongeſt man was fiftie at the leaſt. The ladies had good ſport to ſee theſe ancient perſons maſkers.

A maſke of youthfull courtiers.

When they departed, the king and the foure hoſtages of France, and the earle of Deuonſhire with ſix other yoong gentlemen entered the chamber, of the which ſix were all in yellow ſattin, hoſe, ſhooes, and caps, and ſix other were in like maner in gréene: the yelow ſattin was fretted with ſiluer of damaſke, and ſo was the gréene verie richlie to behold: then euerie maſker tooke a ladie and danſed. When they had danſed and communed a great while, their viſors were taken off, and they knowne, and the king gaue manie brooches and proper gifts where he liked.]

The king ſitteth in the Starchamber in iudgement.

In the moneth of Nouember the king came from Lambeth to Weſtminſter hall, and ſo to the Starchamber, and there were brought before him the lord Ogle, the lord Howard, ſir Matthew Browne, ſir William Bulmer, and Iohn Scot of Camerwell, for diuerſe riots, miſdemeanors, & offenſes by them committed: but the king ſpeciallie rebuked ſir William Bulmer knight, bicauſe he being his ſeruant ſworne, refuſed the kings ſeruice, and became ſer-

uant

nant to the duke of Buckingham: yet at length vpon his humble crauing of mercie, ſtill knéeling on his knées before his grace, the king pardoned him his offenſe: and likewiſe he pardoned the lord Howard, and ſir Matthew Browne, their offenſes: but bicauſe the lord Ogles matter concerned murther, he remitted him to the common law. And then he roſe and went to his barge, and by the waie made James Parford maior of the citie of London knight, and ſo returned to Lambeth.

The French king deſirous to continue the friendſhip latelie begun betwixt him and the king of England, made meanes vnto the cardinall, that they might in ſome conuenient place come to an interuiew togither, that he might haue further knowlege of king Henrie, and likewiſe king Henrie of him. But the fame went that the cardinall deſired greatlie, of himſelfe, that the two kings might méet, who meſuring by his will what was conuenient, thought it ſhould make much with his glorie, if in France alſo at ſome high aſſemblie of noble men, he ſhould be ſéene in his vaine pompe and ſhew of dignitie: hée therefore breaketh with the king of that matter, declaring how honourable, neceſſarie, and conuenient it ſhould be for him to gratifie his friend therein, and thus with his perſuaſions the K. began to conceiue an earneſt deſire to ſée the French king, and therevpon appointed to go ouer to Calis, and ſo in the marches of Guiſnes to méet with him.

Note the ambicious humor of the cardinal of Yorke.

Then were there ſent vnto Guiſnes, vnder the rule of ſir Edward Belknap thrée thouſand artificers, which builded out of the earth on the plaine before the caſtell of Guiſnes, a moſt pleaſant palace of timber, right curiouſlie garniſhed without and within. Herewith were letters written to all ſuch lords, ladies, gentlemen, and gentlewomen, which ſhould giue their attendance on the king and quéene, which incontinentlie put themſelues in a readineſſe after the moſt ſumptuous ſort. Alſo it was appointed that the king of England, & the French king, in a campe betwéene Ard and Guiſnes, with eightéene aides, ſhould in June next inſuing abide all commers being gentlemen, at the tilt, at tourneie, and at barriers, whereof proclamattion was made by Orleans king of armes of France here in the court of England, and by Clarenceaux king of armes of England in the court of France, and in the court of Burgognie, and in diuerſe other courts and places in Almanie and Italie.

Edw. Hall.

During the time of theſe preparations, newes were brought to the king, that Charles his nephue elected emperour of Almanie, would ſhortlie depart out of Spaine by ſea, and come by England to go to Acon or Air (a citie of fame and renowme in Germanie, for the ancient reſidence and ſepulchre of Charlemaine) where he receiued the firſt crowne. Wherefore the king hearing of this determination of the emperour, cauſed great prouiſions to be made at euerie hauen, for the receiuing of his welbeloued nephue and friend; & dailie prouiſions were made on all ſides for theſe noble méetings of ſo high princes: and eſpeciallie the quéene of England, and the ladie Dowager of France, made great coſt on the apparell of their ladies and gentlewomen.

Edw. Hall in H. 8. fol. lxix. Preparation for the interteining of the emperour Charles into England.

On the firſt daie of Februarie being Candlemaſſe euen, as the king and quéene were come from euenſong at there manour of Gréenwich, before the quéenes chamber there blew a trumpet ſuddenlie, and then entered into the quéens chamber foure gentlemen apparelled in long and large garments of blew damaſke bordered with gold, and brought with them a tricke waggon, in the which ſat a ladie richlie apparelled, with a canopie ouer hir head: and on the foure corners of the waggon were foure hedpéeces called armites, euerie péece being of a ſundrie deuiſe. The ſaid ladie put vp a bill to the king, the effect whereof was, that the foure gentlemen preſent would (for the loue of their ladies) anſwer all commers at the tilt at a daie by the king to be appointed: which daie was appointed at Shrouetide next inſuing. At which daie the foreſaid gentlemen valiantlie accompliſhed their enterpriſe, with great lauds of the king, the quéene, and the ladies.

A deuiſe of a waggon vpon the ſudden.

Moreouer, now that it was concluded, that the kings of England and France ſhould méet (as yée haue heard) then both the kings committed the order and manner of their méeting, and how manie daies the ſame ſhould continue, & what preheminence each ſhould giue to other, vnto the cardinall of Yorke, which to ſet all things in a certeintie, made an inſtrument, conteining an order and direction concerning the premiſſes by him deuiſed and appointed.

The whole maner of the interuiew committed to the cardinall.

The tenour of the ſaid inſtrument *mad by the cardinall.*

THomas archbiſhop of Yorke and cardinall, &c. Albeit that by the treatie and méeting of the right high, and right puiſſant princes, Henrie by the grace of God, king of England, and of France, lord of Ireland, my ſouereigne lord: and Francis by the ſame grace, K. of France right chriſtened, made and concluded at London the eight daie of October, the yeare of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred and eightéene, be among other things concluded and accorded, that the ſame méeting ſhall be in place indifferent, and not ſubiect to any of the ſaid princes. Neuertheleſſe we, conſidering the honour, profit, and vtilitie, that ſhall redound by the interuiew of the ſaid two princes, and not onelie to the ſaid two princes, their realmes and ſubiects, but alſo to all chriſtendome, after declaration herevpon had with the ſaid princes.

Ab. Fl. ex Ed. Hall in H. 8. fol. lxx.

Alſo conſidering that the ſaid illuſtre king of England my ſoureigne lord, in paſſing the ſea with his retinue, ſhall ſuſteine great coſts and expenſes, and diſpoſe himſelfe to great labors and dangers, leauing his realme and puiſſance for certeine time, we haue thought & eſtéemed, that he ſhould not be wholie ſatiſfied to the honour and dignitie of the ſame, right illuſtre king of England my ſoureigne lord, and ſhould not haue in regard condigne of his labours and dangers, if the ſaid interuiew or méeting after the firſt treatie ſhuld be in place indifferent. Wherefore it is that we deſiring to weie equallie the honor and dignitie of the ſaid two kings, by vertue and power of the commiſſions to vs giuen, of whom the tenours ſhall bée hereafter declared: we haue made, declared, and ordeined certeine articles accepted & approoued by the ſame princes reſpectiuelie, which they will obſerue, and by theſe preſents we make, declare, and ordeine as followeth.

And firſt we declare and ordeine, that before the end of the moneth of Maie next comming, the ſaid illuſtre king of England ſhall come perſonallie to the caſtle of Guiſnes, with his bedfellow the quéene, and his

The firſt article of the interuiew of the two kings & their traine.

ſiſter the Dowareſſe of France: & ſemblablie the right chriſtened K. of France, ſhall come in perſon to his caſtle of Ard with the queene & his mother: and ſome day, houre, and time, within foure daies at the moſt, after the end of Maie, that ſhall be aſſigned by the commiſſioners of the one and the other partie, the ſaid king of England ſhall iſſue out of his caſtell of Guiſnes half a mile long, without that that he ſhall iſſue out of the limits of his demain of Guiſnes, and ſhall come towards the ſaid caſtell of Ard: and there within the territorie of the ſaid caſtell of Guiſnes, he ſhall reſt in ſome place not fortified nor walled, and neere the limits of France, that the ſaid commiſſioners ſhall aſſigne (as aboue ſaid.)

The maner of their meeting and mutuall greeting.

And the ſaid right chriſtened king, parting from his caſtell of Ard, ſhall come toward the ſaid king of England the ſame day, place, time, and houre, that ſhall tarie him within the demaine of Guiſnes, as is ſaid. In the which ſhall not bee ſet or dreſſed anie pauilions or tents, and there the ſaid two kings being on horſſebacke, with their retinue ſhall ſee the one the other, and ſalute each other, and ſpeake together familiarlie, and common in that ſort and maner, and ſo long as ſhall ſeeme to them good. And after the ſaid ſalutation and communication finiſhed for that time, the ſaid illuſtre king of England ſhall returne to his caſtell of Guiſnes, and the ſaid right chriſtened king to his caſtell of Ard.

What doth the kings were to doo the morrow after the firſt interuiew.

Item, for ſo much that we thinke to be ſatiſfied touching the labours, dangers, & honour of the ſaid king of England, my ſoueraigne lord of ſo much, that the ſaid right chriſtened king at the firſt ſpeaking, he ſhall come forward vnto, and within his territorie of Guiſnes, we will keepe the honour of the ſaid kings: & therefore declare and ordeine, that on the morrow after the firſt interuiew, the ſame kings ſhall meet togither in ſome fit place, indifferent betweene Ard and Guiſnes, that ſhall be aſſigned by the ſaid commiſſioners.

And after the ſalutation made on the one and the other partie, the ſaid right illuſtre king of England ſhall go to the caſtell of Ard, to ſee, ſalute, and viſit the queene of France, and alſo the ſiſter of the ſaid chriſtened king, with whome he ſhall dine priuilie. And likewiſe the ſaid right chriſtened king ſhall go to the caſtell of Guiſnes, to viſit and ſalute the queene of England, and the Dowareſſe of France, with whome he ſhall dine. In the which places the ſaid princes ſhall be receiued familiarlie and amiablie, vnto mutuall loue, and alſo to the honour of the ſaid princes.

Order for feats of cheualrie and actiuitie and the place thereto appointed.

Item, as the ſaid ſerene princes of England & France, be like in force corporall, beautie, & gift of nature, right expert & hauing knowledge in the art militant, right cheualrous in armes, & in the flower and vigor of youth, wherby ſeemed to vs a right aſſemblie, that for to adorne and honor the ſame aſſemblie, and to ſhew their forces in armes, they ſhall take counſell and diſpoſe themſelues to doo ſome faire feat of armes, as well on foot as on horſſebacke, againſt all commers: we declare and ordeine, that the place where ſhall be the ſaid fight and feat of armes, ſhall be choſen betweene Guiſnes and Ard, and aſſigned by the commiſſioners of the one and the other partie.

And for a ſuertie of the perſons of the ſaid kings & their companie, the ſaid place ſhall be apparelled, diched, fortified, and kept of the one and the other partie, by equall number of men of armes, reſpectiuelie committed and deputed that to doo. And during the time of the ſaid iuſts and feats of warre, the ſame kings and queenes with their retinue, ſhall ſee ech other familiarlie, and conuerſe and ſpeake togither. And euerie daie towards the euening, after the iuſts, triumphs, bankets, & familiar communications doone, the ſaid kings with their retinue ſhall returne into their caſtels, that is to ſay, the king of England into his caſtell of Guiſnes, & the ſaid right chriſtened king into his caſtell of Ard; and thus they ſhall doo dailie, during the ſaid fight and feat of armes.

Order for ſuperioritie to be giuen to the king of England and the queene within the French territorie.

Item, we declare and ordeine, that when the ſame king of England and the queene his bedfellow, & the Dowareſſe of France his ſiſter, with their retinue, ſhall go to the territorie and entrie of the foreſaid right chriſtened king, the ſuperioritie and preheminence ſhall be giuen to the ſaid king of England, to the queene his bedfellow, and to their retinue reſpectiuelie, during the time that they ſhall tarie and be there: and ſemblablie when the ſaid right chriſtened king, and the queene his bedfellow and his right illuſtre ladie and moother, with their retinue ſhall come to the territorie and entrie of the ſaid illuſtre king of England, the ſuperioritie and preheminence ſhall be giuen to the ſaid right chriſtened king, to the queene his bedfellow, and to his moother, and to their retinue during the time that they ſhall continue and abide there.

Order for reſtraint of aſſemblies to the places appointed for the interuiew.

Item, forſomuch as the caſtels and places where the ſaid interuiew ſhall be, be ſo little and narrow, that if entrie and licence to come thither be giuen to all them that would go thither, diuers annoiances, troubles & impechments ſhould follow: wherfore it is ſo, that we the cardinall aboue ſaid, by theſe preſents declare and ordeine, that none of the retinue of the ſaid kings, queenes, or other lords and nobles, of what eſtate, qualitie, or condition that he or they be of, ſhall not come to the ſaid aſſemblie with more great number of perſons or horſſe, than ſhall be written by letters ſubſcribed by the ſaid kings: the which ſhall conteine the eſtates and conditions of the perſons, as well men as women, and number of ſeruants and horſſe, except the common conſent and licence of the ſaid kings.

Item, forſomuch as peraduenture it ſhall come that the ſaid princes, lords, gentlemen, Order for both princes perſonall ſecuritie going and comming.

tlemen, and houſhold ſeruants, ſhall ſee and conuerſe togither familiarlie, to the end that it maie ingender betweene them an amitie more firme and ſtable, for that cauſe, and that more ſuerlie and agreeablie they may be togither, as well by day as by night without any danger or feare, which we deſire to prouide: we declare and ordeine that two gentlemen, with ſufficient companie of equall & like number, be committed and deputed, reſpectiuelie by the ſaid kings for the keeping and ſuertie of the waies and watches, that ſhall be made continuallie during the aſſemblie of the ſaid kings. The which gentlemen, with their companies, ſhall ordeine and depute exploratours and ſpies in the vallies, forreſts, woods, towns, burrowes, villages, caſtels, paſſages, and waies, and other places dangerous and ſuſpect: from time to time, and houre to houre, as well towards Flanders, as Picardie, Artois, & England, to exploit and watch there.

And if anie be found ſuſpect, them to repulſe and take awaie, to the end that not onelie the ſaid princes, their gentlemen, and houſhold-ſeruants, maie ſuerlie and without feare viſit the one the other, as ſaid is; but alſo thoſe that ſhall bring vittels neceſſarie to the ſaid aſſemblie, maie without danger, trouble, impechement, or noiſance go and come: the which exploratours ſhall be bounden euerie daie in the morning and euening, to make report to the ſaid princes or to their ſaid councellours reſpectiuelie, of that which they found, and in what eſtate the waies be. We declare further and ordeine, that all men of armes and of warre, of the one and the other partie, ſhall not approch neerer than two iournies, to the place where the ſaid interuiew ſhall be, except the retinue and men of war that be committed and deputed to keepe Bullongne and Calis: and that the ſame men of warre nor none other, during the aſſemblie of the ſaid princes, ſhall not preſume to come neerer, vnleſſe by the conſent, accord, and licence of the ſaid princes.

Order for the limiting of men in armes or garriſons.

Item, we cardinall aboue ſaid, by expreſſe authoritie and power to vs giuen, by theſe preſents, bind the ſaid princes to doo, fulfill, and accompliſh, all and euerie things aboue ſaid herein conteined. Finallie, we declare and ordeine, that ech of the ſaid kings on his partie, ſhall ratifie, confirme, and approoue all and euerie the chapters and articles aboue ſaid, by their letters pattents ſealed with their hands. And by the ſame letters of ratification they ſhall be bounden, to accompliſh with good faith and word of a king, all and euerie the things aboue ſaid: the which letters made, ſubſcribed, and ſealed, as is ſaid, they ſhall giue the one the other, and ſhall change in the citie of London, within one moneth next after the date of theſe preſents. Made the twelfe of March, the yeare of our Lord a thouſand fiue hundred and nineteene.

The laſt clauſe of this inſtrument for the ratification of the articles therein conteined.

The peeres of the realme receiuing letters to prepare themſelues to attend the king in this iournie, and no apparant neceſſarie cauſe expreſſed, why nor wherefore; ſeemed to grudge, that ſuch a coſtlie iournie ſhould be taken in hand to their importunate charges and expenſes, without conſent of the whole boord of the councell. But namelie the duke of Buckingham, being a man of a loftie courage, but not moſt liberall, ſore repined that he ſhould be at ſo great charges for his furniture forth at this time, ſaieng; that he knew not for what cauſe ſo much monie ſhould be ſpent about the ſight of a vaine talke to be had, and communication to be miniſtred of things of no importance. Wherefore he ſticked not to ſaie, that it was an intollerable matter to obeie ſuch a vile and importunate perſon.

Great hatred betweene the cardinall, and the duke of Buckingham.

The duke indeed could not abide the cardinall, and ſpeciallie he had of late conceiued an inward malice againſt him for ſir William Bulmers cauſe, whoſe trouble was onelie procured by the cardinall; who firſt cauſed him to be caſt in priſon. Now ſuch greeuous words as the duke thus vttered againſt him, came to the cardinals eare; wherevpon he caſt before hand all waies poſſible to haue him in a trip, that he might cauſe him to leape headleſſe. But bicauſe he doubted his freends, kinneſmen, and alies, and cheeflie the earle of Surrie lord admerall, which had married the dukes daughter, he thought good firſt to ſend him ſome whither out of the waie, leaſt he might caſt a trumpe in his waie. There was great enimitie betwixt the cardinall and the earle, for that on a time, when the cardinall tooke vpon him to checke the earle, he had like to haue thruſt his dagger into the cardinall.

At length there was occaſion offered him to compaſſe his purpoſe, by occaſion of the earle of Kildare his comming out of Ireland. For the cardinall knowing he was well prouided of monie, ſought occaſion to fleece him of part thereof. The earle of Kildare being vnmarried, was deſirous to haue an Engliſh woman to wife; and for that he was a ſuter to a widow contrarie to the cardinals mind, he accuſed him to the king, of that he had not borne himſelfe vprightlie in his office in Ireland, where he was the kings lieutenant. Such accuſations were framed againſt him when no bribes would come, that he was committed to priſon, and then by the cardinals good preferment the earle of Surrie was ſent into Ireland as the kings deputie, in lieu of the ſaid earle of Kildare, there to remaine rather as an exile, than as lieutenant to the king, euen at the cardinals pleaſure, as he himſelfe well perceiued.

The earle of Kildare committed to ward.

Edw. Hall.

In the beginning of Aprill, the ſaid earle paſſed ouer into Ireland, and had with him diuerſe gentlemen that had beene in the garriſon of Tornaie, and one hundred yeomen of the kings gard, and others, to the number of a thouſand men, where he by his manhood and policie brought the earle of Deſmond and diuerſe other rebels to good conformitie and order. He continued there two yeares, in which ſpace he had manie bickerings and ſkirmiſhes with the wild Iriſh. There reſted yet the earle of Northumberland, whome the cardinall doubted alſo, leaſt he might hinder his purpoſe, when he ſhould go about to wreake his malice againſt the duke of Buckingham: and therefore he picked a quarell to him, for that he had ſeized vpon certeine wards which the cardinall ſaid apperteined of right to the king. And bicauſe the earle would not giue ouer his title, he was alſo committed to priſon, & after tooke it for a great benefit at the cardinals hands, that he might be deliuered out of his danger.

Good ſeruice doone by the earle of Surrie.

Polydor.

The earle of Northumberland committed to priſon.

Now in this meane while, the cardinall ceaſſed not to bring the duke out of the kings fauour, by ſuch forged tales, and contriued ſurmiſes, as he dailie put into the kings head: inſomuch that (through the infelicitie of his fate) diuerſe accidents fell out to the aduantage of the cardinall; which he not omitting, atchiued the thing whereat he ſo ſtudiouſlie (for the ſatiſfieng of his canckered & malicious ſtomach) laid full aime. Now it chanced that the duke comming to London with his traine of men, to attend the king into France, went before into Kent vnto a manor place which he had there. And whileſt he ſtaid in that countrie till the king ſet forward, greeuous complaints were exhibited to him by his farmars and tenants againſt Charles Kneuet his ſurueiour, for ſuch bribing as he had vſed there amongeſt them. Wherevpon the duke tooke ſuch diſpleaſure againſt him, that he depriued him of his office, not knowing how that in ſo doing he procured his owne deſtruction, as after appeared.

Anno Reg.12.

The king ſetteth forward towards France.

The kings maieſtie perſeuering in purpoſe to meet with Francis the French king, remooued with the queene, and all his court, the one & twentith day of Maie being mondaie, from his manor of Greenwich towards the ſea ſide: and ſo on the fridaie the fiue and twentith of Maie, he arriued at the citie of Canturburie, intending there to keepe his Whitſuntide. On the morrow after, the emperour being on the ſea returning out of Spaine, arriued with all his nauie of ſhips roiall on the coaſt of Kent, direct to the port of Hieth the ſaid daie by noone, where hee was ſaluted by the viceadmerall of England, ſir William Fitz William, with ſix of the kings great ſhips well furniſhed, which laie for the ſafegard of paſſage betwixt Calis and Douer. Towards euening the emperour departed from his ſhips, and entered into his bote, and comming towards land, was met and receiued of the lord cardinall of Yorke with ſuch reuerence as to ſo noble a prince aperteined.

The emperor Charles the fift landeth in England.

Thus landed the emperour Charles the fift at Douer, vnder his cloth of eſtate of the blacke eagle, all ſpread on rich cloth of gold. He had with him manie noble men, and manie faire ladies of his bloud. When he was come on land, the lord cardinall conducted him to the caſtell of Douer, which was prepared for him in moſt roiall maner. In the morning, the king rode with all haſt to the caſtell of Douer to welcome the emperour, and entering into the caſtell, alighted. Of whoſe comming the emperour hauing knowledge, came out of his chamber, and met him on the ſtaires, where either of them embraced other in moſt louing maner, and then the king brought the emperour to his chamber. On Whitſundaie earlie in the morning, they tooke their horſſes, and rode to the citie of Canturburie, the more to keepe ſolemne the feaſt of Pentecoſt: but ſpeciallie to ſee the queene of England his aunt was the emperour his intent, of whome ye may be ſure he was moſt ioifullie receiued and welcomed.

The meeting of the emperor and K. Henrie at Douer caſtell.

The emperor and K. Henrie keepe whitſuntide at Canturburie.

Thus the emperour and his retinue, both of lords and ladies, kept their Whitſuntide with the king and queene of England, in the citie of Canturburie with all ioy and ſolace. The emperour yet himſelfe ſeemed not ſo much to delight in paſtime and pleaſure, but that in reſpect of his youthfull yeares, there appeared in him a great ſhew of grauitie: for they could by no meanes bring him to danſe amongſt the reſidue of the princes, but onelie was contented to be a looker on. Peraduenture the ſight of the ladie Marie troubled him, whome he had ſometime loued, and yet through fortunes euill hap might not haue hir to wife. The chiefe cauſe that mooued the emperour to come thus on land at this time, was to perſuade that by word of mouth, which he had before done moſt earneſtlie by letters; which was, that the king ſhould not meet with the French king at anie interuiew; for he doubted leaſt if the king of England & the French king ſhould grow into ſome great friendſhip and faithfull bond of amitie, it might turne him to diſpleaſure.

Polydor.

The emperor laboureth to hinder the purpoſed interuiew.

But now that he perceiued how the king was forward on his iournie, he did what he could to procure, that no truſt ſhould be committed to the faire words of the Frenchmen: and that if it were poſſible, the great friendſhip that was now in breeding betwixt the two kings, might be diſſolued. And forſomuch as he knew the lord cardinall to be woone with rewards, as a fiſh with a bait: he beſtowed on him great gifts, and promiſed him much more, ſo that hee would be his friend, and helpe to bring his purpoſe to paſſe. The cardinall not able to ſuſteine the leaſt aſſault by force of ſuch rewards as he preſentlie receiued, and of ſuch large promiſes as on the emperours behalfe were made to him, promiſed to the emperour, that he would ſo vſe the matter, as his purpoſe ſhould be ſped: onelie he required him not to diſalow the kings intent for interuiew to be had, which he deſired in anie wiſe to go forward, that he might ſhew his high magnificence in France, according to his firſt intention,

Edw.Hall.

The king landeth at Calis.

The emperour remained in Canturburie till the thurſdaie, being the laſt of Maie, and then taking leaue of the king, and of his aunt the queene, departed to Sandwich, where he tooke his ſhips and ſailed into Flanders. The ſame daie, the king made ſaile from the port of Douer, and landed at Calis about eleuen of the clocke, and with him the queene and ladies, & manie nobles of the realme. His grace was receiued into the checker, and there reſted. The fourth of Iune, the king and queene with all their traine remooued from Calis, to his princelie lodging newlie erected beſide the towne of Guiſnes, the moſt noble & roiall lodging that euer before was ſeene. ¶ For it was a palace, the which was quadrant, and euerie quadrant of the ſame palace was three hundred and twentie eight foot long of aſſiſe, which was in compaſſe thirteene hundred and twelue foot about. This palace was ſet on ſtages by great cunning & ſumptuous worke.

Ed.Hall in H8 fol.lxxiij.

The deſcriptiō of the new palace before Guiſnes.

At the entering into the palace before the gate, on the plaine greene, was builded a fountaine of imbowed worke, gilt with fine gold, and bice, ingrailed with antike works: the old god of wine called Bacchus birling the wine, which by the conduits in the earth ran to all people plentiouſlie with red, white, and claret wine, ouer whoſe head was written in letters of Romane in gold, Faicte bonne chere qui vouldra. On the other hand or ſide of the gate was ſet a piller, which was of ancient Romane worke, borne with foure lions of gold, the piller wrapped in a wreath of gold curiouſlie wrought and intrailed, and on the ſummit of the ſaid piller ſtood an image of the blind god Cupid, with his bow and arrows of loue, readie by his ſeeming to ſtrike the yong people to loue.

The foregate of the ſame palace.

The foregate of the ſame palace or place with great and mightie maſonrie by ſight was arched, with a tower on euerie ſide of the ſame port, rered by great craft, and imbattelled was the gate and tower, and in the feneſters and windowes were images reſembling men of warre, readie to caſt great ſtones. Alſo the ſame gate or tower was ſet with compaſſed images of ancient princes, as Hercules, Alexander, and other by intrailed worke, richlie limmed with gold and albine colours: and well and warilie was made ouer the gate loups, and inforced with battelments, and in the ſame gate a lodge for the porter, which there appeared, and other ſumptuouſlie apparelled like vnto kings officers. By the ſame gate all people paſſed into a large court faire and beautifull, The large court.

tifull, for in this court appeared much of the outward beautie of this place, for from the firſt water table, to the raiſing or reiſin péeces, were baie windowes, on euerie ſide mixed with cleare ſtories curiouſlie glaſed, the poſts or moinels of euerie window was gilt.

Thus the outward part of the place lumined the eies of the beholders, by reaſon of the ſumptuous worke. Alſo the tower of the gate (as ſéemed) was builded by great maſonrie, and by great engine of mans wit, for the ſundrie countenances of euerie image that there appeared, ſome ſhooting, ſome caſting, ſome readie to ſtrike, and firing of gunnes, which ſhewed verie honorablie. Alſo all the ſaid quadrants, baies, and edifices, were roiallie intrailed, as farre as vnto the ſame court apperteined. And direct againſt the gate was deuiſed a halpas, and at the entrie of the ſtaire, were images of ſore and terrible countenances, all armed in curious worke of argentine. The baie of the ſame halpas pendant by craft of timber, & vnder it antike images of gold inuironed with verdor of olifs caſt in compaſſe, mouſtring their countenances toward the entring of the palace. The ſtaire of the ſaid halpas was caſt of paſſage by the wents of brode ſteps, ſo that from the firſt foot or loweſt ſtep, anie perſon might without paine go vnto the higheſt place of the ſame halpas.

The halpas.

On euerie hand was their chamber doores and enterings into the chambers of the ſame palace, which were long and large, and well proportioned, to receiue light and aire at pleaſure: the roofes of them from place to place, and chamber to chamber were ſieled, and couered with cloth of ſilke, of the moſt faire and quicke inuention that before time was ſéene. For the ground was white ingraild, embowed, and batoned with rich clothes of ſilkes, knit and fret with cuts and braids, and ſundrie new caſts; that the ſame clothes of ſilke ſhewed like bullions of fine burned gold: and the roſes in loſenges, that in the ſame roofe were in kindlie courſe, furniſhed ſo to mans ſight, that no liuing creature might but ioy in the beholding thereof. For from the ſaw péece of the ſaid ſieling (which péece was gilt with fine gold) were workes in pane paled, all the walles to the creſt incountering the cleare ſtories, the ſame creſt which was of large déepneſſe, the worke was antike knots with boſſes caſt and wrought with more cunning than I can write, all which works and ouerages were gilt, and to ſet it the more to the glorie, the flouriſhing biſe was comparable to the rich ammell.

The chambers and lodges.

Alſo at the foot of the ſame palace was another creſt all of fine ſet gold, whereon hanged rich & maruelous clothes of arras wrought of gold and ſilke, compaſſed of manie ancient ſtories, with which clothes of arras euerie wall and chamber were hanged, & all the windowes ſo richlie couered, that it paſſed all other ſights before ſéene. In euerie chamber and euerie place conuenient were clothes of eſtate, great and large of cloth of gold, of tiſſue, and rich embroderie, with chaires couered with like cloth, with pommels of fine gold, and great cuſhins of rich worke of the Turkie making, nothing lacked of honourable furniſhment. Alſo to the ſame palace was reared a chappell with two cloſets, the quire of the ſaid chappell ſieled with cloth of gold, and thereon fret ingrailed bent clothes of ſilke, all was then ſilke and gold. The altars of this chappell were hanged with rich reueſture of cloth of gold and tiſſue, embrodered with perles. Ouer the hie altar was hanged a rich canopie of maruellous greatneſſe, the altar was apparelled with fiue paire of candleſticks of gold, and on the altar an halpas, and thereon ſtood a crucifix all of fine gold, and on the ſame halpas ſtood twelue images of the bignes of foure yeares of age, all gold.

The hangings & other ornaments.

The chappell with appurtenances.

All the copes and veſtments were ſo rich as might be prepared or bought in the citie of Florens, for they were all but of one péece, ſo wouen for the purpoſe, cloth of tiſſue and powdered with red roſes purpled with fine gold. The Orfris ſet with pearles and precious ſtones. And all the walles and deſkes of this chappell were hanged with right cloth of gold, & thrée rich great croſſes were there readie to be borne at feſtiuall times, and baſens and cenſers, goſpellers, pares, crewets, holie water veſſels, and other ornaments all of gold. Alſo in the firſt cloſet was a trauerſe for the kings perſon of cloth of gold, & in it his place & chaire, with cuſhins of cloth of gold: before the trauerſe was an altar of preſence, which altar was adorned with cloth of broderie, and rich pearles and precious ſtones, ſet in goldſmiths worke of fine gold. On the altar was a deſke or halpas, whereon ſtood a patible of the crucifix of fine gold, with an image of the Trinitie, an image of the virgine Marie, and twelue other images, all fine gold & precious ſtones, two paire of candleſticks of fine gold, with the baſens, crewets, pares, and other ornaments.

Great coſt vpō popiſh triumperie & ſuperſtitious traſh,

The kings cloſet.

The ſaid cloſet was hanged with tapets embrodered with rich worke fret with pearles and ſtones, the roofe of the ſame cloſet was ſieled with worke of inmouled, gilt with fine gold, and ſenoper, and bice. The ſecond cloſet was for the quéens perſon, in which was a trauerſe of rich cloth of gold, the altar ſo richlie apparelled, that there lacked neither pearles nor ſtones of riches. On the altar were twelue great images of gold, the cloſet hanged with cloth of gold, all other iewels miſſall I ſuppoſe neuer ſuch like were ſéene, and the roofe of the ſame cloſet was ſieled with like worke that the kings cloſet was, as is before rehearſed. And from this palace or place into the mightie & ſtrong fortreſſe & caſtell roiall of Guiſnes, was a gallerie for the ſecret paſſage of the kings perſon into a ſecret lodging within the ſame caſtell, the more for the king eaſe. Alſo to this palace was all houſes of offices, that to ſuch an honourable court ſhould apperteine, that is to wit, the lord chamberlein, lord ſteward, lord treaſuror of the houſhold, for the comptrollor, the office of gréene cloth, wardrobes, iewell houſe, and office of houſhold ſeruice, as ewrie, pantrie, cellar, butterie, ſpicerie, pitcher houſe, larder and poultrie, and all other offices ſo large and faire, that the officers might & did maruell, as in the craft of viands, by ouens, harthes, reredorſes, chimnies, ranges, & ſuch inſtrumens as there were ordeined.

The quéenes cloſet.

A priuie gallerie.

Houſes of offices both honourable and otherwiſe neceſſarie.

In this palace (as ye haue heard) was the kings grace lodged, and all the nobles after their degrées. And for that the towne of Guiſnes was little, and that all the noble men might not there be lodged, they ſet vp tents in the field, to the number of twentie and eight hundred ſundrie lodgings, which was a goodlie ſight. Thus was the king in his palace roiall at Guiſnes. Francis the French king was with all his nobles of the realme of France come to the towne of Ard, which was prepared for his comming, manie tents, halles, and pauilions were ſet and pitched in the field. On the French partie alſo there was at the ſame towne of Ard builded the French kings lodging full well, but not finiſhed. Much was the prouiſion in Picardie on euerie part thorough all. The French king commanded his lodging to bée made a little out of the towne of Ard, in the territorie of an old caſtell, which by the warre of old time had béene beaten. On the ſame place was edified a houſe of ſolace and ſport, of large and mightie compaſſe, which was chieflie ſuſteined by a great mightie maſt, whereby the great ropes and tackle ſtreined, the ſame maſt was ſtaied. All the roofe of the ſame houſe hong on the ſame maſt, and with tackle was ſtreined & borne by the ſupporters of the ſame maſt

Tents erected.

A banketting houſe for ſolace and diſport.

or trée, the colours of the ſame was all blew, ſet with ſtarres of gold foile, and the orbs of the heauens by the craft of colours in the roofe, were curiouſlie wrought in maner like the ſkie or firmament, and a creſſant ſtrained ſomedeale towards the towne of Ard, this creſſant was couered with frets and knots made of iuie buſhes, and box branches, and other things that longeſt would be gréene for pleaſure.

The great pompe of cardinall woolſie.

Now like as diuerſe of the French nobilitie had viſited the king of England whileſt he laie in Calis, ſo likewiſe the lord cardinall, as ambaſſadour to the king, rode with a noble repaire of lords, gentlemen, and prelates, to the towne of Ard, where he was of the French king highlie interteined, with great thanks, for that by his meanes hée had ioined in friendſhip with the king of England, to his high contentation and pleaſure, as hauing obteined the thing which he had long deſired. The noble port, ſumptuous ſhew, and great traine of gentlemen, knights, lords, and number of ſeruants, in rich apparell & ſutes of liueries attendant on the cardinall, made the Frenchmen greatlie to woonder at his triumphant dooings.

Great credit committed to the cardinall by both the kings.

The interview of the two kings in the vale of Andren.

The king of England had giuen vnto the ſaid cardinall full authoritie, power, and libertie, to affirme and confirme, bind and vnbind, whatſoeuer ſhould be in queſtion betwéene him and the French king: and the like authoritie, power, and libertie, did the French king by his ſufficient letters patents, grant to the ſame cardinall, which was accepted to be a ſigne of great loue, that he ſhould commit ſo great a truſt vnto the king of Englands ſubiect. The daie of the méeting was appointed to be on the thurſdaie the ſeauenth of Iune, vpon which daie the two kings met in the vale of Andren, accompanied with ſuch a number of the nobilitie of both realmes, ſo richlie appointed in apparell, and coſtlie iewels, as chaines, collars of SS, & other the like ornaments to ſet forth their degrées and eſtates, that a woonder it was to behold and view them in their order and roomes, which euerie man kept according to his appointment.

Edw.Hall.in H.8.fol.lxxvij.

The French kings roiall ornaments.

The two kings méeting in the field, either ſaluted other in moſt louing wiſe, firſt on horſſebacke, and after alighting on foot eftſoones imbraced with courteous words, to the great reioiſing of the beholders: and after they had thus ſaluted ech other, they went both togither into a rich tent of cloath of gold, there ſet vp for the purpoſe, in the which they paſſed the time in pleaſant talke, banketting, and louing deuiſes, till it drew toward the euening, and then departed for that night, the one to Guiſnes, the other to Ard. At this méeting of the two kings in open ſight, I then well perceiued (ſaith Hall) the habillements roiall of the French king. His garment was a chemew, of cloath of ſiluer, culponed with cloath of gold, of damaſke, cantell wiſe, and garded on the borders with the Burgon bands.

Ouer that he had a cloake of broched ſattin, with gold of purple colour, wrapped about his bodie trauerſe, beded from the ſhoulder to the waſt, faſtned in the loope of the firſt fould: this ſaid cloake was richlie ſet with pearles and pretious ſtones. This French king had on his head a coife of damaſke gold ſet with diamonds, and his courſer that he rode on was couered with a trapper of tiſſue, brodered with deuiſe, cut in faſhion mantell wiſe, the ſkirts were embowed and fret with frized worke, and knit with corbelles & buttons taſſeled of Turkie making, raines and headſtall anſwering of like worke: and verelie of his perſon the ſame Francis the French king, a goodlie prince, ſtatelie of countenance, merie of chéere, browne coloured, great eies, high noſed, big lipped, faire breſted, broad ſhoulders, ſmall legges, & long féet.

The deſcription of the French kings perſon.

The deſcription of the two artificiall trées figuring Henrie and Francis.

On ſaturdaie the ninth of Iune, in a place within the Engliſh pale were ſet vp in a field called the campe, two trées of much honour, the one called the *Aubeſpine*, that is to ſaie, the hawthorne in Engliſh, for Henrie: and the other the *Framboiſter*, which in Engliſh ſignifieth the raſpis berie, after the ſignification in French. Theſe trées were curiouſlie wrought, the leaues of gréene damaſke, the branches, boughs, and withered leaues of cloath of gold; and all the bodies and armes of the ſame cloath of gold laid on timber: they were in height from the foot to the top thirtie foure foot of aſſize, in compaſſe about an hundred twentie and nine foot, & from bough to bough fortie thrée foot: on theſe trées were flowers and fruits in kindlie wiſe, with ſiluer and Venice gold: their beautie ſhewed farre.

The length of the campe.

The two kings make chalenge to all commers at iuſts, &c.

On the ſame daie the two kings came to thoſe trées of honour, noblie accompanied, in ſuch roiall ſort as was requiſit. The campe was in length nine hundred foot, and in bredth thrée hundred and twentie foot, ditched round about (ſauing at the entries) with broad and déepe ditches. Diuerſe ſcaffolds were reared about this campe for the eaſe of the nobles. On the right ſide of the field ſtood the quéene of England, and the quéene of France, with manie ladies. The campe was ſtronglie railed and barred on euerie end: in the entrie there were two lodgings prepared for the two kings, wherein they might arme themſelues, and take their eaſe. Alſo in the ſame compaſſe there were two great cellars couched full of wine, which was liberallie beſtowed on all men. The two kings, as brethren in armes, vndertooke to deliuer all perſons at iuſts, tournie, and barriers.

The two quéenes met at the campe.

Ed.Hall in H.8. fol.lxxvij.&c.

The French kings richerate at their iuſts.

With theſe two kings were aſſociate by the order of armes, the duke of Vandoſme, the duke of Suffolke, the countie ſaint Paule, the marqueſſe Dorſet, monſieur de Roche, ſir William Kingſton, monſieur Brian, ſir Richard Ierningham, monſieur Cauaan, ſir Giles Capell, monſieur Buccall, maiſter Nicholas Carew, monſieur Montafilion, and maiſter Anthonie Kneuet. On mondaie the eleuenth of Iune, the two quéenes of England and of France came to the campe, where either ſaluted other right honourablie, and went into a ſtage for them prepared. At the houre aſſigned, the two kings armed at all péeces mounted on horſſebacke, and with their companies entered the field; the French king on a courſer barded, couered with purple ſattin, broched with gold, & embrodered with corbins fethers round and buckled, the fether was blacke and hatched with gold: on his head péece he bare a ſléeue. All the parteners of the French kings chalenge were in like apparell, euerie thing correſpondent in cloath of ſilke embrodered, on his perſon were attendant on horſſebacke noble perſons, and on foot foure perſons all apparelled in purple ſattin.

The king of Englands ſumptuous furniture at the ſame iuſts.

The king of England was vpon a freſh courſer, the trappers of cloth of gold, of tiſſue, the arſon mantell wiſe, and on the brunt of the trapper bard faſhion, cut in waues of water worke, and euerie waue raw wrought and frized with damaſke gold: this worke was laid looſe on ruſſet veluet, and knit togither with points of gold, which waues ſignified the lordſhip of the narrow ſeas. All the parteners of the kings chalenge were in the ſame ſute, their horſſes as well as their perſons. Attendant on the king on horſſebacke were ſir Henrie Guilford maiſter of the kings horſſe, ſir Iohn Pechie deputie of Calis, ſir Edward Guilford maiſter of the kings armie, and monſieur Moret of the French court. All theſe foure were apparelled in the kings liuerie, which was white on the right ſide, and the left ſide gold and ruſſet both hoſe and garment: on him were attendant on foot ſir honourable knights, twentie eſquiers, and officers to the number of an hundred and twelue perſons, of the which number all the knights and gentlemen had coats, the one halfe ſiluer, and the other cloath of gold and ruſſet veluet, and the other officers coats were of right ſattin of the ſame colour, and all their hoſen were of the ſame ſute verie coſtlie.

The two kings enter into the field.

Thus with honour and noble courage theſe two noble kings with their companies entered into the field, and them preſented vnto the quéenes. After reuerence doone, they rode round about the tilt, and ſo tooke their places appointed, abiding the anſwers: which was for the firſt the duke of Alanſon and ten men of armes on his band, on courſers barded, the bards couered with white and blacke veluet, faſtened the one within the other, garded with Burgon bands of tinſell ſattin, as well their garments as their bards. Then entered on courſers barded twelue gentlemen of the band of the lord admerall of France, their garments and bards were ruſſet ſattin, broched with gold and white and purple ſattin, after the deuiſe of their pleaſure with great plumes. When theſe bands were entred the field, they ſhewed themſelues about the tilt, and did reuerence vnto the quéenes. The band of the duke of Alanſon tooke firſt place, they made them preſt on both ſides, the French king was the firſt that ran, he did valiantlie and brake ſpeares mightilie.

The king of England runneth against Grandeuile.

Then ran the king of England to monſieur Grandeuile with great vigor; ſo that the ſpeares brake in the kings hand to the vantplate all to ſhiuers. And at the ſecond courſe he gaue the ſaid monſieur Grandeuile ſuch a ſtroke, that the charnell of his headpéece, although the ſame was verie ſtrong, was broken in ſuch wiſe that he might run no more, wherby the king wanted thrée courſes. Then ran the duke de Vandoſme, & met his counter part right noblie, and brake ſpeares right valiantlie. The noble duke of Suffolke charged his courſe, and met right valiantlie his counter part, and furniſhed the fiue courſes right noblie togither like good men of armes. And when all parties of the chalenge had right valiantlie furniſhed their courſes, then ran againe the two noble kings, who did ſo valiantlie, that the beholders had great ioy, after which courſes the heralds cried Deſarmee, and the trumpets ſounded to lodging.

Monſieur de Swies and his band.

On tueſdaie the twelfe of Iune at houre conuenient the two quéenes tooke their ſtages, and the band of chalenge in the field preſt to anſwer and deliuer all commers, to whome came ten gentlemen armed on barded horſſes of the band of monſieur de Swies, their bards and apparell cloath of veluet full of friers knots ſiluer. After they had preſented them vnto the quéenes, then they tooke the end of the tilt, and ſo courſe after courſe they ran to the chalengers right egerlie, and the chalengers of the partie of the two kings deliuered to the end of their articles of iuſts. Then entered eleuen men of armes of the band of monſieur de Tremoiell, on horſſes barded with yellow veluet, loſenged with friers knots of blacke veluet: and after they had ſaluted the quéenes, they likewiſe tooke the end of the tilt, and courſe after courſe ran vntill they were deliuered of their chalenges of iuſts. Valiantlie this daie was finiſhed.

The attire of the French king and his partners of chalenge.

On wedneſdaie the thirtéenth of Iune, the two hardie kings armed at all péeces, entered into the field right noblie apparelled. The French king and all his partners of chalenge were arraied in purple ſattin, broched with gold and purple veluet, embrodered with little rolles of white ſattin, wherein was written, Quando: their bards & garments were ſet full of the ſame, and the reſidue where was no rolles were poudered & ſet with the letter elle, as thus. L. which in French is ſhe, which was interpreted to be, Quando elle, when ſhe: and inſuing the deuiſe of the firſt daie, it ſignifieth togither, Hart faſtened in paine endles, when ſhe. The king of England with all the band or parteners of his chalenge were likewiſe on horſſebacke, apparelled in trappers of loſenges ruſſet veluet and cloath of ſiluer of damaſke, embrodered and ſet in euerie loſenge a branch of eglantine of gold, the apparell of the perſons were of the ſame correſpondent to the trapper. This eglantine trée is ſwéet, pleaſant and gréene, if it be kindlie and fréendlie handeled; but if it be rudelie dealt with, it will pricke and he that will pull vp the whole trée by the top, his hands will be hurt.

The king of England and the parteners of his chalenge.

The two kings with their companies thus apparelled, preſented themſelues to the quéenes, and ſo tooke the end of the tilt. Then entered into the field monſieur Leſkew called lord Leſkin, with him came eleuen men of armes, himſelfe the twelfe on horſſes barded and richlie apparelled, and ſo rode about the tilt and ſaluted the quéenes, and tooke the end of the tilt. Monſieur de Leſkew and his eleuen companions had their baſes and bards all of blacke cloath of gold of damaſke all cut on blacke ſattin, their garments had mantell ſléeues on the left arme, to the waſt behind iuſt to the ſhoulder, which was praiſed for the ſtrangeneſſe. The French king ran to monſieur de Ambois, one of the band of monſieur Leſkew, and the king of England charged his courſe and ran to monſieur Leſkew, and ſo furniſhed their courſes (as they ſaie) right noblie and valiantlie in breaking ſpeares that were ſtrong. Thus courſe after courſe ech with other, his counter partie did right valiantlie: but the two kings ſurmounted all the reſt in prowesſe and valiantneſſe.

Monſieur de Leſkew.

The marques de Salons & his band.

This band thus furniſhed, entered the marqueſſe de Salons and his band, twelue perſons all riding on courſers barded and apparelled in white ſattin and blacke, broched with gold and ſiluer, with cuts and culpins much after tawnie and blacke ſattin billots: & after reuerence doone to the quéenes, they tooke the end of the tilt. To the marqueſſe de Salons ran the king of England, and the king of France to an other of the ſame band, ſtill courſe after courſe ran all the noble men, till the marques de Salons and his band were deliuered, who bare them right valiantlie: then blew the trumpets the retreit, & the two kings them vnarmed and after departed, the French king vnto Ard, and the king of England to his caſtell of Guiſnes.

The two kings armed enter the field.

On thurſdaie the thirtéenth daie of Iune by the noonetide the two quéenes met in the campe & tooke their places, the people were come to behold the honour, and to ſée the two kings, who all readie armed entered the field, to receiue and deliuer all men by anſwer of iuſts. Then entered the earle of Deuonſhire, on his band the lord Montacute, lord Herbert, lord Leonard Greie, maiſter Arthur Poole, maiſter Francis Brian, maiſter Henrie Norris, and foure other all richlie apparelled, the one ſide blew veluet embrodered with a mans heart burning in a ladies hand holding a garden pot ſtilling with water on the heart: the other ſide was white ſattin embrodered with letters of gold. This companie rode about the tilt, and did reuerence to the quéenes, and ſo abode at the end of the ſame.

A deuiſe of conceipt.

The earle of Deuonſhire charged his ſpeare, and the French king likewiſe charged his courſe to méet the ſame earle, and ran ſo hard togither, that both their ſpeares brake, and ſo mainteined their courſes noblie. Then ran the king of England to monſieur Memorancie, and him encountered, & both bare togither and gaue great ſtrokes; the kings moſt noble grace neuer diſuiſored nor breathed vntill he ran the fiue courſes & deliuered his counterpartie. Dukes, marqueſſes, knights, eſquiers, and others ran as faſt as euer they might, there was none that abode when the courſes came, vntill the earle of Duonſhire and his band were deliuered of demands. Then entered the lord Howard ſonne to the duke of Norffolke and eleuen companions apparelled and barded in crimſin ſattin full of flames of gold, the borders ribbed with crimſin veluet, and with much honor (after due reuerence doone to the quéenes) were brought with heralds of armes about the tilts; and ſo tooke the place to them appointed: right rich was their apparell.

The lord Howard and his eleuen companions in armes.

Then ran the French king and incountered the ſame lord Edmund, they brake both their ſtaues valiantlie courſe after courſe, the incounter ceaſſed not till they had furniſhed their fiue courſes; ſo was the lord Edmund deliuered by the French K. Then ran the king of England to a ſtrong gentleman named Raſe Brooke and brake his ſpeare, and ran courſe after courſe, vntill he had finiſhed his courſes right noblie and like a prince of moſt valiancie. The reſidue ceaſſed not vntill they had ech deliuered other of their chalenge. On fridaie the fiftéenth daie of Iune the king of England mounted on a courſer roiall, his perſon armed at all péeces, his apparell and trappers was the one ſide rich cloath of gold of tiſſue, the other ſide cloath of tiſſue of ſiluer, and cloath of gold of tiſſue entered ound the one with the other.

The king of England and his band with their deuiſe on their apparell.

The ound is a worke wauing vp & downe, and all the borders as well trappers as other was garded with letters of fine gold, and all the other ſide that was ound was ſet with ſignes called cifers of fine gold, the which were ſet with great and orientall pearles. The cifers ſignified letters knit togither in a knot, which was to wit; God my fréend, my realme and I maie. This was the deuiſe and reaſon thereof. All the kings band were apparelled in like apparell. The French K. likewiſe armed at all points mounted on a courſer roiall, all his apparell as well bards as garments were purple veluet entered the one with the other, embrodered full of little books of white ſattin, & in the bookes were written *A me.* About the borders of the bards and the borders of the garments a chaine of blew like iron, reſembling the chaine of a well or priſon chaine, which was interpreted to be *Liber*, a booke. Within this booke was written (as is ſaid) *A me.* Put theſe two togither and it maketh *Libera me.* The chaine betokeneth priſon or bonds, and ſo maketh togither in Engliſh, Deliuer me of bonds. Then they tooke the end of the tilt.

The French king, his furniture and deuiſe vpon his ornaments.

Monſieur Florengis and his companie.

Readie was monſieur Florengis and with him twelue men of armes with courſers barded: the bards and apparell was crimſin veluet, tawnie veluet, and plunket veluet embrodered borderwiſe with ſhéepheards hookes of cloath of ſiluer. When they with honour had paſſed about the tilt (due reuerence to the quéenes and ladies doone) the two kings had their ſpeares readie, and then began the ruſhing of ſpeares. The king of England this daie ran ſo freſhlie and ſo manie courſes, that one of his beſt courſers was dead that night, this band was deliuered man after man of their pretenſe of iuſts. Then entered bands of monſieur de Rambeurs and monſieur de Puis, ech hauing eleuen perſons in number, the one band all white ſattin embrodered with blacke, and the other all blacke dropped with ſiluer drops; who after reuerence doone to the quéenes, at the end of the tilt tooke their places. Then began a new incounter hard and ſore, manie of them bare great ſtrokes of the kings, to their honour: and with ſuch violence they ran, as they ſet their horſſes in a ſweating heat, and themſelues méeting with full force made the fragments or broken péeces of their ſtaues mount aloft in the air like an arow out of a bow; as the poet ſaith;

Haſtæ ſtridentis fractæ petit æthera cuſpis.

The French king commeth to Guiſnes, & the king of England goeth to Ard.

On ſaturdaie the ſeuentéenth daie of Iune, the French king with a ſmall number came to the caſtle of Guiſnes about the houre of eight in the morning. The king being in his priuie chamber had thereof knowledge, who with glad haſt went to receiue the ſame French king, and him met and welcomed in friendlie and honorable maner; and after communication betwéene them had, the king of England departed, leauing the French king there in the ſumptuous place before named. Then was buſie the lord chamberleine, the lord ſteward, and all other officers, to make readie feaſt and cheare. It were too long to rehearſe all, for ſuch a feaſt and banket was then made, that of long time before the like had not béene ſéene. The king of England thus departing, he tooke his horſſe, and with a companie of noblemen rode to Ard, where the French quéene and other noble men receiued him with much honour.

The king of England interteined of the French quéene.

After which receiuing, he was by the ſaid quéene and lords brought into a chamber hanged with blew veluet embrodered with flowers delice of cloth of gold, wherein was a great bed of like worke, from whence he was conueied to another chamber, in the which was a kings ſtate. This chamber was hanged and ſieled with cloth of gold, embrodered with great cordels or friers knots of cloth of ſiluer. In the ſame chamber were two cupboords, on either ſide one, furniſhed with great and goodlie plate gilt. Noble feaſting and cheare was there made. After dinner the ladies dreſſed them to danſe, and certeine yoong honourable lords of England, apparelled after the maner of Ruſland or farre Eaſtland, whoſe hoſen were of rich gold ſattin called aureat ſattin, ouerrolled to the knée with ſcarlet, and on their féet ſhooes with little pikes of white nailes after the Eſtland guiſe, their dublets of rich crimſin veluet and cloth of gold, with wide ſléeues lined with cloth of gold: ouer this they had clokes of crimſin veluet ſhort, lined with cloth of gold, on euerie ſide of the clokes rings of ſiluer, with laces of Venice gold, and on their heads they had hats made in the towne of Danſke, and purſes of ſeales ſkinnes, and girdels of the ſame: all theſe yoong lords had viſards on their faces, and their hats were drawne with like hatbands full of damaſke gold.

A maſke in the French court of Engliſh lords.

Other ten lords were apparelled in long gownes of blew ſattin of the ancient faſhion, embrodered with reaſons of gold that ſaid Adieu iuneſſe, Farewell youth: they had tippets of blacke veluet, & hats hanging therby, & on their heads hie violet ſtanding caps, and girdels of ſilke, and purſes of cloth of gold after the ancient maner, with viſards on their faces of like anciencie. After all theſe triumphs and braueries, great ſtore of ſpices, fruits, iellies, & banketing viands were brought, which being doone and ended, the king tooke leaue of the French queene and ladies, to whome were brought thirtie horſſes trapped in damaſke, white and yellow, and ſo paſſed he and his traine the towne of Ard into the field and campe. Right roiallie alſo was the French K. interteined, and all other after their degrée and ſtate. Now when all this ſolemnitie was ended, the French king tooke leaue of the quéene and ladies of the court. The lord cardinall in ſtatelie attire, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and other great lords, conducted forward the French king, and in their way they incountered and met the king of England and his companie right in the vallie of Anderne, apparelled in their maſking apparell, which gladded the French king. After reuerence doone, the ſaid two kings departed for that night, the Engliſh to Guiſnes, and the French to Ard.

The two kings meet.

On mondaie, the eightéenth of Iune, was ſuch

an

A great and tempeſtuous wind prognoſticating trouble.

an hideous ſtorme of wind and weather, that manie coniectured it did prognoſticate trouble and hatred ſhortlie after to follow betwéene princes. On tueſdaie the nintéenth of June, the two kings came to the campe againe armed at all péeces, and there abode them that would come, ſo that then began the iuſtes afreſh. On wedneſdaie the twentith of June, the two kings began to hold tournies with all the parteners of their chalenge armed at all péeces. The quéene of France and the quéene of England were in the places for them prepared, and there was manie a goodlie battell performed: the kings doing as well as the beſt, ſo that the beholders ſpake of them honor. On thurſdaie the one and twentith of June, the two kings likewiſe kept the tourneies, ſo that all thoſe noble men that would proue their valiancies, were deliuered according to the articles of the tourneies, which this daie tooke end. On fridaie the 22 of June, the two kings with their retinue did battell on foot at the barriers, and there deliuered all ſuch as put foorth themſelues to trie their forces. On saturdaie the thrée and twentith of June, the lord cardinall ſang an high ſolemne maſſe by note, aloft vpon a pompous ſtage before the two kings & quéenes, the which being finiſhed, indulgence was giuen to all the hearers. The two kings dined in one chamber that daie, and the two quéenes in another. After dinner, the two kings with their band entered the field on foot before the barriers, & ſo began the fight, which continued battell after battell, till all the commers were anſwered. There were deliuered this day thus at the barriers by battell, an hundred and ſix perſons: the two laſt battels did the kings trie. And ſo that saturdaie the whole chalenge was performed, and all men deliuered of the articles of iuſts, tourneies, and battels on foot at the barriers, by the ſaid two kings and their aids.

Barriers.

The cardinall ſang maſſe before the two kings.

Maſkes.

After this, there followed roiall maſkes, and on the ſundaie the foure and twentith of June, the king of England with foure companies, in euerie companie ten, trimlie appointed in maſking apparell, rode to Ard: and likewiſe the French king accompanied with eight and thirtie perſons as maſkers repaired to Guiſnes. They met on the waie, & each companie paſſed by other without any countenance making or diſuiſarding. They were honorablie receiued, as well at the one place as the other. And when they had ended their paſtime, banketting, and danſes, they returned and met againe on the way homeward, and then putting off their viſards, they louinglie embraced: and after amiable communication togither, they tooke leaue each of other, & for a remembrance gaue gifts either to other verie rich and princelie.

Ed.Hall in H.8 fol.lxxxiiij.

¶ During this triumph, much people of Picardie and weſt Flanders drew to Guiſnes, to ſée the king of England & his honor, to whom vittels of the court were giuen in plentie, the conduit of the gate did run wine alwaies. There were vagabonds, plowmen, labourers, and of the bragerie, wagoners and beggers, that for drunkenneſſe laie in routs and heapes. So great reſort came thither, that knights and ladies, who were come to ſée the nobleneſſe, were faine to lie in haie and ſtraw, and held them thereof highlie pleaſed. From the court of the emperour, nor of the ladie Margarets court, nor of Flanders, Brabant, nor Burgognie came neuer a perſon to anſwer to the chalenge. By that it ſéemed that there was ſmall loue betwene the emperour & the French king. Moreouer, monſieur Faiot capteine of Bullongne with monſieur Chattelon, did their deuoir to haue taken the towne of ſaint Omer, of which doing was thought no goodneſſe to the emperour.]

Knights and ladies faine to lie in haie and ſtraw.

On mondaie the fiue and twentith of June, the king with the quéene remoued from Guiſnes to Calis, where he remained till the tenth of Julie, on which daie he rode to Graueling, and was receiued on the waie by the emperour, and ſo by him conueied to Graueling, where not onelie the king, but alſo all his traine was cheared and feaſted, with ſo louing maner, that the Engliſhmen highlie praiſed the emperours court. [When the French king and his lords had knowledge of the méeting of the emperour and the king of England in the towne of Graueling, they were therewith greatlie gréeued, as by manie things appeared. For as the Engliſhmen were in France diſdained, and in their ſutes there greatlie deferred, and had little right, and much leſſe fauour: ſo from day to day ſtill more and more began hartburning, and in concluſion open warre did ariſe betwéene the two realmes.]

King Henrie departed from Guiſnes to Calis, & from thence to Graueling to viſit the emperour.

Ed.Hall in H.8.fol.lxvj.

On Wedneſdaie the eleuenth of Julie, the emperour and his aunt the ladie Margaret ducheſſe of Sauoy came with the king of England to the towne of Calis, and there continued in great ioy and ſolace, with feaſting, banketting, danſing and maſking vntill the fouretéenth of Julie. ¶ For the interteining of theſe eſtates (the Engliſh lords and gentlemen diſplaced of their lodgings to ſerue the other and their traine) there was builded a banketting houſe eight hundred foot compaſſe, like a theatre, after a goodlie deuiſe, builded in ſuch maner as (I thinke) was neuer ſéene, with ſixtéene principals made of great maſts, betwixt euerie maſt foure and twentie foot, and all the outſides cloſed with boord and canuas.

The emperour commeth to Calis to king Henrie.

Abr.Fl. ex I.S. pag.927.

Banketting houſe within the towne of Calis.

Ri.Turpin.

Ouer it, and within round about by the ſides, were made thrée ſcaffolds or lofts one aboue another for men and women to ſtand vpon. And in the midſt of the ſame banketting houſe, was ſet vp a great piller of timber made of eight great maſts, bound togither with iron bands, for to hold them togither: for it was an hundred and foure and thirtie foot of length, and coſt ſix pounds thirtéene ſhillings and fourepence to ſet it vpright. The banketing houſe was couered ouer with canuas, faſtened with ropes and iron as faſt as might be deuiſed. And within the ſaid houſe was painted the heauens, with ſtarres, ſunne, moone, and clouds, with diuerſe other things made aboue ouer mens heads: and there were great images of wickers couered, and made like great men of diuerſe ſtrange nations: and diuerſe reaſons were written by them of the countries that they likened to be of, with the armes of thoſe countries hanging by them.

Goodlie workmanſhip within the banketting houſe.

Alſo there was made as it were manie ſhips vnder ſaile, and windmils going, and about the high piller of timber that ſtood vpright in the middeſt, was made ſtages of timber for organs and other inſtruments to ſtand vpon, and men to plaie on them, & for other muſicians & pageants to be plaied, when the K. of England & the emperor ſhould be at their banket. But in the morning of the ſame day, the wind began to riſe, & at night blew off the canuas, and all the elements, with the ſtarres, ſunne, moone, and clouds, and the wind blew out aboue a thouſand torches, and other lights of wax, that were prepared to giue light to the banket, & all the kings ſeats that were made with great riches, beſides all other things, were all daſhed and loſt.]

Banketting houſe defaced by tempeſt.

The ſame daie at night that the ſtates were interteined, the king and fiftéene perſons were apparelled all in blacke veluet couered with cloth of gold, cut on the veluet, faſtened with knots of gold, on the which knots hong ſpangles of gold like tufts, and bonnets of the ſame, & clokes of crimſin ſattin and cloth of gold wrapped trauerſe, and their buſkins of the ſame cloth of gold. All theſe luſtie maſkers went to the emperours lodging, and were receiued,

A ſtatelie maſk to ſolace the emperor & his companie.

and in the chamber of preſence danſed and reuelled, the which at the emperours requeſt, the king and other diſuiſarded themſelues, whereby the king was knowne: then the king tooke his leaue, and departed for that night. On tueſdaie the twelfe of Julie, bicauſe the banketting houſe could not be finiſhed, the emperour and the ladie Margaret ſupped with the king & the queene at the checker, where the ſame night after ſupper reuelled ninetie and ſix maſkers: after the reuels was a banket, after which banket the king brought the emperour and the ladie Margaret to the ſtaple, and after withdrew him.

French gentlemen in maſkers apparell vnweeting to them that bare rule in the reuels.

This night were eight companies of maſkers, and in euerie companie twelue perſons all in gold, ſiluer and veluet, richlie apparelled, but bicauſe the roome was ſmall, the ſhew was the leſſe. In theſe reuels were put in maſkers apparell diuerſe gentlemen of the French court vnweeting to the K. or anie other that bare rule. For diuerſe yong gentlemen of the French court fauored more the French partie, than the emperours partie; through which meanes they ſaw and much more heard than they ſhould haue doone. On fridaie the thirteenth daie of Julie, the emperour did intend to haue departed from Calis, but the counſell was ſuch that he departed not that night.

The king returneth into England.

On ſaturdaie the fourteenth of Julie, the emperour tooke his leaue of the queene of England his aunt, and departed toward Graueling, being conducted on his waie by the king of England, to a village towards Flanders called Waell, and there they imbraced and tooke their leaue either of other in moſt louing maner. They did not altogither ſpend the time thus while they were togither, in vaine pleaſures, and ſporting reuels; for the charters before time concluded were read ouer, and all the articles of the league tripartite, agreed betwixt the emperour, the king of England, and the French king, were at full declared, to the which the French king had fullie condeſcended. And for the more proofe thereof, and exemplification of the ſame, he ſent monſieur de Roch with letters of credence to ſignifie to the emperour, that in the word of a prince he would obſerue, fulfill, performe and keepe all the ſame articles, for him, his realme and ſubiects. Shortlie after that the emperour and the king had taken leaue each of other, and were departed, the king ſhipped, and with the queene and all other the nobilitie returned ſafelie into England.

1521

Polydor.

An inconuenience of turning arable ground into paſture.

The king kept his Chriſtmas at Greenwich this yeare, with much nobleneſſe and open court. And the tenth daie of Februarie, in his owne perſon, iuſted with all commers. On Twelfe daie his grace and the earle of Deuonſhire, with foure aids, anſwered at the tourneie all commers, which were ſixteene perſons: noble and rich was their apparell, but in feats of armes the king excelled the reſt. About this time the king hauing regard to the common welth of his realme, conſidered how for the ſpace of fiftie yeares paſt and more, the nobles and gentlemen of England, being giuen to graſing of cattell, and keeping of ſheepe, had inuented a meane how to increaſe their yearelie reuenues, to the great decaie and vndooing of huſbandmen of the land. For the ſaid nobles and gentlemen, after the maner of the Numidians, more ſtudieng how to increaſe their paſtures, than to mainteine tillage, began to decaie huſband tacks & tenements, and to conuert arable ground into paſture, furniſhing the ſame with beaſts and ſheepe, and alſo deere, ſo incloſing the field with hedges, ditches, and pales, which they held in their owne hands, ingroſſing wolles, and ſelling the ſame, and alſo ſheepe and beaſts at their owne prices, and as might ſtand moſt with their owne priuate commoditie.

The commonwealth hurt three waies thereby.

Hereof a threefold euill chanced to the common wealth, as Polydor noteth. One, for that thereby the number of huſbandmen was ſore diminiſhed, the which the prince vſeth chieflie in his ſeruice for the warres: an other, for that manie townes and villages were left deſolate, and became ruinous: the third, for that both wooll and cloth made thereof, and the fleſh of all maner beaſts vſed to be eaten, was ſold at far higher prices than was accuſtomed. Theſe enormities at the firſt begining being not redreſſed, grew in ſhort ſpace to ſuch force and vigour by euill cuſtome, that afterwards they gathered to ſuch an vnited force, that hardly they could be remedied. Much like a diſeaſe, which in the beginning with litle paine to the patient, and leſſe labour to the ſurgeon maie be cured; whereas the ſame by delaie and negligence being ſuffered to putrifie, becommeth a deſperate ſore, and then are medicines nothing auailable, and not to be applied, according to his opinion that ſaid:

Helleborum fruſtra (cùm iam cutis ægra tumeſcit)
Poſcentes videas: venienti occurrite morbo.

Perſ.ſat.3.

Commiſſions granted for the maintenance of tillage and laieng open of incloſures.

The king therefore cauſing ſuch good ſtatutes as had beene deuiſed and eſtabliſhed for reformation in this behalfe, to be reuiued and called vpon, tooke order by directing foorth his commiſſions vnto the iuſtices of peace, and other ſuch magiſtrats, that preſentment ſhould be had and made of all ſuch incloſures, and decaie of huſbandrie, as had chanced within the ſpace of fiftie yeares before that preſent time. The iuſtices and other magiſtrates, according to their commiſſion executed the ſame. And ſo commandement was giuen, that the decaied houſes ſhould be built vp againe, that the huſbandmen ſhould be placed eftſoones in the ſame, and that incloſed grounds ſhould be laid open, and ſore puniſhment appointed againſt them that diſobeied.

Bribes.

Theſe ſo good and wholeſome ordinances ſhortlie after were defeated by meanes of bribes giuen vnto the cardinall: for when the nobles and gentlemen, which had for their pleaſures imparked the common fields, were loth to haue the ſame againe diſparked, they redeemed their vexation with good ſummes of monie; and ſo had licence to keepe their parks and grounds incloſed as before. Thus the great expectation which men had conceiued of a generall redreſſe, proued void: howbeit, ſome profit the huſbandmen in ſome parts of the realme got by the mouing of this matter, where incloſures were alreadie laid open, yer miſtreſſe monie could preuent them; and ſo they inioied their commons, which before had beene taken from them.

The cardinall deuiſeth the deſtruction of the duke of Buckingham.

After that this matter for incloſures was thus diſpatched, the cardinall boiling in hatred againſt the duke of Buckingham, & thirſting for his bloud, deuiſed to make Charles Kneuet, that had beene the dukes ſuruei or, and put from him (as ye haue heard) an inſtrument to bring the duke to deſtruction. This Kneuet being had in examination before the cardinall, diſcloſed all the dukes life. And firſt he vttered, that the duke was accuſtomed by waie of talke, to ſaie, how he meant ſo to vſe the matter, that he would atteine to the crowne, if king Henrie chanced to die without iſſue: & that he had talke and conference of that matter on a time with George Neuill, lord of Abergauennie, vnto whome he had giuen his daughter in marriage; and alſo that he threatned to puniſh the cardinall for his manifold miſdoings, being without cauſe his mortall enimie.

The cardinall imboldeneth Kneuet againſt the duke.

The cardinall hauing gotten that which he ſought for, incouraged, comforted, and procured Kneuet, with manie comfortable words and great promiſes, that he ſhould with a bold ſpirit and countenance obiect and laie theſe things to the dukes charge, with more if he knew it when time required. Then Kneuet partlie prouoked with deſire to be reuenged, and partlie moued with hope of reward, openlie confeſſed, that the duke had once fullie determined to deuiſe meanes how to make the king awaie, being brought into a full hope that he ſhould be king, by a vaine propheſie which one Nicholas Hopkins, a monke of an houſe of the Chartreux order beſide Briſtow, called Henton, ſometime his confeſſor had opened vnto him.

The cardinall accuſeth the duke of Buckingham to the king.

The cardinall hauing thus taken the examination of Kneuet, went vnto the king, and declared vnto him, that his perſon was in danger by ſuch traitorous purpoſe, as the duke of Buckingham had conceiued in his heart, and ſhewed how that now there is manifeſt tokens of his wicked pretenſe: wherefore, he exhorted the king to prouide for his owne ſuertie with ſpeed. The king hearing the accuſation, inforced to the vttermoſt by the cardinall, made this anſwer; If the duke haue deſerued to be puniſhed, let him haue according to his deſerts. The duke herevpon was ſent for vp to London, & at his comming thither, was ſtreightwaies attached, and brought to the Tower by ſir Henrie Marneie, capteine of the gard, the ſixteenth of Aprill. There was alſo attached the foreſaid Chartreux monke, maiſter Iohn de la Car alias de la Court, the dukes confeſſor, and ſir Gilbert Perke prieſt, the dukes chancellor.

Edw. Hall.

Anno Reg. 13.

The duke of Buckingham indicted of treaſon.

After the apprehenſion of the duke, inquiſitions were taken in diuerſe ſhires of England of him; ſo that by the knights and gentlemen, he was indicted of high treaſon, for certeine words ſpoken (as before ye haue heard) by the ſame duke at Blechinglie, to the lord of Aburgauennie: and therewith was the ſame lord attached for concelement, and ſo likewiſe was the lord Montacute, and both led to the Tower. Sir Edward Neuill, brother to the ſaid lord of Aburgauennie, was forbidden the kings preſence. Moreouer, in the Guildhall, within the citie of London, before Iohn Brugge knight, then lord maior of the ſame citie, by an inqueſt whereof one Miles Gerrard was foreman, the ſaid duke was indicted of diuerſe points of high treaſon, as by the ſame indictment it appeareth.

The effect of the dukes indictement.

The duke is indicted of treſon in London.

This Hopkins had ſent one of the prior of Hentons ſeruants to the duke the daie afore, to will him to ſend ouer to him his chancellor, as by an other inditement appeareth.

Namelie, that the ſaid duke intending to exalt himſelfe, and to vſurpe the crowne, the roiall power, and dignitie of the realme of England, and to depriue the kings maieſtie thereof, that he the ſaid duke might take vpon him the ſame; againſt his allegiance, had the tenth daie of March, in the ſecond yeere of the kings maieſties reigne, and at diuerſe other times before and after, imagined and compaſſed the kings death and deſtruction at London, & at Thorneburie, in the countie of Gloceſter. And for the accompliſhment of his wicked intent and purpoſe (as in the indictment is alledged) the twentie and fourth daie of Aprill, in the fourth yeere of the kings reigne he ſent one of his chapleins called Iohn de la Court, to the priorie of Henton in Summerſetſhire, which was an houſe of the Chartreux monks. The effect or ſubſtance of whoſe meſſage was, to vnderſtand of one Nicholas Hopkins, a monke of the ſame houſe (who was vainelie reputed by waie of reuelation to haue foreknowledge of things to come) what ſhould happen concerning the matters which he had imagined. Which monke, cauſing the ſaid de la Court firſt to ſweare vnto him, not to diſcloſe his words to anie maner of perſon, but onelie to the duke his maiſter: therewith declared, that his maiſter the ſaid duke ſhould haue all, willing him for the accompliſhment of his purpoſe, to ſeeke to win the fauour of the people. De la Court came backe with this anſwer, and told it to the duke at Thorneburie the morrow after, being the twentie fift of Aprill.

The cardinall imboldeneth Kneuet againſt the duke.

Alſo the two and twentith of Iulie in the ſame fourth yeare, the duke ſent the ſame de la Court with letters vnto the ſaid monke, to vnderſtand of him further of ſuch matters: and the monke told him againe for anſwer, that the duke ſhould haue all. And being aſked as well now, as before at the firſt time, how he knew this to be true: he ſaid, By the grace of God. And with this anſwer de la Court now alſo returning, declared the ſame vnto the duke, the twentie fourth of Iulie at Thorneburie aforeſaid. Moreouer, the ſaid duke ſent the ſame de la Court againe to the ſaid monke with his letters, the ſix and twentith of Aprill, in the fift yeare of the kings reigne, when the king was to take his iournie into France; requiring to vnderſtand what ſhould become of theſe warres: and whether the Scotiſh king ſhould in the kings abſence inuade the realme or not. The monke (among other things) for anſwer of theſe letters, ſent the duke word, that the king ſhould haue no iſſue male.

The monks reuelation was peremptorie to the duke.

But herein the monke lied.

Againe, the ſaid duke the twentith daie of Februarie, in the firſt yeare of the kings reigne, being at Thorneburie, ſpake theſe words vnto Rafe earle of Weſtmerland; Well, there are two new dukes created here in England, but if ought but good come to the king, the duke of Buckingham ſhould be next in bloud to ſuceed to the crowne. After this, the ſaid duke on the ſixteenth daie of Aprill, in the ſaid firſt yeare of the kings reigne, went in perſon vnto the priorie of Henton, and there had conference with the foreſaid monke, Nicholas Hopkins, who told him, that he ſhould be king. Wherevnto the duke ſaid, that if it ſo chanced, he would ſhew himſelfe a iuſt and a righteous prince. The monke alſo told the duke, that he knew this by reuelation, and willed him in anie wiſe to procure the loue of the commons, the better to atteine his purpoſed intention.

The duke & the monke haue conference ſaith the indictment.

The duke at the ſame time gaue, and promiſed to giue yearelie vnto the ſaid priorie, ſix pounds, therewith to buie a tun of wine. And further he promiſed to giue vnto the ſame priorie, in readie monie twentie pounds, whereof ten pounds he gaue in hand, towards the conueieng of water vnto the houſe by a conduit. And to the ſaid monke Nicholas Hopkins he gaue at that preſent in reward three pounds, and at an other time fortie ſhillings, at an other time a marke, and at an other time ſix ſhillings eight penſe. After this, the twentith daie of March, in the tenth yeare of the kings reigne, he came to the ſame priorie, & eftſoones had conference with the ſaid monke, to be more fullie informed by him in the matters aboue ſpecified. At what time the monke alſo told him, that he ſhould be king. The duke in talke told the monke, that he had doone verie well, to bind his chapleine Iohn de la Court, vnder the ſeale of confeſſion, to keepe ſecret ſuch matter: for if the king ſhould come to the knowledge thereof, it would be his deſtruction.

Likewiſe, the twentith daie of October, in the ſeuenth yeare of the kings reigne, and at diuerſe other times, as well before as after, the ſaid duke had ſent his chancellor Robert Gilbert chapleine, vnto London, there to buie certeine cloathes of gold, ſiluer, and veluets, euerie time ſo much as amounted to the worth of three hundred pounds; to the intent the ſaid duke might beſtow the ſame, as well vpon knights, eſquiers, gentlemen of the kings houſe, and yeomen of his gard, as vpon other the kings ſubiects, to win their fauours and freendſhips to aſſiſt him in his euill purpoſe. Which cloathes the ſaid Gilbert did buie, and brought the ſame vnto the ſaid duke, who the twentith daie of Ianuarie, in the ſaid ſeuenth yeare, & diuerſe other daies and yeares before and after, did diſtribute and giue the ſame vnto certeine of the kings ſubiects for the purpoſe afore recited,

Robert Gilbert the dukes chapleine and chancellor his errand to London.

recited, as by the indictment it was inferred.

Meanes that the duke vſed to make himſelfe ſtrong againſt the king.

Furthermore, the ſaid duke, the tenth of Iulie, in the tenth yeare of the kings reigne, and diuerſe other daies and times, as well before as after, did conſtitute more ſeuerall and particular officers in his caſtels, honours, lordſhips, and lands than he was accuſtomed to haue, to the end they might be aſſiſtant to him, vnder coulour of ſuch offices, to bring his euill purpoſe to paſſe. Moreouer, the ſame duke ſent vnto the king the tenth of Maie, in the ninth yeare of his reigne, for licence to reteine anie of the kings ſubiects, whome it ſhould pleaſe him, dwelling within the ſhires of Hereford, Gloceſter, and Summerſetſhire; and alſo, that he might at his pleaſure conueie diuerſe armors, and habillements for warre into Wales, to the intent to vſe the ſame againſt the king as the indictment imported, for the accompliſhing of his naughtie purpoſe, which was to deſtroie the king and to vſurpe the roiall gouernement and power to himſelfe.

Which ſute for licence to haue reteiners, and to conueie ſuch armors and habillements of warre, the ſaid Gilbert, the twentith daie of Maie, in the ſaid ninth yeare, and diuerſe other daies before and after, at London, and eaſt Greenewich did follow, labouring earneſtlie, both to the king and councell, for obteining the ſame. On the twentith daie of Iulie in the ſaid ninth yeare, the ſaid duke ſent the ſaid Gilbert vnto Henton aforeſaid, to vnderſtand of the ſaid moonke Nicholas Hopkins, what he heard of him: and the moonke ſent him word, that before Chriſtmas next there ſhould be a change, & that the duke ſhould haue the rule and gouernement of all England. And moreouer, the twentith of Februarie, in the eleuenth yeare of the kings reigne, at Blechingleie in the countie of Surrie, the ſaid duke ſaid vnto the ſaid Robert Gilbert his chancellor, that he did expect and tarie for a time more conuenient to atchiue his purpoſe, and that it might eaſilie be doone, if the nobles of this realme would declare their minds togither: but ſome of them miſtruſted, and feared to ſhew their minds togither: and that marred all.

A falſe propheſieng moonke.

He ſaid further at the ſame time to the ſaid Gilbert, that what ſo euer was doone by the kings father, was doone by wrong. And ſtill he murmured againſt all that the king then preſentlie reigning did. And further he ſaid, that he knew himſelfe to be ſo wicked a ſinner, that he wanted Gods fauour: and therefore he knew, that what ſo euer he tooke in hand againſt the king had the worſe ſucceſſe. And furthermore, the ſaid duke (to alienate the minds of the kings ſubiects from their dutifull obeiſance towards the ſaid king and his heires) on the twentith daie of September, in the firſt yeare of his reigne, being then at London, reported vnto the ſaid Robert Gilbert, that he had a certeine writing ſealed with the kings great ſeale, comprehending a certeine act of parlement, in the which it was enacted, that the duke of Summerſet one of the kings progenitors was made legitimate: and further, that the ſaid duke meant to haue deliuered the ſame writing vnto king Henrie the ſeuenth, but (ſaid he) I would not that I had ſo doone for ten thouſand pounds.

He was in a verie ill mind if this were true.

A certeine writing legitimating the duke of Summerſet.

And furthermore, the ſame duke on the fourth of Nouember, in the eleuenth yere of the kings reigne, at eaſt Greenwich in the countie of Kent, ſaid vnto one Charles Kneuet eſquier, after that the king had reproued the duke for reteining William Bulmer knight into his ſeruice, that if he had perceiued that he ſhould haue beene committed to the Tower (as he doubted hee ſhould haue beene) hee would haue ſo wrought, that the principall dooers therein ſhould not haue had cauſe of great reioiſing: for he would haue plaied the part which his father intended to haue put in practiſe againſt king Richard the third at Saliſburie, who made earneſt ſute to haue come vnto the preſence of the ſame king Richard: which ſute if he might haue obteined, he hauing a knife ſecretlie about him, would haue thruſt it into the bodie of king Richard, as he had made ſemblance to kneele downe before him. And in ſpeaking theſe words, he maliciouſlie laid his hand vpon his dagger, and ſaid, that if he were ſo euill vſed, he would doo his beſt to accompliſh his pretenſed purpoſe, ſwearing to confirme his word by the bloud of our Lord.

See the hiſtorie of Richard the third, pag.744.

Beſide all this, the ſame duke the tenth of Maie, in the twelfe yeare of the kings reigne, at London in a place called the Roſe, within the pariſh of ſaint Laurence Poultnie in Canwike ſtreet ward, demanded of the ſaid Charles Kneuet eſquier, what was the talke amongeſt the Londoners concerning the kings iourneie beyond the ſeas? And the ſaid Charles told him, that manie ſtood in doubt of that iourneie, leaſt the Frenchmen meant ſome deceit towards the king. Whereto the duke anſwered, that it was to be feared, leaſt it would come to paſſe, according to the words of a certeine holie moonke. For there is (ſaith he) a Chartreux moonke, that diuerſe times hath ſent to me, willing me to ſend vnto him my chancellor: and I did ſend vnto him Iohn de la Court my chapleine, vnto whome he would not declare anie thing, till de la Court had ſworne vnto him to keepe all things ſecret, and to tell no creature liuing what hee ſhould heare of him, except it were to me.

The duke diſcouereth the ſecrecie of all the matter to his owne vndooing.

And then the ſaid moonke told de la Court, that neither the king nor his heires ſhould proſper, and that I ſhould indeuour my ſelfe to purchaſe the good wils of the communaltie of England; for I the ſame duke and my bloud ſhould proſper, and haue the rule of the realme of England. Then ſaid Charles Kneuet; The moonke maie be deceiued through the diuels illuſion: and that it was euill to meddle with ſuch matters. Well (ſaid the duke) it cannot hurt me, and ſo (ſaith the indictment) the duke ſeemed to reioiſe in the moonks words. And further, at the ſame time, the duke told the ſaid Charles, that if the king had miſcaried now in his laſt ſickneſſe, he would haue chopped off the heads of the cardinall, of ſir Thomas Louell knight, and of others; and alſo ſaid, that he had rather die for it, than to be vſed as he had beene.

But the end of that ioy was heauineſſe.

Moreouer, on the tenth daie of September, in the ſaid eleuenth yere of this kings reigne, at Blechinglie, in the countie of Surrie, walking in the gallerie there with George Neuill knight, lord Aburgauennie, the duke murmuring againſt the kings councellors, and there gouernement, ſaid vnto the ſaid George; that if the king died, he would haue the rule of the realme in ſpite of who ſo euer ſaid the contrarie; and withall ſaid, that if the ſaid lord Aburgauennie would ſay, that the duke had ſpoken ſuch words, he would fight with him, and lay his ſword vpon his pate: & this he bound vp with manie great oths. Theſe were the ſpeciall articles & points compriſed in the indictment, and laid to his charge: but how trulie, or in what ſort prooued, I haue not further to ſay, either in accuſing or excuſing him, other than as I find in Hall and Polydor, whoſe words in effect, I haue thought to impart to the reader, and without anie parciall wreſting of the ſame either to or fro.

Sauing that (I truſt) I maie without offenſe ſaie, that (as the rumour then went) the cardinall chieflie procured the death of this noble man, no leſſe fauoured and beloued of the people of this realme in that ſeaſon, than the cardinall himſelfe was hated and enuied. Which thing cauſed the dukes fall the more to be pitied and lamented, ſith he was the man of all other, that chieflie went about to croſſe the cardinall in his lordlie demeanor, & headie procéedings. But to the purpoſe. Shortlie after that the duke had béene indicted (as before ye haue heard) he was arreigned in Weſtminſter hall, before the duke of Norffolke, being made by the kings letters patents high ſteward of England, to accompliſh the high cauſe of appeale of the péere or péeres of the realme, and to diſcerne and iudge the cauſe of the péeres.

The duke of Buckingham arreigned at Weſtminſter.

The names of the dukes péeres for his triall.

There were alſo appointed to ſit as péeres and iudges vpon the ſaid duke of Buckingham, the duke of Suffolke, the marques Dorſet, the earls of Worceſter, Duonſhire, Eſſex, Shreweſburie, Kent, Oxford, and Derbie, the lord of ſaint Iohns, the lord de la Ware, the lord Fitz Warren, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Brooke, the lord Cobham, the lord Herbert, and the lord Morleie. There was made within the hall at Weſtminſter a ſcaffold for theſe lords, and a preſence for a iudge, railed and counterrailed about, and barred with degrées. When the lords had taken their place, the duke was brought to the barre, and vpon his arreignement pleaded not guiltie, and put himſelfe vpon his péeres. Then was his indictment read, which the duke denied to be true, and (as he was an eloquent man) alledged reaſons to falſifie the indictment; pleading the matter for his owne iuſtification verie pithilie and earneſtlie. The kings attourneie againſt the dukes reaſons alledged the examinations, confeſſions, and proofes of witneſſes.

Polydor. Edw. Hall.

The duke deſired that the witneſſes might bée brought foorth. And then came before him Charles Kneuet, Perke, de la Court, & Hopkins the monke of the priorie of the Charterhouſe beſide Bath, which like a falſe hypocrite had induced the duke to the treaſon with his falſe forged propheſies. Diuerſe preſumptions and accuſations were laid vnto him by Charles Kneuet, which he would faine haue couered. The depoſitions were read, & the deponents deliuered as priſoners to the officers of the Tower. Then ſpake the duke of Norffolke, and ſaid: My lord, the king our ſouereigne lord hath commanded that you ſhall haue his lawes miniſtred with fauour and right to you. Wherefore if you haue anie other thing to ſay for your ſelfe, you ſhall be heard. Then he was commanded to withdraw him, and ſo was led into Paradiſe, a houſe ſo named. The lords went to councell a great while, and after tooke their places.

Edw.Hall. in H.8.fol.lxxxvj.

The duke of Buckingham conuinced of high treaſon.

Then ſaid the duke of Norffolke to the duke of Suffolke; What ſay you of ſir Edward duke of Buckingham touching the high treaſons? The duke of Suffolke anſwered; He is giltie: & ſo ſaid the marques and all the other earls and lords. Thus was this prince duke of Buckingham found giltie of high treaſon, by a duke, a marques, ſeuen earles, & twelue barons. The duke was brought to the barre ſore chafing, and ſwet maruellouſlie; & after he had made his reuerence, he pauſed a while. The duke of Norffolke as iudge ſaid; Sir Edward, you haue heard how you be indicted of high treaſon, you pleaded thereto not giltie, putting your ſelfe to the péeres of the realme, which haue found you giltie. Then the duke of Norffolke wept and ſaid; You ſhall be led to the kings priſon, and there laid on a hardle, and ſo drawne to the place of execution, and there be hanged, cut downe aliue, your members cut off and caſt into the fire, your bowels burnt before you, your head ſmitten off, and your bodie quartered and diuided at the kings will, and God haue mercie on your ſoule, Amen.

The duke of Buckinghams iudgement pronounced by the duke of Norffolke.

Rich. Grafton. Iohn Stow.

The duke of Buckingham ſaid, My lord of Norffolke, you haue ſaid as a traitor ſhould be ſaid vnto, but I was neuer anie: but my lords I nothing maligne for that you haue doone to me, but the eternall God forgiue you my death, and I doo: I ſhall neuer ſue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gratious prince, and more grace may come from him than I deſire. I deſire you my lords and all my fellowes to pray for me. Then was the edge of the axe turned towards him, and he led into a barge. Sir Thomas Louell deſired him to ſit on the cuſhins and carpet ordeined for him. He ſaid nay; for when I went to Weſtminſter I was duke of Buckingham, now I am but Edward Bohune the moſt caitife of the world. Thus they landed at the Temple, where receiued him ſir Nicholas Vawſe & ſir William Sands baronets, and led him through the citie, who deſired euer the people to pray for him, of whome ſome wept and lamented, and ſaid: This is the end of euill life, God forgiue him, he was a proud prince, it is pitie that hée behaued him ſo againſt his king and liege lord, whome God preſerue. Thus about foure of the clocke he was brought as a caſt man to the Tower.

The duke of Buckingham beheaded on a ſcaffold at Tower hill.

On fridaie the ſeuentéenth daie of Maie, about eleuen of the clocke, this duke of Buckingham, earle of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, with a great power was deliuered to Iohn Keime & Iohn Skeuington ſhiriffes, who led him to the ſcaffold on Tower hill, where he ſaid he had offended the kings grace through negligence and lacke of grace, and deſired all noble men to beware by him, and all men to pray for him, and that he truſted to die the kings true man. Thus méekelie with an axe he tooke his death. Then the Auguſtine friers tooke his bodie, and head, and buried them. Alas that euer the grace of truth was withdrawne from ſo noble a man, that he was not to his king in allegiance as he ought to haue béene! Such is the end of ambition, the end of falſe propheſies, the end of euill life, and euill counſell; but ſpeciallie the end of malice, which grew to ſo huge and monſtruous a fire in the hautie hart of the proud cardinall, that nothing could aſſwage it, but the bloud of this noble duke, againſt whome he had procured this proceſſe in iudgement ended with the execution of death: the torments whereof were (as it ſéemeth by the ſentence of the iudge) much diminiſhed through the mercie of the king.

For though his offenſe was traitorous, and therfore deſerued as law had prouided, and the iudge defined; yet in reſpect of the offendors perſon, the kings fauor diſpenſed with the rigor of iudgement, ſo that he was beheaded onelie, and his bodie not diſmembred. ¶ This duke had begun a great and ſumptuous building at his manor of Thornburie, but left the ſame vnfiniſhed. He made a faire parke hard by the ſame building, for the which he tooke in much and fruitfull ground. Alſo another parke at Eaſtwood, one mile off, he inlarged at two times to the compaſſe of ſix miles, for the which déed, and ſuch like, he had manie a curſſe of the poore tenants.] At the time of his death (no doubt) his conſcience (giuing in greater euidence than 10000 witneſſes) told him whether he was iuſtlie condemned or no, for a mans dieng day is as a bill of information, putting him in mind of his life well or ill ſpent, as one ſaith:

Abr.Fl.ex I.S. pag.929. Iohn Leland.

Pectora terribili cùm mors ferit horridu telo,
Quomodo vita tibi ſit prius acta ſcies.

Gu.Ha.in eccl. cap.11.

A conuenient collection concerning *the high conſtables of England, which office* ceaſſed and tooke end at the duke of *Buckingham aboue mentioned.*

The death of this duke of Buckingham, being the laſt conſtable of England, dooth preſent apt place to me wherein to inſert the names of all ſuch honorable perſons as haue béene inueſted with that title of the conſtableſhip of England, an office of great account, & ſuch as

The collection of Fr. Thin in this yere 1585.

as ſometime was the cheefeſt place of a temporall ſubiect in the relme the (high ſteward excepted) whoſe power did extend to reſtreine ſome actions of the kings. Wherefore being now no ſuch office (for there was neuer anie aduanced therevnto ſince the beheading of this duke) I thinke it not vnmeet to make ſome memorie of thoſe perſons poſſeſſing ſo high a place, leaſt both they and their office might hereafter grow in vtter obliuion: theſe therefore they were.

Alfgarus Stallere.

Alfgarus Stallere, conſtable to Edward the Confeſſor, of whome thus writeth the hiſtorie of Elie in the ſecond booke written by Richard of Elie a moonke of that houſe, in the time of Henrie the ſecond, whoſe words although they be ſomewhat long, I ſhall not greeue to ſet downe in this ſort. *De famoſa villa Eſtre, alio nomine Plaſsie vocata, dicendum eſt quàm miſerè ab Elie eſt deſtracta. Alfgarus quidem Stallere, quod Latinè dux dicitur, eam inuaſit, & vſus eſt ea. Abbas verò Wolfricus & fratres, cùm ſeduló fruſtra requirerent, Edwardum Confeſſorem adeunt, cui rex mandauit, vt reſtitueret: ſed ille regijs iuſsis nequaquam obtemperauit. Fratres autem, cùm nec prece nec precio eius animum flectere potuiſſent, anathematizant eum, nec ſententiam ſuper eum vllo die prætermittebant.*

Quod ille diutiùs paruipendens, licèt magnus & potens in regno eſſet (vti regis conſtabularius) ab eccleſia eliminatus, & fidelium conſortio ad correptionem (vix iam cunctis deteſtabilis effectus) compulſus peruenire, tandem (plurimùm obiurgatus & correptus à rege) reuerſus eſt in ſe, & prece tandem nititur obtinere quod iniqua manu cunctatus non eſt. Illi verò hoc cognoſcentes, illi annunt, demiſerúntq; ei (quamuis ad ſuum incommodum) ita vt iureiurando poſt ipſius vitam ab omni ſuorum inquietudine libera ad eccleſiam poſſeſsio rediret. Quod quidem factum eſt, & ſcripto Anglici ſermonis deſignatum. Teſtes rex Edwardus & regina, &c. Which man (after the death of king Edward the Confeſſor and Harold the vſurper) was when the Normans entered England, as ſaith the ſaid hiſtorie *In ergaſtulo plurimis alijs ferro aſtrictus vſque ad mortem.*

Walter of Gloceſter.

Walter conſtable of England in the time of William the Conquerour, and of William Rufus ſucceeded Alfgarus. Here (before I ſaie anie more) I thinke it not amiſſe to ſet downe ſomewhat touching William Fitz Oſberne, or Oſbert earle of Hereford, whome manie will haue to be conſtable in the time of the Conquerour: which truelie I can not as yet be led to beleeue. For although that this William was the onelie man, who both perſuaded, incouraged, and procured aid of others to aſſiſt William Conquerour for the obteining of England; and that this man was (as we commonlie ſaie) the onelie right hand, cheefe compeller, and diſpoſer of the kingdome, after that William the Conquerour had obteined the ſame, being alſo *Tribunus militum* of all the armie that William Conquerour led into England, and the man that perſuaded the biſhop of Samborow to compound for the title of the king of Denmarke made vnto England: yet I ſuppoſe him not to be conſtable, but onelie marſhall of England; or at the leaſt if he were, it could not be verie long. For that this earle was extreame old, departed the realme, and diſpoſed all the affaires of the Norman baſtard beyond the ſeas, and died about the yeare of our redemption 1072, being about the eight yeare of the reigne of William Conquerour.

Milo of Hereford.

Milo the ſonne of the ſaid Walter, an enimie to king Stephan (who yet confirmed him in his fathers inheritance) was aduanced firſt to great honors by Henrie the firſt: who meeting Mawd the empreſſe at Briſtow, and taking hir for lawfull queene, did continuallie follow hir faction: for which ſhe, in the firſt yeare of king Stephan, to honour him for his good ſeruice (as appeareth by the charter thereof) gaue him the earledome of Hereford, conſtableſhip of England, the caſtell of Bironell, & the forreſt of Deane. He was lord alſo of Breckenocke. He tranſlated the chanons of the monaſterie of ſaint Iohns of Lanthonie, in the yeare of our redemption 1103, being the fourth yeare of king Henrie the firſt, to a place neere Gloceſter, then called Hide, and ſince Lanthonie; as Iohn Stow hath well noted out of other authors.

He married Sibilla the daughter of Bernard Newmarch, a nobleman of Normandie, who obteined by conqueſt the lordſhip of Breckenocke: by whome he had iſſue fiue ſonnes and three daughters. The ſonnes were Roger, Walter, Henrie, William and Mahaell. His three daughters were, Margaret, married to Humfreie Bohune; Bertha the ſecond was married to Philip Bruſe, created by king Stephan lord of Bruſe, Gower, Bauld, & Brimble, and in his wiues right lord of Breckenocke; Lucia married to Herebert the ſonne of Herebert, baſe ſonne to Henrie the firſt, who was (in hir right) lord of the forreſt of Deane: he died in the eight or (as others haue) the ninth yeare of king Stephan, being the yeare of our redemption 1143.

William Beauchampe.

William (the ſonne of Walter Beauchampe) ſhiriffe of Worceſter, was made high conſtable of England by king Stephan, in the fift yeare of his reigne, being in the yeare of our redemption 1139, when the king was at Worceſter: which honour he tooke from Miles of Gloceſter; as ſaith that painefull antiquarie Iohn Stow in his chronicle printed in the yeare of our Lord 1580, fol. 191.

Roger fitz Milo.

Roger the ſonne of Milo ſucceeded his father in all his inheritance, as well of the earledome, as otherwiſe: whereby he was in time following alſo conſtable of England, and (as it is moſt probable) reſtored to that office by Henrie the ſecond; for that he was a great enimie to king Stephan. He went amongeſt others with Henrie Fitz Empreſſe to Dauid king of Scots, who knighted the ſaid Henrie in the fourteenth yeare of king Stephan: he married Cicilie the daughter of Iohn Fitz Paine, and died without iſſue.

Walter fitz Milo.

Walter ſecond ſonne to Milo, after the death of his brother Roger was earle of Hereford, conſtable of England, and lord ouer Gwenthie or Wenthie: he builded in the time of Henrie the firſt the caſtels of Gloceſter, Briſtow, and Rocheſter, with the Tower of London: he held the land of Wenthie by long time, who hauing no heire of his bodie gaue the ſame land to Henrie of Hereford, and forſaking the world tooke monaſticall habit on him at Lanthonie, where he was buried, dieng without iſſue.

Henrie of Hereford.

Henrie of Hereford the ſonne of Milo, after the enterance of Walter his brother into religion, was earle of Hereford, conſtable of England, and lord of Breckenocke and Deane; who was in Wenthie at a conflict ſlaine by his owne men, and buried at Lanthonie with Walter the conſtable: after whoſe death Henrie the ſecond deputed Iago ap Seiſell to the cuſtodie of the land of Wenthie.

William fitz Milo.

William the ſonne of Milo, and brother to Henrie of Hereford, was conſtable of England, after the death of his brother, and died without iſſue.

Mahaell fitz Milo.

Mahaell the yoongeſt ſonne of Milo, after the death of William, was conſtable of England, who died without iſſue; whome I feare not to place as conſtable, ſince all hiſtories agree that all the ſons of Milo did ſucceſſiuelie inioie that office, after whome the inheritance comming to their ſiſter, whereof the eldeſt called Margaret (or Margerie) was married to Humfrie Bohune, which line of the Bohunes became afterwards conſtables of England by inheritance.

Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune, ſteward to Henrie the firſt, (the ſonne of Humfrie de Bohune, ſteward in houſe to William Rufus, ſonne to Humfrie de Bohune that came in with the Conquerour) was (in the right of his wife Margerie one of the daughters and heire of the foreſaid Milo) conſtable of England, he had iſſue Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune, conſtable of England, married Margaret ſiſter to William king of Scots and daughter to the earle of Huntington, mother to Conon earle of Britaine: he had iſſue Henrie. This Margaret died the third of king John, being the yeare of Chriſt 1201. And this Humfrie alſo died in the time of king John, as ſome haue: or rather (as others haue) in the time of king Richard the firſt.

Henrie de Bohune.

Henrie de Bohune, the ſonne of the ſaid Humfrie and Margaret, was the firſt earle of Hereford of that name of the Bohunes, contrarie to that receiued error, which hitherto hath made the other Bohunes earle of Hereford: and contrarie to the printed pedegrée of the deceaſſed father of the earle of Eſſex now liuing. For this man, being the firſt erle of the Bohunes, was made earle of Hereford in the firſt yeare of king John, as the charter dooth witneſſe. He was alſo conſtable of England, and married Mawd, the daughter and heire of Geffrie lord Ludgarſall ſometime earle of Eſſex, in whoſe right hir huſband was intituled to that honor of the earledome of Eſſex, by whome he had iſſue Humfrie his heire. He died about the fourth yeare of Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1220, in his iournie as he went to Jeruſalem with other noblemen.

Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune ſonne of Henrie, being the ſecond of that name that was erle of Hereford, was alſo earle of Eſſex and conſtable of England, being by all men termed La bone counte de Hereford. He married Mawd the daughter of the earle of Orie in Normandie, he had iſſue Humfrie de Bohune that was taken in the yeare of Chriſt 1265, being the fortie & ninth of king Henrie the third at the battell of Eueſham, and died in the life of his father, leauing behind him a ſonne called Humfrie, heire to him and to his father, which Humfrie the father died in the yeare of our redemption 1275, being the third yeare of king Edward the firſt.

Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune the third earle of Hereford of that name, the ſonne of Humfrie Bohune ſlaine at the battell of Eueſham, was after the death of his grandfather erle of Hereford and Eſſex, and conſtable of England, he married Mawd de Ferens, or Frenis, and had iſſue Humfrie, this earle died in the yeare of our redemption 1298, being the twentie ſirt of Edward the firſt, & was buried at Walden with his wife Mawd.

Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune the fourth erle of Hereford of that name, was earle of Hereford, Eſſex, and conſtable of England, he married Elizabeth the daughter to king Edward the firſt, and widow to John earle of Holland, he had iſſue John erle of Hereford, Humfrie earle of Hereford, and William earle of Northhampton. This Humfrie taking part with Thomas earle of Lancaſter was ſlaine at Borrobridge by a Welſhman ſtanding vnder a bridge that thruſt him thorough with a ſpeare, in the fouretéenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the ſecond, being the yeare of our redemption 1321.

John de Bohune.

John de Bohune the eldeſt ſonne of this Humfrie, being the fiſt earle of Hereford, was after the death of his father earle of Hereford, Eſſex, and conſtable of England, he married the daughter of Edmund Fitz Alen earle of Arundell, and died without iſſue in the yeare of Chriſt 1335, being the ninth yeare of king Edward the third. He was buried in the abbeie of Stratford beſides London.

Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune ſirt earle of Hereford, being brother to John de Bohune, whome he ſucceeded, was after the death of his brother earle of Hereford and Eſſex, and conſtable of England, he died without iſſue in the yeare of our Lord 1361, being the thirtie fiſt of king Edward the third, and was buried at the Auguſtine friers in London.

William de Bohune.

William de Bohune ſeuenth erle of Hereford of that ſurname, being the ſonne of the other Humfrie and brother to the laſt Humfrie, was at a parlement holden in the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being in the yeare of our Lord 1336, created earle of Northhampton, and after the death of his brother Humfrie, he was earle of Hereford and Eſſex, and conſtable of England. He was in the eightéenth yeare of Edward the third, being the yere of Chriſt 1344, ſent into Britaine as generall ouer the Engliſh armie, to reſtore John de Montford to the dukedome of Britaine: which he did, putting Charles de Blois to flight. He married Elizabeth ſome ſaie Eleanor, one of the daughters and heires of Bartholomew Bladeſmere baron of Bedes in Kent, by whome he had iſſue Humfrie.

Humfrie de Bohune.

Humfrie de Bohune, the eight & laſt erle of Hereford of that ſurname of Bohune, was after the death of William his father earle of Hereford, Eſſex and Northampton, and conſtable of England. He augmented the caſtell of Brecnocke, firſt built by Bernard Newmarch. He in the eight and twentith yere of Edward the third (as Iohn Stow noteth) being the yeare of Chriſt 1354, reedified the frier Auguſtines church in London, in which he was buried. He maried Jone the daughter of Richard Fitz Alen erle of Arundell, by whome he had iſſue two daughters and heires, Eleanor the eldeſt, maried to Thomas of Woodſtocke; and Marie the ſecond, maried to Henrie of Bollingbrooke, after king of England, by the name of king Henrie the fourth.

Thomas of Woodſtocke.

Thomas of Woodſtocke the ſirt ſonne to king Edward the third, was created earle of Buckingham, in the firſt yeare of Richard the ſecond at his coronation, being the yeare of our Lord 1377, and after duke of Gloceſter, in the eight yeare of Richard the ſecond 1385. He maried Eleanor eldeſt daughter of Humfreie Bohune (as before) in whoſe right he was earle of Eſſex, Northampton, and conſtable of England, beſides which he was alſo lord of Brecnocke. He had iſſue one ſon & foure daughters: his ſonne was Humfreie erle of Buckingham, whom K. Richard (after the murthering of his father at Calis) ſent into Ireland, where he remained as priſoner vntill the time of king Henrie the fourth, which called him home: who returning into England, died of the plague without iſſue at Cheſter: after whome his mother liued not long. Of whoſe death thus writeth that worthie poet ſir Iohn Gower knight, liuing at that time, in his booke of the hiſtorie of Richard the ſecond, and Henrie the fourth, commonlie taken as part of his worke intituled & named, *Vox clamantis:*

Interea tranſit moriens nec in orbe remanſit,
Humfredus dictus reddit ille Deo benedictus,
Defuncto nato cito poſt de fine beato,
Mater tranſiuit dum nati funera ſciuit,
*Primo deceſſit * Cignus, dolor vnde repreſſit*
Matrem cum pullo, ſibi mors nec parcit in vllo.

*The duke of Glóceſter, bicauſe the ſwan was his cogniſance.

The foure daughters, heires to Thomas of Woodſtocke & their brother Humfreie, were Anne the eldeſt, married to Edmund Stafford erle Stafford, who had iſſue Humfreie erle of Stafford, Hereford, & Northampton, lord of Brecknocke, &c: which Anne after the death of erle Stafford, did the ſecond time marie William vicont Bourchier created erle of Ewe in France: the ſecond daughter was Philip,

lip, which died without iſſue: the third Ione, was maried to Gilbert lord Talbot: the fourth Iſabell, was a religious perſon at the Minories in London. This duke of Gloceſter was murthered at Calis about the yeare of Chriſt 1398, being the 22 yeare of Richard the ſecond, touching whoſe life and death, with the maner thereof, thus writeth the ſaid ſir Iohn Gower, in the ſame booke intituled *Vox clamantis*:

O quàm fortuna ſtabilis non permanet vna,
Exemplum cuius ſtat in ordine carminis huius,
Rex agit, & Cygnus patitur de corde benignus,
Ille proſtratus non eſt de rege leuatus,
Ad Pleſſyè captus tunc eſt velut hoſtia raptus,
Rex iubet arma geri, nec eo voluit miſereri,
Cum ſponſa nati lugent quaſi morte grauati,
Plúſq; lupo ſæuit rex dummodo fœmina fleuit,
Nil pietas munit quem tunc manus inuida punit,
Rex ſtetit obliquus nec erat tunc vnus amicus,
O regale genus, princeps quaſi pauper egenus,
Turpiter attractus iacet & ſine iure ſubactus,
Sunt ibi fautores regis de ſorte priores,
Qui Cygnum pendent, vbi captum ducere tendent,
Sic ducendo ducem, perdit ſiue lumine lucem,
Anglia qui tota tenebreſcit luce remota,
Trans mare natauit, regnum qui ſemper amauit,
Flent centum mille, quia Cygnus præterit ille,
Caliſy portus petit vnde dolus latet ortus,
Error quem regis genui putredine legis,
Carcere concluſus ſubitò fuit ille recluſus,
Neſcit quo fine ſit vitæ ſiue ruinæ,
Tunc rex elatum ſumpſit quaſi falco volatum,
Vnde ſuas gentes perdit cuſtode carentes.

A little after which followeth theſe verſes, touching the deniall of buriall to be granted vnto him among the reſt of his honourable and roiall anceſtors:

Sic nece deuictum, ſic corpus ab hoſte relictum,
Clam de conclaui, ſuſceperat Anglia naui,
Per mare regreditur, corpus nec adhuc ſepelitur,
Námq; ſepulturam, defendit rex ſibi puram,
De ſuper à latere, patris loca iuſta tenere,
Dummodo quæſiuit, vix baſſa ſepulchra ſubiuit.

Of the maner alſo of whoſe death the ſaid ſir Iohn Gower hath ſet downe theſe thrée following verſes:

Heu quàm tortorum quidam de ſorte malorum,
Sic ducis electi plumarum pondere lecti,
Corpus quaſſatum iugulántq; necant iugulatum.

His wife Elenor died the third of October, in the yeare of our redemption 1399, being the firſt yeare of king Henrie the fourth, and was buried at Weſtminſter on the ſouth ſide of king Edward the third with this epitaph:

Icy giſt Elenor de Bohune ayſne fille & vn des heyres a honorable ſeigneur monſeigneour Humphrey de Bohune, countie de Hereford, & de Eſſex, & de Northampton, & conſtable d'Angliterre, femme a puiſſant & noble prince Thomas Woodſtocke, fitz a treſexcellent & treſpuiſſant ſeigneiur Edwarde roy d'Angliterre pius le cōqueſt tierce, duc de Gloceſter, que moruſt tierce ioure de October lan du grace 1399, de que alme Dieux fait mercye.

Edward Plantagenet.

Edward Plantagenet ſonne to Edmund of Langleie, was by Richard the ſecond created earle of Rutland, and duke of Albemerle, who being conſtable of England arriued in the thrée and twentith yeare of Richard the ſecond, and in the yeare of our Lord 1399 in Ireland, to bring aid to the king being there in warre. Of this man is more liberall diſcourſe in my folowing treatiſe of the dukes of England.

Henrie Perſie

Henrie Perſie lord Perſie, the firſt lord, and the firſt earle of Northumberland of that name, was aduanced to that honourable title of earle at the coronation of king Richard the ſecond, in the yeare of our redemption 1377. He was made high conſtable of England by Henrie the fourth, then elected but not crowned king of England, bicauſe the ſaid earle did giue that ring to the king whereby he was wedded to the kingdome of England, to whome alſo the king gaue the Ile of man to beare the ſword with which he entered the realme. He in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare of Chriſt 1403, rebelled againſt the king: but after comming to the king vpon ſending for, he was pardoned his life, but commited to ſafe cuſtodie. After which, in the fift yeare of that king, he was at a parlement holden at London reſtored to his eſtate and dignitie, who the yeare following, being the ſixt of Henrie the fourth, and the yeare of Chriſt 1405, againe rebelled, and after fled into Scotland, to Dauid lord Fleming who receiued him, and in the ſeuenth yeare of Henrie the fourth, being the yere of our redemption 1506, as ſaith Iohn Stow.

This Dauid perſuaded the erle to flie into Wales, for which cauſe the Scots ſlue the ſaid Dauid. After this, in the ninth yeare of Henrie the fourth, he came into England, raiſed the people, and was ſlaine at Bromeham néere to Haſelwood, in a conflict had with him by Thomas Rockleie ſhiriffe of Yorkſhire. He married two wiues, the firſt was Margaret daughter to Rafe lord Neuill, by whome he had iſſue Henrie Perſie, ſurnamed Hotſpurre (ſlaine at the battell of Shrewſburie in the fourth yeare of Henrie the fourth in his fathers life) Thomas and Rafe. His ſecond wife was Mawd, daughter to Thomas lord Lucie, and ſiſter and heire to Anthonie lord Lucie baron of Cockermouth, being before the widow of Gilbert Humfreuill called the earle of Angus. This ladie Mawd gaue to hir huſband the lordſhip and caſtell of Cockermouth, whereby the earles of Northumberland are bound ſtill to beare the armes of Lucie.

Iohn of Be
ford.

Iohn duke of Bedford the ſonne and brother of kings (for ſo he calleth himſelfe in the precept to ſummon Reginald lord Greie, & ſir Edward Haſtings knight, to determine the controuerſie for bearing of the armes of Haſtings earle of Penbroke in the marſhals court) was earle of Richmond and Kendall, and conſtable of England, being aduanced to that office about the eight yeare of Henrie the fourth his father, being the yeare of our redemption 1406, of whome there is more mention in the following diſcourſe of the protectors of England.

Humfrie Stafford.

Humfrie earle of Stafford, Hereford, and Northampton, lord of Brecnocke, Holderneſſe, and of Cambridge, and conſtable of England, and of Douer caſtell, in the eight yeare of king Henrie the ſixt, being the yeare of Chriſt 1430, went into France with Henrie the ſixt to attend his coronation at Paris. He was created duke of Buckingham in the two and twentith yeare of Henrie the ſixt, being the yeare of Chriſt 1444. He was ſlaine at the battell of Northampton in the eight and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the ſixt, being the yeare of our Lord 1460, he maried Anne daughter to Rafe Neuil erle of Weſtmerland: he had amongſt manie other of his children Humfrie his eldeſt ſonne earle Stafford, hurt (as hath Iohn Stow) with an arrow in the right hand at the battell of ſaint Albons in the thrée and thirtith yeare of Henrie the ſixt, being the yeare of our Lord 1455, of which battell of ſaint Albons thus writeth Iohn Whethamſted a learned abbat of that houſe:

Dum Maius madidi flos floruit imbribus auſtri,
Mollibus & Zephyrus refouerat flatibus aruos,
Flora velut regnans herbis ditauerat hortos,
Poſt glacies inopes hos fecerat & locupletes,
Sic rabidus Stilbon prædonibus vndiq; regnum,
Repleuerat nimis, ſic latè ſperſerat ipſos,
*Vt * villam tandem tantus peruaderet iſtam.*

* S. Albons.

Illorum numerus quòd vix euaderet vnus,
Quin ſpolium lueret, ſpoliantes vel trepidaret.
Accidit ex cauſa ſpoliatio tam grauis iſta,
Mars cæli dominus fuerat tunc, & ſoror eius
In terris domina belli Bellona vocata,
Vnde malum multis ſignanter partibus iſtis
Contigit, & bellum fuit iſtic grande peractum,
Sanguis & effuſus multus, dux eſt iugulatus
Illius pugnæ quæ fertur cauſa fuiſſe.

Edmund Beaufoꝛd duke of Summerſet.

Bello finito, ſtrepitu quóq; pacificato,
Indultum eſt prædæ, prædones quippe fuere
Victores omnes, nulli quaſi compatientes.

Henrie the ſixt.

Tunc rex, tunc proceres, tunc villani quóq; plures,
Ac alij varij fuerant rebus ſpoliati,
Attamen eccleſia, ſimul eccleſiæ bona cuncta

The abbeie of S. Albons.

Intra quæ fuerant, ſub clauſuráq; iacebant,
Manſerunt ſalua nec ei res defuit vlla.
Laus igitur domino, laus in ſpeciéq; patrono,
Cuius per media ſtabant ſua ſingula ſalua,
Saluis & in cunctis ſimul abbas frater & omnis.
Spiritus ille bonus ſine fallo ſpiritus almũs,
Ad villam regem qui direxit venientem
Illius ad medium, nec tunc permiſerat ipſum
Eccleſiam petere, conſeruauit ſua quæque.

O tempora, ô mores.

Sed patronus erat qui pro monachis mediarat,
A raptore locúmq; ſuum ſeruauit, & omnem
Ipſius ornatum fedari nec ſiuit ipſum.
Si rex intraſſet, ſecúmq; ducem ſociaſſet,

Rich. Plantagenet duke of Yoꝛke.

Valuas eccleſiæ, paruiſſent cuncta rapinæ,
Nec poterat furias quiſquam compeſcere plebis.
Laus igitur domino, rurſus rurſuſq; patrono,
Stat locus iſte ſuo ſaluus munimine ſolo,
Saluáq; ſuppoſita, ſua ſalua iocalia cuncta.

John Tiptoth oꝛ Tiptoſt.

John Tiptoth or Tiptoſt knight, the ſon of John lord Tiptoſt, and of Joice his wife, ſecond daughter to Edmund Charleton lord Powes, was treaſuror of the realme in Michaelmaſſe tearme in the tenth yere of Henrie the fourth, after which he was againe admitted to that office in the one and thirtith and two and thirtith yeare of Henrie the ſixt, from which place being once more remooued, he was the third time aduanced to the honor of lord treaſuror of England in the ſecond of Edward the fourth, and continued the ſame in the third of the ſaid king. He was created earle of Worceſter in the time of king Henrie the ſixt. This man in the yeare 1470, being the tenth of king Edward the fourth, tooke his part againſt the duke of Clarence, and Richard Neuill earle of Warwike, at what time the ſaid duke and earle being diſcomfited, fled to the ſea ſide, and thence ſailed to Southhampton, where they thought to haue had the Trinitie a great ſhip of the earle of Warwikes, but the lord Scales the queenes brother fought with them, and inforced them to flie into France.

Wherevpon king Edward the fourth came to Southhampton and cauſed Tiptoſt earle of Worceſter to ſit in iudgement vpon certeine gentlemen, as Clapham and others, taken at the ſame ſkirmiſh of Southhampton, where the earle cauſed the bodies of certeine condemned men, after that they were hanged to be thruſt thorough the fundament vp to the head with ſtakes, for the which crueltie he and others fell into indignation of the common people. Before which in the eight yeare of king Edward, he was with John Dudleie made conſtable of the Tower, during their liues, and the longer liuer of them two.

After this in the ſaid yeare 1470, being the tenth of Edward the fourth, in which Henrie the ſixt readepted the crowne of England, which yeare of Henrie the ſixt is called in the law bookes, the fourtie & ninth yere of the reigne of K. Henrie the ſixt. This earle of Worceſter was taken in the top of an high tree in the foreſt of Weibridge in Huntingtonſhire, brought to London, and at a parlement arreſted and condemned to death, by ſir John Vere earle of Orford. Wher vpon he was beheded at Tower hill, and buried in the blacke friers of London. He had three wiues, wherof the firſt was called Cicilie the daughter of Richard earle of Saliſburie: the ſecond Elizabeth the daughter of Robert Greindoure: the third was Elizabeth, after married to ſir William Stanleie, which John had by his third wife Edward lord Tiptoſt who died without iſſue, & ſo the inheritance went to the ſiſters of the ſaid earle John Tiptoſt.

Lord Beaumont.

And here I thinke it not amiſſe to ſay ſomewhat of the lord Beaumont, who being in our chronicles named conſtable of England (as may appeare in the fiue and twentith yeare of Henrie the ſixt, in which yeare he arreſted Humfrie duke of Gloceſter) that for any thing that I can yet ſee or learne, this Beaumont was not conſtable by patent during his life, but for the preſent time to execute the princes pleaſure, and therefore not meet in this diſcourſe to haue anie ſpeciall place amongeſt ſuch as were conſtables of England, either by deſcent or patent.

Richard Wooduile.

Sir Richard Wooduile knight, earle Riuers, was high conſtable of England in the fourth yere of king Edward the fourth, of whom is more large mention in the following diſcourſe of the treaſurors of England in the hiſtorie of the reigne of queene Elizabeth.

George Plantagenet.

George Plantagenet, ſecond ſonne to Richard duke of Yorke, was created amongſt other eſtates duke of Clarence, in the yeare of our redemption 1461, being the firſt yeare of king Edward the fourth immediatlie vpon his coronation, and was made conſtable of England in the time of Edward the fourth. He in the eight of Edward the fourth, about the yeare of Chriſt 1468, maried Iſabell the eldeſt daughter of Richard Neuill earle of Warwike and Saliſburie, by whom he had iſſue Edward earle of Warwike and Saliſburie, borne vpon the ſea in the hauen of Calis, who was in the time of Richard the third a continuall priſoner, and ſo hauing beene a priſoner, and thereto borne by a certeine fatall deſtinie, was in the yere of our redemption 1485, being the firſt of king Henrie the ſeuenth committed to cuſtodie in the Tower, where he continued all the reſt of his life, & was beheaded at Tower hill in the fifteenth yeare of king Henrie the ſeuenth, being the yeare of Chriſt 1499, & was buried at Birſam neere to his anceſtors. Beſides this Edward, this George duke of Clarence had iſſue a daughter called Margaret, created by king Henrie the eight counteſſe of Saliſburie, who married ſir Richard Poole knight of the garter, deſcended of the ancient familie of the Pooles in Wales.

Richard Plantagenet.

Richard Plantagenet, the third ſonne to Richard duke of Yorke, was aduanced to the title and honor of the dukedome of Gloceſter, in the yeare of our redemption 1461, being the firſt yeare of king Edward the fourth, ſoone after his coronation. He was high conſtable of England: he maried Anne ſecond daughter to Richard Neuill earle of Warwike and Saliſburie. Which Richard after the death of his brother king Edward the fourth, did by the murther of his nephues aſcend to the higheſt gouernement of England, and was crowned king by the name of Richard the third.

Henrie Stafford.

Henrie Stafford, whome our chronicles doo in manie places corruptlie terme Edward, was ſonne to Humfrie earle Stafford, & was high conſtable of England, and duke of Buckingham. This man raiſing warre againſt Richard the third vſurping the crowne, was in the firſt yeare of the reigne of the ſaid Richard, being the yeare of Chriſt 1483, betraied by his man Humfrie Banaſter (to whome being in diſtreſſe he fled for ſuccour) and brought to Richard the third then lieng at Saliſburie, where the ſaid duke confeſſing all the conſpiracie, was beheaded without arreignement or iudgement, vpon the ſecond of Nouember, in the ſaid yere of our redemption 1483, he maried Katharine the daughter of Richard Wooduile, ſiſter to quéene Elizabeth wife to Edward the fourth; & had iſſue, Edward duke of Buckingham, and Henrie earle of Wilſhire, with two daughters, which were, Anne maried to George lord Haſtings of whom is deſcended the erle of Huntington now liuing, and Elizabeth married to Richard Ratcliffe lord Fitz Waters, of whome is iſſued ſir Henrie Ratcliffe knight, now earle of Suſſex.

Edward Stafford.

Edward Stafford ſonne to Henrie duke of Buckingham, being alſo duke of Bukingham after the death of his father was conſtable of England, earle of Hereford, Stafford, and Northhampton, being in the firſt yeare of Henrie the ſeuenth, in the yeare of our redemption 1485, reſtored to his fathers dignities and poſſeſſions. He is tearmed in the books of the law in the ſaid thirtéenth yeare of Henrie the eight (where his arreignement is liberallie ſet downe) to be the floure & mirror of all courteſie. This man (as before is touched) was by Henrie the ſeuenth reſtored to his fathers inheritance, in recompenſe of the loſſe of his fathers life, taken awaie (as before is ſaid) by the vſurping king Richard the third. He married Elianor the daughter of Henrie earle of Northumberland, and had iſſue Henrie lord Stafford (father to Henrie lord Stafford now liuing) and thrée daughters, Elizabeth married to Thomas Howard earle of Surrie, Katharine married to Rafe Neuill earle of Weſtmerland, and Marie married to George Neuill lord of Aburgauennie. And thus much by Francis Thin touching the ſucceſſion of the conſtables of England.]

Cardinall Woolſie ſent ouer to Calis.

Edw. Hall in H.8.fol.lxxxvj.

In this meane while, were the emperour and the French king fallen at variance, ſo that the warre was renewed betwixt them; for the pacifieng wherof, the cardinall of Yorke was ſent ouer to Calis, where the ambaſſadours of both thoſe princes were appointed to come to him. He arriued there the ſecond of Auguſt. There went ouer with him the erle of Worceſter, then lord chamberleine, the lord of S. Iohns, the lord Ferrers, the lord Herbert, the biſhop of Duresme, the biſhop of Elie, the primat of Armacane, ſir Thomas Bullen, ſir Iohn Pechie, ſir Iohn Huſſie, ſir Richard Wingfield, ſir Henrie Guilford, and manie other knights, eſquiers, gentlemen, doctors, and learned men. Thus honourablie accompanied he rode thorough London the twentie fift daie of Iulie, and at Thomas Beckets houſe the maior and aldermen tooke leaue of him, praieng God to ſend him good ſpéed. Thus paſſed he to Canturburie, where the archbiſhop of Canturburie and others receiued him in his ſtatelineſſe, and brought him vnto his lodging vnder a canopie to the biſhops palace. On the eight daie of Iulie he came to Douer. On the twentith he & the other lords with their retinues tooke paſſage, and arriued at Calis in ſafetie, where the lord deputie and the councell receiued them with much honour and lodged the cardinall in the Staple hall.

The emperor & the French king their ambaſſadours méet at Calis, to treat of a peace.

Shortlie after his arriuall at Calis, thither came the chancellor of France, and the countie de Palice, with foure hundred horſes, as ambaſſadors from the French king; and likewiſe from the emperour came great ambaſſadors, either partie being furniſhed with ſufficient commiſſions to treat and conclude of peace as ſhould appeare. But yet when it came to the point, as the one partie ſéemed conformable to reaſonable offers, ſo the other would not incline that waie; inſomuch that they were neuer at one time agréeable to anie indifferent motion that could be made. There were alſo the popes ambaſſadors, wherevpon the cardinall would haue furthered a league betwixt the emperour, the king of England, the king of France, and the pope: but the popes ambaſſadors wanted commiſſion thereto, and therefore were letters ſent to Rome in all haſt, and the Frenchmen taried ſtill in Calis, till anſwer came from thence. The cardinall rode into Flanders to ſpeake with the emperour, which as then laie in Bruges. A mile without Bruges the emperour receiued him, and did to him as much honour as could be deuiſed. The chéere was great which was made to the Engliſhmen, and of euerie thing there was ſuch plentie, that there was no want of things neceſſarie, inſomuch that of the fare, both for plentifulneſſe, delicatneſſe, and ſtatelineſſe of ſeruice, a man might haue ſaid:

Βρώματα *magnorum dixiſſes eſſe deorum.*

The emperor receiueth the cardinall with great honour at Bruges.

The cardinall after he had soiorned in Bruges the ſpace of thirtéene daies, and concluded diuerſe matters with the emperour, and accompliſhed his commiſſion, he tooke leaue of his maieſtie, and by conuenient iorneis returned to Calis, where the ambaſſadors of France taried his comming: and immediatlie after his returne to Calis, he treated with them of peace, but not ſo earneſtlie as he did before. In fine, nothing was concluded, but onelie that fiſhermen of both the princes might fréelie fiſh on the ſeas without diſturbance, till the ſecond of Februarie next. When no concluſion of agréement could be accorded, the cardinall ſent to the emperour the lord of S. Iohns, and ſir Thomas Bullen knight, to aduertiſe his maieſtie what had béene doone, and likewiſe to the French king, as then lieng in campe with a mightie armie in the marches about Cambreie. The earle of Worceſter and the biſhop of Elie were ſent to informe him of all things that had béene motioned, exhorting him to incline to peace, but he gaue little eare thereto: and then after they had béene a ninetéene or twentie daies in his hoſt they returned.

Cardinall Woolſie carrieth the great ſeale with him to Calis, & there ſealeth writs and patents.

During the continuance of the cardinall in Calis, all writs and patents were there by him ſealed, and no ſhiriffes choſen for lacke of his preſence, hauing there with him the great ſeale, & full power in things, as if the king had béene there in perſon. ¶ Ambaſſadors comming from the king of Hungarie towards the king of England, were receiued honourablie of the Cardinall during his abode in Calis.

Polydor.

After the returne of the Engliſh ambaſſadours, which the cardinall had ſent to the emperour, and to the French king, he returned into England, hauing (as ſome write) concluded a new league with the emperour, and ſignified by waie of intendment to the French king in the treatie with his ambaſſadors, that the king of England meant him not ſo much fréendſhip as of late he had doone, for diuerſe cauſes. But ſpeciallie this was vttered, that where it was concluded that the king of Scots ſhould be included within the league (as before yée haue heard) contrarie to that agréement, the ſaid king refuſed to enter as a confederate into the ſame league: and this no doubt procéeded through counſell of the French king, by whom he was wholie guided. This quarrell was laid as an occaſion, whie to moue the king of England (perceiuing himſelfe to be diſſembled with) to withdraw his good will from the French king.

Who when he vnderſtood the drifts of the cardinall, and concluſion of the new league confirmed betwixt the king of England and the emperour, he condemned the cardinall of vntruth, accuſed him of diſſimulation, abhorred his practiſes, as by the which he loſt the fruition of the king of England his fréendſhip, and might no longer inioy it. And herewith he determined with himſelfe neuer to put confidence in anie Engliſhman after, nor to beſtow anie gifts or penſions vpon them. For he vſed yéerelie to ſend to diuerſe of the kings councell after the maner of his predeceſſors ſundrie gifts and ſummes of monie: & bicauſe he had imploied more on the cardinall than on the reſidue, he was the more offended toward him as the head of all this iniurious dooing. Yet he found not himſelfe ſo much greeued, as to vtter anie bitter words towards the king: but contrarilie within a while after, directed his letters vnto him, ſignifieng that he meant to continue the league as his freend: but it maie be he did this after a diſſembling ſort, bicauſe he would not be at warres with two ſo mightie princes at one time.

The warres betweene the emperor and the French king.

Tornaie beſieged by the emperors men.

In this meane while, the warre was purſued betwixt the emperour & the French king, as well on the confines towards Flanders, as beyond the mounteins in the parties of Lombardie. Tornaie was beſieged by the lord Hugh de Moncada, a Spaniard, the which comming vpon the ſudden, tooke manie abroad in the fields, yer they knew of his approch, and after this, comming before the citie, he inuironed it with a ſiege, to keepe the citizens from ſtirring forth, and ſent part of his armie with the light horſemen to forlaie the ſtreets and paſſages, that no ſuccour ſhould come to them within. The French king aſſembled an armie, in hope to aid them of Tornaie with men, munitions, and vittels, the which armie aſſaied twiſe or thriſe with all endeuor, to haue approched the citie: but in vaine, for with no ſmall loſſe the French were repelled by the imperials, which neuertheleſſe felt their part of ſlaughter, loſing ſundrie of their capteins, as baſtard Emerie, and the capteine of Gant. Finallie, the French armie brake vp, & was diſperſed into fortreſſes. Wherevpon they of Tornaie perceiuing the ſuccours which they hoped for, to faile them thus at need, rendered the citie to the emperor the laſt of Nouember, in this 13 yeare of king Henries reigne.

Edw. Hall.

Tornaie deliuered vp to the emperor.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 813.

The death of pope Leo the tenth who (as was ſuſpected) was poiſoned.

¶ Pope Leo died this yeare ſuddenlie, on the firſt of December, as he laie at the village of Magliana whither he went oftentimes for his recreation. He had heard the firſt reapport of the taking of Millan, which ſtirred in him ſuch an extreame paſſion of ioy, that the ſame night he entered into a ſmall feauer: and for his better remedie he cauſed himſelfe the next daie to be remooued to Rome: where he died within a verie few daies after, notwithſtanding the phyſicians in the beginning made no great reckoning of his diſeaſe. There was great ſuſpicion that he was poiſoned by Barnabie Maleſpina his chamberleine, whoſe office was alwaies to giue him drinke. And yet though he was made priſoner through the ſuſpicion of the fact & the vehement reaſons of the ſame; yet the matter was daſhed and the examination thereof: for that the cardinall de Medicis as ſoone as he came to Rome, ſet him at libertie, fearing to fall further in diſgrace of the French king, by whoſe practiſe it was ſuppoſed that Barnabie gaue him the fatall drinke. This was but whiſpered ſecretlie, the author being no leſſe doubtfull than the coniectures vncerteine.

The maner and order of the popes death.

He died (if we conſider the common opinion of men) in verie great glorie and felicitie, not ſo much for that by the ſurpriſing of Millan he ſaw himſelfe deliuered of dangers & expenſes intollerable, which hauing drained him of all ſtore of monie and treaſure, he was conſtreined to aduance all meanes and maners for his ſupplie and releeuing: but alſo that a verie few daies afore his death he receiued aduertiſement of the taking of Plaiſanca, and the verie daie he died, newes came to him of the winning of Parma: a matter ſo greatlie deſired by him, that at ſuch time as he debated to mooue warre againſt the Frenchmen, it is verie well remembred that he ſaid vnto the cardinall de Medicis labouring to diſſuade him, that as he was in nothing more caried to the deſire of that warre, than to recouer to the church thoſe two cities; ſo when ſo euer God ſhould bleſſe him with the effect of that deſire, it would not greeue him to die. He was a prince in whom were manie things worthie to be commended & blamed, and in the eſtate & diſcourſe of his life he deceiued greatlie the expectation that was had of him, when he was created pope, for that in his gouernement was great diſcretion, but farre leſſe bountie than was looked for.]

Polydor.

Cardinall Woolſie maketh meanes to be elected pope.

Guic. pag. 823.

After the death of the pope, doctor Richard Pace was ſent to Rome, to make freends in the behalfe of the cardinall of Yorke, who was brought into a vaine hope thorough the kings fauour and furtherance, to be elected pope. But Adrian the ſixt of that name was choſen before doctor Pace could come to Rome; and ſo that ſute was daſhed. ¶ This Adrian biſhop of Derchuſo (after great contention in the college of cardinals touching the election of a new pope) was preferred to the cuſtome of lotting of voices in the conclaue, without anie affection or parcialitie of voice: he was of nation a Fleming, & in his youth hauing beene ſchoolemaiſter to Ceſar, and by his meane made cardinall vnder pope Leo, did at that time gouerne Spaine in the abſence of Ceſar. And as there began ſome voices to publiſh for him, ſo cardinall Xiſto one of that election, began vnder an oration ſpeciall, to recount and amplifie his vertues and knowledge, by whoſe example certeine other cardinals yeelded, and the reſidue from hand to hand followed, though more by conſtraint than councell.

The election of Adrian to the popedome woondered at, and why.

Thus was he choſen with the voices of all the cardinals, and had his creation perfected the ſame morning. Wherein this was to be woondered at, that euen thoſe that had elected him could giue no reaſon, why amid ſo manie troubles & dangers in the eſtate eccleſiaſtike, they had raiſed to the ſouereigne ſee a ſtranger, a forrener, and of long abſence out of the countrie, & wherin were helping no reſpects of fauor, no conſideration of former merits, nor anie conuerſation had with anie of the other cardinals: yea they ſcarſelie knew his name, he had neuer beene in Italie, and had no hope nor cogitation to ſee it: of which ſtrauagant maner of dealing, being not able to excuſe themſelues, they attributed all to the working of the Holie-ghoſt, who is woont (for ſo they alleged) to inſpire the hearts of the cardinals in the electing of popes: he receiued newes of his election in the towne of Victoria in Biſkaie, and would not haue impoſed vpon him anie other name than his owne, which he cauſed to be publiſhed vnder Adrian the ſixt.

Pope Adrian the ſixt, commeth to Rome.

Now he made his entrie into Rome the nine and twentith of Auguſt, with a great concourſe of the commons and the whole court: of whome albeit his comming was deſired with an vniuerſall gladneſſe (for that without the preſence forſooth of the popes, Rome beareth more a reſemblance of a ſauage deſart than of a citie) yet that ſpectacle wrought ſundrie impreſſions and diuerſities of thoughts in the minds of all men, when they conſidered that they had a pope for nation and language a ſtranger, and for the affaires of Italie and the court altogither vnexperienced: and alſo for that he was not of thoſe regions and countries, who by long conuerſation were alreadie made familiar with the cuſtomes of Italie. The enuie that ſtirred vp in men this conſideration was redoubled by the accident of the plague, which beginning in Rome at his arriuall, afflicted the citie during the whole ſeaſon of Autumne, to the great calamitie and loſſe of the people: a matter which in the fanſies of men was conſtrued to an euill prognoſtication of his pontificacie.]

The deſcription of doctor Pace.

Notwithſtanding this election of Adrian (as you heare) accompliſhed; yet doctor Pace kept his iournie according to his commiſſion. This Pace was a right worthie man, and one that gaue in councell faithfull aduiſe. Learned he was alſo, and indued with many excellent good gifts of nature, courteous, pleaſant, and delighting in muſike, highlie in the kings fauour, and well heard in matters of weight. But the more the prince fauoured him, the more was he miſliked of the cardinall, who ſought onelie to beare all the rule himſelfe, and to haue no partener; ſo that he procured that this doctor Pace vnder color of ambaſſage, ſhould be ſent forth of the realme, that his preſence about the king ſhould not win him too much authoritie and fauour at the kings hands.

Edw. Hall.
Doctor Tunſtall made biſhop of London.

This yeare was a great death in London and other places of the realme. Manie men of honour and great worſhip died, and amongeſt other, the biſhop of London, doctor Fitz James, in whoſe place was doctor Tunſtall elected. The earle of Surrie returned out of Ireland, and came to the court the fiue and twentith of Ianuarie. Manie complaints were made by the merchants to the king and his councell of the Frenchmen, which ſpoiled them by ſea of their goods. For by reaſon that the wars were open betwixt the emperour, and the French king, manie ſhips of warre were abroad on both parts, and now and then the Engliſhmen fell into their hands, and were vſed as enimies; namelie by the Frenchmen, which naturallie hated the Engliſhmen. The French kings ambaſſadours promiſed reſtitution of euerie thing, but little was reſtored. In this moneth of Ianuarie therefore, the king commanded all his ſhips to be rigged, and made readie, which was doone with all diligence.

1523

The title of Defendor of the faith giuen to the king of England and his ſucceſſors for euer.
I. S. pag. 930.
King Henrie wrote againſt Luther.
Abr. Fl. ex *adm. A. G. ad Ang. & Scot. excuſ. Gen. 1558. in fol. 69.*

On the ſecond daie of Februarie, the king as then being at Greenewich, receiued a bull from the pope, whereby he was declared Defendor of the Chriſtian faith, & likewiſe his ſucceſſors for euer. The cardinall of Yorke ſang the high maſſe that daie with all the pompous ſolemnitie that might be, and gaue cleane remiſſion of ſinnes to all that heard it. This title was aſcribed vnto the king, bicauſe he had written a booke againſt Luther in Germanie; wherevnto the ſaid Luther anſwered verie ſharpelie, nothing ſparing his authoritie nor maieſtie. ¶ Of which booke publiſhed by the king, I will not (for reuerence of his roiallie) though I durſt, report what I haue read: bicauſe we are to iudge honourablie of our rulers, and to ſpeake nothing but good of the princes of the people. Onelie this breefe clauſe or fragment I will adde (leaſt I might ſeeme to tell a tale of the man in the moone) that king Henrie in his ſaid booke is reported to rage againſt the diuell and antichriſt, to caſt out his fome againſt Luther, to raſe out the name of the pope, and yet to allow his law, &c. I ſuppreſſe the reſt for ſhame, and returne to our hiſtorie.]

The king of England and the king of France at variance.

In this meane time, grudges and diſpleaſures ſtill grew and increaſed betwixt the king of England and the French king, ſo that their greefs rankled dailie more and more, till at length the duke of Albanie returned into Scotland, contrarie to that which was couenanted by the league. The French king in deed alleaged, that he was not priuie to his going thither; and wrote to the king, that the ſaid duke was entered Scotland without his aſſent: but it was otherwiſe iudged & knowne, that he had commiſſion of the French king to go thither. Herevpon, the king was ſore offended, and prepared for wars. Muſters were made of able men, and a note taken of what ſubſtance men were. The king alſo ſent ſix ſhips to the ſea, well trimmed, manned, and vittelled. The admerall was one Chriſtopher Coo, an expert ſea man. His commiſſion was, to ſafe gard the merchants, and other the kings ſubiects, that were greeuouſlie ſpoiled and robbed on the ſea, by Frenchmen, Scots, and other rouers.

Chriſtopher Coo admerall.

The lord of Aburgauennie arreigned at Weſtminſter.

The eight of Februarie, the lord Dacres, warden of the marches fore anenſt Scotland, entered into Scotland with fiue hundred men, by the kings commandement, & there proclamed, that the Scots ſhould come in to the kings peace, by the firſt of March following, or elſe to ſtand at their perils; the duke of Albanie being then within fiue miles with a mightie power of Scots. The eleuenth of Februarie, the lord of Aburgauennie was brought from the Tower to Weſtminſter, and there in the kings bench confeſſed his indictment of miſpriſion. The lord Montacute was about the ſame time reſtored vnto the kings fauour. ¶ On the ſecond of March, certeine noble men of the empire, arriued in England, to paſſe into Spaine, who were honourablie receiued; and in honour of them, great iuſts and triumphs were made, which being finiſhed and doone, they tooke their leaue and departed on their iournie.

A Scotiſh rouer taken on the ſea by Iohn Arundell.
Great dearth of corne.

Duncan Campbell, a Scotiſh rouer, after long fight, was taken on the ſea by Iohn Arundell an eſquier of Cornewall, who preſented him to the king. He was committed to the Tower, & there remained priſoner a long ſeaſon. All the kings ſhips were put in a readineſſe, ſo that by the beginning of Aprill, they were rigged and trimmed readie to make ſaile. ¶ This yeare died the lord Brooke, ſir Edward Poinings, knight of the garter, ſir Iohn Pechie, and ſir Edward Belknap, valiant capteins, which were ſuſpected to be poiſoned at a banket made at Ard, when the two kings met laſt. Wheat was ſold this yeare in the citie of London, for twentie ſhillings a quarter, & in other places for twentie ſix ſhillings eight pence.

Clarenceaux ſent into Scotland.
The French K. attacheth the Engliſhmens goods in Burdeaux.

In this yeare Gawan Dowglas, biſhop of Dunkell fled out of Scotland into England, bicauſe the duke of Albanie being come thither, had taken vpon him the whole gouernement of the king and realme there, the ſequele of whoſe doings the biſhop ſore miſtruſted. The king aſſigned vnto this biſhop an honeſt penſion to liue on. And ſhortlie after, was Clarenceaux the herald ſent into Scotland, vnto the duke of Albanie, to command him to auoid that realme for diuerſe conſiderations; & if he would not, then to defie him, ſith contrarie to the articles of the league concluded betwixt France & England, he was entered Scotland without his licence. The duke refuſed to accompliſh the kings commandement, and was therefore defied by the ſaid Clarenceaux. The firſt of March, the French king commanded all Engliſhmens goods being in Burdeaux, to be attached, and put vnder arreſt, and reteined not onelie the monie due to be paid for the reſtitution of Tornaie, but alſo withheld the French queenes dower.

Polydor.
The cardinals liberalitie by vertue of his ſpirituall power ſet forth.

The cardinall vnderſtanding that he was euill ſpoken of, for vſing his power legantine to ſuch aduantage as he did, in ſelling graces & diſpenſations, he thought to beſtow ſome part therof amongſt the people freelie, without taking anie thing for the ſame. Wherevpon, when Lent drew neere, he appointed the preachers at Paules croſſe, to declare, that it ſhould be lawfull to all perſons for that Lent, to eat milke, butter, cheeſe, & egs. And to the end that none ſhould haue anie ſcrupulouſneſſe of conſcience in ſo doing, he by his authoritie granted remiſſion of ſins to all thoſe that did eat white meats: knowing as it were afore hand, that the people giuen to the obſeruance of their religious faſt, would not eaſilie be brought to breake the ſame, contrarie to the ancient cuſtome vſed in their countrie. Neither was he deceiued therein, for ſo farre were the people from receiuing or accounting this as a benefit, that they tooke it rather for a wicked & curſed deed in thoſe that receiued it, & few or almoſt none could he induce to breake their old order and ſcrupulous trade in that behalfe.

Anno. Reg. 14.

The king, vnderſtanding how his ſubiects were handled at Burdeaux by the French kings commandement, The French ambaſſador is called before the councell.

in mooement in breach of the league, the French ambaſſadour was called before the councell, and the cardinall laid ſore to his charge, that contrarie to his promiſe at all times on the French king his maiſters behalfe, affirming that he ment nothing but peace and amitie to be obſerued in all points with the king of England: yet now the Engliſh merchants had not onelie their goods ſtaied at Burdeaux, but alſo they and their factors were laid in priſon, in full breach of all peace and amitie afore time concluded. The ambaſſadour in words ſo well as hée could excuſed his maiſter, but in the end hée was commanded to kéepe his houſe: and the French hoſtages that were appointed héere to remaine for the monie to be paid for the deliuerie of Tornaie, were committed vnto the ſafe kéeping of the lord of Saint Johns, ſir Thomas Louell, ſir Andrew Windſor, and ſir Thomas Neuill, euerie of them to haue one.

The Frenchmen in Lõdon are all arreſted and put to their fines. Polydor.

All the Scots in England apprehended and fined.

Herewith alſo, all the Frenchmen in London were arreſted, committed to priſon, and put to their fines: but they were more courteouſlie vſed than the Engliſhmen were in France. For after they had béene in durance ten daies, they were ſet at libertie, vpon finding ſuerties to appeare before the maior, or elſe before the councell at a certeine daie, and to paie the fine vpon them aſſeſſed, which fine the king pardoned to diuerſe of the poreſt ſort. But in compariſon of the Scotiſh nation, you would haue ſaid, the Frenchmen were in ſmall diſpleaſure: for not onelie thoſe that were borne in Scotland, but alſo diuers northernmen borne, within Engliſh ground, for enuious ſpite called Scots, were apprehended, impriſoned, and grieuouſlie fined, although ſome of them by ſtreict inquirie tried to be Engliſhmen, eſcaped without paieng the fine.

The nauie ſetteth forth.

There were ſent to the ſea, vnder conduct of ſir William Fitz Williams viceadmerall, twentie & eight goodlie ſhips well manned and trimmed for the warres, & ſeuen other ſhips were ſent toward Scotland, which entered the Forth, and proffered to enter the Scotiſh ſhips that laie in the hauens: but the Scots ran their ſhips aland, and the Engliſhmen followed with boats, landed, and ſet the ſhips on fire, & at Leith tooke certeine priſoners, which they brought into England; and ſtill the kings great nauie kept the narrow ſeas: for then was neither peace betwixt England and France, nor open warres. The king vnderſtanding that the emperor would come to Calis, ſo to paſſe into England, as he went towards Spaine, appointed the lord marqueſſe Dorſet to go to Calis, there to receiue him, and likewiſe the lord cardinall was appointed to receiue him at Douer.

Cardinall Wolſie his pompe when he receiued the emperour at Douer.

The marques Dorſet receiueth the emperour at Graueling.

The cardinall taking his iournie forward on the twentith of Maie, rode through London, accompanied with two earles, ſix and thirtie knights, and an hundred gentlemen, eight biſhops, ten abbats, thirtie chapleins, all in veluet and ſattin, and yeomen ſeuen hundred. The marqueſſe Dorſet was gone ouer before vnto Calis: and the fiue and twentith of Maie being ſundaie, the ſaid marqueſſe, with the biſhop of Chicheſter, the lord de la Ware, and diuerſe other at the water of Graueling, receiued the emperour in the name of the king of England, and with all honour brought him to Calis, where he was receiued with proceſſion, by the lord Bernes lieutenant of the towne, with the maior and merchants of the Staple, in the beſt maner that might be deuiſed.

The emperor landeth at Douer.

Juſtes and tourneies at Gréenwich.

On the mondaie he tooke ſhip at Calis, and landed at Douer, where the cardinall with thrée hundred lords, knights, and gentlemen of England was readie to receiue him, and with all honour that might be, brought him to the caſtell, where he was lodged. On wedneſdaie, being the Aſcenſion éeuen, the king came to Douer, and there with great ioy and gladneſſe, the emperour and he met. On the fridaie in the after noone they departed from Douer, & came that night to Canturburie, ſo from thence by eaſie iournies to Gréenewich, where the quéene receiued his nephue with all the ioy that might be. Here the emperour taried certeine daies in great ſolace and pleaſure; and the more to honor his preſence, roiall iuſtes and tourneies were appointed, the which were furniſhed in moſt triumphant maner: the king, and the earle of Deuonſhire, and ten aids with them, kéeping the place againſt the duke of Suffolke: the marques Dorſet, and other ten aids vpon their part.

Edw. Hall. in H.8. fol. xcviij.

On fridaie being the ſixt of June, the king and the emperour with all their companies, marched toward London, where the citie was prepared for their entrie, after the maner as is vſed at a coronation, ſo that nothing was forgotten that might ſet forth the citie. For the rich citizens well apparelled ſtood within railes ſet on the left ſide of the ſtréetes, and the cleargie on the right ſide in rich copes, which cenſed the princes as they paſſed, and all the ſtréetes were richlie hanged with clothes of gold, ſiluer, veluet, and arras, and in euerie houſe almoſt minſtrelſie: and in euerie ſtréet were theſe two verſes written in letters of gold, both Latine and Engliſh:

Carolus, Henricus, viuant; defenſor vterq;
Henricus fidei, Carolus eccleſiæ. That is,

Long proſperitie,
To Charles and Henrie,
Princes moſt puiſſant:
The one of the faith,
The other of the church,
Choſen defendant.

Sée Ed. Hall in H.8. fo. xcvj. & deinceps.

Note the pride of cardinall Wolſie.

The emperor and the king of England ſweare each to other to obſerue the league made betwixt them.

Sundrie pageants were deuiſed, and ſtages verie faire and excellent to behold, with ſuch melodie of inſtruments, and other tokens of ioy and gladneſſe, that woonder it was to conſider the manner thereof. The emperour was lodged at the Blacke friers, and all his nobles in the new palace of Bridewell. On Whitſundaie being the eight of June, the emperour and the king rode to the cathedrall church of ſaint Paule, and there heard maſſe, which was ſoong by the cardinall that had his trauerſe, and cupbord. Before maſſe, two barons gaue him water, and after the goſpell two earles; and at the laſt lauatorie, two dukes: which pride the Spaniards ſore diſdained. The emperour thus remained with the king certeine daies and rode to diuerſe places with him, being ſtill feaſted & banketted, and had all the pleaſure ſhewed to him that might be imagined. At Windſor they taried a whole wéeke and more, where on Corpus Chriſti daie, the emperour ware his mantell of the garter, and ſate in his owne ſtall. On the ſame daie both the princes receiued the ſacrament, and after that ſeruice was ended, they tooke their corporall othes to kéepe and obſerue the league, which was concluded betwixt them. On the morrow after, they departed from Windſor, and by ſoft and eaſie iourneies they came to Wincheſter, on the two & twentith of June.

Erle of Surrie high admerall of England.

Now before the emperour was thus come to Wincheſter, the earle of Surrie being high admerall of England, was come to Hampton with all the kings nauie, & with him the lord Fitz Walter, the baron Curſon, ſir Nicholas Carew, ſir Richard Wingfield, ſir Richard Jerningham, Francis Brian, ſir William Barentine, ſir Adrian Foſkew, ſir Edward Donne, ſir Edward Chamberleine, ſir Richard Cornwall, ſir Anthonie Poines, ſir Henrie Shirborne, and the viceadmerall ſir William Fitz Williams, ſir Edmund Braie, ſir Giles Capell, ſir William Pirton, John Cornwallis, ſir John Wallop, ſir Edward Echingham, ſir William Sidneie, Anthonie Browne, Giles Huſie, Thomas More, John Ruſſel, Edward Bray, Henrie Owen, George Cobham, Thomas Oldhall, Thomas Louell, Robert

Jerningham, Anthonie Kneuet, ſir John Tremaile, and ſir William Skeuington the maiſter of the kings ordinance, & John Fabian ſergeant at armes, by whome this enterpriſe was chieflie mooued, with diuerſe others, which in the end of June departed from Hampton, noiſing that they ſhould onelie ſcowre the ſeas for ſafegard of the emperour and his nauie.

The emperor departeth out of England towards Spaine.

On the firſt of Julie, the emperours nauie came before Hampton, conteining an hundred and foureſcore goodlie ſhips. Then the emperour tooke leaue of the king, of whome he had manie great gifts, and notable ſummes of monie by waie of lone; & ſo the ſixt of Julie he tooke his ſhip, and made ſaile to Spaine, where he arriued in ſafetie the tenth daie after. The king borrowed of the citie of London twentie thouſand pounds, and deliuered priuie ſeales for warrant of the repaiment. None were charged but men of good wealth. The like lone was practiſed through all the realme, not without grudge of manie perſons that were called vpon for the ſame. The earle of Surrie hauing wafted the emperour ouer to the coaſt of Biſcaie, vpon his returne finding the wind fauourable, according to his inſtructions, made to the coaſt of Britaine, and landing with his people in number ſeuen thouſand, about fiue miles from Morleis, marched thither, and aſſaulting the towne, wan it.

The king borroweth 20000 pounds of the citie.

For the maiſter gunner Chriſtopher Morreis hauing there certeine falcons, with the ſhot of one of them, ſtroke the locke of the wicket in the gate, ſo that it flew open: and then the ſame Chriſtopher and other gentlemen, with their ſouldiers, in the ſmoke of the gunnes preſſed to the gates, and finding the wicket open, entered, and ſo finallie was the towne of Morleis woone, and put to ſacke. The ſouldiers gained much by the pillage, for the towne was exceeding rich, and ſpeciallie of linnen cloth. When they had rifled the towne throughlie, and taken their pleaſure of all things therein, the earle cauſed them by ſound of trumpet to reſort to their ſtandards, and after they had ſet fire in the towne, and burned a great part thereof, the earle retreated with his armie towards his ſhips, burning the villages by the waie, and all that night lay on land. On the morrow after they tooke their ſhips, and when they were beſtowed on bord, the earle commanded ſixteene or ſeuenteene ſhips ſmall and great, lieng there in the hauen, to be burnt.

The maner of the winning of Morleis in Britaine by the earle of Surrie.

When the lord admerall had thus woone the towne of Morleis, he called to him certeine eſquiers, and made them knights, as ſir Francis Brian, ſir Anthonie Browne, ſir Richard Cornewall, ſir Thomas More, ſir Giles Huſeie, ſir John Ruſſell, ſir John Reinsford, ſir George Cobham, ſir John Cornewallis, ſir Edward Rigleie, and diuerſe other. After this they continued a while on the coaſt of Britaine, and diſquieted the Britains by entering their hauens, and ſometimes landing and dooing diuerſe diſpleaſures to the inhabitants about the coaſt. After that the earle had lien a while thus on the coaſt of Britaine, hee was countermanded by the kings letters, who therevpon brought backe his whole fleet vnto a place called the Cow, vnder the Jle of Wight, and then went on land himſelfe, diſcharging the more part of his people, and leauing the reſidue with certeine ſhips vnder the gouernance of the viceadmerall ſir William Fitz Williams, to keepe the ſeas againſt the French.

Diuerſe gentlemen knighted by the erle of Surrie vpō the winning of Morleis.

Polydor.

In this meane while, diuerſe exploits were atchiued betwixt them of the garriſons in the marches of Calis, & the Frenchmen of Bullongne and Bullongnois: but ſtill the loſſe ran for the moſt part on the French ſide. For the Engliſh frontiers were well and ſtronglie furniſhed with good numbers of men of warre, and gouerned by right ſage and valiant capteins, which dailie made inuaſions vpon the French confines, and namelie ſir William Sands treaſuror of the towne of Calis, and ſir Edward Gilford marſhall, were two that did the Frenchmen moſt diſpleaſure. On the third of Julie, three hundred French horſſemen comming neere to the caſtell of Guiſnes, kept themſelues in couert, appointing eight or ten of their companie to ſhew themſelues in ſight to the Engliſhmen within. Wherevpon there went foorth eight archers, and fell in ſkirmiſh with thoſe horſſemen, till there came three other to the reſcue of the Frenchmen, and ſkirmiſhed with the archers on foot.

Sir William Sands and ſir Edward Gilford two whips to the Frenchmen.

Herewith iſſued out of Guiſnes twelue demilances all Welſhmen, in reſcue of the footmen, and then all the troope of the French horſſemen brake foorth and ſet on the Welſhmen. The footmen, ſo long as they had anie arrowes to beſtow, ſhot luſtilie, and in the end were driuen to defend themſelues with their ſwords. The Welſhmen keeping togither, entered into the band of the Frenchmen, brake their ſpeares, and after fought and laid about them with their ſwords, ſo that they made a waie, and eſcaped from thoſe three hundred French horſſemen. Of the French ſide were ſlaine three men and fiue horſſes, the Engliſh archers on foot ſelling their liues dearlie, were all ſlaine, for the Frenchmen would not take anie of them priſoners, they were ſo angrie for loſſe of their fellowes.

The valiancie of the Welſhmen againſt the French.

On the fiue and twentith of Julie, the treaſuror and marſhall of Calis, with fourteene hundred footmen, entered the French pale: and finding not monſieur de Foiat for whome they ſought, they went to Whitſand baie, ſet the towne on fire, and aſſaulting the church, into which the people were withdrawne, wan it, and afterwards ſet fire on the ſteeple, bicauſe that diuerſe, hauing ſhut vp themſelues therein, through counſell of a prieſt that was with them, refuſed to yeeld, till the fire cauſed them to leape downe and ſo manie of them periſhed, and the reſt were taken priſoners, and led to Calis. About two daies before this, to wit, the three and twentith daie of Julie, one Thwaits a capteine of an Engliſh ſhip, with ſix ſcore men, archers and others, tooke land beſide Bullongne, and paſſing vp into the countrie three miles to a towne called Newcaſtell, forraied all the parts as he went, and in his returne ſet fire on that towne, and burnt a great part thereof, and came againe to his ſhip in ſafetie, notwithſtanding fourſcore hagbutters, and three hundred other men of warre of the countrie came foorth, and purſued the Engliſhmen verie fiercelie: but the Engliſhmen putting them backe, got to their ſhip, and loſt not a man.

Moreouer, whileſt the warres were thus followed in France, the lord Roſſe, and the lord Dacres of the north, which were appointed to keepe the borders againſt Scotland, burnt the towne of Kelſie, and foureſcore villages, & ouerthrew eighteene towers of ſtone, with all their barnekines. Alſo the king appointed the earle of Shreweſburie to be his lieutenant generall of the north parts, againſt the inuaſion which was intended by the duke of Albanie, which earle directed his letters to all the ſhires lieng from Trent northward, that all men ſhould be in a readineſſe. Order was taken by the cardinall, that the true value of all mens ſubſtance might be knowne, and he would haue had euerie man ſworne to haue vttered the true valuation of that they were worth, and required a tenth part thereof to bee granted towards the kings charges now in his warres, in like caſe as the ſpiritualtie had granted a fourth part; and were content to liue on the other three parts.

The lords Roſſe & Dacres of the north inuade Scotland and ſpoile the countrie.

The cardinall will haue euerie man ſworne to tell what he is worth.

The earle of Surrie ſent with an armie to inuade France.

This demand was thought gréeuous to them of the citie of London, where the cardinall firſt moued it; ſo that manie reaſons were alleaged by them why they iudged themſelues ſore dealt with. In the end they brought in their billes, which were receiued vpon their honeſties. The king in this meane time, being now entered into wars with France, thought not to ſuffer his enimies to reſt in quiet: and therefore leauied an armie which he ſent ouer to Calis, appointing the earle of Surrie to be generall of the ſame. When the earle was come to Calis, and had taken order in his buſineſſe for that iournie, he ſet forward with his armie, being diuided into thrée battels or wards, of the which, the firſt was led by ſir Robert Ratcliffe, lord Fitz Water, the middle ward or battell the earle himſelfe guided, and with him his brother the lord Edmund Howard. The rereward was gouerned by ſir William Sands, and ſir Richard Wingfield, both being knights of the garter. Capteine of the horſſemen was ſir Edward Guilford.

The Burgognians ioine with the Engliſh hoſt.

They entered into the French ground the ſecond of September, being tueſdaie, and tooke their iournie toward Heding. By the way there came to them a great power of Burgognians from the ladie Margaret, as then regent of Flanders, according to the articles of the league. All the townes, villages, and caſtels in the countrie thorough the which they marched, were burned, waſted, and deſtroied on euerie ſide of their waie: as the towne and caſtell of Sellois, the townes of Brume bridge, Senekerke, Botingham, & Manſtier, the towne and caſtell of Nerbins, the towne of Dauerne, the caſtels of Columberge, and Rew, the towne and church fortified of Boards, ſaint Marie de Bois, the towne of Waus, the towne and caſtell of Fringes. On the ſixtéenth daie of September, the earle of Surrie with his armie of Engliſhmen and Burgognians, came before the caſtell of Heding, and planted his ſiege before it. The towne was entered, and part thereof burned by the Burgognians.

The caſtell of Heding beſieged by the Engliſhmen.

The earle of Surrie returneth with his armie to Calis.

Within the caſtell was capteine monſieur de Biez, hauing prouided for defenſe of the place all things neceſſarie; ſo that the earle of Surrie, and other the capteins of the hoaſt, perceiuing they could not within anie ſhort time win it, after they had bin before it eleuen daies, they raiſed their ſiege, chéeflie bicauſe they had no great battering péeces to ouerthrow the walles. For the weather was ſuch, and the waies waxed ſo déepe towards the latter end of that ſummer, that they could not conueie with them anie great ordinance. From Heding they paſſed forward, and comming to Dorlens, burned the towne, and raſed the caſtell. From thenſe they came vnto the towne of Darrier, which they burnt alſo and ſpoiled. Thus they burned and ſpoiled all the waie as they paſſed. But the weather ſtill waxed worſe and worſe, ſo that manie fell ſicke through intemperance thereof, and the Burgognians and Spaniards which were in the armie returned into Flanders.

Then the earle of Surrie, perceiuing that he could no longer kéepe the field in that ſeaſon of the yeare, turned backe towards Calis in good order of battell, and came thither the ſixtéenth of October. He would gladlie in déed (before the departure of the Burgognians and Spaniards) haue paſſed the water of Somme: but other capteins conſidering the time of the yeare to be paſt, and that the whole armie conteined not aboue eightéene thouſand men, iudged it more wiſedome to returne, and ſo in the end their opinions were followed. After that the Engliſh armie was returned to Calis, the earle of Surrie ſent forth ſir William Sands, ſir Maurice Berkeleie, ſir William Fitz Williams, and with them thrée thouſand men, which burned Marguiſon, the towne of ſaint Iehans rode, and alſo Temple towne, with manie villages.

A great bootie woone by the Engliſhmen.

The earle of Surrie returneth with his armie into England.

Aduenturers

They alſo brought a maruellous great bootie of goods out of the countrie, which they got at this rode, as fouretéene thouſand ſhéepe, a thouſand foure hundred oxen and kine, and other great cattell, a thouſand thrée hundred hogs, and eight hundred mares and horſſes, beſides priſoners. When the earle of Surrie had ſet things in order, and appointed forth ſuch as he would haue remaine in the garriſons, on that ſide the ſea; he returned, and all the reſidue of the armie (ſauing thoſe that were commanded to tarie) came ouer alſo with the nauie, and arriued in the Thames; and ſo euerie man into his countrie at his pleaſure. There remained alſo behind a companie of men of warre called aduenturers, which ſerued without wages, liuing onelie on that which they could catch & win of the enimies. There were foure hundred of them that went with the armie now this laſt time into France, and did much hurt vnto the Frenchmen: for they were by practiſe become expert and ſkilfull in the points of warre, and dailie exploited one enterpriſe or other, to their owne aduantage, and hinderance of the enimie.

The duke of Albanie leuieth an armie of Scots to inuade England.
Polydor.

Truce betwixt England & Scotland.
Edw. Hall.

A meane ambaſſage out of Scotland.

The duke of Albanie being in this meane while eſtabliſhed gouernour of Scotland, raiſed an armie of foureſcore thouſand men and aboue, with the which he approched to the Engliſh borders: but made no inuaſion. The miſtruſt that he had in the Scots cauſed him to ſtaie, and therefore he ſent to the French king for ſix thouſand Almans, the which he dailie looking for (& that in vaine) droue off time till the end of ſummer was now at hand, and then requiring a truce for certeine moneths, obteined it at the kings hand. The earle of Shreweſburie had in a readineſſe eight and twentie thouſand men to haue reſiſted him, if he had entered vpon the Engliſh confines. After that an abſtinence of warre was taken betwixt England and Scotland, then in October following there came into England thrée perſonages of ſmall behauiour (as it ſéemed) ambaſſadors out of Scotland: they were ſmallie regarded, and ſhortlie departed.

The earle of Northumberland warden of the whole marches.

1523

Their commiſſion was onelie to vnderſtand, whether the king had aſſented to the truce or not. Wherevpon it was thought that they were ſent rather for a countenance onelie of fulfilling the promiſe made by the duke of Albanie at that preſent, when the truce was granted, than for anie true meaning to accompliſh that which was promiſed; that is to ſaie, to agrée vnto ſome vnfeined and perfect concluſion of peace. The king héere vpon doubting their old pranks, ordeined the earle of Northumberland Henrie Perſie the fift of that name, warden of the whole marches, who thankefullie receiued the honor thereof, and ſo he departed. But whatſoeuer matter it was that moued him, ſhortlie after he began to make ſute to the king, and ceaſſed not, till he was of that office diſcharged: and then the earle of Surrie lord admerall of England was made generall warden, and the lord Marqueſſe Dorſet was made warden of the eaſt and middle marches, and the lord Dacres of the weſt marches.

The Marqueſſe Dorſet entereth into Scotland and burneth diuerſe townes there.

The earle of Northumberland was for this refuſall of exerciſing the office of lord warden, greatlie blamed of his owne tenants, and accounted of all men to be void of the loue and deſire that noblemen ought to haue to honor and chiualrie. The lord Marqueſſe Dorſet accompanied with ſir William Bulmer, and ſir Arthur Darcie, with manie other of the nobilitie, the ſecond of Aprill then being thurſdaie before Eaſter, entered into Tiuidale, and ſo paſſing forward ten miles into Gallowaie, burnt on euerie ſide the townes and villages. All the night he tarried within the Scotiſh ground, and on the morrow being goodfridaie, he withdrew backe into England with foure thouſand neat, hauing burned Grimſleie, Mowhouſe, Douſford, Miles, Ackforth, Crowling, Nowes manour, Midder, Crowling, Marbottell, Lowbog, Seforth manor, Middell right, Primſted, Broket, Shawes, Harwell, Wide open Haugh, with others.

A parlement holden at the Blackefriers in London. Edw.Hall. in H.8.fol.Cvj.

On the fifteenth daie of Aprill began the parlement, which was holden as then at the Blackefriers, and that daie the maſſe of the Holie-ghoſt was ſoong, all the lords being preſent in their parlement robes. ¶ Now when maſſe was finiſhed, the K. came to the parlement chamber, and there ſat downe in the ſeat roiall or throne, and at his feet on the right ſide ſat the cardinall of Yorke and the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and at the raile behind ſtood doctor Tunſtall biſhop of London, which made to the whole parlement an eloquent oration, declaring to the people the office of a king. Firſt he muſt be a man of iudgement, according to the ſaieng of the prophet Dauid, *Deus iudicium tuum regi da, &c.* Alſo he muſt be a man of great learning, according to the ſaieng of the prophet, *Erudimini qui iudicatis terram.* According to which ſaiengs he ſaid, that God had ſent vs a prince of great iudgement, of great learning, and great experience: which according to his princelie dutie, forgat not to ſtudie to ſet forward all things which might be profitable to his people and realme, leaſt might be laid to his charge the ſaieng of Seneca; *Es rex & non habes tempus eſſe rex?* Art thou a king and haſt no time to be a king? Which is as much to ſaie, as; Art thou a king, and dooeſt nothing profitable to thy people? Art thou a king, and ſeeſt the people haue an inſufficient law? Art thou a king, and wilt not prouide remedie for the miſcheefe of thy people?

The oration of doctor Tunſtall biſhop of London.

Theſe things haue mooued the kings moſt excellent maieſtie to call this his high court of parlement, both for the remedie of miſcheefs which be in the common law, as recoueries, forren vouchers & corrupt trials, and for making and ordering of new ſtatutes, which maie be to the high aduancement of the common-wealth. Wherefore he willeth his commons to repaire to the common houſe, and there to elect them a ſpeaker, or their common mouth, and to certifie the lord chancellor of the ſame, who ſhould thereof make report to the kings moſt noble grace, and ſhould declare his pleaſure when he would haue him preſented to his perſon. This was the cauſe of the parlement, as he ſaid. But ſuerlie of theſe things no word was ſpoken in the whole parlement, and in effect no good act made, except the grant of a great ſubſidie were one. But according to this inſtruction the commons departed to the common houſe, & choſe for their ſpeaker ſir Thomas More knight, & preſented him on the ſaturday after in the parlement chamber, where he (according to the old vſage) diſabled himſelfe both in wit, learning, & diſcretion, to ſpeake before the king, and brought in for his purpoſe how one Phormio deſired Haniball to come to his reading, which thereto aſſented, and when Haniball was come he began to read *De re militari,* that is, of cheualrie. When Haniball perceiued him, he called him arrogant foole: bicauſe he would preſume to teach him which was maiſter of cheualrie, in the feats of warre. So the ſpeaker ſaid, if he ſhould ſpeake before the king, of learning and ordering of a common-wealth and ſuch other like, the king ſo well learned and of ſuch prudence and experience might ſaie to him as Haniball ſaid to Phormio. Wherefore he deſired his grace that the commons might chooſe an other ſpeaker.

The oration of ſir Thomas More ſpeaker for commons.

The cardinall anſwered, that the king knew his wit, learning, and diſcretion by long experience in his ſeruice: wherefore he thought that the commons had choſen him as the moſt meeteſt of all; and ſo he did admit him. Then ſir Thomas More gaue to the king his moſt humble thanks, and deſired of him two petitions: the one, if he ſhould be ſent from the commons to the king on meſſage and miſtake their intent, that he might with the kings pleaſure reſort againe vnto the commons for the knowledge of their true meaning. The other was, if in communication and reaſoning, any man in the common houſe ſhould ſpeake more largelie than of dutie he ought to doo, that all ſuch offenſes ſhould be pardoned, and that to be entered of record. Which two petitions were granted; and ſo thus began the parlement and continued as you ſhall heare.]

This yeare was the citie and the whole Ile of the Rhodes conquered by the Turke, and all the chriſtians diſplaced: whereof Guicciardin hath diſcourſed as followeth. ¶ The end of this yeare (ſaith he) was made no leſſe wretched and vnhappie, than ſlanderous to all chriſtian princes for the loſſe of the Ile of Rhodes: which Soliman Ottoman tooke by violence, notwithſtanding it was defended by the knights of Rhodes, called in other times more ancient the knights of ſaint Iohn of Ieruſalem. And abiding in that place ſince they were chaſed out of Ieruſalem, notwithſtanding they laie betweene two ſo mightie princes as the Turke & the Soldan; yet their valour had preſerued it of long time, and to the right worthie glorie of their order, they had remained as an aſſured rampier of chriſtian religion in thoſe ſeas: & yet they were not without their imputations & notes of infamie, for that hauing a continuall cuſtome for the better defending of thoſe ſhoares, to ſpoile the veſſels of the infidels, they were thought ſometimes to make pillage of chriſtian ſhips.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 840. Rhodes taken by Soliman Ottoman.

The Turke ſent into the Iland a woonderfull great armie, which remaining there manie moneths with no leſſe horrour to good men for their cruelties, than terrour to all men for their huge numbers, at laſt he came thither in perſon. And drawing to his deſire of conqueſt and glorie, the reſpect of profit and riches which the victorie would yeeld, he loſt not one minute of time to vex them. Wherein his induſtrie was nothing inferiour to his valour, for ſometimes he caſt monſtrous mines and trenches, ſometimes he raiſed platformes of earth and wood, whoſe height ouertopped the wals of the towne, and ſometimes he afflicted them with moſt furious and bloudie aſſaults: inſomuch that as theſe works and engines were not performed without a woonderfull butcherie & ſlaughter of his ſouldiors; ſo alſo the defenſe of them was ſo dangerous to the liues of them within, that manie numbers were diminiſhed, manie bodies maimed and made vnſeruiceable, & the reſidue ſore terrified by the calamitie of their companions and freends, to whome they could giue no other propertie of compaſſion, than to mourne with them in their common miſerie.

The Turkes great induſtrie equiualent to his valour.

Their aduerſitie was ſo much the more intollerable, by how much their trauels were without fruit, their words without comfort, and their valour diſfauoured of fortune, & laſtlie their ſtore of gunpowder was conſumed, which is not the leaſt neceſſitie for the defenſe of a place. They ſaw before their eies huge breaches made into their walles with the artilleries of their enimies, they diſcerned ſeuerall mines wrought into manie parts of the towne, and they found by lamentable experience, that the leſſe good they did, the more painfullie they laboured, for that their fortune had reduced them to theſe termes of extremitie, that in abandoning one place to relieue another, they put both in danger, not hauing numbers ſufficient to furniſh the ſeruice, and leſſe

The manifold calamities & ruines inforced by this warre.

expectation of reſcue amid perils ſo raging and deſperate: ſo that, what for that their neceſſities were greater than their hopes, & their defenſe leſſe able by the continuall diminution of their numbers, & laſtlie holding it no breach of honour to preſerue by wiſdome and compoſition, that they could no longer defend by their valour and prowes, they gaue place to their deſtinie, and capitulated with the Turke as followeth. That the great maiſter of their order ſhould leaue the towne to him: that as well he as all his knights ſhould depart in ſafetie, with libertie to carie with them as much of their goods as they could. And for aſſurance of this capitulation, the Turke ſhould withdraw out of thoſe ſeas, his fléet or nauie, and retire his armie by land fiue miles from Rhodes. By vertue of which capitulation Rhodes remained to the Turkes, and the chriſtians paſſed into Sicilie, and ſo into Italie, kéeping their faith and profeſſion vnuiolated. They found in Sicilie an armie by ſea compounded of a certeine number of veſſels, with great reléefe of vittels and munitions, and readie to hoiſe ſaile at the next wind to reuittle Rhodes. The ſlowneſſe of this reſcue was laid to the popes fault.

Rhodes rendered vp to the Turke.

Solimans contempt of chriſtian religion.

After they were departed, Soliman for a more contempt of chriſtian religion, made his entrie into the citie vpon the daie of the birth of the ſonne of God: which daie being celebrated in the churches of chriſtians with noiſe of muſike & holie inuocations, he conuerted all the churches of Rhodes dedicated to the ſeruice of Ieſus Chriſt, into Moſqueis (ſo they call their temples) which after all the chriſtian rites and ceremonies were aboliſhed, they made dedicatorie to Mahomet. Good cauſe had the chriſtians herevpon with heauie hearts to make their complaint to God by the preſident of the pſalmiſt, lamenting the libertie of the enimies exerciſing the vehemencie of his rage againſt Gods people; & full well with ſwolne eies teſtifieng the ſorrow of their ſoules might (ſadlie ſounding the dumps of their threnomina) ſate:

Buc. in pſal. 74.

——perde funditus
Hoſtes proteruos, qui tuum ſacrarium
Manu nefanda polluunt,
Clangunt ſonora buccina, non quæ tuas
Laudes canat, ludibrio
Sed feſta acerbo quæ profanet; in tuis
Vexilla figunt turribus, &c.

To vnderſtand more of this hiſtorie touching the taking of Rhodes, what mooued the Turke to couet the ſame, his letter comminatorie to Philip de Williers who tooke part againſt him, with other accidents and circumſtances belonging to this martiall action; read the report of Edward Hall, which is verie copious and plentifull in this behalfe. And now will we returne to our owne affaires here in England.]

Ed. Hall in H.8. fol. cvij, cviij, & deinceps.

Cardinall Wolſie made biſhop of Durham.

About this time the biſhop of Durham departed this life, & the king gaue that biſhoprike to the cardinall, who reſigned the biſhoprike of Bath to doctor Iohn Clerke maiſter of the rolles, and ſir Henrie Marneie that was vicechamberleine, was made lord priuie ſeale, and ſhortlie after was created lord Marneie. In the end of this yeare, doctor Blith biſhop of Cheſter was attached for treaſon, but he acquited himſelfe. About this time the cardinall exerciſed his authoritie (which he pretended by his power legantine) verie largelie, not onelie in proouing of teſtaments in his court, calling the executors and adminiſtrators before him, of what dioceſſe ſoeuer they were, but alſo by prouiſions he gaue all benefices belonging to ſpirituall perſons, and ran thereby within danger of the premunire, as afterward was laid to his charge.

The cardinall exerciſeth his authoritie verie largelie. Polydor.

But after that he perceiued his owne follie and raſh doing herein, contrarie to the lawes, which would not permit that anie ſuch things as were moued within the prouince of Canturburie, might bée concluded without the authoritie of the archbiſhop, he ſent them againe to Poules, and ſate himſelfe at Weſtminſter with his cleargie of the prouince of Yorke. And euen as there was much adoo amongſt them of the common houſe about their agréement to the ſubſidie, ſo was there as hard hold for a while amongſt them of the clergie in the conuocation houſe. Namelie Richard biſhop of Wincheſter, & Iohn biſhop of Rocheſter held ſore againſt it, but moſt of all ſir Rowland Philips vicar of Croidon, and one of the canons of Poules, béeing reputed a notable preacher in thoſe daies, ſpake moſt againſt that parlement.

But the cardinall taking him aſide, ſo handled the matter with him, that he came no more into the houſe, willinglie abſenting himſelfe to his great infamie, and loſſe of that eſtimation which men had of his innocencie. Thus the bellwedder giuing ouer his hold, the other yéelded, and ſo was granted the halfe of all their ſpirituall reuenues for one yeare, to bée paid in fiue yeres following, that the burthen might the more eaſilie be borne. The parlement being begun (as ye haue heard) the cardinall on the nine and twentith day of Aprill came into the common houſe, and there ſhewing the great charges that the king neceſſarilie was at, and dailie muſt be at in maintenance of his warres againſt the French and Scots, demanded the ſummes of eight hundred thouſand pounds to bée raiſed of the fift part of euerie mans goods and lands, that is to wit, foure ſhillings of euerie pound.

The cleargie grant halfe of all their ſpirituall reuenues for one yeare.

Anno Reg. 15.

A great ſubſidie demanded by the cardinall in the cõmon houſe.

This demand was inforced on the morrow after, by ſir Thomas More then ſpeaker of the parlement: but he ſpake not ſo much in perſuading the houſe to grant it, but other ſpake as earneſtlie againſt it; ſo that the matter was argued to and fro, and handled to the vttermoſt. There were that prooued how it was not poſſible to haue it leuied in monie, for men of lands and great ſubſtance had not the fift part of the ſame in coine. And ſith the king by the loane had receiued two ſhillings of the pound, which by this rate amounted to 400000 pounds: and now to haue foure ſhillings of the pound, it would amount in the whole vnto twelue hundred thouſand pounds, which is firſt and laſt ſix ſhillings of the pound, being almoſt a third part of euerie mans goods, which in coine might not be had within this realme.

Hard hold about grant of the great ſubſidie.

For the proofe whereof was alleaged, that if there were in England but twentie thouſand pariſhes, and euerie pariſh ſhould giue an hundred markes, that were but fiftéene hundred thouſand markes, which is but an hundred thouſand pounds; and there be not verie manie pariſhes in England one with another, able to ſpare an hundred markes, out of cities and townes. And where it is written, that in England there be fortie thouſand pariſh churches, it was prooued that there were not thirtéene thouſand at this daie. Hard hold there was about this demand, and certeine wiſe and diſcréet perſons were ſent to the cardinall, to mooue him to be a meane to the king, that a leſſe ſumme might be accepted: but he anſwered that he would rather haue his toong plucked out of his head with a paire of pinſers, than to mooue the king to take anie leſſe ſumme: and ſo with that anſwer they departed, reporting to the houſe the cardinals words. Then euerie daie was reaſoning, but nothing concluded.

There are not 10000 pariſhes in England as Stow hath trulie noted.

The obſtinate anſwer of the cardinall to the motion of the common houſe in the parlement.

Wherevpon the cardinall came againe into the lower houſe, and deſired that he might reaſon with them that were againſt the demand: but he was anſwered that the order of that houſe was to heare, and not to reaſon, except amongſt themſelues. There he began to ſhew arguments of the great wealth of the realme, ſo that it might be thought, that he repined and diſdained that anie man ſhould be wealthie but himſelfe. After he was gone, the commons debated the matter according to their former maner, and ſo in the end concluded of two ſhillings in the pound, from twentie pounds vpwards, and from fortie ſhillings to twentie pounds, of euerie twentie ſhillings twelue pence, and vnder fortie ſhillings of euerie head of ſixteene yeeres and vpward foure pence to be paid in two yeares. When this was notified to the cardinall, he was much therwith offended, ſo that to pleaſe him, at length, the gentlemen of fiftie pounds land and vpward, by the liberall motion of ſir John Huſeie, a knight of Lincolnſhire, were burdened with twelue pence more of the pound of the ſame lands, to be paid in three yeares.

Sir John Huſeie.

The cardinall to mooue them thereto, bare them in hand that the lords had agreed to foure ſhillings of the pound, which was vntrue: for they had granted nothing, but ſtaid till they might vnderſtand what the commons would doo. The king therefore hauing knowledge of this, and ſuch other notable lies vttered by the cardinall, reproued him therefore verie ſharpelie, and ſaid that yer it were long he would looke to things himſelfe without anie ſubſtitute. A maruellous matter to conſider how much the cardinall was cooled herewith, and how lowlie for a while he bare himſelfe, ſo that thereby it well appeared how the maiſters ſharpeneſſe now and then, dooth much to reſtraine the euill nature of the ſeruant. But the cardinall within a few daies after, pacifieng the kings diſpleaſure toward him, became nothing the better.

Polydor.

Cardinall woolſie reproued by the king.

After that the foreſaid grant was paſſed and accorded, the parlement was proroged till the tenth of June. During which prorogation, the common people ſaid to the burgeſſes; Sirs, we heare ſay you will grant foure ſhillings of the pound, we aduiſe you to doo ſo that you may go home: with manie euill words and threatnings. In this ſeaſon the cardinall by his power legantine diſſolued the conuocation at Pouls called by the archbiſhop of Canturburie, calling him and all the cleargie to his conuocation at Weſtminſter, which was neuer ſeene before in England (ſaith Hall) whereof maiſter Skelton a merrie poet wrote:

Edw. Hall in H.8. fol.Cx.

The cardinall diſſolueth the archbiſhop of Canturburies conuocation.

Gentle Paule lay downe thy ſweard,
For Peter of Weſtminſter hath ſhauen thy beard.

When the parlement was begun againe, the gentlemen that ſaw themſelues charged with twelue pence more of the pound for their lands, did ſo much, that it was granted, that men of fiftie pounds and vpward in goods, ſhould alſo pay twelue pence of euerie pound in the fourth yeare: which could not bee brought about but with great adoo, and much grudging of the burgeſſes and commons. The one and thirtith of Julie, the parlement was adiourned to Weſtminſter, & there continuing till the thirteenth of Auguſt, was that day at nine of the clock at night diſſolued. During the time of this parlement, the ſeuen and twentith of Aprill, was ſir Arthur Plantagenet, baſtard ſonne to king Edward the fourth, at Bridewell created vicount Liſle, in right of his wife, which was wife to Edmund Dudleie beheaded.

Arthur Plantagenet created vicount Liſle.

The king of Denmarke arriueth in England.

In this yeare the fifteenth of June, Chriſterne king of Denmarke, with his wife, and a ſmall traine with them, landed at Douer, where he was noblie receiued by the earle of Deuonſhire, the biſhops of Exceſter and Rocheſter, and diuerſe knights and eſquiers which brought them to Greenwich, where the king and queene receiued them with all honor. Now after he had remained at the court certeine daies, he was brought to London, & lodged at Bath place. He ſaw the watch on ſaint Peters euen, beeing brought vnto the kings head in Cheape, accompanied with the duke of Suffolke, the earles of Oxford, Eſſex, and Kent, and diuerſe other lords and ladies. The citie made to him and to his wife a coſtlie banket that night, and after he had paſſed the time a while in London, he reſorted againe to the king, and had of him great gifts, and ſo likewiſe had his wife of the queene hir aunt, & then taking their leaue they departed, and were conueied to Douer. And thus after this king had beene in England two and twentie daies, he tooke ſhipping, and ſailed againe into Flanders, where he remained as a baniſhed man out of his owne countrie.

See Edw. Hall in H.8. fol.Cxj.

The citie of London banketteth the K. of Denmarke.

The king of Denmarke departeth out of England into Flanders.

About the ſame time, the earle of Kildare being reſtored to the cardinals fauour, and taking to wife the ladie Elizabeth Graie, was ſent ouer againe into Ireland to occupie his former office, where by the aſſiſtance of his faithfull friend Hugh Hinke archbiſhop of Dublin, and chancellour of that land, hee brought the countrie into reaſonable good order, ſo far as the rebellious dooings of the wild Iriſh would permit. In this meane while, the warre was earneſtlie purſued betweene England & France, & England and Scotland, inſomuch that each part did what in them lay to hurt other. On the borders toward Scotland lay the earle of Surrie high admerall of England, and the marques Dorſet, with his brethren, ſir William Compton, & ſir William Kingſton, with diuerſe other knights and eſquiers ſent to them by the king, which dailie inuaded the realme of Scotland, and threw downe the caſtell of Wederborne, the caſtell of weſt Neſgate, the caſtell of Blackater, the tower of Mackwalles, the tower of eaſt Neſgate, & manie other, and burnt to the number of thirtie and ſeuen villages, and haried the countrie from the eaſt marches to the weſt, and neuer had ſkirmiſh.

Polydor.

The earle of Kildare reſtored to his office of deputiſhip in Ireland.

Edw. Hall.

Scotland ſore ſpoiled.

For the Scots, albeit they ſhewed themſelues in plumps, waiting ſome aduantage, they durſt not yet approch to the maine battell of the Engliſhmen, ſo that in all this iournie there were but few Engliſhmen loſt. When the lords perceiued that the Scots ment not to make anie inuaſion into England this yeare, they tooke order for the fortifieng of the frontiers, and ſo returned. It was thought that the cardinall perceiuing in what fauour ſir William Compton was with the king, and doubting leaſt the ſame might diminiſh his authoritie, deuiſed to ſend him thus into the warres againſt the Scots. For the ſaid ſir William could not well brooke the cardinals preſumption, in taking vpon him ſo highlie, to the derogation of the kings ſupreme gouernement, and therfore the cardinall in his abſence thought to worke him out of fauour: but it would not be. For ſhortlie after was ſir William Compton called home to the court againe.

Polydor.

The Frenchmen burned a ſhip fraught with ſtone in the hauen of Calis, vpon hope to haue deſtroied the hauen; but they miſſed the chanell in bringing in the ſhip, and ſo after that the ſhip was conſumed with fire, the ſtones were recouered out of the water, and brought into Calis, which ſerued the Engliſhmen to good vſe. Diuerſe enterpriſes were atchiued betwixt them of the garriſons French and Engliſh in thoſe marches. In Julie the lord Sands treaſuror of Calis, with other capteins & ſouldiors, to the number of twelue hundred, entered into the confines of their enimies, and came before Bullongne, where they had a great ſkirmiſh, & put their enimies to the worſe: and after marching into the countrie, tooke diuerſe churches and other places which the Frenchmen had fortified, as the church of Oderſall, the ſteeple of Odingham, and the caſtell of Hardingham, and ſo after they had beene within the enimies countrie almoſt two nights and two daies, they came backe to Calis, hauing not loſt paſt a dozen of their men.

The Frenchmen meaning to deſtroy Calis hauen, are diſappointed by miſſing the chanell.

A rode made into the French ground.

The king of England being aduertiſed that the duke of Albanie would returne ſhortlie into Scotland by ſea, and bring with him a power of Frenchmen, prepared a fleet of tall and ſtrong ſhips meet to encounter with the ſame duke and his power, and appointed for admerall, ſir William Fitz Williams, & with him ſir Francis Brian, ſir Anthonie Poines, ſargeant Rot, John Hopton, William Ganſton, Anthonie Knenet, Thomas Weſt, and other, which vſed great diligence to haue met with the ſaid duke of Albanie. And as they laie on the French coaſt, the foure and twentith of Auguſt being ſundaie, at ſeauen of the clocke in the morning, they landed in the hauen of Treiport, and aſſaulted the Frenchmen that were in certeine bulworks on the ſhore, and did what they could to impeach the Engliſhmens landing.

The Engliſh fleet landeth in Treiport hauen.

But the Engliſhmen incouraged by their capteins, did ſo valiantlie (although they were but an handfull of men in compariſon of their enimies, as ſeuen hundred to ſix thouſand) that in the end they repelled the Frenchmen, and wan their bulworks of them, and in the ſame found diuerſe peeces of ordinance, which they ſeized. And perceiuing that the Frenchmen fled to the towne of Treiport, they followed, and ſhot at them right egerlie, ſo that manie of the Frenchmen were ſlaine and wounded, yer they could get to the towne. The Engliſhmen aſſaulted the gates but could not breake them open: yet they ſet fire on the ſuburbes, & alſo burnt ſeuen ſhips which laie in the hauen. The Engliſh capteins perceiuing how the people of the countrie came downe in great numbers to the reſcue of the towne, cauſed their men to get togither ſuch ſpoiles as they might bring awaie in that ſudden: and then after they had beene on land fiue houres, with like ſpeed as they came, they retired backe againe to their ſhips, not without ſome loſſe and damage of men both hurt & ſlaine; as it often hapneth, when thoſe be not found vnprouided which a man vnaduiſedlie aſſaileth.

The Engliſh ſet fire on the ſuburbes of Treiport.

Polydor.

Polydor.
Edw.Hall.

The duke of Suffolke entereth into France with an armie.

In this ſeaſon the king hauing put an armie of men in a readineſſe, cauſed the ſame to be tranſported ouer to Calis, & appointed the duke of Suffolke to haue the leading thereof, and to make a iourneie into France. The duke (according to his commiſſion) came to Calis the foure and twentith of Auguſt, and there abiding the armie, cauſed all things to be prepared neceſſarie for the ſame, as vittels, munition, and ſuch like. There were appointed to attend him in this iourneie, the lord Montacute, and his brother ſir Arthur Pole, the lord Herbert ſonne to the earle of Worceſter, the lord Ferrers, the lord Marneie, the lord Sandes, the lord Barkleie, the lord Powes, and the baron Curſon: of knights ſir Richard Wingfield chancellour of the duchie of Lancaſter, ſir John Weer, ſir Edward Neuill, ſir William Kingſton, ſir Richard Weſton, ſir Andrew Winſor, ſir Robert Wingfield, ſir Anthonie Wingfield, ſir Edward Guilford, ſir Edward Greuile, ſir Edward Chamberleine, ſir Thomas Lucie, ſir Euerard Digbie, ſir Adrian Foſcew, ſir Richard Cornewall, ſir William Courtneie, ſir William Sidneie, ſir Henrie Owen, and manie others.

The whole armie (as appeered by the muſters taken thereof) conſiſted in ſix hundred demilances, two hundred archers on horſſebacke, three thouſand archers on foot, and fiue thouſand bill men. To theſe alſo were adioined ſeuenteene hundred, which were taken out of the gariſons and crewes of Hammes, Guiſnes, & Calis, ſo that in all they were ten thouſand and fiue hundred, well armed and appointed for the warre. Beſide them, there were alſo two thouſand ſix hundred labourers and pioners. When this armie was come ouer to Calis, and all things readie for the iournie, they iſſued out of Calis and tooke the fields. The vant-gard was led by the lord Sandes. Capteine of the right wing was ſir William Kingſton, & on the left ſir Euerard Digbie. The marſhall of Calis ſir Edward Guilford was capteine of all the horſſemen. The duke himſelfe gouerned the battell, and ſir Richard Wingfield was capteine of the rere-ward.

A riot at Calis.
Edw. Hall. pag. Cxiiii.

While the armie laie without Calis, they dailie came into the towne. And ſo it happened that a ſimple felow cut a purſſe, as he made to buie apples, which incontinent was taken, and brought to the maiors houſe to ward. Which thing diuerſe Welſhmen perceiuing, and not knowing what apperteined to iuſtice, ran in great companies to the maiors houſe, & would haue broken the houſe. The officers of the towne intreated, but the Welſhmen more & more approched. The number of the Welſhmen was ſo great, that the watch of Calis ſtrake alarum. Then the lord deputie and the lord Sands did all that in them laie, to bring them to conformitie. But they were ſo rude, that they nothing them regarded: the prieſts brought forth the ſacrament, which alſo was not regarded. Wherefore the lord Ferrers was ſtraightlie commanded to appeaſe their rage, for with him they came thither, which with great paine and intreatie them appeaſed. And then all the Welſhmen were commanded to the field, and to depart the towne, and ſo were all other capteins: and afterwards diuerſe of the head rioters were apprehended and ſore puniſhed for example.

Bell caſtell aſſaulted.

The firſt enterpriſe that the duke attempted, was the winning of a caſtell called Bell caſtell, to which the lord Sands, and the lord Ferrers being ſent, did ſo much by the power of battrie, that after the wals were beaten, thoſe that were appointed to giue the aſſalt, prepared them therto. Which when the Frenchmen within perceiued, they yeelded the place into the Engliſhmens hands, and themſelues to the mercie of the duke, which receiued them as priſoners, and deliuered the caſtell to ſir William Skeuington, the which he cauſed to be raſed downe to the ground the ſeauen and twentith of September. In this ſeaſon was the duke of Burbon high conſtable of France reuolted from ſeruice of the French king to the ſeruice of the emperour and the king of England. For after it was knowne that this duke had his mind alienated from the French king, ſir John Ruſſell (that was afterward created erle of Bedford) was ſent into France vnto the ſaid duke.

Bell caſtell yeelded vp to the Engliſhmen.

Sir John Ruſſell created afterward erle of Bedford.

This gentleman being verie faire ſpoken, & well languaged, in diſguiſed apparell, ordered himſelfe ſo wiſelie and fortunatlie in his iorneie, that in couert manner he came to the duke, and ſo perſuaded him, that he continued in his former determination, and auoided the realme of France, as in the French hiſtorie ye maie more at large perceiue. The more to incourage the Engliſh ſouldiers, there was a proclamation made in the hoſt the eight and twentith of September, how the ſaid duke of Burbon was become enimie to the French king, and friend to the king of England; ſo that hauing in his wages ten thouſand Almans, he was readie to inuade France in another part, the more to let & diſturb the French kings purpoſes. For the accompliſhing wherof there was ſent to him monie in no ſmall ſummes. After this proclamation the nine and twentith of September, the duke of Suffolke remoued to Ard, and ſo forward into Picardie. At Cordes betweene Terwine and ſaint Omers, there came to him the lord of Iſſlſtein, and with him of Spaniards, Almans, Cleueners, and others, three thouſand footmen, and fiue hundred horſſemen.

The Spaniards ioine with the Engliſh armie.

The duke being thus furniſhed with new aid, marched forward in wet weather, and made bridges, The caſtell of Bounegard manned by the Engliſhmen.

and mended the waies where he paſſed as well as he might, ſending out diuerſe companies of his men of warre, to take townes, and fetch in booties on euerie ſide. The Frenchmen were ſo afraid of the Engliſhmen, that they fled out of their houſes, and left the townes and villages void, conueieng ſuch goods as they could awaie with them, but oftentimes they left good ſtore behind them, ſo that the Engliſhmen gained greatlie, and namely at Anchor, which was a rich towne, and vpon the Engliſhmens approch the inhabitants fled out of it, and then the Engliſhmen entred. They tooke alſo the caſtell of Bounegard, and put therein a gariſon, whereof was capteine the lord Leonard Greie, brother to the marqueſſe Dorſet, to conduct vittellers to the armie, which now was farre from anie ſuccours of the Engliſh part.

The towne of Braie beſieged.

The duke paſſed forward till he came to the towne of Braie, in the which were ſixteene hundred men of warre, vnder the gouernance of capteine Adrian, and beſide his retinue, there came to the ſuccours of the towne, monſieur Pontdormie, the vicount Lauerdam, the vicount Tourraine, monſieur Applingcourt, and monſieur Dampneie, with fiue hundred horſſemen, ſo that in the towne beſide the inhabitants were two thouſand good men of warre. This towne ſtandeth on the riuer of Some foure and twentie Engliſh miles from Arras, and foureteene of the ſame miles aboue Amiens. On the twentith of October, the duke cauſed his ordinance to be brought afore it by foure of the clocke in the morning, the which was ſo well applied in making batterie to the walles of the towne, that by nine of the clocke the towne was made aſſaultable; and then the Engliſhmen, Flemings & Burgognians made forward, and by the good comfort of the lord Sandes and other capteins, they got the diches, and after entred vpon the walles. The Frenchmen ſtood at defenſe with pikes, croſſebowes, handguns, and halbards, but they were too weake, for on all parts entred the Engliſhmen, and ſuddenlie the Frenchmen fled, and the Engliſhmen followed.

Braie won by aſſault.

On the further ſide of the towne there was a bulworke fortified with ordinanee verie ſtronglie to defend the paſſage ouer the water of Some, which is there diuided into diuerſe branches. The French horſſemen being withdrawne to the paſſage, defended it till the footmen were got ouer the bridge, and then they plucked awaie the plankes of the bridge, ſo that no man ſhould follow: but the Engliſhmen caſt plankes on the bridge and got ouer, in which paſſing diuerſe were drowned: but ſuch diligence and inforcement was vſed, that they all paſſed both horſmen and footmen. Then was the bulworke fiercelie aſſaulted, and finallie taken by the Engliſhmen, with all the ordinance. There was alſo taken capteine Adrian and capteine Vtterlieu. The Engliſh horſſemen followed the Frenchmen, and ſlue & tooke manie of them. Sir Robert Ierningham brake a ſpeare on the lord Pontdormie. The lord Leonard Greie did valiantlie that day, which was come from the caſtell of Bounegard, and was here at the winning of Braie, which was taken in maner aboue rehearſed the twentith of October.

A traine of gunpowder laid.

The Frenchmen when they perceiued that they ſhould not be able to defend, had laid a traine of gunpowder to ſet it on fire, in hope to haue deſtroied manie of the Engliſhmen as they ſhould be occupied in gathering the ſpoile; but by reaſon that they followed their enimies, and got ouer the paſſage, the fire tooke and ſet the towne on fire yer the Engliſhmen returned. Yet much wine was ſaued which laie in cellars, and ſtood the Engliſhmen in good ſteed. The one and twentith day of October the armie and all the ordinance paſſed ouer the riuer, and came to a towne called Rappe. All the inhabitants were fled, but they had left good plentie of wine & other riches behind them. The gariſon that laie at anchor knowing that the duke was paſſed the water of Some, raſed the towne and caſtell there called Bounegard, and came to the armie now being lodged at Rappe.

Rappe taken.

Roie yeelded to the duke of Suffolke.

The duke ſent to them of Roie, requiring to haue the towne deliuered to him, which they granted to doo, bicauſe they had no gariſon of ſouldiers within to defend the towne. Thither was ſent ſir Richard Cornewall, with foure hundred men, which receiued the towne and kept it in good quiet, till the duke came thither with his whole armie. On the fiue and twentith daie of October, the duke remooued to a village called Lihome where the ſouldiers had great pillage. The next daie they went to Dauenker, and the ſeuen and twentith daie they came before the towne of Montdedier, in the which were a thouſand footmen, and fiue hundred horſſemen vnder the gouernance of monſieur de Roch baron, purpoſing to defend the towne to the vttermoſt. But after that ſir William Skeuington had made batterie from foure of the clocke in the next morning till eight in the ſame forenoone, with ſuch force that the wals were ouerthrowne and made aſſaultable, they within yeelded the towne into the dukes hands, with condition they might go with bag and baggage.

Lihome taken.

Montdedier beſieged.

Montdedier yeelded.

The Frenchmen made ſuch haſt, and were ſo glad to be gone, that they left much houſhold ſtuffe behind them, and great plentie of wine. The Engliſhmen alſo would not ſuffer them to beare their ſtandards vnſpred, but rent the ſame in peeces: wherewith the lord Roch baron was highlie diſpleaſed, but he could not amend it. The duke remained in Montdedier till the laſt of October, and then remooued to Roie, where he reſted a while with all his armie. On Alhallowes daie, the duke of Suffolke in the chiefe church of Roie made knights, the lord Herbert, the lord Powes, Oliuer Manners, Arthur Poole, Richard Sandes, Robert Ierningham, Robert Saliſburie, Edmund Beningfield, Richard Corbet, Thomas Wentworth, William Storton, Walter Mantell, George Warram, Edward Seimor, that was after duke of Summerſet. The morow after the armie remooued to a place called Neele.

Knights made by the duke of Suffolke in France.

The ſouldiers being thus led from place to place, began to murmur among themſelues & to grudge, bicauſe of the winter ſeaſon, being nothing meet for their purpoſe to keepe the fields: it grieued them that the Burgognions being prouided of wagons, made ſhift to ſend the ſpoile and pillage home into their countrie being at hand, & they to want ſuch meanes to make the beſt of thoſe things which they got, ſo that (as they tooke it) they beat the buſh & others had the birds. This grudge was yet by gentle words ceaſſed for a time. On the firſt daie of Nouember the whole armie came to a village called Veane, and there reſted for that night, and on the morow after they returned againe ouer the water of Some, and came to a place called Beauffort. At this paſſage the duke made Iohn Dudleie and Robert Vtreight knights.

Mutinie amongſt the Engliſh ſouldiers.

Iohn Dudleie and Robert Vtreight knighted.

On the eight of Nouember the duke remooued to a place called Mont ſaint Martine, and from thence was ſent the lord Sands to the king in poſt, to aduertiſe him in what caſe the armie ſtood, and the armie remooued to Permont, and there reſted for a time. The Welſhmen ſtill murmured that they might not returne home now that the winter was thus farre entered. But there were a ſort of men of warre, to the number of a thouſand perſons vnder the leading of ſir Iohn Wallop, which had little wages or none, liuing only on their aduentures, & were therefore called aduenturers, and of ſome they were

Sir Iohn Wallop.

called

Aduentures of Kreekers.

called Kreekers, which had as good will to be ſtill abroad, as the Welſhmen had deſire to returne home. For theſe Kreekers by ſpoiling of townes, taking of priſoners, & other ſuch practiſes of warlike exploits, made their haunts, and dailie brought to the campe, horſſes, mares, vittels, cloth, corne, and other neceſſaries, which might not haue beene miſſed.

A bitter and nipping froſt.

After great raines and winds which had chanced in that ſeaſon, there followed a ſore froſt, which was ſo extreame, that manie died for cold, and ſome loſt fingers, ſome loſt toes, and manie loſt nailes beſide their fingers, ſo extreame was the rigour of that froſt. ¶The thirteenth daie of Nouember the duke remoued to a place within two miles of Boghan caſtell, and ſtill it froze. The Welſhmen in the morning ſet out a ſhout, and cried; Home, home. The Kreekers hearing that, cried; Hang, hang. Hereof buſineſſe was like to haue inſued, but by policie it was ceaſſed. Sir Edward Guilford capteine of the horſſemen viewing the caſtell of Boghan, perceiued that the mariſhes (wherewith it was inuironed) were ſo hard frozen, that great ordinance might paſſe ouer the ſame. Which he ſignified to the duke, & therewith the duke was contented that he ſhould trie what ſucceſſe would come of giuing the attempt to win it. So was the ordinance brought ouer the mariſh ground, whereof they within being aduertiſed, immediatlie after three ſhots of canon diſcharged againſt them, they yeelded the caſtell, and all the artillerie within it, of the which there was good ſtore, as three ſcore & ſixteene peeces great and ſmall. The keeping of this caſtell was deliuered to the ſeneſcall of Henegow.

Boghan caſtell aſſaulted and yeelded.

In this meane while the lord Sands was come to the court, and informed the king of the ſtate of the armie. The king had before his comming heard that his people in the ſaid armie were in great miſerie, both by reaſon of the intemperat weather, & vnſeaſonable time of the yeare, the lacke of vittels, & ſuch other diſcommodities: wherefore he cauſed a new power of ſix thouſand men to be prepared and ſent vnto the duke of Suffolke for a releefe, vnder the leading of the lord Montioie. But yer this power could be put in order to paſſe the ſea, and before the duke could haue knowledge againe from the king of his further pleaſure, he was conſtreined to breake vp his armie, and returned by Valencennes, and ſo through Flanders vnto Calis. He left at Valencennes all the great artillerie. The king was ſomewhat diſpleaſed with the breaking vp of the armie thus contrarie to his mind, but hearing the reſonable excuſes which the duke & the capteins had to alleage, he was ſhortlie after pacified. And ſo after they had remained in Calis a certeine time, vntill their freends had aſſwaged the kings diſpleaſure, they returned, and all things were well taken, and they receiued into as much fauour as before.

The duke of Suffolke breaketh vp his armie and commeth to Calis.

But now to returne to the dooings in other parts, as betwixt the Engliſhmen and Scots, which chanced in this meane while that the duke of Suffolke was thus in France. Ye ſhall vnderſtand, that the Scots hearing that the warre was thus turned into France, thought that nothing ſhould be attempted againſt them, and therefore waxed more bold, and began to rob and ſpoile on the marches of England. Wherefore the king ſent againe thither the earle of Surrie treaſuror and high admerall of England, the which with all ſpeed comming to the weſt borders, ſent for an armie of ſix thouſand men, with the which entering Scotland by the drie mariſhes, he ouerthrew certeine caſtels, piles, and ſmall holds, till he came through the dales to Iedworth, wherein laie a great garriſon of Scots, which ſkirmiſhed with the Engliſhmen right ſharpelie at their firſt comming, but yet at length the towne, abbeie, and caſtell were wonne, ſpoiled, and burned.

The Scots ſpoile the Engliſh marches.

The earle of Surrie inuadeth Scotland.

Iedworth burnt.

After this the earle incamped within the Scotiſh ground from the two and twentith of September till the fiue and twentith of the ſame moneth, & then returned backe againe into England. During which time the lord Dacres wan the caſtell of Ferniherſt. The French king perceiuing that the Scots did not worke anie notable trouble to the Engliſhmen to ſtaie them from the inuading of France (& the cauſe was (as he tooke it) for that they lacked the duke of Albanie, whome they named their gouernour) he therefore prouided a nauie of ſhips to haue tranſported him ouer into Scotland; ſo that all things were redie for his iournie. But the Engliſhmen were redie on the ſea vnder the conduct of ſir William Fitz Williams to ſtop his paſſage if he had ſet forward, wherefore he cauſed his ſhips to be brought into Breſt hauen, and bruted it abroad, that he would not go into Scotland that yeare.

The caſtell of Ferniherſt woon by the lord Dacres.

The king of England being certified that the duke meant not to depart out of France of all that yeare, about the middeſt of September, commanded that his ſhips ſhould be laid vp in hauens till the next ſpring. The duke of Albanie being thereof aduertiſed, boldie then tooke his ſhips, and ſailed into Scotland with all conuenient ſpeed, as in the Scotiſh hiſtorie ye maie read more at large. Shortlie after his arriuall there, he wrought ſo with the Scots, that an armie was leauied, with the which he approched to the borders of England, & lodged at Cawdeſtreame, readie to enter into England. The king of England hauing aduertiſement giuen to him from time to time of the proceedings of his aduerſaries, with all diligence cauſed to be aſſembled the people of the North parts beyond Trent, in ſuch numbers that there were three thouſand gentlemen bearing coats of armes with their powers and ſtrength, which were all commanded to repaire to the erle of Surrie with ſpeed. The noble marqueſſe Dorſet was appointed with ſix thouſand men to keepe Berwike, leaſt the Scots ſhould laie ſiege thereto.

See the hiſtorie of Scotland, pag. 309. & ſic deinceps.

Berwike cheeflie regarded.

The duke of Albanie hearing of the preparation which the earle of Surrie made againſt him, ſent to him an herald, promiſing him of his honour to giue him battell; and if he tooke him priſoner, he would put him to courteous ranſome, & his bodie to be ſafe. To whome the earle anſwered, that much he thanked the duke of his offer, promiſing him to abide battell if he durſt giue it; & that if the ſaid duke chanced to be taken by him or his, he would ſtrike off his head, and ſend it for a preſent to his maiſter the king of England, and bade him that he ſhould truſt to none other. At this anſwer the duke and the Scots tooke great deſpite. The earle of Surrie being at Alnewicke, there came to him the earles of Northumberland and Weſtmerland, the lords Clifford, Dacres, Lumleie, Ogle, & Darcie, with manie knights, eſquiers, gentlemen, and other ſouldiers and men of warre, to the number of fortie thouſand. And from the court there came the maiſter of the horſſe, ſir Nicholas Carew, ſir Francis Brian, ſir Edward Bainton, and others.

The laſt of October being ſaturdaie, in the night before the ſame daie, the duke of Albanie ſent two or three thouſand men ouer the water to beſiege the caſtell of Warke, which comming thither with their great ordinance, beat the caſtell verie ſore, and wan the vttermoſt ward called the Barnekins. On ſundaie and mondaie being the firſt and ſecond of Nouember, they continued their batterie, and then thinking that the place was aſſaultable, couragiouſlie ſet on the caſtell, and by ſtrength entered the ſecond ward. Sir William Liſle that was capteine of this caſtell, perceiuing the enimies to haue wonne the

The caſtell of Warke aſſaulted by the Scots.

falſe brales, and that nothing remained but onelie the inner ward or dungeon, incouraged his men to the beſt of his power, with words of great comfort and manhood, and therewith iſſued forth with thoſe few that he had left about him (for he had loſt manie at other aſſaults) and what with couragious ſhooting, and manfull fighting, the enimies were driuen out of the place, and of them were ſlaine, and namelie of thoſe Frenchmen which the duke had brought forth of France, to the number of thrée hundred, which laie there dead in fight when the earle of Surrie came thither, beſides ſuch as died of wounds, and were drowned.

The Scots & French driuen backe from warke caſtell.

Then the Scots and Frenchmen remoued their ordinance ouer the water in all haſt, and by that time that they were got ouer, the earle of Surrie was come with fiue thouſand horſſemen, and all his great armie followed. He was ſorie that his enimies were gone, and much praiſed ſir William Liſle for his valiancie. The earle would gladlie haue followed his enimies into their owne borders, but his commiſſion was onelie to defend the realme, and not to inuade Scotland; and therefore he ſtaid, not onelie vnto the great diſpleaſure of himſelfe, but alſo of manie a luſtie gentleman, that would gladlie haue ſéene further proofe of the Scotiſh mens manhood. Shortlie after, the quéene of Scots, mother to the king, ſent to hir brother the king of England, for an abſtinence of warre, vntill further communication might be had about the concluſion of ſome good agréement betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, which requeſt to hir was granted; and ſo the Engliſh armie brake vp, and the earle of Surrie returned to the court.

Edw. Hall in H.8. fol. Cxvj.
A preſent ſent by the emperour to the king.

¶ In this ſeaſon the emperour Charles ſent to the king of England two mules trapped in crimſin veluet curiouſlie embrodered, all the buckles, ſtirrops and all ſuch other garniſhings were ſiluer and gilt of maruellous cunning worke. He ſent alſo eleuen genets full goodlie to behold trapped with ruſſet veluet richlie wrought, and foure ſpeares, and two iauelins of ſtrange timber & worke richlie garniſhed, and fiue brace of greihounds: and to the quéene he ſent two mules with rich trappers, and high chaires after the Spaniſh faſhion. All theſe preſents were thankefullie receiued both of the king and quéene.]

Whileſt the earle of Surrie was in the marches of Scotland, and the duke of Suffolke in France (as before ye haue heard) the cardinall ſent out commiſſions in the moneth of October, that euerie man being worth fortie pounds, ſhould paie the whole ſubſidie before granted, out of hand, not tarrieng till the daies of paiment limited. This was called an anticipation, that is to meane, a thing taken before the time appointed, and was a new tearme not knowne before thoſe daies: but they paied ſwéetelie for their learning. ¶ In December were taken certeine traitors in Couentrie, one called Francis Philip, ſchoolemaiſter to the kings henchmen, and one Chriſtopher Pickering clearke of the larder, and one Anthonie Mainuile gentleman, which by the perſuaſion of the ſaid Francis Philip, intended to haue taken the kings treaſure of his ſubſidie, as the collectors of the ſame came towards London, and then to haue raiſed men and taken the caſtell of Kilingworth, and to haue arreared warre againſt the king. The ſaid Francis, Chriſtopher, and Anthonie, were hanged, drawne, and quartered at Tiborne the eleuenth of Februarie, and the other were ſent to Couentrie, and there executed.

An anticipation.

The archduke of Auſtrich made knight of the garter.

In this yeare the king ſent the lord Morleie, ſir William Huſie knight, & doctor Lée his almoner to don Ferdinando the archduke of Auſtrich, with the order of the garter, which in the towne of Nuremberge receiued the ſame, where all the princes of Germanie were then aſſembled at a diet or councell. In this meane while, diuerſe enterpriſes and feats of warre were practiſed and atchiued by them of the garriſons in the marches of Calis, and the Frenchmen of Bullogne, and the borders thereabouts: but the Frenchmen commonlie were put to the worſe. Amongeſt other exploits, it chanced that one Brereton a gentleman, and capteine of a number of the aduenturers, as he went about to ſpoile the towne of Waſt, was taken by the French horſemen, and ſold vnto the pezants of the countrie, the which vnmercifullie ſlue him and ſixtéene more that were taken with him, after that the men of warre had deliuered them, and were departed. But this murther was reuenged ſhortlie by other of the aduenturers, which comming vnto the ſame towne of Waſt, tooke thirtie eight priſoners of the inhabitants, & ſlue of them thirtie & ſix, & burned the towne.

Brereton capteine of the aduenturers taken & ſlaine.

1524
Bolton prior of S. Bartholomewes buildeth a houſe at Harow on the hill to auoid floods prognoſticated that yeare.

In this yeare thorough books of ephemerides, and prognoſtications, foreſhewing much hurt to come by waters & floods, many perſons vittelled themſelues and went to high grounds for feare of drowning: ſpeciallie one Bolton prior of ſaint Bartholomewes in Smithfield, builded him an houſe vpon Harow on the hill, onelie for feare of this floud, and thither he went and made prouiſion of all things neceſſarie for the ſpace of two moneths. This great raine and waters ſhould haue fallen in Februarie, but no ſuch thing happened, whereby the follie of men was ſhewed. The aſtronomers for their excuſe did ſaie, that in their computation they had miſcounted in their number an hundred yeares. A legat was ſent from the pope to the king to mooue him to peace: but the king declared to him the whole circumſtance of his title, for the which he made wars againſt the Frenchmen, and thereof deliuered notes to the ſaid legat, the which departed with the ſame backe to Rome in poſt. He had béene firſt with the French king, and with the emperour, but could not bring them to anie good conformitie, as his deſire was to haue doone; ſo that his trauell was without frute in maner, as it appeared.

Anno Reg. 16.
A legat from Rome to treat a peace betwéene king Henrie and the French king.

Manie enterpriſes, ſkirmiſhes, forreis, and other feats of warre were attempted and put in vre betwixt the Engliſhmen of Calis, Guiſnes, and other fortreſſes there in thoſe marches, and the Frenchmen of Bullogne, and other of the garriſons in the frontiers of Picardie, and ſtill ſir William Fitz Williams as then capteine of Guiſnes, ſir Robert Jerningham capteine of Newnam bridge, ſir John Wallop, and ſir John Gage were thoſe that did to the Frenchmen moſt damage. Alſo monſieur de Bées being capteine of Bullogne, did for his part what he could to defend the frontiers there, and to annoie his enimies. Yet one daie in Maie, ſir William Fitz Williams, and ſir Robert Jerningham, with ſeuen hundred men (accounting in that number the Kréekers) went to Bullogne, and there ſkirmiſhed with the Frenchmen, whileſt Chriſtopher Coo a capteine of foure Engliſh ſhips tooke land, and fought with them of baſe Bullogne on the one ſide, as the Kréekers aſſailed them on an other.

Chriſtopher Coo.

There was a ſharpe bickering, and in the end the Frenchmen were driuen backe, and diuerſe of them ſlaine & taken, ſpeciallie by the Kréekers, that wan the barriers of them, & ſo when the tide was turned, Chriſtopher Coo with his men withdrew to his ſhips, & the Kréekers returned to ſir William Fitz Williams, who ſtaid for them, and then gathering his men togither by ſound of a trumpet, ſent forth ſuch as might fetch the drifts of beaſts and cattell in the countrie néere adioining, & with the ſame returned backe in ſafetie. On the eight of Auguſt monſieur de Bées

The Kréekers good warriors.

accompanied with diuerſe French lords and men of war, to the number of eight hundred footmen, and as manie horſſemen, came verie earlie in a morning to a village called Bonnings, within the Engliſh pale, and leauing there thrée hundred horſſemen in ambuſh, road to Kalkewell, and there appointed to tarrie with other thrée hundred men, and the reſidue of the horſſemen and footmen with banner diſplaied went forth and forraied all the countrie.

Sir Robert Ierningham alſo with foure ſcore horſſemen iſſued forth of Calis, to vnderſtand the demeanor of the Frenchmen: but being not able to reſiſt the great number of the Frenchmen, he was chaſed, and ſaued himſelfe by flight. But this diſpleaſure was ſhortlie after reuenged by the ſaid Robert, the which comming to Marguiſon the twelfe of Auguſt with thrée hundred footmen, and thrée ſcore horſſemen, he ſkirmiſhed with the Frenchmen that ſtood at defenſe, chaſed them into the church, and fired them out of the ſame, ſo that the Frenchmen leapt out of the church to their deſtruction, for of thrée hundred there were ſaued but thrée ſcore aliue. On the one and twentith of Maie being Trinitie ſundaie, fiue hundred Scotiſhmen in the morning verie earlie, entred by ſeuerall fords into England, and laie couertlie by the high waies, in purpoſe to haue ſurpriſed ſuch market men as came to the faire that day kept at Berwike. They tooke diuerſe, but finallie being eſpied, the alarme roſe, and they were fought with right ſharplie, who defended themſelues with ſuch manhood in drawing backe to their aduantage, that if the yoong lord of Fulberie had not come to the ſuccours of the Engliſhmen, the Scots had gone awaie with their bootie. Notwithſtanding in the end they were glad to ſéeke refuge by flight, looſing 200 of their number, which were taken in the chaſe.

The Scots enter England and rob the market folks going to Berwike faire.

On the ſixt of Iulie next inſuing, ſir Iohn a Fenwike, Leonard Muſgraue, and baſtard Heron, with diuerſe other Engliſh capteins, hauing with them nine hundred men of war, entred the Mers, minding to fetch out of the ſame ſome bootie, and encountring with the Scots being in number two thouſand, after ſore and long fight, cauſed them to leaue their ground and to flie, ſo that in the chaſe were taken two hundred Scots, and manie ſlaine, & amongſt them were diuerſe gentlemen. But ſir Raſe a Fenwike, Leonard Muſgraue, and the baſtard Heron, with thirtie other Engliſhmen well horſſed, followed ſo farre in the chaſe, that they were paſt reſcues of their companie, whereof the Scots being aduiſed, ſuddenlie returned, and ſet on the Engliſhmen, which oppreſſed with the multitude of their enimies, were ſoone ouercome, and there was taken ſir Raſe a Fenwike, Leonard Muſgraue, and ſix other: and baſtard Heron, with ſeauen other were ſlaine. The reſidue by chance eſcaped. The other Engliſhmen with their 200 priſoners returned ſafelie into England.

The Scots put to flight and ſlaine.

On the ſeuenth of Iulie, the Engliſhmen fought with like fortune againſt the Scots that were entered England at the weſt marches. For in the beginning they put the Scots to the worſe, and tooke thrée hundred of them priſoners: but afterwards, bicauſe the Engliſhmen that had taken thoſe priſoners, withdrew out of the field with the ſame priſoners, the Scots perceiuing the number of the Engliſhmen to be diminiſhed, gaue a new onſet on the Engliſhmen, and them diſtreſſed. After this, the Scots ſued for a truce, and had it granted to indure till the feaſt of ſaint Andrew. This yeare the firſt of September was doctor Thomas Haniball maiſter of the rolles receiued into London with earles, and biſhops, and diuerſe other nobles and gentlemen, as ambaſſadors from pope Clement, which brought with him a roſe of gold for a token to the king. And on the daie of the natiuitie of our ladie, after a ſolemne maſſe ſong by the cardinall of Yorke, the ſaid preſent was deliuered to the king: which was a trée forged of fine gold, & wrought with branches, leaues, and floures reſembling roſes. This trée was ſet in a pot of gold which had thrée féet of antike faſhion. The pot was of meaſure halfe a pint, in the vppermoſt roſe was a faire ſaphire loupe perſed, the bigneſſe of an acorne, the trée was of heigth halfe an Engliſh yard, and a foot in bredth.

The popes ambaſſadour preſenteth the king with a golden roſe.

This yeare in Iulie the lord Archembald Douglas earle of Angus, which had maried the quéene of Scots ſiſter to the king of England, eſcaped out of France (where he had remained for a ſeaſon, in maner as a baniſhed man) and came into England to the king, as then being at Gréenewich, and was of him courteouſlie receiued. Sir Anthonie Fitz Herbert one of the Iuſtices of the common plées, ſir Raſe Egerton knight, and doctor Denton deane of Lichfield, being ſent in the begining of this yeare into Ireland as commiſſioners, behaued themſelnes ſo ſagelie, that they reformed diuers wrongs, brought ſundrie of the wild Iriſh by faire means vnto obedience, and made (by the kings authoritie) the earle of Kildare deputie of the land; before whome the great Onele bare the ſword. And the lord Piers Butler earle of Ormond, which before was deputie, was now made high treaſurer of Ireland. In September the ſaid commiſſioners returned.

Commiſſioners ſent into Ireland to reforme the countrie.

The earle of Kildare made deputie of Ireland.

During all this ſeaſon, there were dailie attempts made and practiſed by the Engliſhmen in the lowe countries, namelie the Engliſh horſſemen; & the aduenturers reſted not, but dailie made inuaſions vpon the French confines. But the aduenturers about the beginning of winter made an enterpriſe to fetch ſome bootie from a village lieng towards Mutrell. They were not fullie two hundred men, and of thoſe there were fiue and twentie horſſemen. The Frenchmen by chance the ſame time were abroad vnder the conduct of the earle of Dammartine, which was going to S. Omers with fiftéene hundred horſſemen, and eight hundred footmen, and perceiuing where the aduenturers were comming, made towards them, and after long & cruell fight ouercame them, and ſlue moſt part of them, for that in defending themſelues moſt ſtoutlie, they had ſlaine and wounded a great number of the Frenchmen yer they could be ouercome, kéeping themſelues cloſe togither, and might not be broken ſo long as they had anie arrowes to ſhoot. This was the end of the aduenturers otherwiſe called Kréekers, being as hardie men as euer ſerued prince.

The end of the Kréekers.

In December there came to London diuerſe ambaſſadors out of Scotland, about a peace to be had, and a marriage concluded betwéene the king of Scots, and the ladie Marie daughter to the king of England, as in the Scotiſh hiſtorie yée ſhall find more at large expreſſed. Before the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe, the lord Leonard Graie, and the lord Iohn Graie, brethren to the marqueſſe Dorſet, ſir George Cobham, ſonne to the lord Cobham, William Carie, ſir Iohn Dudleie, Thomas Wiat, Francis Pointz, Francis Sidneie, ſir Anthonie Browne, ſir Edward Seimor, Oliuer Manners, Perciuall Hart, Sebaſtian Nudigate, and Thomas Calen, eſquiers of the kings houſhold, enterpriſed a chalenge of feats of armes againſt the feaſt of Chriſtmas, which was proclaimed by Winſore the herald, and performed at the time appointed after the beſt maner, both at tilt, tourneie, barriers, and aſſault of a caſtell erected for that purpoſe in the tiltyard at Gréenewich, where the king held a roiall Chriſtmaſſe that yeare, with great mirth and princelie paſtime.

Sée the hiſtorie of Scotland, pag. 312.

Sée theſe triumphs in Edw. Hall pag. Cxxxiij.

1525

In the moneth of Ianuarie, the cardinall by his

The friers obſeruants impugne the cardinals authoritie.

power Legantine, would haue viſited the friers obſeruants, but they in no wiſe would thereto condeſcend, wherefore nineteene of the ſame religion were accurſſed at Paules croſſe, by one of their owne religion, called frier Forreſt. Iohn Iokin Steward of houſhold to the French kings mother, this yeere whileſt the French king was in Italie, came into England, & was receiued in ſecret maner into the houſe of one doctor Larke, a prebendarie of S. Stephans, and oftentimes talked with the cardinall about the affaires betwixt the kings of England and France, motioning waies for a peace to be concluded. When this was knowne abroad, as at the length it was, monſieur de Prate the emperours ambaſſador miſliked ſuch couert dooings, and ſore grudged thereat. The foure and twentith of Ianuarie, the preſident of Rone called monſieur Brinion, came to London as ambaſſador from the French king, and was lodged with the ſaid Iohn Iokin.

Ambaſſadors from the emperour and their requeſts.

On ſundaie the fift of March were receiued into London monſieur de Beuer lord of Campher, admerall of Flanders, and maiſter Iohn de la Coſe, preſident of Malins, & maiſter Iohn de la Gache, as ambaſſadours from the ladie Margaret in the name of the emperour. Theſe ambaſſadors required three things in their ſuit. Firſt they demanded the ladie Marie the kings onelie daughter to be deliuered out of hand, and ſhe to be named empreſſe, and to take poſſeſſion of all the lowe countries, and to be gouernour of the ſame. Alſo that all ſuch ſums of monie as the king ſhould giue with hir in mariage for a dower to be made to hir, ſhould be paid incontinentlie. Thirdlie, that the king of England himſelfe ſhould paſſe the ſea, and make warre in France the next ſummer. The two firſt demands were not agreed to for certeine cauſes, and as to this laſt, the king ſaid he would take aduiſement.

Newes of the ſiege of Pauia & the taking of the French king priſoner.

On thurſdaie the ninth of March, at ſeauen of the clocke in the morning, there came a gentleman in poſt from the ladie Margaret gouerneſſe of Flanders, which brought letters conteining how that the foure and twentith of Februarie, the ſiege of Pauia (where the French king had lien long) was raiſed by force of battell, and the French king himſelfe taken priſoner. The ſame day the preſident of Rone, & Iohn Iokin were going to the court (for they had not yet ſpoken with the king) and in Holburne in their waie heard theſe tidings, wherupon they returned to their lodging right ſorowfull, and within ſhort ſpace after returned to the regent of France. It was thought the king would haue agreed with the French king, if this chance had not hapned, for all the people of England grudged againſt Flanders, for the euill demeanour of the Flemings in time of the warre. Alſo the king was diſpleaſed with them for inhancing his coine there, which cauſed much monie to be conueied out of this realme dailie ouer into that countrie. Bounfires and great triumph was made in London for the taking of the French king, on ſaturdaie the eleuenth of March; and on the morow after being ſundaie the twelfe of March, the king came to Paules, and there heard a ſolemne maſſe, and after the ſame was ended, the queere ſong *te Deum*, and the minſtrels plaid on euerie ſide.

Abr.Fl. ex Guic.pag. 902, & ſic deinceps.

The battell of Pauia, wherein the French king is taken priſoner.

¶ Here it is conuenient to adde the battell of Pauia, wherein the French king was taken priſoner, moſt notablie diſcourſed by Guicciardine, in the fifteenth booke of his hiſtorie: the principall matter wherof, to make the report of Pauia and the French king more perſpicuous, it were good to inſerre. On the night (ſaith mine author) before the fiue and twentith of Februarie, a daie dedicated by the chriſtians to the apoſtle ſaint Matthew, and alſo the daie of the natiuitie of the emperour, the imperialles determined to march to Mirabell, where laie incamped certeine companies of horſſemen and footmen. In this march they ſtood vpon this intention, that if the French men mooued, then they had ſet at libertie the ſiege of Pauia: and if they mooued not, then to aduenture the fortune of the battell. Therefore the better to aduance this determination, all the beginning of the night they gaue manie alarmes, the more to keepe trauelled and wearie the French men, making ſemblance as though they would charge them on that ſide towards Paw, Theſin, and ſaint Lazarus.

About midnight euerie ſouldior, by the commandement of the capteins, put on a white caſſakin ouer his armor, to be knowne from the Frenchmen. They were caſt into two ſquadrons of horſſemen, & foure of footmen. In the firſt were ſix thouſand footmen equallie compounded of lanceknights, Spaniards, and Italians: this ſquadron was led by the marqueſſe of Guaſt: the ſecond ſtood onelie vpon certeine bands of Spaniſh footmen vnder the charge of the marqueſſe of Piſquairo: the third and fourth ſquadron were of lanceknights, commanded by the viceroy and the duke of Burbon. They arriued at the parke walles certeine houres before daie, and by the working of their maſons, and readie willes of their ſouldiers, they caſt downe to the earth three ſcore fadome of wall: by which breach, being entred within the parke, the firſt ſquadron drew towards Mirabell, and the reſidue of the armie tooke the waie to the campe.

Whie the French king deſired to fight in plaine and open field.

As ſoone as the king vnderſtood that they were entred into the parke, thinking they would draw to Mirabell, he iſſued out of his lodging to fight in plaine and open field, deſiring to draw the battell rather to that place than to anie other, for the aduantages which it gaue to the horſſemen: he commanded to turne the artilleries toward the enimies, which beating them in flanke, brought great damage to the reregard. But in the meane while, the battell of the imperialles gaue a furious charge vpon the kings ſquadron, which ordinarilie was the battell: but as the Spaniards went, it was the reregard. The king fought valiantlie, & abode with great courage the violence of his enimies, who with the furie of their harquebuziers forced his men to giue ground, till the reſcue of the Switzers came, when the Spaniards were repelled, as well by them as by the horſſemen that charged them in flanke. But the viceroy being called in by the marqueſſe of Piſquairo, who broght to the fight his lanceknights, they were eaſilie broken, not without great ſlaughter of the Switzers, who that daie did nothing anſwer the opinion of valor which aforetimes they had wont ſo honorablie to expreſſe in battelles.

The maner how the French king was vanquiſhed and taken priſoner.

The king kept alwaies the middle of the battell, being inuironed with a great gard of men at armes. And albeit he did what he could to conteine and confirme his people: yet after he had fought long with his owne hands, his horſſe being ſlaine vnder him, him ſelfe lightlie hurt in the face and in the hand, he was ſtricken downe to the earth, and taken priſoner by fiue ſouldiers that knew not what he was. In which miſfortune the viceroy preſſing into the throng his maieſtie diſcloſed him ſelfe to him, who with great reuerence kiſſed his hand, and receiued him priſoner in the emperours name. At the ſame time the marqueſſe of Guaſt with the firſt ſquadron had defeated the horſſemen that were at Mirabell. And Anthonie de Leua, who (as was ſaid) had to that end caſt downe to the earth ſo great a quantitie and ſpace of wall, as an hundred and fiftie horſſemen might ſallie forth in front, iſſued out of Pauia, & ſo charged the French behind, that he put them wholie to flight. And in that feare they were almoſt all ſtripped and truſſed, except the reregard of the horſemen, which being led by monſieur de Alanſon from the beginning of the battell, retired almoſt whole.

The number of the French that were ſlaine in this battell.

It is holden for certeine, that in this battell were ſlaine more than eight thouſand men of the French campe, part by ſword, and part of bodies drowned in the riuer of Theſin, ſéeking their ſafetie by ſwimming. Of this generall number were about twentie of the moſt noble and apparant lords of France, as the admerall, the lord Iames Chebanes, the lord Paliſſa, and Trimouille, the maſter of the horſſe, monſieur de Aubignie, monſieur de Boiſſie, and monſieur de la Eſcud, who being taken gréeuouſlie wounded by his enimies, gaue to them his life in ſtéed of a ranſome. The priſoners that were taken were the king of Nauarre, the baſtard of Sauoie, the lord Montmerancie, Saint Paule, Brion, Auall, monſieur de Chandion, monſieur de Imbercourt, Galeas Viſconte, Frederike Boſſolo, Barnabie Viſconte, Guidanes, with manie gentlemen, and almoſt all the capteins that eſcaped the ſlaughter of the ſword. There was alſo taken priſoner Ierome Leandro biſhop of Brunduſo the popes nuntio; but by commandement of the viceroy, he was eftſoones ſet at libertie: as alſo monſieur Saint Paule and Frederike Boſſolo committed to the caſtell of Pauia, brake priſon a little after, by the corruption of the Spaniards that had them in charge. Of the imperialles ſide the vniuerſall ſlaughter excéeded not ſeauen hundred bodies; and not one capteine of name except Ferrand Caſtriot marqueſſe of Angeo, the marqueſſe of Piſquairo was wounded in two places, & Anthonie de Leua lightlie hurt in the leg. The preie and ſpoile of this battell was ſo great, as there had not béene ſéene in Italie more rich ſouldiors.

The number of the ſlaine on the imperialles ſide.

Of ſo great an armie there was preſerned but the reregard of foure hundred lances, commanded by monſieur de Alanſon, they neuer came to the fight, neuer ſuffered charge, nor neuer were followed, but leauing behind them their baggage, they retired whole to Piemont, their feare making them more haſtie to flie, than carefull of their honor. And as one calamitie followeth another, ſo the loſſe of the battell was no ſooner reapported at Millaine, than Theodor Triuulce, who laie there in garriſon with foure hundred lances, departed and tooke his waie to Muſocquo, all the ſouldiors folowing him by troops: inſomuch as the ſame daie that the king loſt the battell, all the dutchie of Millaine was made frée from the iuriſdiction of the French. The daie after the victorie, the king was led priſoner to the rocke of Piſqueton, for that the duke of Millaine, in regard of his proper ſuretie, conſented hardlie that the perſon of the king ſhould be kept within the caſtell of Millaine: he was garded with great gelouſie and watch; but in all other things (except his libertie) he was vſed and honored as apperteined to the ſtate and maieſtie of a king.

The French king led priſoner to the rocke of Piſqueton.

Guic. pag. 904.

Now (ſaith mine author, ſpeaking to the readers of his hiſtorie) you haue ſéene ſet downe the ouerthrow of the French armie in the battell of Pauia: a wretched ſucceſſe, where was ſo great expectation of victorie. You haue ſéene a mightie king deliuered vp priſoner into the hands of him, with whom he contended for glorie and emperie: a ſpectacle moſt tragicall amongſt all the calamities that fortune bringeth vpon mans mortalitie. You haue ſéene the moſt part of the nobilitie, and honorable capteins of France, ſlaine in the ſeruice and preſence of their king: a matter that made more lamentable his owne condition and aduerſitie. You haue ſéene the reſidue of that armie, ſo vniuerſallie perplexed with feare and confuſion, that the ſame thing that ſhould haue reteined them in ſo great affliction, made them the leſſe aſſured, and further off from confidence.

Guic. pag. 915. The moderation and temperance of the emperour vpon the newes of the victorie.

When word came to the emperour of all the former accidents, the eies of euerie man were ſet to behold with what propertie of affection he would receiue his gladſome news, and to what ends his thoughts were diſpoſed: who ſo farre as exterior demonſtrations made ſhew, expreſſed great tokens of a mind much moderated, and verie apt to reſiſt eaſilie the proſperitie of fortune: yea the ſignes and inclinations appéering ſo much the more incredible, by how much he was a prince mightie & yong, and as yet had neuer taſted but of felicitie. For after he was informed truelie of ſo great a victorie, whereof he had the reapport the tenth of March, togither with letters of the French kings owne hand, written rather in the ſpirit and condition of a priſoner, than with the courage of a king, he went forthwith to the church to make his holie oblations to God with manie ſolemnities. And the morning folowing he receiued with ſignes of right great deuotion the ſacrament of the euchariſt, and ſo went in proceſſion to our ladies church out of Madrill, where was his court at that time.

His temperance and moderation was aboue the expectation of his eſtate, and farre contrarie to the courſe of the time in matters of that nature: for he would not ſuffer anie bels to be roong, nor bounfires to be made, nor anie other manner of publike demonſtrations, ſuch as are vſed for glorie or gladneſſe, alledging with a mind more vertuous than inſolent, that ſuch propertie of feaſting and reioiſing was due to victories obteined againſt infidels, but ought to haue no ſhew where one chriſtian ouercame another. Neither were the actions and geſtures of his perſon and ſpeaches differing from ſo great a temperance and continencie of mind, which he well expreſſed in the anſwers he made to the congratulations of the ambaſſadours and great men that were about him: to whome he ſaid he was not glad of the accident according to the glorious operation of fleſh and bloud, but his reioiſing was in that God had ſo manfeſtlie aided him: which he interpreted to be an aſſured ſigne that he ſtood in his grace and fauour, though not through his owne merit, yet by his celeſtiall election. The French king being in the cuſtodie of the viceroy of Naples (who much comforted him, and praiſed his valiantneſſe, and praied him to be content, for he ſhoud haue a gentle end) deſired to write to his mother, which was to him granted. His verie words were theſe.

A moſt excellent conceipt and ſaieng of the emperour.

Ed. Hall in H.8. fol. Cxxxvj.

The French kings letter to his mother *the regent of France.*

This he wrote being the emperors priſoner.

TO aduertiſe you of my infortunat chance: nothing is left but the honour and the life that is ſaued. And ſéeing ſome other news ſhall recomfort you, I haue deſired to write to you this letter, the which liberallie hath béene granted to me: beſéeching you to regard the extremitie of your ſelfe, in inſuing your accuſtomed wiſedome. For I hope that at length God will not forget me, to you recommending your little infants and mine, ſupplieng you to giue ſafe conduct, to paſſe and returne from Spaine, to this bearer that goeth toward the emperor, to know in what wiſe I ſhall be intreated. And thus right humbly to your good grace I haue me recommended. This ſubſcri-

bed by your humble and obedient ſonne Francis.

Guic.pag. 625. The manifold paſſions or perplexities of the people in generall.

In this eſtate of aduerſitie the people ſet before their eies all that feare and deſpaire could imagine: they doubted leaſt ſo great a calamitie were not the beginning of a further ruine & ſubuerſion: they ſaw their king priſoner, and with him either taken or ſlaine in the battell the chiefteins of the kingdome, which in the imagination of their ſorrowes they held a loſſe irreparable: they beheld their capteins diſcomfited, and their ſouldiers diſcouraged: a calamitie which ſtopped in them all hope to be readdreſſed or reaſſured: they ſaw the realme made naked of monie and treaſure, and inuironed with moſt mightie enimies: an affliction which moſt of all caried their thoughts into the laſt cogitation of deſperat ruine: for the king of England, notwithſtanding that he had holden manie parlees and treaties, and ſhewed in manie things a variation of mind, yet not manie daies before the battell, he had cut off all the negociations which he had interteined with the king, and had publiſhed that he would deſcend into France, if the things of Italie tooke anie good ſucceſſe.

So that the Frenchmen feared leaſt in ſo great an opportunitie, the emperour and he would not leuie warre againſt France, either for that there was no other head or gouernour than a woman, and the little children of the king, of whom the eldeſt had not yet run eight yeares accompliſhed: or elſe bicauſe the enimies had with them the duke of Burbon, for his owne particular a puiſſant prince, and for his authoritie in the realme of France verie popular and ſtrong in opinion, a mightie inſtrument to ſtirre vp moſt dangerous emotions. Beſides, the ladie regent, as well for the loue ſhe bare to the king, as for the dangers of the realme was not without hir paſſions both proper and particular: for being full of ambition, and moſt greedie of the gouernment, ſhee feared that if the kings deliuerie drew any long tract of time, or if anie new difficultie hapned in France, ſhe ſhould be conſtreined to yeeld vp the adminiſtration of the crowne to ſuch as ſhould be delegate and aſſigned by the voices of the kingdome. Neuertheleſſe amid ſo manie aſtoniſhments and confuſions, ſhe drew hir ſpirits to hir, and by hir example were recomforted the nobles that were of counſell with hir, who tooke ſpeedie order to man the frontiers of the realme, and with diligence to leuie a good prouiſion of monie.

The ladie regent hir ſelfe was partaker of theſe griefs and feares.

The ladie regent, in whoſe name all expeditions and diſpatches went out, wrote to the emperour letters full of humilitie and compaſſion, wherin ſhe forgat not by degrees vehement and inducing to ſolicit a negociation of accord: by vertue whereof, hauing a little after deliuered don Hugo de Moncado, ſhee ſent him to the emperour, to offer him that hir ſonne ſhould renounce and diſclaime from all rights of the kingdome of Naples, and the eſtate of Millan, with contentment to refer to the cenſure and arbitration of the law, the titles and rights of Burgundie, which if it apperteined to the emperour, he ſhould acknowledge it for the dowrie of his ſiſter: that he ſhould render to monſieur Burbon his eſtate togither with his mouables and goods which were of great valour, and alſo the fruits and reuenues which had beene leuied by the commiſſioners deputed out of the regall chamber: that he ſhould giue to him his ſiſter in mariage, and deliuer vp to him Prouence, if iudgement of the intereſt and right were made of his ſide.

The ladie regents offer to the emperor for the deliuerie of hir ſonne

And for the more facilitie and ſpeedie paſſage of this negociation, rather than for anie deſire ſhe had to nouriſh hir inclination to the warre, ſhe diſpatched immediatlie ambaſſadours into Italie, to recommend to the pope and the Venetians the ſafetie of hir ſonne. To whome ſhe offered, that if for their proper ſecuritie they would contract with hir, and raiſe armes againſt the emperour, ſhe would for hir particular aduance fiue hundred lances, togither with a great contribution of monie. But amid theſe trauels and aſtoniſhments, the principall deſire as well of hir, as of the whole realme of France, was, to appeaſe and aſſure the mind of the king of England, iudging trulie that if they could reduce him to amitie and reconcilement, the crowne of France ſhould remaine without quarrell or moleſtation. Where, if he on the one ſide, and the emperour on the other, ſhould riſe in one ioint force, hauing concurrent with them the perſon of the duke of Burbon, and manie other opportunities and occaſions, it could not be but all things would be full of difficulties and dangers.

The regent ſtandeth moſt in feare of the king of Englands diſpleaſure.

Of this the ladie regent began to diſcerne manie tokens and apparances of good hope: for notwithſtanding the king of England immediatlie after the firſt reaports of the victorie, had not onelie expreſſed great tokens of gladneſſe and reioiſing, but alſo publiſhed that he would in perſon paſſe into France: and withall had ſent ambaſſadours to the emperour to ſolicit and treat of the mouing of warre iointlie togither: yet proceeding in deed with more mildneſſe than was expected of ſo furious ſhewes and tokens, he diſpatched a meſſenger to the ladie regent, to ſend to him an expreſſe ambaſſadour: which accordinglie was accompliſhed, and that with fulneſſe of authoritie and commiſſion, ſuch as brought with it alſo all ſorts of ſubmiſſions & implorations which ſhe thought apt to reduce to appeaſement the mind of that king ſo highlie diſpleaſed. He repoſed himſelfe altogither vpon the will and counſell of the cardinall of Yorke, who ſeemed to reſtreine the king and his thoughts to this principall end, that bearing ſuch a hand vpon the controuerſies and quarrels that ran betweene other princes, all the world might acknowledge to depend vpon him and his authoritie the reſolution and expectation of all affaires.

Note how forren chroniclers could report of cardinall Wolſie.

And for this cauſe he offered to the emperour at the ſame time to deſcend into France with a puiſſant armie, both to giue perfection vnto the aliance concluded betweene them before; and alſo to remoue all ſcruple and gelouſie, he offered preſentlie to conſigne vnto him his daughter, who was not as yet in an age and diſpoſition able for mariage. But in theſe matters were very great difficulties, partlie depending vpon himſelfe, and partlie deriuing from the emperour, who now ſhewed nothing of that readineſſe to contract with him which he had vſed before: for the king of England demanded almoſt all the rewards of the victorie, as Normandie, Guien, and Gaſcoigne, with the title of king of France. And that the emperour, notwithſtanding the inequalitie of the conditions ſhould paſſe likewiſe into France, and communicate equallie in the expenſes and dangers. The inequalitie of theſe demands troubled not a little the emperour, to whome they were by ſo much the more grieuous, by how much he remembred that in the yeares next before, he had alwaies deferred to make warre euen in the greateſt dangers of the French king. So that he perſuaded himſelfe that he ſhould not be able to make anie foundation vpon that confederation.

And ſtanding in a ſtate no leſſe impoueriſhed for monie and treaſure, than made wearie with labours and perils, he hoped to draw more commodities from the French king by the meane of peace, than by the violence of armes and warres, ſpeciallie ioining with the king of England. Beſides, he made not that accompt which he was woont to doo of the mariage of his daughter, both for hir minoritie in age,

The emperours hope to recouer more profit by the French king in peace than warres.

age, and alſo for the dowrie for the which he ſhould ſtand accomptable for ſo much as the emperour had receiued by waie of loane of the king of England: he ſeemed by manie tokens in nature to nouriſh a wonderfull deſire to haue children, and by the neceſſitie of his condition he was caried with great couetouſneſſe of monie: vpon which two reaſons he tooke a great deſire to marie the ſiſter of the houſe of Portugall, which was both in an age able for mariage, and with whome he hoped to receiue a plentifull portion in gold and treaſure, beſides the liberalities of his owne people offered by waie of beneuolence in caſe the mariage went forward: ſuch was their deſire to haue a queene of the ſame nation and language, and of hope to procreat children.

For theſe cauſes the negociation became euerie daie more hard and deſperat betweene both thoſe princes, wherein was alſo concurrent the ordinarie inclination of the cardinall of Yorke towards the French king, togither with the open complaints he made of the emperour, as well for the intereſts and reſpects of his king, as for the ſmall reputation the emperour began to hold of him. He conſidered that afore the battell of Pauia, the emperour neuer ſent letters vnto him which were not written with his owne hand, and ſubſcribed, your ſonne and coſine Charles: but after the battell, he vſed the ſeruice of ſecretaries in all the letters he wrote to him, inſerting nothing of his owne hand but the ſubſcription, not with titles of ſo great reuerence and ſubmiſſion, but onelie with this bare word Charles. In this alteration of affection in the emperour, the king of England tooke occaſion to receiue with gratious words and demonſtrations, the ambaſſadour ſent by the ladie regent, to whome he gaue comfort to hope well in things to come. And a little afterward, eſtranging his mind wholie from the affaires which were in negociation betweene him and the emperour, he made a confederation with the ladie regent, contracting in the name of hir ſonne, wherein he would haue inſerted this expreſſe condition, that for the kings ranſome and deliuerie, ſhould not be deliuered to the emperour anie thing that at that time ſhould be vnder the power or poſſeſſion of the crowne of France.

What mooued the king of England gratiouſlie to receiue the ladie regents ambaſſadour.

Guic. pag. 930. The perſon of the French king led priſoner into Spaine.

Shortlie after, the viceroy & the other capteins imperiall were induced vpon vrgent reaſons to tranſport the perſon of the French king into a ſurer hold, than where preſentlie he was kept, iudging that for the ill diſpoſition of others, they could not without perill keepe him garded in the duchie of Millan: in which feare ioined to their continuall deſire ſo to doo, they reſolued to conueie him to Genes, and from thenſe by ſea to Naples, where his lodging was prepared within the new caſtell. This determination brought no little greefe to the king, who from the beginning of his captiuitie, had vehementlie deſired to be carried into Spaine: perhaps he had opinion (meaſuring happilie an other man by his owne nature, or elſe running with the common errour of mortall men being eaſilie beguiled in things they deſire) that if once he were brought to the preſence of the emperour, he doubted not of ſome eaſie paſſage for his libertie, either through the emperours benignitie, or by the conditions he meant to offer. The viceroy was of the ſame deſire for the augmentation of his owne glorie.

Monſieur Montmerancie ſent to the ladie regent.

But being reteined for feare of the French armie by ſea, they diſpatched by common conſent monſieur Montmerancie to the ladie regent: who granted to him ſix light gallies of thoſe that laie in the port of Marſeilles vpon promiſe to haue them reſtored as ſoone as the king was arriued in Spaine. With theſe gallies, he returned to Portofino, where the kings perſon was alredie arriued, and ioining them to ſixteene gallies of the emperour, which was the nauie appointed at firſt to conduct him to Naples, he reduced them all into one fleet, and armed them all with footmen of the Spaniſh. The capteins imperials and the duke of Burbon were perſuaded, that the kings perſon ſhould be led to Naples: but of the contrarie, ſetting vp ſaile the ſeuenth of Iune, they tooke ſuch courſe, that the eight daie they arriued with a happie voiage at Roſa a hauen of Catalognia: their comming brought no ſmall ioy to the emperour, who vntill that daie had vnderſtood nothing at all of that reſolution.

The emperor commandeth that the French king ſhould be receiued with honour in all places where he ſhould paſſe.

Now as ſoone as he was made aſſured of the kings being there, he diſpatched commandements vnto all places where he ſhould paſſe, to receiue him with great honours: onelie till it ſhould be otherwiſe determined, he gaue order to keepe him in the caſtell of Sciatiua neere to Valence, a caſtell ancientlie vſed by the kings of Aragon for the garding of great perſonages, and wherein had beene kept priſoner for manie yeares the duke of Calabria. But the deliberation to keepe him in that place, ſeeming farre too rigorous to the viceroy, and nothing agreeable to the promiſes he had made to the king in Italie, he wonne ſo much of the emperour, that till he had taken an other counſell, the kings perſon might remaine neere Valence in a place apt for hunting and other delights of the field. There he left him lodged with ſufficient gard vnder the charge of capteine Alarcon, in whoſe cuſtodie he had alwaies remained ſince his vnfortunate daie.

From thence the viceroy, togither with Montmerancie, went to the emperour to make reapport of the ſtate of Italie, and the diſcourſe of things which till that daie had beene debated with the king, with whome he perſuaded the emperour with manie reaſons to draw to accord, for that he could not haue a faithfull amitie and coniunction with the Italians. The emperour after he had heard the viceroy and Montmerancie, determined to conueie the king into Caſtillo to the caſtell of Madrill, a place farre remooued from the ſea and the confines of France, where being honored with ceremonies & reuerences agreeable to ſo great a prince, he ſhould neuertheleſſe be kept vnder carefull and ſtrait gard, with libertie to take the aire abroad certeine times of the daie, mounted onelie vpon a mule. The emperour could neuer be brought to admit the king to his preſence, if firſt the accord were not either eſtabliſhed, or at leaſt in an aſſured hope of reſolution.

And to the end there might be interpoſed in the negociation a perſonage honorable, & almoſt equall with the king, Montmerancie was ſent in great diligence into France, to bring the ducheſſe of Alanſon the kings ſiſter and a widow, with fulneſſe of authoritie to debate and contract. And to the end this negociation of accord were not hindered by new difficulties, there was made a little afterwards a truce vntill the end of December, betweene the emperour and ſuch as adminiſtred the gouernment of France. Moreouer the emperour gaue order that one part of thoſe gallies which were come with the viceroy, ſhould returne into Italie to bring the duke of Burbon into Spaine, without whoſe preſence and priuitie he gaue out that he would make no conuention: and yet the gallies that for want of monie, and other impediments, were prepared but with ſlow diligence.

A truce for a time betweene the emperour and the gouernors of France.

The French king extremelie ſicke in the caſtell of Madrill. Guic. pag. 937.

[Whiles the caſe of the French king was in demand, but not yet determined, by means of ſundrie ouerthwarts that ouerthrew the foundation of euerie purpoſe tending to his deliuerance; it fortuned that the French king falling ſicke in the caſtell of Madrill, and hauing in vaine deſired the preſence of the emperour, was caried by his diſcontentment and melancholie into ſuch extremitie and danger of his life, that the phyſicians appointed for his cure, told the emperour that they ſtood deſperate of his recouerie, if himſelfe in perſon came not to comfort him with ſome hope of his deliuerie. The emperour obeieng more compaſſion than the reaſon of things, was not curious to condeſcend to performe ſo good an office, and as he prepared to viſit him accordinglie, his high chancellor ſeeking to turne him from the iorneie, told him with manie ſtrong reaſons, that he could not go to him in honour, but with intention to deliuer him preſentlie and without anie couenant: otherwiſe as it would be a humanitie not roiall but mercenarie, ſo it would diſcloſe a deſire to recouer him, not mooued of charitie, but puſhed on by his proper intereſt, as not to loſe by his death the occaſion of the profit hoped for by the victorie.

The emperor viſiteth the French king in durance.

This counſell aſſuredlie was graue and honourable touching the man that gaue it, and no leſſe worthie to be followed by ſo great a prince as the emperour: and yet being more caried by the reaſons of others, he tooke poſt to go to him. But for the danger of the king being almoſt at the extremitie, the viſitation was ſhort, and yet for the time accompanied with gratious words ful of hope that he would deliuer him immediatlie vpon his returning to health: in ſo much that whether it was by the comfort that he breathed into him (in the ſickneſſe of captiuitie the promiſe of libertie exceedeth all medicines) or by the benefit of his youth, which with the fauour of nature was ſtronger than the maladie, he began after this viſitation to reſume ſo good diſpoſition, that within few daies he was out of danger, notwithſtanding he could not recouer his former health but with verie ſlowe time.

The ladie Alanſon treateth with the emperour for the kings deliuerie.

And now neither the difficulties that were ſhewed on the emperours ſide, nor the hopes which were giuen by the Italians, nor anie other nature of impediments whatſoeuer, could ſtaie the voiage of the ladie Alanſon into Spaine. For that as nothing was more hard or heauie to the Frenchmen than to leaue off the practiſes and negociations of accord begun with thoſe that had power to reſtore their king: ſo nothing was more eaſie to the emperour, than feeding the French with hopes, to draw their minds from taking armes; and by that meane ſo to keepe the Italians in ſuſpenſe, as not to dare to enter into new deliberations. And in that cunning maner, ſometimes vſing delaies, and ſometimes preſſing forward the affaires, he thought to keepe the minds of all men confuſed and intangled. The ladie Alanſon was receiued by the emperour with verie gratious demonſtrations and hopes: but the effects fell out both hard and heauie. For when ſhe miniſtred ſpeech to him for the mariage of his ſiſter the widowe with the king: he made anſwer; that it was a matter which could not be doone without the conſent of the duke of Burbon.

The French king is carefull ouer the crowne of France.

The other particularities were debated by deputies of both parts, wherein, as the emperour inſiſted obſtinatlie to haue the dutchie of Burgognie reſtored as apperteining to him: ſo the French refuſed to conſent, vnleſſe he would accept it for dowrie; or elſe to referre it to the ſentence of the law and iuſtice to decide the true title. And albeit they could eaſilie haue condeſcended to the reſidue, yet for that they were ſo farre off for the demand of Burgognie, the ladie Alanſon returned at laſt into France, without winning anie other grace, than a fauour to ſee the king hir brother; who growing more and more into diſtruſt of his deliuerie, deſired hir at hir departing to admoniſh his mother, and all the councell from him, to looke carefullie to the profit of the crowne of France, without hauing anie conſideration of him, as if he liued not. But notwithſtanding the departure of the ladie Alanſon, the ſollicitations for the kings deliuerie did not ceaſſe, for that there remained behind the preſident of Paris, and the biſhops of Ambrun and Tarbe, who had till then followed the negociation but with verie little hope, ſith the emperour would not harken to anie condition, if firſt Burgognie were not rendred, which the king would not be brought to reſtore, but in a laſt neceſſitie.

Guic.961, & deinceps. The treatie of Madrill touching the deliuerie of the French king.

After this infortunate accident of the French king inſued manie troubleſome and intricate matters, among which the caſe of the French king was deſcanted vpon, and a ſollicitation of peace reſolued, which conteined theſe couenants following. That betweene the emperour and the French king ſhould be a peace perpetuall, in which ſhould be comprehended all ſuch as ſhould be named by their common conſent. That the French king by the firſt daie of the next moneth of March, ſhould be ſet at libertie vpon the marches in the coaſt of Fontarabie. That within ſix weeks after he ſhould conſigne to the emperour the dutchie of Burgognie, the countie of Charrolois, the iuriſdiction of Noiers, the caſtell Chainro, dependancies of the ſaid dutchie, the vicountie of Fluſſona, the reſort of S. Laurence de la Roche, a dependant of Franch countie, togither with all the appurtenances as well of the ſaid dutchie as vicountie, all which for hereafter ſhould be ſeparate and exempted from the ſoueraigntie of the realme of France. That at the ſame and verie inſtant that the king ſhould be deliuered, there ſhould be put into the emperours hands the Dolphin of France, and with him either the duke of Orleance the kings ſecond ſonne, or elſe twelue principall lords of France, whom the emperour did name.

What was left to the ladie regents election in this capitulation.

It was left to the election of the ladie regent, either to deliuer the kings ſecond ſonne, or the twelue barons, and they to remaine as hoſtages vntill reſtitution were made of the lands and places aforeſaid, and the peace ſworne and ratified, togither with all the articles by the eſtates generall of France, and inregiſtred in all the courts of parlement of the kingdome with forme and ſolemnities neceſſarie. For the accompliſhing wherof, there was ſet downe a terme of foure moneths: at which time returning the hoſtages, there ſhould be put into the emperors hands the duke de Angoleſme the kings third ſon, to the end to traine him vp with the emperour, the better to interteine and aſſure the peace. That the French king ſhould renounce and giue vp to the emperour all his rights to the realme of Naples, togither with all ſuch titles and preeminences as were to come to him by the inueſtiture of the church. That he ſhould doo the like touching his intereſt in the ſtate of Millaine, of Genes, of Aſt, and likewiſe of Arras, Tourneie, of the Ile, and of Dowaie. That he ſhould render vp the towne and caſtell of Hedin as a member of the countie of Artois, with all the munitions, artilleries, and moueables that were in it when it was laſt taken. That he ſhould diſclaime and yeeld vp all ſoueraigntie in Flanders and Artois, and all other places or peeces which the emperour poſſeſſed.

Couenants concerning the emperour, and of him to be kept and performed.

That on the other ſide, the emperour ſhould reſigne and giue vp to him all the right, title, and quarrell which he pretended to anie place poſſeſſed by the Frenchmen, and eſpeciallie the townes and caſtelldomes of Perone, Montdidier, Roie, the counties of Bullongne, Guines, & Ponthiew, with other towns ſtanding vpon the one and other ſhore of the riuer of Some. That there ſhould be betweene them a league and confederation perpetuall for the defenſe of their eſtates, with oblation to aid one another when néed required, with 500 men at armes, and ten thouſand footmen: that the emperour ſhould promiſe to giue in marriage to the king the ladie Elianor his ſiſter, whom, as ſoone as the diſpenſation ſhould be obteined from the pope, he ſhould contract or handfaſt with words obligatorie for the preſent, and afterwards ſhe ſhould be led into France, to conſummate the marriage at the ſame time that according to the capitulations the hoſtages were to be deliuered: that ſhe ſhould haue for hir portion two hundred thouſand crowns, with iewels according to hir eſtate, the one moitie of the monie to be paid within ſixtéene moneths, and the other halfe in one yeare after.

Theſe couenãts reſtraine a great part of the French kings roialtie.

Furthermore, that a mariage ſhould be made betwéene the Dolphin & the daughter of the K. of Portugall, daughter to the ladie Elianor, at ſuch time as their age will ſuffer: that the French king ſhould doo all that he could to induce the ancient K. of Nauarre to giue vp to the emperour the rights of that kingdome, which in caſe he would not performe, then the king not to aid him with anie ſuccours. That the duke of Guelders, and the countie of Zulffe, and the principall townes of thoſe eſtates, ſhould promiſe with ſufficient ſecuritie, to giue themſelues to the emperour, after his death. That the king ſhould giue no ſuccour to the duke of Wittenberge, nor likewiſe to Robert de la March. That he ſhould furniſh and rigge for the emperour, both when he ſhould paſſe into Italie, and two moneths after being ſo required, twelue gallies, foure ſhips, & foure gallions, all well munitioned and appointed, except men of war, & the ſaid veſſelles to be rendred thrée moneths after accompting from the daie of his imbarking: that in place of the armie by land which the king offered for Italie, he ſhould paie him two hundred thouſand crownes in monie, the one halfe within ſixtéene moneths, and the other halfe within a yéere after.

The king of England included in this peace.

Againe, that at the time when the hoſtages ſhould be deliuered, he ſhould be bound to giue bils of exchange for the paie of ſix thouſand footmen for ſix moneths immediatlie after the emperours arriuall in Italie: that he ſhould alſo furniſh for his ſeruice fiue hundred lances paied, with a band of artillerie. That he ſhould ſaue harmeleſſe the emperour of his promiſe made to the king of England by penſions, which the French king ſhould paie to him, the arerages whereof amounted to fiue hundred thouſand crownes, or elſe to deliuer ſo much in readie monie to the emperour. That they ſhould both ioine to beſéech the pope to call a generall councell with all ſpéed, to the end to conſult vpon an vniuerſall peace amongſt chriſtians, to aduance an enterpriſe againſt the infidels and heretikes, and to grant to all the croiſade for thrée yeares. That within ſix wéeks the king ſhould reſtore the duke of Burbon in moſt ample forme, into all his eſtates, goods mouable and vnmouable, and fruits and reuenues receiued: nor to moleſt him for anie thing paſt, nor conſtraine him to dwell or go to the realme of France. That it ſhould be lawfull to the ſaid duke of Burbon, to demand by the waie of law and iuſtice, the earledome of Prouence. That in like ſort all thoſe that had followed him, ſhould reenter in ſafetie into their goods and ſtates, and namelie the biſhop of Autun, and monſieur de ſaint Vallier.

The prince of Orange included alſo in this peace.

Moreouer, that the priſoners taken in the warre ſhould be deliuered on both parts within fiftéene daies. That there ſhould be reſtitution made to the ladie Margaret of Auſtrich of all that ſhe poſſeſſed afore the warre. That the prince of Orange ſhould be ſet at libertie with reſtauration to the principalitie of Orange, and all that he poſſeſſed by the death of his father, which had béene taken from him for following the faction of the emperour. That the like ſhould be doone to other barons. That there ſhould be made reſtitution to the marqueſſe of Saluſſe of his eſtate. That the king as ſoone as he arriued in the firſt towne of his realme, ſhould ratifie this capitulation, and be bound to procure the Dolphin to ratifie it when he ſhould come to the age of fouretéene yeares. Manie were named by common conſent, and chéeflie the Switzers. Onelie there was not one of the potentates of Italie, except the pope, whom they named as conſeruator of the accord, and that more for maner ſake and ceremonie, than in effect and true meaning. Laſtlie, it was expreſſed in the ſaid capitulation, that in caſe the king for anie occaſion, would not accompliſh theſe matters promiſed; he ſhould returne true priſoner.

Whie this accord ſet all Chriſtendome in a woondering.

This accord for the parts it conteined, brought no ſmall aſtoniſhment to all Chriſtendome. For when it was vnderſtood, that the firſt execution thereof conſiſted in the deliuerie of the king, all mens opinions were, that being in his libertie, he would not deliuer vp Burgongnie, as being a member of too great importance for the realme of France. And except a few, who had counſelled the emperour to it, all his court had the ſame iudgement, and namelie the Chancellor, who reprehended and deteſted the matter with ſo great vehemencie, that notwithſtanding he was commanded to ſigne the capitulation (according to the office of chéefe chancellors) yet he refuſed to doo it, alledging; that in ſuch matters, dangerous and hurtfull as that was, he ought not to vſe the authoritie that was giuen him: neither could he be altered from this opinion, notwithſtanding the emperour was angrie with him: who ſéeing him ſo reſolute in his opinion, ſigned it himſelfe, and within few daies after went to Madrill, to confirme the aliance, and make a foundation of amitie and good will with the king, whom he interteined in familiar and priuat ſort.

The French king marrieth the emperors ſiſter according to a clauſe in the capitulation.

Great were the ceremonies and demonſtrations of amitie betwéene them: oftentimes they ſhewed themſelues togither in places publike: and as often did they paſſe in ſecret familiar diſcourſes. They went togither in one coch vnto a caſtell not halfe a daies iournie from thence, where was quéene Eleanor, whom the king married. And yet in all theſe great ſignes of peace and amitie, he was obſerued with as carefull and ſtreict gard as before, without anie aduantage of libertie. So that he was embraced as a brother, and garded as a priſoner. A matter which made manifeſt to the world, that it was an accord full of diſcord, an aliance without amitie, and that vpon euerie occaſion their ancient gelouſies and paſſions would be ſtronger in them, than the regard of that aliance, made more by force than fréendſhip. Manie daies were ſpent in theſe offices and ceremonies of amitie, when was brought from the ladie regent the ratification, togither with the declaration, that with the Dolphin of France they would rather giue in hoſtage the kings ſecond ſon, than the twelue barons.

The king of England glad of the French kings deliuerance.

Then the king departed from Madrill, taking his waie to the frontier of his realme, where was to be exchanged his perſon for his ſonnes, who bare verie ſmall age. There was ſent to accompanie him the viceroy the worker and author of his deliuerie, to whome the emperour had giuen the citie of Aſt, with other eſtates in Flanders and in the kingdome of Naples. The king of England hearing that the French king ſhould now be deliuered, ſent to him a knight of his chamber, called ſir Thomas Chenie, to ſignifie to him the great ioy and gladneſſe, which he conceiued for his reſtitution to libertie, and the concluſion of the generall peace. For which kindneſſe &

courteous remembrance, the French king thought himſelfe much bound (as he confeſſeth himſelfe hereafter) to the king of England, & thanked him greatlie hereafter.

Guic. pag. 966.
The maner of the deliuerie of the French king.

After much a doo and manie remoouings, the French king was come on the confines of Fontarabie, a towne apperteining to the emperour, ſtanding vpon the Ocean ſea, and is a frontier betweene Biſkaie and the duchie of Guien. And on the other ſide, the ladie regent was arriued with the children of France, at Baion, not manie leagues from Fontarabie. The torments of the gowt tooke hir by the waie, which was the cauſe that ſhe had lingred ſome time longer than the daie appointed of permutation. But at laſt, the eighteenth daie of March, the French king accompanied with the viceroy and capteine Alarcon with fiftie horſſe, was preſented vpon the ſhore of the riuer that diuideth the realme of France from the kingdome of Spaine. And on the other ſide, vpon the ſhore oppoſite appeered monſieur Lawtrech with the kings children and like number of horſſe. There was in the middeſt of the riuer a great barke made faſt with anchors, in which was no perſon. The king was rowed neere to this barke in a little boat, wherein he was accompanied with the viceroy, capteine Alarcon, and eight others, all armed with ſhort weapons: and on the other ſide of the barke were likewiſe brought in a little boat, monſieur Lawtrech with the oſtages & eight others, weaponed according to the others.

The French king with the viceroy are imbarked.

After this the viceroy went into the barke with the king, and all his companie: and alſo monſieur Lawtrech with his eight that accompanied him, ſo that they were within the barke a like number of both parts, Alarcon and his eight being with the viceroy, and Lawtrech and the others with the perſon of the king. And when they were all thus within the barke, Lawtrech fetched out of the boat into the barke, the Dolphin, who being giuen to the viceroy and by him committed to capteine Alarcon, was forthwith beſtowed in their boate, and after him followed the little duke of Orleance, who was no ſooner entred the barke, than the French king leaped out of the barke into his boate, which he did with ſuch quickneſſe and celeritie, that the exchange or permutation was thought to be doone at one ſelfe inſtant; ſo welcome to him was libertie, without the which nothing is ſweet, nothing is comfortable, as the poet ſaith:

Libertas perdulce bonum, bona cætera reddit.

The French K. is not a litle glad of his libertie.

Aſſoone as the king was on the other ſide of the ſhore, his new libertie making him fearefull of ambuſh, he mounted vpon a Turkiſh horſſe of a woonderfull ſwiftneſſe, which was prepared for the purpoſe: and running betweene feare and gladneſſe vpon the ſpurre, he neuer ſtaied till he came to S. John de Lus, a towne of his obedience, foure leagues from the place. And being there readilie relieued with a freſh horſſe, he ran with the ſame ſwiftneſſe to Baion, where, after he had paſſed ouer the offices of court doone to him by his people, he diſpatched with great diligence a gentleman to the king of England, to whom he wrote with his owne hand letters of his deliuerie, charging the meſſenger vnder verie louing commiſſion, to tell the king of England, that as he acknowledged the effect of his libertie to be wrought wholie by him and his operations, ſo in recompenſe, he offered to remaine to him a perpetuall and aſſured friend, and to be guided in all his affaires by his counſell. And afterwards he ſent an other ſolemne ambaſſage into England, to ratifie the peace which his mother had made with him, as one that repoſed a verie great foundation in the amitie of that king.

The king of England the procurer of the French kings libertie.

Guic. pag. 968.

When the French king was gotten into Baion, being required by a gentleman of the viceroys, to ratifie the accord according to the obligation of his word, being come into a place free and aſſured, he deferred it from one daie to another, interpoſing reaſons and excuſes generall: wherin, to the end to hold ſtill the emperour in hope, he ſent to aduertiſe him by a man eſpeciall, that he forbare for the preſent to accompliſh the ratification, not by omiſſion or willing negligence, but vpon this neceſſitie, that before he proceeded reallie to ſuch an act, he was to labour to reappeaſe and reduce the minds of his ſubiects ill contented with the obligations he had made, tending to the diminution of the crowne of France. Neuertheleſſe, he would in his time reſolue all difficulties, and obſerue with fidelitie all that he had promiſed to him, both in ſubſtance and circumſtance. By this dealing, no leſſe doubtfull for the manner, than dangerous in meaning, might eaſilie be comprehended what were his intentions, the ſame being more manifeſtlie detected at the arriuall of the meſſengers ſent to him not manie daies after, by the pope and Venetians, in whome was no great need of induſtrie or labour, to ſound out the plaine courſe of his inclination.

The French king is not verie haſtie to ratifie the accord.

For, after he had receiued them with manie demonſtrations and offices of court, he interteined them ſeuerallie and apart with ſundrie ſpeeches of compaſſion, ſuch as tended to manifeſt complaints againſt the inhumanitie of the emperour: who he ſaid did neuer adminiſter to him during his captiuitie, anie one office apperteining to the ranke of a prince, nor at anie time ſhewed himſelfe touched with that affection and commiſeration which one prince ought to expreſſe in the calamities of another: and much leſſe would vſe anie courſe of common comfort, either to relieue the heauineſſe of his condition with anie propertie of apt conſolation, or once to enter into conſideration, that the ſame accident that had fallen vpon him, might alſo be as heauilie heaped vpon his owne head. In this complaint, he alleaged the example of Edward king of England called of ſome Edward Long-ſhanke. To whome when was preſented as priſoner John king of the Frenchmen, taken by the prince of Wales his ſon in the battell of Poitiers, he did not onelie receiue him with great comfort and compaſſion of his afflicted caſe, but alſo, all the time of his impriſonment within the realme of England, he let him go at libertie vnder a free gard.

The French king complaineth vpon the emperour to the meſſengers ſent from the pope and the Venetians.

The king of England alledged by the French king as a preſident of humanitie in the caſe of a captiue king.

Furthermore he had dailie familiar conuerſation with him, he would oftentimes haue him to accompanie him on hunting, to communicate in the open aire and ſolace of the field, and was not curious to call gim to eat with him at his table. And by theſe humanities much leſſe that he loſt his priſoner, or ranged him to an accord leſſe fauourable; but of the contrarie, by the operation of thoſe graces and good offices, there grew betweene them ſuch a familiaritie and confidence, that the French king, after he had continued manie yeares in France, made a voluntarie voiage into England, to honour and gratifie vnder that propertie of office, the liberalitie and frankeneſſe of the king. He alleged that as there was onelie remembrance of two kings of France that had beene taken priſoners in battell, king John and himſelfe, ſo the diuerſitie of the examples was alſo worthie of ſingular memorie, ſeeing vpon the one was exerciſed all facilitie and mildneſſe of the victor, and to the other were miniſtred all thoſe rigours and ſeuerities, which tyrants in the height and pride of their fortune are woont to vſe. Herevnto he added manie circumſtances diſcouering the diſcontentment of his mind, whereupon inſued practiſes wherewith the emperour was not well pleaſed.

To be ſhort, after that this peace was accorded, and the French king deliuered, the emperour maried the ladie Iſabell daughter to Emanuell king of Portugall, and had with hir eleuen hundred thouſand ducats. Thus farre the French affaires intermixed (as you heare) with our owne, and verie néedfull to be added, which here we will end, and returne to England.]

The cardinall erecteth two new colleges.

Polydor.

Cardinall Wolſie being ſtill moſt highlie in the kings fauour, obteined licence to erect a college at Oxford, and another at Ipſwich, the towne where he was borne, the which foundations he began rather of a vaine deſire of glorie and worldlie praiſe, than vpon the inſtinction of true religion and aduancement of doctrine, and therfore ſith he was not mooued therto in reſpect of true godlineſſe and bountifull liberalitie, he went about to cloth Peter and rob Paule: for he firſt got licence of the king to ſuppreſſe certeine ſmall monaſteries, and after got a confirmation of the pope, that he might imploie the góods, lands, and reuenues belonging to thoſe houſes, to the maintenance of thoſe his two colleges, whereby not onelie he, but alſo the pope were euill ſpoken of through the whole realme. In March the king ſent Cuthbert Tunſtall biſhop of London, and ſir Richard Wingfield chancellour of the duchie of Lancaſter, & knight of the garter, into Spaine, to common with the emperour for great cauſes, concerning the taking of the French king, and for warres to be made into France on euerie ſide.

Edw. Hall.

Ambaſſadors ſent to the emperour.

The king being determined thus to make wars in France, & to paſſe the ſea himſelfe in perſon, his councell conſidered that aboue all things great treaſure and plentie of monie muſt néedes be prouided. Wherfore, by the cardinall there was deuiſed ſtrange commiſſions, and ſent in the end of March into euerie ſhire, and commiſſioners appointed, and priuie inſtructions ſent to them how they ſhould proceed in their ſittings, and order the people to bring them to their purpoſe: which was, that the ſixt part of euerie mans ſubſtance ſhould be paid in monie or plate to the king without delaie, for the furniture of his war. Hereof followed ſuch curſing, wéeping, and exclamation againſt both king & cardinall, that pitie it was to heare. And to be bréefe, notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid or doone, forged or deuiſed by the commiſſioners to perſuade the people to this contribution, the ſame would not be granted. And in excuſe of their deniall it was alledged, that wrong was offered, and the ancient cuſtomes & lawes of the realme broken, which would not anie man to be charged with ſuch paiment, except it were granted by the eſtates of the realme in parlement aſſembled. The like anſwer was made by them of the ſpiritualtie, of whome was demanded the fourth part of their góods.

The ſixt part of euerie mans ſubſtance demanded.

The emperors ambaſſador departeth out of England without leaue taking of the king.

Monſieur de Praet the emperours ambaſſador, whether offended for admitting of Iohn Iokin into the realme (as before ye haue heard) or for ſome other cauſe, the ninth of Aprill departed out of England, not taking leaue of the king, nor of the cardinall, and ſo much did by ſafe conduct, that he paſſed through France in poſt, and came to the emperour before the ambaſſadors of England came thither. And whether it was by his report, or otherwiſe, the accuſtomed fauour that the emperour ſhewed to the Engliſhmen, began then to decaie, as was well perceiued, whatſoeuer the matter was. This yeare at Whitſuntide died Thomas duke of Norfolke, and was honourablie buried at Thetford. The cardinall trauelled earneſtlie with the maior and aldermen of London, about the aid of monie to be granted, and likewiſe the commiſſioners appointed in the ſhires of the realme, ſat vpon the ſame: but the burthen was ſo gréeuous, that it was generallie denied, and the commons in euerie place ſo mooued, that it was like to grow to rebellion.

Death of the duke of Norfolke.

Anno. Reg. 17.

The commiſſioners for the tax reſiſted.

In Eſſex the people would not aſſemble before the commiſſioners in no houſes, but in open places, and in Huntingtonſhire diuerſe reſiſted the commiſſioners, and would not ſuffer them to ſit, which were apprehended and ſent to the Fléet. The duke of Suffolke ſitting in commiſſion about this ſubſidie in Suffolke, perſuaded by courteous meanes the rich clothiers to aſſent therto: but when they came home, and went about to diſcharge and put from them their ſpinners, carders, fullers, weauers, and other artificers, which they kept in worke afore time, the people began to aſſemble in companies. Whereof when the duke was aduertiſed, he commanded the conſtables that euerie mans harnes ſhould be taken from him. But when that was knowne, then the rage of the people increaſed, railing openlie on the duke, and ſir Robert Drurie, and threatned them with death, and the cardinall alſo. And herewith there aſſembled togither after the maner of rebels foure thouſand men of Lanam, Sudberie, Hadleie, and other townes thereabouts, which put themſelues in harneſſe, and rang the bels alarme, and began ſtill to aſſemble in great number.

A rebellion in Suffolke by the grieuouſneſſe of the ſubſidie.

The duke of Suffolke perceiuing this, began to gather ſuch power as he could, but that was verie ſlender. Yet the gentlemen that were with the duke, did ſo much that all the bridges were broken, ſo that the aſſemblie of thoſe rebels was ſomewhat letted. The duke of Norffolke being therof aduertiſed, gathered a great power in Norffolke, and came towards the commons, & ſending to them to know their intent, receiued anſwer, that they would liue and die in the kings cauſes, and be to him obedient. Herevpon he came himſelfe to talke with them, and willing to know who was their capteine, that he might anſwer for them all: it was told him by one Iohn Gréene a man of fiftie yeares of age, that Pouertie was their capteine, the which with his couſine Neceſſitie, had brought them to that dooing. For whereas they and a great number of other in that countrie, liued not not vpon themſelues, but vpon the ſubſtantiall occupiers, now that they through ſuch paiments as were demanded of them, were not able to mainteine them in worke, they muſt of neceſſitie periſh for want of ſuſtenance.

The duke of Norffolke cometh with a power againſt the rebels in Suffolke.

Pouertie and Neceſſitie capteins of the rebellion.

The duke hearing this matter, was ſorie for their caſe, and promiſed them, that if they would depart home to their dwellings, he would be a meane for their pardon to the king. Wherevpon they were contented to depart. After this, the duke of Norffolke, and the duke of Suffolke came to Burie, and thither reſorted much people of the countrie in their ſhirts, with halters about their neckes, méekelie deſiring pardon for their offenſes. The dukes ſo wiſelie demeaned themſelues, that the commons were appeaſed, and the demaund of monie ceaſed in all the realme, for well it was perceiued that the commons would pay none. Then went the two dukes to London, and brought with them the chiefe capteins of the rebellion, which were put in the Fléet. The king then came to Weſtminſter to the cardinals palace, and aſſembled there a great councell, in the which he openlie proteſted, that his mind was neuer to aſke anie thing of his commons which might ſound to the breach of his lawes, wherefore he willed to know by whoſe meanes the commiſſions were ſo ſtreictlie giuen forth, to demand the ſixt part of euerie mans góods.

The capteins of the rebels committed to priſon.

The cardinall excuſed himſelfe, and ſaid, that when it was mooued in councell how to leuie monie to the kings vſe; the kings councell, and namelie the iudges,

The cardinall of Yorke excuſeth himſelfe touching the ſtreict commiſſion for the tax ges, ſaid, that he might lawfullie demand anie ſumme by commiſſion, and that by the conſent of the whole councell it was doone, and tooke God to witnes that he neuer deſired the hinderance of the commons, but like a true councellor deuiſed how to inrich the king. The king indéed was much offended that his commons were thus intreated, & thought it touched his honor, that his councell ſhould attempt ſuch a doubtfull matter in his name, and to be denied both of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie. Therefore he would no more of that trouble, but cauſed letters to be ſent into all ſhires, that the matter ſhould no further be talked of: & he pardoned all them that had denied the demand openlie or ſecretlie. The cardinall, to deliuer himſelfe of the euill will of the commons, purchaſed by procuring & aduancing of this demand, affirmed, and cauſed it to be bruted abrode, that through his interceſſion the king had pardoned and releaſed all things.

The rebels pardoned after their appearance in the Star chamber.

Tindale men great robbers

Thoſe that were in the Tower and Fléet for the rebellion in Suffolke, and reſiſting the commiſſioners aſwell there as in Huntington ſhire and Kent, were brought before the lords in the Star chamber, and there had their offenſes opened and ſhewed to them: and finallie the kings pardon declared, and thereon they were deliuered. ¶ In this ſeaſon a great number of men of warre laie at Bullongne, and in other places thereabout, which diuerſe times attempted to indamage the Engliſhmen, and to ſpoile the Engliſh pale: but they could neuer ſpoile the mariſhes where the greateſt part of the cattell belonging to the inhabitants was kept. Tindale men with aid of the Scots, did much hurt in England by robberies, which they exerciſed: and therefore were ſent thither, ſir Richard Bulmere, and ſir Chriſtopher Dacres, to reſtreine their dooings. Diuerſe came to them, and ſubmitted themſelues: but the greateſt théeues kept them in the mounteins of Cheuiot, and did much hurt, yet at length they ſeuered, and manie of them were taken.

K. Henries baſe ſonne created earle and duke in one daie.

The cardinall by his power legantine ſent one of his chapleins called doctor John Allen, to viſit the religious houſes of this realme about this ſeaſon, which doctor practiſed amongſt them greatlie to his profit, but more to the ſlander both of himſelfe and of his maiſter. On the eightéenth daie of June, at the manor place of Bridewell, the kings ſonne (which he had begot of Elizabeth Blunt, daughter to ſir John Blunt knight) called Henrie Fitzroie, was created firſt earle of Notingham, and after on the ſelfe ſame daie he was created duke of Richmond and Summerſet. Alſo the ſame daie the lord Henrie Courtneie earle of Deuonſhire, and coſine germane to the king, was created marqueſſe of Exceſter: and the lord Henrie Brandon ſonne to the duke of Suffolke and the French quéene, a child of two yeares old, was created earle of Lincolne: and ſir Thomas Manners lord Roos was created earle of Rutland, and ſir Henrie Clifford earle of Cumberland, and the lord Fitzwater ſir Robert Ratcliffe was created vicount Fitzwater, and ſir Thomas Bullen treaſuror of the kings houſhold was created vicount Rochefort.

A truce betwéene England & France for fortie daies.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Denmarke.

The French kings mother as then regent of France, procured a ſafe conduct for an ambaſſador to be ſent into England to treat of peace, and therewith ſent John Jokin called monſieur de Vaux, which (as yée haue heard) in the laſt yeare was kept ſecret in maiſter Larks houſe. By his procurement a truce was granted to indure from the thirtéenth of Julie for fortie daies betwéene England and France both by ſea and land. In the later end of Julie came into England the chéefe preſident of Rone with ſufficient authoritie to conclude anie agréement that ſhould be granted. At his ſute the king was contented that a truce ſhould be taken, to endure from the fouretéenth of Auguſt, till the firſt of December. This yeare the king ſent doctor Henrie Standiſh biſhop of ſaint Aſſe, and ſir John Baker knight into Denmarke, to intreat with the nobles of that countrie for the reduction of their king Chriſtierne to his realme and former dignitie: but the Danes hated him ſo much for his crueltie, that they could not abide to heare of anie ſuch matter, and ſo theſe ambaſſadors returned without ſpéeding of their purpoſe for the which they were ſent.

A peace proclamed betwéene England & France.

The ladie regent ſworne to performe the articles of the league.

But the French ambaſſadors did ſo much both by offers and intreaties, that the king condeſcended to a peace, which being concluded, was proclamed in London with a trumpet the eight of September. By the couenants of this peace the king of England ſhould receiue at certeine daies twentie hundred thouſand crownes, which then amounted in ſterling monie to the ſumme of foure hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, of which one paiment of fiftie thouſand pounds was paid in hand. In October were ſent into France, ſir William Fitzwilliam treaſuror of the kings houſe, and doctor Tailor, as ambaſſadors from the king of England to the ladie regent, whome they found at the citie of Lion, where, of hir they were honorablie receiued: and in their preſence the ſaid ladie regent tooke a corporall oth in ſolemne wiſe, and according to the cuſtome in ſuch caſes vſed, to performe all the articles and couenants paſſed and concluded in the league and treatie of peace by hir commiſſioners.

A winters death.

The ſtill Chriſtmaſſe.

1526

The cardinall altereth the ſtate of the kings houſhold.

The ſtatutes of Eltham.

The emperour was nothing pleaſed, in that the king of England had thus concluded peace with the Frenchmen, and therefore the Engliſh merchants were not ſo courteouſlie dealt with, as they had béene afore time. In this winter was great death in London, ſo that the terme was adiourned: and the king kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Eltham, with a ſmall number, and therefore it was called the ſtill Chriſtmaſſe. ¶ In Januarie was a peace concluded betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland for thrée yeares and ſix moneths. The cardinall about this time comming to the court, which then laie (as before yée haue heard) at Eltham, tooke order for altering the ſtate of the kings houſe. Manie officers and other ſeruants were diſcharged, and put to their penſions and annuities. In which number were foureſcore and foure yeomen of the gard, which before hauing twelue pence the daie with checke, were now allowed ſix pence the daie without checke, and commanded to go home into their countries. Diuers ordinances were made at that ſeaſon by the cardinall, touching the gouernance of the kings houſe, more profitable than honorable, as ſome ſaid, and were called long after, The ſtatutes of Eltham.

Doct. Barnes and two merchants of the Stilliard beare fagots.

On Shrouetueſdaie there was a ſolemne iuſts held at the manor of Gréenewich, the king & eleuen other on the one part, and the marqueſſe of Exceſter with eleauen other on the contrarie part. ¶ At thoſe iuſts by chance of ſhiuering of a ſpeare ſir Francis Brian loſt one of his eies. The eleuenth of Februarie being ſundaie, the cardinall with great pompe came to the cathedrall church of Paules, where he ſat in pontificalibus vnder his cloth of eſtate of rich cloth of gold, and there doctor Barnes an Auguſtine frier bare a fagot for certeine points of hereſie alleaged againſt him; and two merchants of the Stilliard bare fagots for eating of fleſh on a fridaie: and there the biſhop of Rocheſter doctor Fiſher made a ſermon againſt Martine Luther, which certeine yeares before, that is to wit, about the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred and eightéene, had begun to preach and write againſt the authoritie of the pope.

Pée

We muſt here note, that the emperour being at Windſor in the fourtéenth yéers of the kings reigne couenanted, amongſt other things, to take to wife the ladie Marie daughter to the king of England: but now vpon conſiderations his mind changed, for the which the Engliſhmen ſore murmured againſt him. On the nine and twentith of Aprill being ſundaie, the cardinall ſoong a ſolemne maſſe in the kings chappell at Gréenewich, and after the ſame was ended, the king ſware in preſence of the ambaſſadors of France, and of the ambaſſadors of Rome, of the emperour of Venice, and of Florence, to obſerue and kéepe the peace and league concluded betwixt him and his louing brother, and perpetuall alie the French king, during his life and one yeare after.

Anno Reg. 18.

King Henrie ſworne to performe the league concluded.

A ſecret league betwixt the pope and certeine ſtates of Italie.

In this meane while, there was a ſecret league concluded betwixt the pope, the Venecians, the Florentins, and Francis Sforza duke of Millan: into the which league the French king alſo entered, after he was returned into France. There was alſo place left to the king of England to enter into the ſame league, and likewiſe to all other kings and princes; and if the king of England would, he ſhould be admitted as protector of the ſame. But the emperour might not be admitted, till he had deliuered the French kings children (hauing a reaſonable ſumme of monie for the ſame) and had reſtored the duke of Millan to his whole duchie. It was thought indéed, that the emperour being wrongfullie informed againſt this duke, rather through enuie of ſome of the emperours capteins, than for anie cauſe miniſtred by the duke, dealt verie ſtreightlie with him, & meant to defeat him of his duchie. For redreſſe whereof, and alſo to prouide that the emperor ſhould not grow too ſtrong in Italie to the danger of other eſtates, this league was deuiſed: by force whereof he might be brought to reaſon, if he would refuſe conuenient offers and indifferent waies of agréement.

Read Guic. lib.18.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic.pag.1067

The pope being abandoned of all hopes, compoundeth with the imperials.

This league was concluded the two and twentith of Maie in this yeare. What followed thereof, ye may read more at large in the hiſtories of Italie and France, where the warres are more at large touched, which chanced in that ſeaſon betwixt the emperour, and the confederats, and how the imperiall armie tooke the citie of Rome, and beſieging the pope in caſtell ſaint Angelo, conſtreined him to yéeld, and agrée to certeine propoſitions put vnto him. ¶ Who being by his aduerſitie made naked of all helpe preſent, and leſſe expectation to be reſcued where was ſo great want of valour and order, was driuen to run the race of his fortune, compounding the ſixt daie of Iune with the imperials almoſt vnder the ſame conditions with the which he might haue accorded before. That the pope ſhould paie to the armie foure hundred thouſand duckets in this order: one hundred thouſand preſentlie to be defraied of the gold, monie, and treaſure reſerued in the caſtell: fiftie thouſand within twentie daies, and two hundred and fiftie thouſand within two moneths: aſſigning to him for theſe defraiments, an impoſt of monie to be charged vpon the whole church ſtate. That he ſhould deliuer into the power of the emperour, to reteine them ſo long as he thought good, the caſtell S. Angelo, the rockes of Oſtia, of Ciuita Vecchia, of Ciuita Caſtelano, togither with the cities of Parma, Plaiſanca, and Modena.

A hard article and to be merueiled how the pope and his cardinals might brooke it.

Furthermore, that the pope togither with all thoſe cardinals that were with him, which were thirtéene in number, ſhould remaine priſoners within the caſtell, vntill the firſt paiment of an hundred and fiftie thouſand duckets were ſatiſfied. That afterwards they ſhould go to Naples or to Caietta, to expect what the emperour would determine of them. That for aſſurance of the paiments, whereof the third part apperteined to the Spaniards, he ſhould deliuer in for oſtages, the archbiſhops of Siponto and Piſa, the biſhops of Piſtoia & Verona, togither with Iames Saluiatio, Simon de Ricaſola, and Laurence brother to cardinall Rodolffo. That Ranſo de Cero, Albert Pio, Oratio Baillon, the knight Caſalo, the ambaſſadour of England, with all others that were ſaued within the caſtell, except the pope and the cardinals, ſhould depart in ſuertie. That the pope ſhould giue abſolution to the Colonnois of the cenſures they had incurred. And that when he ſhould be led out of Rome, a legat ſhould remaine there for him with authoritie to diſpoſe and adminiſter iuſtice.

Guic.pag.1072

The caſtell where the pope was priſoner infected with the plague.

During the popes captiuitie, Rome was ſore afflicted with the plague, in ſomuch that the rage thereof ſo greatlie increaſed, that the caſtell of ſaint Angelo was viſited, to the great danger of the life of the pope; about whome died certeine ſpeciall men that did ſeruice to his perſon: who amid ſo manie afflictions and aduerſities, and no other hope remaining to him than in the clemencie of the emperour, appointed for legat with the conſent of the capteins, cardinall Alexander of Farneſo, who notwithſtanding being iſſued out of the caſtell, and Rome, refuſed vnder that occaſion to go in the ſaid legation. The capteins deſired to carie the perſon of the pope with the thirtéene cardinals that were with him, to Caietto: but he laboured againſt that reſolution with great diligence, petitions, and art.]

Ed Hall in H.8, fol.Cxlix.

¶ In the month of Maie was a proclamation made againſt all vnlawfull games, according to the ſtatutes made in this behalfe, and commiſſions awarded into euerie ſhire for the execution of the ſame; ſo that in all places, tables, dice, cards, and bouls were taken and burnt. Wherfore the people murmured againſt the cardinall, ſaieng: that he grudged at euerie mans pleſure, ſauing his owne. But this proclamation ſmall time indured. For when yoong men were forbidden boules and ſuch other games: ſome fell to drinking, ſome to feretting of other mens conies, ſome to ſtealing of déere in parks, and other vnthriftineſſe.]

Great grudge againſt ſtrangers for procuring licẽces to ſell woad.

Edw.Hall.H.8, fol.Cliij.

This yeare in the citie of London a great grudge was conceiued againſt merchants ſtrangers, for that they by vertue of licences, which they had purchaſed to bring woad into the realme, contrarie to a ſtatute thereof prouided, brought ouer ſuch plentie thereof, and vttered it aſwell in the citie, as abroad in the countrie, ſo franklie, that Engliſhmens woad laie vnbought. At length the maior called a common councell in the moneth of Auguſt, and there were manie billes laied againſt the ſtrangers, and at laſt it was enacted, that no citizen nor fréeman ſhuld buy nor ſell in no place, nor exchange nor meddle with certeine ſtrangers, called Anthonie Bonuice, Laurence Bonuice, Anthonie Viuald, Anthonie Caueler, Francis de Bard, Thomas Calnecant, and a great ſort more, whoſe names I let paſſe. And if anie perſon did meddle or occupie with them contrarie to this act, he ſhould looſe his fréedome and libertie in the citie of London. By which act the ſtrangers were ſo brideled, that they came to a reaſonable point and concluſion.

Valuation of certeine coins as angels, rials, crownes, &c.

In this ſeaſon the angell noble was iuſt the ſixt part of an ounce Troie, ſo that ſix angels were iuſt an ounce, which was fourtie ſhillings ſterling; & the angell was worth two ounces of ſiluer: ſo that ſix angels were worth twelue ounces, which was but fourtie ſhillings in ſiluer. By reaſon of the good weight and low valuation of the Engliſh coine, merchants dailie carried ouer great ſtore, bicauſe the ſame was much inhanced there. So that, to méet with this inconuenience, in September proclamation was made through all England, that the angell ſhould go for ſeuen ſhillings foure pence, the roiall for eleuen ſhillings, & the crowne for foure ſhillings foure pence. On the fift of Nouember following, by proclamation againe, the angell was inhanced to ſeuen ſhillings ſix pence, and ſo euerie ounce of gold ſhould be fiue and fourtie ſhillings, and an ounce of ſiluer at thrée ſhillings and nine pence in value.

Edw.Hall in H.8.fol.Cliiij.

The king kept a ſolemne Chriſtmaſſe at Gréenewich with reuelles, maſkes, diſguiſings, & bankets: and the thirtith daie of December, was an enterpriſe of iuſts made at the tilt by ſix gentlemen, againſt all commers, which valiantlie furniſhed the ſame, both with ſpeare and ſword: and like iuſts were kept the third daie of Ianuarie, where were thrée hundred ſpeares broken. That ſame night, the king and manie yoong gentlemen with him, came to Bridewell, and there put him and fiftéene other, all in maſking apparell, and then tooke his barge, and rowed to the cardinals place, where were at ſupper a great companie of lords and ladies, and then the maſkers danſed, and made goodlie paſtime: and when they had well danſed, the ladies plucked awaie their viſors, and ſo they were all knowen, and to the king was made a great banket.

1527

An ambaſſadour from the emperour.

Abr.Fl. ex Edw.Hall in H.8.fol.Cliiij.

A plaie at Graies In.

The argument of the plaie.

On the fourtéenth of Ianuarie came to the court don Hugo de Mendoza, a man of a noble familie in Spaine: he came as ambaſſadour from the emperour to the king, with large commiſſion, for the emperour put it to the kings determination, whether his demands which he required of the French king were reaſonable or not. This noble man tarried here two yéeres. ¶This Chriſtmaſſe was a goodlie diſguiſing plaied at Greis In, which was compiled for the moſt part by maiſter Iohn Roo, ſergeant at the law manie yeares paſt, and long before the cardinall had any authoritie. The effect of the play was, that lord gouernance was ruled by diſſipation and negligence, by whoſe miſgouernance and euill order ladie publike weale was put from gouernance: which cauſed rumor populi, inward grudge and diſdaine of wanton ſouereignetie, to riſe with a great multitude, to expell negligence and diſſiptaion, and to reſtore publike welth againe to hir eſtate, which was ſo doone.

The cardinall is offended at it and puniſheth the author and actors of the ſame.

This plaie was ſo ſet foorth with rich and coſtlie apparell, with ſtrange deuiſes of maſkes & morriſhes, that it was highlie praiſed of all men, ſauing of the cardinall, which imagined that the plaa had béene deuiſed of him, and in a great furie ſent for the ſaid maiſter Roo, and tooke from him his coiſe, and ſent him to the Fléet; and after he ſent for the yoong gentlemen, that plaied in the plaie, and them highlie rebuked and threatned, and ſent one of them called Thomas Moile of Kent to the Fléet, but by means of friends maiſter Roo and he were deliuered at laſt. This plaie ſore diſpleaſed the cardinall, and yet it was neuer meant to him, as you haue heard. Wherfore manie wiſemen grudged to ſée him take it ſo hartilie, and euer the cardinall ſaid that the king was highlie diſpleaſed with it, and ſpake nothing of himſelfe. But what will you haue of a guiltie conſcience but to ſuſpect all things to be ſaid of him (as if all the world knew his wickedneſſe) according to the old verſe:

Conſcius ipſe ſibi de ſe putat omnia dici.]

Ambaſſadors frō the Frēch king.

Edw.Hall pag. Clv.

Iuſtes.

The ſecond of March were receiued into London the biſhop of Tarbe, Francis vicount of Thurane, and maſter Anthonie Veſcie ſecond preſident of Paris, as ambaſſadours from the French king. They were lodged in Tailors hall. On Shrouetueſdaie the king himſelfe in a new harneſſe all gilt, of a ſtrange faſhion that had not béene ſéene, and with him eight gentlemen all in cloth of gold of one ſute, embrodered with knots of ſiluer, and the marques of Exceſter, and eight with him in blew veluet and white ſattin, like the waues of the ſea, theſe men of armes came to the tilt, and there ran manie freſh courſes, till two hundred foureſcore and ſix ſpeares were broken, and then they diſarmed and went to the quéenes chamber, where for them was prouided a coſtlie banket.

Sute by the French ambaſſadors for the ladie Marie to be married to the duke of Orleance.

Edw.Hall. in H.8.fol.Clv.

The dogged nature of the French for a matter of nothing.

The cardinals crueltie.

The French ambaſſadours ſued (as was ſaid) to haue the ladie Marie daughter to the K. of England, giuen in mariage to the duke of Orleance, ſecond ſonne to their maſter the French king: but that matter was put in ſuſpenſe for diuerſe conſiderations. And one was, for that the preſident of Paris doubted whether the mariage betwéene the king and hir mother (ſhe being his brothers wife) was lawfull or not. ¶ While the French ambaſſadors laie thus in London, it happened one euening as they were comming from the Blacke friers, from ſupper to the Tailors hall, two boies were in a gutter caſting downe rubbiſh, which the raine had driuen there, and vnwares hit a lackeie belonging to the vicount of Thurane, and hurt him nothing, for ſcantlie touched it his cote. But the French lords tooke the matter highlie, as a thing doone in deſpite, & ſent word to the cardinall. Who being too haſtie of credence, ſent for ſir Thomas Seimor knight, lord maior of the citie, and in all haſt commanded him vpon his allegiance, to take the huſband, wife, children, and ſeruants of the houſe, and them to impriſon, till he knew further of the kings pleaſure, and that the two boies apprentiſes ſhould be ſent to the Tower: which commandement was accompliſhed without anie fauor. For the man, and his wife, and ſeruants, were kept in the counter till the ſixt daie of Maie, which was ſix wéekes full, and their neighbours of gentleneſſe kept their houſe in the meane time, and one of the apprentiſes died in the Tower, and the other was almoſt lame. Of the crueltie of the cardinall, and of the pride of the Frenchmen, much people ſpake, & would haue béene reuenged on the Frenchmen, if wiſe men in the citie had not appeaſed it with faire words.]

Ambaſſadors from the kings of Hungarie.

An oration made by maiſter Faber.

On the fouretéenth daie of March were conueied from London to Gréenwich by the earle of Rutland and other, the lord Gabliel de Salamanca earle of Ottonburgh, Iohn Burgraue of Siluerberge, and Iohn Faber a famous clearke, after biſhop of Vien, as ambaſſadors from don Ferdinando, brother to the emperour, newlie elect king of Hungarie and Beame, after the death of his brother in law king Lewes, which was ſlaine by the Turke the laſt ſummer, as you haue heard before. This companie was welcomed of the high officers, and after brought into the kings preſence, all the nobilitie being preſent, and there after great reuerence made, maſter Faber made a notable oration, taking his ground of the goſpell, *Exyt ſeminator ſeminare ſemen ſuum*, and of that he declared how Chriſt and his diſciples went foorth to ſow, and how their ſéed was good that fell into the good ground, and brought foorth good fruit, which was the chriſtian faith: and then he declared how contrarie to that ſowing, Mahomet had ſowne ſéed, which brought foorth euill fruit. He alſo ſhewed from the beginning, how the Turkes haue increaſed in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had ſubdued euen to that daie.

He declared further what acts the great Turke then liuing had doone, and in eſpeciall he noted the getting of Belgrad, and of the Rhodes, and the ſlaieng of the king of Hungarie, to the great rebuke (as he ſaid) of all the kings chriſtened. He ſet foorth alſo what power the Turke had, what diuerſities of companies, what armor, what capteins he had, ſo that he thought, that without a maruellous great number of people he could not be ouerthrowne. Wherefore he moſt humblie beſought the king, as S. Georges knight, and defendor of the faith, to aſſiſt the king his maſter in that godlie warre and vertuous purpoſe. To this oration the k. by the mouth of ſir Thomas More anſwered, that much he lamented the loſſe that happened in Hungarie, and if it were not for the wars which were betwéene the two great princes, he thought that the Turke would not haue enterpriſed that act. Wherefore he with all his ſtudie would take paine, firſt, to ſet an vnitie and peace throughout all chriſtendome; and after that, both with monie and men, he wold be redie to helpe toward that glorious warre, as much as anie other prince in chriſtendome. After this doone, the ambaſſadours were well cheriſhed, and diuerſe times reſorted to the court, and had great cheare and good rewards, and ſo the third daie of Maie next inſuing, they tooke their leaue and departed homeward.

The kings anſwer by the mouth of ſir Thomas More.

In the winter ſeaſon of this yeare fell great abundance of raine, and namelie in September, Nouember, and December. And on the ſixtéenth of Ianuarie it rained ſo abundantlie, that great flouds thereby inſuing, deſtroied corne fields, paſtures, and drowned manie ſhéepe and beaſts. Then was it drie till the twelfe of Aprill, and from thence it rained euerie day or night till the third of Iune, & in Maie it rained thirtie hours continuallie without ceaſing, which cauſed great flouds, & did much harme, namelie in corne, ſo that the next yeare it failed within this realme, and great dearth inſued.

A verie wet ſeaſon for a long time by continuall raine.

¶ This time a bill was ſet vp in London, much contrarie to the honour of the cardinall, in the which the cardinall was warned that he ſhould not counſell the king to marrie his daughter into France: for if hée did, he ſhould ſhew himſelfe enimie to the king and the realme, with manie threatning words. This bill was deliuered to the cardinall by ſir Thomas Seimer maior of the citie, which thanked him for the ſame, & made much ſearch for the author of that bill, but he could not be found, which ſore diſpleaſed the cardinall. And vpon this occaſion the laſt daie of Aprill at night he cauſed a great watch to be kept at Weſtminſter, and had there cart guns readie charged, & cauſed diuerſe watches to be kept about London, in Newington, S. Iohns ſtréet, Weſtminſter, ſaint Giles, Iſlington, and other places néere London: which watches were kept by gentlemen & their ſeruants, with houſholders, and all for feare of the Londoners bicauſe of this bill. When the citizens knew of this, they ſaid that they maruelled why the cardinall hated them ſo, for they ſaid that if he miſtruſted them, he loued them not: and where loue is not, there is hatred: and they affirmed that they neuer intended anie harme toward him, and muſed of this chance. For if fiue or ſix perſons had made alarm in the citie, then had entred all theſe watchmen with their traine, which might haue ſpoiled the citie without cauſe. Wherefore they much murmured againſt the cardinall and his vndiſcréet doings.]

Anno. Reg. 19. Edw.Hall. in H.8.fo.Clvj. A caueat to the cardinall by a libell ſet vp in Lōdon.

The citizens of London are hated of the cardinall, and he alſo of them

The French ambaſſadors at Gréenwich on ſundaie the fift of Maie, ſware in the name of their maſter the French king to obſerue the peace and league concluded betwéene them, for tearme of two princes liues. Theſe ambaſſadours had great cheare, and iuſtes were enterpriſed for the honour and pleaſure of them at the kings commandement by ſir Nicholas Carew, ſir Robert Ierningham, ſir Anthonie Browne, and Nicholas Haruie eſquier chalengers. Againſt whome ran the marques of Exceſter, and thirtene with him as defendants. When theſe ambaſſadours ſhould returne, they had great rewards giuen them of the king, and ſo tooke their leaue and departed. Shortlie after the king ſent ſir Thomas Bullen vicuont Rochford, and ſir Anthonie Browne knight, as ambaſſadours from him into France, which came to Paris to the biſhop of Bath that laie there for the king as legier.

The French ambaſſadors in the name of their maiſter ſweare to obſerue the league. See Edw. Hall in H.8.fol. Clv. & deinceps.

Ambaſſadors into France.

Then theſe thrée went to the court, and ſaw the French king in perſon ſweare to kéepe the league & amitie concluded betwéene him & the king of England. Alſo the king ſent ſir Francis Poins knight ambaſſadour from him to Charles the emperour, and with him went Clarenceaux king of armes, to demand the one halfe of the treaſure and ordinance which was taken at Pauia, forſomuch as that warre was made as well at the kings charge as at the emperours. Alſo they were commanded to demand one of the French kings ſonnes, which lay in hoſtage with the emperour, that is to wit, the duke of Orleance to be deliuered to the king of England; and further that he ſhuld call backe his armie out of Italie. And if it were ſo that he refuſed theſe reaſonable requeſts, then ſhould they in the kings name denounce open warre againſt him. The Engliſh merchants liked the matter nothing at all, that there ſhould bée anie warres betwixt the emperour and the king of England. And where they were deſired by the cardinall to kéepe their marts at Calis, they would not aſſent thereto.

An ambaſſage to the emperor

Engliſh merchants.

¶ In this meane time great warres were managed betwéene the pope and other princes, amongeſt whom the duke of Burbon (of whom you haue heard often mention before in ſundrie actions) leuieng a great power, led the ſame towards Rome, and incamped within the medow néere to the citie, from whence with the inſolencie of a ſouldier hée ſent a trumpet to demand paſſage of the pope through the citie of Rome, to go with his armie to the realme of Naples. The morning following vpon the point of the daie, by the conſideration of his caſe and the aduerſities thereof, he found there remained no other hope for his affaires, than to be reſolute to reléeue the afflictions of his armie, and according to the opportunitie that was offered by the citie of Rome, either to die or to vanquiſh. In which reſolution puſhed on more and more by the murmurs and exclamations of his ſouldiers, in whom he could not diſcerne which was greater, either their inſolencies or their neceſſities, he drew néere the ſuburbs by the waie of the mounteine and *Santo Spirito*, where he began to giue a furious aſſault. Wherein he ſéemed to haue the fauour of fortune, who made him preſent his armie in more ſuertie by the benefit of a thicke miſt, which being riſen before daie, and increaſed with degrées of fog and thickneſſe, became ſuch a couer to his whole campe, that his ſouldiers were not diſcerned till they were néere the place where they began to giue the aſſault.

Abr.Fl. ex Guic.pag.1060 The duke of Burbon incampeth néere Rome.

The duke of Burbon through a laſt deſpaire of his eſtate aduanced before all his companies, either for that he had no other expectation of refuge, in caſe he returned not victorious, or elſe by his owne example he thought to call on with a greater courage the lanceknights who, it ſéemed went not reſolutelie to the ſeruice. But ſuch was his deſtinie to determine his life & his glorie togither, or rather ſuch the reward of his wilfull forwardnes, which for the moſt part heapeth wretched effects vpon ſuch as ſéeke not to accompanie their valour with counſell and diſcretion. In the beginning of the aſſault he was ſtriken with a bullet of an harquebuze, of which wound he fell downe dead to the earth, receiuing iuſtlie vpon his bodie and life the price of the action, which contrarie to all iuſtice and pietie he went about to execute. But much leſſe that his death did abate or diminiſh, ſéeing it did inflame and redouble the courage of his ſouldiers, who fighting with a woonderfull conſtancie the ſpace of two houres, made waie at laſt by their hands and weapons to enter the ſuburbs, wherin they

The duke of Burbon ſlain at the aſſault of Rome.

were not onelie holpen by the weakneſſe of the rampires which were great and generall, but alſo they found helpe in the ſlender reſiſtance which the defendants made.

The morall of the foreſaid action worth the noting.

An experience of right good doctrine to ſuch as
haue not as yet gotten by the benefit of examples
paſt, the knowledge of things preſent, who in that
“ action maie diſcerne what propertie of difference is
“ betweene the vertue of ſouldiours exerciſed and trai-
“ ned in war, and armies newlie and haſtilie leuied,
“ and compounded of the multitude of a people more
“ wilfull than ſkilfull; and by ſo much leſſe apt to be
drawen vnder diſcipline, by how much more by their
“ nature and cuſtome they are ſeldome conformable
“ to anie good order. For there was at the defenſe of the ſuburbs one part of the youth of Rome, vnder the enſignes of the people; notwithſtanding that manie of the Gebelins & faction of Colonno deſired, or at leaſt did not feare the victorie of the imperials. They hoped in regard of their faction, to receiue no harme or offenſe by the victors: the ſame being the cauſe whie they proceeded ſo coldlie in the defenſe. Neuertheleſſe, for that according to the rules of warre, it is a hard matter to take townes without artilleries, there died of the aſſailants, partlie by that want, and partlie through their wilfull forwardneſſe, about a a thouſand footmen; who hauing once by their valor made the waie open to enter in, all the defendants fled before them as men whoſe feare was far aboue anie other ſenſe or paſſion in them.

Rome taken and ſacked.

In which diſorder, ſome tooke the waie which his fortune and not his wit laid out for him: ſome in the aſtoniſhment ſeeking to flie, who durſt no more fight, were ſlaine by the enimie afore he could reſolue vpon the waie of his ſafetie; ſome either better prepared, or more happilie preſerued, found that ſafetie in running awaie, which they could not but doubt if they had longer endured the fight: and ſome with that reſolution which their preſent calamitie would ſuffer, ran by heapes towards the caſtell, where in place of reſcue they found a feare conformable to their owne: inſomuch as all things being reduced to confuſion and manifeſt flight, the ſuburbs were entierlie abandoned & left a preie to the victors. And the perſon of the pope, who expected with great deuotion in the palace of Vatican what would be the iſſue of the aſſault, hearing that the enimies were entred, had alſo (with the others) his paſſions of feare & frailtie, and in that timorous contemplation of his owne perill, he fled with certeine cardinalles to the caſtell.

The pope with certeine cardinals flie to the caſtell of ſaint Angelo.

His feare kept him from being reſolute in a perill that was ſo deſperate, neither did he thinke, that with the preſence and maieſtie of his perſon, though it was couered with the vaile of the higheſt dignitie on earth, he was able to put by the danger, which the valor and fidelitie of his ſouldiers could not defend with their weapons. There he conſulted with the cardinalles, whether it were more for his ſafetie to remaine there, or during the furie of the aſtoniſhment, to retire with the light horſſemen of his gard into ſome place of more ſuertie by the waie of Rome. But he, who was appointed by deſtinie, to be an example of the calamities that maie thunder vpon popes, and how fraile is the authoritie and maieſtie of that ſee, being certified by the relation of Berard de Padoa, who was fled from the armie imperiall, that the duke of Burbon was dead, and that the whole armie ſtanding abated in courage for the death of their capteine, deſired to come to accord with him. In which matter they ſent out men to parlee with the principalles there, he wretchedlie left there all his councelles to go awaie, both he and his capteins remaining no leſſe irreſolute in the prouiſions for defenſe, than they had beene ſlow in the expeditions.

So that the daie following, the Spaniards neither ſeeing order nor councell to defend the quarter beyond Tiber, entred the place without anie reſiſtance. And from thence, not finding anie impediments to ſtop their victorie, the ſame euening they entred the citie of Rome by the bridge Xiſto,; where, except ſuch as reapoſed in the confidence of their faction, and certeine cardinalles, who for that they bare a name to embrace the emperours quarrell, beleeued to find more ſuertie than the others, all the reſidue of the court and citie (as happeneth in accidents ſo furious) was conuerted into fleeing and confuſion. But the ſouldiours being within the citie, which they knew wanted nothing to make them right glorious, and well ſatiſfied of all things apperteining to their deſires, they began to omit no time to execute the thing they had ſo dearlie bought. Euerie one ran to pillage with the ſame vnbridled libertie, which in ſuch caſes maketh ſouldiors both inſolent and impious.

The Spaniards enter into Rome by the bridge Xiſto.

There was ſmall care or regard borne either to the name of freends, factions, or fauourers; and much leſſe was reſpected the authoritie of cardinalles and prelats, or dignitie of temples and monaſteries; and laſtlie, not reſerued from violation, the holie reliks brought thither from all parts of the world; yea euen things ſacred, and ſpeciallie dedicated, were profaned from their ſhrines and holie places, and made ſubiect to the furious wils and diſcretion of the ſouldiours. It is not onelie impoſſible to reaccount, but alſo to imagine the calamities of that citie raiſed to a wonderfull greatneſſe, and appointed by Gods ordinance to ſuffer manie fortunes and directions, hauing beene ſacked by the Goths within ix. C. and lxxx yeares. It is hard to particulate the greatneſſe of the preie, both for the generall wealth and riches which the greedie hands of the ſouldiours had made vp in heaps, and for other things more rare and pretious drawne out of the ſtore-houſes of merchants and courtiers. But the matter which made the ſpoile infinit in value, was the qualitie and great number of priſoners redeemed with moſt rich and huge ranſomes.

The reader is to tollerate the report of this hiſtorie though fauouring of ſuperſtition.

And to make vp a full tragedie of miſerie and infamie, the lanceknights being ſo much the more inſolent and cruell, by how much they bare hatred to the name of the church of Rome, tooke priſoners certeine prelats, whom with great contempt and indignitie they ſet vpon aſſes and leane mules, and with their faces reuerſed to the crowp of the beaſts, they led them thorough the citie of Rome, apparelled with the habits and markes of their dignitie: yea they paſſed manie of them to cruell torments, who either died in the furie of the action, or at leaſt with the painefulneſſe thereof they liued not long after, firſt yeelding a ranſome, and afterwards rendering their liues. The generall ſlaughter as well at the aſſault as in the rage of ſacking, was about foure thouſand bodies. All the palaces of the cardinalles were ſacked, except ſome particulars, who to ſaue the merchants that were retired thither with their goods, togither with the perſons and goods of manie others reſerued of the generall calamitie, made promiſe of great ſummes of monie. To whom notwithſtanding was vſed this iniquitie, that ſome of them that had compounded with the Spaniards, were afterwards ſacked by the lanceknights, or at leaſt conſtreined to a ſecond ranſome.

This ſpectacle could not but afford plentie of hart-greefe.

Compoſitions with the ſouldiours to ſaue certeine places vnſacked.

The ladie marqueſſe of Mantua compounded for hir palace for the ſumme of fiftie thouſand duckats, which were paied by the merchants and others retired thither: of which ſumme the rumor ran, that Ferrand hir ſonne had ten thouſand for his ſhare.

The Spaniards enter into Rome by the bridge Xiſto.

The reader is to tollerate the report of this hiſtorie though ſauouring of ſuperſtition.

This ſpectacle could not but afford plentie of hart-gréefe.

Compoſitions with the ſouldiours to ſaue certeine places vnſacked.

The cardinall of Sienna dedicated in a perpetuall deuotion to the name of the emperor, after he had agréed with the Spaniards, as well for him ſelfe as for his palace, was afterwards made priſoner by the lanceknights, who made bootie and preie of his palace; and afterwards leading him all naked with buffets and baſtanadoes into the borough, he was driuen to redéeme his life out of their hands, with a promiſe of fiue thouſand duckats. The cardinalles Minerua and Ponſero paſſed vnder almoſt the like calamitie, who being priſoners to the lanceknights, were rated at a ranſome which they paied, after they had béene in a vile ſpectacle caried in proceſſion thorough the towne of Rome.

The ſhamefull and lamentable abuſe which the ſouldiors offered to the female ſex.

This furie of ſouldiours executed in a place of ſo great riches and profit, could endure no diſpenſation of anie ſort or qualitie of men, ſéeing the prelats and cardinalles, Spaniſh and Germans, who made themſelues aſſured that the ſouldiours of their nation would ſpare them from oppreſſion and taxation, were taken and paſſed by the ſame meaſure of miſerie and calamitie as others did. Right pitifull were the criengs and lamentations of the women of Rome: and no leſſe worthie of compaſſion, the calamitie of nunnes and virgins profeſſed, whom the ſouldiours rauiſhed by troopes out of their houſes to ſatiſfie their luſt, no age, no ſex, no dignitie or calling was frée from the violation of ſouldiours, in whom it was doubtfull whether bare more rule, the humor of crueltie to kill, or the appetite of luſt to deflowre, or laſtlie, the rage of couetouſneſſe to rob and ſpoile: yea in the violation of theſe women might be diſcerned a confirmation of the iudgements of God hidden from mortall men, for that he ſuffered to be deliuered vp to the vileneſſe of men, barbarous and blodie, the renowmed chaſtitie of women profeſſed and virgins.

To this compaſſion was ioined the infinite clamors of men forced againſt all law of humanitie, partlie to wreſt from them vnreaſonable ranſomes, and partlie to diſcloſe their goods which they had hidden from the rauine of the ſouldiors. All holie things, ſacraments and reliks of ſaints, whereof the churches were full, being deſpoiled of their ornaments, were pulled downe, and laid vpon the earth, ſuffring no ſmall prophanations, by the vile hands of the lanceknights. And whatſoeuer remained vpon the preies and ſpoilings of the imperialles, which were things but baſe and vile, were raked and caried awaie by the pezants and tenants of the lands of the Colonnois, whoſe inſolencie caried them into Rome during the generall furie. Onelie the cardinall of Colonno arriuing the daie after, preſerued in his compaſſion the honor of manie women that happilie were fled for reſcue into his houſe. The rumor went that the valuation and price of this ſacke in gold, ſiluer, and iewels, amounted to more than a millian of duckats, but the matter of ranſomes conteined a greater quantitie.]

The value of this ſacke in gold, ſiluer, and iewels.

When Rome was thus taken by the imperials, and the pope brought into captiuitie, therewith the king was ſo incenſed againſt the emperour by the inſtigation of the cardinall, that he had determined not to ſpare anie treaſure for the popes deliuerance. There roſe a ſecret brute in London that the kings confeſſor doctor Longland, and diuerſe other great clerks had told the king that the marriage betwéene him and the ladie Katharine, late wife to his brother prince Arthur was not lawfull: wherevpon the king ſhould ſue a diuorſe, and marrie the ducheſſe of Alanſon ſiſter to the French king at the towne of Calis this ſummer: and that the vicount Rochford had brought with him the picture of the ſaid ladie. The king was offended with thoſe tales, and ſent for ſir Thomas Seimor maior of the citie of London, ſecretlie charging him to ſée that the people ceaſſed from ſuch talke.

The kings marriage brought in queſtion.

But what ſo euer the commons talked, it was determined that the cardinall ſhould go ouer into France as high ambaſſadour for the king, and to take with him twelue ſcore thouſand pounds, to be emploied on the warres to be made by the confederats againſt the emperour, if he would not condeſcend to ſuch demands as the Engliſh ambaſſadours on the kings behalfe ſhould exhibit vnto him. The third of Iulie this triumphant cardinall paſſed thorough London with twelue hundred horſſe towards the ſea ſide, and comming vnto Canturburie reſted there, and there declared to the people what had chanced vnto the pope, and cauſed the monks of Chriſtes church to ſing their Letanie after this maner: *Sancta Maria ora pro Clemente papa, &c.* Then he exhorted the people to faſt and praie for the popes deliuerance, accordinglie as he had alreadie ſent commiſſions vnto all the biſhops within the realme to follow that order, which was to faſt thrée daies in the wéeke, and to vſe in euerie pariſh ſolemne proceſſions. The eleuenth of Iulie the cardinall tooke ſhipping at Douer, and landed the ſame daie at Calis, from whenſe he departed the two and twentith of Iulie, and with him was the biſhop of London Cutbert Tunſtall, the lord Sands chamberleine to the king, the earle of Derbie, ſir Henrie Guilford, ſir Thomas Moore, with manie other knights and eſquiers, in all to the number of twelue hundred horſſe, and of carriages there were foure ſcore wagons, and thrée ſcore mules and ſumpter horſſes.

The cardinall goeth ambaſſadour into France.

A proceſſion. A new deuiſed letanie.

He that is deſirous to vnderſtand with what honour this triumphant cardinall was receiued in all places as he paſſed thorough Picardie by order giuen by the French king, maie read thereof at large in the chronicles of maiſter Edward Hall. At Amiens he was receiued by the French king himſelfe, and by his mother with all other chéefe péeres of France. There was nothing forgot that might doo him honour or pleaſure. But to the effect of his buſineſſe. After he had ſhewed his commiſſion, they fell in councell, and in the end grew to a full concluſion of a league to be accorded and eſtabliſhed betwixt the kings of England and France: the couenants and articles whereof were drawne and written vp in a faire charter, which was ſealed in ſolemne wiſe, and deliuered vnto the cardinals by the kings owne hand.

The cardinall is honourablie receiued by the Frēch king.

A league betwéene England and France.

After this, it was agréed, that Odet de Fois, commonlie called monſieur de Lawtrech, ſhould go into Italie with a puiſſant armie to procure the popes deliuerance, & expell the emperours power out of all the partie of Italie, if he refuſed ſuch reaſonable offers & articles of agréement as were drawen, & ſhould be exhibited to him. In this armie went ſir Robert Jerningham, & Iohn Carew of Hakam, & 80 other Engliſh gentlemen which were ſent by the cardinall from Amiens. When the armie was aſſembled, the cardinall deliuered the monie which he had brought out of England with him in barrels, with the which the armie was paid two moneths before hand, & the ſurpluſage was deliuered to ſir Robert Jerningham, which was called treaſuror of the wars. This armie was called in Latine, *Exercitus Angliæ & Gallorum regum pro pontifice Romano liberando congregatus*, that is to ſaie, The armie of the kings of England and France, gathered for the deliuerance of the biſhop of Rome: and ſo was it reputed.

Monſieur de Lawtrech.

Sir Robert Jerningham.

The name of the armie ſent into Italie.

In this meane time the Engliſh ambaſſadors, ſir Francis Poins and Clarenceaux the herald, were come into Spaine, and there to the emperour in the towne of Vale Doliſſe the firſt of Iulie deliuered

The emperours anſwer to the ambaſſadors.

the kings letters, and further declared their meſſage as they had in commandement. The emperor made to them a courteous anſwer for that time, and ſaid he would take counſell in the matter, and then ſhuld they receiue further anſwer, and in the meane time they might repoſe them. Within a daie or two after he called to him doctor Lee that was the kings ambaſſadour legier there with him, & the ſaid ſir Francis Poins, and ſaid to them; My lords we haue perceiued the king your maiſters demands, which are weightie and of great importance. Wherefore we intend with all ſpeed to write to the king our vncle, and when we haue receiued anſwer from him, we ſhall deliuer you of ſuch things as you require, praieng you in the meane time to take patience.

The emperour protracted time of purpoſe, bicauſe he was loth to anſwer directlie to ſuch grieuous and moſt irkeſome complaints, bicauſe he geſſed by the courſe of things that the French king would ſhortlie be conſtrained to agree to thoſe conditions of peace, which he at the firſt had offered. But the French king & the cardinall being togither at Amiens, amongſt other things determined there betwixt them in counſell, deuiſed further what articles of offer ſhould be ſent to the emperour, which if he refuſed, then open defiance to be made vnto him in name of both the kings. The articles were theſe in effect.

Articles propoſed to the emperor being in number fifteene.

1 Firſt that the French king ſhould paie for his ranſome 25000 crownes: one writer calleth it two millians. 2 Alſo that he ſhould releaſe all the penſion that he had in Naples, with all the right of the ſame. 3 Alſo that he ſhould neuer claime title to the dutchie of Millane. 4 Alſo he ſhould releaſe the ſuperioritie of Flanders for euer, and the right which he had to the citie of Torneie. 5 Alſo he ſhould releaſe all the homages of all perſons within thoſe countries. 6 Alſo to withdraw his armie out of Italie. 7 Alſo to forſake the aid of the Switzers againſt the emperour. 8 Alſo to take no more part with Robert de la March againſt the emperor. 9 Alſo neuer to aid the king of Nauarre againſt him, although he had maried the kings ſiſter. 10 Alſo neuer to aid the duke of Gelderland, nor to chalenge the ſame dutchie. 11 Alſo to aid the emperor with ſhips and men to his coronation. 12 Alſo to marie the ladie Elenor queene of Portugall ſiſter to the emperor. 13 Alſo that the Dolphine ſhould marie the ſaid queenes daughter. 14 Alſo that if the French king had anie children male by the ſaid queene, then the dutchie of Burgognie to remaine to the ſaid child being male. 15 Alſo that the French king ſhould be freend to the emperour & his freends, and enimie to his enimies.

Articles ſent to ẏ Engliſh ambaſſadors in Spaine.

Theſe with manie other articles, which were not openlie knowne, were ſent to the biſhop of Tarbe, and to the vicount of Thuraine ambaſſadours with the emperour from the French king. Other articles were alſo ſent to the Engliſh ambaſſadours being in Spaine, as to mooue the emperour to ſome reaſonable end with the French king: and that the king of England would releaſe vnto him all the ſummes of monie due to him, as well by the emperour Maximilian his grandfather as himſelfe, and take the French king as debtor for the ſame. If he would not agree to theſe offers, then was it accorded, that the French king ſhould marrie the ladie Marie daughter to the king of England, and they both to be enimies to the emperour. When all theſe things were concluded, the cardinall tooke his leaue of the French king & his moother, and with great rewards returned, comming to Richmond, where the king then laie, the laſt of September.

The cardinall returneth out of France.

Ambaſſadors from the French king.

In October, there came ambaſſadours from the French king into England, the lord Annas de Montmerancie, great maiſter of the ſaid French kings houſe, the biſhop of Baion cheefe preſident of Rone, and monſieur de Humiers accompanied with ſixtie gentlemen well appointed. Theſe ambaſſadours were receiued with all honour that might be deuiſed. On Alhallowes daie the king comming to the cathedrall church of ſaint Paule, where the cardinall ſang maſſe, ſware before the high altar in the preſence of the French ambaſſadours to keepe and performe the league. On ſundaie the tenth of Nouember, the king being elected knight of the order of S. Michaell, receiued at Greenewich the ſaid order by the hands of the great maiſter of France, and monſieur Humiers that were companions of the ſame order: in like caſe as the French king the ſame daie at Paris receiued the order of the garter by the hands of the lord Liſle, doctor Tailor maiſter of the rolles, ſir Nicholas Carew knight maiſter of the kings horſſes, ſir Anthonie Browne knight, and ſir Thomas Wriotheſleie knight, otherwiſe called Garter king of armes, the which were ſent thither with the whole habit, collar, and other habillements of the order as apperteined.

The king of England receiueth the order of ſaint Michaell.

The French king receiueth the order of the garter.

After that the French ambaſſadors had beene highlie feaſted, banketed, and interteined, with all honor and paſtime conuenient, the great maiſter and all his companie tooke leaue of the king, and with great rewards returned into France, leauing the biſhop of Baion behind them, who abode ambaſſador legier in England. In this moneth of Nouember, Arthur Bilneie, Geffreie Lome, and one Garret that ſpake againſt the popes authoritie, were abiured by the cardinall. ¶By reaſon of the great wet that fell in the ſowing time of the corne, and in the beginning of the laſt yeare, now in the beginning of this, corne ſo failed, that in the citie of London for a while bread was ſcant, by reaſon that commiſſioners appointed to ſee order taken in ſhires about, ordeined that none ſhould be conueied out of one ſhire into an other.

Bilneie and other abiured.

Which order had like to haue bred diſorder, for that euerie countrie and place was not prouided alike, and namelie London, that maketh hir prouiſion out of other places, felt great inconuenience hereby, till the merchants of the Stiliard, and others out of the Dutch countries, brought ſuch plentie, that it was better cheape in London than in anie other part of England, for the king alſo releeued the citizens in time of their need with a thouſand quarters by waie of lone of his owne prouiſion. The ſcarſitie at the firſt was more than the dearth. For in the beginning of their want, wheat was onelie at fifteene ſhillings a quarter, & from thence it roſe to twentie ſhillings, and after to ſix and twentie ſhillings eight pence the quarter, till remedie by outward prouiſion was procured and had. In this meane while the lord Lautrech with his armie was entred into Italie, where how he ſped, and what came of that expedition, ye ſhall find in the hiſtories of France and Italie, and therefore in this place I paſſe it ouer. Sir Francis Poins knight, in the end of December, returned out of Spaine into England, leauing Clarenceaux behind him to bring further anſwer.

Dearth of corne in London and elſewhere.

The emperor releaſeth 12 preiudiciall articles to the French king.

The emperour at the requeſt of this ſir Francis Poins, who made the ſame in name of his maiſter the king of England, was contented to releaſe twelue articles, which were reputed moſt preiudiciall to the French king, onelie to gratifie the king of England: but the cardinall kept the king ſtill in diſpleaſure toward the emperor, for the fauour which he bare to the French king, whoſe onelie purpoſes he ſought to aduance. The articles which were drawne at Amiens when the cardinall was there, were exhibited to the emperor by the French ambaſſadors, and bicauſe he refuſed the ſame, word was ſent to Clarenceaux king of armes, to make defiance to the emperor. Where vpon on the wednesdaie the two and twentith of Ianuarie, Guien king of armes to the French king, and Clarenceaux king of armes to the king of England, being in the citie of Burges in Spaine, came to the court of Charles the elect emperour, about nine of the clocke in the morning, and there did requeſt of his maieſtie, that it would pleaſe him to appoint them an houre of audience.

The emperor commeth at the houre of audience.

The lord de Chaour by ordinance from his maieſtie gaue them anſwer, that it ſhould be about ten of the clocke before noone the ſame daie. And at the ſame houre his maieſtie came into the great hall of his court accompanied with diuerſe prelats, dukes, marqueſſes, earles, barons, and other great lords and good perſonages, of diuerſe nations of his kingdome and ſeigniories in great number. The emperour ſitting in a chaire prepared according to his dignitie, the two kings of armes of France & England being in the nether end of the hall, holding vpon their left arms each one his coat of armes, did make three ſolemne reuerences accuſtomed, with knee to the ground. And when they were at the loweſt ſtaire before his imperiall maieſtie, Clarenceaux king of armes of England, hauing the words in both their names, ſpake as followeth.

The words of Clarenceaux king of armes to the emperor.

Sir, following the three edicts inuiolablie kept and obſerued by your predeceſſors emperours of Rome, kings, princes, and capteins, Guien king of armes of the moſt chriſtened king; and alſo Clarenceaux king of armes to the king of England our ſoueraigne & naturall lords: we preſenting our ſelues before your ſacred maieſtie, for to declare certeine things from the ſaid kings our maiſters: beſeech your maieſtie, that hauing regard to the ſaid lawes according to your benignitie and mercie, that it would pleaſe you to giue vs ſure acceſſe and good intreating in your countries, lands, and ſeigniories, attending your anſwer, with ſure conduct to returne vnto the countries, lands, and ſeigniories of our ſaid ſoueraigne lords. The emperour then bad them ſaie on whatſoeuer the kings your maiſters haue giuen you in charge: your priuileges ſhall be kept, none ſhall doo you anie diſpleaſure within my kingdomes or territories. After this, Guien read a writing ſigned with the hand of the ſaid Guien king of armes.

The emperor giueth the heralds libertie to ſpeake.

A copie of the ſaid writing *read as followeth.*

SIr, the moſt chriſtened king my ſoueraigne and naturall lord hath commanded me to ſaie to you, that he hath conceiued a maruellous greefe and diſpleaſure of that, that in place of amitie, which he ſo much deſired to haue with you, the former enmitie in full force ſtill remaineth. By the which he ſeeth and perceiueth, that the euils and inconuenie̱nces long ſince begun, ſhall continue and augment, not onelie vnto you, and vnto him, with your vaſſals and ſubiects, but alſo vnto all chriſtendome: and that the forces and youths which the one and the other ought to emploie againſt the enimies of the faith, ſhall be ſpent to the effuſion of chriſtian bloud, and in offenſe vnto God; and that you and he endowed with ſo manie gratious gifts, ſhall not inioy the benefits, which it pleaſed the ſon of God to leaue to vs, by his teſtament, which is peace, whereof all goodneſſe proceedeth; and in place of the ſame ſhall haue war, wherof foloweth all calamities, dangers, inconueniences, pouerties, and miſeries.

Heerewith you ſhall ſubmit your ſelfe vnto them whome yee may command, and ſhall hazard the bloud and ſubſtance of your ſubiects in the purſſes of ſtrangers. Euerie one as for himſelfe ought to haue regard thereto, and for the ſhort time that we haue here to liue, not to go about to depriue himſelfe of that tranquillitie, ioy, good regard and paſtime, that the princes may haue by peace: and by following the warre, to be in pouertie, heauineſſe, and hazard of loſſe of goods, honours, and liues: and that worſt is, after they haue had euill daies in this world, to be in danger of eternall paine in the world to come, thorough them that haue beene the cauſe thereof, and that would not yeeld vnto reaſon.

The inconueniences of warre mooued to ÿ emperor.

The king my ſoueraigne lord is readie to put himſelfe for his part in all deuoir, and more than ſo, to haue peace and amitie with you: and by this meanes peace ſhall be procured throughout all chriſtendome, whereby men might doo God good ſeruice, in making warre on the Infidels, which will be ſo thankfull to him, that it will put off the puniſhment of faults, which haue beene committed heeretofore by reaſon of the warres, which haue too long indured betweene you two, and not yet like to ceaſſe, conſidering the termes which you hold and ſeeke to mainteine; ſith on the one part, certeine aduowing themſelues on you, haue aſſailed and taken by force the citie of Rome, which is the place of the holie and apoſtolike ſee, where they haue committed and done all the miſcheefe that might be deuiſed.

The churches and reliſkes were prophaned, the pope holding ſaint Peters ſeat, as vicar of God on earth, taken and put out of his libertie. By meanes whereof, they that haue committed and executed the ſaid execrable deeds and wickedneſſe, with their authors and fautors, be fallen and run in paines of right; and they that hold them captiues, beare themſelues on you; and he that dooth keepe them, hath beene and is of the principall capteins, of whome you haue beene ſerued in your warres in Italie and other parts. And on the other ſide, the difference which at this time reſteth betweene you and the king my ſoueraigne and naturall lord, is principallie vpon the ranſome and recouerie of the princes his ſonnes, which you hold for hoſtages of the ſame. He hath oftentimes offered, and yet dooth offer to paie to you, and giue to you, not onelie that which may be ſaid to be reaſonable, and in ſuch caſes accuſtomed, but alſo more largelie.

The herald proſecuteth the ſtate of Rome & the pope in lamentable ſort.

You ought not to ſtand vpon things which by force and conſtraint he hath promiſed, the which iuſtlie and honeſtlie he maie not performe nor accompliſh: you had a great deale more gained, to haue taken the ſaid ranſome which was offered vnto you, than to continue the warre, and to giue occaſion of all the euils and inconueniences that dailie happen thereby thorough chriſtendome. You ſee the king of England, with whome he hath brotherlie amitie for euer, and alſo the Venetians, Florentines, and duke of Bar, and other princes and potentats, following and holding the partie of the ſaid chriſtian king, for that they ſee he yeeldeth to reaſon, and by reaſon you will not thereto incline, the vniuerſall peace can not be concluded in chriſtendome. The enimies of the faith gaine countries: all Italie is in armes, bloud and rapine, and the apoſtolicall ſee in trouble: ſo that if on your part you ſeeke not remedie, and that things doo thus continue as they haue begun, it is to be feared that God will be angrie.

The herald mooueth the emperor with the king of Englands example, &c.

And for as much (ſir) as to the declarations which the aboue ſaid princes haue offered vnto you, and the preſentations which the ſaid chriſtian king hath made vnto you, you haue refuſed to giue eare, thereby to come to ſome accord with him, and to content your ſelfe with a ranſome more than reaſonable: alſo for that

The herald commmeth to the verie drift of his meſſage.

that you will not render vnto his good brother, perpetuall alie and confederat, the king of England, that which is his, ſet the pope at libertie, and leaue Italie in peace and tranquillitie, he hath commanded me to declare, ſignifie, and notifie vnto you, his great greefe and diſpleaſure, with his ſaid good brother the king of England, that they will hold and take you for their enimie, declaring all maner of treaties and couenants heretofore paſſed betweene them and you, in all that concerneth your profit & vtilitie to be nothing, and that for his part he will not obſerue nor keepe the ſame.

What the king of Englãd deſireth of the emperour in the French kings behalfe.

Naie he hath reſolued by all meanes that he may imagine with his good freends, alies, & confederats, & with all his forces to indamage you, your countries, lands, and vaſſals by warre, or otherwiſe, in ſuch ſort as he maie deuiſe, vntill the time that you haue reſtored vnto him his children, with honeſt meanes and couenants touching his ranſome, deliuered the pope, rendered vnto the king of England that you hold of him, and acquited the ſumme which you owe him, and ſuffer his alies and confederats to liue in peace, reſt, and tranquillitie, and proteſteth before God and all the world, that he doth not wiſh nor deſire the warre, but that it wholie diſpleaſeth him, and is not therefore the cauſe of the euill that is or maie come thereof, conſidering that he hath put, and will put himſelfe vnto all reaſon, as he hath offered and ſignified vnto you and to all other chriſtian princes, and yet doth.

The king of Englands meaning and the French kings for the returne of the emperours ſubiects out of their countries, and contrariwiſe.

And of all this he calleth God (who knoweth all things) to witneſſe. And for that vnder colour of the publication of the pretended tretie of Madrill made, he being yet priſoner in Spaine, diuerſe of your ſubiects, and of them of the king of Englands, and of his haue carried their merchandizes and other goods into the kingdomes, ſtreicts, and ſeignories the one of the other, whereby maie inſue great damages, if of them no mention ſhould be made in this preſent declaration and ſignification: my ſouereigne lord and the ſaid king of England be contented that libertie be giuen vnto all ſubiects being in the ſaid kingdomes, countries, ſtreicts, and ſeignories, to retire and depart from thence with all their goods and merchandizes within fortie daies after this intimation made. Prouided that you ſhall doo the like vnto their ſubiects in all & euerie their merchandizes. Giuen the eleuenth daie of Nouember 1527, & ſigned Guien king of armes.

The emperors words to Guien the French kings herald.

The emperour after the defiance giuen by Guien, ſpake in this ſort: I doo vnderſtand that which you haue read from the king your maiſter, & I doo much maruell why he doth defie me, for he being my priſoner by right warre, and I hauing his faith by reaſon he can not doo it. It is vnto me a noueltie to be defied of him, ſeeing it is ſix or ſeuen yeares that he hath warred againſt me, and yet giuen me no defiance. And ſith that by the grace of God I haue defended my ſelfe from him (as he hath ſeene, and euerie one elſe) without that he hath giuen me anie warning, or conſidering the reaſon and iuſtification whereon I doo reſt my ſelfe, for the which I thinke I haue not otherwiſe deſerued towards God: I hope that at this time now you aduertiſe me of it, being aduertiſed I ſhall defend my ſelfe the better, in ſuch ſort that the king your maiſter ſhall doo me no hurt: for ſith he doth defie me, I am halfe aſſured.

How the emperor was affectioned for the pope in his captiuitie.

And touching that which you ſpake of the pope, none hath beene more ſorrowfull than I of that which was doone, and it was without my knowledge or commandement: and that which hath beene doone, was doone by vnrulie people, without obedience to anie of my capteins. And yet I aduertiſe you, that the pope long ſince is ſet at libertie, and yeſterdaie I had certeine newes of it. And touching the ſonnes of your maiſter, he knoweth that I haue them for pledges; and alſo my lords his ambaſſadors know well, that the fault hath not lien in me that they haue not beene deliuered. And as for that of the king of England my good brother and vncle, I beleeue if it be ſo as you doo ſay, that he is not well informed of things paſſed: and if he were, yet could I not ſaie as your writing conteineth, I deſire to ſend him my reaſons for to aduertiſe him of all the truth. And I beleeue when he ſhall know it, that he will be vnto me as he hath beene.

The emperor ſeemeth loth to incur the K. of Englands diſpleaſure.

I neuer denied the monie which I borowed of him, and I am readie to paie it as by reaſon & right I am bound: and thanked be God I haue enough to doo it. Neuertheleſſe, if he will make warre againſt me, it will be to my great diſpleaſure, & I cannot but defend my ſelfe. I praie to God that he giue me no more occaſion than I thinke I haue giuen vnto him. And to the reſt, for that your writing is great, and the paper ſheweth it ſelfe to be gentle, ſeeing that they haue written what they would, you ſhall giue me the writing, whereby more particularlie I maie anſwer in another paper, wherein ſhall be nothing but truth. This anſwer being made by his maieſtie with his owne mouth vnto Guien king of armes, the ſaid Guien tooke his cote of armes that he had on his left arme (as before is ſaid) and put it on, and then Clarenceaux king of armes of England, ſaid vnto his maieſtie, not by writing, but by mouth, as followeth.

The Engliſh heralds meſſage *deliuered by word of mouth.*

SIr, the king my ſouereigne lord hath commanded me to ſay vnto you, that ſeeing the neceſſitie of peace in the chriſtian religion, as well by reaſon of the inforcements manie yeers paſt, begun by the great Turke enimie vnto our faith, which by force of armes hath taken awaie from the chriſtians the citie and Ile of Rhodes, one of the principall bulworks of chriſtendome, and in Hungarie the fortreſſe of Belgrad, and part of the countrie there, as alſo by hereſies and new ſects, of late riſen in diuerſe places of chriſtendome; and likewiſe knowing the great warres being kindled in all parts, by meanes of which all chriſtendome is in trouble, confuſion, and maruellous diuiſion, and not long ſince by your people and miniſters and ſouldiers in your armie, and vnder your capteins the holie citie of Rome hath beene ſacked and robbed, the perſon of our holie father the pope taken priſoner, and kept by your people, the cardinals likewiſe taken and put to ranſome, the churches robbed, biſhops, prieſts, and people of religion put to the ſword, and ſo manie other euils, cruelties, and inhumane facts committed by your people, that the aire and the land are infected therewith.

The report of the herald falleth out iuſtifiable by Guicciardines diſcourſe, lib. 18.

And it is verie like, that God is verrie greatlie ſtirred and prouoked vnto ire. And to ſpeake after the maner of men, if by amendment it be not pacified, innumerable euils and inconueniences ſhall happen vnto all chriſtendome. And for that the root and increaſement of the ſaid warre, proceedeth of the contentions and debates betweene you, and the moſt chriſtened king his good brother and perpetuall alie: to make an end of which debates, the king my ſouereigne lord hath ſent his ambaſſadors and others, vnto the moſt chriſtened king his good brother, with whome he hath doone ſo much, that for the loue that he hath borne him, he hath made vnto you ſo great offers, and ſo reaſonable, that you cannot, nor ought

The king of England fauoured the French king.

reaſonablie to refuſe them, as conditions and offers for his ranſome exceeding the ranſome accuſtomed of all kings. And if in this, the conſideration of peace had not beene, an euill example might thereof grow for other kings and chriſtened princes ſubiect vnto the like fortune.

The herald vſeth an argument drawne from benefits receiued to mooue the emperour.

Of which offers and conditions he hath likewiſe aduertiſed you by his ambaſſadours, praied and beſought you for the honour of God, and the wealth of all chriſtendome, for the benefits and pleaſures that he hath doone vnto you diuerſe waies, and that in time of your great need, that it would pleaſe you to accept the ſaid offers, and make an end of the ſaid warres, that haue too long endured. Likewiſe as a chriſtened prince bound to the protection of the pope, and ſee apoſtolike, and conſequentlie to the deliuerance of his holineſſe (whom you cannot, nor ought to keepe priſoner without great offenſe) that you would reſtore his holineſſe vnto a full and entier libertie. Alſo he hath oftentimes ſhewed by diuerſe obligations, and other meanes, how you are indebted vnto him in diuerſe great ſummes of monie, that he hath giuen and lent you in your neceſſitie, requiring you to make paiment.

Of all which things you haue made no account from time to time, but deferred it, and held in ſuſpenſe the ambaſſadours of the king my ſouereigne, without hauing regard to Gods honour, and the neceſſitie of all chriſtendome, and the reuerence that ye ought to haue vnto the holie ſeate and perſon of our holie father the pope, the vicar of God on earth, or vnto the pleaſures that you haue receiued of him, or vnto your faith and promiſe that you ſo oftentimes haue made. And for this cauſe the king my ſaid ſouereigne, by honeſt reaſon and iuſtice conſtreined, by great and ripe deliberation of his councell, hoping for a finall concluſion, hath cauſed againe to be preſented offers more large and to greater aduantage than the others before, to put you in deuoir, and to auoid and take awaie all occaſion to deferre and diſſemble to come to reaſon.

The herald of England ſheweth the emperour what is the king of Englands preſent determination if his offers be refuſed.

Which offers, and the augmenting of the ſame, haue beene made and made againe, with all demonſtrations and honeſt reſons that haue beene poſſible, And in the end there hath beene made vnto you inſtance for the deliuerie of our holie father, whom you haue reſtreined or cauſed to be reſtreined in place of deliuerie, which is verie ſtrange, & againſt the true eſtate & dutie of a chriſtian prince. So that the king my ſouereigne, & the moſt chriſtian king his brother and perpetuall alie, can no longer indure it with their honours and dutie towards God and the church. And ſeeing you will not condeſcend to reaſon, nor accept the ſaid offers being more than reaſonable, nor ſatiſfie the king my ſaid ſouereigne of the debts by you due, as you are bound, he hath concluded with the ſaid moſt chriſtened king his good brother & perpetuall alie, & other of his confederats, to doo his endeuour to conſtreine you by force & might of armes to deliuer our holie father, & likewiſe the children of France, whom you hold, in paieng you a reaſonable ranſome, and to ſatiſfie him of that you owe him.

The diſpoſition of the king of England to the pope and the French king.

Therefore the king my ſouereigne lord, as a true and conſtant prince, willing to keepe inuiolablie his faith, which he hath promiſed vnto the ſaid chriſtian prince and other his alies, and not willing to leaue the perſon of our ſaid holie father the pope in captiuitie, as alſo will not the ſaid chriſtian king: they two doo ſummon you at this time for all, to accept theſe laſt offers, for the deliuerance of the ſaid children of France, and for the wealth of an vniuerſall peace, & to deliuer the perſon of our ſaid holie father, & alſo to paie ſpeedilie and without anie more delaie, the debts by you due vnto the king my ſouereigne. And if you refuſe theſe finall offers, and alſo to deliuer the perſon of our ſaid holie father, and paie the ſaid debtes, as a good chriſtian prince and louer of peace is bound to doo; the king my ſouereigne, and the ſaid chriſtian king his good brother, not without great ſorrow and diſpleaſure, doo declare to be your enimies, and ſo hereafter doo hold and repute you for ſuch one, denouncing vnto you warre by ſea and land, and defieng you with all their forces.

The defiance intimated to the emperor by the herald of England.

Neuertheleſſe, conſidering that there be diuerſe of your ſubiects, and great quantitie of their goods in the realmes of England and France, and other lands & lordſhips of the ſaid princes: likewiſe there be diuerſe of the ſubiects of the kings of England and France, and of their goods in your kingdomes, countries, lands, and lordſhips, the which may receiue aſwell of the one part as of the other, great and vnrecouerable hurts and damages, if without aduertiſements and monition they ſhould be taken and deteined, the kings maieſtie my ſouereigne, and the moſt chriſtian king of France his good brother be willing that libertie be giuen vnto your ſubiects being in their kingdomes, countries, and lordſhips, for to retire and depart with all their goods and merchandize, within fourtie daies after this intimation, ſo that the like libertie and permiſſion be in like ſort granted to their ſubiects. ¶ To this defiance of the king at armes of England the emperours maieſtie did anſwer in theſe words.

Libertie granted to the emperors ſubiects in England and France to returne to their owne countries, and the like demanded on the contrarie part.

The emperours anſwer to the *Engliſh heralds oration.*

I Doo vnderſtand that which you haue declared, and I cannot thinke that if the king of England were throughlie aduertiſed of things as they haue paſſed, and of the reaſon to which I haue yeelded, he would not ſaie that which you haue ſaid, and therefore mine intention is to aduertiſe him. As to that which you ſpake of the pope, I was neuer conſenting to his deſtruction, which was neuer doone by my commandement: & I giue you to vnderſtand, that he is deliuered, and I am ſorie for the harmes that were doone at the time when he was taken, of the which I take my ſelfe not to be in fault, as I haue told the king at armes of France. And as to the deliuerance of the French kings ſons, where means haue beene made for their deliuerance, I haue beene readie to giue eare thereto, and the fault reſteth not in me, for that the peace hath not beene concluded.

The emperors modeſtie in this point notable.

But now that yea tell me that the king your maiſter will force me to deliuer them, I will anſwer thereto in other ſort than hitherto I haue doone, and I truſt to keepe them in ſuch wiſe, that by force I ſhall not need to deliuer them: for I am not accuſtomed to be forced in things which I doo. As to the debt which the king of England hath lent me, I haue neuer denied it, neither doo I denie it, but am readie to paie it as right requireth, as I haue cauſed it to be declared vnto him, and I my ſelfe haue ſhewed no leſſe to his ambaſſadors, and deliuered my ſaieng by writing, and I cannot beleeue, that for ſuch things (which I refuſe not to accompliſh) he will make war againſt me, and if he will ſo doo it will grieue me, but yet I muſt defend my ſelfe: and I praie God that the king your maiſter giue me not greater occaſion to make him war, than I haue giuen him. You ſhall deliuer me in writing, that which you haue ſaid, to the which I will anſwer by writing particularlie.

This anſwer made by the emperour to the king of armes Clarenceaux, the ſaid Clarenceaux tooke his coat of armes, which he had lieng on his left arme, The Engliſh herald is cōmanded by the emperour to leaue his oration behind him in writing.

arme (as before is ſaid) and put it vpon him. The emperour herewith commanded him to deliuer by writing into the hands of the lord of Buclans all that he had vttered by word of mouth, as is aboue expreſſed. Which Clarenceaux promiſed to doo, & ſo he did afterwards, ſigned with his owne hand, word for word. Clarenceaux hauing thus doone his dutie, incontinentlie withdrew: but before his departure, the lord of Buclans ſaid to him, and alſo to Guien, theſe words inſuing. Behold here this writing in my hand, conteining the articles of the compoſition betwéene the emperour and the pope.

Guic.pag.1085 Accord betwéene the pope & the emperours agents.

¶That the pope ſhould be no partie againſt the emperour, neither in the affaires of Millaine, nor in the kingdome of Naples. That he ſhould accord vnto the emperour the croiſade in Spaine, and a tenth of the reuenues eccleſiaſtike through all his dominions. That to aſſure the obſeruation of theſe things, Oſtia ſhould remaine in the hands of the emperour, and Ciuita Vecchia which Andrea Dore had left to him before. That he ſhould aſſigne ouer to him Ciuita Caſtellana, a towne which had refuſed to receiue the imperials, Mario Peruſquo procuror of the fiſke being entred within the rocke by ſecret commiſſion from the pope, notwithſtanding he made ſemblance of the contrarie. That he ſhould alſo deliuer ouer to him the rocke of Furlie, and to put into his hands for oſtages Hyppolito and Alexander his nephues, and till they were come from Parma the emperour to be poſſeſſed of the cardinals Piſani, Triuulco, and Gaddi, whome they led to the realme of Naples.

Heauie paiments for the pope to diſcharge.

Furthermore, that he ſhould make preſent paiment to the lanceknights of thrée ſcore thouſand ducates, and to the Spaniards thirtie & fiue thouſand. That in ſo dooing they ſhould let him come out at libertie with all the cardinals, and they to go out of Rome and out of the caſtell, alwaies interpreting to libertie when ſoeuer they ſhould be conueied in ſafetie to Orbietto, Spoletto, or Perouſa. That within fiftéene daies after his going out of Rome he ſhould paie the like quantitie of monie to the lanceknights, and afterwards the reſidue within thrée moneths to the Spaniards & lanceknights iointlie, according to their ſhares and portions. Which reſidue togither with the ſummes paid amounted to more than thrée hundred and fiftie thouſand ducats.]

This is the true copie (ſaid the lord of Buclans) of the capitulation, made touching the deliuerance of the pope, and how he is deliuered, and departed from caſtell ſaint Angelo, the tenth of December laſt paſt: put it in your relation. The ſaid king of armes anſwered; We will ſo doo: and ſo for that time they parted. ¶ Here, bicauſe mention is made of the popes deliuerance out of priſon, it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſet downe the maner thereof as it is reported by Guicciardine. All things hauing their orderlie expedition, & the reſolution ſet downe, that the tenth of December the Spaniards ſhould accompanie him into a place of ſuertie, he fearing ſome variation either for the ill mind which he knew don Hugo bare to him, or for anie other accident that might happen, the night before he ſtale ſecretlie out of the caſtell in the cloſing of the euening, diſguiſed in the attire of a merchant. Lewis de Gonſaguo who was in the paie of the emperour, taried for him in the medowes with a ſtrong companie of harquebuziers, and with that gard did accompanie him to Montfalcon, where diſmiſſing almoſt all his bands of footmen, he was led by the ſame Lewis euen to Orbietto, into which citie he entred by night without the companie of anie one cardinall. An example worthie of conſideration, and perhaps neuer happened ſince the church was great, that a pope ſhould in that ſort fall from ſo great a puiſſance and reuerence, his eies to behold the loſſe and ſacke of Rome, his perſon to be turned ouer into captiuitie, and his whole eſtate reduced to the diſpoſing of an other, and within few moneths after, to be reſtored & eſtabliſhed in his former greatneſſe. So great towards princes chriſtian is the authoritie of the pope, and the reſpect which mortall men doo beare to him.]

Guic.pag.1085 The maner of the popes going out of priſon.

The emperors words to the French herald.

At the ſame inſtant that the heralds were at the emperors court, the emperour called before him the ſaid Guien king at armes of France, and ſaid to him as followeth. Sith it is reaſon that you enioy your priuileges, you ought alſo to doo your dutie; and therefore I praie you declare to your maiſter, yea euen to his owne perſon that which I ſhall tell you, which is this: that ſince the treatie of Madrill contrarie to the ſame, diuerſe of my ſubiects haue béene taken going about their buſineſſes, and other alſo going to ſerue me in Italie, which haue béene deteined priſoners, euill intreated, and by force thruſt into the gallies: and bicauſe I haue of his ſubiects the which I might likewiſe take, yée ſhall aduertiſe him, that if he deliuer vnto me mine, I will deliuer his; if not, as he ſhall intreat mine, I will intreat his; and that he ſend me anſwer hereof within fortie daies: if not, I will take the refuſall for an anſwer.

This the emperor inferreth to iuſtifie his owne dealings by waie of compariſon

The king of armes Guien aſked if his maieſtie ment this concerning the merchants? Wherevnto the emperor anſwered: This is beſide that which is conteined in your writing, touching the merchants, to which point (ſaid he) I will anſwer by writing. And herewith Guien making thrée obeiſances, ſaid; Sir I will gladlie doo it. Then ſaid the emperor, Tell the king your maiſter further, that I beléeue that he hath not béene aduertiſed of that which I told to his ambaſſador in Granado, which toucheth him néere. For I told him in ſuch a caſe ſo noble a prince, that if he had vnderſtood the ſame, he would haue made me an anſwer. He ſhall do well to know it of his ambaſſador. For by that he ſhall vnderſtand, that I haue kept better faith to him in that I haue promiſed at Madrill than he to me, and I praie you ſo tell him, and faile not hereof. Guien anſwered, Without doubt ſir I will doo it: and ſo making his obeiſance he departed.

The heralds receiue the emperors anſwer in writing.

The emperor appointed Iohn le Alemant the baron of Buclans to ſée that no diſpleaſure nor euill ſpeach were vſed to the ſaid kings of armes, but that they ſhould be well vſed: which was doone to their good contentation. After this, the ſeauen and twentith of Ianuarie, the ſaid kings of armes came to the ſaid lord of Buclans, who by the emperours appointment deliuered an anſwer vnto either of them in writing, accordinglie as the emperor had promiſed, the copies whereof are ſet foorth at large in the annales of Aquitaine, and for bréefeneſſe here omitted. To conclude, the French king tooke ſuch diſpleaſure with the emperours anſwers made vnto his king of armes Guien, whereby he was charged to doo otherwiſe than by his faith giuen he ought to haue doone, that the eight and twentith daie of March being in the citie of Paris, accompanied with a great number of the princes of his bloud, cardinals and other prelats and nobles of his realme, and alſo the ambaſſadors of diuerſe princes and potentates, he called before him Nicholas Perenot lord of Granuelle, vnto whom he ſaid in effect as followeth.

The ſeauen & twentith ſaith Guic.pag.1091.

The French kings oration before an *honourable aſſemblie at Paris.*

This ſpeach of the kings dooth wholie concerne the emperor and fauoureth of diſpleaſure.

My lord ambaſſadors, it hath gréeued me, and dooth gréeue me, that I haue béene conſtreined to handle you not ſo courteouſlie and gratiouſlie as for the good and

honou

honourable behauiour, which you haue ſhewed in dooing your dutie being here with me, you haue deſerued at my hands, ſith I muſt néeds ſaie, yée haue acquit your ſelfe in euerie behalfe, as well to the honor of your maiſter, as good contentation of each man elſe, ſo that I am aſſured the fault reſteth not in you, whie things haue not come to better end and purpoſe than they haue doone, for the good zeale and affection, which I haue euer prooued in you to the aduancement of peace and quieting of things, wherein I doubt not but you haue doone your duetie to the full.

But being informed what your maiſter the elect emperor, againſt all right and law, as well diuine as humane, had commanded to be doone vnto my ambaſſadors, and likewiſe to the other of the league remaining with him, for the furtherance of things toward a peace, and contrarie to all good cuſtoms, which hitherto haue béene obſerued betwixt princes, not onelie chriſtians, but alſo infidels, me thought I could not otherwiſe doo, for the behoofe of mine owne ambaſſadours, arreſted and againſt reaſon kept in ward, but to doo the ſame to you, although I had no mind to vſe you euill, for the reaſons aboue ſaid, for the which, and for the dutie you haue ſhewed in dooing that apperteined, I aſſure you my lord ambaſſador, that beſide that I doubt not but your maiſter will recompenſe you for the ſame, yée may be aſſured that where particularlie in anie thing I may pleaſure you, I will doo it with as good a will as you can require me.

what induced the French king to vſe ſome diſcourteſie againſt the emperors ambaſſadors.

And to make anſwer to that which your maiſter by word of mouth hath ſaid vnto Guien and Clarenceaux kings of armes of the king my good brother and perpetuall and beſt alie, and of me vpon the intimation of the warre which hath béene made by vs, conſiſting in eight points, I will that each one vnderſtand it. Firſt, as to the which he ſaith he maruelleth that he hauing me a priſoner by iuſt warre, and hauing alſo my faith, I ſhould defie him, and that in reaſon I neither may nor ought to doo it; I anſwer thereto, that if I were his priſoner here, and that he had my faith, he had ſpoken true: but I know not that the emperor hath euer at anie time had my faith, that may in anie wiſe auaile him. For firſt in what warre ſo euer I haue béene, I know not that I haue either ſéene him or encountred with him.

The king anſwereth the emperours words vttered to Guien his herald.

When I was priſoner, garded with foure or fiue hundred harquebuzers, ſicke in my bed, and in danger of death, it was an eaſie matter to conſtreine me, but not verie honorable to him that ſhould doo it: and after that I returned into France, I know not anie that hath had power to compell me to it: and to doo it willinglie without conſtraint, it is a thing which I waie more than ſo lightlie to bind my ſelfe thereto. And bicauſe I will not that my honor come in diſputation, although I know well that euerie man of warre knoweth ſufficientlie, that a priſoner garded is not bound to anie faith, nor can bind himſelfe thereto in anie thing: I doo neuertheleſſe ſend to your maſter this writing ſigned with mine owne hand, the which my lord ambaſſadour I praie you read, and afterwards promiſe me to deliuer it vnto your maſter, and not to anie other. And herewith the king cauſed it to be deliuered to the ſaid ambaſſador by maſter Iohn Robertet, one of the ſecretaries of the eſtate, and of his chamber.

The French K. ſaith that conſtraint and neceſſitie made him tractable to the emperor.

The ambaſſador tooke the writing in his hand, and after excuſed himſelfe to the king, ſaieng: That as to him, by the letter which his maſter & ſouereigne lord had written vnto him now laſtlie, his commiſſion was alreadie expired, and that he had no further commandement nor inſtructions from his maieſtie, but to take leaue of the king with as much ſpéed as he might, and to returne home. Which he moſt humblie beſought him to permit him to doo, without further charge or commiſſion, although he knew that he was at his commanddement, and that he might at his pleaſure conſtreine him, as ſéemed to him good. Herevnto the king anſwered; My lord ambaſſador, ſith you will not take vpon you to read this writing, I will cauſe it to be read in this companie, to the end that euerie one may vnderſtand and know that I am cléered in that, whereof againſt truth he goeth about to accuſe me.

The emperors ambaſſador refuſeth to read the French kings letters ſent to his ſouereigne.

Beſide that, if you afterwards will not beare it, & deliuer it to him, I will ſend one of my heralds here preſent to go in companie with you: for whom you ſhall procure a good & auailable ſafe conduct, that he maie paſſe vnto your maſter, proteſting & demanding, that an act maie be regiſtred before this companie, that if he will not it ſhould come to his knowledge, that I am diſcharged, in that I doo my beſt to cauſe him to vnderſtand it accordinglie as I ought to doo, and in ſuch ſort as he can not pretend cauſe of ignorance. After he had made an end of theſe words, he called to him the ſaid Robertet, and commanded him to reade the ſaid writing with a lowd voice, which was doone word for word.

The French king deliuereth his mind with a corage, as vtter enimie to the emperour.

The copie of the ſaid writing directed to the emperour.

WE Francis, by the grace of God, king of France, lord of Genes, &c. To you Charles, by the ſame grace, choſen emperour of Rome, and king of Spaine. We doo you to wit, that being aduertiſed, that in all the anſwers that you haue made to our ambaſſadors and heraulds, ſent to you for the eſtabliſhing of peace, in excuſing your ſelfe, without all reaſon you haue accuſed vs, ſaieng, that we haue plight you our faith, and that therevpon (beſides our promiſe) we departed out of your hands and power. In defenſe of our honour, which hereby might be burthened too much againſt all truth, we thought good to ſend you this writing; by which we giue you to vnderſtand, that notwithſtanding that no man being in ward is bound to kéepe faith, and that the ſame might be a ſufficient excuſe for vs: yet for the ſatiſfieng of all men, and our ſaid honor (which we mind to kéepe, and will kéepe, if it pleaſe God, vnto the death) that if ye haue charged, or will charge vs, not onelie with our ſaid faith, and deliuerance, but that euer we did anie thing that became not a gentleman that had reſpect to his honor; that ye lie falſlie in your throat: and as oft as ye ſaie it, ye lie: and we determine to defend our honor to the vttermoſt drop of our bloud. Wherefore, ſéeing ye haue charged vs againſt all truth, write no more to vs hereafter: but appoint vs the field, and we will bring you the weapons. Proteſting, that if after this declaration ye write into anie place, or vſe anie words againſt our honor, that the ſhame of the delaie of the combat ſhall light on you, ſéeing that the offering of combat is the end of all writing. Made at our good towne and citie of Paris, the eight and twentith daie of March.

The French kings allegations in defenſe of his honor charged with vntruth.

The French king giueth the emperor the lie: ſée Guic.pag 1091

March. In the yere of our Lord, one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and eight, before Eaſter. Thus ſigned. Francis.

This Robertet was one of the ſecretaries to the eſtate.

After that Robertet had read this writing there in preſence of the emperours ambaſſadors, the king made further replie vnto the points conteined in the emperours anſwers to the defiance: and withall to conclude, told the ſaid ambaſſador, that his maſter the emperor had conſtreined him by ſuch meſſage as he had ſent to him, to make the anſwer in truth, which he had made: and further willed him to deliuer vnto the emperour the writing which he had ſigned with his hand, and to ſaie to him, that he tooke him for ſo honorable a prince, that conſidering the matter wherewith he charged him, and the anſwer that he made, he would not faile but to anſwer him like a gentleman, and not by writing like an aduocate. For if he otherwiſe doo (ſaid the king) I will anſwer his chancellor by an aduocate, and a man of his eſtate, and a more honeſt man than he.

The emperor anſwereth the French kings letters.

Shortlie after, the emperors ambaſſadors returned home into Spaine in ſafetie, and well intreted. And vpõ their returne, the ambaſſadors of France were ſet at libertie, and deliuered beyond Fonterabie, & ſo came ſafelie home into France. Then a French herald, appointed to accompanie the ambaſſadour Grandeuill, brought the writing of the combat vnto the emperor, bicauſe Grandeuill refuſed to medle with it. To the which the emperor fiue moneths after, or thereabouts, ſent an anſwer by one of his heralds; who being arriued at Paris, meant vpon the ſudden to preſent his letters vnto the French king. But the king getting intelligence thereof, the tenth of September, ſitting within his great hall of his palace at Paris aforeſaid, before the table of marble in a roiall ſeat, addreſſed and ſet vp for him ſixtéene ſteps in height, appointed to giue audience to the ſaid herald.

What ſtates both natiue and forren were preſent in the French kings hall.

On his right hand ſate in chaires the king of Nauarre, the duke of Alanſon and Berrie, the earle of Foix and Arminacke. And on the ſame ſide ſate alſo vpon a bench, the duke of Vandoſme a péere of France, lieutenant generall, and gouernor of Picardie, don Hercules de Eſt, eldeſt ſonne to the duke of Ferrar, duke of Chartres and Montarges, who latelie before had maried the ladie Rener, a daughter of France, the duke of Albanie regent and gouernor of Scotland, the duke of Longueuille, great chamberleine of France. And néere to them vpon another bench ſate the preſidents and councellors of the court of parlement; and behind them manie gentlemen, doctors, and learned men. On the left hand were ſet in chaires prepared for them, the cardinall Saluarie the popes legat, the cardinall of Burbon, and duke of Laon, a péere of France, the cardinall of Sens chancellor of France, the cardinall of Lorrain, the archbiſhop of Narbon, the ambaſſadors of the kings of England and Scotland, of the ſegniorie of Venice, of Millan, of the Cantons, of the Suiſſes, and of Florence.

Who ſtood on either ſide of the French kings ſeate roiall.

On an other bench ſate the biſhop of Tranſiluania, ambaſſador for the king of Hungarie, the biſhop and duke of Langres, one of the péeres of France, the biſhop & earle of Noion, an other of the péeres of France, th'archbiſhop of Lion, primat of all France, the archbiſhop of Burges primate of Aquitaine, the archbiſhops of Aux and Rouen, the biſhops of Paris, Meaux, Lizeux, Maſcon, Limoges, Vabres, Conſerans and Terbe. And behind them ſate the maſters of the requeſts, and the councellors of the great councell. On either ſide the kings ſeate ſtood the earle of Beaumont great maſter and marſhall of France, the lord de Brion admerall of France lieutenant generall, and gouernor of Burgognie. And behind the ſame ſeat were manie knights of the order, that is to wit, the earle of Lauall, lieutenant generall and gouernor of Britaine, the lord of Montmerancie, the lord Daubignie capteine of an hundred lances, and of the Scotiſh gard, the earle of Brienne, Lignie, and Rouſſie, the lord of Fleuranges marſhall of France, the lord of Ruffoie, the lord of Genoilliac great eſquier and maſter of the artillerie of France, Lois monſieur de Clenes, the lord of Humiers, and the earle of Carpie.

Behind them was the earle of Eſtamps prouoſt of Paris, and with him manie gentlemen of the kings chamber: among the which was the earle of Tancaruill, the lord of Guien, the ſon of the earle of Rouſſie, the ſon of the lord of Fleuranges, the lord de la Rochpot, the lord Donartie great maſter of the waters and forreſts, the lord of Lude, the lord of Ianlie, the lord de Villebon, bailie of Rouen, the baron of Chaſteau Morant, the lord de la Loue, the vicount de la Motheaugroing, and the lord of Vertes. And beſides theſe, the maſters and officers of the houſhold & gentlemen waiters, with the more part of the two hundred gentlemen or penſioners, as we terme them. At the entrie into the ſaid throne or tribunall ſeat, were the capteins of the gards, and the prouoſt of the houſhold. And before the king knéeled the vſhers of the chamber vpon the one knée: and at the foot of the ſtep that went vp to the kings ſeate were the prouoſts of the merchants and eſcheuins of the towne of Paris. Beneath in the hall (the gates whereof were ſtill open) there was an infinite number of people of all nations: and in preſence of them all, the king made this declaration.

The king ſheweth the firſt cauſe of this aſſemblie of honorable perſonages.

The cauſe wherefore I haue made this aſſemblie, is, for that the emperour elect hath ſent to me an herald of armes, who (as I coniecture, and as the ſame herald hath ſaid, and as his ſafe conduct importeth) hath brought me letters patents and autentike, concerning the ſuertie of the field for the combat that ſhould be betwixt the ſaid elected emperour and me. And foraſmuch as the ſaid herald, vnder colour to bring the ſuertie of the field, may vſe certeine fictions, diſſimulations, or hypocriſies, to ſhift off the matter, whereas I deſire expedition, and to haue it diſpatched out of hand; ſo that by the ſame an end of the warres, which haue ſo long continued, may be had, to the eaſe and comfort of all chriſtendome, to auoid the effuſion of bloud, and other miſchéefes which come thereof: I haue wiſhed it knowne to all chriſtendome, to the end that euerie one may vnderſtand the truth, from whence procéedeth the miſchéefe and the long continuance thereof.

Further cauſe whie the ſaid aſſemblie was procured.

I haue alſo cauſed this aſſemblie to be made, to ſhew that I haue not without great cauſe enterpriſed ſuch an act; for the right is on my ſide: and if I ſhould otherwiſe haue doone, mine honor had béene greatlie blemiſhed. A thing which my lords that are of my bloud, and other my ſubiects would haue taken in euill part. And knowing the cauſe of the combat, and my right, they will beare with it, as good and loiall ſubiects ought to doo, truſting by Gods helpe to procéed in ſuch ſort therein, that it ſhall plainelie appéere if the right be on my ſide or not: and how, againſt truth, I haue béene accuſed for a breaker of my faith, which I would be loth to doo, nor at anie time haue meant ſo to doo. The kings my predeceſſors and anceſtors, whoſe pictures are ingrauen and ſet héere in order within this hall, which in their daies haue ſucceſſiuelie atchiued glorious acts, and greatlie augmented the realme of France, would thinke me vnworthie, and not capable to be their ſucceſſor, if againſt mine honor I ſhould ſuffer my ſelfe to be charged with ſuch a note by the emperour, and ſhould not defend my perſon and honor in the manner and forme accuſtomed.

The French king in preſence of all his eſtates auerreth that he neuer gaue his faith to anie of his enimies, ergo not to the emperour.

And herewith he declared the whole caſe as it ſtood. Firſt, how being taken at Pauia by fortune of war, he neuer gaue his faith to anie of his enimies, & conſenting to be led into Spaine, cauſed his owne gallies to be made readie to conueie him thither, where at his arriuall, he was committed to ward within the caſtell of Madrill, garded with a great number of harquebuziers & others. Which vncourteous dealing found in the emperor, ſo much greeued him, that he fell ſicke, and laie in danger of death. Wherevpon the emperour comming to viſit him after his recouerie of health, an accord was made betwixt the deputies of the emperour and the ambaſſadours of the ladie his mother then regent of France: which accord was ſo vnreaſonable, that no prince being in libertie would haue conſented thereto, nor for his deliuerance haue promiſed ſo great a ranſome. Which tretie yet they conſtrained him (as he ſaid) to ſweare to performe, being priſoner, againſt the proteſtation which he diuerſe times had made, yea as yet being ſicke, and in danger of recidiuation; and ſo conſequentlie of death.

The king proſecuteth the diſcourteſie of the emperour in his declaration.

After this, he was conueied forth on his iournie homewards, ſtill garded & not ſet at libertie. And it was told him, that after he came into France, it was conuenient that he ſhould giue his faith, for that it was knowne well enough, that what he did or promiſed in Spaine, it nothing auailed. And further he remembred not that the emperour had told him at anie time, that if he performed not the contents of the treatie, he would hold him for a breaker of his faith, & though he had, he was not in his libertie to make anie anſwer. Two things therefore ſaid he, in this caſe are to be conſidered. One, that the tretie was violentlie wrong out from them that could not bind his perſon, and the which (as to the reſidue) had beene accompliſhed by his mother, deliuering his ſonnes in hoſtage. The other thing was his pretended faith, on which they can make no ground, ſith he was not ſet at libertie. And herevnto he ſhewed manie reaſons, to proue that his enimies could not pretend in right that they had his faith.

The field, that is, a place where they may ſafelie come to fight in liſtes before indifferent iudges.

Further he ſaid, that in matter of combat there was the aſſailant, which ought to giue ſuertie of the field, and the defendant the weapons. Herewith alſo he cauſed a letter to be read, which the emperour had written to maiſter Iohn de Caluimont preſident of Burdeaux, the ſaid kings ambaſſadour in the court of the ſaid emperour: the tenor of which letter imported, that the emperour put the ſaid ambaſſadour in remembrance of ſpeech which he had vttered to the ſaid ambaſſadour in Granado, repeating the ſame in ſubſtance as followeth. That the king his maiſter had doone naughtilie in not keeping his faith which he had of him, according to the treatie of Madrill: and if the king would ſaie the contrarie, I will (ſaid the emperour) mainteine the quarrell with my bodie againſt his. And theſe be the ſame words that I ſpake to the king your maiſter in Madrill, that I would hold him for a lewd and naughtie man, if he brake the faith which I had of him, &c.

Guic.pag.1091

Then after the ſaid letter had beene read, he cauſed alſo his anſwer made by way of a cartell to be read, the tenor whereof ye haue heard before. That doone, he continued his tale, in declaring what order he had obſerued to procure the emperour to the combat, without all ſhifting delaies: ſo as if the herald now come from the emperour would vſe anie talke, other than to deliuer him an authentike writing for ſuertie of the field, and not obſerue the contents of his ſafe conduct, he meant not to giue him audience. And herevpon was the herald called to come in, and declare his meſſage. Who apparelled in his cote of armes, made his appearance before the king there ſitting, accompanied (as ye haue heard.) Vnto whome the king ſaid.

The French kings talke and communication to the emperors ambaſſador vttered with indignation.

Herald, dooeſt thou bring the ſuertie of the field, ſuch one as thy maiſter, being the aſſailant, ought to deliuer vnto the defendant, being ſuch a perſonage as I am? The herald herevnto ſaid: Sir, maie it pleaſe you to giue me licence to doo mine office? Then ſaid the king; Giue me the pattent of the field, and ſaie what thou wilt. The herald beginning his tale, The ſacred. Tuſh (ſaid the king) ſhew me the pattent of the field, for I hold thy maſter for ſo noble a prince, that he hath not ſent thee without the ſuertie of the field, ſith I haue demanded it; and thou knoweſt that thy ſafe conduct conteineth no leſſe but that thou ſhouldeſt bring it. The herald anſwered, that he truſted he had brought that which might content his maieſtie.

The king replied & ſaid: Herald, giue me the pattent of the field, giue it me: and if it be ſufficient, I will receiue it, and after ſaie what thou wilt. The herald ſaid he had in commandement not to deliuer it, except he might declare that which he had firſt to ſaie. The king ſaid: Thy maiſter can not giue lawes to vs in France. To conclude he told the herald, that he peraduenture might ſpeake things that his maiſter would not auouch, and that he had not to deale with him, but with his maiſter. The herald then required that he might haue licence to depart: which the king granted. And withall the king commanded that it might be regiſtred what had paſſed in this behalfe, for a teſtimonie that the fault reſted not in him in that he receiued not the pattent. The herald likewiſe for his diſcharge, required a copie in writing of that which had paſſed, and the ſame was granted.

The herald requireth libertie to depart.

Thus far haue I ouerpaſſed the common bounds of my purpoſe, in ſpeaking ſo largelie of this matter of combat, bicauſe of the rareneſſe thereof, chancing betwixt two ſo mightie princes, although it came not to the effect of triall. And now to returne to that which followed further vpon the defiance, denounced to the emperor by the two kings of armes, Guien and Clarenceaux. Ye ſhall vnderſtand, that the lords and nobilitie, to the number of ſeuen hundred in whoſe preſence it was giuen, tooke it ſo offenſiuelie, that drawing forth their ſwords, they ſware that the ſame ſhould be reuenged: for otherwiſe they proteſted, that the infamie would redound to them and their heires for euer. Herewith the warre was proclamed through all Spaine with baners diſplaied, in which were painted a red ſword, with a burning creſſet againſt the French king and his partakers, but not mentioning the king of England by expreſſe name. But it was recited in the proclamation, that the king of England had menaced and defied the emperour in the French kings quarell.

1528

The emperor defied by the kings of England and France.

Then were the Engliſh merchants in Spaine attached, and their goods put in ſafetie, till it might be knowne how the emperours ſubiects were ordered in England. Then likewiſe were all the ſhips of the emperours ſubiects here arreſted: and in ſemblable maner all the Engliſhmen and their goods and ſhips were arreſted by the ladie regent in the low countries. The common people in England much lamented, that warre ſhould ariſe betweene the emperour and the king of England, ſpeciallie bicauſe the emperours dominions had holpen and releeued them with graine in time of their neceſſitie & want. But cheefelie this matter touched merchants which haunted the emperors dominions. Yet at length were thoſe of the low countries ſet at libertie, and their goods to them deliuered, in fauour of intercourſe of

Engliſh merchants ſtaied in Spaine.

merchandize. But forſomuch as the Spaniards were ſtill deteined, the ladie regent alſo deteined the ſhips and goods of the Engliſh merchants though ſhe ſet their perſons at libertie.

The incõmoditie riſing of lacke of intercourſe for traficke.

By this meanes the trade of merchandize was in maner fore-let here in England, and namelie the clothes laie on their hands, whereby the commonwealth ſuffered great decaie, and great numbers of ſpinners, carders, tuckers, and ſuch other that liued by clothworking, remained idle, to their great impoueriſhment. And as this warre was diſpleaſant to the Engliſhmen, ſo was it as much or more diſpleaſant to the townes and people of the low countries, & in eſpeciall to the townes of Antuerpe & Barrow, where the marts are kept. So that at length there came ambaſſadours from the ladie regent, the which aſſociating themſelues with don Hugo de Mendoza ambaſſadour for the emperour, came to the king at Richmond the twentie and ninth of March, and there mooued their ſute ſo effectuallie, that an abſtinence of warre was granted, till time that a further communication might be had: and vpon this point letters were ſent into Spaine, France, and Flanders, and ſo this matter continued vntill anſwers were brought from thenſe againe.

An abſtinence of war granted vpon ſute made to the king of England.

The emperours ambaſſadours intreated not ſo earneſtlie to mooue the king to haue peace with their maiſter, but the French ambaſſadours ſollicited the king as earneſtlie to enter into the warre againſt him, and ſuerlie they had the cardinall on their ſide. But yet the king wiſelie conſidering with other of his councell, what damage ſhould inſue therby vnto his ſubiects, and ſpeciallie to the merchants and clothiers, would not conſent ſo eaſilie to the purpoſe of the Frenchmen, though he had twentie thouſand pounds ſterling out of France, of yearelie penſion, to continue freend & alie to the French king. But he proteſted euer that he would ſee the relme of France defended to his power, and ſtudie no leſſe to haue a peace concluded, which might be as honourable to the French king as to himſelfe, and beneficiall vnto their people, of whome by warres, might be made both ſlaughter and bloudſhed, which are companions vnſeparable of battell; as the poet well ſaith:

Hinc breuiter diræ mortis aperta via eſt.

On the two and twentith of Februarie the king created at Windſor ſir Piers Butler of Ireland, erle of Oſſerie. ¶Alſo a Dutch craire of Armew chaſed a French craire vp the Thames from Margate to the Tower wharfe, and there as they fought ſir Edmund Walſingham lieutenant of the Tower perceiuing them, called his men togither, and entering the ſhips tooke both the capteins. The kings councell tooke vp the matter betwixt them, for the Fleming chalenged the Frenchman as a lawfull priſe. An abſtinence of the warre was taken in the beginning of this yeare betwixt Flanders, and the countries of Picardie on this ſide the riuer of Some to begin the firſt of Maie & indure till the laſt of Februarie. By means of this truce all the Engliſhmen might lawfullie paſſe into the low countries, but not into Spaine: which ſore greeued the merchants that haunted thoſe parties. It was further agreed, that if no generall peace could be had, during the time of this truce: then all the merchants ſhould haue reſpit two moneths after to paſſe into their owne countries with their wares and merchandizes in ſafetie.

Creation of the earle of Oſſerie.

Sir Edmund Walſingham.

A truce and the benefits inſuing from the ſame.

In the end of Maie began in the citie of London the diſeaſe called the ſweating ſickeneſſe, which afterwards infected all places of the realme, and ſlue manie within fiue or ſix houres after they ſickened. This ſickeneſſe, for the maner of the taking of the patients, was an occaſion of remembring that great ſweat which raged in the reigne of this kings grandfather; and happilie men cauſed the ſame remedie then vſed to be reuiued. By reaſon of this ſickeneſſe, the tearme was adiourned, and the circuit of the aſſiſes alſo. There died diuerſe in the court of this ſickeneſſe, as ſir Francis Poins, which had beene ambaſſadour in Spaine, and diuerſe others. The king for a ſpace remooued almoſt euerie daie till he came to Tintinhangar, a place of the abbat of ſaint Albons, and there he with the queene, and a ſmall companie about them, remained till the ſickeneſſe was paſt. In this great mortalitie died ſir William Compton knight, and William Carew eſquier; which were of the kings priuie chamber.

The ſweating ſickeneſſe, whereof died both courtiers and others.

Sir William Compton.

¶A priſoner brake from the ſeſſions hall at Newgate when the ſeſſions was doone, which priſoner was brought downe out of Newgate in a baſket, he ſeemed ſo weake: but now in the end of the ſeſſions he brake thorough the people vnto the Greie friers church, and there was kept ſix or ſeauen daies yer the ſhiriffes could ſpeake with him, and then bicauſe he would not abiure and aſke a crowner, with violence they tooke him thenſe, and caſt him againe in priſon, but the law ſerued not to hang him.]

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 959. A priſoner brake frõ the ſeſſions houſe, Regiſter of Greie friers.

Ye heaue heard how the people talked a little before the cardinals going ouer into France the laſt yeare, that the king was told by doctor Longland biſhop of Lincolne and others, that his mariage with queene Katharine could not be good nor lawfull. The truth is, that whether this doubt was firſt mooued by the cardinall, or by the ſaid Longland, being the kings confeſſor, the king was not onelie brought in doubt, whether it was a lawfull marriage or no; but alſo determined to haue the caſe examined, cleered, and adiudged by learning, law, and ſufficient authoritie. The cardinall verelie was put in moſt blame for this ſcruple now caſt into the kings conſcience, for the hate he bare to the emperor, bicauſe he would not grant to him the archbiſhoprike of Toledo, for the which he was a ſuter. And therefore he did not onlie procure the king of England to ioine in freendſhip with the French king, but alſo ſought a diuorſe betwixt the king and the queene, that the king might haue had in marriage the ducheſſe of Alanſon, ſiſter vnto the French king: and (as ſome haue thought) he trauelled in that matter with the French king at Amiens, but the ducheſſe would not giue eare therevnto.

Doctor Longland biſhop of Lincolne.

Why the cardinall was ſuſpected to be againſt the marriage.

Polydor.

But howſoeuer it came about, that the king was thus troubled in conſcience concerning his mariage, this followed, that like a wiſe & ſage prince, to haue the doubt cleerelie remooued, he called togither the beſt learned of the realme, which were of ſeuerall opinions. Wherfore he thought to know the truth by indifferent iudges, leaſt peraduenture the Spaniards, and other alſo in fauour of the queene would ſaie, that his owne ſubiects were not indifferent iudges in this behalfe. And therefore he wrote his cauſe to Rome, and alſo ſent to all the vniuerſities in Italie and France, and to the great clearkes of all chriſtendome, to know their opinions, and deſired the court of Rome to ſend into his realme a legat, which ſhould be indifferent, and of a great and profound iudgement, to heare the cauſe debated. At whoſe requeſt the whole conſiſtorie of the college of Rome ſent thither Laurence Campeius, a preeſt cardinall, a man of great wit and experience, which was ſent hither before in the tenth yeare of this king, as yee haue heard, and with him was ioined in commiſſion the cardinall of Yorke and legat of England.

Edw. Hall.

The king is deſirous to be reſolued by the opinions of the learned touching his marriage.

Cardinall Campeius ſent into England.

This cardinall came to London in October, and did intimate both to the king & queene the cauſe of his comming: which being knowne, great talke was had thereof. The archbiſhop of Canturburie ſent for the famous doctors of both the vniuerſities to Lambeth,

The matter touching the kings marriage debated.

beth, and there were euerie daie diſputations and communings of this matter. And bicauſe the king meant nothing but vprightlie therein, and knew well that the quéene was ſomewhat wedded to hir owne opinion, and wiſhed that ſhe ſhould do nothing without counſell, he bad hir chooſe the beſt clearks of his realme to be of hir counſell, and licenced them to doo the beſt on hir part that they could, according to the truth. Then ſhe elected William Warham archbiſhop of Canturburie, and Nicholas Weſt biſhop of Elie, doctors of the laws; and Iohn Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, and Henrie Standiſh biſhop of ſaint Aſaph, doctors of diuinitie, and manie other doctors and well learned men, which for ſuertie like men of great learning defended hir cauſe, as farre as learning might mainteine and hold it vp.

The quéene chooſeth lawyers for hir part.

Polydor.

This yeare was ſir Iames Spenſer maior of London, in whoſe time the watch in London on Midſummer night was laid downe. About this time the king receiued into fauour doctor Stephan Gardiner, whoſe ſeruice he vſed in matters of great ſecrecie and weight, admitting him in the roome of doctor Pace, the which being continuallie abroad in ambaſſages, and the ſame oftentimes not much neceſſarie, by the cardinals appointment, at length he tooke ſuch gréefe therewith, that he fell out of his right wits. The place where the cardinals ſhould ſit to heare the cauſe of matrimonie betwixt the king and the quéene, was ordeined to be at the Blacke friers in London, where in the great hall was preparation made of ſeats, tables, and other furniture, according to ſuch a ſolemne ſeſſion and roiall apparance. The court was platted in tables and benches in manner of a conſiſtorie, one ſeat raiſed higher for the iudges to ſit in. Then as it were in the midſt of the ſaid iudges aloft aboue them thrée degrées high, was a cloth of eſtate hanged, with a chaire roiall vnder the ſame, wherein ſat the king; and beſides him, ſome diſtance from him ſat the quéene, and vnder the iudges féet ſat the ſcribes and other officers: the chéefe ſcribe was doctor Stéeuens, and the caller of the court was one Cooke of Wincheſter.

Doctor Stephā Gardner.

1529

Doctor Pace falleth out of his wits.

Anno Reg. 21. Edw. Hall.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 959.

The maner of the ſeſſion, euerie perſonage of account in his place.

Then before the king and the iudges within the court ſat the archbiſhop of Canturburie Warham, and all the other biſhops. Then ſtood at both ends within, the counſellors learned in the ſpirituall laws, as well the kings as the quéenes. The doctors of law for the king (whoſe names yée haue heard before) had their conuenient roomes. Thus was the court furniſhed. The iudges commanded ſilence whileſt their commiſſion was read, both to the court and to the people aſſembled. That doone the ſcribes commanded the crier to call the king by the name of king Henrie of England, come into the court, &c. With that the king anſwered and ſaid, Héere. Then called he the quéene by the name of Katharine quéene of England come into the court, &c. Who made no anſwer, but roſe out of hir chaire.

The king and quéene called into the court.

And bicauſe ſhée could not come to the king directlie, for the diſtance ſeuered betwéene them, ſhée went about by the court, and came to the king, kneeling downe at his féet, to whome ſhe ſaid in effect as followeth: Sir (quoth ſhe) I deſire you to doo me iuſtice and right, and take ſome pitie vpon me, for I am a poore woman, and a ſtranger, borne out of your dominion, hauing héere no indifferent counſell, & leſſe aſſurance of fréendſhip. Alas ſir, what haue I offended you, or what occaſion of diſpleaſure haue I ſhewed you, intending thus to put me from you after this ſort? I take God to my iudge, I haue béene to you a true & humble wife, euer conformable to your will and pleaſure, that neuer contraried or gainesaid any thing thereof, and being alwaies contented with all things wherein you had any delight, whether little or much, without grudge or diſpleaſure, I loued for your ſake all them whome you loued, whether they were my fréends or enimies.

Quéene Katharines lamentable and pithie ſpéech in preſence of the court.

I haue béene your wife theſe twentie yeares and more, & you haue had by me diuerſe children. If there be anie iuſt cauſe that you can alleage againſt me, either of diſhoneſtie, or matter lawfull to put me from you; I am content to depart to my ſhame and rebuke: and if there be none, then I praie you to let me haue iuſtice at your hand. The king your father was in his time of excellent wit, and the king of Spaine my father Ferdinando was reckoned one of the wiſeſt princes that reigned in Spaine manie yeares before. It is not to be doubted, but that they had gathered as wiſe counſellors vnto them of euerie realme, as to their wiſedoms they thought méet, who déemed the marriage betwéene you and me good and lawfull, &c. Wherefore, I humblie deſire you to ſpare me, vntill I may know what counſell my fréends in Spaine will aduertiſe me to take, and if you will not, then your pleaſure be fulfilled. ¶ With that ſhe aroſe vp, making a lowe curteſie to the king, and departed from thence.

The quéene iuſtifieth the mariage.

The king being aduertiſed that ſhée was readie to go out of the houſe, commanded the crier to call hir againe, who called hir by theſe words; Katharine quéene of England, come into the court. With that (quoth maiſter Griffith) Madame, you be called againe. On on (quoth ſhe) it maketh no matter, I will not tarrie, go on your waies. And thus ſhe departed, without anie further anſwer at that time, or anie other, and neuer would appeare after in anie court. The king perceiuing ſhe was departed, ſaid theſe words in effect: For as much (quoth he) as the quéene is gone, I will in hir abſence declare to you all, that ſhée hath béene to me as true, as obedient, and as conformable a wife, as I would wiſh or deſire. She hath all the vertuous qualities that ought to be in a woman of hir dignitie, or in anie other of a baſer eſtate, ſhe is alſo ſurelie a noble woman borne, hir conditions will well declare the ſame.

The quéene departing out of the court is called againe.

With that quoth Wolſeie the cardinall: Sir, I moſt humblie require your highneſſe, to declare before all this audience, whether I haue béene the chéefe and firſt moouer of this matter vnto your maieſtie or no, for I am greatlie ſuſpected héerein. My lord cardinall (quoth the king) I can well excuſe you in this matter, marrie (quoth he) you haue béene rather againſt me in the tempting héereof, than a ſetter forward or moouer of the ſame. The ſpeciall cauſe that mooued me vnto this matter, was a certeine ſcrupuloſitie that pricked my conſcience, vpon certeine words ſpoken at a time when it was, by the biſhop of Baion the French ambaſſador, who had béene hither ſent, vpon the debating of a marriage to be concluded betwéene our daughter the ladie Marie, and the duke of Orleance, ſecond ſon to the king of France.

The cardinall requireth to haue that declared which was well enough knowen.

Vpon the reſolution and determination whereof, he deſired reſpit to aduertiſe the king his maiſter thereof, whether our daughter Marie ſhould be legitimate in reſpect of this my marriage with this woman, being ſometimes my brothers wife. Which words once conceiued within the ſecret bottome of my conſcience, ingendered ſuch a ſcrupulous doubt, that my conſcience was incontinentlie accombred, vexed, and diſquieted; whereby I thought my ſelfe to be greatlie in danger of Gods indignation. Which appeared to be (as me ſéemed) the rather, for that he ſent vs no iſſue male: and all ſuch iſſues male as my ſaid wife had by me, died incontinent after they came into the world, ſo that I doubted the great diſpleaſure of God in that behalfe.

The king confeſſeth that the ſting of conſcience made him miſlike this mariage.

Thus my conſcience being toſſed in the waues of a ſcrupulous mind, and partlie in deſpaire to haue anie other iſſue than I had alredie by this ladie now my wife, it behooued me further to conſider the ſtate of this realme, and the danger it ſtood in for lacke of a prince to ſucceed me, I thought it good in releaſe of the weightie burthen of my weake conſcience, & alſo the quiet eſtate of this worthie relme, to attempt the law therin, whether I may lawfullie take another wife more lawfullie, by whome God may ſend me more iſſue, in caſe this my firſt copulation was not good, without anie carnall concupiſcence, and not for anie diſpleaſure or miſliking of the quéenes perſon and age, with whome I would be as well contented to continue, if our mariage may ſtand with the laws of God, as with anie woman aliue.

The ſtate of the queſtion.

In this point conſiſteth all this doubt that we go about now to trie, by the learning, wiſedome, and iudgement of you our prelats and paſtors of all this our realme and dominions now héere aſſembled for that purpoſe; to whoſe conſcience & learning I haue committed the charge and iudgement: according to the which I will (God willing) be right well content to ſubmit my ſelfe, and for my part obeie the ſame. Wherein, after that I perceiued my conſcience ſo doubtfull, I mooued it in confeſſion to you my lord of Lincolne then ghoſtlie father. And for ſo much as then you your ſelfe were in ſome doubt, you mooued me to aſke the counſell of all theſe my lords: whervpon I mooued you my lord of Canturburie, firſt to haue your licence, in as much as you were metropolitane, to put this matter in queſtion, and ſo I did of all you my lords: to which you granted vnder your ſeales, héere to be ſhewed. That is truth, quoth the archbiſhop of Canturburie. After that the king roſe vp, and the court was adiorned vntill another daie.

The king ſubmitteth himſelfe to the cenſures of the learned in this caſe of diuorſe.

Héere is to be noted, that the quéene in preſence of the whole court moſt gréeuouſlie accuſed the cardinall of vntruth, deceit, wickedneſſe, & malice, which had ſowne diſſention betwixt hir and the king hir husband; and therefore openlie proteſted, that ſhe did vtterlie abhorre, refuſe, and forſake ſuch a iudge, as was not onelie a moſt malicious enimie to hir, but alſo a manifeſt aduerſarie to all right and iuſtice, and therewith did ſhe appeale vnto the pope, committing hir whole cauſe to be iudged of him. But notwithſtanding this appeale, the legats ſat wéekelie, and euerie daie were arguments brought in on both parts, and proofes alleaged for the vnderſtanding of the caſe, and ſtill they aſſaied if they could by anie meanes procure the quéene to call backe hir appeale, which ſhe vtterlie refuſed to doo. The king would gladlie haue had an end in the matter, but when the legats draue time, and determined vpon no certeine point, he conceiued a ſuſpicion, that this was doone of purpoſe, that their dooings might draw to none effect or concluſion.

The quéene accuſeth cardinall Wolſie.

She appealeth to the pope.

The king miſtruſteth the legats of ſéeking delaies.

The next court daie, the cardinals ſat againe, at which time the councell on both ſides were there readie to anſwer. The kings councell alleaged the matrimonie not to be lawfull at the beginning, bicauſe of the carnall copulation had betwéene prince Arthur and the quéene. This matter was verie vehementlie touched on that ſide, and to prooue it, they alleaged manie reaſons and ſimilitudes of truth: and being anſwered negatiuelie againe on the other ſide, it ſéemed that all their former allegations were doubtfull to be tried, and that no man knew the truth. And thus this court paſſed from ſeſſions to ſeſſions, and daie to daie, till at certeine of their ſeſſions the king ſent the two cardinals to the quéene (who was then in Bridewell) to perſuade with hir by their wiſdoms, and to aduiſe hir to ſurrender the whole matter into the kings hands by hir owne conſent & will, which ſhould be much better to hir honour, than to ſtand to the triall of law, and thereby to be condemned, which ſhould ſéeme much to hir diſhonour.

The preſent mariage while thought vnlawfull.

The cardinals being in the quéenes chamber of preſence, the gentleman vſher aduertiſed the quéene that the cardinals were come to ſpeake with hir. With that ſhe roſe vp, & with a ſkeine of white thred about hir necke, came into hir chamber of preſence, where the cardinals were attending. At whoſe comming, quoth ſhe, What is your pleſure with me? If it pleaſe your grace (quoth cardinall Wolſeie) to go into your priuie chamber, we will ſhew you the cauſe of our comming. My lord (quoth ſhe) if yée haue anie thing to ſaie, ſpeake it openlie before all theſe folke, for I feare nothing that yée can ſaie againſt me, but that I would all the world ſhould heare and ſée it, and therefore ſpeake your mind. Then began the cardinall to ſpeake to hir in Latine. Naie good my lord (quoth ſhe) ſpeake to me in Engliſh.

Quéene Katharine and the cardinals haue communication in hir priuie chamber.

Forſooth (quoth the cardinall) good madame, if it pleaſe you, we come both to know your mind how you are diſpoſed to doo in this matter betwéene the king and you, and alſo to declare ſecretlie our opinions and counſell vnto you: which we doo onelie for verie zeale and obedience we beare vnto your grace. My lord (quoth ſhe) I thanke you for your good will, but to make you anſwer in your requeſt I cannot ſo ſuddenlie, for I was ſet among my maids at worke, thinking full little of anie ſuch matter, wherein there néedeth a longer deliberation, and a better head than mine to make anſwer: for I néed counſell in this caſe which toucheth me ſo néere, & for anie counſell or fréendſhip that I can find in England, they are not for my profit. What thinke you my lords, will anie Engliſhman counſell me, or be fréend to me againſt the K. pleaſure that is his ſubiect? Naie forſooth. And as for my counſell in whom I will put my truſt, they be not here, they be in Spaine in my owne countrie.

The quéene refuſeth to make ſudden anſwer to ſo weightie a matter as the diuorſe.

And my lords, I am a poore woman, lacking wit, to anſwer to anie ſuch noble perſons of wiſedome as you be, in ſo weightie a matter, therefore I praie you be good to me poore woman, deſtitute of fréends here in a forren region, and your counſell alſo I will be glad to heare. And therewith ſhe tooke the cardinall by the hand, and led him into hir priuie chamber with the other cardinall, where they tarried a ſeaſon talking with the quéene. Which communication ended, they departed to the king, making to him relation of hir talke. Thus this caſe went forward from court to court, till it came to iudgement, ſo that euerie man expected that iudgment would be giuen the next day. At which daie the king came thither, and ſet him downe in a chaire within a doore, in the end of the gallerie (which opened directlie againſt the iudgement ſeat) to heare the iudgement giuen, at which time all their procéedings were red in Latine.

The king & quéenes matter commeth to iudgement.

That doone, the kings councell at the barre called for iudgement. With that (quoth cardinall Campeius) I will not giue iudgement till I haue made relation to the pope of all our procéedings, whoſe counſell and commandement in this caſe I will obſerue: the caſe is verie doubtfull, and alſo the partie defendant will make no anſwer here, but dooth rather appeale from vs, ſuppoſing that we be not indifferent. Wherfore I will adiourne this court for this time, according to the order of the court of Rome. And with that the court was diſſolued, and no more doone. This protracting of the concluſion of the matter, king Henrie tooke verie diſpleaſantlie. Then cardinall Campeius tooke his leaue of the king and nobilitie, and returned towards Rome.]

Cardinall Campeius refuſeth to giue iudgement.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in hand, the cardinall of Yorke was aduiſed that the king had ſet his affection vpon a yoong gentlewoman named Anne, the daughter of ſir Thomas Bullen vicount Rochford, which did wait vpon the quéene. This was a

The kings affection and goodwill to the ladie Anne Bullen.

great griefe vnto the cardinall, as he that perceiued aforehand, that the king would marie the ſaid gentlewoman, if the diuorſe tooke place. Wherfore he began with all diligence to diſappoint that match, which by reaſon of the miſliking that he had to the woman, he iudged ought to be auoided more than preſent death. While the matter ſtood in this ſtate, and that the cauſe of the quéene was to be heard and iudged at Rome, by reaſon of the appeale which by hir was put in: the cardinall required the pope by letters and ſecret meſſengers, that in anie wiſe he ſhould defer the iudgement of the diuorſe, till he might frame the kings mind to his purpoſe.

The ſecret working and diſſimulation of cardinall Wolſeie.

Howbeit he went about nothing ſo ſecretlie, but that the ſame came to the kings knowledge, who tooke ſo high diſpleaſure with ſuch his cloked diſſimulation, that he determined to abaſe his degrée, ſith as an vnthankefull perſon he forgot himſelfe and his dutie towards him that had ſo highlie aduanced him to all honor and dignitie. When the nobles of the realme perceiued the cardinall to be in diſpleaſure, they began to accuſe him of ſuch offenſes as they knew might be proued againſt him, and thereof they made a booke conteining certeine articles, to which diuerſe of the kings councell ſet their hands. The king vnderſtanding more plainlie by thoſe articles, the great pride, preſumption, and couetouſneſſe of the cardinall, was ſore moued againſt him; but yet kept his purpoſe ſecret for a while. Shortlie after, a parlement was called to begin at Weſtminſter the third of Nouember next inſuing.

The king conceiueth diſpleaſure againſt the cardinall.

Edw. Hall.

Articles exhibited againſt the cardinall.

In the meane time the king, being informed that all thoſe things that the cardinall had doone by his power legantine within this realme, were in the caſe of the premunire and prouiſion, cauſed his atturneie Chriſtopher Hales to ſue out a writ of premunire againſt him, in the which he licenced him to make his atturneie. ¶ And further, the ſeuentéenth of Nouember the king ſent the two dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke to the cardinals place at Weſtminſter, who (went as they were commanded) and finding the cardinall there, they declared that the kings pleaſure was that he ſhould ſurrender vp the great ſeale into their hands, and to depart ſimplie vnto Aſher, which was an houſe ſituat nigh vnto Hampton court, belonging to the biſhoprike of Wincheſter. The cardinall demanded of them their commiſſion that gaue them ſuch authoritie, who anſwered againe, that they were ſufficient commiſſioners, and had authoritie to doo no leſſe by the kings mouth. Notwithſtanding, he would in no wiſe agrée in that behalfe, without further knowledge of their authoritie, ſaieng; that the great ſeale was deliuered him by the kings perſon, to inioy the miniſtration thereof, with the roome of the chancellor for the terme of his life, whereof for his ſuertie he had the kings letters patents.

The cardinall ſued in a premunire.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 966, 967.

The cardinall is loth to part from the great ſeale.

This matter was greatlie debated betwéene them with manie great words, in ſo much that the dukes were faine to depart againe without their purpoſe, and rode to Windſore to the king, and made report accordinglie; but the next daie they returned againe, bringing with them the kings letters. Then the cardinall deliuered vnto them the great ſeale, and was content to depart ſimplie, taking with him nothing but onelie certeine prouiſion for his houſe: and after long talke betwéene him and the dukes, they departed with the great ſeale of England, and brought the ſame to the king. Then the cardinall called all his officers before him, and tooke accompt of them for all ſuch ſtuffe, whereof they had charge. And in his gallerie were ſet diuerſe tables, whervpon laie a great number of goodlie rich ſtuffe, as whole péeces of ſilke of all colours, veluet, ſattin, damaſke, taffata, grograine, and other things. Alſo, there laie a thouſand péeces of fine Holland cloth.

The cardinall diſcharged of þ great ſeale.

The cardinall calleth all his officers to accounts.

There was laid on euerie table, bookes reporting the contents of the ſame, and ſo was there inuentaries of all things in order againſt the kings comming. He cauſed to be hanged the walles of the gallerie on the one ſide with cloth of gold, cloth of tiſſue, cloth of ſiluer, and rich cloth of bodken of diuerſe colours. On the other ſide were hanged the richeſt ſute of coapes of his owne prouiſion made for his colleges of Oxford and Ipſwich, that euer were ſéene in England. Then had he two chambers adioining to the gallerie, the one moſt commonlie called the gilt chamber, and the other the councell chamber, wherein were ſet vp two broad and long tables vpon treſtles, wher vpon was ſet ſuch a number of plate of all ſorts, as was almoſt incredible.

In the gilt chamber were ſet out vpon the table nothing but gilt plate, and vpon a cupbord and in a window was ſet no plate but gold, verie rich: and in the councell chamber was all white and parcell gilt plate, and vnder the table in baſkets was all old broken ſiluer plate, and bookes ſet by them purporting euerie kind of plate, and euerie parcell, with the contents of the ounces thereof. Thus were all things prepared, giuing charge of all the ſaid ſtuffe, with all other remaining in euerie office, to be deliuered to the king, to make anſwer to their charge: for the order was ſuch, that euerie officer was charged with the receipt of the ſtuffe belonging to his office by indenture. To ſir William Gaſcoigne, being his treaſuror, he gaue the charge of the deliuerie of the ſaid goods, and therwithall, with his traine of gentlemen and yeomen, he tooke his barge at the priuie ſtaires, and ſo went by water vnto Putneie, where when he was arriued, he tooke his mule, ⁊ euerie man tooke their horſſes, and rode ſtreight to Aſher, where he and his familie continued the ſpace of thrée or foure wéekes, without either beds, ſhéets, table cloths, or diſhes to eat their meat in, or wherwith to buie anie: the cardinall was forced to borow of the biſhop of Carleill, plate and diſhes, ⁊c.]

The cardinall of Yorke goeth to Aſher, and hath his plentie turned into penurie.

After this, in the kings bench his matter for the premunire, being called vpon, two atturneis, which he had authoriſed by his warrant ſigned with his owne hand, confeſſed the action, and ſo had iudgement to forfeit all his lands, tenements, goods, and cattels, and to be out of the kings protection: but the king of his clemencie ſent to him a ſufficient protection, and left to him the biſhoprikes of Yorke and Wincheſter, with plate and ſtuffe conuenient for his degrée. The biſhoprike of Dureſme was giuen to doctor Tunſtall biſhop of London, and the abbeie of ſaint Albons to the prior of Norwich. Alſo the biſhoprike of London being now void, was beſtowed on doctor Stokeſleie, then ambaſſadour to the vniuerſities beyond the ſea for the kings mariage.

John Scute, and Edmund Jennie.

The cardinall condemned in a premunire.

The biſhoprike of Dureſme giuen to doctor Tunſtall.

The ladie Margaret duches of Sauoy aunt to the emperour, and the ladie Lois ducheſſe of Angoleſme mother to the French king, met at Cambreie in the beginning of the moneth of June, to treat of a peace, where were preſent doctor Tunſtall biſhop of London, and ſir Thomas More then chancellor of the duchie of Lancaſter, commiſſioners for the king of England. At length through diligence of the ſaid ladies a peace was concluded betwixt the emperour, the pope, and the kings of England and France. All theſe met there in the beginning of Julie, accompanied with diuerſe great princes and councellors, on euerie part. And after long debating on both ſides, there was a good concluſion taken the fift daie of Auguſt. In the which was concluded, that the treatie of Madrill ſhould ſtand in his full ſtrength and vertue, ſauing the third and fourth, and the eleuenth and four-

The ducheſſe of Sauoy, and the ducheſſe of Angoleſme méet about a treatie of peace.

Edw. Hall. in H.8. fo. clxxxvj.

teenth articles, which touch the duchie of Burgognie, and other lordſhips.

Read more hereof in Guic.pag.1145. & deinceps.

1 Item, it was agreed, that the French king ſhould haue his children againe, paieng to the emperour two millians of crownes of gold, whereof hee ſhould paie at the deliuering of the children, twelue hundred thouſand crownes.

2 Item, that the French king ſhould acquit the emperour againſt the king of England, of fourescore and ten thouſand crowns, which the emperour owght to the king of England, and the king of England to deliuer all ſuch bonds and gages as he had of the emperours.

3 Item, as touching the remnant, which was fiue hundred and ten thouſand crownes, the emperour ſhould haue fiue and twentie thouſand crownes rent yearelie, for which he ſhould haue the lands of the ducheſſe of Vandoſme, lieng in Flanders and Brabant bound.

4 Item, that Flanders and diuerſe other countries, ſhould not behold in chiefe, nor haue reſort to the crowne of France.

5 Item, that the realme of Naples, the duchie of Millan, and the countie of Aſt, ſhould for euer remaine to the emperour.

6 Item, that the French king ſhould withdraw all ſuch ſouldiors as he had, out of Italie.

7 Item, that the ladie Eleanor ſhould be brought into France, with the French kings children, and in time conuenient ſhould be maried to the French king.

8 Item, that the French king ſhould aid the emperour with twelue gallies to go into Italie.

9 Item, that all priſoners on both parties ſhould be acquited.

10 Item, that the French king ſhould not aid Robert de la March, againſt the biſhop of Luke.

11 Item, that all the goods moueable and vnmoueable, of Charles duke of Burbon, ſhould be reſtored to his heires, they paieng to lord Henrie, marqueſſe of Dapchete, and earle of Naſſaw, lord chamberleine to the emperour, ten thouſand ducats, which he lent to the ſaid duke of Burbon.

12 Item, that Iohn earle of Panthieure, ſhould be remitted to all ſuch goods, as were earle Rene his fathers.

13 Item, the lord Laurence de Gorowood, great maſter to the emperor, ſhould be reſtored to the lordſhips of Chalmont, & Montevalle, which he bought of the duke of Burbon, or to haue his monie againe.

14 Item, Philip de Chalon prince of Orenge and viceroy of Naples, to be reſtored to all his lands in Burgognie.

15 Item, that the duches of Vandoſme, and Lois earle of Nauers, ſhould haue all ſuch right and actions, as they ſhould haue had before the warre began.

In the emperours countries, when all things were written, ſealed, and finiſhed, there was a ſolemne maſſe ſong in the cathedrall church of Cambreie, the two ladies ambaſſadors of the king of England, ſitting in great eſtate: and after maſſe the peace was proclamed betweene the three princes, and *Te Deum* ſong, and monie caſt to the people, and great fires made through the citie. The ſame night the French king came into Cambreie, well and noblie accompanied, and ſaluted the ladies, and to them made diuerſe bankets: and then all perſons departed into their countrie, glad of this concord. This peace was called the womens peace, for bicauſe that notwithſtanding this concluſion, yet neither the emperour truſted the French king, nor he neither truſted nor loued him, and their ſubiects were in the ſame caſe. This proclamation was proclamed ſolemnelie by heralds with trumpets in the citie of London, which proclamation much reioiſed the Engliſh merchants, repairing into Flanders, Brabant, Zeland, and other the emperors dominions. For during the wars, merchants were euill handled on both parties, which cauſed them to be deſirous of peace.] On the foure & twentith of Nouember, was ſir Thomas Moore made lord chancellor, & the next day led to the Chancerie by the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, and there ſworne.

The womens peace.

Sir Thomas Moore lord chancellor.

Edw.Hall.in H.8.fo.clxxxvij

An oration made in the audience of the parlement by ſir Thomas Moore.

At the daie appointed the parlement began, on which daie the king came by water to his place of Bridewell, and there he and his nobles put on their robes of parlement, and ſo came to the Blacke friers church, where a maſſe of the Holie-ghoſt was ſolemnelie ſong by the kings chappell: and after the maſſe, the king with all the lords of parlement and commons, which were ſummoned to appeare at that daie, came into the parlement chamber, where the king ſate in his throne or ſeat roiall: and ſir Thomas Moore his chancellor, ſtanding on the right hand of the king behind the barre, made an eloquent oration.

In this oration he declared, that like as a good ſheepheard, which not alonelie keepeth and attendeth well his ſheepe, but alſo foreſeeth and prouideth for all things which either may be hurtfull or noiſome to his flocke, or maie preſerue and defend the ſame againſt all perils that may chance to come: ſo the king which was the ſheepheard, ruler and gouernour of his realme, vigilantlie foreſeeing things to come, conſidered how diuers laws before this time were made, now by long continuance of time and mutation of things, verie inſufficient and vnperfect: and alſo by the fraile condition of man, diuerſe new enormities were ſprong amongeſt the people, for the which no law was yet made to reforme the ſame. Which was the verie cauſe whie at that time the king had ſummoned his high court of parlement. And hee reſembled the king to a ſheepheard or heardman for this cauſe: for if a prince be compared to his riches, he is but a rich man; if a prince be compared to his honour, he is but an honourable man: but compare him to the multitude of his people, and the number of his flocke, then he is a ruler, a gouernor of might & puiſſance, ſo that his people maketh him a prince, as of the multitude of ſheepe commeth the name of a ſheepheard. And as you ſee that amongſt a great ſort of ſhepe ſome be rotten & faultie, which the good ſheepheard ſendeth from the good ſheepe: ſo the great wedder which is of late fallen (as you all know) ſo craftilie, ſo ſcabbedlie, yea and ſo vntrulie iugled with the king, that all men muſt neede ghesse and thinke, that he thought in himſelfe that he had no wit to perceiue his craftie dooing; or elſe that he preſumed that the king would not ſee nor know his fraudulent iugling and attempts. But he was deceiued: for his graces ſight was ſo quicke and penetrable, that hee ſaw him, yea and ſaw through him, both within and without, ſo that all things to him was open, and according to his deſert he hath had a gentle correction.

wherein the perſon of the king is properlie reputed a ruler.

Which ſmall puniſhment the king will not to be an example to other offendors, but clearelie declareth, that whoſoeuer hereafter ſhall make like attempt, or commit like offenſe, ſhall not eſcape with like puniſhment. And bicauſe you of the common houſe be a groſſe multitude, and can not ſpeake all at one time: therefore the kings pleaſure is, that you ſhall reſort to the nether houſe, & there amongſt your ſelues, according to the old and ancient cuſtome, to chooſe an able perſon to be your common mouth and ſpeaker: and after your election ſo made, to aduertiſe his grace thereof, which will declare to you his pleaſure, what day he will haue him preſent in this place. After this doone, the commons reſorted to the nether houſe, and they choſe for their ſpeaker Thomas Audleie eſquier, and attourneie of the duchie of Lancaſter: and the ſame daie was the parlement adiorned to Weſtminſter.

Thomas Audleie choſen ſpeaker.

On the ſirt daie of the ſame moneth, the king came to the parlement chamber, and all the lords in their robes. And there the commons of the nether houſe preſented their ſpeaker, which there made an eloquent oration, which conſiſted in two points. The firſt point was, that he much praiſed the king for his equitie and iuſtice, mixed with mercie and pitie, ſo that none offenſe was forgotten and left vnpuniſhed, nor in the puniſhment the extremitie nor the rigor of the law cruellie extended: which ſhould be a cauſe to bridle all men from doing like offenſes, & alſo a comfort to offendors to confeſſe their crime and offenſe, and an occaſion of amendment and reconciliation. The ſecond point was, that he diſabled himſelfe, both for lacke of wit, learning, and diſcretion to ſo high an office, beſeeching the king to cauſe his commons to reſort eftſoones to their common houſe, and there to chooſe an other ſpeaker for that parlement.

An oration made by the ſpeaker of the parlement.

To this the king (by the mouth of the lord chancellor) anſwered; that where he diſabled himſelfe in wit and learning, his owne ornate oration there made teſtified the contrarie. And as touching his diſcretion and other qualities, the king himſelfe had well knowne him and his doings ſince he was in his ſeruice, to be both wiſe and diſcreet: and ſo for an able man he accepted him, and for the ſpeaker he him admitted. When the commons were aſſembled in the nether houſe, they began to commune of their griefes, wherewith the ſpiritualtie had before time greeuouſlie oppreſſed them, both contrarie to the law of the realme, and contrarie to all right: and in ſpeciallie they were ſore mooued with ſix great cauſes.

The commõs of the lower houſe complaine againſt the clergie.

1 The firſt for the exceſſiue fines, which the ordinaries tooke for probats of teſtaments, inſomuch that ſir Henrie Guilford knight of the garter, and controllor of the kings houſe, declared in the open parlement on his fidelitie, that he and others being executors to ſir William Compton knight, paied for the probat of his will to the cardinall and the archbiſhop of Canturburie a thouſand markes ſterling. After this declaration were ſhewed ſo manie extortions doone by ordinaries for probats of willes, that it were too much to rehearſe.

2 The ſecond was the great polling and extreame exaction, which the ſpirituall men vſed in taking of corps, preſents, or mortuaries. For the children of the defunct ſhould all die for hunger, and go a begging, rather than they would of charitie giue to them the ſeelie cow which the dead man owght, if he had but onelie one; ſuch was the charitie then.

3 The third cauſe was, that prieſts being ſuruciors, ſtewards and officers to biſhops, abbats, and other ſpirituall heads, had and occupied farmes, granges, and graſing in euerie countrie, ſo that the poore huſbandmen could haue nothing but of them; and yet for that they ſhould paie deerlie.

4 The fourth cauſe was, that abbats, priors, and ſpirituall men kept tan-houſes, and bought and ſold wooll, cloth, and all maner of merchandize, as other temporall merchants did.

5 The fift cauſe was, bicauſe that ſpirituall perſons promoted to great benefices, and hauing their liuings of their flocke, were lieng in the court in lords houſes, and tooke all of the pariſhioners, and nothing ſpent on them at all: ſo that for lacke of reſidence both the poore of the pariſh lacked refreſhing, and vniuerſallie all the pariſhioners lacked preaching and true inſtruction of Gods word, to the great perill of their ſoules.

6 The ſirt cauſe was, to ſee one prieſt little learned, to haue ten or twelue benefices, & to be reſident vpon none; and to know manie well learned ſcholars in the vniuerſities, which were able to preach & teach, to haue neither benefice nor exhibition.

These things before this time might in no wiſe be touched, nor yet talked of by anie man, except he would be made an heretike, or leeſe all that he had. For the biſhops were chancellors, and had all the rule about the king, ſo that no man durſt once preſume to attempt anie thing contrarie to their profit or commoditie. But now, when God had illuminated the eies of the king, and that their ſubtile doings were once eſpied; then men began charitablie to deſire a reformation: and ſo at this parlement men began to ſhew their grudges. Whereupon the burgeſſes of the parlement appointed ſuch as were learned in the law, being of the common houſe, to draw one bill of the probats of teſtaments, another for mortuaries, and the third for non reſidence, pluralities, and taking of farmes by ſpirituall men. The learned men tooke much paines, and firſt ſet foorth the bill of mortuaries, which paſſed the common houſe, and was ſent vp to the lords. To this bill the ſpirituall lords made a faire face, ſaieng; that ſuerlie prieſts and curats tooke more than they ſhould, and therefore it were well done to take ſome reaſonable order: thus they ſpake, bicauſe it touched them little.

The biſhops ſticke hard againſt theſe billes.

But within two daies after was ſent vp the bill concerning probats of teſtaments; at the which the archbiſhop of Canturburie in eſpeciall, and all other biſhops in generall both frowned and grunted, for that touched their profit. Inſomuch as doctor John Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter ſaid openlie in the parlement chamber theſe words: My lords, you ſee dailie what billes come hither from the common houſe, and all is to the deſtruction of the church. For Gods ſake ſee what a realme the kingdome of Boheme was; and when the church went downe, then fell the glorie of the kingdome: now with the commons is nothing but Downe with the church; and all this me ſeemeth is for lacke of faith onlie. When theſe words were reported to the commons of the nether houſe, that the biſhop ſhould ſaie, that all their doings were for lacke of faith, they tooke the matter greeuouſlie, for they imagined that the biſhop eſteemed them as heretikes, and ſo by his ſlanderous words would haue perſuaded the temporall lords, to haue reſtrained their conſent from the ſaid two billes, which they before had paſſed, as you haue heard before.

The ſaieng of John Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter.

Wherefore the commons, after long debate, determined to ſend the ſpeaker of the parlement to the kings highneſſe, with a greeuous complaint againſt the biſhop of Rocheſter. And ſo on a daie, when the king was at leaſure, Thomas Audleie ſpeaker for the commons, and thirtie of the cheefe of the common houſe, came to the kings preſence in his palace at Weſtminſter, which before was called Yorke place; and there verie eloquentlie declared what a diſhonor to the king and the realme it was, to ſaie, that they which were elected for the wiſeſt men of all the ſhires, cities, and boroughs, within the realme of England, ſhould be declared, in ſo noble and open preſence, to lacke faith: which was equiualent to ſaie, that they were infidels, and no chriſtians, as ill as Turkes, or Saracens, ſo that what paine or ſtudie ſoeuer they tooke for the common wealth, or what acts or lawes ſoeuer they made or ſtabliſhed, ſhould be taken as lawes made by Painims and heathen people, and not woorthie to be kept by chriſtian men. Wherefore he moſt humblie beſought the kings highneſſe to call the ſaid biſhop before him, and to cauſe him to ſpeake more diſcreetlie of ſuch a number as was in the common houſe.

A complaint made to the king againſt the biſhop of Rocheſter.

The king was not well contented with the ſaieng of the biſhop, yet he gentlie anſwered the ſpeaker, that he would ſend for the biſhop, and ſend them word what anſwer he made, and ſo they departed againe. After this the king ſent for the archbiſhop of Canturburie and ſix other biſhops, and for the biſhop of Rocheſter alſo, and there declared to him the grudge of the commons; to the which the biſhop anſwered, that he meant the doings of the Bohemians was for lacke of faith, and not the doings of them that were in the common houſe. Which ſaieng was confirmed by the biſhops being preſent, who had him in great reputation: and ſo by that onelie ſaieng the king accepted his excuſe, and thereof ſent word to the commons by ſir William Fitz Williams knight, treaſuror of his houſhold; which blind excuſe pleaſed the commons nothing at all. After diuerſe aſſemblies were kept betweene certeine of the lords, and certeine of the commons, for the billes of probats of teſtaments, and the mortuaries; the temporaltie laid to the ſpiritualtie their owne lawes and conſtitutions; and the ſpiritualtie ſore defended them by preſcription & vſage, to whom this anſwer was made by a gentleman of Greies inne: The vſage hath euer beene of theeues to rob on Shooters hill, ergo is it lawfull?

The biſhops excuſe to the kings maieſtie.

Hard hold betweene the lords ſpirituall and temporall about the probats of willes and mortuaries.

With this anſwer the ſpirituall men were ſore offended, becauſe their doings were called robberies. But the temporall men ſtood ſtill by their ſaiengs, inſomuch that the ſaid gentleman ſaid to the archbiſhop of Canturburie, that both the exaction of probats of teſtaments, and the taking of mortuaries, as they were vſed, were open robberie and theft. After long diſputation, the temporall lords began to leane to the commons: but for all that the billes remained vnconcluded for a while. In the meane ſeaſon, there was a bill aſſented to by the lords, and ſent downe to the commons: the effect whereof was, that the whole realme by the ſaid act did releaſe to the king, all ſuch ſummes of monie as he had borrowed of them at the loane, in the fifteenth yeare of his reigne (as you haue heard before.) This bill was ſore argued in the common houſe, but the moſt part of the commons were the kings ſeruants, and the other were ſo laboured to by other, that the bill was aſſented vnto.

The loane of monie releaſed to the king, which he borowed in anno reg. 15.

When this releaſe of the loane was knowen to the commons of the realme, Lord ſo they grudged & ſpake ill of the whole parlement. For almoſt euerie man counted it his debt, and reckoned ſuerlie of the paiment of the ſame. And therefore ſome made their willes of the ſame, and ſome other did ſet it ouer to other for debt, and ſo manie men had loſſe by it, which cauſed them ſore to murmur, but there was no remedie. The king like a good and diſcreet prince, ſeeing that his commons in the parlement houſe had releaſed the loane, intending ſomewhat to requite the ſame, granted to them a generall pardon of all offenſes; certeine great offenſes and debts onelie excepted: alſo he aided them for the redreſſe of their griefes againſt the ſpiritualtie, and cauſed two new billes to be made indifferentlie, both for the probats of teſtaments and mortuaries; which billes were ſo reaſonable, that the ſpirituall lords aſſented to them all, though they were ſore againſt there mindes, & in eſpeciall the probats of teſtaments ſore diſpleaſed the biſhops, and the mortuaries ſore diſpleaſed the parſons and vicars.

The matter of teſtaments and mortuaries moderated by the king.

After theſe acts thus agreed, the commons made another act for pluralities of benefices, non reſidence, bieng ſelling and taking of farmes by ſpirituall perſons. Which act ſo diſpleaſed the ſpiritualtie, that the prieſts railed on the commons of the common houſe, and called them heretikes and ſchiſmatikes, for the which diuerſe prieſts were puniſhed. This act was ſore debated aboue in the parlement chamber, and the lords ſpirituall would in no wiſe conſent. Wherefore the king perceiuing the grudge of his commons, cauſed eight lords and eight of his commons to meet in the Star chamber at an after noone, and there was ſore debating of the cauſe, inſomuch that the temporall lords of the vpper houſe, which were there, tooke part with the commons, againſt the ſpirituall lords; and by force of reaſon cauſed them to aſſent to the bill with a little qualifieng. Which bill the next daie was wholie agreed to in the lords houſe, to the great reioiſing of the laie people, and to the great diſpleaſure of the ſpirituall perſons. During this parlement was brought downe to the commons the booke of articles, which the lords had put to the king againſt the cardinall, the chiefe whereof were theſe.

All againſt the cleargie both head and taile.

Articles exhibited againſt the cardinall of Yorke.

1 Firſt, that he without the kings aſſent had procured to be a legat, by reaſon whereof he tooke awaie the right of all biſhops and ſpirituall perſons.

2 Item, in all writings which he wrote to Rome, or anie other forren prince, he wrote *Ego & rex meus*, I and my king: as who would ſaie, that the king were his ſeruant.

3 Item, that he hath ſlandered the church of England in the court of Rome. For his ſuggeſtion to be legat was to reforme the church of England, which (as he wrote) was *Facta in reprobum ſenſum.*

4 Item, he without the kings aſſent carried the kings great ſeale with him into Flanders, when he was ſent ambaſſador to the emperour.

5 Item, he without the kings aſſent, ſent a commiſſion to ſir Gregorie de Caſſado, knight, to conclude a league betweene the king & the duke of Ferrar, without the kings knowledge.

6 Item, that he hauing the French pockes preſumed to come and breath on the king.

7 Item, that he cauſed the cardinals hat to be put on the kings coine.

8 Item, that he would not ſuffer the kings clerke of the market to ſit at ſaint Albons.

9 Item, that he had ſent innumerable ſubſtance to Rome, for the obteining of his dignities, to the great impoueriſhment of the realme.

Theſe articles, with manie more, read in the common houſe, and ſigned with the cardinals hand, was confeſſed by him. And alſo there was ſhewed a writing ſealed with his ſeale, by the which he gaue to the king all his moueables and vnmoueables. On the daie of the Conception of our ladie, the king at Yorke place at Weſtminſter, in the parlement time, created the vicount Rochford erle of Willſhire, and the vicount Fitz Water was created earle of Suſſex, and the lord Haſtings was created earle of Huntington. When all things were concluded in the parlement houſe, the king came to the parlement chamber the 17 daie of December, and there put his roiall aſſent to all things doone by the lords and commons, and ſo proroged his court of parlement till the next yeare. After the parlement was thus ended, the king remoued to Greenewich, and there kept his Chriſtmaſſe with the queene in great triumph: with great plentie of viands, and diuerſe diſguiſings and enterludes, to the great reioiſing of his people.]

Creation of earles at Yorke place.

The king, which all this while, ſince the doubt was moued touching his marriage, abſteined from the queenes bed, was now aduertiſed by his ambaſſadors, whom he had ſent to diuerſe vniuerſities for the abſoluing of his doubt, that the ſaid vniuerſities were agreed, and cleerelie concluded, that the one brother might not by Gods law marrie the other brothers wife, carnallie knowen by the firſt marriage, & that neither the pope nor the court of Rome could

A ſpeciall argument in diſproofe of the marriage.

in anie wiſe diſpenſe with the ſame. For ye muſt vnderſtand, that amongſt other things alleged for diſproofe of the mariage to be lawfull, euidence was giuen of certeine words, which prince Arthur ſpake the morrow after he was firſt married to the quéene, whereby it was gathered, that he knew hir carnallie the night then paſſed. The words were theſe, as we find them in the chronicle of maſter Edward Hall.

In the morning after he was riſen from the bed, in which he had laine with hir all night, he called for drinke, which he before time was not accuſtomed to doo. At which thing, one of his chamberleines maruelling, required the cauſe of his drought. To whome he anſwered merilie, ſaieng; I haue this night béene in the middeſt of Spaine, which is a hot region, and that iournie maketh me ſo drie: and if thou haddeſt béene vnder that hot climat, thou wouldeſt haue béene drier than I. Againe, it was alleged, that after the death of prince Arthur, the king was deferred from the title and creation of prince of Wales almoſt halfe a yeare, which thing could not haue béene doubted, if ſhe had not béene carnallie knowen. Alſo ſhe hirſelfe cauſed a bull to be purchaſed, in the which were theſe words *vel forſan cognitam*, that is, and peraduenture carnallie knowen: which words were not in the firſt bull granted by pope Iulie at hir ſecond mariage to the king, which ſecond bull with that clauſe was onelie purchaſed to diſpenſe with the ſecond matrimonie, although there were carnall copulation before, which bull néeded not to haue béene purchaſed, if there had béene no carnall copulation, for then the firſt bull had béene ſufficient. To conclude, when theſe & other matters were laid forth to prooue that which ſhe denied, the carnall copulation betwixt hir and prince Arthur, hir counſellors left that matter, and fell to perſuaſions of naturall reaſon. And laſtlie, when nothing elſe would ſerue, they ſtood ſtiffe in the appeale to the pope, and in the diſpenſation purchaſed from the court of Rome, ſo that the matter was thus ſhifted off, and no end likelie to be had therein.

Ambaſſadors ſent to Italie out of England about this intricate matter of the marriage.

The king therefore vnderſtanding now that the emperour and the pope were appointed to méet at the citie of Bononie *aliàs* Bologna, where the emperour ſhould be crowned, ſent thither in ambaſſage from him the earle of Wilſhire, doctor Stokeſleie, elected biſhop of London, and his almoner doctor Edward Lée, to declare both vnto the pope and emperour, the law of God, the determinations of vniuerſities in the caſe of his mariage, and to require the pope to doo iuſtice according to truth, and alſo to ſhew to the emperour, that the king did mooue this matter onelie for diſcharge of his conſcience, and not for anie other reſpect of pleaſure or diſpleaſure earthlie. Theſe ambaſſadours comming to Bononie were honorablie receiued, and firſt dooing their meſſage to the pope, had anſwer of him, that he would heare the matter diſputed when he came to Rome, and according to right he would doo iuſtice.

The emperours anſwer to the ambaſſadors.

The emperour anſwered, that he in no wiſe would be againſt the lawes of God, & if the court of Rome would iudge that the matrimonie was not good, he could be content: but he ſolicited both the pope and cardinals, to ſtand by the diſpenſation, which he thought to be of force inough to prooue the mariage lawfull. With theſe anſwers the ambaſſadors departed and returned homewards, till they came on this ſide the mounteins, and then receiued letters from the king, which appointed the earle of Wilſhire to go in ambaſſage to the French king which then laie at Burdeaux, making ſhift for monie for redéeming of his children: and the biſhop of London, was appointed to go to Padoa, and other vniuerſities in Italie, to know their full reſolutions and determinate opinions in the kings caſe of matrimonie: and the kings almoner was commanded to returne home into England, and ſo he did.

The earle of Wilſhire ambaſſador to the French king, & others ſent to other places.

Abr. Flem. ex Edw. Hall. in H.8. fol. cxc, cxcij.

1530

The cardinall licenced to repaire into Yorkeſhire.

¶ You haue heard before how the cardinall was atteinted in the premunire, and how he was put out of the office of the chancellor, & laie at Aſher. In this Lent ſeaſon the king by the aduiſe of his councell licenced him to go into his dioceſſe of Yorke, & gaue him commandement to kéepe him in his dioceſſe, and not to returne ſouthward without the kings ſpeciall licence in writing. So he made great prouiſion to go northward, and apparelled his ſeruants newlie, and bought manie coſtlie things for his houſhold: and ſo he might well inough, for he had of the kings gentleneſſe the biſhoprikes of Yorke and Wincheſter, which were no ſmall things. But at this time diuerſe of his ſeruants departed from him to the kings ſeruice, and in eſpeciall Thomas Crumwell one of his chiefe counſell, and chiefe dooer for him in the ſuppreſſion of abbeies. After that all things neceſſarie for his iournie were prepared, he tooke his waie northward till he came to Southwell, which is in his dioceſſe, and there he continued this yeare, euer grudging at his fall, as you ſhall heare hereafter. But the lands which he had giuen to his colleges in Oxford and Ipſwich, were now come to the kings hands, by his atteindor in the premunire: and yet the king of his gentleneſſe and for fauour that he bare to good learning, erected againe the college in Oxford, and where it was named the cardinals college, he called it the kings college, & indowed it with faire poſſeſſions, and put in new ſtatutes and ordinances. And for bicauſe the college of Ipſwich was thought to be nothing profitable, therefore he left that diſſolued.

Thomas Crumwell aduanced to the kings ſeruice.

The kings college in Oxford otherwiſe called Chriſts church.

In this yeare the emperour gaue to the lord maſter of ſaint Iohnes of Ieruſalem, and his brethren the Iland of Malta lieng betwéene Sicill and Barbarie, there to imploie themſelues vpon Chriſts enimies, which lord maſter had no place ſure to inhabit there, ſince he was put frõ the Rhodes by the Turke that beſieged Vienna, but miſſed of his expectation. For the chriſtians defended the ſame ſo valiantlie againſt the ſaid Turke and his power, that he loſt manie of his men by ſlaughter; manie alſo miſcarried by ſickneſſe and cold: ſo that there periſhed in all to the number of fourescore thouſand men, as one of his baſſats did afterward confeſſe, which was to him a great diſpleaſure; and in eſpeciallie bicauſe he neuer beſieged citie before, but either it was yéelded or taken. In the time of this ſiege a metrician did make theſe two verſes in memorie of the ſame:

Cæſar in Italiam quo venit Carolus anno,
Cincta eſt ripheis noſtra Vienna Getis.]

The number of the Turks that died at the ſiege of Vienna.

Anno. Reg. 22.

The new teſtament tranſlated into Engliſh.

In the beginning of this yeare was the hauing and reading of the new teſtament in Engliſh tranſlated by Tindall, Ioie, and others, forbidden by the king with the aduiſe of his councell, and namelie the biſhops, which affirmed that the ſame was not trulie tranſlated, and that therein were prologs and prefaces ſounding to hereſie, with vncharitable railing againſt biſhops and the cleargie. The king therefore commanded the biſhops, that they calling to them the beſt learned men of the vniuerſities, ſhould cauſe a new tranſlation to be made, that the people without danger might read the ſame for their better inſtruction in the lawes of God, and his holie word. Diuerſe perſons that were detected to vſe reading of the new teſtament, and other bookes in Engliſh ſet forth by Tindall, and ſuch other as were fled the realme, were puniſhed by order taken againſt them by ſir Thomas Moore then lord chancellor, who held greatlie againſt ſuch bookes, but ſtill the number dailie increaſed.

Edw. Hall in H.8. fol. Cxcij.

¶ In this yeare in Maie, the biſhop of London

Tindals teſtaments burned.

The wild Iriſh ſpoile the earle of Kildares countrie, &c.

cauſed all his new teſtaments which he had bought with manie other bookes, to be brought into Paules churchyard in London, and there were openlie burned. In the end of this yeare, the wild Iriſhmen, knowing the earle of Kildare to be in England, entered his land, and ſpoiled and burnt his countrie, with diuerſe other countries. And the erle of Oſſerie being the kings deputie made little reſiſtance, for lacke of power. Wherfore the king ſent the earle of Kildare into Ireland, & with him ſir William Skeuington knight, maſter of the kings ordinance, and diuerſe gunners with him, which ſo politikelie ordered themſelues, that their enimies were glad to offer amends, and to treat for truce: & ſo ſir William Skeuington the next yeere returned into England, leauing there the earle of Kildare for the kings deputie.

The execution of the treatie accorded vpon at Cambreie.

Now I will returne to the execution of the treatie of Cambreie, in the which it was agreed, that the ladie Eleanor and the French kings children ſhould be deliuered when the ranſome appointed was paied as you haue heard in the laſt yeare. Wherefore the French king gathered monie of his ſubiects with all ſpeed, and when the monie was readie, he ſent the great maſter of France called Annas de Memorancie and diuerſe other nobles to Baion with the monie, and to receiue the ladie and the children. And thither came to them the great conſtable of Caſtile and monſieur Prat for the emperour, & there the crowns were weied and touched: and what fault ſoeuer the Spaniards found in them they would not receiue a great number of them, and ſo they carried the children backe from Fontarbie into Spaine. Thus the great maſter of France and his companie laie ſtill at Baion, without hauing his purpoſe performed, from March till the end of June, and longer had lien if the king of England had not ſent ſir Francis Brian to Baion to warrant the paiement: wherevpon the daie of deliuerance was appointed to be on ſaint Peters daie in June.

The deliuerance of the French kings children.

At which daie the great maſter, with one and thirtie mulets laden with the crownes came to the one ſide of the riuer of Andaie, which riuer departeth Spaine and France, and there taried till the firſt daie of Julie: on which daie the ladie Eleanor and the children were put in two great boates, hauing onelie twelue gentlemen of Spaine with them: and in like maner the great maſter with two great boats, in the which the mony was, and twelue gentlemen with him. All theſe boats met at a bridge made in the middeſt of the riuer. The conſtable of Spaine and his twelue gentlemen met with the great maſter of France and his twelue gentlemen on the bridge: and after a little ſalutation, the Frenchmen entered into the two boats where the ladie and the two children were; and the Spaniards into the two boats where the monie was, and then ech part haſted to land. Thus were the French kings wife and children deliuered into his hands, for which deliuerance was great ioy and triumph made in France: and alſo in Julie were fiers made in London and diuerſe other places for the ſame conſideration and cauſe.]

Abr.Fl. ex I.S. pag. 968, 969.

Cardinall Wolſeie remoueth to Richmond.

¶ Now will we leaue France, and returne to England, renewing the remembrance of cardinall Wolſeie, who after great ſute made to the king, was licenced to remoue from Aſher to Richmond, which place he had a little before repared with great coſts, for the king made an exchange thereof with him for Hampton court. The cardinall hauing licence of the king to repaire to Richmond, made haſt thither, and lodged there in the lodge of the great parke, which was a verie pretie houſe, there he laie vntill the beginning of Lent. Then he remoued into the charterhouſe of Richmond, where he laie in a lodging which doctor Collet made for himſelfe, vntill he remoued northward, which was in the Paſſion weeke after, and euerie daie he reſorted to the charterhouſe there, and would ſit with one of the moſt ancient fathers, who perſuaded him to deſpiſe the vaine glorie of the world.

The cardinall prepareth for his iournie into the north.

Then prepared the cardinall for his iournie into the north, and ſent to London for liuerie clothes for his ſeruants, and ſo rode from Richmond to Hendon, from thence to a place called the Rie, the next daie to Raiſtone, where he lodged in the priorie; the next daie to Huntingdon, and there lodged in the abbeie; the next daie to Peterborow, and there lodged in the abbeie, where he abode all the next weeke, & there he kept his Eaſter, his traine was in number an hundred and threeſcore perſons. Vpon Maundie thurſdaie he made his maundie, there hauing nine and fiftie poore men, whoſe feet he waſhed, and gaue euerie one twelue pence in monie, three els of good canuas, a paire of ſhoes, a caſt of red herrings, and three white herrings, and one of them had two ſhillings.

On thurſdaie next after Eaſter, he remoued to maſter Fitz Williams, ſometime a merchant-tailor of London, and then of the kings councell; the next weeke he remoued to Stamford, the next daie to Grantham, the next daie to Newarke, and lodged in the caſtell that night and the next daie alſo: from thence he rode to Southwell, where he continued moſt part of all that ſummer, vntill the latter end of graſſe time, and then he rode to Scrobie, where he continued vntill Michaelmaſſe, and then to Cawood caſtell within ſeuen miles of Yorke, whereof we will ſpeake more hereafter. On the ſixteenth of Maie, a man was hanged in chaines in Finſburie field, for murthering doctor Miles vicar of ſaint Brides. The fourth and fift of Nouember was a great wind, that blew downe manie houſes and trees, after which wind followed ſo high a tide, that it drowned the marſhes on Eſſex ſide and Kent, with the Ile of Thanet, and other places, deſtroieng much cattell. The nineteenth of September, in the citie of London, a proclamation was made for the reſtreining of the popes authoritie in England, as followeth.

Vicar of S. Brides ſlain.

A great wind.

A proclamation publiſhed in England *in the behalfe of the kings prerogatiue roiall* againſt the pope.

THe kings highnes ſtreictlie chargeth and commandeth, that no maner of perſon, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoeuer he or they be of, doo purchaſe or attempt to purchaſe from the court of Rome or elſwhere, nor vſe & put in execution, diuulge, or publiſh anie thing hertofore within this yeare paſſed purchaſed, or to be purchaſed hereafter, conteining mater preiudiciall to the high authoritie, iuriſdiction, and prerogatiue roiall of this his ſaid realme, or to the let, hinderance, or impechment of his graces noble & vertuous intended purpoſes in the premiſſes, vpon paine of incurring his highneſſe indignation, and impriſonment, and further puniſhment of their bodies for their ſo dooing at his graces pleaſure, to the dreadfull example of all other.

What was ſurmiſed to be the cauſe of this proclamation.

Some iudged, that this proclamation was made, bicauſe the queene (as was ſaid) had purchaſed a new bull for ratification of hir marriage. Others thought that it was made, bicauſe the cardinall had purchaſed a bull to curſſe the king, if he would not reſtore him to his old dignities, and ſuffer him to correct the ſpiritualtie, the king not to meddle with the ſame. In deed manie coniectured, that the cardinall grudging at his fall from ſo high dignities, ſticked not to write things ſounding to the kings reproch, both to the pope, and other princes; for that manie opprobrious words were ſpoken to doctor Edward Keerne the kings orator at Rome, and that it was ſaid to him, that for the cardinals ſake the king ſhould haue the worſe ſpeed in the ſute of his matrimonie.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 970.
The cardinall at his manor of Cawood keepeth a bountifull houſe.

¶Cardinall Wolſeie lieng at Cawood, held there an honourable and plentifull houſe for all commers, and alſo built & repared the caſtell, which was greatlie in decaie, hauing artificers and labourers aboue three hundred perſons dailie in wages. At length being thereunto perſuaded by the doctors of the church of Yorke, he determined to be inſtalled there at Yorke minſter, the next mondaie after Alhallowes daie, againſt which time due preparation was made for the ſame, but not in ſuch ſumptuous wiſe, as his predeceſſors before him had vſed. For wheras the cardinall was not abaſhed to ſend to the king, requiring him to lend him the mitre and pall which he was woont to weare when he ſang maſſe in anie ſolemne aſſemblie: the king vpon ſight of his letters, could not but maruell at the proud preſumptuouſnes of the man, ſaieng: What a thing is this, that pride ſhuld thus reigne in a perſon that is quite vnder foot.

The cardinall knoweth not that he was to be arreſted of treaſon.

The daie being once knowne vnto the worſhipfull gentlemen of the countrie, and other, as abbats, and priors, and notice of his inſtallation, they ſent in ſuch prouiſion of vittels, that it is almoſt incredible, all which was vnknowne to the cardinall, for as much as he was preuented and diſappointed of his purpoſe, by the reaſon that he was arreſted of high treaſon, as yee ſhall heereafter heare. So that moſt part of this former prouiſion that I ſpeake of, was ſent vnto Yorke the ſame daie of his arreſt, and the next daie following: for his arreſt was kept as cloſe as could be. The order of his arreſt was thus. It was appointed by the king & counſell, that ſir Walter Walſh knight, one of the kings priuie chamber, ſhould be ſent downe with a commiſſion into the north vnto the earle of Northumberland (who was ſometime brought vp in houſe with the cardinall) and they twaine being iointlie in commiſſion to arreſt the cardinall of high treaſon, maiſter Walſh tooke his horſſe at the court gate, about noone, vpon Alhallowes daie, toward the earle of Northumberland.

Prognoſtications of the cardinals ruine or fall.

And now haue I occaſion to declare what happened about the ſame time, which peraduenture ſignified the troubles following to the cardinall. The cardinall ſitting at dinner vpon Alhallowes daie, hauing at his boords end diuerſe chapleins ſitting at dinner, yee ſhall vnderſtand that the cardinals great croſſe ſtood in a corner at the tables end, leaning againſt the hanging, and when the boords end was taken vp, and a conuenient time for the chapleins to ariſe, one doctor Auguſtine a Venecian, and phyſician to the cardinall, riſing from the table with the other, hauing vpon him a great gowne of boiſterous veluet, ouerthrew the croſſe, which trailing downe along the tappet, with the point of one of the croſſes, brake doctor Bonars head that the bloud ran downe, the companie there ſtanding greatlie aſtonied with the chance.

Doctor Bonars head broken.

The cardinall perceiuing the ſame, demanded what the matter meant of their ſudden amaze? And they ſhewed him of the fall of his croſſe vpon doctor Bonars head. Hath it (quoth he) drawne anie bloud? Yea forſooth my lord (quoth they.) With that he caſt his eies aſide, & ſhaking his head, ſaid *Malum omen*, & therewith ſaieng grace, roſe from the table, & went to his chamber. Now marke the ſignification how the cardinall expounded this matter at Pomfret after his fall. Firſt, yee ſhall vnderſtand, that the croſſe which he bare as archbiſhop of Yorke, ſignified himſelfe; and Auguſtine the phyſician who ouerthrew the croſſe, was onelie he that accuſed the cardinall, whereby his enimies caught an occaſion to ouerthrow him: it fell vpon doctor Bonars head, who was maiſter of the cardinals faculties and ſpirituall iuriſdictions, and was then damnified by the ouerthrow of the croſſe: yea, and more ouer, drawing bloud of him, betokened death, which ſhortlie after did inſue.

How the cardinall expounded the fall of his croſſe.

About the time of this miſchance, the ſame verie daie and ſeaſon, maiſter Walſh tooke his horſſe at the court as nigh as could be iudged. Now the appointed time drew neere of his inſtallation, and ſitting at dinner vpon the fridaie next before the mondaie on the which daie he intended to be inſtalled at Yorke, the earle of Northumberland and maiſter Walſh, with a great companie of gentlemen of the earles houſe, & of the countrie, whome he had gathered togither in the kings name, came to the hall at Cawood, the officers being at dinner, and the cardinall not fullie dined, being then in his fruits. The firſt thing that the earle did after he had ſet order in the hall, he commanded the porter at the gates to deliuer him the keies thereof. Who would in no wiſe obeie his commandement, though he were roughlie threatened, and ſtreictlie commanded in the kings name to make deliuerie of them to one of the earles ſeruants.

The earle of Northumberland arreſteth the cardinall.

Sir (quoth he) ſeeing that yee doo but intend to ſet one of your ſeruants in my place to keepe the gates, I know no ſeruant that yee haue but I am as able as he to doo it, and keepe the gates to your purpoſe (whatſoeuer it be) alſo the keies were deliuered me by my lord and maiſter, wherfore I praie you to pardon me, for whatſoeuer yee ſhall command me to doo in the miniſtration of mine office, I ſhall doo it with a good will. With that (quoth the earle) hold him a booke (& commanding him to laie his hand thereon:) Thou ſhalt ſweare (quoth he) that thou ſhalt well and trulie keepe the gates to the kings vſe, and to doo all ſuch things as we ſhall command: and that yee ſhall let paſſe neither in nor out at theſe gates, but ſuch as yee be commanded by vs. And with this oth he receiued the keies at the earles hands.

The porters words to the earle.

Of all theſe doings knew the cardinall nothing, for they ſtopped the ſtaires, ſo that none went vp to the cardinals chamber, and they that came downe could no more go vp againe. At the laſt one eſcaped, who ſhewed the cardinall that the earle was in the hall. Whereat the cardinall maruelled, and would not beleeue him, but commanded a gentleman to bring him the truth, who going downe the ſtaires, ſaw the earle of Northumberland, and returned, and ſaid it was verie he. Then (quoth the cardinall) I am ſorie that we haue dined, for I feare our officers be not prouided of anie ſtore of good fiſh, to make him ſome honorable cheere, let the table ſtand (quoth he.) With that he roſe vp, and going downe the ſtaires, he encountered the earle comming vp with all his taile. And as ſoone as the cardinall eſpied the earle, he put off his cap, and ſaid, My lord ye be moſt hartilie welcome, and ſo imbraced each other.

The cardinall maruelleth at the earls ſudden comming.

Then the cardinall tooke the earle by the hand, and had him vp into the chamber, whome followed all the number of the earles ſeruants. From thence he led him into his bed-chamber, and they being there all alone, the earle ſaid vnto the cardinall with a ſoft voice, laieng his hand vpon his arme: My lord I arreſt you of high treaſon. With which words the cardinall being maruellouſlie aſtonied, ſtanding both

The action of arreſt which the cardinall taketh in ill part.

ſtill a good ſpace. At laſt (quoth the cardinall) What authoritie haue you to arreſt me? Forſooth my lord (quoth the erle) I haue a commiſſion ſo to doo. Where is your commiſſion (quoth he) that I may ſée it? Naie ſir that you may not (ſaid the erle.) Well then (quoth the cardinall) I will not obeie your reſt. But as they were debating this matter betwéene them in the chamber, as buſie was maiſter Walſh in arreſting doctor Auguſtine at the doore of the palace, ſaieng vnto him, Go in traitor or I ſhall make thée.

At the laſt maiſter Walſh being entred the cardinals chamber, began to plucke off his hood, and after knéeled downe to the cardinall. Vnto whom the cardinall ſaid, Come hither gentleman & let me ſpeake with you: Sir, héere my lord of Northumberland hath arreſted me, but by whoſe authoritie he ſheweth not, if yée be ioined with him I praie you ſhew me. Indéed my lord (quoth maiſter Walſh) he ſheweth you the truth. Well then (quoth the cardinall) I praie you let me ſée it. Sir I beſéech you (quoth maiſter Walſh) hold vs excuſed: there is annexed to our commiſſion certeine inſtructions, which you may not ſée. Well (quoth the cardinall) I trow yée are one of the kings priuie chamber, your name is Walſh, I am content to yéeld to you, but not to my lord of Northumberland without I ſée his commiſſion: the worſt in the kings priuie chamber is ſufficient to arreſt the greateſt péere of the realme by the kings commandement, without anie commiſſion, therefore put your commiſſion and authoritie in execution, ſpare not, I will obeie the kings will; I take God to iudge, I neuer offended the king in word nor déed.

The cardinall deſireth to ſée the commiſſion of the areſt.

Then the earle called into the chamber diuerſe gentlemen of his owne ſeruants, and after they had taken the cardinals keies from him, they put him in cuſtodie of the earles gentlemen, and then they went about the houſe to ſet all things in an order. Then ſent they doctor Auguſtine awaie to London with as much ſpéed as they could, who was bound vnto the horſſe like a traitor. But it was ſundaie toward night yer the cardinall was conueied from Cawood, who lodged that night in the abbeie of Pomfret. The next daie he remoued toward Doncaſter, and was there lodged at the Blacke friers. The next daie he was remoued to Shefield parke, where the earle of Shrewſburie with his ladie, and a traine of gentlemen and gentlewomen receiued him with much honour. Then departed all the great number of gentlemen that conducted him thither.

The cardinall committed to the cuſtodie of the earls gentlemen.

The cardinall being thus with the earle of Shrewſburie, continued there eightéene daies after, vpon whome the earle appointed diuerſe gentlemen to attend continuallie, to ſée that he ſhould lacke nothing, being ſerued in his owne chamber as honorablie as he had béene in his owne houſe, and once euerie daie the earle would repaire to him and commune with him. After the cardinall had thus remained with the earle of Shrewſburie about a fortnight, it came to paſſe at a certeine time as he ſat at dinner in his owne chamber, hauing at his boords end a meſſe of gentlemen and chapleins to kéepe him companie, toward the end of his dinner, when he was come to eating his fruits, his colour was perceiued often to change, whereby he was iudged not to be in good health.

The cardinall honourablie receiued and ſerued at the earle of Shrewſburies houſe.

Wherevpon one of his gentlemen ſaid, Sir, me ſéemes you are not well at eaſe. To whom he anſwered with lowd voice, Forſooth no more I am, for I am (quoth he) taken ſuddenlie with a thing about my ſtomach, that lieth there along as cold as a whetſtone, which is no more but wind, I praie you go to the apothecarie, & inquire of him if he haue anie thing that will breake wind vpward. Then went he to the earle and ſhewed him what eſtate the cardinall was in, and what he deſired. With that, the earle cauſed the apothecarie to be called before him, & demanded of him if he had anie thing that would breake wind vpward in a mans bodie. And he anſwered he had ſuch géere. Then (quoth the earle) fetch me ſome. Then the apothecarie fetched a white confection in a faire paper, & ſhewed it to the earle, who commanded one to giue the aſſaie thereof before him, and then the ſame to be brought to the cardinall, who receiued it vp all at once into his mouth.

The cardinall ſickneth ſitting at the table.

But immediatlie after ſuerlie, he auoided much wind vpward: Lo (quoth he) ye may ſée that it was but wind, and now I am well eaſed, I thanke God, and ſo roſe from the table, and went to his praiers. And that doone, there came on him ſuch a looſeneſſe, that it cauſed him to go to the ſtoole. And not long after the earle of Shreweſburie came into the gallerie to him, with whome the cardinall met: and then ſitting downe vpon a bench, the earle aſked him how he did, and he moſt lamentablie anſwered him, and thanked him for his good interteinment. Sir (quoth the earle) if ye remember, ye haue often wiſhed to come before the king, to make your anſwer; and I haue written to the king in that behalfe, making him priuie of your lamentation that yée inwardlie haue receiued for his diſpleaſure, who accepteth all your doings therein, as friends be accuſtomed to doo in ſuch caſes: wherefore I would aduiſe you to plucke vp your hart, and be not agaſt of your enimies, I doubt not but this your iournie to his highneſſe ſhall be much to your aduancement.

The cardinall falleth into a flux that coſt him his life.

The king hath ſent for you that worſhipfull knight maſter Kingſton, and with him foure and twentie of your old ſeruants, now of the gard, to the intent yée may ſafelie come to his maieſtie. Sir (quoth the cardinall) I trow maſter Kingſton is conſtable of the Tower. Yea, what of that (quoth the erle) I aſſure you he is elected by the king for one of your friends. Well quoth the cardinall, as God will, ſo be it, I am ſubiect to fortune, being a true man, readie to accept ſuch chances as ſhall follow, and there an end; I praie you where is maſter Kingſton. Quoth the earle, I will ſend for him. I praie you ſo doo (quoth the cardinall) at whoſe meſſage he came. And as ſoone as the cardinall eſpied him, he made haſt to encounter him, and at his comming he knéeled to him, and ſaluted him in the kings behalfe, whome the cardinall bareheaded offered to take vp, and ſaid: I praie you ſtand vp, knéele not to me, I am but a wretch replet with miſerie, not eſtéeming my ſelfe but as a vile abiect, vtterlie caſt awaie, without deſert, as God knoweth.

Sir william Kingſton is ſent to fetch vp the cardinall before the king.

Then ſaid maſter Kingſton with humble reuerence: Sir, the king hath him commended vnto you. I thanke his highneſſe quoth the cardinall, I truſt he be in health. Yea (quoth maſter Kingſton) and he commanded me to ſaie to you, that you ſhould aſſure your ſelfe that he beareth you as much good will as euer he did, and willeth you to be of good chéere. And where report hath béene made, that ye ſhould commit againſt him certeine heinous crimes, which he thinks to be vntrue, yet he can doo no leſſe than ſend for you to your triall, & to take your iournie to him at your owne pleaſure, commanding me to be attendant vpon you. Therefore ſir I praie you, when it ſhall be your owne pleaſure to take your iournie, I ſhall be readie to giue attendance. Maſter Kingſton (quoth he) I thanke you for your newes, and ſir, if I were as luſtie as I haue béene but of late, I would ride with you in poſt, but I am diſeaſed with a flux that maketh me verie weake, but I ſhall with all ſpéed make me readie to ride with you to morrow.

Talke betwixt the ſaid ſir william & the cardinall.

When night came, the cardinall waxed verie ſicke

The cardinall extremelie

with the laſke, the which cauſed him continuallie to go to the ſtoole all that night, in ſo much that he had that night fiftie ſtooles: therefore in conſideration of his infirmitie, they cauſed him to tarrie all that day: and the next daie he tooke his iournie with maſter Kingſton, and them of the gard, till he came to an houſe of the earle of Shreweſburies called Hardwike hall, where he laie all night verie euill at eaſe. The next daie he rode to Notingham, and there lodged that night more ſicke: and the next daie he rode to Leiceſter abbeie, and by the waie waxed ſo ſicke that he was almoſt fallen from his mule; ſo that it was night before he came to the abbeie of Leiceſter, where at his comming in at the gates, the abbat with all his conuent met him with diuerſe torches light, whom they honorablie receiued and welcomed.

To whom the cardinall ſaid: Father abbat, I am come hither to lay my bones among you, riding ſo ſtill vntill he came to the ſtaires of the chamber, where he allighted from his mule, and maſter Kingſton led him vp the ſtaires, and as ſoone as he was in his chamber he went to bed. This was on the ſaturday at night, and then increaſed he ſicker and ſicker, vntill mondaie, that all men thought he would haue died: ſo on tueſdaie ſaint Andrewes euen, maſter Kingſton came to him and bad him good morrow, for it was about ſix of the clocke, and aſked him how he did? Sir (quoth he) I tarrie but the pleaſure of God, to render vp my poore ſoule into his hands. Not ſo ſir (quoth maſter Kingſton) with the grace of God, yée ſhall liue and doo verie well, if yée will be of good chéere. Nay in good ſooth maſter Kingſton, my diſeaſe is ſuch, that I can not liue: for I haue had ſome experience in phyſicke.

The cardinall affirmeth by his owne experience in phyſicke that he can not liue.

Thus it is, I haue a flux with a continuall feuer, the nature whereof is, that if there be no alteration of the ſame within eight daies, either muſt inſue excoriation of the intrailes, or franſie, or elſe preſent death, and the beſt of them is death, and (as I ſuppoſe) this is the eight daie, & if yée ſée no alteration in me, there is no remedie, ſaue (though I may liue a daie or twaine after) but death muſt inſue. Sir (quoth maiſter Kingſton) you be in much penſiuenes, doubting that thing, that in good faith yée néed not. Well, well, maſter Kingſton (quoth the cardinall) I ſée the matter how it is framed: but if I had ſerued God as diligentlie as I haue doone the king, he would not haue giuen me ouer in my greie haires: but it is the iuſt reward that I muſt receiue for the diligent paines and ſtudie that I haue had to doo him ſeruice, not regarding my ſeruice to God, but onelie to ſatiſfie his pleaſure.

The cardinall aſcribeth his fall to the iuſt iudgement of God.

I praie you haue me moſt humblie commended vnto his roiall maieſtie, & beſéech him in my behalfe to call to his princelie remembrance all matters procéeding betwéene him & me from the beginning of the world, and the progreſſe of the ſame, &c. Maſter Kingſton farewell, I can no more ſaie, but I wiſh all things to haue good ſucceſſe, my time draweth on faſt. And euen with that he began to draw his ſpéech at length, & his tong to faile, his eies being ſet, whoſe ſight failed him. Then they did put him in remembrance of Chriſt his paſſion, & cauſed the yeomen of the gard to ſtand by to ſée him die, and to witneſſe of his words at his departure: & incontinent the clocke ſtroke eight, and then he gaue vp the ghoſt, and departed this preſent life: which cauſed ſome to call to remembrance how he ſaid the daie before, that at eight of the clocke they ſhould looſe their maſter.

Manifeſt indication of death in the cardinall.

Example of pride and arrogancie.

Here is the end and fall of pride and arrogancie of men exalted by fortune to dignitie: for in his time he was the hautteſt man in all his procéedings aliue, hauing more reſpect to the honor of his perſon, than he had to his ſpirituall profeſſion, wherin ſhould be ſhewed all méekenes, humilitie, and charitie. [An example (ſaith Guicciardin, who handleth this ſtorie effectuallie, and ſheweth the cauſe of this cardinals ruine) in our daies worthie of memorie, touching the power which fortune and enuie hath in the courts of princes.] He died in Leiceſter abbeie, & in the church of the ſame abbeie was buried. Such is the ſuertie of mans brittle ſtate, doubtfull in birth, & no leſſe féeble in life, which is as vncerteine, as death moſt certeine, and the meanes thereof manifold, which as in number they excéed; ſo in ſtrangeneſſe they paſſe: all degrées of ages & diuerſities of ſexes being ſubiect to the ſame. In conſideration whereof, it was notablie ſaid by one that wrote a whole volume of infirmities, diſeaſes, and paſſions incident to children:

Guicc.pag. 1139.

A primo vitæ diuerſos ſtamine morbos
Perpetimur, diris afficimúrque malis:
Donec in occaſum redeat qui vixit ab ortu,
Antea quàm diſcat viuere, vita cadit.

Sebaſt.Auſterius.

This cardinall (as Edmund Campian in his hiſtorie of Ireland deſcribeth him) was a man vndoubtedly borne to honor: I thinke (ſaith he) ſome princes baſtard, no butchers ſonne, excéeding wiſe, faire ſpoken, high minded, full of reuenge, vitious of his bodie, loftie to his enimies, were they neuer ſo big, to thoſe that accepted and ſought his fréendſhip wonderfull courteous, a ripe ſchooleman, thrall to affections, brought a bed with flatterie, inſatiable to get, and more princelie in beſtowing, as appeareth by his two colleges at Ipſwich and Oxenford, the one ouerthrowne with his fall, the other vnfiniſhed, and yet as it lieth for an houſe of ſtudents, conſidering all the appurtenances incomparable thorough Chriſtendome, whereof Henrie the eight is now called founder, bicauſe he let it ſtand. He held and inioied at once the biſhopriks of Yorke, Dureſme, & Wincheſter, the dignities of lord cardinall, legat, & chancellor, the abbeie of ſaint Albons, diuerſe priories, ſundrie fat benefices *In commendam*, a great preferrer of his ſeruants, an aduancer of learning, ſtout in euerie quarell, neuer happie till this his ouerthrow. Wherein he ſhewed ſuch moderation, and ended ſo perfectlie, that the houre of his death did him more honor, than all the pompe of his life paſſed. Thus far Campian. Here it is neceſſarie to adde that notable diſcourſe, which I find in Iohn Stow, concerning the ſtate of the cardinall, both in the yeares of his youth, and in his ſettled age: with his ſudden comming vp from preferment to preferment; till he was aduanced to that ſtep of honor, which making him inſolent, brought him to confuſion.

The deſcription of cardinall Wolſeie, ſet downe by Edmund Campian.

¶This Thomas Wolſeie was a poore mans ſonne of Ipſwich, in the countie of Suffolke, & there borne, and being but a child, verie apt to be learned, by the meanes of his parents he was conueied to the vniuerſitie of Oxenford, where he ſhortlie proſpered ſo in learning, as he was made bachellor of art, when he paſſed not fiftéene yeares of age, and was called moſt commonlie thorough the vniuerſitie the boie bachellor. Thus proſpering in learning, he was made fellow of Mawdeline college, and afterward appointed to be ſchoolemaſter of Mawdelin ſchoole, at which time the lord marqueſſe Dorſet had thrée of his ſonnes there at ſchoole, committing vnto him as well their education as their inſtruction. It pleaſed the ſaid lord marqueſſe againſt a Chriſtmas ſeaſon to ſend as well for the ſchoolemaſter, as for his children home to his houſe for their recreation, in that pleaſant and honorable feaſt.

Abr.Fl. ex I.S. pag.904,905, &c.

The aſcending of Thomas Wolſeie.

Bachellor of art at fiftéene yeares old.

Schoolemaſter to the marqueſſe Dorſets children.

Then being there, the lord their father, perceiuing them to be right well imploied in learning for their time, he hauing a benefice in his gift, being at that time void, gaue the ſame to the ſchoolemaſter in reward of his diligence at his departure after Chriſt-

Thomas Wolſeie gat a benefice.

was to the vniuerſitie, and hauing the preſentation thereof, repaired to the ordinarie for his induction, and being furniſhed of his inſtruments, made ſpéed to the benefice to take poſſeſſion, and being there for that intent, one ſir James Paulet knight dwelling thereabouts, tooke occaſion againſt him, and ſet the ſchoolemaſter by the héeles during his pleaſure, which after was neither forgotten nor forgiuen.

Thomas Wolſeie ſet in the ſtocks by ſir James Paulet. Wolſeies impriſonment reuenged.

For when the ſchoolemaſter mounted to the dignitie to be chancellor of England, he ſent for maſter Paulet, & after manie ſharpe words, inioined him to attend vntill he were diſmiſſed, and not to depart out of London without licence obteined; ſo that he continued there within the middle Temple the ſpace of fiue or ſix yeares, and laie then in the Gate houſe next the ſtréet, which he reedified verie ſumptuouſlie, garniſhing the ſame all ouer the outſide with the cardinals armes, with his hat, cogniſances, and other deuiſes in ſo glorious a ſort, that he thought thereby to haue appeaſed his old diſpleaſure.

Gatehouſe of the middle Temple new builded.

Now after the deceaſſe of the lord marqueſſe, this ſame ſchoolemaſter conſidering himſelfe to be but a ſimple beneficed man, and to haue loſt his fellowſhip in the college, which was much to his reléefe, thought not long to be vnprouided of ſome other helpe, and in his trauell thereabouts, he fell in acquaintance with one ſir John Naphant, a verie graue & ancient knight, who had a great roome in Calis vnder king Henrie the ſeuenth: this knight he ſerued, and behaued himſelfe ſo diſcréetlie, that he obteined the eſpeciall fauor of his maſter, inſomuch that he committed all the charge of his office vnto his chapleine, and (as I vnderſtand) the office was the treaſurorſhip of Calis, who was in conſideration of his great age diſcharged of his roome, and returned againe into England, and thorough his inſtant labor, his chapleine was promoted to be the kings chapleine, and when he had once caſt anchor in the port of promotion, how he wrought, I ſhall ſomewhat declare.

Sir John Naphant treaſuror of Calis, Thomas Wolſie his chapleine.

Thomas Wolſie was chapleine to Henrie the ſeuenth.

He hauing there a iuſt occaſion to be in the ſight of the king dailie, by reaſon he ſaid maſſe before him in his cloſet, and that being doone, he ſpent not the daie in idleneſſe, but would attend vpon thoſe whom he thought to beare moſt rule in the councell, the which at that time was doctor Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, ſecretarie, and lord of the priuie ſeale: and alſo ſir Thomas Louell knight, a ſage councellor, maſter of the wards, and conſtable of the Tower: theſe graue councellors in proceſſe of time perceiued this chapleine to haue a verie fine wit, and thought him a méet perſon to be preferred to wittie affaires. It chanced at a certeine ſeaſon that the king had an vrgent occaſion to ſend an ambaſſador vnto the emperor Maximilian, who laie at that preſent in the low countrie of Flanders, not farre from Calis.

The biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſir Thomas Louell, whome the king counſelled and debated with vpon this ambaſſage, ſaw they had a conuenient occaſion to prefer the kings chapleine, whoſe wit, eloquence, and learning, they highly commended to the king. The king commanded them to bring his chapleine before his preſence, with whome he fell in communication of great matters, and perceiuing his wit to be verie fine, thought him ſufficient, commanding him therevpon to prepare himſelfe to his iournie; and hauing his depeach, he tooke his leaue of the king at Richmond about noone; & ſo comming to London about foure of the clocke, where the barge of Graues end was readie to lanch foorth, both with a proſperous tide and wind, without anie abode he entered the barge.

Thomas Wolſeie ambaſſador to the emperor.

Hauing ſo doone, he paſſed foorth with ſuch ſpéed, that he arriued at Graues end within little more than thrée houres, where he tarried no longer than his poſt horſſes were a prouiding, and then trauelled ſo ſpéedily that he came to Douer the next morning, whereas the paſſengers were readie vnder ſaile to Calis, into the which paſſenger, without tarrieng, he entered, and ſailed foorth with them, that long before noone he arriued at Calis, and hauing poſt horſſes, departed from thenſe with ſuch ſpéed, that he was that night with the emperor, and diſcloſed the whole ſumme of his ambaſſage to the emperor, of whome he required ſpéedie expedition, the which was granted him by the emperor; ſo that the next daie he was cléerlie diſpatched with all the kings requeſts fullie accompliſhed.

The cardinall verie expedite and readie in his ambaſſage.

At which time he made no longer delaie, but tooke poſt horſſes that night, and rode toward Calis, conducted thither with ſuch perſons as the emperor had appointed; and at the opening of the gates of Calis, he came thither, where the paſſengers were as readie to returne into England, as they were before at his iournie forward, inſomuch that he arriued at Douer by ten of the clocke before noone, and hauing poſt horſſes, came to the court at Richmond the ſame night, where he taking ſome reſt vntill the morning, repaired to the king at his firſt comming from his bedchamber to his cloſet, whom when the king ſaw, he checked him, for that he was not on his iournie: Sir (quoth he) if it may pleaſe your highneſſe, I haue alreadie béene with the emperor, and diſpatched your affaires (I truſt to your graces contentation) and with that preſented vnto the king his letters of credence from the emperor.

His returne into England after his ambaſſage diſcharged.

The king being in a great maze and woonder of his ſpéedie returne and procéedings, diſſembled all his woonder, and demanded of him whether he incountered not his purſiuant the which he ſent vnto him, ſuppoſing him not to be out of London, with letters concerning a verie neceſſarie matter, neglected in their conſultation; Yea forſooth (quoth the chapleine) I met with him yeſterdaie by the waie, and hauing no vnderſtanding by your graces letters of your pleaſure, haue notwithſtanding béene ſo bold vpon mine owne diſcretion (perceiuing that matter to be verie neceſſarie in that behalfe) to diſpatch the ſame. And forſomuch as I haue excéeded your graces commiſſion, I moſt humblie require your graces pardon. The king reioiſing not a little, ſaid; We doo not onelie pardon you thereof, but alſo giue you our princelie thanks, both for the procéeding therein, and alſo for your good and ſpéedie exploit, commanding him for that time to take his reſt, and repaire againe after dinner for the further relation of his ambaſſage.

The king maruelleth at the cardinals ſpéedie returne.

The ambaſſador, when he ſaw time, repaired before the king and councell, where he declared the effect of all his affaires ſo exactlie, with ſuch grauitie and eloquence, that all the councell that heard him, commended him, eſtéeming his expedition to be almoſt beyond the capacitie of man. The king gaue him at that time the deanrie of Lincolne. From thenſe forward he grew more and more into eſtimation and authoritie, and after was promoted by the king to be his almoner. After the death of king Henrie the ſeuenth, and in the floriſhing youth of king Henrie the eight, this almoner handled himſelfe ſo politiklie, that he ſoone found the meanes to be made one of the kings councell, and to grow in fauor with the king, to whome the king gaue an houſe at Bridewell in Fléetſtréet, ſometime ſir Richard Empſons, where he kept houſe for his familie; and ſo dailie attended vpon the king, and in his eſpeciall fauor, who had great ſute made vnto him.

Thomas Wolſeie deane of Lincolne.

Thomas Wolſeie the kings almoner.

Thomas Wolſeie of the priuie councell vnto Henrie the eight.

His ſentences & wittie perſuaſions in the councell chamber were alwaies ſo pithie, that the councell (as occaſion mooued them) continuallie aſſigned him to be the expoſitor to the king in all their procéedings, in whome the king receiued ſuch a leaning fantaſie, for that he was moſt earneſt and readieſt of all the councell to aduance the kings will and pleaſure: the king therefore eſtéemed him ſo highlie, that all the other councellors were put from the great fauor that they before were in, inſomuch that the king committed all his will vnto his diſpoſition, which the almoner perceiuing, tooke vpon him therefore to diſcharge the king of the weightie and troubleſome buſineſſe, perſuading the king that he ſhould not néed to ſpare anie time of his pleaſure for anie buſineſſe that ſhould happen in the councell.

The cardinall preſumeth too farre vpon a conceit and flattering opinion of his owne qualities and the kings fauor.

And whereas the other councellors would diuerſe times perſuade the king to haue ſometime recourſe into the councell chamber, there to heare what was doone; the almoner would perſuade him to the contrarie, which delited him much: and thus the almoner ruled all them that were before him, ſuch did his policie and wit bring to paſſe. Who was now in high fauor but maſter almoner? And who ruled all vnder the king, but maſter almoner? Thus he perſeuered in fauor, vntill at laſt in came preſents, gifts, and rewards ſo plentifullie, that he lacked nothing that might either pleaſe his fantaſie, or inrich his coffers.

And thus procéeding in fortunes bliſſulneſſe, it chanced the warres betwéene the realmes of England and France to be open, inſomuch as the king was fullie perſuaded in his moſt roiall perſon to inuade his forren enimies with a puiſſant armie; wherefore it was neceſſarie that this roiall enterpriſe ſhould be ſpéedilie prouided and furniſhed, in euerie degrée of things apt & conuenient for the ſame, for the expedition wherof the king thought no mans wit ſo méet for policie and painefull trauell, as was his almoner, to whome therefore he committed his whole truſt therein, and he tooke vpon him the whole charge of all the buſineſſe, and brought all things to good paſſe in a decent order, as all maner of vittels, prouiſions, and other neceſſaries conuenient for ſo noble a voiage and armie.

The cardinall taketh vpon him the managing of all the kings affaires.

All things being by him perfected, the king aduanced to his roiall enterpriſe, paſſed the ſeas, and marched forward in good order of battell, vntill he came to the ſtrong towne of Terwine, to the which he laid his ſiege, and aſſailed it verie ſtronglie continuallie with ſuch vehement aſſaults, that within ſhort ſpace it was yéelded vnto his maieſtie, vnto the which place the emperor Maximilian repaired vnto the king with a great armie like a mightie prince, taking of the king his graces wages: which is a rare thing, and but ſeldome ſéene, an emperor to fight vnder a kings banner.

Sée before pag. 821, 822.

Thus after the king had obteined this puiſſant fort and taken the poſſeſſion thereof, and ſet all things there in due order, for the defenſe and preſeruation thereof to his vſe, he departed thenſe, and marched toward the citie of Torneie, and there laid his ſiege in like maner, to the which he gaue ſo fierce & ſharpe aſſault, that they were conſtreined of fine force to render the towne vnto his victorious maieſtie: at which time the king gaue the almoner the biſhoprike of the ſame ſée, towards his paines and diligence ſuſteined in that iournie. Now when the king had eſtabliſhed all things agréeable to his will and pleaſure, and furniſhed the ſame with noble capteines & men of warre for the ſafegard of the towne, he returned againe into England, taking with him diuerſe noble perſonages of France being priſoners, as the duke of Longuile, and vicount Clarimont, with other which were taken there in a ſkirmiſh.

Thomas Wolſeie biſhop of Torneie in Frãce.

After whoſe returne, immediatlie the ſée of Lincolne fell void, by the death of doctor Smith late biſhop there, the which benefice his grace gaue to his almoner, late biſhop of Torneie elect, who was not negligent to take poſſeſſion therof, and made all the ſpéed he could for his conſecration: the ſolemnization whereof ended, he found meanes that he gat the poſſeſſion of all his predeceſſors goods into his hands. It was not long after that doctor Benbrike archbiſhop of Yorke died at Rome, being there the kings ambaſſador, vnto the which ſée the king immediatlie preſented his late and new biſhop of Lincolne; ſo that he had thrée biſhopriks in his hands in one yeere giuen him.

Thomas Wolſeie biſhop of Lincolne.

Sée pag. 835.

Then prepared he for his tranſlation from the ſée of Lincolne, vnto the ſée of Yorke, after which ſolemnization doone, he being then an archbiſhop *Primas Angliæ*, thought himſelfe ſufficient to compare with Canturburie, and thervpon erected his croſſe in the court, and euerie other place, as well within the precinct and iuriſdiction of Canturburie, as in anie other place. And forſomuch as Canturburie claimeth a ſuperioritie ouer Yorke, as ouer all other biſhopriks within England, and for that cauſe claimeth as a knowledge of an ancient obedience of Yorke, to abate the aduancing of his croſſe, in preſence of the croſſe of Canturburie; notwithſtanding, the archbiſhop of Yorke nothing minding to deſiſt from bearing thereof, in maner as I ſaid before, cauſed his croſſe to be aduanced, as well in the preſence of Canturburie as elſewhere. Wherefore Canturburie being mooued therewith, gaue vnto Yorke a certeine checke for his preſumption, by reaſon whereof, there ingendered ſome grudge betwéene Yorke and Canturburie; Yorke intending to prouide ſome ſuch meanes, that he would be rather ſuperior in dignitie to Canturburie, than to be either obedient or equall to him. Wherefore he obteined to be made preeſt cardinall, and *Legatus de latere*: vnto whome the pope ſent a cardinals hat with certeine buls for his authoritie in that behalfe. Yet you ſhall vnderſtand, that the pope ſent him this worthie hat of dignitie, as a iewell of his honor and authoritie, the which was conueied in a varlets budget, who ſéemed to all men to be but a perſon of ſmall eſtimation.

Thomas Wolſeie archbiſhop of Yorke.

Note the pride of Wolſeie and his ambition.

The two archbiſhops at ſtrife for the prerogatiue.

Thomas Wolſeie cardinall, ſée pag. 837.

Wherefore Yorke being aduertiſed of the baſenes of this meſſenger, & of the peoples opinion, thought it méete for his honor, that this iewell ſhould not be conueied by ſo ſimple a perſon, and therefore cauſed him to be ſtopped by the waie immediatlie after his arriuall in England, where he was newlie furniſhed in all maner of apparell, with all kind of coſtlie ſilks, which ſéemed decent for ſuch an high ambaſſador, and that doone, he was incountered vpon Blackeheath, and there receiued with a great aſſemblie of prelats, and luſtie gallant gentlemen, and from thenſe conducted thorough London with great triumph. Then was great and ſpéedie preparation made in Weſtminſter abbeie, for the confirmation and acceptance of this high order and dignitie, the which was executed by all the biſhops and abbats about or nigh London, with their rich miters and copes, and other ornaments, which was doone in ſo ſolemne wiſe, as had not béene ſéene the like, vnleſſe it had béene at the coronation of a mightie prince or king. Obteining this dignitie, he thought himſelfe méet to beare rule among the temporall power, & among the ſpirituall iuriſdiction: wherfore, remembring as well the taunts ſuſteined of Canturburie, as hauing reſpect to the aduancement of worldlie honor & promotion, he found the meanes with the king, that he was made lord chancellor of England, and Canturburie which was chancellor diſmiſſed, who had continued in that roome long ſince before the deceaſſe of Henrie the ſeuenth. Now being in poſſeſſion of the chancellorſhip, and indued with the promotions of the archbiſhop, & cardinall

The cardinall in all his actions ſtandeth vpon his reputation.

Thomas Wolſeie lord chancellor arrogateth all that he may to himſelfe by vertue of his promotions.

dinall *De Latere*, hauing power to correct Canturburie, and all other biſhops and ſpirituall perſons, to aſſemble his conuocation when he would aſſigne, he tooke vpon him the correction of matters in all their iuriſdictions, and viſited all the ſpirituall houſes, hauing in euerie dioceſſe all maner of ſpirituall miniſters, as commiſſaries, ſcribes, apparators, and all other officers to furniſh his courts, and preſented by preuention whome he pleaſed vnto all benefices throughout all this realme.

And to the aduancing further of his legantine iuriſdiction and honor, he had maſters of his faculties, maſters *Ceremoniarum*, and ſuch other, to the glorifieng of his dignitie. Then had he his two great croſſes of ſiluer, the one of his archbiſhoprike, the other of his legacie, borne before him whither ſoeuer he went or rode, by two of the talleſt prieſts that he could get within the realme. And to increaſe his gaines, he had alſo the biſhoprike of Durham, and the abbeie of ſaint Albons in commendation. And after, when doctor Fox biſhop of Wincheſter died, he ſurrendred Durham into the kings hands, and tooke to him Wincheſter. Then had he in his hand (as it were in farme) the biſhopriks of Bath, Worceſter, & Hereford, for ſo much as the incumbents of them were ſtrangers, and made their abode continuallie beyond the ſeas in their owne countries, or elſe at Rome, from whence they were ſent in legation to this realme vnto the king, and for their reward at their departure, king Henrie the ſeuenth gaue them thoſe biſhopriks.

Thomas Wolſeie biſhop of Wincheſter, he had alſo thrée other biſhopriks in his hands as it were in farme.

But they being ſtrangers, thought it more méet for the aſſurance to ſuffer the cardinall to haue their benefices for a conuenient ſum of monie paid them yearelie, where they remained, than either to be troubled with the charges of the ſame, or to be yearelie burthened with the conueiance of their reuenues vnto them: ſo that all the ſpirituall liuings and preſentations of theſe biſhopriks were fullie in his diſpoſition, to prefer whom he liſted. He had alſo a great number dailie attending vpon him, both of noblemen & worthie gentlemen, with no ſmall number of the talleſt yeomen that he could get in all the realme, inſomuch that well was that nobleman and gentleman, that could preferre a tall yeoman to his ſeruice.

What kind of perſons he reteined in his ſeruice.

The order of the cardinals houſe, and firſt of his hall.

Ye ſhall vnderſtand, that he had in his hall continuallie thrée boords, kept with thrée ſeuerall principall officers, that is to ſaie, a ſteward which was alwaies a prieſt; a treaſuror a knight; and a comptrollor an eſquier; alſo a cofferer being a doctor; thrée marſhals; thrée yeomen vſhers in the hall, beſides two groomes, and almoners. Then in the hall kitchin, two clearks of the kitchin; a clearke comptrollor; a ſurueior of the dreſſor; a clearke of the ſpicerie, the which togither kept alſo a continuall meſſe in the hall. Alſo in his hall kitchin he had of maſter cooks two, and of other cooks, laborers and children of the kitchin, twelue perſons; foure yeomen of the ſcullerie, and foure yeomen of the ſiluer ſcullerie; two yeomen of the paſtrie, with two other paſtelers vnder the yeomen.

The hall kitchin.

The priuie kitchin.
The ſcalding houſe.
The pantrie.
The butterie.
The yewrie.
The cellar.
The chandrie wafarie, &c.

Then in his priuie kitchin a maſter cooke, who went dailie in veluet or in ſattin, with a chaine of gold, with two other yeomen and a groome: in the ſcalding houſe, a yeoman and two groomes: in the pantrie two perſons: in the butterie two yeomen, two groomes, and two pages: and in the yewrie likewiſe: in the cellar thrée yeomen, and thrée pages: in his chandrie two: in the wafarie two: in the wardrobe of beds, the maiſter of the wardrobe, and ten other perſons: in the landrie, a yeoman, a groome, thirtie pages, two yeomen purueiors, & one groome: in the bake-houſe, a yeoman and two groomes: in the wood-yard a yeoman, and a groome: in the barne one: in the garden a yeoman and two groomes: porters at the gate, two yeomen, and two groomes: a yeoman of his barge: and a maiſter of his horſſe: a clearke of the ſtable, a yeoman of the ſame: the ſadler: the ferrier: a yeoman of his chariot: a ſumpter man: a yeoman of his ſtirrop: a muleter: ſixtéene groomes of his ſtable, euerie of them kept foure geldings.

Thomas Wolſeis chappell and ſuch as bare office there.

In the almorie a yeoman and a groome: in his chappell he had a deane, a great diuine, and a man of excellent learning: a ſubdeane: a repeater of the quire: a goſpeller: a piſtler: of ſinging prieſts ten: a maiſter of the children: ſeculars of the chappell, ſinging men twelue: ſinging children ten, with one ſeruant to await vpon the children: in the reueſtrie a yeoman, and two groomes, ouer and beſides diuerſe reteiners that came thither at principall feaſts. For the furniture of his chappell, it paſſeth my capacitie to declare the number of coſtlie ornaments and rich iewels that were to be occupied in the ſame continuallie: there hath béene ſéene in proceſſion, about the hall, foure and fortie verie rich coapes of one ſute worne, beſides the rich croſſes and candleſtickes, and other ornaments to the furniture of the ſame.

The furniture of his chappell.

Officers of credit about Thomas Wolſeie in his priuie chamber.

He had two croſſebearers, and two pillerbearers in his great chamber: and in his priuie chamber theſe perſons: firſt the chiefe chamberleine, and vicechamberleine: of gentlemen vſhers, beſides one in his priuie chamber, he had twelue dailie waiters; and of gentlemen waiters in his priuie chamber he had ſix, and of lords nine or ten, who had each of them two men allowed them to attend vpon them, except the earle of Darbie, who had allowed fiue men: then had he of gentlemen, of cupbearers, caruers, and ſewers, both of the priuie chamber, and of the great chamber, with gentlemen dailie waiters there, fortie perſons: of yeomen vſhers ſix: of groomes in his chamber eight: of yeomen in his chamber fiue and fortie dailie: he had alſo almes men ſometime more in number than other ſometime.

Attendants on his boord.

There was attending on his boord of doctors and chapleins, beſides them of his chappell, ſixtéene dailie: a clearke of his cloſet: ſecretaries two: and two clearks of his ſignet: and foure counſellers learned in the law. And forſomuch as it was neceſſarie to haue diuerſe officers of the Chancerie to attend vpon him, that is to ſaie, the clerke of the crowne: a riding clearke: a clearke of the hamper: and a chafer of the wax: then a clearke of the checke, aſwell vpon the chapleins, as of the yeoman of his chamber: he had alſo foure footmen which were garniſhed in rich running coats, whenſoeuer he rode in anie iourneie: then had he an herald of armes: and a ſargeant of armes: a phyſician: an apothecarie: foure minſtrels: a kéeper of his tents: an armorer: an inſtructor of his wards: two yeomen of the wardrobe of his robes: and a kéeper of his chamber continuallie in the court: he had alſo in his houſe the ſurueior of Yorke, and a clearke of the gréene cloth.

Officers of the Chancerie.

His footmen.

His herald at armes & other officers.

All theſe were dailie attending, downe lieng and vpriſing, and at meales: he kept in his great chamber a continuall boord for the chamberers and gentlemen officers, hauing with them a meſſe of the yong lords, and another of gentlemen. Beſides all theſe, there was neuer an officer, gentleman, or worthie perſon, but he was allowed in the houſe, ſome thrée, ſome two, and all other one at the leaſt, which grew to a great number of perſons. Thus farre out of the checker roll, beſides other officers, ſeruants, reteiners, and ſuters, that moſt commonlie dined in the hall. After that he was thus furniſhed, he was ſent twiſe in ambaſſage to the emperour Charles the fift, for diuerſe vrgent cauſes touching the kings

maieſtie,

Thomas Wolſeie twiſe ambaſſador to the emperour Charles.

maieſtie, it was thought, that ſo noble a prince (the cardinall) was moſt méet to be ſent: wherfore being readie to take vpon him the charge thereof, hée was furniſhed in all degrées and purpoſes, moſt like a great prince.

For firſt he procéeded forth furniſhed like a cardinall: his gentlemen being verie manie in number, were clothed in liuerie coats of crimſin veluet of the beſt, with chaines of gold about their necks, and his yeomen and meane officers in coats of fine ſcarlet, garded with blacke veluet an hand broad. Thus furniſhed, he was twiſe ſent into Flanders to the emperour then lieng in Bruges, whome he did moſt highlie interteine, diſcharging all his charges and his mens. There was no houſe within the towne of Bruges, wherein anie gentleman of the cardinals was lodged, or had recourſe, but that the owners were commanded by the emperours officers, that they, vpon paine of their liues, ſhould take no monie for anie thing that the cardinals ſeruants did take of anie kind of vittels, no although they were diſpoſed to make anie coſtlie bankets.

The emperors munificence notable and worthie his imperiall perſon.

Commanding furthermore their ſaid hoſtes, to ſée that they lacked no ſuch things as they honeſtlie required for their honeſtie and pleaſure. Alſo the emperours officers euerie night went through the towne from houſe to houſe, whereas anie Engliſh gentlemen did repaſt or lodge, and ſerued their liueries for all night, which was done in this maner. Firſt, the officers brought into the houſe a caſt of fine manchet, and of ſiluer two great pots with white wine, and ſugar to the weight of a pound: white lights and yellow lights of wax: a boll of ſiluer with a goblet to drinke in, and euerie night a ſtaffetorch: this was the order of the liueries euerie night. And in the morning, when the ſame officers came to fetch awaie their ſtuffe, then would they account with the hoſtes for the gentlemens coſts ſpent in the daie before. Thus the emperour interteined the cardinall and all his traine for the time of his ambaſſage there. And that done, he returned into England with great triumph.

The maner of his going to Weſtminſter hall dailie in the terme time.

Now of his order in going to Weſtminſter hall dailie in the tearme. Firſt yer he came out of his priuie chamber, he heard ſeruice in his cloſet, and there ſaid his ſeruice with his chapleine; then going againe to his priuie chamber, he would demand if his ſeruants were in a readineſſe, and furniſhed his chamber of preſence, and waiting chamber. Being thereof then aduertiſed, he came out of his priuie chamber about eight of the clocke, apparelled all in red, that is to ſay, his vpper garment either of fine ſcarlet, or elſe fine crimſin taffata, but moſt cõmonlie of fine crimſin ſattin ingrained, his pillion of fine ſcarlet, with a necke ſet in the inner ſide with blacke veluet, and a tippet of ſables about his necke, holding in his hand an orenge, whereof the ſubſtance within was taken out, and filled vp againe with the part of a ſponge, wherein was vinegar and other confections againſt the peſtilent aires, the which he moſt commonlie held to his noſe when he came among anie preaſe, or elſe that he was peſtered with manie ſuters.

His owne apparell of crimſin and other ſumptuous ſtuffe.

The tokens and marks of his dignities borne before him.

Before him was borne firſt the broad ſeale of England, and his cardinals hat, by a lord, or ſome gentleman of worſhip, right ſolemnlie: & as ſoone as he was once entered into his chamber of preſence, his two great croſſes were there attending to be borne before him: then cried the gentlemen vſhers, going before him bare headed, and ſaid: On before my lords and maiſters, on before, make waie for my lords grace. Thus went he downe through the hall with a ſergeant of armes before him, bearing a great mace of ſiluer, and two gentlemen carieng two great pillers of ſiluer. And when he came at the hall doore, there was his mule, being trapped all in crimſin veluet, with a ſaddle of the ſame ſtuffe, & gilt ſtirrups. Then was there attending vpon him when he was mounted, his two croſſe-bearers: & his piller-bearers in like caſe vpon great horſſes, trapped all in fine ſcarlet. Then marched he forward with a traine of noble men and gentlemen, hauing his footmen foure in number about him, bearing ech of them a gilt pollar in their hands.

His behauior in the court of Chancerie & Starchamber

Thus paſſed he forth vntill he came to Weſtminſter hall doore, and there lighted, and went vp after this maner into the Chancerie, or into the Starrechamber: howbeit, moſt commonlie he would go into the Chancerie, and ſtaie a while at a barre made for him beneath the Chancerie on the right hand, and there commune ſometime with the iudges, and ſome time with other perſons: and that done, he would repaire into the Chancerie, and ſitting there vntill eleuen of the clocke, hearing of ſutes, and determining of other matters, from thence he would diuers times go into the Starre-chamber, as occaſion ſerued. There he neither ſpared high nor low, but iudged euerie ſtate according to his merits and deſerts.

His order of going to and cõming from the court.

He vſed alſo euerie ſundaie to reſort to the court, then being for the moſt part of all the yeare at Gréenewich, with his former triumphs, taking his barge at his owne ſtaires, furniſhed with yeomen ſtanding vpon the bails, and his gentlemen being within about him, and landed againe at the thrée cranes in the Vintrie: and from thenſe he rode vpon his mule with his croſſe, his pillers, his hat and broad ſeale carried afore him on horſſebacke through Thames ſtreet, vntill he came to Billingſgate, and there tooke his barge againe, and ſo was rowed to Gréenewich, where he was receiued of the lords and chiefe officers of the kings houſe, as the treaſuror, comptrollor and others, and ſo conueied vnto the kings chamber. Then the court was wonderfullie furniſhed with noblemen and gentlemen: and after dinner among the lords, hauing ſome conſultation with the king or with the councell, he would depart homeward with the like triumph.

The cardinals houſe like a princes court for all kind of brauerie & ſumptuouſneſſe.

Thus in great honour, triumph, and glorie, he reigned a long ſeaſon, ruling all things within the realme apperteining vnto the king. His houſe was reſorted to with noblemen and gentlemen, feaſting and banketting ambaſſadors diuerſe times, and all other right noblie. And when it pleaſed the king for his recreation to repaire to the cardinals houſe (as he did diuerſe times in the yeare) there wanted no preparations or furniture: bankets were ſet forth with maſkes and mummeries, in ſo gorgeous a ſort and coſtlie maner, that it was an heauen to behold. There wanted no dames or damoſels meet or apt to danſe with the maſkers, or to garniſh the place for the time: then was there all kind of muſike and harmonie, with fine voices both of men and children.

A maſke and banket, the king in perſon preſent at the cardinals houſe.

On a time the king came ſuddenlie thither in a maſke with a dozen maſkers all in garments like ſhéepheards, made of fine cloth of gold, and crimoſin ſattin paned, & caps of the ſame, with viſards of good phyſnomie, their haires & beards either of fine goldwire ſilke, or blacke ſilke, hauing ſixtéene torch-bearers, beſides their drums and other perſons with viſards, all clothed in ſattin of the ſame color. And before his entring into the hall, he came by water to the water gate without anie noiſe, where were laid diuerſe chambers and guns charged with ſhot, and at his landing they were ſhot off, which made ſuch a rumble in the aire, that it was like thunder: it made all the noblemen, gentlemen, ladies, and gentlewomen, to muſe what it ſhould meane, comming ſo ſuddenlie, they ſitting quiet at a ſolemne banket, after this ſort.

The cardinals ſtatelie ſitting at table like a prince.

Firſt yée ſhall vnderſtand, that the tables were ſet in the chamber of preſence iuſt couered, ⁊ the lord cardinall ſitting vnder the cloth of eſtate, there hauing all his ſeruice alone: and then was there ſet a ladie with a noble man, or a gentleman and a gentlewoman throughout all the tables in the chamber on the one ſide, which were made and ioined as it were but one table, all which order and deuiſe was doone by the lord Sandes then lord chamberleine to the king, and by ſir Henrie Gilford comptrollor of the kings maieſties houſe. Then immediatlie after the great chamberleine, and the ſaid comptrollor, ſent to looke what it ſhould meane (as though they knew nothing of the matter) who looking out of the windowes into the Thames, returned againe and ſhewed him, that it ſéemed they were noblemen and ſtrangers that arriued at his bridge, comming as ambaſſadours from ſome forren prince.

The cardinall knew not that the king was in the number.

With that (quoth the cardinall) I deſire you, bicauſe you can ſpeake French, to take the paines to go into the hall, there to receiue them according to their eſtates, and to conduct them into this chamber, where they ſhall ſée vs, and all theſe noble perſonages being merie at our banket, deſiring them to ſit downe with vs, and to take part of our fare. Then went he incontinent downe into the hall, whereas they receiued them with twentie new torches, and conueied them vp into the chamber, with ſuch a noiſe of drums and flutes, as ſeldome had béene heard the like. At their entring into the chamber two and two togither, they went directlie before the cardinall, where he ſate and ſaluted him reuerentlie.

The cardinall reuerentlie ſaluted of the maſkers.

To whom the lord chamberleine for them ſaid: Sir, for as much as they be ſtrangers, and can not ſpeake Engliſh, they haue deſired me to declare vnto you, that they hauing vnderſtanding of this your triumphant banket, where was aſſembled ſuch a number of excellent dames, they could doo no leſſe vnder ſupport of your grace, but to repaire hither, to view as well their incomparable beautie, as for to accompanie them at mum-chance, and then to danſe with them: and ſir, they require of your grace licence to accompliſh the ſaid cauſe of their cõming. To whom the cardinall ſaid he was verie well content they ſhould ſo doo. Then went the maſkers, and firſt ſaluted all the dames, and returned to the moſt worthie, and there opened their great cup of gold filled with crownes and other péeces of gold, to whome they ſet certeine péeces of gold to caſt at.

The cardinall plaieth at dice.

He ſuſpecteth that the king is preſent and abateth his eſtate.

Thus peruſing all the ladies and gentlewomen, to ſome they loſt, and of ſome they woone: and marking after this maner all the ladies, they returned to the cardinall with great reuerence, powring downe all their gold ſo left in their cup, which was aboue two hundred crownes: At all (quoth the cardinall) and ſo caſt the dice and wan them, whereat was made a great noiſe and ioy. Then quoth the cardinall to the lord chamberleine, I praie you (quoth he) that you would ſhew them, that me ſéemeth there ſhould be a nobleman amongſt them, who is more méet to occupie this ſeat and place than I am, to whome I would moſt gladlie ſurrender the ſame according to my dutie, if I knew him.

Then ſpake the lord chamberleine to them in French, and they rounding him in the eare, the lord chamberlein ſaid to my lord cardinall: Sir (quoth he) they confeſſe, that among them there is ſuch a noble perſonage, whome, if your grace can appoint him out from the reſt, he is content to diſcloſe himſelfe, and to accept your place. With that the cardinall taking good aduiſement among them, at the laſt (quoth he) me ſéemeth the gentleman with the blacke beard, ſhould be euen he: and with that he aroſe out of his chaire, and offered the ſame to the gentleman in the blacke beard with his cap in his hand. The perſon to whom he offered the chaire was ſir Edward Neuill, a comelie knight, that much more reſembled the kings perſon in that maſke than anie other.

He taketh his marks amiſſe and is deceiued.

The king diſuiſardeth his face and is verie pleaſant.

The king perceiuing the cardinall ſo deceiued, could not forbeare laughing, but pulled downe his viſar and maſter Neuels alſo, and daſhed out ſuch a pleaſant countenance and chéere, that all the noble eſtates there aſſembled, perceiuing the king to be there among them, reioiſed verie much. The cardinall eftſoons deſired his highneſſe to take the place of eſtate. To whom the king anſwered, that he would go firſt and ſhift his apparell, and ſo departed into my lord cardinals chamber, and there new apparelled him: in which time the diſhes of the banket were cleane taken vp, and the tables ſpred againe with new cleane perfumed cloths, euerie man and woman ſitting ſtill, vntill the king with all his maſkers came among them againe all new apparelled.

A new banket vpon the ſudden of 200 diſhes.

Then the king tooke his ſeat vnder the cloth of eſtate, commanding euerie perſon to ſit ſtill as they did before: in came a new banket before the king, and to all the reſt throughout all the tables, wherein were ſerued two hundred diuerſe diſhes, of coſtlie deuiſes and ſubtilties. Thus paſſed they forth the night with banketting, danſing, and other triumphs, to the great comfort of the king, and pleaſant regard of the nobilitie there aſſembled. And thus ſpent this cardinall his time from daie to daie, and yeare to yeare, in ſuch wealth, ioie, triumph, and glorie, hauing alwaies on his ſide the kings eſpeciall fauour, vntill fortune enuied his proſperitie, and ouerthrew all the foundations of his glorie; which as they were laid vpon ſand, ſo they ſhronke and ſlipt awaie, whereby inſued the ruine of his eſtate, euen to the verie loſſe of his life, which (as a man of a guiltie conſcience, and fearing capitall puniſhment due by law for his vndutifull demeanour againſt his ſouereigne) Edward Hall ſaith (vpon report) he partlie procured, willinglie taking ſo great a quantitie of a ſtrong purgation, as nature was therewith oppreſſed, and vnable to digeſt the ſame; ſo that in fine he gaue vp the ghoſt, and was buried in Leiceſter abbeie: of whome to ſaie more I will ſurceaſſe, concluding onelie with a deſcription which I find of him not impertinent for this place, ſith wholie concerning his perſon.

Ab. Fl. ex Edw. Hal. Clxxxxiiij.

The deſcription of the cardinall.

¶This cardinall (as you may perceiue in this ſtorie) was of a great ſtomach, for he compted himſelfe equall with princes, ⁊ by craftie ſuggeſtion gat into his hands innumerable treaſure: he forced little on ſimonie, and was not pittifull, and ſtood affectionate in his owne opinion: in open preſence he would lie and ſaie vntruth, and was double both in ſpeach and meaning: he would promiſe much ⁊ performe little: he was vicious of his bodie, ⁊ gaue the clergie euill example: he hated ſore the citie of London ⁊ feared it: it was told him that he ſhould die in the waie toward London, wherefore he feared leaſt the commons of the citie would ariſe in riotous maner and ſo ſlaie him, yet for all that he died in the waie toward London, carrieng more with him out of the world than he brought into it; namelie a winding ſhéete, beſides other neceſſaries thought méet for a dead man, as chriſtian comelineſſe required. This ruine of the cardinall was not ſo much as once dreampt vpon, when I. Leland the famous antiquarie wrote this welwiſhing octaſtichon vnto the ſaid Wolſeie (being then in the flowre of his glorie, and the pearle of his pride) as hereafter followeth.

Ad Tho. Wolueſegũ archiepiſcopum Iſurocanum.

Sic tuus Henricus, regum qui gloria florens,
Perpetuo ſtudio te colat, ornet, amet:
Sic pia coniungat proceres concordia magnos,
Vt iuſto belli fulmine Turca ruat:

Sic vaſtus operum tantorum deniq; moles
Abſoluas, ſummo templa dicata Deo.
Sis bonus (ô fœlix) mihi! tutela Camænæ
Dicêris meritò præſidiúmq; meæ.

The king and quéene kept a ſolemne Chriſtmaſſe at Gréenwich

After the cardinall was dead, the king remoued from Hampton court to Gréenwich, where he with quéene Katharine kept a ſolemne Chriſtmaſſe, and on the Twelfe night he ſat in the hall in his eſtate, whereas were diuerſe enterludes, rich maſkes and diſports, and after that a great banket. Now after Chriſtmas he came to his manour of Weſtminſter, which before was called Yorke place: for after that the cardinall was attainted in the premunire, & was gone northward, he made a feoffement of the ſame place to the king, and the chapiter of the cathedrall church of Yorke by their writing confirmed the ſame feoffement, & then the king changed the name and called it the kings manor of Weſtminſter, and no more Yorke place.

The cleargie in danger of a premunire.

The whole cleargie of England euer ſupported and mainteined the power legantine of the cardinall, wherefore the kings learned councell ſaid plainlie that they were all in the premunire: the ſpirituall lords were called by proceſſe into the kings Bench to anſwer, but before their daie of appearance they in their conuocation concluded an humble ſubmiſſion in writing, and offered the king a hundred thouſand pounds to be their good lord, & alſo to giue them a pardon of all offenſes touching the premunire by act of parlement, the which offer with much labour was accepted, and their pardon promiſed. In this ſubmiſſion the cleargie called the king ſupreame head of the church of England, which thing they neuer confeſſed before, wherevpon manie things followed after, as you ſhall heare.

The offer of the cleargie to the king.

The king firſt named ſupreme head.

1531

When the parlement was begun the firſt daie of Januarie, the pardon of the ſpirituall perſons was ſigned with the kings hand, and ſent to the lords, which in time conuenient aſſented to the bill, and ſent it to the commons in the lower houſe. Now when it was read, diuers froward perſons would in no wiſe aſſent to it except all men were pardoned, ſaieng that all men which had anie thing to doo with the cardinall were in the ſame caſe. The wiſer ſort anſwered, that they would not compell the king to giue them his pardon, & beſide that it was vncharitablie doone of them to hurt the cleargie, and doo themſelues no good: wherefore they aduiſed them to conſent to the bill, and after to ſue to the king for their pardon, which counſell was not followed, but they determined firſt to ſend the ſpeaker to the king yer they would aſſent to the bill.

Thom. Audlie ſpeaker for the commons.

Wherevpon Thomas Audleie ſpeaker for the commons, with a conuenient number of the common houſe, came to the kings preſence, and there eloquentlie declared to the king, how the commons ſore lamented and bewailed their chance, to thinke or imagine themſelues to be out of his gratious fauor, bicauſe that he had gratiouſlie giuen his pardon of the premunire to his ſpirituall ſubiects and not to them: wherefore they moſt humblie beſought his grace of his accuſtomed goodneſſe and clemencie to include them in the ſame pardon. The king wiſelie anſwered that he was their prince and ſoueraigne lord, and that they ought not to reſtraine him of his libertie, nor to compell him to ſhew his mercie; for it was at his pleaſure to vſe the extremitie of his laws or mitigate and pardon the ſame: wherefore ſith they denied to aſſent to the pardon of the ſpirituall perſons, which pardon (he ſaid) he might giue without their aſſent by his great ſeale, he would be well aduiſed yer he pardoned them, bicauſe he would not be noted to be compelled to it.

The ſumme of the kings wiſe anſwer.

With this anſwer the ſpeaker and the commons departed verie ſorowfull and penſiue, and ſome light perſons ſaid that Thomas Crumwell, which was newlie come to the fauour of the king, had diſcloſed the ſecrets of the commons, which thing cauſed the king to be ſo extreame. The king like a good prince conſidered how ſorowfull his commons were of the anſwer that he made them, and thought that they were not quiet: wherefore of his owne motion he cauſed a pardon of the premunire to be drawne, and ſigned it with his hand, and ſent it to the common houſe by Chriſtopher Hales his atturneie, which bill was ſoone aſſented to. Then the commons louinglie thanked the king, and much praiſed his wit, that he had denied it to them when they vnworthilie demanded it, and had bountifullie granted it when he perceiued that they ſorrowed and lamented.

The kings voluntarie inclination to pardon the premunire.

While the parlement ſat, on the thirtith daie of March at afternoone, there came into the common houſe the lord chancellor and diuerſe lords of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie, to the number of twelue, and there the lord chancellor ſaid: You of this worſhipfull houſe (I am ſure) be not ſo ignorant, but you know well, that the king our ſoueraigne lord hath married his brothers wife, for ſhe was both wedded and bedded with his brother prince Arthur, and therefore you may ſuerlie ſaie that he hath married his brothers wife. If this marriage be good or no manie clerkes doo doubt. Wherefore the king like a vertuous prince willing to be ſatiſfied in his conſcience, & alſo for the ſuertie of his realme, hath with great deliberation conſulted with profound clerkes, & hath ſent my lord of London here preſent, to the chiefe vniuerſities of all chriſtendome, to know their opinion and iudgement in that behalfe. And although that the vniuerſities of Cambridge and Oxford had béene ſufficient to diſcuſſe the cauſe, yet bicauſe they be in his realme, and to auoid all ſuſpicion of parcialitie he hath ſent into the realme of France, Italie, the popes dominions and Venecians, to know their iudgement in that behalfe; which haue concluded, written, and ſealed their determinations according as you ſhall heare read. Then ſir Brian Tuke tooke out of a box certeine writings ſealed, and read them word by word as after inſueth, tranſlated out of Latine into the Engliſh toong.

Touching the kings mariage.

Namelie Edmund Bonner.

Determinations of diuerſe vniuerſities *touching the vnlawfulneſſe of the* kings marriage, and firſt the determination *of the vniuerſitie of* Orleance.

NOt long ſince there were put forth to vs the college of doctors, regents of the vniuerſitie of Orleance, theſe two queſtions that follow. The firſt, whether it be lawfull by the law of God for the brother to take to wife that woman whom his brother hath left? The ſecond, if this be forbidden by the law of God, whether this prohibition of the law of God may be remitted by the pope his diſpenſation? We the foreſaid college of doctors regents, according to our cuſtome and vſage came manie times togither, and did ſit diuerſe times vpon the diſcuſſing of theſe foreſaid doubts and queſtions, and did examine and weigh as much as we might diuerſe and manie places, both of the old teſtament and the new, and alſo the interpretors and declarers both of the law of God and the canon law.

After we had weighed & conſidered all things exactlie, with good leiſure and deliberation we haue all determined and concluded, that theſe foreſaid mariages cannot be attempted, nor enterpriſed, except a man doo wrong, and plaine contrarie to the law of

God: yea and that although it be doone by pardon and ſufferance of the pope. And in witneſſe of this concluſion and determination, we haue cauſed this preſent publike writing to be ſigned by the ſcribe of our ſaid vniuerſitie, and to be ſtrengthened ⁊ fortified with the ſeale of the ſame. Enacted in the chapell of our ladie, the annuntiation, or the good tidings that ſhe had of Chriſtes comming in Orleance, the yeare of our Lord 1529, the 5. daie of Aprill.

The determination of the facultie *of decrees of the vniuerſitie of Paris.*

Lawiers of Paris.

IN the name of the Lord ſo be it. There was put forth before vs the deane and college of the right councelfull facultie of decrées of the vniuerſitie of Paris, this queſtion? Whether that the pope might diſpenſe, that the brother might marrie the wife that his brother hath left, if mariage betwéene his brother now dead and his wife were once conſummate? We the deane and college of the ſaid facultie after manie diſputations and reaſons made of both ſides vpon this matter, and after great and long turning and ſearching of bookes, both of the law of God, and the popes law, and of the law ciuill, we counſell and ſaie that the pope hath no power to diſpenſe in this foreſaid caſe. In witneſſe whereof we haue cauſed this preſent writing to be ſtrengthened with the ſeale of our facultie and with the ſigne of our ſcribe or chiefe bedle. Yeuen in the congregation or aſſemble at ſaint Iohn Laterenenſe in Paris the ſecond daie of Maie 1530.

The determination of ciuilians *and canoniſts of the vniuerſitie* of Aniou.

Aniou.

NOt long time ſince there were propoſed vnto vs the rector and doctors regents in law canon and ciuill of the vniuerſitie of Aniou, theſe two queſtions here following, that is to wit; Whether it is vnlawfull by the law of God ⁊ the law of nature for a man to marrie the wife of his brother, that is departed without children, ſo that the marriage was conſummate? And againe, whether it is lawfull for the pope to diſpenſe with ſuch marriage? We the aforeſaid rector and doctors haue according to our cuſtome and vſage manie times communed togither, and ſitten to diſpute theſe queſtions, and to find out the certeintie of them. And after that we had diſcuſſed and examined manie and diuerſe places, aſwell of the law of God as of the law of man, which ſéemed to perteine to the ſame purpoſe, and after we had brought reaſons for both parties, and examined them: all things faithfullie and after good conſcience conſidered, and vpon ſufficient deliberation and aduiſement taken, we define and determine that neither by the law of God nor of nature, it is permitted for any chriſtian man, no not euen with the authoritie of the ſée apoſtolike, or with anie diſpenſation granted by the pope, to marrie the wife that his brother hath left, although his brother be departed without children, after that the marriage is once finiſhed and conſummate. And for witnes of the aforſaid things, we haue commanded the ſcribe of our ſaid vniuerſitie to ſigne this preſent publike inſtrument, and it to be fortified with the great ſeale of our vniuerſitie. Enacted in the church of ſaint Peter in Aniou, the yeare of our Lord 1530, the 7 daie of Maie.

The determination of the facultie of *diuinitie in the vniuerſitie of Paris.*

Paris.

THe deane and the facultie of the holie diuinitie of the vniuerſitie of Paris, to all them to whom this preſent writing ſhall come, wiſheth ſafetie in our ſauiour Ieſu Chriſt, which is the verie true ſafetie. Where of late there is riſen a great controuerſie of great difficultie, vpon the marriage betwéene the moſt noble Henrie the eight king of England defendor of the faith, and lord of Ireland, ⁊c: and the noble ladie Katharine quéene of England, daughter to the catholike king Ferdinand, which marriage was not onelie contract betwéene hir and hir former huſband, but alſo conſummate and finiſhed by carnall intermedling.

This queſtion alſo was propoſed to vs to diſcuſſe and examine according to iuſtice and truth, that is to ſaie; Whether to marrie hir that one brother dead without children hath left, being ſo prohibited by the law of God and nature, that it can not be lawfull by the popes diſpenſation, that any chriſtian man ſhuld marrie the wife that his brother hath left? We the foreſaid deane and facultie calling to our remembrance, how vertuous, and how holie a thing, and how agréeable to our profeſſion, vnto our dutie of loue and charitie it is for vs to ſhew the waie of iuſtice and right, of vertue and honeſtie, to them which deſire to lead and paſſe ouer their life in the law of our Lord with ſure and quiet conſcience; could not but be readie to ſatiſfie ſo honeſt and iuſt requeſts: wherevpon after our old woont, we came togither vpon our oth in the church of S. Maturine, and there for the ſame cauſe had a ſolemne maſſe with deuout praier to the Holie-ghoſt.

And alſo we tooke an oth, euerie man to deliuer and to ſtudie vpon the foreſaid queſtion, as ſhould be to the pleaſure of God ⁊ according to conſcience. And after diuerſe ⁊ manie ſeſſions or ſittings, which were had and continued in the church of ſaint Maturine, and alſo in the college called Sorbon, from the eight daie of Iune to the ſecond daie of Iulie; when we had ſearched and examined through and through, with as much diligence as we could, and with ſuch reuerence and religion or conſcience as becommeth in ſuch a matter, both the bookes of holie ſcripture, and alſo the moſt approoued interpretors of the ſame: finallie the generall and ſynodall councels, decrées and conſtitutions of the ſacre and holie church, which by long cuſtome hath béene receiued and approbate.

We the foreſaid deane and facultie, diſputing vpon the foreſaid queſtion, and making anſwer to the ſame, and that after the iudgement and full conſent of the moſt part of the ſaid facultie, haue concluded and determined, that the foreſaid marriage with the brothers wife, departing without children, be ſo forbidden both by the law of God ⁊ of nature, that the pope hath no power to diſpenſe with ſuch mariages, whether they be contract or to be contract. And for credence, beléefe, and witneſſe of this our aſſertion and determination, we haue cauſed the ſeale of our facultie, with our notaries ſigne, to be put vnto this preſent writing. Dated in our generall congregation that we kéepe by an oth at ſaint Maturines, the yeare of our Lord 1530, the ſecond daie of Iulie.

The determination of the vniuerſitie *of Burges in Berrie or Biturs.*

Burges.

WE the deane and facultie of diuinitie in the vniuerſitie of Burges (bicauſe we will doo according to the example of S. Paule doctor of the gentiles, which dooth likewiſe) will begin our writing with praier for all the beloued of God, among whome you moſt deare readers, vnto whome we write, be called: grace, peace, and quietneſſe of conſcience come to you from God the father, and from our Lord Ieſu Chriſt. While we were gathered together all into one place (in the octaues of Whitſuntide) both in bodie and mind, and were ſitting in the houſe of the ſaid deane, there was a queſtion put to vs againe, which had béene propoſed to vs oftentimes before, being no ſmall queſtion, which was this: Whether the brother taking the wife of his brother now dead, and the marriage once conſummate and perfect, dooth a thing vnlawfull or no?

At the laſt when we had ſought for the truth of the thing, and had perceiued and found it out by much labour and ſtudie of euerie one of vs by himſelfe, and by much and often turning of holie bookes, euerie one of vs not corrupt, whereby we might the leſſe obeie the truth, began as the holie ghoſt did put in his mind, to giue euerie man one arbitrement and ſentence, which was this. I haue well perceiued in verie truth, without regard or reſpect of anie perſon, that thoſe perſons which be rehearſed in the 18 chapter of the Leuiticall law, be forbidden by the verie law of nature to contract matrimonie togither, and that this law can in no wiſe be releaſed by anie authoritie of anie man, by the which there is made an abhominable diſcouering of his brothers fouleneſſe. And this is the ſigne of our common bedell or notarie, and the ſeale of our foreſaid facultie put vnto this preſent writing the 10 daie of Iune, in the yeare of our Lord 1530. And bicauſe the foot of our writing ſhall be of one forme and faſhion with the head, as we began with praier, ſo let vs end after the example of S. Paule that we ſpake of before, and ſaie, the grace and fauour of our Lord Ieſu Chriſt, the charitie and loue of God and the communication of the holie ghoſt be with you all, Amen.

The determination of the diuines *in the popes vniuerſitie of Bononie.*

Bononie.

GOD beſt and mightieſt taught firſt the old law and teſtament with his owne mouth, to forme and faſhion according to loue and charitie the maners and life of men. And ſecondarilie the ſame God did take afterwards manhood vpon him for to be the redéemer of man, and ſo made the new law or new teſtament, not onlie to forme and faſhion according to loue and charitie the life and maners of men, but alſo to take awaie and to declare doubts, the which did ariſe in manie caſes, which when they be once cléerelie determined, ſhall helpe greatlie to perfect vertue and goodneſſe, that is to ſaie, to perfect loue and charitie.

Wherefore we thought it euermore, that it ſhould be our part to follow theſe moſt holie doctrines and lawes of our father of heauen, and that we lightned by the light of God aboue & of the holie ghoſt, ſhould giue our ſentence and iudgement in high and doubtfull matters, after that we haue once leiſurelie and ſufficientlie taken aduiſement vpon the cauſe, and haue cléerelie ſearched out and opened the thing by manie reaſons and writings of holie fathers, as well for the one part as for the other, dooing nothing (as néere as we can) raſhlie or without deliberation. Therefore where certeine great and noble men did inſtantlie deſire vs, that we would with all diligence poſſible looke for this caſe that after inſueth, & afterwards to giue our iudgement vpon the ſame, according to moſt equitie, right, and conſcience, ſticking onelie to the truth.

Burges.

All the doctors of diuinitie of this vniuerſitie, when we had euerie one by himſelfe examined the matter at home in our houſes, came all togither into one place, and there treated vpon it manie daies with as much cunning and learning as we could, we anon looked on the caſe togither, we examined it togither, we compared all things togither, we handling euerie thing by it ſelfe, did trie them euen as you would ſaie by line and rule, we brought foorth all maner of reaſons which we thought could be brought for the contrarie part, and afterward ſolued them, yea euen the reaſons of the moſt reuerend father cardinall Caietane, yea and moreouer the Deuteronomie diſpenſation of ſtirring vp the brothers ſéed, and ſhortlie all other maner of reaſons and opinions of the contrarie part, as manie as ſéemed to belong to this purpoſe.

And this queſtion that was aſked of vs, was this: Whether it was forbidden onelie by the ordinance of the church, or elſe by the law of God, that a man might not marrie the wife left of his brother departed without children? And if it were commanded by both the lawes not to be doone, whether the pope may diſpenſe with anie man to make ſuch marriage? The which queſtion now that we haue examined both by our ſelfe ſecretlie, and alſo openlie as diligentlie and exactlie as we could poſſiblie, and diſcuſſed it after the beſt manner that our wits would ſerue: we determine, giue iudgement, and ſaie, and as ſtiflie as we can we witneſſe, and without anie doubt doo ſtedfaſtlie hold, that this marriage ſhould be horrible, accurſſed, and to be cried out vpon, and vtterlie abhominable not onelie for a chriſtian man, but for an infidell, vnfaithfull or heathen.

And that it is prohibited vnder gréeuous paines and puniſhments by the law of God, of nature, and of man, and that the pope, though that he almoſt may doo all things, vnto whome Chriſt did giue the keies of the kingdome of heauen, hath no power to giue a diſpenſation to anie man for to contract ſuch marriage for anie maner of cauſe, conſideration or ſuggeſtion: and all we be readie at all times & in all places to defend & mainteine the truth of this our concluſion. In witneſſe whereof we haue made this preſent writing, and haue fortified the ſame both with the ſeale of our vniuerſitie, and alſo with the ſeale of our college of doctors of diuinitie, and haue ſubſcribed & ſigned it with our generall and accuſtomed ſubſcription in the cathedrall church of Bononie, the tenth daie of Iune, the yeare of our Lord 1530.

The determination of the facultie of *diuinitie in the vniuerſitie of* Padua in Italie.

Padua.

THey that haue written for the maintenance of the catholike faith, affirme that God (beſt and mightieſt) did giue the precepts & commandements of the old law with his owne mouth, to be an example for vs, wherein we might ſée how we ſhould order our life and maners, and this God had doone before he became man: and after that he had put vpon him our manhood, & was become redéemer or buier of mankind, he made the new law or teſtament, and of his méere liberalitie did giue it vs, not onelie for the cauſe aforſaid; but alſo to take awaie and declare all maner of doubts and queſtions that might ariſe, the which once opened and declared, what their verie true meaning is, to the intent that thereby we might be made perfectlie good, which be greatlie fruitfull vnto vs and wholeſome.

And ſéeing that this was the mind of God in making theſe lawes, it hath béene our intent, and euermore ſhall be, as it becommeth chriſtian men, to follow theſe moſt ſolemne ordinances of the moſt high workemaſter God, & the helpe of his light, that is aboue the capacitie of nature, to vtter our iudgment in all maner of doubts and hard queſtions. After we had once conſidered the thing after the beſt maner, and had by ſufficient leiſure made it cléere by manie euident reaſons of both parties, and by manie authorities of the fathers of the church, determining nothing (as neere as we can) raſhlie or without conuenient deliberation. Séeing therefore that certeine great orators or ambaſſadors did humblie require and praie vs, that we would vouchſafe to ſearch out with all the diligence we could this caſe following, and afterwards to giue our ſentence vpon the ſame, plainelie and ſimplie looking onelie on the truth.

After the doctors of diuinitie of this vniuerſitie came togither, and after that we had euerie man examined the thing particularlie in our owne houſes, and had beaten it with all learning and cunning that we were able: anon when we were togither, we conſidered, examined, and weied all things by themſelues, and brought in all maner of reaſons, which we thought might by anie meanes be made to the contrarie, and without all colour or cloke did wholie and cléerlie diſſolue them and take them awaie. And amongſt all, the diſpenſation by the law of Deuteronomie, of ſtirring vp the brothers ſéed, and all maner other reaſons and determinations to the contrarie, that ſéemed to vs to perteine anie thing to that purpoſe, we vtterlie confuted and diſpatched them.

The queſtion that is put vnto vs is this; Whether to marrie the wife of our brother departed without children, is forbidden onelie by the law of the church, or by the law of God alſo? And if it be forbidden by both theſe laws, whether the pope maie diſpenſe with anie man for ſuch matrimonie or no? Which queſtion now that we haue diſcuſſed it, and as farre as we could, haue made it cléere, both priuatlie euerie man by himſelfe, and after all togither openlie, we ſaie, iudge, decrée, witneſſe, and for a truth affirme, that ſuch marriage is no marriage; yea and that it is abhorred and curſſed of euerie chriſtian man, and to be abhominate as a grieuous ſinne; and that it is as cléere as can be forbidden vnder moſt cruell penalties by the lawes of nature, of God, and of man; and that the pope, vnto whome the keies of the kingdome of heauen be committed by Chriſt the ſonne of God, hath no power to diſpenſe by the right of law for anie cauſe, ſuggeſtion, or excuſe, that anie ſuch matrimonie ſhould be contracted.

For thoſe things which be forbidden by the law of God, be not vnderneath his power, but aboue it; nor he is not the vicar of God as concerning thoſe things, but onelie in ſuch things as God hath not determined himſelfe in his law; but hath left them to the determination and ordinance of man. And to mainteine the truth of this our ſentence and concluſion, and for the moſt certeine and vndoubted defenſe of the ſame, we all of one mind and accord ſhall at all times and in euerie place be readie. In witneſſe whereof we haue made this writing, and haue authoriſed it with the accuſtomed ſeale of our vniuerſitie and alſo of our college of diuines. Dated at Padua in the church of the heremites of ſaint Auguſtine the firſt daie of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 1530.

The determination of the vniuerſitie *of Tholoſe.*

Tholoſe.

THere was treated in our vniuerſitie of Tholoſe a verie hard queſtion; Whether it be lawfull for the brother to marrie hir which had béene wife to his brother now departed, & that without children? There was beſides this an other thing that troubled vs verie ſore; Whether, if the pope which hath the cure of Chriſts flocke, would by his diſpenſation (as men call it) ſuffer this, that then at the leaſt wiſe it might be lawfull? The rector of the vniuerſitie called to counſell all the doctors regents, that were at that time at Tholoſe for to ſhew their minds on this queſtion, and that not once, but twiſe: for he iudged that counſell giuing ought not to be haſted nor doone vpon head, and that we had néed of time and ſpace to doo anie thing conuenientlie and as it ought to be.

At the laſt there came togither into one place all the beſt learned and cunningeſt doctors, both of holie diuinitie, and alſo doctors that were beſt learned in both lawes; yea, and finallie as manie as had anie experience in anie matter, and were able to doo anie thing either by iudgement and diſcretion, or by eloquence or their excellent wits; and there did ſweare that they would obeie the ſacred and holie councels, and would follow the decrées of the fathers, which no man that hath anie good conſcience will violat or breake. And ſo euerie man ſaid his mind, & the matter was debated and reaſoned diffuſelie and at large for both parts.

In concluſion, we fell ſo faſt to this point, that this was the ſentence and determination that our vniuerſitie, with one voice of all, did determine and conclude with moſt pure and cléere conſcience, and defiled with no maner of leuen of corruption: That it is lawfull for no man, neither by the law of God, nor by the law of nature, to take hir to wife that his brother hath left: and ſéeing that it maie not be doone by the law of God nor of nature, we anſwered all, that the pope can looſe no man from that law, nor diſpenſe with him. And as for that thing can not be contrarie to our ſentence and verdict, that the brother in old time was compelled by the law of Deuteronomie to marrie the brothers wife departed without iſſue. For this law was but a ſhadow and a figure of things to come, which vaniſhed awaie as ſoone as euer the light and truth of the goſpell appeared. And bicauſe theſe things be thus, we haue giuen our ſentence after this forme aboue, and haue commanded the ſame to be ſigned by our notarie which is our ſecretarie, and to be fortified and authoriſed by the putting to of our authenticall ſeale of our vniuerſitie aforeſaid, at Tholoſe the calends or firſt daie of October, the yeare of our Lord 1530.

After theſe determinations were read, there were ſhewed aboue an hundred bookes drawn by doctors of ſtrange regions, which all agreed the kings marriage to be vnlawfull, which were not read, for the daie was ſpent. Then the chancellor ſaid: Now you of this common houſe maie report in your countries what you haue ſéene and heard, & then all men ſhall openlie perceiue, that the king hath not attempted this matter of will and pleaſure, as ſome ſtrangers report, but onlie for the diſcharge of his conſcience and ſuertie of the ſucceſſion of his realme: this is the cauſe of our repaire hither to you, and now will we depart.

When theſe determinations were publiſhed, all wiſe men in the realme much abhorred that marriage: but women, and ſuch as were more wilfull than wiſe or learned, ſpake againſt the determination, and ſaid that the vniuerſities were corrupt and intiſed ſo to doo, which is not to be thought. The king himſelfe ſore lamented his chance, and made no maner of mirth nor paſtime as he was wont to doo. He dined and reſorted to the quéene as he was accuſtomed, and diminiſhed nothing of hir eſtate, and much loued and cheriſhed their daughter the ladie Marie: but in no wiſe he would not come to hir bed. When Eaſter began to draw néere, the parlement for that time ended, and was proroged till the laſt daie of March, in the next yéere. In the parlement aforeſaid was an act made, that whoſoeuer did poiſon anie perſon, ſhould be boiled in hot water to the death: which act was made, bicauſe one Richard Roſe, in the parlement time had poiſoned diuerſe perſons at the biſhop

An act of poiſoning.

ſhop of Rocheſters place, which Richard, according to the ſame act, was boiled in Smithfield the teneber wedneſdaie following, to the terrible example of all other.

Anno Reg. 23.

When the vniuerſitie aforeſaid, and a great number of clearks and well learned men had determined the kings marriage to be vnlawfull, deteſtable, and againſt Gods law (as you haue heard) the king willing the quéene to haue knowledge of the ſame, ſent to hir diuerſe lords of the councell, the laſt daie of Maie, being the wedneſdaie in Whitſun wéeke: the which Lords, in hir chamber at Gréenewich, declared to hir all the determinations (as you haue heard) and aſked hir whether ſhe would (for the quietneſſe of the kings conſcience) put the matter to foure prelats, and foure temporall lords of this realme, or abide by hir appeale? The quéene anſwered: The king my father which concluded my marriage, I am ſure, was not ſo ignorant but he aſked counſell of clearks and well learned men before he married me the ſecond time: for if he had had anie doubt in my marriage, he would not haue diſburſed ſo great a treſure as he did, & then all the doctors in a maner agréed my marriage to be good, inſomuch that the pope himſelfe, which knew beſt what was to be doone, did both diſpenſe and ratifie the ſecond marriage, againſt whoſe doings I maruell that any perſon will ſpeake or write.

Meſſage ſent to the quéene from the king.

And as to the determination of the vniuerſitie, I am a woman, and lacke wit and learning to anſwer to them, but to God I commit the iudgement of that, whether they haue doone iuſtlie or parciallie: for this I am ſure, that neither the kings father, nor my father would haue condeſcended to our marriage, if it had béene declared to be vnlawfull. And where you ſaie that I ſhould put the cauſe to eight perſons of this realme for quietneſſe of the kings conſcience, I pray God ſend his grace a quiet conſcience. And this ſhall be your anſwer: that I ſaie I am his lawfull wife, and to him lawfullie married, and by the order of holie church I was to him eſpouſed as his true wife (although I was not ſo worthie) and in that point I will abide till the court of Rome, which was priuie to the beginning, haue made thereof a determination and finall ending. With this anſwer the lords departed to the king, which was ſorie to heare of hir wilfull opinion, and in eſpeciall that ſhe more truſted in the popes law, than in kéeping the precepts of God.]

A proclamation for merchant ſtrangers.

Forſomuch as merchant ſtrangers, bringing their wares into the realme, did receiue readie monie for them, and euer deliuered the ſame monie to other merchants by exchange, not emploieng it vpon the commodities of the realme, a proclamation was ſet forth and made, that no perſon ſhould make anie exchange, contrarie to the meaning of a ſtatute ordeined in the time of king Richard the ſecond: by reaſon whereof, clothes and other commodities of this realme ſhortlie after were well ſold, till they fell to exchange againe, and that this proclamation was forgotten. After Whitſuntide, the king & the quéene remooued to Windſor, and there continued till the fourtéenth of Iulie, on the which daie the king remooued to Woodſtocke, and left the quéene at Windſor, where ſhe remained a while, & after remooued to the More, and from thence to Eſtamſtéed, whither the king ſent to hir diuerſe lords, to aduiſe hir to be conformable to the law of God, ſhewing ſundrie reaſons to perſuade hir to their purpoſe, and one among the reſt vſed for that preſent this communication, as I find it left in writing, in the behoofe of the king.

Abr. Fle. ex lib. manuſcripto. Talke to Q. Katharine.

¶ Madam, the kings highneſſe hath commanded vs repairing vnto you, on his highneſſe behalfe to ſhew vnto you thus much, that his maieſtie hauing heretofore ſent vnto you a great number of his councellors and learned men, to declare what great iniuries and wrongs by your procurement and ſollicitation were and yet be doone vnto his maieſtie and this his realme, in citing his highneſſe in his owne perſon, or by his proctor to appeare at Rome, to make anſwer to your ſute, contrarie to the determination of all lawes, as not onelie the famous vniuerſities of chriſtendome, as Paris and Orleance, but alſo as the moſt part of the learned men here or elſewhere in that facultie affirme, and as maiſter deane learned in that facultie can and will teſtifie vnto you, on his conſcience, if it ſhall pleaſe you to heare him, and contrarie alſo to his eſtate roiall, and to the priuileges and prerogatiues of this his graces realme.

His highneſſe perceiuing your grace not to regard their aduertiſements in right and iuſtice, but ſtill to perſeuere and continue, and rather increaſe your iniurious procurements and ſolicitations in that behalfe, is not a little gréeued & diſpleaſed with your continuance and proſecution of this iniurie and manifeſt wrong towards his maieſtie, and this his graces realme. The continuance of which your vnkind dealing hath compelled his highneſſe not onelie to abſteine from the ſight of you, but alſo to forbeare to receiue anie of your tokens, which doo nothing elſe but renew and refreſh his diſpleaſure, inforcing him alſo to an indignation, to ſée tokens offered and ſent by hir, who continueth in proſecuting of ſo notable an iniurie and manifeſt wrong towards his maieſtie, & this his realme, perceiuing alſo what boldneſſe other outward princes might take to miſintreat his highneſſe, when they ſhould vnderſtand how his maieſtie ſuffreth himſelfe to be wronged by his pretended ſubiect, and ſo notable wrong to be doone to this his realme.

And vpon this cauſe and ground, like as the kings highneſſe theſe certeine moneths paſt, hath diſſeuered your grace from his preſence, ſo he intendeth yet to continue, and hath commanded vs to ſhew you, that his pleaſure is ye ſhalbe at your libertie, & (as ye ſhall thinke moſt commodious) repaire to either of theſe thrée places, his manour of Oking, his manour of Eſtamſtéed, or the monaſterie of Biſham, and there to continue without further moleſting of his highneſſe with your ſutes or requeſts to the contrarie, as wherewith ye ſhall not preuaile; but more and more moleſting and troubling his highneſſe, procure his further diſpleaſure towards you.

And though percaſe the pope ſhall deſiſt, as perceiuing now the matter of right he will, yet the kings highneſſe cannot digeſt in his ſtomach this iniurie doone, not to be amended or reformed at your graces procurement, but your grace rather ſuing and inſtanting the contrarie. And this is the charge, madam, which the kings highneſſe hath committed vnto vs, to be ſpoken vnto you on his highneſſe behalfe. And to ſaie to you as of my ſelfe, concerning the iuſtneſſe of the kings cauſe, as I haue heretofore ſaid, I ſhall now repeat and rehearſe againe vnto your grace; which is, that your grace being knowne by prince Arthur, ye be not lawfull wife to the kings highneſſe our ſoueraigne lord in my conſcience. This ſpeach ended, others of the companie vſed their perſuaſorie talke to the quéene: whoſe words notwithſtanding did ſo little mooue hir, that ſhe ſtood ſtiffelie in hir firſt opinion, that ſhe was his true and lawfull wife, and from the ſame would not by anie meanes be remooued.]

The quéene ſtandeth ſtiffe in hir opinion concerning the controuerſie of hir mariage.

The prieſts of London being called afore the biſhop that would haue had them contributaries to his paiment of the hundred thouſand pounds, granted to the king for his pardon of the premunire, kept ſuch a ſtir

John Sow.

in breaking into the chapiter houſe (where the biſhop ſat) all at once, and ſtriking and buffeting the biſhops ſeruants which gaue them euill language, that the biſhop was faine to giue them his bleſſing, and ſuffer them to depart in quiet for that time. But after, vpon complaint made to the lord chancellor, diuerſe of them and of their partakers were arreſted, and committed to priſon, to the number of fifteene prieſts, and fiue laie men, ſome to the Tower, and ſome to the Fleet, and to other places, where they remained long after. ¶Thomas Bilneie, bachellor of law, was burnt at Norwich the ninteenth of Auguſt, and the fourth of December ſir Rees Griffin was beheaded at the Tower hill, and his man named John Hewes was drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged and quartered.

1532

Crueltie of ordinaries.

The fiue and twentith of Maie, beteene London and Grauesend, were taken two great fiſhes called whorlepooles, male and female. ¶In this ſeaſon, there was in the realme much preaching, one lerned man holding againſt another, namelie in the matter of the kings mariage. After Chriſtmas, the parlement began to ſit againe, in the which the commons found themſelues ſore greeued with the crueltie of ordinaries, that called men before them *Ex officio*. At length, a booke was drawne of all the griefes of the commons, for the cruell demeanor of the cleargie, and the ſame deliuered to the K. by the ſpeaker, humblie beſeeching him in the name of all the commons, to take ſuch direction therein, as to his high wiſedome might ſeeme moſt expedient. The king anſwered, that he would take aduiſe, and heare the partie accuſed ſpeake. He was not ſo readie to gratifie the commons in their requeſts, as ſome thought that he would haue beene, if they had not ſticked and refuſed to paſſe a ſtatute, which he had ſent to them touching wards and primer ſeaſons.

The parlemēt proroged. Annates forbidden to be paid.

A fifteenth granted.

After this, was the parlement proroged till the tenth of Aprill. In this parlement was an act made, that biſhops ſhould paie no more annates or monie for their bulles to the pope: for it was prooued that there had beene paid for bulles of biſhops, ſince the fourth yeare of Henrie the ſeuenth an hundred threeſcore thouſand pounds ſterling, beſide other diſpenſations & pardons. When the parlement was begun againe after Eaſter, there was a motion made to helpe the king with monie toward his charges about the edifieng of houſes, piles, and other fortifications, vpon the borders fore againſt Scotland, both for better habitation to be had there, & alſo for the reſtraint of the Scots that vſed to make inuaſions. There was therefore a fifteenth granted, but not enacted at this ſeſſion, bicauſe that ſuddenlie began a peſtilence in Weſtminſter, wherfore the parlement was proroged, as ye ſhall heare in the next yeare.

A toll demanded in the low countries.

Yorke place or White Hall now the palace of weſtminſter.

S. James.

In this yeare was an old toll demanded in Flanders of Engliſhmen called the toll of the hound, which is a riuer and a paſſage. The toll is twelue pence of a fardell. It had beene often demanded, but neuer paied, inſomuch that king Henrie the ſeuenth for the demand of that toll, prohibited all his ſubiects to keepe anie mart at Antwerpe or Barrow, till it was promiſed that vpon their returne the ſaid toll ſhould neuer be demanded. The king ſent doctor Knight, and others to Calis, whither came the emperours commiſſioners, and there (vpon talke) the matter was put in ſuſpenſion for a time. The king hauing purchaſed of the cardinall after his attendure in the premunire his houſe at Weſtminſter, called Yorke place, and got a confirmation of the cardinals feoffement thereof, made of the chapter of the cathedrall church of Yorke, purchaſed this yeare alſo all the medows about ſaint James, and there made a faire manſion and a parke for his greater commoditie & pleaſure. And bicauſe he had a great affection to the ſaid houſe at Weſtminſter, he beſtowed great coſt in going forward with the building thereof, and changed the name, ſo that it was after called the kings palace of Weſtminſter.

Anno reg.24. The parlemēt proroged.

Sir Thomas Moore deliuereth vp the great ſeale.

Sir Thomas Audleie lord keeper of the great ſeale.

The fourteenth daie of Maie, the parlement was proroged till the fourth of Februarie next comming. After which prorogation, ſir Thomas Moore, chancellor of England, after long ſutes made to the king to be diſcharged of his office, the ſixteenth of Maie he deliuered to the king at Weſtminſter the great ſeale of England, and was with the kings fauour diſcharged, which ſeale the king kept till mondaie in Whitſunweeke, on which daie he dubbed Thomas Audleie ſpeaker of the parlement, knight, and made him lord keeper of the great ſeale, and ſo he was called. ¶The king being informed, that the pope and the French king ſhould meet in the beginning of the next ſpring at Marſeiles, he thought good for diuerſe conſiderations, to ſpeake with the French king in his owne perſon, before the pope and he ſhould come togither: wherevpon it was concluded, that in October following, both the princes ſhould meet betweene Calis and Bullongne. Wherfore the king of England ſent out his letters to his nobles, prelats, and ſeruants, commanding them to be readie at Canturburie the ſix and twentith of September, to paſſe the ſeas with him, for the accompliſhment of the interuiew betwixt him and the French king.

The ladie Anne Bullongne created marchiones of Penbroke.

The king paſſeth ouer to Calis.

On the firſt of September being ſundaie, the K. being come to Windſor, created the ladie Anne Bullongne marchioneſſe of Penbroke, and gaue to hir one thouſand pounds land by the yeare; and that ſolemnitie finiſhed, he rode to the college, where after that ſeruice was ended, a new league was concluded and ſworne betwene the king, and the French king, Meſſire Pomoraie the French ambaſſador being preſent. On the tenth of October, the king came to Douer, and on the eleuenth daie in the morning at three of the clocke hee tooke ſhipping at Douer rode, and before ten of the ſame daie, he with the ladie marchioneſſe of Penbroke landed at Calis, where he was receiued with all honour, and lodged at the Eſchecker. There came to him whileſt he laie in Calis, diuerſe lords from the French court, and amongſt other the lord great maiſter of France, and the archbiſhop of Roane, which were honorablie of him receiued, and with them he tooke a date and place of meeting with the king their maiſter.

The interuiew betwixt the kings of England and France.

Wherevpon the one and twentith of October, he marched out of Calis, accompanied with the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, the marqueſſes of Dorſet and Exceſter, the erles of Arundell, Oxford, Surreie, Eſſex, Darbie, Rutland, Huntington, and Suſſex, with diuerſe vicounts, barons, knights of the garter, and other of the nobilitie and gentlemen freſhlie apparelled, and richlie trimmed; and comming to the place appointed, he there met with the French king, who was come to receiue him with all honor that might be: and after ſalutations and embracings vſed in moſt louing maner, the king of England went with the French K. to Bullongne; and by the waie was incountered by the French kings three ſons, and other great lords that attended them, with welcomming the king of England; he them gentlie receiued, and ſo all this noble companie came to Bullongne, where the king of England and his nobles were ſo noblie interteined, feaſted, banketed, and cheared, that wonder it was to conſider the great plentie of viands, ſpices, wines, and all other prouiſion neceſſarie for man and horſſe, ſo that there was no more but aſke and haue; and no man durſt take anie monie; for the French king paid for all.

The dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke elected into the order of S. Michaell.

The fiue and twentith of October, whileſt the king laie thus in Bullongne, the French king called a chapiter of the companions of his order named S. Michaell, of whome the king of England was one, and ſo there elected the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke to be companions of the ſame order: and being brought to the chapiter, they had their collars deliuered to them, and were ſworne to the ſtatutes of the order, their obeiſance to their ſoueraigne lord alwaie reſerued. Thus the two kings laie in Bullongne, mondaie, tueſdaie, wedneſdaie, and thurſdaie: and on fridaie the fiue and twentith of October, they departed out of Bullongne to Calis. Without the towne of Calis about the diſtance of two miles, the duke of Richmond the kings baſe ſon, with a great companie of noble men, which had not béene at Bullongne, met them, and ſaluting the French king, embraced him in moſt honorable and courteous maner.

The duke of Richmond.

Thus they paſſed forward, and came to Newnham bridge, and ſo to Calis, where was ſuch prouiſion made for the receiuing of them, as well for lodgings, plate, and all ſuch other furniture of houſhold, as alſo of all ſorts of viands, wines, and other neceſſaries, that it ſéemed woonderfull: in ſo much as the proportion aſſigned to the French lords oftentimes was ſo abundant, that they refuſed a great part thereof. The French kings traine was twelue hundred horſſes, or rather aboue. But there was lodging inough in Calis, not onlie for them, but alſo for manie other, ſo that there were aboue eight thouſand perſons lodged within the towne in that ſeaſon. The French king comming thither on the fridaie, tarried there till tueſdaie the thirtith of October, and then departed; the king of England accompanieng him out of the towne, till he came to enter into the French ground, and there either tooke leaue of other with right princelie countenance, louing behauiour, and ſo hartie words, that all men reioiſed that ſaw them.

The great maſter and admerall of France made knights of the garter.

Whileſt the two kings laie in Calis, the lord Annas de Montmorancie earle of Beaumont, great maſter of the French kings houſe, & Philip de Chabot erle of Newblanke, great admerall of France, were admitted into the order of the garter, the king calling a chapiter for that purpoſe, of the knights of that order, at the which the French king was preſent, and ware a blew mantell, becauſe he was one of the ſame order. Whileſt the king was in the French kings dominion, he had the vpper hand, and likewiſe had the French king in his dominion. And as the French king paid all the Engliſhmens charges at Bullongne: ſo did the king of England at Calis. There roſe about the ſame ſeaſon ſuch ſore weather, ſtorms and rigorous winds, continuing for the more part at north and northweſt, that the king ſtaied at Calis for a conuenient wind till tueſdaie the thirtéenth of Nouember at midnight, and then taking his ſhip, landed at Douer the next daie about fiue of the clocke in the morning. And herewith vpon his returne, hs married priuilie the ladie Anne Bullongne the ſame daie, being the fourtéenth daie of Nouember, and the feaſt daie of ſaint Erkenwald; which marriage was kept ſo ſecret, that verie few knew it till Eaſter next inſuing, when it was perceiued that ſhe was with child.

The king returneth into England. He marrieth the lady Anne Bullongne.

When the king ſhould paſſe ouer the ſea, he conſidered that the Scots would happilie attempt ſomewhat to the preiudice of his ſubiects in his abſence, which ſticked not (he being within the realme) to rob both by ſea and land. Wherefore to reſiſt their malice, he appointed ſir Arthur Darcie with thrée hundred men to go vnto Berwike, to defend the borders from inuaſions of the Scots, who ſhortlie after by the middle marches entred the realme, and came to a place called Fowberie, and fiering certeine villages in their waie, returned. The erle of Angus as then was at Berwike as a baniſhed man; and the ſaid ſir Arthur determined to reuenge this diſpleaſure: and therevpon with foure hundred men made a rode into Scotland, and ſet a village on fire. Then immediatlie aſſembled togither eight hundred Scots, and began to approch néere to the Engliſhmen, who perceiuing them, cauſed their trumpet to blow the retreit, and the erle and twentie with him ſhewed himſelfe on an hill, euen in the face of the Scots, and the trumpet blew at their backs, ſo that the Scots thought that there had béene two companies, which cauſed the Scots to flie, and the Engliſhmen followed and ſlew a great number of them, and tooke manie of them priſoners.

Scots diſcomfited by the Engliſhmen.

1533

Sir Thomas Audleie lord chancellor.

After Chriſtmaſſe ſir Thomas Audleie lord kéeper of the great ſeale was made high chancellor of England. And when the parlement began, becauſe the office of the ſpeaker was void, Humfreie Wingfield of Greis inne was choſen ſpeaker. In this parlement was an act made, that no perſon ſhould appeale for anie cauſe out of this realme to the court of Rome, but from the commiſſarie to the biſhop, and from the biſhop to the archbiſhop, and from the archbiſhop to the king; and all cauſes of the king to be tried in the vpper houſe of the conuocation. It was alſo enacted the ſame time, that quéene Katharine ſhould no more be called quéene, but princeſſe Dowager, as the widow of prince Arthur. ¶ In the ſeaſon of the laſt ſummer died William Warham archbiſhop of Canturburie, and then was named to that ſea Thomas Cranmer the kings chapleine, a man of good learning, and of a vertuous life, which latelie before had béene ambaſſador from the king to the pope.

Quéene Katharine to be named princeſſe Dowager.

After that the king perceiued his new wife to be with child, he cauſed all officers neceſſarie to be appointed to hir, and ſo on Eaſter euen ſhe went to hir cloſet openlie as quéene; and then the king appointed the daie of hir coronation to be kept on Whitſundaie next following: and writings were ſent to all ſhiriffs, to certifie the names of men of fortie pounds to receiue the order of knighthood, or elſe to make fine. The aſſeſment of the fine was appointed to Thomas Cromwell, maiſter of the kings iewell houſe, & councellor to the king, a man newlie receiued into high fauour. He ſo vſed the matter, that a great ſumme of monie was raiſed to the kings vſe by thoſe fines. The matter of the quéenes appeale whereunto ſhe ſtill ſticked, and by no means could be remooued from it, was communed of, both in the parlement houſe, and alſo in the conuocation houſe, where it was ſo handled, that manie were of opinion, that not onelie hir appeale, but alſo all other appeales made to Rome were void and of none effect: for that in ancient councels it had béene determined, that a cauſe riſing in one prouince ſhould be determined in the ſame.

Quéene Anne.

Anno reg. 25.

This matter was opened with all the circumſtances to the ladie Katharine Dowager (for ſo was ſhe then called) the which perſiſted ſtill in hir former opinion, and would reuoke by no meanes hir appeale to the court of Rome. Wherevpon the archbiſhop of Canturburie accompanied with the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Bath, Lincolne, and diuers other learned men in great number, rode to Dunſtable, which is ſix miles from Ampthill, where the princeſſe Dowager laie, and there by one doctor Lée ſhe was cited to appeare before the ſaid archbiſhop in cauſe of matrimonie in the ſaid towne of Dunſtable, and at the daie of appearance ſhe appeared not, but made default, and ſo ſhe was called peremp-

The ladie Katharine Dowager called peremptorilie.

torie euerie daie fiftéene daies togither, and at the laſt, for lacke of appearance, by the aſſent of all the learned men there preſent, ſhe was diuorſed from the king, and the mariage declared to be void and of none effect. Of this diuorſe and of the kings mariage with the ladie Anne Bullongne men ſpake diuerſelie; ſome ſaid the king had doone wiſelie, and ſo as became him to doo in diſcharge of his conſcience. Other otherwiſe iudged, and ſpake their fanſies as they thought good: but when euerie man had talked inough, then were they quiet, and all reſted in good peace.

In Maie pope Clement ſent an orator to the king, requiring him to appeare perſonallie at the generall councell which he had appointed to be kept the yéere following. But when his commiſſion was ſhewed, at the earneſt requeſt of the king, there was neither place nor time ſpecified for the kéeping of that councell; and ſo with an vncerteine anſwer to an vncerteine demand he departed, but not vnrewarded. The king vnderſtanding that the pope, the emperor, & the French king ſhuld méet at Nice in Iulie folowing, appointed the duke of Norffolke, the lord Rochford brother to quéene Anne, ſir William Pawlet controllor of his houſe, ſir Anthonie Browne, and ſir Francis Brian knights, to go in ambaſſage to the French king, and both to accompanie him to Nice, and alſo to commune with the pope there concerning his ſtaie in the kings diuorſe. Theſe worthie perſonages made their prouiſion readie; and ſo with the number of eight ſcore horſſes they went to Douer, and paſſing ouer to Calis, tooke their waie through France, to accompliſh their ambaſſage as they had in commandement.

Ambaſſadors to the French king.

Proclamation for the coronation of quéene Anne.

In the beginning of Maie, the king cauſed open proclamations to be made, that all men that claimed to doo anie ſeruice, or execute anie office at the ſolemne feaſt of the coronation by the waie of tenure, grant, or preſcription, ſhould put their grant thrée wéekes after Eaſter in the Starrechamber before Charles duke of Suffolke, for that time high ſteward of England, and the lord chancellor and other commiſſioners. The duke of Norffolke claimed to be erle marſhall, and to exerciſe his office at that feaſt; the erle of Arundell claimed to be high butler, and to exerciſe the ſame; the erle of Oxford claimed to be chamberlaine; the vicount Liſle claimed to be panteler; the lord Aburgauennie to be chiefe larderer; and the lord Braie claimed to be almoner, and ſir Henrie Wiat knight claimed to be ewrer. All theſe noble perſonages deſired their offices with their fées.

The ſeuerall claimes of diuerſe honorable and worſhipfull perſons.

Beſide theſe, the maior of London claimed to ſerue the quéene with a cup of gold, and a cup of aſſaie of the ſame, and that twelue citizens ſhould attend on the cupboord, and the maior to haue the cup and cup of aſſaie for his labor: which petition was allowed. The fiue ports claimed to beare a canopie ouer the quéens head the daie of the coronation with foure guilt belles, and to haue the ſame for a reward, which to them was allowed. Diuerſe other put in petie claimes which were not allowed, bicauſe they ſéemed onlie to be doone at the kings coronation. All this ſeaſon great purueiance was made of all maner of vittels: & lords, knights & eſquierrs were ſent for out of all countries, which came to London at their daie with a great number of people.

The receiuing, conueieng, and coronation of quéene Anne, wife to the high & mightie prince king Henrie the eight. Edw. Hall. CCxij.

The kings letters to the maior of London, touching the coronation.

¶Aft..: that the kings highneſſe had addreſſed his gratious letters to the maior and communaltie of the citie, ſignifieng to them, that his pleaſure was to ſolemnize and celebrate the coronation of his moſt deare and welbeloued wife quéene Anne, at Weſtminſter the Whitſundaie next inſuing, willed them to make preparation, as well to fetch hir grace from Gréenwich to the Tower by water, as to ſée the citie ordered and garniſhed with pageants in places accuſtomed, for the honor of hir grace. When ſhe ſhuld be conueied from the Tower to Weſtminſter, there was a common councell called, and commandement was giuen to the haberdaſhers (of which craft the maior ſir Stephan Pecocke then was) that they ſhould prepare a barge for the bachelors, with a wafter and a foiſt, garniſhed with banners and ſtreamers likewiſe, as they vſe to doo when the maior is preſented at Weſtminſter on the morrow after Simon and Iude. Alſo all other crafts were commanded to prepare barges, and to garniſh them, not alonelie with their banners accuſtomed, but alſo to decke them with targets by the ſides of the barges, and to ſet vp all ſuch ſéemelie banners and bannerets as they had in their halles, or could get méet to furniſh their ſaid barges, and euerie barge to haue minſtrelſie: according to which commandements great preparation was made for all things neceſſarie for ſuch a noble triumph.

The cities preparation.

Hir comming by water from Gréenewich on thurſdaie.

The ninetéenth daie of Maie, the maior and his brethren all in ſcarlet, and ſuch as were knights had collars of S S, and the remnant hauing good chains, and the counſell of the citie with them, aſſembled at ſaint Marie hill, and at one of the clocke deſcended to the new ſtaire to their barge, which was garniſhed with manie goodlie banners and ſtreamers, and richlie couered. In which barge were ſhalmes, ſhagbuſhes, and diuerſe other inſtruments, which continuallie made goodlie harmonie. After that the maior and his brethren were in their barge, ſéeing that all the companies to the number of fiftie barges were readie to wait vpon them, they gaue commandement to the companies, that no barge ſhould rowe néerer to another than twiſe the length of the barge vpon a great paine. And to ſée the order kept, there were thrée light wheries prepared, and in euerie one of them two officers to call on them to kéepe their order, after which commandement giuen, they ſet foorth in order as hereafter is deſcribed.

The maiors barge with the conceits and deuiſes thereof.

Firſt before the maiors barge was a foiſt or wafter full of ordinance, in which foiſt was a great dragon continuallie mouing and caſting wild fire: and round about the ſaid foiſt ſtood terrible monſters and wild men caſting fire, and making hideous noiſes. Next after the foiſt a good diſtance came the maiors barge: on whoſe right hand was the bachelors barge, in the which were trumpets and diuerſe other melodious inſtruments; the deckes of the ſaid barge and the ſailyards, with the top caſtels were hanged with rich cloth of gold and ſilke: at the foreſhip and the ſterne were two great banners rich, beaten with the armes of the king and the quéene, and on the top caſtell alſo was a long ſtreamer newlie beaten with the ſaid armes. The ſides of the barge was ſet full of flags and banners of the deuiſes of the companie of the haberdaſhers and merchants aduenturers, and the cords were hanged with innumerable penſelles, hauing little belles at the ends, which made a goodlie noiſe and a goodlie ſight, wauering in the wind. On the outſide of the barge were thrée dozen ſcutchions in mettall of arms of the king and the quéene, which were beaten vpon ſquare bucram diuided, ſo that the right ſide had the kings colours, and the left ſide the quéenes, which ſcutchions were faſtened on the clothes of gold and ſiluer, hanging on the decks on the left hand.

A foiſt with a mount and other deuiſes.

On the left hand of the maior was another foiſt, in the which was a mount, and on the ſame ſtood a white falcon crowned, vpon a roote of gold inuironed with white roſes and red, which was the quéens deuiſe; about which mount ſat virgins ſinging and plaieng ſwéetlie. Next after the maior folowed his fellowſhip the habardaſhers; next after them the mercers, then the grocers, and ſo euerie companie in his order, and laſt of all the maior and ſhiriffes officers, euerie companie hauing melodie in his barge by himſelfe, and goodlie garniſhed with banners, and ſome garniſhed with ſilke, and ſome with arras and rich carpets, which was a goodlie ſight to behold: and in this order they rowed to Gréenwich, to the point next beyond Gréenwich, and there they turned backeward in another order, that is to wit, the maior and ſhiriffs officers firſt, and the meaneſt craft next, and ſo aſcending to the vttermoſt crafts in order, and the maior laſt, as they go to Paules at Chriſtmas, and in that order they rowed downeward to Gréenwich towne, and there caſt anchor, making great melodie.

Quéen Anne taketh barge with hir traine attending vpon hir.

At thrée of the clocke the quéene appéered in rich cloth of gold, entring into hir barge accompanied with diuerſe ladies and gentlewomen: and incontinent the citizens ſet forwards in their order, their minſtrelles continuallie plaieng, and the bachelors barge going on the quéens right hand, which ſhe tooke great pleaſure to behold. About the quéenes barge were manie noble men, as the duke of Suffolke, the marques Dorſet, the erle of Wilſhire hir father, the erles of Arundell, Darbie, Rutland, Worceſter, Huntington, Suſſex, Oxford, and manie biſhops and noble men, euerie one in his barge, which was a goodlie ſight to behold. She thus being accompanied rowed toward the tower: and in the meane waie the ſhips which were commanded to lie on the ſhore for letting of the barges, ſhot diuerſe peales of guns, and yer ſhe was landed, there was a maruellous ſhot out of the tower as euer was heard there. And at hir landing there met with hir the lord chamberlaine with the officers of armes, and brought hir to the king, which receiued hir with louing countenance at the poſterne by the water ſide, and then ſhe turned backe againe, and thanked the maior and the citizens with manie goodlie words, and ſo entred into the tower. After which entrie the citizens all this while houered before the tower, making great melodie, and went not on land, for none were aſſigned to land but the maior, the recorder, and two aldermen. But for to ſpeake of the people that ſtood on either ſhore to behold the ſight, he that ſaw it not would ſcarſe beleeue it.

Knights of the bath ſerued at dinner.

On Fridaie at dinner ſerued the king all ſuch as were appointed by his highneſſe to be knights of the bath, which after dinner were brought to their chambers, and that night were bathed and ſhriuen, according to the old vſage of England, and the next daie in the morning the king dubbed them according to the ceremonies thereto belonging, whoſe names inſue; the marques Dorſet, the erle of Darbie, the lord Clifford, the lord Fitzwater, the lord Haſtings, the lord Mounteagle, ſir John Mordant, the lord Vaux, ſir Henrie Parker, ſir William Winſore, ſir Francis Weſton, ſir Thomas Arundell, ſir John Hulſton, ſir Thomas Poinings, ſir Henrie Sauell, ſir George Fitzwilliam, ſir John Tindall, ſir Thomas Jermeie.

The receiuing and conueieng of the quéen through London.

To the intent that the horſſes ſhould not ſlide on the pauement, nor that the people ſhould not be hurt by horſſes, the high ſtréets where the quéene ſhould paſſe were all grauelled from the tower to temple barre, and railed on the one ſide, within which railes ſtood the crafts along in their order from Grace church, where the merchants of the Stilliard ſtood till the little conduit in Cheape, where the aldermen ſtood: and on the other ſide of the ſtréet ſtood the conſtables of the citie, apparelled in veluet and ſilke, with great ſtaues in their hands, to cauſe the people to kéepe roome and good order. And when the ſtréets were ſomwhat ordered, the maior clothed in a gowne of crimſin veluet, and a rich collar of S S S, with two footmen clad in white and red damaſke, rode to the tower to giue his attendance on the quéene, on whome the ſhiriffs with their officers did wait till they came to tower hill, where they taking their leaue, rode downe the high ſtréets, commanding the conſtables to ſée roome and good order kept, and ſo went and ſtood by the aldermen in Cheape.

The maior in a gowne of crimſin veluet.

Now before the quéen and hir traine ſhould come, Cornehill and Gracious ſtréet were hanged with fine ſcarlet, crimſin, and other grained cloths, and in ſome place with rich arras, tapiſtrie, and carpets; and the moſt part of the Cheape was hanged with cloth of tiſſue, gold, veluet, and manie rich hangings, which made a goodlie ſhew, and all the windowes were repleniſhed with ladies and gentlewomen, to behold the quéene and hir traine as they ſhould paſſe by. The firſt of the quéenes companie that ſet forward were twelue Frenchmen, which were belonging to the French ambaſſador, clothed in coates of blew veluet, with ſléeues of yellow and blew veluet, and their horſſes trapped with cloſe trappers of blew ſarſenet powdered with white croſſes: after them marched gentlemen, eſquires and knights two and two: after them the iudges, and after them the knights of the bath in violet gownes, with hoods purfled with miniuer like doctors; after them abbats, then barons; after them biſhops, then earls and marqueſſes; then the lord chancellor of England; after him the archbiſhop of Yorke, and the ambaſſador of Venice, after him the archbiſhop of Canturburie and the ambaſſador of France, after rode two eſquiers of honor with robes of eſtat rolled and worne bauldrike-wiſe about their necks, with caps of eſtate, repreſenting the dukes of Normandie & Aquitaine: after them rode the maior of London with his mace and garter in his cote of armes, which maior bare his mace to Weſtminſter hall.

The attire of certeine Frenchmen belonging to the French ambaſſador.

After all theſe rode the lord William Howard with the marſhalles rod, deputie to his brother the duke of Norffolke marſhall of England, which was ambaſſador then in France: and on his right hand rode Charles duke of Suffolke, for that daie high conſtable of England, bearing the verder of ſiluer apperteining to the office of conſtableſhip, and all the lords for the moſt part were clothed in crimſin veluet, and all the quéenes ſeruants or officers of armes in ſcarlet. Next before the quéene rode hir chancellor bareheaded, the ſargeants and officers of armes rode on both the ſides of the lords. Then came the quéene in a litter of white cloth of gold, not couered, nor bailed, which was lead by two palfries clad in white damaſke downe to the ground, head and all, led by hir footmen. She had on a circot of white cloth of tiſſue, and a mantell of the ſame furred with ermine, hir haire hanged downe, but on hir head ſhée had a coiffe with a circlet about it full of rich ſtones. Ouer hir was borne a canopie of cloth of gold, with foure guilt ſtaues and foure ſiluer belles. For the bearing of which canopie were appointed ſixtéene knights, foure to beare it one ſpace on foot, and other foure another ſpace, according to their owne appointment.

The two dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke in their offices.

Quéene Annes attire verie ſumptuous and roiall

Next after the quéene rode the lord Borough hir chamberleine, next after him William Coffin maiſter of the horſſes, leading a ſpare horſſe with a ſide ſaddle trapped downe with cloth of tiſſue. After him rode ſeauen ladies in crimſin veluet turned vp with cloth of gold and of tiſſue, and their horſſes trapped with cloth of gold, after them two chariots couered with red cloth of gold. In the firſt chariot were two ladies, which were the old dutcheſſe of Norffolke, and the old marchioneſſe Dorſet. In the ſecond chariot

Thrée chariots with goodlie ladies and gentlewomen.

were foure ladies all in crimſin veluet. Then rode ſeauen ladies in the ſame ſute, their horſſes trappers and all. Then came the third chariot all white, with ſix ladies in crimſin veluet; next after them came the fourth chariot all red with eight ladies alſo in crimſin veluet: after whom followed thirtie gentlewomen all in veluet and ſilke in the liuerie of their ladies, on whom they gaue their attendance. After them followed the gard in cotes of goldſmiths worke.

Sundrie pageants with the deſcriptions of their deuiſes.

Thus they rode forth till they came to Fanchurch, where was made a pageant all with children, apparelled like merchants, which welcommed hir to the citie, with two proper propoſitions both in French and Engliſh. And from thence ſhe rode to Gratious church corner, where was a coſtlie and a maruelous cunning pageant made by the merchants of the Stilliard, for there was the mount Parnaſſus with the founteine of Helicon, which was of white marble, and foure ſtreames without pipe did riſe an ell high, and met togither in a little cup aboue the founteine, which founteine ran abundantlie racked Rheniſh wine till night. On the mounteine ſat Apollo, and at his féet ſat Calliope, and on euerie ſide of the mounteine ſat foure muſes plaieng on ſeuerall ſwéet inſtruments, and at their féet epigrams and poeſes were written in golden letters, in the which euerie muſe according to hir propertie praiſed the quéene.

The quéene from thence paſſed to Leaden hall, where was a goodlie pageant with a type and a heauenlie roofe, and vnder the type was a roote of gold ſet on a little mounteine inuironed with red roſes and white: out of the type came downe a falcon all white & ſat vpon the roote, and incontinent came downe an angell with great melodie, and ſet a cloſe crowne of gold on the falcons head. And in the ſame pageant ſat ſaint Anne with all hir iſſue beneath hir, and vnder Marie Cleoph ſat hir foure children, of the which children one made a goodlie oration to the queene of the fruitfulnes of ſaint Anne and of hir generation, truſting that like fruit ſhould come of hir. Then ſhe paſſed to the conduit in Cornhill, where were thrée graces ſet in a throne, afore whom was the ſpring of grace continuallie running wine. Afore the founteine ſat a poet declaring the properties of euerie grace: and that doone euerie ladie by hir ſelfe, according to hir propertie, gaue to the quéene a ſeuerall gift of grace.

An oration made to the quéene by one of the children in the pageant.

That doone, ſhe paſſed by the great conduit in chéepe, which was newlie painted with armes of deuiſes: out of the which conduit by a goodlie founteine ſet at the one end ran continuallie wine both white and claret all that afternoone, and ſo ſhe rode to the Standard which was richlie painted with images of kings and quéenes, and hanged with banners of armes, and in the top was maruellous ſwéet harmonie both of ſong and inſtrument. Then ſhe went forward to the croſſe, which was newlie guilt, till ſhe came where the aldermen ſtood, and then maſter Baker the recorder came to hir with low reuerence, making a proper and briefe propoſition, and gaue to hir in the name of the citie a thouſand marks in a purſe of gold, which ſhe thankefullie accepted with manie goodlie words, and ſo rode to the little conduit, where was a rich pageant full of melodie and ſong.

The conduit in Cheape runneth wine white and claret.

The recorder preſenteth a 1000 marks in gold to the quéene for a gratuitie in yͤ cities behalfe.

In this pageant was Pallas, Iuno and Venus, and before them ſtood Mercurie, which in the name of the thrée goddeſſes gaue to hir a ball of gold diuided in thrée, ſignifieng thrée gifts which the thrée goddeſſes gaue to hir, that is to ſaie, wiſedome, riches, and felicitie. As ſhe entered into Paules gate there was a pretie pageant, in which ſat thrée ladies richlie clothed, and in a circle on their head was written *Regina Anna proſperè procede & regna*. The ladie in the middes had a tablet, in the which was written *Veni amica coronaberis*, and vnder the tablet ſat an angell with a cloſe crowne, and the ladie ſitting on the right hand had a tablet of ſiluer in which was written, *Domine dirige greſſus meos*, & the third ladie had a tablet of gold with letters azure written, *Confido in Domino*, & vnder their féet was written in legible letters:

Regina Anna nouum regis de ſanguine natum
Cum paries, populis aurea ſecla tuis.

And theſe ladies caſt downe wafers, on the which the two verſes were written. From thence ſhe paſſed to the eaſt end of Paules churchyard againſt the ſchoole, where ſtood on a ſcaffold two hundred children well apparelled, which ſaid to hir diuerſe goodlie verſes of poets tranſlated into Engliſh, to the honour of the king and hir, which ſhe highlie commended. And when ſhe came to Ludgate, the gate was newlie garniſhed with gold & biſe. And on the leads of ſaint Martins church ſtood a goodlie queere of ſinging men and children, which ſoong new balads made in praiſe of hir. After that ſhe was paſſed Ludgate, ſhe procéeded toward Fléetſtréet, where the conduit was newlie painted, and all the armes and angels refreſhed, & the chime melodiouſlie ſounding. Vpon the conduit was made a towre with foure turrets, and in euerie turret ſtood one of the cardinall vertues with their tokens and properties, which had ſeuerall ſpéeches, promiſing the quéene neuer to leaue hir, but to be aiding and comforting hir: and in the middeſt of the towre cloſelie was ſuch ſeuerall ſolemne inſtruments, that it ſéemed to be an heauenlie noiſe, and was much regarded and praiſed: and beſide this the ſaid conduit ran wine claret and red all the afternoone.

Two hundred children vpon a ſcaffold greeting the Q. with verſes.

Goodlie melodie.

So ſhe with all hir companie and the maior rode forth to Temple barre, which was newlie painted and repared, where ſtood alſo diuerſe ſinging men and children, till ſhe came to Weſtminſter hall, which was richlie hanged with cloth of arras, and new glaſed. And in the middeſt of the hall ſhe was taken out of hir litter, & ſo led vp to the higher deſke vnder the cloth of eſtate, on whoſe left hand was a cupbord of ten ſtages maruellous rich and beautifull to behold: and within a little ſeaſon was brought to the quéene with a ſolemne ſeruice in great ſtanding ſpice plates, a void of ſpice and ſubtilties with ipocras and other wines, which ſhe ſent downe to hir ladies, and when the ladies had dranke, ſhe gaue hartie thanks to the lords and ladies, with the maior and other that had giuen their attendance on hir, and ſo withdrew hir ſelfe with a few ladies to the Whitehall and ſo to hir chamber, and there ſhifted hir, and after went into hir barge ſecretlie to the king to his manour of Weſtminſter, where ſhe reſted that night.

The quéene commeth to Weſtminſter hall and the maner of hir receiuing.

On ſundaie the maior clad in crimſin veluet and with his collar, and all the aldermen and ſhiriffes in ſcarlet, and the counſell of the citie tooke their barge at the crane by ſeauen of the clocke and came to Weſtminſter, where they were welcomed & brought into the hall by maſter treaſuror and others of the kings houſe, and ſo gaue their attendance till the quéene ſhould come forth. Betwéene eight and nine ſhe came into the hall, and ſtood vnder the cloth of eſtate, and then came in the kings chappell, and the moonks of Weſtminſter all in rich copes, and manie biſhops and abbats in copes and miters which went into the middeſt of the hall, and there ſtood a ſeaſon. Then was there a raie cloth ſpred from the quéenes ſtanding in the hall through the palace and ſanctuarie, which was railed on both ſides to the high altar of Weſtminſter. After that the raie cloth was caſt, the officers of armes appointed the order accuſtomed.

Sundaie being whitſundaie the firſt daie of Iune, and the daie of hir coronatiõ.

The comelie order & ſtate kept on the coronation daie of euerie attendant in his degrée.

Firſt went gentlemen, then eſquiers, then knights, then the aldermen of the citie in their cloks of ſcarlet, after them the iudges in their mantels of ſcarlet and coiffes. Then followed the knights of the bath being no lords, euerie man hauing a white lace on his left ſléeue, then followed barons and vicounts in their parlement robes of ſcarlet. After them came earls, marqueſſes and dukes in their robes of eſtate of crimſin veluet furred with ermine poudered according to their degrées. After them came the lord chancellor in a robe of ſcarlet open before, bordered with lettiſe: after him came the kings chapell and the monks ſolemnelie ſinging with proceſſion, then came abbats and biſhops mitered, then ſargeants and officers of armes, then after them went the maior of London with his mace and garter in his cote of armes, then went the marqueſſe Dorſet in a robe of eſtate which bare the ſcepter of gold, and the earle of Arundell which bare the rod of iuorie with the doue both togither.

Then went alone the earle of Oxford high chamberleine of England which bare the crowne, after him went the duke of Suffolke in his robe of eſtate alſo for that daie being high ſteward of England, hauing a long white rod in his hand, and the lord William Howard with the rod of the marſhalſhip, and euerie knight of the garter had on his collar of the order. Then procéeded forth the quéene in a circot and robe of purple veluet furred with ermine in hir here coiffe and circlet as ſhe had the ſaturdaie, and ouer hir was borne the canopie by foure of the fiue ports, all crimſin with points of blue and red hanging on their ſléeues, and the biſhops of London and Wincheſter bare vp the laps of the quéenes robe. The quéenes traine which was verie long was borne by the old duches of Norffolke: after hir folowed ladies being lords wiues, which had circots of ſcarlet with narow ſléeues, the breſt all lettiſe with bars of borders according to their degrées, and ouer that they had mantels of ſcarlet furred, and euerie mantell had lettiſe about the necke like a neckercher likewiſe poudered, ſo that by the pouderings their degrée was knowen. Then followed ladies being knights wiues in gownes of ſcarlet, with narow ſléeues without traines, onlie edged with lettiſe, and likewiſe had all the quéenes gentlewomen.

The quéene vnder a canopie borne by foure of the cinque ports.

The maner of the coronatiõ as it was then vſed.

When ſhe was thus brought to the high place made in the middeſt of the church, betwéene the quéere and the high altar, ſhe was ſet in a rich chaire. And after that ſhe had reſted a while, ſhe deſcended downe to the high altar and there proſtrate hir ſelfe while the archbiſhop of Canturburie ſaid certeine collects: then ſhe roſe, and the biſhop annointed hir on the head and on the breſt, and then ſhe was led vp againe, where after diuerſe oriſons ſaid, the archbiſhop ſet the crowne of ſaint Edward on hir head, and then deliuered hir the ſcepter of gold in hir right hand, and the rod of iuorie with the doue in the left hand, and then all the quéere ſoong *Te Deum, &c.* Which doone, the biſhop tooke off the crowne of ſaint Edward being heauie and ſet on the crowne made for hir. Then went ſhe to ſaint Edwards ſhrine and there offered, after which offering doone ſhe withdrew hir into a little place made for the nones on the one ſide of the quéere.

Now in the meane ſeaſon euerie duches had put on their bonets a coronall of gold wrought with flowers, and euerie marqueſſe put on a demie coronall of gold, euerie counteſſe a plaine circlet of gold without flowers, and euerie king of armes put on a crowne of coper and guilt, all which were worne till night. When the quéene had a little repoſed hir, the companie returned in the ſame order that they ſet forth, and the quéene went crowned and ſo did the ladies aforeſaid. Hir right hand was ſuſteined by the earle of Wilſhire hir father, and hir left hand by the lord Talbot deputie for the earle of Shreweſburie and lord Forinſall his father. Now when ſhe was out of the ſanctuarie and appéered within the palace, the trumpets plaied maruellous freſhlie, then ſhe was brought to Weſtminſter hall, & ſo to hir withdrawing chamber: during which time the lords, iudges, maior and aldermen put off their robes, mantels and clokes, and tooke their hoods from their necks and caſt them about their ſhoulders, and the lords ſat onlie in their circots, and the iudges and aldermen in their gownes. And all the lords that ſerued that daie ſerued in their circots and their hoods about their ſhoulders: alſo diuerſe officers of the kings houſe being no lords had circots and hoods of ſcarlet edged with mineuer, as the treaſuror, controllor, & maſter of the iewell houſe, but their circots were not guilt.

The quéene and the ladies in their pompe

The attire of the lords all the time that they ſerued.

The order and ſitting at dinner.

While the quéene was in hir chamber, euerie lord and other, that ought to doo ſeruice at coronations, did prepare them according to their dutie, as the duke of Suffolke high ſteward of England which was richlie apparelled, his doublet and iacket ſet with orient pearle, his gowne of crimſin veluet imbrodered, his courſer trapped with a cloth trapper head and all to the ground of crimſin veluet, ſet full of letters of gold of goldſmiths worke, hauing a long white rod in his hand; on his left hand rode the lord William, deputie for his brother as earle marſhall with the marſhals rod, whoſe gowne was crimſin veluet, and his horſſe trapper purple veluet cut on white ſattin imbrodered with white lions. The earle of Oxenford was high chamberleine, the earle of Eſſex caruer, the earle of Suſſex ſewer, the earle of Arundell chéefe butler, on whom twelue citizens of London did giue their attendance at the cupbord. The earle of Darbie cupbearer, the vicount Liſle pantler, the lord of Aburgaine chéefe larder, the lord Braie almoner for him and his coparteners, and the maior of Oxford kept the buttrie bar, and Thomas Wiat was chéefe eurer for ſir Henrie Wiat his father.

Twelue citizens of London attendant at ẏ cupbord.

The maner of ſitting at the table.

When all things were redie, the quéene vnder hir canopie came to the hall, and waſhed and ſat downe in the middeſt of the table vnder the cloth of eſtate. On the right ſide of the chaire ſtood the counteſſe of Oxford widow, and on the left ſide ſtood the counteſſe of Worceſter all the dinner ſeaſon, which diuerſe times in the dinner time did hold a fine cloth before the quéenes face when ſhe liſt to ſpet or doo otherwiſe at hir pleaſure. At the tables end ſat the archbiſhop of Canturburie on the right hand of the quéene, and in the middeſt betwéene the archbiſhop and the counteſſe of Oxford ſtood the earle of Oxford with a white ſtaffe all dinner time, and at the quéenes féet vnder the table ſat two gentlewomen all dinner time. When all theſe things were thus ordered, in came the duke of Suffolke and the lord William Howard on horſſebacke, and the ſargeants of armes before them, and after them the ſewer, and then the knights of the bath bringing in the firſt courſe which was eightéene diſhes, beſides ſubtilties and ſhips made of wax maruellous gorgious to behold, all which time of ſeruice the trumpets ſtanding in the window at the nether end of the hall plaied melodiouſlie.

The bringing in of the firſt courſe.

When hir grace was ſerued of two diſhes, then the archbiſhops ſeruice was ſet downe, whoſe ſewer came equall with the third diſh of the quéenes ſeruice on his left hand. After that the quéene and the archbiſhop was ſerued, the barons of the ports began the table on the right hand next the wall, next them at the table ſat the maſters and clearks of the Chancerie, and beneath them at the table other doctors and gentlemen. The table next the wall on

How the ſeuerall tables were furniſhed.

the left hand by the cupbord, was begun by the maior and aldermen, the chamberleine and the councell of the citie of London, and beneath them ſat ſubſtantiall merchants, and ſo downeward other worſhipfull perſons. At the table on the right hand in the middeſt of the hall ſat the lord chancellor, and other temporall lords on the right ſide of the table in their circots: and on the left ſide of the ſame table ſat biſhops and abbats in their parlement robes: beneath them ſat the iudges, ſargeants, & the kings councell, beneath them the knights of the bath. At the table on the left hand, in the middle part, ſat dutcheſſes, marqueſſes, counteſſes, baroneſſes, in their robes, and other ladies in circots, and gentlewomen in gownes. All which ladies and gentlewomen ſat on the left ſide of the table along, and none on the right ſide.

The maior of Londons ſeruice.

The duke of Suffolke and Norffolke rode about the hall.

When all were thus ſet, they were incontinent ſerued, and ſo quicklie that it was maruell: for the ſeruitors gaue ſuch good attendance, that meat or drinke nor anie thing elſe néeded not to be called for, which in ſo great a multitude was maruell. As touching the fare, there could be deuiſed no more coſtlier diſhes nor ſubtilties. The maior of London was ſerued with thrée and thirtie diſhes at two courſes, and ſo were all his brethren, and ſuch as ſat at his table. The quéene had at hir ſecond courſe foure and twentie diſhes, and thirtie at the third courſe: & betwéene the two laſt courſes, the kings of armes cried larges, in thrée parts of the hall: and after ſtood in their place, which was in the bekins at the kings bench. And on the right hand out of the cloiſter of S. Stephans, was made a little cloſet, in which the king with diuerſe ambaſſadors ſtood to behold the ſeruice. The duke of Suffolke and the lord William rode often times about the hall, chering the lords, ladies, and the maior and his brethren. After they all had dined, they had wafers and ipocras, and then they waſhed, and were commanded to riſe, and to ſtand ſtill in their places, before the table or on the formes till the quéene had waſhed.

The claime of the citie of London.

Running at tilt.

When ſhe had taken wafers and ipocras, the table was taken vp, and the earle of Rutland brought vp the ſurnap, and laid it at the bords end, which immediatlie was drawne, and caſt by maſter Rode, marſhall of the hall: and the quéene waſhed, and after the archbiſhop, and when the ſurnap was drawne off, ſhe aroſe and ſtood in the middeſt of the palace hall: to whome the earle of Suſſex in a goodlie ſpice plate brought a void of ſpice and comfets. After him the maior of London brought a ſtanding cup of gold, ſet in a cup of aſſaie of gold, and after that ſhe had dronke, ſhe gaue the maior the cup, with the cup of aſſaie, bicauſe there was no leiar, according to the claime of the citie, thanking him and all his brethren, for their paine. Then ſhe vnder hir canopie departed to hir chamber, and at the entrie of hir chamber, ſhe gaue the canopie with bels and all, to the barons of the ports, according to their claime, with great thanks. Then the maior of London bearing his cup in his hand, with his brethren, went through the hall to their barge, and ſo did all other noble men and gentlemen, for it was ſix of the clocke. On mondaie were the iuſts at the tilt, before the kings gate, where the maior and his brethren had a goodlie ſtanding: but there were verie few ſpeares broken, by reaſon the horſſes would not cope. On wedneſdaie, the king ſent for the maior and his brethren to Weſtminſter, and there he himſelfe gaue to them hartie thanks, with manie goodlie words. On Midſummer daie after, the ladie Marie the French quéene died in Suffolke, who was the late wife to Lewes the twelfe, & after married to Charles duke of Suffolke, & was buried at S. Edmundſburie. The K. kept his progreſſe about London, bicauſe of the quéene.] The ſeuenth of September being ſundaie, betwéene thrée & foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the quéene was deliuered of a faire yong ladie, on which daie the duke of Norffolke came home to the chriſtening, which was appointed on the wedneſdaie next following, and was accordinglie accompliſhed on the ſame daie, with all ſuch ſolemne ceremonies as were thought conuenient. The godfather at the font, was the lord archbiſhop of Canturburie, the godmothers, the old dutches of Norffolke, & the old marchioneſſe Dorſet widow; and at the confirmation the ladie marchioneſſe of Exceſter was godmother: the child was named Elizabeth.

Edw. Hall. Ccxvij.

Upon the daie of the chriſtening, the maior ſir Stephan Peacocke, in a gowne of crimſin veluet, with his collar of SS, and all the aldermen in ſcarlet, with collars and chaines, and all the councell of the citie with them, tooke their barge after dinner, at one of the clocke, and the citizens had another barge, and ſo rowed to Gréenwich, where were manie lords, knights, and gentlemen aſſembled. All the walles betwéene the kings palace & the friers were hanged with arras, and all the waie ſtrawed with gréene ruſhes: the friers church was alſo hanged with arras.

The chriſtening of queene Elizabeth.

The honorable traine of courtiers in their degrées.

The font was of ſiluer, and ſtood in the middeſt of the church, thrée ſteps high, which was couered with a fine cloth, and diuerſe gentlemen with aperns and towels about their necks gaue attendance about it, that no filth ſhould come in the font, ouer it hong a ſquare canopie of crimſin ſattin, fringed with gold, about it was a raile couered with red ſaie: betwéene the quier and the bodie of the church was a cloſe place with a pan of fire, to make the child readie in. When all theſe things were ordered, the child was brought to the hall, and then euerie man ſet forward; firſt the citizens two and two, then gentlemen, eſquiers and chapleins, next after them the aldermen and the maior alone: next the maior the kings councell, the kings chappell in copes: then barons, biſhops, earles, then came the earle of Eſſex, bearing the couered baſins gilt, after him the marqueſſe of Exceſter with the taper of virgin wax, next him the marqueſſe Dorſet bearing the ſalt.

A canopie borne ouer the yong princeſſe.

Behind him the ladie Marie of Norffolke, bearing the créeſome which was verie rich of pearle and ſtone, the old dutches of Norffolke bare the child in a mantell of purple veluet, with a long traine furred with ermine. The duke of Norffolke with his marſhall rod went on the right hand of the ſaid dutches, and the duke of Suffolke on the left hand, and before them went the officers of armes. The counteſſe of Kent bare the long traine of the childs mantell, and betwéene the counteſſe of Kent and the child went the earle of Wilſhire on the right hand, and the earle of Darbie on the left hand, ſupporting the ſaid traine: in the middeſt ouer the ſaid child was borne a canopie, by the lord Rochford, the lord Huſée, the lord William Howard, and by the lord Thomas Howard the elder, after the child followed manie ladies and gentlewomen. When the child was come to the church doore, the biſhop of London met it with diuerſe biſhops and abbats mitred.

Rich gifts giuen to the princeſſe.

When the ceremonies and chriſtening were ended, Garter chéefe king of armes cried alowd, God of his infinite goodneſſe ſend proſperous life & long to the high and mightie princeſſe of England Elizabeth: & then the trumpets blew. Then the archbiſhop of Canturburie gaue to the princeſſe a ſtanding cup of gold: the dutches of Norffolke gaue to hir a ſtanding cup of gold, fretted with pearle: the marchioneſſe of Dorſet gaue thrée gilt bolles, pounced with a couer: and the marchioneſſe of Exceſter gaue thrée ſtanding bolles grauen, all gilt with a couer.

Then was brought in wafers, comfets, & ipocraſſe in ſuch plentie, that euerie man had as much as he would deſire. Then they ſet forwards, the trumpets going before in the ſame order towards the kings palace, as they did when they came thitherwards, ſauing that the gifts that the godfather and the godmothers gâue, were borne before the child by foure perſons, that is to ſaie. Firſt ſir Iohn Dudleie bare the gift of the ladie of Exceſter, the lord Thomas Howard the yonger bare the gift of the ladie of Dorſet, the lord Fitzwater bare the gift of the ladie of Norffolke, and the earle of Worceſter bare the gift of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, & all the one ſide as they went was full of ſtaffe torches to the number of fiue hundred, borne by the gard and other of the kings ſeruants, and about the child were borne manie other proper torches by gentlemen.

Who bare the gifts preſented to the princeſſe.

In this order they brought the princeſſe to the Q. chamber, & tarried there a while with the maior & his brethren the aldermen, and at the laſt the dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke came out frõ the K. thanking them hartilie, who commanded them to giue thanks in his name: which being doone with other courteſies they departed, & ſo went to their barges. From that time forward (God himſelfe vndertaking the tuition of this yoong princeſſe, hauing predeſtinated hir to the accompliſhment of his diuine purpoſe) ſhe proſpered vnder the Lords hand, as a choſen plant of his watering, & after the reuolution of certeine yeares with great felicitie and ioy of all Engliſh hearts atteined to the crowne of this realme, and now reigneth ouer the ſame: whoſe heart the Lord direct in his waies, and long preſerue hir in life, to his godlie will and pleaſure, and the comfort of all true and faithfull ſubiects. Of the bleſſed natiuitie of this moſt gratious virgine quéene, as alſo of hir baptiſme and confirmation in the chriſtian faith, with all the ſolemnities and ceremonies recorded in our Engliſh annales, hir education, hir knowledge in diuerſe languages, hir peaceable gouernement, and manie other trim diſcourſes C. O. in his Eirenarchia, or Eliſabetha hath made honorable mention, ſaieng:

Angl.præl.

Septimo Septembris, videlicet die Dominico naſcitur Eliſabetha.

Septembris (Deus hoc voluit) quæ ſeptima lux eſt
Conſecrata venit Domino voluentibus annis,
Parturijt coniux Henrici principis Anna,
Vi dolor increuit, præſcripto ſedula nutrix
Perſtat in officio, matronáque nobilis inſtat
Auxilium latura ſuum, cùm pondus in auras
Maturum genitrix enixa puerpera languet,
Certa tamen veræq; ſalutis ſigna dabantur.
Poſtquam pulchellæ faciei prodijt infans
Compoſitis membris, ſpecioſam vt cæra liqueſcens
Fingitur in formam, populo mirante, periti
Artificis manibus: tenſis ad ſidera palmis
Fœmina conclamat ſenior, Benedicite Chriſto
Præſentes Domino, ô vos benedicite Chriſto,
Virgo beat matrem, virgo modò nata patrémque,
Britannos omnes poſthâc hæc virgo beabit,
Hæc ſola eſt noſtræ ſpes & ſolatia gentis.
Rex pater inuiſit celeri ſua gaudia paſſu
Matrem & filiolam, verbis ſolatus amicis
Languidam adhuc illã, partúſq; doloribus ægram, &c.]

Edw. Hal. Ccxviij.

Pauier a contemner of the goſpell, & his ſhamefull end.

¶This yéere alſo, one Pauier the towne clerke of the citie of London hanged himſelfe, which ſuerly was a man that in no wiſe could abide to heare the goſpell ſhould be in Engliſh. And I my ſelfe heard him once ſaie to me and other that were by, ſwearing a great oth, that if he thought the kings highneſſe would ſet forth the ſcripture in Engliſh, and let it be read of the people by his authoritie, rather than he would ſo long liue, he would cut his owne throat, but he brake promiſe, for (as you haue heard) he hanged himſelfe: but of what mind and intent he ſo did, maie be ſoone gathered. For God had (no doubt) appointed him to that iudgement, no leſſe heauie than his offenſe was heinous; namelie the contempt of Gods word, the knowledge whereof Dauid deſired, preferring it before gold and ſiluer, yea before pearles & pretious ſtones in richneſſe; and before honie and the honiecombe in ſwéetnes, as the paraphraſe noteth, ſaieng:

Quàm tua verba meo ſapiunt iucunda palato!
Nulla magis fingi dulcia mella queant.
Iuſtitia doctrina tuæ mihi charior auro eſt,
Hæc etiam argentum vilius inſtar habet.]

Eob.Heſſ.in pſal. 119.

Guic.pag. 1182, &c.

¶About this time the pope, by lingering ſickenes, (whoſe gréefe in the firſt apprehenſion was the pains of the ſtomach, which drawing with them to paſſions of a feuer and other accidents, kept him long time vexed and tormented) ſometimes ſéeming to be reduced to the point of death, and ſometimes ſo eaſed and reléeued, that he gaue to others but not to himſelfe a kind of hope of recouering, being no longer able to make reſiſtance againſt his maladie, exchanged his life the fiue and twentith of September, leauing behind him in the caſtell of ſaint Angeo manie rich ſtones and iewels, more than was expected of him, and in the chamber of the ſée apoſtolike infinit offices, contrarie to cuſtome and good order, but in the treaſurie a verie ſmall ſtore of monie, wherin he beguiled the opinion of all men. He was raiſed from baſe degrée to the place of the popedome with wonderfull felicitie, but in managing the place he proued a verie great variation of fortune, wherein if both the properties of fortune be euenlie balanced the one with the other, the worſer fortune without all compariſon was farre more familiar with him than the better.

Death of pope Clement the ſeuenth.

For as there could happen to him no greater infelicitie than the aduerſitie of his impriſonment (for that with his owne eies he beheld with ſo great a ruine and deſtruction the ſacke of Rome; a deſolation which his fortune ſuffered him to bewaile with pitie and compaſſion, but not to turne awaie or remedie the harme) ſo alſo by him mooued the generall deſolation of his naturall countrie, to the which by how much more he was bound by perpetuall obligations, by ſo much greater was his aduerſitie to be a chiefe inſtrument in the ruine of the place where he had taken his firſt being.

Pope Clement more infortunate than fortunate.

He died hated of all the court, ſuſpected to moſt princes, and for the diſcourſe of his life, he left behind him a renowme rather hatefull than acceptable: for he was accounted couetous, of little fidelitie, and naturallie farre off from dooing pleaſures to men. And in that humor albeit during his time of pope he created one and thirtie cardinals; yet vpon none of them did he impoſe that dignitie to content himſelfe but was drawne as it were by the violent law of neceſſitie and to pleaſe others: yea he called to that dignitie the cardinall of Medicis, not of his proper and frée election, but at the contemplation and perſuaſion of others, and at that time when being oppreſſed with a dangerous maladie, if he had died, he had left his friends and kindred in the ſtate of beggers and depriued of all aid. Neuertheleſſe he was in counſell verie graue, and in his actions much foreſéeing; touching paſſions and affections a conqueror of himſelfe, and for the facultie of his mind & ſpirit of great capacitie and power, if timorouſneſſe had not oftentimes corrupted his iudgement.

How manie cardinals he created during his popedome.

Immediatlie after his death the cardinals going the ſame night into the conclaue, elected in his place with full voice, Alexander of the familie of Farneſa, a Roman by nation, and for his time the moſt ancient cardinall of the court: in which election their voices ſéemed conformable to the iudgement and inſtance that Clement had made, the perſon elected being moſt worthie to be preferred before all the other

Creation of pope Paule the third a Roman borne.

to ſo ſouereigne a degrée: for that he was both furniſhed with doctrine and good learning, and fullie repleniſhed with good apparances and cuſtomes. And for the cardinals, they were ſo much the more forward to paſſe the election in his perſon, by how much for the greatneſſe of his age, being alreadie vpon the thréeſcore and ſeuenth yeare, and ſuppoſed to beare a weake and vnſound complexion (which opinion he nouriſhed with art) they hoped he would not ſit long in the ſeat; whereby the dignitie of the place and primaſie might fall to one of them, whoſe eies looked for the glorie which their hearts luſted, being vtterlie eſtranged from God and godlineſſe, as altogither addicted to the wanton deſires of temporall delites, that they might paſſe their daies in delicacie; as one noteth trulie of all that viperous generation, ſaieng:

Antith. Chriſti & papæ. pag. 16.

Omnibus idem animus celſas mirarier arces,
Idem animus fluxis eſt inhiare bonis,
De grege quid fiat nihili gens impia curans,
Spectat magnificas ambitioſa domos:
Elyſios horum nullus contendit ad agros,
Nil cœleſte iuuat, terrea ſola placent.]

Elizabeth Barton.

About this ſeaſon, the craftie practiſes of one Elizabeth Barton, named the holie maid of Kent, came to light and were diſcouered: ſo that ſhe and hir adherents in Nouember folowing were brought to the Starchamber, ⁊ there before the kings councell confeſſed their feined hypocriſie and diſſembled holineſſe, traitorous purpoſes and intents. The names of thoſe hir adherents, which were preſented with hir before the lords in the Starchamber were as followeth: Richard Maſter prieſt, parſon of Aldington in Kent: Edward Bocking doctor in diuinitie, a monke of Canturburie: Richard Dering, monke alſo of Canturburie: Edward Twaites gentleman: Thomas Laurence regiſter to the archdeacon of Canturburie: Henrie Gold parſon of Aldermarie, bachellor of diuinitie: Hugh Rich frier obſeruant: Richard Riſbie: and Thomas Gold gentleman. They were adiudged vpon their confeſſion aforeſaid, to ſtand at Pauls croſſe in the ſermon time, where they with their owne hands ſhould ſeuerallie deliuer ech of them to the preacher that ſhould be appointed, a bill, declaring their ſubtill, craftie, and ſuperſtitious doings. Which thing they did the ſundaie next following, ſtanding vpon a ſtage at the croſſe erected for that purpoſe. But for their treaſons commited, the order was reſpited till the parlement next following; in the which they were attainted, and ſuffered (as after ye ſhall heare.)

Penance at Pauls croſſe.

The Scots mooue warre.

In this meane time, the Scots were not quiet, but ſtill robbed the kings ſubiects both by ſea and land: whereupon the king cauſed them to be requited, not onelie by the borderers and other to them aſſociate, which entring by the marches, burnt manie of their ſtrong piles, but alſo he ſet foorth certeine ſhips which entered into their ſtreames, and fetched out manie of thoſe priſes, which they had taken out of their hauens and créekes, mawger all their heads. Yet was there no warre proclaimed, but ſtill commiſſioners ſat and communed of agréement, and amends to be made on either part. Now in the end when the Scots had much demanded, and little or nothing granted, they for that time being wearie of warre, deſired peace, which was concluded to indure both the kings liues. And ſo the twentith daie of Maie in the yeare following, it was openlie proclamed, to the comfort of all them that delited in peace and godlie quietneſſe.

A curſſe procured from the pope.

At the ſuit of the ladie Katharine Dowager, a curſſe was ſent from the pope, which curſſed both the king and the realme. This curſſe was ſet vp in the towne of Dunkirke in Flanders (for the bringer thereof durſt no nearer approch) where it was taken downe by one William Locke a mercer of London. Bicauſe it was knowne that the ladie Katharine Dowager had procured this curſſe of the pope, all the order of the court was broken: for the duke of Suffolke being ſent to hir as then lieng at Bugden beſide Huntingdon, according to that he had in commandement, diſcharged a great ſort of hir houſhold ſeruants, and yet left a conuenient number to ſerue hir like a princeſſe, which were ſworne to ſerue hir not as quéene, but as princeſſe Dowager. Such as tooke that oth ſhe vtterlie refuſed, and would none of their ſeruice, ſo that ſhe remained with the leſſe number of ſeruants about hir.

1534
Elizabeth Barton attainted.

After Chriſtmas the parlement began, wherein the forenamed Elizabeth Barton and other hir complices were attainted of treaſon, for ſundrie practiſed deuiſes and tales by them aduanced, put in vre, and told, ſounding to the vtter reproch, perill, and deſtruction of the kings perſon, his honour, fame and dignitie: for they had of a diueliſh intent put in the heads of manie of the kings ſubiects, that to the ſaid Elizabeth Barton was giuen knowledge by reuelation from God and his ſaints, that if the king procéeded to the diuorſe, and maried another, he ſhould not be king of this realme one moneth after, and in the reputation of God not one daie nor houre.

This Elizabeth firſt through ſickeneſſe, being oftentimes brought as it were into a tranſe, whereby hir viſage and countenance became maruellouſlie altered at thoſe times when ſhée was ſo vexed, at length, by the incouraging, procurement, and information of the forenamed Richard Maſter perſon of Aldington, ſhe learned to counterfeit ſuch maner of tranſes (after ſhe came to perfect health) as in hir ſickenes by force of the diſeaſe ſhe had bene acquainted with: ſo that ſhe practiſed, vſed, and ſhewed vnto the people diuerſe maruellous and ſundrie alterations of the ſenſible parts of hir bodie, craftilie vttering in hir ſaid feigned and falſe tranſes, diuerſe and manie counterfeit, vertuous, and holie words, tending to the rebuke of ſin, and reprouing of ſuch new opinions as then began to riſe.

And to bring the people the more in beliefe with hir hypocriticall doings, ſhe was counſelled to ſaie in thoſe hir tranſes, that ſhe ſhould neuer be perfectlie whole, till ſhe had viſited an image of our ladie, at a place called Court at Stréet, within the pariſh of Aldington aforeſaid. Thither was ſhe brought, and by the meanes of the ſaid Richard Maſter, and Edward Bocking, that was now made of counſell in the matter, there aſſembled about two thouſand perſons at the daie appointed of hir thither comming, to ſée the miracle. At which daie, being brought before all that aſſemblie and multitude of people, ſhée falſelie feigned and ſhewed vnto the people in the chappell of our ladie there in Court at Stréet, manie alterations of hir face, and other outward ſenſible parts of hir bodie, and in thoſe tranſes ſhe vttered woonderous words, as ſhe was before ſubtilie and craftilie induced, and taught by the ſaid Edward Bocking and Richard Maſter.

A forged miracle.

And amongſt other things ſhe vttered, that it was the pleaſure of God, that the ſaid Bocking ſhould be hir ghoſtlie father, and that ſhe ſhould be a religious woman. And within a while, after ſuch feigned and counterfeit tranſes, ſhe appeared to the people to be ſuddenlie relieued from hir ſickeneſſe and afflictions, by the interceſſion and meane of the image of our ladie, being in the ſame chappell. By reaſon of which hypocriticall diſſimulation, the ſaid Elizabeth was brought into a maruellous fame, credit, and good opinion of a great multitude of the people of this realme. And to increaſe the fame, by counſell of the ſaid Edward Bocking, ſhe became a

Elizabeth Barton becommeth a nun.

nun in the priorie of ſaint Sepulchres at Canturburie, to whome the ſaid Edward Bocking had commonlie his reſort, not without ſuſpicion of incontinencie, pretending to be hir ghoſtlie father by Gods appointment. And by conſpiracie betwene hir & him, ſhe ſtill continued in practiſing hir diſſembled tranſes, alledging, that in the ſame ſhe had reuelations from almightie God and his ſaints, and amongſt other, that which (as before we haue mentioned) touched the kings mariage, as ye haue heard.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie and the biſhop of Rocheſter gaue credit to hir hypocriticall practiſes.

This matter procéeded ſo farre, that there was a booke written by hir complices, and namelie by Thomas Laurence, regiſter to the archbiſhop of Canturburie, of hir feigned and counterfeit miracles, reuelations, and hypocriticall holineſſe. All things were handled ſo craftilie, that not onelie the ſimple, but alſo the wiſe and learned ſort were deceiued by the ſame, inſomuch that William Warham the late archbiſhop of Canturburie, and John Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, and diuerſe others, being informed thereof, gaue credit thereto. All which matters and manie other had bene traitorouſlie practiſed and imagined amongeſt the parties manie yeres, chieflie to interrupt the diuorſe and to deſtroie the king, and to depriue him from the crowne and dignitie roiall of this realme, as in the act of their attaindor made more at large it maie appeare, and likewiſe in the chronicles of maiſter Edward Hall. Therefore to conclude with hir and hir adherents, on the one and twentith of Aprill next following, ſhe with diuerſe of them before condemned, was drawen to Tiburne, and there executed, as iuſtlie they had deſerued; where and when ſhe made this confeſſion following, euen at the preſent time that ſhe ſuffered, in the hearing of the people.

Elizabeth Barton executed.

The words of Elizabeth Barton, other*wiſe called the holie maid of Kent at the* houre of hir death in maner of a confeſſion.

Hither am I come to die, and I haue not béene the onelie cauſe of mine owne death, which moſt iuſtlie I haue deſerued, but alſo I am the cauſe of the death of all theſe perſons which at this time here ſuffer: and yet to ſay the truth, I am not ſo much to be blamed, conſidering that it was wel known vnto theſe learned men, that I was a poore wench, without learning, and therefore they might haue eaſilie perceiued, that the things that were doone by me, could not procéed in any ſuch ſort, but their capacities and learning could right well iudge from whence they procéeded, and that they were altogither feined: but bicauſe the things which I feined were profitable vnto them, therefore they much praiſed mée, and bare me in hand that it was the holie ghoſt, and not I that did them, and then I being puft vp with their praiſes, fell into a certeine pride and fooliſh fantaſie with my ſelfe, and thought I might feine what I would, which thing hath brought me to this caſe, and for the which now I crie God and the kings highnes moſt hartilie mercie, and deſire all you good people to praie to God to haue mercie on me, and on all them that ſuffer here with me.

The act of eſtabliſhing the crowne.

In this parlement alſo was made the act of ſucceſſion, for the eſtabliſhing of the crowne, to the which euerie perſon being of lawfull age ſhould bée ſworne. On mondaie the thrée & twentith of March in the parlement time, were ſolemnlie receiued into London ambaſſadours from James the fift king of Scots, the biſhop of Aberdine, the abbat of Kinlos, and Adam Otterborne the kings attourneie, with diuerſe gentlemen on them attendant, which were brought to the tailors hall, and there lodged. And on the daie of the Annunciation, they were brought to the kings palace at Weſtminſter, where they ſhewed their commiſſion and meſſage, for the which the king appointed them daies to counſell. During the parlement time, euerie ſundaie at Paules croſſe preached a biſhop, declaring the pope not to be ſupreme head of the church.

Ambaſſadors forth of Scotland.

The popes ſupremacie denied in ſermons.

The lords ſworne to the ſucceſſion.

The thirtith of March was the parlement proroged, and there euerie lord, knight, and burges, and all other were ſworne to the act of ſucceſſion, and ſubſcribed their hands to a parchment fixed to the ſame. The parlement was proroged till the third of Nouember next. After this were commiſſioners ſent into all parts of the realme, to take the oth of all men and women to the act of ſucceſſion. Doctor John Fiſher, and ſir Thomas More knight, and doctor Nicholas Wilſon parſon of ſaint Thomas apoſtles in London, expreſlie denied at Lambeth before the archbiſhop of Canturburie, to receiue that oth. The two firſt ſtood in their opinion to the verie death (as after ye ſhall heare) but doctor Wilſon was better aduiſed at length, and ſo diſſembling the matter eſcaped out of further danger.

Ab. Fl. ex Edw. Hall 224.

Woolfes wiſe a notable harlot.

¶ In this yéere it chanced that two merchant ſtrangers fell in loue with a harlot, which was called Woolfes wife, and this harlot had often hanted the ſtrangers chambers. And ſo on a time the ſaid harlot appointed theſe ſtrangers to come to Weſtminſter, and ſhe had prepared for them a bote, in the which bote was but one man to row which was a ſtrong théefe, and in the end of the bote laie Woolfe hir huſband, couered with a leather that botemen vſe to couer their cuſhins with, and ſo theſe ſtrangers ſat them down miſtruſting nothing. Now when this boteman had brought them as farre as a place called the turning trée, ſuddenlie ſtepped vp the ſaid Woolfe, and with his dagger thruſt the one of them through: the other cried out to ſafe his life, and offred great ſums of monie to the boteman and him to ſaue his life. But no proffers would be heard, nor mercie would they extend, but as cruell murtherers without pitie ſlue the other alſo, and bound them face to face, and ſo threw them into the Thames in the foreſaid place, where they were long after before they were found. But immediatlie the harlot Woolfes wife went to the ſtrangers chambers, & tooke from thence ſo much as ſhe could come by. And at the laſt ſhe and hir huſband (as they deſerued) were apprehended, arreigned, and hanged at the aforeſaid turning trée.]

The end of vnlawful loue and luſt.

The reward of murther committed through couetouſneſſe.

Anno Reg. 26.

The lord Dacres of the north arreigned.

On the ninth of Julie was the lord Dacres of the north arreigned at Weſtminſter of high treaſon, where the duke of Norffolke ſate as iudge, and high ſteward of England. The ſaid lord Dacres being brought to the barre, with the axe of the Tower before him, after his indictment read, ſo improoued the ſame, anſwering euerie part and matter therein conteined, and ſo plainlie and directlie confuted his accuſers, which were there readie to auouch their accuſations, that to their great ſhames, and his high honor, he was found that day by his péeres not guiltie, whereof the commons not a little reioiſed, as by their ſhout and crie made at thoſe words, not guiltie, they fréelie teſtified.

John Frith burned.

The two and twentith of Julie was John Frith burned in Smithfield, for the opinion of the ſacrament: and with him the ſame time, and at the ſame ſtake, ſuffered alſo one Andrew Hewet, a yoong man,

by

John Stow.
Frieries ſuppreſſed.

The parlemẽt againe beginneth.

The admerall of France cõmeth in ambaſſage into England.

1535

by his occupation a tailor. The eleuenth of Auguſt were all the places of the obſeruant friers ſuppreſſed, as Gréenwich, Canturbarie, Richmont, Newarke, and Newcaſtell, and in their places were ſet Auguſtine friers, and the obſeruant friers were placed in the roomes of the graie friers. ¶ The one and twentith of September, doctor Tailor maſter of the rolles, was diſcharged of that office, and Thomas Cromwell ſworne in his place the nintéenth of October. Moreouer the third of Nouember, the parlement began againe, in the which was concluded the act of ſupremacie, which authoriſed the kings highnes to be ſupreme head of the church of England, and the authoritie of the pope aboliſhed out of the realme. ¶ In the ſame parlement alſo was giuen to the king, the firſt fruits and tenths of all ſpirituall dignities and promotions. This yeare came the great admerall of France into England, ambaſſadour from the French king, and was honorablie receiued.

Anno Reg. 27.

John Stow.
Certeine priors arreigned and executed for treaſon.

In this time died the earle of Kildare, priſoner in the Tower, and his ſonne Thomas Fitzgaret began to rebell, and tooke all the kings ordinance, and ſent to the emperour, requiring him to take his part: alſo he ſlue the biſhop of Dublin, and robbed all ſuch as would not obeie him. In the beginning of this yeare, the duke of Norffolke and the biſhop of Elie went to Calis, and thither came the admerall of France. On the two & twentith of Aprill the prior of the Charterhouſe at London, the prior of Beuall, the prior of Erham, Reinalds a brother of Sion, & John vicar of Thiſtleworth, were arreigned and condemned of treaſon: and therevpon drawne, hanged and quartered at Tiburne the fourth of Maie: their heads and quarters were ſet ouer the bridge & gates of the citie, one quarter excepted, which was ſet vp at the Charterhouſe at London. ¶ On the eight of Maie, the king commanded that all belonging to the court ſhould poll their heads, & to giue example, cauſed his owne head to be polled, and his beard from thenceforth was cut round, but not ſhauen, which faſhion the courtiers imbraced, and would (no doubt) haue put in practiſe, though they had not béene therevnto bound by precept: for the people imitate the prince, as the poet long ago well noted, ſaieng:

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.

John Stow. pag.1004.
Hollanders condemned for heretikes.

¶ The fiue and twentith daie of Maie, was in ſaint Paules church at London examined ninetéene men and ſix women borne in Holland, whoſe opinions were, firſt, that in Chriſt is not two natures, God and man: ſecondlie, that Chriſt tooke neither fleſh nor bloud of the virgin Marie: thirdlie, that children borne of infidels ſhall be ſaued: fourthlie, that baptiſme of children is to none effect: fiftlie, that the ſacrament of Chriſts bodie is but bread onelie: ſixtlie, that he, who after his baptiſme ſinneth wittinglie, ſinneth deadlie, and cannot be ſaued. Fourtéene of them were condemned, a man & a woman of them were burned in Smithfield, the other twelue were ſent to other townes there to be burnt.]

Monks of ẏ Charterhouſe executed.

The biſhop of Rocheſter beheaded.

Sir Thomas More beheaded.

On the ninetéenth of June were thrée monkes of the Charterhouſe hanged, drawne, and quartered at Tiburne, and their heads and quarters ſet vp about London, for denieng the king to be ſupreme head of the church: their names were, Exmew, Middlemore, and Nudigate. Alſo the one and twentith of the ſame moneth, and for the ſame cauſe, doctor John Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter was beheaded for denieng of the ſupremacie, and his head ſet vpon London bridge, but his bodie buried within Barking churchyard. This biſhop was of manie ſore lamented, for he was reported to be a man of great learning, and of a verie good life. The pope had elected him a cardinall, and ſent his hat as far as Calis, but his head was off before his hat was on: ſo that they met not. On the ſixt of Julie was ſir Thomas More beheaded for the like crime, that is to wit, for denieng the king to be ſupreme head. And then the bodie of doctor Fiſher was taken vp, and buried with ſir Thomas Mores in the Tower. This man was both learned and wiſe, and giuen much to a certeine pleaſure in merie taunts and ieaſting in moſt of his communication, which maner he forgat not at the verie houre of his death.

Abr.Fl. ex Edw. Hall. fol.CCxxvj.

Sir Thomas More a ſcoffer & mocker at the verie houre of his death.

¶ I cannot tell (ſaith maſter Hall) whether I ſhould call him a fooliſh wiſe man, or a wiſe fooliſh man, for vndoutedlie he beſide his learning, had a great wit, but it was ſo mingled with taunting and mocking, that it ſéemed to them that beſt knew him, that hée thought nothing to be well ſpoken except he had miniſtred ſome mocke in the communication. Inſomuch as at his comming to the Tower, one of the officers demanded his vpper garment for his fée, meaning his gowne: and he anſwered, he ſhould haue it, and tooke him his cap, ſaieng it was the vppermoſt garment that he had. Likewiſe euen going to his death at the Tower gate, a poore woman called vnto him, and beſought him to declare what he had doone with euidences of hirs in the time that he was in office (which after he was apprehended ſhée could not come by) and that he would intreat ſhée might haue them againe, or elſe ſhe was vndoone. He anſwered, good woman, haue patience a little while, for the king is ſo good vnto me, that euen within this halfe houre he will diſcharge me of all buſineſſe, and helpe thée himſelfe.

Alſo when he went vp the ſtaiers on the ſcaffold, he deſired one of the ſhiriffes officers to giue him his hand to helpe him vp, and ſaid; When I come downe againe, let me ſhift for my ſelfe as well as I can. Alſo the hangman knéeled downe to him, aſking him forgiueneſſe of his death (as the maner is) to whome he ſaid, I forgiue thée, but I promiſe thée thou ſhalt neuer haue honeſtie by ſtriking off my head, my necke is ſo ſhort. Alſo euen when he ſhould laie downe his head on the blocke, he hauing a great graie beard, ſtroked out his beard, and ſaid to the hangman, I praie you let me laie my beard ouer the blocke, leaſt you ſhould cut it. Thus with a mocke he ended his life.

God had in moſt bountifull ſort powred his bleſſings vpon this man, induing him with eloquence, wiſedome and knowledge: but the grace of God withdrawne from him, he had the right vſe of none, no not of reaſon as it ſhould be rightlie vſed. God had extraordinarilie bleſſed his children, and namelie his thrée daughters, to whome he had giuen an admirable dexteritie in the ſcience of toongs and arts, as John Leland our reuerend antiquarie noteth in a proper and learned epigramme, ſaieng:

I.Lelandi Moriades, ſiue Charitum corona.

Deſine facundas nimiùm laudare diſerti
Natas Hortenſi maxima Roma tui:
Candida tres Charites nam Mori cura politi
Obſcurant multis nomina veſtra modis,
Non illis ſtudium Mileſia vellera dextra
Carpere, non facili ducere fila manu:
Sed iuuat eloquij crebro monumenta Latini
Verſare, & doctis pingere verba notis,
Nec minùs authores Græcos euoluere, Homerum
Et quem dicendi gloria prima manet.
Vt nec Ariſtotelis dicam quo pectore libros
Scrutentur, ſophiæ myſtica dona deæ.
Turpe viris poſthàc erit ignorare Mineruæ
Artes, grex adeò quas muliebris amet.

Spirituall graces doo not neceſſarilie concurre or depend vpon temporall.

And yet was not the will of God for the infuſing of ſpirituall graces, ſo linked to that of temporall, as becauſe the one was granted, therefore the other muſt not be denied. For the bleſſings of God which be outward, are common to the wicked with the good: the ſun ſhineth vpon all, the raine is kept from none: naie, God with a ſparing hand reacheth out thoſe things to the faithfull, which with full gripes he filleth out and powreth into the laps and boſoms of infidels and epicures: inſomuch that the prophet Dauid noting no leſſe, with a kind of indignation opened his mouth ſaieng; I was grieued at the wicked, I do alſo ſee the vngodlie in ſuch proſperitie, theſe floriſh in the world, theſe haue riches in poſſeſſion, and I ſaid; Then haue I cleanſed my heart in vaine, and waſhed my hands in innocencie: yea, and I had almoſt ſaid euen as they; but lo, then ſhould I haue condemned the generation of Gods children. But the end of theſe men, being ſet in ſlipperie places, are caſt downe and deſtroied, yea ſuddenlie do they conſume and come to a fearefull end: euen like as a dreame when one awaketh, ſo doth God make their image to vaniſh out of the citie.

Sir Thomas More in ſome caſes commended.

And albeit the fall of this ſir Thomas More was reprochfull, iſſuing from a treaſonable offenſe; yet as in pagans manie times there is ſomwhat which may teach chriſtians leſſons for their lerning to their ſhame: ſo in this papiſt was one praiſe-worthie propertie among the reſt moſt eminent, which I will note to the rebuke of proteſtants. ¶The reuerend father doctor Elmer biſhop of London, in a ſermon at Paules croſſe by him made in a ſolemne audience aſſembled at the parlement time 1584, teaching diuerſe points of doctrine, and the duties of ſundrie degrees, ſaid, that it was commendable for noble men and gentlemen, and a great furtherance to the loue of religion, to be deuout: he brought an example of ſir Thomas More, a man for his zeale (ſaith the biſhop) to be honored, but for his religion to be abhorred.

Abr. Flem. out of a ſermon made at Paules croſſe by doctor Elmer biſhop of London on the eighteenth of October 1584.

Whether it were mattins or euenſong it makes no matter.

This knight would diuerſe times put on a ſurpleſſe, and helpe the preeſt in proper perſon to ſaie ſeruice: inſomuch that vpon a time being at Chelſie, and buſie about that exerciſe, the duke of Norffolke then liuing, came to the ſaid ſir Thomas, then lord chancellor of England, about ſpeciall affaires: and being informed that ſir Thomas was at the church; thither went the duke, expecting the end of ſeruice. In the end, the duke and the lord chancellor met, and after mutuall greeting the duke ſaid thus: What! is my lord chancellor become a pariſh clarke? What will the kings maieſtie ſaie to this geere, when he ſhall vnderſtand that the lord chancellor of England, a ſpeciall peere of the realme, and in higheſt roome of honor in the land next the prince is become a pariſh clarke? Now trulie (ſaith ſir Thomas) I thinke, and verelie beleeue, that his highneſſe will be ſo farre to miſdeeme or miſlike me herein, that when he ſhall heare of the care which I haue to ſerue both his maiſter and mine, he will accept and take me for a faithfull ſeruant. And thus much of him.]

Sir Thomas More deuoutlie giuen in his kind.

The king of Scots knight of the garter.

This yeere in the time that the king went his progreſſe to Gloceſter, and to other places weſtward, the king of Scots was inſtalled knight of the garter at Winſore by his procurator the lord Erſkin: and in October following, Stephen Gardner (which after the cardinals death was made biſhop of Wincheſter) was ſent ambaſſador into France, where he remained three yeeres after. ¶In Auguſt the lord Thomas Fitzgerard, ſonne to the earle of Kildare, was taken in Ireland, and ſent to the tower of London.

The biſhop of Wincheſter ambaſſador into France. I. Stow.

Viſitation of religious houſes.

In the moneth of October, doctor Lee and other were ſent to viſit the abbeies, priories, and nunries in England, who ſet all thoſe religious perſons at libertie that would forſake their habit, and all that were vnder the age of foure and twentie yeeres, and the reſidue were cloſed vp that would remaine. Further, they tooke order that no men ſhould haue acceſſe to the houſes of women, nor women to the houſes of men, except it ſhould be to heare their ſeruice. The abbat or prior of the houſe, where anie of the brethren was willing to depart, was appointed to giue to euerie of them a prieſts gowne for his habit, and fortie ſhillings in monie, the nunnes to haue ſuch apparell as ſecular women ware, and to go whither them liked beſt. ¶The eleuenth of Nouember was a great proceſſion at London for ioie of the French kings recouerie of health from a dangerous ſickneſſe. ¶In December a ſuruie was taken of all chanteries, and the names of them that had the gift of them.

1536.

The ladie Katharine Dowager deceaſeth.

The princeſſe Dowager lieng at Kimbalton, fell into hir laſt ſickneſſe, whereof the king being aduertiſed, appointed the emperors ambaſſador that was legier here with him named Euſtachius Caputius, to go to viſit hir, and to do his commendations to hir, and will hir to be of good comfort. The ambaſſador with all diligence did his duetie therein, comforting hir the beſt he might: but ſhe within ſix daies after, perceiuing hir ſelfe to war verie weake and feeble, and to feele death approching at hand, cauſed one of hir gentlewomen to write a letter to the king, commending to him hir daughter and his, beſeeching him to ſtand good father vnto hir: and further deſired him to haue ſome conſideration of hir gentlewomen that had ſerued hir, and to ſee them beſtowed in marriage. Further, that it would pleaſe him to appoint that hir ſeruants might haue their due wages, and a yeeres wages beſide. This in effect was all that ſhe requeſted, and ſo immediatlie hereupon ſhe departed this life the eight of Ianuarie at Kimbalton aforeſaid, and was buried at Peterborow. ¶The nine and twentith of Ianuarie queene Anne was deliuered of a child before hir time, which was borne dead.

Religious houſes giuen to the king.

On the fourth of Februarie the parlement began, in the which (amongſt other things) enacted, all religious houſes of the value of three hundred marks and vnder, were giuen to the king, with all the lands and goods to them belonging. The number of theſe houſes were three hundred ſeauentie and ſix; the value of their lands yearlie aboue two and thirtie thouſand pounds; their moouable goods one hundred thouſand; the religious perſons put out of the ſame houſes, amounted to the number of aboue 10000. This yeere was William Tindall burnt at a towne betwixt Bruxels and Maclin called Villefort. This Tindall, otherwiſe called Hichins, was borne in the marches of Wales, and hauing a deſire to tranſlate and publiſh to his countrie diuerſe books of the bible in Engliſh, and doubting to come in trouble for the ſame, if he ſhould remaine here in England, got him ouer into the parties of beyond the ſea, where he tranſlated not onelie the new teſtament into the Engliſh toong, but alſo the fiue books of Moſes, Ioſua, Iudicum, Ruth, the books of the kings, and Paralipomenon, Nehemias, or the firſt of Eſdras, and the prophet Ionas.

I. Stow.

William Tindall burnt.

Beſide theſe tranſlations, he made certeine treatiſes, and publiſhed the ſame, which were brought ouer into England, and read with great deſire of diuerſe, and of many ſore deſpiſed and abhorred, ſo that proclamations were procured forth for the condemnation and prohibiting of his books (as before you haue heard.) Finallie, he was apprehended at Antwerpe by meanes of one Philips an Engliſhman, and then ſcholer at Louaine. After he had remained in priſon a long time, and was almoſt forgotten, the lord Cromwell wrote for his deliuerance; but then in all haſt, becauſe he would not recant anie part of his doctrine, he was burned (as before you haue heard.) Of whoſe conuerſation and doctrine, innocent in the world, and ſincere for truth, as alſo ſo of his death and martyrdome, read the martyrologie of Iohn Fox our eccleſiaſticall chronographer Anno 1536. *ſub Hen.*8.

Anno reg.28.

On Maie daie were ſolemne iuſts kept at Gréenwich, and ſuddenlie from the iuſts the king departed, not hauing aboue ſix perſons with him, and in the euening came to Weſtminſter. Of this ſudden departing many muſed, but moſt chéeflie the quéene. ¶On the next morrow, the lord Rochford brother to the quéene, and Henrie Norris were brought to the tower of London priſoners. Alſo the ſame daie about fiue of the clocke in the after noone, quéene Anne of Bullongne was brought to the tower of London, by ſir Thomas Audleie lord chancellor, the duke of Norffolke, Thomas Cromwell ſecretarie, and ſir William Kingſton conſtable of the tower; and when ſhe came to the tower gate, entring in ſhe fell on hir knées before the ſaid lords, beſéeching God to helpe hir, as ſhe was not guiltie of that whereof ſhe was accuſed, and then deſired the ſaid lords to beſéech the kings grace to be good vnto hir, and ſo they left hir there priſoner. On the fiftéenth of Maie quéene Anne was arreigned in the tower of London on a ſcaffold for that purpoſe, made in the kings hall, before the duke of Norffolke, who ſate vnder the cloth of eſtate as high ſteward of England, with the lord chancellor on his right hand, the duke of Suffolke on his left hand, with marqueſſes and lords, &c: and the earle of Surrie ſat before the duke of Norffolke his father, as earle marſhall of England. The kings commiſſion being read, the conſtable of the tower, and the lieutenant brought the quéene to the barre, where was made a chaire for hir to ſit downe in, and there hir indictement was read, whereunto ſhe made ſo wiſe and diſcréet anſwers, that ſhe ſéemed fullie to cléere hir ſelfe of all matters laid to hir charge: but being tried by hir péeres, whereof the duke of Suffolke was chiefe, ſhe was by them found guiltie, and had iudgement pronounced by the duke of Norffolke.

Abr. Fl. ex I. Stow. 1006.

Quéene Anne committed to the tower.

Hir imprecation at the tower gate on hir knées.

She is arreigned in the tower.

Immediatlie the lord Rochford the quéenes brother was likewiſe arreigned and condemned: the lord maior of London, his brethren the aldermen, the wardens and foure perſons mo of euerie the twelue principall companies being preſent. The ſeauentéenth of Maie, the lord Rochford brother to the quéene, Henrie Norris, Marke Smeton, William Brierton, and Francis Weſton, all of the kings priuie chamber, about matters touching the quéene were beheaded on the tower hill: the lord Rochfords bodie with the head was buried in the chappell of the tower, the other foure in the churchyard there. On the ninetéenth of Maie quéene Anne was on a ſcaffold (made for that purpoſe) vpon the gréene within the tower of London, beheaded with the ſword of Calis, by the hands of the hangman of that towne: hir bodie with the head was buried in the quéere of the chappell in the tower.]

The lord Rochford condemned.

Quéene Anne and diuerſe others beheaded.

The words of queene Anne
at hir death.

GOod chriſtian people, I am come hither to die, for according to the law, and by the law I am iudged to die, and therfore I will ſpeake nothing againſt it. I am come hither to accuſe no man, nor to ſpeake anie thing of that whereof I am accuſed & condemned to die, but I praie God ſaue the king and ſend him long to reigne ouer you, for a gentler, nor a more mercifull prince was there neuer, and to me he was euer a good, a gentle, and a ſoueréigne lord. And if anie perſon will meddle of my cauſe, I require them to iudge the beſt. And thus I take my leaue of the world, and of you all, and I hartilie deſire you all to praie for me, Oh Lord haue mercie on me, to God I commend my ſoule, Ieſu receiue my ſoule: diuerſe times repeting thoſe words, till that hir head was ſtriken off with the ſword.

Now bicauſe I might rather ſaie much than ſufficientlie inough in praiſe of this noble quéene, as well for hir ſingular wit and other excellent qualities of mind, as alſo for hir fauouring of learned men, zeale of religion, and liberalitie in diſtributing almes in reliefe of the poore, I will refer the reader vnto maſter Fox his volume of Acts and Monuments, where he commendeth hir mild nature in taking admonition, prooueth hir marriage lawfull, defendeth hir ſucceſſion, ouerthroweth the ſiniſter iudgements, opinions and obiections of backebiters againſt that vertuous quéene, ſheweth hir faith and truſt in Chriſt at hir death, and finallie how the proteſtants of Germanie forſooke king Henrie for the death of ſo good a princeſſe. ¶Anglorum prælia ſaith, that this good quéene was forwarned of hir death in a dreame, wherein Morpheus the god of ſléepe (in the likeneſſe of hir grandfather) appéered vnto hir, and after a long narration of the vanities of this world (how enuie reigneth in the courts of princes, maligning the fortunate eſtate of the vertuous, how king Henrie the eight and his iſſue ſhould be the vtter ouerthrow and expulſion of poperie out of England, and that the gouernment of quéene Elizabeth ſhould be eſtabliſhed in tranquillitie & peace) he ſaith vnto hir in concluſion by waie of propheſie, as our poet hath recorded:

Fortis ſis animo, triſtis ſi nuncius adſum,
Inſperata tuæ velox necis aduenit hora,
Intra triginta ſpacium moriere dierum:
Hoc magnum mortis ſolamen habeto futuræ,
Elizabetha ſuis præclarè filia geſtis
Nomen ad aſtra feret patris, matríſque, ſuúmque.]

I.Fox in martyrologio.

Ang. prælia.

Anne mors prædicitur. Pla. in Phe. Socratis tale quiddam ſomniauit.

Immediatlie after hir death, in the wéeke before Whitſuntide, the king married the ladie Iane Seimer, daughter to ſir Iohn Seimer knight, which at Whitſuntide was openlie ſhewed as quéene. And on the tueſdaie in Whitſunwéeke, hir brother ſir Edw. Seimer was created vicount Beauchampe, and ſir Water Hungerford, lord Hungerford. The eight of Iune began the parlement, during the which the lord Thomas Howard, without the kings aſſent, affied the ladie Margaret Duglas daughter to the quéene of Scots, and néece to the king, for which act he was atteinted of treaſon, and an act made for like offendors, and ſo he died in the tower, and ſhe remained long there as priſoner. In the time of this parlement the biſhops and all the cleargie of the realme held a ſolemne conuocation at Paules church in London, where after much diſputation and debating of matters, they publiſhed a booke of religion, intituled Articles deuiſed by the kings highneſſe, &c. In this booke is ſpeciallie mentioned but thrée ſacraments. Alſo beſide this booke certeine iniunctions were giuen foorth, wherby a number of their holie daies were abrogated, & ſpeciallie thoſe that fell in haruest time. ¶ The nine & twentith of Iune, the king held a great iuſting and triumph at Weſtminſter, where were ordeined two lighters made like ſhips to fight vpon the water, one of the which brake in the midſt, wherby one Gates a gentleman, & ſeruant to M. Kneuet was drowned in his harneſſe. In the other a gun brake hir chamber, & maimed two of the mariners.] Thomas Cromwell ſecretarie vnto the king, and mai

The king marieth ladie Iane Seimer

A parlement.

The lord Th. Howard atteinted of treaſon.

A booke publiſhed concerning religion by the king.

I. Stow. Triumph at Weſtminſter.

maiſter of the rols, was made lord kéeper of the priuie ſeale, and the ninth of Iulie the lord Fitzwaren was created erle of Bath, and the morrow after the ſaid lord Cromwell was created lord Cromwell. The eightéenth of Iulie he was made knight, and vicar generall vnder the king ouer the ſpiritualtie, and ſat diuerſe times in the conuocation amongſt the biſhops as head ouer them. The two and twentith of Iulie, Henrie duke of Richmont and Summerſet, earle of Northampton, baſe ſonne to the king, begot of the ladie Tailebois then called Elizabeth Blunt, departed this life at ſaint Iames, and was buried at Thetford in Norffolke, of whome you ſhall find more in the treatiſe of the dukes of this land.

Aduancement of the lord Cromwell.

The death of the kings baſe ſonne.

In September, Thomas Cromwell lord priuie ſeale and vicegerent, ſent abroad vnder the kings ſpirituall priuie ſeale certeine iniunctions, commanding that the perſons and curats ſhould teach their pariſhioners the Pater noſter, the Aue & Creed, with the ten commandements, and articles of the faith in Engliſh. Theſe articles and iniunctions being eſtabliſhed by authoritie of parlement, and now to the people deliuered, bred a great miſliking in the harts of the common people, which had béene euer brought vp and trained in contrarie doctrine. And herewith diuerſe of the cleargie as moonks, prieſts, and others, tooke occaſion herby to ſpeake euill of the late procéedings of the king, touching matters of religion, affirming that if ſpéedie remedie were not in time prouided, the faith would ſhortlie be vtterlie deſtroied, and all praier and diuine ſeruice quite aboliſhed and taken awaie.

The people grudged at the iniunctions eſtabliſhed by act of parlement.

Manie ſiniſter reports, ſlanderous tales, and feigned fables were blowne abroad, and put into the peoples eares, and diuerſe of the nobilitie did alſo what they could to ſtir the commons to rebellion, faithfullie promiſing both aid and ſuccour againſt the king. The people thus prouoked to miſchiefe, and deceiued through ouer light credence, incontinentlie as it were to mainteine that religion, which had ſo manie yeares continued, and béene eſtéemed, they ſtiffelie and ſtoutlie conſpired togither, and in a part of Lincolneſhire they firſt aſſembled, and ſhortlie after ioined into an armie, being (as it was ſuppoſed) of men apt for the warres, in number about twentie thouſand. Againſt theſe rebels with all the haſt that might be, the king in his proper perſon vpon intelligence therof had marched towards them, being furniſhed with a warlike armie, perfectlie appointed of all things that to ſuch a companie ſhould apperteine.

A traitorous conſpiracie.

The Lincolnſhire men in armes againſt the king.

The rebels hearing that his perſon was preſent with his power to come thus againſt them, began to feare what would follow of their dooings: and ſuch nobles and gentlemen as at the firſt fauoured their cauſe, fell from them and withdrew, ſo that they being deſtitute of capteines, at length put certeine petitions in writing, which they exhibited to the king, profeſſing that they neuer intended hurt towards his roiall perſon. The king receiued their petitions, which conſiſted in choiſe of councellors, ſuppreſſion of religious houſes, maintenance of the ſeruice of almightie God, the ſtatute of vſes, the releaſe of the fiftéenth, and receiuing of the firſt fruits, with ſuch other matters as nothing apperteined to them: wherevpon he made them anſwer in pithie ſentence, reprouing them of their preſumptuous follie and rebellious attempt, to meddle in anie ſuch matters and weightie affaires, the direction whereof onelie belonged to him, and to ſuch noble men and councellors as his pleaſure ſhould be to elect and chooſe to haue the ordering of the ſame.

The petitions of the rebels receiued of the king and of what points they conſiſted.

Wherfore he aduiſed them to remember their raſh and inconſiderate dooings, and that now in anie wiſe they ſhould reſort home to their houſes, and no more to aſſemble contrarie to his lawes and their owne allegiances; and alſo to cauſe the prouokers of this miſchiefe to be deliuered to the hands of his lieutenant, and further to ſubmit themſelues wholie to ſuch puniſhment as he and his nobles ſhould thinke them worthie to receiue: for otherwiſe he would not ſuffer that iniurie at their hands to go vnreuenged. After the Lincolnſhire men had receiued the kings anſwer thus made to their petitions, each miſtruſting other, who ſhould be noted the greateſt meddler, ſuddenlie they began to ſhrinke, and got them home to their houſes without longer abode.

The Lincolnſhiremen giue ouer their rebellious enterpriſe.

Herewith the duke of Suffolke the kings lieutenant was appointed to go with the armie, to ſée the countrie ſet in quiet, accompanied with the lord admerall, ſir Francis Brian, and ſir Iohn Ruſſell that were ioined with him alſo in commiſſion for the ordering of things there within the countie of Lincolne. The duke entred into the citie of Lincolne the ſeuentéenth of October. On the ninetéenth all the inhabitants of Louth (according to order giuen by the duke) came to Lincolne, and there in the caſtell made their ſubmiſſion, holding vp their hands, and crieng for the kings mercie. And herwith were choſen forth Nicholas Melton, capteine Cobler, & thirtéene more, which were commanded to ward, and all the reſidue were new ſworne to the king, renouncing their former oth receiued in time of their rebellion, and then departed home to their houſes in the kings peace. After this were proclamations made abrode in the countrie in euerie market towne by the heralds of armes, Summerſet and Winſore, that the capteins and ſouldiers of the dukes armie ſhould not take anie mans goods, cattels, or vittels, except they paied or agréed with the owners of the ſame.

The rebels ſubmit themſelues and receiue a new oth of fealtie to the king.

And further commandement was giuen, that all inhabitants and dwellers within the townes and villages about, ſhould repaire to the citie of Lincolne, with all maner of vittels as well for men as horſſes, where they ſhould receiue paiment at reaſonable prices for the ſame. After this, there was likewiſe proclamation made for the apprehending of all ſuch lewd perſons, as had ſowne anie falſe rumors abrode in the countrie (the chéefe occaſion of this rebellion) bruting that the king pretended to haue the gold in the hands of his ſubiects brought into the tower to be touched, and all their cattell vnmarked, the chalices, goods, and ornaments of pariſh churches, fines for chriſtenings, weddings, and buriengs, licences to eat white meat, bread, pig, gooſe or capon, with manie other ſlanderous, falſe, and deteſtable tales and lies, forged of diueliſh purpoſe to incourage the people to rebellion. If therefore anie man could apprehend ſuch as had béene the ſetters forth and ſowers of ſuch ſeditious reports, they that brought them in, ſhould be ſo rewarded, as they ſhould thinke their labour well beſtowed.

Falſe rumors the occaſion of rebellions.

Moreouer, if there were anie aſſemblies made in anie part of the realme without the kings licence, by anie vnrulie perſons, and would not depart to their houſes vpon warning by his graces proclamations, they ſhould not looke for further mercie at the kings hand, but to be proſecuted with fire and ſword to the vttermoſt. To conclude, by the wiſe and ſage direction taken in appeaſing the countrie by that noble duke, all things were quieted in thoſe parties. Diuerſe of the principall offendors were ſent vnto London. He that tooke vpon him as chéefe capteine of the rout, was the ſame that called himſelfe capteine Cobler: but he was indéed a moonke named doctor Makarell, which afterwards with diuerſe others was executed.

But now in the meane time, whileſt the duke

A commotion in the north parts.

was ſent forwards into Lincolneſhire, within ſix daies after the king was trulie informed, that there was a new ſtir begun in the north parts by the people there, which had aſſembled themſelues into an huge armie of warlike men & well appointed, both with capteins, horſſes, armor, and artillerie, to the number of fortie thouſand men, which had incamped themſelues in Yorkeſhire. Theſe men declared by their proclamations ſolemnlie made, that this their riſing and commotion ſhould extend no further, but onelie to the maintenance and defenſe of the faith of Chriſt, and deliuerance of holie church, ſore decaied and oppreſſed, and alſo for the furtherance as well of priuate as publike matters in the realme, touching the wealth of all the kings poore ſubiects.

An holie pilgrimage.

They named this their ſeditious voiage, an holie and bleſſed pilgrimage: they had alſo certeine banners in the field, in which was painted Chriſt hanging on the croſſe on the one ſide, and a chalice with a painted cake in it on the other ſide, with diuers other banners of like hypocriſie and feigned holineſſe. The ſouldiers had alſo imbrodered on the ſléeues of their cotes in ſtéed of a badge, the ſimilitude of the fiue wounds of our ſauiour, and in the middeſt thereof was written the name of our Lord. Thus had the rebels hoſt of ſathan with falſe and counterfeit ſignes of holineſſe ſet out themſelues, onelie to deceiue the ſimple people in that their wicked and rebellious enterpriſe againſt their liege lord and naturall prince, whome by the law of nations and by Gods commandements they were bound in conſcience to obeie, and ſo farre to be from lifting vp the leaſt finger of their hand, as rather to put life and goods in hazard for his ſake, to teſtifie their allegiance.

The faithfull diligence of the earle of Shrewſburie

The ſpéedie diligence and loiall dutie which was found at that preſent in the worthie councellour George earle of Shreweſburie, is not to be forgotten, who immediatlie after he vnderſtood how the northerne men were thus vp in armes, conſidering how much it imported to ſtop them of their paſſage before they ſhould aduance too far forwards, whereby they might both increaſe in power, and put all other parts of the realme in hazard, through feare or hope to incline to their wicked purpoſes, he ſent abroad with all ſpéed poſſible to raiſe ſuch power of his ſeruants, tenants, and fréends, as by anie means he might make, and withall diſpatched one of his ſeruants to the king, both to aduertiſe him what he had doone, and alſo to purchaſe his pardon, for making ſuch leuie of power, before he had receiued his maieſties commiſſion ſo to doo.

I haue heard by relation of men of good credit that were there preſent: that when ſuch knights and gentlemen as were of his councell, and other of his eſpeciall fréends were come vnto him, he put forth this queſtion to them; Whether his fact in raiſing a power of armed men without the kings commiſſion (although he had doone it to reſiſt the rebels) were treaſon or not? Wherevnto when anſwer was made by ſome that were knowne to haue ſkill in the laws of the realme, how that by no means it could be intended treaſon, ſith his intent was good, and no euill thereby meant, but contrarilie the aduancement of the kings ſeruice dutifullie ſought: Yée are fooles (quoth the earle) I know it in ſubſtance to be treaſon, and I would thinke my ſelfe in an hard caſe, if I thought I had not my pardon comming.

A good meaning or intent dooth not by and by iuſtifie and make good the action.

The loialtie of the earle.

Such a reuerend regard had this noble earle vnto his bounden allegiance towards his prince, that whatſoeuer ſéemed but as it were to ſound in anie behalfe to the breach thereof, it ſo troubled his loiall mind, that he could not be ſatiſfied, till as it were in confeſſing his fault: where according to the truth there was none at all. He had ſignified his aſſured fidelitie in crauing pardon, where otherwiſe he might haue looked for thanks, which indéed he receiued with his pardon, according to his petition, and a commiſſion to procéed as he had begun. Moreouer, whereas there were diuerſe ſpeaches amongſt the ſoldiors in the armie, vttered by ſome not altogither happilie well diſpoſed, that the ſaid earle had ſo good liking of the northerne mens cauſe, that when it came to the point of triall, he would ſurelie ioine with them againſt that part, which he yet pretended to mainteine.

What the earle ſaid to them that talked lewdlie of him in the campe.

To put that matter out of doubt, he cauſed the multitude of his ſoldiours to come before him, and there declared to them, that he vnderſtood what lewd talke had béene raiſed of his meaning among them in the campe, as if he had fauoured the part of the rebels: But (ſaith he) whatſoeuer their colourable pretenſe may be, true it is, that traitors they are in this their wicked attempt. And whereas my anceſtors haue béene euer true to the crowne, I meane not to ſtaine my bloud now in ioining with ſuch a ſort of traitors, but to liue and die in defenſe of the crowne, if it ſtood but vpon a ſtake: and therefore thoſe that will take my part in this quarrell, I haue to thanke them, and if there be anie that be otherwiſe minded, I would wiſh them hence. And herewith he cauſed his chapleine to miniſter an oth to him, which he receiued to the effect aforeſaid, in the preſence of them all.

And verelie this was thought to be doone not without great cauſe that moued him thereto: for whereas the more part of his ſoldiours conſiſted of the countrie people, who with forged tales and wicked ſurmiſes were eaſilie led to beléeue whatſoeuer was reported in fauor of the rebels, and diſfauor of ſuch as were then chiefe councellors to the king, againſt whome they pretended to riſe (although there was no reaſonable occaſion leading them therevnto) it was greatlie to be ſuſpected, leaſt they might thorough ſome traitorous practiſe haue béene induced to forget their dutifull allegiance to their ſoueraigne, and ſouldiorlike obedience to their leaders, inſomuch that the capteins of the rebels were perſuaded (and ſome of them reported no leſſe) that they might haue fought with the duke of Norffolke, and the earle of Shreweſburie, on this hither ſide of the riuer of Dun, euen with their owne men, not néeding to haue brought a man of their armie with them.

He was prouided of ill ſouldiors that ſo vndutifullie to deale with him would be induced.

The oth of the earle of Shreweſburie in preſence of the people neceſſarie.

Therefore it was thought, that the oth which the earle of Shreweſburie in that ſort receiued before all his people there openlie in field, ſerued to great purpoſe; to put out of his ſoldiours wauering heads all ſuch lewd expectation that he would turne to the enimies, ſtaieng thereby their fickle minds; ſith they were now aſſured, that he being their chiefteine meant no diſſimulation. A matter trulie of no ſmall importance, conſidering the fauor which the commons bare towards him, and the opinion they had conceiued of his high prowesſe; ſo that which waie he inclined, it was thought verelie the game were likelie to go. But now after the king was aduertiſed of that perilous commotion of the northerne men, he appointed not onlie the ſaid earle of Shreweſburie to raiſe a power to reſiſt them: but alſo ordeined the duke of Norffolke his lieutenant generall, with the marqueſſe of Exceſter, and the ſaid earle of Shreweſburie, the earles of Huntington and Rutland, accompanied with a mightie power to go againſt them.

The duke of Norffolke the kings lieutenant.

Theſe lords raiſing ſuch retinues of ſouldiers and men of warre as were to them aſſigned, made forward to the place where the armie of the rebels was then incamped, which was beyond the towne of Doncaſter, in the high waie towards Yorke. But firſt the ſaid earle of Shrewſburie, with the earles of Huntington, and Rutland, and ſuch other that were next adioining to thoſe parties, with their powers aſſembled out of the ſhires of Salop, Stafford, Leiceſter, Rutland, Notingham, and Derbie, came to a place in Notingham ſhire called Blithlow, and there taking the muſters of their people, ſtreightwaies paſſed foorth to Doncaſter, and appointed certeine bands of their men, to lie in places where anie foords or paſſages laie ouer the riuer of Dun, that runneth by the northſide of Doncaſter, to ſtaie the enimies if they ſhould attempt to come ouer. Shortlie after came the duke of Norffolke, and finallie the marqueſſe of Exceſter with a iollie companie of weſterne men, well and perfectlie appointed.

The euen of Simon and Iude.

When theſe capteins and ſage councellors being here aſſembled, vnderſtood the manner of the northerne men, their number, and readineſſe to battell, they firſt practiſed with great policie, to haue pacified the matter without bloudſhedding: but the northerne men were ſo bent to mainteine their wilfull enterpriſe, that there was no hope to take vp the matter without battell: therefore a daie was ſet, on the which they ſhould trie the quarrell betwixt them with dint of ſword. But ſée the chance. The night before the daie aſſigned for this bloudie and vnnaturall battell, to haue béene fought betwixt men of one nation, and ſubiects to one king; there fell a raine not great to ſpeake of, but yet as it were by miracle, the riuer of Dun roſe ſuddenlie on ſuch a height, that ſeldome had béene ſéene there the like hugeneſſe of water: ſo that the daie when the houre of battell ſhould come, it was not poſſible for the one armie to come at the other, and ſo the appointment made betwéene both the armies for triall of the matter by force of armes, was by Gods good prouidence diſappointed, and manie an innocent mans life preſerued, that ſhould haue died, if their purpoſes had taken place.

I ſaw.

Gods prouidence ſtaieth them from battell.

After this by the great wiſedome and policie of the nobles and capteins, a communication was had, and an agréement made vpon the kings pardon, obteined for all the capteins and chiefe dooers in this inſurrection, and promiſe made that they ſhould be gentlie heard, to declare ſuch things as they found themſelues gréeued with: and that vpon their articles preſented to the king, their reaſonable petitions ſhould be granted, as by him & his councell it ſhould be thought expedient, whereby all troubles might be quieted, and ech thing brought to a good concluſion. Herewith euerie man departed, and thoſe which before came as hot as fire to fight, letted of their deſperat purpoſe, by Gods mercifull prouidence, returned now peaceablie to their houſes without anie more buſineſſe.

The matter is taken vp.

At the ſelfe ſame time that theſe northerne men were lodged néere to Doncaſter, and the kings power readie to ſtop them of their paſſage (as before ye haue heard) there was an other armie readie to haue marched ſouthwards thorough Lancaſhire: but by the faithfull diligence of the earle of Derbie, who with the forces of Lancaſhire and Cheſhire was appointed to reſiſt them, they were likewiſe kept backe and brought to quiet; notwithſtanding they were a verie great number aſſembled togither of the commons out of Cumberland, Weſtmerland, and of the north parts of Lancaſhire. The earle of Suſſex was ſent downe by the king, to ioine in aſſiſtance with the earle of Derbie; who cauſing diuerſe of the chiefe procurers of that rebellion in thoſe parties to be apprehended and arreigned, they being found giltie had iudgement, and were executed, as the abbats of Walleie, Sanleie, and others.

An other armie of rebels marching ſouthwards through Lancaſhire.

In time of this rebellion, a prieſt that by a butcher dwelling within fiue miles of Windſor had béen procured to preach in fauor of the rebels, and the butcher (as well for procuring the prieſt thereto, as for words ſpoken as he ſold his meat in Windſor) were hanged: the prieſt on a trée at the foot of Windſor bridge, and the butcher on a paire of new gallowes ſet vp before the caſtell gate, at the end of the ſame bridge. The words which the butcher ſpake were theſe. When one bad him leſſe for the carcaſe of a ſhéepe than he thought he could make of it: Naie by Gods ſoule (ſaid he) I had rather the good fellowes of the north had it, and a ſcore more of the beſt I haue, than I would ſo ſell it. This prieſt and butcher being accuſed on a mondaie in the morning whileſt the kings armie was in the field, and the king himſelfe lieng at Windſor, they confeſſed their faults vpon their examinations, and by the law martiall they were adiudged to death, and ſuffered as before is mentioned. This yeare in December, the Thames was froſen ouer: inſomuch that the king and quéene rode thorough London to Gréenewich.

A butcher & a prieſt hanged and the cauſe why.

A great froſt.

In Chriſtmas the king by his meſſengers and heralds ſent downe into the north his generall pardons to all the offendors; and ſhortlie after Aſke that had béene the principall procurer, & as it were chiefe capteine of the northerne rebels, came to London, and now was both pardoned and receiued into fauor, receiuing of the kings bounteous liberalitie, apparell, and diuerſe other rewards, whereof he was moſt vnworthie: for there liued not (as Hall ſaith) a verier wretch, as well in perſon as conditions and déeds, ſpeciallie towards the kings maieſtie, as after appeared. ¶ Sir Rafe Euers kept Scarbrow caſtell in the north, being ſix wéeks beſieged by the rebels, twentie daies whereof he and all his companie (which were his onelie friends, ſeruants, and tenants, and ſerued for good will to him) were forced to ſuſteine themſelues with bread and water, and yet he kept the ſame to the end of that rebellion; and ſo deliuered it to king Henrie, who ſent him ſoone after to ſerue in the borders againſt Scotland, where in great credit he continued his ſeruice, kéeping the Scots without dooing hurt to England, and with ſuch obedience of them, as within twentie miles of the borders of Scotland fore againſt him, there was not a Scot but at his commandement: and ſo continued, till he was killed in the yeare 1545.]

Generall pardons.

1537

Aſke rewarded.

Abr.Fl. ex I.S. pag.1010.

Sir Rafe Euers his good ſeruice in the north.

The twelfe of Nouember, ſir Thomas Newman prieſt bare a faggot at Paules croſſe, for ſinging maſſe with good ale. On the third of Februarie, Thomas Fitzgaret ſonne and heire to the earle of Kildare was beheaded, and fiue of his vncles were drawne, hanged, and quartered at Tiborne for treaſon. In the ſame moneth Nicholas Muſgraue, Thomas Tilbie, with others, began a new rebellion at Kirkbie Stephan in Weſtmerland, who hauing got togither eight thouſand men, beſieged the citie of Carleill, from whence they were beaten with the onlie power of the citie: and in returning from thenſe, the duke of Norffolke, who then was lieutenant of the north, incountered with them, tooke the capteins, and according to the law martiall arreigned ſeuentie and foure of them, whome he hanged on Carleill wals; but Muſgraue eſcaped.

Penance at Paules croſſe.

The earle of Kildare executed.

Tilbie. A new rebellion.

In the ſame moneth of Februarie began a new commotion, by the procurement of ſir Francis Bigod, who being intiſed to that miſchieuous enterpriſe by certeine wicked perſons, forgat his dutie to his prince, although he had béene a man (as Hall ſaith) that vndoubtedlie loued God, and reuerenced his prince with a right obedient and louing feare: but ſuch are men when God leaueth them, and that they will take in hand things which Gods moſt holie word vtterlie forbiddeth. This laſt rebellion began in Setrington, Pikering, Leigh, and Scarbrow; but it

Sir Francis Bigod procureth a new commotion.

The purpoſe of the rebels.

it was quickelie ſuppreſſed, and the ſaid ſir Francis Bigod apprehended, and brought to the Tower. The ſaid ſir Francis & one Halam, hauing raiſed a great companie of rebels, meant to haue taken the towne of Hull, there to haue fortified themſelues, and to haue aſſembled more power; but by the wiſedome of ſir Raſe Ellerkar, & the maior of the towne of Hull, the ſaid Halam, & thréeſcore other of the rebels without anie ſlaughter were taken, which Halam was afterwards hanged in chaines, and two other with him, at the ſaid towne of Hull. Sir Francis Bigod fled, & could not be heard of for a time, but at length he was alſo apprehended.

Aſke & others practiſe to raiſe a new rebellion.

Robert Packington murthered.

Moreouer, about the latter end of this twentith and eight yeare, the lord Darcie, Aſke, ſir Robert Conſtable, ſir Iohn Bulmer and his wife, ſir Thomas Perſie brother to the erle of Northumberland, ſir Stephan Hamilton, Nicholas Tempeſt eſquier, William Lomleie, began eftſoones to conſpire, although euerie of them before had receiued their pardons: and now were they all taken and brought to the Tower of London as priſoners. This yeare Robert Packington a mercer of London, a man both rich, wiſe, and of good credit, dwelling at the ſigne of the leg in Cheapſide, on a morning going (as his cuſtome was) about foure of the clocke to heare maſſe, in the church then called S. Thomas of Acres, & now the Mercers chappell, as he croſſed ouer the ſtréet from his houſe to the church, was ſuddenlie murthered with a gun, the cracke whereof was heard of the neighbors, and of a great number of laborers that ſtood at Soper lane end, and ſaw the ſaid Packington go foorth of his houſe: but there was ſuch a thicke miſt that morning, as the like had not béene ſéene, by couert whereof the murtherer found ſhift the more eaſilie to eſcape.

Manie were ſuſpected, but none found in fault, albeit forſomuch as he was one that would ſpeake his mind fréelie, and was at the ſame time one of the burgeſſes of the parlement for the citie of London, and had talked ſomewhat againſt the couetouſneſſe and crueltie practiſed by the cleargie, it was miſtruſted leaſt by ſome of them he came thus to his end. At length the murtherer in déed was condemned at Banburie in Oxfordſhire, to die for a fellonie which he afterwards committed: and when he came to the gallowes on which he ſuffered, he confeſſed that he did this murther, and till that time he was neuer had in anie ſuſpicion thereof. ¶ The nine and twentith of March, were twelue of the Lincolneſhire rebels drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged and quartered, fiue of them were prieſts, the reſidue laie men. One of the prieſts was doctor Makarell, and an other was the vicar of Louth.

Rich. Grafton. The inuention of caſting pipes.

About this ſeaſon the maner of caſting pipes of lead for the conueiance of water vnder the ground, without occupieng of ſoulder to the ſame, was inuented by Robert Brocke clearke, then one of the kings chapleins, an inuention right neceſſarie for the ſauing of expenſes: for two men and a boie will doo that in one daie, which before could not be doone by manie men in manie daies. Robert Cooper goldſmith was the firſt that made the inſtruments, and put this inuention in practiſe. ¶ In the verie beginning of this yeare, certeine commiſſioners being ſent into Summerſetſhire to take vp corne, the people began to make an inſurrection: but by the wiſedome and diligence of yoong maſter Paulet & others the ſame was ſuppreſſed, and the beginners thereof, to the number of thréeſcore, were apprehended & condemned, and fourtéene of them were hanged and quartered, one of the number being a woman, the reſidue were ſaued by the kings mercifull pardon.

Anno reg. 29.

Execution.

Arreignment.

Execution.

In Iune the lord Darcie & the lord Huſeie were arreigned at Weſtminſter before the marqueſſe of Exceſter then high ſteward, where they were found guiltie, and had iudgement, as in caſes of high treaſon. Shortlie after alſo were arreigned ſir Robert Conſtable, ſir Thomas Perſie, ſir Francis Bigod, ſir Stephan Hamilton, ſir Iohn Bulmer, and his wife, or rather (as ſome report) his paramour: alſo William Lomleie, Nicholas Tempeſt, William Thurſt abbat of Founteins, Adam Sudburie abbat of Ierueux, William Wold prior of Birlington, alſo the abbat of Riuers, and Robert Aſke. They were all found guiltie of high treaſon, and all put to death. Sir Robert Conſtable was hanged in chains ouer Beuerleie gate at Hull, and Robert Aſke was alſo hanged in chains on a tower at Yorke, and Margaret Cheineie ſir Iohn Bulmers paramour burnt in Smithfield in London. The other ſuffered at Tiburne.

The birth of king Edward the ſixt.

In the latter end of Iune, was the lord Darcie beheaded at the Tower hill, and ſhortlie after the lord Huſeie was likewiſe beheaded at Lincolne. This yeare at ſaint Georges feaſt, was the lord Cromwell made knight of the garter. In October on ſaint Edwards euen, which falleth on the twelft of that moneth, at Hampton court the quéene was deliuered of hir ſonne named Edward, for whoſe birth great ioie was made thorough the realme, with thankſgiuing to almightie God, who had ſent ſuch a yoong prince to ſuccéed his father in the crowne of this realme (as afterwards he did) by the name of king Edward the ſixt. His godfathers at the fontſtone were the archbiſhop of Canturburie & the duke of Norffolke, the ladie Marie was his godmother, and at the biſhopping, the duke of Suffolke was his godfather. On the eightéenth of October he was made prince of Wales, duke of Cornewall, and erle of Cheſter.

The death of quéene Iane.

Iohn Fox in Acts & Monuments.

But as ioie is often mixed with ſorrow, ſo at that time it came to paſſe by the death of his moother, that noble and vertuous ladie quéene Iane, which departed out of this life the fourtéenth daie of this moneth of October, to the great griefe of the whole realme: but namelie the king hir huſband tooke it moſt grieuouſlie of all other, who remoouing to Weſtminſter, there kept himſelfe cloſe a great while after. The eight of Nouember, the corps of the quéene was caried to Windſor, with great ſolemnitie, and there buried in the midſt of the quire in the caſtell church. There was alſo a ſolemne hearſe made for hir in Paules church, and funerall exequies celebrated, as well as in all other churches within the citie of London. Thus was the king left againe a widower, and ſo continued the ſpace of two yeares togither. Vpon the death of which quéene Iane, and the birth of prince Edward hir ſon this diſtichon following was made:

Theſe verſes were thought to be made by maſter Armigill Wade.

Phœnix Iana iacet nato Phœnice, dolendum
Sæcula Phœnices nulla tuliſſe duas.

1538

Creation of officers.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S pag. 1011, 1012.

Lord Thomas Howard deceaſſed.

The king held his Chriſtmas at Gréenewich, and as well he as all the court ware mourning apparell, till the morrow after Candlemas daie, & then he and all other changed. This yeare Edward Seimer viſcount Beauchampe the quéenes brother was created earle of Hertford, & ſir William Fitzwilliams lord high admerall was created earle of Southhampton, ¶ and maſter Paulet was made vicetreaſuror, ſir Iohn Ruſſell comptrollor of the kings houſe, maſter Henedge, maſter Long, maſter Kneuet of the kings priuie chamber, knights; maſter Coffin, maſter Liſtar, & maſter Seimer the quéenes brother, knights. On Allhallowes euen, the lord Thomas Howard, brother to the duke of Norffolke, died priſoner in the Tower of London, and was buried at Thetford, and then the ladie Margaret Dowglas was pardoned, and releaſed out of the Tower. The foure and twentith of Februarie, being ſundaie, the rood of Borleie in Kent, called the rood of grace, made with diuerſe vices, to mooue the eies and lips, was ſhewed at Paules croſſe by the preacher, which was the biſhop of Rocheſter, and there it was broken and plucked in peeces.

Rood of grace ſhewed at Paules.

The fiue and twentith of Februarie, ſir Ihon Allen prieſt, and alſo an Iriſh gentleman of the Garets were hanged & quartered at Tiburne. The ſecond of March, the image of the rood, called ſaint Sauior at Bermonſeie abbeie in Southworke, was taken downe by the kings commandement. The one and twentith of March, Henrie Harſam cuſtomer of Plimmouth, and Thomas Ewell, were hanged and quartered at Tiburne.] In Maie a frier obſeruant called frier Forreſt was apprehended, for that he was knowne in ſecret confeſſions to haue declared to manie of the kings liege people, that the king was not ſupreame head of the church, where he had by his oth neuertheleſſe affirmed him ſo to be. Wherupon in his examination, that point being laid to his charge, he anſwered that he tooke his oth with his outward man, but his inward man neuer conſented therevnto. But being further accuſed of diuerſe hereticall and damnable opinions that he held & mainteined contrarie to the ſcripture, at length being not able to defend the ſame, he ſubmitted himſelfe to the puniſhment of the church.

Saint Sauior in Southworke.

Anno Reg.30. Frier Forreſt.

Now when vpon this his ſubmiſſion, hauing more libertie than before he had to talke with whome he would, and other hauing libertie to talke with him, he was incenſed by ſome ſuch as had conference with him, that when his formall abiuration was ſent him to read and peruſe, he vtterlie refuſed it, and obſtinatelie ſtood in all his hereſies and treaſons. Wherevpon he was condemned, & afterwards on a paire of new gallowes prepared for him in Smithfield, he was hanged by the middle and armeholes all quicke, and vnder the gallowes was made a fire wherewith he was conſumed and burnt to death. There were diuerſe of the councell preſent at his death readie to haue granted him pardon, if anie ſparke of repentance would haue appeared in him. There was alſo a pulpit prepared, in which that renowmed preacher Hugh Latimer, then biſhop of Worceſter, by manifeſt ſcriptures confuted the friers errors, and with manie godlie exhortations moued him to repentance, but he would neither heare nor ſpeake.

Frier Forreſt burnt.

A little before the execution, an huge and great image was brought to the gallowes. This image was fetched out of Wales, which the Welſhmen had in great reuerence: and it was named Daruell Gatheren. They had a propheſie in Wales, that this image ſhould ſet a whole foreſt on fire, which propheſie was now thought to take effect, for he ſet this frier Forreſt on fire, and conſumed him to nothing. The frier when he ſaw the fire come, caught hold on the ladder, which he would not let go, but in that ſort vnpatientlie tooke his death, ſo as if one might iudge him by his outward man, he appeared (ſaith Hall) to haue ſmall knowledge of God, and leſſe truſt in him at his ending: otherwiſe he would haue beene perſuaded to patience, and a chriſtian farewell to the world. ¶ Vpon the gallows that he died on, was ſet vp in great letters theſe verſes here following:

A propheſie.

Ric.Graf.in fol.pag.1237.

Dauid Daruell Gatheren,
As ſaith the Welſhmen,
Fetched outlawes out of hell:
Now is he come with ſpeare and ſhield,
In harneſſe to burne in Smithfield,
For in Wales he maie not dwell.

And Forreſt the frier,
That obſtinate lier,
That wilfullie ſhall be dead:
In his contumacie,
The goſpell dooth denie,
The king to be ſupreme head.]

In Julie was Edmund Cuningſbie atteinted of treaſon, for counterfeiting the kings ſigne manuell, and in Auguſt was Edward Clifford for the ſame cauſe atteinted, and both put to execution as traitors at Tiburne. In September by the ſpeciall motion of the Lord Cromwell, all the notable images, vnto the which were made anie eſpeciall pilgrimages and offerings, were vtterlie taken awaie, as the images of Walſingham, Ipſwich, Worceſter, the ladie of Wilſdon, with manie other, and likewiſe the ſhrines of counterfeit ſaints, as that of Thomas Becket, and others. And euen forthwith, by meanes of the ſaid Cromwell, all the orders of friers and nuns, with their cloiſters and houſes, were ſuppreſſed and put downe. ¶ As for the images of our ladie of Walſingham, and Ipſwich, were brought vp to London, with all the iewels that hoong about them, and diuerſe other images both in England & Wales, wherevnto anie common pilgrimage was vſed, for auoiding of idolatrie, all which were burnt at Chelſie by the lord priuie ſeale.

Execution.

Certeine images takē away and remooued from their places.

Ab.Fl.ex I.S. pag.1013.

On the firſt of September being ſundaie, one Gratnell hangman of London and two other were hanged at the wreſtling place by Clearken well, for robbing a booth in Bartholomew faire, at which execution were aboue twentie thouſand people, as Edward Hall himſelfe (then a preſent beholder) iudged. This moneth of September, Thomas Cromwell lord priuie ſeale, vicegerent to the kings highneſſe, ſent forth iniunctions to all biſhops & curats through the realme, charging them to ſee that in euery pariſh church, the bible of the largeſt volume, printed in Engliſh, were placed for all men to read on: and that a booke of regiſter were alſo prouided and kept in euerie pariſh church, wherein ſhall be written euerie wedding, chriſtening, and burieng, within the ſame pariſh for euer.

Hangman hanged.

The bible in euerie church to be read.

Regiſter booke in euerie church to be kept.

Saint Auguſtines abbeie at Canturburie was ſuppreſſed, and the ſhrine & goods taken to the kings treaſurie, as alſo the ſhrine of Thomas Becket in the priorie of Chriſts church was likewiſe taken to the kings vſe, and his bones, ſcull and all, which was there found, with a peece broken out by the wound of his death, were all burnt in the ſame church by the lord Cromwell. The monks there were commanded to change their habits, &c. The one and twentith of October, the church of Thomas Becket in London called the hoſpitall of ſaint Thomas of Acres was ſuppreſſed. Nicholas Gibſon groſer, for this yeare ſhiriffe of London, builded a free ſchoole at Ratcliffe, neere vnto London, appointing to the ſame, for the inſtruction of threeſcore poore mens children, a ſchoolemaſter and vſher, with a ſtipend of ten pounds by the yere to the maſter, and ſix pounds thirteene ſhillings foure pence to the vſher. He alſo builded there certeine almes houſes for fourteene poore and aged perſons, who quarterlie receiue ſix ſhillings eight pence a peece for euer.]

Thomas Becket burnt.

Free ſchoole and almes houſes at Ratcliffe.

In this ſeaſon ſute was made to the king by the emperour, to take to wife the ducheſſe of Millan: but ſhortlie after that ſute brake off, bicauſe (as was thought) the emperours councell ment by a cautell to haue brought the king in mind to ſue for a licence of the pope. Then the duke of Cleue began to ſue to the king, that it would pleaſe him to match with his ſiſter the ladie Anne, which after tooke effect. In Nouember, one John Nicholſon, otherwiſe called Lam-

John Nicholſon alias Lambert.

bert, a prieſt, was accuſed of hereſie, for holding opinion againſt the bodilie preſence in the ſacrament of the altar. He appealed to the kings maieſtie, who fauourablie conſented to heare him at a daie appointed, againſt which daie, in the kings palace at Weſtminſter, within the kings hall, there was ſet vp a throne or ſeat roiall for the king, with ſcaffolds for all the lords, and a ſtage for Nicholſon to ſtand vpon.

The marques of Exceſter condemned.

This Nicholſon was eſteemed to be a man well learned, but that daie he vttered no ſuch knowledge (ſaith Hall) as was thought to be in a man of that eſtimation. Diuerſe arguments were miniſtred to him by the biſhops, but namelie the king preſſed him ſore, and in the end offered him pardon if he would renounce his opinion: but he would not conſent thereto, and therefore he was there condemned, and had iudgement, and ſo ſhortlie after he was drawne into Smithfield, and there burnt to aſhes. The third of Nouember, Henrie Courtnie marques of Exceſter and earle of Deuonſhire, Henrie Poole lord Montacute, and ſir Edward Neuill brother to the lord Aburgauennie, were ſent to the tower, being accuſed by ſir Geffrie Poole, brother to the lord Montacute, of high treaſon. They were indicted for deuiſing to mainteine, promote, & aduance one Reginald Poole, late deane of Exceſter, enimie to the king beyond the ſea, & to depriue the king. The marques, and the lord Montacute were arreigned the laſt of December at Weſtminſter before the lord Audleie that was chancellor, and for that preſent time high ſteward of England, and there they found him giltie.

I. Stow. pag. 1019.

Frieries ſuppreſſed.

Bloud of Hales ſhewed at Pauls croſſe.

Anabaptiſts.

The third daie after were arreigned ſir Edward Neuill, ſir Geffreie Poole, two prieſts called Crofts and Collins, & one Holland a mariner, & all atteinted. ¶ The ſixteenth of Nouember, was the blacke friers in London ſuppreſſed, the next daie the white friers, the graie friers, and the moonks of the Charterhouſe, and ſo all the other immediatlie. The foure and twentith of Nouember, the biſhop of Rocheſter preached at Paules croſſe, & there ſhewed the bloud of Hales, and affirmed the ſame to be no bloud, but honie clarified, and coloured with ſaffron, as it had beene euidentlie prooued before the king and his councell. Alſo foure anabaptiſts, three men, and one woman, all Dutch, bare fagots at Paules croſſe the ſame daie. The ninteenth of Nouember, a man and a woman Dutch anabaptiſts, were burnt in Smithfield.]

1539

The lord marques executed.

Sir Nicholas Carew executed.

The ninth of Ianuarie, the lord marques, and the lord Montacute, with ſir Edward Neuill loſt their heads on the Tower hill. The two prieſts and Holland were drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged and quartered. Sir Geffreie Poole had his pardon. ¶ On Aſhwedneſdaie, Iohn Ihons, Iohn Potter, & William Manering, were hanged in the princes liueries (bicauſe they were the princes ſeruants) on the ſouthſide of Paules chuchyard, for killing Roger Cholmeleie eſquier in that place, of malice prepenſed. The third of March, ſir Nicholas Carew of Bedington in the countie of Surrie knight of the garter, and maiſter of the kings horſſe, condemned before of treaſon, was beheaded on the Tower hill, where he made a godlie confeſſion, both of his fault, and ſuperſtitious faith, giuing God thanks, for that his hap was to be priſoner in the Tower, where he firſt ſauored the pleaſant taſt of Gods holie word, meaning the bible in Engliſh, which there he read by the exhortation of one Thomas Philips then keeper of that priſon, and ſometime a citizen and point-maker of London, who had beene in ſome trouble for religion, and examined before doctor Stokeſlie biſhop of London, and ſir Thomas More, but through his wiſe demeanor and mild anſwers, he eſcaped their hands.

Creation of new officers.

Bulworks & blockhouſes builded.

Anno Reg. 31. A parlement. Atteindors.

Execution.

The ninth of March, the king created ſir William Paulet knight treaſuror of his houſe, lord ſaint Iohn, and ſir Iohn Ruſſell comptrollor of his houſhold, lord Ruſſell. Alſo either then or ſhortlie after, was ſir William Par created lord Par. The new abbeie of white moonks at the Tower hill, and the Minories, nuns without Algate, were ſuppreſſed on the laſt of March. The ſame time the king cauſed all the hauens to be fenſed with bulworks, and blockehouſes, and riding to Douer, he tooke order to haue bulworks made alongſt the ſea coaſts, and ſent commiſſion to haue generall muſters made through the realme. Moreouer on Eaſter daie there were threeſcore ſaile diſcouered that laie in the Downes, and for that it was neither knowne what they were, nor what they intended to doo, all the able men in Kent roſe and muſtered in armour the ſame daie. The eight and twentith of Aprill began a parlement at Weſtminſter, in the which Margaret counteſſe of Saliſburie, Gertrude wife to the marques of Exceſter, Reginald Poole cardinall, brother vnto the lord Montacute, ſir Adrian Foſkew, & Thomas Dingleie knight of ſaint Iohns, and diuerſe other were atteinted of high treaſon, which Foſkew and Dingleie the tenth of Iulie were beheaded.

The ſtatute of the ſix articles, An inqueſt of inquirie.

The extreme proceeding in execution of the ſix articles.

In this parlement the act of the ſix articles was eſtabliſhed. Of ſome it was named the bloodie ſtatute, as it prooued indeed to manie. And euen ſhortlie after the making thereof, when the firſt inqueſt for inquirie of the offendors of the ſame ſtatute ſat in London at the mercers chappell, thoſe that were of that inqueſt were ſo choſen foorth for the purpoſe, as there was not one amongſt them that wiſhed not to haue the ſaid ſtatute put in execution to the vttermoſt, inſomuch that they were not contented onelie to inquire of thoſe that offended in the ſix articles conteined in that ſtatute, but alſo they deuiſed to inquire of certeine branches (as they tooke the matter) belonging to the ſame, as of thoſe that came ſeldome to heare maſſe, that held not vp their hands at the ſacring time, who tooke no holie bread nor holie water, who vſed to read the bible in churches, or in communication ſeemed to deſpiſe preeſts, or images in the churches, &c. To conclude, they inquired ſo diligentlie of them that had ſo offended in anie of thoſe articles or the branches, that they indicted & preſented to the number of fiue hundred perſons and aboue, ſo that if the king had not granted his pardon, for that he was informed by the lord Audleie then lord chancellor that they were indicted of malice, a great manie of them which alreadie were in priſon, had died for it in Smithfield, in frieng a faggot. But although the king at that preſent granted his gratious pardon, and forgaue all thoſe offenſes: yet afterwards, during the time that this ſtatute ſtood in force, which was for the ſpace of eight yeares inſuing, they brought manie an honeſt and ſimple perſon to death. For ſuch was the rigor of that law, that if two witneſſes, true or falſe, had accuſed anie, and aduouched that they had ſpoken againſt the ſacrament, there was no waie but death; for it booted him not to confeſſe that his faith was contrarie, or that he ſaid not as the accuſers reported, for the witneſſes (for the moſt part) were beleeued.

Prouiſion for defenſe of the realme.

The king being informed that the pope by inſtigation of cardinall Poole, had mooued and ſtirred diuers great princes and potentats of chriſtendome to inuade the realme of England; without all delaie rode himſelfe toward the ſea coaſts, and ſent diuerſe of his nobles and councellors to ſurueie all the ports and places of danger on the coaſt, where anie meet and conuenient landing place might be doubted, as well in the borders of England, as alſo of Wales: in which dangerous places he cauſed bulworks and forts to be erected. And further, he cauſed the lord admerall earle of Southampton to prepare in a readineſſe his nauie of ſhips, for defenſe of the coaſts. Beſide this, he ſent forth commiſſions to haue generall muſters taken through the realme, to vnderſtand what number of able men he might make account of: and further to haue the armor and weapons ſéene and viewed. Nothing left he vndoone that tended to the foreſéeing and preuenting of a miſchiefe to inſue, which in a prince is counted a vertue, becauſe ſuch prouidence and circumſpection is reputed no leſſe in a priuat & ordinarie man, as the poet Plautus ſaith;

Virtus eſt, vbi occaſio admonet, diſpicere.

Sir William Forman knight, at that preſent maior of London, was commanded to certifie the names of all the able men within the citie and liberties thereof, betwéene the ages of thrée ſcore and of ſixtéene, with the number of armors and weapons of all kinds of ſorts. Wherevpon the ſaid maior and his brethren ech one in his ward, by the oth of the common councell and conſtable, tooke the number of men, armor, and weapons. And after well conſidering of the matter, by view of their bookes, they thought it not expedient to admit the whole number certified for apt and able men: and therefore aſſembling themſelues againe, they choſe forth the moſt able perſons, and put by the reſidue, ſpeciallie ſuch as had no armor, nor for whom anie could be prouided. But when they were crediblie aduertiſed by Thomas Cromwell lord priuie ſeale (to whome the citie was greatlie beholden) that the king himſelfe would ſée the people of the citie muſter in a conuenient number, and not to ſet forth all their power, but to leaue ſome at home to kéepe the citie; then eftſoons euerie alderman repaired to his ward, and there put aſide all ſuch as had iacks, cotes of plate of maile, and brigandines, and appointed none but ſuch as had white armor, except ſuch as ſhould beare moriſh pikes, which ware no armor but ſculles, and there was no ſtranger (although he were a deniſine) permitted to be in this muſter.

Preparation in London for a muſter to be made and ſhewed before the king.

Euerie man being of anie abilitie, prouided himſelfe a cote of white ſilke, and garniſhed their baſenets with turues like caps of ſilke, ſet with owches, furniſhed with chaines of gold and feathers, or cauſed their armor to be guilt, and likewiſe their halberds and pollaxes. Some, and eſpeciallie certeine goldſmiths, had their whole armor of ſiluer bullion. The lord maior, the recorder, the aldermen, and euerie other officer beſide were gorgeouſlie trimmed, as for their degrées was thought ſéemelie. The maior had ſixtéene tall fellowes on foot attending on him with guilt halberds, apparelled in white ſilke doublets, and their hoſe and ſhooes were likewiſe white, cut after the Almaine guiſe, pounſed and puiled out with red ſarſenet: their ierkins were of white leather cut, and chains about their necks, with feathers and brooches in their caps. The recorder and euerie alderman had about him foure halberders trimmed alſo in warlike ſort. The chamberleine of the citie, the councellors & aldermens deputies were appointed to be wiflers on horſſebacke, which aloft on their armor ware white damaſke cotes, mounted on good horſſes well trapped, with great chaines about their necks, and proper iauelins or battell axes in their hands, and caps of veluet richlie trimmed.

The wiflers.

The wiflers on foot, being in number foure hundred proper light perſons, were clad in white ierkins of leather cut, with white hoſe and ſhooes, euerie man with a iauelin or ſlaughſword in his hands, to kéepe the people in arraie. They had chaines about their necks, and fethers in their caps. The minſtrels were in white, with the armes of the citie, and ſo was euerie other perſon at this muſter without anie diuerſitie; the lord maior, recorder, and aldermen, onelie excepted, who had croſſes of veluet or ſatin pirled with gold. The ſtandard bearers were the talleſt men of euerie ward, for whome were made thirtie new ſtandards of the deuiſe of the citie, beſide baners. Euerie alderman muſtred his own ward in the fields, to ſée that euerie man were in furniture prouided as was requiſite.

The minſtrels.

Euerie alderman with his ward in order of battell.

The eight of Maie being the daie appointed for to ſhew themſelues before the king, euerie alderman in order of battell with thoſe of his ward came into the fields at Mile end, and then all the gunners ſeuered themſelues into one place, the pikes into another, and the archers into an other, and likewiſe the bilmen, and there caſt themſelues in rings, and other formes of battell, which was a beautifull ſight to behold: for all the fields from white Chapell to Mile end, and from Bednall gréene to Ratcliffe & Stepnie, were all couered with armour, men, and weapons, and eſpeciallie the battell of pikes ſéemed to be as it had béene a great forreſt. Then was euerie part diuided into thrée battels, a for-ward, a midle-ward, and a rere-ward.

The order of the Londoners in their muſters.

About ſeauen of the clocke marched forward the light péeces of ordinance, with ſtone and powder. After them followed the drums and fifes, and immediatlie after them a guidon of the armes of the citie. Then followed maſter Sadler capteine of the gunners on horſſebacke armed, and in a cote of veluet, with a chaine of gold, and foure halberders about him apparelled as before is recited. Then followed the gunners foure in a ranke, euerie one going fiue foot in ſunder, which ſhot altogither in diuerſe places verie liuelie, and in ſpeciallie before the kings maieſtie, which at that time ſat in his new gatehouſe at his palace of Weſtminſter, where he viewed all the whole companie. In like maner paſſed the other companies of all the thrée battels in good and ſéemelie order. The foremoſt capteine at nine of the clocke in the morning, by the little conduit came and entered into Paules churchyard, and from thenſe directlie to Weſtminſter, and ſo through the ſanctuarie, and round about the parke of S. James, and vp into the field, comming home through Holborne, and as the firſt capteine entered againe to the little conduit, the laſt of the muſter entered Paules churchyard, which was then about foure of the clocke in the afternoone. The number, beſide the wiflers, and of other waiters was fiftéene thouſand.

The king taketh view of the Londoners in their muſters.

The number of Londoners in this muſter.

John Stow.

Vicar of wandſworth and other executed.

¶ The eight of Julie, Griffith Clearke, vicar of Wandſworth, with his chapleine and his ſeruant, & frier Waire, were all foure hanged and quartered at S. Thomas Waterings. The tenth of Julie ſir Adrian Forteſcue, and Thomas Dingleie were beheaded. The ninth of September, the nunnerie of Clerkenwell and diuerſe others were ſuppreſſed.] This yeare the ſixtéenth of September came to London duke Frederike of Bauiere, the Palſgraue of the Rhine, and the eightéenth of the ſame moneth came to London the marſhall of Hans Frederike prince elector of Saxonie, and the chancellor of William duke of Cleue, Gulicke, Gelderland, and Berghen. The Palſgraue was receiued and conducted to Windſore by the duke of Suffolke, and the other were accompanied with other noble men, and the thrée and twentith of the ſame moneth they all came to Windſore, where eight daies togither they were continuallie feaſted, and had paſtime ſhewed them, in hunting and other pleaſures, ſo much as might be. The Palſegraue ſhortlie after departed homewards and was princelie rewarded, & at that preſent was the marriage concluded betwixt the king and the ladie Anne, ſiſter vnto duke William of Cleue,

Clerkenwell and other ſuppreſſed.

The Palſgraue & other ſtrangers come ouer into England.

The mariage concluded betwixt king Henrie & the ladie Anne Cleue.

and

I.Stow, pag. 1016.

Thom. Huntlow his charitie.

& great preparation was made for the receiuing of hir. ¶ The twelfe of October the nunnerie of Haliwell, & forthwith the priorie of S. Marie oueries in Southworke, and S. Bartholomews in Smithfield, were ſuppreſſed, & all their lands & goods taken to the kings vſe. Thomas Huntlow of London for this yeare ſhiriffe, gaue the habardaſhers certeine tenements, for the which they be bound to giue to ten poore almes people of the ſame companie, euerie one of them eight pence euerie fridaie for euer: and alſo at euerie quarter dinner kept by the maſters, to be giuen to euerie one of thoſe ten poore people a penie loafe, a pottell of ale, a peece of beefe worth foure pence in a platter, with porage, and foure pence in monie.]

The fourteenth of Nouember, Hugh Feringdon abbat of Reding, and two prieſts, the one called Rug, and the other Onion, attainted of high treaſon for deniеng the ſupremacie of the king ouer the church of England, were drawne, hanged, and quartered at Reding. The ſame daie was Richard Whiting abbat of Glaſtenburie likewiſe hanged and quartered on Towre hill beſide his monaſterie, for the ſame matter and other treaſons whereof he had beene conuicted. The firſt of December was Iohn Bech abbat of Colcheſter put to death for the like offenſe. In December were appointed to wait on the kings perſon fiftie gentlemen called penſioners, or ſpeares, vnto whome was aſſigned the ſum of fiftie pounds yeerelie a peece, for the maintenance of themſelues and two horſſes, or one horſſe and a gelding of ſeruice.

Penſioners inſtituted.

Ladie Anne of Cleue is receiued into Calis.

The eleuenth daie of December at the turne pike on this ſide Graueling, was the ladie Anne of Cleue receiued by the lord deputie of the towne of Calis, and with the ſpeares and horſſemen belonging to the retinue there. When ſhe came within little more than a mile of the towne of Calis, ſhe was met by the erle of Southampton high admerall of England, who had in his companie thirtie gentlemen of the kings houſhold, as ſir Francis Brian, ſir Thomas Seimer, and others, beſide a great number of gentlemen of his owne retinue clad in blue veluet, and crimſin ſatin, and his yeomen in damaſke of the ſame colours. The mariners of his ſhip were apparelled in ſatin of Bridges, cotes & ſlops of the ſame colour. The lord admerall brought hir into Calis by Lanterne gate. There was ſuch a peale of ordinance ſhot off at hir entrie, as was maruellous to the hearers. The maior preſented hir with an hundred markes in gold, the merchants of the ſtaple with an hundred ſouereignes of gold in a rich purſe. She was lodged in the kings place called the Checker, and there ſhe laie fifteene daies for want of proſperous wind.

She landeth in Kent.

During which time, goodlie iuſts and coſtlie bankets were made to hir, for hir ſolace and recreation. And on S. Iohns daie in Chriſtmaſſe, ſhe with fiftie ſaile tooke paſſage about noone, and landed at Dele in the Downes about fiue of the clocke, where ſir Thomas Chenie lord Warden of the ports receiued hir. She taried there a certeine ſpace in a caſtell newlie built, and thither came the duke of Suffolke, and the dutches of Suffolke, and the biſhop of Chicheſter with a great number of knights and eſquiers, and ladies of Kent and other, which welcomed hir grace, and brought hir that night vnto Douer caſtell, where ſhe reſted till mondaie, on which daie (notwithſtanding it was verie foule and ſtormie weather) ſhe paſſed towards Canturburie, and on Baram downe met hir the archbiſhop of Canturburie, with the biſhops of Elie, S. Aſſe, S. Dauies, and Douer, and ſo brought hir to S. Auguſtins without Canturburie, where ſhe laie that night. The next daie ſhe came to Sittingburne, and laie there that night. As ſhe paſſed towards Rocheſter on Newyeares euen, on Reinam downe met hir the duke of Norffolke, and the lord Dacres of the ſouth, and the lord Montioie, with a great companie of knights and eſquiers of Norffolke and Suffolke, with the barons of the eſcheker which brought hir to Rocheſter, where ſhe laie in the palace all Newyeares daie. On which daie, the king (longing to ſee hir) accompanied with no more but eight perſons of his priuie chamber, both he and they all apparelled in marble cotes, priuilie comming to Rocheſter, ſuddenlie came to hir preſence, wherof at the firſt ſhe was ſomewhat aſtonied, but after he had ſpoken to hir and welcomed hir, ſhe with louing countenance and gratious behauiour him receiued, and welcomed him on hir knees, whom he gentlie tooke vp and kiſſed, and all that after noone communed and deuiſed with hir, ſupped that night with hir, and the next daie he departed to Greenewich, and ſhe came forward to Dartford.

1540

The king commeth to ſee hir at Rocheſter.

On the morrow the third daie of Ianuarie being ſaturdaie, in a faire plaine of Blackeheath, more neere to the foot of Shooters hill, than the aſcendent of the ſame, called Blackheath hill, was pitched a pauilion of rich cloth of gold, and diuerſe other tents and pauilions, in which were made fiers and perfumes for hir and ſuch ladies as were appointed to receiue hir: and from the tents to the parke gate of Greenewich, all the buſhes and firs were cut downe, and a large open waie made for the ſhew of all perſons. And firſt next to the parke pale on the eaſt ſide ſtood the merchants of the Stilliard, and on the weſt ſide ſtood the merchants of Genoa, Florence and Venice, and the Spaniards in cotes of veluet. Then on both ſides the waie ſtood the merchants of the citie of London, and the aldermen, with the councellors of the ſaid citie, to the number of a hundred and threeſcore which were mingled with the eſquiers; then the fiftie gentlemen penſioners: and all theſe were apparelled in veluet and chaines of gold, trulie accounted to the number of twelue hundred & aboue, beſide them that came with the king and hir, which were ſix hundred in veluet cotes and chaines of gold. Behind the gentlemen ſtood the ſeruingmen in good order well horſſed and apparelled, that who ſo euer had well viewed them, might haue ſaid, that they for tall and comelie perſonages, and cleane of lim and bodie, were able to giue the greateſt prince in chriſtendome a mortall breakefaſt, if he had beene the kings enimie.

The order of receiuing hir on Blackeheath.

About twelue of the clocke, hir grace with all the companie which were of hir owne nation, to the number of an hundred horſſe, accompanied with the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and other biſhops, lords, and knights, which had receiued and conueied hir, came downe Shooters hill towards the tents, and a good ſpace from the tents met hir the earle of Rutland appointed lord chamberlaine to hir grace, ſir Thomas Deniſe hir chancellor, and all hir councellors and officers, amongſt whome doctor Daie (appointed to be hir almoner) made to hir an eloquent oration in Latine, preſenting to hir on the kings behalfe all the officers and ſeruants: which oration was anſwered vnto by the duke hir brothers ſecretarie, there being preſent: which doone the ladie Margaret Dowglas, daughter to the queene of Scots, the ladie marqueſſe Dorſſet, daughter to the French queene, being neeces to the king, and the dutches of Ritchmond the counteſſes of Rutland and Hereford, with diuers other ladies and gentlewomen, to the number of threeſcore and fiue, ſaluted and welcomed hir grace, who alighted out of hir chariot in the which ſhe had rid all hir long iournie, and with courteous demeanor

The ladies that receiued hir on Blackeheath.

and

& louing countenance, gaue to them hartie thanks, and kiſſed them all, and after all hir councellors and officers kiſſed hir hand: which doone, ſhe with all the ladies entered the tents, and there warmed them a ſpace.

When the king knew that ſhe was arriued in hir tent, he with all diligence ſet out through the parke. And firſt iſſued the kings trumpets, then the kings officers ſworne of his councell, next after came the gentlemen of his priuie chamber, after them followed barons, the yoongeſt firſt, and ſir William Hollis lord maior of London rode with the lord Par that was the yoongeſt baron. Then followed the biſhops, and immediatlie after them the earles, and then the duke of Bauiere, and countie Palatine of the Rhine, with the liuerie of the Toiſon or golden fléece about his necke.

Then came the ambaſſadours of the French king and emperour, next to whome followed the lord priuie ſeale lord Cromwell, and the lord chancellour, then Garter king at armes, and the other officers and ſargeants of armes gaue their attendance on each ſide the lord. The lord marqueſſe Dorſet bare the ſword of eſtate, and after him a good diſtance followed the kings highneſſe, mounted on a goodlie courſer. To ſpeake of the rich and gorgeous apparell that was there to be ſéene that daie, I haue thought it not greatlie neceſſarie, ſith each man may well thinke it was right ſumptuous, and as the time then ſerued, verie faire and coſtlie, as they that are deſirous to vnderſtand the ſame may read in maiſter Halles chronicle more at large, which in this part I haue thought good to abridge.

The kings maieſtie on horſſebacke.

After the king followed the lord chamberleine, then came ſir Anthonie Browne maiſter of his horſſes, a goodlie gentleman, and of perſonage verie ſéemelie, richlie mounted, & leading the kings horſſe of eſtate by a long reine of gold. Then followed his pages of honour riding on great courſers, and laſtlie followed ſir Anthonie Wingfield capteine of the gard, and then the gard well horſſed, and in their rich cotes. In this order rode the king till he came to the laſt end of the ranke of the penſioners, & there euerie perſon that came with him placed himſelfe on the one ſide or the other, the king ſtanding in the middeſt.

who followed the king.

When hir grace vnderſtood that the king was come, ſhe came forth of hir tent, and at the doore thereof, being ſet on a faire and beautifull horſſe richlie trapped, ſhe rode forth towards the king, who perceiuing hir to approch, came forward ſomewhat beyond the croſſe on Blackheath, and there ſtaied till ſhe came néerer, & then putting off his cap, he made forward to hir, and with moſt louing countenance and princelie behauiour ſaluted, welcomed, and imbraced hir, to the great reioiſing of the beholders: and ſhe likewiſe not forgetting hir dutie, with moſt amiable aſpect and womanlie behauiour receiued him with manie apt words and thanks, as was moſt to purpoſe. Whileſt they were thus talking togither, the fiftie penſioners with the gard departed to furniſh the hall at Gréenewich. After the king had talked with hir a ſmall while, he put hir on his right hand, and ſo with their footmen they rode togither, and with their companies being thus met, returned in this manner through the rankes of the knights and eſquiers (which ſtood ſtill all this while and remooued not.)

The méeting of the king & the ladie Anne of Cleue on Blackeheath.

Firſt hir trumpets ſet forward being twelue in number, beſide two ketle drums on horſſebacke; then followed the kings trumpeters, then the kings councellors, then the gentlemen of the priuie chamber, after them the gentlemen of hir graces countrie in cotes of veluet, and all on great horſſes. Then the maior of London with the yoongeſt baron, then all the barons: next them the biſhops, then the earles, with whom rode the earles of Ouerſtein and Waldec hir countrimen, then the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke; and the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and duke Philip of Bauier: next followed the ambaſſadors, then the lord priuie ſeale, and the lord chancellor, then the lord marqueſſe Dorſet that bare the ſword: next followed the king himſelfe equallie riding with the ladie Anne, and behind him rode ſir Anthonie Browne with the kings horſſe of eſtate, as yée haue heard, and behind him rode ſir John Dudleie maiſter of hir horſſes, leading hir ſpare horſſe trapped in rich tiſſue downe to the ground; after them followed henxmen and pages of honor.

The kings trumpets and the ladie Anne of Cléues.

The king and the ladie Anne ride togither.

Then followed the ladie Margaret Dowglas, the ladie marqueſſe Dorſet, the dutches of Richmond and Suffolke, the counteſſes of Rutland and Hertford, and other counteſſes. Then came hir chariot in which ſhe had rid all hir iournie, well carued and gilt with the armes of hir countrie curiouſlie wrought & couered with cloth of gold, all the horſſes were trapped with blacke veluet, and on them rode pages of honor, in which chariot rode two ancient ladies of hir countrie: next after the chariot, followed ſix ladies and gentlewomen of hir countrie verie beautifull and richlie apparelled, and with them rode ſix ladies of England. Then followed an other chariot, gilt and furniſhed, then ten Engliſh ladies, and next them an other chariot couered with blacke cloth, and therein rode foure gentlewomen that were hir chamberers. Then followed all the remnant of the ladies, gentlewomen and damoſels in great number: and laſt of all came an other chariot all blacke, with thrée launders apperteining to hir grace; next after followed an horſlitter of cloth of gold and crimſin veluet vpon veluet paled, with horſſes trapt accordinglie, which the king had ſent to hir. Then followed the ſeruingmen of hir traine, all clothed in blacke, mounted on great horſſes, euerie one in due place and decent order, ſo that it was verie magnificall and more than princelie brauerie that then was exhibited to the beholders eies, as the poet ſaith:

Hir chariot wherein ſhe rode all hir iourneie.

Cernitur hîc pluſquam regia pompa comes.

In this order they rode through the rankes and through the parke, till they came at the late friers wall, where all men alighted except the king, the two maiſters of the horſſe, and the henxmen, which rode to the hall doore, & the ladies rode to the court gate, & as they paſſed, they might behold on the wharfe, how the citizens of London were rowing vp and downe on the Thames right before them, euerie craft with his barge garniſhed with banners, flags, ſtreamers, pencels, and targets, painted and beaten with the kings armes, ſome with hir armes, and ſome with the armes of their craft and myſterie.

There was alſo a barge called the bachellors barks, richlie decked, on the which waited a foiſt that ſhot great péeces of artillerie, and in euerie barge was great ſtore of inſtruments of diuerſe ſorts, and men and children ſinging and plaieng altogither, as the king and the ladie Anne paſſed by on the wharfe. When the king and ſhe were within the vtter court, they alighted from their horſſes, and the king louinglie imbraced hir, kiſſed hir, & bad hir welcome to hir owne, leading hir by the left arme through the hall, which was furniſhed beneath the harth with the gard and aboue the harth with the fiftie penſioners, with their battell axes; and ſo the king brought hir vp to hir priuie chamber, where he left hir for that time. Aſſoone as the king and ſhe were entered the court, a great peale of artillerie was ſhot off from the tower of Gréenwich, and there about.

The king welcommeth hir to Gréenwich.

When the kings companie and hirs were once come within the parke(as before yée haue heard)then all the horſſemen on Blackeheath brake their araie, and had licence to depart to London or otherwhere to their lodgings.

The mariage is ſolemnized betwixt king Henrie & the ladie Anne of Cleue.

On the tueſdaie following, being the daie of the Epiphanie, the mariage was ſolemnized betwixt the king and the ſaid ladie. She was fetched from hir chamber by the lords, ſo that ſhe going betwéene the earle of Ouerſteine, and the grand maſter Hoſconder, which had the conduct and order to ſée the mariage performed, ſhe paſſed through the kings chamber & all the lords before hir, till ſhée came into the gallerie, where the king was readie, ſtaieng for hir, to whom ſhe made thrée low obeiſances and courteſies. Then the archbiſhop of Canturburie receiued them, and married them togither, and the earle of Ouerſteine did giue hir. When the mariage was celebrate they went hand in hand into the kings cloſet, and there hearing maſſe, offered their tapers, and after Maſſe was ended, they had wine and ſpices. And that doone, the king departed to his chamber, and all the ladies waited on hir to hir chamber, the duke of Norffolke going on hir right hand, and the duke of Suffolke on hir left.

After nine of the clocke, the king hauing ſhifted his apparell, came to his cloſet, & ſhe likewiſe in hir haire, & in the ſame apparell ſhe was married in ſhe came to hir cloſet with hir ſargeant at armes, & all hir officers before hir like a quéene, & ſo the king and ſhe went openlie in proceſſion, and offered and dined togither. After they had ſupped togither, there were bankets and maſkes, and diuerſe diſports ſhewed, till time came, that it pleaſed the king and hir to take reſt. On the ſundaie after were kept ſolemne iuſts, which greatlie contented the ſtrangers. This daie ſhe was apparelled after the Engliſh manner, with a French hood, which became hir excéeding well. When the earle of Ouerſteine and the other lords and ladies which had giuen their attendance on hir grace all that iourneie, had béene highlie feaſted and interteined of the king and other of the nobles, they tooke leaue, and had great gifts giuen to them, both in monie and plate, and ſo returned toward their countrie, leauing behind them the erle of Waldecke, and diuerſe gentlemen and damoſels to remaine with hir, till ſhe were better acquainted in the realme.

Iuſts and tornements.

The king and the ladie Anne remooue to weſtminſter.

The fourth of Februarie, the king and ſhe remooued to Weſtminſter by water, on whome the lord maior & his brethren, with twelue of the chéefe companies of the citie, all in barges gorgeouſlie garniſhed with baners, penons, and targets, richlie couered, and furniſhed with inſtruments, ſwéetlie ſounding, gaue their attendance: and by the waie, all the ſhips ſhot off, and likewiſe from the tower, a great peale of ordinance went off luſtilie. The twelfe of Februarie, the duke of Norffolke was ſent in ambaſſage to the French king, of whome he was well interteined, and in the end of the ſame moneth he returned againe into England.

The duke of Norffolke ambaſſador into France.

S. Marie Oueries made a pariſh church.

After Chriſtmas, the priorie church of S. Marie Oueris in Southworke was purchaſed of the king by the inhabitants of the Borow, D. Gardener biſhop of Wincheſter putting to his helping hand: they made thereof a pariſh church, and the little church of Marie Magdalen ioining to the ſame priorie, was made all one church, and ſaint Margarets in Southworke a pariſh, was admitted to the ſame pariſh.

John Stow.

Erle of Eſſex deceaſſed.

Earle of Oxford deceaſſed.

¶The twelfe of March, Henrie Bourcher erle of Eſſer riding a yoong horſſe, was caſt, & brake his necke, at his manour in Eſſex: he was the eldeſt earle in England. The nintéenth of March, Iohn Vere erle of Oxford, high chamberleine of England, deceaſſed at his manour in Eſſex. The tenth of Aprill, ſir William Peterſon prieſt, late commiſſarie of Calis, and ſir William Richardſon prieſt of S. Maries in Calis, were both there drawne, hanged, and quartered in the market place for demeng obſtinatelie the kings ſupremacie.]

Prieſts at Calis executed.

D. Barnes.

The third ſundaie in Lent, one doctor Barnes preched at Paules croſſe, and in his ſermon inueighed againſt the biſhop of Wincheſter, for doctrine by him preached in the ſame place, the firſt ſundaie of that Lent, intreating of iuſtification. Among other taunts that Barnes vttered againſt the biſhop, this was one, that if he & the biſhop were both at Rome, he knew that great ſums of monie would not ſaue his life, where but for the biſhop, there was no great feare, but ſmall intreatance would ſerue. The biſhop offended herewith, complained of Barnes to the k. and had him examined, & at length by the kings commandement he came to the biſhops houſe, where the matter was ſo handled at this time, that Barnes with two other preachers, the one named Hierome, and the other Garret (of whom hereafter more ſhall be ſaid)were appointed to preach at S. Marie ſpittle by London in the Eſter wéeke. In that ſermon which Barnes made before all the people, he aſked the biſhop forgiueneſſe, for ſpeaking ſo vnreuerentlie of him in his former ſermon, and required the biſhop (if he did forgiue him) in token thereof to hold vp his hand, which like as it was long before he did, ſo (as manie thought afterward) it was but a feigned forgiueneſſe.

Sir Iohn Shelton, ſir Nicholas Hare, ſir Humfreie Browne fraudulent lawiers puniſhed.

The twelfe of Aprill began a parlement, and ſir Nicholas Hare was reſtored to the office of ſpeaker, who togither with ſir Humfreie Browne knight, and William Conneſbie eſquier, the thrée and twentith of Februarie laſt paſt, had bin called before the lords into the Starchamber, for being of counſell with ſir Iohn Shelton knight, in making a fraudulent will of his lands, to the hinderance of the kings prerogatiue, and contrarie to the ſtatute of Anno 27, for the which offenſe they were all at that time diſmiſſed of their offices and ſeruices to the king, and the two knights were immediatlie ſent to the tower, and thrée daies after Conneſbie was committed thither alſo. They remained there in ward about ten daies, and were then deliuered. Sir Humfreie Browne was the kings ſargeant at law, ſir Nicholas Hare was one of the kings councellors, and ſpeaker of the parlement, who being then depriued, was now againe thereto reſtored. William Conneſbie was attorneie of the dutchie of Lancaſter. In this parlement, were fréelie granted without contradictions, foure fiftéenes and a ſubſidie of two ſhillings of lands, and twelue pence of goods, toward the kings great charges of making Bulworkes.

Aduancement of Thomas Cromwell.

The eightéenth of Aprill at Weſtminſter was Thomas lord Cromwell created earle of Eſſex, and ordeined great chamberleine of England, which office the earles of Oxford were woont euer to enioie; alſo Gregorie his ſonne was made lord Cromwell. The foure and twentith of Aprill, Thomas lord Audleie, & chancellor of England, with ſir Anthonie Browne, maiſter of the kings horſſes, were made knights of the right honourable order of the garter. On Maie daie, was a great triumph of iuſting at Weſtminſter, which iuſts had béene proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spaine, for all commers that would, againſt the challengers of England; which were, ſir Iohn Dudleie, ſir Thomas Seimer, ſir Thomas Poinings, ſir George Carew knights, Anthonie Kingſton, and Richard Cromwell eſquiers, which ſaid challengers came into the liſts that daie richlie apparelled, and their horſſes trapped all in white veluet, with certeine knights and gentlemen riding afore them, apparelled all in white veluet, and white ſarſenet, and all their ſeruants in white dublets, and hozen cut after the Burgonion faſhion: and there came to iuſt againſt them the ſaid daie, of defendants fortie ſix, the earle of Surrie being the formoſt, lord William Howard, lord Clinton, and lord Cromwell, ſonne and heire to Thomas Cromwell earle of Eſſex, and chamberleine of England, with other, which were richlie apparelled.

Sir Iohn Dudleie ouerthrowne.

And that day, ſir Iohn Dudleie was ouerthrowne in the field, by miſchance of his horſſe, by one maſter Breme defendant, neuertheleſſe he brake diuerſe ſpeares valiantlie after that. And after the ſaid iuſts were doone, the ſaid challengers rode to Durham place, where they kept open houſhold, and feaſted the king and quéene, with hir ladies, and all the court. The ſecond of Maie, Anthonie Kingſton & Richard Cromwell were made knights at the ſaid place. The third of Maie, the ſaid challengers did tournie on horſſebacke with ſwords, & againſt them came nine and twentie defendants; ſir Iohn Dudleie, and the earle of Surrie running firſt, who in the firſt courſe loſt both their gantlets: and that daie, ſir Richard Cromwell ouerthrew maſter Palmer in the field off his horſſe, to the great honor of the challengers. On the fift of Maie, the ſaid challengers fought on foot at the barriers, and againſt them came thirtie defendants, which fought valiantlie: but ſir Richard Cromwell ouerthrew that daie at the barriers maſter Culpeper in the field.

Tourneng.

Barriers.

The ſaid challengers brake vp their houſhold, after they had kept open hoſpitalitie, and feaſted the king, quéene, and all the lords, beſide all the knights and burgeſſes of the common houſe in time of the parlement, and the maior, aldermen, and all their wiues to their no ſmall honor, though great expenſe. In the parlement which began the eightéenth of Aprill laſt paſt, the religion of ſaint Iohns in England, commonlie called the order of knights of the Rhodes, was diſſolued; & on the aſcenſion day, being the fift of Maie, ſir William Weſton knight, prior of ſaint Iohns departed this life for thought (as was reported) which he tooke to the heart, after he heard of that diſſolution of his order. ¶ For the king tooke all the lands that belonged to that order into his hands, to the augmentation of his crowne, and gaue vnto euerie of the challengers aboue written for a reward of their valiantneſſe, a hundred marks, and a houſe to dwell in of yearelie reuenues out of the ſaid lands for euer.]

The order of the Rhodes diſſolued.

I.S.pag.1019. Saint Iohns in Smithfield ſuppreſſed.

The ſame moneth were ſent to the Tower doctor Samſon, biſhop of Chicheſter, and doctor Wilſon, for releeuing certeine traitorous perſons: and for the ſame offenſe was one Richard Farmer, a grocer of London, a rich and welthie man, and of good eſtimation in the citie, committed to the Marſhalſeie, & after at Weſtminſter hall arreigned, and atteinted in the premunire; ſo that he loſt all his goods. ¶ The ninth daie of Iulie, Thomas lord Cromwell, late made earle of Eſſex (as before you haue heard) being in the councell chamber, was ſuddenlie apprehended & committed to the Tower of London: the which manie lamented, but more reioiſed, and ſpeciallie ſuch as either had béene religious men, or fauoured religious perſons, for they banketed & triumphed togither that night, manie wiſhing that that daie had béene ſeuen yeares before; & ſome fearing that he ſhould eſcape, although he were impriſoned, could not be merie.

The biſhop of Chicheſter, & doctor wilſon committed to the Tower.

Abr.Fle. ex Ed.Hal.Ccxlij. The lord Cromwell committed to the Tower.

Other who knew nothing but truth by him, both lamented him, and heartilie praied for him. But this is true, that of certeine of the cleargie he was deteſtablie hated, and ſpeciallie ſuch as had borne ſwinge and by his meanes were put from it: for in déed he was a man that in all his doings ſéemed not to fauor anie kind of poperie, nor could not abide the ſnuffing pride of ſome prelats, which vndoubtedlie (whatſoeuer elſe was the cauſe of his death) did ſhorten his life, and procured the end that he was brought vnto: which was, that the nintéenth daie of the ſaid moneth he was atteinted by parlement, and neuer came to his anſwer: which law manie reported that he cauſed firſt to be made, howbeit the plaine truth thereof I know not. The articles for which he died appeare in the records, where his attaindor is written, which are too long here to be rehearſed; but to conclude he was there atteinted of hereſie and high treaſon, and the eight & twentith of Iulie was brought to the ſcaffold on the Tower hill, where he ſaid theſe words following.

The words of the lord Cromwell ſpoken at his death.

I Am come hither to die, and not to purge my ſelfe, as may happen ſome thinke that I will, for if I ſhould ſo doo, I were a verie wretch and a miſer. I am by the law condemned to die, and thanke my Lord God, that hath appointed me this death for mine offenſe. For ſince the time that I came to yeares of diſcretion I haue liued a ſinner, and offended my Lord God, for the which I aſke him hartilie forgiueneſſe. And it is not vnknowne to manie of you, that I haue béene a great traueller in the world, and being but of a baſe degrée, was called to high eſtate. And ſince the time I came thereunto, I haue offended my prince, for the which I aſke him hartilie forgiueneſſe, and beſéech you all to praie to God with me, that he will forgiue me. O Father forgiue me, O Sonne forgiue me, O Holie ghoſt forgiue me, O thrée perſons and one God forgiue me. And now I praie you that be here, to beare me record, I die in the catholike faith, not doubting in anie article of my faith, no nor doubting in anie ſacrament of the church. Manie haue ſlandered me, and reported that I haue béene a bearer of ſuch as haue mainteined euill opinions, which is vntrue: but I confeſſe, that like as God by his holie ſpirit dooth inſtruct vs in the truth, ſo the diuell is readie to ſeduce vs, and I haue béene ſeduced: but beare me witneſſe, that I die in the catholike faith of the holie church, and I hartilie deſire you to praie for the kings grace, that he may long liue with you in health and proſperitie, & after him that his ſonne prince Edward, that goodlie impe may long reigne ouer you. And once againe I deſire you to praie for me, that ſo long as life remaineth in this fleſh, I wauer nothing in my faith.

Then made he his praier, which was long, but not ſo long as godlie and learned, and after committed his ſoule to the hands of God, and ſo patientlie ſuffered the ſtroke of the ax, by a ragged and butcherlie miſer, which ill fauouredlie performed the office. This man being borne in Putneie, a village in Surreie by the Thames ſide, foure miles diſtant from London, was ſonne to a Smith, after whoſe deceaſſe, his mother was married to a Shereman. But notwithſtanding the baſeneſſe of his birth and

Sée Iohn Fox in the Acts & Monuments.

A deſcription of the birth of Thomas Cromwell and other circumſtances.

lacke of maintenance was at the beginning (as it happeneth to manie others) a great let and hinderance for vertue to ſhew hir ſelfe: yet through a ſingular excellencie of wit, ioined with an induſtrious diligence of mind, and helpe of knowledge, gathered by painefull trauell, and marking the courſes of ſtates and gouernements as well of his natiue countrie at home, as in forren parties abrode, he grew to ſuch a ſufficient ripeneſſe of vnderſtanding and ſkill, in ordering of weightie affaires, that he was thought apt and fit for anie roome or office whereto he ſhould be admitted.

Thomas Cromwell in moſt authoritie vnder the king.

Which being perceiued of cardinall Wolſeie, then archbiſhop of Yorke, he tooke him into his ſeruice, and making him his ſolicitor, imploied him about buſineſſe oftentimes of moſt importance, wherein he acquited himſelfe with ſuch dexteritie, as anſwered alwaies the credit committed to him. After the cardinals fall, he was aduanced to the kings ſeruice, behauing himſelfe ſo aduiſedlie in matters which he tooke in hand, that within a ſmall time he roſe to high authoritie, and was admitted to be of the priuie councell, bearing moſt rule of all other vnder the king, as partlie ye haue heard: ſo that by him it well appeared, that the excellencie of heroicall vertues, which aduance men to fame and honor, reſteth not onelie in birth and bloud, as a priuilege appropriate and alonelie annexed vnto noble houſes, but remaineth at the diſpoſition of almightie God the giuer & diſpoſer of all gifts, who raiſeth the poore manie times from the baſeſt degree, and ſetteth him vp with princes, according to the ſaieng of Eccleſiaſtes:

Qui iacuit tetro quandóque in carcere vinctus,
Parta ſuis meritis regia ſceptra tulit.

Iohn Fox in the Acts and Monuments.

Neuertheleſſe, concerning the lord Cromwell earle of Eſſex, if we ſhall conſider his comming vp to ſuch high degree of honor as he atteined vnto, we maie doubt whether there be cauſe more to maruell at his good fortune, or at his worthie and induſtrious demeanor. But ſith in the booke of Acts and Monuments ye maie find a ſufficient diſcourſe hereof, we need not to ſpend more time about it, ſaue onelie as maſter Fox hath trulie noted, ſuch was his actiuitie and forward ripeneſſe of nature, ſo readie and pregnant of wit, ſo diſcreet and well aduiſed in iudgement, ſo eloquent of tong, ſo faithfull and diligent in ſeruice, of ſuch an incomparable memorie, ſo bold of ſtomach and hardie, and could doo ſo well with his pen, that being conuerſant in the ſight of men, he could not long continue vneſpied, nor yet vnprouided of fauor and helpe of friends, to ſet him forward in place and office.

Friſcobald an Italian, ſee Iohn Fox in the Acts and Monuments.

Thankefull he was and liberall, not forgetting benefits receiued, as by his great courteſie ſhewed to Friſcobald the Italian it well appeared: a fauourer of the poore in their ſutes, and readie to releeue them that were in danger to be oppreſſed by their mightie aduerſaries: a fauorer of the goſpell, and an enimie to the pride of prelates, verie ſtout, and not able well to put vp iniuries, which wan him ſhrewd enimies that ceaſſed not (as was thought) to ſeeke his ouerthrow, till at length they had brought to paſſe that they wiſhed. Carefull he was for his ſeruants, and readie to doo them good, ſo that fearing the thing which came to paſſe, he prouided well for the more part of them, notwithſtanding his fall. And thus much for the lord Cromwell. The morrow after Midſummer daie, the king cauſed the queene to remooue to Richmont, ſuppoſing it to be more for hir health, and more for hir pleaſure.

The mariage betwixt the king and the ladie Anne of Cleue adiudged vnlawfull.

The ſixt of Iulie, certeine lords came downe into the nether houſe, & expreſſelie declared cauſes, for the which the kings marriage was not to be taken lawfull: & in concluſion, the matter was by the conuocation cleerelie determined, that the king might lawfullie marrie where he would, and ſo might ſhe. And thus were they cleerelie diuorſed, and by the parlement it was enacted, that ſhe ſhould be taken no more for queene, but called the ladie Anne of Cleue. In this yeare, the lord Leonard Greie, brother vnto Thomas marqueſſe Dorſet, being the kings lieutenant in Ireland, was reuoked home, and vpon his comming to London was ſent to the Tower. In Iulie the prince of Salerne, and the lord Lois Dauola came into England to ſee the king, & after they were departed, don Frederike, marqueſſe of Padula, brother to the duke of Ferrara, the prince of Macedonie, the marqueſſe of Terra Noua, & monſieur de Flagie, with other, came from the emperors court into England to ſee the king, the which on Marie Magdalens daie came to the court at Weſtminſter, and after they had beene highlie feaſted, and noblie interteined, they were richlie rewarded as the other, and ſo departed.

The lord Leonard Greie committed to the Tower.

The prince of Salerne.

The lord Hungerford executed for buggerie.

Execution of Barnes and others.

The eight and twentith of Iulie (as you haue heard before) the lord Cromwell was beheaded, and likewiſe with him the lord Hungerford of Heiteſburie, who at the houre of his death ſeemed vnquiet, as manie iudged him rather in a frenſie than otherwiſe: he ſuffered for buggerie. The thirteenth of Iulie were drawne on hurdels from the Tower to Smithfield, Robert Barns doctor of diuinitie, Thomas Garard, and William Ierom bachellors in diuinitie; Ierom was vicar of Stepnie, and Garard was perſon of Honie lane: alſo Powell Fetherſton, and Abell prieſts. The firſt three were drawne to a ſtake, there before ſet vp, and then burned. The other three were drawne to the gallowes, and hanged, beheaded and quartered. The three firſt (as is found in their atteindor) were executed for diuerſe hereſies, but none alledged, whereat (ſaith Hall) I haue much maruelled, that their hereſies were ſo manie, and not one alledged as a ſpeciall cauſe of their death. And verelie at their deaths they aſked the ſhiriffs what was their offenſe for which they were condemned. Who anſwered, they could not tell: but moſt men ſaid it was for preaching againſt the doctrine of Stephan Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, who chieflie (as the ſame Hall ſaith) procured their deaths. The laſt three, to wit, Powell, Fetherſton, and Abell, ſuffered for treaſon, as in their atteindor was ſpeciall mention made, to wit, for denieng the kings ſupremacie, and affirming his mariage with the ladie Katharin Dowager to be good.

Thomas Empſon an obſtinate monke.

Execution for treaſon.

The fourth of Auguſt, Thomas Empſon ſometime a monke of Weſtminſter, which had beene in priſon for treaſon in Newgate now for the ſpace of three yeares and more, came before the iuſtices of gaole deliuerie at Newgate, and for that he would not aſke the kings pardon, nor be ſworne to be true to him, his monks garment was plucked from his backe, and he repriued, till the king were informed of his malicious obſtinacie: and this was the laſt monke that was ſeene in his clothing in England till queene Maries daies. The fourth of Auguſt were drawne from the Tower of London to Tiburne, Giles Heron gentleman, Clement Philpot gentleman, late of Calis, and ſeruant to the lord Liſle, Darbie Genning, Edmund Brindholme prieſt, chapleine to the ſaid lord Liſle, William Horne late a laie brother of the Charterhouſe of London, and an other offendor: which ſix perſons were there hanged and quartered, and had beene atteinted of treaſon by parlement. The ſame daie alſo was one Charles Carew gentleman hanged for robbing of the ladie Carew.

The eight of Auguſt was the ladie Katharine Howard neece to the duke of Norffolke, and daugh-

ter

Harlots cauſe manie murthers.

A death and a drought. I.Stow.

ter to the lord Edmund Howard ſhewed openlie as quéene at Hampton court. The eleuenth of September a ſtranger was hanged in Moore field, named James Kinatian, who had ſlaine his maiſter, one Capon a Florentine in a garden, for his harlot. In the latter end of this ſummer, was vniuerſallie through the moſt parts of this realme great death by a ſtrange kind of hot agues and fiures, and ſome peſtilence, in which ſeaſon was ſuch a drought, that wels and ſmall riuers were cleane dried vp, ſo that much cattell died for lacke of water, and the Thames was ſo ſhalow, & the freſh water of ſo ſmall ſtrength that the ſalt water flowed aboue London bridge, till the raine had increaſed the freſh waters.

A caſtell built at Ard.

Guiſnes fortified.

On the two and twentith of September, Raſe Egerton, ſeruant to the lord Audleie, lord chancellor, and one Thomas Harman ſeruant to one maſter Flightwood, were drawne, hanged, and quartered; the one for counterfeiting and antidating of the kings ſeale in a ſignet, wherewith he ſealed licences for denizens, vnder the name of the clearkes of the chancerie: and the other, that is to ſaie Harman, for writing them. One Tuckefield, being of their faction, robbed the lord Audleies chappell and fled, who being afterward apprehended at Calis, which towne he would haue betraied, he ſlue himſelfe with a dagger. In the end of this yeare, the French king made a ſtrong caſtell at Ard, and alſo a bridge ouer into the Engliſh pale, which bridge the crew of Calis did beat downe, and the Frenchmen built it vp againe, but the Engliſhmen beat it downe againe. After this, the K. ſent about fiftéene hundred workemen to fortifie the towne of Guiſnes, and ſent with them fiue hundred men of warre to gard them.

The earles of Surrie and Southampton ſent to Calis.

Richard Mekins burnt. Sée John Fox in the Acts & Monuments.

It was reported in France, that a mightie armie was come ouer forth of England with great ordinance: which brute cauſed the French king to ſend to the frontiers of Picardie the duke of Vandoſme, and other capteins with all ſpéed to defend the ſame. The king of England hearing thereof, ſent the earles of Surrie, and Southampton, and the lord Ruſſell, high admerall into the marches of Calis, to ſet order there, and after them he likewiſe ſent two hundred light horſſemen of the borders of Scotland, whom the Frenchmen called Stradiots. The lords hauing ſet order in things, ſhortlie returned. A boie, one Richard Mekins, not paſt fiftéene yeares of age, was burnt in Smithfield, for ſpeaking againſt the ſacrament, and contrarie to the ſtatute of the ſix articles. The biſhop of London was thought in great fault, for procuring that terrible execution, ſéeing the yong fellow was but an ignorant foole without learning, and gladlie recanted that wherewith he was charged.

1541

Anno Reg. 33. A new rebellion practiſed in Yorkſhire.

Sir John Neuill executed.

The counteſſe of Saliſburie beheaded.

Execution of two of the gard.

About the latter end of this yeare, doctor Samſon biſhop of Chicheſter, and doctor Wilſon, which had béene committed to the tower (as before ye haue heard) were now pardoned of the king, and ſet againe at libertie. In the beginning of this yeare, fiue prieſts in Yorkeſhire began a new rebellion, with the aſſent of one Leigh, a gentleman, and nine temporall men, all which perſons were apprehended, and in diuers places put to execution. The ſaid Leigh and two other, the one named Taterſall a clothier, & the other Thornton a yeoman, on the ſeuentéenth of Maie, were drawne through London to Tiburne, and there executed. And ſir John Neuill knight, and ten other perſons, died for the ſame cauſe at Yorke. The ſame daie, Margaret counteſſe of Saliſburie, that had remained a long time priſoner in the tower, was beheaded there within the tower. She was the laſt of the right line and name of Plantagenet. The ninth of June for example ſake, two of the kings gard, the one named Damport, and the other Chapman, were hanged at Gréenwich by the friers wall, for robberies which they had committed.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 1020.

Sir Edmund Kneuet arreigned for ſtriking in the court.

The order of euerie officer about that execution.

¶ On the tenth of June, ſir Edmund Kneuet knight, of Norffolke, was arreigned before the kings iuſtices (ſitting in the great hall at Gréenewich) maiſter Gage, comptrollor of the kings houſehold, maiſter Southwell, ſir Anthonie Browne, ſir Anthonie Winkefield, maiſter Wriſleie, and Edmund Peckham, cofferer of the kings houſhold, for ſtriking of one maiſter Clers of Norffolke, ſeruant with the earle of Surrie, within the kings houſe in the tenis court. There was firſt choſen to go vpon the ſaid Edmund, a queſt of gentlemen, and a queſt of yeomen, to inquire of the ſaid ſtripe, by the which inqueſts he was found giltie, and had iudgement to loſe his right hand. Wherevpon was called to doo the execution, firſt the ſergeant ſurgion with his inſtruments apperteining to his office: the ſergeant of the woodyard with the mallet, and a blocke wherevpon the hand ſhould lie: the maiſter cooke for the king, with the knife: the ſergeant of the larder, to ſet the knife right on the ioint: the ſergeant ferrer, with the ſearing irons to ſeare the veines: the ſergeant of the poultrie, with a cocke, which cocke ſhould haue his head ſmitten off vpon the ſame blocke, and with the ſame knife: the yeoman of the chandrie, with ſeare cloths: the yeoman of the ſkullerie, with a pan of fire to heate the irons, a chafer of water to coole the ends of the irons, and two formes for all officers to ſet their ſtuffe on: the ſergeant of the cellar, with wine, ale, and béere: the yeoman of the yewrie in the ſergeants ſtead, who was abſent, with baſon, ewre, and towels.

Iudgement vpon Kneuet to loſe his hand.

He is pardoned.

Thus euerie man in his office readie to doo the execution, there was called forth ſir William Pickering knight marſhall, to bring in the ſaid Edmund Kneuet; and when he was brought to the bar, the chiefe iuſtice declared to him his treſpaſſe, and the ſaid Kneuet confeſſing himſelfe to be giltie, humblie ſubmitted him to the kings mercie: for this offenſe he was not onelie iudged to loſe his hand, but alſo his bodie to remaine in priſon, and his lands and goods at the kings pleaſure. Then the ſaid ſir Edmund Kneuet deſired that the king of his benigne grace would pardon him of his right hand, and take the left, for (quoth he) if my right hand be ſpared, I maie hereafter doo ſuch good ſeruice to his grace, as ſhall pleaſe him to appoint. Of this ſubmiſſion and requeſt the iuſtices forthwith informed the king, who of his goodneſſe, conſidering the gentle heart of the ſaid Edmund, and the good report of the lords, granted him his pardon, that he ſhould loſe neither hand, lands, nor goods, but ſhould go frée at libertie.]

The lord Leonard Greie beheaded.

The lord Leonard Greie being indicted of certeine points of treaſon by him committed, as was alledged againſt him, during the ſeaſon that he was the kings lieutenant in Ireland, to wit, for deliuering his nephew Girald Fitzgerard brother vnto Thomas Fitzgerard before executed, and alſo for that he cauſed certeine Iriſhmen to inuade the lands of the kings friends, whome he fauoured not: on the fiue and twentith of June he was arreigned at Weſtminſter in the kings bench, and appointed to be tried by knights, becauſe he was a lord by name, and no lord of the parlement; but he diſcharged the iurie, and confeſſed the indictement, wherevpon he had iudgement, and on the eight and twentith of June being ſaint Peters euen, he was beheaded at tower hill, where he ended his life verie quietlie and godlie.

This noble man as he was come of high linage, ſo was he a right valiant and hardie perſonage, hauing in his time doone his prince and countrie good ſeruice, both in Ireland, France, and other places, greatlie to his commendation, although now his hap was thus to loſe his head, as conuicted by law, and his renowme (ouercaſt with a cloud of diſgrace) vaniſhed, as future chances befell, to the aboliſhing of the preſent honor which ſometime he inioied. Howbeit, his eſtimation he might haue preſerued vnblemiſhed, had prouident circumſpection vndertaken the direction of his doings, and that he had borne his eies in his forehead, to foreſée all afterclaps, which a wiſe man will in no caſe neglect:

Nam ſapiens in fronte oculos habet, omnia ſpectans,
Omnia prudenti cum ratione videns.

The true report of the cauſe whereupon the murther of Iohn Buſbrig inſued.

The ſame daie that he ſuffered, there was executed at ſaint Thomas Waterings thrée gentlemen, Iohn Mantell, Iohn Frowds, and george Roidon: they died for a murther committed in Suſſex (as their indictement imported) in companie of Thomas Fines lord Dacres of the ſouth. The truth whereof was thus. The ſaid lord Dacres, through the lewd perſuaſion of ſome of them, as hath béene reported, meaning to hunt in the parke of Nicholas Pelham eſquire at Laughton, in the ſame countie of Suſſex, being accompanied with the ſaid Mantell, Frowds, and Roidon, Iohn Cheinie and Thomas Iſleie gentlemen, Richard Middleton and Iohn Goldwell yeomen, paſſed from his houſe of Hurſtmonſeux, the laſt of Aprill in the night ſeaſon, toward the ſame parke, where they intended ſo to hunt; and comming vnto a place called Pikehaie in the pariſh of Hillingleie, they found one Iohn Buſbrig, Iames Buſbrig, and Richard Sumner ſtanding togither; and as it fell out through quarelling, there inſued a fraie betwixt the ſaid lord Dacres and his companie on the one partie, and the ſaid Iohn and Iames Buſbrig and Richard Sumner on the other: inſomuch that the ſaid Iohn Buſbrig receiued ſuch hurt, that he died thereof the ſecond of Maie next inſuing.

The lord Dacres arreigned before the lord Audleie.

Lord Dacres executed at Tiburne.

Whereupon, as well the ſaid lord Dacres as thoſe that were there with him, and diuerſe other likewiſe that were appointed to go an other waie to méet them at the ſaid parke, were indicted of murther: and the ſeauen and twentith of Iune the lord Dacres himſelfe was arreigned before the lord Audleie of Walden then lord chancellor, ſitting that daie as high ſteward of England, with other péeres of the realme about him, who then and there condemned the ſaid lord Dacres to die for that tranſgreſſion. And afterward the nine and twentith of Iune being ſaint Peters daie, at eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, the ſhiriffs of London, accordinglie as they were appointed, were readie at the tower to haue receiued the ſaid priſoner, and him to haue lead to execution on the tower hill. But as the priſoner ſhould come forth of the tower, one Heire a gentleman of the lord chancellors houſe came, and in the kings name commanded to ſtaie the execution till two of the clocke in the afternoone, which cauſed manie to thinke that the king would haue granted his pardon. But neuertheleſſe, at thrée of the clocke in the ſame afternoone, he was brought forth of the tower, and deliuered to the ſhiriffs, who lead him on foot betwixt them vnto Tiburne, where he died. His bodie was buried in the church of ſaint Sepulchers. He was not paſt foure and twentie yéeres of age, when he came through this great miſhap to his end, for whome manie ſore lamented, and likewiſe for the other thrée gentlemen, Mantell, Frowds, and Roidon. But for the ſad yoong lord, being a right towardlie gentleman, and ſuch a one, as manie had conceiued great hope of better proofe, no ſmall mone and lamentation was made; the more indéed, for that it was thought he was induced to attempt ſuch follie, which occaſioned his death, by ſome light heads that were then about him.

The king goeth in progreſſe into Yorkeſhire.

Gifts giuen to him by them of Lincolneſhire.

Gifts giuen him by them of Yorkeſhire.

The firſt of Iulie a Welſhman a minſtrell was hanged and quartered for ſinging of ſongs, which were interpreted to be propheſies againſt the king. This ſummer the king tooke his progreſſe to Yorke, and paſſed through Lincolneſhire, where was made to him an humble ſubmiſſion by the temporaltie, and confeſſing their faults, they humblie thanked him for his pardon, which he had granted them. The towne of Stanford gaue to him twentie pounds, the citie of Lincoln fortie pounds, Boſton fiftie pounds, that part of the ſhire which is called Linſeie gaue thrée hundred pounds, and Keſterne and the church of Lincolne preſented him with fiftie pounds. At his entring into Yorkeſhire, he was met with two hundred gentlemen of the ſame ſhire, in cotes of veluet, and foure thouſand tall yeomen and ſeruing men well horſſed, which on their knées made their ſubmiſſion, by the mouth of ſir Robert Bowes, and gaue to the king nine hundred pounds. On Barneſdale the archbiſhop of Yorke, with thrée hundred prieſts and more met the king, and making a like ſubmiſſion, gaue to him ſix hundred pounds. The like ſubmiſſion was made by the maiors of Yorke, Newcaſtell, and Hull, and ech of them gaue to the king an hundred pounds.

Hull fortified.

Diram and Culpeper quéene Katharins paramours.

At Lincolne (ſaith Hall) in Auguſt, where ſhe gaue to him a rich cap and a chaine.

Quéene Katharine detected of incontinent liuing.

After he had béene at Yorke twelue daies, he came to Hull, where he deuiſed certeine fortifications. This doone, he paſſed ouer the water of Humber, and ſo through Lincolneſhire, returned toward the ſouth parts, and at Alhallowen tide came to Hampton court. About the ſame time, the king had knowledge that the quéene liued diſſolutelie, in vſing the vnlawfull companie of one Francis Diram, with whome ſhe had béene too familiar before hir maraiage with the king; & not meaning to forgo his companie now in time of hir marriage, without regard had either to the feare of God, or the king hir huſband, the laſt ſummer being in progreſſe with the king at Pomfret, the ſeuen and twentith of Auguſt, ſhe reteined the ſaid Francis Diram in hir ſeruice, to the intent ſhe might vſe his companie in ſuch vnlawfull ſort the more fréelie: and not ſatiſfied with him, ſhe alſo vſed the vnlawfull companie of Thomas Culpeper eſquire, one of the gentlemen of the kings priuie chamber, as well at Pomfret aforeſaid on the nine and twentith and laſt of Auguſt aforeſaid, and on the firſt of September, as at diuerſe other times and places before and after. Whereupon, the thirtéenth of Nouember, ſir Thomas Wriotheſleie knight the kings ſecretarie, came to Hampton court vnto the ſaid quéene, and called all hir ladies, gentlewomen, and ſeruants into hir great chamber, & there openlie in preſence of them all, declared hir offenſes committed in abuſing of hir bodie before hir mariage, & therwith he diſcharged hir houſhold. The morrow after ſhe was conueied to Sion, the ladie Bainton and certeine gentlewomen and ſome of hir ſeruants being appointed to wait vpon hir there, till the kings pleaſure might be further knowen. Culpeper, Diram, and others were had to the tower. Diram in his examination being charged with the familiaritie which had béene betwixt them, before ſhe was married to the king, confeſſed that he and the ſaid quéene had made a precontract togither, and that he concealed it for hir preferment in marriage to the king, after he vnderſtood the king began to caſt a liking towards hir.

The firſt of December, Culpeper and Diram were arreigned at the Guildhall in London, before the lord maior ſitting there in iudgement as chéefe iudge, hauing the lord chancellor vpon his right hand, and the duke of Norffolke vpon his left hand, the duke of Suffolke the lord priuie ſeale, the earles of Suſſex and Hereford, with diuerſe other of the councell ſitting there as iudges in commiſſion that daie: the priſoners in the end confeſſed the indictement, and had iudgement to die, as in caſes of treaſon.

Culpeper and Diram executed.

The tenth of December, the ſaid Culpeper and Diram were drawen from the tower vnto Tiburne and there Culpeper had his head ſtriken off, and Diram was hanged, diſmembred and headed. Culpepers bodie was buried in S. Sepulchers church, but both their heads were ſet on London bridge. The two and twentith of December were arreigned in the Kings bench at Weſtminſter, the ladie Margaret Howard, wife to the lord William Howard, Katharine Tilneie, & Alice Reſtwold gentlewomen, Ioane Bulmer, wife to Anthonie Bulmer gentleman, Anne Howard, wife to Henrie Howard eſquier, and brother to the late quéene, Malein Tilneie widow, Margaret Benet, wife to Iohn Benet gentleman, Edward Walgraue gentleman, William Aſhbie gentleman; all theſe were condemned of miſpriſion of treaſon, for concealing the quéenes miſdemeanour. And the ſame daie in the afternoone, the lord William Howard, and Damport a gentleman were likewiſe arreigned, and condemned of the ſame offenſe, and as well theſe as the other were adiudged to loſe their goods, & the profits of their lands during life, and to remaine in perpetuall priſon.

Attaindors.

A parlement.
1542

The petitiõs of the lords & commons of the parlement to the king.

The ſixtéenth of Ianuarie the parlement began at Weſtminſter, in the which the lords and commons exhibited certeine petitions to the king. Firſt, that he would not vex himſelfe with the quéenes offenſe, and that ſhe and the ladie Rochford might be attainted by parlement: and to auoid protracting of time, they beſought him to giue his roiall aſſent thereto, vnder his great ſeale, without ſtaieng for the end of the parlement. Alſo, that Diram and Culpeper before attainted by the common law, might alſo be attainted by parlement, & that Agnes duches of Norfolke, and Katharine counteſſe of Bridgewater hir daughter, which for concealing the ſaid offenſe, were committed to the towre, and indicted of miſpriſion, & the lord William Howard arreigned of the ſame, might likewiſe be attainted. Alſo, that who ſoeuer had ſpoken or doone anie thing in deteſtation of hir naughtie life, ſhould be pardoned.

The quéene and other attainted by parlement.

The quéene ſent to the towre.

To theſe petitions the king granted, thanking the commons, for that it appéered they tooke his griefe to be theirs: wherevpon the quéene and the ladie Rochford were attainted by both the houſes. On the tenth of Februarie, the quéene was conueied from Sion to the towre by water, the duke of Suffolke, the lord priuie ſeale, and the lord great chamberleine, hauing the conduction of hir. The next daie after being ſaturdaie, and the eleuenth of Februarie, the king did ſend his roiall aſſent by his great ſeale, and then all the lords were in their robes, and the common houſe called vp, & there the act was read, and his aſſent declared. And ſo on the thirtéenth daie, thoſe two ladies were beheaded on the gréene within the towre with an ax, where they confeſſed their offenſes, and died repentant.

She is beheaded.

The king proclamed king of Ireland.

Before this, on the thrée and twentith daie of Ianuarie was the king proclamed king of Ireland, as it was enacted both by authoritie of the parlement here, and alſo of an other parlement holden at Dublin in Ireland, there begun the thirtéenth of Iune laſt paſt, before ſir Anthonie Saintleger knight, and the kings deputie there, where as till that time the kings of England were onlie intituled lords of Ireland. In the beginning of March died ſir Arthur Plantagenet vicount Liſle, baſtard ſonne to Edward the fourth, in the towre of London vnattainted, when he ſhould haue béene deliuered and ſet at libertie.

The occaſion of ſir Arthur Plantagenets trouble.

The occaſion of his trouble for the which he was committed to the towre, roſe vpon ſuſpicion that he ſhould be priuie to a practiſe, which ſome of his men (as Philpot and Brindholme executed the laſt yeare as before ye haue heard) had conſented vnto, for the betraieng of Calis to the French, whileſt he was the kings lieutenant there. But after that by due triall it was knowne that he was nothing guiltie to the matter, the king appointed ſir Thomas Wriotheſlie his maieſties ſecretarie, to go vnto him, and to deliuer to him a ring, with a rich diamond for a token from him, & to will him to be of good chéere. For although in that ſo weightie a matter, he would not haue doone leſſe to him if he had béene his owne ſon; yet now vpon through triall had, ſith it was manifeſtlie proued that he was void of all offenſe, he was ſorie that he had béene occaſioned ſo farre to trie his truth: and therefore willed him to be of good chéere and comfort, for he ſhould find that he would make accompt of him as of his moſt true and faithfull kinſman, and not onelie reſtore him to his former libertie, but otherwiſe forth be readie to pleaſure him in what he could. Maſter ſecretarie ſet forth this meſſage with ſuch effectuall words, as he was an eloquent and well ſpoken man, that the lord Liſle tooke ſuch immoderate ioy thereof, that his hart being oppreſſed therwith, he died the night following through too much reioiſing. After his deceaſſe, the twelfe of the ſame moneth of March, ſir Iohn Audeleie ſonne and heire to the ſaid lord Liſles wife, was at Weſtminſter created vicount Liſle. ¶The ſeuentéenth of March one Margaret Dauie a yoong woman, being a ſeruant, was boiled in Smithfield for poiſoning of hir miſtres with whome ſhe dwelt, and diuerſe other perſons.

The lord Liſle dieth through immoderate ioy.

George Ferrers a burgeſſe of the parlement arreſted, and what miſchiefe inſued.

In the Lent ſeaſon, whileſt the parlement yet continued, one George Ferrers gentleman, ſeruant to the king, being elected a burgeſſe for the towne of Plimmouth in the countie of Deuonſhire, in going to the parlement houſe, was arreſted in London by a proceſſe out of the Kings bench, at the ſute of one White, for the ſum of two hundred markes or thereabouts, wherein he was late afore condemned, as a ſuertie for the debt of one Weldon of Saliſburie: which arreſt being ſignified to ſir Thomas Moile knight, then ſpeaker of the parlement, and to the knights and burgeſſes there, order was taken, that the ſargeant of the parlement, called S. Iohn, ſhould forthwith repaire to the counter in Bredſtréet (whither the ſaid Ferrers was caried) and there demand deliuerie of the priſoner.

The ſargeant (as he had in charge) went to the counter, and declared to the clearks there what he had in commandement. But they and other officers of the citie were ſo farre from obeieng the ſaid commandement, as after manie ſtout words they forciblie reſiſted the ſaid ſargeant, whereof inſued a fraie within the counter gates, betwéene the ſaid Ferrers and the ſaid officers, not without hurt of either part: ſo that the ſaid ſargeant was driuen to defend himſelfe with his mace of armes, & had the crowne thereof broken by bearing off a ſtroke, and his man ſtriken downe. During this brall, the ſhiriffes of London, called Rowland Hill, and Henrie Suckliffe came thither, to whome the ſargeant complained of this iniurie, and required of them the deliuerie of the ſaid burgeſſe, as afore. But they bearing with their officers, made little accompt either of his complaint or of his meſſage, reiecting the ſame contemptuouſlie, with much proud language, ſo as the ſargeant was forced to returne without the priſoner, wheras if they had obeied authoritie, and ſhewed the ſeruice neceſſarilie required in their office and perſon, they might by their diſcretion haue appeaſed

The ſhiriffes and officers denie the deliuerie of the burgeſſe.

all the broile, for wiſedome aſſuageth the outrage & vnreſtreinable furiouſnes of war, as the poet ſaith:

Inſtrumenta feri vincit ſapientia belli.

The ſargeant thus hardlie intreated, made returne to the parlement houſe, and finding the ſpeaker, and all the burgeſſes ſet in their places, declared vnto them the whole caſe as it fell, who tooke the ſame in ſo ill part, that they altogither (of whome there were not a few, as well of the kings priuie councell, as alſo of his priuie chamber) would ſit no longer without their burges, but roſe vp wholie, and repaired to the vpper houſe, where the whole caſe was declared by the mouth of the ſpeaker, before ſir Thomas Audleie knight then lord chancellor of England, and all the lords and iudges there aſſembled, who iudging the contempt to be verie great, referred the puniſhment thereof to the order of the common houſe. They returning to their places againe, vpon new debate of the caſe, tooke order, that their ſargeant ſhould effſoones repaire to the ſhiriffe of London, and require deliuerie of the ſaid burgeſſe, without anie writ or warrant had for the ſame, but onelie as afore.

The ſpeaker of the parlement declareth all the matter to the lords.

And yet the lord chancellor offered there to grant a writ, which they of the common houſe refuſed, being in a cléere opinion, that all commandements and other acts of procéeding from the nether houſe, were to be doone and executed by their ſargeant without writ, onelie by ſhew of his mace, which was his warrant. But before the ſargeants returne into London, the ſhiriffes hauing intelligence how heinouſlie the matter was taken, became ſomwhat more mild, ſo as vpon the ſaid ſecond demand, they deliuered the priſoner without anie deniall. But the ſargeant hauing then further in commandement from thoſe of the nether houſe, charged the ſaid ſhiriffes to appéere perſonallie on the morrow, by eight of the clocke before the ſpeaker in the nether houſe, and to bring thither the clearks of the counter, and ſuch officers as were parties to the ſaid affraie, and in like manner to take into his cuſtodie the ſaid White, which wittinglie procured the ſaid areſt, in contempt of the priuilege of the parlement.

The ſhiriffes deliuer the burgeſſe and are charged to appéere before the ſpeaker.

Which commandement being doone by the ſaid ſargeant accordinglie, on the morrow the two ſhiriffes, with one of the clearks of the counter (which was the chiefe occaſion of the ſaid affraie) togither with the ſaid White, appéered in the common houſe, where the ſpeaker charging them with their contempt and miſdemeanor aforeſaid, they were compelled to make immediat anſwer, without being admitted to anie counſell. Albeit, ſir Roger Cholmeleie, then recorder of London, and other of the councell of the citie there preſent, offered to ſpeake in the cauſe, which were all put to ſilence, and none ſuffered to ſpeake, but the parties themſelues: wherevpon in concluſion, the ſaid ſhiriffes and the ſame White, were committed to the Tower of London, and the ſaid clearke (which was the occaſion of the affraie) to a place there called litle eaſe, and the officer of London which did the arreſt, called Tailor, with foure other officers to Newgate, where they remained from the eight & twentith vntill the thirtith of March, and then they were deliuered, not without humble ſute made by the maior of London & other their fréends.

The ſhiriffes committed to the Tower.

And for ſomuch as the ſaid Ferrers being in execution vpon a condemnation of debt, and ſet at large by priuilege of parlement, was not by law to be brought againe into execution, and ſo the partie without remedie for his debt, as well againſt him as his principall debter; after long debate of the ſame by the ſpace of nine or ten daies togither, at laſt they reſolued vpon an act of parlement to be made, and to reuiue the execution of the ſaid debt againſt the ſaid Welden which was principall debter, and to diſcharge the ſaid Ferrers. But before this came to paſſe, the common houſe was diuided vpon the queſtion: howbeit in concluſion, the act paſſed for the ſaid Ferrers, woone by fourtéene voices.

In act paſſeth for George Ferrers.

The king then being aduertiſed of all this procéeding, called immediatlie before him the lord chancellor of England and his iudges, with the ſpeaker of the parlement, and other of the graueſt perſons of the nether houſe, to whome he declared his opinion to this effect. Firſt commending their wiſedomes in mainteining the priuileges of their houſe (which he would not haue to be infringed in anie point) he alleged that he being head of the parlement, and attending in his owne perſon vpon the buſineſſe thereof, ought in reaſon to haue priuilege for him and all his ſeruants attending there vpon him. So that if the ſaid Ferrers had béene no burgeſſe, but onlie his ſeruant, yet in reſpect thereof he was to haue the priuilege as well as anie other.

Priuilege of a burgeſſe of the parlement or of anie ſeruant to ſuch like officers belonging.

For I vnderſtand (quoth he) that you not onelie for your owne perſons, but alſo for your neceſſarie ſeruants, euen to your cookes and horſſekéepers, inioie the ſaid priuilege; in ſomuch as my lord chancellor here preſent hath informed vs, that he being ſpeaker of the parlement, the cooke of the Temple was arreſted in London, and in execution vpon a ſtatute of the ſtaple. And for ſomuch as the ſaid cooke, during all the parlement, ſerued the ſpeaker in that office, he was taken out of execution, by the priuilege of the parlement. And further we be informed by our iudges, that we at no time ſtand ſo highlie in our eſtate roiall, as in the time of parlement, wherein we as head, and you as members, are conioined and knit togither into one bodie politike, ſo as whatſoeuer offenſe or iniurie (during that time) is offered to the meaneſt member of the houſe, is to be iudged as doone againſt our perſon, and the whole court of parlement. Which prerogatiue of the court is ſo great (as our learned councell informeth vs) as all acts and proceſſes comming out of anie other inferiour courts muſt for the time ceaſe and giue place to the higheſt.

And touching the partie, it was a great preſumption in him, knowing our ſeruant to be one of this houſe, and being warned thereof before, would neuertheleſſe proſecute this matter out of time, and therevpon was well worthie to haue loſt his debt (which I would not wiſh) and therefore doo commend your equitie, that hauing loſt the ſame by law, haue reſtored him to the ſame againſt him who was his debter. And if it be well conſidered, what a charge hath it béene to vs and you all, not onelie in expenſe of our ſubſtance, but alſo in loſſe of time, which ſhould haue béene imploied about the affaires of our realme, to ſit here welnigh one whole fortnight about this one priuat caſe, he may thinke himſelfe better vſed than his deſert. And this may be a good example to other to learne good maners, & not to attempt anie thing againſt the priuilege of this court, but to take their time better. This is mine opinion, and if I erre, I muſt referre my ſelfe to the iudgement of our iuſtices here preſent, and other learned in our lawes.

The king counted it preſumption to arreſt the burgeſſe.

Wher vpon ſir Edw. Montacute lord chiefe iuſtice, verie grauelie told his opinion, cōfirming by diuers reaſons all that the king had ſaid, which was aſſented vnto by all the reſidue, none ſpeaking to the contrarie. The act in déed paſſed not the higher houſe, for the lords had not time to conſider of it, by reaſon of the diſſolution of the parlement, the feaſt of Eaſter then approching. Bicauſe this caſe hath béene diuerſlie reported, and is commonlie alleged as a preſident for the priuilege of the parlement; I haue endeuored my ſelfe to learne the truth thereof, and ſo ſet

Sir Edward Montacute lord chiefe iuſtice.

it forth with the whole circumſtance at large according to their inſtructions, who ought beſt both to know and remember it.

Anno Reg.34.

I lone.

This yeare in Maie the king tooke a lone of monie of all ſuch as were valued at fiftie pounds and vpward in the ſubſidie bookes. The lord priuie ſeale, the biſhop of Wincheſter, ſir Iohn Baker, and ſir Thomas Wriotheſleie were commiſſioners about this lone in London, where they ſo handled the matter, that of ſome head citizens they obteined a thouſand markes in preſt to the kings vſe. They that laid forth anie ſumme in this wiſe, had priuie ſeales for the repaiment thereof within two yeares next inſuing. Diuerſe of the Iriſh nobilitie came this yeare into England, and made their ſubmiſſion to the king as in the Iriſh chronicle it is more particularlie touched. Alſo wars fell out betwixt England and Scotland, the cauſes whereof (as appeereth by a declaration ſet forth by the king of England at this preſent) in effect were theſe. Firſt there were diuerſe of the Engliſh rebels, ſuch as had moued the commotion in the north and Lincolneſhire, that fled into Scotland, and were there mainteined: and although requeſt had beene made that they might be deliuered, yet it would not be granted.

Submiſſion of the Iriſh nobilitie.

The cauſes of the wars betwixt England & Scotland.

Moreouer, where the king of Scots had promiſed to repaire vnto Yorke the laſt yeare, and there to meet his vncle the king of England, wherevpon the king of England to his great charges had made preparation for their meeting there; the ſame was not onelie diſappointed, but alſo at the kings being at Yorke, in lieu thereof an inuaſion was made by the Scots, as it were in contempt and deſpite of the king of England, who notwithſtanding imputing the default of meeting to the aduiſe of his nephues councell, and the inuaſion to the lewdneſſe of his ſubiects, was contented to giue courteous audience vnto ſuch ambaſſadors as the ſame king of Scots ſent into England, which came to the king at Chriſtmas laſt, and with manie ſweet and pleaſant words excuſed that which was doone amiſſe, & ſought to perſuade kindneſſe and perfect amitie in time to come. And for the better accompliſhment thereof, they offered to ſend commiſſioners to the borders, there to determine the debate betwixt them of the confines, if it would pleaſe the king likewiſe to ſend commiſſioners for his part, which to doo he gratiouſlie condeſcended, deſirous to make triall of his nephue in ſome correſpondence of deeds, to the faire and pleaſant meſſages in words which he had receiued from him.

Herevpon commiſſioners were ſent from either king, the which met and talked. But where the Engliſhmen chalenged a peece of ground, vndoubtedlie vſurped by the Scots, being for the ſame ſhewed ſuch euidence as more ſubſtantiall, or more autentike can not be brought forth for anie ground within the realme; the ſame was neuertheleſſe by the Scots denied and reiected, onelie for that it was made (as they alleged) by Engliſhmen, and yet was it ſo ancient, as it could not be counterfeited now; and the value of the ground ſo little, and of ſo ſmall weight, as no man would attempt to falſifie a writing for ſuch a matter. But yet this deniall notwithſtanding, the Engliſh commiſſioners departed from the Scotiſh commiſſioners as freends, taking order, as hath beene accuſtomed, for good rule vpon the borders in the meane time to be obſerued.

The wilfull obſtinatneſſe of the Scotiſh commiſſioners.

After their departure, the lord Marwell warden of the weſt marches in Scotland, made proclamation in deed for good rule to be kept: but neuertheleſſe added therwith, that the borderers of Scotland ſhuld withdraw their goods from the borders of England, and incontinentlie after the Scotiſh borderers, on the fourth of Iulie entered into England ſoddenlie, & ſpoiled the kings ſubiects, contrarie to the league, and euen after the plaine maner of warre. Wherevpon the king of England greatlie maruelling, was driuen to furniſh his borders with a garriſon for defenſe of the ſame, as miſtruſting a further miſchiefe intended by the enimie, whoſe treacherie & looſe dealing became a whetſtone to the kings wrath, and ſet him in a heat of indignation, as the poet ſaith:

Iam Scotus Henrici iuſtam irritauerat iram
Fœdifragus.

Iames Leirmouth.

Then was Iames Leirmouth maſter of the Scotiſh kings houſhold ſent into England with letters deuiſed in the beſt maner, offering a good redreſſe of all attempts: and yet neuertheleſſe at the entrie of the ſaid Leirmouth into England, a great number of Scots then not looked for, made a rode into England, to the great annoiance of the Engliſh borders, which dealing, though it much mooued the king of England to take diſpleaſure againſt the Scots, yet he gaue gentle audience to Leirmouth at his comming vnto him, and by his faire words and promiſes was partlie pacified. But in the meane time, the deeds of the Scotiſh borderers were as extreame as might be. And in a rode made by ſir Robert Bowes for reuenge thereof, the ſame ſir Robert, and manie other with him, were taken priſoners, and could not be deliuered, nor admitted to paie their fine and ranſome, as hath beene euer accuſtomed betwixt them on the borders.

King Henrie forced to take armes againſt the Scots.

And where at the ſame time, an aſſurance was made on both ſides for a ſeaſon, at the ſute of the ſaid Leirmouth, the Scots ceaſed not to make ſundrie inuaſions into England, in ſuch wiſe, as the king no longer truſting to their faire words, but weieng their deeds, put an armie in a readineſſe for defenſe of his ſubiects, as the due meane to atteine ſuch a peace, as for the ſafetie of his people and dominions, he thought it ſtood with his honour to procure. After which preparation made, and knowledge thereof had, the king of Scots made new ſute to haue the matter taken vp by treatie. Wherevpon the king cauſed the armie to ſtaie about Yorke, and appointed the duke of Norffolke his lieutenant generall, the lord priuie ſeale, the biſhop of Durham, & ſir Anthonie Browne maſter of his horſſes, to treat & conclude with the ambaſſadors of Scotland ſome friendlie peace, vpon reaſonable and indifferent conditions, as ſhould be thought requiſit, for the auoiding of warres, than by ſundrie inuaſions of the Scots made open and manifeſt. But after they had viewed ech others commiſſions, and began to propone articles, the Scotiſh commiſſioners to protract time, at the firſt ſeemed to like ſuch articles as the Engliſh commiſſioners had proponed, and made ſemblance as if there were no doubt, but that in caſe their king & ours might meet, all matters ſhuld be quietlie compounded and ended: and ſo taking it as for a thing ſure and certeine, they onlie deſired ſix daies to obteine anſwer from their maſter, and our armie for that time to ſtaie: wherevnto the Engliſh commiſſioners accorded.

The double dealing of the Scots in the negotiation about an agreement.

After thoſe ſix daies was ſent a commiſſion out of Scotland, to conclude a meeting preciſelie, at ſuch a place as they knew well could not in the winter ſeaſon be obſerued nor kept. Wherewith when the Engliſh commiſſioners ſeemed nothing content, the Scotiſh commiſſioners ſhewed forth inſtructions, wherein libertie was giuen to them to exceed their commiſſion in the appointing of a place, & to conſent to anie other by the Engliſh commiſſioners thought meet and conuenient. But when the Engliſh commiſſioners refuſed to deale with men wanting ſufficient commiſſion to warrant their doings, the Scotiſh commiſſioners required other ſix daies reſpit, to ſend for a larger commiſſion, which being granted, at the end of thoſe ſix daies, they brought forth a commiſſion made in good forme, and without exception or reſtraint of place: but therewith they ſhewed inſtructions conteining a like reſtraint, as in the former commiſſion was expreſſed. And thus driuing forth the matter by trifling, vpon purpoſe onelie to win time, they hoped thereby through the winter comming on, that the Engliſh armie ſhould not be able much to annoie their countrie for that yeare. And ſo their talke brake vp without anie concluſion of agréement at all; and forthwith was the armie ſet forward, a good part whereof had lien all this time of the treatie in Yorke, and in the countries thereabouts.

The Engliſh armie entreth into Scotland.

When the whole power was aſſembled, the duke of Norffolke then lieutenant generall, accompanied with the earles of Shrewſburie, Derbie, Cumberland, Surreie, Hertford, Angus, Rutland, and the lords of the north parts, and ſir Anthonie Browne maſter of the horſſes, ſir John Gage controllor of the kings houſe, and others, hauing with them twentie thouſand men well and warlike appointed, entred Scotland the one and twentith of October, and tarried there eight daies, without hauing anie battell offered vnto them, in which ſpace they burnt theſe townes and villages, Paxton, Ramrige, Stine, Gradin, Shilles, lang Ednem, Newton, Skitſhell, Newthorne, Smellem ſpittle, the two Merdens, Sledericke, and the two Broxlawes, Floris, and the Faire croft, Ednem ſpittle, Roxborough, Kelſeie and the abbeie, long Spronſtow, Riden, and Hadenſton. For they had determined with fire and ſword to take vtter reuenge, crieng out, as the poet ſaith;

Vindice ferro opus eſſe, opus eſſe & vindice flamma,
Acclamant omnes.

Now while the duke was at Farnton, the fourth daie after his comming into Scotland, there came to ſpeake with him halfe a mile from the campe, the biſhop of Orkeneie, and James Leirmouth ſent from the king of Scots to intreat of peace, but they agréed not. Finallie, after the Engliſhmen had lien ſo long within Scotland as they might recouer vittels, at length for neceſſitie they returned to Berwike. In all which iourneie the ſtandard of the earle of Southampton, late lord priuie ſeale (which died at Newcaſtell before their entring into Scotland) was borne in the fore-ward, becauſe he was appointed capteine of the ſame.

The earle of Southamptons ſtandard.

An armie of Scots inuade England.

The king of Scots, hearing that the Engliſh armie was returned, raiſed a power of fiftéene thouſand men forth of all parts of his realme, vnder the guiding of the lord Maxwell (or rather of Oliuer Sincler, as the Scots affirme) boaſting to tarrie as long in England, as the duke of Norffolke had tarried in Scotland. And ſo on fridaie being ſaint Katharins euen, they paſſed ouer the water of Eſke, and burnt certeine houſes of the Greues on the verie border. Thomas baſtard Dacres, with Jacke of Muſgraue ſent word to ſir Thomas Wharton lord Warden for the king vpon the weſt marches, to come forward to ſuccour them. But in the meane while the Scots entring verie fiercelie, the aforeſaid two valiant capteins, baſtard Dacres and Muſgraue, manfullie ſet vpon the Scots with one hundred light horſſes, and left a ſtale on the ſide of a hill, wherewith the Scots were wonderfullie diſmaied, thinking that either the duke of Norffolke with his whole armie had béene come to thoſe weſt marches, or that ſome other great power had béene comming againſt them, when they ſaw onelie ſir Thomas Wharton with thrée hundred men marching forward toward them. But ſo it fortuned at that time vndoubtedlie, as God would haue it, that the Scots fled at the firſt brunt, whome the Engliſhmen followed, and tooke priſoners at their pleaſure; for there was ſmall reſiſtance, or none at all ſhewed by the Scots.

The error of the Scots.

The Scots flie.

Scotiſh lords taken at Solem Moſſe.

Amongſt others that were taken, we find theſe men of name, the earle of Caſſill and Glencarne, the lord Maxwell admerall of Scotland, and warden of the weſt marches, the lord Fleming, the lord Sumerwell, the lord Oliphant, the lord Greie, ſir Oliuer Sincler the kings minion, John Roſſe lord of Gragie, Robert Erſkin ſon to the lord Erſkin, Carre lard of Gredon, the lord Maxwelles two brethren, John Leſleie baſtard ſon to the earle of Rothus, George Hume lard of Hemitton, John Mateland lard of Wike caſtell, James Pringell, James Sincler brother to Oliuer Sincler, John Carmell capteine of Craſforth, Patrike Hebborne eſquire, John Seton eſquire ſon in law to the lord Erſkin, William Seton eſquire, John Steward couſin to the king, John Morrowe eſquire, Henrie Droumont eſquire, James Mitton eſquire, John Cormurth eſquire capteine of Gainſforth, James Milton eſquire, and other eſquiers and gentlemen (beſide the earles and lords before mentioned) to the number of two hundred and aboue, and more than eight hundred other perſons of meaner calling; ſo that ſome one Engliſhman, yea ſome women had thrée or foure priſoners. They tooke alſo foure and twentie péeces of ordinance, foure carts laden with ſpeares, and ten pauilions, with other things of price; ſo that this might well be ſaid to be the handie worke of God, and the verſe of the pſalme verified:

The number of priſoners and artillerie taken.

Contemplans dixi, Hæc eſt mutatio dextræ
Numinis excelſi mortalia cuncta gubernans.

The death of the king of Scotland.

The king of Scots tooke ſuch griefe and inward thought for his ouerthrow, and alſo for the murther of an Engliſh herald that was ſlaine at Dunbar, by one Léech an Engliſhman (the which for the rebellion in Lincolnſhire was fled into Scotland) that he fell into a hot ague, and thereof died, although manie reported that he was at the bickering, and receiued there his deaths wound, and fled therewith into Scotland. But of his death, and of the birth of his daughter ye may ſée more in the hiſtorie of Scotland.

Of theſe priſoners before named, one and twentie of them were brought to London, and on the ninetéenth of December entred into the citie by Biſhops gate, and ſo were conueied to the tower, where they remained for the ſpace of two daies: and vpon ſaint Thomas daie the apoſtle, being the one and twentith of December, they were conueied to Weſtminſter, ſir John Gage conſtable of the tower riding before them, and the lieutenant of the ſame tower riding behind them. They rode two and two togither, and eight of them being earls and lords, had new gowns of blacke damaſke furred with blacke conie, cotes of blacke veluet, and doublets of ſattin, with ſhirts and other apparell bought new for them at the kings charges.

Foure and twentie hath Hall.

Scots priſoners brought to London.

The Scots priſoners before the councell in the Starchamber.

Thus being ſolemnelie conueied through the ſtréets of London vnto Weſtminſter, they came before the councell ſitting in the Starchamber, and there the lord chancellor declared to them their vntruth, vnkindneſſe, and falſe diſſimulation, declaring further how the king had cauſe of war againſt them, both for denieng of their homages, and alſo for their traitorous inuaſions made into his realme without defiance, and for kéeping his ſubiects priſoners without redemption, contrarie to the ancient laws of the marches; for which doings, God (as they might perceiue) had ſcourged them. Howbeit the K. more regarding his honor than his princelie power, was content to ſhew them kindneſſe for vnkindneſſe, and right for wrong. And although he might keepe them in ſtreict priſon by iuſt law of armes, yet he was content that they ſhould haue libertie to be with the nobles of his realme in their houſes, and ſo according to their eſtates, they were appointed to dukes, earles, biſhops, knights, and gentlemen, which ſo interteined them, that they confeſſed themſelues neuer to be better vſed, nor to haue had greater chéere in all their life times.

The earle of Caſſils was appointed to be with the archbiſhop of Canturburie, the earle of Glencarne with the duke of Norffolke, the lord Fleming with the lord priuie ſeale, the lord Marwell with ſir Anthonie Browne, the lord Sumerwell with the lord chancellor, the lord Oliphant with ſir Thomas Lée, Oliuer Sincler with the duke of Suffolke, Robert Erſkin with the biſhop of Weſtminſter, the lord Mouteth with ſir Antonie Wingfield, the lord Monketh with ſir Raſe Sadler, George Hume with the earle of Hertford, the lord of Gragie with ſir Thomas Cheincie, the lard of Gredon with maiſter Goſtwike, Henrie Marwell with ſir Richard Long, Thomas Craiford with ſir Arthur Darcie, Patrike Hebborne with ſir Thomas Wriotheſleie, Iames Pringell with ſir Richard Rich, Iohn Matland with ſir Edward North, the lord Greie, Iames Sincler, and Iohn Liſleie, were appointed to men of ſuch credit, as were thought méet to anſwer for their ſafe kéeping.

The two and twentith of December, tidings came of the king of Scots death, and vpon S. Iohns daie in Chriſtmas wéeke the foreſaid lords of Scotland were brought to the court, which was then at Gréenwich, where they had great cheare, and went before the king to the chappell, and were lodged within the court. Herevpon ye muſt conſider, that whereas the king of Scots had left no iſſue behind him in life but onelie one daughter, the king and his councell perceiuing a meane now offered, whereby without warre the two realmes might be vnited, theſe Scottiſh lords hauing firſt made the motion themſelues, for a mariage to be had betwixt prince Edward and their yong quéene, the king required their helpe vnto the furtherance of that matter, which might be a great benefit to themſelues & their countrie. This they promiſed faithfullie to doo, and aſwell by themſelues as by their friends, to bring the ſame to effect, ſo much as the king could require. Wherevpon the king was not onelie contented to releaſe them home, but alſo highlie rewarded them with rich and coſtlie gifts of ſundrie ſorts, in moſt bountifull wiſe, as *Anglorum prælia* noteth verie well, ſaieng:

A motion of a mariage betwéene prince Edward and the yong Scottiſh quéene.

Præterea ex auro captiuos torquibus ornat,
Et ſumptum, veſtes, argentum donat & aurum.

The thirtith of December they departed from the court, and the morrow after, eight of them dined with ſir Iohn Cotes then lord maior of London, and the reſt with the ſhiriffes, and had verie great cheare. On Newyeares daie they departed from London homewards towards Scotland, and rode to Enfield to ſée the prince, and there dined that day, greatlie reioiſing, as by their words and countenance it ſéemed, to behold ſo proper and towardlie an impe. From thence they kept on their iournie till they came to the north parts, where they found the duke of Suffolke the kings lieutenant there, and with him remained till ſuch pledges were come forth of Scotland, as it was couenanted they ſhould leaue behind them.

The Scots depart into their owne countrie.

1543

The duke then after he had receiued the hoſtages, permitted them to depart, and ſo they returned into Scotland, where they were gladlie welcomed by their kinſmen and friends. With them went alſo the earle of Angus, who had béene baniſhed Scotland, and hauing remained here in England a long time, receiued of the kings fée, a thouſand marks by yeare; and likewiſe his brother ſir George Dowglas, who had fiue hundred markes yearelie likewiſe of the kings gift. They were now both reſtored home into their countrie, and that (as was ſaid) by the kings laſt will. The ſaid earle of Angus, and diuerſe of the lords that had béene priſoners here in England, were made of the priuie councell of the realme by the earle of Arraine, that was choſen gouernour to the yong quéene, and of the realme, as next heire apparent: notwithſtanding that the archbiſhop of ſaint Andrews, and cardinall of the ſée of Rome, enimie mortall vnto the king of England for the popes cauſe (and partlie ſet on by the French king) had forged a will, expreſſing how the king had made him gouernour (aſſociat with two earles of his affinitie) as well of the quéene as realme, contrarie to the lawes of Scotland. Wherevpon the ſaid earle of Arraine, according to his right (as he pretended) with the helpe of his friends, tooke vpon him the authoritie of gouernor, and put the ſaid cardinall in priſon, and deliuered ſir Robert Bowes, and the other Engliſh priſoners, by their bonds, according to the cuſtome of the marches.

The munificence of king Henrie to the earle of Angus.

Archbiſhop of S. Andrew deadlie enimie to K. Henrie.

The earle of Arraine.

Sir Robert Bowes deliuered.

All this yeare was neither perfect peace nor open warre betwixt England and France, but the merchants ſhips were taken and robbed on both parts; and at length merchants goods were ſeized, and the ambaſſadors of both realms ſtaied. Howbeit, ſhortlie after the ambaſſadors were deliuered; but the merchants ſtill were robbed, and no warre proclamed. In the end of this yeare came from the gouernor of Scotland as ambaſſadors, ſir William Hamilton, and Iames Leirmouth the ſecretarie of Scotland, whoſe meſſage was ſo meanlie liked, that they were faine to ſend an herald into Scotland for other ambaſſadors, and ſo came hither the earle of Glencarne, and ſir George Dowglas: but whatſoeuer their anſwer was, ſir George returned in poſt, and within twentie daies came backe againe with an anſwer that was well liked of. But ſhortlie after they brake promiſe, and went from that which they had couenanted, greatlie to their reproch.

Ambaſſadors from Scotland.

Wood was ſold verie deare in the winter ſeaſon of this yeare, and likewiſe vittels both fleſh and fiſh grew to an high price towards the ſpring, by reaſon (as was thought) of the vntemperate wet ſummer laſt paſt, cauſing great death among cattell. A quarter of mutton was ſold for two ſhillings, or ſeuen grotes, a lambe at thrée ſhillings, or thrée and foure pence, which afore that time was eſtéemed ſcarſe worth ſixtéene pence. Againſt Eaſter at a court of aldermen kept in the Guildhall the twentith of March 1542, it was enacted by the lord maior and his brethren, that the maior and ſhiriffs ſhould be ſerued at their tables but with one courſe at dinner and ſupper in their houſes; the maior to haue but ſeuen diſhes at the moſt at one meſſe for his owne table, and the ſhiriffs and euerie other alderman but ſix diſhes, vpon paine to forfeit for euerie diſh fortie ſhillings at euerie time when they offended in this ordinance. Alſo that the ſargeants and yeomen of their houſes ſhould haue but thrée diſhes at dinner or ſupper, the ſwordbearers meſſe onlie excepted, which ſhould be allowed to haue one diſh more. It was alſo enacted, that from the feaſt of Eaſter then next inſuing, neither the maior nor his brethren ſhould buie anie crane, ſwan, or buſtard, vpon paine to forfeit for euerie foule by them ſo bought, twentie ſhillings, the offenſe to be tried by oth, if it ſhould be preſented.

A dearth.

A neceſſarie & wholſome ordinance for moderation in diet.

In the beginning of this yeare, on Trinitie ſundaie, was a new league ſworne betwéene the

Anno Reg. 35. A league betwixt the king of England and the emperour.

king and the emperour at Hampton court, either of them to be friends to the others friends, and enimies to the others enimies. ¶ In this yeare alſo a proclamation was made, whereby the people were licenced to eate whit meats in Lent, but ſtreitlie forbidden the eating of fleſh. Wherevpon ſhortlie after the earle of Surrie, with diuerſe lords, knights, and gentlemen, were impriſoned for eating of fleſh in the ſame Lent, contrarie to the ſaid proclamation. The eight of Maie, one Léech, ſometimes bailie of Louth, who had killed Summerſet one of our heralds of armes at Dunbar in Scotland, was drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged and quartered. And the twelfe of Iune, Edward Léech his brother, and with him a prieſt, for the ſame fact were likewiſe executed at Tiburne.

Abr.Fl. ex I.S. pag.1026.
Whit meats licenced to be eaten in Lent, and noble men puniſhed for breaking the law.

Summerſet an herald killed, & the offendor dieth as a traitor.

First iron péeces caſt.

This yeare the firſt caſt péeces of iron that euer were made in England, were made at Buckeſtéed in Suſſex, by Rafe Hoge, and Peter Bawd.] The third of Iune came to the court from the realme of Ireland, thrée Iriſh lords, Obrin, Macke William a Burgh, and Macke Gilpatrike. In Iulie the ſaid Obrin was created earle of Towmon, Macke William a Burgh, earle of Claurickford, and ſir Dunon Obrin was made baron of Ebrankie, and ſo with rewards they tooke leaue and returned. The ſame moneth alſo, the Scotiſh ambaſſadors returned with great rewards. The twelfe of Iulie, at Hampton court, the king maried the ladie Katharine Par, widow, late wife vnto the lord Latimer deceaſed, and then ſhe was nominated quéene, and ſo proclamed.

Creations of earles and barons.

The king marieth the ladie Katharine Par.

In the parlement holden this yeare at Weſtminſter, a ſubſidie was granted to the king, to be paied in thrée yeares. Euerie Engliſhman being woorth in goods twentie ſhillings & vpward to fiue pounds, paied foure pence of euerie pound. From fiue pounds to ten pounds, eight pence. From ten pounds to twentie pounds, ſixtéene pence. From twentie pounds and vpward, of euerie pound two ſhillings. Strangers as well denizens as other, being inhabitants, doubled this ſumme: and euerie ſtranger not being an inhabitant, that was ſixtéene yéeres of age and vpwards, paid foure pence for euerie poll. And for lands, fées, and annuities, euerie one borne within the kings dominions, paid eight pence of the pound, from twentie ſhillings to fiue pounds. And from fiue pounds to ten pounds, ſixtéene pence. From ten pounds to twentie pounds, two ſhillings. And from twentie pounds and vpwards, thrée ſhillings; ſtrangers ſtill doubling this ſumme. The cleargie granted a ſubſidie of ſix ſhillings the pound, to be paied of their benefices in perpetuities in thrée yeares inſuing: and euerie prieſt hauing no perpetuitie, but an annuall ſtipend, paid yearelie (during the ſaid thrée yeares) ſix ſhillings and eight pence.

Corporations, fraternities, & cōmunalties paid more as well of their lands as goods as appeareth by the ſtatute.

Articles demanded of the French king.

About the ſame time, the king and the emperour ſent Garter and Toiſon Dor, kings at armes, to demand the performance of certeine articles of the French king, which if he denied, they were commanded then to defie him, but he would not ſuffer them to come within his land, & ſo they returned. Wherevpon the king cauſed the ſaid demands to be declared to the French ambaſſador at Weſtminſter. And in Iulie the king ſent ouer ſix thouſand men, vnder the leading of ſir Iohn Wallop, appointed to haue the generall conduction of them, accompanied with diuerſe other knights, eſquiers and gentlemen right hardie and valiant. Sir Thomas Seimer was marſhall of that armie, ſir Robert Bowes treaſuror, ſir Richard Cromwell capteine of the horſſemen, and ſir George Carew his lieutenant. There were likewiſe ſir Thomas Palmer, ſir Iohn Reinſforth, ſir Iohn ſaint Iohn, and ſir Iohn Gaſcoigne, knights, that were capteines of the footmen. They were appointed to ioine with the emperours power, and ſo to make warre into France. They departed from Calis the two and twentith of Iulie. The third of Auguſt open warre was proclamed in London betwixt the emperour and the king of England on the one part, and the French king on the other, as enimie mortall to them both, and to all other chriſtian princes beſide, as he that had confederated himſelfe with the Turke.

The armie that was ſent ouer vnder the leading of ſir Iohn Wallop, paſſed foorth from the marches of Calis, and kéeping alongſt betwixt the borders of the French and Burgonion pales and confines, and ioining with the emperors forces, Spaniards, Wallons, and Dutch, came at length before Landerſeie, a towne latelie fortified by the French, within the borders of the emperors dominions, to the which they laid a ſtrong ſiege. At length the emperour hauing diſpatched his wars againſt the duke of Cleue, who had ſubmitted himſelfe vnto him, came now to the ſiege of Landerſeie, with a mightie power of ſundrie nations, ſo that the towne was ſore conſtreined and in danger to haue béene loſt, if at that preſent the French king had not likewiſe with an huge armie of Frenchmen, Switzers, Lantſquenets, Italians, and others, come to the reſcue, pitching downe his campe, making countenance as if he ment preſentlie to giue battell: and verelie it was thought that two ſuch powers as were there at that time ſo néere togither, ſhould neuer haue departed without battell. The emperor thinking ſuerlie to fight, raiſed his ſiege, and drew his people into the field. The Frenchmen thereby eſpieng their aduantage, put as well freſh men as vittels, and all kind of munition neceſſarie into the towne, and in the meane while kept the emperours people occupied with hot ſkirmiſhes.

Landerſeie beſieged.

The French king commeth to the reſcue of Landerſeie.

But now after the towne was thus reléeued, which thing the French king onelie wiſhed to accompliſh, the next daie when the emperor was readie with his armie ranged in battell to haue fought with his aduerſaries, the French king put his armie alſo in order; but hauing no mind to come forward, he trifled foorth that daie, and in the night following, ſecretlie departed with as much haſte as was poſſible. When the next morning had diſcouered the Frenchmens flight (for manie ſo termed this their ſudden retire) it was no néed to bid diuerſe troops of the emperours armie to hie after them: but ſome made too much haſte. For the French king ſuſpecting what would inſue, appointed his eldeſt ſonne Henrie the Dolphin to remaine behind with the rereward, accompanied with diuerſe noble capteins, which ordered their people in their retire with ſuch warineſſe and héedfull ſkill, as the reaſon of warre required, that ſuch of the emperours campe as aduentured ouer raſhlie, and ſhewed themſelues more forward than wiſe, fell within danger of ſuch ambuſhments as were by the waie couertlie laid in places of aduantage: and ſo diuerſe were taken, as ſir George Carew, ſir Thomas Palmer knight porter of Calis, Edward Bellingham, and others. But neuertheleſſe a great number of ſuch Frenchmen as could not make waie, and kéepe paſe with their maine troops, were ſnapped vp, ſlaine, and taken in no ſmall numbers by their enimies, who followed them as egre as tigers, and as the deſcriber of that purſute ſaith:

The French king retireth backe with his armie.

Imbuit & gladios manante cruore Britannus.

This was after Alhalowentide, ſo that now by reaſon the winter was farre entred, and the weather waxing extreame foule, and contrarie to an armie that ſhould lie in the fields, the emperour brake vp his

The emperor breaketh vp his campe.

his campe and licenced the moſt part of his people to depart home into their countries, for all hope to win Landerſeie at that time was cleane cut off, ſith it was vittelled and newlie furniſhed with freſh men and munition. After that the warres were once open betwixt England and France, ſundrie enterpriſes were attempted by the parties on either ſide in the marches of Calis and Bullognois, in which, for the moſt part, the Engliſhmen got the vpper hand of their enimies.

At one time the Frenchmen, to the number of eight hundred, comming in the night ſeaſon to enter into the Engliſh pale by the turne pike at Hammes, in purpoſe to make ſome ſpoile in the countrie there, were aſſailed vpon the ſudden by ſir George Summerſet, and ſir William Walgraue, latelie before come ouer with two hundred men out of Suffolke, to ſtrengthen the Engliſh pale againſt the enimies, and at this time did behaue themſelues ſo valiantlie, that they diſappointed the enimies of their purpoſe. For whereas they were entered into a lane incloſed with hedges on either ſide, ſixteene archers getting into the grounds on the backe ſide of the hedges lieng alongſt the lane, through which the Frenchmen were marching, placed themſelues as they ſaw their aduantage, and ſo beſtowed their ſhot, that they galled the Frenchmen in ſuch wiſe, that they were forced to recule in ſo great diſorder, that other of the Engliſhmen comming vpon them, eaſilie ſlue and tooke of them no ſmall number.

Beſide this, at ſundrie times the Engliſhmen inuading the countrie of Bullognois, waſted the townes and villages, brought awaie great booties of goods and cattell, to the great impoueriſhing of the countrie. They burnt at one time the towne of Audinghen, and tooke the ſteeple of the church there, into the which were fled ſix ſcore pezzants with their wiues and children, whome the Engliſhmen threw downe headlong out of the ſteeple, bicauſe they had moſt ſtubbornelie refuſed to yeeld. In this yeare a great death of the peſtilence reigned in London, and therefore Michaelmaſſe terme was adiourned to S. Albons, and there kept till the end thereof. The eighteenth of December the archbiſhop of Canturburies palace at Canturburie was burnt, and therin was burnt his brother in law, and other men.

A great death in London.

I. Stow, pag. 1027.

Ambaſſadors from the emperour.

In Chriſtmaſſe weeke came to the king lieng at Hampton court, Ferdinando Gonzaga viceroie of Sicilie, prince of Malfeta, duke of Iuano, the emperours capteine generall. The chiefeſt cauſe of his comming was, to appoint what time the emperours armie ſhould be readie to inuade France. He had great cheere, and at his departure was rewarded with a hundred and fiftie three ounces of gold in plate, and foure thouſand and three ounces in guilt plate, all verie curiouſlie wrought, and all the time of his being here, his charges were borne by the king. The ſundaie before Chriſtmas, the lord William Par brother to the queene, who had married the daughter & heire of Henrie Bourchier erle of Eſſex, at Hampton court was created earle of Eſſex, & ſir Will. Par knight vncle to them both, was made lord Par of Horton, & chamberleine to the queene.

The lord Par created earle of Eſſex.

1544

The lord Wriotheſleie. Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 1027.

Foure Eclipſes.

Germaine Gardner and other executed.

I. Stow 1005.

On New yeares daie, was ſir Thomas Wriotheſleie the kings ſecretarie made lord Wriotheſleie of Tichfield. ¶ This yeare chanced foure eclipſes, one of the ſunne the fourteenth of Ianuarie, and three of the moone. On the ſeuenth of March, Germaine Gardner, and Larke perſon of Chelſeie were executed at Tiburne, for denieng the kings ſupremacie, & with whom was executed for other offenſes one Singleton. And ſhortlie after Aſhbeie was likewiſe executed for the ſupremacie. In this yeare ſir Iohn Allen (who had bin twiſe maior of London, & of councell to the king) departing out of this life, did giue to the citie of London a rich collar of gold, to be worne by the maior: which collar was firſt worne by ſir William Laxton on S. Edwards daie, to the election of the new maior, who gaue to euerie ward in London twentie pounds to be diſtributed to the poore houſholders, beſides to one hundred and twentie perſons, three ſcore men euerie of them a gowne of brode cloth, and a blacke cap, and threeſcore women, to euerie of them a gowne of the like cloth, and a white kerchiefe. Humfreie Monmouth, and Iohn Cotes which were ſhiriffes in his maioraltie, in the beginning of their yeare put awaie twelue ſargeants and twelue yeomen, till they were forced by a court of common councell to take them againe.]

Charitable deeds of ſir Iohn Allen.

Shiriffes put awaie their officers.

In this meane while was the cardinall of Scotland deliuered forth of priſon, and ſhortlie after got into his hands againe all ſuch concluſions as were made touching the marriage betwixt the queene of Scots and prince Edward, procuring in maner all the lords and nobles of the realme to renounce that which they had promiſed to the king of England, as well diuerſe of thoſe whome the ſaid king had releaſed home out of captiuitie, as others. Wherwith the king tooke ſuch ſore diſpleaſure, that he prepared an armie to paſſe into Scotland by ſea, and ordeined the lord Edward Seimer, earle of Hertford to be lieutenant of the north parts, and to haue the leading of the ſame armie: who went thither in March, as well for defenſe of the borders, as to foreſee all things in order for the armie that ſhould thus go into Scotland, whereof he was appointed generall.

The earle of Hertford lieutenant of the north.

When all things were in a readineſſe for the nauie which was rigged to ſet forward towards Scotland, and that the ſoldiers were come which were appointed to go with ſir Iohn Dudleie lord Liſle, and high admerall of England in that voiage, they were imbarked, and ſo the two and twentith of March the ſaid lord admerall, with ſir Nicholas Pointz, and diuerſe other knights and capteins departed from the port of London towards the north parts; and comming to Newcaſtell, found the erle of Hertford readie with ſuch power as was appointed to be there at a daie aſſigned, forth of thoſe countries that lie from Trent northwards. And now wanted nothing to further their iournie, but a conuenient wind; which cauſed them to ſtaie certeine daies at the ſaid towne of Newcaſtell, and in the villages thereabouts.

The lord admerall Dudleie ſetteth forth from London towards Scotland.

Anno Reg. 36.

After that the earle of Hertford, and the lord admerall, accompanied with the earle of Shreweſburie, the lords Cobham, Clinton, Conters, Stinton, the lord William Howard, and manie other right valiant knights, gentlemen, and capteines, had lien with the armie and nauie readie at Newcaſtell a certeine time, looking for a proſperous wind to ſet forward on their purpoſed iournie, at length the ſame came about verie fit to ſerue their turne, and then with all ſpeed the ſoldiers were beſtowed abord, euerie companie in their appointed veſſels: and herewith vp went the ſailes, and forth they got into the maine ſeas, making their courſe directlie towards the Forth, a gulfe or riuer in Scotland, able to beare veſſels fiftie miles vp within the countrie. There were at the leaſt two hundred ſaile which the lord admerall had cauſed to come togither, according to his commiſſion, rigged, trimmed, and furniſhed with all things neceſſarie for the conduction of ſuch an armie, eſteemed to be about ten thouſand men.

The armie ſetteth forward by ſea towards Scotland.

The number of the Engliſh armie.

The third of Maie they arriued in the Forth, entring betweene two Ilands, the Bas and the Maie. The next daie being the fourth of Maie, the whole armie was landed two miles by weſt the towne of Lith, at a place called Grantham crag. And forthwith the lord lieutenant putting his people in good

The Engliſh armie landeth in Scotland.

The Scots offer to impeach the Engliſhmens paſſage.

The Scots flie to Edenburgh.

order of warre, marched on towards the ſaid towne of Lith. The lord admerall led the fore-ward, the lord lieutenant the battell, and the earle of Shrewesburie gouerned the rere-ward. Before they came to the towne of Lith, they found in their waie readie to impeach their paſſage ſix thouſand horſſemen beſide footmen. At the firſt the Scots made towards the Engliſhmen, as if they had ment to ſet vpon the voward: but being manfullie aſſailed by the harquebutters, fiue hundred in number, and ſhrewdlie by them curried and galled, they had no mind to come forward, but perceiuing how willing the Engliſhmen were to incounter with them, after certeine ſhot on both ſides, they made a ſudden retreat, and leauing their artillerie behind them, they fled to Edenburgh.

The firſt man that fled (as the talke went) was the cardinall, who perceiuing the deuotion which the Engliſhmen had to ſée his holineſſe, had no mind to tarie. With him alſo fled the gouernour, the earles of Huntleie, Murreie, and Bothwell: as for their ſoldiers, they were diſparkled, and feared the Engliſh forces as the lambe dooth the wolfe, the doe the dog, or the hart the lion: to vſe the words of Anglorum prælia verie fitlie deſcribing this battell, and ſaieng:

Exhorrent, vt dama canes, vt cerua leones.

The Engliſh armie entreth into Lith.

The Engliſhmen thus hauing put their enimies to flight, & ſeized vpon their artillerie, made ſtreight to the towne of Lith, and entered it without anie great reſiſtance, wherein they incamped themſelues the ſame night to their moſt eaſe and aduantage, and afterwards landed their vittels and great artillerie. They found alſo in this towne ſuch plentie of riches as they looked not to haue found in anie one towne of Scotland.

The prouoſt of Edenburghs requeſt.

The earle of Hertfords anſwer.

The ſixt of Maie they went towards Edenburgh, and as they approched néere the towne, the prouoſt of the ſame towne accompanied with one or two burgeſſes, and two or thrée officers at armes, deſired to ſpeake with the kings lieutenant, and in the name of all the towne, ſaid that the keies of the towne ſhould be deliuered vnto his lordſhip, conditionallie that they might go with bag & baggage, and the towne to be ſaued from fire. Wherevnto anſwer was made by the ſaid lord lieutenant, that where the Scots had ſo manifeſtlie broken their promiſes confirmed by oths and ſeales, and certified by the whole parlement, as was euidentlie knowne to the world, he was ſent thither by the kings highneſſe to take vengeance of their deteſtable falſehood, to declare and ſhew the force of his highneſſe ſword to all ſuch as ſhould make anie reſiſtance vnto his graces power ſent thither for that purpoſe. And therfore he told them reſolutelie, that vnleſſe they would yéeld vp their towne franklie without condition, and cauſe man, woman, and child, to iſſue forth into the fields, ſubmitting them to his will and pleaſure, he would put them to the ſword, and their towne to the fire. The prouoſt anſwered it were better to ſtand to their defenſe.

Sir Chriſtopher Morice.

Edenburgh entered by force.

Wherevpon charge was giuen to the ſaid prouoſt and officer at armes, vpon their perill to depart. And forthwith the lord lieutenant ſent to the voward, commanding that they ſhould march toward the towne, which right hardilie they did, and the Engliſh gunners manfullie aſſailed the gates; namelie ſir Chriſtopher Morice maſter of the ordinance, inſomuch that the Scots were beaten from their ordinance, and the gate called Canogate beaten open with ſhot of the great artillerie, and therewith the Engliſhmen entering the ſame gate by fine force, beat downe & ſlue a great number of Scots, and continuallie without ſtaieng was the great ordinance drawne vp the ſtréet to the caſtell gates; but thoſe that were within the caſtell ſhot ſo fréelie at the Engliſhmen thus approching with their great artillerie, that diuerſe were ſlaine, the artillerie of the caſtell beat ſo directlie alongeſt the high ſtréet, as the Engliſhmen came vp the ſame. At length alſo one of the Engliſhmens culuerings was ſtriken, and diſmounted, and therevpon they were forced to retire backe and giue ouer their enterpriſe of making batterie to the caſtell, wanting pioners, baſkets, and other things neceſſarie for ſuch a purpoſe.

This daie the Engliſhmen ſet fire in diuerſe parts of the towne, but they had not leaſure to mainteine it, by reaſon of the ſmoke riſing and troubling them ſo extremelie, that no great hurt could be doone that daie, for that the night alſo came on, and ſo they departed backe againe to their campe at Lith. But the next daie, a certeine number of Engliſhmen vnder the leading of doctor Leigh, went againe to Edenburgh, and did what they could, vtterlie to deſtroie the whole towne with fire, and ſo continued all that daie & the two daies next following. During all this violence offered by the Engliſh to the enimie, & nothing left but deſpaire of life, the women and children beholding this deſolation, made ſuch outragious exclamations and wofull lamentations, that heauen it ſelfe rang with their noiſe, as verie pithilie is deſcribed by Chr. O. in his report, ſaieng:

Fœminei ſexus gemitus ad ſydera grandi
Tolluntur ſtrepitu, puerorum clamor in auras,
Nil niſi triſte fuit, faciéſque miſerrima rerum.

The lord Euers brought a power of horſſemen from the borders.

In the meane time, foure thouſand light horſſemen, vnder the leading of the lord Euers, came from our borders, as order was taken afore, and ioined themſelues with the armie thus lieng in Lith, where after their comming, they did ſuch exploits, in riding and waſting the countrie, that within ſeuen miles euerie waie of Edenburgh, they left few places, either pile, village, or houſe vnburnt. And beſide this, they brought great numbers of cattell dailie into the armie, and met with much good ſtuffe, which the inhabitants of Edenburgh had for the ſafetie of the ſame conueied out of the towne.

Knights created at Lith by the earle of Hertford.

The names of the knights made at Lith after the burning of Edenburgh by the earle of Hertford, generall of the kings armie there, on ſundaie the eleuenth of Maie, in the ſix & thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare 1544, as they were deliuered to me by ſir Gilbert Dethike knight, *aliàs* Garter, king of armes, are as followeth: The lord Clinton, the lord Coniers, ſir William Wroughton, ſir Thomas Holcroft, ſir Edward Dorrell, ſir John Luttrell, ſir John Jenins, ſir Thomas Waterton, ſir Charles Howard, ſir George Blunt, ſir Peter Mewtas, ſir Edward Warner, ſir Raſe Bulmer, ſir Hugh Cholmeleie, ſir Thomas Leigh, *aliàs* doctor Leigh, ſir Richard Leigh, ſir Peter Leigh, ſir John Leigh of Booth, ſir Lawrence Smith, ſir William Vauaſour, ſir Richard Shirburne, ſir Robert Stapleton, ſir Thomas Holt, ſir William Dauenport, ſir Raſe Leiceſter, ſir Humfrie Bradborne, ſir Thomas Maliuereie, ſir Francis Hothome, ſir John Maſſie, ſir Leonard Beckwith, ſir Thomas Cokaine, ſir Peter Freſhwell, ſir Richard Egerton, ſir Anthonie Neuill, ſir John Neuill, ſir William Ratcliffe, ſir George Bowes, ſir Brian Brereton, ſir William Brereton, ſir Roger Brereton, ſir Edward Waren, ſir Brian Leiton, ſir Robert Worſeleie, ſir Thomas Talbot, ſir Hugh Caluerleie, ſir John Clere, ſir Richard Holland, ſir Thomas Venables, ſir John Conſtable, ſir Edmund Trafford, ſir John Atherton, ſir Richard Cholmeleie, ſir Philip Egerton, ſir Hugh Willoughbie, ſir Thomas Conſtable, ſir William Woodhouſe, ſir Edmund Sauage, and ſir Thomas Gerard.

On the fouretéenth daie the Engliſhmen brake downe the pire of the hauen of Lith, and burnt euerie ſticke of it. This doone, and hauing ſhipped their great artillerie, and taken forth all ſuch Scottiſh ſhips as were meet to ſerue, appointing them to attend on their ſhips, they tooke vpon them to returne home by land. Amongſt other ſhips which the Engliſhmen had in Lith hauen, there were two of notable faireneſſe, the one called the Salamander, giuen by the French king at the marriage of his daughter into Scotland, the other called the Vnicorne, made by the late Scottiſh king. The balaſt of theſe two ſhips was cannon ſhot, which they found in the towne, to the number of foure ſcore thouſand. The reſt of the Scottiſh ſhips being taken awaie togither with their owne ſhips, which they brought with them, were for the more part peſtered with the ſpoile and booties of the ſouldiors & mariners. On the fifteenth of Maie, their armie and their fleet departed from Lith both in one houre, the towne being ſet on fire and burned to the ground.

Lith burnt.

The lord Seaton.

The Engliſh armie incamped that night at a place called Seaton, ſeuen miles from Lith, where they burnt the caſtell, and deſtroied the orchards and gardens with the more deſpite, for that the lord Seaton owner of the place, was the chiefe laborer to helpe the lord cardinall out of priſon. The ſame daie was Haddington burnt, with a great nunrie and houſe of friers there. The next night they incamped beſide Dunbar, where they had an alarum giuen them, but in the morning they burnt the towne of Dunbar, and marched forth, though ſomewhat ſtaid by the waie, by reaſon of the miſt and fog, which was verie thicke, continuing all the forenoone, and bicauſe alſo they vnderſtood how the lords of Seton & Hume with the lard of Bouclough, and others, had aſſembled a power of men of warre, and were minded to impeach their paſſage at a ſtreict named the Peaſe.

Haddington burnt.

Dunbar burnt.

But after that the miſt brake vp, which was about two of the clocke in the afternoone, the Engliſhmen came forward, and paſſed the ſame ſtreict without anie reſiſtance. For the Scottiſh lords perceiuing that they were not of power ſufficient to incounter with the Engliſhmen, minded not to put their people in their danger, but wiſelie retired, ſuffering the Engliſhmen to paſſe at their pleaſure, who that night lodged at Ranton, eight miles diſtant from our borders, where hauing ouerthrowne a pile which ſtood there, they diſlodged the next morrow, and the ſame daie being the eighteenth of Maie, they entered into Berwicke: ſo ending their voiage with great ioie and gladneſſe, not hauing loſt paſt fortie perſons in all this iournie.

The end of the voiage.

The names of the chiefe townes, caſtels, and places burned in this voiage, were theſe: the burow and towne of Edenburgh, with the abbeie called holie Rood houſe, and the kings palace adioining to the ſame. The towne of Lith burnt, and the hauen and pire deſtroied, the caſtle and village of Cragmiller, the abbeie of Newbottle, part of Muſkelburow towne, with the chappell of our ladie of Lauret, Preſton towne and the caſtell, Seton caſtell, Hadington towne, with the friers and nunrie, a caſtell of Oliuer Sinclers, the towne of Dunbar, Laureſton with the grange, Drilaw, Weſter crag, Enderligh, the pile, and the towne, Broughton, Cheſter fields, Crawnend, Dudiſton, Stan houſe, the Ficket, Beuerton, Tranent, Shenſton, Markle, Trapren, Kirkland hill, Hatherwike, Belton, eaſt Barnes, Bowland, Butterden, Quickewood, Blackeburne, Ranton, Bildie and the Tower, Kinkorne, ſaint Monees, the queenes ferrie, part of Petin Waines, and the burnt Iland, were burned by the fleet on the ſea.

Townes burnt in the ſame voiage.

For during the continuance of the armie at Lith, the ſhips laie not idle, but ſcowring the riuer, burnt diuerſe places, and left neither ſhip, craier, nor bote belonging to anie village, towne, creeke, or hauen, vpon either ſide of the foord, betweene Sterling, and the mouth of the riuer, vnburned, or brought awaie, which ſpace conteineth fiftie miles in length. About the ſame time the earle of Lenox fled out of Scotland into the relme of England, where he was right gladlie receiued by king Henrie, and ſhortlie he obteined in marriage the ladie Marie Dowglas, neece to the king of England, and returned ſoone after into Scotland by ſea, accompanied with a good competent crue of Engliſh. But finding no ſuch friendſhip among his countrie men as he looked to haue doone, he was conſtreined to returne, without atchiuing the enterpriſe which he had taken in hand, in hope of ſuch aſſiſtance by his friends, as now failed him at need.

See more heereof in Scotland.

¶ In the moneth of Maie proclamation was made for the inhancing of gold to eight & fortie ſhillings, & ſiluer foure ſhillings the ounce. Alſo the K. cauſed to be coined baſe monie, which was ſince that time called downe, the fift yeare of Edward the ſixt, and called in the ſecond of queene Elizabeth. In the ſame moneth alſo paſſed through the citie of London in warlike maner, to the number of ſeauen hundred Iriſhmen, hauing for their weapons, darts, and handguns, with bagpipes before them: and in ſaint Iames parke beſides Weſtminſter they muſtered before the king. In Iune the letanie or proceſſion was ſet forth in Engliſh, with commandement by the king to be generallie vſed in pariſh churches.]

Abr.Fl. ex I. Stow. 1025.

Baſe monie coined.

Iriſh in warlike manner paſſe through the citie.

Proceſſion in Engliſh.

About the ſame time that the armie before remembred, was ſet forward into Scotland vnder the guiding of the earle of Hertford, as before yee haue heard, the king by aduiſe of his councell tooke order for the leuieng of a mightie armie, to paſſe ouer into France, according to the appointment taken with his confederate, freend and colleague, the emperour, againſt the French king, at that preſent common aduerſarie to them both, and not long before had entered in league with the Turks, as Ch. Oc. noteth:

An armie leuied to inuade France.

——cum dira fœdera Turcis
Iunxerat, heu nimium res eſt indigna relatu,
Chriſticolam facere hoc, qui relligionis amantem
Se profitens, titulum pietatis venditat orbi.

There were appointed three battels, the voward vnder the leading of the duke of Norffolke, the battell vnder the guiding of the duke of Suffolke, which alſo was reckoned to be the kings battell, bicauſe his maieſtie ment to be preſent with the ſame in perſon, and the rere-ward was led by the lord Ruſſell lord priuie ſeale. Thoſe of the fore-ward were appareled in blew cotes garded with red, and had caps and hoſen after the ſame ſute, partie blue and partie red, their caps made fit for their ſculs, which were put into the ſame. The battell in cotes, caps, and hoſen, after the like faſhion, but their colours were red and yellow.

Three battels apointed with their ſeuerall lieutenants.

The duke of Norffolke and the lord priuie ſeale, accompanied with diuerſe other noble men, as the earle of Surreie ſonne to the ſaid duke of Norffolke marſhall of the field, the earle of Oxford, the lord Greie of Wilton lieutenant of Hammes, whoſe name euen then began to grow famous, the lord Ferrers of Charteleie, and ſir Richard Deuereux his ſonne and heire, that brought with them a great number of Welſhmen, ſir Thomas Cheinie lord warden of the cinque ports, the lord Mountioie a towardlie yong gentleman, well learned, and for his time perfect in all points and qualities fit for a noble man, ſir Francis Brian knight, one of the kings priuie chamber, and no leſſe affectioned to his ſeruice, than of him fauoured and well eſteemed, ſir Thomas Poinings capteine of Guiſnes, and diuerſe

The duke of Norffolke & the lord priuie ſeale.

The countie de Buren.

Monſieur de Biez.

others beſide, no leſſe worthie to be remembred for their valure and merits, if time would permit to rehearſe them, paſſed ouer to Calis about Whitſuntide, and from thence marching forward to France, left Bullongne on their right hand, & keeping forth towards Muttrell, ioined with an armie which the emperour had raiſed for that purpoſe, vnder the leading of the countie de Buren, admerall of the low countries, and ſo theſe armies being vnited in one, came before Muttrell, and there laid ſiege to that towne, being well manned and furniſhed with all things neceſſarie for defenſe, as well in vittels as munition. The chéefe capteine of which towne was mounſieur de Biez one of the marſhals of France, and gouernour alſo in the abſence of monſieur de Vandoſme of Picardie, who being within Bullongne & hearing how the Engliſh armie was paſſed by, and drew towards Muttrell, he left Bullongne, and with all ſpeed got him into Muttrell, not miſtruſting anie thing of that policie which the king of England went about, which was, to ſend this armie to beſiege Muttrell, to the end the Frenchmen might be kept occupied further off, while he with the reſidue of his power ſhould come and beſiege Bullongne, which towne ſtanding moſt commodious for his purpoſe, he ment by force to bring vnder his ſubiection.

The duke of Suffolke.

Bullongne beſieged.

Herevpon was the duke of Suffolke appointed with the kings armie to paſſe ouer, accompanied with the earle of Arundell marſhall of the field, the lord ſaint Iohn, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, ſir Iohn Gage comptroller of the kings houſe, ſir Anthonie Browne maiſter of the kings horſſe, with diuerſe other worthie capteins, all which the ninteenth of Iulie came before Bullongne, incamped on the eaſtſide of the ſaid towne aloft vpon the hill, and after for his more ſafetie remooued into a vallie, where after manie ſharpe ſkirmiſhes they firſt entered the baſe towne, being left and forſaken by the inhabitants, which hauing ſet fire on their fiſhing nets, and other ſuch baggage, vnder couert of the ſmoke, got them vp into the high towne, before the Engliſhmen could eſpie them. After this, the Old man, otherwiſe called *Le toure dordre*, ſtanding without the towne for a direction to them that were to enter the hauen, and now being kept by ſixtéene ſouldiers, was yéelded vp by them, vpon preſenting the canon before it.

The king paſſeth the ſeas to Bullongne.

The Frenchmen within the towne, being deſpoiled of thoſe two places, yet ſpared not to ſhoot off from their walles and bulworkes, dooing what damage they might deuiſe, and namelie from the caſtell and gréene bulworke they did much hurt to the Engliſhmen with their ſhot, whereof they made no ſpare, till at length they were forced to be quiet: for the Engliſhmen ſo applied them with ſuch plentie of their ſhot, that the Frenchmen had no oportunitie to doo them anie great hurt with their artillerie. The fourtéenth of Iulie, the king in perſon, accompanied with diuers of the nobilitie, paſſed the ſeas from Douer to Calis; and the ſix and twentith of the ſame moneth incamped himſelfe before Bullongne, on the north ſide, within leſſe than thrée quarters of a mile of the towne, where he remained, till the towne was ſurrendered into his hands. The king being then in campe, it was a matter of eaſe to diſcerne which was he, for none of the reſt came néere him in talneſſe by the head: as for his proportion of lims, it was anſwerable to his goodlie ſtature and making: a memorable deſcription whereof, as alſo of his artificiall armour, I find reported as followeth:

Rex capite Henricus reliquos ſupereminet omnes,
Heros præualidus ſeu fortia brachia ſpectes,
Seu ſuras quas fuluo opifex incluſerat auro,
Siue virile ducis præſtanti pectore corpus,
Nulla vi domitum, nullo penetrabile ferro, &c.

Bullongne aſſaulted.

Beſide the trenches which were caſt, and brought in maner round about the town, there was a mount raiſed vpon the eaſt ſide, and diuerſe péeces of artillerie planted aloft on the ſame, the which togither with the morter péeces, ſore annoied them within, & battered downe the ſtéeple of our ladies church. To conclude, the batterie was made in moſt forcible wiſe in thrée ſeuerall places, and the walles, towers, and caſtell were vndermined, and the towne within ſo beaten with ſhot out of the campe, and from the mount and trench by the morter péeces, that there were verie few houſes left whole therein. The towne thus ſtanding in great diſtreſſe, there were two hundred Frenchmen and Italians, which interpriſed vnder the conduct of Ioncurtio to enter the town in couert of the night, which exploit they ſo warilie atchiued, that by meanes of a prieſt that could ſpeake the Engliſh tong, they paſſed by the ſcouts, & through the watch, ſo as the moſt part of them were got ouer the trenches yer it was knowne what they were: to the number of ſix ſcore of them got into the towne, but the reſidue after they were once deſeried, being intercepted, were taken or ſlaine. Although this ſmall ſuccour ſomewhat relieued them within, and put them in ſome hope to defend the towne ſomewhat longer againſt the kings power: yet at length when a péece of the caſtell was blowne vp, and the breaches made, as was thought reaſonable, the aſſault was giuen by the lord admerall Dudleie, that was come thither from the ſea, which he had ſcowred after his returne forth of Scotland.

Bullongne deliuered.

This aſſault was couragiouſlie giuen, and to ſpeake a truth, no leſſe manfullie defended: ſo that when the aſſailants had perceiued in what ſtate the breaches ſtood, and what prouiſion they within had made for defenſe of their towne, which vndoubtedlie was great (for nothing was by them omitted, that might either aduantage the defendants, or annoie the aſſailants) thoſe that were appointed in this ſort to giue the aſſault, were called backe, and ſo they retired, but not without loſſe on both ſides, and namelie of them within. For during the time of the aſſault, the great artillerie did beat ſtill vpon them that preſented themſelues at the breaches to repell the aſſailants, and ſo diuerſe of their valiant capteins and braue ſouldiers were ſlaine at this aſſault, & among other, capteine Philip Corſe. Shortlie after, the capteins within the towne, doubting to be eftſoones aſſaulted, and perceiuing themſelues in extreame danger to loſe the towne by force, if they prouided not the ſooner, by rendering it to ſaue themſelues: they ſent forth two of their chiefe capteins, monſieur Semblemont, and monſieur de Hales, which declared vnto the king, that monſieur de Veruine gouernour of the towne, with his retinue, was contented to deliuer the towne vnto his grace, with condition that they might paſſe with bag and baggage. Which requeſt the king, like a noble and mercifull prince, fréelie granted: and ſo the next daie, the duke of Suffolke rode into Bullongne, vnto whome in the kings name the keies of the towne were deliuered, & in the afternone departed out of Bullongne all the Frenchmen with heauie hearts, to the number of ſix thouſand, as C. O. witneſſeth, ſaieng:

Sex hinc exierant Gallorum millia gentis.

The number of them that went forth of Bullongne.

The number of the men of warre that were ſtrong and able to ſerue, were of horſſemen ſixtie ſeuen, of footmen fiftéene hundred, thréeſcore and thrée, of the which number eight hundred were harquebutters, of hurt men fourescore and ſeuen, of women & children ninetéene hundred and twentie ſeuen, beſide a great number of aged & ſicke perſons, not able to depart with the others. The laſt perſon that came forth was monſieur de Veruine himſelfe, who vpon his approch to the place where the king ſtood, alighted from his horſſe, and came to the king, and after hée had talked with him a ſpace, the king tooke him by the hand, and he reuerentlie knéeling vpon his knées, kiſſed his hand, and afterward mounted vpon his horſſe, and ſo departed, following his companie.

The king entereth into Bullongne.

The eight of September, the king hauing the ſword borne before him by the lord marques Dorſet, like a puiſſant conqueror rode into Bullongne, and the trumpetters ſtanding on the walles, ſounded their trumpets at the time of his entering, to the great comfort of the beholders. In the entering, there met him the duke of Suffolke, and deliuered to him the keies of the towne, and ſo he rode forth to his lodging that was prepared for him on the ſouth ſide of the towne. Within two daies after, the king rode about the towne within the walles, and appointed that our ladie church of Bullongne ſhould bée taken downe, and in the place thereof a mount to bée made, for the more ſtrengthening of the towne. Finallie after he had ſet things in order for the ſafe kéeping of this his towne of Bullongne, by his princely force thus woone out of the poſſeſſion of his aduerſaries hands, he appointed the lord Liſle high admerall of the ſeas, to be his deputie of the ſame towne, and then determining not to ſtaie there any longer, he tooke the ſeas, & returned into England, landing at Douer the firſt of October.

The king returneth into England.

In this meane time, whileſt the king of England laie (as ye haue heard) with his ſiege about Bullongne, and the duke of Norffolke, and lord priuie ſeale about Mutterell, the emperour inuaded France by Champeigne, winning diuerſe caſtels and townes, as Comerſis, Lignie, ſaint Deſir, Chauſteau, Thierie, and others. But at the length, meanes were made by treatie to haue the matter taken vp, as in the end it was, and a peace concluded without conſent of the king of England, although there was place left for him and other princes to enter into this agréement of peace. But the king of England hauing now defraied no ſmall quantitie of treaſure in theſe warres, beſide the trauell of his owne perſon and his people, and hauing the thing now in a maner ſure in his poſſeſſion, which he chéeflie went about to obteine, that is to wit, the ſtrong towne of Bullongne, he would not agrée vnto anie peace, except he might inioy that towne, at that inſtant redie to be deliuered into his hands. And euen now after it was to him deliuered, hearing that for certeine, the peace was concluded betwixt the emperour and the French king, he determined to breake vp his camps: but neuertheleſſe to kéepe Bullongne in his poſſeſſion, in deſpite of all his aduerſaries. But here, before we procéed anie farther, we haue thought good ſomewhat to ſpeake touching the ſiege which all this while continued afore Mutterell, where the Engliſhmen and Burgonians inforced themſelues by all waies and meanes they could deuiſe, how to conſtreine their enimies within the towne. On the other part, monſieur de Biez, and thoſe that were with him in gard of the ſame towne, left nothing vndone that might ſerue for their defenſe, and make to the annoiance of their enimies.

The emperor concludeth a peace with the French king.

The number of the men of war in Muttrell.

There were with monſieur de Biez within the towne, an hundred men at armes of the retinue of the conſtable of France, vnder the leading of the lord de la Guich an expert man of war. There were alſo with the lord of Genlie, foure enſignes of French footmen. Count Berenger a Neapolitane with a thouſand footmen Italians. Capteine Franciſco de Chiaramont, a Neapolitane alſo, with the like number of Italian footmen. So that the towne might ſéeme ſufficientlie furniſhed with men, and they wanted neither ſhot nor powder requiſit, ſo that there was no ſpare thereof when occaſion ſerued on either part.

A mount raiſed.

The duke of Norffolke and the lord priuie ſeale cauſed a mount to be raiſed, and aloft thereon were certeine péeces of artillerie planted to ſhoot into the towne. Moreouer they compaſſed the walles ſo on ech hand with their ſeuerall camps and trenches, that hardlie might anie eſcape either in or out vneſpied. Sir Francis Brian was appointed with certeine bands, conteining about the number of a thouſand men, to lodge in a campe fortified by himſelfe, ouer againſt one part of the towne, to ſtop certeine paſſages on that ſide, that no ſuccors ſhould enter by the ſame to the reléefe of them within. There were ſkirmiſhes dailie betwixt them that ſallied forth of the gates, and the Engliſhmen that watched and warded in the trenches, and other places, inſomuch that diuerſe loſt their liues, and ſome were irrecouerablie wounded, as *Anglorum prælia* witneſſeth, ſaieng:

Sir Francis Brian.

Confoſſi ſæuo moriuntur vulnere multi
Diſperſo cerebro, faciei nulla figura.

Tiberio, that after ſerued the king of England.

On a daie as ſir Thomas Poinings ſoldiours were warding in one of the trenches, an Italian ſecretlie comming forth of the towne, fetched awaie the ſaid ſir Thomas Poinings his enſigne; and notwithſtanding the purſute that was made after him, he eſcaped and got into the towne with it, to the great diſpleaſure of the whole campe. But as the enimies ſometimes went awaie with the aduantage of their attempted enterpriſes, ſo ofttimes againe they paid for their aduenturing ouer raſhlie aboue the common price of the market.

Negligence of Engliſhmen for not putting their valiant dooings in writing.

But here I cannot but lament the negligence vſed in that ſeaſon: for there is not one Engliſh writer to be found extant, that hath written anie thing effectuallie of the exploits atchiued in that iornie; ſo as we are driuen to borrow of the aduerſaries that haue written thereof, wanting other helps of our owne nation to furniſh our booke héerin according to our wiſhed purpoſe. But neuertheleſſe, to giue occaſion to thoſe that yet liue, and can beſt doo it, to ſet forth hereafter a more perfect diſcourſe thereof, I haue thought it not amiſſe to recite in part what I haue read and learned of ſuch things as then were accounted worthie of relation, and now like to be buried in the dimme booke of obliuion, vnleſſe ſome fauourer of notable euents chancing in the aſſiegement of thoſe two townes, Bullongne and Muttrell, will put to his helping hand to report the ſame to poſteritie.

A ſtratagem of the lord Mountioie.

Among other ſtratagems, one I remember, deuiſed and put in practiſe by the lord Mountioie, as thus. The enimies had eſpied a place of aduantage without the towne, where vnder fauour of the ſhot of certeine péeces of great artillerie lodged vpon ſome platforms or bulworks within the towne, they might lie without the walles betwixt the Engliſhmens trenches and the towne ditches, and there couer themſelues within a litle trench or counterſcarpe made for the purpoſe, and out of the ſame be readie with their harquebuſſes to ſhoot at the Engliſhmen, ſo ſoone as anie of them ſhould once ſhew his head out of the trenches, to the great danger of them that warded in the ſame.

The lord Mountioie perceiuing this, deuiſed with himſelfe how to rouſe the enimies out of that lurking place, and withall came to the duke of Norfolke, and deſired licence to put the deuiſe (which he had alreadie forecaſt in his mind) in practiſe. But the duke being not willing that he ſhould put himſelfe in ſuch danger, was loth to grant thereto, but rather perſuaded with him not to attempt it: for (ſaid he) my lord, yée may doo the king better ſeruice than ſo to hazard your life, and caſt your ſelfe awaie, as it is verie like you ſhould, in aduenturing vpon ſuch a deſperat péece of ſeruice, and therfore I would not wiſh you to meddle therewith, for we ſhall otherwiſe prouide for the matter well inough. But the lord Mountioie ſtill perſiſted in his ſute verie earneſtlie, declaring that he doubted not (by Gods helpe) but to atchiue his purpoſe to his good contentation without anie great danger, if that were executed which he tooke to be neceſſarie for the accompliſhment of his deuiſe: and that was to haue certeine péeces of the great ordinance ſhot off that waie forth, at what time the wind ſtood méet to carrie the ſmoke full vpon the place where the Frenchmen laie. At length vpon his earneſt ſute, the duke gaue him licence to trie what he could doo, commanding the great ordinance to be laid and charged readie to ſhoot off as he ſhould appoint it. Herewith the lord Mountioie taking with him fouretéene of his owne ſoldiors (of the which number one of them forſooke to go through with him when it came to the point) immediatlie vpon the ſhooting off of the artillerie, & that all the ground about was couered ouer with ſmoke, he came to the place where thoſe Frenchmen laie vnder couert of their trench, and ſo diſplaced them, that they had no liking eftſoones to lodge ſo néere vnto ſuch vnfriendlie neighbors.

A politike feat atchiued by the lord Mountioie.

Manie other valiant and politike feats (no doubt) were atchiued during this ſiege, & happilie as worthie the rehearſall as this. But ſith it was the inuention of ſo noble a yoong gentleman, I haue eſtéemed it not impertinent to ſpeake thereof, and withall to lament the loſſe of the inuentor, who being taken awaie ſhortlie after in his returne homewards, by vntimelie death, was like (if he had liued to greater yéers of experience) to haue prooued comparable in valor to anie of his noble progenitors. But now to ſpeake of other incidents that chanced whileſt this ſiege remained before Muttrell, you muſt vnderſtand that the moſt part of the vittels that was ſpent in the campe was brought to them either from the kings campe at Bullogne, or elſe from S. Omers, to conueie the ſame ſo far off, it was néedfull to haue the carriage garded with good troops and bands both of horſſemen and footmen: for the French fortreſſes were ſtronglie furniſhed with great numbers of men of war, which vpon occaſions were readie to take aduantages offered.

The lord Mountioie a noble yoong gentleman.

And as it fortuned at one time among other, there was a conuoie of certeine wagons loden with vitels appointed to come from ſaint Omers, the ſame being garded with diuerſe bands of Engliſhmen and Burgonions, ſent thither for that purpoſe, the which marching forward from ſaint Omers, kept not ſo good order as had béene requiſit: whereof certeine companies of French horſſemen that were abroad being aware, ſet vpon the Burgonions that were attendant vpon the foremoſt carriages, and finding them in ſome diſorder, eaſilie diſcomfited them, followed, and ſlue them in the chaſe, till they came to the hindermoſt carriages, where ſix hundred Engliſh men that attended on the ſame, impaled themſelues with their wagons, ſo as the Frenchmen could take no aduantage: but with ſhot of the Engliſh archers were ſo curried and galled that they were driuen to retire, and that in ſuch haſt, as they left diuerſe of their companie captiues in the Engliſhmens hands beſide thoſe that were faire laid to take their laſt ſléepe there on the ground. Neuertheleſſe, of the Burgonions there were ſlaine foure hundred, and much good vittels loſt, the bottoms of the hogſheads and other veſſels being beaten out, and manie a good Flemiſh mare killed or taken. For the Frenchmen found ſmall reſiſtance (as before ye haue heard) till they approched to the Engliſhmen, by whoſe accuſtomed manhood, ſome part of the vittels of that conuoie was ſaued, to the reléefe of the campe, which notwithſtanding by loſſe of the reſidue ſuffered great want for the time.

The Engliſh archers gall the French horſſemen.

Moreouer, ſomewhat towards the latter end of this ſiege, the earle of Surreie ſon vnto the duke of Norffolke and marſhall of his field, accompanied with the lord warden of the cinque ports, and diuerſe other valiant capteins Engliſh & Burgonions marched forth into the countrie towards Abuile, where they tooke and burnt a proper towne called ſaint Requiers: and after comming to another towne called Rieu, they found no bodie at home but women and children, for the men were departed out of it before their comming thither. When they had taken their pleaſure in ſacking all ſuch goods as they found there fit to be carried awaie, they ſpared the towne from fire, and ſo departed. And thus after they had béene two daies and two nights abroad in the countrie, they returned home to the campe with a great bootie of beaſts, ſhéepe, and other things which they had got in that voiage.

Saint Requiers burnt by the Engliſhmen.
Rieu ſacked.

But now to conclude with this ſiege of Muttrell, after the king had woone Bullongne, and vnderſtood how the emperor had agréed with his aduerſarie the French king, he reſolued to haue his armie to raiſe that ſiege which thus had lien before Muttrell, and with all cōuenient ſpéed to draw toward Calis. And becauſe it was ſignified that the Dolphin of France Henrie was comming forward with a great power, which had béene raiſed by his father the French king to reſiſt the emperor, and now was ſent vnder the conduct of the ſaid Dolphin, to the ſuccours of them that were beſieged in Muttrell, the king ſent the earle of Arundell, ſir Iohn Gage, ſir George Carew, ſir Iohn Reinſford, and others, with a choſen number of luſtie ſoldiors vnto Muttrell, to reinforce his armie there, that in leuieng the campe, and withdrawing backe, they might be the better able to withſtand anie attempt which the enimies might put in execution to their annoiance. And verelie this was doone with good aduiſe and neceſſarie conſideration, for the Engliſhmen that had lien ſo long time at the ſiege before Muttrell, wanting ſuch behoouefull refreſhment as thoſe were ſtored with that laie before Bullongne, hauing the ſeas open, and all things at pleaſure brought vnto them forth of England, were ſore weakened and decaied by death and ſickneſſe, and now in raiſing their campe had manie things to looke vnto, as well for the conueieng of their ordinance, truſſe, and baggage, as their feeble and diſeaſed perſons: ſo that if the Dolphin with his armie might haue made ſuch ſpéed forward as to haue ouertaken them with his maine power before they had come to Bullongne, it was to be feared leaſt he might haue put them in danger of a plaine diſtreſſe. But with ſuch timelie foreſight as was vſed the ſiege was raiſed, and the armie retired firſt to Bullongne, and after to Calis without loſſe, although the French horſſemen in great number followed, and ſundrie times made proud proffers to giue the charge vpon the hindermoſt companies; but nothing was doone to make great account of, except certeine ſkirmiſhes that were procured, and alarums giuen, as in ſuch caſes it fortuneth.

The ſiege at Muttrell broken vp.

The Dolphin notwithſtanding that the ſiege was thus raiſed from Muttrell, yer he could come thither, yet he kept forward his iourneie, to prooue what he might doo to recouer Bullongne, which towne the king of England (as ye haue heard) had left in the kéeping of the lord Liſle high admerall. The ſame towne being then weake, God knoweth, on all ſides through batterie and minings, which by the kings power had béen made, to bring it into his ſubiection,

The Dolphin commeth before Bullongne with his great power.

and the trenches not caſt downe, nor the ordinance mounted.

A camiſado giuen to baſe Bullongne.

In ouerthrow giuen to the French at baſe Bullongne.

The Dolphin being come before the towne, ſent certeine bands of his beſt ſoldiors by night to giue a camiſado to the baſe towne. They that thus were ſent, entred the ſame the ninth of October, about two of the clocke in the morning, where they tooke the ſtand watches, and ſlue (beſide a great number of ſicke and weake perſons) as well ſoldiors as other, before they could araie themſelues, or well get out of their beds. But after, the Frenchmen and Italians fell to rifling and breaking vp of coffers, ſcattering here and there abrode, and began to fall to their vittels, which they found there in good plentie. The Engliſhmen that were driuen vp to the gates of the high towne, got weapons that were throwne downe vnto them forth of the ſame, & aſſembling togither, fiercelie entred in amongſt the preaſe of their enimies. And herewith there ſallied forth of the high towne ſir Thomas Poinings with a band of two hundred ſoldiors, the which togither with the other ſo beſtirred themſelues, that they manfullie beat backe the enimies, ſlue to the number of eight hundred of them, and chaſed the reſidue out of the towne, which fled ouer the ſands vp to the hill, where the Dolphin himſelfe ſtood with a great trope of horſſemen about him, and durſt not once come downe to the reſcue of his people, for feare of the great artillerie that with plentie of bullets ſaluted the enimies, after that the breake of the daie had once diſcouered them in ſight. Amongſt other that were ſlaine in this repulſe of the Frenchmen, le ſegneur de Foqueſſolles, another of the marſhall de Biez his ſons in law, and ſeneſchall of Bullongne was one.

Thus the Dolphin, perceiuing that it would nothing auaile him to make anie further attempt againſt Bullongne, paſſed forth toward Guiſnes, & ſhortlie after through want of vittels, and ſickneſſe which ſore infeſted his campe, brake vp his armie, and returned into France: ſo that the proud enterpriſes of the vainglorious and moſt inſolent French turned to their owne great ſhame, as C.O. trulie ſaith:

Sic Galli in magnum ceſſerunt dedecus auſa.

Monſieur de Biez cõmeth before Bullongne with an armie.

But ſhortlie after Chriſtmas came downe an armie of fourteene thouſand, vnder the conduction of monſieur de Biez, the which the ſix and twentith of Ianuarie incamped on the weſt ſide of Bullongne beyond the hauen, where they laie ten daies: but on the ſixt of Februarie, the earle of Hertford, the lord admerall, as then lord lieutenant of the towne of Bullongne, the lord Greie of Wilton, ſir Thomas Poinings & others, hauing aſſembled out of the gariſons on that ſide the ſeas, to the number of foure thouſand footmen, & ſeuen hundred horſmen, whereof an hundred or foure ſcore were Albanoiſes, iſſued forth of Bullongne about foure of the clocke in the morning, and comming to the place where the king had incamped during the time of the ſiege, they ſtaid there, and put themſelues in order of battell: and about ſix of the clocke, it being then a low water, capteine Edward Breie, with three hundred ſhot, was appointed to paſſe ouer, and to giue the enimies an alarum in their campe.

The Frenchmen diſlodge out of their campe.

At which inſtant the trumpets ſounded, and the drums ſtroke vp in the Engliſh armie, and herewith they being diuided into three battels, and to ech one his gard of two hundred horſſemen, beſide the od hundred that attended as a defenſe to the reſidue, they ſhewed themſelues to their enimies. The Frenchmen perceiuing this, packed awaie with all haſte poſſible, marching toward Hardilo in two battels. Wherevpon the Engliſh capteins leauing their footmen behind them, and taking onelie with them the horſſemen, followed with all ſpeed after their enimies, and comming to the bridge commonlie called pont de Bricque, which certeine Engliſh carpenters garded with a number of harquebutters, and foure ſmall field peeces, had forced and repared the ſame that night: and ſo the horſſemen finding it ſufficientlie repared, paſſed ouer, and comming to S. Eſtienne, they found there fiue hundred Dutch horſmen, commonlie called Swart rutters, that were lodged there to keepe that paſſage: but being ſurpriſed on the ſudden by the Engliſh horſſemen, and ſharpelie aſſailed, they were wholie diſtreſſed, and the moſt part of them taken priſoners, and therewith left with the followers of the armie, were after ſlaine, bicauſe they knew not where to beſtow them.

The comfortable words of the Engliſh capteins.

The Engliſh horſſemen charge the French battels.

But now the hill of ſaint Eſtienne being thus gained by the Engliſh horſmen, they put themſelues in order of battell againe, appointing an hundred of their men at armes to follow and keepe alooſe as a ſtale to relieue their fellowes in time of need, when they ſaw them in anie danger. The lords, to incourage euerie one to doo his dutie, rode vp and downe about the troops, & vſing manie comfortable words, deſired them, that although they were but an handfull in compariſon to the number of their enimies, they would yet in regard of the honour of the realme of England, make a proffer of an onſet to the enimies, that they might perceiue that there they were to giue them battell, and to follow, as they ſhould ſee them their capteins and gouernors to lead them the waie. Herewith forward they make towards the enimie, and ouertaking them three miles on the hitherſide of Hardilo ſands, they valiantlie gaue the charge, and thruſting in betwixt the two French battels, ouerthrew their cariages, tooke their ordinance and munitions, ſlue and bare downe manie of them that preaſed forth to defend the ſame.

The valiant order of monſieur de Biez.

The lord admerall his readie cõceiuing the meaning of the enimies.

Monſieur de Biez being in the fore ward, brought backe the ſtrongeſt and beſt armed men he had to reſiſt his enimes, ranging them in order ſo, as he ment to haue incloſed the Engliſh horſſemen betwixt his battels and the ſea, and ſo to haue diſtreſſed them. But this purpoſe being eſpied firſt of all by the lord admerall, the Engliſhmen by his valiant incouragement gaue a new charge, and breaking through their ranks by force, came backe againe vnto their hundred men of armes that kept alooſe, and there ſtaied till their footmen might come to them, who by this time were aduanced within ſight of them, but diſtant yet by the ſpace of two Engliſh miles, or little leſſe.

Hardilo ſands.

Monſieur de Biez, perceiuing that the Engliſh footmen began thus to approch, made forward againe with his armie, ſo faſt as was poſſible for his people to march, drawing ſtill his armed men and beſt ſouldiors to the hindermoſt ranks, there to be readie to withſtand the Engliſhmen, as they ſhould offer to aſſaile them: and in this order the Frenchmen made away, and reſted not till they came to Hardilo ſands, being a place of ſuch ſtrength and aduantage, by reaſon of the ſtreict, that after they were once got thither, they might account themſelues out of all danger, and therefore there they ſtaid, and diſpatched an herald vnto the chiefteins of the Engliſh armie, to ſignifie vnto them, that there they ment to abide and to giue them battell, if they would aduance forward to fight with them: but yet they would not in anie wiſe come forth of their ſtrength vnto ſome euen ground, although they were earneſtlie required therevnto. Wherevpon the Engliſhmen, to light them a candle that they might ſee where they were, ſet all the villages & houſes about on a light fire, continuing the ſame all that afternoone, and moſt part of the night following, and the next morning betwixt foure and fiue of the clocke, they came backe againe vnto Bullongne with all their ſpoiles and priſoners.

Artillerie gained.

They tooke in this incounter ſeuen peeces of artillerie, two of braſſe and fiue of iron; alſo the peeces of aduantage of the armour of monſieur de Biez, beſide apparell, plate, and furniture in great plentie, as well taken in the field, as alſo in their campe, where they left their tents ſtanding, & all their prouiſion of vittels wholie vnremoued. The ſame peeces of armour were ſent ouer into England to the king for a witneſſe of the good ſucceſſe that had thus happened to his people in this famous enterpriſe, in the atchiuing wherof there were not paſt halfe a dozen Engliſhmen ſlaine, beſides thoſe that were hurt, which neither were manie, as vnder halfe a ſcore at the moſt.

1545
John Stow.

Great priſes of French goods taken by the weſterne ſhips.

Abr.Fl. ex I.S.pag.1030.

Whileſt ſuch things were in dooing about Bullongne, and other places (as before ye haue heard in this twentie and ſixt yeare) the ſhips of the weſt countrie and other coaſts of this realme waſted abroad on the ſeas, and tooke to the number of three hundred & od French ſhips, ſo that the Graie friers church in London was laid full of wine, the Auſtine friers and Blacke friers full of herring, and other fiſh that was taken, as the ſame ſhould haue beene conueied into France. About the ſame ſeaſon the king demanded a beneuolence of his ſubiects ſpirituall and temporall, towards the maintenance of the warres againſt the Frenchmen and Scots. ¶ On the twelfe of Ianuarie, the lord chancellour, the duke of Suffolke, and other of the kings councell, began to ſit at Bainards caſtell, where they firſt called before them the maior and aldermen, &c. And bicauſe Richard Read alderman would not agree to paie as they ſet him; he was commanded vpon paine to ſerue the king in his warres of Scotland, who departed from London the three and twentith of Ianuarie.

Sir William Roch ſent to the Fleet.

Execution for falſe accuſation.

Alſo ſir William Roch alderman, for words of diſpleaſure taken by the kings councell, was by them ſent to the fleet, where he remained till paſſion ſundaie. On the ſix and twentith of Ianuarie, there camped on the weſt ſide of Bullongne beyond the hauen, an armie of French, to the number of eighteene thouſand, where they laie ten daies, and the firſt of Februarie were put to flight by the earle of Hertford, and ſir Iohn Dudleie lord admerall, then deputie of Bullongne. On the thirteenth of Februarie, a prieſt was ſet on the pillorie in Cheape, and burnt in both cheekes with the letters F. and A. and a paper on his head, wherein was written, For falſe accuſing: which iudgement was giuen by the lord chancellor in the Starre chamber, a notable example of iuſtice. Great cauſe haue I to wiſh the like to the like accuſer, who neuer yet repented, but contrariwiſe ſweareth and forſweareth that he neuer did anie ſuch act againſt his brother.]

The diſcomfiture gotten by the Scots at Halidon rig.

The valiant ſir Raſe Euers ſlaine.

Read, alderman of London priſoner.

In the beginning of March ſir Raſe Euers lord warden of the marches after manie fortunate rodes and forraies made into Scotland, aſſembled now about foure thouſand men, & entering with the ſame into Scotland, was incountered at Halidon rig by the earle of Arraine and other Scottiſhmen, which ſo beſet the Engliſhmen with three battels on ech ſide, that in the end they ſlue the ſaid lord warden, with the lord Ogle, and a great number of other gentlemen and commons, beſide priſoners, which they tooke, ſo that few eſcaped the Scottiſhmens hands. Among other priſoners taken, Richard Read an alderman of London aforeſaid was one. The death of ſir Raſe Euers was greatlie bemoned: for he had ſhewed great proofe of his valiant proweſſe at ſundrie times before; namelie in this yeare paſt, as at the taking and burning of the towne of Iedworth, which enterpriſe was atchiued the tenth of Iune, beſide diuerſe other exploits fortunatelie brought to paſſe by his high valiancie and manhood, till his hap was at this preſent to finiſh his daies: whoſe life though then it tooke end, yet ſhall not his fame & good report (purchaſed by martiall courage, policie, and dangerous aduentures) periſh or decaie; as the poet trulie ſaith:

Parta labore volat vaſtum bona fama per orbem,
Hæc veluti Phœbus non moritura manet.

Anno Reg. 37. Rich. Grafton.

Anne Askew and others arreigned and acquited.

This yeare on ſaint Georges daie ſir Thomas Wriotheſleie lord chancellor of England was made knight of the garter. Alſo Trinitie terme was adiourned by reaſon of the warres, but the eſcheker and the court of the tenths were open, for thoſe that were accomptable in either of the ſaid courts. The thirteenth of Iune Robert Luken ſeruant to ſir Humfrie Browne one of the iuſtices of the kings Bench, Anne Askew gentlewoman, otherwiſe called Anne Kime, wife to one Kime, a gentleman of Lincolneſhire, and Ione Sautereie, wife to Iohn Sautereie of London, were arreigned in the Guildhall of London, for ſpeaking againſt the ſacrament of the altar (as they tearmed it) contrarie to the ſtatute of the ſix articles: but becauſe no witneſſe appeared againſt the women, nor againſt Luken, one onelie excepted, who was thought to accuſe him rather of malice, than otherwiſe, they were by twelue honeſt ſubſtantiall men of the citie (ſworne to paſſe vpon their inditements) cleerelie acquited and diſcharged.

Thomas Daie pewterer.

Martin de Bellaie.

The new fort before Bullongne.

I.S.pag.1031.

Haileſtones figured like mens heads.

The ſame daie alſo was a pewterer named Thomas Daie diſcharged, by the pardon granted in the laſt parlement, after he had remained in priſon in Newgate the ſpace of three yeares now paſt, condemned long before the date of the ſame pardon, for the article of auricular confeſſion compriſed within the ſame ſtatute. About the ſame time, to wit the ſeuenth of Iune a great armie of Frenchmen came downe to Bullongne, and neere to the hauen incamped themſelues. In this armie were reckoned to be twelue thouſand lanceknights, twelue thouſand French footmen, ſix thouſand Italians, foure thouſand of legionarie ſouldiours of France, & a thouſand or twelue hundred men of armes, beſide ſeuen or eight hundred light horſmen. After ſome ſkirmiſhes not greatlie to their aduantage, they began yet to build a fort, which at length they accompliſhed, as after ſhall appeare. ¶ About the fiue & twentith of Iune, was a great tempeſt in Derbiſhire, where thorough trees were ouerturned, & diuerſe churches, chappels, and houſes were vncouered. Alſo in Lancaſhire, there fell haileſtones as big as mens fiſts, which had diuerſe prints in them, ſome like mens faces, ſome like gun holes, &c.]

The Engliſh fleet commeth before Newhauen.

The number in the French nauie.

The ſame moneth alſo the lord Liſle admerall of England with the Engliſh fleet entered the mouth of Saine, and came before Newhauen, where a great nauie of the Frenchmen laie, to the number of a two hundred ſhips, and ſix and twentie gallies, wherof the pope (as was reported) had ſent twentie well furniſhed with men and monie, to the aid of the French king. The Engliſhmen being not paſt an hundred and threeſcore ſaile, and all great ſhips, determined not to ſet vpon the Frenchmen where they laie: but yet approching neere vnto them, ſhot off certeine peeces of ordinance at them, and thereby cauſed the gallies to come abroad, which changed ſhot againe with the Engliſhmen. The gallies at the firſt had great aduantage, by reaſon of the great calme. Twiſe either part aſſaulted other with ſhot of their great artillerie, but ſuddenlie the wind roſe ſo high, that the gallies could not indure the rage of the ſeas, and ſo the Engliſhmen for feare of flats were compelled to enter the maine ſeas, and ſo ſailed vnto

Portſmouth where the king laie, for he had knowledge by his eſpials that the Frenchmen intended to land in the Ile of Wight, wherefore he repaired to that coaſt, to ſee his realme defended.

The French fleet landeth in the Ile of Wight.

The Frenchmen land in Suſſex.

After this, the eighteenth of Iulie the admerall of France monſieur Danebalte hoiſed vp ſailes, and with his whole nauie came forth into the ſeas, and arriued on the coaſt of Suſſex before bright Hamſteed, and ſet certeine of his ſoldiors on land, to burne and ſpoile the countrie: but the beacons were fired, & the inhabitants thereabouts came downe ſo thicke, that the Frenchmen were driuen to flie with loſſe of diuerſe of their numbers: ſo that they did little hurt there. Immediatlie herevpon they made to the point of the Ile of Wight, called ſaint Helens point, and there in good order vpon their arriuall they caſt anchors, and ſent dailie ſixteene of their gallies to the verie hauen of Portſmouth. The Engliſh nauie lieng there in the ſame hauen, made them readie, and ſet out toward the enimies, and ſtill the one ſhot hotlie at the other: but the wind was ſo calme, that the kings ſhips could beare no ſaile, which greatlie grieued the minds of the Engliſhmen, and made the enimies more bold to approch with their gallies, and to aſſaile the ſhips with their ſhot euen within the hauen.

The Marie Roſe drowned by negligence.

The twentith of Iulie, the whole nauie of the Engliſhmen made out, & purpoſed to ſet on the Frenchmen, but in ſetting forward, thorough too much follie, one of the kings ſhips called the Marie Roſe was drowned in the middeſt of the hauen, by reaſon that ſhe was ouerladen with ordinance, and had the ports left open, which were verie low, and the great artillerie vnbreeched; ſo that when the ſhip ſhould turne, the water entered, and ſuddenlie ſhe ſuncke. In hir was ſir George Carew knight and foure hundred ſoldiours vnder his guiding. There eſcaped not paſt fortie perſons of all the whole number. On the morrow after about two thouſand of the Frenchmen landed in the Ile of Wight, where one of their chiefe capteins named le cheualier Daux, a Prouencois was ſlaine with manie other, and the reſidue with loſſe and ſhame driuen backe againe to their gallies.

Frenchmen diſtreſſed in the Ile of Wight.

The king perceiuing the great Armada of the Frenchmen to approch, cauſed the beacons to be fired, and by letters ſent into Hamptonſhire, Summerſetſhire, Wiltſhire, and into diuerſe other countries adioining, gaue knowledge to ſuch as were appointed to be readie for that purpoſe, to come with all ſpeed to incounter the enimies. Wherevpon they repaired to his preſence in great numbers well furniſhed with armor, weapon, vittels, and all other things neceſſarie, ſo that the Ile was garniſhed, and all the frontiers alongeſt the coaſts fortified with exceeding great multitudes of men. The French capteins hauing knowledge by certeine fiſhermen, whom they tooke, that the king was preſent, & ſo huge a power readie to reſiſt them, they diſanchored and drew along the coaſt of Suſſex, and a ſmall number of them landed againe in Suſſex, of whome few returned to their ſhips; for diuerſe gentlemen of the countrie, as ſir Nicholas Pelham, and others, with ſuch power as was raiſed, vpon the ſudden, tooke them vp by the waie and quickelie diſtreſſed them.

The number in the French nauie.

When they had ſearched euerie where by the coaſt, and ſaw men ſtill readie to receiue them with battell, they turned ſterne, and ſo got them home againe without anie act atchiued worthie to be mentioned. The number of the Frenchmen was great, ſo that diuerſe of them that were taken priſoners in the Ils of Wight, and in Suſſex, did report that they were three ſcore thouſand. The French king aduertiſed the emperor moſt vntrulie by letters, that his armie had gotten the Ile of Wight with the ports of Hamton, and Portſmouth, and diuerſe other places. In Auguſt following, the earle of Hertford entered againe into Scotland with twelue thouſand men, and deſtroied all the townes in the middle marches, burned Coldingham abbeie, and paſſed to the weſt marches, ſore annoieng and indamaging the Scots, and yet neither they, nor the Frenchmen that were ſent into Scotland this yeare to the aid of the Scots, vnder the leading of monſieur de Lorges, Montgomerie his father, durſt once come forth into the field to incounter with him.

The earle of Hertford forraieth the middle marches of Scotland.

The Londoners ſet forth a power into France.

Alſo in the beginning of this moneth the citie of London ſet forth a thouſand ſoldiors of archers, harquebutters, pikes, and bils, which went to Douer, and ſo paſſed ouer vnto Calis, to ſerue the king in his wars on that ſide the ſeas. In the ſame moneth that valiant capteine ſir Thomas Poinings knight, lord Poinings, and the kings lieutenant of his towne and marches of Bullogne departed this life, after he had to his great honor atchiued manie worthie enterpriſes in ſeruice of his prince againſt the enimies, ſo that his death was much lamented. A gentleman vndoubtedlie deſeruing to be had in perpetuall memorie: and pitie it is, that diuerſe ſuch valiant feats as he in his life time atchiued, were not committed to writing, to remaine for examples ſake to poſteritie.

The death of the valiant lord Poinings.

The death of the duke of Suffolke.

Alſo in the ſame moneth at Guilford died the noble and valiant duke of Suffolke Charles Brandon lord great maiſter of the kings houſhold, a right hardie gentleman, and yet not ſo hardie, as almoſt of all eſtats and degrees of men, high & low, rich and poore, hartilie beloued, & his death of them greatlie lamented: his bodie was honorablie buried at Windſore, at the kings coſts. This man in his daies had doone to the king and realme right agreeable ſeruices, as well in peace, as in wars, both in England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, he died the kings generall lieutenant of his armie then appointed to reſiſt the Frenchmen, if they durſt haue landed.

His iuſt commendation.

But now, whereas in this meane time we haue ſpoken nothing of the doings in Scotland, where the warre was ſtill continued, the king of France ſent thither certeine bands of Frenchmen, vnder the gouernement of monſieur de Lorges, to aid the Scots againſt the Engliſhmen; and the king of England waged manie ſtrangers, and ſent them with certeine Engliſhmen to the borders, for defenſe of the ſame againſt the inuaſions of the enimies: for after the arriuall of the Frenchmen, a great armie of Scots was raiſed, and approched neere to the borders, where for a certeine time they incamped, ſo that manie thought ſome notable enterpriſe would haue beene attempted. But after they had laine in campe a certeine time, they brake vp, and departed without attempting anie further exploit.

Monſieur de Lorges ſent into Scotland with certeine French bands.

Shortlie after the earle of Hertford lieng on the borders, as lieutenant of the north parts of England, calling to him an armie of twelue thouſand men, or thereabouts, what of Engliſhmen and ſtrangers, entred Scotland with the ſame, and burnt a great part of the Mers, and Teuidale, as Kelſaie abbeie and the towne; Melroſſe abbeie & Driborne abbeie, alſo Iedworth abbeie, and diuerſe other places, townes, and villages, to the number of fiue ſcore. Kelſaie abbeie was defended a while by three hundred Scots, but in the end the moſt part of them were ſlaine, & taken by the ſtrangers and others that gaue the aſſault. Thus the earle of Hertford ſore indamaged the Scots by this inuaſion, and yet neither they, nor the Frenchmen their aſſiſtants, durſt come forth into the field once to incounter with him.

The earle of Hertford inuadeth Scotland.

On the ſixteenth of September a number of

Scots and Frenchmen attempted to enter into England on the eaſt borders. But the Engliſhmen perceiuing them about to paſſe by a certeine ſtreict, ſet vpon them, and ſlue and tooke of them to the number of ſeuen ſcore. Among the priſoners that were taken, the lord of Humes ſonne, and a French capteine were accompted chiefeſt. Alſo in another rode made into the weſt borders, the lord Maxwels ſonne, and diuerſe others were taken. But at an other time about the ſame ſeaſon alſo, certeine Engliſhmen to the number of fiue hundred, making their entrie by the weſt borders into Scotland, were diſcomfited by the Scots, and the more part of them either taken or ſlaine. Thus were they occupied as well on the borders betwixt England and Scotland, in this ſeaſon, as alſo in the marches of Calis, Guiſnes, and Bullognois, where the garriſons lieng in thoſe places, made continuall rodes & forraies into the marches of the enimies countrie, and oftentimes chanced to incounter with ſome of their troops.

Ouerthrowes on both ſides, betwixt the Engliſh and Scots.

The capteine of Ard, monſieur de Dampiere, hauing got for a ſupplie from the French campe at Bullogne, the companie of the men of armes that belonged to the duke of Orleance, led by his lieutenant monſieur de Tauannes, chanced on a daie to incounter with the Engliſhmen guided by that valiant baron the lord Greie of Wilton, capteine of the towne of Guiſnes, who being accompanied with a number of valiant gentlemen & ſoldiers, diſtreſſed their enimies, & ſlue the capteine of Ard the foreſaid lord de Dampiere there in field. Diuerſe other ſkirmiſhes and incounters chanced in that ſummer, on the further ſide the ſeas. And moreouer, now after that the French nauie was withdrawen (as ye haue heard) from the coaſts about Porteſmouth, that martiall chiefteine, ſir Iohn Dudleie, lord Liſle, and high admerall of England, hauing all his ſhips, men, munition, & furniture readie, ſet forward from Porteſmouth hauen, to haue fought with the Frenchmen, if they had ſtill kept the ſeas, but they were withdrawne home into harborough.

Wherevpon the lord admerall meaning to reuenge their brauados, and preſumptuous attempts made at Porteſmouth, and in the Ile of Wight, approched to the coaſts of Normandie, and landed with ſix thouſand men at Treport, burnt the ſuburbes of that towne, with the abbeie, and certeine villages and houſes thereabouts. Alſo they deſtroied thirtie ſhips, and a barke there found in the hauen: and after they had wrought their pleaſures, they returned to the ſea, and ſo home, not hauing loſt paſt fourteene perſons in the execution of this whole enterpriſe. Of this great ſpoile & ouerthrow giuen at Treport, by the kings admerall, I find theſe verſes remembred:

—— Treportem paſſibus æquis
Ordine ſeruato (qui mos eſt militis) intrant:
Obuius vt quiſque eſt, is ſtricto ſternitur enſe,
Aſt alius volucri traiectus membra ſagitta,
Occidit exanguis, fœdátque cruore plateas.
Dum recluſa alius vult proſpectare feneſtra,
Nec conferre pedem, nec aperto prælia Marte
Commiſcere audet, glandis transfigitur ictu.
Omne genus telorum ad cædem immittitur atram.

Treporte oppidum Galliæ maritimum à Iohanne Dudleio prefecto regiæ claſſis diripitur & flammis abſumitur.

In this meane while monſieur de Biez, being incamped neere to Bullogne with ſuch a puiſſant armie (as before you haue heard) buſied about the building of a fort, there was not ſuch diligence vſed therin, as was promiſed on his part in accompliſhing the ſame, to the French kings great diſpleaſure (as ſome write) who had meant with that armie (if this fort had beene finiſhed at the appointed time) to haue gone to beſiege the towne and caſtell of Guiſnes: but now the time being prolonged, and not without ſome ſuſpicion leaſt monſieur de Biez cared not how long the warres indured in that ſort, ſo as he might command ouer ſo manie princes and great lords as were there vnder his gouernance, at length before the fort were fullie finiſhed, he remooued to mount Lambert with the more part of the armie, pretending as though he meant to fight with the Engliſhmen, the which (as he ſaid) he vnderſtood were purpoſed to come with a conuoie of vittels from Calis to Bullogne.

Whileſt he there remained, manie princes and great lords came from the court, that laie at an abbeie called forreſt Montier, eleuen leagues from Bullogne beyond Muttrell, on the waie towards Abuille, in hope that battell ſhould haue followed betwixt the Engliſh and French armies. Among other that came thither are theſe remembred as principall, monſieur Danguien, monſieur Daumalle, monſieur le duc de Neuers, monſieur le conte de Lauall, and monſieur de la Trimoille. Monſieur Daumalle eldeſt ſonne to the duke of Guiſe, being lodged in the vantgard that was gouerned by monſieur de Briſſac, chanced on a daie to be preſent at a ſkirmiſh, where ſhewing himſelfe verie forward, he was ſtriken through the ſight of his helmet, with a light horſſemans ſtaffe, that pearſing in betwixt his noſe and his eie, entred halfe a foot into his head, as monſieur de Langeie writeth, and breaking off a two fingers beneath the iron, the ſame iron remained ſtill within his head: but yet eſcaping out of the Engliſh mens hands, he came backe to the campe, had the truncheon and iron pulled out of his head, and being dreſſed was conueied in a litter to Piquignie, where he laie for two or three daies in ſuch danger, that no man looked that he ſhould haue eſcaped with life.

Martin de Bellaie, ſeigneur Langeie in his memoires.

There were manie of theſe ſkirmiſhes, wherin the Engliſhmen bare themſelues ſo valiantlie, that the Frenchmen went awaie oftentimes with loſſe of manie of their noble men and beſt ſouldiers. At one time they loſt the lord Menainuille brother to the lord de Tillebonne, being ſlaine with ſtroke of lance and pike. At another time they loſt likewiſe a yoong lord of Picardie called le ſeigneur de Fretoie. At length, after their new fort or baſtillion was brought in ſome ſtrength, they furniſhed it in moſt defenſible wiſe with men, munition and vittels, naming it Monpleaſire. Herewith monſieur de Biez departing from mount Lambert with part of the armie, came downe towards Calis, and entring into the Engliſh pale beſide Grauelin, wan certeine bulworks, and incountring diuerſe new bands of Leiceſterſhiremen and others, latelie before ſent ouer, diſtreſſed them, and after burnt certeine villages, forraied the countrie almoſt to Marke, and afterwards in great haſt with their bootie and pillage returned. This enterpriſe was exploited by the Frenchmen about S. Mathews daie in September.

Monſieur de Biez forraieth the Engliſh pale about Calis.

There were with monſieur de Biez at this enterpriſe the lord of Briſſac, who gouerned the vantgard, and had with him his owne companie of men of armes, and the light horſſemen of whome he had the generall conduct. There was alſo the companie of men at armes that belonged to the conſtable of France, led by the lord Guich, & fiftie men of armes vnder the gouernance of the lord of Helleie, the companie alſo of the lord of Boiſie, the companie of the lord Eſcars, and that of the lord de la Roch du Maine, & others. There was alſo monſieur de Taies generall of the French footmen, and manie yoong princes and lords of high eſtate, as monſieur Francis de Bourbon, duc Danglien, Francis de Lorraine, duke Daumalle latelie recouered of his hurt, the duke of Neuers, and the earle de Lauall that in this voiage was hurt with an harquebuſh ſhot in the arme.

Martin de Bellaie.

The thrée and twentith of Nouember, a parlement began at Weſtminſter, in the which was granted to the king a ſubſidie of the ſpiritualtie of ſix ſhillings the pound, to be paid in two yeares next inſuing: and of the temporaltie two ſhillings and eight pence of the pound in goods, and foure ſhillings of the pound in lands, to be paid likewiſe within two yeares. Alſo in this parlement all colleges, chanteries, and hoſpitals were committed to the king, to order, by altering or tranſpoſing the ſame as to him ſhould ſéeme expedient, which at the prorogation of the ſame parlement he promiſed ſhould be doone to the glorie of God, and the common profit of the realme. The foure and twentith of December, the ſaid parlement was proroged, on which daie the king comming into the houſe, to giue his roiall aſſent vnto ſuch acts as were paſſed, the ſpeaker made vnto him an eloquent oration, to the which although the cuſtome hath euer béene that the lord chancellor ſhould make anſwer, it pleaſed the king at that preſent to make the anſwer himſelfe, which he vttered as here enſueth.

A parlement. A ſubſidie granted.

The kings oration in the par*lement houſe*.

ALthough my chancellor, for the time being, hath before this time vſed verie eloquentlie and ſubſtantiallie, to make anſwer to ſuch orations as hath béene ſet forth in this high court of parlement; yet is he not ſo able to open and ſet forth my mind and meaning, and the ſecrets of my heart, in ſo plaine and ample manner, as I my ſelfe am and can doo. Wherefore I taking vpon me to anſwer your eloquent oration maiſter ſpeaker, ſaie, that where you in the name of our welbeloued commons, haue both praiſed and extolled me, for the notable qualities that you haue conceiued to be in me: I moſt hartilie thanke you all, that you haue put me in remembrance of my dutie, which is to indeuour my ſelfe to obteine and get ſuch excellent qualities, and neceſſarie vertues, as a prince or gouernour ſhould or ought to haue, of which gifts I recogniſe my ſelfe both bare and barren, but of ſuch ſmall qualities as God hath indued me withall, I render to his goodneſſe my moſt humble thanks, intending with all my wit and diligence to get and acquire to me ſuch notable vertues and princelie qualities, as you haue alledged to be incorporated in my perſon. Theſe thanks for your louing admonition and good counſell firſt remembred, I eftſoones thanke you. Againe, bicauſe that you conſidering our great charge, not for our pleaſure, but for your defenſe, not for our gaine, but to our great coſt, which we haue latelie ſuſteined, aſwell in defenſe of our and your enimies, as for the conqueſt of that fortreſſe, which was to this realme moſt diſpleſant and noiſome, and ſhalbe (by Gods grace) hereafter to our nation moſt profitable and pleaſant, haue fréelie of your owne minds granted to vs a certeine ſubſidie, here in an act ſpecified, which verelie we take in good part, regarding more your kindneſſe, than the profit thereof, as he that ſetteth more by your louing harts than by your ſubſtance. Beſide this hartie kindneſſe, I cannot a little reioiſe, when I conſider the perfect truſt and confidence, which you haue put in me, as men hauing vndoubted hope and vnfeined beléefe in my good doings and iuſt procéedings for you, without my deſire or requeſt, haue committed to mine order and diſpoſition all chanteries, colleges, hoſpitals, and other places ſpecified in a certeine act, firmlie truſting that I will order them to the glorie of God, and the profit of the common-wealth. Surelie if I (contrarie to your expectation) ſhould ſuffer the miniſters of the church to decaie, or learning (which is ſo great a iewell) to be miniſhed, or poore and miſerable to be vnrelieued, you might ſaie that I being put in ſo ſpeciall a truſt, as I am in this caſe, were no truſtie fréend to you, nor charitable to mine euen chriſtian, neither a louer to the publike wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whome accompt muſt be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not I praie you, but your expectation ſhall be ſerued, more godlie and goodlie than you will wiſh or deſire, as hereafter you ſhall plainlie perceiue.

The kings thanks to his commons.

The kings promiſes for the well diſpoſing of chantries and colleges.

Now ſith I find ſuch kindneſſe on your part towards me, I cannot chooſe but loue and fauour you, affirming that no prince in the world more fauoureth his ſubiects than I doo you; nor no ſubiects or commons more loued and obeied their ſoueraigne lord, than I perceiue you doo me, for whoſe defenſe my treaſure ſhall not be hidden, nor if neceſſitie require, my perſon ſhall not be vnaduentured. Yet although I wiſh you, and you wiſh me, to be in this perfect loue and concord, this fréendlie amitie cannot continue, except both you my lords temporall, and my lords ſpirituall, and you my louing ſubiects, ſtudie and take paine to amend one thing, which ſurelie is amiſſe, and farre out of order, to the which I moſt hartilie require you: which is, that charitie and concord is not among you, but diſcord and diſſention beareth rule in euerie place. Saint Paule ſaith to the Corinthians, and the thirtéenth chapter: Charitie is gentle, charitie is not enuious, charitie is not proud, and ſo forth in the ſaid chapter. Behold then what loue and charitie is among you, when the one calleth an other heretike and anabaptiſt, and he calleth him againe papiſt, hypocrite, and phariſie? Be theſe tokens of charitie amongſt you? Are theſe ſignes of fraternall loue betwéene you? No, no, I aſſure you that this lacke of charitie amongſt your ſelues will be the hinderance and aſſwaging of the feruent loue betwéene vs, as I ſaid before, except this wound be ſalued, and cléerelie made whole. I muſt néeds iudge the fault and occaſion of this diſcord to be partlie by negligence of you the fathers and preachers of the ſpiritualtie: for if I know a man which liueth in adulterie, I muſt iudge him a lecherous and a carnall perſon: if I ſée a man boaſt and brag himſelfe, I cannot but déeme him a proud man. I ſée héere dailie that you of the cleargie preach one againſt another, teach one contrarie to another, inueigh one againſt an other without charitie or diſcretion; ſome be too ſtiffe in their old *Mumpſimus*, other be too buſie and curious in their new *Sumpſimus*: thus all men almoſt be in varietie and diſcord, and few or none preacheth trulie and ſincerelie the word of God, according as they ought to doo. Shall I iudge you charitable perſons dooing this? No, no, I cannot ſo doo. Alas, how can the poore ſoules liue in concord, when you preachers ſow amongſt them in your ſermons debate and diſcord? Of you they looke for light, and you bring them to darkeneſſe. Amend theſe crimes I exhort you, and ſet forth Gods word, both by true preaching and good example giuing: or elſe I, whome God hath appointed his vicar and high miniſter here, will ſée theſe diuiſions extinct, and theſe enormities corrected according to my verie dutie, or elſe I am an vnprofitable ſeruant, and an vntrue officer. Although I ſaie the ſpirituall men be in ſome fault, that charitie is not kept amongſt you; yet you of the temporaltie be not cleare and vnſpotted of malice and enuie: for you raile on biſhops, ſpeake ſlanderouſlie of prieſts, and rebuke and taunt preachers, both contrarie to good order and chriſtian fraternitie. If you know ſuerlie that a biſhop or preacher erreth, or teacheth peruerſe doctrine, come and declare it to ſome of our councell, or to vs, to whome is committed by God the

Charitie and concord in common-wealths be things moſt neceſſarie: but in matters of religion, charitie and concord is not enough, without veritie and true worſhip of God.

high authoritie to reforme and order ſuch cauſes and behauiors, and be not iudges your ſelues, of your owne fantaſticall opinions and vaine expoſitions, for in ſuch high cauſes you may lightlie erre. And although you be permitted to read holie ſcriptures, and to haue the word of God in your mother tong, you muſt vnderſtand, that it is licenced you ſo to doo, onelie to informe your owne conſciences, and to inſtruct your children and familie, and not to diſpute, and make ſcripture a railing and a taunting ſtocke againſt prieſts and preachers, as manie light perſons doo. I am verie ſorie to know and heare, how vnreuerentlie that moſt pretious iewell the word of God is diſputed, rimed, ſong, and tangled in euerie alehouſe and tauerne, contrarie to the true meaning and doctrine of the ſame: and yet I am euen as much ſorie, that the readers of the ſame follow it in dooing ſo faintlie and coldlie. For of this I am ſure, that charitie was neuer ſo faint amongſt you, and vertuous and godlie liuing was neuer leſſe vſed, nor God himſelfe amongſt chriſtians was neuer leſſe reuerenced, honored, or ſerued. Therfore (as I ſaid before) be in charitie one with an other, like brother and brother: loue, dread, and ſerue God, to the which I as your ſupreame head and ſoureigne lord exhort and require you, and then I doubt not, but that loue and league that I ſpake of in the beginning, ſhall neuer be diſſolued or broken betwéene vs. And to the making of laws which we haue now made and concluded, I exhort you the makers to be as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making & furthering of the ſame: or elſe your labour ſhall be in vaine, & your common-wealth nothing releeued. Now to your petition, concerning our roiall aſſent to be giuen to ſuch acts as haue paſſed both houſes, they ſhall be read openlie that ye may heare them.

Then were they openlie read, and to manie his grace aſſented, and diuerſe he aſſented not vnto. Thus the kings oration was to his ſubiects there preſent ſuch comfort, that the like ioie could not be vnto them in this world. And thus the acts read (as the manner is) and his aſſent giuen, his grace roſe and departed. Manie proper feats of armes were exploited and doone in this meane while, betwixt the parties Engliſh and French about Bullongne. On the morrow after the feaſt of the Epiphanie, there came a conuoie of vittels towards the French fort, garded with thrée or foure thouſand lancequenetz vnder their coronell the Reingraue and certeine French horſſemen. The earle of Surreie then lieutenant of Bullongne aduertiſed thereof, made out with ſuch power as he might conuenientlie ſpare of them within Bullongne and the Old man, to cut off thoſe vittels: but comming to encounter with the enimies at ſaint Eſtiens, he was put to flight: ſir Edward Poinings capteine of a band called the kings gard of Bullongne was ſlaine in that conflict with fiftéene or ſixtéene other capteins, beſide officers and common ſoldiors. About the ſame time the Frenchmen made a voiage vnto the Iſle of Braſill, with a ſhip called the barke Ager, which they had taken from the Engliſhmen before: and in their waie they met with a little craier, of the which one Golding was maſter, a proper man and an hardie. The barke perceiuing the craier to be an Engliſhman, ſhot at hir and bowged hir. Whereupon ſtrait waies the craier drew to the great barke, and ſix or ſeauen of the Engliſhmen leapt into hir. In the meane time while the Frenchmen, without regard of perill towards themſelues, looked ouer hatches to behold how the craier ſunke there at hand before them, not miſtruſting anie thing that the Engliſhmen might doo againſt them, it fortuned that thoſe Engliſhmen which got vp into the barke, found in the end thereof a great number of lime pots, which they with water quenched, or rather (as the nature thereof is) ſet them on fire, and threw them ſo thicke at the Frenchmen which were there aboord, that they blinded them, in ſuch wiſe as thoſe few Engliſhmen that entred the ſhip vanquiſhed the Frenchmen, and driuing them vnder hatches, ſhut the ſame, and brought the barke awaie with them home into England. In the latter end of March the brothell houſes called the Stues on the banke ſide in Southworke were conuerted from ſuch filthie vſes by the kings commandement, the bawds and ruffians being put out, and other perſons of honeſt behauior plaſed in their roms to inhabit in the ſame houſes. This was doone by proclamation and ſound of trumpet by an herald of armes.

1546

The Reingraue.

The Engliſh men put to flight.

The barke Ager an Engliſh ſhip recouered.

The Stues ſuppreſſed,

¶On the ſeuen and twentith of Aprill being tueſdaie in Eaſter wéeke William Forleie pot-maker for the mint of the Tower of London fell aſléepe, and ſo continued ſléeping, and could not be wakened with pricking, cramping, or otherwiſe burning whatſoeuer, till the firſt daie of the next terme, which was full fouretéene daies, and as manie nights or more, for that Eaſter terme beginneth not before ſeauentéene daies after Eaſter. The cauſe of his thus ſléeping could not be knowen, though it were diligentlie ſearched for by the kings phyſicians and other learned men, yea the king himſelfe examining the ſaid William Forleie, who was in all points found at his waking to be but as if he had ſlept but one night: he was liuing in the Tower of London in the yéere of our Lord God 1579.]

Ab. Fl. ex I.S. William Forleie ſlept more than fouretéene daies, and as manie nights without waking.

This yéere by meanes made by the emperor, commiſſioners were appointed to méet & treat of ſome accord betwéene the realmes of England & France, ſo that the king of England ſent ouer to Guiſnes, Cutbert Tunſtall biſhop of Dureſme, ſir William Paget his ſecretarie, and doctor Tregonell: and the French king ſent to Ard a biſhop, the chiefe preſident of Rouen, and a notarie, but no concluſion followed of their trauell. Whervpon the king of England hauing perfect knowledge how the Frenchmen intended to build a fortreſſe at ſaint Iohns rode betwéene Bullongne and Calis, to the great annoiance of both thoſe places, if they might haue compaſſed their purpoſe; he meant to preuent that deuiſe of his aduerſaries, ſending ouer the earle of Hertford and the lord Liſle high admerall of England, with manie valiant capteins, which got the rode but two daies before the Frenchmen had appointed to be there. But when they vnderſtood that the Engliſhmen had ſo preuented them, they ſtaied about Hardilow, where monſieur de Biez their generall gaue order to incampe, and durſt not once come forward to aſſaie the Engliſh forces: ſo that without anie impeachment by land, the Engliſhmen built certeine fortreſſes, to wit, two at the ſame place of ſaint Iohns rode, otherwiſe called Hamble Thew, and an other about a two miles from thence at a place called Blacke Neſſe. There was in the earle of Hertfords campe beſide Engliſhmen diuerſe ſtrangers, Almains, Spaniards and Italians. And becauſe it is not much impertinent to the matter, we haue thought good here to ſet downe the whole number of all the kings forces at that preſent in his paie that were there vnder the ſaid earle of Hertford the kings generall lieutenant. Firſt the earle had two hundred, the lord William Sturton thrée hundred, the lord Iohn Greie brother to the marques Dorſet two hundred, the lord Braie one hundred, ſir Thomas Seimer knight marſhall of the hoſt one hundred, ſir Henrie Kneuet capteine of the horſſemen one hundred, ſir Iohn Harrington treaſuror of the armie one hundred, ſir Thomas Wiat maſter of the

ordi-

Anno Reg. 38.

Hamble Thew fortified by the Engliſhmen, ordinance one hundred, ſir Mauris Barkleie thrée hundred, ſir Thomas Holcroſt two hundred, ſir Walter Dennis two hundred, ſir George Blewet two hundred, ſir Richard Gréenefield two hundred, ſir George Cornewall two hundred, ſir John Lutterell one hundred, ſir Edmund Huſſie one hundred, Gorge Throkmorton two hundred, capteine Broughton two hundred, capteine Palmer two hundred, capteine Chancie two hundred, capteine Windam two hundred, capteine Stukeleie one hundred, capteine Blewet one hundred, capteine Sidnam one hundred, capteine Bret one hundred, capteine Dier one hundred, capteine Euans one hundred, Spaniards fiftéene hundred, Italians two hundred, Cleueners thrée hundred; lancequenets vnder the gouernment of their coronell Conrade Phenning, commonlie called Courtpennie, thrée thouſand. The ſumme of all the ſoldiors in Bullongne & Bullongnois were 93000. Here you muſt note, that whileſt the Engliſh armie laie thus in the field till the forts of Hamble Thew and Blacke Neſſe were in building, the French gallies were on the ſeas, and now and then came and approched néere to the ſhore, where the Engliſh armie laie in campe, at the which they ſhot off their ordinance: and the Engliſhmen anſwered them againe with the like. They came alſo before Calis, and ſhot off at the towne. But the lord admerall being there, made out to encounter them, notwithſtanding they did firſt much hurt, and tooke awaie diuerſe of the Engliſh veſſels laden with vittels.

The eightéenth daie of Maie there were foure of the kings ſhips, and foure pinaſes abroad on the ſeas afore the hauen of Hamble Thew, and there came eightéene of the French gallies to ſet vpon them, and ſo there was great ſhooting betwéene them: and at length one of their gallies was taken, in the which were aboord fourtéene ſcore ſoldiors and ſeauen ſcore rowers: the reſt of their gallies packed awaie. Moreouer, whileſt the campe laie thus at Hamble Thew, it chanced that on a daie a mutinie roſe among the lancequenets againſt their capteine, ſo that they got themſelues into order of battell, ſeized vpon the great artillerie, and ſhewed countenance as if they would haue ſet vpon the reſidue of the whole campe. Herevpon euerie ſoldior was commanded to repaire to his enſigne, and the Spaniards came and ioined with the Engliſhmen, readie to take ſuch part as they did. At length by the diligence of the chiefteines, and good countenance of the Engliſh ſoldiors and Spaniards the tumult was ſtaied, and ſix of the principall beginners were hanged.

A French gallie taken,

A mutinie in the Engliſh campe.

The one and twentith of Maie the French armie came and incamped beyond Bullongne at the church on the hill: and the morrow after the earle of Hertford marched with his power to a place within two miles of them, and certeine footmen and horſſemen went forth and ſkirmiſhed with them; and in the meane time the artillerie ceaſſed not to ſhoot off, as well from the French campe and fortreſſe as from Bullongne and the Old man. This daie were ſlaine fouretéene Frenchmen and two taken priſoners; and thrée of the Engliſh part were likewiſe taken, and ſo the earle of Hertford returned to his campe, and left the lancequenets vpon the hill, incamped before the enimies faces, not two miles diſtant from them, in which place a fort was begun to be raiſed, which was after called the fort of Bullongne Berg. The next daie, to wit, the thrée and twentith of Maie the ſoldiors of Bullongne and the lancequenets ſkirmiſhed with the Frenchmen, ſlue and tooke of them ſeuen ſcore and aboue, of the which there were fortie that were in cotes of veluet, and diuerſe alſo with chaines.

A great ſkirmiſh,

Here you muſt vnderſtand, that now in this meane while by the motion of diuerſe princes, a méeting was had of ſundrie commiſſioners, appointed to treat of ſome peace, to be concluded betwixt the two kings of England and France. Herevpon there came to Guiſnes for the king of England the earle of Hertford, the biſhop of Wincheſter, ſir John Dudleie vicount Liſle baron of Maupas, and high admerall of England, ſir William Paget the kings ſecretarie, and doctor Nicholas Wotton deane of Canturburie. For the French king there came to Ard monſieur Claude Danebault admerall of France, being alſo one of the foure marſhals of that realme, the biſhop of Eureux, monſieur Reimund chiefe preſident of Rone, the ſecretarie Bouchetell. Diuerſe times they met betwixt Ard and Guiſnes, and after long debating of matters, and diuerſe breakings off: yet at length the ſeauenth of June a peace was concluded, and proclamed as well in the court as in the citie of London on Whitſundaie the thirtéenth of June, with ſound of trumpet, according to the manner: and in like ſort the ſame daie it was proclamed at Paris and at Rone. The chiefeſt article of which peace was this, that the French king paieng to the king of England 800000 crownes within the terme of eight yeares, ſhould haue Bullongne againe to him reſtored, which in the meane time ſhould remaine in the hands and poſſeſſion of the king of England, as a pledge and gage for aſſurance of the ſaid moneie.

A peace concluded and proclamed.

On the ſeuen & twentith of June doctor Crome recanted at Paules croſſe: which recantation was vrged vpon this occaſion. When the chanteries & colleges were giuen by act of parlement into the kings hands (as is aboue remembred) which was about the moneth of December 1545, the next lent following doctor Crome preaching in the mercers chappell, among other reaſons and perſuaſions, to rouſe the people from the vaine opinion of purgatorie, inferred this, grounding vpon the ſaid act of parlement: that if trentals and chanterie maſſes could auaile the ſoules in purgatorie, then did the parlement not well in giuing awaie monaſteries, colleges, & chanteries, which ſerued principallie to that purpoſe. But if the parlement did well (as no man could denie) in diſſoluing them & beſtowing the ſame vpon the king, then is it a plaine caſe, that ſuch chanteries and priuat maſſes doo nothing conferre to reléeue them in purgatorie. This *Dilemma* of doctor Crome, no doubt, was inſoluble: but notwithſtanding the charitable prelats (for all the kings late exhortation vnto charitie) were ſo charitable to him that they brought him *Coram nobis*, and ſo handled him that they made him recant his words. ¶ On the ſixtéenth of June were letters patents deliuered to ſir Thomas Cheinie treaſuror of the kings houſhold, and lord warden of the cinque ports, wherby he was authoriſed to be the kings agent in chriſtening the Dolphins daughter of France named Elizabeth. A true copie of which letters patents is here recorded, bicauſe the ſaid action hath béene ignorantlie tranſferred from the ſaid ſir Thomas Cheinie to ſir Henrie Kneuet: as appeareth in Holinſheds chronicle publiſhed 1577, pag. 1608.

I. Stow, pag. 1033.

John Fox in Acts & Monuments.

D. Crome recanteth at Paules croſſe.

Abr. Fle. *ex manuſcripto ab Henr. Tenant tradito.*

A true copie of the kings letters *patents to ſir Thomas Cheinie.*

Henricus octauus Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ rex, fidei defenſor, & in terra eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hibernicæ ſupremum caput. Prædilecto & fideli conſiliario noſtro Thomæ Cheinie ſacri ordinis noſtri garterij militi, domino gardiano *quinque portuum, & hoſpitij noſtri theſaurario ſalutem. Cùm illuſtriſſima princeps ac conſanguinea noſtra chariſſima domina Katharina illuſtriſſimi principis conſanguinei & filij noſtri chariſſimi Henrici Franciæ Delphini chriſtianiſſimi principis Franciſci Francorum regis fratris, amici & confœderati noſtri perpetui, filij primogeniti coniunx præclariſſima, nuper (diuina cooperante clementia) prolem fœminam enixa ſit: nos ſummoperè cupientes pacis, amicitiæ, & vnionis vinculum inter præfatum chriſtianiſſimum Francorum regem & nos iam nuper redintegratum, firmioribus quibus poſſumus nexibus aſtringi, ad maiorem ipſius corroborationem & firmitatem, ac vt dicto illuſtriſſimo filio noſtro in hac parte gratificemur, etiam compaternitatis fœdus duximus adijciendum. Quocirca ad leuandum de ſacro fonte vice & nomine noſtro dictam prolem ex præfata illuſtriſſima domina Katharina dicti illuſtriſſimi principis coniuge, & conſanguinea noſtra chariſſima natam, illique nomen Eliſabethæ imponendum, & ipſam nomine Eliſabethæ in illius baptiſmo nominandã, cæteráq; omnia & ſingula in præmiſſis, & circa ea neceſſaria ſeu quomiſmodo opportuna nomine noſtro faciendum & exercendum, etiamſi maiora exiſtant ſuperiùs expreſſis, & mandatum de ſe exigant magis ſpeciale quàm ſuperiùs eſt inſertum: te commiſſarium ac ambaſſiatorem & procuratorem noſtrum ſpecialem ordinamus, facimus, & conſtituimus per præſentes: promittentes nos ratum, gratum, & firmum habituros quicquid per te geſtum & procuratum ſiue actum fuerit in præmiſſis. In cuius rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes. Teſte me ipſo apud Greenewich ſextodecimo die Iunij anno regni noſtri triceſimo octauo.* Henrie Rex.

The king hauing paſſed ouer the foreſaid letters patents to ſir Thomas, and he in forwardneſſe to execute his charge, to the intent that his retinue and attendants ſhould no waies offenſiuelie behaue themſelues againſt the French, with whom the king was verie carefull to continue and mainteine the peace interchangeablie agreed vpon and concluded, his maieſtie to preuent and cut off all occaſions that might anie waie impeach, interrupt, or violate this peace, commanded the lords of his councell to direct letters withall expedition to the ſaid ſir Thomas, then vpon his voiage into France, conteining a preſcript forme of demeanor, which the gentlemen & yeomen attendant vpon him in France ſhould vſe, during the time of their abode in thoſe forren parts: a copie of which letter, being a teſtimoniall of the king of Englands inclinable mind to peace hereafter followeth out of the verie originall, as the ſame was ſubſcribed by the lords.

A copie of the ſaid letters ſent in poſt *to ſir Thomas Cheinie being vpon his* voiage into France.

AFter our right hartie commendations to your good lordſhip. The kings maieſtie hath willed vs to ſignifie vnto you, that his highneſſe expreſſe pleaſure and commandement is, ye ſhould in his maieſties name declare to ſuch gentlemen as accompanie you into France, that they haue in remembrance ſo to vſe & behaue themſelues among the Frenchmen as well on the waie as at the court, in ſuch ſort as they by communication vpon feats of the warre paſſed giue no occaſion of priuat diſpleaſure. Wherein therefore it ſhall be expedient, that either they ſaie nothing, vnleſſe they be prouoked; or in that caſe call the things happened fortune de la guerre, without compariſon of things chanced on our part or on theirs, but turne the communication to reioiſe in peace. In the conditions whereof they ſhall pretend ignorance, without ſpeaking of the keeping ſtill of Bullogne, or deliuerance of it againe, but as ſhall pleaſe the princes for the continuance of peace, wherein by Gods grace the crueltie of warre ſhall be conuerted into extreamitie of friendſhip, to the weale and commoditie of both realmes.

And forſomuch as there want not in the world naughtie men of the ſtate of moonks and friers, who for malice of the alteration of their eſtate here, would gladlie defame our religion towards God, as though we had with them caſt out all; his highneſſe expreſſe pleaſure and commandement is, that conſidering at this firſt entrie of you, the behauiour of your companie ſhall be much marked and noted in matters of religion and circumſtances: of the ſame they ſhould therfore haue ſo much the more regard both to their communications and alſo behauiors, and not onelie in ſpeech to forbeare to diſpute or intermedle with the ſtate of their policy there, but alſo in their diet on the fiſh daie and deuout hearing of maſſe, follow the order of the kings maieſties relme, ſo as their conuerſation & behauior maie be cõfuſion to ſuch as would defame this realme in the contrarie. Thus fare your good lordſhip right hartilie well. From Greenewich the ninteenth of Iune 1546. Your lordſhips aſſured louing friends, *Thomas Wriotheſleie canc. W: Saint-Iohn. I: Ruſſell. Cutb: Dureſme. Steph: Winton. Anthonie Brenne. William Petres.* **This letter was thus indorſed.** ¶ To our aſſured louing friend ſir Thomas Cheinie knight of the order, treaſuror of the kings maieſties houſhold, and lord warden of the cinque ports, preſentlie in ſpeciall commiſſion from the kings maieſtie into France. Haſt, poſt haſt for thy life, to Douer, Calis, or where he ſhall chance to be: haſt, haſt.

Thus farre of ſir Thomas Cheinie, imploied about the kings affaires in France; namelie the christening of the Dolphins daughter: wherein we haue béene the more copious in words, bicauſe it hath béen publiſhed, that ſir Henrie Kneuet was thervnto perſonallie deputed: which to be vntrue, both the letters patents and the letter miſſiue doo ſufficientlie proue: both which we receiued at the hands of an *ancient ſeruitor, attendant vpon the ſame ſir Thomas at his béeing in France to execute his charge in the kings behalfe. Of which worthie knight when we come to the yeare and daie of his death, we will deliuer further report to his high commendation, but yet none otherwiſe than as by warranted intelligence we ſhall be directed.]

*Henrie Tenant.

The ſame time was a combat fought before the French king betwixt two Spaniards, Iulian Romeron, and one Morow. They both ſerued the king of England in the laſt wars againſt France: but Morow had reuolted from his ſeruice to the French kings, and for certeine ſpéeches which he had vttered, was chalenged to fight the ſaid combat by the ſaid Iulian, for whome ſir Henrie Kneuet vndertooke that he ſhould ſtand to his chalenge, and trie it with his aduerſarie, which he now did, and vanquiſhed him in liſts, the fight being appointed on horſſebacke. Incontinentlie after, ſir Henrie Kneuet ſickned and died at Corbell, and was buried in Paris within the church of S. Paule. Moreouer, for the full eſtabliſhment of the peace, and to receiue the French kings oth, the vicount Liſle lord admerall, with the biſhop of Dureſme, and diuerſe other lords, and gentlemen,

A combat betwéene Iulian Romeron, and Morow.

The death of ſir Henrie Kneuet.

tlemen, to the number of one hundred and aboue, all in veluet cotes and chaines of gold, with fiue and fortie yeomen right ſeemelie appointed, went into France, departing from Bullogne the tenth of Iulie, and came to Meſlune a towne beyond Paris, where the French king then laie, by whome and the Dolphin his ſonne they were roiallie receiued, feaſted, and banketted: and hauing doone that for the which he was ſent, the ſaid lord admerall Dudleie the firſt of Auguſt tooke his leaue of the French king, who rewarded him with a cupboord of plate all gold, valued at 1500 pounds. The lords alſo and gentlemen had chaines of gold giuen to them, and the yeomen had two hundred crownes beſtowed amongſt them, and ſo the lord admerall returned into England. This lord admerall, during the time that he had to deale with the French, ſo valiantlie demeaned himſelfe, and was ſuch a terror and aſtoniſhment to the enimie, as it is left written of him, that they durſt not queech in his preſence, but were like a ſort of timorous cattell, giuing roome to the raging lion ranging ouer the paſtures with hir yoonglings, and making the verie heauens to ring with hir roring, after ſhe hath filled hir ſelfe with bulles fleſh, and laid hir ſelfe downe to reſt being wearie with eating; the compariſon verie aptlie followeth:

The lord admerall Dudleie went into France to receiue the Frẽch kings oth.

Vtque iracundo cedunt armenta leoni,
Paſcua cum plenus bacchante furore peragrat
Solus cum catulis, cœlum, & rugitibus implens
Conſpicitur, poſtquam taurorum carnibus atra
Sit ſaturata fames, laſſiúſque recumbit edendo:
Tantus terror erat Gallis Dudleius Heros.

In the ſame moneth of Auguſt monſieur Danebalt high admerall of France, accompanied with the biſhop of Eureux, the earle of Nanteuill knight of the order, the earle of Villiers, the chiefe preſident of Roan, ſecretarie Bouchetell, monſieur de Canaples knight of the order, monſieur de Taies knight of the order, monſieur de Maillerie viceadmerall of France, monſieur de Deſſe, the baron de la Gard, with diuerſe other lords and capteines of honor, beſide two hundred gentlemen well appointed, leuſed from Deepe with twelue gallies and a right faire ſhip called the Sacre of Deepe, and ſo making ſaile he ſtaied not anie where to take land, till he came into the Thames, where at Blackewall he was receiued into the kings barge by the earles of Darbie and Eſſex, who brought him to Greenewich, where he landed, and lodged there that night.

An ambaſſage forth of France.

The next daie he came vp with all his gallies, and landed at the Tower wharfe. Vpon all the banks by the water ſide were laid peeces of artillerie, which ſhot off freelie, and ſo likewiſe did all the artillerie in the ſhips, but ſpeciallie from the Tower was ſhot a maruellous great peale of ordinance. From whence being landed, they rode thorough London in great triumph (the maior and the crafts ſtanding in the ſtreets in verie good order) vnto the biſhops palace by Paules, where the French admerall lodged till Bartholomew euen, on which daie he was conueied toward Hampton court, where in the waie the prince hauing with him the archbiſhop of Yorke, the earles of Hertford and Huntington, and aboue two thouſand horſſe, met him and imbraſed him in ſuch courteous and honorable wiſe, that all the beholders greatlie reioiſed, and much maruelled at the ſaid princes high wit and great audacitie, and ſo the French admerall came to the court, giuing the prince the vpper hand as they rode. And at the vtter gate of the court, the lord chancellor, and all the kings councell receiued him, and brought him to his lodging.

The kings ſhips that laie in the riuer betwixt Grauesend & Detford, ſhot off luſtilie, & likewiſe the French gallies hailed them againe.

The French admerall receiued by prince Edward.

On Bartholomew daie the king admitting him to his preſence, welcomed him, and in great triumph went to the chappell, where the king receiued his oth to performe the articles of the league, as it was couenanted. To ſpeake of the bankettings, huntings, and ſuch like honorable ſorts of interteinements, it were much to vtter, and hard to beleeue. But on fridaie following, being the ſeuen and twentith of Auguſt, he being rewarded with a cupboord of plate, to the value of twelue hundred pounds, returned to London, and on the ſundaie next inſuing tooke his gallies and departed. Beſide the kings gifts, he had giuen to him by the citie of London two flaggons guilt, and two other that were parcell guilt, valued at one hundred thirtie ſix pounds, beſide wine, wax, and torches. There were diuerſe of his companie alſo that went not awaie vnrewarded, hauing both plate, and alſo manie horſſes, and greihounds giuen them.

The admerall of France receiueth an oth.

His gifts that he had of the king & others.

Although this peace pleaſed both the Engliſh and French nations, yet ſuerlie both miſtruſted the continuance therof. And verelie the old prouerbe ſeemed to be throughlie verefied, which ſaith, that what the eie ſeeth, the hart rueth: for the Frenchmen ſtill longed for Bullogne, and the Engliſhmen meant not willinglie to giue it ouer. For during the French admerals being in England, monſieur de Chatillon capteine of Montplaiſier began to make a new baſtilion euen at the verie mouth of the hauen, naming it Chatillons garden. Wherevpon that noble gentleman the lord Greie of Wilton, ſhortlie after appointed to be deputie of the towne and countie of Bullogne, perceiuing the great inconuenience that this new building would bring to the towne if it went forwards, did aduertiſe the king thereof, earneſtlie beſeeching his grace, that the matter might be throughlie conſidered of. Sir Thomas Palmer was the meſſenger.

The lord Greie of Wilton.

Sir Thomas Palmer.

The king vpon the intelligence, aſked his councels aduiſe, which onelie went wholie, that the conditions of the peace were not in anie wiſe to be infringed. This reſolued, ſecretarie Paget then knight, and afterwards lord, was commanded accordinglie to draw a letter to the lord Greie, the which the king himſelfe did ſigne, willing that the meſſenger ſhould further know of his pleaſure before he departed. Wherevpon ſir Thomas Palmer, hauing his diſpatch at the ſecretaries hands, did get word to be giuen to the king, who preſentlie ſent for him into his priuie chamber, and betwixt them two, vſed theſe words: Palmer, you haue there a letter from vs to the lord Greie, that he doo in no wiſe deale in the matter that he hath by you aduertiſed vs of. Notwithſtanding, I will that you deliuer him this meſſage from vs.

King Henries meſſage to the lord Greie by ſir Thomas Palmer.

Bid him call to mind how that his brethren and himſelfe not a ſhort time, but euen from tender yeares, nor farre off, but ſtill neere to our perſon, we haue brought him vp, which (tell him) not vniuſtlie, if that be in him that we conceiue dooth breed in vs an od truſt of feruencie to ſerue vs of him, more than a common ſeruant or ſubiect. By that token will him whatſoeuer I haue written to the contrarie, that he preſentlie impeach the fortification of Chatillons garden, and raſe it if it be poſſible: and this my meſſage ſhall be his cleering therein, & the ſeruice gratefullie accepted. Sir Thomas Palmer ſomewhat aſtonied hereat, conſidering the weightineſſe of the cauſe, and the contrarietie of the letter and meſſage, began to put the king in mind of the ſmall credit that his bare errand of right was like to haue, ſo flat againſt that which his maieſties letters imported. But the king cutting off his tale; Deliuer thou the meſſage (quoth he) at his choiſe then be the executing thereof.

Sir Thomas thus diſpatched, with great ſpeed arriued at Bullogne immediatlie vpon the opening of the gates at after noone. His letters and meſſage deliuered, the lord Greie ſtreight aſſembled the councell, ſhewed them the kings letters, which read, he cauſed ſir Thomas to pronounce before them the meſſage alſo. Euerie man was to ſaie his aduiſe: it went roundlie through the boord without anie queſtion, that the letter was to be followed, the meſſage not to be ſtaied on. The lord Greie hauing heard, and not replieng anie thing, willed ſir Thomas to be called in againe, bad him repeat his meſſage, and therwhileſt made a clearke of the councell to write the ſame *verbatim*. This doone, he praied the whole table to ſet their hands vnto it, which they did, and the lord Greie taking the ſame into his hands, without further opening, declaring his reſolution, brake vp councell, commanded ſtreight the gates to be ſhut, gaue priuie warning, that certeine bands with armour and weapon, and likewiſe pioners ſhould that night by an houre be in a readines.

Chatillons garden ouerthrowen and raſed downe.

The houre came, himſelfe with the warned companie iſſued out, paſſed ouer the water, and without anie alarum of the enimie, did ouerthrow in thrée or foure houres, what in two or thrée moneths had bin raiſed, and ſo in great quietneſſe returned into the towne. Preſentlie he diſpatched ſir Thomas Palmer backe againe to the king with the newes, whoſe returne was ſo ſudden, as the king himſelfe being in the chamber of preſence, & ſéeing him, ſaid alowd: What? Will he doo it or no? Sir Thomas giuing no other anſwer, but preſenting his letters, and ſaieng, that thereby his maieſtie ſhould know. The king againe in earneſt mood, Naie tell vs I ſaie, whether he will doo it or not? Then ſir Thomas told him that it was doone, and the whole fortification cleane raſed. Whereat the king taking great ioy, preſentlie called to certeine of the lords of the councell that were by, and ſaid: How ſaie you my lords, Chatillons garden the new fort is laid as flat as this floore. One ſtreight amongſt them gaue iudgement, that he that had doone it, was worthie to loſe his head. The king ſtreight replied, he had rather loſe a dozen ſuch heads as his was that ſo iudged, than one ſuch ſeruants as had doone it: and herewith he commanded, that the lord Greies pardon ſhould preſentlie be made, the which with a letter of great thanks, and promiſe of reward, was returned by the ſaid ſir Thomas Palmer to the ſaid lord Greie; but the reward failed, the king not continuing long after in life: the like hap whereof had oftentimes happened vnto diuerſe of his worthie anceſtors vpon their due deſerts to haue béene conſidered of, and therefore the caſe the leſſe ſtrange.

The lord Greies ſeruice verie honorablie accepted of the king.

This haue I ſet downe the more willinglie, for that I haue receiued it from them, which haue heard it reported, not onlie by the lord Greis owne mouth, but alſo by the relation of ſir Thomas Palmer, and others that were preſent: the ſame not tending ſo much to the lord Greies owne praiſe, as to the betokening of the kings noble courage, and the great ſecret truſt which he worthilie repoſed in the ſaid lord Greie. Here is to be noted alſo, leſt any man ſhould miſtake the matter, as if the king dealt indirectlie herein, that his maieſtie knowing how the Frenchmen in going about to build this fort, did more than they might by the couenants of the peace; and therefore was reſolued at the firſt aduertiſement thereof, to haue it raſed. But yet for that it might happilie haue béene ſignified ouer vnto the Frenchmen, before my lord Greie could haue accompliſhed the feat, he therefore wiſelie wrote one thing in his letters, whervnto manie might be priuie, and ſent ſecret knowledge by words contrarie to the contents of the ſame letters, ſo as if the meſſenger were truſtie, his pleaſure might not be diſcouered to the hinderance or diſappointing of the ſame. But now to our purpoſe.

The French king after this, bicauſe as yet he would not ſéeme to breake the peace, commanded the trenches and new fortifications made about this fortreſſe, called Chatillons garden thus caſt downe, to be filled by his owne people, and ſo it reſted during the life of king Henrie: but afterwards it was begun againe, and finiſhed, as after ye ſhall heare. About Michaelmas in this preſent yeare, Thomas duke of Norffolke, and Henrie earle of Surrie that was his ſonne and heire, vpon certeine ſurmiſes of treaſon, were committed to the tower of London, and immediatlie after Chriſtmas, the thirtéenth of Ianuarie, the king then lieng in the extremities of death, the ſaid earle was arreigned in the Guildhall of London, before the lord maior, the lord chancellor, and diuerſe other lords and iudges being there in commiſſion. Where if he had tempered his anſwers with ſuch modeſtie as he ſhewed token of a right perfect and readie wit, his praiſe had béene the greater. Some things he flatlie denied, ſéeking to weaken the credit of his accuſers by certeine circumſtances: other he excuſed with interpretations of his meaning, to proue the ſame to be far otherwiſe than was alleged againſt him.

The duke of Norffolke committed to the tower.

1547

And one ſpeciall matter amongeſt other wherewith he was charged, was, for bearing certeine arms that were ſaid to belong to the king, and to the prince. The bearing whereof he iuſtified and mainteined, that (as he tooke it) he might beare them as belonging to diuerſe of his anceſtors, and withall affirmed, that he had the opinion of heralds therein. But yet to his indictment he pleaded not giltie: and for that he was no lord of the parlement, he was inforced to ſtand to the triall of a common inqueſt of his countrie, which found him giltie, and therevpon he had iudgement of death: and ſhortlie after, to wit, the 19 of Ianuarie, he was beheaded on the tower hill. ¶ In this moneth of Ianuarie, the church of the late graie friers in London was opened, and maſſe ſoong there: and that daie preached at Paules croſſe the biſhop of Rocheſter, who declared the kings gift to the citie of London, for the relieuing of the poore people, which was by patent vnder his great ſeale. Saint Bartholomews ſpittle, the church of the graie friers, and two pariſh churches, the one of ſaint Nicholas in the ſhambles, the other ſaint Ewine in Newgate market, all to be made one pariſh church of the graie friers church; and in lands he gaue for the maintenance of the ſame 500 markes by yeare for euer, & this church to be named Chriſts church, founded by king Henrie the eight.]

The earle of Surrie beheaded.

I.S.pag.1034. King Henrie his gift to the citie of London.

The duke was atteinted by parlement, and the atteindor after reuerſed in the firſt yeare of quéene Marie. The euill hap as well of the father, as of the ſonne, was greatlie lamented of manie, not onelie for the good ſeruice which the duke had doone in his daies in defenſe of this realme, but alſo for that the earle was a gentleman well learned, and knowne to haue an excellent wit, if he had béene thankefull to God for the ſame, and other ſuch good gifts as he had indued him withall. The king now lieng at the point of death, made his laſt will and teſtament, wherein he not onelie yéelded himſelfe to almightie God; but alſo tooke order, that during the minoritie of his ſonne prince Edward, his executors ſhould be councellors and aiders to him in all things, as well concerning priuate as publike affaires. They were ſixtéene in number, whoſe names were as hereafter followeth.

The duke atteinted.

The king maketh his teſtament.

His executors

Thomas Cranmer archbiſhop of Canturburie, Thomas Wriotheſleie lord chancellor, ſir William

Paulet knight of the order, lord Saint-John, & great maſter of the houſhold: ſir Edward Seimer knight of the order, earle of Hertford, and high chamberleine of England: ſir John Ruſſell knight of the order, lord priuie ſeale: ſir John Dudleie knight of the order, vicount Liſle, & baron of Maupas, high admerall of England: Cutbert Tunſtall biſhop of Durham: ſir Anthonie Browne knight of the order, and maſter of the horſſe: ſir Edmund Montacute knight chiefe iuſtice of the cõmon plees: ſir Thomas Bromleie knight, one of the iuſtices of the kings bench: ſir Edward North knight, chancellor of the augmentation: ſir William Paget knight of the order: ſir Anthonie Dennie knight: ſir William Herbert knight: ſir Edward Wotton knight, treaſuror of Calis: Nicholas Wotton deane of Canturburie and Yorke.

The deceaſe of king Henrie the eight.

So ſoone as the noble king had finiſhed his laſt will and teſtament, as afore is ſaid, he ſhortlie therevpon yeelded vp his ſpirit to almightie God, departing this world the eight and twentith daie of Januarie, in the eight and thirtith yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord 1546, after the accompt of the church of England; but after the accompt which we follow in this booke 1547, beginning our yeare the firſt of Januarie. He reigned thirtie and ſeuen yeares, nine moneths and od daies. His bodie (according to his will in that behalfe) was conueied to Windſor with all funerall pompe, and in the college there interred. Of this treſnoble and treſpuiſſant monarch, I find theſe few verſes, which maie ſerue in good ſtead of an epitaph or funerall inſcription:

Henricus octauus poſt 38. annos moritur.

Henricus princeps propè luſtra peregerat octo,
Et populum magna prudens cum laude regebat,
Ex quo magna ſoli tractauit ſceptra Britanni:
Cùm Deus omnipotens, morbo obrepente, moneret
Hinc emigrandum de vita. Proh dolor ingens!
Quot pia plebs lachrymis quàm triſtibus ora rigauit?
Quàm grauiter regni proceres planxere cubantem?
Anglia tota iacet mœrens, lugubris & amens,
Nil opis apportant medici, nil profuit herba,
Quæ ſolet humanis membris adferre ſalutem,
Pharmaca nil proſunt, præbetur potio fruſtra:
Heu nulla triſtis mors eſt medicabilis arte.

The deſcription of king Henrie the eight.

This noble prince was right fortunate in all his doings, ſo that commonlie whatſoeuer he attemted, had good ſucceſſe, as well in matters of peace as of wars. Of perſonage he was tall and mightie, in his latter daies ſomwhat groſſe, or as we tearme it, bourlie: in wit and memorie verie perfect: of ſuch maieſtie tempered with humanitie, as beſt became ſo noble and high an eſtate: a great fauorer of learning, as he that was not ignorant of good letters himſelfe: he was of great magnificence and liberalitie, inſomuch that Iohn Leland that worthie antiquarie, hauing taſted of his roiall bountifulneſſe, hath left no leſſe teſtified to the world in a proper epigram, which I will not omit, leaſt I ſhould wilfullie conceale a manifeſt proteſtation of his thankfulneſſe left witneſſed vnto the world in writing:

Ad Henricum octauum, regem Angliæ, maximum ſtudioſorum amatorem.

Antè ſuos Phœbus radios oſtendere mundo
Deſinet, & claras Cynthia pulchra faces:
Antè fluet rapidum tacitis ſine piſcibus æquor,
Spinifer & nullam ſentis habebit auem:
Antè ſacræ quercus ceſſabunt ſpargere ramos,
Floráq; ſollicita pingere prata manu:
Quàm rex diue tuum labatur pectore noſtro
Nomen, quod ſtudijs portus & aura meis.

And the ſame Iohn Leland, who deſeruedlie had taſted the fruits of the kings largeſſe, was not vnacquainted with the fame of his renowme, which had made it ſelfe knowne by reſtles flight to nations far and neare, ſome to their ſmart hauing felt the valor of his forces, and others ſubmitting themſelues for feare of vtter deſolation. Wherevpon he became a terror to his enimies, and yet none more deſirous of peace than he, if by anie other meanes (beſides violence) the ſame might haue beene obteined. Sufficient cannot be ſaid in his high & merited commendation, conſidering that as his victories were ſingular, ſo were they alſo manifold; and hard it is for the pen of a cunning rhetorician to paint him out according to his dignitie: howbeit the ſaid Iohn Leland hath left in writing a proper epigram, deuiſed in praiſe of this moſt excellent king, by way of compariſon, to his immortall commendation, as here followeth:

Comparatio in gloriam Henrici octaui regis potentiſsimi.

Quantum puniceis nouo roſetis
Cedunt vere ſuis rubeta ſpinis:
Quantum lilio amœnioris horti
Gemmæ omnes aliæ nitore cedunt:
Quantum cætera punicis decoro
Malis poma quidem rubore cedunt:
Quantum coniferis breues myricæ
Concedunt quoq; gloria cupreſsis:
Quantum ſtelligero repreſſa tellus
Cælo mole ſua & nigrore cedit:
Tantum omnes alij, celebritate,
Fama, nomine, gloriáq; vera
(Vt mittam ingenij valentioris
Lumen, flumina, fulmen atq; vires
Rari iudicij tui perennes)
Concedunt tibi principes ſereni,
Henrice, ô patriæ tuæ columna
Talis, qualis erat celebris illa
Olim quam extulit Henricus triumphans.

Of lerned men that liued in the daies of this moſt famous prince, we find manie, as firſt John Colet deane of Paules, and founder of the ſchoole there, he was borne in London of honeſt parents; William Lillie borne in the town of Odiham in Hampſhire, and was the firſt ſchoolemaſter of Paules ſchoole after it was erected; Thomas Linacer, or rather Linaker, borne in Darbie, a learned phyſician, and well ſeene in the tongs; John Skelton a pleaſant poet, Richard Pace that ſucceeded John Colet in the roome of deane of Paules, John Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter of whome ye haue heard before, Thomas More borne in London of whome mention likewiſe is made in the life of this famous king; William Horman borne in Saliſburie viceprouoſt of Eaton college, a learned man, as by his works it appeareth; John Frith borne in London, William Tindall, of which two perſons ye haue heard likewiſe in the hiſtorie of this king; Robert Wakefield excellentlie ſeene in tongs, John Raſtall a citizen and ſtationer of London, Chriſtopher Saint German an excellent lawier, Robert Barnes of whom alſo we haue made mention before.

Sir Thomas Eliot knight, Edward Lée archbiſhop of Yorke, John Leland a diligent ſearcher of antiquities, Anne Aſkew wrote certeine treatiſes concerning hir examinations, ſir John Bourchier knight lord Berners tranſlated the chronicles of ſir John Froiſſard out of French into Engliſh, William Chubs, Henrie Standiſh a frier minor and biſhop of ſaint Aſſaph wrote againſt Eraſmus for his tranſlation of the new teſtament, to his ſmall praiſe as he handled the matter; Thomas ſurnamed Philomelus a Londoner an excellent poet, William Grocine verie expert in both tongs Gréeke and Latine, Thomas Spenſer a Carmelite frier borne in Norwich, Henrie Bullocke, William Latimer, Yong a monke of Ramſeie, Arnold of London wrote certeine collections touching hiſtoricall matters, Thomas Lupſet a Londoner a learned yong man departed this life in the ſix and thirtith yeare of his age about the yeare of our Lord 1532, he wrote ſundrie vertuous treatiſes; William Melton chancellor of Yorke, John Sowle a Carmelite frier of London and a doctor of diuinitie, John Batemanſon a Charterhouſe monke & prior of his houſe at London, Richard Whitford.

Thomas Attourborne in Norffolke and fellow with Bilneie in ſuffering perſecution vnder cardinall Wolſeie, Henrie Bradſhaw borne in Cheſter where he was profeſſed a blacke monke wrote the life of ſaint Werbourgh and a certeine chronicle, John Palſgraue a citizen of London wrote inſtructions for the perfect vnderſtanding of the French toong, John Skuiſh a Corniſhman wrote certeine abbreuiations of chronicles with a treatiſe of the warres of Troie, Anthonie Fitzherbert a iudge wrote an abridgement of the lawe, John Littleton wrote alſo of the principles of the law but he liued before this ſeaſon, Wilfride Holme wrote a treatiſe of the rebellion in Lincolneſhire and in the North after the maner of a dialog, John Conſtable an excellent poet and rhetorician, John Hilſer, Edward Fox ſtudent in the kings college in Cambridge was aduanced to the biſhops ſée of Hereford and was imploied in diuerſe ambaſſages from king Henrie the ſeuenth both into Germanie and Italie.

John Lambert *aliàs* Nichols borne in Norffolke, of whome yée haue heard in the hiſtorie of this king, how he ſuffered for the controuerſie of the ſacrament; George Fulberie, John Hooker, Thomas Lanquet wrote an epitome of chronicles and alſo of the winning of Bullongne, John Shepre, Leonard Cox wrote diuerſe treatiſes, one in Engliſh rhetorike whereof Bale maketh no mention; Thomas Soulmon borne in the Ile of Gernſeie verie ſtudious in hiſtories as by his writings and notes it appeareth, John Longland biſhop of Lincolne, Maurice Chancie a Charterhouſe monke, Cutbert Tunſtall biſhop of Dureſme, Richard Samſon, Alban Hill a Welſhman an excellent phyſician, Richard Croke verie expert in the Gréeke toong, Robert Whittington borne in Staffordſhire néere to Lichfield wrote diuerſe treatiſes for the inſtruction of Grammarians, John Aldrige biſhop of Carleill, John Ruſſell gathered a treatiſe intituled *Super iure Cæſaris & Papæ*, he wrote alſo commentaries in *Cantica*; William Roie, Simon Fiſh a Kentiſhman borne wrote a booke called the ſupplication of beggers.

John Powell and Edward Powell Welſhmen wrote againſt Luther, Edward died in Smithfield for treaſon in denieng the kings ſupremacie in the yeare 1540; John Houghton gouernour of the Charterhouſe monks in London died likewiſe for treaſon in the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and fiue; John Rickes being an aged man, forſaking the order of a frier Minor, which he had firſt profeſſed, imbraced the goſpell; George Bullen lord Rochford, brother to quéene Anne, wrote diuerſe ſongs and ſonets; Francis Bigod knight borne in Yorkeſhire wrote a booke againſt the cleargie intituled *De impropriationibus*, and tranſlated certeine bookes from Latine into Engliſh, he died for rebellion in the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and ſeauen; Richard Wiſe, Henrie Morleie lord Morleie, wrote diuerſe treatiſes, as comedies and tragedies, the life of ſectaries, and certeine rithmes; William Boteuille *aliàs* Thin reſtored Chaucers workes by his learned and painfull corrections.

John Smith ſometime ſchoolemaiſter of Heiton, Richard Turpine borne of a worſhipfull familie in England & ſeruing in the garriſon of Calis wrote a chronicle of his time, he died in the yéere a thouſand fiue hundred fortie and one, and was buried in ſaint Nicholas church in Calis; Sir Thomas Wiat knight, in whoſe praiſe much might be ſaid, as well for his learning as other excellent qualities méet for a man of his calling, he greatlie furthered to inrich the Engliſh toong, he wrote diuerſe matters in Engliſh méeter, and tranſlated the ſeauen penitentiall pſalmes, and (as ſome write) the whole pſalter, he died of the peſtilence in the weſt countrie, being on his iourneie into Spaine, whither he was ſent ambaſſadour from the king vnto the emperour, in the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred fortie and one; Henrie Howard earle of Surrie, ſonne to the duke of Norffolke, delighted in the like ſtudies with ſir Thomas Wiat, wrote diuerſe treatiſes alſo in Engliſh méeter, he ſuffered at Tower hill, as in the hiſtorie of this king before yée haue heard.

John Field a citizen and lawyer of London wrote ſundrie treatiſes, as his owne anſwers vnto certeine articles miniſtred to him by ſir Thomas More, the biſhop of Rocheſter, Raſtall, and others; when he was in priſon for religion, he wrote alſo a treatiſe of mans fréewill, *De ſeruo hominis arbitrio*, and collections of the common lawes of the land, &c: Triſtram Reuell, Henrie Brinklow a merchant of London wrote a little booke, which he publiſhed vnder the name of Roderike Mors, and alſo a complaint vpon London, &c: Robert Shingleton borne of a good familie in Lancaſhire wrote a treatiſe of the ſeauen churches, and other things, as of certeine propheſies, for the which (as ſome write) he ſuffered at London, being conuict of treaſon in the yeare 1544: William Parreie a Welſhman wrote a booke intituled *Speculum iuuenum*.

Of ſtrangers that liued here in this kings daies, and for their works which they wrote were had in eſtimation, theſe we find recorded by maiſter Bale: Barnard Andreas a Frenchman, borne in Tolouſe an Auguſtin Frier, and an excellent poet; Adrian de Caſtello, an Italian of Corneto a towne in Thuſcaine, he was commended vnto king Henrie the ſeuenth by the archbiſhop Morton, and therevpon was firſt made biſhop of Hereford, and after reſigning that ſée, was aduanced to Bath and Welles; Andreas Ammonius an Italian of the citie of Luca, ſecretarie to the king, wrote diuerſe treatiſes; James Calco an Italian alſo of Pauia in Lumbardie, by profeſſion a Carmelite frier, an earneſt defender of the diuorſe betwixt the king and the ladie Katharine Dowager, diſprouing the marriage betwixt them to be in anie wiſe lawfull.

Thus farre the right high and renowmed Henrie the eight, ſonne and
ſucceſſor to Henrie the ſeuenth.

Edvvard the ſixt, ſonne and ſucceſsor to Henrie the eight.

After it had pleaſed almightie God to call to his mercie that famous prince king Henrie the eight, the parlement as yet continuing, and now by his death diſſolued, the executours of the ſaid king, and other of the nobilitie, aſſembling themſelues togither, did firſt by ſound of trumpet in the palace of Weſtminſter, and ſo through London, cauſe his ſonne and heire prince Edward to be proclamed king of this realme by the name of Edward the ſixt, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the churches of England and Ireland the ſupreame head, he being yet but nine yeares and od moneths of age: he was thus proclamed the eight and twentith of Ianuarie, in the yeare of the world 5513, and after the birth of our Lord 1547, according to the accompt of them that begin the yeare at Chriſtmaſſe; but after the accompt of the church of England, in the yeare 1546, about the nine and twentith yeare of the emperor Charles the fift, the three and thirtith of Francis the firſt of that name king of France, and in the fift yeare of the reigne of Marie queene of Scotland.

K. Edward proclamed.

1547

Shortlie herevpon the earle of Hertford with other of the lords reſorted to Hatfield, where the yoong king then laie, from whence they conducted him with a great and right honorable companie to the Tower of London. During the time of his abode there, for the good gouernement of the realme, the honour and ſuertie of his maieſties perſon, his vncle Edward earle of Hertford, was by order of the councell, and the aſſent of his maieſtie (as one moſt meeteſt to occupie that roome) appointed gouernour of his roiall perſon, and protector of his realmes, dominions and ſubiects, and ſo proclamed the firſt of Februarie by an herald at armes, and ſound of trumpet through the citie of London in the vſuall places thereof, as it was thought expedient.

The earle of Hertford choſen protector.

The ſixt daie of Februarie the earle of Hertford lord protector adorned king Edward with the order of knighthood, remaining then in the Tower, and therewith the king ſtanding vp, called for Henrie Hubblethorne lord maior of the citie of London, who comming before his preſence, the king tooke the ſword of the lord protector, and dubbed the ſaid Hubblethorne knight, he being the firſt that euer he made. The ſeauenteenth of Februarie the lord protector was created duke of Summerſet, the earle of Eſſex was created marqueſſe of Northhampton, the lord Liſle high admerall of England was created earle of Warwike and high chamberlaine of England, ſir Thomas Wriotheſleie lord chancellour was created earle of Southhampton, ſir Thomas Seimer was aduanced to the honour of lord of Sudleie and high admerall of England, which office the earle of Warwike then reſigned, ſir Richard Rich was made lord Rich, and ſir William Willoughbie was created lord Willoughbie of Parrham, ſir Edmund Sheffield was made lord Sheffield of Butterwike; and as ſaith a late writer of this action:

Lord protector made duke of Summerſet

Vt quiſque eſt ditione potentior, auctus honore,
Et noua virtutis ſumens inſignia fulget.

The king rideth through London to weſtminſter.

At the ſame time great preparation was made for the kings coronation, ſo that the foure and twentith of Februarie next inſuing, his maieſtie came from the Tower, and ſo rode through London vnto Weſtminſter, with as great roialtie as might be, the ſtreets being hoong, and pageants in diuerſe places erected, to teſtifie the good willes of the citizens, reioiſing that it had pleaſed God to deale ſo fauourablie with the Engliſh nation to grant them ſuch a towardlie yoong prince to their king and ſoueraigne thus to ſucceed in place of his noble father. ¶ Now as he rode through London toward Weſtminſter, and paſſed on the ſouth part of Pauls churchyard, an Argoſine came from the battlements of the ſteeple of Paules church vpon a cable, being made faſt to an anchor by the deanes gate, lieng on his breaſt, aiding himſelfe neither with hand nor foot, and after aſcended to the middeſt of the cable, where he tumbled and plaied manie pretie toies, whereat the king and the nobles had good paſtime.]

Abr.Fl. ex I.S.pag.1036.

Pauls ſteeple laie at anchor.

K. Edward crowned.

The morrow after being Shrouesundaie and the fiue and twentith of Februarie, his coronation was ſolemnized in due forme and order, with all the roialtie and honour which thereunto apperteined. Shortlie after the coronation, to wit, the ſixt of March, the erle of Southhampton, lord chancellour of England, for his too much repugnancie (as was reported) in matters of councell to the reſidue of the councellors about the king, was not onelie depriued of his office of chancellor, but alſo remooued from his place and authoritie in councell, and the cuſtodie of the great ſeale was taken from him, and deliuered vnto ſir William Paulet lord Saint-Iohn, that was lord great maiſter of the kings houſhold.

The lord chancellor diſcharged of his roome.

Alſo ſhortlie after his coronation, the kings maieſtie by the aduiſe of his vncle the lord protector and other of his priuie councell, minding firſt of all to ſeeke Gods honor and glorie, and therevpon intending a reformation, did not onelie ſet forth by certeine commiſſioners, ſundrie iniunctions for the remoouing of images out of all churches, to the ſuppreſſing and auoiding of idolatrie and ſuperſtition within his realmes and dominions, but alſo cauſed certeine homilies or ſermons to be drawne by ſundrie godlie & learned men, that the ſame might be read in churches to the people, which were afterward by certeine of theſe commiſſioners ſent forth as viſitors, accompanied with certeine preachers, tho-

Homilies.

The communion in both kinds.

I.S.pag.1036. D. Smith recanted.

roughout the realme, for the better inſtruction of the people, publiſhed and put in vſe. At Eaſter next following, he ſet out alſo an order thorough all the realme, that the ſupper of the lord ſhould be miniſtred to the laie people in both kinds. ¶ On the fiftéenth of Maie doctor Smith recanted at Paules croſſe.]

Rich. Grafton.

All theſe things doone concerning religion (as before is ſaid) the lord protector and the reſt of the councell, calling to mind the euill dealing and craftie diſſimulation of the Scots, concerning the matter of marriage betwixt the kings maieſtie, and the quéene of Scotland (which marriage as ye haue heard, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight, was by authoritie of parlement in Scotland fullie concluded) thought it not to ſtand with the kings honor to be in ſuch maner by them deluded, and withall conſidering how greatlie it ſhuld turne to the quietneſſe and ſafetie of both realmes to haue theſe two princes conioined in matrimonie, they did deuiſe ſundrie waies and meanes how the ſame might be brought to paſſe, and the rather (as ſome doo write) for that king Henrie (before his death) had giuen them in ſpeciall charge by all indeuours to procure that the ſaid marriage might take place, as wholie wiſhing by the coniunction of thoſe two yong princes, the vniting of the two kingdoms in perpetuall amitie and faithfull league of loue; as our poet ſaith:

Optat coniugio duo regna coire fideli,
Aeternam pacem hinc æternáque fœdera iungi.

But the lords of Scotland were ſo inueigled and corrupted by the French king, and abuſed by cardinall Beton, archbiſhop of ſaint Andrewes, and other of their clergie, that they not onelie ſhranke from that which they had promiſed, but alſo ſought to deſtroie thoſe that fauored the king of Englands part: wherevpon a great and puiſſant armie was now prepared to paſſe by land into Scotland, and likewiſe a nauie to paſſe by ſea to attend vpon the ſame: whereof the great gallie and foure and twentie tall ſhips were thoroughlie furniſhed with men and munition for the warres, beſides manie merchants ſhips and other ſmall veſſels, which ſerued for carriage of vittels, and other neceſſaries.

Chiefteines in the armie.

But now to ſhew what noble men and other were ordeined officers, and aſſigned to haue the conduction as well of the armie by land, as of the fléete by ſea; ye ſhall vnderſtand, that firſt the duke of Summerſet, lord protector, tooke vpon him to go himſelfe in perſon, as generall of the whole armie, and capteine alſo of the battell or middle-ward, wherin were foure thouſand footmen. The marſhall erle of Warwike appointed lord lieutenant of the ſame armie, led the fore-ward conteining thrée thouſand footmen. The lord Dacres gouerned in the rere-ward, wherein were other thrée thouſand footmen. The lord Greie of Wilton was ordeined high marſhall of the ſaid armie & capteine generall of all the horſſemen, being in number ſix thouſand. Sir Rafe Sadler knight treaſuror of the armie. Sir Francis Brian knight, capteine of the light horſſemen, in number two thouſand.

Sir Rafe Vane knight lieutenant of all the men of armes and demilances. Sir Thomas Darcie knight capteine of all the kings maieſties penſioners, and men at armes. Sir Richard Leigh knight deuiſer of the fortifications. Sir Peter Mewtas knight capteine of the harquebutters, which were in number ſix hundred. Sir Peter Gamboa knight, capteine of two hundred harquebutters on horſſebacke. Sir Francis Fleming knight was maſter of the ordinance. Sir George Blaag & ſir Thomas Holcroft commiſſioners of the muſters. Edward Shelleie, the lord Greies lieutenant of the men of armes of Bullongne, who was the firſt that gaue the onſet in the daie of battell, and died moſt honorablie in the ſame. Iohn Brenne capteine of the pioners being in number a thouſand foure hundred. Thomas Audeleie and Edward Chamberleine harbengers of the field.

The chiefteins that commanded in the nauie by ſea were theſe.

The lord Edward Clinton admerall of the fléet: ſir William Woodhouſe knight his viceadmerall. There were in the armie of great ordinance fiftéene péeces, and of carriages nine hundred carts, beſide manie wagons, whereof the commiſſarie generall was George Ferrers. As ſoone as the armie by land was in a readineſſe, and ſet forward to come to Berwike at a daie appointed, the nauie likewiſe tooke the ſea, and by the helpe of Gods good guiding had ſo proſperous ſpeed in their paſſage, that they arriued at Berwicke in time conuenient, whither vpon the thirtith of Auguſt being tueſdaie, the lord protector came, and laie in the caſtell with ſir Nicholas Strelleie knight, capteine there. The next daie commandement was giuen that euerie man ſhould prouide himſelfe for foure daies vittels to be caried forth with them in carts.

The lord protector cauſeth Aimouth riuer to be ſounded.

On thurſdaie the firſt of September the lord protector, not with manie more than with his owne band of horſſemen, rode to a towne ſtanding on the ſea coaſt, a ſix miles from Berwike within Scotland called Aimouth, whereat there runneth a riuer into the ſea, which he cauſed to be ſounded, and finding the ſame well able to ſerue for an hauen, cauſed afterwards a fortreſſe to be raiſed there, appointing Thomas Gower, that was marſhall of Berwike, to be capteine thereof. On fridaie, all ſauing the councell departed the towne of Berwike, and incamped a two flight ſhoots off, by the ſea ſide, toward Scotland. And the ſame daie the lord Clinton with his fléet tooke the ſeas from Berwike, to the end that in caſe the wind ſhould not ſerue them to kéepe courſe with the armie by land; yet were it but with the driuing of tides, they might vpon anie néed of munition or vittels be ſtill at hand, or not long from them.

Sir Rafe Sadler treaſuror of the Engliſh armie.

A proclamation.

The ſame daie the earle of Warwike, and ſir Rafe Sadler treaſuror of the armie, came to Berwike from Newcaſtell, where they had ſtaid till then, for the full diſpatch of the reſt of the armie, and the next daie the earle of Warwike incamped in field with the armie. On which daie a proclamation with ſound of trumpet was made by an herald in thrée ſeuerall places of the campe, ſignifieng the cauſe of the comming of the kings armie at that preſent into Scotland, which in effect was, to aduertiſe all the Scotiſh nation, that their comming was not to depriue them of their liberties, but to aduance the marriage alreadie concluded and agréed vpon betwixt the kings maieſtie of England and their quéene, and no hoſtilitie ment to ſuch as ſhould ſhew themſelues furtherers thereof. On the fourth of September being ſundaie, the lord protector came from out of the towne, and the armie raiſed, and marched that daie a ſix miles, and camped by a village called Roſtan in the baronrie of Boukendall.

The order of the armie in marching forward.

The order of their march was this. Sir Francis Brian capteine of the light horſſemen, with foure hundred of his band, tended to the ſkout a mile or two before. The carriages kept along the ſea coaſt, and the men at armes and demilances diuided into thrée troops, anſwering the thrée wards, rid in araie directlie againſt the cariages a two flight ſhots aſunder from them. The thrée foot battels kept order in place betwixt them both. The fore-ward foremoſt, the battell in the middeſt, the rere-ward hindermoſt, ech ward hauing his trope of horſſemen and gard of ordinance, his aid of pioners for amendment of waies, where néed ſhould be. The fift of September they marched an eight miles, vntill they came to the Peaths, a clough or vallie, running for a ſix miles weſt ſtreight eaſtward, and toward the ſea a twentie ſcore brode from banke to banke aboue, and a fiue ſcore in the bottome, wherein runnes a little riuer. Stéepe is this vallie on either ſide, and déepe in the bottome.

The Peaths.

The Scots had caſt trenches ouerthwart the ſide waies on either ſide, in manie places, to make the paſſage more cumberſome: but by the pioners the ſame were ſoone filled, and the waie made plaine, that the armie, carriage, & ordinance were quite ſet ouer ſoone after ſun ſet, & there they pitched downe their campe. Whileſt the armie was thus paſſing ouer this cumberſome paſſage, an herald was ſent from the lord protector, to ſummon a caſtell, that ſtood at the end of the ſame vallie, a mile from the place where they paſſed downe towards the ſea. Matthew Hume capteine thereof, a brothers ſonne of the lord Humes, vpon his ſummons required to ſpeake with the lord protector. It was granted, and he came, whome the lord protector handled in ſuch ſort with effectuall words, putting him in choiſe whether he would yéeld, or ſtand to the aduenture, to haue the place woone of him by force, that he was contented to render all at his graces pleaſure.

An Engliſh herald ſent from the lord protector to ſummon a caſtell.

And ſo being commanded to go fetch his companie out of the houſe, he went and brought them, being in all one and twentie perſons. The capteine and ſix other were ſtaied and commanded to the kéeping of the marſhall, the reſidue were ſuffered to depart whither they thought good. After this ſurrender, the lord John Greie brother to the marques Dorſet, was appointed to ſeize & take poſſeſſion of the houſe, being capteine of a great number of demilances, as for his approoued worthineſſe and valiancie right well he might, agréeable to the deſerued report remaining of him in print in forren ſpéech as followeth:

———*Graius heros*
Ob ſummam belli cataphractis præfuit artem.

The ſpoile was not rich ſure, but of white bread, oten cakes, and Scotiſh ale indifferent good ſtore, and ſoone beſtowed among my lords ſoldiors; for ſwords, bucklers, pikes, pots, pans, yarne, linnen, hempe, and heaps of ſuch baggage, which the countrie people there about had brought into that pile, to haue it in more ſuretie, the ſoldiors would ſcarſe vouchſafe to ſtoope and take the ſame vp.

In the meane time the lord protector appointed the houſe to be ouerthrowne, which by the capteine of the pioners was doone, though with ſome trauell, by reaſon the walles were ſo thicke, and the foundation ſo déepe, and thereto ſet vpon ſo craggie a plot. Tueſdaie the ſixt of September, the armie diſlodged and marched forward. In the waie as they ſhould go, a mile and an halfe from Dunglas northward were two piles or holds, Thornton & Anderwike, ſet both on craggie foundations, & diuided a ſtones caſt a ſunder by a déepe gut, wherein ran a little riuer. Thornton belonged to the lord Hume, and was kept by one Thom Trotter, who vpon ſummons giuen him to render the houſe, lockt vp a ſixtéene poore ſoules like the ſoldiors of Dunglas faſt within the houſe, tooke the keies with him, commanding them to defend the place till his returne, which ſhould be on the morrow, with munition and releefe: and this doone, he and his prickers prickt (as ſaith maiſter Patten) quite their waies.

The caſtell of Dunglas ouerthrowne:

Thornton. Anderwike.

Thom Trotter.

Anderwike perteined to the lord of Hambleton, and was kept by his ſon and heire, whome of cuſtome they call the maſter of Hambleton, & eight more gentlemen for the moſt part, as was reported. The lord protector at his comming nigh, ſent vnto both theſe places, which vpon ſummons refuſing to render, were ſtreight aſſailed; Thornton by batterie of foure great péeces of ordinance, and certeine of ſir Peter Mewtas hackbutters, and Anderwike by a ſort of the ſame hackbutters, who ſo well beſtirred them, that where theſe kéepers had rammed vp their outer doores, cloied and ſtopt their ſtaires within, and kept themſelues for defenſe of their houſe about the battlements, the hackbutters got in, and fired them vnderneath, whereby being greatlie troubled with ſmoke, they cried for mercie, which the lord protector meant to grant them; but yer the meſſenger came, the hackbutters were got vp to them, & killed eight of them aloft: one leapt ouer the walles, and running more than a furlong, was after ſlaine without in a water.

The lord of Hambleton.

The pile of Anderwike woone.

All this while at Thornton was the aſſault on the Engliſh part, and the defenſe by them within ſtoutlie continued: but at length when they perceiued in what danger they ſtood, and how little able they were to helpe themſelues, or to annoie the aſſailants, they pluckt in a banner which they had hoong forth, in token of defiance, and put forth a white linnen clout tied to a ſtickes end, crieng all with one tune for mercie: but hauing anſwer by the whole voices of the aſſailers that they were traitors, and that it was too late, they pluckt in their ſticke, and ſet vp againe their banner of defiance, and ſhot off, hurled ſtones, & did what elſe they could with great courage of their ſide, & ſmall hurt of the aſſailants. Wherefore perceiuing that they could not long kéepe out, being on the one ſide battered, and mined on the other, kept in with hackbutters on ech ſide, and ſome of the Engliſhmen being got into the houſe below, for they hauing ſhopt vp themſelues alſo in the higheſt of their houſe, pluckt in againe their banner, and cried eftſoones for mercie, but being anſwered generallie by the aſſailants, that they ſhould neuer looke for it, they fell to make this petition, that if they ſhould néeds die, they might rather ſuffer by hanging, and ſo reconcile themſelues to God, than to die in malice with ſo great danger of their ſoules.

This ſute was ſo furthered to the dukes grace by ſir Miles Partrige that was néere at hand when they made this ſute, that it was granted; and they comming forth, humbled themſelues, and without more hurt they were but commanded to the prouoſt marſhall, who kept them for a time, and were after releaſed. The houſe was ſhortlie after ſo blowen with pouder, that more than the one halfe of it fell ſtreight downe to duſt and rubbiſh, the reſt ſtood all to ſhaken with rifts and chinks. Anderwike alſo was burned, and all the houſes of office, and ſtacks of corne about them both. While this was in doing the dukes grace, in turning but about, ſaw the fall of Dunglas, which likewiſe was vndermined and blowen vp with pouder.

Sir Miles Partrige.

Thornton yéelded.

The piles of Thornton and others defaced.

This doone, about noone the armie marched, and paſſing by Dunbar, the caſtell ſent them diuerſe ſhots of artillerie, but all in vaine. The Scotiſh prickers ſhewed themſelues in the field with proffer of ſkirmiſh, but to no great purpoſe, one of them being killed with a ſhot of one of Barteuils men an hackbutter on horſſebacke. The armie hauing marched that daie a ten miles, lodged at night néere vnto Tantallon, and had a blind alarum. Marching the next morning a two miles, they came to a riuer called Lin, where there is a ſtone bridge, named Linton bridge of a towne thereby on the right hand as the armie marched, and ſtanding eaſtward vpon the ſame riuer: the horſſemen and carriages paſſed through the water, for it was not verie déepe, and the footmen ouer the bridge. The paſſage was ſtreict for an armie, and therfore the longer in ſetting ouer.

Tantallon.

Linton bridge.

Hailes caſtell.

Beyond this bridge about a mile weſtward vpon the ſame riuer, on the ſouth ſide ſtandeth a proper caſtell called Hailes, perteining to the earle of Bothwell, but kept as then by the gouernors appointment, who held the earle in priſon. Out of this caſtell as the lord protector paſſed forward in following the fore-ward, there were roundlie ſhot off (but without hurt) ſix or ſeuen péeces, the which before that (though ſome of the armie had béene verie nigh) yet kept they all couert. In the meane time roſe a thicke miſt, which cauſed a great diſorder in the rere-ward, by reaſon they could not ſée about them. The earle of Warwike therefore doubting leaſt the enimies, who had béen pricking vp and downe néere to the armie, and offered ſkirmiſh the ſame morning, ſhould now by occaſion of the miſt attempt ſome feat to the annoiance of the Engliſhmen in their paſſage, his lordſhip himſelfe ſcant with ſixtéene horſſes (whereof Barteuill, and Iohn de Ribaud Frenchmen were two, ſeuen or eight light horſſemen more, and the reſt being his owne ſeruants) returned toward the paſſage to ſée the arraie againe.

A ſubtile practiſe of the Scots.

The Scotiſh horſſemen perceiuing our horſſemen to haue paſſed on before, and thinking (as the truth was) that ſome capteine of honor did ſtaie for the looking to the order of this rere-ward, they kéeping the ſouth ſide of the riuer, did call ouer to ſome of the armie, to know whether there were anie noble man nigh there? They were aſked whie they aſked? One of them anſwered, that he was ſuch a one whoſe name the Engliſhmen knew to be honorable among the Scots, and would come in to the dukes grace, ſo that he might be ſure to come in ſafetie. Some yoong ſoldiors nothing ſuſpecting the craftie falſhood of the Scots, told him that the earle of Warwike was nigh there, by whoſe tuition he ſhould be ſafelie brought to my lord protectors preſence. They had cand their leſſon & fell to their practiſe, which was this. Hauing come ouer the water, in the waie as the earle ſhould paſſe, they had cowched about two hundred of their prickers, and had ſent fortie beſide to ſearch where my lord was, whome when they had found, part of them prickt verie nigh, whome ten or twelue of the earles ſmall companie did boldlie incounter, and droue them well-nigh home to their ambuſh, fléeing perchance not ſo much for feare as for falſhood, to bring them within their danger. But hereby informed that the earle was ſo nigh, they ſent out a bigger number, and kept the reſt more ſecret vpon this purpoſe, that they might either by a plaine onſet diſtreſſe him, or elſe by faining of flight to haue trained him within danger of their ambuſh. And thus inſtructed, they came pricking toward his lordſhip apaſe. Whie (quoth he) & will not theſe knaues be ruled? Giue me my ſtaffe. The which then with ſo valiant a courage he charged at one (as it was thought) Dandie Car, a capteine among them, that he did not onelie compell Car to turne, and himſelfe chaſed him aboue twelue ſcore togither, all the waie at the ſpeares point, ſo that if Cars horſſe had not béene excéeding good and wight, his lordſhip had ſurelie run him through in this race, but alſo with his little band cauſed all the reſt to flée amaine. After whome as Henrie Vane, a gentleman of the ſaid earles, and one of his companie did fiercelie purſue foure or fiue Scots, ſuddenlie turned, and ſet vpon him, and though they did not altogither eſcape his hands frée, yet by hewing and mangling his head, bodie, and manie places elſe, they did ſo cruellie intreat him, as if reſcue had not come the ſooner, they had ſlaine him outright. Here was Barteuill run at ſideling, and hurt in the buttocke, and one of the Engliſhmen ſlaine: of Scots againe none ſlaine, but thrée taken priſoners, whereof one was Richard Maxwell, and hurt in the thigh; who had béene long in England not long before, and had receiued right manie benefits, both of the late kings liberalitie, and of the earle of Warwike, and of manie other nobles and gentlemen in the court beſide.

The manlie courage of the earle of Warwike.

Dandie Car.

Henrie Vane.

Barteuill hurt.

Richard Maxwell taken.

But to conclude, if the earle of Warwike had not thus valiantlie incountred them, yer they could haue warned their ambuſh how weaklie he was garded, he had béene beſet round about by them yer he could haue bin aware of them, or reſcued of other. Whereas hereby his lordſhip vndoubtedlie ſhewed his wonted valor, ſaued his companie, and diſcomfited the enimie. As Barteuill the Frenchman that daie had right honeſtlie ſerued, ſo did the lords right honorablie acquite it: for the earle of Warwike did get him a ſurgion, and dreſſed he was, ſtreight after laid and conueied in the lord protectors owne chariot. The reſt that were hurt were here alſo dreſt, Scots and others.

Lang Nuddreie.

The armie hauing marched that ſame daie nine miles, incamped at night by a towne ſtanding on the Frith called Lang Nuddreie. The next morning being thurſdaie the eight of September, in time of the diſlodging of the Engliſh campe, ſigne was made to ſome of the ſhips (whereof the moſt part and chiefeſt laie a ten or twelue miles in the Forth, beyond vs, ouer againſt Lieth & Edenborough) that the lord admerall ſhould come a ſhore, to ſpeake with the lord protector. In the meane time, ſomewhat earlie as our gallie was comming toward vs, about a mile and more beyond our campe, the Scots were verie buſie, wafting here on ſhore toward them with a banner of ſaint George that they had, ſo to traine them to come on land there: but the earle of Warwike ſoone diſappointed the policie, for making toward that place where the lord admerall ſhould come on ſhore, the Engliſhmen on the water by the ſight of his preſence, did ſoone diſcerne their friends from their foes.

Order taken for the placing of the ſhips.

The lord admerall herevpon came to land, and riding backe with the earle vnto the lord protector, order was taken, that the great ſhips ſhould remoue from before Lieth, and come to lie before Muſkelborough; and the Scotiſh campe which laie there in field alreadie aſſembled, to reſiſt the Engliſh power that marched thus towards them. The ſmaller veſſels that were vittelers were appointed to lie néerer to the armie. The lord admerall herevpon, being returned to the water, & the armie marching onward a mile or two, there appéered aloft on a hill, that laie longwiſe eaſt and weſt, and on the ſouth ſide of them, vpon a ſix hundred of their horſſemen prickers, whereof ſome within a flight ſhot, directlie againſt the Engliſhmen, ſhewed themſelues vpon the ſame hill, & more further off.

The Scotiſh prickers ſhew themſelues.

Toward theſe, ouer a ſmall bridge that laie ouer a little riuer there, verie hardlie did ride about a dozen haquebutters on horſſebacke, and held them at baie ſo nie to their noſes, that whether it were by the goodneſſe of the ſame haquebutters, or the badneſſe of them, the Scots did not onelie not come downe to them, but alſo verie courteouſlie gaue place, and fled to their fellowes. The armie went on, but ſo much the ſlowlier, bicauſe the waie was ſomewhat narrow, by meanes of the Forth on the one ſide, and certeine mariſhes on the other. The Scots kept allwaies paſe with them, till there were ſhot off two field péeces twiſe, wherewith there was a man killed, and the leg of one of their horſſes ſtriken off, which cauſed them to withdraw, ſo that the Engliſhmen ſaw no more of them, till they came to the place where they meant to incampe, for there they ſhewed themſelues againe aloft on the fore remembred hill, ſtanding as it were to view and take muſter of the armie: but when the lord Greie made towards them, minding to know their commiſſion, they wiſelie went their waie, and would not once abide the reaſoning.

Little elſe was doone that daie, but that George Ferrers, one of the duke of Summerſets gentlemen, and one of the commiſſioners of the cariages in the armie, perceiuing where certeine Scots were got into a caue vnder the earth, ſtopping ſome of the vents, and ſetting fire on the other, ſmothered them to death, as was thought it could be none other, by coniecture of the ſmoke breaking forth at ſome of the other vents. The Engliſh ſhips alſo taking their leaue from before Lieth, with a ſcore of ſhot or more, and as they came by ſaluting the Scots in their campe alſo, with as manie, came and laie according to appointment. The armie hauing marched this daie about a fiue miles, incamped at Salt Preſton by the Forth. On fridaie the ninth of September, the Engliſh armie lieng in ſight & view of the Scotiſh campe, that laie two miles or therabouts from them, had the Forth on the north, and the hill laſt remembred on the ſouth, the weſt end whereof is called Faurſide Braie, on the which ſtandeth a ſorie caſtell, and halfe a ſcore houſes of like worthineſſe by it, and had weſtward before the Engliſhmen, the Scots lieng in campe. About a mile from the Engliſh campe were the Scots horſemen verie buſie, pranking vp and downe, & faine would haue beene a counſell with the Engliſhmens doings; who againe, bicauſe the Scots ſeemed to ſit to receiue them, did diligentlie prepare that they might ſoone go to them, and therfore kept within their campe all that daie.

Scots ſmothered in a caue.

Salt Preſton

Faurſide Braie.

The lord protector and the councell ſitting in conſultation, the capteines and officers prouiding their bands, ſtore of vittels, and furniture of weapons, for furtherance whereof our veſſels of munition and vittels were here alreadie come to the ſhore. The Scots continued their brauerie on the hill, the which the Engliſhmen not being ſo well able to beare, made out a band of light horſſemen, and a troope of demilances to backe them: the Engliſhmen and ſtrangers that ſerued among them, got vp aloft on the hill, and thereby of euen ground with the enimie rode ſtreight toward them with good ſpeed and order, whom at the firſt the Scots did boldlie countenance and abide: but after, when they perceiued that our men would needs come forward, they began to pricke, and would faine haue beene gone, yer they had told their errand. But the Engliſhmen haſted ſo ſpeedilie after, that euen ſtreight they were at their elbowes, and did ſo ſtoutlie then beſtirre them, that what in the onſet at the firſt, and after in the chaſe, which laſted a three miles welnie to as far as the furtheſt of their campe on the ſouth ſide, they had killed of the Scots within a three houres, aboue the number of thirteene hundred, and taken the maiſter of Hume, the lords Humes ſonne and heire, two prieſts and ſix gentlemen, whereof one by ſir Iaques Granado, and all vpon the higheſt and welneere nigheſt of the hill toward the Scots, within the full ſight of their whole campe.

The Scots horſſemen diſcomfited and put to flight.

Scots ſlaine. Priſoners taken.

Engliſhmen taken.

On the Engliſh part one Spaniſh haquebutter hurt, and taken ſir Raſe Bulmer knight, Thomas Gower marſhall of Berwike, and Robert Crouch, all capteins of ſeuerall bands of the Engliſh light horſſemen, and men of right good courage and approued ſeruice, & at this time diſtreſſed by their owne too much forwardneſſe, and not by the enimies force. To conclude, of fifteene hundred horſſemen for ſkirmiſh, and fiue hundred footmen to lie cloſe in ambuſh, and to be readie at need, which came that morning out of their campe, there returned not home aboue ſeuen hundred, and diuerſe of thoſe ſore hurt, and among other, the lord Hume himſelfe, for haſt in the flight, had a fall from his horſſe, and burſt the canell bone of his necke, that he was faine to be caried ſtreight to Edenborough, and finallie there departed this life of that hurt. So that it is true which C. O. ſaith, that in this ſkirmiſh manie a good rider was diſmounted, their horſſes with emptie ſaddles and looſe bridles running vp hill and downe dale, as if they had beene ſtarke mad, and to conclude (ſaith he)

The lord Hume hurt with a fall in the chaſe.

——equi lapſurus inhæſit
Tergo alius ſummo tellurem vertice pulſans.

Then after this, the lord protector, and the earle of Warwike, and other of the councell, with a ſmall gard, mounting vp the hill where the ſlaughter had beene made, about halfe a mile ſoutheaſt from the Scotiſh campe, tooke full view therof, the plot where they laie, ſo choſen for ſtrength, as in all their countrie (ſome thought) not a better, ſaue on the ſouth by a great mariſh, & on the north by the Forth, which ſide they fenſed with two field peeces, and certeine haquebutters a crooke, lieng vnder a turffe wall, Edenborough on the weſt at their backes, and eaſtward betweene the Engliſhmen and them ſtronglie defended by the courſe of a riuer called Eſke, running north into the Forth, which as it was not verie deepe of water, ſo were the bankes of it ſo high and ſteepe, as a ſmall ſort of reſiſtants might haue beene able to keepe downe a great number of commers vp. About a twelue ſcore from the Forth, ouer the ſame riuer, is there a ſtone bridge, which they did keepe alſo well garded with ordinance.

When the lord protector, and the earle of Warwike had viewed euerie thing, as they thought expedient, they returned home towards their campe, alongſt before the campe of the enimies, within leſſe than two flight ſhoots, entring into a lane of thirtie foot broad, fenſed on either ſide with a wall of turffe, an ell of heigth. The Scots did often ſhoot at them in the waie as they paſſed thus homewards, without hurt, ſauing the killing of an horſſe among three hundred, the rider eſcaping elſe harmeleſſe. And as the dukes grace was paſſed welnie halfe the waie homewards, a Scotiſh herald with a cote of his princes armes vpon him (as the maner is) and with him a trumpetter, ouertooke them.

A Scotiſh herald deliuereth a meſſage to the duke of Summerſet.

The herald declaring this meſſage to the lord protector, pretended to come from the gouernour, to inquire of priſoners taken, and therewith to proffer honeſt conditions of peace. And after he had told his tale, then began the trumpetter, and ſaid, how he was ſent from the earle of Huntleie: My lord my maiſter (ſaith he) hath willed me to ſhew your grace, that bicauſe this matter maie be the ſooner ended, and with leſſe hurt, he will fight with your grace for the whole quarell, twentie to twentie, ten to ten, or elſe himſelfe alone with your grace man to man. The lord protector hauing kept with him the lord lieutenant, had heard them both throughlie, and then in anſwering, ſpake ſomewhat with lowder voice, than they had doone their meſſages. Wherevpon they that were the riders by, thinking that his grace would haue it no ſecret, were ſomewhat the bolder to come neerer, the words whereof were vttred ſo expeditelie with honour, and ſo honourablie with expedition, that the ſtanders by were mooued to doubt whether they might rather note in them the promptneſſe of a ſingular prudence, or the boldneſſe of a noble courage: and they were thus.

The lord protectors anſwer.

Your gouernour maie know, that the ſpeciall cauſe of our comming hither was not to fight, but for the thing that ſhould be the weale, both of vs and you. For God we take to record, we mind no more hurt to the realme of Scotland, than we doo to the realme of England, and therefore our quarell being ſo good, we truſt God will proſper vs the better. But as for peace, he hath refuſed ſuch conditions at our hands, as we will neuer proffer againe: and therefore let him looke for none, till this waie we make it: and thou trumpetter, ſaie to thy maiſter, he ſeemeth to lacke wit ſo to make this chalenge to me, being of ſuch eſtate, by the ſufferance of God, as to haue ſo weightie a charge of ſo pretious a iewell, the gouernance of a kings perſon, & then the protection of all his realms, whereby in this caſe I haue no power of my ſelfe, which if I had, as I am true gentleman, it ſhould be the firſt bargaine I would make: but there be a great ſort amongſt vs his equals, to whome hee might haue made this chalenge without refuſall.

The earle of Warwikes requeſt and meſſage to the earle of Huntleie.

Then quoth the lord lieutenant to them both, He ſheweth his ſmall wit to make this chalenge to my lords grace, and he ſo meane, but if his grace will giue me leaue, I ſhall receiue it: and trumpetter bring me word thy maiſter will ſo doo, and thou ſhalt haue of me an hundred crownes. Naie (quoth my lords grace) the earle of Huntleie is not meet in eſtate with you, my lord: but herald ſaie to the gouernor, and him alſo, that we haue beene a good ſeaſon in this countrie, and are here now but with a ſober companie, and they a great number, and if they will meet vs in field, they ſhall be ſatiſfied with fighting inough: and herald bring me word if they will ſo doo, and by my honour I will giue the a thouſand crownes. Ye haue a proud ſort among you, but I truſt to ſee your pride abated ſhortlie, and of the erle Huntleies too: Iwis he is a glorious yoong gentleman.

This ſaid, the earle of Warwike continued his requeſt, that he might receiue this chalenge: but the lord protector would in no wiſe grant it. Theſe meſſengers had their anſwers, and therewith leaue to depart. The Scots in midſt of this meſſage, dooing contrarie to the order of warre, which as it granteth ſafetie to heralds and trumpetters, to paſſe betwixt armie and armie: ſo during the time of anie ſuch meſſage, as this was, hoſtilitie on both parts ought to ceaſſe, but it ſkilled not. On the morow after, they had their guns taken from them (as ſaith maiſter Patten) and put into their hands that could vſe them with more good maner. But now concerning the meſſage of the herald, it was thought that he was ſent therewith, not for that it was beleeued of them, that it would be accepted; but rather that whileſt he was dooing his errand, he might ſurueie the Engliſh power: or elſe for that vpon refuſall of the offer, they might vſe the victorie (whereof they accounted themſelues aſſured) with more crueltie.

The order of war touching heralds violated.

Of nothing they doubted more, than leaſt the Engliſhmen would haue beene gone backe, and gotten to the water, before they ſhould haue incountered them, and therefore they had appointed to haue giuen the Engliſh armie a camiſado in the night before the daie of the battell: but peraduenture, vnderſtanding that the Engliſhmen had warning of their intention, and were prouided for them if they had come, they ſtaied and came not at all. But in the morning, they were vp verie timelie, and being put in order of battell, they marched ſtreight towards the Engliſh campe, againſt whome then, though they ſaw the Engliſh horſſemen readilie to make: yet could not be perſuaded, but that it was for a policie to ſtaie them, till the Engliſh footmen and cariages might fullie be beſtowed a ſhipboord, and that for the ſame purpoſe the Engliſh ſhips were come backe from before Lieth.

The vaine doubt of the Scots.

In the night of this daie, the dukes grace appointed, that earlie in the next morning part of the ordinance ſhould be planted in the lane (wherof mention before is made) vnder the turfe of the wall, next to their campe, and ſome alſo to be ſet vpon the hill nie to Vndreſke church afore remembred: and this to the intent we ſhould with our ſhot cauſe them either wholie to remooue their campe, or elſe much to annoie them in that place where they laie. It was not the leaſt of the Engliſhmens meaning alſo to win from them certeine of their ordinance, that laie neereſt vnto this church. And herewith the ſame morning, being the tenth of September, and Saturday, ſomewhat before eight of the clocke, the Engliſh armie diſlodged, & marched ſtreight toward the church of Vndreſke, as well for intent to haue incamped neere the ſame, as for placing their ordinance, and other conſiderations afore remembred.

Ordinance plãted againſt the enimie.

Saturday, the tenth of September, the daie of the battell.

The Scots either for feare of the Engliſhmens departing, or hope of their ſpoiling, were out of their campe comming toward them, paſſed the riuer, gathered in araie, and well neere at this church, yer the Engliſhmen were halfe waie to it, ſo quite diſappointing the Engliſhmens purpoſe. Which at the firſt ſeemed verie ſtrange in their eies, as altogither beſide their expectation, as they that thought they would neuer haue forſaken their ſtrength, to meet them in the field. But after it was knowne that they did not onelie thus purpoſe to doo, but alſo to haue aſſailed them in their campe, as they laie if they had not beene ſtirring the timelier, and hauing cauſed all their tents to be let flat downe to the ground, yer they came out, bicauſe none ſhould lie lurking behind them in their campe, and as well the nobles as other, leauing their horſſes behind them (except ſuch as were appointed to ſerue on horſſebacke) marched on with their ſouldiors on foot.

They came ſpeedilie forwards on both ſides, the one till then no whit aware of the others intent: but the Scots indeed with a rounder paſe betweene two hillocks, betwixt the Engliſhmen and the church, muſtred ſomewhat brim, at whome as they ſtaied, the Engliſh gallie ſhot off, & ſlue the maiſter of Greime, with fiue and twentie others neere by him, and therewith ſo ſkard foure thouſand Iriſh archers, brought by the earle of Argile, that where (as it was ſaid) they ſhould haue beene a wing to the fore-ward, they could neuer after be made to come forward. Herevpon did their armie haſtilie remooue, & from thence declining ſouthward, tooke their direct waie toward Fauxſide braie. Of this, ſir Raſe Vane, lieutenant of all the Engliſh horſſemen, firſt of all, or with the firſt, noting it, quicklie aduertiſed the lord protector, who thereby did readilie conceiue their meaning, which was to win the hill, and thereby the wind and ſunne, the gaine of which three things (as is thought) whether partie in ſight of battell can hap to obteine, hath his force doubled againſt his enimie.

The Engliſh men & Scots march the one armie toward the other.

The gallie.

The Iriſh archers.

In all this enterpriſe, they vſed for haſte ſo little the helpe of horſſe, that they plucked foorth their ordinance by draught of men, which at that preſent began freelie to ſhoot off towards the Engliſh armie, whereby it was perceiued they ment more than a ſkirmiſh. Herewith euerie man began to applie himſelfe in his charge and dutie which he had to doo. And herewith the lord protector, and other of the councell on horſſebacke as they were, fell ſtreight in conſultation. The ſharpeneſſe of whoſe circumſpect wiſedoms, as it quicklie eſpied out the enimies intents, ſo did it among other things promptlie prouide therin remedie, to preuent them (as needfull it was) for the time aſked no leiſure.

Conſultation of the Engliſh lords on horſſebacke.

Their deuiſe was, that the lord Greie of Wilton, marſhall of the armie, with his band of Bulleners, and with the lord protectors band, and the earle of Warwikes, all to the number of eighteene hundred horſſemen, on the left hand on the eaſt halfe, and ſir

The deuiſe of the lords vpon their conſultation.

Raſe

Raſe Vane, with ſir Thomas Darcie capteine of the penſioners, and men of armes, and the lord Fitzwaters, with his band of demilances, all to the number of ſixtéene hundred, to be readie and euen with the lord marſhall, on the weſt halfe. And thus all theſe togither afore to incounter the enimies afront, whereby either to breake their araie, and that waie to weaken their power by diſorder, or at the leaſt to ſtop them of their gate, and force them to ſtaie, while the fore-ward might wholie haue the hilles ſide, and the battell and rere-ward be placed in grounds next that in order, and beſt for aduantage. And after this, that the ſame horſſemen ſhould retire vp to the hilles ſide to come downe in order afreſh, and infeſt them on both ſides, whileſt the foot battels ſhould occupie them in fight afront.

Which enterpriſe, though it ſéemed right dangerous to the aſſailers, yet was it not more wiſelie deuiſed by the councell, than valiantlie and willinglie executed of the lord marſhall, & the others. For euen there taking their leaues of the councell, the ſaid lord marſhall requiring onelie, that if it went not well with him, the dukes grace would be good to his wife & children, he ſaid he would méet thoſe Scots, and ſo with their bands the foreſaid capteins tooke their waie, and made towards the enimie. By this time were the fore-wards on either part aduanced within two flight ſhoots in ſunder. The Scots came on ſo faſt, that it was thought of the moſt part of the Engliſhmen, they were rather horſſemen than footmen. The Engliſhmen againe were led the more with ſpéed, to ſhew that they were as willing as the Scots to trie the battell. The maſter of the ordinance to their great aduantage pluckt vp the hill at that inſtant certeine péeces, and ſoone after planted two or thrée canons of them welnigh vpon the top there, wherby hauing ſo much the helpe of the hill, he might ouer the Engliſhmens heads ſhoot nieſt at the enimie. As the lord protector had ſo circumſpectlie taken order for the araie and ſtation of the armie, and for the execution of euerie mans office beſide, he being perfectlie appointed in faire armour, accompanied onelie with ſir Thomas Chaloner knight, one of the clearkes of the kings priuie councell, got him to the hight of the hill, to tarrie by the ordinance, where hée might beſt ſuruéie the whole field, and ſuccour with aid where moſt he ſaw néed, and alſo by his preſence to be a defenſe to the thing that ſtood weakeſt in place, and alſo moſt in daunger, the which how much it ſtood in ſtead, anon ye ſhall heare further.

The lord Greies requeſt to the lord protector.

As he was halfe vp the hill, the erle of Warwike was ware the enimies were all at a ſudden ſtaie, and ſtood ſtill a good while, ſo that it ſéemed to him that they perceiuing now their owne follie in leauing their ground of aduantage, had no will to come anie further forward, but gladlie would haue bin whence they came. The reaſons were theſe. Firſt bicauſe at that time, beſide the full muſter of the Engliſh footmen, of whome they thought there had béene none there in field, but all to haue béene either ſhipt, or a ſhipping; then they ſaw plaine that the Engliſhmen were ſure to haue the gaine of the hill, and they the ground of diſaduantage out of their hold, and put from their hope: and hereto, for that their herald gaue the lord protector no warning, the which by him (if they had ment to fight it out) who would not haue preſumed that for the eſtimation of their honor, they would little haue ſtucke to haue ſent; and he againe, and it had béene but for his thouſand crowns, would right gladlie haue brought? Well yet how ſo euer their meaning changed, finallie conſidering belike the ſtate they ſtood in, that as they had left their ſtrength too ſoone, ſo now to be too late to repent, vpon a change of countenance, they made haſtilie forward againe, and (as it ſéemed) with no leſſe ſtoutneſſe of courage, than ſtronglie in order, whoſe maner, armour, weapon, and order in fight in thoſe daies and alſo before (though now ſomewhat changed as well as amongeſt other nations) was as inſueth.

The Scots at a ſtaie vpō the ſudden,

Harquebutters had they few, and appointed their fight moſt commonlie alwaies on foot. They vſed to come to the field well furniſhed, with iacke and ſkull, dagger, buckler, and ſwords, all notablie brode and thin, of excéeding good temper, and vniuerſallie ſo made to ſlice, as hard it is to deuiſe the better: hereto euerie man his pike, and a great kercher wrapped twiſe or thriſe about his necke, not for cold but for cutting. In their araie toward the ioining with the enimie, they thruſt ſo nie in the fore-ranke, ſhoulder to ſhoulder, togither with their pikes in both hands, ſtreight afore them, and their followers in that order ſo hard at their backes, laieng their pikes ouer their foregoerrs ſhoulders, that if they doo aſſaile vndiſſeuered, no force can well withſtand them.

The order of the Scots in warres both touching their furniture and diſpoſition.

Standing at defenſe, they thruſt ſhoulders likewiſe ſo nie togither, the fore-ranks well nie to knéeling ſtoope low before, for their fellowes behind, holding their pikes in both hands, and therewith in their left their bucklers, the one end of their pike againſt their right foot, the other againſt the enimie breaſt high, their followers croſſing their pike points with them before, and thus each with other, ſo nie as place and ſpace will ſuffer, through the whole rankes ſo thicke, that as eaſilie ſhall a bare finger pearſe through the ſkin of an angrie hedgehog, as anie incounter the front of their pikes. Thus prouided, they (I meane the Scots) addreſſed themſelues to incounter inflamed with a heat of furious hatred, but not aduiſed whether the cauſe were iuſt or vniuſt, for the which they were vp in armes: which fooliſh madneſſe the poet pointeth at, and painteth ont, ſaieng:

Arma Scotus poſcit, valida contendere vi vult,
Is nec habet penſi ſit id æquum an prorſus iniquum.

The lord marſhall notwithſtanding, whome no danger detracted from dooing his enterpriſe, with the companie and order afore appointed, came full in their faces from the hill ſide towards them. Herewith waxed it verie hot on both ſides, with pitifull cries, horrible rore, and terrible thundering of guns, beſide the daie darkened aboue head with ſmoke of the artillerie, the ſight and appéerance of the enimie euen at hand before, the danger of death on euerie ſide elſe, the bullets, pellets and arrowes flieng each where ſo thicke, and ſo vncerteinelie lighting, that no where was there anie ſuretie of ſafetie, euerie man ſtriken with a dreadfull feare, not ſo much perchance of death, as of hurt, which things though they were but certeine to ſome, yet doubted of all, aſſured crueltie at the enimies hands, without hope of mercie, death to flie, and danger to fight.

The incounter is verie hot betwéene both ſides.

The whole face of the field on both ſides vpon this point of ioining, both to the eie and to the eare ſo heauie, ſo deadlie, lamentable, furious, outragious, terrible, confuſe, and ſo quite againſt the quiet nature of man, as if to the nobilitie the regard of their honor and fame, to the knights and capteines the eſtimation of their worſhip and honeſtie, and generallie to them all the naturall motion of bounden dutie, their owne ſafetie, hope of victorie, and the fauour of God, that they truſted vpon for the equitie of their quarrell, had not béene a more vehement cauſe of courage, than the danger of death was cauſe of feare, the verie horrour of the thing had béene able to haue made anie man to forget both prowelle and policie. But the lord marſhall and the others, with preſent mind and courage warlie and quicklie continued their courſe towards them. The enimies were in a

The face of the field at the point of ioining.

fallow field, whereof the furrowes laie ſidelong toward the Engliſhmen, next to whome by the ſide of the ſame furrowes, ⁊ a ſtones caſt from the Scots, was there a croſſe ditch or ſlough, which the Engliſhmen muſt néeds paſſe to come to them, wherein manie that could not leape ouer ſtucke faſt, to no ſmall danger of themſelues, and ſome diſorder of their fellowes.

The order of the Scotiſh battels.

The enimie perceiuing the Engliſhmen faſt to approch, diſpoſed themſelues to abide the brunt, and in this order ſtood ſtill to receiue them. The earle of Angus next to the Engliſhmen in the Scotiſh foreward as capteine of the ſame, with an eight thouſand men, and foure or fiue péeces of ordinance on his right hand, and a foure hundred horſſemen on his left. Behind him weſtward, the gouernour with ten thouſand Inland men (as they call them) the choiſeſt ſoldiers counted of their countrie. And the earle of Huntleie in the rere-ward, welnie euen with the battell on the left ſide with eight thouſand. The foure thouſand Iriſh archers as a wing to them both, laſt indéed in order, ⁊ firſt (as they ſaid) that ran awaie. The battell and alſo the rere-ward were garded likewiſe with their ordinance according.

The Iriſh archers on a wing.

Edward Shelleie.

The lord Iohn Greie.

Edward Shelleie lieutenant vnder the lord Greie of his band of Bulleners, was the firſt that paſſed ouer the ſlough. The lord Greie himſelfe next, with the lord Iohn Greie and others in the foremoſt ranke, and ſo then after two or thrée rankes of their former bands. But badlie yet could they make their raſe, by reaſon the furrowes laie trauerſe to their courſe. That notwithſtanding, and though alſo they were nothing likelie well to be able thus afront to come within them to doo them hurt, as well bicauſe the Scotiſhmens pikes were as long or longer than their ſtaues, as alſo for that their horſſes were all naked without bards, whereof though there were right manie among them, yet not one put on, for as much as at their comming forth in the morning, they looked for nothing leſſe than for battell that daie: yet did thoſe worthie gentlemen, the lord Greie of Wilton, the lord Iohn Greie, and maiſter Shelleie with the reſidue, ſo valiantlie ⁊ ſtronglie giue the charge vpon them, that whether it were by their proweſſe or power, the left ſide of the enimies that his lordſhip did ſet vpon (though their order remained vnbroken) was yet compelled to ſwaie a good waie backe, and giue ground largelie, and all the reſidue of them beſide to ſtand much amazed.

The Engliſh horſſemen repelled.

Beſide this, as the Engliſhmen were welnie at their enimies, they ſtood verie braue and bragging, ſhaking their pike points, ⁊ crieng; Come lounds, come héere tikes, come heretikes; and ſuch like rhetorike they vſed. But though (ſaith maſter Patten) they meant but ſmall humanitie, yet ſhewed they thereby much ciuilitie, both of faire plaie, to warne yer they ſtroke, and of formall order, to chide yer they fought. The Engliſh capteines that were behind, perceiuing at eie, that both by the vnéuenneſſe of the ground, by the ſturdie order of the enimie, and for that their fellowes were ſo nie and ſtreight before them, they were not able to anie aduantage to mainteine this onſet, did therefore according to the deuiſe in that point appointed, turne themſelues, and made a ſoft retire vp toward the hill againe. Howbeit, to confeſſe the truth, ſome of the number that knew not the prepenſed policie of the counſell in this caſe, made of a ſober aduiſed retire, an haſtie, raſh, and vnaduiſed flight: howbeit, without capteine or ſtandard, ⁊ vpon no cauſe of néed, but of a méere vndiſcretion and madneſſe. A madneſſe indéed, for firſt the Scots were not able to purſue, bicauſe they were footmen; and then if they could, what hope by flight ſo farre from home in their enimies land, where was no place of refuge?

Gentlemen ſlaine.

The lord Greie hurt.

The valiant lord Greie, Edward Shelleie, little Preſton, Brampton, and Ierningham, Bulleners, Ratcliffe, the lord Fitzwaters brother, ſir Iohn Cleres ſonne and heire, Rawleie a gentleman of right commendable proweſſe, Digs of Kent, Ellerker a penſioner, Segraue: of the duke of Summerſets band, Standleie, Woodhouſe, Coniſbie, Horgill, Norris, Denis, Arthur, and Atkinſon, with other in the fore-ranke, not being able in this earneſt aſſault, both to tend to their fight afore, and to the retire behind: the Scots againe well conſidering herby how weake they remained, caught courage afreſh, ran ſharplie forward vpon them, and without anie mercie, ſlue the moſt part of them that abode furtheſt in preaſe a ſix more of Bulleners, and other than before are named, in all to the number of twentie ſix, and moſt part gentlemen. My lord Greie yet and my lord Iohn Greie, and likewiſe my lord Edward Seimer (as ſome grace was) returned againe; but neither all in ſafetie, nor without euident markes they had bin there: for the lord Greie with a pike through the mouth was raſed a long from the tip of the toong, and thruſt that waie verie dangerouſlie more than two inches in the necke; and the other two had their horſſes vnder them with ſwords ſore wounded. Like as alſo a little before this onſet, ſir Thomas Darcie vpon his approch to the enimies, was ſtriken glanſing wiſe on the right ſide, with a bullet of one of their field péeces, and thereby his bodie bruſed with the bowing in of his armour, his ſword hilts broken, and the forefinger of his right hand beaten flat. Euen ſo vpon the parting of this fraie, was ſir Arthur Darcie ſlaſht at with ſwords, and ſo hurt vpon the wedding finger of his right hand alſo, as it was counted for the firſt part of curing to haue it quite cut awaie.

Sir Andrew Flammocke.

The lord Fitzwaters.

* Quéene Elizabeth.

Caluerleie ⁊ Clement Paſton.

Don Philip a Spaniard.

About the ſame time, certeine of the Scots ran on haſtilie to the kings ſtandard of the horſſemen (the which ſir Andrew Flammocke bare) and laieng faſt hold vpon the ſtaffe therof, cried, A king, a king, that if both his ſtrength, his hart, and his horſſe had not béene good, and herewith ſomewhat aided at this pinch by ſir Rafe Coppinger a penſioner, both he had béene ſlaine, and the ſtandard loſt, which the Scots neuertheleſſe held ſo faſt, that they brake and bare awaie the nether end of the ſtaffe to the burrell, and intended ſo much to the gaine of the ſtandard, that ſir Andrew (as hap was) ſcaped home all ſafe, and elſe without hurt. At this buſineſſe alſo the lord Fitzwaters, both earle of Suſſex and lord chamberleine to the* quéenes maieſtie, capteine there of a number of demilances was vnhorſt, but ſoone mounted againe, ſcaped yet in great danger, and his horſſe all hewen. Hereat further were Caluerleie the ſtandard-bearer of the men at armes, and Clement Paſton a penſioner, thruſt each of them into the leg with pikes, and Don Philip a Spaniard into the knée, diuerſe others maimed and hurt, and manie horſſes ſore wounded beſide.

The placing of the Engliſh vantgard.

The battell.

The rere-ward.

By this time had the Engliſh fore-ward accordinglie gotten the full vantage of the hilles ſide, and in reſpect of their march ſtood ſideling toward the enimie: who neuertheleſſe were not able in all parts to ſtand full ſquare in arraie; by reaſon that at the weſt end of them vpon their right hand, and toward the enimie, there was a ſquare plot incloſed with turffe (as their maner of fenſing in thoſe parts, as well as in diuerſe other is) one corner whereof did let the ſquare of the ſame arraie. The battell in good order next them, but ſo as in continuance of arraie, the former part thereof ſtood vpon the hils ſide, the taile vpon the plaine, and the rere-ward wholie vpon the plaine. So that the placing and countenance of the Engliſh armie in this wiſe, they ſhewed themſelues in maner to compaſſe in the Scots battels, that they ſhould no waie eſcape them: but how little able they were to doo it with power and number, you may eaſilie coniecture.

Thoſe horſſemen that were ſo repelled, and in their comming backe vnorderlie brake their arraie from the reſidue, ran ſo haſtilie through the ranks of the Engliſh fore-ward as it ſtood, that it did both diſorder manie, feared manie, and was a great incouragement to the enimie. The worthie earle of Warwike, who had the guiding of this fore-ward, right valiantlie had conducted the ſame to their ſtanding, and there did verie noblie incourage and comfort them with ſuch chéerefull words, offering to liue and die among them, that doubtleſſe his preſence, demening himſelfe in ſuch manlike ſort, ſtood the whole companie in great ſtead. Neither wanted there the chearefull diligence of thoſe capteines, with whome his honor was furniſhed in that fore-ward likewiſe to incourage their bands, nor the worthie behauiour of other in the battell and rere-ward, euerie one according to his calling, ſhewing ſuch proofe of his dutie, as the moſt part certeinlie deſerued to haue their names regiſtred in the kalendar of fame, where no ruſt of cankered obliuion might fret out the remembrance of their commendable demeanours: and therefore if anie among them ſhould haue ſhewed anie lacke of courage, their diſpraiſe had béene the more, ſith by others they ſaw ſuch worthie example giuen, and were to ſtand vpon this reſolution, to haue harts hardened againſt all hazzards in a iuſt cauſe, whereof they hoped almightie God had vndertaken the managing and direction, vnto whome they had committed the ſame; as the poet truelie ſaith:

The preſence of the earle of warwike greatlie incouraged the ſouldiers.

Iuſta Deo commiſſa Anglorum cauſa tonanti,
Audaces animos fecit impauidóſque pericli.

But ſith there were ſo manie that did well, & therfore deſeruing a longer proceſſe to be made of their high valiancies ſhewed in that dangerous ſeruice, than this volume may permit, I will procéed to the battell. The Scots were ſomewhat diſordred with their comming out about the ſlaughter of the Engliſhmen, the which they did ſo earneſtlie follow, that they tooke not one to mercie. The dukes grace placing himſelfe (as yée haue heard) on the hill of Faurſide braie, and therewith perceiuing the great diſorder of the ſtragling horſſemen, that had in the retire broken arraie, hemmed them in from further ſtraieng, whome ſir Rafe Vane, and others of the capteins ſoone after with great dexteritie brought into good order and arraie againe, and with all the reſt of the ſtrengths of the whole armie, by the policie of the lords, and diligence of euerie capteine and officer beſide, were ſo fitlie and aptlie applied in their feat, that where this repulſe giuen by the enimie to the horſſemen was doubted of manie, to turne to the whole loſſe of the field, the ſame was wrought and aduanced according as it was deuiſed, to the great certeintie of gaine and victorie. For firſt at this ſlough, where moſt of the horſſemen had ſtood, ſir Peter Mewtas capteine of all the harquebutters a foot did verie valiantlie conduct & place a good number of his men, in maner hard at the faces of the enimies, wherevnto ſir Peter Gamboa a Spaniard, capteine of two hundred harquebutters, Spaniards, and Italians on horſſebacke did readilie bring his men alſo, who with the hot continuance of their ſhot in both parts, did ſo ſtoutlie ſtaie the enimies, that they could not well come further forward: then the archers that marched in arraie on the right hand of the footmen, and next to the enimies, pricked them ſharpelie with arrowes as they ſtood. Therewith the maſter of the ordinance, to their great annoiance, did gall them with haſle ſhot and other out of the great ordinance, directlie from the hill top, and certeine other gunners with their péeces a flanke from the rere-ward, moſt of the artillerie and miſſiue engines then wholie thus at once, with great puiſſance and vehemencie occupied about them, herewith the full ſight of the Engliſhmen, all ſhadowed from them before by the horſſemen, and duſt raiſed, whome then they were ware in ſuch order to be ſo néere vpon them, and to this the perfect arraie of the horſſemen againe comming couragiouſlie to ſet on them afreſh, miſerable men, perceiuing themſelues then all too late, how much too much they had ouerſhot themſelues, began ſuddenlie to ſhrinke.

Sir Rafe Vane.

Sir Peter Mewtas.

Sir Peter Gamboa.

The archers.

The maiſter of the ordinance.

Their gouernour and other the principall capteins that had brought them to the bargaine, tooke their horſſes and fled amaine, which other perceiuing did quicklie follow, and with the formoſt of that crue their Iriſhmen, and therewith turned all the whole rout, caſt downe their weapons, ran out of their wards, off with their iackes, and with all that euer they might, betooke them to the race that their gouernour began. The Engliſhmen at the firſt had found them (as what could ſcape ſo manie eies) and ſharpelie and quicklie with an vniuerſall outcrie, They flie, they flie, purſued after in chaſe ſo egerlie, and with ſuch fierceneſſe, that they ouertooke manie, and ſpared indéed but few, that when they were once turned, it was a woonder to ſée how ſoone, and in how ſundrie ſorts they were ſcattered. The place they ſtood on like a wood of ſtaues ſtrewed on the ground, as ruſhes in a chamber, vnpaſſable (they laie ſo thicke) for either horſſe or man. Here at the firſt had they let fall all their pikes, and after that, euerie where ſcattered ſwords, bucklers, daggers, iackes, and all things elſe that was of anie weight, or might be any let to their courſe: which courſe among them, thrée waies ſpeciallie they made, ſome along the ſands by the Frith towards Lith, ſome ſtreight towards Edenburgh, whereof part through the parke there (in the walles whereof, though they be round about of flint ſtone, yet were there manie holes alreadie made) and part of them by the high waie that leadeth along by the abbaie of Holierood houſe; and the reſidue and moſt part of them towards Daketh, which waie by means of the mariſh our horſſemen were worſt able to follow.

The Scots flie and are ſharplie purſued.

The enimies caſt awaie their munition and furniture the lightlier to flie and be gone.

Sundrie ſhifts, ſome ſhrewd, ſome ſorie, made they in their running: diuerſe of them in their courſes, as they were ware they were purſued but of one, would ſuddenlie ſtart backe, and laſh at the legs of the horſſe, or foine him in the bellie, and ſometime did they reach at the rider alſo, whereby Clement Paſton in the arme, and diuerſe in other parts of their bodies otherwiſe in this chaſe were hurt. Some other laie flat in a furrow as they were dead, thereby paſt by of the Engliſhmen vntouched, and (as was reported) the earle of Angus confeſſed he couched in that ſort till his horſſe hapt to be brought him. Other ſome were found to ſtaie in the riuer, couring downe his bodie vnder the root of ſome willow trée, with ſcant his noſe aboue water for breath. Some for lightneſſe caſt awaie ſhoos and doublets, and ran in their ſhirts, and ſome were ſéene in this race all breathleſſe to fall flat downe, and haue run themſelues to death.

The earle of Angus.

Before this, at the time of the onſet, which the Engliſh horſſemen gaue, there came eaſtward fiue hundred of the Scotiſh horſmen vp along this Faurſide braie, ſtreight vpon the Engliſh ordinance and cariage. The lord protector (as yée haue heard) moſt ſpeciallie for doubt hereof, placing himſelfe by the ſame, cauſed a péece or two to be turned toward them, with a few ſhots whereof they were ſoone turned

Parſon Keble one of the lord protectors chapleins.

ned alſo and fled to Daketh. But had they kept on their purpoſe, they were prouided for accordinglie. For one parſon Keble a chapleine of his graces, and two or thrée other, by and by diſcharged foure or fiue of the carts of munition, and therewith beſtowed pikes, billes, bowes and arrowes, to as manie as came; ſo that of carters and other, there were ſome weaponed about a thouſand, whome parſon Keble and the other did verie handſomlie diſpoſe in arraie, and made a pretie muſter.

The maner of the ſlaughter.

The number of Scots ſlaine.

To returne now after this notable ſtrewing of their footmens weapons, began a pitifull ſight of the dead corpſes, lieng diſperſed abrode, ſome their legs off, ſome but hought, and left lieng halfe dead, ſome thruſt quite through the bodie, others their necks halfe a ſunder, manie their heads clouen, with other thouſand kinds of killing. After that, and further in chaſe all for the moſt part killed, either in the head, or in the necke, for the horſſemen could not well reach them lower with their ſwords. And thus with bloud and ſlaughter of the enimie, this chaſe was continued fiue miles in length, weſtward from the place of their ſtanding, which was in the fallow fields of Vndreſke, vntill Edenburgh parke, and well nigh to the gates of the towne it ſelfe, and vnto Lith, and in breadth nie foure miles, from the Forth ſands vp toward Daketh ſouthwards: in all which ſpace, the dead bodies laie as thicke as a man may note cattell graſing in a full repleniſhed paſture. The riuer ran all red with bloud (a ſigne of great ſlaughter) ſo that in the ſame chaſe were ſlaine to the number of ten thouſand men, ſome ſaie aboue fouretéene thouſand, as I doo find by this report concerning the battell:

Millia bis ſeptem ſunt morte abſumpta Scotorum,
Cætera pars certam quærit fugiendo ſalutem.

The cauſes why ſo few Scots were taken.

The Scotiſhmens vow.

Paniar hough.

The apparell of the Scots.

To conclude, conſidering the ſmalneſſe of the Engliſhmens number, and ſhortneſſe of the time (which was ſcant fiue houres, from one till well nigh ſix) the mortalitie was ſo great (as it was thought) the like afore time had not béene ſéene. One great cauſe whie the Engliſhmen ſpared ſo few of them, was thought to be their tyrannous vow by them made (which the Engliſhmen certeinly heard of) that whenſoeuer they fought and ouercame, they would kill ſo manie, and ſpare ſo few: a ſure proofe whereof they plainelie had ſhewed at the firſt onſet giuen, where they killed all, and ſaued not a man that came within their danger. An other reſpect was, to reuenge their great and cruell tyrannie ſhewed at Paniar hough, where they ſlue the lord Euers, whome otherwiſe they might haue taken priſoner and ſaued, and cruellie killed as manie elſe of our men as came into their hands. An other occaſion alſo was their armor among them ſo little differing, all clad alike in iacks couered with white leather, doublets of the ſame, or of fuſtian, and moſt commonlie all white hoſen, not one with either chaine, brooch, ring, or garment of ſilke, vnleſſe chains of latten drawne foure or fiue times along the vpper ſtocks, or to vſe maſter Pattens words, the thighs of their hoſen and doublet ſléeues for cutting.

The earle of Huntleie taken.

Other priſoners taken.

This lacke for difference in apparell was the chiefeſt cauſe that ſo manie of their great men and gentlemen were killed, and ſo few ſaued. The outward ſhew, the reſemblance or ſigne, whereby a ſtranger might diſcerne a poore man from a gentleman, was not among them to be ſéene: as for words and goodlie profers of great ranſoms, were as rife in the mouths of the one as the other. And it came here to paſſe, that after at the examination and counting of the priſoners, there were found taken aboue twentie of their common countrie people, to one of their gentlemen, whome no man néed to doubt the Engliſhmen had rather haue ſpared than the other, if they could haue ſéene anie difference betwéene them in taking. And yet verelie conſidering the caſe as it ſtood, the Engliſhmen ſhewed more grace, and tooke more to mercie, than the reſpects before mentioned might ſéeme to haue required. For beſide the earle of Huntleie, who in good armor appointed likeſt a gentleman of anie among them, but could not then eſcape bicauſe he lacked his horſſe, and hapned to be taken by ſir Rafe Vane, and beſide the lord of Yeſter, Hobbie Hambleton capteine of Dunbar, the maſter of Sanpoole, the lard of Wimmes taken by John Bren, a brother of the earle of Caſſils, and beſides one Montrell, taken by Cornelius comptrollor of the ordinance in the armie, and one Camals an Iriſh gentleman, and beſide manie other Scotiſh gentlemen more, taken by diuerſe others.

The number of the priſoners.

The lord protector not deſirous of ſlaughter.

Sir Rafe Sadler.

The ſpoile of the Scotiſh campe.

The priſoners reckoned in the marſhals booke were numbred to aboue fiftéene hundred. Touching the ſlaughter, ſure they killed not ſo manie, as for the time & oportunitie they might, if they had minded crueltie. For the lord protector mooued with pitie at the ſight of the dead bodies, and rather glad of victorie than deſirous of ſlaughter, ſoone after (by geſſe) fiue of the clocke, ſtaid the ſtandard of his horſſemen at the furtheſt part of their campe weſtward, & cauſed the trumpets to ſound a retreat. Whereat alſo ſir Rafe Sadler treaſuror (whoſe great diligence at that time, and readie forwardneſſe in the chiefeſt of the fraie before, did worthilie merit no ſmall commendation) cauſed all the footmen to ſtaie; and then with much trauell & great paine made them to be brought in ſome order againe: which was a thing not eaſilie doone, by reaſon they all as then were ſomewhat buſie in applieng their market, the ſpoile of the Scotiſh campe, where was found good prouiſion of white bread, ale, otencaks, otemeale, mutton, butter in pots, chéeſe, and in diuerſe tents good wine alſo, and in ſome tents among them was found ſome ſiluer plate and chalices, which with good deuotion ye maie be ſure were plucked out of their cold clowts, and thruſt into their warme boſoms.

A ſhowt in ſigne of victorie.

The feature of the Scotiſhmens perſonages.

Prieſts or kirkmen.

The plot of their campe called Edmonſton edge, nigh Gilberton a place of the lord of Brimſtons, halfe a mile beyond Muſkelburgh, and foure miles on this ſide Edenburgh, occupied in largeneſſe with diuerſe tents and tenticles, that ſtood in ſundrie places out of ſquare, about a miles compaſſe, wherein as the Engliſhmen vpon the ſound of the retreat ſomewhat aſſembled, they all with a lowd and entire outcrie and hallowing, in ſigne of gladneſſe and victorie, made an vniuerſall noiſe and ſhowt, the ſhrilneſſe whereof (as after was reported) was heard vnto Edenburgh. It was a woonder to ſée, but (as they ſaie) manie hands make light worke, how ſoone the dead bodies were ſtripped out of their garments ſtarke naked, euen from as farre as the chaſe went, vnto the place of the onſet, whereby the perſonages of the enimies might by the waie eaſilie be viewed and conſidered, the which for the talneſſe of their ſtature, cleanneſſe of ſkin, bigneſſe of bone, with due proportion in all parts was ſuch, as the beholders, if they had not ſéene it, would not haue beléeued that there had béene ſo many of that ſort in all their countrie. Among them laie manie prieſts, and kirkmen, as they call them, of whome it was bruted that there was a whole band of thrée or foure thouſand, but it was found afterwards not to be altogither ſo.

A banner of a papiſts deuiſe.

Among other banners, ſtandards, and pennons, a banner of white ſarſenet was found, vnder which it was ſaid theſe kirkmen came, whereupon was painted a woman with hir haire about hir ſhoulders, knéeling before a crucifix, & on hir right hand a church, after that written in great Romane letters, *Afflictæ ſponſæ ne obliuiſcaris.* It was ſaid that this was the abbat of Dunfirmlings banner, but whether it was his or the biſhop of Dunkels, the gouernours brother, who (as was ſaid) were both in the field, his meaning was, to ſignifie that the church made interceſſion to Chriſt hir huſband, not now to forget hir his ſpouſe, being at that time afflicted and perſecuted by the Engliſhmen. But whoſe deuiſe ſoeuer it was, it maie ſéeme, that this church comming thus to battell, full appointed with weapon, and garded with ſuch a ſort of deacons to fight, howſoeuer in painting he had ſet hir out, a man might well thinke, that in condition, he had rather framed hir like a curſt queane, that would plucke hir huſband by the pate, except ſhe had hir will; than like a méeke ſpouſe, that went about humblie by ſubmiſſion and praier to deſire hir huſbands helpe, for redreſſe of things amiſſe.

what was the ſignification and meaning of the baner ſo inſcribed.

But now to leaue this prelat with his *Afflicta ſponſa*, and to make an end with this battell. There was vpon Faurſide braie, a little caſtell or pile, which was verie buſie all the time of the battell, as anie of the Engliſhmen came nigh it, to ſhoot at them, with ſuch artillerie as they had; which was none other than of handguns and harquebuts, & of them not a dozen neither. Little hurt they did, but as they ſaw their fellowes in the field thus driuen and beaten awaie before their faces, they plucked in their péeces, and couched themſelues within all mute: but by and by the houſe was ſet on fire, and they for their good wils burned and ſmothered within. Thus (ſaith maſter Patten) through the fauour of Gods bountie, by the valiancie and policie of the lord protector, by the forward indeuour of all the nobles and councell there beſide, and by the willing diligence of euerie capteine, officer, and true ſubiect elſe, they moſt valiantlie wan the victorie ouer their enimies, of whome ſuch ſlaughter was made in the field, as ye haue heard, amongeſt whome (as the priſoners reported) beſide the lord Fleming, the lard of Loghenware, the maſter of Greim, the maſter of Arſkin, the maſter of Oglebie, the maſter of Auendale, the maſter of Rouen, and manie other of noble birth amongeſt them, there were of lards, lards ſons, and other gentlemen ſlaine aboue twentie ſix hundred, & among the priſoners alſo there were manie gentlemen, ſpeciallie of name theſe: the earle of Huntleie lord chancellor of the realme, the lord of Yeſter, Hobbie Hamilton capteine of Dunbar, the maſter of Sanpoole, the lord of Wimmes, and a brother of the earle of Caſſils. Two thouſand by lurking and lieng (as they had béene dead) ſcaped awaie in the night all maimed and hurt. Herewith of weapons and armor more was found than the Engliſhmen did vouchſafe to giue carriage for: & yet were there conueied thenſe by ſhip into England, of iacks ſpeciallie and ſwords, aboue thirtie thouſand.

A little caſtle or pile verie buſie with the Engliſh.

what men of name and account were ſlaine in the battell and taken priſoners.

Armor and weapons caried into England.

This night the Engliſhmen with great gladneſſe and thankſgiuing to God (as good cauſe they had) about ſeauen of the clocke pitched their campe at Edgebuckling braie, beſide Pinkerſlough, and a mile beyond the place they camped at before. Now after the battell, among other queſtions, one was mooued who killed the firſt man that daie in the field, the glorie whereof one Ieronimo an Italian would gladlie haue had, a gentleman ſure that had ſerued that daie right valiantlie: howbeit it was after well tried, that Cutbert Muſgraue, a gentleman of the earle of Warwiks, deſerued the praiſe of killing the firſt enimie that died that daie, who right hardlie ſlue a guner at his péece in the Scots fore-ward, yer euer they began anie whit to turne. As for the ordinarie ſoldiors, it was a pleaſure vnto them to make rehearſall of their aduentures paſt, and to record what dangers (in maner ineuitable) they had eſcaped, according to the poets report in that caſe, ſaieng:

Ieronimo an Italian.

Cutbert Muſgraue.

——— res eſt meminiſſe laboris
Præteriti iucunda: graue effugiſſe periclum
Summa recordari ſecura mente voluptas.

The next daie being ſundaie the eleuenth of September, ſomewhat before noone, the armie remooued, & marching along the Forth ſide toward Lieth, about thrée of the clocke in the after noone pitched their field, a pricke ſhot on this ſide that towne on the ſoutheaſt halfe, ſomewhat ſhadowed from Edenburgh by a hill, but yet the moſt part of it laie within the full ſight and ſhot of the caſtell there, and in diſtance ſomewhat aboue a quarter of a mile. The lord marſhall, and the moſt part of the horſſemen were beſtowed and lodged in the towne of Lieth. The dukes grace, the lord lieutenant, and the reſt of the armie in the campe. On tueſdaie the thirtéenth of September, the ſmaller veſſels of the Engliſh fléet burned Kinkorne, and a towne or two ſtanding on the north ſhore of the Forth againſt Lieth.

The Engliſh armie incampeth by Lieth.

In the after noone the dukes grace rowed vp the Forth a ſix or ſeuen miles weſtward, as it runneth into the land, and tooke in his waie an Iland there called ſaint Cooms ins, which lieth foure miles beyond Lieth, and a good waie néerer the north ſhore than the ſouth, yet not within a mile of the néereſt. It is but halfe a mile about, and had in it an abbeie, but the moonks were gone: freſh water inough, and ſtore of conies, and is ſo naturallie ſtrong, that but by one waie it can be entred; the plot whereof the lord protector conſidering, did quicklie caſt to haue it kept, whereby all traffike of merchandize, all commodities elſe comming by the Forth into their land, and vtterlie the whole vſe of the Forth it ſelfe, with all the hauens vpon it, ſhould quite be taken from them.

S. Cooms ins.

The next daie the lord protector riding backe againe eaſtward, to view diuerſe things and places, tooke Daketh in his waie, where a houſe of George Dowglas did ſtand, and comming ſomewhat néere it, he ſent Summerſet his herald with a trumpet to know who kept it, and whether the kéepers would hold or yéeld it to his grace? Anſwer was made, that there were thrée ſcore perſons within, whome their maiſter lieng there ſaturdaie at night after the battell, did will that they, the houſe, and all that was in it, ſhould be at his graces commandement. Whereupon the chiefeſt came, and in name of all the reſt humbled himſelfe to the dukes will. From thenſe his grace paſſed to the place where the battell had béene ſtricken, and ſo by Muſkleburgh returned backe to the campe.

The caſtell of Daketh.

On thurſdaie being the fiftéenth of this moneth, the lord Clinton high admerall, taking with him the gallie whereof Richard Brooke was capteine, and foure or fiue other ſmaller veſſels beſides, as well appointed with munition and men, rowed vp the Forth a ten miles weſtward, to an hauen towne ſtanding on the ſouth ſhore called Blacke Neſſe, whereat toward the water ſide is a caſtell of a pretie ſtrength; as nigh wherevnto as the depth of the water would ſuffer, the Scots for ſafegard had laid the Marie Willoughbie, and the Anthonie of Newcaſtell, two tall ſhips, which with extreme iniurie they had ſtollen from the Engliſhmen before time, when no war was betwixt vs: with theſe laie there alſo an other large veſſell called the Boſſe, and ſeauen more, whereof part laden with merchandize. The lord Clinton and his companie with right hardie approch, after a great conflict betwixt the caſtell and his veſſels, by fine force wan from them thoſe thrée ſhips of name, and burnt all the reſidue before their faces.

Blacke Neſſe an hauen towne on the ſouth ſhore of Scotland.

Thrée ſhips of name woone from the Scots.

The ſixtéenth of September the lard of Brimſton a Scotiſh gentleman came to the dukes grace from

Sir John Luttrell. S. Cooms ins kept with a garriſon of Engliſhmen.

their counſell for cauſe of communication, and returned againe to them, hauing with him Norreie an herald and king at armes of ours, who found them with the old quéene at Sterling. On ſaturdaie the ſeauentéenth of September, ſir John Luttrell in the after noone departed toward ſaint Cooms ins, hauing with him an hundred harquebutters, fiftie pioners, & two row barks well furniſhed with munition, and thrée ſcore and ten mariners to remaine there, & kéepe that from inuaſion of the enimies, againſt whom the Engliſh were ſo ſharplie whetted, that when they came to incounter, they gaue proofe of their manhood by wounds and bloudſhed, according to the report of C.O. in theſe verſes following:

———Anglorum pectora Mauors
Belliger exacüit, creſcunt ad vulnera vires.

The earle of Bothwell.

In the time whileſt the armie laie thus in the campe betwéene Lieth and Edenburgh, manie lards and gentlemen came in to the lord protector to require his protection, the which his grace to whome he thought good did grant. This daie came the earle of Bothwell to his grace, who hauing béene kept in priſon by the gouernour, the night after the battell was ſet at libertie, and comming thus to the lord protector, was friendlie welcomed and interteined; and hauing this night ſupped with his grace, he departed.

Lieth burned.

Lieth was ſet on fire this ſaturdaie, whereas it was meant, that there ſhould haue béene but one houſe onelie burnt, belonging to one Barton that had plaid a ſlipperie part with the lord protector. But the ſoldiors being ſet a worke to fire that houſe, fired all the reſt. Six great ſhips alſo that laie in the hauen, which for their age and decaie were not ſo apt for vſe, were likewiſe ſet on fire and burnt. On ſundaie the eightéenth of September, the lord protector (for conſiderations moouing him to pitie) hauing all this while ſpared Edenburgh from hurt, did ſo leaue it, but Lieth and the ſhips burning, ſoone after ſeauen of the clocke in the morning, cauſed the campe to diſlodge, and as they were raiſed and on foot, the caſtell ſhot off a peale, with chambers hardlie and all, of foure and twentie péeces. Paſſing that daie ſeauen miles, they camped earlie for that night at Crainſton by a place of the lard of Brimſtons.

The armie diſlodged.

Crainſton.

Broughticrag.

The ſame morning the lord protector made maiſter Andrew Dudleie knight, brother to the earle of Warwike, diſpatched my lord admerall and him by ſhips full fraught with men and munition toward the winning of an hold in the eaſt ſide of Scotland called Broughticrag, which ſtood in ſuch ſort in the mouth of the riuer of Taie, as that being gotten, both Dundée, ſaint Johns towne, and diuerſe other townes ſtanding vpon the ſame riuer the beſt of the countrie in thoſe parts, ſet vpon the Taie, ſhould either become ſubiect vnto this hold, or elſe be compelled to forgo the whole vſe of the riuer, for hauing anie thing comming in or outward. The lord admerall, and the ſaid ſir Andrew ſped themſelues with ſuch good ſucceſſe and diligence in that enterpriſe, that on the wedneſdaie following, being the one and twentith of September, after certeine of their ſhot diſcharged againſt that caſtell, the ſame was yéelded vnto them, the which ſir Andrew did then enter, and after kept, as capteine to his high praiſe and commendation.

Broughticrag yéelded to the Engliſhmen.

Lawder.

Hume caſtell.

But now to the armie. On mondaie the ninetéenth of September, they marched ten miles, and incamped a little on this ſide a market towne called Lawder. Here as they were ſetled in their lodging, the herald Norrie returned from the Scotiſh councell, with the lard of Brimſton, and Roſe their herald, who vpon their ſute to the lord protector, obteined that fiue of their councell ſhould haue his graces ſafe conduct, that at anie time and place within fiftéene daies, during his abode in their countrie, or at Berwike, the ſame fiue might come and commune with fiue of the Engliſh councell, touching matters in controuerſie betwéene them. Roſe the herald departed earlie with his ſafe conduct, the campe raiſed, and that daie they went ſeauen miles till as far as Hume caſtell, where they camped on the weſt ſide of a rockie hill that they call Hare crag, ſtanding about a mile weſtward from the caſtell.

Hume caſtell beſieged and yéelded vp to the lord protector.

Summerſet the dukes herald.

The conditions of the ſurrendring of Hume caſtell.

Here they did ſo much by ſhewing that they ment indéed to win the caſtell by force, if otherwiſe they might not haue it, cauſing a certeine number of harquebutters vpon appointment before to beſet the caſtell, and to watch that none ſhould paſſe in or out, that in the end, the ladie of the houſe, and other that were within in charge with it, yéelded it vp to the lord protectors hands: for the ladie doubting the loſſe of hir ſon that was priſoner with the Engliſhmen, hauing the firſt daie béene with the lord protector, and got reſpit till the next daie at noone, in the meane time conſulted with hir ſonne, and other hir friends the kéepers of the caſtell, returned at the time appointed the next daie, being the one and twentith of that moneth, and made ſute for a longer reſpit till eight of the clocke at night, and therewith ſafe conduct for Andrew Hume hir ſecond ſon, and John Hume lard of Coldan Knows, a kinſman of hir huſbands, capteins of this caſtell, to come and ſpeake with his grace in the meane while. It was granted hir. Wherevpon theſe capteins about thrée of the clocke came to the lord protector, and after other couenants (with long debating on both parts) agréed vpon, ſhe and theſe capteins concluded to giue their aſſent to render the caſtell, ſo far foorth as the reſt of the kéepers would therewith be contented, for two or thrée within (ſaid they) were alſo in charge with kéeping it as well as they, for knowledge of whoſe minds the duke ſent Summerſet his herald with this ladie to the caſtell vnto them; who as the herald had made them priuie to the articles, would faine haue had leiſure for foure and twentie hours longer, to ſend to their lord to Edenburgh, where he laie hurt (as before you haue heard) and in danger of death, which followed of the fall that he caught at the fridaies ſkirmiſh before the battell, to know his will and pleſure in this point of rendering vp the caſtell: but being wiſelie and ſharplie called vpon by the herald, they agréed to the couenants afore by their ladie and capteins concluded on: whereof part (as the ſequele ſhewed) were theſe. That they ſhould depart thenſe the next daie in the morning by ten of the clocke with bag and baggage, as much as they could carie, leauing all munition and vittels behind them in the caſtell. Howbeit, to be aſſured of them, the lord protector prouiding ech waie to be readie for them, cauſed eight péeces of ordinance fenſed with baſkets of earth to be planted on the ſouthſide toward the caſtell within power of batterie, and the harquebutters to continue their watch and ward.

The lord Greie receiueth the poſſeſſion of Hume caſtell.

On thurſdaie morning being the two and twentith of September, the lord Greie was appointed to receiue the rendring of the caſtell into his hands, and ſir Edward Dudleie now lord Dudleie after to be capteine there. They both departed to it, and at the time ſet Andrew Hume, and foure other of the chiefeſt there with him came out, and yéelding the caſtell, deliuered the keies to the ſaid lord Greie: his lordſhip cauſing the reſidue to come out then, ſauing ſix or ſeuen to keepe their baggage within, who all were in number ſeuentie and eight, entred the ſame with maiſter Dudleie, and diuerſe other gentlemen with him. He found there indifferent good ſtore of vittels and wine, & of ordinance two baſtard culuerings,

one

The ſituation of Rockeſburgh.

one ſacre, alſo thrée falconets of braſſe, and of iron eight péeces beſide. The kéeping of this caſtell the lord Greie betaking vnto ſir Edward Dudleie accordinglie returned to the campe. This doone, the next daie being fridaie, and the thrée and twentith of September, they diſlodged, and went that morning to Rockeſburgh, incamping in a great fallow field, betwixt Rockeſburgh and Kelſeie, ſtanding eaſtward a quarter of a mile off. Here at Rockeſburgh they began to build a fort within the compaſſe of an old ruinous caſtell, the plot and ſite whereof ſtandeth naturallie verie ſtrong, vpon a hill eaſt and weſt of an eight ſcore in length, and thrée ſcore in breadth, drawing to a narrowneſſe at the eaſt end, the whole ground whereof the old walles did yet inuiron. Beſide the heigth and hardneſſe to come to, it is ſtronglie fenſed on either ſide with the courſe of two great riuers, Tiuet on the north, and Twéed on the ſouth, both which ioining ſomwhat nigh togither at the weſt end of it. Tiuet by a large compaſſe about the fields (in which the campe laie) at Kelſeie, dooth fall into this Twéed, which with great depth and ſwiftneſſe runneth from thenſe eaſtward into the ſea at Berwike. Ouer this betwixt Kelſeie and Rockeſburgh there hath béene a great ſtone bridge with arches, the which the Scots in times paſt haue all to broken, becauſe the Engliſhmen ſhould not that waie come to them.

The determination in what ſort Rockeſburgh ſhould be fortified.

Soone after the lord protectors ſurueie of the plot, and determination to doo as much in déed for making it defenſible, as ſhortneſſe of the time & ſeaſon of the yéere could ſuffer (which was) that one great trench of twentie foot broad with depth according, and a wall of like depth, bredth, and heigth, ſhould be made croſſe within the caſtell from the one ſide wall to the other, and fortie foot from the weſt end: and that a like trench and wall ſhould likewiſe be caſt a trauerſe within, about a coits caſt from the eaſt end, and hereto that the caſtell walles on either ſide where néed was, ſhould be mended with turffe, and made with lowps, as well for ſhooting directlie forward as for flanking at hand: the worke of which deuiſe did make that (beſide the ſafegard of theſe trenches and walles) the kéepers ſhould alſo be much defended from the enimies force by both the end walles of the caſtell: the pioners were ſet a worke, and diligentlie applied in the ſame.

Scots that came to the kings obeiſance.

Lards.

Gentlemen.

The lard of Seſſeforth, and manie other lards and gentlemen of Tiuidall and the Mers, hauing come and communed with the lord protector and the councell, made an aſſurance, or as it were a truce for that daie, till the next daie at night; and on the next daie, while aſſurance laſted, theſe lards and gentlemen being the chiefeſt in the whole Mers and Tiuidale, came in againe, whome the dukes grace with wiſedome and policie without bloudſhed did win then vnto the kings obedience, for the which they did willinglie then receiue an oth: whoſe names in part inſue. The lard of Seſſeforth, the lard of Fernihurſt, the lard of Gréenehead, the lard of Hunthill, the lard of Huntleie, the lard of Markeſton by Merſide, the lard of Boniedworth, the lard of Ormeſton, the lard of Maileſtaine, the lard of Warmeſeie, the lard of Linton, the lard of Egerſton, the lard of Marton, the lard of Mow, the lard of Reddell, the lard of Reamerſide. George Trombull, Iohn Holliburton, Robert Car of Greiden, Adam Kirton, Andrew Kirton, Andrew Meither, Sander Spur of Erleſton, Marke Car of Littleden, George Car of Faldenſide, Alexander Makdowell, Charles Rotherford, Thomas Car of the Yere, Iohn Car of Meinthorne, Walter Holiburton, Richard Hanganſide, Andrew Car, Iames Dowglas of Cauers, Iames Car of Merſington, George Hoppringle, William Ormeſton of Enmerden, Iohn Grimſlow. Manie more there were beſide, but ouerpaſſed by maiſter Patten, for that they remained in the regiſter with theſe, as he ſaith.

The diligence of the duke of Summerſet to further the fortification to Rockeſburgh.

The duke of Summerſet tendred the furtherance of the worke ſo much, that he forbare not to laie his owne hand to the ſpade and ſhouell, thereby to incourage others: ſo as there were but few lords, knights, and gentlemen in the field, but with ſpade, ſhouell, or mattocke did therein their parts.

A Scotiſh herald.

The fiue and twentith of September being ſundaie, the Scots began to bring vittels to the campe, & were ſo well intreated and paied for the ſame, that during the time of the Engliſhmens abode there, they wanted not of the commodities which their countrie could miniſter. The eight and twentith of September a Scotiſh herald accompanied with certeine Frenchmen, that were perchance more deſirous to marke the armie than to wit of their welfare, came and declared that within a ſeauen-night after, their commiſſioners, to whome ſafe conduct had béene granted, ſhould come and commune with our councell at Berwike; whoſe comming the earle of Warwike, and ſir Rafe Sadler with other the commiſſioners appointed, did ſo long while there abide. But what the Scots ment by breaking promiſe I cannot ſaie, howbeit come they did not, & therfore eſcaped not the iuſt note of diſſimulation, howſoeuer elſe they could colour the matter in their owne excuſe.

Creation of banerets, knights, &c.

Banerets.

Knights.

Edward Seimer the duke of Summerſets ſon.

Sir Francis Fleming.

The ſame daie after noone, the duke of Summerſet adorned with titles of dignitie diuerſe lords, knights, and gentlemen, the names and promotions of whom maſter Patten hath ſet downe out of the heralds booke, as followeth: Sir Rafe Sadler treaſuror, ſir Francis Brian capteine of the light horſſemen, ſir Rafe Vane lieutenant of all the horſſemen: theſe knights were made banerets, a dignitie aboue a knight, and next to a baron. The lord Greie of Wilton high marſhall, the lord Edward Seimer the duke of Summerſets ſon, the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Waldike a Cleuelander, ſir Thomas Dacres, ſir Edward Haſtings, ſir Edmund Bridges, ſir Iohn Thin, ſir Miles Patridge, ſir Iohn Conweie, ſir Giles Poole, ſir Rafe Bagnoll, ſir Oliuer Laurence, ſir Henrie Gates, ſir Thomas Chaloner, ſir Francis Fleming maſter of the ordinance, ſir Iohn Greſham, ſir William Skipwith, ſir Iohn Buts, ſir George Blaag, ſir William Francis, ſir Francis Knolles, ſir William Thornburrow, ſir George Howard, ſir Iames Wilford, ſir Rafe Coppinger, ſir Thomas Wentworth, ſir Iohn Meruen, ſir Nicholas Strange, ſir Charles Sturton, ſir Hugh Aſkue, ſir Francis Salmin, ſir Richard Tounleie, ſir Marmaduke Coneſtable, ſir George Audleie, ſir Iohn Holcroft, ſir Iohn Southworth, ſir Thomas Danbie, ſir Iohn Talbot, ſir Rowland Clarke, ſir Iohn Horſleie, ſir Iohn Forſter, ſir Chriſtopher Dies, ſir Peter Negro, ſir Alanzo de Vile, ſir Henrie Huſſeie, ſir Iames Granado Brabander, ſir Walter Bonham, ſir Robert Brandling maior of Newcaſtell, and made knight there at the duke of Summerſets returne.

Order taken for defenſe of the fort gained and built in this voiage.

But now that Rockeſburgh was ſufficientlie made defenſible (the which to ſée it ſéemed the duke of Summerſet had vowed before he would thence depart) his grace and the councell did firſt determine that my lord Greie ſhould remaine vpon the borders there as the kings lieutenant, and then tooke order for the forts: that ſir Andrew Dudleie capteine of Broughticrag had left with two hundred ſoldiers of harquebutters & others, and a ſufficient number of pioners for his works: ſir Edward Dudleie capteine of Hume caſtell thréeſcore harquebutters, fortie horſſemen, and a hundred pioners: ſir Raſe Bulmer capteine of Rockeſburgh thrée hundred ſoldiers of harquebutters and others, and two hundred pioners. As things were thus concluded, and warning giuen ouer night on this wedneſdaie being Michaelmaſſe euen, on the next morrow being Michaelmaſſe daie euerie man fell to packing apaſe and got them homewards, paſſing ouer the Twéed there with ſome trouble and danger alſo, by reaſon of raine that latelie fell before, & had raiſed the ſtreame, which being ſwift of it ſelfe, and the chanell vneuen in the bottome with great ſtones made the paſſage cumberſome, ſo that manie as well horſſemen as footmen were in no ſmall perill as they paſſed thorough, and one or two drowned, and manie cariages ouerthrowne, and in great hazzard of loſing.

The armie returneth homewards.

The danger of the ſoldiers in paſſing the riuer of Twéed.

The duke of Summerſet rode ſtreight to Newcaſtell, and thence homewards. The earle of Warwike, my lord Greie, and ſir Raſe Sadler, with diuerſe other rode to Berwike, to abide the comming of the Scotiſh commiſſioners. In the meane time of their tarieng there, the earle of Warwike made ſix knights; ſir Thomas Neuill the lord Neuils brother, ſir Andrew Corbet, ſir Anthonie Strelleie, ſir Arthur Manering, ſir Richard Verneie, ſir Iohn Berteuille. After that the earle of Warwike had taried for the comming of the Scots the full terme of the appointment, which was vntill the fourth of October, and perceiued they came not, the next daie he departed homewards.

Knights made.

Here ye haue to vnderſtand alſo, that in part of the meane time whileſt the duke of Summerſet was in dooing of theſe exploits in Scotland (as ye haue heard rehearſed) the earle of Lenox, and the lord Wharton warden of the weſt marches, with an armie of fiue thouſand men, entred Scotland on that ſide, and firſt paſſing two miles after a daie and a nights defenſe, they wan the church of Annan, tooke ſeuentie & two priſoners kéepers of the ſame, burnt the ſpoile for cumber of cariage, and cauſed the church to be blowen vp with powder, paſſing thence a ſixtéene miles within the land, they wan the caſtell of Milke, the which they left furniſhed with munition and men, and ſo returned. But of this ye ſhall find more in the hiſtorie of Scotland, by the ſufferance of God, where we intreat of the dooings there in this yeare.

An inuaſion made into Scotland.

Annan church wonne.

The caſtell of Milke wonne.

Thus much haue I collected out of maſter Pattens booke, or rather exemplified the ſame, not much digreſſing from his owne words, except where I haue bin forced to abridge his worke in ſome places, wiſhing to haue inſerted the whole, if the purpoſe of this volume would haue ſo permitted, as well for the full vnderſtanding of euerie particular point, by him remembred, as alſo for his pleaſant and apt maner of penning the ſame. Whileſt the lord protector was abrode thus in wars againſt the Scots, the lords of the councell that remained at home, chiefelie by the good and diligent calling on and furtherance of the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and others of the cleargie, tooke order for the aduancement of religion, cauſing the bookes of homilies and the paraphraſe of Eraſmus to be ſet foorth and had in churches.

The homilies & paraphraſe of Eraſmus.

At the comming backe of the lord protector from his iourneie into Scotland, the citizens of London determined to haue receiued him with great triumph: but he hearing thereof, forbad them in anie wiſe ſo to doo: for (ſaid he) if anie thing hath béene doone to the honour of the realme, it was Gods dooing, and therefore willed them to giue him the praiſe. Neuertheleſſe the maior and aldermen, with certeine of the commoners in their liueries and their hoods, hearing of his approch to the citie, the eight daie of October met him in Finneſburie field, where he tooke each of them by the hand, and thanked them for their good wils. The lord maior did ride with him till they came to the pound in Smithfield, where his grace left them, and rode to his houſe of Shene that night, and the next daie to the king to Hampton court. The fourth daie of Nouember began a parlement, called and holden at Weſtminſter, which continued till the foure and twentith of December next following, & was then proroged. In this parlement, all colleges, chanteries, and frée chappels were giuen to the king, and the ſtatute of the ſix articles was repealed, with diuerſe others tending to the like end. Moreouer, during this parlement viſiters being appointed to viſit in London, the ſixtéenth of Nouember began to take downe the images in Paules church: and ſhortlie after all the images in euerie church, not onelie through London, but alſo throughout the whole realme, were pulled downe and defaced.

The lord protectors returne.

A parlement.

1548
Anno Reg. 2.

The lord protector and others of the councell, conſidering now in what ſort they had got foothold in Scotland, by reaſon of ſuch peeces as they had taken and fortified within the realme, did deuiſe for the more ſuertie of thoſe places, which they had alreadie got, and the better to bring the reſt of the countrie vnto reaſon, to haue ſome holds alſo more within the land, and therefore firſt they cauſed a fort to be builded at Lowder, where ſir Hugh Willoughbie was appointed capteine with a conuenient garriſon of ſoldiers to kéepe it. Beſide this, it was thought expedient to fortifie the towne of Hadington, wherevpon the lord Greie lieutenant of the north parts, with ſir Thomas Palmer, and ſir Thomas Holcroft, were appointed to go thither with a conuenient number of men of warre & pioners to ſée that towne fenſed with trenches, rampiers, and bulworks, as ſhould ſéeme to his lordſhip neceſſarie and behoouefull; who therefore entring into Scotland the eightéenth of Aprill, paſſed forth to Hadington, where he began to fortifie, and there remained to ſée the worke brought to ſome perfection. During his abode there, diuerſe exploits were both valiantlie attempted and luckilie atchiued by his martiall conduct and politike direction, as occaſions offred might moue him, which I would gladlie haue ſet downe at large, if I could haue come to the true vnderſtanding thereof; but ſith I cannot get the ſame, in ſuch full manner as I haue wiſhed, that yet which I haue learned by true report (as I take it) I haue thought good to impart to the reader.

Lowder fortified.

Sir Hugh Willoughbie.

Hadington fortified by the lord Greie.

The eight and twentith of Maie, his lordſhip wan the caſtell of Yeſter, after he had beaten it right ſore with terrible batterie of canon ſhot for the time it laſted, and therewith hauing made a reaſonable breach for the ſoldiers to enter, they within yéelded with condition to haue their liues ſaued: which the lord Greie was contented to grant to them all, one onelie excepted, who during the ſiege vttered vnſéemelie words of the king, abuſing his maieſties name with vile and moſt opprobrious termes. They all comming foorth of the caſtell in their ſhirts, humbled themſelues to my lord Greie (as became them) and vpon ſtrait examination who ſhould be the railer that was excepted out of the pardon, it was knowne to be one Newton a Scot: but he to ſaue himſelfe, put it to one Hamilton, and ſo theſe two gentlemen accuſing one an other, the truth could not be decided otherwiſe than by a combat, which they required, and my lord Greie therevnto aſſented, and pronounced iudgement ſo to haue it tried: which he did the rather, bicauſe all men doo ſéeme reſolute in the triall of truth (as in a verie good cauſe) by loſſe of life to gaine an endleſſe name; as one ſaith:

Mors ſpernenda viris vt fama perennis alatur.

Yeſter caſtell wonne.

Vlpian Fulwell in the flower of fame.

Newton and Hamilton two Scotiſh gentlemen accuſe each other.

At the appointed time they entered the liſts, ſet vp for that purpoſe in the market place of Hadington, without other apparell ſauing their doublets and hoſen, weaponed with ſword, buckler and dagger. At the firſt entrie into the liſts, Hamilton kneeling downe, made his hartie praier to God, that it might pleaſe him to giue victorie vnto the truth, with ſolemne proteſtation that he neuer vttred anie ſuch words of king Edward of England, as his aduerſarie charged him with. On the other ſide Newton being troubled (as it ſeemed) with his falſe accuſation, argued vnto the beholders his guiltie conſcience. Now were the ſticklers in a readineſſe, and the combattors with their weapons drawne fell to it, ſo that betwixt them were ſtriken ſix or ſeuen blowes right luſtilie. But Hamilton being verie fierce and egre, vpon truſt of his innocencie, conſtreined Newton to giue ground almoſt to the end of the liſts; and if he had driuen him to the end in deed, then by the law of armes he had woone the victorie. Newton perceiuing himſelfe to be almoſt at point to be thus ouercome, ſtept forwards againe, and gaue Hamilton ſuch a gaſh on the leg, that he was not able longer to ſtand, but fell therewith downe to the ground, and then Newton falling on him, incontinentlie ſlue him with a dagger.

A combat fought betweene them.

Hamilton vanquiſhed and ſlaine.

There were gentlemen preſent that knowing as they tooke it for certeine, how Newton was the offendor (although fortune had fauoured him in the combat) would gladlie haue ventured their liues againſt him man for man, if it might haue beene granted: but he chalenging the law of armes, had it granted by my lord Greie, who gaue him alſo his owne gowne beſide his owne backe, and a chaine of gold which he then ware. Thus was he well rewarded how ſo euer he deſerued: but he eſcaped not ſo, for afterwards as he was riding betwixt the borders of both the realms, he was ſlaine and cut in peeces. On the fourth of Iune, the towne of Dawketh was burnt, and the caſtell woone by force, where fourteene Scots were ſlaine, and three hundred taken priſoners, amongſt whome were theſe men of name; the maiſter of Morton, ſon in law to ſir George Dowglaſſe, the lard of Blengarnie, the lard of Wedderburne, and one Alexander Hume, a man of good reputation among them. The ſame daie the Engliſh horſſemen burnt all the mils round about Edenburgh, within the compaſſe of ſix miles on each ſide the towne. The ſeuenth of Iune they burnt Muſkelburgh. Now after that my lord Greie had fortified Hadington, and furniſhed it with vittels, and munitions ſufficient, the twelfe of Iune he departed from thence homewards, leauing there in garriſon about two thouſand footmen, and fiue hundred horſſemen.

Newton rewarded by my lord Greie.

Newton ſlaine by his aduerſaries.

Muſkelburgh burnt.

In this meane time, Henrie the French king ſucceeding his father Francis the firſt (who departed this life the laſt of March in the yere laſt paſt, to wit, 1547) made prouiſion of an armie, with a nauie of ſhips and gallies, to paſſe into Scotland to the aid of the queene and other of his faction. And firſt he had ſent thither monſieur de la Chapelle de Biron, a gentleman of good account, to aſſiſt the gouernour with his aduiſe and counſell, which gouernour deſirous to recouer the caſtell of Broughticrag, and loth to ſee it poſſeſſed by the Engliſhmen. raiſed a power of eight thouſand men, and with eight peeces of artillerie came before that fortreſſe, meaning to win it by ſiege; but by the valiant prowes of ſir Andrew Dudleie, and the hardie manhood of ſuch Engliſh ſouldiors as ſerued there vnder him, the Scots were repelled, and driuen to leuie their ſiege with diſhonor.

The French king prepareth an armie in aid of the Scots.

Broughticrag beſieged.

Yet not thus contented, the earle of Argile with an armie of his Iriſh Scots, or Hieland men (if I maie ſo call them) after this likewiſe came and beſieged the place, but glad to take truce for a time with ſir Andrew. Before the tearme of the ſame truce was expired, there came new ſuccours to him, and therevpon the earle in the end was conſtrained to leuie his ſiege, and ſuffer the Engliſhmen to become maiſters of a little hill not farre off from the caſtell, where afterwards they builded a fortreſſe. But to returne to the French armie which was prepared to paſſe into Scotland, ye ſhall vnderſtand that when their ſhips and prouiſions were once readie, and the capteins with their bands come downe to Breſt in Britaine, where the nauie was rigged to receiue them, monſieur de Deſſe generall of all the armie, reckoned to conteine ſeuen or eight thouſand men, imbarked himſelfe with all his people, and ſailed forth on his iournie, till they arriued in the Forth, and there tooke land at Lieth the ſixteenth of Iune.

Monſieur de Deſſe general of the French armie.

He landeth at Lieth.

Shortlie after, hauing got their great artillerie on land, and taken aduiſe with the lord gouernour & other of the Scotiſh nobilitie, whome they found at Edenburgh, how to proceed in proſecuting the war againſt the Engliſhmen, it was reſolued that without delaie they ſhuld trie their forces about the recouerie of Hadington, and go to beſiege that towne, before they attempted anie further exploit. The gouernour and other of the Scotiſh lords, hauing with them ſeuen or eight hundred light horſſemen, offred to go with them, to the better aduancing forward of that enterpriſe. Herevpon ſetting forward, and comming to Muſkelburgh, the capteins with a certeine number of horſſemen and footmen, as well of Scots as Frenchmen, were appointed to go before to view the ſaid towne of Hadington. Vpon their approch neere to the towne, there iſſued forth certeine Engliſhmen and Italians, that were of Tiberios band, which ſkirmiſhed with them right ſtoutlie, till at length the Frenchmen and Scots retired backe to Lauret a little from Muſkelburgh (where their armie incamped for that night) and the Engliſhmen and Italians returned backe to their fortreſſe.

The Frenchmen reſolue to beſiege Hadington.

The next daie the Frenchmen and Scots with their whole power came before Hadington, where they were welcomed with a right ſharpe and hot ſkirmiſh, in which was ſlaine with an harquebuſe ſhot, one of the French capteins called Villeneufue. In the meane time whileſt this ſkirmiſh continued, the Reinſgraue with his Almans incamped himſelfe on the one ſide of the towne, where the maiſter of the ordinance in the French armie, named monſieur Duno, cauſed trenches to be caſt for the ſafe placing of the artillerie: the Engliſhmen ſtill kept them occupied on each ſide the towne with ſkirmiſhing, to the annoiance of the aduerſaries. To conclude, they incamped before the towne, caſt trenches, lodged their ordinance, & laid their ſiege to the moſt aduantage, ſo far as they might be ſuffered. Shortlie after that this ſiege was planted, there came to the aid of the French, the earle of Argile, with a great number of Iriſh Scots, and monſieur de la Chapelle brought an eight or nine hundred Scotiſh pioners, which began a trench on the left hand of the abbeie gate, and likewiſe a trauerſe to couer their ſouldiors that ſhould watch and ward, from danger of the ſhot out of the towne on that ſide.

The French armie commeth before Hadington.

The Reinſgraue.

They plant their artillerie

The earle of Argile.

Monſieur de la Chapelle.

The Engliſhmen with often iſſues gaue their aduerſaries ſmall reſt, procuring manie hot ſkirmiſhes, as occaſion ſerued. At one of the which ſkirmiſhes Piero Strozzi, coronell of three enſigns of Italians, was ſtriken with a muſket ſhot. Yet monſieur de Deſſe inforcing the ſiege to the vttermoſt of his power, cauſed one night with helpe of baſkets filled with earth, ſix peeces of artillerie to be planted in batterie faſt at the towne ſide, which at the breake

Piero Strozzi hurt.

Hadington battered.

of daie began to ſhoot off, and diſcharged that preſent daie thrée hundred and fortie ſhots. But after they perceiued that they did litle hurt to the fortifications of the towne in that place where this batterie was laid: the next night, the baſkets & péeces of artillerie were remoued lower, and not paſt thrée ſcore paſes from the ditches of the towne, where the next daie two hundred ſhots were diſcharged againſt the rampire. To conclude, they made ſuch breaches in ſundrie places for eaſie entrie into the towne, that it was greatlie maruelled whie they durſt not aſſaie to giue a generall aſſault.

The valiancie of the Engliſhmen.

They lodged ſo neare within the verie ditches, that there were deuiſed certeine plummets of lead, tied with cords to a truncheon of a ſtaffe, like to an handſtaffe of a flaile, wherewith the ſouldiors that watched and warded within the towne on the rampire, ſlue diuerſe of the Frenchmen being their lodged within their ditches. Thus notwithſtanding that the Frenchmen with their artillerie had broken downe the fortifications, ſo as the breaches were made verie reaſonable and eaſie for them to enter; yet durſt they not preſume once to giue the aſſault: for the Engliſhmen although their powder was ſore ſpent, and that for want of matches they were conſtreined to teare their ſhirts, and vſe the ſame in ſted of matches; yet they ſhewed themſelues ſo valiant in defending the towne thus beaten & made weake on each hand, that there was no hope left to their aduerſaries to win it of them by force. Although the French power on the one ſide, and eight thouſand Scots on an other had ſo inuironed it, that the Engliſhmen within were driuen to moſt hard ſhifts, for want of things neceſſarie & requiſite for their maintenance and defenſe of that towne.

Succours entring the towne.

But yet whileſt they remained thus in ſuch diſtreſſe and neceſſitie of things, two hundred Engliſhmen vnder the conduct of capteine Windham, Warham Seintleger, and Iohn Car of Warke, found meanes one night to paſſe through all the watches on that ſide where the Scots laie, and entering the towne, and bringing with them great plentie of powder, and other neceſſaries, greatlie relieued them within, & ſo incouraged them, that they ſéemed to make ſmall account of their enimies forces. Herevpon within few daies after, the Scots (fiue or ſix hundred light horſſemen onelie excepted) brake vp their campe and returned home. After this, my lord Greie remaining at Berwike, ment to make a voiage himſelfe in perſon for the reliefe of them that were thus beſieged in Hadington. Now when all things were ſo farre in a readineſſe as the next daie he ment to haue ſet forward, letters were brought that night from the court, willing him to performe that ſeruice by a deputie, and to ſtaie himſelfe till the comming of the earle of Shreweſburie, who was appointed with an armie to come verie ſhortlie as generall into thoſe parties.

Sir Robert Bowes ſent to ſuccour Hadington.

My lord Greie herevpon appointed in his ſtead ſir Robert Bowes, and ſir Thomas Palmer, to go thither, who comming to Dunglas, left there certeine bands of footmen, and with the horſſemen being in number thirtéene hundred (whereof ſeuen hundred lances were appointed vnder the charge of ſir Thomas Palmer) they rode forward to accompliſh their enterpriſe: but the French capteins hauing knowledge of their comming, they prouided the beſt they could to repell them, appointing foure venlins or enſignes of lanceknights to kéepe a ſtanding watch that night in the trenches, and the like number of French enſignes to watch about their campe. All the other of their bands were commanded to take reſt, but yet with their armour on their backs.

The lord Hume.

Dandelot.

Their generall monſieur de Deſſe himſelfe, monſieur de Mailleraie admerall of their fléet, monſieur Dandelot coronell of the French footmen, Piero Strozzi coronell of the Italians, the Reinſgraue coronell of the lanceknights, and all other the noble men and capteins of honour among them were all night long in armour, trauelling vp and downe, ſome on horſſebacke, and ſome on foot, to viſit the watches and ſcouts, ſet in places and waies by the which they ſuſpected that the Engliſhmen ment to come. The lord Hume riding abrode to learne what he might of the Engliſhmens demeanour, earlie in the morning returned to the campe, and certified monſieur de Deſſe, that they were at hand. Herewith were the Scotiſh and French horſſemen that kept the ſcout called in, and monſieur Dandelot with great expedition ranged his battell of footmen in order, and ſo likewiſe did the Reinſgraue his Almans.

Monſieur Etauges.

The Engliſh horſſemen diſcomfited.

* Quéene Elizabeth.

The Engliſhmen diuided into two bands came and ſhewed themſelues in the ſight of the towne, and charging ſuch Scots and Frenchmen as came foorth to incounter them, gaue them the ouerthrow at two ſeuerall charges: but finallie preſuming too farre vpon their good lucke thus chancing to them in the beginning, followed in chaſe thoſe that fled before them, vntill at length they were incloſed and ſhut vp betwixt the French footmen on the one ſide, and the Almans on the other. And herewith the Scotiſh horſmen vnder the conduct of the lords, Humes & Dune, & the French horſſemen led by monſieur de Etauges their generall, being aſſembled togither eftſoones, after they had béene ſo repelled, were now readie to come forward againe: and perceiuing their footmen ſo to haue inuironed the Engliſhmen, that they were not able to recouer themſelues, nor to get out of danger, but by diſordring their ranks to take them to flight, followed amaine, ſo that thoſe which eſcaped the Frenchmens hands were taken by the Scots that purſued them in chaſe, ſo that few were ſaued that were not either ſlaine or taken. My lord Greis loſt thréeſcore and twelue great horſſes, and an hundred geldings, with all the men vpon them, armed with his lordſhips owne furniture, onelie foure or fiue of his men came home, of the which Thomas Cornwallis now groome porter to the * quéenes maieſtie was one, and Robert Car eſquier an other then page to my ſaid lord Greie.

The Frenchmen remoue their campe.

The vnaduiſed raſhneſſe of ſir Thomas Palmer was thought to be the chiefe occaſion of this diſtreſſe of thoſe horſſemen, who after they had doone ſufficientlie for that time, would néeds haue them to giue a new charge, and ſo were diſcomfited. After this ouerthrow and chaſe of our horſſemen, the armie that was leuied to paſſe into Scotland was haſted forward with all ſpéed poſſible: for although before the comming of the Engliſh horſſemen, the French, vpon aduertiſement giuen that they meant to come, had plucked backe their great artillerie, and ſent the ſame vnto Edenburgh, kéeping onelie with them ſix field-péeces, and herewith remoued their campe further off from the towne: yet by foreſtalling vitels and all other neceſſarie things from them within, they were driuen to ſuch diſtreſſe, that they muſt of force haue left the towne to the enimies, if ſome power had not come within a while to remoue the ſiege that laie thus to annoie them.

The earle of Shreweſburie generall of the armie.

The number of ſouldiours in the ſame armie.

When therefore the armie was come to Newcaſtell, & the earle of Shreweſburie generall lieutenant of the ſame was there arriued, they paſſed forward to Berwike, and from thenſe marched ſtreight towards Hadington. The number of the Engliſhmen and ſtrangers was reported at the point of fifteene thouſand, whereof thrée thouſand were Almans vn-

der

Conrad Phenning capteine of the Almans.

The Frenchmen diſlodge from before Hadington.

The French armie incampeth at Muſkelburgh.

der the conduct of a right worthie and expert chiefteine, named Conrad Phenning, commonlie called Cortpenie. Beſide this armie by land, there was alſo furniſhed forth a fleet by ſea, vnder the conduct of the lord Clinton high admerall of England, and other capteins of great experience in affaires and ſeruice by ſea. This fleet was appointed ſo to keepe courſe with the armie by land, that the one might be euer in ſight of the other. Monſieur de Deſſe aduertiſed of the comming forward of this armie, durſt not abide their comming, but raiſed his field, and retired with his armie toward Edenburgh: howbeit they were no ſooner diſlodged, but that a great troope of the Engliſh horſſemen were got within ſight of them, and coaſted them all the waie as they marched for the ſpace of ſeuen or eight miles, in maner to as farre as Muſkelburgh, where the Frenchmen ſtaied, and incamped in a place choſen forth to their moſt aduantage.

The earle of Shreweſburie commeth to Hadington.

The patience of the Engliſh men in ſuſteining all wants of releefe.

The earle of Shreweſburie, and the lord Greie with the armie comming vnto Hadington, were ioifullie receiued of the capteins and ſoldiours within: where it might appeare how valiantlie they had defended that towne during the ſiege, being ſo deſtitute of all things neceſſarie for their releefe; and the fortifications ſo weake, that if the noble proweſſe of their worthie generall ſir Iames Wilford, and the incomparable manhood of the reſt of the capteins and ſoldiours had not ſupplied all other wants, it was thought impoſſible that they ſhould haue defended the place ſo long a time againſt ſuch forces as had beene there imploied againſt them. But ſuch was the vndanted valiancie of that noble crue and garriſon, that euen the verie enimies themſelues could not but yeeld high commendations to the capteins and ſoldiours for the hardie forwardneſſe and manhood, which at all times they had found and tried in them at all points of ſeruice, when they came to deale with them. And verelie their fame deſerueth to be had in memorie for euer, not onelie for their worthie atchiued exploits, doone by force of hand, to the beating backe and repelling of the enimies, but alſo for their patient ſuſteining of hunger, thirſt, continuall watching, nakedneſſe, ſickeneſſe, and all other ſuch calamities and miſeries, as want of things neceſſarie for the releefe and maintenance of mans life is woont to bring, to thoſe that are incloſed in ſuch wiſe by the enimie. All which extremities they were well content to ſuſteine, ſo that it might turne to the benefit and renowme of their countrie, in compariſon whereof they eſteemed all things elſe verie vile and contemptible, were the ſame neuer ſo good, as the poet ſaith:

Tantus amor patriæ mortalia pectora tangit,
Nataliſque ſoli, præ quo bona cætera ſordent.

The earle of Shreweſburie marcheth towards the enimies.

The noble earle of Shreweſburie could not forbeare to ſhed teares, to vnderſtand and perceiue that ſuch worthie ſoldiours ſhould ſuffer ſuch great diſtreſſe, whoſe valiant hearts could not be quailed with anie afflictions. Thus with mournefull imbracings intermixed with pitifull regards they met. The earle entering the towne, furniſhed it with new bands of men, good ſtore of vittels, munition, and all other things conuenient, and as then thought requiſit. Thus hauing refreſhed the towne, within two daies after he paſſed forth towards the enimies, appointing by the aduiſe of that noble chiefteine the lord Greie, certeine bands of horſſemen to keepe themſelnes cloſe togither in ambuſh, and to ſend a few to the French campe, to trie if they might traine the Frenchmen out of their ſtrength. And as they wiſhed, it partlie came to paſſe: for diuerſe of their horſſemen iſſued forth of their campe, and proffered the ſkirmiſh. The Engliſhmen ſuffered themſelues to be chaſed, vntill they had got their enimies within danger of their ambuſh, and then whirling about, gaue them the charge, inforcing them to make their careir backe, with more than an eaſie gallop; ſo that hauing the Frenchmen thus in chaſe, they ſlue and tooke diuerſe, and among the priſoners were two capteins, Pierre Longue, and one Lucinet. The others that eſcaped, returned with this loſſe to their campe.

The Frenchmen chaſed.

The armie of the Scots come to ioine with the Frenchmen.

The earle of Shreweſburie profereth the enimies battell.

The Frenchmen durſt not come forth of their campe.

Ships burned.

A fortreſſe built at Dunglas.

The lord Greie entereth againe into Scotland.

In the meane time, whileſt theſe things were thus in dooing, there came to the aid of the Frenchmen fourteene or fifteene thouſand Scots, accounting herewith the Iriſh Scots which came with the earle of Argile. Theſe Scots were ſcarſe lodged, when ſuddenlie the earle of Shreweſburie & the lord Greie came with their armie diuided into three battels of footmen, garded with two troops of horſſemen, preſenting themſelues before the faces of their enimies in the ſame place, where their auant currors the daie before had ſhewed themſelues to draw forth the Frenchmen. Here the armie thus ranged in arraie of battell, ſtaied aboue the ſpace of an houre, looking if the enimies durſt haue come forth to haue giuen battell: but when they perceiued that by no meanes the Frenchmen meant to forſake their ſtrength, they returned backe to their campe. The Engliſh nauie being entered now into the Forth, was not idle: for comming to Brent Iland they ſet fire on foure ſhips, which they found there, and after paſſing by Lieth ſaluted them within the towne with cannon ſhot, and after intending to burne ſaint Minets, were repelled from thenſe by the lord of Dune, and after returned to attend on the armie. The earle of Shreweſburie, and my lord Greie hauing executed ſo much as their commiſſion would beare, and refreſhed Hadington with all things needfull, departed homewards; and comming to Dunglas, began there to build a fortreſſe. The Engliſh Almans as the armie paſſed by Dunbar, burned the towne. Theſe Almans alſo, and certeine bands of Engliſhmen, as well horſſemen as footmen, were left at Dunglas, vntill the Forth there begun was in ſome ſtrength. The earle of Shreweſburie with the reſt of the armie came backe into England. My lord Greie remaining on the borders lieutenant of the north parts, after the earle of Shreweſburie was returned home, aſſembled all the horſſemen then lieng on the borders, and being backed with the Almane footmen, entered againe with the ſame horſſemen into Scotland, burning and waſting in the countries of Tiuidall, and Liddeſdall, for the ſpace of twentie miles, both houſe, corne, haie, and all other things that came within their reach, and after returned without incounter.

A camiſado giuen to Hadington.

The ninth of October being tueſdaie, monſieur de Deſſe, with his Frenchmen and Almans, came in the morning long before daie to Hadington, meaning to haue woone the towne by ſtealth. And verelie the enterpriſe was gouerned in ſuch ſecret maner, that the Frenchmen had killed the Engliſh ſcouts, and were entered the baſe court, yer anie alarum was raiſed: and hauing ſlaine the watch, ſome of them ran to a place behind a church, where the Engliſhmen had their vittels and munitions, and ſome thruſt vp to the towne gate, inforſing with great violence to breake it open, crieng with noiſe and ſhouts, Victorie, victorie, whereof in deed they accounted themſelues then aſſured. And queſtionles the Engliſhmen being thus wakened out of their ſleeps on the ſudden, were in ſome great diſorder; ſo that manie of them came running forth without either armour or apparell, their ſhirts excepted; & others ran they wiſt not well whither, nor where to take heed. But yet as the Frenchmen were thronged togither at the gate to breake it open, a Frenchman (as their writers doo report) that ſerued within the towne, but as other ſaie Tiberio capteine of the Italians, with his match light gaue fier to a double canon, that laie readie bent againſt the gate, ſo that the ſame ſhooting off, made ſuch a lane among the Frenchmen, that they were glad to giue place, and with ſuch a fearefull crie, that thoſe which were behind, not vnderſtanding what loſſe their fellowes before had ſuſteined, brake their arraie and fled amaine.

The Frenchmen repelled.

The Engliſhmen herewith paſſed through a priuie poſterne into the baſe court, and comming vpon them with their halberds, and blacke bils, ſlue of them great plentie, and droue the reſt that eſcaped ouer the wall in ſuch haſt, that happie was he that could tumble ouer firſt. Monſieur de Deſſe yet gathering them togither againe, gaue that morning thrée ſharpe aſſaults to the towne, but was repelled with great loſſe, for they caried awaie with them ſixtéene carts and wagons laden with hurt perſons and dead carcaſſes, beſides thrée hundred that were found in the baſe court, which they could not come to, after they were beaten out, to take awaie with them. And thus was monſieur de Deſſe conſtreined to returne, repenting himſelfe of that his bold attempted enterpriſe, hauing loſt no ſmall number of his Frenchmen and Almans, being ſlaine in the place. In this meane time, the kings maieſtie ſummoned his high court of parlement, to be holden vpon prorogation at Weſtminſter the fourth of Nouember, where it continued till the fourtéenth of March next inſuing.

A parlement.

In the meane time, the procéedings for the Scotiſh wars was not forgotten, wherevpon in the déepe of the winter, there were conueied certeine bands of the Engliſh lancequenets, and ſome number of Engliſhmen, both horſemen and footmen by ſea vnto Broughticrag; and paſſing from thence vnto Dundée, a two miles from thence, entred the towne, and began to fortifie it: but ſhortlie after by the comming of the French armie with monſieur de Deſſe, they left it, firſt ſpoiling the houſes, and after ſet them on fire at their departure. The Reinſgraue coronell of the Almans, and monſieur de Etauges, being ſent by monſieur de Deſſe before, entered Dundée, and lodged within it. Within two daies after their comming thither, they tooke certeine of their bands, and going forth did view and ſurueie the new fort, which the Engliſhmen had begun to make on the hill, a ſmall diſtance from the caſtell. But the Engliſhmen and their Almans iſſuing forth againſt them, were at their elbowes yer they were halfe well aduiſed that they were got ſo neare them, whereby being driuen haſtilie to retire, they hardlie eſcaped out of danger, being ſo hotlie purſued, that if the Reinſgraue had not ſhewed his approoued valiancie, guided with no leſſe policie than manhood, the whole troope had béene (as was thought) vtterlie diſtreſſed.

Dundée ſpoiled.

The Reinſgraue conſtreind to retire.

In Chriſtmaſſe this yéere the caſtell of Hume was recouered out of the Engliſhmens hands, through treſon of certeine aſſured Scots, that vſing to bring vittels to the Engliſhmen that kept it, had marked all the manner of the ſcouts and watches, with the places of the wall where the clime was moſt eaſie. Wherevpon in the night ſeaſon, certeine of the Scots ſecretlie comming into the ditches, got vp to the heigth of the wals, and entring the place, ſlue and tooke vpon the ſudden all that were within it. The ſixtéenth of Ianuarie, ſir Thomas Seimer baron of Sudleie, lord admerall, and brother to the duke of Summerſet lord protector, was arreſted and ſent to the tower, and after by authoritie of parlement he was attainted, and the twentith of March next inſuing, in the third yeare of this kings reigne beheaded at tower hill. Moreouer in this parlement, the vſe of the maſſe was clearlie prohibited, and a booke for the vniformitie of diuine ſeruice, and right adminiſtration of the ſacraments, was ſet forth and eſtabliſhed.

1549

Sir Thomas Seimer ſent to the tower.

Anno Reg. 3.

The maſſe aboliſhed.

Yée haue heard how the Frenchmen fortified the towne of Dundée, where monſieur de Etauges, with his companie of horſemen lieng in garriſon chanced in a ſkirmiſh to be taken by the Engliſhmen that laie in Broughticrag, to the great reioiſing of them that tooke him, and no leſſe gréefe of the French and Scots, for the tried valiancie that was throughlie knowne to reſt in him. Moreouer, the Engliſhmen that kept the towne of Hadington all this while againſt the enimies, could not come by anie vittels, but onelie by a conuoie of ſome conuenient power to gard the cariages that brought the ſame from the borders. And as it fortuned at one time when the conuoie came and paſſed by Dunbar, a ſkirmiſh was proffered by the French which laie within that caſtell in garriſon. And as ſir Iames Wilford that was there amongſt other vpon this occaſion (according to his wonted valiancie) ſhewed himſelfe verie forward and egre againſt the enimie, he was incloſed by an ambuſh, which the Frenchmen had laid on ech ſide the ſtréet within the towne, that he could by no means eſcape out of their hands, but hauing his horſſe there ſlaine vnder him, was taken priſoner euen by a Gaſcoigne of the countrie of Baſque named Pellicque, that woone no ſmall commendation for that his good hap, in taking ſuch a priſoner, whoſe name for his often approoued proweſſe was verie famous euen among the enimies, who ſaw well inough a reſoluteneſſe in the man rather by perillous aduentures to purchaſe the perpetuitie of renowme, than by defect of courage or negligent ſeruice to looſe both life and fame. Which perſuaſion ſhould enter into the hart of euerie ſeruitor in the field, if they will be counted right valiant indéed, conſidering that he which in his life time dooth performe nothing worthie memorie, is like a plaier entring vpon the ſtage, but ſhewing nothing either in ſpéech or in action, as the poet verie fitlie ſaith:

Monſieur de Etauges taken priſoner.

Sir Iames Wilford taken priſoner.

Qui nullum facinus tota memorabile vita
Ediderint, obſcuri homines migrare videntur
Hinc, vt qui ſtructa nil dixerit hiſtrio ſcena.

Some haue written that he was taken through default of thoſe that were appointed to follow him, ſith he vndertooke to charge the enimie, in hope that by them he ſhould haue béene aſſiſted. But ſuerlie thoſe that had the charge of this conuoie, doubting by aduenturing too far, to put all in hazard, thought it wiſedome rather to ſuffer the loſſe of one, than to ieopard the whole; not perceiuing which waie to remedie the matter at that preſent. Now after that the generall of Hadington was thus taken priſoner, to the great griefe vndoubtedlie, not onelie of all the garriſon there, but alſo of all ſuch as tendered the aduancement of the kings maieſties ſeruice, ſir Iames Crofts was thought a man moſt méet to ſupplie the place, and therefore by the lord protector and others of the councell was ordeined generall of that towne of Hadington, and the garriſon there, in which roome he bare himſelfe ſo worthilie, as if I ſhould not be ſuſpected of flatterie, for that he liueth yet, and in ſuch credit (as the world knoweth) I might moue my ſelfe matter to ſaie rather much than ſufficientlie inough in his due and right deſerued commendation.

Sir Iames Crofts generall of Hadington.

The king by the aduiſe of his councell meaning to proſecute the wars in Scotland, with great forces reteined a new power of lancequenets, and other ſtrangers, vnder the conduct of diuers & ſundrie capteines: but in the meane time the French king meaning

ning to breake with the king of England, thought to haue ſtolen the fortreſſe of Bullognberg, ſo that a choſen power of men of warre, to the number of ſeuen thouſand, vnder the conduct of monſieur de Chatillon, being ſent downe about that exploit on Maie daie at night, came forward with their ladders, and all other furniture meet for the purpoſe, approching about the houre of midnight neere to the fort, within the which were not at that time manie aboue three hundred and fiftie ſoldiers, vnder the gouernement of ſir Nicholas Arnalt knight generall of that peece, a capteine of great courage, and no leſſe diligence in his charge.

Sir Nicholas Arnalt capteine of Bullognberg.

And as it chanced, there were among the Frenchmen three or foure Engliſhmen, which hauing matched themſelues in marriage with women of that countrie, after the peace was concluded betwixt France and England, were diſcharged out of the king of Englands wages; and remaining with their wiues, got interteinement among the Frenchmen, and were with monſieur de Chatillon, now comming towards this enterpriſe. Whervpon one of the ſame Engliſhmen named Carter, that had aforetime giuen intelligence to the ſaid ſir Nicholas of the Frenchmens doings, ſo farre as he might learne and vnderſtand the ſame, would gladlie haue aduertiſed ſir Nicholas Arnalt of the Frenchmens purpoſe at this time: but monſieur de Chatillon kept the matter ſo ſecret, that Carter nor any of the other Engliſhmen had knowledge thereof, till they were now marching forward, ſo that Carter could not get awaie from them, till they were approched within leſſe than a quarter of a mile of Bullognberg, and then ſlipping aſide from among them, came running ſo faſt as he might towards the fort, crieng; Bowes, bowes, as lowd as his voice would ſerue, & ſo gaue the alarum to them within the fort.

Carter an Engliſhman ſeruing amōg the Frenchmen, but to their diſaduantage.

One of the ſoldiers called Morgaine Deaton, that chanced to be there at hand in ſcout with three or foure other, ſtreight knew him, and brought him to the draw-bridge, where ſir Nicholas Arnalt cauſed him to be drawen vp betwixt two pikes, vnto whome he declared how the Frenchmen were at hand, meaning to aſſaile his fort now vpon the ſudden, in hope ſo to ſurpriſe it. Herewith, it needed not to will ſir Nicholas to beſtirre him, to cauſe euerie man to make readie, and place themſelues as was thought moſt expedient. And vndoubtedlie the noble courage of that worthie gentleman, furthered much, to cauſe euerie capteine and ſoldier vnder him, to put awaie all feare, and to haue a regard to doo his dutie, for the receiuing of the enimies; ſo as they ſeemed glad of the occaſion, whereby they might ſhew proofe of their accuſtomed manhood againſt the enimie, that thus came to ſteale on them without warning, in purpoſe to kill euerie man that fell into their hands, if their intention had taken place, making now ſuch haſt forward, that before the Engliſhmen could be well readie with their armour and weapons in their appointed places, the Frenchmen were got to the ditches, and appointing three thouſand of their numbers, the moſt part gentlemen and double paies, with targets, battell axes, and piſtols, to haue the firſt ſcale, ſaluted them within vpon their verie approch, with ſeuen hundred harquebuts ſhot at the firſt volee.

Sir Nicholas Arnalts valiantneſſe.

The Frenchmen aſſaile Bullognberg.

The Engliſhmen by order giuen by ſir Nicholas, kept themſelues cloſe, till the Frenchmen by their ſcaling ladders, which they brought with them, and had quickelie raiſed againſt the walles, began to mount vp, and enter vpon them; at which inſtant, off went the flankers. Thoſe of ſir Nicholas Arnalts monts diſcharged verie well at the firſt, but at the ſecond volee the morters burſt. Albeit there were two braſſe peeces that were planted aloft on the ſame mont, of the which the one diſcharged fiue & twentie ſhot by the maiſter, and the other ſeuen and twentie by his maieſtie. Sir Nicholas Arnalt here being accompanied with his capteins and ſoldiers about him, ſtood at defenſe ſo ſtoutlie as was poſſible, dooing ſo valiantlie, that their fame deſerueth to liue for euer. There were burſt vpon the faces of the enimies (ouer and beſide the ſhot that was beſtowed among them) to the number of fifteene hundred pikes and blacke bils. The Frenchmen verelie ſtucke to it to the vttermoſt, and did what laie in the verie laſt point of their powers to enter vpon the Engliſhmen, ſupplieng ſtill the places of their dead and wearie men with freſh ſuccors.

The number of pikes and bils broken vpon the Frenchmen.

Carter that came to bring word of their comming, with a pike in his hand, ſtood at the place of the bulworke where they thus gaue the aſſault, & fought right valiantlie, giuing manie wounds, and receiuing ſome againe: for he was hurt both in the thigh and arme, who ſuerlie of a priuat ſoldier (if he were priuat and ordinarie) ſeemed verie ſeruiceable at all aſſaies, conſidering into what deſperat aduentures and hazzards he did as it were caſt himſelfe, eſteeming leſſe the loſſe of life and lim, than the reproch and diſhonor of his countrie, the glorie & renowme wherof (aboue all worldlie things which are but temporall) all men are naturallie bound with might & maine both to ſeeke and ſaue; as one verie well ſaith:

Carter an hardie ſoldier and a good ſeruitor.

Naſcimur vt patriam vitáque operáque iuuemus.

Sir Nicholas Arnalt himſelfe was hurt with a pike in the noſe. Capteine Warren ſtanding on the ſame bulworke with ſir Nicholas, receiued two ſhots in his corſelet, and one of them droue two or three links of his chaine into his necke. Capteine Broughton had there ſixteene of his armed men, euerie of them hauing their corſelets perſed through. The number of the Engliſhmen that were ſlaine, was reckoned to be fiue and twentie, and hurt eight and fiftie. Of Frenchmen there were ſlaine a great number, beſide thoſe that were hurt, and at length through ſhot, caſting downe of ſtones and timber vpon their heads, ſcalding water and handblowes they were repelled, retiring out of the trenches ſhortlie after the breake of the daie, hauing continued the aſſault from midnight till that time, ſtill renewing their forces, in hope to atchiue their wiſhed preie: but being thus beaten off, they gathered togither their dead men, and lading fifteene waggons with their carcaſſes, they returned backe, without making anie further attempt at that time.

The Frenchmen repelled.

Fifteene wagons laden with French carcaſſes.

And ſo by the high valiancie of ſir Nicholas Arnalt, and the other capteins that ſerued in that fort vnder him, and chieflie by the aſſiſtance of almightie God, the giuer of all victories, the enimies were repelled, to their great diſhonor, and the peece reſerued to the immortall renowme of the defendants. Within a daie or two after, the generall of the Frenchmen ſent to know of priſoners taken; but ſir Nicholas Arnalt anſwered the meſſenger, that he knew of no warre: and therefore if anie had attempted to make a ſurpriſe of his peece by ſtealth, they were ſerued accordinglie to their malicious meanings. Indeed (ſaid he) we haue taken none of your men, but we haue got ſome of your braue guilt armour & weapons. Well (ſaid the meſſenger) it is not the cowle that maketh the moonke, and no more is it the braue armour or weapon that maketh the man of warre: but the fortune of warre is ſuch, ſometime to gaine, and ſometime to loſe. Sir Nicholas receiuing him into the fort, made him good cheere, and gaue him fiftie crownes in reward, and ſo he departed.

But concerning the liberalitie of ſir Nicholas, I might here ſpeake further thereof, how bountifullie he rewarded the ſouldiers for their great manhood ſhewed at that time, in defending ſo ſharpe an aſſault, to their great honour, and no leſſe confuſion of the aduerſaries. The daie after the ſaid aſſault, there came to Bullognberg from Guiſnes, a ſupplie of thrée or foure hundred men, vnder the leading of ſir William Cobham, now lord Cobham and others. Within a while after, ſir Nicholas Arnalt ſent forth thrée hundred footmen, and fiue and twentie horſſemen, conducted by the ſaid ſir William Cobham, capteine Mutton of the Old man, & capteine More of Bullognberg, with certeine cariages, to go vnto a wood not farre off, called the North wood, to fetch fagots and bruſh, to repare and mainteine the rampires.

The lord Cobham with a new ſupplie of ſoldiers.

These capteins with their bands being paſſed forward, about two miles in diſtance from the fort, met with certeine of their ſcouts that were ſent forth that morning, who told them that they had diſcouered the tract of a great number of horſſemen. Wherevpon the Engliſhmen now being almoſt come to the wood ſide, retired with all ſpéed: and herewith the French horſſemen brake out of the wood, and following them, fell in ſkirmiſh with them. The Engliſhmen caſting themſelues in a ring, kept them off with their pikes, wherewith they impailed themſelues, and hauing their ſmall troope lined with ſhot, they alſo galled the Frenchmen right ſore therewith, as they ſtill approched them. Neuertheleſſe, thoſe horſſemen gaue thrée maine onſets vpon the Engliſhmen, with the number of a thouſand horſſe at two of the firſt onſets, and the third they gaue with all their whole power, being eſtéemed a fiftéene hundred horſſemen in all.

The great valiãcie of the Engliſhmen vnder the conduct of their noble capteins

But ſuch was the valiant proweſſe of the Engliſh ſouldiers, incouraged with the comfortable preſence of ſir William Cobham, and other their capteins, that conducted them in ſuch order as ſtood moſt for their ſafegard, exhorting them with ſuch effectuall words as ſerued beſt to purpoſe, that the enimie to conclude was repelled with loſſe of ſeuentie of their great horſſes that laie dead there in the field, within the ſpace of halfe a mile. There were alſo foure thouſand French footmen that came forward, but could not reach, and ſo marching about the fort, returned in vaine, after they once perceiued that the Engliſhmen were ſafelie retired within their fort. The councell thus perceiuing the French kings purpoſe, which he had conceiued to worke ſome notable damage to this realme, as well in ſupport of his friends in Scotland, as in hope to recouer thoſe péeces which the Engliſh held at Bullongne, and in thoſe marches, doubted alſo of ſome inuaſion meant by him to be attempted into this realme, bicauſe of ſuch great preparation as he had made, for leuieng of his forces both by ſea and land.

The preparation for warre as well in England as France.

The councell therefore made likewiſe prouiſion to be readie to reſiſt all ſuch attempts, as anie waie forth might be made, to the annoiance of the realme. But as things fell out, the ſame ſtood in good ſtead, not againſt the forren enimie, but againſt a number of rebellious ſubiects at home, the which forgetting their dutie and allegiance, did as much as in them laie (what ſoeuer their pretenſe was) to bring this noble realme and their naturall countrie vnto deſtruction. But firſt, for that it maie appeare, that the duke of Summerſet then protector, and other of the councell, did not without good ground and cauſe mainteine the warres againſt the Scots, I haue thought good to ſet downe an epiſtle exhortatorie, as we find the ſame in the great chronicle of Richard Grafton, ſent from the ſaid protector and councell vnto the Scots, to mooue them to haue conſideration of themſelues, and of the eſtate of their countrie, by ioining in that friendlie bond and vnitie with England, as had béene of the kings part and his fathers continuallie ſought, for the benefit of both realmes, the copie of which exhortation here inſueth.

Rich. Grafton in fol. 1294.

The lord protectors right honorable ſtile.

Edward by the grace of God, duke of Summerſet, earle of Hertford, vicount Beauchampe, lord Seimer, vncle to the kings highneſſe of England, gouernor of his moſt roiall perſon, and protector of all his realmes, dominions, & ſubiects, lieutenant generall of all his maieſties armies, both by land and ſea, treaſuror and earle marſhall of England, gouernor of the Iles of Gerneſeie and Ierſeie, and knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, with others of the councell of the ſaid moſt high and noble prince Edward, by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, and in earth vnder Chriſt the ſupreame head of the churches of England and Ireland. To the nobilitie and councellors, gentlemen and commons, and all other the inhabitants of the realme of Scotland, greeting and peace.

The epiſtle exhortatorie ſent to the Scots.

COnſidering with our ſelues the preſent ſtate of things, and weieng more déepelie the maner and tearmes wherein you and we doo ſtand, it maketh vs to maruell, what euill & fatall chance dooth ſo diſſeuer your hearts, and maketh them ſo blind and vnmindfull of your profit, and ſo ſtill conciliate and heape to your ſelues moſt extreame miſchiefs, the which we whome ye will néeds haue your enimies, go about to take awaie from you, and perpetuallie to eaſe you therof. And alſo by all reaſon & order of neceſſitie, it ſhould be rather more conuenient for you to ſéeke and require moderate agréements of vs, whome God hath hitherto according to our moſt iuſt, true, and godlie meanings and intents, proſpered and ſet forward, with your affliction and miſerie, than that we being ſuperiours in the field, maiſters of a great part of your realme, ſhould ſéeke vpon you. Yet to the intent that our charitable minds and brotherlie loue ſhould not ceaſe, by all meanes poſſible to prouoke and call you to your owne commoditie and profit, euen as the father to the ſon, or the elder brother to the yoonger; and as the louing phyſician would doo to the miſtruſtfull and ignorant patient: we are content to call and crie vpon you to looke on your eſtate, to auoid the great calamitie that your countrie is in, to haue vs rather brothers than enimies, and rather countrimen than conquerors. And if your gouernor or capteins ſhall reteine and kéepe from you this our exhortation, as heretofore they haue doone our proclamation, tending to the like effect, for their owne priuat wealth & commoditie, not regarding though you be ſtill in miſerie, ſo they haue profit and gouernance ouer you, and ſhall ſtill abuſe you with feined and forged tales: yet this ſhall be a witneſſe before God, and all chriſtian people, betwéene you and vs, that we profeſſing the goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, according to the doctrine thereof, doo not ceaſe to call and prouoke you from the effuſion of your owne bloud, from the deſtruction of the realme of Scotland, from perpetuall enimitie and hatred, from the finall deſtruction of your nation, and from ſeruitude to forren nations, to libertie, to amitie, to equalitie with vs, to that which your writers haue alwaies wiſhed might once come to paſſe.

Herein appeereth the lord protectors care for their good eſtate.

Who that hath read the ſtories in times paſt, and dooth marke & note the great battels paſt fought betwixt England & Scotland, the incurſions, rodes, & ſpoiles, which haue béene doone on both parties: the realme of Scotland fiue times woone by one king of

England,

Scotland wonne fiue times by one king of England.

England, the Scotiſh kings ſome taken priſoners, ſome ſlaine in battell, ſome for verie ſorrow and diſcomfort vpon loſſe, dieng and departing the world: and ſhall perceiue againe, that all nations in the world, that nation onelie beſide England, ſpeaketh the ſame language: and as you and we be annexed and ioined in one Iland, ſo no people are ſo like in maners, forme, language, and all conditions as we are: ſhall not he thinke it a thing verie vnmeet, vnnaturall, and vnchriſtian, that there ſhould be betwixt vs ſo mortall war, who in reſpect of all other nations, be and ſhould be like as two brethren of one Iland of great Britaine? And though he were a ſtranger to both, what ſhould he thinke more meet, than if it were poſſible one kingdome to be made in rule, which is one in language, and to be diuided in rulers, which is all one in countrie?

The caſe of the coniunctiō in mariage of the two yoong princes touched.

And for ſo much as two ſucceſſors cannot concurre and fall into one, by no other maner of meanes than by marriage, wherby one bloud, one linage, one parentage is made of two, and an indefenſible right giuen of both to one, without the deſtruction and aboliſhing of either. If God ſhould grant that whatſoeuer you would wiſh, other than that which now not by fortune hath chanced, but by his infinit mercie and moſt inſcrutable prouidence, as carefull for you he hath giuen vnto you. The which thing that you ſhould alſo thinke to come of his diſpoſition, and not by blind fortune, how vnlike hath it beene, and how ſuddenlie hath it turned, that the power of God might be ſhewed: your laſt king being a prince of much excellencie and yoong, whom you know after a promiſe broken contrarie to his honor, & miſfortune by Gods iuſt iudgement following vpon it, God either by ſorrow or by ſome meanes otherwiſe at his inſcrutable pleaſure, did take awaie from you, had three children, did not almightie God (as it were) to ſhew his will and pleaſure to be, that the long continued warre and enimitie of both the nations ſhould be taken awaie, and knit in perpetuall loue and amitie, take the two men-children of thoſe babes being diſtant the one from the other, and in diuerſe places, both as it were at one time, and within the ſpace of foure and twentie houres, leauing but one maidenchild and princeſſe?

The courſe of Gods iuſt iudgement in this example notable.

When the moſt wiſe and victorious prince late our king and maiſter, king Henrie the eight, in other of his mariages not moſt fortunate, had by his moſt lawfull and moſt vertuous wife, queene Iane, his other two wiues before that mariage departed this world, and neuer ſurmiſe nor queſtion made of that mariage, ſince that time to this daie, nor ſo much as all hir life time, name or motion to or of anie other wife, one prince of ſo high expectation, of ſo great gifts of God, the right and vndoubted heire of the realme of England and his maieſtie onelie of male iſſue left behind him to ſucceed the imperiall crowne. If nothing elſe had beene doone, what can anie wiſe or anie chriſtian man that thinketh the world to be gouerned by Gods prouidence and not by fortune, thinke otherwiſe, but that it was Gods pleaſure it ſhould be ſo, that theſe two realmes ſhould ioine in mariage, and by a godlie ſacrament, make a godlie, perpetuall and moſt friendlie vnitie & concord, whereby ſuch benefits as of vnitie and concord commeth, may through his infinit grace come vnto theſe realmes. Or if anie man of you or of anie nation doubteth hereof, except you looked for miracles to be doone herein, and yet if ye marke all the poſſibilities of the natures of the two princes, the children alreadie had, the doubtfull chance, leaſt each of them ſhould haue a ſonne, or both daughters, or not of meet ages, with other circumſtances both of the partie of this realme of England, and that of Scotland, which hath not chanced in eight hundred yeares, it muſt needs be reckoned a great maruell and a miracle.

The lord protector inforceth by pithie perſuaſions a perpetuall vnitie betweene the two realms by the foreſaid mariage.

But let it be no miracle, ſeeing that God dooth not now ſpeake in oracles, as amongeſt the Iewes he did: and preſent propheſies now adaies be but either not certeine, or elſe not plaine: what more certeine can be had of Gods will in this caſe, than the before rehearſed dooth bring? But if God himſelfe ſhould ſpeake, what could he ſpeake more, than he ſpeaketh in theſe? Call you them prouidences or chances, if you be ſtill afflicted and puniſhed? Maie he not ſaie: I of mine infinite mercie and loue to your nation, had prouided a right heire and a prince to the one, and a right heire and princeſſe to the other, to be ioined in my holie lawes, and by the lawe of nature and the world to haue made an vnitie, concord and peace, in the which Iſle of both the realmes you refuſed it; you loued better diſſention than vnitie, diſcord than agreement, warre than peace, hatred than loue and charitie. If you doo then therefore ſmart for it, whome can you blame but your owne election?

The lord protector ſtill vrgeth peace and amitie.

But becauſe ſome of thoſe, who make thereunto impediments, cannot but confeſſe, that there appeareth Gods prouidence herein, and opportunitie and occaſion giuen to vnitie of both the realmes, yet may hereafter ſay, and heretofore haue ſaid, that the fault herein is, that we ſeeke not equalitie, nor the mariage, but a conqueſt: we would not be friends but the lords. Although our proclamation at the laſt warres dooth inough declare the contrarie, yet here we proteſt and declare vnto you and all chriſtian people, to be the kings maieſties mind our maiſters, by our aduiſe and counſell not to conquer, but to haue in amitie; not to win by force, but to conciliate by loue; not to ſpoile and kill, but to ſaue and keepe; not to diſſeuer and diuorſe, but to ioine in mariage, from high to low both the realms, to make of one Iſle one realme, in loue, amitie, concord, peace and charitie, which if you refuſe, and driue vs to conquer, who is guiltie of the bloudſhed? Who is the occaſion of the warre? Who maketh the battels, the burning of houſes, and the deuaſtation which ſhall follow?

The Scots by the conſent of a parlement granted their great ſeale for the confirmation of a mariage to be had betweene Marie the heire of Scotland, & prince Edward heire of England.

Can it be denied but that we haue the great ſeale of Scotland granted by the parlement of Scotland, for the mariage which ſhould be made, with aſſurances and pledges, vntill the performance? And thus in the time that the late king of moſt famous memorie our ſouereigne lord king Henrie the eight did reigne, and in the time of the ſame your gouernour, who now is the earle of Arrane, who then being a chiefe dooer and laborer therin, for the high and ineſtimable benefit of that realme, ſo ſoone as he was by the late cardinall of ſaint Andrews and others, with certeine vaine feares and hopes & greedineſſe of dignitie peruerted, reuolted from his firſt agreement, and put all the realme to the loſſe of ſuch holds and fortreſſes as are now taken from you, and to the loſſe of a foughten field, for the which we are ſorie, if otherwiſe peace might haue bin concluded, for his owne priuat lucre and retchleſneſſe of that noble realme. And what end can you looke for of theſe manner of proceedings, but ſuch ſucceſſe as heretofore hath beene experimented & aſſaied? We offer loue, we offer equalitie and amitie, we ouercome in warre, and offer peace: we win holds, and offer no conqueſt: we get in your land, and offer England.

What offers are made to the Scots.

What can be more offered and more proffered, than intercourſe of merchandizes, and interchange of mariages, the aboliſhing of all ſuch our lawes, as prohibiteth the ſame, or might be impediment to the mutuall amitie. We haue offered not onelie to leaue the authoritie, name, title, right or chalenge of conquerour, but to receiue that which is the ſhame of men ouercommed, to leaue the name of the nation, and the glorie of anie victorie (if anie we haue had, or ſhould haue of you) and to take the indifferent old name of Britains againe, becauſe nothing ſhould be left on our part to be offered, nothing on your part vnrefuſed, whereby ye might be inexcuſable. And all the world might teſtifie all other meanes, not being able to doo anie thing, after manie other waies and remedies attempted, battell of vs to be taken as an extreame refuge, to atteine right and reaſon among chriſtian men: if anie man may rightfullie make battell for his eſpouſe and wife. The daughter of Scotland was by the great ſeale of Scotland promiſed to the ſonne & heire of England.

Britaine was the firſt name of England and Scotland.

If it be lawfull by Gods lawe to fight in a good quarrell, and for to make peace, this is to make an end of all warres, and to conclude an eternall and perpetuall peace; which to confirme, we ſhall fight, and you to breake, is it not eaſie to diſcerne who hath the better part? God and the ſword hath alreadie, and ſhall hereafter (if there be no remedie) trie it. Who ſo willeth the mariage to go forward; who ſo mindeth the peace and tranquillitie of both the realmes; who willeth no conqueſt to be had, but amitie and loue to go forward, we refuſe no man: let him bring his name and his pledge of good ſeruice in this quarrell, he ſhall not onelie be receiued to the amitie; but ſhall haue ſufficient defenſe againſt the aduerſaries, and recompenſe of his liuing, if he ſuſteine anie loſſe. We neither doo nor intend to put anie man from his lands, taxes, or offices, vnleſſe he will néeds reſiſt, and ſo compell vs therevnto.

A verie good, lawfull, and bountifull offer.

What face hath this of conqueſt? We intend not to diſherit your quéene, but to make hir heires inheritors alſo to England. What greater honour can ye ſéeke vnto your quéene, than the mariage offered? What more méeter mariage than this with the kings highnes of England? What more ſure defenſe in the nonage of your quéene for the realme of Scotland, than to haue England your patrone and garriſon? We ſéeke not to take from you your lawes nor cuſtomes; but we ſéeke to redreſſe your oppreſſions, which of diuerſe ye doo ſuſteine. In the realme of England, diuerſe lawes and cuſtomes be according to the ancient vſage thereof. And likewiſe, France, Normandie, and Gaſcoigne haue ſundrie kind of orders. Haue all the realmes and dominions that the emperour now hath, one cuſtome and one ſort of lawes? Theſe vaine feares and fantaſies of expulſion of your nation, of changing the lawes, of making a conqueſt, be driuen into your heads, of thoſe, who in déed had rather you were all conquered, ſpoiled, and ſlaine, than they would loſe anie point of their will, of their deſire of rule, of their eſtimation, which they know in quietneſſe would be ſéene what it were, as it were in a calme water.

The caſe of the foreſaid mariage ſtill vrged.

The lord protector telleth the Scots who they be that put doubts into their heads, &c.

Now in this tumult of diſorder, when the realme is toſſed vp and downe with waues and ſurges of battell, famine, and other miſchiefes which the warre bringeth, they thinke they cannot be eſpied; but looke on them you that haue wit and prudence, and conſider the ſtate of your quéene and realme, you will not kéepe hir ſole and vnmaried, the which were to you great diſhonor. If you maried hir within the realme, that cannot extinguiſh the title which we haue to the crowne of Scotland. And what diſſention, enuie, grudge, and malice that ſhall bréed among you, is eaſie to perceiue. You will marrie hir out of the realme, our title remaineth, you be ſubiects to a forren prince of another countrie, and of another language, and vs ye haue your enimies, euen at your elbow, your ſuccours farre off from you: and be we not in the bowels now of the realme? Haue we not a great part thereof, either in ſubiection or in amitie and loue? Who ſhall come into your realme, but he ſhall be met with, and fought with, if néede be, euen of your owne nation, who be faithfull and true to the realme of England in the waie of this moſt godlie vnion by mariage.

And if anie forren power, prince, or potentate, or whoſoeuer be your aider to nouriſh ſtill diſcord, ſend you an armie alſo, how ſhall they oppreſſe you, fill your houſes, waſte your grounds, ſpend and conſume your vittels, hold you in ſubiection, & regard you as ſlaues, which without them could not liue, & will take your quéene to beſtow as they luſt, & ſpeciallie if their ruler or king (as perchance he may be) in other warres be otherwiſe occupied, to be a preie to vs, & a true conqueſt, then it ſhould be too late to ſaie; We will haue a mariage and no conqueſt, We wiſh peace & amitie, We are wearie of battell and miſerie. The ſtubborne ouercommed muſt ſuffer the victors pleaſure, and pertinacitie will make the victorie more inſolent, whereof you your ſelfe haue giuen the cauſe, if they ſend monie and capteines, but no ſouldiers. Firſt if they be capteins, who ruleth and who dooth obeie? Who ſhall haue the honor of the enterpriſe, and if it be well atchiued? But whether it be well atchiued or no, which number is that which ſhall be ſlaine? Whoſe bloud ſhall be ſhed? Their monie peraduenture ſhalbe conſumed, & their commandements obeied. But whoſe bodies ſhall ſmart for it? Whoſe lands ſhall be waſted? Whoſe houſes burned? What realme made deſolate? Remember what it is to haue a forren power within you, a ſtrong power of your enimies vpon you, you (as it were) the campe & plaine betwixt them to fight on, & to be troden vpon, both of the victor, and of the ouercommed. And imagine you ſée before your eies your wiues & daughters in danger of wantonneſſe & inſolencie of the ſoldiors, the proud looks of the capteins & ſoldiors, whom you call to helpe you, the contempt you ſhall bring your nation in, then take héed leaſt indéed that follow which you feare, that is, that you ſhall be by them conquered, that ye ſhall be by them put from your holds, lands, taxes & offices, that your laws by them ſhall be altered, that your nation ſhall be by them deſtroied. Conſider in this realme, did not the Britons call in the Saxons for helpe, & by them were put out? Where be the Picts, once a gret nation betwixt you and vs? How did the nation of France put out the Galles out of all France? How got the Turk firſt all Grecia, & now of late all Hungarie, but being called in for to aid & helpe? And did not the Goths by like meanes get all Italie, and the Lombards one part therof now called Lombardie? What looke you for more? Néedie ſoldiors, & hauing their weapons in their hands, and knowing that you cannot liue without them, what will not they command you to doo? What will they not incroch vpon you? What will they not thinke they may doo? And what will they thinke that you dare doo? This forren helpe is your confuſion, that ſuccour is your detriment, the victorie ſo had is your ſeruitude: what is then to be thought of loſſe taken with them? The ſtrangers and forren ſoldiors ſhall oppreſſe you within, our power and ſtrength without; and of your owne nation, ſo manie as loue quietneſſe, godlines, and wealth of your realme, ſhall helpe alſo to ſcourge and afflict you. Is it not better to compoſe and acquite all this calamitie and trouble by marriage, to end all ſorrows and battels by ſuch and ſo honorable a peace? Hath not the emperor Spaine & Burgundie by title of marriage? How holdeth the French king Britaine now latelie annexed to that crowne,

Further inducements to make the Scots forward in this mariage.

A true ſaieng.

The lord protector pointeth (as it were) at the inconueniences which he would haue the Scots to preuent.

Examples confirming the former aſſertion.

Inſolencie of ſoldiors and lawleſſe licentiouſneſſe.

The iſſue of the lord protectors exhortation.

Two meanes or waies of making one regiment or rule.

but by title of marriage? How haue all the great princes of the world happilie and with quiet made of two kingdoms one, of diuerſe lordſhips one, of nations alwaies at warre with themſelues, or elſe in doubtfull peace, one well gouerned kingdome, rule, and dominion, but by that godlie, moſt quiet, and moſt amiable compoſition of marriage? Two meanes there be of making one rule, wherto title is pretended, and perfect agréement betwixt two nations, either by force or ſuperioritie, which is conqueſt; or by equalitie and loue, which is by parentage & mariage: you hate the one, that is, conqueſt; and by refuſing the other, you inforce vpon you hatred & malice.

The lord protector proteſteth what the kings determination is.

An item to the Scotiſh gouernor and kirkemen, &c.

What England & Scotland might do being made one by amitie.

Nothing required of the Scots that was not promiſed by them.

Fire & ſword Gods angrie angels.

You will not haue peace, you will not haue aliance, you will not haue concord; and conqueſt commeth vpon you whether you will or no. And yet if all things were conſidered, we feare it will appéere that it were better for you to be conquered of vs, than ſuccoured of ſtrangers, leſſe loſſe to your goods, leſſe hurt to your lands, leſſe diſhonor to your realme; this nation which is one in tong, one in countrie and birth, hauing ſo little diuerſitie to occupie the whole, than other powers come in to you, neither like in language, nor yet like in behauior, who ſhould rule ouer you, and take you to be but their ſlaues. But we eftſoons and finallie declare and proteſt vnto you, that although for the better furtherance of this godlie purpoſe of vniting the realmes, and for the ſure defenſe of them which fauour the marriage, we are compelled for the time to kéepe holds, and to make fortifications in your realme: yet the kings maieſties mind and determinat pleaſure is, with our aduiſe and counſell to be as before is declared, that where fauour may be ſhewed, not to vſe rigor, if by conditions you will receiue this amitie offered, not to follow conqueſt: for we deſire loue, vnitie, concord, peace and equalitie. Let neither your gouernor nor your kirkemen, nor thoſe, who ſo often haue falſified their faith and promiſe, and by treacherie and falſhood be accuſtomed to proroge the time, féed you forth with faire words, and bring you into the ſnare from whence they cannot deliuer you. They will peraduenture prouide for themſelues with penſions in ſome other realme, and ſet ſoldiors ſtrangers in your holds to kéepe you in ſubiection, vnder the pretenſe to defend them againſt vs. But who prouideth penſions for you? How are you defended when they are fled away? Who conquereth you when the ſtrange capteins haue your holds, when your land is waſted, and the realme deſtroied, and the more part kept from you? Who will ſet by the mariage of the quéene to buie a title with the war of England; to marrie the name, an other mightie king holding the land? If we two being made one by amitie, be moſt able to defend vs againſt all nations, and hauing the ſea for wall, the mutuall loue for garriſon, & God for defenſe, ſhould make ſo noble and well agréeing monarchie, that neither in peace we may be aſhamed, nor in war afraid of anie worldlie or forren power: whie ſhould not you be as deſirous of the ſame, and haue as much cauſe to reioiſe at it as we? If this honor of ſo noble a monarchie doo not moue you to take and accept amitie, let the griefe and the danger of the aforenamed loſſes feare you to attempt that thing which ſhall diſpleaſe God, increaſe warre, danger your realme, deſtroie your land, vndoo your children, waſt your grounds, deſolate your countries, and bring all Scotland either to famine & miſerie, or to ſubiection and ſeruitude of an other nation. We require but your promiſed quéene, your offered agréement of vnitie, the ioining of both the nations, which God of his infinite clemencie and tender loue that he hath declared to beare to both the nations, hath offered vnto vs both, and in manner called vs both vnto it, whoſe calling and prouocation we haue, and will folow to the beſt of our powers, and in his name, and with his aid, admonition, exhortation, requeſts, and ambaſſages, not being able to doo it, and to find ſtableneſſe in promiſes, we ſhall not willing, but conſtreined purſue the battell, chaſtiſe the wicked & malicious by the angrie angels of God, fire and ſword.

An argument of vpright meaning that refuſeth no witneſſe.

Wherefore we require and exhort you all, who haue loue to the countrie, pitie of that realme, a true hart to your quéene and miſtreſſe, regard of your honors and promiſes made by the great ſeale of Scotland, and who fauoureth the peace, loue, vnitie, and concord, and that moſt profitable marriage to enter and come to vs; and declaring your true and godlie harts therevnto, to aid vs in this moſt godlie purpoſe and enterpriſe. To be witneſſe of our doings we refuſe no man, temporall nor ſpirituall, lord ne lard, gentleman nor other, who will aid this our purpoſe, and miniſh the occaſion of ſlaughter and deſtruction, to whom we ſhall kéepe the promiſes heretofore declared, and further ſée reward and recompenſe made according to the deſert.

The kings grant as a proofe of the beginning of loue betwéene England and Scotland.

And for a more ſure proofe and plainer token of the good mind and will which we beare vnto you, that which neuer yet was granted to Scotland in anie league, truce, or peace betwixt England and Scotland, becauſe yée ſhall haue proofe of the beginning of loue and amitie of both the realmes: the kings highnes conſidering the multitude of them which are come to his maieſties deuotion, and of them that be well-willers and aiders of this godlie enterpriſe, hath by our aduiſe and counſell granted, and by theſe preſents doth grant, that from henceforth all maner of merchants and other Scotiſhmen, who will enter their names with one of the wardens of the marches, & there profeſſe to take part with vs in this before named godly purpoſe, to his owne commoditie, & to ſerue all ſuch as be of the ſame agréement, may lawfullie and without anie trouble and vexation enter into anie port, créeke, or hauen of England, and there vſe their traffike of merchandize, buie and ſell, bring in the commodities of Scotland, and take and carrie forth the commodities of England, as liberallie and as fréelie, and with the ſame and none other cuſtome or paiments therefore, than Engliſhmen and the kings ſubiects doo at this preſent: minding further vpon the ſucceſſe hereof to gratifie ſo the furtherers of this moſt godlie enterpriſe and vnion, that all the world may be witneſſe of the great zeale and loue which his highneſſe dooth beare toward you and your nation. And all this the kings highneſſe, by our aduiſe and counſell, hath willed to be declared vnto you; and giuen in commandement vnto vs, and all his lieutenants, wardens, rulers, and other head officers, miniſters, and ſubiects, to ſée executed and doone, according to the true purport, effect, and meaning thereof. Fare you well.

The Scots reiect the benefit of this exhortation.

Although this admonition and wholſome exhortation might haue moued the Scots to haue regarded their owne ſtate, yet it litle auailed, as by the ſequele it appeared. For hauing both great promiſes made by the French, and now conſidering therewith the hurlie burlies and tumults that ſprong vp in England, they continued in their obſtinat purpoſes, not to yéeld vnto ſuch reaſonable motions as had béene offered, if they would haue ſhewed themſelues conformable thereto, and not haue ſo ſtubbornlie denied to ſubmit themſelues to that which of right they were bound vnto. So that herein they ſhewed themſelues verie peruerſe and wilfull, reiecting not onelie the good aduiſe that the duke gaue them, but alſo not ſo much as once thinking what might inſue to their great miſchéefe vpon their refuſall, and what benefit redound to them by admitting the offer: naie, they were of opinion and beléefe, that if ſo braue a bootie might befall England, it would be an occaſion of great ruth and wretchedneſſe to Scotland: as one of late hath affirmed in his poeticall ſuppoſall:

———ſi hæc præda Britannis
Cederet, ô miſeræ Scotiæ miſerabile regnum,
Genti infelici nihil eſt niſi flere relictum.

A proclamation for the laieng open of incloſures.

But now to let the Scots alone for a time, we will returne to the rebellion which followed in this yéere, to the whole diſappointing of the plot laid by the councell, for the preſent ſubduing of the Scots, as it was verie like that it ſhould haue ſo come to paſſe, if none other let had come. So it was, that the kings maieſtie, by the aduiſe of his vncle the lord protector, and other of the councell, thought good to ſet forth a proclamation againſt incloſures, and taking in of fields and commons that were accuſtomed to lie open, for the behoofe of the inhabitants dwelling néere to the ſame, who had gréeuouſlie complained of gentlemen and others for taking from them the vſe of thoſe fields and commons, and had incloſed them into parks and ſeuerall paſtures for their priuat commodities and pleaſures, to the great hinderance and vndooing of manie a poore man.

The meaning of the foreſaid proclamation.

This proclamation tending to the benefit and reléefe of the poore, appointed that ſuch as had incloſed thoſe commons, ſhould vpon a paine by a daie aſſigned laie them open againe. But how well ſoeuer the ſetters forth of this proclamation meant, thinking thereby peraduenture to appeaſe the grudge of the people that found themſelues grieued with ſuch incloſures; yet verelie it turned not to the wiſhed effect, but rather miniſtred occaſion of a foule and dangerous diſorder. For wheras there were few that obeied the commandement, the vnaduiſed people preſuming vpon their proclamation, thinking they ſhould be borne out by them that had ſet it forth raſhlie without order, tooke vpon them to redreſſe the matter: and aſſembling themſelues in vnlawfull wiſe, choſe to them capteins and leaders, brake open the incloſures, caſt downe ditches, killed vp the deare which they found in parkes, ſpoiled and made hauocke, after the maner of an open rebellion. Firſt they began to plaie theſe parts in Summerſetſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Northhamptonſhire, Kent, Eſſex, and Lincolneſhire.

Commotions in Summerſetſhire, and other places.

In Summerſetſhire they brake vp certeine parks of ſir William Herbert, and the lord Sturton: but ſir William Herbert aſſembling a power togither by the kings commiſſion, ſlue and executed manie of thoſe rebellious people. In other places alſo, by the good diligence and policie vſed by the councell, the rebels were appeaſed and quieted. But ſhortlie after, the commons of Deuonſhire and Cornewall roſe by waie of rebellion, demanding not onelie to haue incloſures laied open, and parkes diſparked: but alſo thorough the inſtigation and pricking forward of certeine popiſh prieſts, ceaſed not by all ſiniſter and ſubtill meanes, firſt vnder Gods name & the kings, and vnder the colour of religion, to perſuade the people to aſſemble in routs, to chooſe capteins to guide them, and finallie to burſt out into open rebellion. Their chiefe capteins were theſe, Humfrie Arundell eſquier, gouernour of the Mount, Iames Roſogan, Iohn Roſogan, Iohn Paine, Thomas Vnderhill, Iohn Soleman, and William Segar. Moreouer, of prieſts which were principall ſtirrers, and ſome of them chiefe gouernors of the camps, and after executed, there were to the number of eight, whoſe names we find to be as follow: Robert Bocham, Iohn Thompſon, Roger Barret, Iohn Wolcocke, William Alſa, Iames Mourton, Iohn Barrow, Richard Benet, beſides a multitude of other prieſts which ioined with them.

Rebellion in Deuonſhire. Iohn Fox in Acts & Monuments.

The names of the capteins of the rebels.

The number of the rebels in Deuonſhire.

The whole companies of theſe rebels amounted little leſſe than to the number of ten thouſand ſtout and valiant perſonages, able indéed (if their cauſe had béene good and fauoured of the Lord and giuer of victories) to haue wrought great feats. But being (as they were) ranke and malicious traitors, the almightie God confounded their deuiſes, and brought them to their deſerued confuſion. A ſtrange caſe, that thoſe miſchéefous and wicked traitors could not be warned by the euill ſucceſſe of their diueliſh attempted outrage, in the yeare laſt paſt: at what time certeine ſeditious perſons in Cornewall fell vpon one of the kings commiſſioners named maſter Bodie, ſent thither with others for the reformation of matters in religion, in like manner as other were ſent at the ſame time into other ſhires of the realme, for the which murther a prieſt being apprehended, arreigned, and condemned, was drawne into Smithfield, and there hanged and quartered the ſeauenth daie of Iulie, in the ſaid laſt yeare before mentioned, to wit, 1548. Other of his complices and aſſociats were executed and put to death in diuerſe other parts of the realme.

Their hope in others failed them.

But now touching theſe other that roſe in this preſent ſummer. At the firſt they were in great hope that the other diſordered perſons, which ſtirred in other parts of the realme, would haue ioined with them, by force to haue diſappointed and vndoone that which the prince by law and act of parlement, in reformation of religion, had ordeined and eſtabliſhed. But afterwards perceiuing how in moſt places ſuch miſchéefous mutinies and diueliſh attempts, as the commons had begun, partlie by force and partlie by policie were appeaſed, or that their cauſe being but onelie about plucking downe of incloſures, and inlarging of commons, was diuided from theirs; ſo that either they would not, or could not ioine with them in aid of their religious quarrell: they began ſomewhat to doubt of their wicked begun enterpriſe. Notwithſtanding now, ſith they had gone ſo farre in the matter, they thought there was no ſhrinking backe: and therefore determining to procéed, they fell to new deuiſes, as firſt before all things to bring into their hands all ſuch places of force, wealth, and defenſe, as might in anie reſpect ſerue for their aid and furtherance. Herevpon the ſecond of Iulie, they came before the citie of Exceſter, incamping about the ſame in great numbers, and vſed all waies and meanes they could deuiſe how to win it by force, ſometimes aſſaulting it right ſharplie, ſometimes firing the gates, otherwhiles vndermining the wals, and at other times (as occaſions ſerued) procuring ſkirmiſhes.

Exceſter beſieged.

The great loialtie of the citizens of Exceſter.

Finallie, nothing was left vndoone which the enimie could imagine to ſerue his purpoſe for the winning of that citie. And albeit there wanted not luſtie ſtomachs among the citizens to withſtand this outward force of the enimie: yet in proceſſe of time, ſuch ſcarſitie of bread and vittels increaſed, that the people waxed wearie & loth to abide ſuch extremitie of famine. Howbeit the magiſtrats (though it gréeued them to ſée the multitude of the citizens in ſuch diſtreſſe) yet hauing a ſpeciall regard of their dutie toward the prince, and loue to the common-wealth, left no waies vnſought to quiet the people, & ſtaie them in their dutifull obedience to reſiſt the enimies: ſo that comforting the people with faire promiſes, and reléeuing their neceſſities verie liberallie, ſo farre as their power might extend, did in ſuch ſort vſe the matter, that euerie of them within reſolued with one generall conſent to abide the end, in hope of ſome ſpéedie reléefe. And in the meane while, when their corne and meale was conſumed, the gouernors of the citie cauſed bran and meale to be moulded vp in cloth, for otherwiſe it would not ſticke togither.

Alſo they cauſed ſome excurſions to be made out of the citie, to take and fetch into the citie ſuch cattell as were found paſturing abroad neere to the wals, which being brought in, were diſtributed among the poore. To conclude, into ſuch extremitie were the miſerable citizens brought, that albeit mans nature can ſcarſelie abide to feed vpon anie vnaccuſtomed food; yet theſe ſillie men were glad to eat horſſe fleſh, and to hold themſelues well content therewith. Whileſt the ſiege thus remained before Exceſter, the rebels ſpoiled and robbed the countrie abroad, and laieng their traitorous heads togither, they conſulted vpon certeine articles to be ſent vp to the king. But herein ſuch diuerſitie of heads and wits was among them, that for euerie kind of braine there was one maner of article: ſo that neither appeared anie conſent in their diuerſitie, nor yet anie conſtancie in their agreement. Some ſeemed more tollerable, others altogither vnreaſonable, ſome would haue no iuſtices, ſome no ſtate of gentlemen. The prieſts euer harped vpon one ſtring, to ring the biſhop of Rome into England againe, and to hallow home cardinall Poole their countriman. After much a doo, at length a few articles were agreed vpon, to be directed vnto the king, with the names of certeine of their heads ſet therevnto, the copie whereof here inſueth.

See Iohn Fox in the Acts & Monuments.

The articles of the commons of Deuonſhire and Cornewall, ſent to the king, with anſwers afterward following vnto the ſame.

Sacrament of baptiſme.

FIrſt, forſomuch as man, except he be borne of water, and the Holie-ghoſt, can not enter into the kingdome of God, and forſomuch as the gates of heauen be not open without this bleſſed ſacrament of baptiſme; therefore we will that our curats ſhall miniſter this ſacrament at all times of need, as well on the weeke daies, as on the holie daies.

Confirmation.

2 Item, we will haue our children confirmed of the biſhop, whenſoeuer we ſhall within the dioceſſe reſort vnto him.

Conſecrating of the Lords bodie.

3 Item, forſomuch as we conſtantlie beleeue, that after the prieſt hath ſpoken the words of conſecration being at maſſe, there celebrating and conſecrating the ſame, there is verie reallie the bodie and bloud of our ſauiour Ieſus Chriſt God and man, and that no ſubſtance of bread and wine remaineth after, but the verie ſelfe ſame bodie that was borne of the virgin Marie, and was giuen vpon the croſſe for our redemption: therefore we will haue maſſe celebrated as it hath beene in times paſt, without anie man communicating with the prieſts, forſomuch as manie rudelie preſuming vnworthilie to receiue the ſame, put no difference betweene the Lords bodie & other kind of meat; ſome ſaieng that it is bread before and after, ſome ſaieng that it is profitable to no man except he receiue it: with manie other abuſed termes.

Reſeruation of the lords bodie conſecrated.

4 Item, we will haue in our churches reſeruation.

Holie bread and holie water.

5 Item, we will haue holie bread and holie water in the remembrance of Chriſts precious bodie and bloud.

6 Item, we will that our prieſts ſhall ſing or ſaie with an audible voice, Gods ſeruice in the quier of the pariſh churches, and not Gods ſeruice to be ſet forth like a Chriſtmaſſe plaie.

The ſingle life of prieſts.

7 Item, forſomuch as prieſts be men dedicated to God for miniſtring and celebrating the bleſſed ſacraments, and preaching of Gods word, we will that they ſhall liue chaſt without marriage, as ſaint Paule did, being the elect and choſen veſſell of God, ſaieng vnto all honeſt prieſts; Be you followers of me.

The ſix articles to be renewed.

8 Item, we will that the ſix articles, which our ſoueraigne lord king Henrie the eight ſet forth in his latter daies, ſhall be vſed and ſo taken as they were at that time.

9 Item, we praie God ſaue king Edward, for we be his both bodie and goods.

The capteins appointed to go againſt the Deuonſhire rebels.

For the pacifieng of theſe rebels, were appointed by the king and his councell, ſir Iohn Ruſſell knight lord priuie ſeale, the lord Greie of Wilton, ſir William Herbert after earle of Penbroke, ſir Iohn Paulet, ſir Hugh Panlet, ſir Thomas Speake, and others, with a conuenient power of men of warre both on horſſebacke and foot. Amongſt others, there were certeine ſtrangers that came with my lord Greie, as capteine Germane an Hennower, with a band of horſſemen, moſt part Albanoiſes and Italians. Alſo capteine Paule Baptiſt Spinola an Italian borne of a noble houſe in Genoa, with a band of Italian footmen. But now the lord priuie ſeale that was ordeined by the king and his councell, generall of that armie, vpon his firſt approching towards them, ſent vnto them the kings maieſties proclamation: the effect whereof was, that all ſuch perſons as were vnlawfullie aſſembled, and did not within three daies next after the proclaming thereof, yeeld and ſubmit themſelues to the lord priuie ſeale (the kings lieutenant) they ſhould from thenceforth be deemed, accepted, and taken for rebels againſt his roiall perſon, and his imperiall crowne and dignitie.

Strangers.

Ric. Grafton.

A proclamation.

And further, the kings maieſtie, for a more terrour to the rebels, and the incouragement of ſuch other his louing ſubiects, as ſhould helpe and aid to apprehend anie of the ſaid rebels, he by his ſaid proclamation granted and gaue all the offices, fees, goods and poſſeſſions, which the ſaid rebels had at and before their apprehenſion. This proclamation notwithſtanding, the rebels continued in their wicked deuiſes & traitorous purpoſes, haſtening to the hazards of their owne deaths & vndoings, as the poet ſaith of the fooliſh fiſh ſwiming to the hidden hooke:

Occultum viſus decurrere piſcis ad hamum.

Hor. epiſt. lib. 1.

Wherevpon yet once againe the kings maieſtie, for the auoiding of the ſhedding of chriſtian bloud, ſent vnto them a moſt gentle and louing meſſage in writing, thereby to reduce them againe to their dutifull obedience: but all would not ſerue nor auaile to moue their obſtinate minds to leaue off their deſperate and diueliſh enterpriſe. The meſſage was as followeth.

The kings meſſage to the rebels of Cornewall and Deuonſhire.

ALthough knowledge hath beene giuen to vs, and our deereſt vncle the duke of Summerſet gouernor of our perſon, and protector of all our realms, dominions, and ſubiects, and to the reſt of our priuie councell, of diuerſe aſſemblies made by you, which ought of dutie to be our louing ſubiects, againſt all order of law, and otherwiſe than euer anie louing or kind ſubiects haue attempted againſt their naturall and liege ſoueraigne lord: yet we haue thought it meet, at this verie firſt time, not to condemne and reiect you, as we might iuſtlie doo; but to vſe you as our ſubiects, thinking that the diuell hath not that power in you, to make you of naturall borne Engliſhmen, ſo ſuddenlie to become enimies to your owne natiue countrie of our ſubiects, to make you traitors, or vnder pretenſe to relieue your ſelues, to deſtroie your ſelues, your wiues, children, lands, poſſeſſions, and all other commodities of this your life. This we ſaie, that we truſt, that although ye be ignorantlie ſeduced, ye will not be vpon knowledge, obſtinate.

And though ſome amongſt you (as euer there is ſome cockle amongſt good corne) forget God, neglect their prince, eſteeme not the ſtate of the realme, but as careleſſe & deſperat men delite in ſedition, tumults & wars: yet neuertheleſſe the greater part of you will heare the voice of vs your naturall prince, and will by wiſedome and counſell be warned, and ceaſe your euils in the beginning, whoſe ends will be euen by God almighties order your owne deſtruction. Wherfore as to you our ſubiects by ignorance ſeduced, we ſpeake and be content to vſe our princelie authoritie like a father to his children, to admoniſh you of your faults, not to puniſh them; to put you in remembrance of your duties, not to auenge your forgetfulneſſe. Firſt, your diſorder to riſe in multitudes, to aſſemble your ſelues againſt our other louing ſubiects, to arraie your ſelues to the war, who amongſt you all can anſwer for the ſame to almightie God, charging you to obeie vs in all things? Or how can anie Engliſh good hart anſwer vs, our lawes, and the reſt of our verie louing and faithfull ſubiects, who in deed by their obedience make our honour, eſtate, and degree?

Diſorder in ſubiects.

Abuſing of the kings name.

Ye vſe our name in your writings, and abuſe the ſame againſt our ſelfe. What iniurie herein doo you vs, to call thoſe which loue vs, to your euill purpoſes, by the authoritie of our name? God hath made vs your king by his ordinance and prouidence, by our bloud and inheritance, by lawfull ſucceſſion, and our coronation: but not to this end, as you vſe our name. We are your moſt naturall ſouereigne lord & king, Edward the ſixt, to rule you, to preſerue you, to ſaue you from all your outward enimies, to ſee our lawes well miniſtred, euerie man to haue his owne, to ſuppreſſe diſordered people, to correct traitors, theeues, pirats, robbers, & ſuch like, yea to keepe our realms from other princes, from the malice of the Scots, of Frenchmen, of the biſhop of Rome. Thus good ſubiects, our name is written, thus it is honored and obeied, this maieſtie it hath by Gods ordinance, not by mans. So that of this your offenſe we cannot write too much. And yet doubt not but this is inough from a prince to all reaſonable people, from a roiall king to all kindharted & louing ſubiects, frō the puiſſant K. of England, to euerie naturall Engliſhman.

Falſe cauſes.

Your pretenſe, which you ſaie, moueth you to doo thus, and wherewith you ſeeke to excuſe this diſorder, we aſſure you is either falſe, or ſo vaine, that we doubt not, that after that ye ſhall hereby vnderſtand the truth thereof, ye will all with one voice acknowlege your ſelues ignorantlie led, and by errour ſeduced. And if there be anie one that will not, then aſſure you the ſame be ranke traitors, enimies of our crowne, ſeditious people, heretikes, papiſts, or ſuch as care not what cauſe they haue to prouoke an inſurrection, ſo they may doo it, nor in deed can war ſo rich with their owne labors & with peace, as they can doo with ſpoiles, with wars, with robberies and ſuch like, yea with the ſpoile of your owne goods, with the liuing of your labors, the ſweat of your bodies, the food of your owne houſeholds, wiues and children: ſuch they be, as for a time vſe pleaſant perſuaſions to you, and in the end will cut your throtes for your owne goods.

Baptiſme.

You be borne in hand, that your children, though neceſſitie chance, ſhall not be chriſtened but vpon the holie daies: how falſe this is, learne you of vs. Our booke which we haue ſet forth by free conſent of our whole parlement in the Engliſh toong teacheth you the contrarie, euen in the firſt leafe, yea the firſt ſide of the firſt leafe of that part which intreateth of baptiſme. Good ſubiects (for to other we ſpeake not) looke & be not deceiued. They which haue put this falſe opinion into your eares, they meane not the chriſtening of children, but the deſtruction of you our chriſtened ſubiects. Be this knowne vnto you, that our honor is ſo much, that we may not be found faultie of one iote or word: proue it, if by our laws you may not chriſten your children when ye be diſpoſed vpon neceſſitie, euerie daie or houre in the weeke, then might you be offended: but ſeeing you may doo it, how can you beleeue them that teach you the contrarie? What thinke you they meane in the reſt, which moue you to breake your obedience againſt vs, your king & ſouereigne, vpon theſe ſo falſe tales & perſuaſions in ſo euident a matter? Therfore all you which will acknowledge vs your ſouereigne lord, and which will heare the voice of vs your king, may eaſilie perceiue how you be deceiued, and how ſubtillie traitors and papiſts, with their falſehood ſeeke to atchiue and bring their purpoſe to paſſe with your helpe. Euerie traitor will be glad to diſſemble his treaſon, and feed it ſecretlie; euerie papiſt his poperie, and nouriſh it inwardlie; and in the end make you our ſubiects partakers of treaſon and poperie, which in the beginning was pretended to be a commonweale and holineſſe.

Sacrament of the bodie, &c.

And how are you ſeduced by them, which put in your heads the bleſſed ſacrament of Chriſtes bodie, ſhould not differ from other common bread? If our lawes, proclamations, and ſtatutes be all to the contrarie, whie ſhall anie priuat man perſuade you againſt them? We doo our ſelfe in our owne hart, our councell in all their profeſſion, our lawes and ſtatutes in all purpoſes, our good ſubiects in all our doings moſt highlie eſteeme that ſacrament, and vſe the communion thereof to our moſt comfort. We make ſo much difference thereof from other common bread, that we thinke no profit of other bread, but to mainteine our bodies: but this bleſſed bread we take to be the verie food of our ſoules to euerlaſting life. How thinke you, good ſubiects, ſhall not we being your prince, your lord, your king by Gods appointment, with truth more preuaile, than certeine euill perſons with open falſehood? Shall anie ſeditious perſon perſuade you that the ſacrament is deſpiſed, which is by our lawes, by our ſelfe, by our councell, and by all our good ſubiects eſteemed, vſed, participated, and dailie receiued? If euer ye were ſeduced, if euer deceiued, if euer traitors were beleeued, if euer papiſts poiſoned good ſubiects, it is now. It is not the chriſtening of children, nor the reuerence of the ſacrament, nor the health of your ſoules that they ſhoot at, good ſubiects: it is ſedition, it is high treaſon, it is your deſtruction they ſeeke. How craftilie, how pitiouſlie, how cunninglie ſo euer they doo it, with one rule iudge yee the end, which of force muſt come of your purpoſes.

Diſobedience to a king is diſobedience to almightie God.

Almightie God forbiddeth vpon paine of euerlaſting damnation, diſobedence to vs your king, and in his place we rule in earth. If we ſhould be ſlow, would God erre? If your offenſe be towards God, thinke you it is pardoned without repentance? Is Gods iudgement mutable? Your paine is damnation, your iudge is incorruptible, your fault is moſt euident. Likewiſe are ye euill informed in diuerſe other articles, as for confirmation of your children, for the maſſe, for the maner of your ſeruice of mattins and euenſong. Whatſoeuer is therein ordered, hath beene long debated, and conſulted by manie learned biſhops, doctors, and other men of great learning in this realme concluded, in nothing ſo much labour and time ſpent of late time, nothing ſo fullie ended. As for ſeruice in the Engliſh tong hath manifeſt reaſons for it, and yet perchance ſeemeth to you a new ſeruice, and yet in deed is none other but the old. The ſelfe ſame words in Engliſh which were in Latin, ſauing a few things taken out, ſo fond that it had beene a ſhame to haue heard them in Engliſh, as all they can iudge which liſt to report the truth.

Seruice in the Engliſh tong.

The difference is, that we ment godlie, that you our ſubiects ſhould vnderſtand in Engliſh, being our naturall countrie tong, that which was heretofore ſpoken in Latine, then ſeruing onelie them which vnderſtand Latine, & now for all you that be borne Engliſh. How can this with reaſon offend anie reaſonable man, that he ſhould vnderſtand what anie other ſaith, and ſo to conſent with the ſpeaker? If the ſeruice in the church were good in Latine, it remaineth good in Engliſh: for nothing is altered, but to ſpeake with knowledge, that before was ſpoken with ignorance: and to let you vnderſtand what is ſaid for you, to the intent you maie further it with your owne deuotion, an alteration to the better, except knowledge be worſe than ignorance. So that whoſoeuer hath mooued you to miſlike this order, can giue you no reaſon, nor anſwer yours, if ye vnderſtand it.

Knowledge is better than ignorance.

Wherefore you our ſubiects, remember we ſpeake to you, being ordeined your prince and king by almightie God, if anie wiſe we could aduance Gods honour more than we doo, we would doo it, and ſee that ye become ſubiects to Gods ordinance. Obeie vs your prince, and learne of them which haue authoritie to teach you, which haue power to rule you, and will execute our iuſtice, if we be prouoked. Learne not of them whoſe fruits be nothing but wilfulneſſe, diſobedience, obſtinacie, & deſtruction of the realme. For the maſſe, we aſſure you, no ſmall ſtudie & trauell hath beene ſpent by all the learned clergie therin, and to auoid all contention thereof, it is brought euen to the verie vſe as Chriſt left it, as the apoſtles vſed it, as holie fathers deliuered it: indeed ſomwhat altered from that which the popes of Rome for their lucre brought to it. And although you maie heare the contrarie of ſome popiſh and euill men, yet our maieſtie, which for our honor maie not be blemiſhed nor ſtained, aſſureth you, that they deceiue you, abuſe you, and blow theſe opinions into your heads for to furniſh their owne purpoſes.

The maſſe.

And ſo likewiſe iudge you of confirmation of children, and let them anſwer you this one queſtion. Thinke they that a child chriſtened is damned, bicauſe he dieth before biſhopping? Marke good ſubiects, what inconuenience hereof commeth. Our doctrine therefore is founded vpon true learning, and theirs vpon ſhameleſſe errors. To conclude, beſide our gentle maner of information to you, whatſoeuer is conteined in our booke, either for baptiſme, ſacrament, maſſe, confirmation and ſeruice in the church, is by parlement eſtabliſhed, by the whole clergie agreed, yea by the biſhops of the realme deuiſed, & further by Gods word confirmed. And how dare you truſt, yea how dare you giue eare without trembling, to anie ſingular perſon to diſalow a parlement; a ſubiect to perſuade againſt our maieſtie, or anie man of his ſingle arrogancie againſt the determination of the biſhops, and all the cleargie, anie inuented argument againſt the word of God?

Confirmation of children.

But now you our ſubiects, we reſort to a greater matter of your vnkindneſſe, a great vnnaturalnes, and ſuch an euill, that if we thought it had not beene begun of ignorance, and continued by perſuaſion of certeine traitors amongſt you, which we thinke few in number, but in their doings buſie, we could not be perſuaded but to vſe our ſword and do iuſtice:and as we be ordeined of God for to redreſſe your errors by auengement. But loue and zeale yet ouercommeth our iuſt anger, but how long that will be, God knoweth, in whoſe hand our heart is; and rather for your owne cauſes, being our chriſtened ſubiects, we would ye were perſuaded than vanquiſhed, taught than ouerthrowne, quietlie pacified than rigorouſlie perſecuted. Ye require to haue the ſtatute of ſix articles reuiued. And know you what ye require? Or know ye what eaſe ye haue with the loſſe of them? They were lawes made, but quicklie repented; too bloudie they were to be borne of our people, yet at the firſt in deed made of ſome neceſſitie. Oh ſubiects how are ye trapped by euill perſons? We of pitie, bicauſe they were bloudie, tooke them awaie, and you now of ignorance will aske them againe. You know full well that they helped vs to extend rigour, and gaue vs cauſe to draw our ſword verie often.

Six articles.

And ſince our mercie mooued vs to write our lawes with milke and equitie, how are ye blinded to aske them in bloud? But leauing this maner of reaſoning, and reſorting to the truth of our authoritie, we let you wit, the ſame hath beene adnulled by parlement with great reioiſe of our ſubiects, and not now to be called in queſtion. And dareth anie of you with the name of a ſubiect, ſtand againſt an act of parlement, a law of the realme? What is our power if lawes ſhould be thus neglected? Or what is your ſuertie if lawes be not kept? Aſſure you moſt ſuerlie, that we of no earthlie thing vnder the heauen make ſuch reputation as we doo of this one, to haue our lawes obeied, & this cauſe of God to be throughlie mainteined, from the which we will neuer remoue a heares bredth, nor giue place to anie creature liuing: but therein will ſpend our whole roiall perſon, our crowne, treaſure, realme, and all our ſtate, whereof we aſſure you of our high honor. For herein reſteth our honor, herein doo all kings knowledge vs a king. And ſhall anie one of you dare breath or thinke againſt our kingdome and crowne?

The authoritie of a parlement.

In the end of this your requeſt (as we be giuen to vnderſtand) ye would haue them ſtand in force till our full age. To this we thinke, that if ye knew what ye ſpake, ye would not haue vttred the motion, nor neuer giuen breath to ſuch a thought. For what thinke you of our kingdome? Be we of leſſe authoritie for our age? Be we not your king now as we ſhall be? Shall ye be ſubiects hereafter, and now are ye not? Haue we not the right we ſhall haue? If ye would ſuſpend and hang our doings in doubt vntill our full age, ye muſt firſt know, as a king we haue no difference of yeares, but as a naturall man and creature of God we haue youth, and by his ſufferance ſhall haue age. We are your rightfull king, your liege lord, the ſouereigne prince of England, not by our age, but by Gods ordinance; not onelie when we ſhall be one and twentie yeares of age, but when we were of ten yeers. We poſſeſſe our crowne not by yeares, but by the bloud and deſcent from our father king Henrie the eight. If it be conſidered, they which moue this matter, if they durſt vtter themſelues, would denie our kingdome.

But our good ſubiects know their prince, and will increaſe, not diminiſh his honor, inlarge his power, not abate it, knowledge his kingdome, not deferre it to certeine yeares. All is one, to ſpeake againſt our crowne, and to denie our kingdome, as to require that our lawes maie be broken vnto one and twentie yeares. Be we not your crowned, annointed, and eſtabliſhed king? Wherein be we of leſſe maieſtie, of leſſe authoritie, or leſſe ſtate, than our progenitors kings of this realme, except your vnkindnes, your vnnaturalneſſe will diminiſh our eſtimation?

We haue hitherto ſince the death of our father, by the good aduiſe and counſell of our deare and intirelie beloued vncle the duke of Summerſet, and gouernor and protector, kept our eſtate, mainteined our realme, preſerued our honour, defended our people from all enimies. We haue hitherto béene feared and dread of our enimies, yea of princes, kings, and nations. Yea herein we be nothing inferiour to anie our progenitors, which grace we acknowledge to be giuen vs from God, and how elſe, but by good obedience, good counſell of our magiſtrates, and by the authoritie of our kingdome?

England hitherto hath gained honour during our reigne: it hath woone of the enimie, and not loſt. It hath béene maruelled that wée of ſo yoong yeares haue reigned ſo noblie, ſo roiallie, ſo quietlie. And how chanceth that you our louing ſubiects of that our countrie of Cornewall and Deuonſhire, will giue occaſion to ſlander this our realme of England, to giue courage to the enimie, to note our realme of the euill of rebellion, to make it a preie to our old enimies, to diminiſh our honour which God hath giuen, our father left, our good vncle and councell preſerued vnto vs? What greater euill could ye commit, than euen now when our forren enimie in Scotland, and vpon the ſea ſeeketh to inuade vs, to doo our realme diſhonour, than to ariſe in this maner againſt our law, to prouoke our wrath, to aſke our vengeance, and to giue vs an occaſion to ſpend that force vpon you, which we meant to beſtow vpon our enimies, to begin to ſlaie you with that ſword that we drew forth againſt Scots, and other enimies, to make a conqueſt of our owne people, which otherwiſe ſhould haue béene of the whole realme of Scotland?

Thus farre we haue deſcended from our high maieſtie, for loue to conſider you in your ſimple ignorance, and haue béene content to ſend you an inſtruction like a father, who of iuſtice might haue ſent you your deſtructions like a king to rebels. And now we let you know, that as you ſée our mercie abundantlie, ſo if ye prouoke vs further, we ſweare to you by the liuing God, ye ſhall féele the power of the ſame God in our ſword, which how mightie it is, no ſubiect knoweth; how puiſſant it is, no priuat man can iudge; how mortall, no Engliſhman dare thinke. But ſuerlie, ſuerlie, as your lord and prince, your onlie king and maiſter, we ſaie to you, repent your ſelues, and take our mercie without delaie: or elſe we will forthwith extend our princelie power, and execute our ſharpe ſword againſt you, as againſt infidels and Turks, and rather aduenture our owne roiall perſon, ſtate, and power, than the ſame ſhould not be executed.

And if you will proue the example of our mercie, learne of certeine which latlie did ariſe, as they perceiuing pretended ſome griefes, and yet acknowledging their offenſes, haue not onelie moſt humblie their pardon: but féele alſo by our order, to whome onelie all publike order apperteineth, preſent redreſſe of their griefes. In the end, we admoniſh you of your duties to God, whome ye ſhall anſwere in the daie of the Lord, & of your duties toward vs, whom ye ſhall anſwere by our order, and take our mercie whileſt God ſo inclineth vs, leaſt when ye ſhall be conſtreined to aſke, we ſhall be two much hardened in heart to grant it you. And where ye ſhall heare now of mercie, mercie, and life; ye ſhall then heare of iuſtice, iuſtice, and death. Written the eight of Iulie, in the third yeare of our reigne.

A godlie and princelie admonition.

Although the rebels receiued this princelie meſſage, & wholeſome admonition from the kings maieſtie, yet would they not reforme themſelues, as dutifull ſubiects ought to haue doone, but ſtood ſtill in their wicked begun rebellion, offering to trie it at the weapons point. There wanted not prieſtes and other buſie bodies among them, ſuch as by all waies and meanes poſſible ſought to kindle the coles of malice and hatred betwixt the king and his ſubiects; which as the maner is among all the like wicked diſpoſed people, contriued to raiſe and ſtrew abroad falſe forged tales, and feined rumors, giuing it out, that the people ſhould be conſtreined to paie a ratable taſke for their ſhéepe and cattell, and an exciſe for euerie thing that they ſhould eate or drinke. Theſe and ſuch other ſlanderous brutes were ſpred abroad by thoſe children of Beliall, whereby the cankered minds of the rebels might the more be hardened and made ſtiffe from plieng vnto anie reſonable perſuaſion, that might be made to moue them to returne vnto their dutifull obedience, as by the lawes both of God and man they were bounden: and ſo it came to paſſe. For the rebellious rout were growne to an obſtinacie, ſéeming ſo far from admitting perſuaſions to ſubmiſſion, that they became reſolute in their peſtilent actions; wilfullie following the worſt, which they knew full well would redound to their detriment; and auoiding the beſt, which they doubted not might turne to their aduantage, agreable in ſenſe and meaning vnto that of the poet:

Falſe rumors

Quæ nocüere ſequar, fugiam quæ profore credam.

Hor. in Epiſt. lib. 1.

Herevpon when no hope was left to procure them by anie quiet meanes to laie downe armes, the lord priuie ſeale, and the lord Greie, with their forces, although not comparable with the rebels in number, about the latter end of Iulie ſet vpon them, and by great manhood put them from their ground, notwithſtanding they fought verie ſtoutlie, & gaue it not ouer for a little: and although they were thus driuen to giue place at this firſt onſet, yet they got togither againe, and aboad a new charge, defending their ground, & dooing what they could to beat backe and repell thoſe that came to aſſaile them. But neuertheleſſe through the power of the almightie God fauouring the rightfull cauſe, the rebels were diſtreſſed, and followed in chaſe with great ſlaughter for the ſpace of two miles. This was about the beginning of Auguſt.

The rebels put from their ground.

Their chiefe capteines, to wit, Humfreie Arundell, Whinſland, Holms, and Burie, were taken and brought vp to London. There were taken alſo others of their capteins, as Thomas Vnderhill, Iohn Soleman, William Segar, Tempſon, and Barret, which two laſt were prieſts; alſo Boier and Henrie Lée, two maiors, all the which were executed in one place or other, as they had well deſerued. The ſaid Boier being maior of Bodmin in Cornewall, (as Grafton reporteth) had béene a buſie fellow among the rebels, to ſet them forward in miſchiefe: howbeit ſome that loued him ſought to excuſe him, as if he had béene forced hereto againſt his will by the rebels, who would haue killed him, and burnt his houſe, if he had not conſented to them. But howſoeuer it was, ſir Anthonie Kingſton that was prouoſt marſhall in the kings armie vnder the lord priuie ſeale, wrote his letter vnto the ſaid maior, ſignifieng to him, that he and other with him would come and dine with him ſuch a daie. The maior ſéeming to be glad thereof, made the beſt purueiance he could to receiue them, and at the time appointed, ſir Anthonie Kingſton came with his companie, and were right hartilie welcomed of the maior. But before they ſat downe to dinner, calling the maior aſide, he told him that there muſt be execution doone in that towne, and therefore willed him that a paire of gallowes might be framed and ſet vp with ſpéed, ſo that they might be readie by that time that they ſhould make an end of dinner.

John Fox. The capteins of the rebels taken.

Sir Anthonie Kingſton prouoſt marſhall.

The maior with all diligence cauſed the ſame to be doone: ſo that when dinner was ended, ſir Anthonie calling the maior to him, and aſking whether the gallowes were ſet vp accordinglie as he had willed, the maior anſwered that they were readie. Wherewith ſir Anthonie taking the maior by the hand, deſired him to bring him to the place where they ſtood, and comming thither and beholding them, he ſaid to the maior; Thinke you maiſter maior that they be ſtrong inough? Yea ſir, quoth he, that they are. Well then ſaid ſir Anthonie, get you euen vp vnto them, for they are prouided for you. The maior greatlie abaſhed herewith, ſaid; I truſt you meane no ſuch thing to me. Sir ſaid he, there is no remedie, ye haue béene a buſie rebell, and therefore this is appointed for your reward: and ſo without reſpit or ſtaie, there was the maior hanged.

The maior of Bodmin hanged.

At the ſame time, & néere the ſame place dwelled a miller that had béene a great dooer in that rebellion, for whom alſo ſir Anthonie Kingſton ſought: but the miller being thereof warned, called a good tall fellow that he had to his ſeruant, and ſaid vnto him: I haue buſineſſe to go from home, if anie therefore come to aſke for me, ſaie thou art the owner of the mill and the man for whome they ſhall ſo aſke, and that thou haſt kept this mill for the ſpace of thrée yeares, but in no wiſe name me. The ſeruant promiſed his maiſter ſo to doo. And ſhortlie after came ſir Anthonie Kingſton to the millers houſe, and calling for the miller, the ſeruant came forth, and anſwered that he was the miller. How long, quoth ſir Anthonie, haſt thou kept this mill? He anſwered thrée yeares. Well then ſaid he, come on, thou muſt go with me, and cauſed his men to laie hands on him, and to bring him to the next trée, ſaieng to him; Thou haſt béene a buſie knaue, and therefore here ſhalt thou hang. Then cried the fellow out, and ſaid that he was not the miller, but the millers man. Well then, ſaid ſir Anthonie, thou art a falſe knaue to be in two tales, therefore ſaid he, hang him vp: and ſo incontinentlie hanged he was in déed. After he was dead, one that was preſent, told ſir Anthonie; Surelie ſir this was but the millers man. What then ſaid he, could he euer haue doone his maiſter better ſeruice than to hang for him?

A millers man hanged for his maiſter.

This was a hard procéeding, though the partie had béene nocent.

Manie other were executed by order of the marſhall law, & a great part of the countrie abandoned to the ſpoile of the ſouldiers, who were not ſlouthfull to gleane what they could find for the time their libertie laſted. ¶ Thus far the report of this rebellious broile, wherevpon it firſt kindled, by what meanes the ſame ſparkled and became a flame, and what deuiſes were vſed to extinguiſh & quench it. Wherein we ſée how prone the people are to riſe by routs vpon occaſions of diſcontentments; how haſtie and headie to vndertake dangerous enterpriſes, how wilfull and obſtinate to perſiſt in their pernicious procéedings, how cold-harted and hopeleſſe when they ſée the courſe of their plots of perilous policie either interrupted, vndermined, or ouerthrowne; and finallie, what a reprochfull reward redoundeth both to the ringleaders in rebellions, as alſo what falleth to the ſhares of all ſuch as ſhake hands and become confederats to the furthering and ſtrengthening of riots, mutinies, inſurrections, commotions, and hurlieburlies. Wherby the ſtate is diſquieted, & (that more is) the prince drawne into a conceipt of ſuſpecting his ſubiects loialties; beſides a wicked preſident to poſterities, without feare of ſhame, remorſe of conſcience, regard to allegiance, or foreſight of afterclaps, to attempt the like. Now it reſteth, that for the further truth and knowledge hereof, we adde a new report (new I meane, in reſpect of the publication, hauing not heretofore béene printed) though old enough, and ſufficientlie warranted by the reporter, who vpon his owne notice hath deliuered no leſſe in writing, than himſelfe vpon verie good and infallible grounds obſerued, and hath left teſtified in the diſcourſe following; wherein there is not one word either added, or inuerted: but all things (from point to point) agréeable to the written copie.

Abr. Fl. introduction into the next narration being a new addition, touching this rebellion.

The addition following being a large diſcourſe, was neuer heretofore publiſhed.

The deſcription of the citie of Exceſter, *and of the ſundrie aſſaults giuen to the* ſame: collected and gathered by Iohn *Vowell* (alias *Hooker*) *gentleman* and chamberleine of *the ſame.*

EXceſter or Exceter is a famous and an ancient citie, being the metropole and *Emporium* of the weſt parts of England, ſituated and lieng in the prouince ſometime called *Dumnonia*, that is to ſaie, the countrie of vallies: for whereas are manie hilles (as that countrie is full of hilles and mounteins) there are manie vallies. But now corruptlie it is named *Deuonia*, or Deuonſhire, and not Daneſhire of the Danes, as ſome would haue it. Of the firſt foundation thereof, by reaſon of the ſundrie inuaſions of forren nations, who with their hoſtilities and cruell warres did burne and deſtroie the ſame, there remaineth no certeine memoriall, neither among the records of the ſaid citie, ne yet in anie one other writer.

Dumnonia, the countrie of vallies.

Deuonia, Deuonſhire.

But moſt certeine it is, that it was firſt builded and founded by the Britons or Brutes. For the names which they gaue and vſed, are yet at this preſent had in remembrance, as well among the chronographers of this land, as alſo among the Corniſh people, who were ſometimes one with this prouince; but now in a countie of themſelues, and next bordering to this, and in the ſame dioceſſe. And they are the remanent of the bloud of Brutus. For when Cadwallader king of this land, by reaſon of a great famine and peſtilence was driuen to forſake the ſame, & to flie into little Britaine named Armorica, which is now vnder the dition of the French king: diuers & the moſt part of his people fled, ſome into Wales, and ſome into Cornwall, where euer ſince they and after them their poſteritie haue remained and continued.

The old chronographers, ſearchers, and writers of antiquities doo find, that this citie was called *Corinia*, and thereof the cathedrall church of the ſame was (as Bale ſaith) named *Eccleſia Corinienſis*: which name, if it were firſt giuen by Corinus (as Leland writeth) who after the arriuall of Brutus into this land, was made the firſt duke of this whole weſt countrie of Deuon and Cornewall, which were both compriſed vnder the name of *Corinia*, and wherof this citie euer hath béene and is the metropole, and alwaies parcell ſometime of the kingdome, then of the duchie, and after of the earledome, and now againe of the duchie of Cornwall: then out of doubt this citie is of no leſſe antiquitie than the ſaid names doo import. It was alſo called *Auguſta*. Of this name there were diuerſe cities, ſo named by the Romans; but this onelie was named *Auguſta Britannorum*, and ſo called (as ſome thinke) by the Romans at the concluſion of the peace made at the ſiege of this citie betwéene king Aruiragus and Veſpaſian coronell of the Romane armie vnder Claudius Auguſtus. The Britons in their tong or language doo call this citie by ſundrie names; the firſt and eldeſt in remembrance is cair Penhulgoile, that is to ſaie, the proſ-

perous

Corinia.

Baleus lib. x. Centuriarum.

Lelandus in Genethliaco.

Penhulgoile.

Pennehaltecaire.

Pen necaire the chéefe citie, Caireruth the red citie, Caireiſke the citie or Exe.

Houeden.

perous chiefe towne in the wood, as dooth appeere by Geffreie of Monmouth, and Ponticus Virunnius. It was alſo called Pennehaltecaire, that is, the chiefe citie or towne vpon the hill; as dooth appeere in a trauerſe betweene the biſhop, deane, and chapiter of this citie of the one partie; and the maior, bailiffe, and communaltie of the other partie, concerning their liberties. But the names which the Corniſh people doo at theſe preſents remember & reteine, are ſpeciallie three, Pennecaire, Caireruth, Caireiſke. Pennecaire ſignifieth, and is to ſaie, the cheefe citie. Caireruth ſignifieth the red or reddiſh citie, ſo called and taking the name of the ground and ſoile wherevpon it is ſituated, which is a red earth. Caireiſke is the citie of Iſke, being ſo called of the riuer, which the Britons name Iſke, and floteth faſt by the ſame. And of this name Houeden in his chronicle maketh mention, ſaieng thus: *Anno Domini 877 exercitus Danorum ab Wareham nocte quadam, fœdere dirupto, ad Exeanceſtre diuerterunt, quod Britannicè dicitur Caireiske.*

Ptolomeus *in tabulis.*

Baleus *centur. lib.*

New lords new names.

Monketon.

Ex veteri libro.

Polydorus *hiſt. lib.5.* Exeter.

Baleus centur. lib. in Britanniæ deſcriptione. Exceſter. Exanceſter.

Caire, Ceſtre { a fort

The ſite of Exceſter and circuit.

The citie is full of water ſprings.

The rebels breake and ſpoile the pipes of lead for waters.

Ptolomeus the famous aſtronomer, who was about the yeere of our Lord 162, Coell being king of this land, nameth this citie Iſca; and the riuer Iſca. And Bale the ſearcher of antiquities following the ſame opinion, dooth alſo name the citie Iſca, and the inhabitants therein Iſcans. But vnder correction be it ſpoken, a man maie well thinke that Ptolomeus being in Alexandria, and ſo farre diſtant from this land, was miſinformed, or the print miſtaken. For it is moſt likelie that the riuer ſhould be named Iſca according to the Britiſh ſpeech, wherein it was called Iſca; and which name by tranſpoſing of the two middle letters, dooth at this preſent remaine being now named Icſa or Exa. But whatſoeuer the cenſures and opinions of Ptolomeus and of Bale, who wrote onelie vpon report, be herein, it is certeine, that the names which the Brutes or Britons gaue, were of longeſt continuance. And this citie was called by their denominations, by the ſpace of fifteene hundred yeeres, vntill the comming of the Saxons, the Picts, and the Scots into this realme, which was about the yeere of our Lord foure hundred and fiftie. For they, where, and whenſoeuer they preuailed in anie place, did for the moſt part alter and change the names of all places & townes, accounting it a great renowme, as alſo a perpetuall memoriall of their chiualrie, to giue new names, either of their owne deuiſes, or of their owne natiue countries; for ſo is it writen of them: *Picti, Scoti, Angli, Daci, & Normanni in hac inſula rerum potiti, cuncta immutârunt, pro tropheis habentes, locis à ſe deuictis noua imponere nomina.* The Saxons therfore as of all other cities & townes (few excepted) ſo of this alſo they changed and altered the old names and called it Monketon; and by which name it was ſo called by the ſpace of three hundred and od yeeres, and vntill the time of king Athelſtane: for he about the yeere of our Lord nine hundred thirtie and two, being much greeued and vnquieted with the rebellion of the Corniſh people, becauſe they refuſed and denied to acknowledge him for their lawfull king, did bend his force, & conduct his armie againſt them. And hauing ſubdued and preuailed ouer them, he returned to this citie: and while he reſted here, he repared the ſame; and the walles which before were but mightie ditches of earth, and the banks ſet with great poles of timber now deſtroied, he builded all of ſquare ſtone, as it is recorded: *Hanc vrbem primus Athelſtanus in poteſtatem Anglorum fugatis Britonibus reductam, turribus muniuit, & muro ex quadratis lapidibus tandem cinxit.* And then he altered and changed the former names, and called it after the name of the riuer *Eſſeterra* or *Exeterra*, that is to ſaie, Exeter. For ſo is it written, *Eſt Exonia vrbs Deuoniæ comitatus, loco præcelſo ad occidentem verſus poſita: abluiturq́ flumine Exi, à quo nomen habet.* Others name it of the riuer floting by it, which they ſaie is named *Exceſtrum*, & thus they write: *Clariſſima vrbium eſt Exceſtria, quæ ab amni Exceſtro qui eandem præterfluit eſt ſic nuncupata.* I find it alſo written in an old chronicle, that it is named *Exanceſtria* or *Exanceſtre*: which ſhuld ſeeme to be ſo called by the Saxons. For the moſt part of the cities, townes, & forts, which they builded or reedified, did end in ceſtre: as Gloceſtre, Leceſtre, Mancheſtre, Wincheſtre, Oſceſtre, Worceſtre, Colcheſtre, Ciceſtre, Ilceſtre, Biceſtre, & this citie of Exceſtre, with others. For Caire in Britiſh & Ceſtre in Saxoniſh are one thing, & doo ſignifie in Engliſh a fort, towre, or caſtell. This citie (as is before ſaid) being walled about with ſtone by king Athelſtane is not altogither foure ſquare, but declineth ſomewhat toward a roundneſſe, and conteineth in circuit or compaſſe ſixteene hundred whole paſes, after fiue foot to a paſe; which accounting after the Italian maner one thouſand paſes to a mile, it is a mile and halfe about, & ſomewhat more. The ſituation of this citie is verie pleaſant and delicate, being ſet vpon a little hill among manie hilles. For the whole countrie round about is mounteinous and full of hilles. It is pendent towards the ſouth and weſt parts, after and in ſuch ſort, that be the ſtreets neuer ſo foule or filthie, yet with a ſhoure of raine they are clenſed and made ſweet. And albeit hilles are commonlie drie, yet nature is ſo beneficiall to this litle hill, that it is in euerie quarter full of water ſprings: & by that meanes the whole citie is throughlie furniſhed with wels and tirpits; the great good benefit and commoditie whereof hath well appeered in ſundrie times of neceſſitie, and eſpeciallie in the time of the late commotion, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1549. For albeit the enimie, by breking and ſpoiling of the pipes or canales, whereby water was conueied to the founteins of the citie, from certeine ſprings diſtant not a mile from the ſame, did abridge them of that water: yet moſt comfortablie they did inioy without impeachment the wels and tirpits within the walles, which abundantlie floted with waters to the ſatiſfieng of all people therein.

The conduits for water.

Saint Peters conduit.

The great conduit.

There are alſo within this citie certeine founteins or conduits, wherevnto, through certeine canales or pipes of lead, the waters from certeine ſprings, riſing in the fields not far from the citie, are brought and conueied. And theſe waters are of moſt price, becauſe by the carriage thereof they are purified, and made lighter than are the other waters ſpringing within the citie: and by that means more meet for dreſſing of meats. Of theſe conduits two are ſpeciall, the one of them ſtandeth and is within the cemiterie or churchyard of the cathedrall church of the ſaid citie, and is called ſaint Peters conduit: the other being of great antiquitie ſtandeth in the middle of the citie, at the meeting of foure principall ſtreets of the ſame, and whereof ſometimes it tooke his name, being called the conduit at Quatrefois or Carfox; but now the great conduit.

Caſtell Rugemont.

The ſite of the caſtell.

The caſtell builded by the Romans.

At the higher end of this citie is a verie old and ancient caſtell, named Rugemont, that is to ſaie the red hill, taking that name of the red ſoile or earth wherevpon it is ſituated. The ſite or ſituation of it is eminent and aboue both the citie and countrie adioining: for they doo all lie as it were vnder the lee thereof. It hath a goodlie and pleaſant proſpect towards the ſeas: for betweene that and it is no hill at all. It is ſtronglie ditched round about, and was firſt builded (as ſome thinke) by Iulius Ceſar: but rather and in truth by the Romans after him when they had their recourſe to it for their defenſe, refuge, and abode, manie yeares. The ſame was ſometimes the palace of ſuch kings, as vnto whome the kingdome of Weſtſex or Weſtſaxons was alotted vnto: and after them, it was the habitation of the earles of Cornewall, and laſt of all of the dukes of Exceſter. It was alwaies parcell and of the inheritance of the earledome, but now of the duchie of Cornewall: it is in great ruine and decaie, and not eaſilie to be gotten with force, if it were reedified and inuironed.

The riuer of Exe.

At the lower end and part of this citie, without the wals, floteth a goodlie and a pleaſant riuer, which the Britons called Iſk; Ptolomeus by miſinformation nameth it *Iſaca*: but the other old writers named it *Eſſe, Exe, Exa,* or *Exceſtrum:* and theſe names be reteined at theſe preſents. It hath his head or ſpring in a certeine moore or deſert diſtant from the citie neere about foure and twentie miles, called Exmoore. It floweth into the maine ſeas about eight miles from the citie, at a place named Exmouth, and by the waie it is increaſed with ſundrie riuers, brooks & lakes, the chiefe of which are Creedie and Collome. It is well ſtored and is plentifull of ſamon, trout, peale, dace, pike, and other like freſhwater fiſhes: which albeit they be verie good and delicate, and eſpeciallie the ſamon and pike: yet they are the leſſe eſteemed, bicauſe the ſeas being ſo neere doo furniſh the citie & countrie verie abundantlie with ſundrie kinds of ſea fiſhes moſt delicate.

Exe riſeth in Exmore.

The hauen of Exceſter.

The maine ſeas are not diſtant from the citie aboue eight miles, out of which commeth an arme ſeruing for the port of the ſame: which (as dooth appeare by certeine old and ancient records) did ſometimes flow vp to the verie wals of the citie, where boats and veſſels were woont to be laden and vnladen of all kind of wares and merchandizes, at a proper place appointed for the ſame: which at theſe preſents keepeth his old and ancient name, and is called the watergate. The decaie thereof hapned about the yeare of our Lord 1312, by one Hugh Courtneie the third of that name, and earle of Deuon: who being offended and incenſed againſt this citie, his wrathfull humor could not be ſatiſfied, vntill by ſome meanes he did impaire and annoie the ſtate of the common wealth of the ſame. And ſeeing that among other commodities, the vſe of the hauen and watercourſe to the citie to be one of the chiefeſt, he was neuer quiet vntill he had deſtroied the ſame: wherefore minding to performe what he had conceiued, he did in the yeare of our Lord 1313, the fift yeare of king Edward the ſecond, enterpriſe & begin his pretended deuiſe and miſcheefe.

The decaie of the hauen of Exceſter. Hugh Courtneie the firſt deſtroier of the hauen.

And firſt whereas the ladie *Iſabella de Fortibus*, counteſſe of Aumerle and of Deuon, his anceſtrix had builded certeine weers vpon the riuer of Exe (the propertie and ſeignorie whereof did apperteine to the citie) the one of the weſt ſide of the riuer of Exe in Exminſter pariſh, and the other of the eaſt ſide of the ſame riuer in the pariſh of Topeſham; leauing betweene the ſaid two weers a certeine aperture or open ſpace of thirtie foot, thorough which all boats and veſſels without let or hinderance might haue and had their vſuall paſſage and repaſſage, to and from the citie vnto the ſeas: the ſaid earle to abridge and deſtroie this great benefit and commoditie, did leuie and build a new weere in the ſaid aperture or open roome, ſtopping, filling, and quirting the ſame, with great trees, timber, and ſtones, in ſuch ſort, that no veſſell nor veſſels could paſſe or repaſſe.

Edward Courtneie.

After him Edward Courtneie earle of Deuon, and nephue to the ſaid Hugh, did not onelie mainteine and continue the doings of his anceſtor, by his dailie reparing and defending the ſame: but alſo to worke an vtter deſtruction for euer, of anie paſſage or repaſſage to be had thenſeforth to and from the ſaid citie; vnder pretenſe to build and make certeine mils, did erect two other weeres, the one at ſaint James ouerthwart the whole riuer, and the other at Lampreford: by meanes whereof not onelie the citie did ſuſteine the whole loſſe of the hauen, but the whole countrie alſo was ſurrounded about it, and in proceſſe of time altogither, and as it is at theſe preſents couered with ſalt waters. For which greefs and iniuries vpon complaints made thereof, diuerſe & ſundrie writs and commiſſions of inquirie were awarded and granted by the king; and the ſaid earles by ſundrie inquiſitions and verdicts found giltie. And yet notwithſtanding, ſuch was their power and authoritie, and ſuch was the iniquitie of thoſe daies, as no iuſtice could take place, nor law haue his due courſe againſt them.

Sundrie inquiſitions and iuries taken againſt the earles of Deuon for deſtroieng of the hauen.

Furthermore alſo the foreſaid Hugh, to incroch the gaine and commoditie of the lading & vnlading of merchandizes within the port & riuer to himſelfe, did build a keie and a crane in the riuer at his towne of Topeſham, diſtant from the citie about three miles: and by power did inforce and compell all maner of merchants arriuing within that port to vnlade & lade all their wares and merchandizes brought within that port (to be laden and vnladen) there onelie. And from thenſe, euer ſince, all wares and merchandizes haue beene caried and recaried to and from the citie by horſſe, cart, and waine, though to the gaine of the earle and his tenants, yet to the great trouble and hinderance of the citie and merchants of the ſame. Neuertheleſſe, the port hath euermore and yet dooth keepe his old and ancient name, being called the port of the citie of Exceſter: and alwaies hath beene and preſentlie is paied a tribute vnto the citie, by the name of the towne cuſtome, for all kind of wares and merchandizes, diſcharged within that port or riuer, or the members thereof.

A keie firſt builded at Topeſham. The merchants compelled to lade and vnlade at Topeſham keie.

And although the watercourſe thus being deſtroied can hardlie be reſtored to his old priſtinate and naturall eſtate; for that thorough long continuance the old courſe can not be diſcerned: yet now at length after manie attempts and with great expenſes, a watercourſe and paſſage begun in the yeare 1564, is recouered, and by certeine ſluces, boats, and veſſels of fifteene or ſixteene tuns are conueied and brought vp to the citie, and there diſcharged at the old and ancient place, called the watergate: & where is builded a verie faire large keie or wharfe, as alſo an engine called a crane fit for the purpoſe.

The hauen is recouered and renewed againe.

A keie and a crane builded at Exceſter.

Within the citie were ſomtimes but few pariſh churches, vntill the time of Innocentius the third: who when in the yeare 1198 he had eſtabliſhed the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, and had made it an article of the ſymbole, as appeareth in the decretals, *Titulo de ſumma trinitate, canone Firmiter*: then his next ſucceſſor Honorius the third, in the yeare 1218 did not onelie confirme the ſame, but alſo by decree did eſtabliſh reſeruation, candlelight, and praieng for the dead, as dooth appeare, *Decret. tit. de celebratione miſſarum, canone Sane cum, & Sane cum creatura*: by which meanes the number of ſacrificing & maſſing prieſts did not onelie increaſe, but churches alſo and chapels began in all places and euerie where to be builded and erected.

And among others in this citie in the yeare 1222 and the ſixt yeare of king Henrie the third, the pariſh churches were limited, and increaſed to the number of nineteene churches within the citie and ſuburbs, and were called by the name of the chriſtianitie euen to this daie. Euerie of which in times paſt was a ſufficient and competent liuing to mainteine a maſſing ſacrificer; for ſuch and ſo great was the blind deuotion of the people then in that Romiſh religion: but the ſame now being aboliſhed, and the goſpell preached, the liuelihoods are ſo ſmall, as not ſufficient for

The pariſh churches firſt limited in Exceſter.

the moſt part to mainteine a poore clerke or ſcholar, & by reaſon thereof, the moſt part of them do lie void and vacant, without incumbent.

A monaſterie of ſaint Benets order builded in Exceſter.

Beſides theſe pariſh churches, there was alſo a monaſterie, ſometimes of monks of ſaint Benets order, but ſince a cathedrall church, being of a verie faire and ſumptuous building of freeſtone and with beautifull pillers of graie marble. It ſtandeth and is ſituated in the eaſt part of the citie; and (as ſome report) was firſt founded and built by king Etheldred, the third ſonne to king Ethelwolphus. Some thinke that king Edgar did it. True it is that euerie of them builded a houſe for religious perſons within this citie, of which the one was ſpoiled and burned by the Danes, and the other in proceſſe of time was vnited to the monaſterie, which is now the cathedrall church. But the cathedrall church it ſelfe was founded & builded by king Athelſtane, the ſonne to king Edward the elder: for ſo is it recorded in the hiſtorie of the ſame church, the words whereof are theſe: *Athelſtanus ſubiugatis Cornugualenſibus, reuerſus eſt ad ciuitatem, quæ antiquitùs Monketon vocabatur, nunc autem Exeter: ac ibi ſedens, anno Dom. 932, non tam lacerata eiuſdem ciuitatis mœnia reparabat, quin & manſum quoddam dedit ad fundandum monaſterium pro monachis, Deo & ſancto Petro famulantibus.*

King Etheldred the firſt founder of the monaſterie.

King Edgar founder of a religious houſe in Exceſter.

The cathedrall church was firſt a monaſterie and founded by king Athelſtane.

Chronica eccleſiæ.

This king beſides his great charges and expenſes in building of this church, which at the firſt was but ſmall, and that part which is now called the Ladie chapell, he placed therein monkes of S. Benets order, prouided liuelihoods for them, and appointed a ruler or gouernour ouer them, and who was called by the name of an abbat, towards whoſe diet and liuelihood he gaue Morkeſhull and Treſurors beere: and which at theſe preſents do remaine to the ſaid church and are annexed to the dignitie of the treaſurorſhip of the ſame. The church being thus begun, kings, princes, & noble men were from time to time gladlie and willinglie verie liberall contributors to the abſoluing and finiſhing of the ſame. For about foure ſcore years after king Athelſtane, king Knoght who was alſo named Cahutus or Canutus, at the earneſt ſute of one of his dukes named Atheldred, did confirme and grant to Athelwood then abbat of the ſaid church, and to his ſucceſſors manie and ſundrie priuileges and liberties, vnder his letters patents, dated the ſecond yeare of his reigne, Anno Domini, 1019.

King Canutus confirmeth the priuileges of the monaſteries.

K. Edward the confeſſor remooued the monks vnto weſtminſter, and made this a cathedrall church. Leofricus the firſt biſhop of Exceſter.

After him about thirtie yeares, king Edward the confeſſor remooued the monkes vnto Weſtminſter, and made this church a cathedrall church, and remooued the biſhops ſee which was then at Crediton vnto this citie, making Leofricus biſhop therof, and whom he and his wife queene Edith did put in poſſeſſion of the ſame, as appeareth by his letters patents dated the eight yeare of his reigne, Anno Dom. 1050, Howbeit the monke of Burie, Polydorus, and others do affirme and write, that this ſhould be doone about the twelfe yeare of William the conqueror, for thus they do write: *Habitum eſt Londini, ſub Lanfranco, antiſtitum & ſacerdotum comitium, in quo decretum eſt, quòd aliquot ſedes epiſcopales, quæ in oppidulis & pagis anteà fuerant, in vrbibus & locis celeberrimis collocarentur, vnde factum eſt vt Bathonia, Lincolnia, Sariſburia, Exonia, Ceſtria, & Ciceſtria vrbes, huiuſmodi nouis epiſcoporum domicilijs ſunt nobilitatæ.*

Polyd. *hiſt. li.* 19 *Chronica chronicorum, lib.* 7.

The charter of the church.

But the reuerence of theſe writers reſerued, this cannot be true concerning this church, bicauſe the words of the charter thereof do witneſſe the contrarie, and declare expreſſelie, how that king Edward and queene Edith his wife did put Leofricus the firſt biſhop in poſſeſſion, the one by the one hand and the other by the other hand, leading him betweene them vp to the high altar, and there put his hands vpon the ſame. And yet it may be true, that at the foreſaid councell, this remoouing and placing of this biſhop might be ratified and confirmed. Likewiſe William the conqueror, in the third yeare of his reigne 1069, did not onelie confirme the former charter, but alſo at the inſtance and requeſt of William Warewest, then his chapleine, but afterwards biſhop of the ſame ſee, did giue vnto it the ſeigniories of Plimpton, Brampton, and S. Stephans in Exceſter, which the ſaid William Warewest being afterwards biſhop did diſtribute, giuing Plimpton to the religious canons, whome he placed there: Brampton was annexed to the deanerie, but S. Stephans was reſerued alwaies to the biſhop, and to his ſucceſſors, whereby they are barons, and ſo lords in the parlement houſe.

The conqueror confirmeth the charters of the church, and inlargeth the poſſeſſions of it.

The cathedrall church was foure hundred yeres in building.

It was alſo inlarged from time to time with great poſſeſſions, reuenues, buildings, riches, priuileges, and ſundrie other commodities, by kings, princes, prelats, biſhops, and ſundrie others. And this one thing is to be noted, that albeit there were about foure hundred yeares diſtant from the firſt foundation and building thereof, vnto the ending and finiſhing of the ſame; yet it is ſo vniformelie and decentlie compact and builded in one mould, as though it had beene doone at one inſtant. The biſhop is diſtinct from the chanons both in houſe and reuenue: his liuelihoods being no part nor parcell of that which apperteineth to the deane and chapter. It was ſometimes of great reuenues and large poſſeſſions, but the more part thereof hath beene conſumed and exhauſted by a waſtfull biſhop. The biſhop and chanons haue verie faire houſes, which are ſituated about the church & cemiterie, and are incloſed euerie night by ſhutting faſt of certeine gates, by which occaſion it is called a cloſe, *A claudendo*: and which gates are to be ſhut euerie night (except at certeine times) and to be opened euerie morning at certeine hours appointed, as it appeareth by a compoſition made for the ſame betweene the communaltie of Exceſter, and the biſhop and deane of the ſame. In the middle of the cemiterie or churchyard is a verie faire founteine or conduit of water conueied by certeine pipes of lead from out of the ſame feelds, as is the cities conduit. And albeit the ſprings of both waters are in the ſame field, and not farre diſtant: yet this doth excell the other. Out of this well or founteine waters are conueied to ſundrie of the chanons houſes, as alſo of late vnto the biſhops houſe, and yet it ſerueth beſides the whole cloſe and citie. The citie it ſelfe is verie populous, and was ſometimes cheefelie inhabited with clothiers & clothworkers of broad clothes, ſeruing much for the Spaniſh and ſouth countries; and which in thoſe daies were of ſuch goodneſſe & ſubſtance, that the names of them do remaine in thoſe countries: but now it is cheeflie inhabited with merchants, kerſie-clothiers, and all ſorts of artificers, among whom the merchants are the cheefe & welthieſt.

S. Peters conduit.

The inhabitants of this citie.

The gouernement of this citie.

The gouernement of this citie was ſometimes by foure bailiffes, which before the conqueſt were called portgreues, that is, the cheefeſt lords or rulers of the towne: for porta is taken for a towne, and greue in Saxonie is *Dominus* or *maior*: but after the conqueſt they were after the French tong named *Prouoſtres*, that is to ſaie *Præfecti* or rulers, and now ſtewards. Not long after the conqueſt there was ordered and conſtituted a ſenate of ſix and thirtie perſons, but of later yeares by king Henrie the ſeauenth of foure & twentie perſons, out of which number yearelie there was and is choſen one to be the cheefeſt gouernour for the yeare following; and is called by the name of a maior, whome the Saxons called Meregreue, that is, *Maior dominus*, or the cheefe ruler. This maior aſſociated with the foure prouoſts

Portgreues.

Prouoſtres.

Maier or Meregreue.

W

The maiors court.

The prouoſt court.

or bailiffes, hath the hearing, decerning, and determining in all ciuill cauſes betwéene partie and partie, and for which they kéepe wéekelie vpon euerie mondaie a court in the Guildhall of the ſaid citie: but the bailiffes reteining their old and ancient cuſtome, doo kéepe the like courts, and in the like cauſes diſtinctlie from the maior by themſelues, at all time and times (the mondaies and feſtiuall daies excepted) as it ſhall pleaſe them to aſſigne, and with their court is called by the name of the prouoſt court.

The good inclination and dutifulneſſe of the citizens.

Thus the maior and bailiffes both iointlie and ſeuerallie haue iuriſdiction to decerne and determine in ciuill matters. But if the matters doo touch and concerne the prince, the crowne, the common peace, anie criminall matter, or the publike ſtate of the citie and common-wealth of the ſame, then the ſame are decided by the maior and iuſtices, or by the maior and common councell, or by the maior himſelfe, or by ſome other officer or officers, according to the nature and qualitie of the cauſe and offenſe. But bicauſe it requireth a large and ſpeciall courſe, to deſcribe the gouernement of this citie and common-wealth of the ſame, the charge of euerie officer, the diuerſitie of officers, their ſeuerall iuriſdictions, and a number of other things incident vnto their charges: there is a particular booke imprinted, and at large the ſame is ſet out, in ſuch order as is requiſite, and apperteining to the gouernement: whereby euerie man may know his office and charge, and what to him dooth apperteine. And let it ſuffice, that partlie through good gouernement, and partlie of a good inclination, the people of this citie haue béene alwaies dutifull and obedient to the king and the lawes: and haue in great awe and reuerence their gouernours and magiſtrats for the time being. And this one thing is not ſo ſtrange as worthie to be noted, that euen from the beginning, from time to time they haue béene carefull for their common-wealth, and vigilant for the preſeruation of the ſame. And as in times of peace and quietneſſe the ſame hath béene well gouerned: ſo in times troubleſome and vnquiet, it hath béene moſt valiantlie defended againſt the inuaſions and aſſaults of the enimies, as by ſundrie hiſtories it may appeare: whereof for example theſe few may ſerue.

Claudius Nero the emperor ſendeth Veſpaſian into Britaine.

Veſpaſian landeth in Torrebaie, and laieth ſiege to this citie.

King Aruiragus reſcueth this citie and incountereth the enimie.

Annales eccleſiæ cathed.

1 First Aruiragus king of this land, then named Britaine, minding to ſtaie the land in his ancient eſtate, fréedome and libertie, did withdraw and denie to paie vnto the Romans the tribute which they did require and demand: wherefore Claudius the emperor ſent Veſpaſian then duke of the Romane armie, into this realme with a great hoaſt, either to recouer the tribute, or to ſubdue the land. This Veſpaſian is he, who in the foure and twentith yeare after this his iourneie, did deſtroie Ieruſalem. Wherfore this duke landing in Torrebaie, then named *Totoneſium littus*, came to this citie, laid ſiege vnto it, and gaue continuall aſſaults thereunto, for eight daies continuallie togither. Aruiragus the king, being then in the eaſt parts of the land, and hearing of this, with a great armie and power marcheth towards this citie to remooue the ſiege, and incountereth with the enimie. The Romane after long fight, and not able to preuaile, is contented to come to parlée, and in the end a compoſition was concluded, as it dooth appeare, and is ſet downe and written by ſundrie hiſtoriographers. The chronicle of the cathedrall church of the ſaid citie hath theſe words: *Anno Domini 49, Veſpaſianus cum Romano exercitu ciuitatem nunc vocatam Exeter, octo diebus obſedit, ſed minimè præualuit, Aruirago rege ciuibus auxilium præſtante.*

Galfridus Monumetenſis.

Flores hiſtoriarum.

Geffreie of Monmouth hath theſe words: *Veſpaſianus à Claudio miſſus eſt, vt Aruiragum vel pacificaret, vel Romanæ ſubiectioni reſtitueret. Cùm igitur in portu in Rutupi applicare voluiſſet Veſpaſianus, obuiauit ei Aruiragus, atque prohibuit ne portum ingrederetur. Retraxit itaque ſe Veſpaſianus à portu illo, retortiſque velis in littore Totoneſio applicuit. Nactus deinde tellurem Caier Penhulgoite, quæ nunc Exonia vocatur obſeſſurus; eandem adiuit, cùmque octo diebus eandem obſediſſet, ſuperuenit Aruiragus cum exercitu ſuo, præliúmque commiſit: die illa, valde laceratus fuit vtrorúmque exercitus, ſed neuter eſt victoria potitus, mane autem facto, mediante Genwiſſa regina, concordes effecti ſunt.* Matthew of Weſtminſter writeth: *Aruiragus Britannorum rex, in tantam prolapſus eſt ſuperbiã, quòd Romanæ poteſtatis noluit diutiùs ſubiectioni parere. Veſpaſianus igitur à Claudio miſſus cùm in Rutupi portu applicare incepiſſet, Aruiragus illi obuius prohibuit ne ingrederetur. At Veſpaſianus retortis velis in Totoneſio littore applicuit, & ciuitatem quæ Britannicè Caier Penhulgoite, nunc autem Exonia appellatur, obſedit: elapſis inde ſeptem diebus Aruiragus ſuperuenit, præliúmque commiſit, & vtrorúmq; exercitu valde lacerato, mediante Genwiſſa Claudij filia, duces amici facti ſunt.*

Noua hiſtoria.

In the hiſtorie intituled, Noua hiſtoria de geſtis Anglorum à Britonibus vſque ad Henricum ſextum, is written the like in effect: *Veſpaſianus à Claudio miſſus eſt vt Aruiragum pacificaret, vel Romanæ ditioni reſtitueret, cui obuians Aruiragus, prohibuit ne terram ſuam ingrederetur, timens Veſpaſianus armatorum cohortem, retraxit ſeſe, retortiſq; velis in Totoneſio littore eſt appulſus, atque vrbem Exoniæ obſedit, poſt ſeptem dies ſuperuenit Aruiragus, prælium committitur, laceratúrque vtrorúmque exercitus, ſed neuter potitur victoria, demum mediante Genewiſſa regina, reconciliati ſunt.* It was alſo in manie troubles and great perplexities, in the vncerteine and troubleſome ſtates of this realme, when ſometimes the Romans, ſometimes the Picts, ſometimes the Scots, ſometimes the Saxons, and ſometimes the Danes made their incurſions and warres within this land, by reaſon whereof the records and memorials in thoſe daies for the moſt part were loſt and conſumed.

2

Flores hiſtoriarum.

Penda king of Mertia.

Edwin king of Northumberland.

King Cadwallo is driuen to flée into Ireland.

Pellitus a witch dooth foretell to king Edwin of things to come.

And yet Matthew of Weſtminſter writeth that it was beſieged by Penda king of Mertia, in the yeare of our Lord 632, in the time of Cadwallin one of the laſt kings of the Britons. The hiſtorie is this. Edwin the Saxon king of the Northumbers, hauing wars againſt Cadwallin or Cadwallo, did ſo preuaile and had ſuch conqueſts ouer him, that Cadwallo was driuen to forſake his realme of Wales, and to flie into Ireland, where he being, was verie carefull and penſifull how to recouer his countrie againe.. Wherefore he repareth his armie and gathereth a new force, and gaue ſundrie attempts to atchiue to his purpoſe: but all was in vaine, for he could neuer ſet foot on land in his countrie. But Edwin was alwaies at hand and in a readineſſe to ſtop and reſiſt the ſame, for this Edwin had about him in his ſeruice a man named Pellitus, who was a magician and verie ſkilfull in necromancie, and who by his art and ſcience did foreſhew and declare vnto Edwin what things were a dooing and attempted againſt him.

King Cadwallo ſaileth into Armorica.

Brienus the kings nephue is ſent to kill Pellitus.

Cadwallo hauing continuallie euill ſucceſſe, was in vtter deſpaire and diſtruſt to preuaile againſt Edwin, and therefore as one giuing ouer all, ſaileth ouer the ſeas into Armorica now called little Britaine, vnto Salomon the king thereof, and vnto him dooth diſcloſe his miſerable eſtate and fortune, as alſo greatlie complaineth of Pellitus and of his ſorceries. When theſe two kings had throughlie conſulted and debated the matter, it was at length concluded and thought beſt, that ſome one man being bold and wittie ſhould be ſent ouer to the court of king Edwin, & to giue the aduenture to kill Pellitus. Wherevpon the matter being diſcouered to Brienus nephue to king Cadwallo, he taketh vpon him to enterpriſe the matter, and to couer himſelfe from all ſuſpicion, apparelleth himſelfe in a poore beggers wéed, and ſo ſaileth ouer into England, and trauelleth forthwith towards king Edwins court, who then laie at Yorke, and there ioineth and accompanieth himſelfe among the poore people, whoſe cuſtome and maner was, to lie about the kings gates at dinner and ſupper times, waiting for the almeſſe vſuallie giuen and wont to be diſtributed amongſt the poore.

Brienus killeth Pellitus.

Pellitus being the kings almoner, and hauing the charge to diſtribute the ſaid almeſſe, commeth forth and ſetteth the poore folke in order. Brienus being there and amongſt them, watcheth his time to worke his purpoſe, and thruſting himſelfe in the middle of the preſſe of the people, ſuddenlie with his poinado or weapon which for the purpoſe he had prepared, thruſteth Pellitus into the bodie, & gaue him a deadlie wound whereof he died, and forthwith (the thing in ſuch a thruſt not perceiued) ſhifteth himſelfe awaie priuilie, and through woods, hils, thickets, and dales out of the common waie, commeth to this citie of Exceſter, & declareth vnto the citizens (who were then Britons) what he had doone: whereof they were verie glad and ioifull, and in good hope that their king Cadwallo ſhould yet againe returne; and therefore vpon good aduiſe doo prepare and make readie both themſelues and the citie, aſwell for the reſiſting of the enimie, as for the receiuing, ſuccouring and aiding of their king.

King Penda beſiegeth Exceſter.

King Penda aduertiſed of this murther, and vnderſtanding the whole courſe of the matter and practiſe, taketh in griefe the iniurie thus doone to his neighbor and countriman king Edwin. And therefore to reuenge the ſame muſtereth his ſubiects and gathereth a great armie; and vnderſtanding that Brienus was come to this citie marcheth towards the ſame, and in the end laieth his ſiege round about it, minding the vtter ſubuerſion thereof. But the citizens manfullie withſtanding his force, did defend and kéepe both themſelues and their citie, vntill that king Cadwallo, who before was aduertiſed both of the fact of Brienus and of this preparation of Penda, did with his force and armie come to the citie, who did not onelie reſcue the ſame; but alſo ioining the battell with his enimie gaue him the ouerthrow, and ſo deliuered his countrie, and recouered himſelfe and his kingdome.

3

Polyd. *lib.* 5.

It was alſo in greater troubles in the time of king Alured or Alfred the fourth ſonne to king Ethelwolphus. For Polydorus and others doo write, that in the fift yeare of the ſaid kings reigne, the Danes concluded a peace with the ſaid king, and gaue hoſtages for the true kéeping thereof. And yet notwithſtanding moſt perfidiouſlie and falſelie contrarie to the ſame, they aſſembled themſelues, and vpon a ſudden marched to this citie, and perforce entered and tooke the ſame: *Daci etenim qui religionem & fidem pro ſuo commodo poſtponendam ducebant, Londino ſe mouent, & maximis itineribus Exoniam proficiſcuntur, vrbémq; per vim capiunt.* But long they inioied not the ſame, for after that winter paſſed, the king to be reuenged marcheth with a great power to this citie, which the Danes vnderſtanding and thinking themſelues too weake to withſtand the K. as alſo vtterlie diſtruſting the citizens, ſhifted themſelues awaie, of which ſome fled vnto Dartmouth and there tooke ſhipping, and who for the moſt part were drowned in a tempeſt at the ſeas. Some fled to Chipenham or (as ſome ſaie) to Briſtow, but the king followed and purſued theſe ſo ſharplie, that he neuer left nor gaue ouer, vntill he had ouercome and ſlaine the capteins Hubbert and Hungar.

The Danes are ouerthrowne and their capteins are ſlaine.

4

Likewiſe in the ninetéenth yeare of the reigne of the ſaid king, the Danes contrarie to their faith, pledges, and promiſes, did againe come to this citie, and laid ſiege to the ſame: *Danorum exercitus anno 877, ab Wareham nocte quadam, fœdere dirupto, ad Exanceſtre, quod Britannicè dicitur Caieriſke diuerterunt, at audito regis aduentu, ad puppes fugerunt, & in mari prædantes manebant.*

Noua chronica.

5

It was alſo beſieged by the ſaid Danes in the ninetéenth yéere of king Egelred, in the yéere of our Lord 1001. For the Danes, which were in Normandie, being aduertiſed of the good lucke, ſucceſſe, and great ſpoiles which their companions and countriemen in England had, and their téeth ſet on edge therewith, ſuddenlie prepared ſhipping, and came ouer the coaſts and landed in Deuon, and forthwith marched and tooke their courſe towards the citie of Exceſter; thinking to haue found the citizens napping & to haue taken them ſuddenlie and vnawares; *Sed ciuibus viriliter reſiſtentibus receſſerunt.* The people & cõmons of Deuon, Cornewall, Summerſet & Dorſet, aduertiſed hereof, aſſembled themſelues, & minding to reſcue the citie, as alſo to incounter & aduenture the field with the Danes, met with them at a place néere the citie called Pinneho, and ioined battell with them, betwéene whome the fight was cruell and the ſlaughter great. And thus dooth Houeden teſtifie, whoſe words be theſe: *Memoratus paganorum exercitus de Normannia in Angliam reuectus, oſtium fluuij Exe ingreditur, & mox ad extinguendam vrbem Exanceſtre egreditur, ſed dum murum illius deſtruere moliretur, ac ciuibus vrbem viriliter defendentibus repellitur, vnde nimis exaſperatus more ſolito villas ſuccendendo, agros depopulando, hominéſque cædendo per Domnoniam vagatur, quare Domnonenſes in vnum congregati, in loco qui dicitur Pinho certamen cum eis ineunt.*

Flores hiſtoriarum.

The battell at Pinneho.

Houeden.

King Sweno inuadeth and ſpoileth the land.

King Sweno being in Denmarke, and aduertiſed hereof, as alſo giuen to vnderſtand how king Elfred *aliàs* Etheldred or Egelred had cauſed all the Danes in the realme to be ſuddenlie ſlaine in one night, being much gréeued therewith, did prepare and prouide a great armie for the reuenge thereof. And in the yeare of our Lord 1002, he landed in ſundrie and diuerſe parts of this realme, vſing great hoſtilitie, and making great ſpoiles, and brought the whole land to an vnſpeakeable miſerie and diſtreſſe: but at length, receiuing a tribute for a peace, he returned home into his owne countrie. Howbeit the citizens of Exceſter hearing of this crueltie vſed in the eaſt parts, made themſelues ſtrong: and doubting of ſo mightie an enimie, did make themſelues readie, and prepared the citie to withſtand him, if he ſhould haue attempted anie force or hoſtilitie againſt them.

Hugh earle of Deuon as a falſe mã to his countrie, dooth betraie the citie.

But the Dane being gone and returned home, and knowing nothing of this preparation, one Hugh then earle of Deuon (as princes lacke no fawners) ſent his letters into Denmarke to king Sweno, certifieng him both of the ſtate and wealth of this citie, as alſo of the great preparation which had bene made to withſtand him, perſuading him not to ſuſteine ſuch an iniurie. And as coles will be ſoone kindled: euen ſo the Dane vpon this aduertiſement was in a great heat, and forthwith arreareth his armie, and repareth all things in readineſſe to croſſe the ſeas anew to worke his will againſt this citie.

6

King Sweno by the trecherie of the earle of Deuon beſiegeth the citie.

And accordinglie when time ſerued, in the yeare following, being the yeare of our Lord 1003, he tooke the ſeas and landed vpon the coaſts of Deuon and Cornewall, and marched forthwith to this citie, and laid his ſiege againſt the ſame in the beginning of the moneth of Auguſt, and continued the ſame vntill the kalends of September: during which time were ſundrie ſharpe, fierce, and cruell aſſaults giuen by the Dane, and as valiantlie reſiſted by the citizens.

But in continuance of time, when they ſaw themſelues dailie more and more to be weakened, vittels to faile, the fire round about them, their walles beaten downe, themſelues ſlaughtered and murthered, and the enimie to increaſe and be ſtrong, and in all theſe diſtreſſes, their king Eldred being fled into Normandie, to haue no care of them, nor to prepare anie reſcue, aid, or helpe for them: it was not to be maruelled, if in ſo heauie a diſtreſſe they were amazed and aſtoniſhed. And yet conſidering with themſelues that Sweno was a Dane, a cruell enimie, a bloudie murtherer, an vſurping tyrant, hauing no other title to the crowne of England, but the ſword, did with one conſent agrée and conclude, neuer to yéeld nor giue ouer whileſt anie were left liuing able to withſtand the ſame, wiſhing rather to die manfullie for their common wealth, than to liue in reproch and infamie; and by death to reape an immortall fame, than by life to become ignominious & infamous, and in the end alſo to be the miſerable ſlaues of a cruell and vſurping tyrant.

King Eldred as one forlorne forſaketh his countrie.

The ſtoutnes and courage of the citizens.

When therefore after manie aſſaults, all or the moſt part of the ableſt men were ſpent and conſumed, and none or few left aliue to withſtand ſo mightie and ſo manie enimies: the Dane on the ſeuen and twentith daie of Auguſt, with force entered the citie, And after that he had ſerued and ſatiſfied his bloudie appetits, in deflowring the women, murthering the children, and making hauocke of all the people, hée ſpoiled the citie, burned the houſes, raſed the walles, bet downe the temples, and left nothing to be doone which might by fire, ſword, and ſpoiles be conſumed: and this is ſo witneſſed by ſundrie writers. Reinulph of Cheſter writeth thus: *Daci cum ſuo rege Sweno Exceſtriam venerunt, & vrbem funditùs deſtruxerunt, nulla re incolumi relicta, quæ aut ferro aut igni vaſtari poterat: & omnia ſpolia cineribus tantùm relictis ſecum deportauerunt.* Huntington hath theſe words: *Daci ira exarſerunt ſicut ignis quem velit aliquis ſanguine extinguere: aduolantes igitur quaſi multitudo locuſtarum, quidam Exceſtriam venerunt, & vrbem funditùs deſtruxerunt: & omnia ſpolia cineribus tantùm relictis ſecum deportauerunt.*

King Sweno entereth and taketh the citie, & vtterlie deſtroieth it.

Wil.Malm.

Rein.Ceſt.

Hen. Hunt.

Houeden.

Houeden thus ſaith: *Rex Danorum Sweni periurium & proditionem Normannici comitis, quem Emma Domnaniæ præfecerat, ciuitatem Exon infregit, ſpoliauit, & murum ab orientali vſq; ad occidentalem portam deſtruxit, & cum ingenti præda naues repetijt.* It was alſo beſieged by William the Conquerour in the firſt yeare of his reigne Anno 1068. For when he firſt entered this land, and by dint of ſword ſought the conqueſt thereof; the citizens of this citie, and the noble and gentlemen of all the countrie about, entered into one common league, concluſion and promiſe, to ioine togither and to withſtand the enimie to the vttermoſt. And this confederacie being confirmed by a publike oth, preparation on all parts was made accordinglie, for the accompliſhing of the ſame. But the conquerour hauing preuailed, and ſubdued in a maner the whole land, was aduertiſed that this citie ſtood vpon their gard, and would not yéeld nor ſubmit themſelues vnto him. Wherevpon he ſent his armie from London and beſieged the ſame: and perceiuing the ſiege to continue, marched and came himſelfe vnto the ſame, but rather came no further than Saliſburie. In the meane time the citizens were aduertiſed how the whole realme had yéelded, and ſéeing alſo how their confederats did dailie ſhrinke awaie from them, and by that meanes they to grow weaker & weaker, and therefore the leſſe able to withſtand ſo great a force, and to kéepe out ſo puiſſant an armie as was round about them; and conſidering alſo, that ſmall mercie or fauor ſhould they find if the citie by force were taken; did by way of intreatie offer ſubmiſſion, and deſire peace, which in the end they obteined: and ſo paieng a grieuous fine, they and the citie were reſtored. But yet in token of his conqueſt, the king altered and changed the gates of the caſtell, and tooke an oth of all the citizens to be his liege and true ſubiects.

7

William the Conquerour beſiegeth the citie.

A league betwéene the gentlemen & the citizens to reſiſt the Conquerour.

The records of the citie.

Houeden in his hiſtorie maketh mention, that Githa king Harolds mother ſhould be within this citie, during the time that this ſiege and aſſault laſted: and perceiuing the bent of the people to ſubmit and yéeld themſelues, ſecretlie conueied hirſelfe awaie. For theſe be his words: *Hyeme minuente, rex Wilhelmus de Normannia in Angliam redijt, & Anglis importabile tributum impoſuit: deinde in Dunmoniam hoſtiliter profectus eſt ad ciuitatem Exceſtriam, quam ciues & nonnulli Anglici miniſtri contra illum retinebant: & obſedit, & infregit. Githa verò comitiſſa, mater ſcilicet Haroldi regis Anglorum, & ſoror Swani regis Danorum, cum multis de ciuitate fugiens, euaſit & Flandriam petijt, ciues autem dextris acceptis regi ſe dederunt.* Alſo in the ſecond yeare of king Stephan Anno 1137, the lords and péeres of the realme, remembring the oth which they had before made to king Henrie the firſt, to whom they ſware to be true to Mawd the kings onelie daughter and heire, and to hir heires, and yet contrarie to the ſame had ſworne themſelues to king Stephan, began to repent themſelues, & conſulted how to reſtore Mawd the empreſſe, and to expell Stephan. Wherefore they aſſembled themſelues in armor, & diuided themſelues into ſundrie cities, townes and caſtels.

Houeden. Polychron.li.7

Githa king Harolds mother late in the citie during the ſiege, and ſecretlie fléeth awaie into Flanders.

8

Among whom one Baldwin Rideuers then erle of Deuon, with force entered and tooke this citie. But the king ſo ſharpelie followed and purſued him, that he draue him from hence into the Ile of Wight, which was then his lordſhip. But the king when he had receiued the citie into his faith, marched with his armie to the ſaid Ile, & tooke the ſame, as alſo the earle himſelfe, whome he forthwith baniſhed. But Mawd the empreſſe afterwards remembring this citie for ſuch their ſeruice as ſhe well liked, did inlarge the liberties of this citie, for whome yearelie euer after was an anniuerſarie kept at the charges of the citie.

Baldwin Rideuers earle of Deuon entred into this citie, and reſiſteth againſt king Stephan.

Baldwin the earle is taken and baniſhed.

Q. Mawd is friendlie to the citie.

It was alſo in great troubles in the eleuenth yere of king Richard the ſecond, Anno 1387. For a controuerſie being fallen betwéene the king & his two vncles, the dukes of Yorke & Gloceſter, none were then ſo highlie in the kings fauour, as were Robert Vere marques of Dublin, and Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke, & others of their faction. To theſe the king gaue in commandement, to collect and muſter an armie, as it were for his defenſe, againſt his ſaid vncles: which when they had partlie doone, whether it were bicauſe they miſtruſted their owne parts, or whether they doubted of the ſequele of their dooings, they left their iourneie towards London, as it was firſt appointed, and came towards this citie. The two dukes who ſtood vpon their owne gard and defenſe, hauing aduertiſement hereof, followed and perſuaded them with all haſte and ſpéed: and hauing ouertaken them at this citie, they ioined the fight with the marques and the earle. But they truſting more to their féet than to their hands, ſecretlie gaue the ſlip and fled awaie, making no ſtaie before they came to Scotland; and from thence into Flanders, where they died.

Polydor.li.20.

9

The marques of Dublin, and the earle of Suffolke, come to Exon and are purſued by the dukes of Yorke and Gloceſter.

It was moreouer in troubles in the tenth yere of king Edward the fourth Anno 1469, when the ſtates of this king, and of king Henrie the ſixt were doubtfull, and the whole realme diuided: ſome following king Henrie, and ſome king Edward. In time of which troubles the duches of Clarence, the lord Dineham, the lord Fitzwaren, and the baron of Carew, who followed and tooke part with king Henrie, came to this citie, being accompanied and aſſiſted with a thouſand fightingmen. The duches was great with child, and lodged in the biſhops palace, but

10

The duches of Clarẽce with others commeth to Exon being great with child & lieth in the biſhops palace.

Sir Hugh Courtneie laieth ſiege to the citie.

the lords were in other houſes within the cloſe among the chanons, and here ſtaied themſelues. But ſir Hugh Courtneie knight, who then fauoured and was on the part of king Edward, hearing of this aſſemblie, raiſeth an armie of his friends and alies, approcheth therewith vnto this citie, beſiegeth it, breaketh the bridges, and ſtoppeth all the waies leading to the ſame, and by which means no vittels could bée brought to the markets: and being thus incamped about this citie, ſendeth to the maior, requiring him either to open the gates and to giue him entrie, or to deliuer vnto him the gentlemen that were therein. On the other ſide, the gentlemen which were within, they either miſtruſting the maior and citizens, or not willing to ſtand to his courteſie, and be vnder his gouernement, required the keies of the citie gates to be deliuered vnto their cuſtodie, and that all things to be doone by their order and appointment.

The maior is required to deliuer the keies of the citie, and refuſeth ſo to doo.

In theſe doubts and perplexities conſulting what were beſt to be doone, they did at length reſolue & conclude neither to yéeld to the requeſts of them who were without, nor yet to ſatiſfie the demands of them which were within the citie: but pacifieng both parties with ſuch good words, and in ſuch good order as they might, did reſerue to themſelues the kéeping and ſafe cuſtodie of the citie, being the chamber of the king, & parcell of the reuenues of the crowne, to the onlie vſe of the king and crowne, as to them in dutie and allegiance did apperteine. And therefore forthwith they rampired vp the citie gates, fortified the walles, appointed ſouldiers, and did ſet all things in ſuch good order as in that caſe was requiſit; leauing nothing vndoone which might be for the preſeruation of the ſtate & commonwealth of the citie.

The maior and citizens doo fortifie the citie.

But yet for want of forecaſting, in proceſſe of time the prouiſion within the citie wared ſhort, and vittels to be ſcant; whereof it was doubted there would inſue ſome famine, which the common people neither could nor would indure, if ſome remedie were not in due time had and prouided. The magiſtrats did their beſt indeuor euerie waie, aſwell by diligence in following, as by counſelling, in perſuading euerie man to continue firme and true to the publike ſtate, and their owne priuate commonweale. And albeit the common people were vnpatient to abide troubles, and loth to indure the preſent ſtate of want and famine; yet they had that reſpect to their owne truth, faith, and ſafetie, as euerie man yéelded himſelfe contented to abide and indure the time of their deliuerance: and by the good will of God it followed, and the ſame tooke good effect.

The ſiege raiſed, and the citie deliuered.

The duke of Clarence and the Earle of Warwike came from Edgecourt field to this citie, and from hence to Dartmouth.

For about twelue daies after this ſturre begun, by waie of intreatie and mediation of certeine chanons of the cathedrall church of this citie, the ſiege was remoued and raiſed; wherevpon verie ſhortlie after did inſue the field of Edgecourt, where the duke of Clarence and the earle of Warwike being put to the worſt, did flée vnto this citie, and made their entrie into the ſame the third daie of Aprill, 1470, and laie in the biſhops palace for a few daies, vntill they had cauſed to be prouided ſhips at Dartmouth for their paſſage ouer into Calis.

The king being aduertiſed which waie his enimies were gone, followed and purſued them with an armie of fortie thouſand men, and came to this citie the fourtéenth of Aprill 1470, hauing with him in his companie ſundrie & diuerſe great lords and eſtates, as namelie the biſhop of Elie lord treſuror of England, the duke of Norffolke earle marſhall of England, the duke of Suffolke, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Wiltſhire ſon to the duke of Buckingham, the earle of Shrewesburie, the earle Riuers, the lord Haſtings, the lord Greie of Codner, the lord Audleigh, the lord Saie, the lord Sturton, the lord Dacres, the lord Mountioie, the lord Stanleie, the lord Ferris, & the baron of Dudleigh, with a number of knights and gentlemen. But they all came too late; for the duke and the earle were both departed and gon to the ſeas before their comming.

Wherefore the king, after that he had reſted and reposed himſelfe here thrée daies, he departed and returned to London. It was alſo in great troubles, 11
being beſieged in the twelfe yeare of king Henrie the ſeuenth: by one Perkin Warbecke, 1470, who in the beginning of the moneth of September came to this citie, and incamped about it with his whole armie with ordinance battered the walls, fired the gates, vndermined it, and with mightie ladders ſcaled them, and left nothing vndoone which might be to compaſſe their attempt: thinking and ſuppoſing that ſmall would be the reſiſtance againſt them. But ſuch was the noble courage and valiant ſtomach of the citizens, that they manfullie reſiſted and defended thoſe forces, and indured the ſame to the vttermoſt, vntill that the king being aduertiſed thereof, did ſend the lord Edward Courtneie, earle of Deuon and the lord William his ſonne, with ſundrie others well appointed, who came and reſcued the citie: but in certeine conflicts the ſaid earle and others were hurt; notwithſtanding the enimie had the repulſe, and was driuen to raiſe his campe and to depart.

Perkin Warbecke commeth to Excester and beſiegeth it.

The earle of Deuon ſent to reſcue the citie and is hurt.

12 Finallie & laſt of all, it was beſieged in the third yeare of king Edward the ſixt, 1549, by the commons of Deuon and Cornewall: the hiſtorie whereof, for ſo much as hitherto it hath not béene fullie and at large ſet forth by anie man, & wherat I John Hooker the writer herof was preſent, and *Teſtis oculatus* of things then doone, I will ſomewhat at large diſcourſe & ſet downe the whole courſe & maner of the ſame. It is apparant and moſt certeine, that this rebellion firſt was raiſed at a place in Deuon named Sampford Courtneie, which lieth weſtwards from the citie about ſixtéene miles; vpon mondaie in the Whitſun wéeke being the tenth daie of Iune 1549. The cauſe thereof (as by the ſequele it did appeare) was onelie concerning religion; which then by act of parlement was reformed, and to be put in execution on Whitſundaie the ninth of Iune. The which daie being now come, and the ſtatute made for the ſame to be put in execution throughout the whole realme: it was accordinglie with all obedience receiued in euerie place, and the common people well inough contented therewith euerie where; ſauing in this weſt countrie, and eſpeciallie at the ſaid Sampford Courtneie.

The rebellion or commotion in Deuon.

The rebellion firſt began at Sampford Courtneie.

The cauſe of this rebellion was for religion.

For albeit at the daie appointed by ſtatute, they had heard and were preſent at the diuine ſeruice ſaid, and had according to the new reformed order, and could not in anie reſpect, find fault, or iuſtlie reprehend the ſame: yet (as old bottels which would not receiue new wine) would rather wallow in the old dreggs and puddels of old ſuperſtition, than to be fed and refreſhed with the wholſome and heauenlie manna. Wherefore they confederated themſelues, vtterlie to renounce, reiect, and caſt off the ſame, not onelie to the great offenſe of God, whome they ought in all truth and veritie to reuerence and honor; and to the great diſpleaſure of the king, whome in all dutifulneſſe they ought to haue obeied: but alſo to the raiſing of open rebellion, the cauſe of the ſpoile of the whole countrie, and the vndoing of themſelues, their wiues, and children; as in ſequele and in the end it fell out and came to paſſe.

And here doth appeare what great detriments doo come and inſue to the church of God, and what great troubles

The want of preaching was the cauſe of the rebellion.

Vnderhill and Segar the firſt capteins of the rebellion.

trouble to the publike and commonweale: when as learned preachers doo want to teach and inſtruct the people; and well perſuaded magiſtrats to gouerne the common ſtate. For theſe people lacking the one, & not ſtored with the other, were left to themſelues, and to their owne diſpoſitions: and thereby partlie of ignorance, but more of a froward and a rebellious diſpoſition, they doo now vtterlie condemne to accept, and doo openlie reſiſt to receiue the reformed religion, now put, and to be put in vre and execution. For vpon the ſaid mondaie, the prieſt being come to the pariſh church of Sampford, & preparing himſelfe to ſaie the ſeruice according to the booke & reformed order ſet foorth, & as he had doone the daie before: ſome of the pariſhioners, namelie one William Vnderhill a tailor, and one Segar a laborer, and others who had conſulted and determined before of the matter, went to the prieſt, and demanded what he ment to doo, and what ſeruice he would ſaie? Who anſwered that according to the lawes ſet forth, he would ſaie the ſame ſeruice as he had doone the daie before. Then they ſaid, that he ſhould not ſo doo, ſaieng further, that they would kéepe the old and ancient religion, as their forefathers before them had doone; and as king Henrie the eight by his laſt will and teſtament had taken order, that no alteration of religion ſhould be made, vntill king Edward his ſonne were come vnto his full age. And therefore, for ſomuch as he was now but a child, and could doo nothing, they alſo would not haue anie change.

The prieſt was compelled, becauſe he would be compelled to ſaie maſſe.

In the end, all the pariſhioners ioining and taking parts togither, were all of the ſame mind, willing and charging the prieſt that he ſhould vſe and ſaie the like ſeruice as in times paſt he was wont to doo: who in the end, whether it were with his will, or againſt his will, he relied to their minds, and yéelded to their wils: and foorthwith rauiſheth himſelfe in his old popiſh attire, and ſaith maſſe, and all ſuch ſeruices as in times paſt accuſtomed. Theſe newes, as a cloud caried with a violent wind, and as a thunder clap ſounding at one inſtant through the whole countrie, are caried and noiſed euen in a moment through out the whole countrie: and the common people ſo well allowed and liked thereof, that they clapped their hands for ioie, and agréed in one mind, to haue the ſame in euerie of their ſeuerall pariſhes.

The iuſtices reſort to Sampford and doo no good.

The iuſtices of peace dwelling not far from Sampford, being aduertiſed how diſorderlie, & contrarie to the lawes, things had béene doone in the church of Sampford; and how that the common people were cluſtered and aſſembled togither, to continue and to mainteine their lewd & diſordered behauiour: ſuch of them, namelie, ſir Hugh Pollard knight, Anthonie Haruie, Alexander Wood, and Marke Slader eſquiers came & met at Sampford, minding to haue had conference with the chiefe plaiers in this enterlude, aſwell for the redreſſe of the diſorder alreadie committed, as alſo to perſuade and pacifie the reſt of the people. But they partlie vnderſtanding before hand of the iuſtices comming, were ſo addicted and wholie bent to their follies, that they fullie reſolued themſelues, wilfullie to mainteine what naughtilie they had begun. And therefore, when the iuſtices were come to the place, and requeſted to talke with them, they refuſed it; vnleſſe the ſaid gentlemen would leaue all their men behind, and go with them into a certeine ſeuerall cloſe not far off; and ſo they would be contented to conferre with them.

Theſe gentlemen were afraid of their owne ſhadowes.

The gentlemen, albeit they and their men were the greater number, and ſufficient to haue repreſſed the ſmall companie of the commoners then & there aſſembled: yet whether it were becauſe they thought in ſuch a caſe to vſe all the beſt & quieteſt waie for the pacifieng of them; or whether ſome of them being like affected as they were, did not like the alteration, as it was greatlie ſuſpected: they yéelded, and according to the motion made, they left their men in the towne, & went into the foreſaid cloſe, & there hauing had conference a pretie while togither, did in the end depart without anie thing doone at all. Whereof as there appéered ſome weakeneſſe in the ſaid iuſtices which were ſo white liuered, as they would not, or durſt not to repreſſe the rages of the people (which they might haue done) ſo therof alſo inſued ſuch a ſcab as paſſed their cure, and ſuch a fire as they were not able to quench. For the commons hauing now their willes, were ſet vpon a pin, that the game was theirs, and that they had woone the garland before they had runne the race; nothing forecaſting what might inſue, nor yet accounting what follie it is to triumph before the victorie. Wherfore they aſſemble & confederat themſelues throughout the whole ſhire in great troops and companies, and doo aſſociat and flocke vnto them the Corniſh people, minding to ioine togither, and fooliſhlie to mainteine what raſhlie they had begun.

Sir Peter Carew and ſir Gawen Carew ſent into Deuon.

The king and councell then occupied in the weightie cauſes concerning the ſtate of Scotland, being aduertiſed of this towards rebellion, & reſpecting the ſpéedie redreſſe thereof, ſent foorthwith for ſir Peter Carew knight, who then was in Lincolneſhire, and for ſir Gawen Carew, who was then attendant at the court: and to them commandement was giuen, that foorthwith, and with all ſpéed they ſhould haſten and depart into Deuon, and there to vſe, by the aduiſe of the iuſtices, all the beſt meanes and waies that they might for the appeaſing of this rebellion, quieting of the people, and pacifieng of the countrie; and to cauſe euerie man quietlie to returne to his home, and to refer the cauſes of their griefs and complaints (if they had anie) vnto the king and councell: and if they then refuſed ſo to doo, they to vſe ſuch other good means and waies as might be for the ſuppreſſing of them. And the councell being dailie more and more aduertiſed, that theſe begun rebellions did more and more increaſe; and doubting of the ſequele thereof, by reaſon that in other places of the realme the like tumults were begun, though not for the like cauſes; doo direct and giue an order to the lord Ruſſell, then lord priuie ſeale, and after earle of Bedford, that he alſo ſhould follow and diſpatch himſelfe into Deuon; and he had a commiſſion to deale in ſuch order as he might beſt doo for the pacifieng of the ſaid tumults and vprores.

The iuſticiaries doo aſſemble all at Exceſter.

Sir Peter Carew by the aduiſe of the iuſtices rideth to Kirton.

The foreſaid two knights, hauing receiued their commiſſion vnder the kings hand, came in poſt into the countrie, and making their repaire to this citie, doo foorthwith ſend for ſir Péers Courtneie then ſhiriffe and the iuſtices of the peace of the countrie; and vnderſtanding, that a great companie of the commons were aſſembled at Crediton, which is a towne diſtant about ſeauen miles from Exceſter, and that among them were the Sampford men: & who were the chiefe of them tooke councell & aduiſe what was beſt to be doone, and what waie méeteſt to be taken. In the end it was concluded, that the ſaid ſir Peter and ſir Gawen with others ſhould ride to Crediton, & there to haue conference and ſpéeches with the ſaid commons, and to vſe all the good waies and meanes they might to pacifie & appeaſe them, they then ſuppoſing, and being perſuaded, that by good ſpéeches and gentle conferences they ſhould haue béene able to haue compaſſed and perſuaded the ſaid commons. But the people being by ſome ſecret intelligence aduertiſed of the comming of the gentlemen towards them, and they fullie reſolued not to yéeld one iote from their determinations, but to mainteine their cauſe taken in hand, do arme and make themſelues ſtrong, with ſuch armors and furnitures as they had; they intrench the high waies, and make a mightie rampire at the townes end, and fortifie the ſame, as alſo the barns next adioining to the ſaid rampires with men and munition, hauing perſed the walles of the barns with loopes and holes for their ſhot.

The people at Kirton do arme themſelues ⁊ rampire vp the waies.

The foreſaid gentlemen knowing nothing hereof, rode on their iournie, and being come almoſt to the towne, they were aduertiſed how the waies were ſtopped and rampired, and that they could not ride into the towne. Wherevpon they alighted from their horſſes, and after a little conference had, they agréed to go into the towne on foot, nothing thinking leſſe that they ſhould be ſtopped or denied to go in on foot. But when they came to the rampires they found the contrarie: for they not onelie were denied to come néere the rampire, but vtterlie were refuſed to be talked withall: no offers of perſuaſions nor motions of conference at all could be allowed. For the ſun being in cancer, ⁊ the midſummer moone at full, their minds were imbrued in ſuch follies, and their heads caried with ſuch vanities, that as the man of Athens they would heare no man ſpeake but themſelues, and thought nothing well ſaid but what came out of their owne mouths.

The gentlemen vpon ſuch checks, taking the matter in euill part, to be ſo vnreuerentlie and diſcourteouſlie intreated, with one conſent do agree to make waie ouer the rampire. But in the aduenture thereof they were ſo galled both by them which kept the rampires, and ſpeciallie by ſuch as were within the barnes, that they were faine to retire and giue place, with the loſſe of ſome, and the hurt of manie. In which diſtreſſe, a certeine ſeruingman named Fox, and reteining to ſir Hugh Pollard, ſuddenlie ſet one of the barnes on fire: wherevpon not onelie ſuch as were therein, but all they alſo which were in the rampires fled and ran awaie. And then the gentlemen hauing recouered the rampire went into the towne; but there they found none except a few poore and old people, the reſidue truſting better to their héeles than to their armes were fled to a further place: and then they returned againe to Excester without anie thing doone.

The barns at the townes end at Kirton are ſet on fire.

The noiſe of this fire and burning was in poſt haſt, and as it were in a moment carried and blazed abroad throughout the whole countrie; and the common people vpon falſe reports, and of a gnat making an elephant, noiſed and ſpread it abroad, that the gentlemen were altogither bent to ouer-run, ſpoile, and deſtroie them. And in this rage, as it were a ſwarme of waſps they cluſter themſelues in great troops and multitudes, ſome in one place, and ſome in an other, fortifieng and intrenching themſelues as though the enimie were readie to inuade and aſſaile them. And among other places one was at a village belonging to the lord Ruſſell named S. Marie Cliſt diſtant from Excester about two miles, where the commons of the countrie thereabout had begun to fortifie the towne for their defenſe ⁊ ſafetie.

An aſſemblie of the people at Cliſt Marie or biſhops Cliſt.

The cauſe and pretenſe of their dooings herein, was not onelie the burning of the barnes at Crediton aforeſaid, which all the commons generallie did vſe for a cloke of this their riſing and rebellion: but this one thing alſo increaſed their diſpoſition. It happened that a certeine gentleman named Walter Raleigh dwelling not far from thenſe, as he was vpon a ſide holie daie riding from his houſe to Excester, ouertooke an old woman going to the pariſh church of ſaint Marie Cliſt, who had a paire of beads in hir hands, and aſked hir what ſhe did with thoſe beads? And entring into further ſpéeches with hir concerning religion, which was reformed, ⁊ as then by order of law to be put in execution, he did perſuade with hir that ſhe ſhould as a good chriſtian woman and an obedient ſubiect yéeld therevnto; ſaieng further; that there was a puniſhment by law appointed againſt hir, and all ſuch as would not obeie and follow the ſame, and which would be put in execution vpon them.

A cauſe whie they roſe at biſhops Cliſt.

This woman nothing liking, nor well digeſting this matter, went forth to the pariſh church, where all the pariſhioners were then at the ſeruice: and being vnpatient, and in an agonie with the ſpéeches before paſſed betwéene hir and the gentleman, beginneth to vpbraid in the open church verie hard and vnſéemelie ſpéeches concerning religion, ſaieng that ſhe was threatned by the gentleman, that except ſhe would leaue hir beads, and giue ouer holie bread and holie water, the gentlemen would burne them out of their houſes and ſpoile them; with manie other ſpéeches verie falſe and vntrue, and whereof no talke at all had paſſed betwéene the gentleman and hir. Notwithſtanding ſhe had not ſo ſoon ſpoken, but that ſhe was beléeued: and in all haſt like a ſort of waſps they fling out of the church, and get them to the towne which is not far from thenſe, and there began to intrench and fortifie the towne, ſending abroad into the countrie round about, the news aforeſaid, and of their dooings in hand, flocking, and procuring as manie as they could to come and to ioine with them.

And they fearing or miſtruſting, leaſt the gentlemen which were then at Excester, would come vpon them, they firſt fortified the bridge, which lieth at the end of the towne towards the citie, and laid great trées ouerthwart the ſame, as alſo planted certeine péeces of ordinance vpon the ſame, which they had procured and fetched from Topſham a towne not far from thenſe. But before they came into the towne, they ouertooke the gentleman maiſter Raleigh aforeſaid, and were in ſuch a choler, and ſo fell in rages with him, that if he had not ſhifted himſelfe into the chappell there, and had béene reſcued by certeine mariners of Exmouth which came with him, he had béene in great danger of his life, and like to haue béene murdered. And albeit he eſcaped for this time, yet it was not long before he fell into their hands, and by them impriſoned and kept in priſon in the towre and church of ſaint Sidwelles, without the eaſt gate of the citie of Excester, during the whole time of the commotion, being manie times threatned to be executed to death. But to the matter.

The towne of Cliſt is fortified, and the bridge rampired.

Walter Raleigh eſquier in danger of the rebelles.

Theſe the dooings of the commons being aduertiſed to ſir Peter Carew, who then was in Excester, aſſembleth all the iuſtices ⁊ the gentlemen, ⁊ conferreth with them what were beſt to be doone; and in the end, concluded ⁊ agréed that he, ſir Gawen Carew, ſir Thomas Denis, ſir Hugh Pollard, and ſundrie others ſhould ride to Cliſt, and there to vſe all the beſt meanes they might, for the pacifieng and quieting of them. And accordinglie in the next morning being ſundaie they all rode thither: and being come almoſt to the bridge, they perceiued the ſame to be rampired, ⁊ no waie to be open for them to paſſe into the towne. Wherevpon ſir Peter Carew alighted from his horſſe, and miſtruſting nothing, was going on foot toward the bridge. But ſuch was the rancor and malice conceiued againſt him, partlie for religion, and partlie for the burning of the barns at Crediton, which was laid altogither to his fault, that the gunner whoſe name was Iohn Hamon an alien and a ſmith, and dwelling then at Woodburie, not far from Cliſt, by the procurement and abetting

of

Sir Peter Carew and others ride to Cliſt.

Sir Peter Carew like to be ſlaine.

of ſome there, hauing charged his péece of ordinance there lieng, leuelled the ſame, to haue ſhot and diſcharged it at him: which he had doone, if one Hugh Oſborne ſeruant then to ſergeant Prideox had not let him and ſtaied his hand.

The gentlemen perceiuing they could not paſſe into the towne, doo ſend in a meſſenger vnto the towne, aduertiſing them that they were come to talke friendlie with them, as alſo to ſatiſfie them if they had anie cauſe of griefe, or were by anie bodie miſuſed. They at this meſſage and motion ſtaggered a while and caſt manie doubts: but in the end they ſent word that they were contented, that if ſir Thomas Denis, ſir Hugh Pollard, and Thomas Yard eſquier, would come into the towne to them and leaue their men behind them, as alſo would take order, and giue their faith and promiſe that no hurt ſhould be doone or offered to be doone vnto them, whiles they were thus in conference togither: that then vpon theſe conditions they would be contented to talke with them. Upon which promiſe made and aſſured vnto them, the foreſaid thrée gentlemen went into the towne about ten of the clocke in the forenoone, and there taried and ſpent the moſt part of the daie in much talke and to no purpoſe: as in the end it fell out.

The conference of the gentlemen with the commoners at Cliſt.

The other knights and gentlemen, which in the meane while taried without, and waited a long time euen vntill the daie did draw toward night, began to miſlike of the matter, ſome ſpeaking one thing and ſome an other; yea and ſome of them in plaine ſpéeches ſaid they would ride ouer the water and iſſue into the towne. But the friends and ſeruingmen of the two knights, reſpecting the promiſe made before their entrie into the towne, but eſpeciallie their maſters ſafetie, which by breach of promiſe might be put in perill, did vtterlie miſlike and were grieued with thoſe ſpéeches, and whereof began a little quarrelling among themſelues, but foorthwith pacified and quieted. And yet ſome one or two of the companie rode to the waters ſide, & with their ſtaues ſearched the depth thereof: for at that bridge the water at euerie tide (by reaſon that the ſeas are ſo néere) ſwelleth vp and reboundeth. Which thing when they in the towne did ſée, foorthwith cried out alarum, and made much a doo; and ſome of them began and grew into ſuch rages, that the gentlemen within the towne began to diſtruſt their ſafetie.

A mutinie towards among the ſeruingmen.

This man was named Richard Carwithian ſeruant to ſir Peter Carew.

Neuertheleſſe the conference and talke herewith ended, and they came awaie; who as ſoone as they were come to ſir Peter Carew, they were demanded what they had doone, and how they had ſped: who anſwered; Well inough: & giuing no other anſwer they rode all togither to Exceſter, deferring the diſcouerie of their dooings vntill their comming thither. The ſame night they ſupped all togither, & after ſupper ended, and all the ſeruingmen auoided out of that roome, ſir Peter Carew demanded of them what they had doone, and what agréement they had made: who anſwered that the commons had promiſed, and were contented to kéepe themſelues in good & quiet order, and to procéed no farther in their attempts: ſo that the king and the councell would not alter the religion, but ſuffer it to remaine and tarie in the ſame ſtate as king Henrie the eight left it, & vntill the king himſelfe came to his full age. Sir Peter Carew and all the reſidue nothing liking this anſwer, being farre from their expectation, were for the time in a great dumpe or ſtudie; but in the end miſliked and diſcommended both the matter and the maner of their dealings: inſomuch that ſir Peter Carew, and ſir Péerce Courtneie, then ſhiriffe of Deuon, openlie, ſharpelie, and in plaine termes inueied againſt them for their ſlender, or rather ſiniſter dealings in ſo weightie a cauſe: wherein they all ought rather to haue vſed all meanes to haue ſuppreſſed their outrages, than to haue mainteined their follies: and therefore as there was a blame in them, ſo was there a plaine rebellion in the other.

The agréement offered by the commoners.

But though the two knights would haue excuſed the matter, and haue purged their ſinceritie herein; yet on ech ſide words were ſo multiplied, that they brake aſunder without anie further dealings, and euerie man ſhifted for himſelfe, ſome one waie ſome an other waie. The commons vnderſtanding hereof ſtop all the high waies, caſting great trenches, and laieng great trées ouerthwart the ſame, and doo watch & ward the ſame: and by that meanes ſundrie gentlemen ſuſpecting no ſuch matter, and making waie to their appointed places, were intrapped, taken, and put in priſon; and manie of them kept in durance, during the whole time of the commotion, & abode great hardneſſe, and were in perill of life and limme: manie were taken bicauſe they would be taken, & found fauour; & manie forſaking their houſes and home, were driuen to ſequeſter and hide themſelues in woods & ſecret places. In the citie none or verie few remained or taried, ſauing ſix or ſeuen perſons then knowne of: for by conference had before with the maior, it was knowne that the citie was vnprouided of ſufficient vittels, méet for ſuch a companie as the foreſaid gentlemen were.

The gentlemen depart aſunder and euerie man ſhifteth for himſelfe.

The high waies are ſtopped and intrenched.

Sundrie gentlemen taken and impriſoned.

The gentlemen which taried and remained in the citie; namelie, ſir Roger Blewet knight, John Beauchampe, Bartholomew Forteſcute, John Courtneie, & John Peter cuſtomer, eſquiers, and others, did verie good ſeruice as well in their perſons, as in their good aduiſes and counſels, ſauing ſuch as ſecretlie kept themſelues cloſe in certeine houſes then vnknowne. Sir Peter Carew verie earlie in the next morning tooke his horſſe, and the high waies being then not ſtopped he eſcaped and rode vnto George Henton, a place of ſir Hugh Paulets in Summerſetſhire: where was the lord Ruſſell, being then newlie come from London, and vnto him he gaue to vnderſtand, how all things had paſſed: who foorthwith diſpatched and ſent him awaie to the king and councell to aduertiſe them of the ſame. The king at the firſt hearing of the matter, was verie much grieued, & in great perplexitie in two reſpects; the one bicauſe at this inſtant the like tumults and rebellions (though for an other cauſe) were now raiſed and begun in other places; the other was bicauſe he was inforced to leaue and giue ouer the appointed attempt for the conqueſt of Scotland, and to imploie now thoſe ſoldiors and ſtrangers, whome he had reteined for that ſeruice, for the quenching of this fire kindled at home.

A few gentlemen taried in the citie.

Sir Peter Carew rideth to the lord Ruſſell being at George Henton.

Sir Peter Carew rideth to the court & aduertiſed the king & councell.

The king grieued to heare of the commotion.

The determined conqueſt of Scotland was hindered by the rebellion.

Neuertheleſſe minding to follow the firſt, and to appeaſe the laſt, he ſent verie courteous letters, gratious proclamations, and manie mercifull offers vnto all the commons of theſe parties, to haue pacified and ſatiſfied them, if they had had ſo much grace ſo to haue accepted it. The commons being now entered in their follies, and hauing driuen the gentlemen to the flight, doo openlie ſhew themſelues traitors & rebels: and therefore aſſembling themſelues doo appoint out capteins to direct & order both themſelues, and all their procéedings, and as the common prouerbe is, Like lips like lettice, as is their cauſe, ſo are the rulers, the one being not ſo bold and euill, as they wicked or woorſe. The capteins then are theſe: Underhill a tailor, Maunder a ſhoomaker, Seager a labourer, and Aiſheredge a fiſhdriuer, with ſundrie other ſuch like, the woorſt men and the reffuſe of all others, thought moſt méet in this ſeruice. Howbeit it was not long before, that certeine gentlemen and yeomen of good countenance and credit both in De-

The king vſeth all gentle perſuaſions to reduce the commoners to conformitie.

The firſt and chiefe capteins of the rebellion.

uon and Cornewall were conſented, not onelie to be aſſociats of this rebellion: but alſo to carrie the croſſe before this proceſſion, and to be capteins and guiders of this wicked enterpriſe, as namelie in Deuon ſir Thomas Pomeroie knight, Iohn Burie and one Coffin gentlemen: & in Cornewall Humfrie Arundell and Winneſlade eſquiers, & Holmes a yeoman, with ſundrie others, who for the moſt part were in the end executed and put to death: and their facts to the memoriall of their perpetuall infamie recorded in chronicles.

The principall & chiefe capteins in Deuon being fullie reſolued by their owne power and authoritie to mainteine & continue the religion, according to the Romiſh church, & vtterlie to impugne the reformatiſion therof, eſtabliſhed by act of parlement; & to ſupport the authoritie of the idoll of Rome (whome they neuer ſaw) in contempt of their true and lawfull king, whome they knew and ought to obeie: theſe I ſaie ſent their meſſengers vnto the maior of this citie, whoſe name was Iohn Blackaller, to mooue and praie him to ioine with them, they thinking that they hauing by theſe meanes the libertie to haue frée acceſſe to and from the citie, and the helpe of the citizens, ſhould not want monie or armor, or anie thing elſe to ſerue their turne: the maior forthwith aduertiſed vnto his brethren this motion. And albeit ſome and the chiefeſt of them did like & were well affected to the Romiſh religion: yet reſpecting their dutie to God, their obedience to the king, their fidelitie to their countrie, and ſafetie of themſelues, gaue their full reſolute and direct anſwer, that they would not ioine nor deale with them at all.

The rebels ſend to the maior of the citie to ioine with them.

The maior & citizens refuſe to ioine or to deale with the rebels.

This anſwer was nothing liked, and therefore ſent they their ſecond meſſenger, requiring and commanding them to mainteine the old catholike religion with them, and to doo as they did; or elſe they would beſiege them, and perforce compell them therevnto. The maior and his brethren returned their former anſwer, adding moreouer that they in their doings were wicked & bad men; & they did & would repute them for enimies and rebels againſt God, their king, and countrie: and ſo renounced them. The one ſide therefore as they prepare to beſiege the citie, and to worke all the extremities they can, by force to take that which by words they can not obteine: ſo on the other ſide the maior and his brethren vpon good aduiſe, garded and watched the citie with ſufficient men, armed both by daie and by night. The rebels (according to their determination) relieng themſelues vpon a vaine hope, thinking that notwithſtanding the anſwer before made; yet becauſe the moſt part of the citizens were of their opinions, and of the like affections in religion, would not reſiſt them: as alſo that they had manie friends within the citie, more readie to ioine with them, than to follow the maior, if they might haue the choiſe what to doo: they came being in number about two thouſand perſons, to the citie, vpon the ſecond of Iulie 1549, firſt making proclamation that if the citie would not yéeld, and ioine with them, they would enter with force and take the ſpoile of it, & ſo then they vpon the deniall compaſſed the ſame round about, and gained vnto them at the firſt all the ſuburbs.

Preparation is made on both ſides to withſtand the one the other.

The citie of Exon beſieged.

And hereof they conceiued ſuch a vaine hope to haue their full deſire vpon the citie, that not onelie the number in hope did dailie more & more increaſe, but alſo manie of them brought their wiues, horſſes, and paniers; perſuading themſelues, and promiſing them, by ſuch a daie and vpon ſuch a daie to enter into the citie, and then to meaſure veluets and ſilks by the bow, and to lade their horſſes home with plate, monie, and other great riches. The maior and his brethren forecaſting the perils which might in ſuch a caſe inſue, doo prouide all things neceſſarie and méet therewith to defend themſelues, and to annoie the enimie. The citie therefore is viewed for armor, men are muſtered, ſoldiers are reteined, capteins in euerie ward appointed, warders for the daie and watchmen for the night aſſigned, great péeces of ordinance laid in euerie gate, and placed in all conuenient places of the wals; mounts in ſundrie places erected, as well for laieng of ordinance, as for ſauing of the ſoldiers & watchmen from the enimies ſhot: and nothing was left vndoone, which in anie reſpect that preſent ſtate and neceſſitie required.

The vaine perſuaſions of the rebels to haue the ſpoile of the citie.

The citie is viewed for armor and all things are prepared for defenſe of the citie.

The rebels likewiſe intrench the high waies, plaſh downe trées, breake downe bridges, kéepe watches and wards in euerie place; ſo that no man could paſſe to or from the citie without their ſufferance. The markets are ſtopped, vittels are kept from it, and all dealings and intercourſes ſhut and cut off: and hauing (as they bragged) penned and ſhut vp the towneſmen in a coope or mew, they plant their ordinance againſt euerie gate, and in all other ſuch places as beſt to ſerue their turne, and to hurt them within: they burnt the gates, they brake vp the pipes and conduits, aſwell for the taking awaie of the water comming to the citie, as alſo to haue the led to ſerue for their ſhot and pellets. But for the burning of the gates, there followed rather a benefit than a hurt thereof: for forthwith there were made certeine rampiers within the gate, which were farre ſtronger and of more defenſe than the gates, as alſo there were fiers continuallie kept euerie night betwéene the rampiers and the gates: and as for water, the citie ſo ſtandeth vpon a little hill, that it is full of ſprings in euerie quarter within the ſame, and by that means full and plentifull of euerie good and ſwéet waters. Alſo they in ſundrie places did vndermine the wals, minding thereby with gunpowder and with other matters fit for fier to haue blowne vp the wals, and ſo to haue entered in that waie: but herein they were alſo preuented by this means and in this maner.

The rebels ſtop vp all the waies comming to the citie.

The rebels plant their ordinance againſt the citie & breake vp the conduit pipes, and burne one of the gates.

The gates of the citie were kept open continuallie and rampired within ſide, as alſo fiers kept burning all night in the ſame.

The citie being full of water ſprings they want no water.

The citie it ſelfe (as is before ſaid) is ſet vpon a little hill, and lieth verie ſtéeping towards two of the gates. And at one of theſe named the weſt gate, the ſaid rebels had vndermined on the one ſide, and filled the place with certeine barels of powder, pitch, and other ſtuffe, méet and apt to receiue fier, and had appointed the night when the ſame ſhould be ſet on fier, and ſo to haue blowne the wals vp. At the ſame time there was a certeine tinner in the citie, whoſe dwelling was at Teingemouth, named Iohn Newcombe, who depended much vpon the goodwill and fréendſhip of maiſter William Hurſt one of the aldermen of the citie; and he vnderſtanding of ſuch an vndermining to be in working, aduertiſed the ſame to maiſter Hurſt, and maketh him priuie how he would preuent the ſame, which was doone in this maner. For whereas he by a noiſe vnder the ground did ſuſpect the vndermining to be in working, he tooke a pan of water, & did put the ſame on the ground, & by ſhaking of the water in the pan, he by remoouing the pan from place to place, came at length to the verie place, whereas the miners were working, and forthwith he countermined againſt the ſame, and wrought ſo néere vnto it, vntill that he might and did ſée & looke into it. That doone, he cauſed all the wals and tirpits in the citie towards euerie ſtréet, hauing a fall that waie to be drawne at one time, and euerie man to fill therewith a great tub of water at his foredoore; which being doone, he cauſed them all at one inſtant to be caſt out and emptied, which water running in great abundance towards the ſaid weſt gate, was conueied into the place countermined, & ſo entered and drowned the place, which before was

mined:

The citie wals at the weſt gate were vndermined, but by countermining the ſame was preuented.

The vnderminings of the wals how it was found and deſtroied.

mined: at which time alſo by the goodneſſe of God, there fell a great ſhowre, as the like for the time had not beene ſeene manie years before, and which at that inſtant greatlie ſerued this turne.

A prettie ſtratagem of the rebels.

The citie gates kept alwaies open.

The ſuburbs burned and the houſes beaten downe.

The citie diuided within it ſelfe into two factions of religion.

The rebels perceiuing themſelues diſappointed of their purpoſe, gaue ouer to deale anie further in thoſe attempts: howbeit otherwiſe they left nothing vndone which might be to annoie the citizens. For ſometimes they made alarums, as though they with all might and maine would haue giuen the ſcale: and indeed they had prouided ladders for the ſame purpoſe. Sometimes they by policies would ſeeke to come to the gates to burne them, and herein they vſed this ſtratagem. They prouided carts laden with old haie, & driuing the wheeles before them would come to the gate without danger, and ſo ſet fier in the gate. But notwithſtanding they eſcaped not ſcotfree, for both at the weſt gate and at the ſouthgate, their commings being perceiued, the great port peeces were charged with great bags of flintſtones and haileſhot: and as they were approching vnto the gates, the gates were ſecretlie opened, and the ſaid port peeces diſcharged, and ſo they were ſpoiled diuerſe of them, & by that means they had ſmall pleaſure to follow thoſe deuiſes; as alſo the citizens to preuent the ſame, did from thenſefoorth keepe the gates open. Likewiſe they would keepe themſelues cloſe in ſundrie houſes, in the ſuburbs neere the wals, and would ſo watch the garrets, that if anie within the citie would looke out at the garrets, was in the danger of their ſhot, and ſome thereby were killed, and manie hurt. Vpon which occaſion the citizens ſet ſome part of the ſuburbs on fier, and ſome part which was next to the wals they beat and brake downe, and ſo draue the rebels out of thoſe holes. Beſides this, they had in ſundrie places their great ordinance, ſo ſet and placed, that in certeine ſtreets and places none could go but in perill and danger of their ſhot, which their deuiſes were choked, by making of certeine mounts to ſhadowe the ſtreets from the ſame. Diuerſe other deuiſes they practiſed to the continuall annoiance of the citie, which though they were greeuous and dangerous, yet not to be compared vnto the perils which were within the walles among themſelues, and whereof had inſued the confuſion of the whole citie, had not the Lord God of his goodneſſe kept and preſerued the ſame. For the ſerpent of diuiſion, and the fier of malice, was entered into the citie, manie being inuenomed with the one, but more ſcaulded with the other.

The affection and diſpoſition of the Romiſh faction.

In the citie there were two ſorts of people, the one and the greater number were of the old ſtampe, and of the Romiſh religion. The other being of the leſſer number were of a contrarie mind and diſpoſition, for they wholie relied themſelues to the reformed religion, and to the kings proceedings, and indeuoured themſelues to obeie and follow the ſame. The firſt were ſo addicted to their owne fantaſies, and their bottels were ſo farre ſeaſoned with the old wines, that they cannot abide to heare of anie other religion, than as they were firſt nuzled in. Wherfore to keepe and obſerue that, was their onelie endeuor, and in reſpect whereof they regarded not king nor Keiſar, paſſed not for kin nor freendſhip, regarded not countrie nor commonwealth, but were wholie of the opinion of the rebels, and would haue no reformation in religion; and how ſo euer all other things fared, that muſt needs remaine as in times paſt had beene vſed.

The diſcretion and great circumſpection of the magiſtrates.

The ſecret conferences of the papiſts.

The magiſtrates and cheefeteins of the citie, albeit they were not as yet fullie reſolued and ſatiſfied in religion, yet they not reſpecting that, but cheefelie their dutifulneſſe to the king and commonwealth, nothing like the rebellion, nor beare with the ſame, but they doo all things to defend the citie and themſelues againſt their rebellious attempts, and likewiſe doo their beſt indeuour to keepe their owne citizens in peace and quietneſſe. Wherevpon the fauourers of the old Romiſh religion, being inwardlie greeued, that they could not haue their will, nor obteine to haue the gates to be opened, that thoſe good and religious men (as they termed them) might come in, they vſed priuat conferences with them, ſometimes by ſecret conferences ouer the wals, ſomtimes by priuat letters priuilie conueied too and fro, by meſſengers lurking and attending for the ſame, ſometimes by open ſpeeches in times of truce, and manie times by bils and letters bound faſt about arrowes, and ſo ſhot to and fro: and by theſe and other ſuch like means they diſcouered ech one to the other their purpoſes and wicked deuiſes and practiſes: all which tended to this effect, to betraie the citie, and to ſet vp the religion.

A fond enterpriſe of an expert citizen.

Howbeit, theſe things were not ſo ſecretlie doone, but the ſame were knowne, & manifeſt arguments and proofes thereof did appeare. And among ſundrie ſome one of them being one of good credit and countenance, and of the number of the common councell, whoſe name was John Wolcot a merchant, was ſo farre inchanted herein, that vpon a certeine daie he being (as his courſe came about) a capteine for the daie, and to ward one of the gates that daie, preſuming that partlie by reaſon of his charge that daie, and partlie for that he was one of the common councell, he might doo more than in deed did apperteine to him, he vpon his firſt comming to the weſt gate in the morning met with certeine of his confederats, and after conference had with them, went ſuddenlie out at the wicket of the gate (which gate as then was not rampired) and carrieng the keies with him, went vnto the rebels, and had a long conference with them. But it tooke ſmall effect, for he promiſed (as it after appeared) more than he could performe, which turned to his great diſcredit: both for that he himſelfe verie hardlie eſcaped their hands who were bent to haue kept and reteined him, as they did the two others, who went out with him: as alſo when he came in, was both checked and blamed for his doings.

This Tailor died after in priſon for debt.

What man purpoſeth God diſpoſeth.

A wicked practiſe to receiue the rebels into the caſtell.

At an other time the maior vpon an occaſion aſſembled all the commoners vnto the Guildhall, euerie man being in his armor, and the papiſts bein then the greater number, ſome one of them named Richard Tailor a clothier, thinking by making of a tumult or an vprore they ſhould be too hard for the others, and ſo atteine to their purpoſes, hauing his bowe bent, did nocke his arrow, minding to haue ſtriken the man to whom he leuelled the ſhot: but gaging his hand, and miſſing his marke, he ſtroke his owne and beſt freend John Peter the kings cuſtomer, a gentleman of good countenance and credit, who had died thereof, had not the arrow lighted vpon one of his rib bones: a great muttering was like to haue bred a tumult, but the matter knowne it was appeaſed. Alſo at an other time there was a practiſe made with the ſouldiers, who had the charge and cuſtodie of the caſtell, that they ſhould receiue in at the poſterne of the ſaid caſtell, a certeine number of the rebels; wherevnto the ſaid ſouldiers through corruption had giuen their conſent. The daie and time were appointed for the ſame: but whether the ſame by ſecret aduertiſement were diſcouered, or whether the matter were miſtruſted, or whether it pleaſed God to moue the harts of certeine men to take the view of the caſtell, & of the maner of the ſouldiers vſages there: it is moſt certeine that by the repaire & reſort of certeine men, vnder the colour to walke and ſee the trecherie, it was eſpied, and the practiſes diſcouered,

red, and their whole deuiſes preuented. Likewiſe manie times and often there were truces made, and ſundrie parlees and conferences had with the rebels, which were procured to the onlie end that they might compaſſe their deuiſes. And this was a common practiſe with them, that when ſoeuer the parlee was appointed, there ſhould be hoſtages or pledges put in on both parties: and they as men vpon whom the greateſt weight of the matter did depend, would require to haue the beſt and moſt choſen citizens, to be hoſtages with them, in ſteed and for the ſafetie of thoſe which they would ſend to the parlee for them, who for the moſt part were the reffuſe, the ſcumme, and the raſcals of the whole countrie, and yet ſuch they were in this caſe, as who ruled the roſt and bore the whole or chiefeſt ſwaie; and the worſſe the man, the greater his authoritie among them, which was good inough for ſo wicked a matter taken in hand, according as the common adage is; *Dignum patella operculum*, Like lips like lettice.

The chiefeſt rulers & capteins among the commons were the worſt men.

But during the time of theſe truces and parlees, there being then a time and ſcope of libertie to talke and conferre with them euerie man at his pleaſure, there wanted no deuiſes vnder colour of freendlie conferences, to deuiſe how to compaſſe their intents: howbeit it pleaſed the eternall God, ſo to carrie and rule the hearts of the magiſtrats, that albeit being nuzled in the Romiſh religion they were affected therevnto, yet they ſo much reſpected their dutie to their prince, and the ſafetie to their commonwealth, that they openlie profeſſed they would neuer yeeld the citie ſo long as they liued, and were able to keepe and defend the ſame.

Great practiſe vſed to procure the citizens to ioine with the rebels.

For the maior himſelfe maiſter William Hurſt, maiſter Iohn Buller, maiſter Iohn Britnall, maiſter William Periam, & others of the ancienteſt of the citie, were by ſundrie means, waies, deuiſes, and reaſons, perſuaded to conioine themſelues in this rebellion with the commoners. They all with one mind and one voice gaue a flat anſwer that in the citie they had beene brought vp, there they had gotten their liuings, there they had ſworne their fidelitie and allegiance to their king and prince, there they had faithfullie hitherto ſerued him, and there would ſo continue ſo long as they could to the vttermoſt of their powers, all which their promiſes & auowries (the Lord be praiſed) they performed.

The faithfull and flat determination of the citizens to refuſe the cõioining with the rebels.

But to the matter. Sundrie other trecheries & deuiſes were practiſed, which particularlie to recite were verie tedious & to no purpoſe. The laſt but the moſt perillous practiſe was this. When theſe malecontents ſaw themſelues to be preuented in all their deuiſes, which before they had but ſecretlie and priuatlie practiſed, now they conioining themſelues togither doo openlie ſhew and declare themſelues, being perſuaded that bicauſe they were the greater number, and that alſo the moſt part of the poore people were wearie, and for want of vittels would not indure to be pinned in anie longer, that therefore manie would ioine againſt a few, and that the game would go on their ſide.

The laſt and perilous practiſe of the rebels.

And ſo on a ſundaie, being but two dais before the deliuerie of the citie, about eight of the clocke in the forenoone, a companie of them in euerie quarter of the citie, hauing their conſorts in a readines to ioine & ſerue with them (if need ſo required) get into the ſtreets, walking with their weapons and in their armour, as to fight with their enimies, and crie out;
“ Come out theſe heretikes and twopenie bookemen;
“ Where be they? By Gods wounds & bloud we will
“ not be pinned in to ſerue their turne; We will go out
“ and haue in our neighbors, they be honeſt, good, and
“ godlie men. Their pretenſe and meaning being then, that if anie of the contrarie ſide had come out, they would haue quarelled with them, and haue taken occaſion to ſet vpon him and ſo raiſe a new tumult.

A peſtilent practiſe.

But by the prouidence and goodneſſe of God it ſo fell out, that ſome being in their houſes, and ſome at their pariſh churches, the maior and magiſtrates were firſt aduertiſed herof, before the others heard anie thing of the matter: and they according to their wiſedoms pacified the matter, and ſent Iohn Vincent, Iohn Sharke, and others the bellwedders of this flocke vnto their houſes. Howbeit in the ſouth gate ſtreet and at the ſouth gate, there was a little ſtur, which being ſoone ſtopped there inſued no hurt therof, other than a broken pate or two: for as it fell out, the warders of that gate at that time were againſt them and of the greater companie. Theſe and manie other like practiſes were dailie and continuallie vſed on the one ſide, which in the end came to no effect, bicauſe the Lord kept the citie.

The papiſts were diſappointed of their purpoſes.

The others on the other ſide being altogither bent to honor God, obeie the king, and to ſerue in their commonwealth, were fullie reſolued to keepe and defend the citie, whoſe cauſe being iuſt and good, was ſufficient of it ſelfe to keepe them in that mind: and yet their courage was the more, for that they ſaw the good bent of the maior and magiſtrates; who, howſoeuer they were affected otherwiſe in religion, yet they were wholie bent and determined to keepe and defend the citie: and therefore they ſeeing the induſtrie, carefulneſſe, ſeruice and painefulneſſe, of theſe men, doo fauour, incourage, and countenance them, and (to ſaie the truth) by the induſtrie and good ſeruice of them, the citie was cheeflie kept and preſerued.

The determination of the honeſt & good citizens.

For there was no ſeruice to be doone within, nor exploit to be aduentured without vpon the enimie (as manie times there were ſallies giuen) but theſe were the chiefeſt and commonlie the onelie dooers: for which cauſe the contrarie ſide maruelouſlie maligned at them, and ſought by all means how to impeach and indanger them. Which thing being dailie perceiued more and more by ſundrie arguments, and as wiſe men ſeeking how to preuent the ſame, did manie and ſundrie times confer among themſelues herein, and in the end made a couenant and a faithfull promiſe among themſelues (being then about the number of one hundred perſons) that they would ſtand firmelie and faithfullie to the defenſe and keeping of the citie to their vttermoſt powers.

The beſt citizens confederated.

And if it ſo fell out, that the rebell and enimie ſhould haue acceſſe and entrie into the citie, that then they ſhould all meet at the lord Ruſſels (now the earle of Bedfords) houſe, and there to iſſue out at the poſterne of the garden, and to giue the aduenture to paſſe and to eſcape awaie, as alſo if they were reſiſted that then they to ſtand togither to their defenſe. And for this purpoſe they had then named ſome one man to be their capteine for this enterpriſe. And in the meane time, to doo all things circumſpectlie for the preſeruation of the citie, & by a particular couenant among themſelues, did take order, that during the whole beſeeging of the citie and their aboad therein, a certeine number by courſe and beſides the ordinarie ſet watch, ſhould watch, ward, and walke about continuallie both by daie and night, by which means no ſleight nor treacherie could be practiſed, but that they ſhould haue an inkeling and vnderſtanding thereof, and which in deed ſtood and came to ſuch effect that it was the chiefeſt (if not the onelie) cauſe of the preſeruation of the citie for that time. For there was no ſeruice, no diligence, no care, nor anie thing wanting or left vndoone, which by theſe men was not doone.

The carefulneſſe of the good citizens.

Howbeit the diuell, the author of all diuiſion and ſtrife, who cannot abide anie vnitie, concord and agreement in good cauſes, did here alſo hurle in a bone among theſe men, whereof had inſued a great detriment to the common ſtate, and an ouerthrow to themſelues, had it not in due time beene preuented. There were two gentlemen within this citie, and both of this companie, the one was borne of a honorable houſe and parentage, named John Courtneie a yonger ſonne to ſir William Courtneie of Porederham knight, and a man of verie good knowledge and experience in ſeruice. The other alſo was a man of verie good ſeruice, practiſe, and experience, his name was Barnard Duffeld, & ſeruant to the lord Ruſſell, and keeper of his houſe in Exceſter. Both of theſe were verie forward and carefull in this preſent ſeruice againſt the rebels. But there fell an emulation betweene them, which albeit it be verie commendable in good things, & he praiſeworthie who can beſt excell therein: yet when the ſame ſhall tend to a diuiſion of a publike ſtate, the diſſolution of a commonwealth, the breach of common ſocietie, or the maintenance of anie euill, it is vtterlie to be ſhunned and lamented.

A variance betweene John Courtneie & Barnard Duffeld.

It happened vpon an occaſion offered, that certeine of this companie vpon a time iſſued out at the forſaid poſterne and made a ſallie vpon the enimies, and had ſuch good ſucceſſe, that ſome of them they ſlue, ſome they tooke priſoners, as alſo ſpoiled them of their goods, and brought awaie with them ſome of their ordinance, namelie baſſes and ſlings: howbeit they all ſcaped not ſcotfree, for ſome of them were taken, ſome alſo were hurt, as namelie John Drake, who the yeare before was the receiuer of the citie was ſhot through the cheekes with an arrow, which he brought into the citie with him, and one John Simons a cooke was ſo hurt that he died thereof.

A ſallie made vpon the rebels.

But among them all one John Goldſmith being of that companie and ſeruant to Richard Helierd of the ſame goldſmith, and a Fleming borne, had the beſt ſucceſſe: for in the ſame ſkirmiſh he was taken priſoner by one of the rebels, who offered in taking of him with his bill to haue ſlaine him. With that this John Goldſmith fell downe & yeelded himſelfe, hauing then in his hand his peece or handgun charged, & ſuddenlie the other not miſtruſting nor marking the ſame, he diſcharged into his verie bellie and ſo ſlue him, tooke the ſpoile of him, and brought the ſame into the citie with him.

This ſkirmiſh though it were not cleere gaines to this companie, yet it ſo incouraged them, that from time to time they conſulted, and in the end determined to make a freſh ſallie and to giue a new aduenture: wherevpon there fell and grew a diſagreement betweene the two foreſaid John Courtneie & Barnard Duffeld, the one affirming that the ſame was not to be permitted in anie fort or citie, which ſtood vpon defenſe or gard, without a verie ſpeciall order of the generall or cheefe capteine, or ſome vrgent neceſſitie, eſpeciallie in that preſent diſtreſſe and extremitie, wherein the citie as then did ſtand. But Barnard Duffeld being verie loth to looſe anie part of his credit, or to deſiſt from that he with others had determined, could by no meanes be perſuaded to the contrarie, but plainelie affirmeth that what he had determined ſhould be performed.

Wherevpon the foreſaid John Courtneie reſorteth to the maior, aduertiſeth vnto him the matter, & dealeth ſo fullie and with ſuch perſuaſions with him, that the maior aſſembleth his brethren, and ſendeth for the foreſaid Duffeld: who being come, the matter was at full debated and diſcourſed, and in the end concluded that it was verie hurtfull and dangerous to that preſent ſtate, that anie ſuch iſſuing out ſhould be granted or permitted: and therefore praied the ſaid Duffeld to ſtaie his determination, and to be contented. But he being vnpatient, & thinking his credit to be ſtained, if he ſhould be debarred or denied to doo that which he had faithfullie promiſed, did vtterlie refuſe to yeeld to this the maiors requeſt, as alſo by continuing of talkes, fell out in foule and diſordered ſpeaches. Wherevpon to auoid a further inconuenience, he was commanded to ward. The daughter of this Duffeld, whoſe name was Francis, hearing that hir father was in ward, and taking in greefe that ſo great an iniurie (as ſhe tearmed it) ſhould be doone to hir father, came more haſtilie than aduiſedlie vnto the maior, ſomewhat late in the euening, & required to haue hir father out of the ward. Which thing being denied vnto hir, ſhee wared ſo warme, that not onelie ſhe vſed verie vnſeemelie tearmes and ſpeaches vnto the maior, but alſo contrarie to the modeſtie and ſhamefaſtnes required in a woman, ſpeciallie yoong and vnmarried, ran moſt violentlie vpon him, and ſtrake him in the face. This was taken in ſo euill a part, and fearing that it had beene a ſet match of ſome further inconueniences, the common bell was foorthwith roong out: and alſo a rumour ſpread that the maior was beaten, or killed.

A broile towards.

Francis the daughter of Barnard Duffeld ſtrake the maior in the face.

The whole commons immediatlie in great troops, & the moſt part in armor, ran to the Guildhall, where the maior was, who though he was ſafe, yet were they ſo greeued with this iniurie, that they would in all haſt haue run to the lord Ruſſels houſe, where ſhe was then gone, and haue fetched hir out: but the maior forecaſting what inconueniences might inſue, and reſpecting the neceſſitie of the preſent ſtate, was not onlie contented patientlie to wrap vp theſe iniuries, but alſo earneſtlie requeſted the commoners to doo the like: who being ſo pacified, he went home, and they conducted him into his owne doores. The chanons of the cathedrall church which at that time were reſident in their houſes within the cloſe there, namelie archdeacon Pollard, treaſuror Southron, chancellor Luſon, and maſter Holwell, with others of the ſaid church, who ioined with the maior and citizens in this ſeruice for the ſafegard of the citie, and did keepe both watches and wards, and their men readie at all times to ſerue in euerie alarum and ſkirmiſh: they at the hearing of this diſordered part were verie much greeued therewith, and they likewiſe forthwith aſſembled all their men, and being well armed and appointed, they went to the maior, who was then gone home to his houſe, and then and there verie friendlie did comfort him, and offred to ſtand by him and to aſſiſt him in all the beſt ſeruice they were able to doo for his defenſe, and ſafetie of the citie.

The ſaid archdeacon offered, that in proper perſon he would herein ſtand in his behalfe againſt all perſons whatſoeuer, that would attempt or offer to doo him anie wrong. And in the end, after ſundrie friendlie and good ſpeaches, they departed to their homes. And the ſaid archdeacon, euerie daie after, would either come or ſend to the maior. This maior being a merchant, and onelie exerciſed in that trade, had ſmall reach in matters of policie or martiall affaires: he was maior of the citie three times, and in euerie yeare there grew ſome troubles in the citie, but he had ſuch a ſpeciall care & regard to his charge and gouernment, that he would neuer attempt nor doo anie thing therein, but by the aduiſe and counſell of wiſe, graue, and expert men: and God ſo bleſſed him that he proſpered and had good ſucceſſe in all his doings.

Beſides theſe and ſundrie other former perils, the which the citie manie and oftentimes ſtood in, and by the goodnes and prouidence of God ſtill ouercomed, there befell and happened a third one, which exceeded all the reſt, and whereof the greateſt danger and perill was feared: and this was famine, or penurie, which of all other turmoils and perils is moſt dangerous, & no other plague to be compared to it. For no force is feared, no lawes obſerued, no magiſtrate obeied, nor common ſocietie eſtéemed, where famine ruleth. For as the poet ſaith: *Neſcit plebs ieiuna timere.* The ſtore of vittels within the citie, for want of prouiſion in due time, and by reaſon of the reſtreint of the markets, vpon a ſudden was verie ſlender and ſmall, and the ſame in verie ſhort time ſpent and conſumed. And albeit there were good ſtore of drie fiſh, riſe, prunes, raſins, and wine, at verie reaſonable prices, yet bread which as the prophet ſaith, *Confirmat cor hominis,* Strengtheneth mans hart, that wanted: neither was anie to be had. And in this extremitie the bakers and houſholders were driuen to ſéeke vp their old ſtore of puffins and bran, wherewith they in times paſt were wont to make horſſebread, and to féed their ſwine and poultrie, and this they moulded vp in clothes, for otherwiſe it would not hold togither, and ſo did bake it vp, and the people well contented therewith. For (as Plutarch writeth) *Fames reddit omnia dulcia, nihilq; contemnit eſuriens:* Hunger maketh all things ſwéet, and the hungrie bellie ſhunneth nothing.

Vittels wax ſcant within the citie.

Bread made of bran and of puffins.

But when this alſo was ſpent, and nothing now left, and the common people being not acquainted with ſo hard a diet as famine preſcribeth, were verie vnpatient to indure the continuall barking of their hungrie bellies, and therefore they were verie ſoone & eaſie to be perſuaded, or rather of themſelues contented to yéeld vnto the enimie, to be fed for a time with the ſtollen fat of his fleſh pot, than to abide for a ſhort time a little penurie in hope of a deliuerie, and then to be filled with ſaturitie and plentie. But the magiſtrats and graue ſenators, who in all other cauſes had ſhewed themſelues wiſe, carefull and diſcreet; and who hauing receiued ſundrie iniuries, did yet without rigour, reuenge or malice, wrap the ſame vp, reſpecting rather the common ſtate than their owne priuat cauſe; ſo in this matter alſo being of a great importance doo verie wiſelie & politikelie deale with the ſaid people: who the poorer they were, the better they were conſidered, and the more carefullie prouided for. Firſt, there was a generall collection ſet and rated throughout the whole citie for their reliefe, and therby they were liberallie euerie wéeke conſidered: which thing being ſome increaſe to their ſtocke and ſtore, was the better to their content. Then all ſuch vittels as were to be had within the citie, they either had it fréelie, or for a verie ſmall price.

The godlie and politike dealings of the magiſtrates with the poore.

The poore are wéekelie liberallie relieued.

All vittels fetched into the citie were diſtributed among the poore.

Beſides this, manie times when anie cattell came néere vnto the walles of the citie, ſome ſhift was made to haue them, or by ſkirmiſhing & iſſuing out for them, or by ſome other means. And this alſo what ſo euer it was, was altogither diuided among them. And as for the priſoners faſt fettered in the gaols, they had alſo their portions, as farre as it would ſtretch: notwithſtanding in the end, for want they were fed with horſſefleſh, which they liked and were well contented withall. For as the prouerbe is, Hunger findeth no faults but all things are ſwéet. Beſides, if anie wrong were offered or iniurie doone to anie of them, it was forthwith vpon complaint redreſſed: but if anie of them did diſorder themſelues, it was borne withall, and they in all gentle and curteous meanes intreated: as alſo from time to time perſuaded with good words patientlie to abide and be contented: not miſtruſting but that God ſhortlie would ſend a deliuerance.

The priſoners in the gaole did and were driuen to eate horſſes.

The gentle intreating of the poorer ſort.

And thus, and by theſe means, in hope almoſt againſt hope, they continued dutifull and obedient, from the ſecond daie of Iulie 1549, vntill the ſixt daie of Auguſt then folowing, the ſame being fiue whole wéekes, vpon which daie they were deliuered by the comming and entrie into the citie of the lord Ruſſell: and which daie in memoriall for euer to endure is kept for a high and holie feaſt amongſt the citizens yearelie vpon the ſixt daie of Auguſt. Immediatlie vpon which deliuerance of the citie, the firſt care that euerie man had, was to ſhift and to make prouiſion for vittels, whereof ſome hungrie bellies were ſo gréedie, that ouercharging their emptie ſtomachs too haſtilie, they died therewith.

The lord Ruſſell after that the citie had béene beſieged fiue wéekes turneth to this citie vpon the ſixt of Auguſt, and deliuereth the ſame.

Thus hauing declared ſomething of the ſtate of the citie, and of the doings therein during the time of this rebellion, though much more might be therein ſaid, let vs now returne to the lord priuie ſeale, who after the departure of ſir Peter Carew to the court, remooued from George Henneton, and came to Honiton, minding from thence to haue paſſed vnto Excester, if waie had béene open. But being aduertiſed that the citie was beſieged, and that all the waies leading thitherwards were ſtopped, he remained ſtill in Honiton. Sir Peter Carew in the meane time, according to the former order betwéene them taken, was ridden to London, and being before the king, declareth the whole matter at large. Which the king, not liking the diſloialtie of his people, promiſed to ſéeke a ſpéedie remedie: and ſo commanded him to the councell for the ſame: and being before them, and hauing at full diſcourſed the ſtate of the matter, the duke of Summerſet being much gréeued with the matter, would haue reiected the whole on ſir Peter, charging him that by reaſon he had cauſed the houſes to be burned at Crediton, it was the onelie cauſe of the commotion. But thereunto he anſwered the neceſſitie of that ſeruice, as alſo declared that he had doone nothing but by a good warrant, and therewith ſhewed forth the kings letters vnder his hand and priuie ſignet.

Sir Peter Carew aduertiſeth the king & councel of the rebelliõ.

The duke of Summerſet charged ſir Peter Carew of the rebelliõ.

The lord Rich then lord chancellor replied and ſaid, that the kings letters were no ſufficient warrant, vnleſſe he had his commiſſion vnder the brode ſeale: and therefore if he had right, he ſhould by the lawes be hanged for his doings. But to this ſir Peter anſwered ſo ſtoutlie, and charged the duke ſo déepelie, that in the end he was willed to returne into the countrie, being promiſed that ſufficient helpe both of men & monie ſhould be with ſpéed ſent downe into the countrie. And to this effect he had both the kings and the councels letters vnto the lord priuie ſeale, and ſo tooke his iournie backe againe into the countrie, and deliuered his letters to the ſaid lord Ruſſell, who in hope of the ſupplie promiſed, ſtaied and remained ſomtimes at Mohoneſotre, but moſt commonlie at Honiton, ſtill looking for that ſupplie and furniture that was promiſed. But hauing long looked for the ſame in vaine, he was dailie more and more forſaken of ſuch of the common people, as who at the firſt ſerued and offered their ſeruice vnto him. And hauing but a verie ſmall gard about him, he liued in more feare than he was feared: for the rebels dailie increaſed, and his companie decreaſed and ſhrunke awaie, and he not altogither aſſured of them which remained.

The king his letters vnder his priuie ſignet counted to be no ſufficiẽt warrant.

The ſtout anſwer of ſir Peter Carew

Sir Peter Carew being promiſed of helpe returneth home.

The lord Ruſſell is almoſt left forſaken.

Wherefore diſtruſting himſelfe, & by a falſe rumor being aduertiſed that the citie was taken, & in the poſſeſſion of the rebels; as alſo how that there was a new ſturre or rebellion begun about Sariſburie; he tooke aduiſe and counſell of the gentlemen and ſuch as were with him what were beſt to be doone. The gentlemen of Dorſetſhire were of the mind, and gaue him aduiſe, that it were beſt for him to returne into Dorſetſhire, and there to remaine for a time; becauſe it was a place of a more ſafetie, vntill ſuch time as he were better prouided. And accordinglie the next daie following he tooke his iournie, & rode backe againe with the ſaid Dorſetſhire gentlemen.

Sir

The lord Ruſſell diſtruſting himſelfe, is vpon his departure from out of Deuon; but by ſir Peter Carew is recouered backe againe.

Sir Peter Carew then being at Mohoroſoton, and aduertiſed hereof, tooke his horſſe and came againſt the ſaid lord Ruſſell, & met him vpon Blacke downe, where was a long conference betweene them both: and in the end he ſo perſuaded the lord, and with ſuch pithie reaſons he caried him, that leauing his former determination, he doth returne againe into Honiton; & where he continued thenceforth, ſauing one night ſpent at Oterie ſaint Marie, where as it fell out he was in more feare than perill. At his being in Honiton, and dailie waiting and looking for the promiſed helpe and ſupplie which came not; he was in an agonie, & of a heauie cheere: not onelie for the want of the men & monie which he had long in vaine looked for, but alſo becauſe he had ſpent all that he had brought with him, and could not tell how otherwiſe to helpe and prouide to ſupplie his preſent need: but as it fell out all happened for the beſt.

The merchants of Exon procure and borow monie to helpe the lord Ruſſell.

For it chanced that there were then three merchants of the citie, following and attending vpon him; Thomas Preſtwood not long before maior of the citie, John Bodlie, and John Periam, men of great wealth. Theſe men vnderſtanding of the heauineſſe and griefe of his lordſhip, make their reſort vnto him, and promiſe to helpe and relieue his agonie and want: and forthwith did procure vpon their credit from the merchants of Briſtow, Linne, Tawnton, and elſewhere, ſuch a maſſe of monie, as which when he had receiued, his griefe was eaſed. For forthwith he ſo prouided and furniſhed himſelfe with ſuch neceſſaries, and with a greater number of men; that he was now in the better ſafetie, as alſo the better able to incounter with the enimie: and it was not long after, but that he had a further ſupplie from the king, euen to his content. And being now ſomewhat reuiued, newes was brought vnto him, that the rebels vnderſtanding of his diſtreſſed ſtate, were comming, and marching toward Honiton to aſſaile him; and were come as far as Fenington bridge, which is about three miles. Wherevpon, he tooke aduiſe with ſir Peter Carew, ſir Gawen Carew & others what were beſt to be done. And in the end, after manie ſpeeches, it was concluded that they ſhould march towards them, and giue the onſet vpon them, & accordinglie, without further delaies or much talke, it was doone out of hand. For vpon the next morning being a holie daie, they ſet forth, and came to the bridge aforeſaid, where the rebels were indeed: ſome at the bridge, but the greateſt companie in a medow beneath the bridge: who, as ſoone as they perceiued the lord Ruſſell and the gentlemen with all their troope to be come, they make themſelues readie to the fight. But the riuer & the bridge being betweene them, the lord Ruſſell vſeth all the policies that he can, how to recouer the bridge; which by bold aduenturing he did in the end: but with the hurt of ſundrie of his companie, amongſt whome ſir Gawen Carew was one, being hurt with an arrow in the arme.

The lord Ruſſell marcheth towards Fenington bridge.

Sir Gawen Carew is hurt at Fenington bridge.

And hauing recouered the bridge, and the riuer, all the rebels (ſuch as were eſcaped) were gathered togither in a medow neere adioining in the lower ſide of the bridge, vpon whome they ſo fiercelie followed, and gaue the onſet; that though not without good ſtore of blowes and bloudſhed, they in the end gaue the enimie the ouerthrow, and had the vpper hand. And thinking that the victorie was cleere with them, and that the enimie was cleane gone, the ſouldiers and ſeruingmen gaue themſelues all to the ſpoile; and being in the middle of their game, and they nothing thinking leſſe than of anie more enimies to be comming towards, euen ſuddenly march towards a new crue of Corniſhmen, to the number of two hundred, or two hundred and fortie perſons, vnder the conduct of one Robert Smith of ſaint Germans in Cornewall gentleman; and who taking theſe ſpoilers napping, manie of them paied deerelie for their wares. The lord Ruſſell forthwith ſetteth all his companie in good araie, as the others did the like, and gaue the onſet vpon them: betweene whome the fight for the time was verie ſharpe and cruell. For the Corniſhmen were verie luſtie and freſh, and fullie bent to fight out the matter: neuertheleſſe in the end they were ouerthrowne, and their capteine, whoſe combe was cut, ſheweth a faire paire of heeles and fled awaie. In theſe two fights, there were reported to be ſlaine about three hundred rebels, which were verie tall men, luſtie, and of great courage; and who in a good cauſe might haue doone better ſeruice.

The rebels are ouerthrowne at Fenington.

The Corniſh rebels giue an onſet, and are ouerthrowne at Fenington; their capteine flieth awaie.

The lord Ruſſels companie followed the chaſe neere three miles, & he himſelfe then throughlie minded and bent to haue paſſed through to the citie. But one Joll his foole, who was then in haſt come from Honiton, and where he had heard, as alſo by the waie as he came did heare bels ringing in ſundrie pariſh churches, and ſuppoſing the ſame to be alarum, came with a foule mouth to my lord, and cried that all the countrie behind him were vp, and comming vpon him. Which his report (conſidering the cruell fights paſt) was credited, and thought that a new companie was in preparing to follow the former quarels. Wherevpon they all retired and returned againe to Honiton; and from thenſe his lordſhip ſent his comfortable letters ſecretlie by a boy apointed and accuſtomed for the ſame, vnto the maior of his ſucceſſe, as alſo aduertiſing him of his determination that he would be ſhortlie with him for the deliuerance of the citie. Which letters (the citie being then but in a doubtfull and diſmaied eſtate) came in verie good ſeaſon; and yet in the end ſcarſelie credited by ſome men, becauſe his comming was not ſo ſpeedie as was looked for.

The lord Greie and Spinola come with a ſupplie to the lord Ruſſell.

Within verie ſhort time after this ouerthrowe was giuen, the lord Greie of Wilton with a crue of horſſemen, and one Spinola an Italian with three hundred ſhot, came to my lord; who being aduertiſed of the ouerthrow of the enimie, and that there were ſlaine about three hundred perſons of them, they were in a great chafe, and much bewailed their euill lucke, that they had not come ſooner to haue beene partakers of that ſeruice. My lord being now of a verie good comfort & courage, aſwell for the good ſucceſſe which he had ouer the enimie, & that his long looked ſupplie was come, ſendeth his other letters to the maior, comforting him, as alſo as before promiſing him to be with him verie ſhortlie; willing him that he ſhould now take but a little patience for a little time. And accordinglie about ſix daies after, on ſaturdaie the third of Auguſt, in good order he ſet forth out of Honiton, and marched towards Excester, his companie being aboue a thouſand of good fightingmen; and leauing the direct high waie, draweth ouer the downs towards Woodburie, and there lodged and pitched his campe that night, at a windmill apperteining to one Gregorie Carie gentleman. Which when the rebels of ſaint Marie Cliff heard of, forthwith, with all their force and power came forth, and marched onwards, vntill they came to the foreſaid mill where they offer the fight: and notwithſtanding they were of verie ſtout ſtomachs, & alſo verie valiantlie did ſtand to their tackels, yet in the end they were ouerthrowne, and the moſt part of them ſlaine.

The lord Ruſſell marcheth towards Excester for their deliuerance.

The rebels are ouerthrowne at the windmill.

Where after the victorie thus gotten, one Miles Couerdale then the preacher, and attending vpon my lord in this iournie made a ſermon, and cauſed a generall thankſgiuing to be made vnto God: but

Miles Couerdale preacher.

before all was ended, there began a new alarum; and forthwith euerie man to horſſe & to harneſſe againe. The rebels which remained in the towne of ſaint Marie Cliſt, hearing of the euill ſucceſſe befallen to their neighbours, and they doubting that their turne would be next to receiue the like; doo ſpread abroad the newes, and requeſt to be aided and aſſiſted. Wherevpon, forthwith in great troopes reſorted vnto them a number of their companions out of euerie quarter, to the number (as it was ſaid) of ſix thouſand men: and in all haſt, they make themſelues and all things in a readineſſe to abide the brunt. Vpon the next morning being ſundaie, my lord minding to follow on his courſe, commandeth the trumpet to ſound, & euerie man to make readie to march forwards. And about nine of the clocke in the ſame morning, they come to Cliſt; where the armie is diuided into three parts, and in three ſeuerall places doo appoint to make entrie into the towne. For in ſo manie places they had fortified the towne, and made great rampires for their defenſe.

The kings armie marcheth towards biſhops Cliſt.

Theſe rampires were after ſome bickering recouered, and ſir William Francis of Summerſetſhire was named to be the firſt that gaue the aduenture, & made the entrie. The commons being driuen from the ſaid rampires, ran all into the towne; and there ioine themſelues togither to abide the pulſe. And as the kings armie was in good order marching into the towne, one of the chiefe capteins of theſe rebels, named ſir Thomas Pomeroie knight, kept himſelfe in a furze cloſe, and perceiuing the armie to be paſt him, and hauing then with him a trumpeter, and a drumſlade, commanded the trumpet to be ſounded, and the drumme to be ſtricken vp. At which ſound, the lord priuie ſeale, and his companie were amazed, ſuppoſing verelie that there had beene an ambuſh behind them to haue intrapped and incloſed them. Wherevpon, they forthwith retire backe in all the haſt they maie: which when they in the towne perceiued, they follow after, and neuer ſtaied vntill they came to the wagons then being in the high waie; & which now by flieng and retiring of the armie, are the formoſt and next to the towne. And theſe being laden with munition, armour, and treaſure, they take and bring into the towne, where they rifle as much as they could, ſauing the peeces of the ordinance, which with the ſhot and pouder they beſtowed in places conuenient, and emploied the ſame againſt my lord and his companie.

Sir William Francis firſt entreth the rampire.

The kings armie retireth.

The rebels take the kings wagons, munition and treaſure.

The armie hauing recouered the hill, did there pauſe a while, and finding themſelues to be deceiued, march backe againe towards the towne: but before they came thither, it was aduertiſed vnto my lord, that the towne and euerie houſe therein was fortified and full of men, and that it was not poſſible for anie to paſſe that waie without great perill and danger, except the towne were ſet on fire. Wherevpon order was giuen, that as they paſſed and entered into the towne, notwithſtanding it was my lords owne, they ſhould ſet the houſes on fire. Sir William Francis being in the fore-ward was formoſt, and leauing the waie which he tooke before, tooke now an other waie, the which waie was both deepe and narrow. The enimies being vpon the banks vpon euerie ſide of the waie, with their ſtones ſo beat him, that they ſtroke his headpeece faſt to his head and whereof he died. The armie being come into the towne, they ſet fire on euerie houſe as they paſſed by. But the rebelles conioining themſelues in the middle of the towne, doo ſtand at their defenſe, where the fight was verie fierce and cruell; and bloudie was that daie: for ſome were ſlaine with the ſword, ſome burned in the houſes, ſome ſhifting for themſelues were taken priſoners, and manie thinking to eſcape ouer the water were drowned: ſo that there were dead that daie one with an other about a thouſand men.

Sir William Francis ſlaine.

Biſhops Cliſt towne ſet on fire and burnt.

The rebels ouerthrowne in the towne.

The towne thus being recouered, and the ouerthrow giuen, the lord Greie deſireth to paſſe ouer the riuer, and to be in the open field, which is a great heath named Cliſt heath: & this he could not doo, but that he muſt paſſe ouer either the water or the bridge, both which were ſomewhat dangerous, for the water was ſomewhat mirie and muddie, as alſo at that time verie deepe, by reaſon of the flowing of the ſeas, which cauſeth the ſame at euerie tide to ſwell. Howbeit one John Yard a gentleman, and who had dwelled thereabouts, knowing the ſaid water, gaue the firſt aduenture ouer, and found waie neere vnto a mill aboue the bridge; and after him others doo followe. But this was not for all the reſt of the armie, who muſt needs paſſe ouer the bridge, which as then they could not doo, by reaſon that the ſame was ſo ouerlaid with great trees and timber, as alſo there ſtood the gunner with his peece readie charged. Wherevpon proclamation was made, that whoſoeuer would aduenture and make waie ouer the bridge, ſhould haue foure hundred crownes for his labor. Then one forthwith more reſpecting the gaine, than forecaſting the perill, gaue the aduenture: but the gunner rewarded him, for he diſcharged his peece vpon him, and ſlue him. And then before he could againe charge his peece, one of the companie, who before was paſſed ouer the water, came and entred the bridge at the further end, and comming behind him ſlue him; who forthwith calleth companie vnto him, and caſteth aſide all the trees and timber, and maketh the bridge cleere, and ſo the whole armie paſſeth ouer the bridge into the heath.

The lord Greie paſſeth ouer the riuer into Cliſt heath.

John Yard firſt giueth the aduenture and findeth waie ouer the water.

A proclamation, that whoſoeuer recouereth firſt the bridge to haue foure hundred crownes.

The bridge recouered.

The lord Greie as ſoone as he was paſſed ouer the water, he rode forthwith to the top of the hill, which is in the middle of the heath; and from thenſe did make a view of all the countrie about him: and looking backe towards Woodburie, he ſaw and eſpied vpon Woodburie hill a great companie aſſembled; & marching forward, & ſuſpecting that they were a new ſupplie appointed to follow and come vpon them, and aduertiſed the lord Ruſſell therof. Wherevpon it was concluded, that the priſoners whom they had before taken at the windmill and in the towne, who were a great number, and which if they were newlie ſet vpon, might be a detriment and a perill vnto them, ſhould be all killed: which forthwith was doone, euerie man making a diſpatch of his priſoners; and then the night approching, there they incamped themſelues for that night.

All the priſoners before taken are committed to the ſword.

The rebelles, which were and laie about Exceſter, were aduertiſed out of hand of this the euill ſucceſſe of their neighbors, wherefore they with as manie as they could get, in all haſt came to Cliſt heath: and in the lower ſide thereof next to the high waie, doo intrench and fortifie a place faſt by a hedge, and ſecretlie there, in the night, doo place their ordinance, & make themſelues in readineſſe to abide the brunt: and as ſoone as the daie light ſerued, diſcharge and ſhoot off their peeces vnto the armie incamped about the top of the hill. The lords and capteins to end the quarrell, doo determine to giue the onſet vpon them; and according to the nature of warres, doo politikelie diuide themſelues into three parts, and euerie one hath his place aſſigned and order appointed vnto him.

The lord Ruſſell, hauing no waie open before him, cauſeth his pioners to make waie ouer the hedges & incloſed grounds, and by that means dooth at length recouer vpon the verie backe of the enimies: and they were ſo intrapped on euerie ſide, that they could not by anie meanes eſcape, but muſt yeeld or fight. The one they would not, and in the other they preuailed not. For notwithſtanding valiantlie and ſtoutlie they ſtood to their tackle, and would not giue ouer as long as life and lim laſted: yet in the end they were all ouerthrowen, and few or none left aliue. Great was the ſlaughter, and cruell was the fight; and ſuch was the valor and ſtoutneſſe of theſe men, that the lord Greie reported himſelfe, that he neuer in all the wars that he had béen in did know the like.

The rebelles are ouerthrowen vpon Cliſt heath.

Sir William Francis buried at Exceſter.

This fight being doone, and all things ſet in good order, the whole armie marched vnto Topſham, which was about a mile off, and laie in that towne all that night, and carried with them in a horſlitter the bodie or corps of ſir William Francis, and from thenſe carried it to Exceſter, where it was buried in martiall manner verie honorablie in the bodie of the cathedrall church of ſaint Peters. When the rebels who laie about the citie heard how their neighbors had ſped, and from time to time had the worſe ſide, and were ſtill ouerthrowen: then as men deſpairing to preuaile, ſecretlie gaue ouer the ſiege and ran apaſe euerie man his waie. The gentlemen, which were kept priſoners in the churches and in other places about the citie, being now at libertie, came ſtraight to the walles about midnight, & gaue knowledge thereof to the watch; and they forthwith did the like vnto the maior. The ioie and comfort whereof was ſo great, and the deſire of freſh vittels ſo much perſed, that manie not abiding till the daielight, gat and ſhifted themſelues out of the gates, but more for vittels than for ſpoile, and yet they were glad of both: howbeit ſome did not long enioie the ſame, for manie being more gréedie of meat than meaſurable in féeding, did ſo ouercharge themſelues in ſurfetting, that they died thereof.

The rebels forſake the citie.

The next morow being tueſdaie and the ſixt of Auguſt, the lord priuie ſeale thinking it long before he came to the citie, commanded the trumpets verie earlie to ſound, and euerie man to make readie and to prepare awaie. And accordinglie all things being doone, he marcheth towards Exceſter, and about eight of the clocke being tueſdaie the ſixt of Auguſt 1549 he came to the ſame, to the great ioy & comfort of the long captiuated citizens, who were no more glad of their deliuerie, than was his lordſhip and all good ſubiects ioyfull of his victorie. But at his comming he entred not into the citie: for being aduertiſed from the maior that the citie was altogither vnfurniſhed of vittels, order was taken that no ſtranger, nor one nor other ſhould enter into the citie, but lie in the campe for a time. Then his lordſhip pitched his tents without the wals in S. Iohns fields, next to Southing haie, & vpon the cities wals next to the poſterne of his houſe was the kings ſtandard of the red dragon ſet vp. As ſoone as he was entred into his tent, the maior & all his brethren in moſt ſéemelie & decent order went vnto him, who moſt louinglie embraſed them, moſt thankefullie accepted them, and moſt highlie commended them for their truth, dutie, and ſeruice, which vpon his fidelitie and honor he did promiſe ſhould be well conſidered by the kings maieſtie, and which in the end was performed. For the king being aduertiſed thereof, he did not onelie thankefullie accept and highlie commend their ſeruices, but alſo rewarded and conſidered the ſame, both by confirmation of their charters, inlarging of their liberties, and augmenting of their reuenues, in giuing vnto them the manor of Exilond, which as was ſaid was ſometimes their ancient inheritance, but by power of the earles of Deuon by force taken, and by wrong and iniurie kept from them.

The lord Ruſſell commeth to Exceſter.

The maior and his brethren ſalute the lord Ruſſell, and he embraceth them.

The king thankefullie accepteth the ſeruice of the citie, and liberallie rewardeth the ſame.

Immediatlie after his comming, ſir William Herbert then maſter of the kings horſſes, and after earle of Penbroke, came with a thouſand Welſhmen: who though they came too late to the fraie; yet ſoone inough to the plaie. For the whole countrie was then put to the ſpoile, and euerie ſoldier ſought for his beſt profit: a iuſt plague of the Lord vpon rebels and diſloiall perſons. But the citie being as yet altogither deſtitute of vittels, and the Welſhmen at their firſt comming ſéeing the ſame, they did by their ſpeciall induſtries & trauels fraught & furniſh the ſame within two daies with corne, cattels, and vittels, verie plentifullie, to the great reléefe and comfort of the people therin, & to the benefit of themſelues. The lord priuie ſeale remained and continued in this citie aboue twelue daies before he remooued: ſetting all things in good order, rewarding the good & puniſhing the euill. To ſir Peter Carew he gaue all Wineſlades land, to ſir Gawen Carew Humfrie Arundels lands, to William Gibbes eſquier Beries lands, and to manie others which had doone good ſeruices he gaue priſoners, both bodies, goods, and lands.

The Welſhmen came too late to the fight, but ſoone inough to the ſpoile.

The lord priuie ſeale tarieth at Exon, rewardeth the good and puniſheth the euill.

Sir Peter Carew, ſir Gawen Carew, William Gibbes, rewarded with traitors lands.

On the other ſide he commanded forches and gallowes to be ſet vp in ſundrie places, as well within the citie as alſo in the countrie; and did command and cauſe manie to be executed and put to death, eſpeciallie ſuch as were noted to be chiefe and buſie dooers & ringleaders in this rebellion. Among them all there was no one ſo exalted as was Welſh the vicar of ſaint Thomas néere the Exbridge at Exceſter, who was preferred and preſented to that benefice by the lord Ruſſell patrone thereof. This man had manie good things in him, he was of no great ſtature, but well ſet and mightilie compact: he was a verie good wreſtler, ſhot well both in the long bow as alſo in the croſſebow, he handled his handgun and péece verie well, he was a verie good woodman and a hardie, and ſuch a one as would not giue his head for the polling nor his beard for the waſhing, he was a companion in anie exerciſes of actiuitie, & of a courteous and gentle behauiour, he deſcended of a good honeſt parentage, being borne at Penxarin in Cornewall; and yet in this rebellion an archcapteine and a principall dooer. He was charged with thrée principall crimes. The firſt was, that he did not onelie perſuade the people to the contemning of the reformed religion, according to the kings procéedings, and to kéepe and obſerue the Romiſh and popiſh religion: but alſo did erect, kéepe, and vſe the ſame in his pariſh church. Secondarilie, he was a capteine and a principall dealer in the cauſe of the rebellion, which was chieflie directed by him, his order, & aduiſe. Thirdlie, he cauſed one Kingwell a tinner of Chagford, and ſeruant to maſter Iohn Charels of Taueſtoke to be hanged, bicauſe ſecretlie he had conueied letters betwéene my lord and his maſter, and was earneſt in the reformed religion, which was then termed the kings procéedings, & an enimie to the popiſh ſtate. And being a ſharpe inueier againſt the one, and an earneſt mainteiner of the other, it procured vnto him great hatred and malice: when the rebellion was begun he ſought by all the meanes he could how to eſcape awaie: but he was ſo narrowlie watched, that he could neuer haue anie oportunitie ſo to doo.

Thrée things laid to the charge of the vicar of ſaint Thomas.

The rebels hang Kingwell.

They vſed all the deuiſes they could to recouer him to their opinions, ſometimes with faire words, ſometimes with threatenings, and ſometimes with impriſonments: but ſtill he inueied againſt them, calling them rebels and traitors both againſt God and the king, and foreprophecied vnto them that deſtruction and confuſion would be the end & reward of their doings. Thus when they could not reclame him to their diſpoſition, then by the order and iudgement of this vicar Welſh, he was fetched out of the priſon, and forthwith brought forth before Caiphas and Pilat, and condemned to be hanged: which was executed vpon him forthwith, and he brought to an elme tree in Exilond, without the weſt gate of the citie, before the houſe of one Nicholas Caue, and there hanged. The like crueltie or rather tyrannie was doone at Sampford Courteneie, where when a certeine Frankelin a gentleman, named William Hellions, who comming to Sampford to haue ſome communication with them for the ſtaie of their rebellion, and for the pacifieng of them in their due obedience, was at the townes end taken priſoner, & caried to the churchhouſe, where he ſo earneſtlie reprooued them for their rebellion, & ſo ſharplie threatened them an euill ſucceſſe; that they all fell in a rage with him, and not onlie with euill words reuiled him: but alſo as he was going out of the churchhouſe & going downe the ſtaires, one of them named Githbridge with a bill ſtrake him in the necke, and immediatlie notwithſtanding his pitifull requeſts and lamentations, a number of the reſt fell vpon him, ſlue him, and cut him into ſmall peeces: and though they counted him for an heretike, yet they buried him in the church-yard there, but contrarie to the common maner, laieng his bodie north and ſouth.

These things being called to remembrance and obiected againſt this vicar, although ſome men in reſpect of his vertues and good gifts did pitie and lament his caſe, and would haue gladlie beene ſutors for his pardon: yet the greatneſſe of his lewdneſſe and follies conſidered, they left him vnto his deſerts: & ſo was by order of the marſhall law condemned to death. And yet this one thing by the waie I muſt ſpeake in his commendation. There was among the rebels a ſtranger and an alien, who was a verie ſkilfull gunner, & could handle his peece verie well, and did much harme vnto the citie, & among others ſlue one Smith ſtanding at a doore in northgateſtreet with a great ſhot from ſaint Dauids hill. This fellow tooke vpon him, that he would ſet the whole citie on fire, and it ſhould be cleane burned within foure houres, doo they what they could. This his offer was ſo well liked, that the date and time was appointed when this ſhould be doone.

The rebels appoint to ſet fire on the citie and to burne it.

The vicar hearing thereof, aſſembleth vnto him as manie men as he could make and haue, & came to this companie when this fire ſhould be kindled, and was ſo hot and earneſt againſt their attempts, that he would in no wiſe ſuffer ſo lewd an act and wicked a thing to be doone. For (ſaith he) doo you what you can by policie, force, or dint of ſword to take the citie, I will ioine with you, and doo my beſt: but to burne a citie which ſhall be hurtfull to all men and good to no man, I will neuer conſent therevnto, but will here ſtand with all my power againſt you. And ſo ſtout he was in this matter, that he ſtopped them from their further enterpriſing of ſo wicked a fact. But to the matter. The execution of this man was committed to Barnard Duffeld, who being nothing ſlacke to follow his commiſſion, cauſed a paire of gallowes to be made, and to be ſet vp vpon the top of the tower of the ſaid vicars pariſh church of S. Thomas: and all things being readie and the ſtage perfected for this tragedie, the vicar was brought to the place, and by a rope about his middle drawne vp to the top of the tower: and there in chains hanged in his popiſh apparell, and had a holie water bucket and ſprinkle, a ſacring bell, a paire of beads, & ſuch other like popiſh traſh hanged about him, and there he with the ſame about him remained a long time. He made a verie ſmall or no confeſſion, but verie patientlie tooke his death, he had beene a good member in his common-wealth, had not the weeds ouergrowne the good corne, and his foule vices ouercommed his vertues.

The vicar of ſaint Thomas letteth and will not conſent to the burning of the citie.

The vicar is hanged in chaines vpon the top of the tower with his popiſh traſh and ornaments about him.

The lord priuie ſeale remaining ſtill in Exceſter was continuallie occupied in ſetting things in order, he was verie ſeuere and ſharpe againſt ſuch offendors as were chiefe and principall ringleders of this rebellion: but to the common ſort who were led and carried, and who did humble themſelues, he was pitifull and mercifull, and did dailie pardon infinite numbers. And his lordſhip thinking verelie that all things were now quieted, & the rebels pacified, ſuddenlie newes were brought vnto him that there aſſembled at Sampford Courtneie, both Deuonſhiremen and Corniſhmen; and who were fullie bent to mainteine their quarrell and abide the battell. Theſe newes ſo troubled and tickled my lord, that all buſineſſe ſet apart, he commandeth forthwith the trumpet to be ſounded, and the drumme to be ſtriken vp, and all his armie to be forthwith muſtered: which was then the greater, by reaſon of the Welſhmen and gentlemen of the countrie and of the commoners, who vpon ſubmiſſion had obteined pardon, and increaſed to the number of eight or ten thouſand men, and forthwith he marcheth towards Sampford Courtneie, where ſir William Herbert requeſted to haue the fore-ward for that daie, which was granted him.

The rebels aſſembled at Sampford Courtneie.

And being come thither, albeit the great companie of ſo manie good ſouldiers and well appointed might haue diſmaied them, being nothing nor in order, nor in companie, nor in experience, to be compared vnto the others: yet they were at a point they would not yeeld to no perſuaſions, nor did, but moſt manfullie did abide the fight: and neuer gaue ouer, vntill that both in the towne and in the field they were all for the moſt taken or ſlaine. At which time one ap Owen a Welſh gentleman, more boldlie than aduiſedlie giuing the aduenture to enter the rampier at the townes end, was there ſlaine by the rebels, and after carried backe to Exon, where after the maner of wars he was honorablie buried in the bodie of ſaint Peters church, few of the kings ſide beſides him then ſlaine: and ſo of a traitorous beginning they made a ſhamefull ending. Neuertheleſſe manie eſcaped and they fled towards Summerſetſhire: after whom was ſent ſir Peter Carew, and ſir Hugh Paulet then knight marſhall: with a great companie attending vpon them, and followed them as far as to King Weſton in the countie of Summerſet: where they ouertooke them and ouerthrew them, and alſo tooke one Coffin a gentleman their capteine priſoner and brought him vnto Exceſter.

The rebels ouerthrowne at Sampford Courtneie.

Sir Peter Carew purſueth the rebels which fled to King Weſton.

The lord Ruſſell himſelfe minding to make all things ſure, taketh his iorneie, and marcheth into Cornewall; and following his former courſe, cauſeth execution to be doone vpon a great manie, and eſpeciallie vpon the cheefe belwedders and ringleaders: but the cheefe and principall capteins he kept as priſoners, and brought them with him to Exceſter. And when this lord had ſet all things in good order, he returned to Exceſter, & remained there for a time; but after departed towards London, where he was receiued with great ioy and thanks: and being come before the king, he forgat not to commend vnto his maieſtie the good ſeruice of this citie in this rebellion, which (as is before ſaid) was liberallie rewarded and conſidered. After his departure, and according to his order and appointment, the cheefe capteins and principall heads of this rebellion, whome he left in priſon in the kings goale at Exceſter, were caried to London and commanded to the tower, and in their due time were afterwards executed to death, namelie Humfreie Arundell eſquier, Wineſlade eſquier, Iohn Berrie and Coffin gentlemen, and Holmes yeoman; which Coffin and Holmes were ſeruants

The lord priuie ſeale taketh his iorneie into Cornewall.

The lord priuie ſeale taketh his iorneie towards London and is honourablie receiued.

The cheefe capteins of the rebels are caried to London and there put to death.

to ſir John Arundell knight. Of the number of them who were ſlaine, there is no certeintie knowne, but manie more be found lacke then numbred: howbeit it was accounted by ſuch as continued in the whole ſeruice of this commotion to be about foure thouſand men. But what number was of the contrarie ſide diſpatched, nothing is reported, albeit it be well knowne that they eſcaped not ſcotfrée, and eſpeciallie the Burgonians, who were abhorred of the one partie, and nothing fauoured of the other. Thus much concerning the deſcription of the citie, and of the ſundrie inuaſions and aſſaults againſt the ſame, and eſpeciallie of the laſt rebellion or commotion in the yeare of our Lord 1549, wherein much more might be ſpoken, but this may ſuffice for this matter. And for as much as the cathedrall church of this citie, called by the name of S. Peters, is a parcell of the citie, and compaſſed within the wals of the ſame, though in reſpect of certeine priuileges diſtinct from the iuriſdiction thereof; I thought it good to ſubnect hereunto the deſcription of the ſaid church, and of the antiquitie of the ſame.

The antiquitie, foundation, and building *of the cathedrall church of ſaint* Peters in Exceſter.

After that corrupt religion and ſuperſtition was crept and receiued into the church, and the people become deuout therein, then began the erecting of religious houſes and monaſteries in euerie countrie. And as this was vniuerſall throughout all chriſtendome vnder the gouernement of the Romane biſhop: ſo alſo was it generallie doone throughout all England, in which generalitie this citie was of a particularitie; for in this citie from time to time as opportunitie ſerued ſundrie religious houſes and monaſteries were erected and builded, of which there were thrée within the ſite, circuit, and place now called the cloſe of S. Peters, and which in time accrued and were vnited into one. The firſt was a houſe for women called moniales or nuns, which is now the deanes houſe or Kalendar haie. The other was a houſe of moonks, ſuppoſed to be builded by king Ethelred, the third ſonne to king Ethelwolph, and theſe two were vnited by biſhop Leofricus vnto the cathedrall church. The third was a houſe for moonks of the order of S. Benet, which was builded and founded by king Athelſtane, about the yeare of our Lord 932: and this is that part of the cathedrall church now called the ladie chappell. For the ſaid king, hauing driuen out of this citie the Britons then dwelling therein, and minding to make a full conqueſt both of them and of this their countrie which they then inhabited, did ſo fiercelie follow and purſue them euen into Cornewall, that in the end he conquered them, and had the victorie. After which he returned to this citie, and here ſtaieng and ſoiourning for a time, did reedifie the citie, incompaſſed it with a ſtone wall, and founded the cathedrall church, which he then appointed for a monaſterie for moonks of S. Benets order. For ſo is it written: *Hanc vrbem rex Adelſtanus primus in poteſtatem Anglorum, effugatis Britonibus redactam turribus muniuit, & muro ex quadratis lapidibus cinxit, ac antiquitùs vocatam Munketon nunc Exeſter vocari voluit: ac ibi ſedens manſum quoddam dedit ad fundandum monaſterium pro monachis Deo & ſancto Petro famulantibus.* Beſides the charges which he was at the building of the ſaid church, he gaue alſo lands and reuenues vnto them ſufficient for maintenance and liuelihoods, whereof Morkeſhull and Treaſurors béere are parcell, and which now are appendant and apperteining to the treaſuror of the cathedrall church.

The religious houſes within the precinct of the cemiterie of S. Peters.

King Athelſtan builded the wals of the citie of ſtone.

Ex pamphleto monaſterij S. Iohannis Baptiſtæ Exon.

Ex chronica eccleſiæ cathred. Exon.

After the time of king Athelſtane, the Danes with great hoſtilitie and crueltie hauing ouerrun this whole land, they alſo came to this citie, and in ſpoiling the ſame, did alſo ranſacke and ſpoile the ſaid church, whoſe continuall inuaſions the moonks being not able to indure, fled and forſooke their houſe and home, and ſought places of better ſafetie. By which meanes this monaſterie for ſundrie yeares was left deſtituted, vntill the time of king Edgar; who on a time made a progreſſe into theſe weſt parts, to viſit his father in law Odogarus then earle of Deuon, and founder of the abbeie of Tauiſtoke, whoſe daughter he had married. And being come to this citie, did here reſt and ſtaie himſelfe, where when he ſaw the diſtreſſed ſtate of the ſaid church, & pitieng the ſame, cauſed ſearch and inquirie to be made of the moonks which were ſcattered and yet left: and when he had gotten them togither, he reſtored them vnto their houſe and liuelihoods, and appointed Sidemannus who was afterwards biſhop of this dioceſſe to be abbat of the ſame. And from thenſfoorth they continued togither (though ſometimes in troubles) vntill that king Swanus or Sweno the Dane, with a mightie and a huge armie came to this citie, beſieged, tooke, ſpoiled, and deſtroied it with ſword and fier. Howbeit not long after it was reſtored againe by king Cahutus or Canutus, who being aduertiſed of the great cruelties which his father Sweno had doone to the ſaid monaſterie, did at the requeſt of Athelredus one of his dukes, make reſtitution vnto Athelwoldus then abbat of all their lands, liuings and priuileges: as dooth appeare by his charter dated in the yeare of our Lord 1019.

The Danes ſpoile the church of S. Peters.

The moonks forſake their monaſterie.

Flores hiſtoriarum.

King Edgar reſtoreth the abbat and moonks to their houſe.

Sidemannus abbat of this church, and after biſhop of this dioceſſe.

K. Canutus reſtoreth both lands & priuileges to the church.

After this, about thirtie yeares, king Edward the Confeſſor came to this citie, and he by the aduiſe and at the motion of Leofricus biſhop of Crediton, and who ſometimes was lord chancellor of England vnder the ſaid king, and one of his priuie councell, partlie for the better ſafetie of the biſhop and his ſucceſſors, who lieng and hauing their houſes in the countrie, were ſubiect to manie and ſundrie perils, and partlie to prouide a more conuenient place for the moonks, did remooue the biſhops ſée from Crediton, and remooued the moonks vnto Weſtminſter: and he the king in his owne perſon, togither with quéene Edith his wife, did inſtall the ſaid Leofricus in poſſeſſion of this his new church and ſée. The biſhop thus remooued from the old, and placed in the new ſée and church, dooth endow the ſame with all thoſe lands and liuelihoods which he had of the gift of the ſaid king, and which before did apperteine to his former church, and to reduce and make his ſanctuarie to his mind, pulleth downe the two monaſteries néere adioining, the one being of moonks and the other of nuns, and addeth and vniteth them vnto his owne church, and hauing brought all things to effect according to his mind, deuiſeth and maketh lawes, orders, and ordinances for the good gouernment of his church and cleargie.

The biſhops ſée remooued from Crediton to Exon.

Leofricus the firſt biſhop of Exceſter.

After the death of Leofricus, all his ſucceſſors for the moſt part procure the augmentation and increaſe of this their new erected ſée and church, ſome in liuelihoods, ſome in liberties and priuileges, ſome in buildings, and ſome in one thing, and ſome in another. William Wareweſt the third biſhop of this church, who had ſometimes béene chapleine to the Conqueror, and to his two ſonnes William and Henrie, was in ſuch fauor and good liking with the Conqueror, that at his requeſt he gaue vnto him and to this his church, Plimpton, Brampton, and S. Stephans in Exceſter, which gift his ſaid ſonnes being kings of England did ratifie and confirme. And then the ſaid biſhop, hauing the ordering and diſtributing

The king at the requeſt of William Wareweſt biſhop, giueth Plimpton, Brampton, & S. Stephans to the church of Exceſter.

thereof, giueth Plimpton to the regular monkes there, for whom he had founded and builded a monaſterie, and wherein he himſelfe ſhortlie after leauing and yéelding vp his biſhoprike, became and was a monke. Brampton was reſerued to the church, and which afterwards was annexed to the deanerie. And S. Stephans with the fée to the ſame apperteining, he reſerued to himſelfe and to his ſucceſſors, & whereby they are barons and lords of the parlement. This biſhop in the yeare of our Lord 1112, firſt began to inlarge his cathedrall, and laid the foundation of that part, which is now the chore or quier: for before that time it was no bigger than that, which ſince and now is called the ladie chapell. After him William Brewer the biſhop made and eſtabliſhed in the yeare of our Lord 1235, a deane and a chapter of foure and twentie prebendaries: and for the deane (whome he appointed, and whoſe name was Serlo) and for his ſucceſſors, he gaue and impropriated Brampton and Coliton Rawleigh, and for the prebendaries he purchaſed lands, alloting and aſſigning to euerie of them *Pro pane & ſale* the like portion of foure pounds.

The foundation of the quier of S. Peters church.

Biſhop William Brewer inſtituteth the deane & foure and twentie prebendaries.

Peter Quiuell the biſhop finding the chancell of his church to be fullie builded and ended, beginneth to found and build the lower part or the bodie of his church, in the yeare of our Lord 1284, from the chancell of his church vnto the weſt end of the ſaid church. This man firſt appointed a chanter and a ſubdeane to be in his church. To the one of them he impropriated Paineton and Chudleie, and to the other the perſonage of Egloſchaile in Cornewall. After him Iohn Grandiſſon, in the yeare of our Lord 1340, did increaſe the length of the bodie of the church from the funt weſtwards, as alſo vaulted the roofe of the whole church, and did fullie end and finiſh the ſame. And albeit from the time of king Athelſtane the firſt founder in the yeare of our Lord 932, vntill the daie of the death of this biſhop Grandiſſon, which was in the yeare 1369, there were about 437 yeares diſtant, and in the meane time this church was continued in building by ſundrie perſons: yet it is ſo decentlie and vniformelie compacted, as though it had béene builded at one verie time and inſtant.

The bodie of ſaint Peters church firſt founded.

The chanter and ſubdeane firſt conſtituted in this church.

Biſhop Grandiſſon a great benefactor to the church.

The church of S. Peters was in building 437 yeares.

The ſucceſſour of this Grandiſſon, who was named Thomas Brentingham, finiſhed and ended the north tower of the church. After this, about the yeare of our Lord 1400, and in the time of biſhop Stofford, the cloiſter was added to the church, and builded at the moſt part of the charges of the deane and chapiter. And not long after Edmund Lacie biſhop began to build the chapiter houſe, which being not ended in his time, his next ſucceſſor George Neuill, in the yeare of our Lord 1456, did fullie end and abſolue the ſame: and which is a verie faire, beautifull, and a ſumptuous worke. And thus much concerning the antiquitie, foundation, and building of this cathedrall church. Thus far Iohn Hooker.

The cloiſter builded.

The building of the chapiter houſe.

About the ſame time that this rebellion (whereto all the foreſaid diſcourſe tendeth) began in the weſt, the like diſordered hurles were attempted in Oxfordſhire, and Buckinghamſhire: but they were ſpéedilie appeaſed by the lord Greie of Wilton, who comming downe that waie to ioine with the lord priuie ſeale, chaſed the rebels to their houſes, of whome two hundred were taken, and a dozzen of the ringleaders to him deliuered, whereof certeine afterwards were executed. Moreouer, in diuerſe other parts of the realme, namelie in the ſouth and eaſt parts, did the people (as before ye haue heard) aſſemble themſelues in rebellious maner, committing manie foule diſorders: but yet by good policie and holeſome perſuaſions they were appeaſed, except in Norffolke, where after there was a rumour ſpred, that the commons in Kent had throwne downe the diches and hedges, wherewith certeine paſture grounds were incloſed, and had laid the ſame open. Diuerſe ſeditious perſons and buſie fellowes began to complaine that the like had not béene doone in Norffolke, and ceaſed not to practiſe how to raiſe the people to an open rebellion; meaning not onelie to laie open parkes and incloſures, but to attempt other reformations, as they termed them, to the great danger of ouerthrowing the whole ſtate of the common-wealth.

Iohn Fox.

Common rebellion.

Norffolke.

They chieflie declared a ſpitefull rancor and hatered conceiued againſt gentlemen, whome they maliciouſlie accuſed of inordinat couetouſneſſe, pride, rapine, extortion, and oppreſſion, practiſed againſt their tenants and other, for the which they accounted them worthie of all puniſhment. Herevpon diuerſe of them, namelie the inhabitants of Atilborough, and other of their neighbors, conceiuing no ſmall diſpleaſure, for that one Gréene of Wilbie had taken in a parcell of the common paſture, as was ſuppoſed, belonging to the towne of Atilborough, and adioining to the common paſture of Harſham, riotouſlie aſſembled togither, and threw downe certeine new diches made by the ſaid Gréene, to incloſe in the ſaid parcell of commons.

The beginning of the rebellion in Norffolke.

This was doone before Midſummer, and ſo it reſted till the ſixt of Iulie, at which time there ſhould be a publike plaie kept at Wimondham, a towne diſtant from Norwich ſix miles, which plaie had béene accuſtomed yearelie to be kept in that towne, continuing for the ſpace of one night and one daie at the leaſt. Wherevpon the wicked contriuers of this vnhappie rebellion, tooke occaſion by the aſſembling of ſuch numbers of people as reſorted thither to ſée that plaie, to enter further into their wicked enterpriſe: and vpon conference had, they immediatlie aſſembled at Morleie a mile from Wimondham, & there they caſt downe certeine diches of maiſter Hubbords on the tueſdaie, and that night they repaired to Wimondham againe, where they practiſed the like feats. But as yet they tooke no mans goods by violence.

A conference to further this rebellion in the méeting at a publike plaie.

Herevpon one Iohn Flowerdew of Hetherſet gentleman, finding himſelfe grieued with the caſting downe of ſome diches, came vnto ſome of the rebels, and gaue to them fortie pence to caſt downe the fenſes of an incloſure belonging to Robert Ket, *alias* Knight, a tanner of Wimondham (which paſture lieth néere to the faire Wounge at Wimondham aforſaid) which they did. And that night conſulting togither, the next morning they tooke their iourneie to Hetherſet, by the procurement of the ſaid Robert Ket, in reuenge of the diſpleaſure which he had conceiued againſt the ſaid Flowerdew, and ſet them in hand to plucke vp and caſt downe hedges and diches, wherewith certeine paſture grounds belonging to the ſaid Flowerdew were incloſed.

Iohn Flowerdew.

Robert Ket.

Here was ſomwhat adoo. For maiſter Flowerdew did what he could to haue cauſed them to deſiſt from that attempt, in ſomuch that manie ſharpe words paſſed betwixt Ket and the ſaid maiſter Flowerdew. But Ket being a man hardie and forward to anie deſperat attempt that ſhould be taken in hand, was ſtreight entered into ſuch eſtimation with the commons thus aſſembled togither in rebellious wiſe, that his will was accompliſhed: and ſo thoſe hedges and diches belonging to the paſture grounds of maiſter Flowerdew were throwne downe and made plaine. Herevpon was Ket choſen to be their capteine and ringleader, who being reſolued to ſet all on ſix and ſeuen, willed them to be of good comfort, and to follow him in defenſe of their common libertie, being readie in the common-wealths cauſe to hazard

Ket choſen to be capteine of the rebels.

both life and goods.

Herewith they paſſed the water betwixt Cringelford and Eiton, and comming to Bowthorpe, caſt downe certeine hedges and diches in that place, and their number being now greatlie increaſed, they incamped there that night. Here ſir Edmund Windam knight, being high ſhiriffe of Norffolke and Suffolke, came and proclamed them rebels, commanding them to depart in the kings maieſties name. With which proclamation they were greatlie offended, and attempted to haue got him into their hands: but he being well horſſed, valiantlie brake through them that had compaſſed him in: howbeit he eſcaped from them and got into Norwich, being not paſt a mile off. The ſame night there came a great number of lewd people vnto them, as well out of the citie of Norwich as out of the countrie, with weapon, armour, and artillerie.

The citizens of Norwich.

Thomas Cod.

The daie before that Ket came to this place, a great number of the meaner ſort of the citizens of Norwich had throwne downe a quickſet hedge, and filled vp the diches, wherewith the foreſaid commons were on the one ſide incloſed, to kéepe in the cattell of the citizens that had the ſame going before their common neatherd: and ſo that fenſe which by good and prouident aduiſe of their forefathers, had béene raiſed and made for the common profit of the whole citie, was thus by a ſort of lewd perſons defaced and caſt downe at that preſent. And ſcarſe had they throwne downe the dich in the vpper end of this paſture, but that a companie of euill diſpoſed perſons ſtale out of the citie, and got them to Kets campe. The maior of the citie named Thomas Cod aduertiſed hereof, doubting what might follow of this miſchiefous begun rebellion, thought good to trie if he might perſuade the rebels to giue ouer their traitorous enterpriſes: and therfore taking certeine of the aldermen with him, he went to Kets campe, vſing what perſuaſions he could to reduce them vnto their dutifull obedience, & to depart home to their houſes. But his trauell was in vaine, and therefore returned backe to the citie without hope to doo anie good with that vnrulie rout.

The rebels requeſt licence to paſſe thorough Norwich.

After whoſe departure, they conſidering in what danger they ſtood to be ſurpriſed, if they ſhould ſcatter abroad in ſuch ſort as till then they had doone, ſéeking to waſt and ſpoile the countrie about them, without kéeping togither in anie warlike order, thought it ſtood moſt with their ſuertie to draw into one place, and to fortifie the ſame for their further ſtrength. Upon this reſolution they determined to go with all ſpéed vnto Mouſehold, a place as they tooke it méet for their purpoſe, and therefore ſent to the maior of Norwich, requeſting him of licence to paſſe through the citie, bicauſe it was their néereſt waie, promiſing not to offer anie iniurie or violence to anie perſon, but quietlie to march through the citie vnto their place appointed. But the maior did not onlie denie them paſſage, but alſo with ſharpe and bitter ſpeach reprouing their rebellious doings, told them what would follow thereof, if they gaue not ouer in time from further procéeding in ſuch wicked attempts.

Sir Roger Woodhouſe.

The next daie being thurſdaie, ſir Roger Woodhouſe with ſeuen or eight of his houſhold ſeruants, came to them, bringing with him two carts laden with béere, and one cart laden with other vittels: for a recompenſe whereof he was ſtripped out of his apparell, had his horſſes taken from him, and whatſoeuer elſe he had, the rebels accounting the ſame a good preie, he himſelfe was cruellie tugged and caſt into a dich of one Mores of nether Arleham by Heileſdonbridge; where the ſame daie the rebels, being diſappointed of their purpoſe to paſſe through Norwich, found meanes to paſſe, and comming to maiger Corbets houſe of Sprowſton, intended to haue burnt the ſame houſe. But yet being perſuaded to ſpare it from fire, they ſpoiled his goods, defaced a douehouſe of his, which had béene a chappell, and afterwards got them to Mouſehold, and comming to S. Leonards hill, on which the erle of Surrie had built a ſtatelie houſe called mount Surrie, they inkennelled themſelues there on the ſame hill; and in the woods adioining that lie on the weſt and the ſouth ſide of the ſame hill, as the commons or paſture called Mouſehold heath lieth on the eaſt ſide, which conteineth foure or fiue miles in length, & thrée or foure in bredth.

Mount Surrie.

Mouſehold.

They put ſir Roger Woodhouſe, and other priſoners whom they had caught, in ſtreict ward within the foreſaid houſe of mount Surrie, on the which they ſeized, and ſpoiled whatſoeuer they found within it. In the meane time, the maior of Norwich taking aduiſe with his brethren the aldermen, what was beſt to doo in this caſe, whether preſentlie to iſſue forth, and diſtreſſe the rebels now in the beginning, leaſt time might giue them meane to increaſe their power: or rather to ſtaie till they had aduertiſed the councell of the whole matter. In the end they agréed that this laſt aduiſe was moſt ſureſt, and ſo they diſpatched a poſt with all ſpéed to the court. Beſide this great campe (as they termed it) at Mouſehold, there was a leſſer at Riſing chaſe neare to Lin: but the rebels there, by the good diligence and circumſpect policie of the iuſtices and gentlemen of thoſe parts, were ſpéedilie repreſſed, and driuen from thence. Notwithſtanding afterwards they aſſembled togither at Watton, & there remained about a fortnight, ſtopping alſo the paſſage at Thetford and Brandon ferrie, within nine miles of the ſaid Watton: and at length came and ioined themſelues with theſe other at Mouſehold, by appointment of their generall capteine (as they tooke him) the foreſaid Robert Ket.

Riſing chaſe.

Watton.

Moreouer, there came flocking from Suffolke and other parts, a great multitude of lewd diſpoſed perſons, raiſed by firing of beacons, and ringing of bels. Alſo a number of raſcals & naughtie lewd perſons ſtale out of the citie of Norwich, and went to campe. And thus being got togither in great multitudes, they added one wickedneſſe to another, as hauing no ſtaie of themſelues after their downefall, nor holding them content with the committing of one villanous treſpaſſe and horrible tranſgreſſion, according vnto the poets words to the like purpoſe:

Quiſnam hominum eſt, quem tu contentum videris vno
Flagitio?———

Counterfeit religion.

Now to cloke their malicious purpoſe with a counterfeit ſhew of holineſſe, they cauſed one Coniers vicar of ſaint Martins in Norwich to ſaie ſeruice morning and euening, to praie to God for proſperous ſpéed in that their vngodlie enterpriſe. Moreouer they went about to ioine to their cauſe diuerſe honeſt men, and right commendable for religion, doctrine, vertue, and innocencie of life; amongſt whome were Robert Watſon a preacher, Thomas Cod maior of Norwich, and Thomas Alderich of Mangréene hall. Theſe thrée, although ſore againſt their willes, were conſtreined to be preſent with them in all matters of counſell, and to take vpon them (as aſſociats with capteine Ket) the adminiſtration and order of euerie thing: which happened well for manie. For when either Ket himſelfe, or anie other of the capteins, through ſetting on of the outragious multitude, purpoſed anie miſchéefe (as often it came to paſſe) in one place or other, through their graue aduiſe, and approued induſtrie, their furie was ſundrie times ſtaied and calmed. Although Ket bent to all vngratiouſnes, would diuerſe times grant forth commiſſions, abuſing now and then the names of honeſt men thereby, appointing his vnthriftie mates to fetch in vittels to furniſh their campe withall. The tenor of one of the which commiſſions here inſueth.

The forme of a warrant granted out *by the rebels to take vp vittels.*

WE the kings friends & deputies, doo grant licence to all men, to prouide and bring into the campe at Mouſehold, all maner of cattell, and prouiſion of vittels, in what place ſoeuer they may find the ſame: ſo that no violence or iniurie bee doone to any honeſt or poore man. Commanding all perſons as they tender the kings honor and roiall maieſtie, and the releefe of the common welth, to be obedient to vs the gouernors, and to thoſe whoſe names inſue.

Signed *Robert Ket.*

Then followed in order a long liſt of names, for the number of the gouernors was great, as they that beſide the cheefe capteins had choſen out of euerie hundred two, and there were ſix and twentie hundreds. By vertue of ſuch commiſſions, manie that were of good worſhip and credit in the countrie, whom the rebels in their rage had condemned, were fetched from their houſes, and other places where they might be found, and being brought to the campe, were committed to priſon. Alſo the ditches and hedges, wherewith the commons abrode in the countrie were incloſed, were throwne downe, & manie were warned and called forth from ſundrie parts, to come and take part with them in theſe tumultuous vprores. And all theſe things were doone, the maior, maiſter Watſon, and maiſter Aldrich not onlie holding their peace and winking thereat, but alſo ſometime after a maner giuing their conſent to the ſame. For to haue reſiſted them had beene but follie, and the waie to haue put themſelues in danger of deſtruction, and their countrie too.

Gentlemen impriſoned.

The honeſt citizens of Norwich in this meane while remained in great perplexitie, hearing nothing from the king nor his councell. They therefore being vncerteine what to doo, abode in the citie, till they might vnderſtand what order it ſhould pleaſe the king to take for the quieting of theſe troubles. The cauſe why the councell was thus ſlacke in prouiding remedie againſt the Norffolke rebels, was: for that they were buſie in quieting the troubles in the inner part of the realme about London, and other places (as before ye haue heard) by meanes whereof the power of theſe Norffolke rebels ſtill increaſed, ſo that there were aſſembled togither into Kets campe, to the number of ſixteene thouſand vngratious vnthrifts, who by the aduiſe of their capteins fortified themſelues, and made prouiſion of artillerie, powder and other abiliments, which they fetched out of ſhips, gentlemens houſes, and other places where any was to be found, and withall ſpoiled the countrie of all the cattell, riches and coine, on which they might laie hands.

The number of the rebels.

But bicauſe manie (as in ſuch caſe is euer ſeene) did prouide for themſelues, and hid that which they got, laieng it vp for their owne ſtore, and brought it not forth to further the common cauſe, Ket and the other gouernors (for ſo would they be called) thought to prouide a remedie, and by common conſent it was decreed, that a place ſhould be appointed, where iudgements might bee exerciſed, as in a iudiciall hall. Wherevpon they found out a great old oke, where the ſaid Ket, and the other gouernors or deputies might ſit and place themſelues, to heare and determine ſuch quareling matters as came in queſtion. Afore whom ſometime would aſſemble a great number of the rebels, and exhibit complaints of ſuch diſorders, as now and then were practiſed among them; and there they would take order for the redreſſing of ſuch wrongs and iniuries as were appointed, ſo that ſuch greedie vagabounds as were readie to ſpoile more than ſeemed to ſtand with the pleaſure of the ſaid gouernors, and further than there commiſſions would beare, were committed to priſon. This oke they named the tree of reformation.

Rebels and theeues can not keepe togither without miniſtration of iuſtice.

The tree of reformation.

The maior, maiſter Aldrich and others, whome they had receiued into the number of their gouernours, would oftentimes go vp into this tree, and make diuerſe pithie orations to perſuade the outragious multitude to giue ouer their riotous rapines and ſpoilings. There were alſo certeine diuines which did vſe all waies poſſible to withdraw them from their wicked attempts, and to reduce them to peace and quietneſſe, although this was not doone without danger of their liues. Neuertheleſſe, theſe in the daie time vſed to preach in the churches, and in the night to watch with armour vpon their backes, leauing nothing vndoone that might ſeeme to apperteine vnto the dutie of godlie and vertuous diuines, or faithfull and obedient ſubiects. Among theſe was doctor Matthew Parker, afterward archbiſhop of Canturburie, whoſe wiſdome, faithfulneſſe, and integritie was moſt apparant.

Doctor Parker.

He comming on a daie into the campe with his brother Thomas Parker, that was after maior of Norwich, found them before the tree at common praier, the foreremembred Coniers vicar of ſaint Martins in Norwich ſaieng the Letanie. Wherevpon doctor Parker thinking the time to ſerue for his purpoſe, went vp into the tree, where he made a ſermon, diuiding it into three ſeuerall parts. In the firſt he exhorted them to vſe with moderation thoſe vittels which they had prouided & brought into their campe, and not riotouſlie nor lauiſhlie to waſt and conſume them. In the ſecond he aduiſed them in no wiſe to ſeeke reuenge of priuat diſpleaſures, and not to chaine or keepe in irons thoſe perſons whom they held in ward, nor to take anie mans life from him. Laſtlie, he wiſhed that they ſhould haue regard to themſelues, & leaue off their raſh begun enterpriſe, giuing eare to ſuch heralds or other meſſengers as came from the king, and to ſhew ſuch honour vnto his maieſtie now in his yoong and tender yeares, as they might inioy him hereafter being growne vp in vertue, to their great ioy, comfort, and gladneſſe. As he was handling this matter, with manie good and effectuall reaſons, hauing the auditorie attentiue to his words, one lewd fellow among the reſt cried out and ſaid; How long ſhall we ſuffer this hireling doctor, who being waged by gentlemen, is come hither with his toong, which is ſold and tied to ſerue their appetite? But for all his prating words, let vs bridle them, and bring them vnder the orders of our law.

He preacheth to the rebels.

The rebels threaten doctor Parker.

Then began the multitude to ſtir and make a noiſe, threatening the preacher, ſome of them ſaieng; It were well, that for his faire told tale we ſhould bring him downe with a miſchiefe, with arrowes and iauelings. This ſpeech brought doctor Parker in no ſmall feare, and the more, for that he heard a noiſe and clattering of weapons vnder him, ſo that he looked for preſent death among them. But herein he was deceiued: for there was not a man that ſtood next him within the compaſſe of the tree, would him anie harme. And immediatlie the foreſaid vicar of

S.

Doctor Parker conueieth himſelfe from among the rebels.

S. Martins that executed the office of the miniſter, began with helpe of ſome ſingingmen that were preſent, the canticle *Te Deum*, wherewith the vnrulie multitude ſéemed partlie to quiet themſelues. Which occaſion doctor Parker perceiuing to ſerue his turne, thought not longer to tarie amongſt them, but quietlie got him downe from the trée, and with his brother made haſt towards the citie. But before he came to Pockthorp gate, there were of the rebels that came to him, and began to queſtion with him about his licence, whereby he was authoriſed to preach: but he perceiuing that there was no reaſon to be conceiued of them, ſlipt his waies, and left his brother to argue the matter with them.

Yet the next daie he entring into ſaint Clements church, tooke occaſion to expound ſomewhat out of one of the leſſons that was read that daie, concerning theſe wicked hurliburlies; manie of the rebels comming about him, but not interrupting him a whit, hearing the end of his exhortation, although they ſéemed greatlie therewith offended. But as he came out of the church, they followed him, and told him that (as they vnderſtood) he had thrée or foure able geldings to ſerue the king: and therefore charged him that after dinner they might be readie for them to occupie. But doctor Parker made them no great anſwer, but calling to him his horſſekéeper, commanded him to plucke off the ſhooes from ſome of his geldings, and to pare their hooues vnto the quicke; and that he ſhould annoint the other with neruall, as if they had béene lamed with trauell. The rebels perceiuing this, when they ſaw the ſame geldings had forth as it had béene to paſture, made no further buſineſſe. Wherevpon doctor Parker ſhortlie after, feining as if he went abroad to walke two miles off from the citie, at Crinkleford bridge found his horſes readie as he had appointed, with his ſeruants, and mounting vp, tooke his iourneie towards Cambridge, with as much ſpéed as was poſſible, eſcaping thither out of all danger, although by the waie they met with and ſaw diuerſe of the rebels plaieng their parts in their wonted outragious maner. Thus did doctor Parker eſcape the hands of the wicked rebels, who deſpiſing his wholeſome admonitions, did afterwards by Gods iuſt iudgement proue his words to be moſt true.

The policie of doctor Parker to beguile the rebels.

But in the meane time procéeding from one miſchiefe to another, after they had practiſed to ſpoile the gentlemen of the countrie of their goods, they began to attach their bodies, and by force to bring them into their campe: ſo that ſuch as eſcaped their hands, were glad to flée, and hide themſelues in woods and caues, where they might beſt kéepe themſelues out of their aduerſaries reach and intended dangers. But to ſpeake of all the horrible practiſes by theſe vngratious people exerciſed, it would be too long a proceſſe. What ſhifts they found to cloake their doings, and that euen vnder the kings authoritie, it is woonderfull. For whereas there were certeine commiſſions directed vnto diuerſe gentlemen in the countrie, to take order for the appeaſing of theſe tumults; they getting the ſame into their hands, tooke vpon them the authoritie committed to the gentlemen, vnto whome the ſame commiſſions were ſent; and taking off the ſeales from the other, faſtened the ſame vnto their counterfeit writings. To conclude, they grew to ſuch vnmeaſurable diſorder, that they would not in manie things obeie neither their generall capteine, nor anie of their gouernors, but ran headlong into all kind of miſchiefe, & made ſuch ſpoile of vittels which they brought out of the countrie adioining vnto their campe, that within few daies they conſumed (beſide a great number of béefes) twentie thouſand muttons, alſo ſwans, géeſe, hens, capons, ducks, & other foules ſo manie as they might laie hands vpon. And furthermore, they ſpared not to breake into parks, and kill what déere they could. Such hauocke they made of all that came in their waie, and ſuch number of ſhéepe ſpeciallie they brought into their campe, that a good fat weather was ſold for a groat. The woods, groues, and trées that were deſtroied I paſſe ouer, and make no mention thereof. Herewith, what crueltie was ſhewed by them in fettering and manacing ſuch gentlemen as they caught, and committed to priſon for ſome miſliking they had conceiued of them, it was a miſerable caſe to behold. Some there were whom they brought forth, as it had béene to iudgement before the trée of reformation, there to be tried afore the gouernors, as if they had béene guiltie of ſome heinous and gréeuous crime. And when it was aſked of the commons, what ſhould be doone with thoſe priſoners, they would crie with one voice; Hang them, hang them. And when they were aſked why they gaue ſo ſharpe iudgement of thoſe whome they neuer knew, they would roundlie anſwer, that other cried the ſame crie; and therefore they ment to giue their aſſent with other, although they could yéeld no reaſon, but that they were gentlemen, & therefore not worthie to liue.

The falſifieng of the kings commiſſions.

The hauocke which the rebels made.

The outragious dealing againſt gentlemen.

Sir Edmund Kneuets ſeruice.

Whileſt the rebels thus raged abroad in the countrie at Hengham eleuen miles from Norwich, ſir Edmund Knenet knight, with a ſmall companie of his owne meniall ſeruants, ſet vpon the nightwatch of the rebels that were placed there, & brake through, ouerthrowing diuerſe of them: and hauing ſome of his owne men alſo vnhorſſed by the rebels, and in danger to be hewen in péeces among them, yet he recouered them, & eſcaped their hands through great manhood. After which good nights ſeruice, as they would haue it eſtéemed, they repaired to their great capteine Ket, to ſhew their hurts receiued, & to complaine of their griefes. It was talked among them, that they would go to ſir Edmund Kneuets houſe called Buckenham caſtell, to aſſault it, and to fetch him out of it by force. But it was doubted of ſome, leaſt it were too ſtrong for them; and other feared ſharpe ſtripes, if they ſhould attempt that exploit, being at the leaſt twelue miles from their maine campe: and ſo that enterpriſe went not forward, the moſt part thinking it beſt to ſléepe in whole ſkins.

Leonard Southerton.

There was at London the ſame time a citizen of Norwich, one Leonard Southerton fled from thence for feare of his life, whome the councell ſent for, to come to ſpeake with them: and being aſked what he knew touching the ſtate of the rebels, he declared to them from point to point the maner of all their outragious procéedings: but yet that as he vnderſtood, there were manie among them that would laie aſide their armour, if they might be aſſured of the kings pardon: and therefore if it would pleaſe the king to ſet forth a proclamation, that all ſuch as would depart from the campe and be quiet, ſhould haue their pardon for all that was paſt, he doubted not but that thoſe routs ſhould be diſperſed. His aduiſe was allowed, and therevpon was an herald ſent with all ſpéed in companie with the ſaid Southerton vnto Norwich; & comming into the campe the laſt of Iulie, and ſtanding before the trée of reformation, apparelled in his cote of armes, pronounced there before all the multitude, with lowd voice, a frée pardon to all that would depart to their homes, and laieng aſide their armour, giue ouer their traitorous begun enterpriſe.

Pardon proclamed by an herald at armes.

After he had made an end of his proclamation, in maner all the multitude cried, God ſaue the king. And manie of them falling downe vpon their knées, could not forbeare with teares guſhing from their eies, but commend the kings great and vnſpeakable mercie thus fréelie offered vnto them, which vndoubtedlie they had at that time all of them receiued, if the wicked ſpéech of ſome of the raſcall ſort, and namelie the traitorous perſuaſions of that wicked caitife Ket himſelfe, had not ſtaied them from their dutifull inclinations. But after that Ket had with lowd voice before declared, that kings & princes were accuſtomed to grant pardons to ſuch as are offendors, and not to others; he truſted that he néeded not anie pardon, ſith he had doone nothing but that belonged to the dutie of a true ſubiect: and herewith he beſought them not to forſake him, but to remember his promiſe, ſith he was readie to ſpend his life in the quarell. The herald herevpon called him traitor, and commanded Iohn Petibone the ſwordbearer of Norwich to attach him for treaſon. Then began a great hurlie burlie among the multitude, ſo that the herald, perceiuing they began to ſhrinke from their former purpoſe of receiuing the kings pardon, departed from them with theſe words; All ye that be the kings friends, come awaie with me. The maior & maiſter Alderich, with a great number of other gentlemen & honeſt yeomen that were readie to obeie the kings commandement, followed him.

The citizens fauouring the rebels.

The maior being thus returned to the citie, cauſed the gates to be ſhut, and ſuch gentlemen as had béene committed to priſon within the caſtell, or other places in the citie, he cauſed to be ſet at libertie, & with their aduiſe tooke order how the rebelles might be kept out. But as he was buſie about ſuch matters, certeine of the citizens that fauored the rebelles had receiued a great multitude of them into the citie, which did put the citizens in ſuch feare, that it was thought the moſt ſuretie for the gentlemen that had béene now releaſed out of priſon, to be ſhut vp againe, leaſt the rebelles finding them abroad, ſhould haue murthered them. Yet after this, when the rebels were departed out of the citie againe, the maior & aldermen fell in hand to rampire vp the gates, to plant ordinance, and to make all neceſſarie prouiſion that for them was poſſible.

At length they fell to ſhooting off their artillerie as well from the citie as from the campe, dooing their beſt to annoie ech other. But when the rebelles ſaw that they did little hurt to the citie with their great ordinance lieng vpon the hill, they remoued the ſame downe to the foot of the ſame hill, and from thenſe began to beat the walles. Notwithſtanding, ſhortlie after they made ſute for a truce to indure for a time, that they might paſſe to and fro through the citie, to fetch in vittels, whereof ſome want began to pinch them in the campe. The maior and aldermen flatlie denied their requeſt, proteſting that they would not permit anie traitors to haue paſſage through their citie.

The rebels ſore kindled in wrath with this anſwer, and deniall of their ſute, came running downe from the hill, and aſſaulting the gates, were beaten off with ſhot of arrowes and other weapons. And yet ſuch rage appéered among the rebels, that the boies and yoong lads ſhewed themſelues ſo deſperat in gathering vp the arrowes, that when they ſaw and felt the ſame ſticking in ſome part of their bodies, they would plucke them foorth, and deliuered them to their bow-men, that they might beſtow the ſame again at the citizens. In all this broile (a thing noteworthie) the ſeditious ſort minding nothing more than the compaſſing of their purpoſe, had as little ſtaie of themſelues in this their outrage, as a bull at the ſight of a cow, or a ſtoned horſſe at the view of a mare; according vnto the old ſaieng of the poet:

Non facile eſt taurum viſa retinere iuuenca,
Fortis equus viſæ ſemper adhinnit equæ.

In the meane time, whileſt they were thus buſie vpon one ſide of the citie, an alarum roſe at the defendants backes, crieng that the rebels were entred the citie on the contrarie ſide: and ſo euerie man ſhrinking awaie, and running thither to repell the enimie there, that part was left void of defendants where the firſt aſſault began. Whereof the rebels being aduiſed, ruſhed into the riuer that runneth before biſhops gate, got to the gates, and breaking them open, entred without anie great reſiſtance. For all the citizens were withdrawne to their houſes and other places, where they hoped beſt to hide themſelues from the furie of their enimies.

The rebelles conueie artillerie and munition out of the citie to their campe.

The rebels hauing thus entred the citie by force, conueied all the guns and artillerie, with other furniture of warre out of the citie into their campe. The herald that was yet abiding in the citie, to ſée if the rebels would before the daie prefixed for their pardons, being not yet expired, giue ouer their enterpriſe, came with the maior into the market place, and in the hearing of a great multitude of people that were come foorth and ſtood about him, he eftſoons gaue commandement in the kings name, that they ſhould laie armes aſide, and get them home to their houſes: which to ſo manie as did, he pronounced a generall pardon, and to the reſt extreme puniſhment by death.

The heralds proclamation in Norwich.

The rebels that ſtood by and heard him, when he had once made an end of his proclamation, bade him get him thenſe with a miſchiefe: for it was not his faire offers, nor his ſwéet flattering words that ſhould beguile them, ſith they made no account of ſuch manner of mercie, that vnder a colour of pardon, ſhould cut off all their ſafetie and hope of preſeruation. The herald perceiuing how obſtinatelie they were bent, and ſet on all miſchiefe, and that it was vnpoſſible to bring them from their outragious treaſon, either through feare of puniſhment or hope of pardon, departed; without hauing brought that to paſſe for which he was ſent. Immediatlie after his departure, the rebels ſought for Leonard Southerton, purpoſing to haue apprehended him, and committed him to priſon, for accompanieng the herald thitherwards. But he hauing knowledge of their meaning, hid himſelfe from them.

The traitorous refuſall of the rebels to accept the kings pardon.

After this, there were by Kets commandement apprehended diuerſe perſons, as the maior, Robert Watſon, William Rogers, Iohn Homerſton, William Brampton, and manie others, which were brought out of the citie, and committed to priſon in mount Surrie. Ket perceiuing well that he muſt either now obteine a bloodie victorie by force againſt his countrie, or elſe to taſt ſuch an end as his vngratious attempts did well deſerue, got togither ſo manie wicked perſons as he might procure to come vnto him from ech ſide, with great rewards and faire promiſes: ſo that it was a ſtrange matter to conſider what a multitude of vnthrifts and raſcalles came to him vpon the ſudden.

Priſoners committed to ward in mount Surrie.

Kets power increaſeth.

The citizens of Norwich were ſore diſpleaſed, that their maior (being an honeſt man, and one greatlie beloued among them) ſhould be impriſoned, and ſo remaine in danger of life among the rebels: for they threatned him ſore, & ieſting at his name, would ſaie one to another; Let vs all come togither to morrow, for we ſhall ſée a * cods hed ſold in the campe for a penie. Whervpon the citizens fearing leaſt through the malice and rage of the rebels, their maior might chance to be made awaie among them, procured maiſter Thomas Alderich (whoſe authoritie was great among them) to be a meane for his deliuerance: who comming to Ket with ſharpe and bitter

words

* Alluding to the maior whoſe name was Cod.

The maior of Norwich ſet at libertie.

words reproued him for his cruell dealing, by impriſoning ſo honeſt a man as the maior was, and withall commanded him to releaſe him: which either for ſhame, or rather through feare of a guiltie conſcience that pricked him, he cauſed incontinentlie to be doone: who therevpon might now and then go and come at his pleaſure to and fro the citie. But bicauſe he could not ſtill remaine in the citie, but was conſtreined to continue for the moſt part in the campe, he appointed Auguſtine Steward to be his deputie, who with the aſſiſtance of Henrie Bacon, and John Atkinſon ſhiriffes, gouerned the citie right orderlie, and kept the moſt part of the citizens in due obeiſance.

Auguſtine Steward.

The lord marqueſſe of Northampton ſent into Norffolke to repreſſe the rebels.

The councell aduertiſed now vpon the heralds returne, that there was no waie to reduce theſe Norffolke rebels vnto quiet otherwiſe than by force, appointed the marqueſſe of Northampton with fifteene hundred horſſemen to go downe vnto Norwich to ſubdue thoſe ſtubborne traitors that ſo vndutifullie refuſed the kings mercifull pardon, freelie offered by his officer at armes, and others. There went with the lord marqueſſe diuerſe honorable and worſhipfull perſonages, as the lord Sheffeld, the lord Wentworth, ſir Anthonie Dennie, ſir Henrie Parker, ſir Richard Southwell, ſir Rafe Sadler, ſir John Clere, ſir Rafe Rowlet, ſir Richard Lee, ſir John Gates, ſir Thomas Paſton, ſir Henrie Bedingfield, ſir John Sulfard, ſir William Walgraue, ſir John Cuts, ſir Thomas Cornewallis knights, togither with a great manie of other knights, eſquiers and gentlemen, and a ſmall band of Italians, vnder the leading of a capteine named Malateſta.

Norwich ſummoned.

The lord marqueſſe being approched within a mile of Norwich, ſent ſir Gilbert Dethicke knight, now Garter, then Norrie, king at armes, vnto the citie, to ſummon them within to yeeld it into his hands, or vpon refuſall to proclame warre againſt them. Herevpon Auguſtine Steward the maiors deputie ſent to the maior that was in the campe with Ket, aduertiſing him what meſſage he had receiued from the marqueſſe. The maior ſent word againe, that nothing was more greeuous vnto him, than to ſee into what miſerie the citie and countrie about were brought by the rage of theſe commotions; and declaring in what caſe he ſtood, being kept by force among the rebels, wher as otherwiſe he would (according to his dutie) haue come to his honor. But as for the citie, he had committed the gouernance vnto Auguſtine Steward, who ſhould be readie to ſurrender it into his lordſhips hands: and that if Ket would giue him leaue, he would come himſelfe to his honor, ſubmitting all things wholie to his lordſhips order and diſpoſition.

This meſſage being brought backe by the ſaid Norrie, Auguſtine Steward the maiors deputie with the ſhiriffs, and a great number of the citizens, came to the lord marqueſſes campe, and deliuered vp the ſword to his lordſhip, declaring how the maior himſelfe would gladlie haue come, if he could haue got from the rebels: and that although a great rowt of the lewd citizens were partakers with the rebelles, yet a number of the ſubſtantiall & honeſt citizens would neuer conſent to their wicked doings, but were readie to receiue his lordſhip into their citie. The lord marqueſſe giuing good words to the citizens, and willing them to be of good comfort, ſith he truſted to appeaſe theſe troubles verie ſhortlie, deliuered the ſword vnto ſir Richard Southwell, who bare it before the lord marqueſſe as he paſſed forth towards the citie, entring the ſame by ſaint Stephans gate. And incontinentlie was proclamation made that they ſhould all reſort into the market place, where they conſulted togither how they might beſt defend the citie againſt the enimies, and to repreſſe their furie. Herevpon was order giuen for the placing of watch and ward about the gates and the wals, as might ſeeme expedient. The lord marqueſſe ſupped that night and lodged in the maiors deputies houſe; but his lordſhip as well as other kept their armour on their backs all that night, for doubt of ſome ſudden aſſault to be made againſt the citie by the rebels. Here it chanced that the ſtrangers, either by appointment or otherwiſe, went forth, and offered ſkirmiſh to the rebels vpon Magdalen hill.

Sir Richard Southwell.

The ſtrãgers offer ſkirmiſh to the rebels.

The rebels came forth with their horſſemen: but it ſeemed that they were better practiſed to fetch in booties, than to make their manage or careire, and therefore not able to match the ſtrangers, which being perceiued of their fellowes that were footmen, they put forth their archers before their horſſemen, and ſuch numbers herewith came ſwarming forth of their campe, meaning to compaſſe in thoſe ſtrangers, that they perceiuing the maner and purpoſe of the enimies, caſt themſelues in a ring, and retired backe into the citie againe. But they left one of their companie behind them, a gentleman that was an Italian, who more valiantlie than warilie ventured too farre among the enimies, and through euill hap being ouerthrowne beſide his horſſe, he was inuironed about with a great multitude of thoſe rebels, that tooke him priſoner, and like vile wretches ſpoiling him of his armor and apparell, hanged him ouer the wals of mount Surrie. Which act well ſhewed what courteſie might be looked for at ſuch cruell traitors hands, that would thus vnmercifullie put ſuch a gentleman and worthie ſouldior to death: for whoſe ranſome, if they would haue demanded it, they might haue had no ſmall portion of monie to haue ſatiſfied their greedie minds. But it ſeemed that their beaſtlie crueltie had bereft them the remembrance of all honeſt conſideration and dutifull humanitie.

An Italian hanged by the rebels.

The marqueſſe of Northampton cauſing (as before yee haue heard) diligent watch to be kept vpon the walles, and at the gates, appointed the ſame to be viſited right often, that through negligence no miſhap ſhould follow. Moreouer, beſides the watch at the gates and walles, the reſidue of the ſoldiors making a mightie huge fire in the market place, ſo as all the ſtreets were full of light, they remained there all that night in their armour, readie vpon anie occaſion to reſiſt the enimies if they ſhould make anie attempt. Sir Edward Warner marſhall of the field gaue the watch-word, ſir Thomas Paſton, ſir John Clere, ſir William Walgraue, ſir Thomas Cornwallis, and ſir Henrie Bedingfield were appointed to the defenſe of other parts of the citie. And now when euerie thing was thought to be ſafelie prouided for, and that the lord marqueſſe and other were laid to take their reſt, the rebels about the middeſt of the night began to ſhoot off their great artillerie towards the citie, ſo thicke as was poſſible: but the bullets paſſed ouer their heads that were lodged in the citie, without dooing anie great hurt at all.

Sir Edward Warner.

The lord marqueſſe, by reaſon of the often alarums that were giuen, whileſt the enimies thus ceaſed not to rage with continuall ſhot of ordinance, was called vp by the marſhall ſir Edward Warner; and comming into the market place, accompanied with the nobles and gentlemen of the armie, fell in councell with them, how to foreſee that the citie in ſuch danger might be ſafelie defended againſt the enimies with ſuch ſmall power as he had there with him. It was therefore determined, that all the gates which were on the contrarie part of the towne from the rebels campe, and likewiſe the ruinous places of the walles ſhould be rampired vp, that if the enimies ſhould chance to giue an aſſault to the citie, they might more eaſilie be repelled.

But as theſe things were in dooing, and almoſt brought to end, in a manner all the whole multitude of the rebelles came out of their cabins, running downe in moſt furious maner to the citie, and with great ſhouts and yelling cries went about to ſet fire on the gates, to clime ouer the walles, to paſſe the riuer, and to enter the citie at ſuch places where the walles were through age decaied and ruinous. The ſoldiors that were there with the lord marqueſſe, did ſhew their vttermoſt indeuor to beat backe the enimies. This fight in moſt cruell wiſe continued for the ſpace of thrée houres without ceaſing, the rebels forcing themſelues to the vttermoſt of their powers to enter perforce vpon them, and they within the citie ſhewed no leſſe courage to repell them backe. The hardie manhood of diuerſe knights, and other men of worſhip was here right apparant. It was ſtrange to ſée the deſperat boldneſſe of the rebelles, that when they were thruſt through the bodies or thighs, and ſome of them hough-ſinewed, would yet ſéeke reuenge in ſtriking at their aduerſaries; when their hands were ſcarſe able to hold vp their weapon; thinking themſelues ſomewhat ſatiſfied if the humor of their enuie and deadlie ſpite might be fed but with a drop of their aduerſaries bloud; with ſuch a malignant ſpirit (tending wholie to vengeance) theſe deſperat rebels were poſſeſſed, according to the poets ſpéech in the like ſenſe and meaning:

The deſperatneſſe of rebelles.

Iuuenal. ſat. 13.

Inuidioſa dabit minimus ſolatia ſanguis.

But ſuch was the valiancie of the gentlemen and ſoldiers, which were there with the lord marqueſſe, that in the end the enimies which were alreadie entered the citie, were beaten out againe, and driuen backe to their accuſtomed kennell holes with loſſe of thrée hundred of their numbers. They within the towne hauing thus repelled the enimies, & accounting themſelues in more ſafetie than before, for the reſt of the night that yet remained, which was not much, they gaue themſelues to refreſh their wearied bodies with ſome ſléepe. The next daie, the lord marqueſſe was informed by ſome of the citizens, that there were no ſmall number in Kets campe that would gladlie come from him, if they might be ſure of their pardon; and that at Pockethorpe gate there were foure or fiue thouſand, that wiſhed for nothing more than for pardon: and that if the ſame were offered them, there were no doubt (as they beléeued) but that they would ſubmit themſelues to the kings mercie.

The rebels beaten backe.

The marqueſſe was glad to vnderſtand ſo much, & incontinentlie diſpatched Norreie king at armes, with a trumpetter, to aſſure them on the kings behalfe, that they ſhould be pardoned for all offenſes paſt, and that had béene committed in time of this rebellion, if they would laie armes aſide. Norreie and the trumpet comming to the gate, found not a man there: but the trumpetter ſounding his trumpet, there came running downe from the hill a great multitude of their people, & amongſt other as chiefe, one Flotman, whome Norreie commanded to ſtaie. Wherevpon the ſaid Flotman aſked him what was the matter, and wherefore he had called them togither by ſound of trumpet? Go thy waies (ſaid he) & tell thy companie from my lord marqueſſe of Northhampton, the kings maieſties lieutenant, that he commandeth them to ceaſſe from committing anie further outrage: and if they will (ſaith he) obeie his commandement, all that is paſt, ſhall be forgiuen and pardoned.

Flotman.

Pardon offered to the rebels.

Flotman hauing heard Norreies declaration, as he was an outragious and buſie fellow, preſumptuouſlie made anſwer, that he cared not a pins point for my lord marqueſſe, and withall, like a rebellious traitor, railed vpon his lordſhip, and mainteined, that he and the reſt of the rebels were earneſt defendors of the kings roiall maieſtie, and that they had taken weapon in hand not againſt the king, but in his defenſe, as in time it ſhould appeare, as they that ſought nothing but to mainteine his maieſties roiall eſtate, the libertie of their countrie, and the ſafetie of their commonwealth, &c. To conclude, he vtterlie refuſed the kings pardon, and told Norreie certeinelie, that they would either reſtore the common-wealth from decaie, into the which it was fallen, being oppreſſed thorough the couetouſneſſe and tyrannie of the gentlemen; either elſe would they like men die in the quarrell.

Flotmans preſumptuous and traitorous allegations.

Scarſelie had he made an end of his tale, when ſuddenlie a fearefull alarum was raiſed thorough-out the citie: for whileſt Flotman was thus in talke with the king of armes at Pockethorpe gate, the rebels in great rage entring the citie by the hoſpitall, went about to bring all things to deſtruction: but being incountered néere to the biſhops palace, by the lord marqueſſe his men, there inſued a bloudie conflict betwixt them, which continued long with great fierceneſſe and eger reuenge on both parts. There died about ſeuen ſcore of the rebels, and of the ſoldiers that ſerued againſt them ſome number, beſide a great multitude that were hurt and wounded on both parts. But the pitifull ſlaughter of the lord Sheffeld, who hauing more regard to his honor than ſafetie of life, deſirous to ſhew ſome proofe of his noble valiancie, entering amongſt the enimies, as he fought right hardilie, though not ſo warilie as had béene expedient, fell into a dich as he was about to turne his horſſe: & herewith being compaſſed about with a number of thoſe horrible traitors, was ſlaine amongeſt them: although he both declared what he was, and offered largelie to the vilans, if they would haue ſaued his life. But the more noble he ſhewed himſelfe to be, the more were they kindled in outragious furie againſt him. And as he pulled off his head péece, that it might appeare what he was, a butcherlie knaue named Fulks, who by occupation was both a carpenter & a butcher, ſlat him in the head with a club, and ſo moſt wretchedlie killed him. A lamentable caſe, that ſo noble a yoong gentleman, indued with ſo manie commendable qualities, as were to be wiſhed in a man of his calling, ſhould thus miſerablie end his daies by the hands of ſo vile a vilan.

The rebels enter the citie.

The lord Sheffeld wofullie ſlaine.

Diuerſe other gentlemen and worthie ſoldiers came to the like end among thoſe outragious rebels, and amongſt other, Robert Woluaſton, that was appointed to kéepe the doore of Chriſts church, was killed by the ſame Fulks, who tooke him for ſir Edmund Kneuet, againſt whome the rebels bare great malice, for that he ſought to annoie them ſo farre as by anie meanes he might, as partlie ye haue heard. But the ſlaughter of that noble man the lord Sheffeld, ſore diſcouraged the reſidue of the ſoldiers that were come with the lord marqueſſe. And on the other part, the rebels were aduanced thereby, in greater hope to preuaile againſt them, and therevpon preaſſed forward with ſuch hardineſſe, that they cauſed the lord marqueſſe and his people to giue place, and to forſake the citie, euerie man making the beſt ſhift he could to ſaue himſelfe. But yet diuerſe gentlemen of good account and worſhip remaining behind, and abiding the brunt, were taken priſoners, as ſir Thomas Cornewallis, and others, whome the rebels afterwards kept in ſtreict durance, vntill the daie came of their ouerthrow by the kings power, vnder the conduction of the earle of Warwike.

Alexander Neuill.

The lord marqueſſe and the reſidue that eſcaped, made the beſt ſhift they could to get out of danger; and at length, he and the moſt part of them that

The marqueſſe maketh ſhift to eſcape danger.

went foorth with him, came to London. The rebels hauing thus repelled the lord marqueſſe & his power, ſet fire on the citie, whereby manie faire buildings were conſumed and burnt. It happened yet well the ſame time, that there fell great abundance of raine, the which holpe in part to quench the rage of the fire. Neuertheles, all the houſes on either ſide of Holmes ſtréet, and the hoſpitall of the poore; alſo Biſhops gate, Pockthorpe gate, Magdalene gate, and Bearestréet gate, with manie other houſes in other parts of the citie, were burned, and fowlie defaced with fire. The citizens were brought into ſuch extreame miſerie, that they knew not which waie to turne them. Some there were that fled out of the citie, taking with them their gold and ſiluer, and ſuch ſhort ware as they might conueie awaie with them, abandoning wife and children, to reſt at the mercie of the rebels. Other hid their goods in wels, priuies, and other ſuch ſecret places out of the waie.

The miſerable eſtate of Norwich.

The rebels entering into the houſes of ſuch as were knowne to be wealthie men, ſpoiled and bare awaie all that might be found of anie value. But to ſpeake of all the cruell parts which they plaied, it would be tedious to expreſſe the ſame, their doings were ſo wicked and outragious. There was ſhooting, howling, and wringing among them, wéeping, and crieng out of women and children. To be ſhort, the ſtate of the citie at that preſent was moſt miſerable. The maiors deputie kept himſelfe cloſe in his houſe, and might behold all this miſchiefe and deſtruction of the citie, but durſt not come abroad, nor go about to ſtaie them: at length, a great multitude of the rebels that were come downe frō their campe, entering by ſaint Auguſtines gate, came ſtraight to his houſe, and ſtroue to breake open the doores: but when they could not eaſilie bring their purpoſe to paſſe that waie foorth, they began to fire the houſe. Wherevpon for feare to be burned within his owne lodging, he ſet open the doores, and in came thoſe vnmanerlie gheſts, tooke him, plucked his gowne beſide his backe, called him traitor, and threatened to kill him, if he would not tell them where the lord marqueſſe of Northampton had hidden himſelfe.

The aldermans deputie roughlie handled to tell where the lord marqueſſe had hidden himſelfe.

And when he had told them that vndoubtedlie he and all his companie were gone, they were in a great rage, and with terrible noiſe and rumbling they ſought euerie corner of the houſe for him, and taking what they found, they departed. But yet manie of them afterwards partlie pacified for a péece of monie, and other things which they receiued of the maior, and partlie reproued for the wrongfull robberies by ſome that were in credit among them, they brought againe ſuch packs and fardels as they had truſſed vp togither, and threw them into the ſhops of thoſe houſes, out of the which they had taken the ſame before: but yet there were diuers of the citizens that were ſpoiled of all that they had by thoſe rebels, that entered their houſes vnder a colour to ſéeke for the marqueſſe of Northamptons men. Namelie, the houſes of thoſe citizens that were fled, were ſpoiled and ranſacked moſt miſerablie, for they reputed and called them traitors and enimies to their king and countrie, that thus had forſaken their houſes and dwellings in time of ſuch neceſſitie: yet manie of the citizens bringing foorth bread, béere, and other vittels vnto the rebels to refreſh them with, ſomewhat calmed their furious rage, and ſo eſcaped their violent hands, although no ſmall number were ſo fléeſed (as before yée haue heard) that they haue liued the worſe for it all the daies of their life ſince that time.

Reliefe miniſtred to the rebels for feare of force.

But now the rebels hauing thus got poſſeſſion of the citie, & chaſed awaie the kings people, they tooke order to haue the gates kept hourelie with watch and ward of the citizens themſelues, thretning them with moſt ſhamefull death, if they omitted the ſame. Theſe vnrulie perſons were ſo farre ſtept into all kind of beaſtlie outrage, that when it rained, they would kenell vp themſelues in the churches, abuſing the place appointed for the ſeruice and worſhipping of the almightie God, in moſt prophane and wicked manner, and neither praier nor yet threats of men or women that aduiſed them to modeſtie could take place. The kings maieſtie aduertiſed therefore, that there was no waie to tame their diueliſh and traitorous outrage, but by force: with the aduiſe of his councell cauſed a power to be put in a readineſſe, as well of his owne ſubiects as of ſtrangers, namelie lancequenets, which were come to ſerue his maieſtie againſt the Scots.

But now it was thought expedient to vſe their ſeruice againſt theſe rebels, whoſe power and deſperate boldneſſe was ſo farre increaſed, that without a maine armie, guided by ſome generall of great experience, and noble conduct, it would be hard and right dangerous to ſubdue them: wherein violence and force was to be vſed, ſith they had ſhewed themſelues in an extremitie of ſtubbornneſſe, like buls that by baiting are to be tamed, or like ſtiffenecked ſtallons which with bit & bridle muſt be managed; as one ſaith:

Aſper equus duris contunditur ora lupatis.

Héerevpon that noble chéefteine and valiant erle of Warwike, latelie before appointed to haue gone againſt the Scots and Frenchmen into Scotland, was called backe, and commanded to take vpon him the conduction of this armie againſt the Norffolke rebels: for ſuch was the opinion then conceiued of that honorable earle, for the high manhood, valiant proweſſe, and great experience in all warlike enterpriſes, ſufficientlie tried, and knowne to reſt in him, that either they might be vanquiſhed and ouercome by him, or by none other.

The earle of Warwike appointed to go againſt the Norffolke rebels.

Capteine Ket and his rebellious armie, hauing ſome aduertiſement by rumors ſpred, of this preparation and comming of an armie againſt them; they were not ſlacke to make themſelues ſtrong and readie to abide all the hazard that fortune of warre might bring. The earle of Warwike then, after that his men and prouiſions were readie, did ſet forward, and came vnto Cambridge, where the lord marqueſſe of Northampton and other met his lordſhip. Héere alſo diuerſe citizens of Norwich came to him, and falling downe vpon their knees before him, beſought him to be good lord vnto them; and withall declared their miſerable ſtate, great gréefe and ſorrow, which they had conceiued for the wretched deſtruction of their countrie: beſéeching him to haue pitie vpon them. And if in ſuch extremitie of things as had happened vnto their citie, they had through feare or ignorance committed anie thing contrarie to their dutifull allegiance, that it might pleaſe his honor to pardon them their offenſes in ſuch behalfe, ſith if anie thing were amiſſe on their parts, the ſame came to paſſe ſore againſt their wils, and to their extreame gréefe and ſorrow.

The earle of Warwike commeth to Cambridge.

The earle of Warwike told them, that he knew indéed in what danger they had béene among thoſe vnrulie ribalds; and as for anie offenſe which they had committed, he knew not: for in leauing their citie ſith matters were growne to ſuch extremitie, they were to be borne with, but in one thing they had ouerſhot themſelues: for that in the beginning they had not ſought to repreſſe thoſe tumults, ſith if they had put themſelues in defenſe of their countrie, to reſiſt the rebels at the firſt, ſuch miſchiefs as were now growne, might eaſilie haue béene auoided. But neuertheleſſe, vpon this their humble ſubmiſſion, he granted them all the kings mercifull pardon, and commanding them to prouide themſelues

The kings pardon granted.

Who ſerued vnder the erle of Warwike.

of armour and weapon, appointed them to march forth with the armie, wearing certeine laces or ribons about their necks for a difference, that they might be knowne from others. There were in this armie vnder the earle of Warwike diuerſe men of honor and great worſhip, as lords, knights, eſquiers, and gentlemen in great numbers. Firſt the lord marqueſſe of Northampton, and ſundrie of them that had béene with him before, deſirous to be reuenged of his late repulſe, the lords Willoughbie, Powes and Braie, Ambroſe Dudleie, ſonne to the ſaid earle, and at this preſent worthilie adorned with the title (which his father then bare) of earle of Warwike, and his brother lord Robert Dudleie now erle of Leiceſter; alſo Henrie Willoughbie eſquier, ſir Thomas Treſham, ſir Marmaduke conſtable, William Deuereux ſonne to the lord Ferrers of Chartleie, ſir Edmund Kneuet, ſir Thomas Palmer, ſir Andrew Flammocke, and diuerſe other knights, eſquiers, and gentlemen: all which plaid their parts as time and occaſion was miniſtred vnto them to giue triall of their manhood.

The earle of Warwike, and ſuch as were come with him to Cambridge, marched directlie from thence towards Norwich, and came vnto Wimondham the two and twentith of Auguſt, where and by the waie the moſt part of all the gentlemen of Norfolke that were at libertie, came vnto him. The next daie betimes he ſhewed himſelfe vpon the plaine, betwixt the citie of Norwich and Eiton wood, and lodged that night at Intwood, an houſe belonging to ſir Thomas Treſham knight, a two miles diſtant from Norwich. Héere they reſted that daie and night following, not once putting off their armour, but remaining ſtill in a readineſſe, if the enimies ſhould haue made anie ſudden inuaſion againſt them. The earle of Warwike in the meane time ſent the afore remembred king of armes Norreie, to ſummon the citie, either to open the gates that he might quietlie enter; or elſe to looke for warre at his hands that would then aſſaie to win it by force, and ſuch reward as rebels (that wilfullie withſtand their ſoueraigne) ought to receiue.

Norwich ſummoned.

When Ket vnderſtood that the herald was come to the gates, he appointed the maiors deputie Auguſtine Steward, and Robert Rug, two of the chéefeſt citizens, to go to him and to know his errand. They paſſing forth at a poſterne, and hearing his meſſage, made anſwer, that they were the miſerableſt men that were then liuing, as they themſelues beléeued, ſith that hauing ſuffered ſuch calamities as they could not but tremble at in calling to remembrance, they could not now haue libertie to declare the loiall dutie which they bare & ought to beare to the kings highneſſe: ſo that they accompted themſelues moſt vnfortunate, ſith their hap was to liue in that ſeaſon, in which they muſt either ieopard loſſe of life, or the eſtimation of their good name, although they truſted the kings maieſtie would be gratious lord vnto them, ſith they had giuen no conſent vnto ſuch wicked rebellion as was thus raiſed againſt his highneſſe, but with loſſe of goods and perill of life ſo farre as in them laie, had doone what they could to kéepe the citizens in good order and dutifull obedience.

What anſwer was made to the herald by the citizens of Norwich, whom Ket aſſigned therevnto.

One thing more they would humblie deſire of my lord of Warwike, that whereas there was no ſmall number of Kets armie in the citie without armour or weapon, and as it ſhould ſéeme irkeſome and wearie of that which had béene alreadie doone, it might pleaſe him once againe to vouchſafe to offer them the kings pardon, and if he ſhould thus doo, they had great hope that the rebels would gladlie accept it, and ſo the matter might be pacified without more bloudſhed. Norreie returned to the earle of Warwike, and declared what anſwer he had receiued. The earle deſirous of nothing more than to haue the matter thus taken vp, as well for other conſiderations, as for feare leaſt the gentlemen remaining priſoners with the rebels, ſhould be vnmercifullie murthered by their kéepers, if they came to the vttermoſt triall of battell, he reſolued to proue if it would thus come to paſſe. And héerevpon was Norreie with a trumpet ſent to offer them a generall pardon, who being entered the citie, met about fortie of the rebels on horſſebacke, riding two and two togither verie pleaſant and merrie, and ſo paſſing from S. Stephans gate vnto Biſhops gate, the trumpetter ſounded his trumpet, and with that, a great multitude of the rebels came thronging downe togither from the hill: to whome the horſmen ſpéedilie riding, commanded that they ſhould diuide themſelues, and ſtand in order vpon either ſide the waie. And as Norreie and the trumpetter, with two of the chéefe citizens entred betwixt them, they were receiued with great noiſe and clamour, for euerie of them putting off their hats or caps, cried; God ſaue king Edward, God ſaue king Edward.

Norreie the herald deliuereth his anſwer to the earle of Warwike.

Norreie king of armes ſent to offer the rebels their pardon.

Norreie and the two citizens, highlie commending them herein, requeſted them to kéepe their place and order wherein they ſtood for a while: and then Norreie paſſing forth about two hundred and fiftie paſes, came to the top of the hill, and putting on his coate armour, ſtaied a while (for Ket was not yet come) and at length began to declare vnto them in what maner diuers times ſince firſt they had taken armes in hand, the kings maieſtie by ſundrie perſons, as well heralds as other, had ſought to reduce them from their vnlawfull and rebellious tumults, vnto their former dutie and obedience; and yet neuertheleſſe, they had ſhewed themſelues wilfull and ſtubborne, in refuſing his mercifull pardon fréelie offered vnto them, and deſpiſed the meſſengers which his grace had ſent vnto them to pronounce the ſame. He willed them therefore to call themſelues now at length to remembrance, and to behold the ſtate of the common-wealth, which they ſo often to no purpoſe had ſtill in their mouths, and neuertheleſſe by them miſerablie defaced, & brought in danger of vtter ruine and decaie.

Norreie the herald maketh a long diſcourſe to the rebels, for the reducing of them to good order.

And herewith diſcourſing at large of the horrible, wicked, and heinous murthers, riots, burnings, and other crimes by them committed, he willed them to conſider into what ſea of miſchéefes they had throwne themſelues, and what puniſhment they ought to looke for as due to them for the ſame; ſith as well the wrath of God as the kings armie was hanging ouer their heads, and readie at hand, which they were not able to reſiſt. For his grace had reſolued no longer to ſuffer ſo great and preſumptuous a miſchéefe as this, to be foſtered in the middle of his realme: and therefore had appointed the right honourable earle of Warwike, a man of noble fame and approoued valiancie, to be his generall lieutenant of that his roiall armie, to perſecute them with fire and ſword; and not to leaue off, till he had vtterlie diſperſed and ſcattered that wicked and abhominable aſſemblie. And yet ſuch was the excéeding greatneſſe of the kings bountifull mercie and clemencie, that he that was by him appointed to be a reuenger of their heinous treaſons committed againſt his maieſtie, if they continued in their obſtinate wilfulneſſe, ſhould be alſo the interpretor and miniſter of his gratious and frée pardon, to ſo manie as would accept it. Which vnleſſe they now imbraſed, the ſaid earle had made a ſolemne vow, that they ſhould neuer haue it offered to them againe; but that he would perſecute them till he had puni-

The kings purpoſe in ſending the earle of Warwike againſt them.

ſhed the whole multitude according vnto their iuſt deſerts.

How the rebels were affected after the heralds diſcourſe was ended.

Manie that heard him, hauing due conſideration of their miſerable eſtate, were touched with ſome remorſe of conſcience, fearing at length to taſt the reuenge of ſuch horrible crimes as they had been partakers of with others in committing the ſame. But the more part finding themſelues highlie offended with his words, began to iangle (as they had doone before vnto other that had béene ſent to offer them pardon) that he was not the kings herald, but ſome one made out by the gentlemen in ſuch a gaie coate, patched togither of veſtments and church-ſtuffe, being ſent onelie to deceiue them, in offering them pardon, which would proue nought elſe but halters; and therefore it were well doone, to thruſt an arrow into him, or to hang him vp. Although other ſéemed dutifullie to reuerence him, and diuerſe that had ſerued in Scotland and at Bullongne, remembring that they had ſéene him there and knew him, told and perſuaded their fellowes, that he was the kings herald indéed. Wherevpon they became more mild, and offered him no further iniurie: but yet they could not be perſuaded that this pardon tended to anie other end, but to bring them to deſtruction; and that in ſtéed of pardon, there was prepared for them nought elſe but a barrell full of halters.

The herald is grudged at & miſtruſted of ſome, &c.

Such lewd ſpéech was amongſt them, ſauouring altogither of malicious miſtruſt, and moſt wilfull treaſon. Norreie neuertheleſſe departing from thenſe, accompanied with Ket, came to another place, where he made the like proclamation: for the multitude was ſuch that he could not be heard of them all in one place. Héere, before he had made an end of his tale, there was a vile boie (as ſome write) that turned vp his bare taile to him, with words as vnſéemelie as his geſture was filthie: with which ſpitefull reproch thus ſhewed towards the kings maieſties officer at armes, one (which in companie of ſome other that were come ouer the water to view things) being greatlie offended, with an harquebuſe ſhot ſtroke that vngratious lad through the bodie a little aboue the reins.

Alexander Neuill.

The iuſt reward of a wretched boie.

Which when ſome of the rebels had ſéene, a dozen of their horſſemen came galloping out of the wood, crieng; We are betraied fréends, we are betraied, if you looke not about you: doo you not ſée how our fellowes are ſlaine with guns before our faces? What may we hope if we diſarme our ſelues, that are thus vſed being armed? This herald goeth about nothing elſe, but to bring vs within danger of ſome ambuſh, that the gentlemen may kill and beate vs all downe at their pleaſure. Héerevpon they all ſhranke awaie, and fled, as they had béene out of their wits: yet did their great capteine Robert Ket accompanie Norreie, meaning (as hath béene ſaid) to haue gone to the earle of Warwike himſelfe, to haue talked with him: but as he was almoſt at the foot of the hill, there came running after him a great multitude of the rebels, crieng to him, and aſking him whither he went; We are readie (ſaid they) to take ſuch part as you doo, be it neuer ſo bad: and if he would go anie further, they would (as they ſaid) ſurelie follow him.

Ket meant to haue talked with the earle of Warwike.

Norreie then perceiuing ſuch numbers of people following them, deſired Ket to ſtaie them: who returning backe to them, they were incontinentlie appeaſed, and ſo they all returned with him backe to their campe. When the earle of Warwike vnderſtood that they were thus altogither ſet on miſchéefe, and neither with praier, proffer of pardon, threatening of puniſhment, nor other meanes they could be reduced to quietneſſe, he determined to procéed againſt them by force. And héerevpon bringing his armie vnto ſaint Stephans gate, which the rebels ſtopped vp, with the letting downe of the portculice, he commanded thoſe that had charge of the artillerie, to plant the ſame againſt the gate, and with batterie to breake it open.

S. Stephans gate.

As theſe things were in hand, he vnderſtood by Auguſtine Steward the maiors deputie, that there was an other gate on the contrarie ſide of the citie, called the Braſen gate, which the rebels had rammed vp, but yet not ſo, but that it might be eaſilie broken open. Herewith were the pioners called, and commanded to breake open that gate alſo: which being doone, the ſoldiers entered by the ſame into the citie, and ſlue diuerſe of thoſe rebels that ſtood readie to defend and reſiſt their entrie. In the meane time had the gunners alſo broken in ſunder with their ſhot the portculice, and néere hand the one halfe of the other gate, by the which the marques of Northampton, and capteine Drurie, *alias* Poignard (that being ſent from London met my lord of Warwike by the waie) entered with their bands, and droue backe the rebels with ſlaughter, that were readie there to reſiſt them.

The Braſen gate.

Moreouer, the maiors deputie cauſed Weſtwike gate to be ſet open: at the which the earle of Warwike himſelfe entring with all his armie, and finding in manner no reſiſtance, came to the market place. Here were taken a thréeſcore of the rebels, the which according to the order of martiall law were incontinentlie executed, according to the qualitie of their offenſe, confeſſing (no doubt) in conſcience, that their puniſhment was proportioned to their treſpaſſe, and that in dieng the death (were the ſame neuer ſo extreame & dredfull) they had but their deſert; and therefore might well ſaie with the poet:

Supplicia & ſcelerum pœnas expendimus omnes. *Virgil.*

Shortlie after, the carriages belonging to the armie were brought into the citie by the ſame gate, and paſſing through the citie, by negligence & want of order giuen to them that attended on the ſame carriage, they kept on forward till they were got out at Biſhops gate towards Mouſehold. Whereof the rebels being aduiſed, they came downe, & ſetting vpon the carters, and other that attended on the cariages, put them to flight, and droue awaie the carts laden with artillerie, powder, and other munition, bringing the ſame into their campe, & greatlie reioiſing thereof, bicauſe they had no great ſtore of ſuch things among them: but yet capteine Drurie with his band comming in good time to the reſcue, recouered ſome of the carts from the enimies, not without ſome ſlaughter on either ſide. Moreouer, the enimies as yet being not fullie driuen out of the citie, placed themſelues in croſſe ſtréets, & were readie to aſſaile the ſoldiers as they ſaw their aduantage, part of them ſtanding at S. Michaels, part at S. Stephans, and part at S. Peters, and ſome of them alſo ſtood in Wimers ſtréet.

Cartes laden with munition taken by the rebels.

Here they aſſailing ſuch as vnaduiſedlie were entered within their danger, they ſlue diuerſe, and among other thrée or foure gentlemen, before they could be ſuccoured from anie part. The erle of Warwike aduertiſed hereof, paſſed forth with all his forces to remoue the enimie, and comming to S. Andrew in Iohns ſtréet, was receiued with a ſharpe ſtorme of arrowes: but capteine Drurie his harquebuſiers galled them ſo with their ſhot, that they were glad to giue place, and ſo fled amaine. There were ſlaine a hundred and thirtie, and diuerſe of them ſhrinking aſide into churchyards and other places vnder the walles, were taken and executed. All the reſt got them vp to their campe at Mouſehold, and ſo the citie was rid of them for that time. Then did

Gentlemen ſlaine.

Order taken for the ſafe keeping of the citie.

the erle of Warwike take order for the ſafe keeping of the citie, appointing watch and ward to be kept on the walles, and in euerie ſtreet. Alſo that all the gates ſhould be rammed vp, except one or two that ſtood towards the enimies, at the which were planted certeine peeces of the great artillerie.

Alexander Neuill.

But the rebels vnderſtanding that the earle of Warwike wanted powder and other things apperteining to the vſe of the great ordinance, and withall perceiuing that the Welſhmen which were appointed to the gard of the ſaid great peeces of artillerie were no great number, and therefore not able to reſiſt anie great force that ſhould come againſt them, they came downe the hill vpon the ſudden as it were wholie togither in moſt outragious maner. And withall one Miles that was a verie perfect gunner, and maruellous ſkilfull in the feat of ſhooting of great artillerie, and at that time remaining among the rebels, ſhot off a peece; and ſlue one of the kings principall gunners, that was attending vpon thoſe peeces of artillerie, which ſtood thus before the gate. Whom when the rebels perceiued thus to be ſlaine, they made forward with more courage, and gaue ſuch a deſperate onſet vpon them that garded the ſaid artillerie, that their ſmall number, being not able to withſtand their aduerſaries great and huge multitude preſſing in ſuch furious rage vpon them, that they were conſtreined to flee backe, and to leaue the artillerie for a preie vnto the enimies, who ſeizing vpon the ſame, conueied them awaie with certeine carts laden with all manner of munition for wars vp to their campe: a matter (as was thought) of no ſmall importance, ſith the enimies thereby were furniſhed now with ſuch things, whereof before they ſtood moſt in need, and now hauing ſtore thereof, they ſpared not liberallie to beſtow it againſt the citie, beating downe not onlie the higheſt top of Biſhops gate, but alſo a great part of the wals on that ſide.

The rebels take certeine peeces of artillerie from the earle of Warwike.

Capteine Drurie.

And here trulie the good ſeruice of capteine Drurie is not to be forgotten, who now as earſt being readie to reuenge this iniurie, following vpon the enimies, put them to flight, and recouered much of that which they had taken from the earls ſouldiers. The earle of Warwike after this cut off the entries at the gates, and rampired them vp, placed at the bridges and turnings of the waies and ſtreets diuers bands of ſoldiers to keepe the paſſages, brake downe the White friers bridge, and at Biſhops gate he appointed the lord Willoughbie with a great number of ſoldiers to defend that part, & in this ſort he made prouiſion to defend the citie from the rebels, if they ſhould attempt to make anie ſurpriſe vpon the ſudden.

Councell giuen to the erle of Warwike to abandon the citie.

The next daie yet they paſſing ouer the riuer, ſet fire on certeine houſes at Conneſforth, burning the more part of all the houſes of two pariſhes: and ſo great was the rage of the fire, that catching hold vpon an houſe wherein the merchants of Norwich vſe to laie vp ſuch wares and merchandize as they conueie to their citie from Yermouth, the ſame houſe with great ſtore of wheat and other riches was miſerablie conſumed and defaced. Thus whileſt euerie thing ſeemed to chance and fall out in fauour of the rebels, there were ſome in the earle of Warwiks armie, that deſpairing of the whole ſucceſſe of their iourneie, came to the earle of Warwike, and began to perſuade with him, that ſith the citie was large, and their companies ſmall (for in deed the whole appointed numbers as yet were not come, neither of ſtrangers nor Engliſhmen) it was vnpoſſible to defend it againſt ſuch an huge multitude as were aſſembled togither in Kets campe, and therefore beſought him to regard his owne ſafetie, to leaue the citie, and not to hazard all vpon ſuch an vncerteine maine chance.

The earles anſwere.

The earle of Warwike as he was of a noble and inuincible courage, valiant, hardie, and not able to abide anie ſpot of reproch, whereby to loſe the leaſt peece of honour that might be, made this anſwer: Whie (ſaith he) and doo your harts faile you ſo ſoone? Or are you ſo mad withall, to thinke that ſo long as anie life reſteth in me, that I will conſent to ſuch diſhonour? Should I leaue the citie, heaping vp to my ſelfe and likewiſe to you ſuch ſhame and reproofe as worthilie might be reputed an infamie to vs for euer? I will rather ſuffer whatſoeuer either fire or ſword can worke againſt me. Theſe words being vttered with ſuch a courage as was maruellous to conſider, he drew out his ſword. Which other of the honorable and worſhipfull that were then preſent likewiſe did, whome he commanded that each one ſhould kiſſe others ſword, according to an ancient cuſtome vſed amongſt men of war in time of great danger: and herewith they made a ſolemne vow, binding it with a ſolemne oth, that they ſhould not depart from thence, till they had either vanquiſhed the enimies, or loſt their liues in manfull fight for defenſe of the kings honour.

Lancequenets come to the earle of Warwike.

The rebels truſt in vaine propheſies.

Whileſt theſe things were in dooing, the rebels brake into the citie on that ſide, where was no ſuſpicion of their entring at all; but being come almoſt to the bridges, they were incountered by the ſoldiers, beaten backe, and chaſed out by the ſame waie they came. The next daie being the ſix and twentith of Auguſt, there came to the earle 1400 lancequenets. The rebels notwithſtanding that ſuch reinforcement of the earles power might haue ſomewhat diſcouraged them, yet truſting altogither to certeine vaine propheſies, which they had among them, and ſet out in verſes by ſuch wiſards as were there with them in the campe, they had conceiued ſuch a vaine hope of proſperous ſucceſſe in their buſineſſe, that they little eſteemed anie power that might come againſt them. Among other of thoſe ſame verſes, theſe were two:

The countrie gnuffes, Hob, Dick, and Hick,
with clubs and clowted ſhoone,
Shall fill vp Duſsin dale with bloud
of ſlaughtered bodies ſoone.

The rebels remoue.

Vpon hope therefore of this and other vaine propheſies, the rebels through the diuels procurement, that had nouriſhed and pricked them forward all this while in their wicked proceedings, determined to remoue thither, to the end that they might with more ſpeed make an end of the matter, before they ſhould be driuen to diſperſe themſelues by famine. For the earle of Warwike had taken order to haue the paſſages ſtopped, in ſuch wiſe as no vittels could eaſilie be conueied to their campe, the want whereof began alreadie to pinch them. Herevpon ſetting fire on their cabins, which they had raiſed and built here and there of timber and buſhes (the ſmoke whereof couered all the grounds about them) they came downe with their enſignes into the vallie called Duſſin dale, where with all ſpeed that might be they intrenched themſelues about, and raiſing a rampire of a good height, ſet ſtakes alſo round about them, to keepe off the horſſemen.

The earle of Warwike goeth forth to giue the enimies battell.

Pardon offered.

The earle of Warwike perceiuing their doings, the next daie being the ſeuen and twentith of Auguſt with all his horſſemen, and the Almans with capteine Druries band, iſſued forth of the citie, marching ſtreight towards the enimies. Yet before he approched in ſight of them, he ſent ſir Edmund Kneuet & ſir Thomas Palmer knights, with others, to vnderſtand of them, whether now at length they would ſubmit themſelues, & receiue the kings pardon; which if they would doo, he offred to grant it freelie to all the whole multitude, one or two of them onelie excep-

ted:

red: but they with generall voices refuſing it, the earle fell in hand to incourage his people vnto the battell, and hauing appointed as well the horſſemen as footmen in what order they ſhould giue the charge, they paſſed forward in approching the enimies. The rebels beholding them thus to come forward, put themſelues in order of battell, in ſuch manner, that all the gentlemen which had béene taken priſoners, and were kept in irons for ſtarting awaie, were placed in the fore ranke of their battell, coupled two and two togither, to the end they might be killed by their owne friends that came to ſéeke their deliuerance: but yet as God would haue it, the moſt part of them were ſaued. Miles the maiſter gunner among the rebels, leuieng a péece of ordinance, ſhot it off, and ſtroke him that caried the kings ſtandard in the thigh, and the horſſe through the ſhoulder.

The earle of Warwike and others ſore grieued therewith, cauſed a whole volie of artillerie to be ſhot off at the rebels: and herewith capteine Drurie with his owne band, & the Almans or lanceknights, whether ye liſt to call them, on foot, getting néere to the enimies, hailſed them with their harquebut ſhot ſo ſharplie, and thruſt forward vpon them with their pikes ſo ſtronglie, that they brake them in ſunder. The gentlemen, who (as we haue ſaid) were placed in the fore ranke, found meanes (as good hap was) to ſhrinke aſide, and eſcaped the danger for the more part, although ſome indéed were ſlaine by the Almans, and other that knew not what they were. The light horſſemen of the kings part herewith gaue in amongſt them ſo roundlie, that the rebels not able to abide their valiant charge, were eaſilie put to flight, and with the formoſt their grand capteine Robert Ket galloped awaie ſo faſt as his horſſe would beare him. The horſſemen following in chaſe, ſlue them downe on heapes, euer ſtill as they ouertooke them; ſo that the chaſe continuing for the ſpace of thrée or foure miles, there were ſlaine to the number of thrée thouſand fiue hundred at the leaſt: beſide a great multitude that were wounded as they fled here and there ech waie foorth, as ſéemed beſt to ſerue their turne for their moſt ſpéedie eſcape out of danger. Yet one part of them that had not béene aſſailed at the firſt onſet, ſéeing ſuch ſlaughter made of their fellowes, kept their ground by their ordinance, and ſhranke not: determining as men deſperatlie bent, not to die vnreuenged, but to fight it out to the laſt man.

The number of the rebels ſlaine.

They were ſo incloſed with their carts, carriages, trenches (which they had caſt) and ſtakes pitched in the ground to kéepe off the force of horſſemen, that it would haue béene ſomewhat dangerous to haue aſſailed them within their ſtrength. But ſure they were that now they could not eſcape, ſéeing no ſmall part of their whole numbers were cut off and diſtreſſed, and they inuironed on ech ſide, without hope of ſuccour or reléefe of vittels, which in the end muſt néeds haue forced them to come foorth of their incloſure to their vndoubted ouerthrow and deſtruction. The earle of Warwike yet pitieng their caſe, and loth that the king ſhould loſe ſo manie ſtout mens bodies as were there amongſt them, which might doo his maieſtie and their countrie good ſeruice, if they could be reclamed from this their deſperat follie vnto due obedience, ſent Norreie vnto them, offering them pardon of life if they would throw downe their weapons and yéeld: if not, he threatened that there ſhould not a man of them eſcape the deſerued puniſhment. Their anſwer was, that if they might be aſſured to haue their liues ſaued, they could be contented to yéeld: but they could haue no truſt that promiſe ſhould be kept with them. For notwithſtanding all ſuch faire offers of pardon, they tooke it that there was nothing meant but a ſubtill practiſe, to bring them into the hands of their aduerſaries the gentlemen, that had prepared a barrell of ropes and halters, with which they purpoſed to truſſe them vp: and therefore they would rather die like men, than to be ſtrangled at the wils and pleaſures of their mortall enimies.

Pardon oftſones offered.

The earle of Warwike right ſorie to ſée ſuch deſperat minds among them, ſent to the citie, and cauſed the moſt part of the footmen which he had left there to defend the ſame, to come foorth now in battell araie, that they might helpe to diſtreſſe thoſe wilfull rebels that thus obſtinatelie refuſed the kings pardon. And hauing brought as well them as the Almans and the horſſemen in order of battell againe, and readie now to ſet vpon the rebels, he eftſoones ſent vnto them to know that if he ſhould come himſelfe and giue his word, that they ſhould haue their pardon, whether they would receiue it or not. Herevnto they anſwered, that they had ſuch confidence in his honor, that if he would ſo doo, they would giue credit thereto, and ſubmit themſelues to the kings mercie. Incontinentlie herevpon he went vnto them, and commanded Norreie to read the kings pardon fréelie granted to all that would yéeld. Which being read, euerie man threw downe his weapon, and with one whole and entier voice cried; God ſaue king Edward, God ſaue king Edward. And thus thorough the prudent policie, and fauourable mercie of the erle of Warwike, a great number of thoſe offendors were preſerued from the gates of death, into the which they were readie to enter.

Pardon once againe offered.

They yéeld to the earle of Warwike.

Thus were the Norffolke rebels ſubdued by the high proweſſe, wiſedome, and policie of the valiant earle of Warwike, and other the nobles, gentlemen, & faithfull ſubiects there in the kings armie: but not without loſſe of diuers perſonages of great worſhip, beſide other of the meaner ſort, namelie maſter Henrie Willoughbie eſquier, a man ſo well beloued in his countrie for his liberalitie in houſekéeping, great courteſie, vpright dealing, aſſured ſtedfaſtnes in friendſhip, & modeſt ſtaiedneſſe in behauiour, that the countries where his liuings laie lament the loſſe of ſo worthie a gentleman euen to this daie. There died alſo maſter Lucie eſquier, maſter Forſter eſquier, and maſter Throckmorton of Northamptonſhire, gentlemen of no ſmall credit and worſhip in their countries. The battell being thus ended, all the ſpoile gotten in the field was giuen to the ſoldiers, who ſold the moſt part thereof openlie in the market place of Norwich. The next daie the earle of Warwike was aduertiſed that Ket, being crept into a barne, was taken by two ſeruants of one maſter Riches of Swanington, and brought to the houſe of the ſame Riches. Herevpon were twentie horſſemen ſent thither to fetch him, who brought him to Norwich. The ſame daie examinations were taken of them that were the principall beginners and ſetters foorth of this vnhappie rebellion, and diuerſe being found giltie were hanged, and nine of the chiefeſt procurers of all the miſchiefe (Robert Ket and his brother William onelie excepted) were hanged vpon the oke of reformation, Miles the gunner & two of their prophets being thrée of that number.

Gentlemen ſlaine in this rebellion.

Ket taken.

Execution.

Some others of them were drawne, hanged, and quartered, & their heads and quarters ſet vp in publike places for a terror to others. But yet the earle of Warwike ſpared manie, where ſome would gladlie haue perſuaded him, that there might haue béene a great number more executed. But his lordſhip perceiuing them importunate in that vncharitable ſute, told them (as it were in fauour of life of thoſe ſillie wretches, whoſe miſerable caſe he ſéemed to pitie) that meaſure muſt be vſed in all things, & in puniſhing

The earle of Warwike ſheweth mercie.

“ ing of men by death (ſaith he) we ought alwaies to
beware that we paſſe not the ſame. I know well that
“ ſuch wicked doings deſerue no ſmall reuenge, and
that the offendors are worthie to be moſt ſharplie
“ chaſtiſed. But how farre yet ſhall we go? Shall we
“ not at length ſhew ſome mercie? Is there no place
for pardon? What ſhall we then do? Shall we hold
“ the plough our ſelues; plaie the carters and labour
the ground with our owne hands. These and ſuch like
“ words taſting altogither of mercie and compaſſion in that noble earle, did quench the cruell deſire of reuenge in them that were altogither kindled in wrath and wiſhed nothing more than to ſee the whole multitude executed: but now moued with the earles wiſe and mercifull anſwer to their rigorous ſute, they became more mild and mercifull towards the miſerable creatures.

This alſo is not to be forgotten, that when information was giuen againſt ſome of the rebels, for that they had beene buſie fellowes, & great doers in time of thoſe vprores, ſo as it was thought of ſome, that it ſtood with good reaſon to haue them puniſhed by death, when the earle of Warwike vnderſtood by credible report of Norreie king at armes, that vpon the offer of the kings pardon, they were the firſt that threw downe their weapons, and ſubmitted themſelues to the kings mercie, the earle would not in anie wiſe conſent that they ſhould die, but proteſted frankelie that he would keepe promiſe with them, and that he would be as good to them as his word: and ſo they had their liues ſaued. The ſame daie was order giuen by the earle that the bodies of them that were ſlaine in the field ſhould be buried. On the morrow being the nine and twentith of Auguſt, the earle of Warwike, with the nobles and gentlemen of the armie, and others in great numbers, both men and women, went to ſaint Peters church, and there gaue praiſes and thanks to God for the victorie obteined. And this doone, he with all the armie departed out of the citie, and returned homewards with high commendation of citizens & others, that acknowledged the ſaid earle to be the defendor of their liues, and recouerer of their wiues, children, houſes, and liuings.

The ſlaine carcaſes buried.

It was afterwards ordeined, that vpon the ſame daie in the which the rebels were thus ſubdued, the citizens yearelie ſhould repaire to their churches, and there to heare ſeruice, and to haue a ſermon abrode, to the which they ſhould come togither, to giue thanks to God for their deliuerance as that daie, and this is obſerued till theſe our times. Robert Ket and his brother William Ket were brought vp to London, where they were committed to the tower, and ſhortlie after arreigned of their treaſon and found guiltie, were brought to the tower againe, where they continued till the nine and twentith of Nouember, on which daie they were deliuered to ſir Edmund Windham high ſhiriffe of Norffolke and Suffolke, to be conueied downe into Norffolke, where Robert Ket was hanged in chains vpon the top of Norwich caſtell: and William Ket his brother on the top of Windmondham ſteeple, in which towne they had both dwelled, and conſpired with others to go forward with their wicked rebellion.

The two Kets executed.

This William Ket (as was thought) had beene ſure of his pardon, if he had not plaied the traitorous hypocrite: for vpon his ſubmiſſion at the firſt to my lord marqueſſe of Northampton, at his comming downe to ſuppreſſe this rebellion, he was ſent to his brother to perſuade him and the reſt to yeeld, and receiue the kings pardon: but he (like a diſſembling wretch, although he promiſed to my lord to doo what he could in that behalfe) vpon his comming to his brother into the rebels campe, & beholding the great multitude that were there about him, he did not onelie not diſſuade him and them from their traitorous rebellion, but incouraged them to perſiſt and continue in their doings, declaring what a ſmall number of ſouldiers the marqueſſe brought with him, nothing able to reſiſt ſuch a puiſſance as was there aſſembled. So that if it had not beene thorough the wicked perſuaſion of him, and ſome others at that time, not onelie Robert Ket himſelfe, but alſo all the multitude beſide, would haue ſubmitted themſelues, and receiued the kings pardon, to the preſeruation of manie a good mans life that after died in the quarrell.

William Ket a diſſembling traitor.

But now to returne ſomewhat backe to the doings in Scotland. In the meane while that ſuch hurls were in hand here in England, ye ſhall vnderſtand that in the beginning of this ſummer, the king by aduiſe of his councell ſent forth a nauie by ſea towards Scotland, the which arriuing in the Forth, and comming before Lieth, ſaluted the towne with cannon ſhot, & remaining there ten or twelue daies, tooke in the meane time the Ile of Inſketh, leauing therein foure enſignes of Engliſhmen, and one of Italians, with certeine pioners to fortifie the place. But the Frenchmen (as in the Scotiſh hiſtorie yee ſhall find more at large) after the departure of the Engliſh nauie, recouered that Ile againe out of the Engliſhmens poſſeſſion (after they had kept it ſixteene daies) with the ſlaughter of capteine Cotton their generall, capteine Applebie, & one Jaſper that was capteine of the Italians, beſide others. After the recouering of this Ile, monſieur de Deſſe returned into France, leauing his charge to monſieur de Thermes latelie before there arriued: who after the departure of the ſaid Deſſe, with a campe volant did what he could to ſtop the Engliſhmen within Hadington from vittels. But notwithſtanding the earle of Rutland being lieutenant of the north, did not onlie vittell it, but put the French armie in danger of an ouerthrow, as it was thought muſt needs haue folowed, if they had not with more ſpeed than is vſed in a common march ſlipt awaie, after they perceiued the Engliſh armie ſo neare at their elbowes.

Inſketh taken.

Monſieur de Deſſe returneth into France.

The earle of Rutland.

Moreouer, beſide theſe inordinate vprores and inſurrections aboue mentioned, about the latter end of the ſaid moneth of Julie, in the ſame yeare, which was 1549, an other like ſturre or commotion began at Semer in the northriding of Yorkeſhire, and continued in the eaſtriding of the ſame, and there ended. The principall doers and raiſers vp thereof, was one William Ombler of Eaſtheſlerton yeoman, and Thomas Dale pariſh clearke of Semer, with one Steeuenſon of Semer, neighbour to Dale and nephue to Ombler, which Steeuenſon was a meane or meſſenger betweene the ſaid Ombler and Dale, being before not acquainted togither, and dwelling ſeuen miles one from the other: who at laſt by the trauell of the ſaid Steeuenſon, and their owne euill diſpoſitions, inclined to vngratiouſneſſe and miſchiefe, knowing before one the others mind by ſecret conference, were brought to talke togither on ſaint James daie, Anno 1549.

M. Fox.

An other rebellion or tumult begun in Yorkeſhire.

The chiefe ſtirrers of this rebellion.

The cauſes mouing them to raiſe this rebellion, were theſe. Firſt & principallie their traitorous harts grudging at the kings moſt godlie proceedings, in aduancing and reforming the true honour of God and his religion. An other cauſe alſo was, for truſting to a blind and a fantaſticall propheſie, wherwith they were ſeduced, thinking the ſame propheſie ſhuld ſhortlie come to paſſe, by hearing the rebellions of Norffolke, of Deuonſhire, and other places. The tenour of which propheſie and purpoſe togither of the traitors was, that there ſhould no king reigne in England, the noblemen and gentlemen to be deſtroied, and the realme to be ruled by foure gouernours,

The cauſes mouing the Yorkſhiremen to rebellion.

A blind propheſie among the northerne men.

nours, to be elected and appointed by the commons, holding a parlement in commotion, to begin at the ſouth and north ſeas of England, ſuppoſing that this rebellion in the north, and the other of the Deuonſhire men in the weſt, méeting (as they intended) at one place, to be the meane how to compaſſe this their traitorous diueliſh deuiſe. And therfore laieng their ſtudies togither, how to find out more companie to ioine with them in that deteſtable purpoſe, and to ſet forward the ſturre, this deuiſe they framed: to ſturre in two places, the one diſtant ſeuen miles from the other, and at the firſt ruſh to kill and deſtroie ſuch gentlemen and men of ſubſtance about them, as were fauourers of the kings procéedings, or which would reſiſt them.

The deuiſe of the rebels how to compaſſe their purpoſe.

But firſt of all for the more ſpéedie raiſing of men, they deuiſed to burne beacons, ⁊ thereby to bring the people togither, as though it were to defend the ſeacoaſts: and hauing the ignorant people aſſembled, then to powre out their poiſon, firſt beginning with the rudeſt and poreſt ſort, ſuch as they thought were pricked with pouertie, and were vnwilling to labor, and therefore the more readie to follow the ſpoile of rich mens goods, blowing into their heads that Gods ſeruice was laid aſide, and new inuentions neither good nor godlie put in place, and ſo féeding them with faire promiſes, to reduce into the church againe their old ignorance and idolatrie, thought by that means ſoneſt to allure them to rage and run with them in this commotion. And furthermore, to the intent they would giue the more terror to the gentlemen at the firſt riſing, leaſt they ſhould be reſiſted, they deuiſed that ſome ſhould be murthered in churches, ſome in their houſes, ſome in ſeruing the king in commiſſion, and other as they might be caught, and to picke quarels at them by alteration of ſeruice on the holie daies: and thus was the platforme caſt of their deuiſe, according as afterward by their confeſſion at their examinations was teſtified, and remaineth in true record.

The deuiſe of the rebels that they might be feared.

Thus they being togither agréed, Ombler and Dale, with others, by their ſecret appointment, ſo laboured the matter in the pariſh of Semer, Wintringham, and the townes about, that they were infected with the poiſon of this confederacie, in ſuch ſort that it was eaſie to vnderſtand wherevnto they would incline, if a commotion were begun, the accompliſhment whereof did ſhortlie follow. For although by the words of one drunken fellow of that conſpiracie named Caluerd, at the alehouſe in Wintringham, ſome ſuſpicion of that rebellion began to be ſmelled before by the lord preſident and gentlemen of thoſe parties, and ſo preuented in that place where the rebels thought to begin: yet they gaue not ouer ſo, but drew to another place at Semer by the ſeacoaſt, and there by night rode to the beacon at Straxton, and ſet it on fire, and ſo gathering togither a rude rout of raſcals out of the townes neare about, being on a ſturre, Ombler, Thomas Dale, Barton, and Robert Dale, haſted forthwith with the rebels to maiſter Whites houſe to take him: who notwithſtanding being on horſſebacke, minding to haue eſcaped their hands, Dale, Ombler, and the reſt of the rebels tooke him, and Clopton his wiues brother, one Sauage a merchant of Yorke, and one Berrie ſeruant to ſir Walter Mildmaie. Which foure without cauſe or quarell, ſauing to fulfill their ſeditious propheſie in ſome part, and to giue a terror to other gentlemen, they cruellie murthered, after they had caried them one mile from Semer towards the Wold, and there after they had ſtripped them of their clothes ⁊ purſes, left them naked behind them in the plaine fields for crowes to féed on: vntill Whites wife and Sauages wife, then at Semer, cauſed them to be buried.

The rebels increaſe their number ⁊ rebellious band.

The kings pardon offred, receiued, refuſed.

Long it were and tedious to recite what reuell theſe rebels kept in their raging madneſſe, who ranging about the countrie from towne to towne, to inlarge their vngratious and rebellious band, taking thoſe with force which were not willing to go, ⁊ leauing in no towne where they came anie man aboue the age of ſixtéene yeares, ſo increaſed this number, that in ſhort time they had gathered thrée thouſand to fauour their wicked attempts, and had like to haue gathered more, had not the Lords goodneſſe through prudent circumſpection of ſome interrupted the courſe of their furious beginning. For firſt came the kings gratious and frée pardon, diſcharging ⁊ pardoning all them and the reſt of the rebels, of all treaſons, murthers, felonies, ⁊ other offenſes done to his maieſtie before the one ⁊ twentith of Auguſt, 1549. Which pardon although Ombler contemptuouſlie reading, perſiſted ſtill in his wilfull obſtinacie, diſſuaded alſo the reſt from the humble accepting of the kings ſo louing ⁊ liberall pardon: yet notwithſtanding with ſome it did good, who of likelihood ſubmitted themſelues, aſſuredlie beleeuing if they perſeuered in their enterpriſe, there was no way with them but one, namelie deſerued death, wherewith there was no diſpenſing after the contempt of the princes pardon and refuſall of his mercie; ſo that in this heauie caſe they might verie well complaine and saie:

Funditus occidimus, nec habet fortuna regreſſum. Virgil.

Ombler capteine of the rebels taken.

The names of the rebels taken and executed at Yorke.

To make ſhort, it was not long after this, but Ombler as he was riding from towne to towne, twelue miles from Hummanbie, to charge all the coneſtables and inhabitans where he came, in the kings name to reſort to Hummanbie: by the waie he was eſpied, and by the circumſpect diligence of John Word the yonger, James Aſlabeie, Raſe Twinge, and Thomas Coneſtable gentlemen, hée was had in chaſe, and at laſt by them apprehended, and brought in the night in ſure cuſtodie vnto the citie of Yorke, to anſwer vnto his demerits. After whome within ſhort time, Thomas Dale, Henrie Barton, the firſt chiefteins and ringleaders of the former commotion, with John Dale, Robert Wright, William Pecocke, Weatherell, and Edmund Buttrie, buſie ſtirrers in this ſedition, as they trauelled from place to place, to draw people to their faction, were likewiſe apprehended, committed to ward, lawfullie conuicted, and laſtlie executed at Yorke the one and twentith of September, in the yere of our Lord 1549. *Ex actis iudicij publici a regiſtro exceptis & notatis.*

Whileſt theſe wicked commotions and tumults through the rage of the vndiſcréet commons were thus raiſed in ſundrie parts of the realme, to the great hinderance of the common-wealth, loſſe and danger of euerie good and true ſubiect, ſundrie wholſome and godlie exhortations were publiſhed, to aduertiſe them of their dutie, and to laie before them their heinous offenſes; with the ſequele of the miſchiefs that neceſſarilie followed thereof, the which if they ſhould conſider togither, with the puniſhment that hanged ouer their heads, they might eaſilie be brought to repent their lewd begun enterpriſes, and ſubmit themſelues to the kings mercie. Among other of thoſe admonitions, one was penned and ſet forth by ſir John Chéeke, which I haue thought good here to inſert, as a neceſſarie diſcourſe for euerie good Engliſh ſubiect. Wherein, to a reader of iudgement and capacitie, ſuch learning and wiſedome, with a true loiall ſubiects heart bewraieth it ſelfe to haue béene ſetled in that gentleman; as the verie reading of this treatiſe is able to turne a rebellious mind to méekeneſſe: if reaſon be not altogither led awaie captiue by luſt.

¶ The hurt of ſedition how greeuous *it is to a common-wealth, ſet out by ſir Iohn* Cheeke knight, in the yeare 1549.

The true ſubiect to the rebell.

AMong ſo manie and notable benefits, wherewith God hath alreadie and plentifullie indued vs, there is nothing more beneficiall, than that we haue by his grace kept vs quiet from rebellion at this time. For we ſee ſuch miſeries hang ouer the whole ſtate of the common-wealth, through the great miſorder of your ſedition, that it maketh vs much to reioiſe, that we haue beene neither partners of your doings, nor conſpirers of your counſels. For euen as the Lacedemonians for the auoiding of drunkenneſſe did cauſe their ſons to behold their ſeruants when they were drunke, that by beholding their beaſtlineſſe, they might auoid the like vice: euen ſo hath God like a mercifull father ſtaied vs from your wickedneſſe, that by beholding the filth of your fault, we might iuſtlie for offenſe abhorre you like rebels, whome elſe by nature we loue like Engliſhmen. And ſo for our ſelues, we haue great cauſe to thanke God, by whoſe religion and holie word dailie taught vs, we learne not onelie to feare him trulie, but alſo to obeie our king faithfullie, and to ſerue in our owne vocation like ſubiects honeſtlie. And as for you, we haue ſurelie iuſt cauſe to lament you as brethren, and yet iuſter cauſe to riſe againſt you as enimies, and moſt iuſt cauſe to ouerthrow you as rebels.

What the Lacedemonians did to make their ſons deteſt drunkenneſſe.

For what hurt could be doone either to vs priuatlie, or to the whole common-wealth generallie, that is now with miſchiefe ſo brought in by you, that euen as we ſee now the flame of your rage, ſo ſhall we neceſſarilie be conſumed hereafter with the miſerie of the ſame. Wherefore conſider your ſelues with ſome light of vnderſtanding, and marke this greeuous and horrible fault, which ye haue thus vilelie committed, how heinous it muſt needs appeare to you, if ye will reaſonablie conſider that which for my duties ſake, and my whole countries cauſe, I will at this preſent declare vnto you. Ye which be bound by Gods word not to obeie for feare like men-pleaſers, but for conſcience ſake like chriſtians, haue contrarie to Gods holie will, whoſe offenſe is euerlaſting death, and contrarie to the godlie order of quietneſſe, ſet out to vs in the kings maieſties lawes, the breach whereof is not vnknowne to you, taken in hand vncalled of God, vnſent by men, vnfit by reaſon, to caſt awaie your bounden duties of obedience, and to put on you againſt the magiſtrats, Gods office committed to the magiſtrats, for the reformation of your pretenſed iniuries. In the which dooing ye haue firſt faulted grieuouſlie againſt God, next offended vnnaturallie our ſoueraigne lord, thirdlie troubled miſerablie the whole common-wealth, vndoone cruellie manie an honeſt man, and brought in an vtter miſerie both to vs the kings ſubiects, and to your ſelues being falſe rebels. And yet ye pretend that partlie for Gods cauſe, and partlie for the common-wealths ſake, ye doo ariſe, when as your ſelues cannot denie; but ye that ſeeke in word Gods cauſe, doo breake in deed Gods commandements; and ye that ſeeke the common-wealth, haue deſtroied the common-wealth: and ſo ye marre that ye would make, & breake that ye would amend, becauſe ye neither ſeeke anie thing rightlie, nor would amend anie thing orderlie.

Rebellion a verie greeuous and horrible offenſe againſt God, the prince, and the ſtate.

He that faulteth, faulteth againſt Gods ordinance, who hath forbidden all faults, and therefore ought againe to be puniſhed by Gods ordinance, who is the reformer of faults. For he ſaith, Leaue the puniſhment to me, and I will reuenge them. But the magiſtrate is the ordinance of God, appointed by him with the ſword of puniſhment to looke ſtreightlie to all euill dooers. And therefore that that is doone by the magiſtrate, is doone by the ordinance of God, whome the ſcripture oftentimes dooth call God, becauſe he hath the execution of Gods office. How then doo you take in hand to reforme? Be ye kings? By what authoritie? Or by what occaſion? Be ye the kings officers? By what commiſſion? Be ye called of God? By what tokens declare ye that? Gods word teacheth vs, that no man ſhould take in hand anie office, but he that is called of God like Aaron. What Moſes I praie you called you? What Gods miniſter bad you riſe?

The authoritie of the magiſtrats great and peremptorie.

Ye riſe for religion. What religion taught you that? If ye were offered perſecution for religion, ye ought to flie: ſo Chriſt teacheth you, and yet you intend to fight. If ye would ſtand in the truth, ye ought to ſuffer like martyrs, and you would ſleie like tyrants. Thus for religion you keepe no religion, and neither will follow the counſell of Chriſt, nor the conſtancie of martyrs. Why riſe ye for religion? Haue ye anie thing contrarie to Gods booke? Yea, haue ye not all things agreeable to Gods word? But the new is different from the old, and therefore ye will haue the old. If ye meaſure the old by truth, ye haue the oldeſt; if ye meaſure the old by fanſie, then it is hard: becauſe mens fanſies change, to giue that is old. Ye will haue the old ſtill. Will ye haue anie older than that as Chriſt left, & his apoſtles taught, & the firſt church after Chriſt did vſe? Ye will haue that the chanons doo eſtabliſh. Why that is a great deale yoonger than that ye haue, of later time, and newlier inuented. Yet that is it that ye deſire. Why then ye deſire not the oldeſt. And doo you preferre the biſhops of Rome afore Chriſt, mens inuentions afore Gods law, the newer ſort of worſhip before the older? Ye ſeeke no religion, ye be deceiued, ye ſeeke traditions. They that teach you, blind you, that ſo inſtruct you, deceiue you. If ye ſeeke what the old doctors ſaie, yet looke what Chriſt the oldeſt of all ſaith. For he ſaith; Before Abraham was made I am. If ye ſeeke the trueſt way, he is the verie truth; if ye ſeeke the readieſt waie, he is the verie waie; if ye ſeeke euerlaſting life, he is the verie life. What religion would ye haue other now, than his religion?

Rebellion vnlawfull in defenſe of true religion, Ergo much more vnlawfull in maintenance of falſe religion, &c.

You would haue the bibles in againe. It is no maruell, your blind guides would leade you blind ſtill. Why, be ye howlets and backs, that ye cannot looke on the light? Chriſt ſaith to euerie one, Search ye the ſcriptures, for they beare witneſſe of Chriſt. You ſaie, Pull in the ſcriptures, for we will haue no knowledge of Chriſt. The apoſtles of Chriſt will vs to be ſo readie, that we maie be able to giue euerie man an account of our faith. Ye will vs not once to read the ſcriptures, for feare of knowing of our faith. Saint Paul praieth that euerie man may increaſe in knowledge: ye deſire that our knowledge might decaie againe. A true religion ye ſeeke belike, and worthie to be ſought for. For without the ſword indeed nothing can helpe it, neither Chriſt, nor truth, nor age can mainteine it. But why ſhould ye not like that which Gods word eſtabliſheth, the primitiue church hath authoriſed, the greateſt learned men of this realme haue drawen, the whole conſent of the parlement hath confirmed, the kings maieſtie hath ſet forth? Is it not trulie ſet out? Can ye deuiſe anie truer than Chriſtes apoſtles vſed? Ye thinke it is not learnedlie doone. Dare ye commons take vpon you more learning, than the choſen biſhops and clearks of this realme haue? Thinke ye follie in it? Ye were woont to iudge your parlement wiſeſt, & now will ye ſuddenlie excell them in wiſ-

The neceſſarie benefit and vſe of the bible, and contrariwiſe.

dome? Or can ye thinke it lacketh authoritie, which the king, the parlement, the learned, the wiſe haue iuſtlie approued? Learne, learne, to know this one point of religion, that God will be worſhipped as he hath preſcribed, and not as we haue deuiſed; and that his will is wholie in his ſcriptures, which be full of Gods ſpirit, and profitable to teach the truth, to reproue lies, to amend faults, to bring one vp in righteouſneſſe, that he that is a Gods man may be perfect & readie to all good works. What can be more required to ſerue God withall? And thus much for religion, rebels.

A principall point of religion for rebels ſpeciallie to learne.

The other rable of Norffolke rebelles, ye pretend a common-wealth. How amend ye it? By killing of gentlemen, by ſpoiling of gentlemen, by impriſoning of gentlemen? A maruellous tanned common-wealth. Whie ſhould ye thus hate them? For their riches or for their rule? Rule they neuer tooke ſo much in hand as ye doo now. They neuer reſiſted the king, neuer withſtood his councell, be faithfull at this daie when ye be faithleſſe, not onelie, to the king, whoſe ſubiects ye be, but alſo to your lords whoſe tenants ye be. Is this your true duetie, in ſome of homage, in moſt of fealtie, in all of allegiance; to leaue your duties, go backe from your promiſes, fall from your faith, and contrarie to law and truth to make vnlawfull aſſemblies, vngodlie companies, wicked and deteſtable campes, to diſobeie your betters, and to obeie your tanners, to change your obedience from a king to a Ket, to ſubmit your ſelues to traitors, and breake your faith to your true king and lords? They rule but by law, if otherwiſe, the law, the councell, the king taketh awaie their rule. Ye haue orderlie ſought no redreſſe, but ye haue in time found it. In countries ſome muſt rule, ſome muſt obeie, euerie man maie not beare like ſtroke: for euerie man is not like wiſe. And they that haue ſeene moſt, and be beſt able to beare it, and of iuſt dealing beſide, be moſt fit to rule. It is an other matter to vnderſtand a mans owne greefe, and to know the common-wealths ſore; and therfore not they that know their owne caſe, as euerie man doth, but they that vnderſtand the common-welths ſtate, ought to haue in countries the preferment of ruling. If ye felt the paine that is ioined with gouernance, as ye ſee and like the honor, ye would not hurt others to rule them, but rather take great paine to be ruled of them. If ye had rule of the kings maieſtie committed vnto you, it were well doone ye had ruled the gentlemen: but now ye haue it not, and cannot beare their rule, it is to thinke the kings maieſtie fooliſh and vniuſt, that hath giuen certeine rule to them. And ſeeing by the ſcripture, ye ought not to ſpeake euill of anie magiſtrate of the people, why doo ye not onelie ſpeake euill of them whome the kings maieſtie hath put in office, but alſo iudge euill of the king himſelfe, and thus ſeditiouſlie in field ſtand with your ſwords drawen againſt him?

The rebelles of Norffolke pretended the common-wealth the cauſe of their riſing.

Whie all muſt not looke to beare like rule.

Magiſtrates are to be honored both in ſpeech and maners.

If riches offend you, becauſe yee wiſh the like, then thinke that to be no common-wealth, but enuie to the common-wealth. Enuie it is to appaire an other mans eſtate, without the amendment of your owne. And to haue no gentlemen, bicauſe ye be none your ſelues, is to bring downe an eſtate, and to mend none. Would ye haue all alike rich? That is the ouerthrow of labour, and vtter decay of worke in this realme. For who will labour more, if when he hath gotten more, the idle ſhall by luſt without right take what him luſt from him, vnder pretenſe of equalitie with him. This is the bringing in of idleneſſe, which deſtroieth the common-wealth; and not the amendment of labour, that mainteineth the common-wealth. If there ſhould be ſuch equalitie, then ye take awaie all hope from yours to come to anie better eſtate than you now leaue them. And as manie meane mens children doo come honeſtlie vp, and are great ſuccour to all their ſtocke: ſo ſhould none be hereafter holpen by you, but bicauſe ye ſeeke equalitie, whereby all can not be rich. Ye would that (belike) whereby euerie man ſhould be poore; and thinke beſide that riches and inheritance be Gods prouidence, and giuen to whome of his wiſdome he thinketh good: to the honeſt for the increaſe of their godlineſſe, to the wicked for the heaping vp of their damnation, to the ſimple for a recompenſe of other lackes, to the wiſe for the greater ſetting out of Gods goodneſſe. Whie will your wiſdome now ſtop Gods wiſdome, and prouide by your lawes, that God ſhall not inrich them, whome he hath by prouidence appointed as him liketh? God hath made the poore, & hath made them to be poore that he might ſhew his might, and ſet them aloft when he liſteth for ſuch cauſe as to him ſeemeth, & plucke downe the rich to this ſtate of pouertie by his power, as he diſpoſeth to order them. Whie doo not we then being poore beare it wiſelie, rather than by luſt ſeeke riches vniuſtlie, and ſhew our ſelues content with Gods ordinance, which we muſt either willinglie obeie, and then we be wiſe, or elſe we muſt vnprofitablie ſtriue withall, and then we be mad?

To haue all degrees alike, & no inequalitie how inconuenient.

Riches and inheritance from whom, to whom, and to what end giuen.

But what meane yee by this equalitie in the common-wealth? If one be wiſer than an other, will ye baniſh him, becauſe yee intend an equalitie of all things? If one be ſtronger than another, will yee ſlaie him, bicauſe ye ſeeke an equalitie of all things? If one be well fauourder than an other, will yee puniſh him, becauſe yee looke for an equalitie of all things? If one haue better vtterance than another, will ye pull out his toong to ſaue your equalitie? And if one be richer than an other, will ye ſpoile him to mainteine an equalitie? If one be elder than an other, will ye kill him for this equalities ſake? How iniurious are ye to God himſelfe, who intendeth to beſtow his gifts as he himſelfe liſteth: and ye ſeeke by wicked inſurrections to make him giue them commonlie alike to all men as your vaine fanſie liketh? Whie would ye haue an equalitie in riches & in other gifts of God? There is no meane ſought. Either by ambition ye ſeeke lordlineſſe much vnfit for you; or by couetouſneſſe ye be vnſatiable, a thing likelie inough in ye; or elſe by follie ye be not content with your eſtate, a fanſie to be plucked out of you.

The vnconſcionable wiſhing of equalitie how hurtfull.

But if we being wearie of pouertie would ſeeke to inrich our ſelues, we ſhould go a farre other waie to worke than this, and ſo ſhould we rightlie come to our deſire. Dooth not S. Peter teach vs afore God a right waie to honour, to riches, to all neceſſarie and profitable things for vs? He ſaith, Humble your ſelues that God might exalt you, and caſt all your care on him, for he careth for you. He teacheth the waie to all good things at Gods hand, is to be humble, and you exalt your ſelues. Ye ſeeke things after ſuch a ſort, as if the ſeruant ſhould anger his maſter, when he ſeeketh to haue a good turne of him. Ye would haue riches (I thinke) at Gods hand who giueth all riches, and yet ye take the waie cleane contrarie to riches. Know ye not that he that exalteth himſelfe, God will throw him downe? How can ye get it then by thus ſetting out your ſelues? Ye ſhuld ſubmit ye by humilitie one to another, and ye ſet vp your ſelues by arrogancie aboue the magiſtrates. See herein how much ye offend God. Remember ye not that if ye come nigh to God, he will come nigh vnto you? If then ye go from God, he will go from you. Dooth not the pſalme ſaie, He is holie with the holie, and with the wicked man he is froward? Euen as he is ordered of men, he will order

The precept of S. Peter teaching the right waie to riches and honor.

them againe. If ye would follow his will, and obeie his commandements, ye ſhould eat the fruits of the earth, ſaith the prophet; if not, the ſword ſhall deuour you. Ye might haue eaten the fruits of this ſeaſonable yéere, if ye had not by diſobedience rebelled againſt God. Now not onelie ye can not eat that which your ſelues did firſt ſowe by labour, and now deſtroie by ſedition; but alſo if the kings maieſties ſword came not againſt you, as iuſt policie requireth, yet the iuſt vengeance of God would light among you, as his word promiſeth, and your cruell wickedneſſe deſerueth.

The act of rebellion aggrauated, & proued moſt wicked and horrible.

For whatſoeuer the cauſes be that haue moued your wild affections herin, as they be vniuſt cauſes, & increaſe your faults much, the thing it ſelfe, the riſing I meane, muſt néeds be wicked and horrible before God, and the vſurping of authoritie, and taking in hand of rule, which is the ſitting in Gods ſeat of iuſtice, and a proud climing vp into Gods high throne, muſt néeds be not onelie curſed newlie by him, but alſo hath béene often puniſhed afore of him. And that which is doone to Gods officer, God accounteth it doone to him. For they deſpiſe not the miniſter, as he ſaith himſelfe, but they deſpiſe him: and that preſumption of chalenging Gods ſeat, dooth ſhew you to haue bin Lucifers, and ſheweth vs that God will puniſh you like Lucifers. Wherfore rightlie looke, as ye dulie haue deſerued, either for great vengeance for your abhominable tranſgreſſion, or elſe earneſtlie repent, with vnfeined minds, your wicked doings; and either with example of death be content to dehort other, or elſe by faithfulneſſe of obedience declare how great a ſeruice it is to God, to obeie your magiſtrats faithfullie, and to ſerue in ſubiection trulie.

An exhortation to rebels.

Diſobedience to the prince is a moſt abhominable ſinne, and that we are bound by dutie to obeie.

Well, if ye had not thus grieuouſlie offended God, whome ye ought to worſhip, what can ye reaſonablie thinke it, to be no fault againſt the king, whom ye ought to reuerence? Ye be bound by Gods word to obeie your king, and is it no breach of dutie to withſtand your king? If the ſeruant be bound to obeie his maiſter in the familie, is not the ſubiect bound to ſerue the king in his realme? The child is bound to the priuat father, and be we not all bound to the common-wealths father? If we ought to be ſubiect to the king for Gods cauſe, ought we not then I praie you to be faithfullie ſubiect to the king? If we ought dutifullie to ſhew all obedience to heathen kings, ſhall we not willinglie and trulie be ſubiect to chriſtian kings? If one ought to ſubmit himſelfe by humilitie to another, ought we not all by dutie to be ſubiect to our king? If the members of our naturall bodie all follow the head, ſhall not the members of the politicall bodie all obeie the king? If good maners be content to giue place the lower to the higher, ſhall not religion teach vs alwaie to giue place to the higheſt? If true ſubiects will die gladlie in the kings ſeruice, ſhould not all ſubiects thinke it dutie to obeie the king with iuſt ſeruice. But you haue not onelie diſobeied like ill ſubiects, but alſo taken ſtoutlie rule vpon you like wicked magiſtrates.

A notable and rhetoricall clauſe, and to the purpoſe.

Ye haue béene called to obedience by counſell of priuat men, by the aduiſe of the kings maieſties councell, by the kings maieſties frée pardon. But what counſell taketh place, where ſturdineſſe is law and churliſh anſwers be counted wiſdome? Who can perſuade where treaſon is aboue reaſon, and might ruleth right, and it is had for lawfull whatſoeuer is luſtfull, and commotioners are better than commiſſioners, and common wo is named common-wealth? Haue ye not broken his lawes, diſobeied his councell, rebelled againſt him? And what is the common-wealth worth, when the law which is indifferent for all men, ſhall be wilfullie and ſpitefullie broken of head-ſtrong men, that ſéeke againſt laws to order lawes; that thoſe may take place, not what conſent of wiſe men hath appointed, but what the luſt of rebels hath determined? What vnthriftineſſe is in ill ſeruants, wickednes in vnnaturall children, ſturdineſſe in vnrulie ſubiects, crueltie in fierce enimies, wildnes in beaſtlie minds, pride in diſdainfull harts; that floweth now in you, which haue fled from houſed conſpiracies, to incamped robberies, and are better contented to ſuffer famine, cold, trauell, to glut your luſts, than to liue in quietneſſe to ſaue the common-wealth, and thinke more libertie in wilfulneſſe, than wiſedome in dutifulneſſe, and ſo run headlong not to the miſchiefe of other, but to the deſtruction of your ſelues, and vndoo by follie that ye intend by miſchiefe, neither ſéeing how to remedie that ye iudge faultie, nor willing to ſaue your ſelues from miſerie: which ſtifneckedneſſe cannot doo, but honeſtie of obedience muſt frame.

The rebels fullie fraught with moſt vilanous qualities, &c.

The kings councell of greateſt authoritie, and why; yet are they diſobeied: note.

If authoritie would ſerue vnder a king, the councell haue greateſt authoritie; if wiſedome and grauitie might take place, they be of moſt experience; if knowledge of the common-wealth could helpe, they muſt by dailie conference of matters vnderſtand it beſt: yet neither the authoritie that the kings maieſtie hath giuen them, nor the grauitie which you know to be in them, nor the knowledge which with great trauell they haue gotten, can mooue you either to kéepe you in the dutie ye ought to doo, or to auoid the great diſorder wherin ye be. For where diſobedience is thought ſtoutneſſe, and ſullennes is counted manhood, and ſtomaching is courage, and prating is iudged wiſedome, and the eluiſheſt is moſt méet to rule; how can other iuſt authoritie be obeied, or ſad counſell be followed, or good knowledge of matters be heard, or commandements of counſellors be conſidered? And how is the king obeied, whoſe wiſeſt be withſtanded, the diſobedienteſt obeied, the high in authoritie not weied, the vnſkilfulleſt made chiefe capteins, to the nobleſt moſt hurt intended, the braggingeſt braller to be moſt ſafe? And euen as the viler parts of the bodie would contend in knowledge & gouernement with the fiue wits: ſo doo the lower parts of the common-wealth enterpriſe as high a matter, to ſtriue againſt their dutie of obedience to the councell.

The action of rebellion proued by reaſon to be moſt heinous, intollerable, and diuelliſh.

But what talke I of diſobedience ſo quietlie? Haue not ſuch mad rages run in your heads, that forſaking and burſting the quietneſſe of the common peace, ye haue heinouſlie and traitorouſlie incamped your ſelues in field, and there like a bile in a bodie, naie like a ſinke in a towne, haue gathered togither all the naſtie vagabonds and idle loiterers to beare armour againſt him, whome all godlie and good ſubiects will liue and die withall. If it be a fault when two fight togither, and the kings peace broken, and puniſhment to be ſought therefore; can it be but an outragious and a deteſtable miſchiefe, when ſo manie rebels in number, malicious in mind, miſchiefous in enterpriſe, fight not among themſelues, but againſt all the kings true and obedient ſubiects; and ſéeke to proue whether rebellion may beat downe honeſtie, and wickedneſſe may ouercome truth or no? If it be treaſon to ſpeake heinouſlie of the kings maieſtie, who is not hurt thereby, and the infamie returneth to the ſpeaker againe; what kind of outragious & horrible treaſon is it, to aſſemble in campe an armie againſt him, and ſo not onelie intend an ouerthrow to him, and alſo to his common-wealth; but alſo to caſt him into an infamie, through all outward and ſtrange nations, and perſuade them that he is hated of his people, whome he can not rule; and that they be no better than vilans, which will not with good orders be ruled?

What

No death cruell enough for rebels and traitors.

A deſperat malecontents behauiour.

What death can be deuiſed cruell enough for thoſe rebels, who with trouble ſeeke death, and can not quench the thirſt of their rebellion, but with the bloud of true ſubiects; and hate the kings mercifull pardon, when they miſerablie haue tranſgreſſed, and in ſuch an outrage of miſchiefe will not by ſtubbornneſſe acknowledge themſelues to haue faulted, but intend to broile the common-wealth with the flame of their treaſon, and as much as lieth in them not one to annoie themſelues, but to deſtroie all others? He that is miſcontented with things that happen, and bicauſe he cannot beare the miſerie of them, renteth his heare, and teareth his ſkin, & mangleth his face, which caſeth not his ſorrow, but increaſeth his miſerie; maie he not be iuſtlie called mad and fantaſticall, and worthie whoſe wiſedome ſhould be ſuſpected? And what ſhall we ſaie of them, who being in the common-wealth, feeling a ſore greeuous vnto them, and eaſie to haue beene amended, ſought not the remedie, but haue increaſed the greefe, and like frantike beaſts raging againſt their head, doo teare and deface as much as lieth in them his whole authoritie in gouernement, and violentlie take to themſelues that rule vpon them, which he by policie hath granted vnto other?

Rebels and traitors worſe then brute beaſts.

And who weieng well the heauineſſe of the fault, maie not iuſtlie ſaie and hold them to be worſe herein than any kind of brute beaſts? For we ſee that the ſheepe will obeie the ſhepheard, and the neat be ruled by the neatheard, and the horſſe will know his keeper, and the dog will be in aw of his maiſter, and euerie one of them feed there, and of that, as his keeper and ruler dooth appoint him, & goeth from thenſe, and that, as he is forbidden by his ruler. And yet we haue not heard of, that anie heard or companie of theſe haue riſen againſt their heardman or gouernour, but be alwaies contented not onelie to obeie them, but alſo to ſuffer them to take profit of them. And we ſee furthermore, that all heards, & all ſorts, be more egre in fierceneſſe againſt all kind of ſtrangers, than they be againſt their owne rulers, & will eaſilier offend him who hath not hurt them, than touch their ruler who ſeeketh profit on them.

The application of the former compariſons implieng obedience.

But ye that ought to be gouerned by your magiſtrates, as the heards by the heardman, and ought to be like ſheepe to your king, who ought to be like a ſheepeheard vnto you, euen in the time when your profit was ſought, and better redreſſe was intended, than your vpſtirs and vnquietneſſe could obteine, haue beyond the crueltie of all beaſts fowlie riſen againſt your ruler, and ſhewed your ſelues worthie to be ordered like beaſts, who in kind of obedience will fall from the ſtate of men. A dog ſtoopeth when he is beaten of his maiſter, not for lacke of ſtomach, but for naturall obedience: you being not ſtriken of your head but fauoured, not kept downe but ſuccoured and remedied by law, haue violentlie againſt law not onelie barked like beaſts, but alſo bitten like helhounds. What? Is the miſchiefe of ſedition either not knowne vnto you, or not feared? Haue not examples aforetimes both told the end of rebels, and the wickedneſſe of rebellion it ſelfe? But as for old examples, let them paſſe for a while, as things well to be conſidered. But at this preſent one thing more to be weied.

The preſumptuous & arrogant vſurped rule of the rebels noted to the impeachment of princelie prerogatiue.

Looke vpon your ſelues, after ye haue wickedlie ſtept into this horrible kind of treaſon, doo ye not ſee how manie bottomleſſe whirlepooles of miſchiefe yee be gulft withall, and what lothſome kinds of rebellion ye be faine to wade through? Ye haue ſent out in the kings name, againſt the kings will, precepts of all kinds, & without commandement commanded his ſubiects, and vnrulilie haue ruled where yee liſted to command, thinking your owne fanſies the kings commandements, and rebels luſts in things to be right gouernement of things, not looking what ſhould follow by reaſon, but what your ſelues follow by affection. And is it not a dangerous and a cruell kind of treaſon, to giue out precepts to the kings people? There can be no iuſt execution of lawes, reformation of faults, giuing out of commandements, but from the king. For in the king onelie is the right herof, & the authoritie of him deriued by his appointment to his miniſters. Ye hauing no authoritie of the king, but taking it of your ſelues, what thinke ye your ſelues to be? Miniſters ye be none, except ye be the diuels miniſters, for he is the author of ſedition.

The rebels outragious and intollerable demeanor deſcribed.

Their diſobedience notorious.

The rebels offend againſt the law of iuſtice & equitie.

The former matter vehementlie vrged.

The kings maieſtie intendeth to mainteine peace, and to oppreſſe warre; ye ſtirre vp vprores of people, hurliburlies of vagabonds, routs of robbers. Is this anie part of the kings miniſterie? If a vagabond would doo what he luſt, and call himſelfe your ſeruant, and execute ſuch offices of truſt, whether yee would or no, as yee haue committed vnto another mans credit, what would euerie one of you ſaie or doo herein? Would ye ſuffer it? Ye wander out of houſes, ye make euerie daie new matters as it pleaſeth you, ye take in hand the execution of thoſe things, God by his word forbidding the ſame, which God hath put the magiſtrates in truſt withall. What can ye ſaie to this? Is it ſufferable thinke ye? If ye told a priuat meſſage in another mans name, can it be but a falſe lie I praie you? And to tell a feined meſſage to the common-wealth, and that from the king, can it be honeſt thinke ye? To command is more than to ſpeake: what is it then to command ſo traitorous a lie? This then which is in word a deceitfull lie, and in deed a traitorous fact, noiſome to the common-wealth, vnhonourable to the king, miſchiefous in you, how can ye otherwiſe iudge of it, but to be an vnheard of and notable diſobedience to the king: and therefore by notable example to be puniſhed, and not with gentleneſſe of pardon to be forgiuen? Ye haue robbed euerie honeſt houſe, and ſpoiled them vniuſtlie, and pitiouſlie wronged poore men being no offendors, to their vtter vndooing, and yet ye thinke ye haue not broken the kings lawes. The kings maieſties law and his commandement is, that euerie man ſhould ſafelie keepe his owne, and vſe it reaſonablie to an honeſt gaine of his liuing: ye violentlie take and carie awaie from men without cauſe, all things whereby they ſhould mainteine, not onelie themſelues, but alſo their familie, & leaue them ſo naked, that they ſhall feele the ſmart of your curſſed enterpriſe, longer than your owne vnnaturall & vngodlie ſtomachs would well vouchſafe. By iuſtice ye ſhould neither hurt nor wrong man, and your pretenſed cauſe of this monſtruous ſturre is to increaſe mens wealth. And yet how manie, and ſaie truth, haue ye decaied and vndoone, by ſpoiling and taking awaie their goods? How ſhould honeſt men liue quietlie in the common-wealth at anie time, if their goods, either gotten by their owne labor, or left to them by their friends, ſhall vnlawfullie and vnorderlie, to the feeding of a ſort of rebels, be ſpoiled and waſted, and vtterlie ſcattered abrode? The thing that ye take is not your right, it is an other mans owne. The maner of taking againſt his will is vnlawfull, & againſt the order of euerie good common-wealth. The cauſe why ye take it is miſchiefous and horrible, to fat your ſedition. Ye that take it be wicked traitors, and common enimies of all good order.

If he that deſireth an other mans goods or cattell, doo fault: what dooth he (thinke you) whoſe deſire taking followeth, and is led to and fro by luſt, as his wicked fanſie void of reaſon dooth guide him? Hee that vſeth not his owne well and charitablie, hath much to anſwer for: and ſhall they be thought not vniuſt, who not onelie take awaie other mens, but alſo miſuſe and waſt the ſame vngodlie? They that take things priuilie awaie, and ſteale ſecretlie and couertlie other mens goods, be by law iudged worthie death: and ſhall they that without ſhame ſpoile things openlie, and be not affeard by impudencie to profeſſe their ſpoile, be thought either honeſt creaturs to God, or faithfull ſubiects to their king, or naturall men to their countrie? If nothing had moued you but the example of miſcheefe, and the foule practiſe of other moued by the ſame, ye ſhould yet haue abſteined from ſo licentious and vilanous a ſhew of robberie, conſidering how manie honeſter there be, that being loth their wickedneſſe ſhould be blazed abrode, yet be found out by prouidence, and hanged for deſert. What ſhall we then thinke or ſaie of you? Shall we call you pickers, or hid theeues; naie more than theeues, daie theeues, heard ſtealers, ſhire ſpoilers, and vtter deſtroiers of all kinds of families, both among the poore and alſo among the rich. Let vs yet further ſee. Be there no mo things wherein ye haue broken the kings laws, and ſo vilelie diſobeied him, flat contrarie to your bounden dutie and allegiance?

The rebels are ſtill charged with their rapines, and violentlie inferred wrongs.

Ye haue not onelie ſpoiled the kings true ſubiects of their goods, but alſo ye haue impriſoned their bodies, which ſhould be at libertie vnder the king, and reſtreined them of their ſeruice, which by dutie they owe the king, and appaired both ſtrength and health, wherewith they liue and ſerue the king. Is there anie honeſt thing more deſired than libertie? Ye haue ſhamefullie ſpoiled them thereof. Is there anie thing more dutifull than to ſerue their lord and maiſter? But as that was deſired of the one part, ſo was it hindered and ſtopped on your part. For neither can the king be ſerued, nor families kept, nor the common-wealth looked vnto, where freedome of libertie is ſtopped, and diligence of ſeruice is hindered; and the helpe of ſtrength and health abated. Mens bodies ought to be free from all mens bondage and crueltie, and onelie in this realme be ſubiect in publike puniſhment to our publike gouernour, and neither be touched of *headleſſe capteins, nor holden of brainleſſe rebels. For the gouernement of ſo pretious a thing ought to belong vnto the moſt noble ruler, and not iuſtlie to be in euerie mans power, which is iuſtlie euerie liuing mans treaſure. For what goods be ſo deare to euerie man, as his owne bodie is, which is the true veſſell of the mind, to be meaſurablie kept of euerie man for all exerciſes & ſeruices of the mind? If ye may not of your owne authoritie meddle with mens goods, much leſſe you may of your owne authoritie take order with mens bodies.

Libertie deſired aboue all things.

*Fit epithets and terms for head and taile of this rebellion.

For what be goods in compariſon of health, libertie, and ſtrength, which be all ſetled and faſtened in the bodie? They that ſtrike other, doo greatlie offend, and be iuſtlie puniſhable: and ſhall they that cruellie and wrongfullie torment mens bodies with irons and impriſonments, be thought not of others but of themſelues honeſt, and plaine, and true dealing men? What ſhall we ſay by them, who in a priuat buſineſſe will let a man to go his iourneie in the kings high waie? Doo they not (thinke ye) plaine wrong? Then in a common cauſe not onelie to hinder them, but alſo to deale cruellie with them, and ſhut them from dooing their ſeruice to the king, and their dutie to the common-wealth, is it not both diſobedience, crueltie, and miſchiefe thinke ye? What an hinderance is it, to haue a good garment hurt, anie iewell appaired, or anie eſteemed thing to be decaied? And ſeeing no earthlie thing a man hath is more pretious than his body, to cauſe it to be cruellie tormented with irons, feebled with cold, weakened with ordering: can it be thought anie other thing but wrong to the ſufferer, crueltie in the doer, & great diſobedience and tranſgreſſion to the king? How then be ye able to defend it? But ſeeing ye ſo vnpitifullie vexe men, caſt them in priſon, lade them with irons, pine them with famine, contrarie to the rule of nature, contrarie to the kings maieſties lawes, contrarie to God holie ordinances, hauing no matter but pretenſed and fained gloſes, ye be not onelie diſobedient to the king like rebels, but withſtanding the law of nature like beaſts, and ſo worthie to die like dogs, except the kings maieſtie, without reſpect of your deſeruing, doo mercifullie grant you of his goodneſſe that which you cannot eſcape by iuſtice.

The offenſe of excluding the kings ſubiects from the benefit of libertie aggrauated.

A pithie concluſion inferred vpon the premiſſes, in forme of ſentence definitiue.

Yet ye being not content with this, as ſmall things enterpriſe great matters, and as though ye could not ſatiſfie your ſelues, if ye ſhould leaue anie miſchiefe vndone, haue ſought bloud with crueltie, and haue ſlaine of the kings true ſubiects manie, thinking their murder to be your defenſe, when as ye haue increaſed the fault of your vile rebellion, with the horror of bloudſhed, and ſo haue burdened miſchiefe with miſchiefe, whileſt it come to an importable weight of miſchiefe. What could we doo more, in the horribleſt kind of faults, vnto the greateſt tranſgreſſours and offendors of God and men, than to looke ſtrictlie on them by death, and ſo to rid them out of the common-wealth by ſeuere puniſhment, whome ye thought vnworthie to liue among men for their doings? And thoſe who haue not offended the king, but defended his realme, and by obedience of ſeruice ſought to puniſh the diſobedient, and for ſafegard of euerie man put themſelues vnder dutie of law, thoſe haue ye miſerablie and cruellie ſlaine, and bathed you in their bloud, whoſe doings ye ſhould haue followed, & not to haue appaired the common-wealth, both by deſtruction of good men, and alſo by increaſe of rebels. And how can that common-wealth by anie meanes indure, wherin euerie man without authoritie, may vnpuniſhed ſlea whome he liſt, and that in ſuch caſe as thoſe who be ſlaine ſhew themſelues moſt noble of courage, and moſt readie to ſerue the king and the common-wealth, and thoſe as doo ſlea be moſt vilanous and traitorous rebels that anie common-wealth did euer ſuſteine?

The rebels charged with the murder and bloudſhed of the kings liege people.

A licentious common-wealth cannot indure.

For a citie and a prouince be not the faire houſes, and the ſtrong walles, nor the defenſe of anie engine, but the liuing bodies of men, being able in number and ſtrength to mainteine themſelues by good order of iuſtice, & to ſerue for all neceſſarie & behouable vſes in the common-wealth. And when as mans bodie being a part of the whole common-wealth, is wrongfullie touched anie way, and ſpeciallie by death, then ſuffereth the common-wealth great iniurie, and that alwaies ſo much the more, how honeſter and nobler he is, who is iniuriouſlie murdered. How was the lord Sheffeld handled among you, a noble gentleman, and of good ſeruice, both fit for counſell in peace, and for conduct in war, conſidering either the grauitie of his wiſedome, or the authoritie of his perſon, or his ſeruice to the common-wealth, or the hope that all men had in him, or the need that England had of ſuch, or among manie notablie good, his ſingular excellencie, or the fauor that all men bare toward him, being loued of euerie man, and hated of no man?

Wherein and whereof conſiſteth a citie, prouince, or politike bodie.

Lord Sheffelds ſlaughter laid to the rebels charge.

Conſidered ye who ſhould by dutie be the kings ſubiects, either how ye ſhould not haue offended the K. or after offenſe haue required the kings pardon, or not to haue refuſed his goodneſſe offered, or at length, to haue yeelded to his mercie, or not to haue ſlaine thoſe who came for his ſeruice, or to haue ſpared thoſe

who

Lord Sheffelds wofull end in this rebellion pithilie vrged.

The knitting of mans bodie and mind Gods worke, and to whome the diſſoluing thereof belongeth.

who in danger offered ranſome. But all theſe things forgotten by rage of rebellion, becauſe one madneſſe cannot be without infinit vices, ye ſlew him cruellie, who offered himſelfe manfullie, nor would not ſo much as ſpare him for ranſome, who was worthie for nobleneſſe to haue had honour, & hewed him bare whome ye could not hurt armed, and by ſlauerie ſlue nobilitie, in déed miſerablie, in faſhion cruellie, in cauſe diueliſhlie. Oh with what cruell ſpite was violentlie ſundred ſo noble a bodie from ſo godlie a mind? Whoſe death muſt rather be reuenged than lamented, whoſe death was no lacke to himſelfe, but to his countrie, whoſe death might euerie way béene better borne, than at a rebels hand. Violence is in all things hurtfull, but in life horrible. What ſhould I ſpeake of others in the ſame caſe, diuerſe and notable, whoſe death for manhood and ſeruice can want no worthie praiſe, ſo long as theſe vglie ſturrers of rebellion can be had in mind. God hath himſelfe ioined mans bodie and his ſoule togither, not to be departed aſunder, afore he euer diſſeuer them himſelfe, or cauſe them to be diſſeuered by his miniſter.

Hereby he ſheweth the rebels conſciences ſéered vp as it were with an hot iron.

And ſhall rebels and héedleſſe camps, being armed againſt God, and in field againſt their king, thinke it no fault to ſhed bloud of true ſubiects, hauing neither office of God, nor appointment of miniſters, nor cauſe of rebellion? He that ſtealeth anie part of a mans ſubſtance, is worthie to loſe his life. What ſhall we thinke then of them, who ſpoile men of their liues, for the maintenance whereof, not onelie ſubſtance & riches be ſought for, but alſo all commonwelths be deuiſed? Now then, your owne conſciences ſhould be made your iudges, & none other ſet to giue ſentence againſt ye. Séeing ye haue béene ſuch bloudſhedders, ſo heinous manquellers, ſo horrible murderers, could ye doo anie other than plainlie confeſſe your foule and wicked rebellion to be gréeuous againſt God, and traitorous to the king, and hurtfull to the common-wealth? So manie gréeuous faults méeting togither in one ſinke, might not onelie haue diſcouraged, but alſo driuen to deſperation, anie other honeſt or indifferent mind.

The rebels couetouſneſſe and ambition inſatiable.

A bréefe capitulation of the rebels diſloiall atempts and purpoſes.

But what féele they, whoſe hearts ſo déepe miſchéefe had hardened, and by vehemencie of affection be made vnſhamefaſt, and ſtop all diſcourſe of reaſon, to let at large the full ſcope of their vnmeaſurable madneſſe? Priuat mens goods ſéeme little to your vnſatiable deſires, yée haue waxed gréedie now vpon cities, and haue attempted mightie ſpoiles, to glut vp (and yée could) your waſting hunger. Oh how much haue they néed of, that will neuer be contented, and what riches can ſuffice anie that will attempt high enterpriſes aboue their eſtate? Ye could not mainteine your camps with your priuat goods, with your neighbours portion, but yée muſt alſo attempt cities, bicauſe ye ſought great ſpoiles with other mens loſſes, and had forgotten how yée liued at home honeſtlie with your owne, and thought them worthie death that would diſquiet yée in your houſe, and plucke awaie that which yée by right of law thought to be your owne. Héerein ſée what yée would haue doone, ſpoiled the kings maieſties ſubiects, weakened the kings ſtrength, ouerthrowne his townes, taken awaie his munition, drawne his ſubiects to like rebellion, yea and as it is among forren enimies in ſacking of cities, no doubt thereof, yée would haue fallen to ſlaughter of men, rauiſhing of wiues, deflouring of maidens, chopping of children, fiering of houſes, beating downe of ſtréets, ouerthrowing of altogither.

An argument from the leſſe to the greater.

The vſe and neceſſarie ſeruice of towns, & what it is to ouerthrow them.

For what meaſure haue men in the increaſe of madneſſe, when they can not at the beginning ſtaie themſelues from falling into it. And if the beſetting but of one houſe to rob it, be iuſtlie déemed worthie death: what ſhall we thinke of them that beſiege whole cities for deſire of ſpoile? We liue vnder a king to ſerue him at all times when he ſhall néed our ſtrength: and ſhall ye then not onlie withdraw your ſelues, which ought as much to be obedient as we be, but alſo violentlie plucke other awaie too, fro the dutie vnto the which by Gods commandement all ſubiects be ſtrictlie bound, and by all lawes euerie nation is naturallie led? The townes be not onelie the ornament of the realme, but alſo the ſeat of merchants, the place of handicrafts, that men ſcattered in villages, and néeding diuerſe things, maie in little roome know where to find the lacke. To ouerthrow them then, is nothing elſe but to waſt your owne commodities, ſo that when ye would buie a neceſſarie thing for monie, ye could not tell where to find the ſame.

The vſe and ſeruice of munition.

Wherein appéereth the faithfull ſeruice of cities.

A good ſubiects wiſh, and the reaſon thereof.

Excester commended for loue & loiall ſeruice to the king & eſtate.

Norwich vpbraided with the example of Excester.

Some citizens of Norwich excuſable of this rebellion, but moſt chargeable therwith in a high degrée of diſloialtie.

Munition ſerueth the king not onelie for the defenſe of his owne, but alſo for the inuaſion of his enimie. And if ye will then ſo ſtrictlie deale with him, that ye will not let him ſo much as defend his owne, ye offer him double iniurie; both that ye let him from dooing anie notable fact abrode, and alſo that ye ſuffer not him quietlie to inioie his owne at home. But herein hath notablie appéered what cities haue faithfully ſerued and ſuffred extreme danger, not onelie of goods, but alſo of famine & death, rather than to ſuffer the kings enimies to enter: and what white liuered cities haue not onlie not withſtood them, but alſo with ſhame fauored them, and with miſchiefe aided them. And I would I might praiſe herein all cities alike! which I would doo, if all were like worthie. For then I might ſhew more faith in ſubiects than ſtrength in rebelles; and teſtifie to men to come, what a generall faith euerie citie bare to the kings maieſtie, whoſe age although it were not fit to rule, yet his ſubiects hearts were willing to obeie, thinking not onelie of the hope, which all men conceiue hereafter to be in him, but alſo of the iuſt kind of gouernment, which in his minoritie his councell dooth vſe among them. And here, how much and how worthilie maie Excester be commended, which being in the middeſt of rebels, vnuittelled, vnfurniſhed, vnprepared for ſo long a ſiege, did noblie hold out the continuall and dangerous aſſault of the rebell? For they ſuſteined the violence of the rebell, not onlie they had plentie enough of vittels, but alſo eleuen or twelue daies after the extreme famine came on them, and liuing without bread, were in courage ſo manfull, & in dutie ſo conſtant, that they thought it yet much better to die the extreme death of hunger, ſhewing truth to their king, and loue to their countrie, than to giue anie place to the rebell, and fauor him with aid, although they might haue doone it with their leſſe danger. Whoſe example if Norwich had followed, & had not rather giuen place to traitor Ket, than to kéepe their dutie; and had not ſought more ſafegard than honeſtie, and priuat hope more than common quietneſſe: they had ended their rebellion ſooner, and eſcaped themſelues better, and ſaued the loſſe of the worthie lord Shefféeld, in whome was more true ſeruice for his life, than in them for their goods. And although this can not be ſpoken againſt a certeine honeſt ſort that were amongſt them, whoſe praiſe was the greater, bicauſe they were ſo few: yet the greater number was ſuch, that they not onelie obeied the rebell for feare, but alſo followed him for loue, and did ſo traitorouſlie order the kings band vnder my lord marqueſſe, that they ſuffered more damage out of their houſes by the townſmen, than they did abrode by the rebelles. Whoſe fault as the kings maieſtie maie pardon, ſo I would either the example might be forgotten, that no citie might hereafter follow the like, or the déed be ſo abhorred, that others hereafter would auoid the like ſhame, & learne to be noble by Exceſter, whoſe truth dooth not onelie deſerue great praiſes, but alſo great reward.

Exceſter noble and true.

Who then that would willinglie defend ye, can ſay anie thing for ye, which haue ſo diuerſlie faulted, ſo traitorouſlie offended, not onlie againſt priuat men ſeuerallie, but alſo generallie againſt whole townes, and that after ſuch a ſort, as outward enimies full of deadlie feud could not more cruellie inuade them? And thus the kings maieſtie diſhonored, his councell diſobeied, the goods of the poore ſpoiled, the houſes of the wealthie ſacked, honeſt mens bodies impriſoned, worthie mens perſonages ſlaine, cities beſieged and threatned, and all kind of things diſordered, can ye without teares and repentance heare ſpoken of, which without honeſtie and godlineſſe ye practiſed, and not find in your hearts now to returne to dutie, which by witchcraft of ſedition were drowned in diſorder? Haue ye not in diſorder firſt gréeuouſlie offended God, next traitorouſlie riſen againſt your king, and ſo neither worthie euerlaſting life, as long as ye ſo remaine, nor yet ciuill life being in ſuch a breach of common quietneſſe? If euerie one of theſe cannot by themſelues plucke you backe from this your lewd and outragious enterpriſes, yet let them altogither ſtir ye; or at leaſt be a fearfull example to others, to beware by your vnmeaſurable follie, how they doo ſo far prouoke God, or offend man: and find by your miſtemper to be themſelues better ordered, and learne ſtill to obeie, bicauſe they would not repent, and ſo to liue with honeſtie, that they would neither willinglie offend Gods law, nor diſobeie mans.

A collection or beadroll of certeine outrages doone by the rebels.

Perſuaſions to obedience and loialtie.

But and ye were ſo much bleared, that you did thinke impoſſible things, and your reaſon gaue ye againſt all reaſon, that ye neither diſpleaſed God herein, nor offended the king, yet be ye ſo blind, that ye vnderſtand not your owne caſe, nor your neighbors miſerie, nor the ruine of the whole commonwealth, which dooth euidentlie follow your ſo foule and deteſtable ſedition? Doo ye not ſée how for the maintenance of theſe vngodlie rablements, not onlie cities and villages, but alſo ſhires and countries be vtterlie deſtroied? Is not their corne waſted, their cattell fetcht awaie, their houſes rifled, their goods ſpoiled, and all to féed your vpriſing without reaſon, and to mainteine this tumult of rebellion inuented of the diuell, continued by you, and to be ouerthrowen by the power of Gods mightie hand? And whie ſhould not ſo hurtfull waſting and harrieng of countries be iuſtlie puniſhed with great ſeueritie, ſéeing robbing of houſes, and taking of purſes, doo by law deſerue the extremitie of death? How manie ſuffer iniurie when one hundred of a ſhire is ſpoiled? And what iniurie thinke ye is doone, when not onelie whole ſhires be deſtroied, but alſo euerie quarter of the realme touched? Haue ye not brought vpon vs all pouertie, weakneſſe, and hatred within the realme, & diſcourage, ſhame, and damage without the realme? If ye miſerablie intended not onelie to vndoo other, but alſo to deſtroie your ſelues, and to ouerthrow the whole realme, could ye haue taken a readier waie to your owne ruine than this is?

The hurts & miſchiefes that befall cities, &c: by mainteining rebelles.

Rebellion is woorthilie to be puniſhed,

A further view of the inconueniences bred by rebellion.

And firſt if ye be anie thing reaſonable, lift vp your reaſon, and weigh by wiſdome, if not all things, yet your owne caſes, and learne in the beginning of matters to foreſée the end, and iudge aduiſedlie yer ye enter into anie thing haſtilie. Sée ye not this yeare the loſſe of harueſt? And thinke ye can grow to wealth that yéere when ye loſe your thrift and profit? Barns be poore mens ſtorehouſes, wherein lieth a great part of euerie mans owne liuing, his wiues and childrens liuing, wherwith men mainteine their families, paie their rents: and therefore be alwaies thought moſt rich when they haue beſt crops. And now when there is neither plentie of haie, nor ſufficient of ſtraw, nor corne inough, and that through the great diſorder of your lewd rebellion, can ye thinke ye doo well, when ye vndoo your ſelues, and iudge it a common-welth when the commons is deſtroied, and ſéeke your hap by vnhappineſſe, and eſtéeme your owne loſſe to be your owne forwardnes, and by this iudgement ſhew your ſelues, how little ye vnderſtand other mens matters, when ye can ſcarſelie conſider the weightieſt of your owne? Hath not the haie this yeare, as it roſe from the ground, ſo rotted to the ground againe: and where it was woont by mens ſeaſonable labor to be taken in due time, and then ſerue for the maintenance of horſſe and cattell wherwith we liue, now by your diſordered miſchéefe hath béene by mens idleneſſe and vndutifulneſſe let alone vntouched, and ſo neither ſerueth the poore to make monie of, nor anie cattell to liue with. The corne was ſowne with labour, and the ground tilled for it with labour, and looked to be brought home againe with labour; and for lacke of honeſt laborers it is loſt on the ground; the owners being loiterers, and ſéeking other mens, haue loſt their owne, and hoping for mounteins, lacked their preſent thrift, neither obteining that they ſought, nor ſéeking that they ought.

The loſſe of harueſt. Barns be poore mens ſtorehouſes.

Haie rotting on the ground.

Loſſe of corne for lacke of reaping.

And how ſhall men liue when the maintenance of their prouiſion is lacking? For labouring and their old ſtore is waſted by wildneſſe of ſedition, and ſo neither ſpare the old nor ſaue the new. How can men be fed then or beaſts liue, when as ſuch waſtfull negligence is miſerablie vſed? And miſpending the time of their profit, in ſhamefull diſorder of inobedience, they care not greatlie what becommeth of their owne, bicauſe they intend to liue by other mens? Haie is gone, corne is waſted, ſtraw is ſpoiled; what reckoning of harueſt can ye make, either for the aid of others, or for the reléefe of your ſelues? And thus haue ye brought in one kind of miſerie, which if yée ſaw before, as ye be like to féele after, although ye had hated the common-welth, yet for loue of your ſelues ye would haue auoided the great enormitie thereof, into the which ye wilfullie now haue caſt your ſelues.

The loſſe of one yeares harueſt verie hurtfull.

An other no leſſe is, that ſuch plentie of vittels as was abundantlie in euerie quarter for the reléefe of vs all, is now waſtfullie and vnthriftfullie ſpent, in mainteining you vnlawfull rebels, and ſo with diſorder all is conſumed, which with good huſbandrie might long haue indured. For, ſo much as would haue ſerued a whole yeare at home with diligence and ſkilfull héed of huſbandrie, that is wilfullie waſted in a moneth in the campe, through the rauening ſpoile of vilanie. For what is vnordered plentie, but a waſtfull ſpoile, whereof the inconuenience is ſo great, as ye be worthie to féele, and bringeth in more hardnes of liuing, greater dearth of all things, & occaſioneth manie cauſes of diſeaſes? The price of things muſt néeds increaſe much, when the number of things wareth leſſe, and by ſcarſitie be inhanſed, & compelleth men to abate their liberalitie in houſe, both to their owne, and alſo to ſtrangers. And where the rich wanteth, what can the poore find, who in a common ſcarſitie liueth moſt ſcarſelie, and féeleth quicklieſt the ſharpneſſe of ſtaruing, when euerie man for lacke is hungerbitten. Which if ye had well remembred before, as ye now maie after perceiue, ye would not I thinke ſo ſtiffe-neckedlie haue reſiſted and indangered your ſelues in the ſtorme of famine, whereof ye moſt likelie muſt haue the greateſt part, which moſt ſtubbornlie reſiſted, to your owne

Waſtfull ſpending of vittels by the rebels inconuenient to the whole ſtate.

A neceſſitie of inhanſing the price of things.

ſhame and confuſion.

After a great dearth commeth a great death, a reaſon why.

Experience teacheth vs, that after a great dearth commeth a great death; for that when men in great want of meat eat much ill meat, they fill their bodies with ill humors, and caſt them from their ſtate of health, into a ſubiection of ſickeneſſe: bicauſe the good bloud in the bodie is not able to keepe his temper, for the multitude of the ill humors that corrupteth the ſame. And ſo grow great & deadlie plagues, and deſtroie great numbers of all ſorts, ſparing no kind that they light on, neither reſpecting the poore with mercie, nor the rich with fauour. Can ye therefore thinke herein, when ye ſee decaie of vittels, the rich pinch, the poore famiſh, the following of diſeaſes, the greatneſſe of death, the mourning of widowes, the pitifulneſſe of the fatherleſſe, and all this miſerie to come thorough your vnnaturall miſbehauiour, that ye haue not dangerouſlie hurt the commons of your countrie with a dolefull and vncurable wound? These things being once felt in the common-wealth, as they muſt needs be, euerie man ſeeth by and by what followeth: euen a great diminiſhment of the ſtrength of the realme, when the due number that the realme dooth mainteine is made leſſe, and thereby we be made rather a preie for our enimies, than a ſafetie for our ſelues.

A briefe rehearſall or ſummarie of miſchiefes iſſuing from rebellion.

A great decaie of people.

And how can there be but a great decaie of people at the length, when ſome be ouerthrowne in warre, ſome ſuffer for puniſhment, ſome pine for famine, ſome die with the campes diet, ſome be conſumed with ſickeneſſe? For although ye thinke your ſelues able to match with a few vnprepared gentlemen, and put them from their houſes, that ye might gaine the ſpoile: doo ye iudge therefore your ſelues ſtrong inough, not onelie to withſtand a kings power, but alſo to ouerthrow it? Is it poſſible that ye ſhould haue ſo mad a frenſie in your head, that ye ſhould thinke the number ye ſee ſo ſtrong, that all ye ſee not ſhould not be able to preuaile to the contrarie? With what reaſon could ye thinke, that if ye bode the hot brunt of battell, but ye muſt needs feele the ſmart, ſpeciallie the kings power comming againſt you: which if ye feare not, belike ye know not the force thereof? And ſo much the greater number is loſt in the realme, that both the ouercommer and the ouercommed be parties, although vnlike, of one realme: and what loſſe is not onelie of either ſide, but of both, that dooth plainlie redound to the whole.

Rebels can not preuaile againſt the princes power.

A neceſſarie conſequent that rebels are ſeuerelie to be puniſhed, and that ſuch puniſhment is good and neceſſarie.

Then where ſo great and ſo horrible a fault is committed, as worſe can not be mentioned of from the beginning, and bringeth in withall ſuch penurie, ſuch weakenes, ſuch diſorder in the common-wealth, as no miſchiefe beſides could doo the like: can anie man thinke with iuſt reaſon, that all ſhall eſcape vnpuniſhed that ſhall eſcape the ſword, and not manie for terrour and examples ſake ſhould be looked vnto, who haue beene either great dooers in ſuch a diſordered vilanie, or great counſellors to ſuch an outgrowne miſchiefe; ſeeing the onelie remedie of redreſſing wilfull faults is a iuſt and ſeuere puniſhment of ſuch, whoſe naughtie deeds good men ought to abhorre for duties ſake, and ill men maie dread for like puniſhments ſake, and a free licence to doo miſchiefe vnpuniſhed is ſo dangerous, that the ſufferance of one is the occaſion of the fall of a great number, and womaniſh pitie to one is a deceitfull crueltie to the whole, intiſing them to their owne deſtruction by ſufferance, which would haue auoided the danger by fore puniſhment.

Againſt fooliſh pitie forbearing and forgiuing a wilfull offendor.

And in ſuch a barrenneſſe of vittels, as muſt needs come after ſo rauening a ſpoile, it muſt needs be, that ſome (though few) ſhall be ſo nipt with egerneſſe of famine, that they ſhall not recouer againe themſelues out of ſo fretting a danger. So in a generall weakeneſſe, where all ſhall be feebled, ſome muſt needs die, and ſo diminiſh the number, and abate ſuch ſtrength as the realme defended it ſelfe withall before. Which occaſion of neuer ſo few, comming of ſo great a cauſe, if ye ſhould make iuſt amends for, not of recompenſe which ye could not, but of puniſhment which ye ought; how manie, how diuerſe and how cruell deaths ought euerie one of ye often ſuffer? How manie came to the camps from long labour to ſudden eaſe, and from meane fare to ſtroieng of vittels: and ſo fell in a maner vnwares to ſuch a contrarie change, that nature hir ſelfe abiding neuer great and ſudden changes, can not beare it without ſome grounds entered of diſeaſes to come, which vncircumſpect men ſhall ſooner feele than thinke of, and then will ſcarſelie iudge the cauſe, when they ſhall be vexed with the effect?

Rebels puniſhable with manie deaths.

Idleneſſe and meat of other mens charge.

It is little maruell that idleneſſe and meat of an other mans charge will ſoone feed vp & fat like men: but it is great maruell if idleneſſe and other mens meat doo not abate the ſame by ſickeneſſe againe, and ſpeciallie comming from the one, and going to the other: contrarie in thoſe who violentlie ſeeke to turne in a moment the whole realme to the contraris. For while their mind changeth from obedience to vnrulineſſe, and turneth it ſelfe from honeſtie to wildneſſe, and their bodies go from labour to idleneſſe, from ſmall fare to ſpoile of vittels, and from beds in the night to cabins, and from ſweet houſes to ſtinking camps, it muſt needs be by changing of affections which alter the bodie, and by vſing of reſt that filleth the bodie, and by glutting of meats which weakeneth the bodie, & with cold in the nights which accraſeth the bodie, and with corrupt aire which infecteth the bodie, that there follow ſome grieuous tempeſt not onelie of contagious ſickeneſſe, but alſo of preſent death to the bodie.

The force of peſtilence following famine.

The greateſt plucke of all is, that vehemencie of plague, which naturallie followeth the dint of hunger, which when it entereth once among men, what darts of pangs, what throwes of paines, what ſhowts of death dooth it caſt out? How manie fall, not aſtonied with the ſickeneſſe, but fretted with the paine? How beateth it downe not onelie ſmall townes, but alſo great countries? This when ye ſee light firſt on your beaſts which lacke fodder, and after fall on men whoſe bodies gape for it, and ſee the ſcarſeneſſe of men to be by this your foule enterpriſe, and not onelie other men touched with plagues, but alſo your owne houſe ſtoong with death, and the plague alſo raiſed of your riſing, to fire your ſelues: can ye thinke you to be anie other but mankillers of other, and murtherers of your ſelues, and the principals of the ouerthrow of ſo great a number, as ſhall either by ſword or puniſhment, famine, or ſome plague or peſtilence be conſumed and waſted out of the common-wealth?

The plague & peſtilence occaſioned by rebellion.

Rebels enimies & murtherers of their countrie.

And ſeeing he that decaieth the number of cottages or plowes in a towne, ſeemeth to be an enimie to the common-wealth: ſhall we not count him, not onelie an enimie, but alſo a murtherer of his countrie, who by harebrained vnrulineſſe cauſeth vtter ruine and peſtilent deſtruction of ſo manie thouſand men? Grant this follie then and ouerſight to be ſuch as worthilie ye maie count it, and I ſhall go further in declaring of other great inconueniences, which your dangerous and furious miſbehauiour hath hurtfullie brought in; ſeeing diuerſe honeſt and true dealing men, whoſe liuing is by their owne prouiſion, hath come ſo before hand by time, that they haue beene able well to liue honeſtlie in their houſes, & paie beſide the rents of their farmes trulie, and now haue by your crueltie and abhorred inſurrections loſt their goods, their cattell, their har-

Further miſchiefes of vncharitableneſſe iſſuing from rebellion.

ne I, which they had gotten before, and wherwith they intended to liue hereafter, & now be brought to this extremitie, that they be neither able to liue, as they were woont at home before; nor to paie their accuſtomeable rent at their due time. Whereby they be brought into trouble and vnquietneſſe, not onlie muſing what they haue loſt by you, but alſo curſing you by whome they haue loſt it, and alſo in danger of loſing their holds at their lords hands, except by pitie they ſhew more mercie, than the right of the law will grant by iuſtice.

The fruits of honeſt mens trauels long in gathering, quickelie ſpoiled by rebellion.

An argument from equitie & vpright dealing euen with the vniuſt.

And what a griefe is it to an honeſt man, to labor trulie in youth, and to gaine painefullie by labour, wherewith to liue honeſtlie in age, and to haue this, gotten in long time, to be ſuddenlie caught awaie by the violence of ſedition, which name he ought to abhorre by it ſelfe, although no miſerie of loſſe followed to him thereby. But what greater griefe ought ſeditious rebels to haue themſelues, who if they be not ſtriken with puniſhment, yet ought to pine in conſcience, and melt awaie with the griefe of their owne faults, when they ſée innocents and men of true ſeruice hindered and burdened with the hurt of their rebellion, & who in a good commonwealth ſhould for honeſties ſake proſper, they by theſe rebels onlie meanes be caſt ſo behind the hand, as they can not recouer eaſilie againe by their owne truth, that which they haue loſt by thoſe traitors miſchiefe? And if vniuſt men ought not ſo to be handled at anie mans hands, but onelie ſtand to the order of a law: how much more ſhould true and faithfull ſubiects, who deſerue praiſe, féele no vnquietneſſe, nor be vexed with ſedition, who be obedientlie in ſubiection, but rather ſéeke iuſt amends at falſe rebels hands, and by law obteine that they loſt by diſorder, and ſo conſtreine you to the vttermoſt, to paie the recompenſe of wrongfull loſſes, bicauſe ye were the authors of theſe wrongfull ſpoiles.

Multitudes of vagabonds and roges procured by rebellions.

Then would ye ſoone perceiue the commonwealths hurt, not when other felt it who deſerued it not, but when you ſmarted who cauſed it, and ſtood not & looked vpon other mens loſſes which ye might pitie, but tormented with your owne which ye would lament. Now I am paſt this miſchiefe, which ye will not hereafter denie, when ye ſhall praiſe other mens foreſight, rather than your wicked doings, in bewailing the end of your furie, in whoſe beginning ye now reioiſe. What ſaie ye to the number of vagabonds and loitering beggers, which after the ouerthrow of your campe, and ſcattering of this ſeditious number, will ſwarme in euerie corner of the realme and not onelie lie loitering vnder hedges, but alſo ſtand ſturdilie in cities, and beg boldlie at euerie doore, leauing labour which they like not, and following idleneſſe which they ſhould not? For euerie man is eaſilie and naturallie brought from labour to eaſe, from the better to the worſe, from diligence to ſlothfulneſſe: and after warres it is commonlie ſéene, that a great number of thoſe which went out honeſt, returne home againe like roiſters, and as though they were burnt to the wars bottome, they haue all their life after an vnſauorie ſmacke thereof, & ſmell ſtill toward daieſléepers, purſepickers, highwaie-robbers, quarrelmakers, yea and bloudſheders too.

To what ſhifts ſoldiers fall after diſcamping and ceaſſing from warres.

Againſt loittering lubbers that can not awaie with labour.

Doo we not ſée commonlie in the end of warres more robbing, more begging, more murdering than before, and thoſe to ſtand in the high waie to aſke their almes, whome ye be affraid to ſaie naie vnto honeſtlie, leaſt they take it awaie from you violentlie, and haue more cauſe to ſuſpect their ſtrength, than pitie their néed? Is it not then dailie heard, how men be not onelie purſued, but vtterlie ſpoiled, & few maie ride ſafe by the kings highwaie, except they ride ſtrong, not ſo much for feare of their goods, which men eſtéeme leſſe, but alſo for danger of their life, which euerie man loueth. Worke is vndoone at home and loiterers linger in ſtréets, lurke in alehouſes, range in highwaies, valiant beggers plaie in towns and yet complaine of néed, whoſe ſtaffe if it be once hot in their hand, or ſluggiſhneſſe bred in their boſome, they will neuer be allured to labour againe, contenting themſelues better with idle beggerie, than with honeſt and profitable labour. And what more noiſome beaſts be there in a commonwealth? Drones in hiues ſucke out the honie, a ſmall matter, but yet to be looked on by good huſbands. Caterpillers deſtroie the fruit, an hurtfull thing, and well ſhifted for by a diligent ouerſéer. Diuerſe vermine deſtroie corne, kill pulleine, engines and ſnares be made for them.

A loiterer deſcribed.

The ſight of manie flies in a yeare a naturall prognoſtication of a plague like to follow.

But what is a loiterer? A ſucker of honie, a ſpoiler of corne, a ſtroier of fruit, a waſter of monie, a ſpoiler of vittels, a ſucker of bloud, a breaker of orders, a ſéeker of breakes, a queller of life, a baſiliſke of the commonwealth, which by companie and ſight doth poiſon the whole countrie, and ſtaineth honeſt minds with the infection of his veneme, and ſo draweth the commonwealth to death and deſtruction. Such is the fruits of your labour and trauell for your pretenſed commonwealth, which iuſtice would no man ſhould taſte of but your ſelues, that yée might trulie iudge of your owne miſchéefe, and fraie other by example from preſuming the like. When we ſée a great number of flies in a yeare, we naturallie iudge it like to be a great plague, and hauing ſo great a ſwarming of loitering vagabonds, readie to beg and brall at euerie mans doore, which declare a greater infection, can we not looke for a gréeuouſer and perillouſer danger than the plague is? Who can therefore otherwiſe déeme, but this one deadlie hurt, wherewith the commonwelth of our nation is wounded, beſide all other is ſo peſtilent, that there can be no more hurtfull thing in a well gouerned eſtate, nor more throwne into all kind of vice and vnrulineſſe: and therefore this your ſedition is not onelie moſt odious, but alſo moſt horrible, that hath ſpotted the whole countrie with ſuch a ſtaine of idleneſſe.

Diſorder in euerie degrée cauſed by rebellion.

Magiſtrats diſobeied, and neglect of dutie in generall by rebellion.

Obſeruing of order in euerie eſtate ſupporteth a commonwealth, & contrariwiſe the hurt of diſorder.

There can be none end of faults, if a man rehearſe all faults that doo neceſſarilie follow this vnrulie ſturdineſſe. For not onelie vagabonds wandering and ſcattering themſelues for miſchéefe, ſhall run in a mans eies, but alſo diſorder of euerie degrée ſhall enter into a mans mind, and ſhall behold hereby the commonwealth miſerablie defaced by you, who ſhould as much as other haue kept your ſelues in order in it. Neither be the magiſtrats dulie obeied, nor the lawes iuſtlie feared, nor degrées of men conſidered, nor maiſters well ſerued, nor parents trulie reuerenced, nor lords remembred of their tenants, nor yet either naturall or ciuill law much regarded. And it is plainlie vnpoſſible that that countrie ſhall well ſtand in gouernement, and the people growe to wealth, where order in euerie ſtate is not fitlie obſerued: and that bodie cannot be without much gréefe of inflammation, where anie leſt part is out of ioint, or not duelie ſet in his owne naturall place.

Wherefore order muſt be kept in the commonwealth like health in the bodie, and all the drift of policie looketh to this end, how this temper may be ſafelie mainteined, without anie exceſſe of vnmeaſurableneſſe, either of the one ſide, or of the other. And eaſie inough it is to kéepe the ſame, when it is once brought into the meane, and to hold it in the ſtaie it is found in: but when it burſteth out once with a vehemencie, and hath gotten into an vnrulie diſorder, it ſpreadeth ſo faſt, and ouerfloweth all honeſt mens reſiſting ſo violentlie, that it will be hard to recouer the breach of long time againe, except with

great

An argument drawne from compariſon.

A topſie turnie of all things by rebellion.

The neceſſitie of order, and therefore S. Paule ſaid well; Let all things be done in order.

great and wiſe counſell, which no doubt ſhall be in ſeaſon vſed, there be wonderfull remedies ſought therefore. And euen as a man falling, is eaſier holden vp by ſtaie, than when he is fallen downe he is able to riſe againe: ſo is the commonwealth ſlipping, by the foreſight of wiſedome better kept from ruine; than when it is once fallen into anie kind of miſerie, the ſame may be called againe to the old and former ſtate. Doo we not euidentlie know, that a man may better keepe his arme or his leg from breaking or falling out of ioint, afore hurt come to it; than after the hurt it may ſafelie and quietlie be healed, and reſtored to the former ſtrength and health againe? And now through your ſeditious means, things that were afore quiet and in good order, laws feared and obeied, ſubiects ruled and kept in dutie, be all now in a great diſorder, and like (if it be not holpen) to grow to wildneſſe, and a beaſtlineſſe; ſeeing that neither common dutie can be kept, which nature preſcribeth, nor common law can be regarded, which policie requireth. How can yee keepe your owne if yee keepe no order? Your wiues and children, how can they be defended from other mens violence, if yee will in other things breake all order? By what reaſon would yee be obeied of yours as ſeruants, if yee will not obeie the king as ſubiects? How would yee haue others deale orderlie with you, if yee will vſe diſorder againſt all others? Seeing then there is ſuch a confuſion now of things, ſuch a turmoile of men, ſuch a diſorder of faſhions; who can looke to liue quietlie a great while, who can thinke but that yee haue miſerablie toſſed the commonwealth, and ſo vexed all men with diſorder, that the inconuenience hereof cannot onelie nip others, but alſo touch you?

Rebels are againſt their owne profit.

Equalitie of iuſtice.

But now ſee how that not onelie theſe vnlooked for miſcheefes haue heauilie growne on yee, but alſo thoſe commodities, which yee thought to haue holpen your ſelues and others by, be not onelie hindered, but alſo hurt thereby. The kings maieſtie by the aduiſe, &c: intended a iuſt reformation of all ſuch things as poore men could trulie ſhew themſelues oppreſſed with, thinking equalitie of iuſtice to be the diademe of his kingdome, and the ſafegard of his commons. Which was not onelie intended by wiſedome, but alſo ſet on with ſpeed, and ſo entered into a due conſidering of all ſtates, that none ſhould haue iuſt cauſe to grudge againſt the other, when as euerie thing rightfullie had, nothing could be but vnrightfullie grudged at. And this would haue beene doone, not onelie with your glad and willing aſſent: but alſo beene doone by this daie almoſt throughout the whole realme: ſo that quietlie it had beene obteined without inconuenience, and ſpeedilie without delaie. And whatſoeuer had beene doone by the kings maieſties authoritie, that would by right haue remained for euer, and ſo taken in law, that the contrarie partie neither could by iuſtice, neither would by boldneſſe haue enterpriſed the breach thereof.

Rebels hurt themſelues.

Priuat men are not to inforce a reformation.

Rebellion hurteth the whole realme.

The benefit of rebellion in one reſpect.

But leaſt wicked men ſhould be wealthie, and they whoſe hearts be not truelie bent to obedience, ſhould obteine at the kings hands that they deſerued not in a commonwealth, yee haue maruellouſlie and worthilie hurt your ſelues, and greeuouſlie prouided (except the kings goodneſſe be more vnto you than your owne deſerts can claime) that yee be not ſo much worthie as to be benefited in anie kind, as yee be worthie to loſe that yee haue on euerie ſide. Yee haue thought good to be your owne reformers belike, not onelie vnnaturallie miſtruſting the kings iuſtice, but alſo cruellie and vnciuillie dealing with your owne neighbours. Wherein I would as yee haue hurt the whole realme, ſo yee had not enterpriſed a thing moſt dangerous to your ſelues, & moſt contrarie to the thing yee intended. If yee had let things alone, thought good by your ſelues to be redreſſed, and dutifullie looked for the performance of that, the kings maieſtie promiſing reformation, they ſhould not haue beene vndoone at this time, as in a great ſort of honeſt places they be; nor whole countries, who for their quietneſſe be moſt worthie to be looked on, ſhould haue beene vnprouided for at this date. But this commoditie hath happened by the waie, that it is euidentlie knowne by your miſcheefe, and others dutie, who be moſt true to the king, and moſt worthie to be doone for, and who be moſt pernicious and traitorous rebels. And it is not to be doubted, but they ſhall be conſidered with thanks, and find iuſt redreſſe without deſerued miſerie, & you puniſhed like rebels, who might haue had both praiſe & profit like ſubiects.

Reformation intended by rebels, like ſores cured by ill ſurgions.

For that as yee haue valiantlie doone of your ſelues, thinke yee it will ſtand anie longer, than men feare your rage, which cannot indure long; and that yee ſhall not then bide the rigor of the law for your priuat iniuries, as yee vſed the furie of your braines in other mens oppreſſions? Will men ſuffer wrong at your hands, when law can redreſſe it, & the right of the commonwealth will mainteine it, and good order in countries will beare it? Yee amend faults as ill ſurgions heale ſores, which when they ſeeme to be whole aboue, they rankle at the bottome, and ſo be faine continuallie to be ſore, or elſe be mended by new breaking of the ſkin. Your redreſſe ſeemeth to you perfect and good, yee haue pulled downe ſuch things as yee would, yee thinke now all is well: yee conſider no further, yee ſeeke not the bottome, yee ſee not the ſore, that yee haue doone it by no law, yee haue redreſſed it by no order, what then? If it be no otherwiſe ſearched than by you, it will not tarie long ſo: either it will be after continuallie as it was afore your comming, or elſe it muſt be (when all is doone) amended by the king.

Greefes inſuing to the rebels vpon this rebellion.

Reformation ought to be no priuat mans but the princes action

Thus haue yee both lacked in the time, and miſt in the dooing, and yet beſides that ye haue done, which is by your dooing to no purpoſe. Yee haue doone the things with ſuch inconueniences, as hath beene both before rehearſed, and ſhall be after declared; that better it had beene for you, neuer to haue enioied the commoditie, if there be anie; than to ſuffer the greefs that will inſue, which be verie manie. In euerie quarter ſome men (whom yee ſet by) will be loſt, which euerie one of you (if ye haue loue in ye) would rather haue lacked the profit of your incloſures, than cauſe ſuch deſtruction of them, as is like by reaſon & iudgement neceſſarilie to follow. What commonwealth is it then, to doo ſuch abhominable enterpriſes after ſo vile a ſort, that yee hinder that good yee would doo, and bring in that hurt yee would not, and ſo find that yee ſeeke not, and follow that yee loſe, and deſtroie your ſelues by follie; rather than yee would be ordered by reaſon, and ſo haue not ſo much amended your old ſores, as brought in new plagues, which yee your ſelues that deſerue them will lament, and we which haue not deſerued them may curſſe you for? For although the kings maieſtie, &c: intended for your profits a reformation in his commonwealth: yet his pleaſure was not, nor no reaſon gaue it, that euerie ſubiect ſhould buſilie intermeddle with it of their owne head, but onelie thoſe whome his councell thought moſt meet men for ſuch an honeſt purpoſe.

The kings maieſtie, &c: hath godlie reformed an vncleane part of religion, and hath brought it to the true forme of the firſt church that followed Chriſt, thinking that to be trueſt, not what later mens fanſies haue of themſelues deuiſed, but what the apoſtles and their felowes had at Chriſtes hand receiued, and willeth the ſame to be knowne and ſet abroad to all his people. Shall euerie man now that liſteth and fanſieth the ſame, take in hand vncalled, to be a miniſter, and to ſet forth the ſame, hauing no authoritie? Naie, though the thing were verie godlie that were doone, yet the perſon muſt néeds doo ill that enterpriſeth it, bicauſe he dooth a good thing after an ill ſort, and looketh but on a little part of dutie, conſidering the thing, and leaueth a great part vnaduiſed, not conſidering the perſon: when as in a well and iuſtlie doone matter, not onelie theſe two things ought well to be weighed, but alſo good occaſion of time, and reaſonable cauſe of the dooing, ought alſo much to be ſet before euerie dooers eies. Now in this your déed, the manner is vngodlie, the thing vnſufferable, the cauſe wicked, the perſon ſeditious, the time traitorous: and can ye poſſiblie by anie honeſt defenſe of reaſon, or anie good conſcience religiouſlie grounded, denie that this malicious and horrible fault, ſo wickedlie ſet on, is not onelie ſinfull afore God, and traitorous to the king, but alſo deadlie and peſtilent to the whole common-wealth of our countrie, and ſo not onelie ouerfloweth vs with the miſerie, but alſo ouerwhelmeth you with the rage thereof?

What things in a well and iuſtlie doone matter ought well to be weighed.

Yet further ſée and ye be not wearie with the multitude of miſeries, which ye haue maruellouſlie mooued, what a yoke ye wilfullie doo bring on your ſelues, in ſtirring vp this deteſtable ſedition, and ſo bring your ſelues into a further ſlauerie, if ye vſe your ſelues into a further ſlauerie, if ye vſe your ſelues often thus inobedientlie. When common order of the law can take no place in vnrulie and diſobedient ſubiects, and all men will of wilfulneſſe reſiſt with rage, and thinke their owne violence to be the beſt iuſtice; then be wiſe magiſtrats compelled by neceſſitie to ſéeke an extreame remedie, where meane waies helpe not, and bring in the martiall law where none other law ſerueth. Then muſt ye be contented to bide puniſhment without proceſſe, condemnation without witneſſe, ſuſpicion is then taken for iudgement, and diſpleaſure may be iuſt cauſe of your execution, and ſo without fauor ye find ſtrictneſſe, which without rule ſéeke violence. Ye thinke it a hard law and vnſufferable. It is ſo indéed, but yet good for a medicine.

The yoke that rebels wilfullie bring vpon themſelues.

Deſperat remedies for deſperat diſeaſes.

Rebels worthie to ſuffer extremitie of puniſhment.

The greateſt ſhame that can come to a common-wealth.

Deſperate ſickneſſes in phyſicke muſt haue deſperate remedies, for meane medicines will neuer helpe great griefes. So if ye caſt your ſelues into ſuch ſharpe diſeaſes, ye muſt néeds looke for ſharpe medicines againe at your phyſicians hands. And worthie ye be to ſuffer the extremitie in a common-wealth, which ſéeke to doo the extremitie, and by reaſon muſt receiue the like ye offer, and ſo be contenred to bide the end willinglie which ſet on the beginning wilfullie. For no greater ſhame can come to a common-welth, than that thoſe ſubiects which ſhould be obedient euen without a law, can not be contented to be ordered by the law, and by no means kept within their dutie, which ſhould euerie waie offend rather than in their dutie. It is a token that the ſubiects lacke reaſon, when they forſake law, and thinke either by their multitude to find pardon, which cannot iuſtlie ſtretch to all, or elſe by ſtrength to beare the ſtroke, which cannot proſper againſt a king.

They muſt néeds little conſider themſelues, who bring in this neceſſitie, rather to ſtand to the pleaſure of a mans will, than to abide the reaſon of the law; and to be indangered more when an other man liſteth, than when himſelfe offendeth. And this muſt neceſſarilie folow if your rebellion thus continue: and while ye ſéeke to throw downe the yoke, which ye fanſie your ſelues burdened withall, ye bring your ſelues in a greater bondage, leauing ſafetie and folowing danger, and putting your ſelues vnder the iuſtice of them whoſe fauour ye might eaſilie haue kept, if ye would willinglie and dutifullie haue ſerued. Now the gentlemen be more in truſt, bicauſe the commons be vntruſtie, and they get by ſeruice, which ye looſe by ſtubbornneſſe, and therefore muſt néeds, if ye thus continue, haue more authoritie from the king: bicauſe ye would be in leſſe ſubiection to the king, and that as ye will not doo of your ſelues, ye muſt be compelled to doo by others, and that ye refuſe to doo willinglie, thinke ye muſt be drawne to doo the ſame conſtreinedlie. Which when it commeth to paſſe, as wiſedome ſéeth in your faults that it muſt néeds, what gaine ye then, or what profit can ariſe to you by riſing, which might haue found eaſe in ſitting ſtill? And what ſhall ye be at length the better for this turmoile, which beſide diuerſe other incommodities rehearſed, ſhall be thus clogged with the vnſufferable burden of the martiall law.

Gentlemen more truſtie bicauſe the commons be vntruſtie.

Martiall law a burden vnſufferable.

Yet there is one thing behind, which me thinketh your ſelues ſhould not forget, ſéeing that ye haue giuen the cauſe, ye ſhould dulie looke for the effect. Ye haue ſpoiled, impriſoned, and threatened gentlemen to death, and that with ſuch hatred of mind, as may not well be borne. The cauſe therof I ſpeake not on, which tried, will happilie be not ſo great: but ſée the thing, ſet murther aſide, it is the heinouſeſt fault to a priuat man. What could more ſpitefullie haue béene doone againſt them, than ye haue vſed with crueltie? Can this doo anie other but bréed in their ſtomachs great grudge of diſpleaſure toward you, and ingender ſuch an hatred, as the weaker and the ſufferer muſt néeds beare the ſmart thereof.

Crueltie and extremitie ſhewed to the gentlemen by the rebels.

The kings beſt kind of gouernment is ſo to rule his ſubiects, as a father ordereth his children, and beſt life of obedient ſubiects is one to behaue himſelfe to an other, as though they were brethren vnder the king their father. For loue is not the knot onelie of the common-wealth, whereby diuerſe parts be perfectlie ioined togither in one politike bodie, but alſo the ſtrength and might of the ſame, gathering togither into a ſmall roome with order, which ſcattered would elſe bréed confuſion and debate. Diſſention we ſée in ſmall houſes, and thereby may take example to great common-wealths, how it not onelie decaieth them from wealth, but alſo abateth them from ſtrength. Thinke ſmall examples to take place in great matters, and the like though not ſo great to follow in them both, and there by learne to iudge of great things vnknowne, by ſmall things perceiued. When brethren agrée not in a houſe, goeth not the weakeſt to the walles; and with whome the father taketh part withall, is not he likeſt to preuaile? Is it not wiſedome for the yoonger brother, after the good will of the parents, to ſéeke his eldeſt brothers fauour, who vnder them is moſt able to doo for him? To ſéeke them both with honeſtie is wiſedome, to looſe them both by ſullenneſſe is madneſſe.

The kings beſt kind of gouernment.

The fruits of diſſention.

Haue there not béene dailie benefits from the gentlemen to you, in ſome more, and in ſome leſſe, but in none conſidered, which they haue more friendlie offered, than you haue gentlie requited? This muſt ye loſe, when ye will not be thankefull, and learne to gaine new good will by deſert, when ye forſake the old friendſhip vnprouoked. And ye muſt thinke that liuing in a common-wealth togither, one kind hath néed of an other: and yet a great ſort of you more néed of one gentleman, than one gentleman of a great ſort of you. And though all be parts of one common-wealth, yet all be not like worthie parts, but all being vnder obedience, ſome kind in more ſubiection one waie, and ſome kind in more ſeruice an other waie. And ſéeing ye be leſſe able by monie and liberalitie to deſerue good will than others be, and your onelie kind of deſert is to ſhew good will, which honeſt men doo well accept as much worth as monie, haue ye not much hindered & hurt your ſelues herein,

The rebels had cauſe to beare with the gentlemen and to haue loued them.

All the parts of a common-wealth be not of like worthineſſe: *Ergo* gentlemen more worthie than yeomen, &c.

herein, loſing that one kind of humanitie which ye haue onelie left, and turning it into crueltie, which ye ought moſt to abhor, not onelie bicauſe it is wicked of it ſelfe, but alſo moſt noiſome to you.

A bréefe enumeration of the inconueniences flowing from this rebellion.

I can therefore for my part thinke no leſſe herein, if ye follow your ſtiffeneſſe ſtill, & muſt néeds iudge that ye haue wilfullie brought on your ſelues ſuch plagues, as the like could not haue fallen on you, but by your ſelues. Séeing then thus manie waies ye haue hurt the common-welth of this whole countrie within, by deſtruction of ſhires, loſing of harueſt, waſting of vittels, decaieng of manhood, vndooing of farmers, increaſing of vagabonds, mainteining of diſorders, hindring of redreſſes, bringing in of martiall law, and bréeding continuall hatred among diuerſe ſtates: what thinke ye, I praie you? Iudge ye not that ye haue committed an odious and deteſtable crime againſt the whole common-wealth, whoſe furtherance ye ought to haue tendered by dutie, and not to haue ſought the hurt thereof with your owne damage?

Outward miſchances inſuing vpon rebellions to the ſhame of the land and eſtate wherin they be raiſed.

King contemned.

Beſides all theſe inward griefes, which euerie one ſeuerallie muſt néeds féele with miſerie, there happeneth ſo manie outward miſchances among ſtrangers to vs with diſdaine; that if there were nothing ill within the realme which we ſhould féele, yet the ſhame which dooth touch vs from other countries, ſhould not onelie mooue, but alſo compell you hartilie to forethinke this your rebellious ſedition. For what ſhall ſtrangers thinke, when they ſhall heare of the great miſorder which is in this realme with ſuch confuſion, that no order of law can kéepe you vnder, but muſt be faine to be beaten downe with a kings power? Shall they not firſt thinke the kings maieſtie, in whoſe mind God hath powred ſo much hope for a child, as we may looke for gifts in a man; either for his age to be little ſet by, or for lacke of qualities not to be regarded, or for default of loue to be reſiſted, and no notable grace of God in him conſidered, nor the worthineſſe of his office looked vpon, nor naturall obedience due to him remembred?

Rulers little eſtéemed.

Subiects diſordered.

Shall they not next ſuppoſe, ſmall eſtimation to be giuen to the rulers, to whom vnder the king we owe due obedience, that can not in iuſt and lawfull matters be heard, nor men to haue that right iudgement of their wiſedome, as their iuſtice in rule, and foreſight in counſell requireth: but rather prefer their owne fanſies before others experience, and déeme their owne reaſon to be common-wealth, and other mens wiſedome to be but dreaming? Shall they not trulie ſaie the ſubiects to be more vnfaithfull in diſobedience, than other ſubiects worſſe ordered be; and licence of libertie to make wild heads without order, and that they neither haue reaſon that vnderſtand not the miſchiefe of ſedition, nor dutie which follow their beaſtlineſſe, nor loue in them which ſo little remember the common-wealth, nor naturall affection which will dailie ſéeke their owne deſtruction?

The whole countrie ill ſpoken of.

Nothing redreſſable by diſorder changeable.

Thus the whole countrie lacking the good opinion of other nations, is caſt into great ſhame by your vnrulineſſe, and the procéedings of the countrie, be they neuer ſo godlie, ſhall be ill ſpoken of, as vnfit to be brought into vſe; and good things hereby that deſerue praiſe, ſhall bide the rebuke of them that liſt to ſpeake ill, and ill things vntouched ſhall be boldlier mainteined. Nothing may with praiſe be redreſſed, where things be meaſured by changeable diſorder, rather than by neceſſarie vſe; and that is thought moſt politike, that men will be beſt contented to doo, and not that which men ſhould be brought vnto by dutie. And with what dutie or vertue in ye, can ye quench out of memorie this foule enterpriſe, or gather a good report againe to this realme, who haue ſo vilelie with reproch ſlandered the ſame, and diuerſlie diſcredited it among others, and abated the good opinion which was had of the iuſt gouernement and ruled order vſed heretofore in this noble realme, which is now moſt grieuous, bicauſe it is now moſt without cauſe.

Further outward hurt beſides voice ingendered of rebellions.

He meaneth the Scots & French with whome we haue had alwaies incomberance.

If this outward opinion (without further inconuenience) were all, yet it might well be borne, and would with eaſe decaie as it grew: but it hath not onlie hurt vs with voice, but indangered vs in déed, and caſt vs a great deale behind the hand, where elſe we might haue had a iollie foredeale. For that oportunitie of time which ſeldome chanceth, and is alwaies to bée taken, hath béene by your froward meanes loſt this yeare, and ſo vainlie ſpent at home for bringing downe of you, which ſhould elſe profitablie haue béene otherwiſe beſtowed, that it hath béene almoſt as great a loſſe to vs abrode, to lacke that we might haue obteined, as it was combrance at home, to go about the ouerthrow of you, whoſe ſedition is to be abhorred. And we might both conuenientlie haue inuaded ſome, if they would not reaſonablie haue growne to ſome kind of friendſhip, and alſo defended others which would beſide promiſe for times ſake vniuſtlie ſet vpon vs, and eaſilie haue made this ſtormie time a faire yeare vnto vs, if our men had béene ſo happie at home, as our likelihood abrode was fortunat.

Note in a few words of force the dangerous qualitie of rebellion.

A reaſon drawne from the leſſe to the greater.

But what is it (I praie you) either to let ſlip ſuch an occaſion by negligence, or to ſtop it by ſtubbornneſſe, which once paſt awaie, can be by no means recouered; no not though with diligence ye go about to reinforce the ſame againe? If ye would with wickednes haue forſaken your faith to your naturall countrie, and haue ſought craftie means to haue vtterlie betraied it to our common enimies: could ye haue had anie other ſpéedier waie than this is, both to make our ſtrength weake, and their weakeneſſe ſtrong? If ye would haue ſought to haue ſpited your countrie, and to haue pleaſed your enimie, and follow their counſell for our hinderance: could ye haue had deuiſed of them anie thing more ſhamefull for vs, and ioifull to them? If they which lie like ſpials, and hearken after likelihoods of things to come, bicauſe they declare oportunitie of times to the enimie, are to be iudged common enimies of the countrie; what ſhall we reaſonablie thinke of you, who doo not ſecretlie bewraie the counſels of other, but openlie betraie the common-wealth with your owne déeds, and haue as much as lieth in you, ſought the ouerthrow of it at home: which if ye had obteined at Gods hand, as he neuer alloweth ſo horrible an enterpriſe, how could yée haue defended it from the ouerthrow of others abrode?

Rebellion maketh paſſage to forren inuaſion, & weakeneth our owne region.

For is your vnderſtanding of things ſo ſmall, that although ye ſée your ſelues not vnfit to get the vpper hand of a few gentlemen, that ye be able to beat downe afore the kings power: ye and by chance ye were able to doo that, would ye iudge your ſelues by ſtrength mightie enough, to reſiſt the power of outward nations, that for praiſe ſake would inuade ye? Naie, thinke trulie with your ſelues, that if yée doo ouercome, ye be vnſure both by ſtrength abrode, and diſpleaſure of honeſt men at home, and by the puniſhment of God aboue. And now ye haue not yet gotten in déed, that your vaine hope looketh for by fanſie: thinke how certeinlie ye haue wounded the common-wealth with a ſore ſtroke, in procuring our enimies by our weakeneſſe to ſéeke victorie, and by our outward miſerie to ſéeke outward glorie with inward diſhonor. Which howſoeuer they get, thinke it to be long of you, who haue offered them victorie before they began warre: bicauſe ye would declare to men hereafter (belike) how dangerous it is to make ſturres at home, when they doo not onelie make our ſelues weake, but alſo our enimies ſtrong.

Rebellion animateth the papiſts, & each one beſide that is offended at true religion.

Beſide theſe, there is another ſort of men deſirous of aduantage, and diſdainefull of our wealth, whoſe gréefe is moſt our greateſt hap, and be offended with religion, bicauſe they be drowned in ſuperſtition, men zealed toward God, but not fit to iudge, meaning better without knowledge, than they iudge by their meaning, worthier whoſe ignorance ſhould be taken awaie, than their will ſhould be followed; whome we ſhould more rebuke for their ſtubborneſſe, than deſpiſe for their ignorance. Theſe ſéeing ſuperſtition beaten downe, and religion ſet vp, Gods word taking place, traditions kept in their kind, difference made betwéene Gods commandements and mans learning, the truth of things ſought out according to Chriſtes inſtitution, examples taken of the primitiue churches vſe, not at the biſhop of Romes ordinance, and true worſhip taught, and wil-worſhip refuſed, doo by blindneſſe rebuke that as by truth they ſhould follow, and by affection follow that as by knowledge they ſhould abhorre, thinking vſage to be truth, and ſcripture to be error, not weieng by the word, but miſconſtruing by cuſtome.

Religion beareth the blame and is counted the cauſe of rebellion, but amiſſe.

And now things be changed to the better, and religion trulier appointed, they ſée matters go awrie, which hurteth the whole realme, and they reioiſe in this miſchéefe as a thing worthilie happened, miſtaking the cauſe, and ſlandering religion, as though there were no cauſe whie God might haue puniſhed, if their vſed profeſſion might ſtill haue taken place. They ſée not that where Gods glorie is trulieſt ſet forth, there the diuell is moſt buſie for his part, and laboureth to corrupt by lewdneſſe, that as is gotten out by the truth, thinking that if it were not blemiſhed at the firſt, the reſidue of his falſehood ſhould after leſſe preuaile. So he troubleth by biwaies, that he cannot plainlie withſtand, and vſeth ſubtiltie of ſophiſtrie, where plaine reaſon faileth, and perſuadeth ſimple men that to be a cauſe, which in déed can not be tried and taken for a cauſe. So he cauſeth religion which teacheth obedience, to be iudged the cauſe of ſedition; & the doctrine of loue, the ſéed of diſſention; miſtaking the thing, but perſuading mens minds, and abuſing the plaine meaning of the honeſt to a wicked end of religions ouerthrow.

The diuels ſophiſtrie.

Examples.

The huſbandman had not ſo ſoone throwne ſéed in his ground, but ſteppeth vp the enimie, and hée ſoweth cockle too, and maketh men doubt whether the good huſband had doone well or no, and whether he had ſowne there good ſéed or bad. The faithfull Iewes in Egypt would not beléeue Ieremie, but thought their plague and their miſerie to come by his meanes; and leaning of idolatrie to be the cauſe of penurie, wherfore by wilfull aduiſe they intended to forſake the prophets councell, and thought to ſerue God moſt trulie by their rooted & accuſtomed idolatrie. When the chriſtian men were perſecuted in the primitiue church, & dailie ſuffered martyrdome for Chriſts profeſſion, ſuch faire ſeaſon of weather was for thrée or foure yeares togither, that the heathen iudged therevpon God to be delighted with their crueltie, and ſo were perſuaded that with the bloud of the martyrs they pleaſed God highlie. Such fanſies light now in papiſts, and irreligious mens heads, and ioine things by chance happening togither, and conclude the one to be the cauſe of the other, and then delight in true worſhippers hurt, bicauſe they iudge curſedlie the good to be bad, and therefore reioiſe in the puniſhment of the godlie. For they being fleſhlie, iudge by outward things, and perceiue not the inward, for that they lacke the ſpirit and ſo iudge amis, not vnderſtanding God, what diuerſitie he ſuffereth to blind ſtill the ſinfull, and how through all dangers he ſaueth his forechoſen.

The Iewes aſcribe their miſerie to a falſe cauſe.

The heathens fond opinion of gods fauouring their crueltie againſt chriſtians.

The papiſts by rebellion haue an euill opinion of Gods holie truth.

And thus haue ye giuen a large occaſion to ſtubborne papiſts, both to iudge amiſſe, and alſo to reioiſe in this wicked chance, contented with our miſchéefe, not liking our religion, and thinking God dooth puniſh for this better change, and haue thereby an euill opinion of Gods holie truth, confirmed in them by no ſure ſcripture, but by following of miſchance, which they ought to thinke to come for the pride and ſtubbornneſſe of the people, who dooth not accept Gods glorie in good part, nor giue no due praiſe to their Lord and maker. What ſhould I ſaie more? Ye hurt euerie waie, the dangers be ſo great, and the perils ſo manie, which doo dailie follow your diueliſh enterpriſe, that the more I ſéeke in the mater, the more I continuallie ſée to ſaie. And what words can worthilie declare this miſerable beaſtlines of yours, which haue intended to diuide the realme, and arme the one part for the killing of the other? For euen as concord is not onelie the health, but alſo the ſtrength of the realme: ſo is ſedition not onelie the weakneſſe but alſo the apoſtume of the realme, which when it breaketh inwardlie, putteth the ſtate in great danger of recouerie, and corrupteth the whole commonwealth with the rotten furie that it hath béene long putrified withall. For it is not in ſedition as in other faults, which being miſchéefous of themſelues, haue ſome notable hurt alwaies faſt adioined to them: but in this one is there a whole hell of faults, not ſeuerallie ſcattered, but cluſtered on a lumpe togither, and comming on ſo thicke, that it is vnpoſſible for a region armed with all kinds of wiſedome, and ſtrength thereto, to auoid the dangers that iſſue out thereof.

The hurts iſſuing from rebellion out of count.

Concord and diſcord with their differing effects.

When ſedition once breaketh out, ſée ye not the lawes ouerthrowne, the magiſtrates deſpiſed, ſpoiling of houſes, murthering of men, waſting of countries, increaſe of diſorder, diminiſhing of the realms ſtrength, ſwarming of vagabonds, ſcarſitie of laborers, and all thoſe miſchiefes plentiouſlie brought in, which God is woont to ſcourge ſeuerelie withall, warre, dearth, and peſtilence? And ſéeing ye haue theft & murther, plague & famine, confuſion and idleneſſe linked togither, can ye looke for anie more miſchéefe in one ſhamefull enterpriſe, than ye euidentlie ſée to grow herein? As for warre, although it be miſerable, yet the one part getteth ſomewhat, and reioiſeth in the ſpoile, and ſo goeth luſtier awaie: and either increaſeth his countrie with riches, or inhanſeth himſelfe with glorie: but in ſedition both parts looſe, the ouercommer cannot ſlie, the ouercommed cannot ſpoile; the more the winner winneth, the more he looſeth; the more that eſcape, the more infamous men liue; all that is gained is ſcarſelie ſaued; the winning is loſſe, the loſſe is deſtruction, both waſt themſelues, and the whole moſt waſted; the ſtrengthening of themſelues, the decaie of the countrie; the ſtriuing for the victorie, is a preie to the enimie: and ſhortlie to ſaie, the helliſh turmoile of ſedition ſo farre paſſeth the common miſerie of warre, as to ſlaie himſelfe is more heinous, than to be ſlaine of another.

The miſchiefs ſpringing frõ ſedition.

Forren war farre better than ſedition at home.

The praiſe and benefits of peace.

O noble peace, what wealth bringeſt thou in, how doo all things flouriſh in field and in towne, what forwardneſſe of religion, what increaſe of learning, what grauitie in counſell, what deuiſe of wit, what order of maners, what obedience of laws, what reuerence of ſtates, what ſafegard of houſes, what quietneſſe of life, what honor of countries, what friendſhip of minds, what honeſtie of pleaſure haſt thou alwaies mainteined, whoſe happineſſe we knew not, while now we féele thy lacke, and ſhall learne by miſerie to vnderſtand plentie, and ſo to auoid miſchiefe by the hurt that it bringeth, and learne to ſerue better, where rebellion is once knowen; and ſo to liue

trulie,

The rebels neglect the right meanes of redreſſing things amiſſe, and follow their owne fanſies.

The ſtate of a countrie or land in time of ſedition and tumult.

trulie, and keepe the kings peace. What good ſtate were ye in afore ye began, not pricked with pouertie, but ſtirred with miſchiefe, to ſeeke your deſtruction, hauing waies to redreſſe all that was amiſſe? Magiſtrats moſt readie to tender all iuſtice, and pitifull in hearing the poore mens cauſes, which ſought to amend matters more than you can deuiſe, and were readie to redreſſe them better than ye could imagine: and yet for a headineſſe ye could not be contented; but in deſpite of God, who commandeth obedience, and in contempt of the king, whoſe lawes doo ſeeke your wealth, and to ouerthrow the countrie, which naturallie we ſhould loue, ye would proudlie riſe, and doo ye wot not what, and amend things by rebellion to your vtter vndooing. What ſtate leaue ye vs in now, beſieged with enimies, diuided at home, made poore with ſpoile and loſſe of our harueſt, vnordered and caſt downe with ſlaughter and hatred, hindered from amendments by our owne diueliſh haſt, indangered with ſickeneſſe by reaſon of miſorder, laid open to mens pleaſures for breaking of the lawes, and feebled to ſuch faintneſſe that ſcarſelie it will be couered.

Reaſons to withdraw the rebels from their enterpriſes of rebellion, and to allure them to loialtie.

A concluſion peremptorie againſt irreuocable rebels.

Wherefore for Gods ſake haue pittie on your ſelues, conſider how miſerablie ye haue ſpoiled, deſtroied, and waſted vs all: and if for deſperatneſſe ye care not for your ſelues, yet remember your wiues, your children, your countrie, and forſake this rebellion. With humble ſubmiſſion acknowledge your faults, and tarie not the extremitie of the kings ſword, leaue off with repentance, and turne to your duties, aſke God forgiueneſſe, ſubmit ye to your king, be contented for a common-wealth one or two to die. And ye capteins for the reſidue ſacrifice your ſelues, ye ſhall ſo beſt atteine the kings gratious pardon, ſaue the aſſemblie, and helpe the common-wealth, & to declare your doings to proceed of no ſtubborneſſe; but all this miſchiefe to grow out of ignorance, which ſeeing the miſerie, would redreſſe the fault, & to recouer beſt the blot of your diſorder, and ſtaie the great miſeries which be like to follow. Thus if ye doo not, thinke trulie with your ſelues, that God is angrie with you for your rebellion, the kings ſword drawne to defend his countrie, the crie of the poore to God againſt ye, the readineſſe of the honeſt in armor to vanquiſh ye, your death to be at hand, which ye cannot eſcape, hauing God againſt ye, as he promiſeth in his word, the kings power to ouerthrow ye, gathered in the field, the commonwelth to beate ye downe with ſtripes and with curſſes, the ſhame of your miſchiefe to blemiſh ye for euer.

Abr.Fl. *ex quorundam collectaneis.*

¶Thus far this neceſſarie treatiſe touching rebellion, penned by ſir Iohn Cheeke, a gentleman euerie waie in complet ſort ſatiſfieng the report blazed abroad of him. For if there were no more teſtimonies extant in the world, but this onelie treatiſe diſcourſing Kets rebellion; it were enough to warrant no leſſe true, than in common ſpeech and writing is left witneſſed of him. And ſuerlie it appeareth, that as in this gentleman there was an extraordinarie heape of laudable gifts; ſo was there alſo in him the right vſe of them all. Wherby he grew in ſuch fauor with king Henrie the eight, that partlie for his abſolute knowledge in tongs, ſpeciallie the Greeke and Latine, and alſo for his integritie of life and religion; he was choſen ſchoolemaiſter to yoong prince Edward, to traine him vp in the right vnderſtanding, both of forren languages, & the purenes of Gods ſeruice. Inſomuch that by his induſtrie ſuch effects followed (God aboue proſpering his actions) that the yoong prince, when he came to the kingdome was mindfull of him, and among other (I will not ſaie gratuities, where cauſe of deſert maketh challenge of ſome recompenſe) tokens of beneuolence, aduanced him to the dignitie of knighthood; as hereafter in due place maie appeare. Of this worthie man, whoſe praiſe though neuer ſo exceſſiue (if meet for a man) is equiualent vnto his merits, Iohn Leland, vpon preſenting vnto him a booke, taketh occaſion to write this epigram, compriſing in ſumme no leſſe than is here vnder in Engliſh remembred:

Ad libellum, vt Ioanni Checo Grantano placere ſtudeat.

Si vis Theſpiadum choro probari,
Fac vt conſilio libelle noſtro
Facundo ſtudeas placere Checo,
Quem Pandioniæ colunt Athenæ,
Et quem Roma colit diſerta multum,
Quem rex maximus omnium ſupremúſque
Henricus reputans virum probatum,
Spectatúmque ſatis, reconditæque
Cenſorem ſolidum eruditionis,
Eduardum bene filium ſuúmque
Hæredem puerum, illi ad alta natum,
Sic concredidit, vtriuſque linguæ
Flores vt legeret venuſtiores,
Exercens facili manum labore,
Et Chriſti imbiberet ſuaue nectar.
Fœlicem arbitror hunc diem fuiſſe,
Tanto diſcipulo dedit magiſtrum
Qui talem, &c.]

The French king purpoſed to ſurpriſe Gerneſeie and Ierſeie, but is repelled.

Iohn Fox.

During the time of theſe commotions and ſtirs here within the realme, to the great danger of the ſtate; the French king hauing knowledge thereof, ment not to omit the opportunitie offered, to recouer out of the Engliſhmens hands thoſe fortreſſes which they held at Bullongne and in Bullongnois. Wherevpon he gaue ſummons to the gentlemen and men of armes, and others of his realme, to put themſelues in order with all their furniture, that they might be readie to attend him in his armie in Bullongnois by a daie appointed. And about the ſame time, that is to ſaie, in the beginning of Auguſt; the French king purpoſing to ſurpriſe the Iles of Gerneſeie and Ierſeie, appointed certeine gallies and ſhips of warre to paſſe thither; but being receiued by the king of Englands nauie that laie there, and other of the Iland, they were beaten backe and repelled, with the loſſe of a thouſand men (as ſome write) and ſo were conſtreined to retire without atchiuing their enterpriſe.

The French king is aſhamed that anie report ſhould paſſe of his euill ſucceſſe.

The French king perſeuereth in his former purpoſe, and martiall action.

Credible word was brought out of France to the lord protector, that into one towne in one veſſell were brought at the leaſt three ſcore gentlemen to be buried, & alſo an inhibition giuen out by the French king, not to ſpeake of the euill ſucceſſe of that iournie. In the meane time, the French king being come downe vnto Abuile, departed from thence the ſixteenth of Auguſt, and comming vnto Rue, lodged there that night, and the next daie came to Monſtreull, where he found the coneſtable and monſieur Daumalle. The next daie being the eighteenth of Auguſt, he came to his armie lodged foure leagues on this ſide Monſtreull at a village called Neufcaſtell, neere to the forreſt of Ardelo, vpon the waie that leadeth to Bullongne. The ſame daie were certeine pioners ſent to Pont de Bricque to repare the bridge there, and to make the waies eaſie for the artillerie to paſſe. The next daie the ſaid king with his armie paſſed by Bullongne berg, and camped that night on a little hill betwixt that forreſt and the forreſt of Suren.

In this place he cauſed trenches to be caſt about a plot of ground, after the maner of a fortreſſe, within the which he left certeine bands of men of warre to be a ſafegard vnto ſuch as ſhould paſſe to and fro with vittels to furniſh his campe. He ſtaied not there paſt a daie & a halfe, but remoued to Ardenton, a mile or little more beyond Marguiſen; from thence he came with his armie, and lodged on a hill, ſomewhat more than a mile & a halfe from Hambleteuue. The French king hauing viewed the forts, cauſed fiue and twentie peeces of artillerie to be planted againſt that fort, which was built in a place called the Almaine campe, but the Frenchmen named it *Le fort de Selaque*, diſtant from Hambleteuue about a quarter of a mile. The artillerie had not gone off little more than the ſpace of two houres, but that Charls Sturton capteine of that peece, and George Willoughbie a gentleman aſſociat with him, came forth to parlee with the Coneſtable, offering to yeeld the fort into his hands, vpon condition they might depart with bag and baggage. But as they were thus in hand to make their compoſition, the Frenchmen thruſt forward to the rampiers, and entered in plumps into the fortreſſe, ſlue fourescore perſons, & tooke the reſt priſoners. There might be in all within that peece two hundred and thirtie perſons, men and women. This happened the foure and twentith of Auguſt, being Bartholomew daie.

Charles Sturton, and George willoughbie.
Les chroniques de Aquitaine.
The fort called Almaine campe wonne.

This doone, the king cauſed part of the artillerie to be planted againſt the caſtell of Hambleteuue, ſituated at the one end of the towne neere to the ſea ſide. Towards night monſieur de Vandoſme gaue an approch to the ſaid caſtell, and they within by commandement of the lord Greie retired to the maine fort to helpe to furniſh the ſame, wanting numbers ſufficient to defend it. The next daie being the fiue and twentith of Auguſt, the king cauſed approches to be made vnto the great fort, and the morrow after the batterie began moſt furiouſlie. The ſame daie after dinner, the king ſummoned them within to yeeld; but the lord Iohn Greie being generall (although he ſaw how weake the peece was of it ſelfe, & the lacke of ſufficient numbers of men to reſiſt ſuch a puiſſant force, as the French king had there with him) would not yet hearken vnto anie talke, nor ſuffer the herald to come neere; for that he ſhould not perceiue the weakeneſſe of the peece: and ſo he was commanded to get him thence with ſpeed, or elſe they would cauſe him to be packing ſmallie to his eaſe. The French king ſore offended herewith, that his herald was ſo vncourteouſlie vſed, cauſed the batterie to be reinforced with great diligence, which diſmounting their ordinance within, and beating downe their rampiers, made ſuch breaches, that my lord Iohn and the capteins within perceiued they were not able by anie meanes to defend the place anie longer. Hereupon they offered to render the fort to the king vpon compoſition: which in the end fell out to be thus, that the ſouldiers ſhould depart with their liues ſaued, and that their generall (for honor ſake) ſhould haue one horſſe to ride on in his corſlet, without ſword or dagger, and likewiſe two other capteins with him: but as for the other ſouldiers, with the women and children, ſhould depart on foot in their ſhirts, leauing all their goods and ſubſtance behind them. After it was agreed that the fort ſhould be thus ſurrendered, there entered monſieur de Chatillon that was after admerall of France, and monſieur de Deſſe, latelie returned out of Scotland. The French ſouldiers entring by ſtealth into the fort by the breaches, committed foule diſorders, not onelie in ranſacking the houſes, but alſo in ſpoiling the ſouldiers by force, intreating them in moſt rigorous maner.

The lord Greie.
The caſtell of Hambleteuue loſt.
Hambleteuue ſummoned.
Hambleteuue rendered to the French king.

The French writers confeſſe, that it was pitie to ſee the poore men and women ſo miſerablie handled and abuſed as they were by the outragious ſoldiors that thus entred the fort, and ſacked all that they could laie hands vpon. Monſieur de Deſſe ſaued a great number of women and yoong maidens from the cruell hands of their aduerſaries, cauſing them to paſſe forth by the breach, and preſented them to the king, who appointed that they ſhould be conueied in ſafetie, with all that they had about them, till they had gotten out of danger. Monſieur de Chatillon, by the kings commandement, cauſed all the reſt within the fort to come forth, who paſſing three and three in a range came before the king, who ſtood there to behold them, with the whole armie placed ſo in order on either ſide the waie as they ſhould come, that they might paſſe betwixt their ranks, as it were through a lane. They that came forth in this ſort might be (as the French writers record) about ſeuen or eight hundred in all of men and women, whereof there were manie hurt and maimed; ſome with halfe a ſhirt on to couer them, and diuerſe ſtarke naked. The lord Iohn Greie being mounted on a curtaile, paſſing by the French king, and ſaluting him, was courteouſlie of him embraced.

The French writers report of their owne countriemens crueltie and ſauageneſſe.
The number that came forth of Hambleteuue.

The morrow after was the fort of Blackneſſe or Blaconneſſe rendered to the French king, with like conditions as they of Hambleteuue had rendered theirs. This was on the tueſdaie the ſeuen and twentith of Auguſt. The nine and twentith of Auguſt ſir Nicholas Arnault conueieng all the artillerie, munition, vittels, and goods out of Bullongne berg, cauſed fire to be ſet on that fort, and retired with all his ſoldiors and other people vnto Bullongne. Whervpon ſhortlie after the Frenchmen ſeized vpon the ſaid place of Bullongne berg, & kept it. The French king leauing monſieur de Chatillon within Hambleteuue with the old bands of the French footmen, returned towards Bullongne, & approching within a mile and a halfe of the Old man, meant to build there a fort on the ſea ſide: but what through ſuch ſharpe ſkirmiſhes as the Engliſhmen continuallie were redie to make with his men, and what through the abundance of raine which fell in that ſeaſon, he was conſtreined to breake vp his campe, and leauing ſtrong garriſons both of horſſemen and footmen in all thoſe places, which he had in that ſeaſon wonne out of the Engliſhmens hands, he returned himſelfe with the princes of his bloud into France.

Cauſes that compelled the French king to breake vp his campe.

In this meane time whileſt the French king was thus occupied, to vſe the oportunitie of time in recouering of thoſe fortreſſes in Bullongnois out of the Engliſhmens hands, the kings maieſtie and his councell were buſie ſtill in quieting his rebellious ſubiects here in England: and finallie for meane of a full pacification, and to ſet all things in good frame and quiet reſt, the king publiſhed his graces moſt generall and free pardon to all rebelles, ſo that they would forthwith (vpon publication of the ſame pardon) returne euerie man to his houſe and countrie; which they gladlie did: and ſo theſe ſeditious and moſt dangerous troubles were brought to end and pacified.

The kings generall pardon.

¶ Alſo in this buſie time Marie Steward queene of Scots was conueied by ſea out of Scotland into France, and there on the nineteenth daie of Aprill 1549, was married in our ladie church in Paris (with great triumph and ſolemnitie) to Francis the Dolphin, eldeſt ſonne vnto king Henrie the ſecond of that name French king. This conueieng of the yoong queene is reported by one to haue beene priuilie wrought, at ſuch time as the councell of England were in ſome expectation and hope to obteine hir. Neuertheleſſe the ſubtill aduiſe of the French, and the trecherous forwardneſſe of the Scots, vtterlie diſappointed the honeſt and honorable purpoſe of the Engliſh. Now when the yoong queene and hir traine, with the gard of hir perſon (be they whoms you will) were vnder ſaile, the Engliſh nauie was abroade, and lieng in wait to haue intercepted hir courſe,

Abr. Fl. *ex quorundam collectaneis.*

courſe, meant not onlie to ſkirmiſh, but alſo to recouer the yong queene from the French in ſpite of their hearts, had not the king of England and the moſt of his councell flatlie forbidden them to attempt anie warlike incounter, for certeine iuſt and weightie cauſes to them knowne. But the Scots ſmarted for this their vaine lightneſſe, as in former times for like practiſes of their vile lewdneſſe, as C.O. ſaith:

Sic leuiora leui pluma promiſſa Scotorum
Infamem reddunt gentem, dant ſanguine pœnas
Perfidiæ quandóq; ſuæ velut antè dederunt.

I. Stow 1043.

In this troubleſome yéere alſo Edmund Bonner biſhop of London preached a ſermon at Paules croſſe, for the which he was accuſed vnto the councell by William Latimer parſon of ſaint Laurence Pountneie, and John Hooper ſometime a white monke, and ſo conuented before the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and other commiſſioners at Lambeth, on the twentith daie of that ſame moneth, and ſent to the Marſhalſea. On the firſt of October he was depriued of his biſhoprike, for diſobeieng the kings order in religion.]

The councell withdraw themſelues into priuat conferences about the lord protectors diſplacing.

Now after that theſe hurlie burlies were throughlie quieted, manie of the lords of the realme, as well councellors as other, miſliking the gouernment of the protector, began to withdraw themſelues from the court, and reſorting to London, fell to ſecret conſultation for redreſſe of things, but namelie for the diſplacing of the lord protector. And ſuddenlie vpon what occaſion manie maruelled, but few knew. Euerie lord and councellor went through the citie weaponed, and had their ſeruants likewiſe weaponed, attending vpon them in new liueries, to the great woondering of manie. And at the laſt a great aſſemblie of the ſaid councellors was made at the earle of Warwiks lodging, which was then at Elie place in Holborne, whither all the confederats in this matter came priuilie armed; and finallie concluded to poſſeſſe the tower of London, which by the policie of ſir William Paulet lord treaſuror of England was peaceablie obteined, & who by order of the ſaid confederats immediatlie remooued ſir John Markam then lieutenant of the tower, and placed in that roome ſir Leonard Chamberleine. And after that the ſaid councell was broken vp at Elie place, the earle of Warwike remooued foorthwith into the citie of London, and laie in the houſe of one John Yorke a citizen of London, who was then chéefe maiſter of the mint, kept at Suffolke place in Southworke. The lord protector hearing of the maner of the aſſemblie of this councell, and of the taking of the tower, which ſéemed to him verie ſtrange and doubtfull, did preſentlie the ſaid night remooue frō Hampton court, taking the king with him, vnto the caſtell of Windſore, and there began to fortifie the ſame, and withall wrote a letter to that noble gentleman the lord Ruſſell lord priuie ſeale remaining as yet in the weſt countrie, aduertiſing him of theſe troubles as followeth.

The protector remoueth in haſt with the king to Windſore.

Abr. Fl. *ex quorundam collectaneis.*

A letter of the lord protectors to the *lord Ruſſell lord priuie ſeale, concerning* troubles working againſt him.

John Fox in the Acts and Monuments. A letter of the lord protectors to the lord priuie ſeale.

After our right hartie commendations to your good lordſhip. Here hath of late riſen ſuch a conſpiracie againſt the kings maieſtie & vs, as neuer hath béene ſéene, the which they can not mainteine, with ſuch vaine letters and falſe tales ſurmiſed, as was neuer ment nor intended on vs. They pretend and ſaie, that we haue ſold Bullongne to the French, and that we doo withhold wages from the ſoldiers, & other ſuch tales and letters they doo ſpread abroad (of the which if anie one thing were true, we would not wiſh to liue) the matter now being brought to a maruellous extremitie, ſuch as we would neuer haue thought it could haue come vnto, eſpeciallie of thoſe men towards the kings maieſtie and vs, of whome we haue deſerued no ſuch thing, but rather much fauour and loue. But the caſe being as it is, this is to require & praie you, to haſten you hither to the defenſe of the kings maieſtie, in ſuch force and power as you maie, to ſhew the part of a true gentleman, and of a verie friend: the which thing we truſt God ſhall reward, and the kings maieſtie in time to come, and we ſhall neuer be vnmindfull of it too. We are ſure you ſhall haue other letters from them, but as ye tender your dutie to the kings maieſtie, we require you to make no ſtaie, but immediatlie repaire with ſuch force as ye haue to his highneſſe in his caſtell of Windſor, and cauſe the reſt of ſuch force as ye maie make to follow you. And ſo we bid you right hartilie farewell. From Hampton court the ſixt of October.

Your lordſhips aſſured louing friend
Edward Summerſet.

An anſwer to the lord protectors *letter.*

The effect of the lord Ruſſels letter anſwering the lord protector.

To this letter of the lord protectors ſent the ſixt of October, the lord Ruſſell returning anſwer againe vpon the eight of the ſaid moneth, firſt lamented the heauie diſſention fallen betwéene the nobilitie and him, which he tooke for ſuch a plague, as a greater could not be ſent of almightie God vpon this realme being the next waie (ſaid he) to make vs of conquerors, ſlaues; and like to induce vpon the whole realme an vniuerſall thraldome and calamitie, vnleſſe the mercifull goodneſſe of the Lord doo helpe, and ſome wiſe order be taken in ſtaieng theſe great extremities. And as touching the dukes requeſt in his letters, forſomuch as he had heard before of the broile of the lords, and feared leaſt ſome conſpiracie had béene meant againſt the kings perſon, he haſted forward with ſuch companie as he could make, for the ſuertie of the king as to him apperteined. Now perceiuing by the lords letters ſent vnto him the ſame ſixt daie of October, theſe tumults to riſe vpon priuat cauſes betwéene him and them, he therefore thought it expedient, that a conuenient power ſhould be leuied, to be in a readineſſe to withſtand the worſt (what perils ſoeuer might inſue) for the preſeruation both of the king and ſtate of the realme from inuaſion of forren enimies, and alſo for the ſtaieng of bloudſhed, if anie ſuch thing ſhould be intended betwixt the parties in the heat of this faction. And this he thinking beſt for the diſcharge of his allegiance, humblie beſought his grace to haue the ſame alſo in ſpeciall regard and conſideration; firſt, that the kings maieſtie be put in no feare; and that if there be anie ſuch thing, wherein he hath giuen iuſt cauſe to them thus to procéed, he would ſo conforme himſelfe, as no ſuch priuat quarrels doo redound to the publike diſturbance of the realme: certifieng moreouer the duke, that if it were true which he vnderſtood by the letters of the lords, that he ſhould ſend about proclamations and letters for raiſing vp of the commons, he liked not the ſame. Notwithſtanding he truſted well that his wiſedome would take ſuch a waie, as no effuſion of blood ſhould follow.

And thus much being conteined in his former letters the eight of October, in his next letters againe written the eleuenth of October, the ſaid lord Ruſſell reioiſing to heare of the moſt reaſonable offers of the lord protector made to the lords, wrote vnto him

The contents of the ſecond anſwer of the lord Ruſſell to the lord protector.

and promiſed to doo, what in the vttermoſt power of him (and likewiſe of ſir William Herbert ioined togither with him) did lie, to worke ſome honorable reconciliation betwéene him & them: ſo as his ſaid offers being accepted and ſatiſfied, ſome good concluſion might inſue, according to their good hope and expectation: ſignifieng moreouer, that as touching the leuieng of men, they had reſolued to haue the ſame in readineſſe for the benefit of the realme, to occurre all inconueniences whatſoeuer, that either by forren inuaſion or otherwiſe might happen: & ſo hauing their power at hand to draw néere, wherby they might haue the better oportunitie to be ſolicitors and meanes for this reformation on both parts, &c. And thus much for the anſwer of the lord Ruſſell to the lord protectors letters.

The good lord Ruſſell a ſolicitor for peace betwéene the lord protector and the lords.

The lords of the councell aſſembled againſt the lord protector.

But now to procéed and go forward with the matter of the lords, who togither with the earle of Warwike (vpon what occaſion God knoweth) were aſſembled at London (as ye haue heard) againſt the lord protector. When the king with his councell at Hampton court heard therof, firſt ſecretarie Peter with the kings meſſage was ſent vnto them, whome the lords notwithſtanding deteined ſtill with them, making as yet no anſwer to the meſſage. Wherevpon the lord protector wrote as followeth.

A letter of the lord protectors to the *councell at London.*

The protectors letter to the lords.

MY lords we commend vs heartilie vnto you. And wheras the kings maieſtie was informed that you were aſſembled in ſuch ſort as you doo, and now remaine, and was aduiſed by vs and ſuch other of his councell as were then here about his perſon, to ſend maſter ſecretarie Peter vnto you with ſuch a meſſage, as whereby might haue inſued the ſuertie of his maieſties perſon, with the preſeruation of his realme and ſubiects, and the quiet both of vs and your ſelues, as maſter ſecretarie can well declare to you: his maieſtie and we of his councell here doo not a little maruell, that you ſtaie ſtill with you the ſaid maſter ſecretarie, & haue not as it were vouchſafed to ſend anſwer to his maieſtie, neither by him nor yet by anie other. And for our ſelues we doo much more maruell and are ſorie, as both we and you haue good cauſe to be, to ſée the maner of your doings bent with force of violence, to bring the kings maieſtie & vs to theſe extremities.

No word hitherto ſent from the lords to the lord protector what they required of him to doo.

Which as we intend, if you will take no other waie but violence, to defend (as nature and allegiance doth bind vs) to extremitie of death, and to put all to Gods hand, who giueth victorie as it pleaſeth him: ſo if that anie reaſonable conditions & offers would take place (as hitherto none hath béene ſignified vnto vs from you, nor we doo not vnderſtand, what you doo require or ſéeke, or what you doo meane) and that you doo ſéeke no hurt to the kings maieſties perſon, as touching all other priuat matters, to auoid the effuſion of chriſtian bloud, and to preſerue the kings maieſties perſon, his realme and ſubiects, you ſhall find vs agréeable vnto anie reaſonable conditions that you will require. For we doo eſtéeme the kings wealth and tranquillitie of the realme more than all other worldlie things, yea than our owne life. Thus praieng you to ſend vs your determinate anſwer herein by maſter ſecretarie Peter, or if you will not let him go, by this bearer, we beſéech God to giue both you and vs grace to determinate this matter, as maie be to Gods honor, the preſeruation of the king, and the quiet of vs all: which maie be, if the fault be not in you. And ſo we bid you moſt hartilie farewell. From the kings maieſties caſtell of Windſor the ſeuenth of October, 1549.

Your lordſhips louing friend
Edward Summerſet.

After the receipt of theſe letters, the lords ſéeming not greatlie to regard the offers conteined therein, perſiſted in their intended purpoſe; and continuing ſtill in London conferred with the maior of London and his brethren, firſt willing them to cauſe a good and ſubſtantiall watch by night, and a good ward by daie to be kept for the ſafegard of the citie, and the ports and gates thereof: which was conſented vnto, and the companies of London in their turnes warned to watch and ward accordinglie. Then the ſaid lords and councellors demanded of the lord maior and his brethren fiue hundred men to aid them, to fetch the lord protector out of Windſor from the king. But therevnto the maior anſwered, that he could grant no aid without the aſſent of the common councell of the citie: wherevpon the next daie a common councell was ſummoned to the Guildhall in London. But in this meane time the ſaid lords of the councell aſſembled themſelues at the lord maiors houſe in London, who was then ſir Henrie Amcotes fiſhmonger, and John Yorke and Richard Turke ſhiriffes of the ſaid citie. And there the ſaid councell agréed and publiſhed forthwith a proclamation againſt the lord protector, the effect of which proclamation was as followeth.

The lords continue in their intended purpoſe againſt the lord protecto

A proclamation publiſhed againſt the lord protector.

1 That the lord protector, by his malicious and euill gouernement, was the occaſion of all the ſedition that of late hath happened within the realme.

2 The loſſe of the kings péeces in France.

3 That he was ambitious and ſought his owne glorie, as appeared by his building of moſt ſumptuous and coſtlie buildings, and ſpeciallie in the time of the kings warres, and the kings ſoldiers vnpaied.

4 That he eſtéemed nothing the graue councell of the councellors.

5 That he ſowed ſedition betwéene the nobles, the gentlemen, and commons.

6 That the nobles aſſembled themſelues togither at London, for none other purpoſe, but to haue cauſed the protector to haue liued within his limits, and to haue put ſuch order for the kings maieſtie as apperteined, whatſoeuer the protectors doings were, which (as they ſaid) were vnnaturall, ingrate, and traitorous.

7 That the protector ſlandered the councell to the king, and did what in him laie to cauſe variance betwéene the king and his nobles.

8 That he was a great traitor, and therefore the lords deſired the citie and commons to aid them to take him from the king. And in witneſſe and teſtimonie of the contents of the ſaid proclamation the lords ſubſcribed their names and titles as followeth.

Witneſſes to the contents of the ſaid proclamation.

The lord Rich lord chancellor, the lord S. John lord great maiſter and preſident of the councell, the lord marqueſſe of Northampton, the earle of Warwike lord great chamberleine, the earle of Arundell lord chamberleine, the earle of Shrewesburie, the earle of Southampton Wriotheſleie, ſir Thomas Cheinie knight treaſuror of the kings houſe and lord warden of the cinque ports, ſir John Gage knight coneſtable of the tower, ſir William Peter knight ſecretarie, ſir Edward North knight, ſir Edward Montague chéefe iuſtice of the common pléas, ſir Rafe Sadler, ſir John Baker, ſir Edward Wotton, doctor Wotton deane of Canturburie, ſir Richard Southwell.

After the foreſaid proclamation was proclamed, the lords or the moſt of them continuing and lieng in London, came the next daie to the Guildhall, du-

The kings letter read to the citizens.

The recorder an enimie to the lord protector.

ring the time that the lord maior and his brethren ſat in their court or inner chamber, and entered and communed a long while with them, and at the laſt the maior and his brethren came forth vnto the common councell, where was read the kings letter ſent vnto the maior and citizens, commanding them to aid him with a thouſand men, as hath maiſter Fox, and to ſend the ſame to his caſtell at Windſore: and to the ſame letter was adioined the kings hand, and the lord protectors. On the other ſide, by the mouth of the recorder it was requeſted, that the citizens would grant their aid rather vnto the lords: for that the protector had abuſed both the kings maieſtie, and the whole realme, and without that he were taken from the king, & made to vnderſtand his follie, this realme was in a great hazard: and therefore required that the citizens would willinglie aſſent to aid the lords with fiue hundred men: herevnto was none other anſwer made but ſilence. But the recorder (who at that time was a worthie gentleman called maiſter Broke) ſtill cried vpon them for anſwer.

George Stadlow citizen of London maketh anſwer to the recorder of London verie wiſelie and worthilie.

At the laſt ſtepped vp a wiſe and good citizen, named (as maiſter Fox ſaith) George Stadlow, and ſaid thus. In this caſe it is good for vs to thinke of things paſt to auoid the danger of things to come. I remember (ſaith he) in a ſtorie written in Fabians chronicle, of the warre betwéene the king and his barons, which was in the time of king Henrie the third, and the ſame time the barons (as our lords doo now) commanded aid of the maior and citie of London, and that in a rightfull cauſe for the common weale, which was for the execution of diuerſe good lawes, wherevnto the king before had giuen his conſent, and after would not ſuffer them to take place, and the citie did aid the lords. Now it came to an open battell, wherein the lords preuailed, and tooke the king and his ſonne priſoners, and vpon certeine conditions the lords reſtored againe the king and his ſonne to their liberties. And among all other conditions, this was one, that the king ſhould not onelie grant his pardon to the lords, but alſo to the citizens of London, which was granted, yea and the ſame ratified by act of parlement. But what followed?

What it is to fall into the wrath and diſpleaſure of the prince.

The aduiſe of George Stadlow.

Was it forgotten? No ſuerlie, nor yet forgiuen during the kings life. The liberties of the citie were taken awaie, ſtrangers appointed to be our heads and gouernours, the citizens giuen awaie bodie and goods, and from one perſecution to another were moſt miſerablie afflicted: ſuch it is to enter into the wrath of a prince, as Salomon ſaith; The wrath and indignation of a prince is death. Wherefore forſomuch as this aid is required of the kings maieſtie, whoſe voice we ought to hearken vnto (for he is our high ſhepheard) rather than vnto the lords: and yet I would not wiſh the lords to be clearlie ſhaken off, but that they with vs, and we with them may ioine in ſute, and make our moſt humble petition to the kings maieſtie, that it would pleaſe his highneſſe, to heare ſuch complaint againſt the gouernement of the lord protector as may be iuſtlie alledged and prooued. And I doubt not but this matter will be ſo pacified, that neither ſhall the king nor yet the lords haue cauſe to ſéeke for further aid, neither we to offend anie of them both. After this tale the commons ſtaied, and the lord maior & his brethren for that time brake vp, and afterward communed with the lords.

Sir Philip Hobbie ſent to the king by the lords.

The lord protector committed to priſon.

The lords ſat the next daie in councell in the Star chamber, and from thence they ſent ſir Philip Hobbie with their letters of credence to the kings maieſtie, beſéeching his highneſſe to giue credit to that which the ſaid Philip ſhould declare vnto his maieſtie in their names: & the king gaue him libertie to ſpeake, and moſt gentlie heard all that he had to ſaie. And trulie he did ſo wiſelie declare his meſſage, and ſo grauelie told his tale in the name of the lords, yea therewithall ſo vehementlie and gréeuouſlie againſt the protector, who was alſo there preſent by the king, that in the end, the lord protector was commanded from the kings preſence, and ſhortlie was committed to ward in a tower within the caſtell of Windſore called Beauchamps tower. And ſoone after were ſtaied ſir Thomas Smith, ſir Michaell Stanhope, and ſir Iohn Thin knights, maiſter Whalleie, maiſter Fiſher, Woolfe of the priuie chamber, Graie of Reading, and diuers other gentlemen that attended vpon the lord protector. And the ſame daie the lords of the councell came to Windſore to the king, and the next daie they brought from thence the lord protector, and the other that were there ſtaied, and conueied them through the citie of London, with as much wonderment as might be, vnto the tower, where they remained priſoners.

Abr.Fl. ex I.Stow.1044.

The lord protectour committed to the tower.

¶ Touching the manner of the dukes comming to the tower from Windſore, I find that it was on the fouretéenth of October in the after noone, at which time he was brought on horſſebacke through Holburne, in at Newgate, and ſo to the tower of London, accompanied with diuerſe lords and gentlemen with thrée hundred horſſe: the lord maior, ſir Rafe Warren, ſir Iohn Greſham, maiſter recorder, ſir William Locke, and both the ſhiriffes, and other knights, ſitting on their horſſes againſt Soper lane, with all the officers with halberds, and from Holburne bridge to the tower, certeine aldermen or their deputies on horſſebacke in euerie ſtreet, with a number of houſholders ſtanding with billes as he paſſed.] Shortlie after the lords reſorted to the tower, and there charged the protector with ſundrie articles, as followeth.

Articles obiected againſt the *lord protector.*

In primis, you tooke vpon you the office of a protector and gouernour, vpon condition, expreſſelie and ſpeciallie, that you would doo nothing in the kings affaires publikelie or priuatlie, but by the aſſent of the late kings executors.

2 Alſo you, contrarie to the ſaid condition, of your owne authoritie, did ſtaie and let iuſtice, and ſubuerted the lawes, as well by your letters as by your commandements.

3 Alſo you cauſed diuerſe perſons, being arreſted and impriſoned for treaſon, murther, manſlaughter and felonie, to be diſcharged and ſet at large, againſt the kings lawes and ſtatutes of this realme.

4 Alſo you haue made and ordeined lieutenants for the kings armies, and other weightie affaires vnder your owne writing and ſeale.

5 Alſo you haue communed with the ambaſſadors of other realmes, diſcourſing alone with them in the weightie cauſes of this realme.

6 Alſo you haue ſometime rebuked, checked and tawnted, as well priuatlie as openlie, diuerſe of the kings moſt honorable councellors, for ſhewing and declaring their aduiſes and opinions againſt your purpoſes in the kings weightie affaires, ſaieng ſomtimes to them, that you néed not to open matters vnto them, and would therefore be otherwiſe aduiſed: and that you would, if they were not agréeable to your opinion, put them out, and take other at your pleaſure.

7 Alſo you had and held againſt the law in your owne houſe, a court of requeſts, and thereby did inforce diuerſe the kings ſubiects to anſwer for their frée holds and goods, and determined the ſame to the

ſubuerſion of the ſame lawes.

8 Alſo you being no officer, without the aduiſe of the councell, or the more part of them, did diſpoſe of the offices of the kings gift for monie, and granted leaſes and wards of the kings, and gaue preſentations to the kings benefices and biſhopriks, hauing no authoritie ſo to doo. And further, you did meddle with the ſelling of the kings lands.

9 Alſo you commanded multiplication and alcumiſtrie to be practiſed to abuſe the kings coine.

10 Alſo you cauſed a proclamation to be made concerning incloſures, whereby the common people haue made diuerſe inſurrections, and leuied open war, and diſtreined and ſpoiled diuerſe of the kings ſubiects, which proclamation went foorth againſt the will of the whole councell.

11 Alſo you haue cauſed a commiſſion with certeine articles therevnto annexed, to be made out concerning incloſures of commons, high waies, decaieng of cottages, and diuerſe other things, giuing the commiſſioners authoritie to heare and determine the ſame cauſes, to the ſubuerſion of the laws and ſtatutes of this realme: whereby much ſedition, inſurrection, and rebellion haue riſen and growne among the kings ſubiects.

12 Alſo you haue ſuffered the rebels and traitors to aſſemble and to lie in campe and armor againſt the king, his nobles, and gentlemen, without anie ſpéedie ſubduing or repreſſing of them.

13 Alſo you did comfort and incourage diuerſe of the ſaid rebels, by giuing of them diuerſe ſums of your owne monie, and by promiſing to diuerſe of them, fées, rewards, and ſeruices.

14 Alſo you in fauor of the ſaid rebels did againſt the lawes cauſe a proclamation to be made, that none of the ſaid rebels and traitors ſhould be ſued or vexed by anie perſon, for anie their offenſes in the ſaid rebellion, to the cleare ſubuerſion of the ſame lawes.

15 Alſo you haue ſaid in time of the rebellion, that you liked well the dooings and procéedings of the ſaid rebels and traitors, and ſaid that the couetouſneſſe of the gentlemen gaue occaſion to the common people to riſe: ſaieng alſo, that better it is for the commons to die, than periſh for lacke of liuing.

16 Alſo you ſaid that the lords of the parlement were loth to incline themſelues to reformation of incloſures and other things: therefore the people had good cauſe to reforme the things themſelues.

17 Alſo you after the report and declaration of the defaults and lacks reported to you by ſuch as did ſurueie Bullongne and the péeces there, would neuer amend the ſame defaults.

18 Alſo you would not ſuffer the péeces beyond the ſeas, called Newhauen and Blackneſſe, to be furniſhed with men and vittels; although you were aduertiſed of the defaults therein by the capteins of the ſame péeces and others, and were thereto aduertiſed by the kings councell: wherby the French king being the kings open enimie, was incouraged and comforted to win the ſaid péeces, to the kings great loſſe, and diſhonour of his realme.

19 Alſo you declared and publiſhed vntrulie, as well to the kings maieſtie, as other the yong lords attendant vpon his graces perſon, that the lords of the councell at London minded to deſtroie the king, and you required the king neuer to forget it, but to reuenge it: and likewiſe you required the yong lords to put the king in remembrance thereof, to the intent to make ſedition & diſcord betwéene the king and his lords.

20 Alſo where the kings maieſties priuie councell, of their loue and zeale that they did beare vnto the king and his realme, did conſult at London to haue communed with you, to the intent to moue you charitablie to amend your dooings and miſgouernement: you hearing of the ſaid aſſemblie, did cauſe to be declared by letters in diuerſe places the ſaid lords to be high traitors to the king, to the great diſturbance of the realme.

And thus much for theſe troubles of the lord protector, and articles againſt him obiected; to the end (as was doubted) that the ſame ſhould haue coſt him his life. But ſuch was the pleaſure of almightie God, diſpoſing mens hearts as ſéemeth to him beſt, that at length, to wit, the ſixt of Februarie next, he was deliuered; and that night he ſuped at ſir Iohn Yorks one of the ſhiriffes of London, alſo the proclamation before ſet foorth againſt him was reuoked & called in. And thus being againe reſtored, though not to his former office, yet vnto libertie, he continued therein for the ſpace of two yeares and two daies, till new troubles (as after ſhall appeare) chanced to him, which as they were too heauie for him either to caſt off, or carrie awaie; ſo were his loders more readie to aggrauate his burthen, than willing to eaſe him anie waie of the weight. So that this his exaltation & raiſing to dignitie, in reſpect of the ſhort continuance thereof, as alſo for the enuie wherewith it was aſſailed, had béene better not to haue happened, than with ſuch infelicitie in ſo ſhort a time to haue ended. But this fall from honor & aduancement with loſſe of life (than the which nothing more pretious, nothing more delicious) gréeued him the leſſe: bicauſe he might perceiue (as ſome ſuſpected) that rather of enuie than otherwiſe (reſeruing the courſe of Gods iudgement and vengeance to the ſecrecie of his owne counſels) the ſame was deuiſed, proſecuted, & finallie practiſed:

Nam quo quiſque magis pius eſt, ſtudioſior æqui,
Charior & regi, & quo quiſque potentior extat,
Sentiet à prauis ſe tanto odioſius iri
Dente Theonino roſum, quod fortè latenter
Fiet & occultè, linguæ ne ſentiat ictum
Læthalem, donec ſtamen trux Atropos occet,
Et vi Parcarum cœnum voluatur in imum.]

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. 1044, 1045.

K. Edward rode through London.

¶ The ſeuentéenth of October, king Edward came from Hampton court to his place in Southworke, end there dined, and after dinner he made maiſter Yorke one of the ſhiriffes knight, and then rode thorough the citie to Weſtminſter. The lord maior of London for this yeare named ſir Rowland Hill, was a man of great charitie and compaſſion, euident and effectuall teſtimonies whereof he hath left in the world; ſome of whoſe good déeds partlie in his remembrance & partlie for others example are deſeruedlie recorded. This man cauſed to be made a cauſeie, commonlie called Ouerlane pauement in the high waie from Stone to Nantwich, in length foure miles, for horſſe and man, with diuerſe lanes on both ſides the ſame cauſeie. He cauſed likewiſe a cauſeie to be made from Dunchurch to Branſen in Warwikeſhire, more than two miles of length, and gaue twentie pounds in monie towards the making of Roitton bridge, thrée miles from Couentrie. He made the high waie to Bilborne néere to London. He made foure bridges, two of them of ſtone, conteining eightéene arches in them both, the one ouer the riuer of Seuerne, called Achambridge; the other Ternebridge, for that the water of Terne runneth vnder it; the other two of timber at Stoke, and built a good part of Stoke church. He builded one notable frée ſchoole at Draiton in Shropſhire, with maiſter and vſher, and ſufficient ſtipends for them both, beſides conuenient lodgings for the ſame. He alſo purchaſed a frée faire to the ſaid towne, with a frée market wéekelie, & alſo a frée market for cattell euerie

foure-

Charitable déeds of ſir Rowland Hill.

Fréeſchole at Draiton in Shropſhire.

His gift to Chriſts hoſpitall.

fouretéene daies. He gaue to the hoſpitall of Chriſts church in London in his life time fiue hundred pounds in readie monie, and a hundred pounds at his deceaſſe.]

But now to returne to other doings. Whileſt theſe hurls and tumults were in hand, to the danger of the whole ſtate, the wars againſt the Scots were nothing followed, according to the former purpoſed meaning of the councell: ſo that it ſeemed neceſſarie to giue ouer the kéeping of Hadington, the ſame being in déed more chargeable (as was thought) than profitable, ſith the garriſon there could not be vitteled but with a great power to conduct the cariages in ſafetie, the enimies being ſtill readie to take their aduantage to diſtreſſe them vpon anie opportunitie offered. It was therefore reſolued, that the earle of Rutland ſhould go thither to ſée the fortifications raſed, and to conduct from thence the men & ordinance in ſafetie home into England. Héerevpon the ſaid earle with the Almans, and other ſouldiours then remaining on the borders, marched thither, and cauſed the bulworks, rampiers, and trenches to be raſed and filled flat with the ground, and bringing from thence all the men, artillerie and munition, bag and baggage, returned vnto Barwike without incounter, in peaceable and quiet maner.

Hadington raſed.

A parlement.

Shortlie after this, the kings maieſtie called his high court of parlement, which began at Weſtminſter, the foure and twentith daie of Nouember in this third yeare of his reigne, and there continued the ſame vntill the firſt daie of Februarie next following, which was in the beginning of the fourth yeare of his reigne. And among other things there enacted and concluded, one ſtatute was made for the puniſhment of rebels, and vnlawfull aſſemblies: the which law was made by occaſion of the late rebellion that happened in manner through the realme the yeare paſſed, & was not thought nor meant to haue touched anie noble man, ſpeciallie ſuch as the duke of Summerſet was, which after (as it ſhall appeare) it did, and by that ſtatute he was condemned within two yeares next after.

An act for vnlawfull aſſemblies.

Abr.Fl. ex I.Stow.1045.

States created.

¶The ninteenth of Ianuarie, ſir Iohn Ruſſell lord priuie ſeale, was created earle of Bedford: and lord ſaint Iohn Lord great maiſter, was created earle of Wilſhire: and ſir William Paget, comptrollor of the kings houſe, was made lord Paget. On the ſame daie at night, were murthered by ſaint Pulchres church againſt the kings head without Newgate of London two capteins, that had ſerued the king of Bullongne and elſe-where, the one was ſir Peter Gambo, the other Filicirga. Which murther was committed by Charles Gauaro a Flemming, who came poſt from Barwike to doo that act. On the morrow, he with thrée of his companie was taken in Smithfield by the lord Paget, and ſent to Newgate, and the foure and twentith of Ianuarie they were all foure, Charles Gauaro, Balthaſar Gauaro, Nicholas Diſalueron, and Francis Deualaſco, had in a cart to Smithfield. And by the waie at the place where the murther was doone, Charles Gauaro had his right hand ſtriken off on the cart whéele, and then all hanged in Smithfield; who being exhorted to reconcile himſelfe to God and the world by confeſſing his fault, by repenting himſelfe of the offenſe, and aſking forgiueneſſe, that he might with a diſburthened conſcience reſigne his ſoule into the hands of God, obſtinatlie and deſperatlie anſwered, that he would neuer repent him of the déed.]

Peter Gambo and another capteine murthered.

Gauaro and other hanged.

1550

Anno Reg.4.

About the ſame time, monſieur de Thermes that ſuccéeded monſieur de Deſſe in gouernement as generall of the French forces in Scotland, came before Broughticrag, where he did ſo much by batterie & other kinds of inforcement, that giuing an aſſault both with his Frenchmen and certeine Scots ioined with him, the twentith of Februarie, the fort was entered by fine force, and all within it either taken or ſlaine. Sir Iohn Lutterell gouernour of that péece remained priſoner amongſt the Frenchmen. Moreouer, now after the end of the parlement, the earle of Warwike, hauing then higheſt authoritie, and the reſt of the lords of the councell, calling to remembrance how the laſt yeare in the time of rebellion, the French king had entered Bullongnois, and woone diuerſe of the Engliſh forts there, being of great importance for defenſe of the towne and countrie, the default whereof was imputed to the negligent gouernment of the lord protector: and for ſo much as they well vnderſtood that the French king vpon further practiſe had placed a capteine called the Reingraue, with diuerſe regiments of Almaine lancequenets, and certeine enſignes alſo of Frenchmen, to the number of foure or fiue thouſand at the towne of Morguiſon, being the midwaie betwéene Bullongne and Calis, to the great perill and danger as well of the countie of Bollongnois, as al of Calis, Guiſnes, and all the low countrie.

Sir Iohn Lutterell priſoner.

Erle of Warwike in higheſt authoritie.

Morguiſon the midwaie betwéene Bullen and Calis.

The king therefore for the defenſe of the ſaid frontiers, cauſed all the ſtrangers which had ſerued that yeare againſt the rebels, being to the number of two thouſand, to be tranſported ouer the ſea to the marches of Calis. And now at Chriſtmas laſt paſt, by order of the ſaid earle, and of the councellors aforeſaid, Francis earle of Huntington, and ſir Edward Haſtings his brother, ſir Iames Croft, ſir Leonard Chamberleine, and diuerſe other capteins and ſouldiers, to the number of thrée thouſand, were ſet ouer to the marches of Calis, to ioine with the ſaid ſtrangers, minding with as conuenient ſpéed as they might, to remooue the campe, and otherwiſe to annoie the French. But in the meane time through the diligent trauell of certeine perſons, ſpeciallie of one Guidoti an Italian, and a Florentine borne, there was a motion made for a treatie to be had by certeine commiſſioners, appointed betwixt the kings of England and France, for the concluſion of ſome peace, vpon ſuch reaſonable conditions and articles as might be thought expedient for the preſent time; and to ſtand with the honor and commoditie of both the princes.

It is agréed among the lords to infeſt and annoie the French.

This motion tooke ſuch effect, that about the ſeuenth daie of Februarie, certeine commiſſioners, appointed for this treatie, that is to wit, Iohn the earle of Bedford, the lord Paget, ſir William Peter the kings chéefe ſecretarie, and ſir Iohn Maſon, arriued at Calis: by reaſon of whoſe comming, the earle of Huntington, and the armie ſent ouer before for the defenſe of the frontiers were countermanded from anie attempt, ſo that little or nothing was doone in that voiage, ſauing certeine ſkirmiſhes at diuerſe times, not much materiall to be written of. Theſe commiſſioners being thus arriued, paſſed from Calis to Bullongne, there to méet with the commiſſioners appointed for the French king, where as a certeine houſe was newlie erected for the ſaid treatie to be had, which was vpon the ſide of Bullongne hauen next to France, where after diuerſe méetings & conferences of the commiſſioners of either partie, a finall peace was at laſt concluded betwixt both the realmes. But chéeflie among other things, for the reſtitution of Bullongne and Bullongnois to the Frenchmen, which were vpon certeine conditions following.

Commiſſioners ſent to treat of peace.

A peace concluded with France vpon certeine conditions.

Firſt, that the French king ſhould yéeld and paie to the king of England a certeine ſumme of monie, and the ſame to be paid at two paiments, as it was then agréed: and for the ſame ſumme the king of England ſhould render the towne of Bullongne, and all the forts thereto adioining, which he then inioied, with all ſuch artillerie and munition as was there found at the taking of the ſame to the French king. And for the ſure paiment of the ſaid ſums, the French king ſent into England for hoſtages and pledges, the counte de Anguien, Lewes the duke of Vandoſme his brother, the Uidame of Charters, and the duke de Aumale and others. And on S. Markes daie next following, being the fiue and twentith daie of Aprill, about eight of the clocke in the morning, the Engliſhmen did deliuer to the Frenchmen the poſſeſſion of Bullongne, and the caſtels and forts in the countie of Bullognois, according to the agréements and articles of peace afore mentioned. And the fiftéenth daie next following the French king entered into the ſaid towne of Bullongne with trumpets blowne, & with all the roiall triumph that might be, where he offered one great image of ſiluer of our ladie in the church there, which was called our ladie church: the which image he had cauſed ſpeciallie to be made in the honor of the ſaid ladie, and cauſed the ſame to be ſet vp in the place where the like image before did ſtand, the which before was taken awaie by the Engliſhmen at the winning of the towne.

Bullongne giuen vp to the French.

He entereth.

¶ On Candlemaſſe daie, William lord S. John earle of Wilſhire, lord great maiſter, and preſident of the councell, was made lord treaſuror. John Dudleie earle of Warwike, lord great chamberleine, was made lord great maiſter. William Parre marqueſſe of Northampton, was made lord great chamberleine. Lord Wentworth was made lord chamberleine of the houſehold. Sir Anthonie Wingfield capteine of the gard, was made comptrollor of the kings houſe. And ſir Thomas Darcie knight, was made vicechamberleine & capteine of the gard. And the earle of Arundell late lord chamberleine, with the earle of Southampton were put off the councell, and commanded to kéepe their houſes in London. ¶ On the 10 of Februarie, one Bell a Suffolke man was hanged and quartered at Tiburne, for mouing a new rebellion in Suffolke and Eſſex. This time, the lord maior of London and the aldermen purchaſed all the liberties of Southworke, which were in the kings hands.]

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 1046.
New officers created of the nobilitie.

The liberties of Southworke purchaſed.

Soone after the aforeſaid agréement betwéene England and France was concluded, vpon the fore remembred capitulations, bicauſe of ſuſpicion of diſpleaſure and hatred that was thought to remaine betwéene the earle of Warwike and the duke of Summerſet, latelie before deliuered out of the tower, a meane was found that their fréendſhip ſhould be renewed through aliance, and a mariage was concluded betwéene the earle of Warwikes eldeſt ſonne, and the duke of Summerſets eldeſt daughter: the which marriage was ſolemnized at Shene, the king being then preſent. After the ſolemnitie of this marriage, there appeared outwardlie to the world great loue and fréendſhip betwéene the duke and the earle, but by reaſon of carietales and flatterers, the loue continued not long, howbeit manie did verie earneſtlie wiſh loue and amitie to continue betwéene them. ¶ About this time was a new rebellion in Kent, but it was ſoone ſuppreſſed, and certeine of the chiefe were apprehended and put to death, namelie Richard Lion, Goddard Gorram, and Richard Ireland. This yeare was a parlement holden at Weſtminſter, where among other things by the authoritie of the ſaid parlement, prieſts children were made legitimate, and vſurie for the loane of monie forbidden.]

The duke of Summerſet deliuered out of the tower.

A marriage to compoſe ſtrife and eſtabliſh amitie.

Rich. Grafton.
Rebellion in Kent executed.

Prieſts children legitimate.
Uſurie forbidden.

¶ On wedneſdaie in Whitſunwéeke, at a court of aldermen kept at the Guildhall, ſir John Aliffe knight, and maiſter of Blackwell hall, was ſworne alderman of the Bridge ward without, to haue iuriſdiction of the borough of Southworke, and thus was he the firſt alderman that euer was there, who made vp the number of ſix and twentie aldermen of London, whereas before that time had béene but fiue and twentie. Trinitie tearme was adiourned till Michaelmaſſe, for that the gentlemen ſhould kéepe the commons from commotion. The eleuenth of June being S. Barnabies daie, was kept holiedaie all London ouer: and the ſame daie at night, the high altar in Paules church was pulled downe, and a table ſet where the altar ſtood, with a veile drawne beneath the ſteps; and on the ſundaie next a communion was ſoong at the ſame table; and ſhortlie after all the altars in London were taken downe, and tables placed in their roomes. This yeare was no ſuch watch at Midſummer as had béene accuſtomed.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 1047, 1048
Alderman of Southworke.

Terme adiourned.

S. Barnabie kept holie.
High altar in Paules pulled downe.

No watch at Midſummer.

The thirtith of Julie Thomas lord Wriotheſleie erle of Southampton, knight of the garter, and one of the executors to king Henrie the eight, deceaſſed at Lincolne place in Holborne, and was buried in S. Andrewes church there. Sir Andrew Jude for this yeare maior of London, and ſkinner, erected one notable fréeſchoole at Tunbridge in Kent, wherein he brought vp and nouriſhed in learning great ſtore of youth, as well bred in that ſhire, as brought from other countries adioining. A noble act and correſpondent to thoſe that haue béene doone by like worſhipfull men, and other in old time within the ſame citie of London. He alſo builded almeſſe houſes for ſix poore almeſſe people, nigh to the pariſh church of ſaint Helens within Biſhopſgate of London, & gaue land to the companie of the ſkinners in the ſame citie, amounting to the value of thréeſcore pounds thrée ſhillings eight pence the yeare: for the which they be bound to paie twentie pounds to the ſchoolemaiſter, and eight pounds to the vſher of his fréeſchoole at Tunbridge yearelie for euer, and foure ſhillings the wéeke to the ſix poore almeſſe people at S. Helens aforeſaid, eight pence the péece wéekelie, and fiue and twentie ſhillings foure pence the yeare in coles amongſt them for euer.]

Earle of Southampton deceaſſed.

Charitable déeds of Andrew Jude.
Fréeſchoole at Tunbridge.

Almes houſes.

About this time there was at Feuerſham in Kent a gentleman named Arden, moſt cruellie murthered and ſlaine by the procurement of his owne wife. The which murther, for the horribleneſſe thereof, although otherwiſe it may ſéeme to be but a priuate matter, and therefore as it were impertinent to this hiſtorie, I haue thought good to ſet it forth ſomewhat at large, hauing the inſtructions deliuered to me by them, that haue vſed ſome diligence to gather the true vnderſtanding of the circumſtances. This Arden was a man of a tall and comelie perſonage, and matched in marriage with a gentlewoman, yoong, tall, and well fauoured of ſhape and countenance, who chancing to fall in familiaritie with one Moſbie a tailor by occupation, a blacke ſwart man, ſeruant to the lord North, it happened this Moſbie vpon ſome miſliking to fall out with hir: but ſhe being deſirous to be in fauour with him againe, ſent him a paire of ſiluer dice by one Adam Foule dwelling at the Floure de lice in Feuerſham.

1551
Anno Reg. 5.
Arden murthered.

Arden deſcribed.

Loue and luſt.

A paire of ſiluer dice worke much miſchiefe.

After which he reſorted to hir againe, and oftentimes laie in Ardens houſe: in ſomuch that within two yeares after, he obteined ſuch fauour at hir hands, that he laie with hir, or (as they terme it) kept hir, in abuſing hir bodie. And although (as it was ſaid) Arden perceiued right well their mutuall familiaritie to be much greater than their honeſtie, yet bicauſe he would not offend hir, and ſo looſe the benefit which he hoped to gaine at ſome of hir fréends hands in bearing with hir lewdneſſe, which he might haue loſt if he ſhould haue fallen out with hir: he was contented to winke at hir filthie diſorder, and both permitted, and alſo inuited Moſbie verie often

Arden winketh at his wiues lewdneſſe, & why.

to lodge in his houſe. And thus it continued a good ſpace, before anie practiſe was begun by them againſt maiſter Arden. She at length inflamed in loue with Moſbie, and loathing hir husband, wiſhed and after practiſed the meanes how to haſten his end.

Ardens wife attempteth meanes to make awaie hir husband.

There was a painter dwelling in Feuerſham, who had ſkill of poiſons, as was reported. She therefore demanded of him, whether it were true that he had ſuch ſkill in that feat or not? And he denied not but that he had in déed. Yea (ſaid ſhe) but I would haue ſuch a one made, as ſhould haue moſt vehement and ſpéedie operation to diſpatch the eater thereof. That can I doo (quoth he) and forthwith made hir ſuch a one, and willed hir to put it into the bottome of a porrenger, & then after to powre milke on it. Which circumſtance ſhe forgetting, did cleane contrarie, putting in the milke firſt, and afterward the poiſon. Now maiſter Arden purpoſing that daie to ride to Canturburie, his wife brought him his breakefaſt, which was woont to be milke and butter. He hauing receiued a ſpoonefull or two of the milke, miſliked the taſt and colour thereof, and ſaid to his wife; Miſtreſſe Ales what milke haue you giuen me here? Wherewithall ſhe tilted it ouer with hir hand, ſaieng, I wéene nothing can pleaſe you. Then he tooke horſſe and road towards Canturburie, and by the waie fell into extreme purging vpwards and downewards, and ſo eſcaped for that time.

Arden is poiſoned by his wife but recouereth.

After this, his wife fell in acquaintance with one Gréene of Feuerſham, ſeruant to ſir Anthonie Ager, from which Gréene maiſter Arden had wreſted a péece of ground on the backeſide of the abbeie of Feuerſham, and there had blowes and great threats paſſed betwixt them about that matter. Therefore ſhe knowing that Gréene hated hir husband, began to practiſe with him how to make him awaie; and concluded, that if he could get anie that would kill him, he ſhould haue ten pounds for a reward. This Gréene hauing doings for his maſter ſir Anthonie Ager, had occaſion to go vp to London, where his maiſter then laie, and hauing ſome charge vp with him, deſired one Bradſhaw a goldſmith of Feuerſham that was his neighbor, to accompanie him to Grauesend, and he would content him for his pains. This Bradſhaw, being a verie honeſt man, was content, and road with him. And when they came to Rainham downe, they chanced to ſée thrée or foure ſeruingmen that were comming from Léeds: and therewith Bradſhaw eſpied comming vp the hill from Rocheſter, one blacke Will, a terrible cruell ruffian with a ſword and a buckler, and an other with a great ſtaffe on his necke.

She deuiſeth another waie to diſpatch hir husband Arden.

A notorious murthering ruffian.

Then ſaid Bradſhaw to Gréene; We are happie that here commeth ſome companie from Léeds, for here commeth vp againſt vs as murthering a knaue as anie is in England: if it were not for them we might chance hardlie to eſcape without loſſe of our monie and liues. Yea thought Gréene (as he after confeſſed) ſuch a one is for my purpoſe, and therefore aſked; Which is he? Yonder is he quoth Bradſhaw, the ſame that hath the ſword and buckler: his name is blacke Will. How know you that, ſaid Gréene? Bradſhaw anſwered, I knew him at Bullongne, where we both ſerued, he was a ſoldier, and I was ſir Richard Cauendiſhes man, and there he committed manie robberies and heinous murthers on ſuch as trauelled betwixt Bullongne and France.

Marke how the diuell will not let his organs or inſtruments let ſlip either occaſiō or opportunitie to commit moſt heinous wickedneſſe.

By this time the other companie of ſeruingmen came to them, and they going all togither, met with blacke Will and his fellow. The ſeruingmen knew blacke Will, & ſaluting him, demanded of him whither he went? He anſwered; By his bloud (for his vſe was to ſweare almoſt at euerie word) I know not, nor care not, but ſet vp my ſtaffe, and euen as it falleth I go. If thou (quoth they) wilt go backe againe to Grauesend, we will giue thée thy ſupper. By his bloud (ſaid he) I care not, I am content, haue with you: and ſo he returned againe with them. Then blacke Will tooke acquaintance of Bradſhaw, ſaieng; Fellow Bradſhaw how dooſt thou? Bradſhaw vnwilling to renew acquitance, or to haue ought to doo with ſo ſhameles a ruffian, ſaid; Why doo ye know me? Yea that I doo (quoth he) did not we ſerue in Bullongne togither? But ye muſt pardon me (quoth Bradſhaw) for I haue forgotten you.

A deſperat villaine.

An honeſt man is aſhamed to renew old acquaintance with a knaue.

Then Gréene talked with blacke Will, and ſaid; When ye haue ſupped, come to mine hoſts houſe at ſuch a ſigne, and I will giue you the ſacke and ſugar. By his bloud (ſaid he) I thanke you, I will come and take it I warrant you. According to his promiſe he came, and there they made good cheare. Then blacke Will & Gréene went and talked apart from Bradſhaw, and there concluded togither, that if he would kill maſter Arden, he ſhould haue ten pounds for his labor. Then he anſwered, By his wounds that I will if I maie know him. Marie to morrow in Poules I will ſhew him thée, ſaid Gréene. Then they left their talke, & Gréene bad him go home to his hoſts houſe. Then Gréene wrote a letter to miſtreſſe Arden, & among other things put in theſe words: We haue got a man for our purpoſe, we maie thanke my brother Bradſhaw. Now Bradſhaw not knowing anie thing of this, tooke the letter of him, and in the morning departed home againe, and deliuered the letter to miſtreſſe Arden, and Gréene & blacke Will went vp to London at the tide.

The match made to murther Arden.

Simplicitie abuſed.

At the time appointed, Gréene ſhewed blacke Will maiſter Arden walking in Poules. Then ſaid blacke Will, What is he that goeth after him? Marie ſaid Gréen, one of his men. By his bloud (ſaid blacke Will) I will kill them both. Naie (ſaid Gréene) doo not ſo, for he is of counſell with vs in this matter. By his bloud (ſaid he) I care not for that, I will kill them both. Naie ſaid Gréene in anie wiſe doo not ſo. Then blacke Will thought to haue killed maiſter Arden in Poules churchyard, but there were ſo manie gentlemen that accompanied him to dinner, that he miſſed of his purpoſe. Gréene ſhewed all this talke to maiſter Ardens man, whoſe name was Michaell, which euer after ſtood in doubt of blacke Will, leſt he ſhould kill him. The cauſe that this Michaell conſpired with the reſt againſt his maiſter, was: for that it was determined, that he ſhould marrie a kinſwoman of Moſbies.

Blacke will maketh no conſcience of bloudſhed and murther.

Why Ardens man conſpired with the reſt to kill his maiſter.

After this, maiſter Arden laie at a certeine parſonage which he held in London, and therefore his man Michaell and Gréene agréed, that blacke Will ſhould come in the night to the parſonage, where he ſhould find the doores left open, that he might come in and murther maiſter Arden. This Michaell hauing his maiſter to bed, left open the doores according to the appointment. His maiſter then being in bed, aſked him if he had ſhut faſt the doores, and hée ſaid yea: but yet afterwards, fearing leaſt blacke Will would kill him as well as his maiſter, after he was in bed himſelfe, he roſe againe and ſhut the doores, bolting them faſt. So that blacke Will comming thither, and finding the doores ſhut, departed, being diſappointed at that time. The next daie blacke Will came to Gréene in a great chafe, ſwearing and ſtaring bicauſe he was ſo deceiued, and with manie terrible oths threatened to kill maiſter Ardens man firſt, whereſoeuer he met him. No (ſaid Gréene) doo not ſo, I will firſt know the cauſe of ſhutting the doores.

One murthering mind miſtruſting another, do hinder the action whereabout they agréed.

Then Gréene met and talked with Ardens man, and aſked of him, why he did not leaue open the doores, according to his promiſe? Marie (ſaid Michaell) I

The fourth attempt to make Arden awaie diſappointed.

will ſhew you the cauſe. My maiſter yeſternight did that he neuer did before: for after I was in bed, hée roſe vp and ſhut the doores, and in the morning rated me for leauing them vnſhut. And herewith Gréene & blacke Will were pacified. Arden being redie to go homewards, his maid came to Gréene & ſaid; This night will my maiſter go downe. Wherevpon it was agréed that blacke Will ſhould kill him on Reinam downe. When maiſter Arden came to Rocheſter, his man ſtill fearing that blacke Will would kill him with his maiſter, pricked his horſſe of purpoſe, and made him to halt, to the end he might protract the time, and tarie behind. His maiſter asked him whie his horſſe halted, he ſaid, I know not. Well (quoth his maiſter) when ye come at the ſmith here before (betwéene Rocheſter and the hill foot ouer againſt Chéetam) remooue his ſhoo, and ſearch him, and then come after me. So maiſter Arden rode on: and yer he came at the place where blacke Will laie in wait for him, there ouertooke him diuerſe gentlemen of his acquaintance, who kept him companie: ſo that blacke Will miſt here alſo of his purpoſe.

Blacke will miſſeth his purpoſe.

After that maiſter Arden was come home, hée ſent (as he vſuallie did) his man to Shepeie to ſir Thomas Cheinie, then lord warden of the cinque ports, about certeine buſineſſe, and at his comming awaie, he had a letter deliuered ſent by ſir Thomas Cheinie to his maiſter. When he came home, his miſtreſſe tooke the letter and kept it, willing hir man to tell his maiſter, that he had a letter deliuered him by ſir Thomas Cheinie, and that he had loſt it; adding that he thought it beſt that his maiſter ſhould go the next morning to ſir Thomas, bicauſe he knew not the matter: he ſaid he would, and therefore he willed his man to be ſtirring betimes. In this meane while, blacke Will, and one George Shakebag his companion, were kept in a ſtorehouſe of ſir Anthonie Agers at Preſton, by Gréenes appointment: and thither came miſtreſſe Arden to ſée him, bringing and ſending him meat and drinke manie times. He therfore lurking there, and watching ſome opportunitie for his purpoſe, was willed in anie wiſe to be vp earlie in the morning, to lie in wait for maiſter Arden in a certeine broome cloſe, betwixt Feuerſham & the ferrie (which cloſe he muſt néeds paſſe) there to doo his feat. Now blacke Will ſtirred in the morning betimes, but miſt the waie, & taried in a wrong place.

Ardens wife viſiteth, ſuccoureth, emboldneth, and directeth black Will &c: how to accompliſh his bloudie purpoſe.

Maiſter Arden & his man comming on their waie earlie in the morning towards Shornelan, where ſir Thomas Cheinie laie: as they were almoſt come to the broome cloſe, his man alwaies fearing that blacke Will would kill him with his maiſter, feined that he had loſt his purſſe; Why ſaid his maiſter, thou fooliſh knaue, couldſt thou not looke to thy purſſe but looſe it? What was in it? Thrée pounds ſaid he. Why then go thy waies backe againe like a knaue (ſaid his maiſter) and ſéeke it, for being ſo earlie as it is, there is no man ſtirring, and therefore thou maiſt be ſure to find it, and then come and ouertake me at the ferrie. But neuertheleſſe, by reaſon that blacke Will loſt his way, maiſter Arden eſcaped yet once againe. At that time, blacke Will yet thought hée ſhould haue béene ſure to haue met him homewards: but whether that ſome of the lord wardens men accompanied him backe to Feuerſham, or that being in doubt, for that it was late to go through the broome cloſe, and therfore tooke another waie, blacke Will was diſappointed then alſo.

Note here the force of feare and a troubled conſcience.

Blacke will yet againe diſappointed.

But now ſaint Valentines faire being at hand, the conſpirators thought to diſpatch their diueliſh intention at that time. Moſbie minded to picke ſome quarrell to maiſter Arden at the faire to fight with him; for he ſaid he could not find in his heart to murther a gentleman in that ſort as his wife wiſhed: although ſhe had made a ſolemne promiſe to him, and he againe to hir, to be in all points as man and wife togither, and therevpon they both receiued the ſacrament on a ſundaie at London, openlie in a church there. But this deuiſe to fight with him would not ſerue, for maiſter Arden both then and at other times had béene greatlie prouoked by Moſbie to fight with him, but he would not. Now Moſbie had a ſiſter that dwelt in a tenement of maiſter Ardens néere to his houſe in Feuerſham: and on the faire éeuen, blacke Will was ſent for to come thither, and Gréene bringing him thither, met there with miſtreſſe Arden, accompanied with Michaell hir man, and one of hir maids. There were alſo Moſbie and George Shakebag, and there they deuiſed to haue killed him in maner as afterwards he was. But yet Moſbie at the firſt would not agrée to that cowardlie murthering of him, but in a furie flong awaie, and went vp the abbeie ſtréet toward the flower de lice, the houſe of the aforenamed Adam Foule, where he did often hoſt. But before he came thither now at this time, a meſſenger ouertooke him, that was ſent from miſtres Arden, deſiring him of all loues to come backe againe to helpe to accompliſh the mater he knew of. Herevpon he returned to hir againe, and at his comming backe, ſhe fell downe vpon hir knées to him, and beſought him to go through with the matter, as if he loued hir he would be content to doo, ſith as ſhée had diuerſe times told him, he néeded not to doubt, for there was not anie that would care for his death, nor make anie great inquirie for them that ſhould diſpatch him.

A prepenſed quarrel againſt Arden by the conſpirators.

Ardens wife, blacke will, & the knot of vilans méet and conclude vpon their former prepenſed miſchiefe.

O importunate & bloudie minded ſtrumpet!

Thus ſhe being earneſt with him, at length hée was contented to agrée vnto that horrible deuiſe, and therevpon they conueied blacke Will into maiſter Ardens houſe, putting him into a cloſet at the end of his parlour. Before this, they had ſent out of the houſe all the ſeruants, thoſe excepted which were priuie to the deuiſed murther. Then went Moſbie to the doore, and there ſtood in a night gowne of ſilke girded about him, and this was betwixt ſix and ſeuen of the clocke at night. Maſter Arden hauing béene at a neighbors houſe of his, named Dumpkin, & hauing cleared certeine reckonings betwixt them, came home: and finding Moſbie ſtanding at the doore, asked him if it were ſupper time? I thinke not (quoth Moſbie) it is not yet readie. Then let vs go and plaie a game at the tables in the meane ſeaſon, ſaid maiſter Arden. And ſo they went ſtreight into the parlor: and as they came by through the hall, his wife was walking there, and maiſter Arden ſaid; How now miſtreſſe Ales? But ſhe made ſmall anſwer to him. In the meane time one cheined the wicket doore of the entrie. When they came into the parlor, Moſbie ſat downe on the bench, hauing his face toward the place where blacke Will ſtood. Then Michaell maiſter Ardens man ſtood at his maſters backe, holding a candle in his hand, to ſhadow blacke Will, that Arden might by no meanes perceiue him comming forth. In their plaie Moſbie ſaid thus (which ſéemed to be the watchword for blacke Wils comming forth) Now maie I take you ſir if I will. Take me (quoth maiſter Arden) which waie? With that blacke Will ſtept forth, and caſt a towell about his necke, ſo to ſtop his breath and ſtrangle him. Then Moſbie hauing at his girdle a preſſing iron of fourtéene pounds weight, ſtroke him on the hed with the ſame, ſo that he fell downe, and gaue a great grone, inſomuch that they thought he had béene killed.

The practiſe to kill Arden is now ſet abroch.

Here the confederats ioine their practiſes.

The watchword to the principall murtherer.

Then they bare him awaie, to laie him in the counting houſe, & as they were about to laie him downe, the pangs of death comming on him, he gaue a great grone, and ſtretched himſelfe, and then blacke Will gaue him a great gaſh in the face, and ſo kil-

Arden ſlaine outright.

led him out of hand, laid him along, tooke the monie out of his purſſe, and the rings from his fingers, and then comming out of the counting houſe, ſaid; Now the feat is doone, giue me my monie. So miſtres Arden gaue him ten pounds: and he comming to Gréene, had a horſſe of him, and ſo rode his waies. After that blacke Will was gone, miſtreſſe Arden came into the counting houſe, and with a knife gaue him ſeuen or eight picks into the breſt. Then they made cléene the parlor, tooke a clout, and wiped where it was bloudie, and ſtrewed againe the ruſhes that were ſhuffled with ſtrugling, and caſt the clout with which they wiped the bloud, and the knife that was bloudie, wherewith ſhe had wounded hir huſband, into a tub by the wels ſide; where afterwards both the ſame clout and knife were found. Thus this wicked woman, with hir complices, moſt ſhamefullie murdered hir owne huſband, who moſt entirelie loued hir all his life time. Then ſhe ſent for two Londoners to ſupper, the one named Prune, and the other Cole, that were groſers, which before the murder was committed, were bidden to ſupper. When they came, ſhe ſaid: I maruell where maiſter Arden is; we will not tarie for him, come ye and ſit downe, for he will not be long. Then Moſbies ſiſter was ſent for, ſhe came and ſat downe, and ſo they were merie.

Blacke will receiueth ten pounds for his reward of Ardens wife, for murdering hir huſband.

Marke what a countenance of innocencie and ignorance ſhe bore after the murdering of hir huſband.

After ſupper, miſtres Arden cauſed hir daughter to plaie on the virginals, and they danſed, and ſhe with them, and ſo ſéemed to protract time as it were, till maiſter Arden ſhould come, and ſhe ſaid, I maruell where he is ſo long; well, he will come anon I am ſure, I praie you in the meane while let vs plaie a game at the tables. But the Londoners ſaid, they muſt go to their hoſts houſe, or elſe they ſhould be ſhut out at doores, and ſo taking their leaue, departed. When they were gone, the ſeruants that were not priuie to the murder, were ſent abroad into the towne; ſome to ſéeke their maiſter, and ſome of other errands, all ſauing Michaell and a maid, Moſbies ſiſter, and one of miſtres Ardens owne daughters. Then they tooke the dead bodie, and caried it out, to laie it in a field next to the church-yard, and ioining to his garden wall, through the which he went to the church. In the meane time it began to ſnow, and when they came to the garden gate, they remembred that they had forgotten the kaie, and one went in for it, and finding it, at length brought it, opened the gate, and caried the corps into the ſame field, as it were ten paſes from the garden gate, and laid him downe on his backe ſtreight in his night gowne, with his ſlippers on: and betwéene one of his ſlippers and his foot, a long ruſh or two remained. When they had thus laid him downe, they returned the ſame way they came through the garden into the houſe.

The workers of this miſchiefe carie out Arden ſlaine into the field.

This ſhe did to colour hir wickedneſſe which by no meanes was excuſable.

They being returned thus backe againe into the houſe, the doores were opened, and the ſeruants returned home that had béene ſent abroad: and being now verie late, ſhe ſent foorth hir folks againe to make inquirie for him in diuerſe places; namelie, among the beſt in the towne where he was woont to be, who made anſwer, that they could tell nothing of him. Then ſhe began to make an outcrie, and ſaid; Neuer woman had ſuch neighbors as I haue, and herewith wept: in ſomuch that hir neighbors came in, and found hir making great lamentation, pretending to maruell what was become of hir huſband. Wherevpon, the maior and others came to make ſearch for him. The faire was woont to be kept partlie in the towne, and partlie in the abbeie; but Arden for his owne priuat lucre ⁊ couetous gaine had this preſent yeare procured it to be wholie kept within the abbeie ground which he had purchaſed; ⁊ ſo reaping all the gaines to himſelfe, and bereauing the towne of that portion which was woont to come to the inhabitants, got manie a bitter curſſe. The maior going about the faire in this ſearch, at length came to the ground where Arden laie: and as it happened, Prune the groſer getting ſight of him, firſt ſaid; Staie, for me thinke I ſée one lie here. And ſo they looking and beholding the bodie, found that it was maiſter Arden, lieng there throughlie dead, and viewing diligentlie the maner of his bodie ⁊ hurts, found the ruſhes ſticking in his ſlippers, and marking further, eſpied certeine footſteps, by reaſon of the ſnow, betwixt the place where he laie, and the garden doore.

Arden a couetous man and a preferrer of his priuat profit before common gaine.

Ardens dead bodie is deſcried by one of his acquaintance.

Then the maior commanded euerie man to ſtaie, and herewith appointed ſome to go about, ⁊ to come in at the inner ſide of the houſe through the garden as the waie laie, to the place where maiſter Ardens dead bodie did lie; who all the waie as they came, perceiued footings ſtill before them in the ſnow: and ſo it appeared plainlie that he was brought along that waie from the houſe through the garden, and ſo into the field where he laie. Then the maior and his companie that were with him went into the houſe, and knowing hir euill demeanor in times paſt, examined hir of the matter: but ſhe defied them and ſaid, I would you ſhould know I am no ſuch woman. Then they examined hir ſeruants, and in the examination, by reaſon of a péece of his heare and bloud found néere to the houſe in the waie, by the which they caried him foorth, and likewiſe by the knife with which ſhe had thruſt him into the breſt, and the clout wherewith they wiped the bloud awaie which they found in the tub, into the which the ſame were throwen; they all confeſſed the matter, and hir ſelfe beholding hir huſbands bloud, ſaid; Oh the bloud of God helpe, for this bloud haue I ſhed.

Footſteps all alongſt from the dead bodie of Arden to his dwelling houſe.

A péece of Ardens heare and his bloud ſpilt in the houſe eſpied, as alſo a bloudie knife and a clout found.

Then were they all attached, and committed to priſon, and the maior with others went preſentlie to the flower de lice, where they found Moſbie in bed: and as they came towards him, they eſpied his hoſe and purſſe ſtained with ſome of maiſter Ardens bloud. And when he aſked what they meant by their comming in ſuch ſort, they ſaid; Sée, here ye may vnderſtand wherefore, by theſe tokens, ſhewing him the bloud on his hoſe and purſſe. Then he confeſſed the déed, and ſo he and all the other that had conſpired the murder, were apprehended and laid in priſon, except Gréene, blacke Will, and the painter, which painter and George Shakebag, that was alſo fled before, were neuer heard of. Shortlie were the ſeſſions kept at Feuerſham, where all the priſoners were arreigned and condemned. And therevpon being examined whither they had anie other complices, miſtres Arden accuſed Bradſhaw, vpon occaſion of the letter ſent by Gréene from Graues end, (as before ye haue heard) which words had none other meaning, but onelie by Bradſhaws deſcribing of blacke Wils qualities; Gréene iudged him a méete inſtrument for the execution of their pretended murder. Whereto notwithſtanding (as Gréene confeſſed at his death certeine yeares after) this Bradſhaw was neuer made priuie; howbeit, he was vpon this accuſation of miſtres Arden, immediatlie ſent for to the ſeſſions, and indicted, and declaration made againſt him, as a procurer of blacke Will to kill maiſter Arden, which procéeded wholie by miſunderſtanding of the words conteined in the letter which he brought from Gréene.

Some of Ardens bloud vpon Moſbies purſſe.

The principals of this murder fled awaie.

Bradſhaw as vniuſtlie accuſed, as his ſimplicitie was ſhamefullie abuſed.

Then he deſired to talke with the perſons condemned, and his requeſt was granted. He therefore demanded of them if they knew him, or euer had anie conuerſation with him, ⁊ they all ſaid no. Then the letter being ſhewed and read, he declared the verie

Innocencie no barre againſt execution.

Note how theſe malefactors ſuffered puniſhment.

Blacke will burnt at Fliſhing.

rie truth of the matter, and vpon what occaſion he told Greene of blacke Will: neuertheleſſe, he was condemned, and ſuffered. Theſe condemned perſons were diuerſlie executed in ſundrie places, for Michaell maiſter Ardens man was hanged in chaines at Feuerſham, and one of the maids was burnt there, pitifullie bewailing hir caſe, and cried out on hir miſtres that had brought hir to this end, for the which ſhe would neuer forgiue hir. Moſbie & his ſiſter were hanged in Smithfield at London; miſtres Arden was burned at Canturburie the foure and twentith of March. Greene came againe certeine yeares after, was apprehended, condemned, & hanged in chaines in the high waie betwixt Oſpring & Boughton againſt Feuerſham; blacke Will was burnt on a ſcaffold at Fliſhing in Zeland. Adam Foule that dwelt at the floure de lice in Feuerſham was brought into trouble about this matter, and caried vp to London, with his legs bound vnder the horſſe bellie, and committed to priſon in the Marſhalſeie: for that Moſbie was heard to ſaie; Had it not beene for Adam Foule, I had not come to this trouble: meaning that the bringing of the ſiluer dice for a token to him from miſtreſſe Arden, as ye haue heard, occaſioned him to renew familiaritie with hir againe. But when the matter was throughlie ripped vp, & that Moſbie had cleered him, proteſting that he was neuer of knowledge in anie behalfe to the murder, the mans innocencie preſerued him.

A wonder touching the print of Ardens dead bodie two yeares after he was ſlaine.

God heareth the teares of the oppreſſed and taketh vengeance: note an example in Arden.

This one thing ſeemeth verie ſtrange and notable, touching maiſter Arden, that in the place where he was laid, being dead, all the proportion of his bodie might be ſeene two yeares after and more, ſo plaine as could be, for the graſſe did not grow where his bodie had touched: but betweene his legs, betweene his armes, and about the hollowneſſe of his necke, and round about his bodie, and where his legs, armes, head, or anie other part of his bodie had touched, no graſſe growed at all of all that time. So that manie ſtrangers came in that meane time, beſide the towneſmen, to ſee the print of his bodie there on the ground in that field. Which field he had (as ſome haue reported) moſt cruellie taken from a woman, that had beene a widow to one Cooke, and after maried to one Richard Read a mariner, to the great hinderance of hir and hir huſband the ſaid Read: for they had long inioied it by a leaſe, which they had of it for manie yeares, not then expired: neuertheleſſe, he got it from them. For the which, the ſaid Reads wife not onelie exclaimed againſt him, in ſheading manie a ſalt teere, but alſo curſſed him moſt bitterlie euen to his face, wiſhing manie a vengeance to light vpon him, and that all the world might wonder on him. Which was thought then to come to paſſe, when he was thus murdered, and laie in that field from midnight till the morning: and ſo all that daie, being the faire daie till night, all the which daie there were manie hundreds of people came woondering about him. And thus far touching this horrible and heinous murder of maiſter Arden. To returne then where we left.

A parlement.

Booke of common praier confirmed.

About this time the kings maieſtie calling his high court of parlement, held the ſame at Weſtminſter the three and twentith daie of Ianuarie, in this fift yeere of his reigne, and there continued it, vntill the fifteenth daie of Aprill in the ſixt yeare of his ſaid reigne. In this parlement the booke of common praier, which in ſome part had beene corrected and amended, was newlie confirmed & eſtabliſhed.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 1049. Sweating ſickneſſe.

John Caius.

Of this ſweat died Henrie & Charles ſons of Charles Brandon, the elder firſt, and the yonger after: ſo that they both died dukes of Suffolke.

¶ In the end of this parlement, namelie the fifteenth of Aprill the infectious ſweating ſickneſſe began at Shreweſburie, which ended not in the north part of England vntill the end of September. In this ſpace what number died, it cannot be well accounted: but certeine it is, that in London in few daies nine hundred and ſixtie gaue vp the ghoſt. It began in London the ninth of Iulie, and the twelfth of Iulie it was moſt vehement: which was ſo terrible, that people being in beſt helth, were ſuddenlie taken, and dead in foure and twentie houres, and twelue, or leſſe, for lacke of ſkill in guiding them in their ſweat. And it is to be noted, that this mortalitie fell cheeflie or rather vpon men, and thoſe alſo of the beſt age, as betweene thirtie & fortie yeers. The ſpeedie riddance of life procured by this ſicknes, did ſo terrifie people of all ſorts, that ſuch as could make ſhift, either with monie or freendſhip, changed their ſoile, and leauing places of concourſe, betooke them (for the time) to abodes, though not altogither ſolitarie, yet leſſe frequented: to conclude, manifold meanes were made for ſafetie of life. The firſt weeke died in London eight hundred perſons.

Rich. Grafton.

Remedie againſt the danger of the ſweating ſickneſſe.

The imbaſing of the coine.

Two baſes of monie.

The manner of this ſweat was ſuch, that if men did take anie cold outwardlie, it ſtroke the ſweat in, and immediatlie killed them. If they were ſuffered to ſleepe, commonlie they ſwooned in their ſleepe and departed, or elſe died immediatlie vpon their waking. But the waie to eſcape danger was cloſe keeping moderatlie with ſome aire and a little drinke, and the ſame to be poſſet-ale, and ſo to keepe them thirtie houres, & then was the danger paſt; but beware of ſudden cold. Before men had learned the manner of keeping, an infinit number periſhed. This diſeaſe at that time followed Engliſhmen & none other nation; for in Antwerpe and other countries, our Engliſhmen being there amongſt diuerſe other nations, onelie our Engliſhmen were ſicke thereof, and none other perſons. The conſideration of which thing made this nation much afraid thereof, who for the time began to repent and giue almes, and to remember God from whom that plague might well ſeeme to be ſent among vs. But as the diſeaſe in time ceaſed, ſo our deuotion in ſhort time decaied.] At this time alſo the king with the aduiſe of his priuie councell, and hauing alſo great conference with merchants and others, perceiuing that by ſuch coins and copper monies, as had beene coined in the time of the king his father, and now were commonlie currant in the realme; and indeed a great number of them not worth halfe the value that they were currant at, to the great diſhonor of the kings maieſtie & the realme, and to the deceit & no little hinderance of all the kings maieſties good ſubiects, did now purpoſe not onelie the abaſing of the ſaid copper monies, but alſo meant wholie to reduce them into bullion, to the intent to deliuer fine and good monies for them. And therefore in the moneth of Iulie by his graces proclamation, he abaſed the peece of twelue pence, commonlie called a teſton vnto nine pence, and the peece of foure pence vnto three pence. And in Auguſt next following, the peece of nine pence was abaſed to ſix pence, and the peece of three pence vnto two pence, and the pennie to an halfepennie.

Creation of honorable eſtates.

I.S. pag. 1050.

The duke of Summerſet againe apprehended, and committed to the tower.

On the eleuenth daie of October, there was a great creation of dukes and earles, as the lord marqueſſe Dorſet was created duke of Suffolke, the earle of Warwike made duke of Northumberland, and the earle of Wilſhire made marqueſſe of Wincheſter, & ſir William Herbert maiſter of the horſſe; he alſo made William Cicill his ſecretarie knight, maiſter Iohn Cheeke one of his ſchoolemaiſters knight, maiſter Henrie Dudlie knight, & maiſter Henrie Neuill knight. The ſixteenth daie of the ſaid moneth being fridaie, the duke of Summerſet was againe apprehended, & his wife alſo, & committed to the tower; with him alſo were cōmitted ſir Michaell

Stanhope,

The duke arreigned both of treaſon and felonie.

The people ſuppoſing the duke to be cléere, gaue a great ſhowt for ioie.

Stanhope, ſir Thomas Arundell, ſir Raſe Vane, ſir Miles Partrige & other for ſuſpicion of treaſon and felonie, whereof they were all ſhortlie after indicted. And ſo ſtanding indicted, the ſecond daie of December next following, the ſaid duke was brought out of the tower of London with the ax of the tower borne before him, with a great number of billes, gleaues, halberds & pollaxes attending vpon him, & ſo came into Weſtminſter hall, where was made in the middle of the hall a new ſcaffold, where all the lords of the kings councell ſate as his iudges: and there was he arreigned and charged with manie articles both of felonie and treaſon. And when after much mild ſpéech he had anſwered not guiltie, he in all humble manner put himſelfe to be tried by his péeres: who after long conſultation among themſelues, gaue their verdict that he was not guiltie of the treaſon, but of the felonie. The people there preſent (which was a great number) hearing the lords ſaie not guiltie, which was to the treaſon, thinking moſt certeinlie that he was cléerelie acquited; and chieflie for that immediatlie vpon the pronouncing of thoſe words, he that caried the ax of the tower departed with the ax, they made ſuch an outcrie and ioie, as the like hath not béene heard. Which was an euident declaration of their good willes and hartie fauors vnto him, whoſe life they greatlie deſired to haue ſaued, for that he had deſerued right well of moſt (though the good gentleman had ſome priuat enimies) and had béene as a man maie iuſtlie ſaie:

Solamen magnum patriæ, ſolamen amicis.

The duke condemned to die for felonie.

But neuertheleſſe, he was condemned to the death, whereof ſhortlie after he taſted. The felonie that he was condemned of, was vpon the ſtatute made the laſt yeare againſt rebelles, and vnlawfull aſſemblies, wherein amongſt other things is one branch, that whoſoeuer ſhall procure the death of anie councellor, that euerie ſuch attempt or procurement ſhall be felonie. And by force of that ſtatute, the duke of Summerſet, being accompanied with certeine others, was charged that he purpoſed and attempted the death of the duke of Northumberland, the lord marqueſſe, the lord of Penbroke, and others of the priuie councell, which by ſtatute was felonie.

The duke of Summerſet condemned returneth to the tower.

The people murmur at the dukes condemnatiõ.

Policie.

George Ferrers maiſter of the kings paſtimes.

After the duke was thus condemned, he was againe returned to the tower, and landed at the crane of the vinetrée, and ſo paſſed through London, where were both exclamations: the one cried for ioie that he was acquitted, the other cried out that he was condemned. But howſoeuer they cried, he was conueied to the tower of London, where he remained vntill the two and twentith daie of Ianuarie next folowing. The duke being condemned (as is aforeſaid) the people ſpake diuerſlie, and murmured againſt the duke of Northumberland, and againſt ſome other of the lords, for the condemnation of the ſaid duke: and alſo (as the common fame went) the kings maieſtie tooke it not in good part. Wherefore as well to remooue fond talke out of mens mouths, as alſo to recreat and refreſh the troubled ſpirits of the yoong king; who (as ſaith Grafton) ſéemed to take the trouble of his vncle ſomewhat heauilie: it was deuiſed, that the feaſt of Chriſts natiuitie, commonlie called Chriſtmaſſe then at hand, ſhould be ſolemnlie kept at Gréenwich with open houſhold, and franke reſort to court (which is called kéeping of the hall) what time of old ordinarie courſe there is alwaies one appointed to make ſport in the court, called commonlie lord of miſrule: whoſe office is not vnknowne to ſuch as haue béene brought vp in noble mens houſes, and among great houſe-kéepers, which vſe liberall feaſting in that ſeaſon. There was therefore by order of the councell, a wiſe gentleman & learned named George Ferrers, appointed to that office for this yeare; who being of better credit & eſtimation than cõmonlie his predeceſſors had béene before, receiued all his commiſſions and warrants by the name of the maiſter of the kings paſtimes. Which gentleman ſo well ſupplied his office, both in ſhew of ſundrie ſights and deuiſes of rare inuentions, and in act of diuerſe interludes, and matters of paſtime plaied by perſons, as not onelie ſatiſfied the common ſort, but alſo were verie well liked and allowed by the councell, and other of ſkill in the like paſtimes: but beſt of all by the yoong king himſelfe, as appéered by his princelie liberalitie in rewarding that ſeruice.

Abr. Fl. ex I. Stow 1055.

The ſhiriffes lord of miſrule.

¶ On mondaie the fourth of Ianuarie, the ſaid lord of merie diſports came by water to London, and landed at the tower wharffe, entred the tower, and then rode through tower ſtréet, where he was receiued by Vauſe lord of miſrule to Iohn Mainard one of the ſhiriffes of London, and ſo conducted through the citie with a great companie of yoong lords & gentlemen to the houſe of ſir George Barne lord maior, where he with the chéefe of his companie dined, and after had a great banket: and at his departure, the lord maior gaue him a ſtanding cup with a couer of ſiluer and guilt of the value of ten pounds for a reward, and alſo ſet a hogſhed of wine, and a barrell of béere at his gate, for his traine that followed him. The reſidue of his gentlemen & ſeruants dined at other aldermens houſes, and with the ſhiriffes, and then departed to the tower wharffe againe, & ſo to the court by water, to the great commendation of the maior and aldermen, and highlie accepted of the king and councell.]

1552

The executiõ of the duke of Summerſet.

This Chriſtmas being thus paſſed and ſpent with much mirth and paſtime, wherewith the minds and eares of murmurers were méetlie well appeaſed, according to a former determination as the ſequele ſhewed: it was thought now good to procéed to the execution of the iudgement giuen againſt the duke of Summerſet, touching his conuiction & atteindor of the fellonie before mentioned. Whervpon, the two and twentith daie of Ianuarie, then next following being fridaie, he was brought out of the tower, and according to the manner, deliuered to the ſhiriffes of London; and ſo with a great companie of the gard & others with weapons, was brought to the ſcaffold where he ſhould ſuffer, without changing either voice or countenance, other than he was accuſtomed to vſe at other times.

Meanes to reſtraine the multitude from the dukes execution.

Iohn Fox. The dukes behauiour at his death.

The ſame morning earelie, the coneſtables of euerie ward in London (according to a precept directed from the councell to the maior) ſtrictlie charged euerie houſhold of the ſame citie, not to depart anie of them out of their houſes, before ten of the clocke of that daie: meaning thereby to reſtreine the great number of people that otherwiſe were like to haue béen at the ſaid execution. Notwithſtanding, by ſeauen of the clocke, the tower hill was couered with a great multitude, repairing from all parts of the citie, as well as out of the ſuburbs. And before eight of the clocke, the duke was brought to the ſcaffold, incloſed with the kings gard, the ſhiriffes officers, the warders of the tower, & other with halberds: whereas he nothing changing neither voice nor countenance, but in a maner with the ſame geſture which he commonlie vſed at home, knéeling downe vpon both his knées, and lifting vp his hands, commended himſelfe vnto God. After he had ended a few ſhort praiers, ſtanding vp againe, and turning himſelfe toward the eaſt ſide of the ſcaffold, nothing at all abaſhed (as it ſéemed vnto thoſe that ſtood by) neither with the ſight of the ax, neither yet of the hangman, nor of preſent death, but with the like alacritie and chéerefulneſſe of mind and countenance as before times.

times he was accuſtomed to heare the cauſes & ſupplications of other, & ſpeciallie of the poore (towards whome as it were with a certeine fatherlie loue to his children he alwaies ſhewed himſelfe moſt attentiue) he vttered theſe words to the people.

The words of the duke of Summerſet *at his death.*

DEerelie beloued friends, I am brought hither to ſuffer death, albeit I neuer offended againſt the king, neither by word nor deed, and haue beene alwaies as faithfull and true vnto this realme, as anie man hath beene. But forſomuch as I am by law condemned to die, I doo acknowledge my ſelfe as well as others, to be ſubiect thereunto. Wherefore to teſtifie mine obedience which I owe vnto the lawes, I am come hither to ſuffer death, whereunto I willinglie offer my ſelfe with moſt hartie thanks vnto God, that hath giuen me this time of repentance, who might through ſudden death haue taken awaie my life, that I neither ſhould haue acknowledged him nor my ſelfe.

Moreouer (deerelie beloued friends) there is yet ſomewhat that I muſt put you in mind of, as touching chriſtian religion, which ſo long as I was in authoritie, I alwaies diligentlie ſet foorth, and furthered to my power. Neither doo I repent me of my doings, but reioiſe therein, ſith now the ſtate of chriſtian religion commeth moſt neere vnto the forme and order of the primitiue church. Which thing I eſteeme as a great benefit giuen of God, both to you and me, moſt hartilie exhorting you all, that this which is moſt purelie ſet foorth vnto you, you will with like thankefulneſſe accept and embrace, and ſet out the ſame in your liuing: which thing if you doo not, without doubt, greater miſchiefe and calamitie will follow.

Great feare among the people aſſembled on the tower hill. Rich. Grafton. Iohn Stow.

When he had ſpoken theſe words, ſuddenlie there was a great noiſe heard, whervpon the people were ſtreight driuen into a great feare, few or none knowing the cauſe. Wherefore I thinke it good to write what I ſaw (ſaith Iohn Stow) concerning that matter. The people of a certeine hamlet which were warned to be there by ſeauen of the clocke to giue their attendance on the lieutenant, now came thorough the poſterne, and perceiuing the duke to be alreadie on the ſcaffold, the formoſt began to run, crieng to their fellowes to follow faſt after. Which ſuddennes of theſe men, being weaponed with bils and halberds, & this running cauſed the people which firſt ſaw them, to thinke ſome power had come to haue reſcued the duke from execution, and therefore cried Awaie awaie. Wherevpon the people ran, ſome one waie, ſome an other, manie fell into the tower ditch, and they which tarried, thought ſome pardon had beene brought: ſome ſaid it thundered, ſome that the ground mooued, but there was no ſuch matter.

Abr. Fl. ex Io. Foxi martyrologio.

¶ This amazement of the people is in other words recorded by Iohn Fox in the ſtorie of this dukes troubles & death: which bicauſe they be effectuall I thinke good to interlace. When the duke had ended his ſpeech (ſaith he) ſuddenlie there was a terrible noiſe heard: wherevpon there came a great feare on all men. This noiſe was as it had beene the noiſe of a great ſtorme or tempeſt, which to ſome ſeemed to be heard from aboue: like as if a great deale of gunpowder being incloſed in an armorie, and hauing caught fire, had violentlie broken out. But to ſome againe it ſeemed as though it had beene a great multitude of horſemen running togither, or comming vpon them; ſuch a noiſe was then in the eares of all men, albeit they ſaw nothing. Whereby it happened, that all the people being amazed without any euident cauſe, and without anie violence or ſtroke ſtriken, they ran awaie, ſome into the ditches and puddles, and ſome into the houſes thereabout. Other ſome being affraid with the horrour and noiſe, fell downe groueling vnto the ground with their pollaxes & halberds, and moſt part of them cried out: Ieſus ſaue vs, Ieſus ſaue vs. Those which tarried ſtill in their places, for feare knew not where they were. And * I my ſelfe which was there preſent among the reſt, being alſo affraid in this hurlie burlie, ſtood ſtill altogither amazed, looking when anie man would knocke me on the head. It happened here, as the euangeliſts write, it did to Chriſt, when the officers of the high prieſts & Phariſeis comming with wepons to take him, being aſtonied ran backe, & fell to the ground.

A ſudden noiſe & feare of the people at the death of the duke of Summerſet.

* Namelie Iohn Fox the writer of this report.

In the meane time, whileſt theſe things were thus in dooing, the people by chance ſpied one ſir Anthonie Browne riding vnto the ſcaffold: which was the occaſion of a new noiſe. For when they ſaw him comming, they coniectured that which was not true, but notwithſtanding which they all wiſhed for, that the king by that meſſenger had ſent his vncle pardon: and therfore with great reioiſing and caſting vp their caps, they cried out; Pardon, pardon is come: God ſaue the king. Thus this good duke, although he was deſtitute of all mans helpe, yet he ſaw before his departure, in how great loue and fauour he was with all men. And trulie I doo not thinke, that in ſo great ſlaughter of dukes as hath beene in England within this few yeares, there was ſo manie weeping eies at one time: and not without cauſe. For all men did ſee in the decaie of this duke, the publike ruine of all England, except ſuch as indeed perceiued nothing.] The duke in the meane time ſtanding ſtill, both in the ſame place and mind wherin he was before, ſhaking his cap which he held in his hand, made a ſigne vnto the people that they ſhould keepe themſelues quiet: which thing being doone, & ſilence obteined, he ſpake to them the ſecond time in this maner.

The like ſtorie you ſhall read of Caius Marius in Valerius Maximus the ſecond booke and fift chapter.

The great fauour of the people to the duke of Summerſet.

The ſecond ſpeech of the duke of *Summerſet to the people.*

DEerelie beloued friends, there is no ſuch matter in hand, as you vainlie hope or beleeue. It ſeemeth thus good to almightie God, whoſe ordinance it is meet & neceſſarie that we be all obedient vnto. Wherfore I praie you all to be quiet, and without tumult: for I am euen now quiet, and let vs ioine in praier vnto the Lord, for the preſeruation of our noble king, vnto whoſe maieſtie I wiſh continuall health, with all felicitie and abundance & all maner of proſperous ſucceſſe: wherevnto the people cried out, Amen. Moreouer, I wiſh vnto all his councellors the grace and fauour of God, whereby they may rule althings vprightlie with iuſtice, vnto whome I exhort you all in the Lord to ſhew your ſelues obedient, the which is alſo verie neceſſarie for you, vnder the paine of condemnation, and alſo moſt profitable for the preſeruation and ſafegard of the kings maieſtie. And forſomuch as heretofore I haue had oftentimes affaires with diuers men, & that it is hard to pleaſe euerie man that hath béene offended or iniuried by me, I moſt humblie require and aſke them forgiueneſſe: but eſpeciallie almightie God, whome throughout all my life I haue moſt gréeuouſlie offended. And vnto all other, whatſoeuer they be that haue offended me, I doo with my whole heart forgiue them.

And once againe (dearelie beloued in the Lord) I require that you will kéepe your ſelues quiet and ſtill, leaſt thorough your tumult you might cauſe me to haue ſome trouble, which in this caſe would nothing at all profit me, neither be anie pleaſure vnto you. For albeit the ſpirit be willing and readie, the fleſh is fraile and wauering, and thorough your quietneſſe I ſhall be much more the quieter: but if that you fall vnto tumult, it will be great trouble & no gaine at all vnto you. Moreouer, I deſire you to beare me witneſſe, that I die héere in the faith of Ieſus Chriſt, deſiring you to helpe me with your praiers, that I maie perſeuere conſtant in the ſame vnto my liues end.

Doctor Cox the dukes ghoſtlie father.

Then he turning himſelfe about knéeled downe vpon his knées, vnto whome doctor Cox, which was there preſent, to counſell and aduertiſe him, deliuered a certeine ſcroll into his hand, wherein was conteined a briefe confeſſion to God. Which being read, he ſtood vp againe on his féet, without anie trouble of mind as it appeared, and firſt bad the ſhiriffes farewell, then the lieutenant of the tower, & certeine other that were on the ſcaffold, taking them all by the hands. Then he gaue the executioner monie, which doone, he put off his gowne, and knéeling downe againe in the ſtraw, vntied his ſhirt ſtrings: and then the executioner comming to him, turned downe his collar round about his necke, and all other things which did let and hinder him. Then he couering his face with his owne handkerchiefe, lifting vp his eies vnto heauen, where his onelie hope remained, laid himſelfe downe along, ſhewing no maner of trouble or feare; neither did his countenance change, but that before his eies were couered there began to appéere a red colour in the middeſt of his chéeks.

Abr. Fl. out of Iohn Fox in the Acts and Monuments.

The godlie end of the duke of Summerſet.

¶ Thus this moſt méeke and gentle duke lieng along and looking for the ſtroke, bicauſe his doublet couered his necke he was commanded to riſe vp and put it off: & then laieng himſelfe downe againe vpon the blocke, and calling thriſe vpon the name of Ieſus, ſaieng: Lord Ieſu ſaue me, as he was the third time repeating the ſame, euen as the name of Ieſu was in vttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head and life; and ſlept in the Lord Ieſus, being taken awaie from all the dangers and euils of this life, and reſting now in the peace of God: in the preferment of whoſe truth and goſpell he alwaies ſhewed himſelfe an excellent inſtrument and member, and therefore hath receiued the reward of his labours. Thus gentle reader thou haſt the true hiſtorie of this worthie and noble duke, and if anie man report it otherwiſe, let it be counted as a lie.]

The duke of Summerſet deſcribed.

This duke was in high fauour and eſtimation with king Henrie the eight, of whome he receiued ſundrie high & great preferments, by reaſon that the the ſaid king had married ladie Iane his ſiſter, by whome he had iſſue king Edward the ſixt. He was not onelie courteous, wiſe and gentle, being dailie attendant at the court; but forward and fortunate in ſeruice abroad, as may well appeare in his ſundrie voiages, both into France and Scotland. He was of nature verie gentle and pitifull, not blemiſhed by any thing ſo much, as by the death of the admerall his naturall brother, which could not haue béene brought to paſſe in that ſort, without his conſent. But of this good duke (to let paſſe multitude of words) maiſter Fox hath written no leſſe trulie than commendablie, & no leſſe commendablie than deſeruedlie, and no leſſe deſeruedlie than profitablie in his hiſtorie, whereto I refer the reader for further knowledge. Neuertheleſſe of this vertuous duke by waie of application I ſaie as ſomtime one ſaid (verie aptlie as ſome thinke) of the gratious ladie *An Bullen,

Diſcite vos viui, quid dira calumnia poſsit,
Inuidia alterius vitæ comes arcta beatæ,
Et falſis linguæ commiſta venena ſuſurris.

*who as it is ſuppoſed and proued ſince (ſaith Sleidan) was vniuſtlie condemned.

The protectors of England collected *out of the ancient and moderne chronicles,* wherin is ſet downe the yeare of Chriſt, *and of the king in which they executed* that function.

The collectiõ of Frãcis Thin in the yeare 1585.

Vpon the death of this duke of Summerſet protector of England, it ſhall not be vnſitting in this place to ſet downe all the protectors (whereof I can as yet haue intelligence) and who haue béene gouernors, regents, gardians, or deputies of the realme, and of the kings perſon during his minoritie and time of his inſufficiencie of gouernement; or elſe of his abſence being out of the realme: whereof I haue made an eſpeciall title in my Pantographie of England, in which this my collection of the protectors, although perhaps I ſhall not ſet downe all (for *Barnardus non videt omnia*) yet it is better to haue halfe a loafe than no bread, knowledge of ſome than of none at all. Thus therefore I begin.

Guendoline.

Guendoline the daughter of Corineus duke of Cornewall (after the procurement of warre againſt hir huſband wherein he was ſlaine) was by common conſent (for that hir ſonne Madrane which ſhe had by Locrine was inſufficient by reaſon of his minoritie to gouerne the kingdome) made by the Britons ruler of the Ile, in the yeare of the world 2894, and ſo continued the ſame by the ſpace of fiftéene yéeres, vntill hir ſonne came to lawfull age.

Martia.

Martia (the widow of Guenteline the king) by reaſon that Sicilius hir ſonne was not of age conuenient to weld the ſcepter (as one being but ſeuen yeares old) obteined the gouernement both of the realme and of hir ſonnes perſon, which ſhe moſt worthilie deſerued, being a woman of rare vertue and iudgement.

Eldred.

Eldred, Ethelred, or Edred (for all theſe diuerſities are found in authors) brother to Edmund king of England, while the ſonnes of Edmund (Edwine and Edgar) were for their minorities inſufficient to diſpoſe the kingdome, was appointed protector to his nephues, in the yeare of Chriſt 940, who about ſix or ſeuen yeares after his protectorſhip tooke on him the kingdome at Kingſtone on Eaſter daie, in the yeare of Chriſt, as hath Iohn Stow 946, as others haue nine hundred fortie ſeuen.

Emma.

Emma the quéene of England, the widow of king Etheldred, and of Canutus, both kings of England iointlie, with Godwine earle of Kent had the gouernement of the realme vnder Hardiknute king of England, who began his reigne in the yeare of Chriſt 1041.

Harold.

Harold the ſonne of Goodwine at the death of king Edward the Confeſſor (which fell in the yeare of Chriſt 1066, and the thrée and twentith yeare of the ſame king) was by the teſtament of the ſaid king Edward appointed regent of the yong Edgar Atheling (named heire in the life of the ſaid Edward) and of the kingdome, after the death of king Edward, during the minoritie of the ſaid Edgar. Beſide which the like commending of the kingdome to this Harold, in reſpect of the quéenes honour, as that before of the ſucceſſours right, is ſet downe by one that liued at that time, and wrote the life of king Edward, of erle Goodwine, and of his children, in theſe words. *Porrectáq; manu* (meaning king Edward lieng on his death bed, and ſpeaking in the behalfe of Editha the quéene, ſiſter to this Harold) *ad prædictum nutricium ſuum fratrem Haroldum; Hanc inquit cum omni regno tutandam tibi commendo, vt pro domina & ſorore vt eſt fideli ſerues & honores obſequio, vt quoad vixerit à me adepto non priuetur honore debito. Commendo pariter etiam eos, qui natiuam terram ſuam reliquerunt cauſa amoris mei, mihíque hactenus fideliter ſunt obſequuti: vt ſuſcepta ab eis ſi ita volunt fidelitate eos tuearis & retineas, aut tua defenſione conductos cum omnibus quæ ſub me acquiſiuerunt cum ſalute ad propria transfretari facias, &c.* But he, when king Edward was dead, vſurped the crowne to himſelfe, and ſhortlie after loſt both his life and his kingdome.

Odo biſhop of Baieux, and William Fitzoſborne earle of Hereford.

Odo biſhop of Baieux, and William Fitzoſborne the firſt, being earle of Kent, and chiefe iuſtice of England, and the ſecond being earle of Hereford, were gouernours of the realme, in the yeare of our Lord 1067, and the firſt yeare of William the Conquerour, when he went into Normandie after the conqueſt and indifferent quieting of the realme.

Lanfranke archbiſhop of Canturburie.

Lanfranke archbiſhop of Canturburie, as appeareth by Matthew Parker, writing in this ſort in the life of the ſaid Lanfranke: *Abſente Gulielmo omnia Lanfranco mandabantur, qui ſumma prudentia cuncta moderatus, proceres & plebem in officio tranquillè ſine vlla motu atque tumultu continebat, adeò vt ſi quæ defectionis ſuſpicio naſcebatur, ad eam illicò compeſcendam maximus & potentiſſimus quiſque opem & adiumentum illi imperanti præſtitit.*

Sir Richard Lucie chéefe iuſtice of England.

Sir Richard Lucie knight, chiefe iuſtice of England was protector of the realme in the twelfe yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the ſecond, being the yeare of our Lord 1166, in the abſence of the king when he was in Normandie, and in the parts beyond the ſeas. Which Lucie in the thirtéenth yeare of the ſame king, being the yeare of our redemption 1167, did valiantlie reſiſt, and politikelie driue backe the earle of Bullongne inuading the realme. Hée built the abbeie of Leoſnes or Weſtwood in the pariſh of Erith in Kent (and not in Southfléet as ſome haue written) in the yeare of Chriſt 1178, being about the foure and twentith yeare of king Henrie the ſecond; and further built the caſtell of Angier in Eſſex, in the dioceſſe of the biſhop of London. He had iſſue Godfreie biſhop of Wincheſter, and thrée daughters, who after the death of Godfreie their brother were his heires: the eldeſt daughter of which ſir Richard Lucie, was maried to Robert the firſt called Fitzwater: the ſecond daughter Auelina, was maried to Riuers, of whome iſſued Iohn de Riuers: the third daughter Roſe, was maried to Richard Warraine, ſon to king Iohn, as appeareth by a déed (belonging to my ſelfe, who had the rectorie of Leoſnes) beginning thus: *Roſa de Douer quondam vxor venerabilis viri Richardi filij regis de Chilham.*

Hugh Pudſie biſhop of Durham.

Hugh Puſaz de Puteaco or Pudſie, nephue to king Stephan, being biſhop of Durham, and erle of Northumberland, and William Longchampe biſhop of Elie, had the gouernement of the realme for Richard the firſt, vpon his departure forth of the realme to take his iournie into the holie land. For in his abſence he appointed this Hugh to haue the rule of the north parts, as chiefe iuſtice & warden of the realme from Humber to Scotland, deliuering to him alſo the kéeping of the caſtell of Wincheſter, the other parts of the realme, with the cuſtodie of the tower, he aſſigned to the gouernement of William Longchampe biſhop of Elie, whome he made chiefe iuſtice and warden of thoſe eaſt, ſouth and weſt parts, making him alſo his chancellour: who being a man of great diligence and knowledge in the adminiſtration of things, was yet verie factious and deſirous of rule, honour and riches, farre aboue all meaſure. And with theſe two biſhops hée linked in authoritie by commiſſion Hugh lord Bardolph, William Marſhall the great, earle of Chepſtow Strigull or Penbroke, Geffreie Fitzpeter, and William Brewer, barons, men of great honor, wiſdome & diſcretion. This the king did in the yeare of Chriſt 1190, and the firſt yeare of his reigne.

Walter de Conſtantijs archbiſhop of Roane.

Walter de Conſtantijs ſometime chancellor of England, biſhop of Lincolne, and now archbiſhop of Roane, vpon the miſdemeanor of the proud biſhop of Elie William Longchampe, about the yeare 1192, had the cuſtodie and gouernement of the realme committed vnto him, whileſt king Richard the firſt remained ſtill in the holie warres: who being called from that place in the yeare of Chriſt 1193 (with Eleanor mother to the king) to come to king Richard then impriſoned in Auſtria, the archbiſhop of Canturburie Hubert ſuccéeded him in the yeare 1194, whome the ſaid archbiſhop of Roane procured to be inſtalled in the ſée of Canturburie, which Walter de Conſtantijs (as hath Eueresden) was made biſhop of Lincolne in the yeare 1183, and the next yeare after biſhop of Roane.

Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie.

Hubert Walter, or Walter Hubert (for ſuch a tanſmutation of the name is vſed amongſt hiſtoriographers) was made (vpon the diſcharge and going of Walter archbiſhop of Roane beyond the ſeas to king Richard) gouernor and protector of the realme, before the returne of Richard the firſt into England after the ſaid kings impriſonment (by the duke of Auſtria and the emperour) procured by Sauaricus biſhop of Glaſtenburie and Welles, a kinſman to the emperor, wherof our moderne printed chronicles nor our ancient writers, except one, make any mention. This Hubert died at his manor of Tenham, and was buried at Canturburie in the ſouth wall, in the yeare of our redemption 1205, the third ides of Iulie, being the ſeuenth yeare of king Iohn.

Eleanor the widow of Henrie the ſecond.

Eleanor widow to Henrie the ſecond, and mother to Richard the firſt, was made protectreſſe of England, after the departure of hir ſon into France, when he had béene deliuered out of priſon: in which office ſhe continued during the life of hir ſonne, which he ended in Poitiers in thoſe French warres, by a hurt receiued from one that diſcharged a croſſebow againſt him, on a fridaie as he beſieged Chalons. Touching whoſe death (ſith I am now in hand with the ſame) it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſet downe ſuch ſeuerall verſes compoſed by ſeuerall men in ſeuerall ſorts, as I haue read, and are not yet made common to the world, which verſes be theſe, concerning his death and place of buriall, as hereafter followeth:

Pictauus exta ducis ſepelit, tellúsque Chalucis
Corpus dat claudi ſub marmore fontis Ebraudi,
Neuſtria túq; tegis cor inexpugnabile regis,
Sic loca per trina ſe ſparſit tanta ruina,
Nec fuit hoc funus cui ſufficeret locus vnus.

Whereof alſo another compoſed theſe following verſes ſomewhat eloquentlie, as ſaith Matthew Paris (and ſo in truth they were, conſidering that age which moſtlie vſed a riming kind of Latine verſes, induced into the weſt part of the world by the barbarous Gothes) in his greater hiſtorie of the life of king Richard in manner and forme following:

Chalus quaſi caſus lucis.

Ad Chalus cecidit rex regni cardo Richardus,
His ferus, his humilis, his agnus, his leopardus,
Caſus erat lucis, Chalus per ſecula nomen
Non intellectum fuerat, ſed nominis omen
Non patuit, res clauſa fuit, ſed duce cadente
Prodijt in lucem, pro caſu lucis adepta.

Beſides which verſes of two ſeuerall men, it pleaſeth my pen to ad alſo the third mans dooing, aſwell for that the number of thrée is the holie number, as for that there is nothing ſo ſwéet, but that varietie dooth refreſh it: yet eſpeciallie ſith it is delightfull to ſée the ſeuerall inuentions of manie wits, this third poet therefore, exclaming againſt the daie in which the ſaid king Richard the firſt receiued his deaths wound (being on a fridaie) dooth thus write:

O veneris damnoſa dies! ô ſydus amarum!
Ille dies tua nox fuit, & Venus illa venenum,
Illa dedit læthum, ſed peſſimus ille dierum,
Primus ab vndecimo, quo vita victricus ipſum
Clauſit vtraq; dies: homicida tyrannide mira
Tranſigitur, clauſus excluſum, tectus opertum,
Prouidus incautum, miles inimicus inermem.

This quéene Eleanor the protectreſſe died in the yere of Chriſt 1205, being the ſeuenth of king Iohn.

Geffrie Fitz-peter earle of Eſſex.

Geffrie Fitzpeter lord Ludgerſall, who was by Richard the firſt made chiefe iuſtice of England, after the remouing of Hubert the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and was in the firſt yeare of king Iohn girded by him with the ſword of the earldome of Eſſex, was alſo protector of the realme. Who being a man of great power and authoritie, was by nature gentle, by birth noble, in the lawes cunning, in reuenues great, and to all a good iuſticer. This man was a bridle to king Iohn, to reſtreine his inſolencie; ſince he was confederat and alied in friendſhip & bloud with all the nobilitie of England: & for that cauſe was greatlie feared of the K. who ſaid of him, as he did before of the archbiſhop Hubert, that he then did fullie reigne, when they two were dead. For turning to thoſe which ſtood by him, when news was brought vnto him of the death of Fitz Geffreie, he ſware by Gods féet, that he was then king & lord of England, and not before. Which words he would not vſe, when the archbiſhop Hubert died; becauſe this man was yet liuing, whome the king (as is alreadie ſaid) greatlie feared. And therefore vpon the death of the archbiſhop, he did onelie ſaie that he began to reigne; but now vpon this mans departure out of the world, he ſaid he was become a full lord & abſolute king of England. This Geffreie Fitzpeter died in the yeare of our redemption 1212, being about the fourtéenth yeare of the reigne of the ſaid miſerablie afflicted king Iohn, who died in the yeare of Chriſt 1216: whoſe death I haue béene the willinger here to mention; becauſe I would ſet downe his epitaph (not elſe before ſet downe in our Engliſh chronicles) as I find the ſame of ancient report:

Hoc in ſarcophago ſepelitur regis imago,
Qui moriens multum ſedauit in orbe tumultum,
Et cui connexa dum vixit probra manebant,
Hunc mala poſt mortem timor eſt ne fata ſequantur.
Qui legis hæc metuens dum cernis te moriturum,
Diſcito quid rerum pariat tibi meta dierum.

This Geffreie Fitzpeter maried Beatrice, daughter and heire of William lord Saie, by whom he had iſſue, Geffreie Mandeuille earle of Eſſex, & Mawd maried to Humfreie de Bohune, by whome the Bohunes became earles of Eſſex.

William Marſhall earle of Penbroke.

William Marſhall ſurnamed the great, being erle of Penbroke, was made protector of the realme, & perſon of the king, after that the king (being nine yeares of age) was crowned in the yeare of our Lord 1216. Which office this William (being alſo marſhall of England) vſed ſo honorablie, that he recouered a great part of the nobilitie (which tooke part with Lewes ſon of the French king againſt king Iohn father to this Henrie) to aſſiſt the yoong king Henrie againſt the ſaid Lewes: who in the time of the ſaid Iohn had obteined a great part of the kingdome of England. By which meanes the ſaid Lewes was expelled, and the kingdome wholie recouered to the vſe of the ſaid yoong king Henrie the third.

This William Marſhall maried Iſabell daughter and heire to Richard Strangbow earle of Penbroke, who made him a happie father in the multitude of his children. For by hir he had fiue ſonnes, all which were in ſucceſſion marſhals of England, and earles of Penbroke; and fiue daughters. The ſonnes were William, Richard, Gilbert, Walter, and Anſelme; who all dieng without iſſue, the inheritance was deuolued to the fiue ſiſters; which were, Mawd the eldeſt, maried to Hugh Bigod, in hir right earle marſhall; Ione the ſecond, maried to Waraine Monthenſie, in hir right alſo earle of Penbroke, as hath Nicholas Triuet; Iſabell the third, maried to Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloceſter; Sibill the fourth, maried to William Ferrers erle of Darbie; & Eue the fift daughter, maried to William de Berehuſe, or de Brauſe. This William the great died in the yeare of our redemption 1219, being the third (as hath Nicholas Triuet) or the fourth (as hath Matthew Weſtminſter) yeare of the reigne of the ſaid king Henrie the third, and was buried at the new temple, on Aſcenſion daie, being the ſeuentéenth calends of Aprill: of whome was made this epitaph by Geruaſius Melckeleie, taking vpon him the perſon of the earle marſhall:

Sum quem Saturnum ſibi ſentit Hibernia, Solem
Anglia, Mercurium Normannia, Gallia Martem.

Which ſignifieth that he was a ſharpe corrector and ruler of the Iriſh, an honor & glorie to the Engliſh, a councellor and diſpatcher of the affaires of Normandie, a warlike knight and inuincible capteine againſt the Frenchmen.

Peter de la Roches.

Petrus de rupibus, or Peter of the Roch, being biſhop of Wincheſter, was after the death of William Marſhall earle of Penbroke aduanced to the protectorſhip of the king; becauſe that the yoong king was almoſt deſtitute of anie of his owne kindred that might worthilie haue the rule of his perſon. For his mother quéene Iſabell was newlie maried to Hugh Brune earle of March in France. This biſhop of Wincheſter (who was both a wiſe and a ſtout prelat) being now in poſſeſſion of the king, and miſtruſting that he had entred into a more weightie office than he might well diſcharge, if all things were not doone according to the fanſie of the nobilitie, procured diuerſe graue and honorable men to be preferred to the kings councell, and to be aſſociats to him in the adminiſtration of the weale publike; and ſo entred into the adminiſtration of his new atchiued honor. Which yet he did not long inioie.

But as the biſhop was at the firſt carefull to plant ſuch of the nobilitie about the king, for the ſupport of the realme; ſo yet himſelfe being a Gaſcoine, did after in the riper yeares of the king prefer to offices about the king ſuch Gaſcoins as both were of his owne bloud and kindred; and by their extraordinarie dealing procured the nobilitie with an hard and vndutifull courſe to oppoſe themſelues againſt the king. This Peter was aduanced to the ſeat of Wincheſter, in the yeare of our redemption 1204, being about the ſixt yeare of king Iohn. After which he went to Rome, and being a prelat more fit to fight than to preach, for Mars than for the muſes; did returne from Rome in the yeare of Chriſt 1205, being about the ſeuenth yeare of king Iohn. He remained biſhop about two and thirtie yeares, and died at his manour houſe of Fernham, on the fift ides of Iune, in the yeare of our Lord (as haue Matthew Paris and Matthew Weſtminſter) 1238, being the two & twentith yeare of Henrie the third. Who ſomewhat before his death, about the one and thirtith yeare of his biſhoprike, went into the holie land with the biſhop of Exceſter. He builded, and indued with poſſeſſions manie religious houſes: amongſt which he founded Tichfield in Hampſhire; of which Peter de la Roches, or of the rocks, Matthew Paris maketh a more large diſcourſe.

Hubert de Burow earle of Kent.

Hubert de Burow, coneſtable of Douer caſtle, earle of Kent, and chiefe iuſtice of England, being of great account in the realme for his probitie and goodneſſe, was made protector of the king and kingdome, in the yeare of our redemption 1221, being the fift yeare of king Henrie the third. This man in the yeare of Chriſt 1221 (being the ſame yeare in the which he was made protector) maried at Yorke, Margaret, ſiſter to Alexander king of Scots. And here I thinke it not amiſſe to ſaie ſomewhat touching the iſſue of this Hubert of Burow, who in a certeine nameleſſe booke (caried about in the hands of all men) treating of the nobilitie (created ſince the inuaſion of William Conqueror) is ſaid to die without iſſue: which cannot poſſiblie be ſo, if that be true which I haue ſeene: which I am led by manie reaſons to beleeue to be moſt true.

For I haue read of two children which this Hubert had, whereof the one being a ſonne, was called Richard de Burow, who was knighted by Henrie the third (as it ſeemeth to me) after the death of his father: if this Richard be not the ſame Iohn, of whome Matthew Paris writeth, that in the yeare of Chriſt 1229, *Rex Anglorum Henricus, in die Pentecoſtes Iohannem filium Huberti Angliæ iuſticiarij cingulo militari donauit tertio nonas Iunij*. The other child was a daughter called Margaret, maried to Richard heire to the earldome of Gloceſter, as noteth Iohn Beuer in theſe words: *Richardus hæres comitis Glouerniæ Margaretam filiam Hoberti de Burgo comitis Cantiæ in vxorem accepit*. This Hubert of Burow was a verie old man, who after manie perſecutions by the king, and after ſo manie chances of both fortunes, departed this world on the fourth ides of Maie, in the yeare of our redemption 1243, being the ſeuen and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third at his manour of Banſtud, or Banſted. Whoſe bodie was honorablie caried to London, and there buried in the church of the frier preachers, to whom in his life he had giuen great gifts; and amongſt other things, his goodlie place which ſtood not far from the palace of earle Richard of Cornewall (as I with ſome probable reaſons coniecture) neere vnto Weſtminſter, which afterward the archbiſhop of Yorke did procure. His wife the counteſſe of Kent, being likewiſe verie old, a woman that kept verie great hoſpitalitie, and that was well beloued, died in the yeare of Chriſt 1259, being the three and fortith yeare of Henrie the third, about ſixteene years after the death of the earle hir huſband.

Walter Greie archbiſhop of Yorke.

Walter Greie archbiſhop of Yorke was made protector of the realme in this ſort. The French king hauing vniuſtlie giuen the earldome of Poitiers to his brother Adulphus; Hugh Brune earle of March (the greateſt of the nobilitie in that prouince) would not doo homage vnto Adulphus, but wrote his letters to his ſon in law king Henrie the third (whoſe mother Eleanor he had married) that if he would come into thoſe parts, he ſhould haue both aid of men, and furniture of war for the perfect reſtoring of thoſe dominions to the crowne of England. For which cauſe Henrie the third aſſembling his power, did with his brother Richard (then latelie returned frō Ieruſalem) depart the realme in the yeere of our redemption 1242, being the ſix & twentith yeare of his gouernment into Poitiers, & left the adminiſtration of the kingdome to Walter Greie archbiſhop of Yorke, whileſt he ſhould remaine in thoſe parts. Which office the ſaid archbiſhop held alſo in the yeere of Chriſt 1243, being the ſeauen and twentith yeere of king Henrie the third. Of this man is more mention made in my collection of the chancellors of England; in this place onelie further ſetting downe, that this Walter died in the yeere of Chriſt 1255, being about the nine and thirtith yeare of this Henrie the third, as hath Anonymus M. S.

Eleanor wife to king Henrie.

Eleanor daughter to Reimond earle of Prouince, wife to king Henrie the third and queene of England, with Richard earle of Cornewall the kings brother (to whoſe cuſtodie was committed Edward Longſhanks, being after king of England by the name of Edward the firſt, ſon to the ſaid king Henrie) were (in the yeere of our redemption 1253, being the ſeuen and thirtith yeere of the reigne of king Henrie the third) appointed gouernors and protectors of the realme in the kings abſence, whileſt he went into Gaſcoine, whither he went to pacifie the nobilitie, and to keepe the ſame in ſafetie from the French. And becauſe my pen hath here fallen vpon Richard earle of Cornwall, I determine to ſay ſomewhat of him in this place, not hauing other occaſion offered to me therefore. This Richard the ſon of king Iohn was borne in the yeare of Chriſt 1208, being the tenth yeare of the reigne king Iohn. He was made (and ſo called) earle of Poitiers by Henrie the third, about the ninth yeere of his reigne, in the yeere of Chriſt 1225, who alſo that yeere with his vncle William earle of Sariſburie went into Poitiers, where he was ioifullie receiued: he putteth the earle of March to flight, he recouereth that which was loſt in Gaſcoine, he went into the holie land, refuſeth the kingdome of Apulia offered vnto him, he is choſen emperor, and receiueth that honor at Colen, being there crowned king of the Romans: he ſubdued Alfonſus competitor with him for the empire, he after returneth into England: he is an enimie to Simon Montfort and the barons rebelling againſt his brother king Henrie the third; he is taken priſoner by the barons, and is afterward deliuered: he was created knight and earle of Cornwall in the yeare of our redemption 1225, as hath Matthew Weſtminſter, but as ſaith William Packington, he was created earle of Cornwall in the yeare of Chriſt 1227. He married foure wiues, if that Eliſabeth his firſt wife and Iſabell the widow of Gilbert de Clare were not all one woman. But leauing that to further knowledge, I doo for this time make them but one perſon; for ſo in truth it muſt be, whatſoeuer otherwiſe ſhall be ſhewed in miſtaking their names. Elizabeth that was his firſt wife, as noteth Leland, was buried in the queere of Belland, being that woman which is called Iſabell, and was the daughter of William Marſhall earle of Penbroke ſurnamed the great: and the widow of Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloceſter was maried to this erle of Cornwall, in the yeare of our Lord 1231 being the fifteenth yeare of king Henrie the third.

This Iſabell died in the yeare of our redemption 1240, being the foure and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, after this manner. For ſhe being great with child, and neere to the time of hir deliuerance, fell into *Morbum ictericum*, or the hicket, and deliuering a child into the world, which had life, and was baptiſed by the name of Nicholas, they both preſentlie died thervpon. Which thing when the earle vnderſtood being then on his iournie into Cornwall, he burſt out in teares, and greatlie lamented that loſſe. Wherefore haſtilie returning, and leauing his former iournie, he honorablie buried his wife at *Belland or Beaulen, an houſe of religion builded by king Iohn from the foundation, and repleniſhed with Charterhouſe monks.

*Bellum locum a religious houſe in Hampſhire, as is by ſome ſuppoſed.

His ſecond wife was Sinthia or Sanclia, daughter to Reimond earle of Prouince, and ſiſter to the queene of England, wife to king Henrie the third, brother to the ſaid Richard earle of Cornwall, who maried the ſaid Sinthia in the yeare of our redemption 1243, being the ſeuen and twentith yeere of the reigne of king Henrie the third. Leland alſo appointeth to him the third wife, which was Beatrix de Famaſtais, whom he calleth queene of Almaine, & wife to king Richard, brother to Henrie the third. Which ladie died in the yere of our redemption 1277, being the ſixt yeere of Edward the firſt, and was buried at the friers minors in Oxford. This noble Richard erle of Cornwall died in Februarie at Berkhamſted, in the yeare of Chriſt 1271, in the fiue and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, as ſaie Matthew Paris and Matthew Weſtminſter: but Nicholas Triuet referreth his death to the yeare 1270, being the foure and fiftith yeere of Henrie the third: and the chronicle belonging to Eueſham to the yeare 1272, being the ſix and fiftith yeare of Henrie the third. After whoſe death his hart was buried in the friers minors of Oxford, and his bodie committed to the earth in the monaſterie of Hales (being Charterhouſe monks) which he had builded at his charge of 10000 marks, which at this daie at fiue ſhillings the ounce of ſiluer amounteth to the ſumme of twentie thouſand pounds. He had two ſonnes, the one called Henrie by his firſt wife Iſabell; the other called Edmund de Almania by his ſecond wife Sinthia. Henrie was ſlaine by Simon and Guie of Montfort ſonnes of the laſt Simon Montfort earle of Leiceſter, in the life of his father Richard in Italie at Viterbo, in the yere of our redemption 1270. Which fact being doone in ſaint Syluesters church as he was at maſſe, occaſioned the towneſmen to paint the maner of his death on the wall of the church: and that picture being beheld by a certeine verſifier, he was vrged therevpon to compoſe theſe following verſes:

Regis Theutonici Richardi clara propago,
Sternitur Henricus, velut hæc deſignat imago,
Dum redit à Tripoli, regum fultus comitiua,
In crucis obſequio patitur ſub gente nociua,
Irruit in templum, poſt miſſam, ſtirps Guenelonis
Perfodit gladius hunc Simonis atque Guidonis,
Diſpoſuit Deus vt per eos vir tantus obiret,
Ne reuocatis his, gens Anglica tota periret,
Anno milleno Domini cum ſeptuageno,
Atque duceno, Carolo ſub rege ſereno,
Vrbe Viterbina fit in eius carne ruina,
Cæli regina precor vt ſit ei medicina.

His bones were brought into England, and buried in the monaſterie of Hales, where his father was after alſo buried: but his hart was beſtowed in a guilt cup, and placed beſide the chaine of ſaint Edward the Confeſſor in Weſtminſter abbeie. The other ſonne to this Richard earle of Cornwall was Edmund of Almaine, who after the death of his father was inueſted with the honor of the earledome of Cornwall, being borne at Berkhamſted in the yeere of our redemption 1250, being the foure and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, to whome his vncle Bonifacius biſhop of Canturburie was godfather, and called him Edmund in the honor of ſaint Edmund archbiſhop of Canturburie and Confeſſor. This Edmund earle of Cornwall married the daughter of Richard earle of Clare, of whome ſhall be more ſpoken when we come to treat of him as protector of England.

Boniface archbiſhop of Canturburie.

Boniface the archbiſhop of Canturburie, with others which follow, were protectors of the realme after this maner, as I haue gathered. It was ordeined in the parlement at Oxford called *Parlementum inſanum*, that the king ſhould chooſe forth twelue perſons of the realme, and the communaltie of the land other twelue, the which hauing regall authoritie in their hands, might as gardians of the kingdome take in charge vpon them the gouernment of the realme, & ſhould from yeare to yeare prouide for the due election of iuſtices, chancellors, treaſurors, and other officers, and further prouide to ſee to the ſafe keeping of the caſtels belonging to the crowne.

Theſe foure and twentie perſons appointed to that function, began to order all things at their owne pleſure: in the meane time not forgetting to vſe things chieflie to their owne aduantage, as well in prouiding excheats and wards for their children and kinſfolks, as alſo in beſtowing of patronages of churches belonging to the kings gift, vnto their owne liking. So that theſe prouiders which ſhuld haue made carefull and beneficiall prouiſions for the realme, made ſpeedie and plentifull prouiſion for them and theirs, inſomuch that neither king nor Chriſt could get anie thing from theſe protectors. There be that write, how that there were but twelue or thirteene choſen to be gouernors at this time (which for this preſent I deeme to be the truer opinion) whoſe names are as follow: Boniface archbiſhop of Canturburie, the biſhop of Worceſter, Roger Bigod earle of Norffolke and marſhall of England, Simon de Montfort earle of Leiceſter, Richard de Clare earle of Gloceſter, Humfreie Bohune earle of Hereford, Richard Fitzalane earle of Arundell, ſir Iohn Manſell chiefe iuſtice of England, ſir Roger lord Mortimer, ſir Hugh Bigod, ſir Peter de Sauoie, ſir Iames Audleie, & ſir Peter de Montfort. To theſe (as ſome ſaie) was authoritie onlie giuen to puniſh all ſuch as treſpaſſed in the breach of anie of the conſtitutions of the parlement of Oxford. Others ſay that they were made rulers & protectors of the realme, and to diſpoſe thereof, becauſe the king was much miſſeled in the gouernment of the kingdome by the peruerſe councell of his flatterers. Which twelue gouernors I ſuppoſe did not long continue: for being euerie one priuatlie for himſelfe, and ſo not iointlie for the common-wealth, they grew diuided, and what the one labored to ſet vp, the other ſought to pull downe.

Boniface archbiſhop of Canturburie.

Boniface archbiſhop of Canturburie the ſecond time, & the biſhop of Worceſter, with ſir Philip Baſſet, or rather ſir Hugh Bigod made chiefe iuſtice of England by the barons, were appointed in the yeere of our redemption 1260, being the fortie and fourth of king Henrie the third, to haue the gouernment of the realme in the abſence of the king, whileſt he remained in France at Paris about the affaires of Normandie: at what time a peace was made betweene the kings of England and France.

Gilbert de Clare.

Gilbert de Clare the ſecond of that name that was earle of Gloceſter and Hertford, was the ſonne of Richard de Clare erle of Gloceſter and Hertford, which died in the yeere of our redemption 1262, being the fortie & ſixt yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, and was buried at Tewkeſburie, with a great image of ſiluer and gilt vpon his toome, and the ſame ſword and ſpurres which he did weare in his life time. Of which Richard theſe verſes were compoſed for his probitie and rareneſſe of vertuous maners and conditions, and ſet vpon his tombe:

Hic pudor Hyppoliti, Paridis gena, ſenſus Vlyſsis,
Aeneæ pietas, Hectoris ira iacet.

This Gilbert (I ſaie) the ſonne of the ſaid Richard was after the death of Henrie the third (which happened in the yeare of our Lord 1277, & in the ſeuen & fiftith yeare of the reigne of the ſaid king Henrie) in the abſence of king Edward the firſt in the holie warres made gouernour of the realme, vntill the returne of the ſaid king Edward into England, to which function he was appointed by king Henrie the third, lieng on his death-bed: who cauſed the ſaid Gilbert to ſweare to kéepe the peace of the land to the behoofe of Edward his ſonne. Which he did moſt faithfullie, vntill the ſecond daie of Auguſt, in the ſecond yeare of the ſaid king, in which the ſaid king Edward landed in England, being in the yeare of our redemption 1274, at what time the king was honorablie interteined of the ſaid Gilbert, and Iohn earle of Warraine (a ſupporter to him in the charge of the kingdome) at the caſtell of Tunbridge in Kent, and Rigate in Surrie, which Gilbert with the other péers of the land, immediatlie after the death of king Henrie the third, aſſembling at the new temple brake the old ſeale of king Henrie, made a new ſeale in the name of king Edward, and appointed faithfull officers for the ſure kéeping and obſeruing of the treaſure, the riches, the peace, and the lawes of the kingdoms.

This Gilbert had two wiues, his firſt wife was Alice the daughter of Hugh le Brune erle of March, by whom he had iſſue a daughter, that was counteſſe of Fife in Scotland: his ſecond wife was Ione the daughter of king Edward the firſt, called Ione of Acres, by whome he had one ſonne, called Gilbert the third, earle of Gloceſter and Hertford, who married Mawd the daughter of Richard earle of Vlſter in the yeare of Chriſt 1308 at Waltham, by whome he had iſſue a ſonne, Iohn borne in the yeare of Chriſt 1312, being in the ſixt yeare of Edward the ſecond, that died without iſſue; after the death of which Gilbert the third, his lands and earldomes of Gloceſter and Hertford came to the ſiſter of the ſaid Gilbert the third, who was ſlaine in the battell of Strineling againſt the Scots in the ſeuenth (or as others haue the eight) yeare of king Edward the ſecond, whome the Scots would gladlie haue kept for ranſome if they had knowne him: but he had forgotten to put on his cote of armes to ſhew what he was, after which he was brought into England and was buried at Tewkeſburie, vpon whoſe death the two earledomes of Gloceſter and Hertford were ſo diſperſed, that there was neuer anie to this daie, that iointlie ſucceeded or poſſeſſed them both. Thus hauing digreſſed from Gilbert the ſecond, in treating of his ſonne Gilbert the third, let vs againe returne to him. He beſides his ſonne Gilbert the third, had by his wife Ione thrée daughters; Elenor, firſt married to Hugh Spenſer, ſecond ſonne to Hugh Spenſer earle of Gloceſter, and after his death to William Zouch; Margaret married to Piers de Gaueſton earle of Cornewall, and after to Hugh Audeleie; and Elizabeth or Iſabell married in the yeare of our Lord 1308, being the firſt yeare of Edward the ſecond, to Iohn the ſonne of Richard earle of Vlſter. This Gilbert the ſecond, before the marriage of his ſecond wife, was on the fiftéenth kalends of Auguſt diuorſed from Alice his firſt wife, in the yeare of our redemption 1271, being the ſix and fiftith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third; and after in Weſtminſter church the laſt of Aprill married his ſecond wife, about the eightéenth yeare of Edward the firſt being the yeare of Chriſt 1290, which Gilbert the ſecond, being taken awaie by vntimelie death, departed this world in the yeare of our redemption 1195 (being the thrée and twentith of the reigne of the ſaid Edward the firſt) who was in word & déed, in commandement and authoritie the greateſt perſon of the kingdome, next to king Edward the firſt: for which cauſe he well deſerued to haue his ſepulture among his worthie anceſtors.

Edmund erle of Cornewall.

Edmund earle of Cornewall, of whome there is ſomewhat ſpoken before, being the ſonne of Richard king of Almaine, and earle of Cornewall brother to Henrie the third, married Margaret the daughter of Richard de Clare erle of Gloceſter, he was made protector of the Realme by Edward the firſt in the fourtéenth yeare (as ſome ſaie) or in the fiftéenth, as others ſaie (for there is ſo much diſagréement amongſt authors for the accounts of yeares, as it paſſeth anie one man to reconcile them in all points) when the ſaid king went into Aragon to reconcile the two kings of Arragon & Naples. He continued in this office in the yeare of Chriſt 1287, or 1228, as hath Treuet, being the ſixtéenth yeare of Edward the firſt, in which he ſubdued Riſe ap Merdach the Welſh prince, rebelling againſt Edward the firſt, and ouerthrew the caſtell of Druſſllane (as hath the ſaid Nicholas Treuet) he was lord of Wallingford, did much coſt therevpon, and died without iſſue, as hath Matthew Weſtminſter, in the yeare of Chriſt 1300: but as hath Thomas Walſingham 1301, leauing the king of England his heire. Yet are there ſome pedegrées and other authors, and thoſe not the meaneſt, which ſaie that he had a daughter, Iſabell married to Morice Fitz Harding lord Barkleie: ſo that theſe authors, which ſaie that he died without iſſue, are to be vnderſtood of the iſſue male, & not of the heire generall: for they account him to die without iſſue, which leaueth no poſteritie to continue his title of honor. The which their meaning they make more plaine, in that they ſaie that after his iſſuleſſe death, the earledome came to the crowne. And here bicauſe there is mention made of Wallingford, I will ſet downe what Leland hath written touching the ſame, bicauſe I deſire to make common, and to preſerue all whatſoeuer monuments of Leland that come vnto my hands: thus therefore he writeth of Wallingford in his commentaries of England, written in the yeare of our redemption 1542, being the foure and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight in theſe words.

The towne of Wallingford hath béene a verie notable thing and well walled. The dich of the towne, and the creſt wherevpon the wals ſtand, be yet maniſeſtlie perceiued, and begin from the caſtell, going in compaſſe a good mile and more, and ſo continueth to Wallingford bridge, a large thing of ſtone ouer the Thames. There remaine yet the names of theſe ſtréets amongſt others. Thameſſtréet, Fiſhſtréet, Woodſtréet, Goldſmiths row. And by the patents and donation of Edmund earle of Cornewall and lord of the honour of Wallingford, it appéereth that there were fourtéene pariſh churches in Wallingford: and there be men yet aliue that can ſhew the places and churchyards where they ſtood, at this time there are but thrée pariſh churches. The towne and the caſtell was ſore defaced by the Danes warres, yet they méetlie floriſhed in the time of Richard king of the Romans earle of Cornewall, and brother to Henrie the third, he did much coſt vpon the caſtell which ioineth to the north gate of the towne, and hath thrée dikes (as vpon the creſts of the ſame may appéere) large and déepe, about each of the two firſt diches (on the creſts of the ground caſt out) runneth an embatteled wall now ſore in ruine, and for the moſt part defaced. All the goodlie buildings, with the tower and dungeon, be within the third dich. There is alſo a collegiat chapell amongeſt the buildings within the third dich. Edmund earle of Cornewall ſon to Richard king of Romans was the firſt founder and indower of this college. Prince Edward the blacke (as one told me) augmented this college. There is a deane, foure prieſts, ſix clerkes, and foure choriſters. The late deane before doctor London that now is, builded a faire ſteeple of ſtone at the weſt end of the collegiat chapell, to the making whereof he defaced (as it is ſaid without licence) a peece of the kings lodging on the eaſt end of the chapell. The deane hath a faire lodging of timber within the caſtell, and to it is ioined a place for the miniſters of the chapell. Thus much Leland for Wallingford, & thus much I for Edmund earle of Cornewall and lord of Wallingford.

Edward prince of wales.

Edward of Carnaruan prince of Wales, ſonne to Edward the firſt, was in the yeare of our redemption 1295, being the fiue and twentith yeare of Edward the firſt, protector of England, in the abſence of his father in Flanders, who becauſe he was of tender yeares, had as tutors and gouernours appointed vnto him Richard biſhop of Durham (Eulogium hath the biſhop of London) William Montacute, with diuerſe other knights, as Reignold Greie, Iohn Giffard, & Alane Plunket, being wiſe, diſcreet and expert ſoldiers.

Piers de Gaueſtone erle of Cornewall.

Piers or Peter de Gaueſtone a Gaſcoine borne, whome king Edward the ſecond ſo tenderlie loued as that he preferred him before all men, was appointed gardian of the realme in the firſt yeare of the ſaid king Edward the ſecond, being the yeare of our redemption 1308, when the king went into France and there aboad to marrie Iſabell daughter to Philip king of France, before that the ſaid Edward was crowned king of England, as hath Radulphus Higden. Of this Piers I will here ſaie litle, bicauſe I haue ſpoken more largelie of him in my pantographie of England.

Iohn de Drokenſford.

Iohn de Drokenſford biſhop of Bath and Wels, was in the yeare of our redemption 1313, being the ſirt yeare of king Edward the ſecond, made protector of the realme in the abſence of the ſaid king Edward the ſecond, and his wife queene Iſabell, who went into France to ſolemnize the coronation of Philip (ſonne to Philip king of France) who was at that inſtant created king of Nauarre. This Drokenſford was the fourteenth biſhop of Bath & Wels. Great contention was there betweene him and the deane and prieſts of that church. He ſucceeded in the biſhoprike Walter Houelſhaw. This Drokenſford held the biſhoprike about nineteene yeares, he beautified the ſame with manie goodlie buildings, procured manie priuileges vnto it, and greatlie exalted his kindred. He was buried at Welles before the high altar of ſaint Iohn Baptiſt.

Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne.

Henrie Laſcie or Lacie earle of Lincolne, and of Saliſburie, baron of Halton and of Pontfrait, corruptlie called Pomefret, and conſtable of Cheſter, was made protector of the realme in the fift yeare of Edward the ſecond, being the yeare of our redemption 1310, whileſt the king remained in the warres of Scotland. Which Henrie died ſhortlie after in the ſame yeare, and was buried in the new worke of Paules, who carried for his armes the purple lion cõtrarie to the cote his anceſtors had borne before. This man had doone great ſeruice in the warres in the time of Edward the firſt, he married Margaret the daughter and heire of William Longeſpee earle of Saliſburie, and had by hir a daughter named Alice, married to Thomas Plantagenet earle of Lancaſter, Leiceſter, and Darbie. This Henrie (as I haue learned of other and read in Leland) had iſſue a baſtard ſonne, and hauing amongſt manie other lordſhips the manour of Grantceſter beſides Cambridge, he gaue the ſame with other lands vnto that baſtard, and commanded that the ſame Lacie ſo ſet vp in Grantceſter, ſhould for himſelfe and his ſucceſſors euer name their ſonnes and heires by the names of Henrie, which hitherto hath beene religiouſlie obſerued amongſt them. And this was the originall of the houſes of the Lacies in Grantceſter, as Leland learned of him which was then heire of thoſe lands.

Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloceſter.

Gilbert de Clare the third earle of Gloceſter of that name, after the death of Henrie Lacie, was choſen gouernour of the realme (the king being ſtill in Scotland) during the time that the king ſhuld make his abode in that countrie. Of this man ſee before in the diſcourſe of his father Gilbert the ſecond earle of Gloceſter and Hertford, and protector of the realme.

Edward prince of wales.

Edward prince of Wales and duke of Aquitane, comming out of France with Iſabell in the ſecond yeare of Edward the ſecond, his father was after his landing in England and the taking of his father made gardian of England vnder his father, which office he did not long continue: for depoſing his father from the kingdome in the yeare of Chriſt 1326 he aſſumed the crowne himſelfe in his fathers life.

walter Reinolds archbiſhop of Canturburie.

Walter Reinolds archbiſhop of Canturburie was with others appointed gardian of England on this ſort. Edward the third as before atteining to the crowne in the yeare of our redemption 1327, or as ſome others more trulie ſaie 1326, being fourteene years of age did then begin his reigne. But bicauſe he was ſo yoong (not being of power or policie to weld ſo great a charge) it was decreed in this firſt yeare of his reigne, that twelue gouernors of the greateſt lords within the realme ſhould poſſeſſe the gouernement, vntill he came to riper yeares, whoſe names were as inſueth: Walter archbiſhop of Canturburie, the archbiſhop of Yorke, the biſhop of Wincheſter, the biſhop of Hereford, Henrie earle of Lancaſter, Thomas Brotherton earle marſhall, Edmund of Woodſtocke earle of Kent, Iohn earle of Warren, the lord Thomas Wake, the lord Henrie Perſie, the lord Oliuer de Ingham, and the lord Iohn Roſſe, who were ſworne of the kings councell and charged with the gouernement of the kingdome as they would anſwere for the ſame. But this ordinance continued not long, for in the ſecond yeare of this king, Iſabell the kings mother and the lord Roger Mortimer tooke the whole rule into their hands, in ſuch ſort that the king and his councellors were in all affaires of ſtate, and otherwiſe, onelie gouerned by their direction. Of this Walter Reinolds the archbiſhop, bicauſe he was ſometime chancellor, and ſometime treaſuror, is more mention made in the large volume of the liues of the chancellors.

Iohn of Eltham earle of Cornewall.

Iohn of Eltham earle of Cornewall ſonne to Edward the ſecond, had (in the fourth yeare of king Edward the third being the yeare of our redemption 1330) the gouernement of the realme committed vnto him, whileſt king Edward the third had paſſed the ſeas onelie fifteene horſſes in his companie, apparelled in clokes like vnto merchants, which office the ſaid Iohn of Eltham executed vntill the returne of the ſaid king, and before that alſo when the ſaid Edward the third, in the ſecond yeare of his reigne, did before this time go into France to doo his homage. He was made earle of Cornewall in the ſecond yeare of ~~king~~ Edward the third, being the yeare of Chriſt 1328, and died at Barwike, others ſaie at S. Iohns towne in Scotland, in the moneth of October 1336, being the tenth yeare of Edward the third, and was honorablie buried at Weſtminſter; for the ſolemnization of whoſe buriall the king came out of Scotland about the feaſt of the Epiphanie.

Edward the Blacke prince.

Edward the Blacke prince, eldeſt ſonne to Edward the third, being about the age of nine yeares, was in the twelfe yéere of his father, being the yeare of our redenrption 1338, or as ſaith Matthew Parker 1337, made gardian of England in the abſence of his father being as then ſailed into Flanders to procure the Flemmings to aid him againſt the French king. Under which prince as ſome write (or rather as I for the time take it) equall in commiſſion to him it ſéemeth that John archbiſhop of Canturburie had the chéefeſt rule of the land, bicauſe that king Edward after his returne into England, which was about the fouretéenth or the fiftéenth of his reigne, charged the ſaid biſhop with certeine negligences which he vſed in collections of monie, whileſt he had the chiefe rule of the land, when he was in the wars of France. Wherefore the words of Matthew Parker in the life of the ſaid John Stratford (ſaieng that the king held a parlement, in which *Omnem regni curam & gubernationem archiepiſcopo cõmiſit*) muſt néeds be intended that he had that charge vnder or equallie with the ſaid Blacke prince, as chiefeſt councellor to ſupport the tender yeares of his ſonne.

John Stratford.

After which alſo in the yeare of our redemption, as hath the ſame Matthew Parker 1342, being about the ſixtéenth of the ſaid Edward the third, the king committed the care & gouernement of the kingdome to the ſaid archbiſhop, whileſt the king was beyond the ſeas in the warres: for thus writeth the ſaid Parker, fol. 257. *Ac paulò poſt nulla purgatione indicta* (ſpeaking of the ſaid biſhop vniuſtlie accuſed to the king) *aut recepta, omnibus penè parlamenti ordinibus pro archiepiſcopo deprecantibus, rex eum ſua ſponte legitimè purgatum & excuſatum pronuntiauit, eúmque multo magis charum quàm antè habuit, omnibúſque gerendis in Anglia rebus ſe in militia abſente præfecit.* Of which archbiſhop being ſomtime chancellor and treaſuror of England ſhall be ſet downe a more large diſcourſe in my large booke of the liues of the chancellors.

Lionell duke of Clarence.

Lionell third ſonne to Edward the third, was in the ninth yere of the reigne of the ſaid king Edward the third, being the yeare in which the word became fleſh 1345, made gardian of England, in the abſence of his father, who as then was ſailed into the parts (beyond the ſeas) of Flanders. Of this man there is more ſpoken in my following treatiſe of the dukes of England.

Henrie lord Perſie.

Henrie lord Perſie, & Rafe lord Neuill, when Edward the third was ſailed into Normandie, were in the twentith yere of the reigne of the ſaid Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1346, appointed to be gardians of the realme in his abſence with the archbiſhop of Yorke, the biſhop of Lincolne, and Thomas Hatfield biſhop of Durham.

Thomas of Woodſtocke.

Thomas of Woodſtocke being verie yoong was made cuſtos or gardian of England, in the yere that God tooke on him the forme of a ſeruant 1359, being the thrée & thirtith of the reigne of the ſaid king Edward the third, when he ſailed into France with a 1100 ſhips. Of this man is more ſpoken in my diſcourſe of the dukes of England, ſet downe in the time of quéene Elizabeth: and in my treatiſe of the coneſtables of England, ſet downe in the time of Henrie the eight pag. 867.

John of Gant duke of Lancaſter.

John of Gant duke of Lancaſter, fourth ſonne of Edward the third, bicauſe the king his father was féeble and ſicklie (being now about thrée ſcore & fiue yeares of age, though Bodinus in his *Methodo hiſtoriæ* ſaie that he died in his climactericall yeare of thrée ſcore and thrée: for the truth is, that the ſaid Edward the third was fourtéene yeares old when he began to reigne, and he reigned about one and fiftie yeares, which make of his age thrée ſcore and fiue yeares) but eſpeciallie for the ſorrow which the king inwardlie conceiued for the death of that worthie prince his ſon, commonlie ſurnamed the Blacke prince. This John of Gaunt (after the death of the ſaid Blacke prince, which died in the yeare of Chriſt 1376, being the fiftith yeare of the reigne of Edward the third, whoſe death was déemed to be haſtned by the ſaid John of Gaunt aſpiring to the crowne, the plat whereof though it tooke not effect in the life of the ſaid John, yet it was performed in his ſonne Henrie of Bullingbrooke, who depoſed Richard the ſecond) was appointed by his father Edward the third to haue the rule of the realme vnder him, the which he continued during his fathers life, which was not a full yeare after that he had made the ſaid John of Gaunt gouernour of England. After which death of king Edward the third, when Richard the ſecond, a child of eleuen yeares of age began his reigne, in the yeare of our redemption 1377, in the firſt yeare of the ſaid Richard the ſecond, after his coronation, the ſaid John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter, & Edmund of Langleie earle of Cambridge brother to the ſaid John of Gaunt, were appointed to haue the gouernement of the kings perſon, and the adminiſtration of the common-wealth. But ſhortlie after, in the ſame yere of the king, in the yeare of our redemption 1378, the ſaid John of Gaunt gaue vp the ſame office. Of this man is more ſaid in my treatiſe of the dukes of England.

William Courtneie biſhop of London.

William Courtneie biſhop of London (but ſhortlie after his protectorſhip aduanced vnto the ſée of Canturburie, in the yeare of Chriſt 1381, about the ninth of Januarie, being about the fourth of Richard the ſecond, was made gouernor of the realme in this maner. After (as is before ſaid) that the duke of Lancaſter had wiſelie weied the fickle eſtate of the realme, and conſidered that by the euill gouernment of the nobilitie, and inconſtant mind of the yoong king, there muſt néeds fall a change of the eſtate, & doubting that if any thing ſuccéeded otherwiſe than the nobles liked, the cauſe and negligence might be imputed to him, as one who chéeflie had the gouernment in his hands (and thanks howſoeuer the ſtate was ruled he looked for none) did in the end after a few months authoritie (wholie miſliking the maners of the court, which commonlie are not of the beſt in the minoritie of princes) ſurrender his protectorſhip, and obteined licence of the king to depart, and ſo got him quietlie to his caſtell of Kenelworth, permitting others to haue the whole ſwaie of the kingdome.

Notwithſtanding all which, in the ſecond yeare of Richard the ſecond, about the yeare of Chriſt 1379 being not altogither careleſſe of the kings well doing; this duke before his departing to Kenelworth, cauſed certeine graue perſons with his full conſent, to be ordeined, which ſhould haue the gouernement of the kings perſon, and adminiſtration of the common-wealth. The names of whome were, William Courtneie before mentioned, Edmund Mortimer earle of March, Rafe Ergume biſhop of Saliſburie, and William lord Latimer, with others, of whome for the moſt part the people had conceiued a good opinion: yet bicauſe the ſaid biſhop of Saliſburie, and the lord Latimer were aſſociat to the reſt, and of equall authoritie with them, the commons murmured greatlie againſt them. The cauſe for which they ſo miſliked the lord Latimer, was for that he had ſometimes bin too much fauouring to dame Alice Piers, concubine to king Edward the third, to whome the ſaid lord Latimer was chiefe chamberleine, & therefore was of him beſt beloued, which two perſons, the lord Latimer, and dame Alice, were by parlement in the fiftith yeare of Edward the third remoued from the king, for that they miſcounſelled him, but eſpeciallie ſith much miſchiefe grew in the realme by the ſame Alice Piers. For ſhe being now exalted in pride by ouermuch loue of K. Edward the third, would beyond the modeſtie and maner of women, ſit in iudgement with the kings iuſtices, be with the doctors in the conſiſtorie, turne ſentences to what ſide ſhe would, and require manie things diſhoneſt in themſelues, and diſhonourable to the king. Of which woman, an old written chronicle belonging to the houſe of Eueſham, hath deliuered to me theſe words: *Alicia Piers regis concubina ſupra modum mulierum nimis & ſupergreſſa, ſui etiam ſexus & fragilitatis fœmineæ immemor, nunc iuxta iuſticiarios regios nunc in foro eccleſiaſtico iuxta doctores ſedendo, & pro defenſione cauſarum ſuadere, & etiam contra iura poſtulare minimè verebatur, vnde propter ſcandalum petierunt ab illo* (which was the king) *penitùs amoueri in parlemento tento anno Domini* 1376 *&* 50 *Ed.*3. Thus that author.

And here before I go anie further with my protectors, bicauſe ſome curious heads that find not all theſe matters in the records of the tower, which they dailie turne with a churliſh hand, or elſe thinke that nothing maie be knowne out of the walles of their office, will ſéeme to ſéeke a knot in a ruſh, and ſaie that I in compaſſe of ſome few lines haue written a contrarietie, in ſaieng that Iohn of Gaunt thirſted after the kingdome, and for that cauſe haſtened the death of his elder brother prince Edward the blacke as Richard the third did the death of his brother George duke of Clarence, which intent could not poſſiblie be in Iohn of Gaunt, as appeareth by my owne following words: where I ſaie that he gaue ouer the protectorſhip of his nephue, bicauſe he would auoid all ſuſpicion of euill gouernement: which hée would neuer haue done if he had ſo ment, that place being ſo apt for the execution of his purpoſe, and might giue occaſion to him that neuer ment anie ſuch matter before, to attempt it being in that place, as Richard duke of Yorke did attempt, but not performe it, in the time of Henrie the ſixt; and as Richard duke of Glouceſter, being in the ſame office of protectorſhip, did not onelie attempt it, but brought to perfection. Wherevnto I anſwer, that all this is no contrarietie, but onelie a manifeſt ſhew and confirmation, the one part of my words to the other. For ſith he could not in the life of his father Edward the third before the crowning of king Richard the ſecond (as Richard the third did) atteine the crowne, he would not now attempt it (the king being once crowned, and in full poſſeſſion of the kingdome) ſo raſhlie and vnaduiſedlie (as did Richard duke of Yorke againſt Henrie, for which he was in the end ſlaine) leaſt that thereby his part might ſéeme to carie the face of a rebellion, as in truth it ſhould haue done. For whoſoeuer either for colour of God, benefit to their countrie, or for whatſoeuer cauſe, lift vp the ſword againſt a crowned king, ſitting at the ſterne of gouernement, being one of the gods of the earth, the ſame muſt néeds tend vnto a rebellion, which Iohn of Gaunt would not ſéeme to execute, & for that cauſe leauing off his purpoſe at that time, he did in the end alſo leaue the whole matter to his ſon to performe, eſpeciallie ſith he afterward perceiued Richard the ſecond ſo much to fauor and further him with monie, munition, and men, to recouer the kingdome of Caſtile & Arragon in Spaine, in the right of the wife of the ſaid Iohn of Gaunt. To whom and to his wife (as hath Henrie Knighton) king Richard the ſecond gaue a ſeuerall crowne of gold to honour them withall, & to ſhew how intierlie he loued them when they both went into Spaine. And for theſe cauſes the ſaid Iohn of Gaunt refuſed the opportunitie of time & place in the king his nephues minoritie to execute it. But did he ceaſe it for? No. For that ſparke although it were a litle cooled, was not vtterlie quenched, bicauſe he haſtened the ſame in his ſon, whom he not onelie perſuaded, but furthered (after the baniſhment of his ſaid ſonne Henrie of Bullingbrooke by Richard the ſecond in the life of the ſaid Iohn of Gaunt) to returne into England, and after his death to chalenge by ſword the earldome of Lancaſter his right inheritance, and vnder the ſame to reuenge the death of the duke of Glouceſter and others: and by that means, when Richard the ſecond was out of the realme of England in Ireland, the ſaid Henrie Bullingbrooke ſonne of Iohn of Gaunt entered the realme, put downe the king, and got the crowne which his father ſought. Thus this much digreſſing from the protectors, and to returne to that courſe which I haue in hand, I will leaue the diſcourſe of policies to obteine kingdoms, bicauſe they be no balles for me to bandie, and follow on my former intent as méeter for my ſimplicitie.

Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike.

Thomas Beauchampe earle of Warwike was in the third yeare of Richard the ſecond, being the yeare of our redemption 1380, made protector in this ſort. In the parlement holden the ſame yeare, at the ſpeciall ſute of the lords, and of the commons, the biſhops and barons choſen (as you haue heard) before by Iohn of Gaunt to be protectors of the realme, were remoued, and the earle of Warwike eſpeciallie elected to that function, to remaine continuallie with the king as chéefe gouernor of his roiall perſon; & one that ſhould giue anſwer to all forreners repairing thither, vpon what cauſe ſoeuer their comming were; hauing further as ample gouernment of the kingdome giuen vnto him, as the other remoued gouernors had. Being placed in that office by the duke of Lancaſter, he died the ſixt ides of Aprill, in the yeare of Chriſt 1401, being the third yeare of Henrie the fourth. He maried Margaret, the daughter of William lord Ferrers of Grobie; by whome he had iſſue, Richard earle of Warwike.

Thomas Arundell biſhop of Elie.

Thomas Fitzalane otherwiſe called Arundell biſhop of Elie, the two and twentith that inioied that ſeat, being two and twentie yeares of age, and the ſon of Richard Fitzalane earle of Arundell & Warren, was with others made protector of England in this ſort. At a parlement holden at London in the tenth yeare of Richard the ſecond, being the yeare of Chriſt 1386, were certeine gouernors of the kingdome elected, becauſe the treaſure of the realme had béene imbeſiled & lewdlie waſted, nothing to the profit of the king and kingdome, by the couetous and euill gouernment of the depoſed officers, which were Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke lord chancellor, Iohn Forham biſhop of Durham lord treaſuror, & diuerſe other perſons that ruled about the king.

Now the gouernors elected by this parlement were in number thirtéene; and by name Thomas Arundell biſhop of Elie, then made lord chancellor; Iohn Gilbert biſhop of Hereford made lord treaſuror; and Nicholas abbat of Waltham at that time made kéeper of the priuie ſeale; William Courtneie archbiſhop of Canturburie, Alexander Neuill archbiſhop of Yorke, Edmund Langleie duke of Yorke, Thomas of Woodſtocke duke of Glouceſter, William biſhop of Wincheſter, Thomas biſhop of Exceſter, Richard Fitzalane erle of Arundell, Iohn lord Deuereur, and Reinold lord Cobham of Starborow. Theſe were thus by parlement choſen to haue vnder the king the whole ouerſight and gouernment of the realme, as by their commiſſion in the ſtatutes of the tenth yeare of the ſaid Richard the ſecond it dooth in the printed booke appeare.

Edmund of Langleie duke of Yorke.

Edmund Langleie duke of Yorke, vncle vnto Richard the ſecond, was in the eighteenth yeare of the ſaid Richard, being about the yeare of our redemption 1395, ordeined lord gardian of England, in the kings abſence in the realme of Ireland. This protector cauſed a parlement to be aſſembled at Weſtminſter: where he dealt ſo effectuallie, notwithſtanding the vntowardneſſe of the burgeſſes, that a tenth was granted by the cleargie, and a fifteenth by the temporaltie; but not without proteſtation, that thoſe paiments were granted of a meere freewill, for the loue they bare to the king, and to haue the affaires in Ireland to ſucceed the better. After this, about foure yeares; king Richard the ſecond in the two and twentith yeare of his reigne, in the yeare of Chriſt 1399, making another viage into Ireland (being the laſt and moſt vnhappie that euer was to him, for before his returne he had in effect loſt his realme, which after his comming he loſt in deed) did againe in his abſence ſubſtitute this Edmund duke of Yorke as cheefe gouernor of England. Who in the abſence of the king, aſſembled a power of men againſt Henrie of Bullingbroke, now entered into the land to challenge the dukedome of Lancaſter after the death of his father Iohn of Gaunt, and vnder that colour to vſurpe the crowne. Which Edmund paſſing into Wales in the three and twentith yeare of Richard the ſecond, was receiued into the caſtell of Barkleie, & there remained vntill the comming of Henrie of Bullingbroke. Whom when he perceiued (for the power which the ſaid duke of Lancaſter had aſſembled from all parts of the realme) that he was not of ſufficiencie to reſiſt; he came forth into the church that ſtood without the caſtell, and there fell to parlee with the duke of Lancaſter; after which he did neuer forſake the duke of Lancaſter, vntill he came to the crowne. Who, if he had faithfullie ſtood vnto his nephue, might perhaps haue ſaued vnto him both his crowne and life. Of this man is more ſaid in my treatiſe of the dukes of England.

Ione de Namares widow to Henrie the fourth.

Ione de Namures ſometime dutches of Britaine, (widow to Philip Montfort, as ſaith Hypodigma; but Walſingham in his hiſtorie calleth him Iohn duke of Britaine; being alſo the widow of king Henrie the fourth) was ſubſtitute gouernor of the realme by hir ſon in law king Henrie the fift, king of England, in the third yeare of his reigne, being the yeare from the birth of the Meſſias 1415, when the ſaid Henrie the fift tooke his iournie into France to conquer the ſame. This woman in the ſeuenth yeare of Henrie the fift, which was in the yeare of Chriſt 1419, being ſuſpected (as ſaith Iohn Stow) to practiſe witchcraft againſt the king, was committed to the cuſtodie of Iohn Wellam, or rather Iohn Pelham, who appointed nine ſeruants to attend vpon hir, and brought hir to Peuenſeie caſtell to be gouerned vnder his prouidence. But ſhortlie after cleering hir ſelfe, ſhe was deliuered. This ladie died at Hauering at the bowre in Eſſex the ninth of Iulie in the ſeuenteenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the ſixt, being the yeare of Chriſt one thouſand foure hundred thirtie and ſeuen, and was buried at Canturburie with hir huſband king Henrie the fourth.

Iohn de Plantagenet duke of Bedford.

Iohn duke of Bedford ſon to Henrie the fourth, & brother to K. Henrie the fift, was in the fourth yeare of the reigne of the ſaid Henrie, being the yeare of our redemption 1416, by parlement appointed regent of the realme, to inioie the ſame office ſo long as the king was imploied in the French wars. Which place he poſſeſſed accordinglie; and in the ninth yeare of the victorious prince, king Henrie the fift, being gardian of England, he, with Henrie Beauford biſhop of Wincheſter vncle to Henrie the fift, and Iaqueline duches of Holland remaining then in England, were godfathers, and godmother to Henrie, after king by the name of Henrie the ſixt, the ſon of Henrie the fift; Henrie Chichleie archbiſhop of Canturburie baptiſing the child. In the tenth and laſt yeare of Henrie the fift, this Iohn with a ſtrong power conueied queene Katharine wife to Henrie the fift, from Southampton into France. This man being duke of Bedford, earle of Richmond and of Kendall, coneſtable of England, and warden of the marches of Scotland, died the fourteenth date of September at Rone in Normandie, who (hauing alſo beene regent of France, a moſt valiant gentleman, and one that kept the parts beyond the ſeas in great obedience to the crowne of England) had for his yearelie penſion 20000 crownes at the leaſt. After whoſe death all things went backeward, and the Engliſh loſt all that they had beyond the ſeas, Calis, & thoſe dominions onlie excepted.

This man (I ſaie) died in the yeare of our redemption 1435, being the thirteenth yeare of the vnfortunat gouernment of the depoſed king Henrie the ſixt, and was honorablie buried at Rone in our ladie church there. Touching whome it ſhall not greeue me to ſet downe the anſwer of a French king latelie in our age made to one of his nobilitie; ſaieng vnto the king (then being in the ſaid ladie church of Rone, and beholding the toome of this Iohn of Bedford) that it were conuenient that the ſame toome were defaced and pulled downe; ſince he was the onelie man that wrought the greateſt damage that euer happened vnto France. To whom the king ſaid; Hold thy peace foole, God forbid that euer we ſhould doo ſuch reproch to him being dead; whome the proudeſt of our nation durſt not looke in the face when he was liuing. This duke Iohn maried the ſecond yeare of Henrie the ſixt, in the yeare of Chriſt 1423, Anne the daughter of Iohn duke of Burgognie, who died in the tenth yeare of Henrie the ſixt, in the yeare of Chriſt 1433, after which he maried Iaques daughter to Peter earle of S. Paule in the ſame yeare, and yet died without iſſue. Of this man is mention made in my former diſcourſe of the coneſtables of England, pag. 868.

Humfreie duke of Gloceſter.

Humfreie duke of Gloceſter brother to Henrie the fift, and vncle to Henrie the ſixt, was in the tenth and laſt yeare of Henrie the fift, being the yeare of our Lord 1422, made regent of England, vpon the remouing and departure of Iohn duke of Bedford with queene Katharine, wife to Henrie the fift into France. In which yeare (happening the lamentable death of that worthie prince king Henrie the fift) the ſaid Henrie vpon his death-bed appointed this Humfreie to be protector of the realme; which he did exerciſe in the time of the minoritie of Henrie the ſixt, from the time of his firſt enterance into the kingdome. Who at that time taking vpon him that function, called vnto him graue and wiſe councellors; with whoſe ſupport he might with better honor to the realme, and benefit to the ſubiects, rule the ſhip of this kingdome, ſailing in the dangerous waues of the kings infancie. By which meanes holding the ſterne thereof, directed by the courſe of iuſtice, he did moſt honorablie during his life diſcharge the dutie of ſo weightie an office. Who in the fourteenth yeare of Henrie the ſixt, being the yeare of our Lord 1439, did with fiue hundred ſaile land at Calis, and for eleuen daies ſpoiled the low countries and ſo by Calis returned againe into England. This man in the fiue & twentith yeare of king Henrie ſixt, being the yeare of Chriſt 1447, was in his caſtell of Vies in Wilſhire, & comming from thence to the parlement was lodged in the hoſpitall, and arreſted by Iohn lord Beaumont high coneſtable of England. But on the foure and twentith daie of Februarie he died for ſorrow as ſome ſaid, and as Iohn Stow hath noted, bicauſe he might not come to his anſwer. Other write that he was murdered in the night by the quéens procurement, to the great griefe of the commons, and in time following to the vtter deſtruction of the king and the quéene. He was duke of Gloceſter, and alſo in the right of his wife duke of Holland and Zeland, earle of Penbroke, lord chamberleine of England, and protector of the realme, being highlie eſtéemed of learned men, himſelfe alſo not meanlie furniſhed with knowledge, hauing rare ſkill in aſtrologie, wherof beſide manie other things he compiled a ſingular treatiſe, obteining the name of *Tabula directionum*, touching whoſe death I haue read theſe verſes following in Iohn Whethamſted:

Aemula ſors varijs ſignanter honoribus altis
Cauſauit miſerè mala multos flere ruinæ,
Leſus erat Iulius, vndis merſus Ptolomeus,
Pulſus Tarquinius, exul factúſque Tydeus,
Dux nimis properè iam dictus tempora vitæ
Compleuit triſtis, heu indignatio regis
Cauſa fuit magna, maior detractio falſa,
Plebis & iunctæ fallacis & inſidioſæ,
Nam regis patruus, quamuis & proximus hæres,
Tunc fuerátque ſuus conſultor in ordine primus,
Vir prudénſque pius, vir doctus & ingenioſus,
Non tamen erubuit, nec pertimuit, ve pepercit
Hunc accuſare falsè de proditione,
Diſcere quódque ſuam clàm vellet tollere vitam
Et ſibi ſurripere violenter iura coronæ.
Diuitis argentum, proprium qui captat in vſum,
Deſiderat medium quo vindicet aptiùs ipſum,
Sic regem plures comitantes collaterales
Sectantur prædam, mediat fraus, dat dolus ipſam,
Fidior in regno regi duce non fuit iſto,
Plúſue fide ſtabilis aut maior amator honoris,
Et tamen vt prædo voto potiretur iniquo,
Fraudem conſuluit, cum fraude dolum ſocianit,
Sicque ducem falſi maculans cum proditione
Obtinuit votum, prædator erátque bonorum
Illius, & triſtis obijt dux criminis expers.

Humfrie duke of Gloceſter.

Which duke Humfrie was buried at ſaint Albons, dieng without iſſue, after he had married two wiues; whereof the firſt wife was Iacoba or Iaqueline (daughter and ſole heire of William of Bauier) being then the lawfull wife to Iohn duke of Brabant then liuing, which wife this Humfrie married in England in the yéere of our redemption 1424 being the third yéere of king Henrie the ſixt, vpon which grew great warres, and Humfrie duke of Gloceſter challenged the combat of the duke of Burgognie, taking part with his couſine Iohn duke of Brabant. But in the end the duke of Gloceſter left his wife at Mons & returned into England, and ſhée vnto Gaunt, and ſo into Holland, & the combat ſtaid by means of the duke of Bedford brother to the duke of Gloceſter. But after (as it ſéemeth) the duke of Gloceſter was diuorſed from this dutcheſſe, and then married Eleanor Cobham (whome he had tenderlie loued as his paramour before that) in the yéere of our redemption 1428, being the ſixt yéere of the reigne of king Henrie the ſixt. This woman in the ninetéenth yéere of the ſaid Henrie the ſixt (vpon the taking of Henrie Bullingbrooke for practiſing necromancie, thereby to conſume the king) fled in the night to Weſtminſter for ſanctuarie, which cauſed hir to be ſuſpected of treaſon. Wherevpon Bullingbrooke confeſſing that he wrought the ſame at the procurement of the ſaid Eleanor, deſirous to know to what eſtate ſhe ſhould come vnto, the ſaid dame Eleanor did oftentimes for the ſame fact appéere before the biſhop, and in the end was conuicted. After which in the twentith of Henrie the ſixt ſhe did gréeuous penance therefore, and ſo eſcaped with hir life. And here becauſe I haue ſaid ſomewhat of Iaqueline dutcheſſe of Holland, I thinke it not amiſſe to adde a little more of hir, being a woman of great beautie, and deſire of change in performing the pleſures of the fleſh: wherefore I will ſet downe what I haue ſéene written vnder the pictures of hir and hir husband Francis in this ſort.

The ſubſcription vnder the pictures of *the ladie Iaqueline, and of Francis* hir husband.

Iacoba Dei gratia comitiſſa Hannoniæ, Hollandiæ, & Zelandiæ, domina Friſiæ, Zutbeuerlandiæ, terræ Brilenſis, Vorenſis, &c: Gulielmi Bauarienſis ducis filia & hæres vnica, quæ primò deſponſata fuit Philippo Burgundiorum duci: poſtea Delphino Francorum regis filio: tertiò Iohanni duci Brabantiæ Antonij filio: deinde Humfrido Gloceſtriæ duci Henrici quarti Angliæ regis filio: & poſtremò Franconi Burſalienſi comiti Oſteruandiæ matrimonio copulatur. Quæ obijt abſque liberis 8 Idus Octobris, anno Domini 1463 ſepulta apud Hagam comitis in Hollandia.

Beſide which was this written in Dutch:

Vrowen Iacoba van Byeren Grauenne van
Hollant ſtarſe Anno Domini 1463.

The ſubſcription vnder the picture *of hir husband Francone or Fran*cis was in this ſort.

Franciſcus Dei gratia comes de Oſteruant (erſginocht) *in comitatibus Hollandiæ, Hannoniæ, Zelandiæ, & Friſelandiæ, dominus de Bourſalia de Viorne, Zuylen, Hochſtraten, Kortkene, de la Veer, Fliſbing, Zandenburge, terræ Brilenſis, Sentmartinſdike, quo loco fundauit cœnobium canonicorum, &c: & regi Edwardo quarto fideliter aſſiſtebat, necnon equeſtris ordinis diui Antonij.*

Beſide which alſo was this written in the Dutch tong. Here vranck van Boſelen graue van Oſteruant ſtarſe Anno Domini 1470.

Thomas Beaufort duke of Exceſter.

Thomas Beaufort duke of Exceſter (appointed to that office by Henrie the fift on his death-bed) was with Henrie Beaufort biſhop of Wincheſter great vncle to king Henrie the ſixt in the yéere of our redemption 1422, being the firſt yéere of the reigne of king Henrie the ſixt (then but nine months old) made protector and gardian of the perſon of the yoong king, to ſée him tenderlie and carefullie brought vp and inſtructed in all ſuch parts as were to be required in the perſon of a monarch. Which office he left about the fourth yéere of king Henrie the ſixt, and died on Newyéeres daie at his manor of Gréenwich in the ſaid fift yéere of Henrie the ſixt, being the yéere of our redemption 1446: he married Margaret the daughter of Thomas Neuill of Horneſbie.

Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwike.

Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwike ſon of the former Thomas Beauchampe, being beyond the ſeas, and there deputie for Iohn duke of Bedford (being regent of France) did (whileſt the ſaid regent was come ouer into England) obteine manie caſtels in his deputieſhip; who being thus imploied in the forren warres, was in his abſence out of his countrie (for his ſingular wiſdome and valor) ordeined by the thrée eſtates of the realme of England in open parlement, to be gouernor of the perſon of the yoong king Henrie the ſixt, in the place of Thomas Beaufort duke of Exceſter latelie deceaſed: which Richard did not yet forthwith haſten his returne into England, but remained in France for a ſeaſon, inlarging the ſame of his martiall exploits. This his election to the protectorſhip of the kings perſon, was in the fiſt yéere of Henrie the ſixt, being the yéere of our redemption 1426. He died in the yéere of our Lord 1439, being the ſeuentéenth yéere of the depoſed king Henrie the ſixt, at Rone in Normandie the laſt daie of Maie, as hath Iohn Stow; and the fourth of October next following his corps was honorablie conueied, as well by land as by water from Rone to Warwike, and there honorablie buried in the college of our ladie church founded by his noble anceſtors. He maried two wiues, the firſt Eliſabeth daughter and heire of Thomas lord Barkleie, by whome he had thrée daughters, Margaret maried to Iohn lord Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, Eleanor maried to Thomas lord Roſſe, and Eliſabeth married to George Neuill lord Latimer. His ſecond wife was Iſabell the daughter and heire of Richard lord Spenſer, by whome he had iſſus Henrie duke of Warwike, and Anne married to Richard Neuill earle of Saliſburie.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, ſonne to Richard earle of Cambrige, and father to Edward the fourth king of England, notwithſtanding that he made challenge to the crowne againſt Henrie the ſixt, then in poſſeſſion thereof, as heire to the houſe of Yorke, and was to be preferred before the houſe of Lancaſter; and notwithſtanding that he was by parlement appointed to weare the crowne after the death of Henrie the ſixt: yet after all this, in the thrée and thirtith yéere of the ſame king, being the yéere of our redemption 1455 (ſuch was the imperfection of the king to gouerne) he was appointed protector of the realme, ruling the ſame at his owne diſpoſition. Which office he did not long inioie, and that moſt worthilie: for the next yéere after being the foure and thirtith of king Henrie the ſixt, and the yéere of our redemption 1456, he was depriued from the ſame, and quéene Margaret wife to Henrie the ſixt tooke againe the abſolute regiment into hir hands: which duke after in the nine and thirtith of king Henrie the ſixt, being the yéere of our redemption 1460, the thirtith daie of December, being lord of Wakefield, was there with his ſonne the earle of Rutland ſlaine at the battell commonlie called the battell of Wakefield; of which I haue read theſe verſes in Whethamſted once abbat of ſaint Albons:

This was done 1561, counting the yeare to begin at Chriſtmas as ſome doo, or at Ianuarie as others doo.

Anno milleno centum quater quoque ſeno,
Terdenóque die, duodeno menſe Decembre,
Infra Eboracenſem iuxta Wakefield comitatum
Dux dominus villæ fertur pugnans habuiſſe
Conflictum grandem contra gentem borealem,
Ac proceres plures præerant quæ gentibus ipſis,
Quod docuit, quia ſors quod res fortuna ſecundat,
Vitat habere moras, cecidit dux natus & eius,
Ac comes inſignis ſors belli, ſors fuit ipſis
Obuia, ſicque fatis regni fuerat breuis hæres
Omen & id letum tulerat mutamine mæſtum
Deflendum multis, ius regni, ius fuit eius.

He maried Ciſlie daughter to Rafe Neuill firſt earle of Weſtmerland, by whome he had iſſue Edward duke of Yorke, earle of March, and after king of England by the name of Edward the fourth: George Plantagenet duke of Clarence, Richard Plantagenet duke of Gloceſter, after king of England by the name of Richard the third: thrée daughters, Anne maried to Henrie Holland duke of Exceſter, Eliſabeth married to Iohn de la Poole duke of Suffolke, and Margaret maried to Charles duke of Burgognie.

George Plantagenet duke of Clarence.

George Plantagenet duke of Clarence, and coneſtable of England, ſonne of the foreſaid duke of Yorke, and brother to king Edward the fourth, with Richard Neuill earle of Warwike (who ſet vp and pulled downe kings at his pleaſure) were after the flight of Edward the fourth out of England into Burgognie to his brother in law (in the tenth yeare of the reigne of the ſaid king Edward, being the yeare of our redemption 1470, when Henrie the ſixt had by their means readepted the kingdome) made gouernors of the land, which office they inioied not long. For the ſaid Edward the fourth returning into England, in the eleuenth yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption 1471, reconciled to him the duke of Clarence, did againe put downe king Henrie the ſixt, and ſlue the ſaid earle of Warwike (flieng awaie) at Barnet field (on Eaſter day) by one of the men of his campe. After this, on the fiftéenth daie of Ianuarie began a parlement, in the eightéenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1478, where this duke of Clarence was atteinted of treaſon, and the eleuenth of March following he ended his life in a but of malmeſeie, and was buried at Teukeſburie beſide his wife, who being with child died by poiſon a little before him. Of this man ſée more in my diſcourſe of the coneſtables of England pag. 869.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Gloceſter.

Richard Plantagenet third ſonne to Richard duke of Yorke, was coneſtable of England and gouernour of the perſon of the king, of whome is more ſpoken in my diſcourſe of the coneſtables of England pag. 869. But here mentioning the coneſtables of England, I thinke it better now than not at all, to mention alſo ſome imperfection and default in my former diſcourſe of the ſaid coneſtables, ſet downe by me before in pag. 865. Which default of mine in that place grew by reaſon of ouermuch haſt, which I vſed in ſudden ſéeking for the ſame, whereby (according to the old prouerbe) I brought forth a blind whelpe. For in the former deſcription I haue omitted diuerſe the which were coneſtables of England, the names of which were Henrie the firſt in the life of his father, Nigellus, and Robert de Oilie, with others of that line in deſcent, which Nigellus I can not as yet learne to be anie other but Nigellus de Oilie, brother to Robert de Oilie that came in with the Conqueror, who gaue Oxfordſhire vnto the ſaid Robert.

A digreſſion concerning the coneſtables of England not mentioned before in pag. 865.

Nigellus de Oilie coneſtable of England.

Beſides which, if it ſhall ſéeme to anie that I haue in my former treatiſe raſhlie written I know not what, & that here I make Henrie the firſt coneſtable in his father the Conquerors time, & by contrarietie therevnto did before make Walter coneſtable alſo in the Conquerors and William Rufus his time: let them know that there is no contrarietie herein. For Walter might firſt be coneſtable, & then Henrie the firſt, and both they in the Conquerors time, this office being taken from the firſt, and giuen to the latter by the Conqueror. After whoſe death William Rufus might take it from his brother Henrie, bicauſe he would not make him too great in England, for doubt leaſt he might hereby put the crowne in hazard, being fauoured of the people as one borne in England, and for that cauſe might reſtore that office to Walter. Againe it maie be, that ſome men reading that I haue before ſet downe, that Mawd the empreſſe gaue the coneſtableſhip to Milo the ſon of Walter in the ſixt of king Stephan, and that king Stephan tooke that office from Milo in the firſt yere of his reigne, and gaue it to Walter Beauchampe, will condemne me therefore of like vnaduiſed writing: bicauſe it ſéemeth thereby that Stephan tooke it from Milo before that Milo had it. Which is not ſo, for I can proue with ſome reaſon and authoritie, that Milo had it a little before the death of king Henrie the firſt, and alſo after his death in part of the firſt yeare of king Stephan, being witneſſe to a déed by king Stephan, made and dated the firſt of his reigne, to which he ſubſcribed his name *Milo Conſtabularius*. After which, king Stephan might in that yeare take that office from him, and ſo he did. Which Mawd the empreſſe vnderſtanding, and finding Milo (now fallen from king Stephan) one which aſſiſted hir, ſhe the better to confront Stephan, gaue the coneſtableſhip to Milo (accounting hir ſelfe as queene) in the ſixt of Stephan.

This being thus ſpoken in defenſe of that which before I haue written pag. 866. let vs go to our other matter concerning the coneſtables not mentioned before in the ſaid diſcourſe, wherein I find my ſelfe in a maruellous laberinth (out of which I doubt that the beſt antiquaries cannot looſe themſelues, no not he which thinketh and ſaith that he can controll all men, for I ſuppoſe he will be laine in this matter) how all theſe could be coneſtables, vnleſſe that in the time of Henrie the firſt, and of king Stephan, as it is moſt likelie, there was chopping & changing, putting in and taking out, ſetting vp and pulling downe one man in diuerſe yeares of one and the ſelfe ſame king: for king Stephan was ſometime a king, and ſometime as no king, and then againe a king. And ſo likewiſe was it with Mawd the empreſſe at the ſame time, bearing hir ſelfe ſometime as queene, and then deiected as no queene. But be it as it will be, I will here ſet downe what I find in ancient charters and pedegrees touching the coneſtables of England not before mentioned, leauing the ſame to others (either to order for ſucceſſion of time, or to amend for truth of matter) who peraduenture reading theſe things, which I haue ſeene and will here ſet downe, can beſtow them in better order than I can, which I earneſtlie praie them to doo, whereby truth maie be brought to light and perfection; which as yet touching theſe coneſtables ſet downe in this place, ſeemeth to be obſcured and confuſed vntill the time that Roger Fitz Miles had that office: for from his time the ſame is without all controuerſie ſufficientlie knowne. Wherefore, here before I enter into the deſcent of the de Oilies, who were coneſtables of England, I will ſet downe a ſtrange note of three perſons witneſſes to a deed, dated *Primo Stephani, anno Dom.* 1136, who doo all ſubſcribe their names as coneſtables. Which charter being the ſame wherein king Stephan gaue the manor of Sudton or Sutton to the houſe of Wincheſter, the ſame was amongſt other witneſſes thus ſigned, *Robertus de Veer conſtabularius, Milo conſtabularius, Brientius filius comitis conſtabularius*: all who could not be coneſtables of England at one time. Wherfore ſauing correction I ſuppoſe that it is out of all controuerſie, that neither the firſt nor the laſt of theſe three were coneſtables of England, but of ſome other places, as of Douer or other caſtels. And ſo to that which I haue further to ſaie of the kings coneſtables in one deſcent and ſucceſſion of the de Oilies, being tearmed the kings coneſtables, both in ancient charters and pedegrees, whereof Nigellus before mentioned ſeemeth to be one.

This Nigellus was coneſtable of England in the yeare of our redemption one thouſand one hundred and one, being the firſt yeere of king Henrie the firſt, as may appeare by a deed of confirmation made by Henrie the firſt touching the cathedrall church of Norwich, whereof I thinke good to ſaie ſomewhat to bring in the proofe that this Nigellus was conſtable. This church was built for the moſt part in the time of William Rufus, by Herebert de Loſinga the firſt biſhop of Norwich, who tranſlated the ſee from Tetford vnto Norwich, in the yeare of Chriſt 1094, which church being finiſhed and conſecrated to the holie trinitie, was afterward confirmed by Henrie the firſt, and Mawd his wife, in the firſt yeare of the ſaid Henrie, being the yeare of our redemption 1101, to the charter whereof ſigned by king Henrie & Mawd his wife, were manie biſhops, noblemen and abbats witneſſes, amongſt whome are theſe two ſet downe; Nigellus Conſtabularius, and Rogerus Cancellarius, of which Nigellus thus writeth Leland in his commentaries on the ſong of the ſwan in the word *Iſidis inſulæ: Erat Roberto frater Nigellus nomine, de quo fama non admodum multa refert*, which I ſuppoſe is this Nigellus de Oilie the coneſtable, as I before ſaid.

The foundation of the cathedrall church of Norwich.

Robert de Oilie conſtable of England.

Robert de Oilie, ſonne of the ſaid Nigellus, did ſucceed his father, and was as may appeare by ſome authors (who tearme him accordinglie) great conſtable of England. This man together with his wife Edith were the founders of the religious houſe of Oſneie, touching whome I ſhall not greeue to ſet downe what I haue gathered out of Leland and others. This Edith obteined of hir huſband to build a church in the Ile of Oſneie in Oxfordſhire, to our ſauiour Chriſt, about the yeare of our redemption 1129, being about the nine and twentith yeare of king Henrie the firſt, which church did after grow to be of great renowme and building, the occaſion of building whereof is ſet downe by others in this ſort. Edith being in great eſtimation with Henrie, firſt married the ſaid Robert de Oilie by the kings procurement, which Robert began the priorie of the blacke chanons of Oſneie by Oxford, amongſt the Iles made by the riuer of Iſis or Owſe. This Edith vſed oftentimes to walke out of Oxford caſtell with hir gentlewomen for to ſolace and recreate hir ſelfe. At what time at a certeine place, as often as ſhe came by the ſame, certeine pies aſſembled themſelues in a tree, where they chattered and as it were ſpake vnto hir. This ladie much maruelling at the matter, happening ſo continuallie at one time in one place after one order, and with one maner of foules, was manie times aſtoniſhed and feared therewith, eſteeming it a verie ſtrange woonder. Wherevpon ſhe ſent for one Radulph or Rafe a chanon of ſaint Freſwide in Oxford, a man of vertuous life & hir confeſſor, aſking his counſell vpon the ſame. To whom he anſwered (after that he had ſeene the order of thoſe pies onelie chattering at hir comming thither) that ſhe ſhould build ſome church or monaſterie in that place. Wherevpon ſhe intreated hir huſband to build a priorie, and ſo he did, making that Radulph the firſt prior of that houſe. All which matter, that is the comming of Edith to Oſneie, Radulph wating on hir, and the tree with the pies were all extant (at the generall diſſolution of the abbeies in the time of Henrie the eight) to be ſeene painted on the north ſide of the high altar, in the arch of the wall ouer Ediths toome in Oſneie priorie, vpon which toome there laie a ſtone image of Edith in the habit of a woweſſe holding a hart in hir right hand. This Robert de Oilie was buried in Oſneie in the verie middle of the presbiterie, vnder a flat marble ſtone; wherevpon was a flowred croſſe portraid, which Robert had iſſue Henrie de Oilie, baron of Hochnorton, & the kings coneſtable, which maried Margerie the daughter of Humfreie de Bohune, by whome that Henrie had iſſue Henrie de Oilie baron of Hochnorton, and the kings coneſtable which died without iſſue. Thus this much by waie of digreſſion, touching the coneſtables of England, left out in my former diſcourſe of thoſe officers. And ſo againe to the protectors.

The foundation of the abbeie of Oſneie or Owſneie in the yeare of Chriſt 1129, being about the thirtith yeare of Henrie the firſt, as ſome write.

Katharine the daughter of Ferdinando king of Spaine, and wife to king Henrie the eight, was (in the abſence of the ſaid king beyond the ſeas in the the warres of Turwine and Turneie) made regent of the realme, in the yeare of Chriſt 1513, and the fift yeare of king Henrie the eight, ſhe had beene the widow of Arthur prince of Wales, eldeſt ſonne vnto king Henrie the ſeauenth, and eldeſt brother to king

Katharine queene of England.

Henrie the eight, who after the death of that Arthur was by diſpenſation of the pope married to Henrie after king, by the name of Henrie the eight, being yoonger brother of the ſaid Arthur, from which king Henrie ſhe was afterward not onelie diuorſed, in the one and twentith of his reigne, being the yeare of Chriſt 1529, but after by parlement alſo in the foure and twentith of the kings reigne, in the yeare of Chriſt 1532, diſgraded from the name of quéene, and from thenſefoorth appointed onlie to be called the princeſſe dowager of prince Arthur, about fiue yeers after which ſhe died on the eight of Ianuarie, being the yeare of our redemption 1535, which was the ſeauen and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight, and was honourablie buried in the abbeie of Peterborow, for which cauſe afterward in the generall diſſolution of the abbeies, when all thoſe houſes were ſpoiled, this abbeie was not onelie for hir buriall there ſpared and not defaced, but alſo further honored with a greater title, and turned into a biſhoprike, by the ſaid king Henrie the eight.

Katharine Par, the daughter of ſir Thomas Par, lord of Kirkbie Kendall, and wife to king Henrie the eight, was by patent made protectreſſe of the realme of England, when king Henrie the eight went in perſon to the wars of Bullongne, on the thirtéenth of Iulie in the yeare of our redemption 1544, being the ſix & thirtith yeare of the triumphant reigne of the ſaid king. This ladie Katharine being the lord Latimers widow, was maried to the king at Hampton court, one the twelfe of Iulie being the fiue and thirtith yeare of his reigne, and the yeare of Chriſt 1543, who hauing no iſſue by the king, was after the kings death married to Thomas Seimer knight, lord Seimer of Sudleie and high admerall of England.

Edward Seimer knight, vicount Beauchampe earle of Hertford, & after duke of Summerſet, was protector of the kings perſon, and of the kingdome, in the firſt yeare of king Edward the ſixt, his nephue which was in the yeare of our redemption 1546, the king being then but nine yeares old. Of this man is more ſpoken in my following diſcourſe of all the dukes of England by creation or deſcent ſince the conqueſt, with which duke of Summerſet, the laſt in office of protectorſhip, Francis Thin knitteth vp this ſimple diſcourſe of the protectors of England of the kings perſon.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. 1051.

Curteis, alderman of London committed to ward for vnreuerend words and ſignes to the lord chancellor.

¶ On the 17 of Februarie, on which daie were receiued the bookes of the reliefe of all the wards of London, towards the new hoſpitals, by the kings commiſſioners, the councell dined at maiſter Coopers the ſhiriffe, and after dinner maiſter Thomas Curteis alderman came thither to ſpeake with the lord chancellor for a matter he had depending afore him in the chancerie, but for his miſdemeanour in words and ſignes to the lord chancellor at that time, the ſaid maiſter Curteis was committed to ward in the Fléet.] The ſix and twentith of Februarie, ſir Rafe Vane and ſir Miles Patridge were hanged on the tower hill; & ſir Michaell Stanhope with ſir Thomas Arundell were beheaded thére. The laſt of Aprill, through negligence of the gunpowder makers, a certeine houſe néere the tower of London, with thrée laſt of powder was blowne vp and burnt, the gunpowder makers being fiftéene in number, were all ſlaine.

Anno Reg. 6.

Sir Rafe Vane & other executed.

Houſe blowne vp with gunpowder.

Muſter of horſſemen before the king in Gréenwich parke.

Dukes.

Marqueſſes.

Earles.

Lords.

The ſixtéenth of Maie was a goodlie muſter of horſſemen made before the king, in the parke at Gréenwich, vnder the kings banner his band of penſioners, in number a hundred and fiftie, euerie penſioner two great horſſes and a gelding, the lord Braie their lieutenant. The duke of Northumberland, great maiſter of the kings houſhold vnder the white lion & the ragged ſtaffe fiftie. The duke of Suffolke vnder the vnicorne in the ſtarre a hundred and ten. The lord marqueſſe of Winchester, high treaſuror, vnder his banner the falcon, one hundred men. The marqueſſe of Northampton high chamberleine vnder the maidenhead a hundred. The earle of Bedford lord priuie ſeale vnder the gote a hundred. The erle of Warwike maiſter of the kings horſſes vnder the white lion fiftie. The erle of Huntington vnder his banner fiftie. The earle of Rutland vnder the peacocke fiftie. The earle of Penbroke vnder the gréene dragon fiftie. The lord Darcie vnder the maidens bodie fiftie. The lord Cobham vnder the Saracens head, fiftie. The lord Clinton lord admerall vnder the anchor, fiftie. The lord warden of the fiue ports, vnder the roſe in the ſunne beames, one hundred.

Rich. Grafton.

Doctor Ridleie preached before the king, mercie and charitie.

Not long after the death of the ſaid duke of Summerſet and his complices, it chanced the reuerend father in God maiſter doctor Ridleie then biſhop of London, to preach before the kings maieſtie at Weſtminſter. In the which ſermon he made a fruitfull and godlie exhortation to the rich, to be mercifull vnto the poore, and alſo to mooue ſuch as were in authoritie, to trauell by ſome charitable waie & meane, to comfort and reléeue them. Wherevpon the kings maieſtie being a prince of ſuch towardneſſe and vertue for his yeares, as England before neuer brought forth, and the ſame alſo being ſo well reteined and brought vp in all godlie knowledge, as well by his déere vncle the late protector, as alſo by his vertuous and learned ſcholemaiſters, was ſo carefull of the good gouernement of the realme, and chieflie to doo and prefer ſuch things as moſt ſpeciallie touched the honor of almightie God. And vnderſtanding that a great number of poore people did ſwarme in this realme, and chieflie in the citie of London, and that no good order was taken for them, did ſuddenlie and of himſelfe ſend to the ſaid biſhop as ſoone as his ſermon was ended, willing him not to depart, vntill that he had ſpoken with him (and this that I now write was the verie report of the ſaid biſhop Ridleie) who according to the kings commandement gaue his attendance. And ſo ſoone as the kings maieſtie was at leaſure, he called for him, and made him to come vnto him in a great gallerie at Weſtminſter, where (to his knowledge) and the king alſo told him ſo, there was preſent no mo perſons than they two, and therefore made him ſit downe in one chaire, and he himſelfe in another, which (as it ſéemed) were before the comming of the biſhop there purpoſelie ſet, & cauſed the biſhop (maugre his teeth) to be couered, and then entered communication with him in this ſort.

The verie report of biſhop Ridleie, wherin we may ſe what fruits followed vpon his ſermon: *Ergo* the hearing of the word preached is profitable.

First giuing him moſt hartie thanks for his ſermon and good exhortation, he therein rehearſed ſuch ſpeciall things as he had noted, and that ſo manie, that the biſhop ſaid; Trulie, trulie (for that was commonlie his oth) I could neuer haue thought that excellencie to haue béene in his grace, that I beheld and ſaw in him. At the laſt, the kings maieſtie much commended him for his exhortation for the reliefe of the poore. But my lord (ſaith he) ye willed ſuch as are in authoritie to be carefull therof, and to deuiſe ſome good order for their reliefe, wherein I thinke you meane me, for I am in higheſt place, and therefore am the firſt that muſt make anſwere vnto God for my negligence, if I ſhould not be carefull therein, knowing it to be the expreſſe commandement of almightie God, to haue compaſſion of his poore and néedie members, for whome we muſt make an accompt vnto him. And trulie my lord, I am before all things moſt willing to trauell that waie, and I

A moſt noble and vertuous ſaieng of king Edward to biſhop Ridleie.

" doubt nothing of your long and approoued wiſedome
" and learning, who hauing ſuch good zeale as wiſheth
" helpe vnto them, but that alſo you haue had ſome
" conference with others, what waies are beſt to be taken
" therein, the which I am deſirous to vnderſtand,
" and therefore I praie you ſaie your mind.

The biſhop thinking leaſt of that matter, and being amazed to heare the wiſdome and earneſt zeale of the king, was (as he ſaid himſelfe) ſo aſtonied, that he could not well tell what to ſaie: but after ſome pauſe, ſaid that as he thought at this preſent for ſome entrance to be had, it were good to practiſe with the citie of London, bicauſe the number of the poore there are verie great, & the citizens are manie & alſo wiſe; and he doubted not but they were alſo both pitifull & mercifull, as the maior & his brethren, & other the worſhipfull of the ſaid citie. And that if it would pleaſe the kings maieſtie to direct his gratious letter vnto the maior of London, willing him to call vnto him ſuch aſſiſtants as he ſhould thinke meet, to conſult of this matter, for ſome order to be taken therein, he doubted not but good ſhould follow thereof. And he himſelfe promiſed the king to be one himſelfe that ſhould earneſtlie trauell therein.

The citizens of London moued to be aſſiſtants in this charitable action.

The king forthwith not onelie granted his letter, but made the biſhop tarie vntill the ſame was written, and his hand and ſignet ſet thervnto, and commanded the biſhop not onelie to deliuer the ſaid letter himſelfe, but alſo to ſignifie vnto the maior, that it was the kings ſpeciall requeſt and expreſſe commandement, that the maior ſhould therein trauell, and as ſoone as he might conuenientlie giue him knowledge how farre he had proceeded therein. The biſhop was ſo ioious of the hauing of this letter, and that he had now an occaſion to trauell in that good matter, wherein he was maruellous zealous, that nothing could more haue pleaſed and delighted him: wherefore the ſame night he came to the maior of London, who then was ſir Richard Dobs knight, and deliuered the kings letter, and ſhewed his meſſage with effect.

The maior not onelie ioiouſlie receiued this letter, but with all ſpeed agreed to ſet forward this matter, for he alſo fauoured it verie much. And the next daie being mondaie, he deſired the biſhop of London to dine with him: and againſt that time, the maior promiſed that he would ſend for ſuch men, as he thought meeteſt to talke of this matter, and ſo he did. And ſent firſt for two aldermen and ſix commoners, and afterward were appointed more, to the number of foure and twentie. And in the end after ſundrie meetings (for by meane of the good diligence of the biſhop it was well followed) they agreed vpon a booke that they had deuiſed, wherein firſt they conſidered of nine ſpeciall kinds and ſorts of poore people, and thoſe ſame they brought in theſe three degrees:

The readines of the lord maior to prefer this good deed.

Degrees of poore.

Three degrees of poore.
- The poore by impotencie.
- Poore by caſualtie.
- Thriftleſſe poore.

1 The poore by impotencie are alſo diuided into three kinds, that is to ſaie:
- 1 The fatherleſſe poore mans child.
- 2 The aged, blind, and lame.
- 3 The diſeaſed perſon, by leproſie, dropſie, &c.

2 The poore by caſualtie are of three kinds, that is to ſaie:
- 4 The wounded ſouldier.
- 5 The decaied houſholder.
- 6 The viſited with greeuous diſeaſe.

3 The thriftles poore are three kinds in like wiſe, that is to ſaie:
- 7 The riotor that conſumeth all.
- 8 The vagabond that will abide in no place.
- 9 The idle perſon, as the ſtrumpet and others.

For theſe ſorts of poore were prouided three ſeuerall houſes. Firſt for the innocent and fatherleſſe, which is the beggers child, and is in deed the ſeed and breeder of beggerie, they prouided the houſe that was late Graie friers in London, and now is called Chriſtes hoſpitall, where the poore children are trained in the knowledge of God, and ſome vertuous exerciſe to the ouerthrowe of beggerie. For the ſecond degree is prouided the hoſpitall of ſaint Thomas in Southworke, & ſaint Bartholomew in weſt Smithfield, where are continuallie at leaſt two hundred diſeaſed perſons, which are not onelie there lodged and cured, but alſo fed and nouriſhed. For the third degree they prouided Bridewell, where the vagabond and idle ſtrumpet is chaſtiſed and compelled to labour, to the ouerthrow of the vicious life of idlenes. They prouided alſo for the honeſt decaied houſholder, that he ſhould be relieued at home at his houſe, and in the pariſh where he dwelled by a weekelie reliefe and penſion. And in like manner they prouided for the lazer to keepe him out of the citie from clapping of diſhes, and ringing of bels, to the great trouble of the citizens, and alſo to the dangerous infection of manie, that they ſhould be relieued at home at their houſes with ſeuerall penſions.

Chriſtes hoſpitall.

S. Thomas hoſpitall.

Bridewell.

Reliefe for the decaied houſeholder and lazer.

Now after this good order taken, and the citizens by ſuch meanes as were deuiſed, willing to further the ſame, the report therof was made vnto the kings maieſtie: and his grace for the aduancement hereof, was not onelie willing to grant ſuch as ſhould be the ouerſeers and gouernors of the ſaid houſes a corporation and authoritie for the gouernement thereof: but alſo required that he might be accounted as the chiefe founder and patrone thereof. And for the furtherance of the ſaid worke, and continuall maintenance of the ſame, he of his meere mercie and goodneſſe granted, that where before certeine lands were giuen to the maintenance of the houſe of the Sauoie, founded by king Henrie the ſeuenth, for the lodging of pilgrims and ſtrangers, and that the ſame was now made but a lodging of loiterers, vagabonds, and ſtrumpets that laie all daie in the fields, and at night were harboured there, the which was rather the maintenance of beggerie, than the reliefe of the poore, gaue the ſame lands, being firſt ſurrendred into his hands by the maiſter and fellowes there (which lands were of the yearelie value of ſix hundred pounds) vnto the citie of London, for the maintenance of the foundation aforeſaid.

K. Edward the ſixt founder of the hoſpitals in London.

And for a further reliefe, a petition being made to the kings maieſtie for a licence to take in mortmaine, or otherwiſe without licence, lands to a certeine yearelie value, and a ſpace left in the patent for his grace to put in what ſumme it would pleaſe him; he looking on the void place, called for pen and inke, and with his owne hand wrote this ſumme, in theſe words (foure thouſand marks by yeare) and then ſaid in the hearing of his councell: Lord God I yeeld thee
moſt hartie thanks, that thou haſt giuen mee life thus "
long, to finiſh this worke to the glorie of thy name. "
After which foundation eſtabliſhed, he liued not aboue two daies, whoſe life would haue beene wiſhed equall to the patriarchs, if it might haue pleaſed God ſo to haue protracted the ſame. But he was too good a prince for ſo bad a people, and therefore God remoued him, and tranſlated him to his owne kingdome, foreſeeing the euent of ſomething which in his ſecret counſell he had purpoſed, againſt a nation that knew not the benefit of the acceptable time of grace: wherein God by this peereleſſe princes meanes ment all good to this land, as might be gathered by the reformation of religion, wherin the kings care was exceeding great, as his deſire to eſtabliſh Gods glorie was zealous: according to that notable

A bleſſed king.

alluſion of Iohn Leland recorded in praiſe of this moſt excellent prince, as followeth in this epigram:

Alluſio ad etymon nominis Eaduerdi.

Quiſquis Eaduerdum Romano expreſſerat ore,
Cuſtodem fidei dixerit eſſe ſacræ.
Hoc ego crediderim puero feliciter orto
A ſuperis nomen cœlitus eſſe datum.
Eſt pater antiquæ fidei defenſor amicus,
Degener & nullo tempore natus erit.

Sir william Cheſter. John Calthrop draper.

But to returne where we left. By example of the charitable act of this vertuous yong king, ſir William Cheſter knight and alderman of London, and John Calthrop citizen and draper of the ſaid citie, at their owne proper coſts and charges made the bricke walles and way on the backeſide that leadeth from the ſaid new hoſpitall, vnto the hoſpitall of ſaint Bartholomewes, and alſo couered and vanted the towne dich from Alderſgate to Newgate, which before was verie noiſome and contagious to the ſaid hoſpitall.

Richard Caſtel ſhoomaker.

This hoſpitall being thus erected and put in good order, there was one Richard Caſtell *alias* Caſteller, ſhoomaker, dwelling in Weſtminſter, a man of great trauell and labor in his facultie with his owne hands, and ſuch a one as was named the cocke of Weſtminſter, for that both winter and ſummer he was at his worke before foure of the clocke in the morning. This man thus trulie and painfullie labouring for his liuing, God bleſſed and increaſed his labours ſo abundantlie, that he purchaſed lands and tenements in Weſtminſter, to the yearelie value of fortie and foure pounds. And hauing no child, with the conſent of his wife (who ſuruiued him, & was a vertuous & good woman) gaue the ſame lands wholie to Chriſts hoſpitall aforeſaid, to the reliefe of the innocent and fatherleſſe children, and for the ſuccor of the miſerable, ſore and ſicke, harbored in the other hoſpitals about London, whoſe example God grant manie to follow.

I. Stow. 1053. A monſter.

¶The third of Auguſt, at Midlenton eleuen miles from Oxford, a woman brought forth a child which had two perfect bodies from the nauill vpward, and were ſo ioined togither at the nauill, that when they were laid in length, the one head & bodie was eaſtward, and the other weſt: the legs for both the bodies grew out at the midſt where the bodies ioined, and had but one iſſue for the excrements of both bodies: they liued eightéene daies, and were women children. The eight of Auguſt were taken at Quinborow thrée great fiſhes called dolphins: & the wéeke following at Blackewall were ſix more taken, and brought to London, the leaſt of them was more than anie horſſe.]

Great fiſhes.

Much about this ſeaſon there were thrée notable ſhips ſet forth and furniſhed for the great adventure of the vnknowne voiage into the eaſt by the north ſeas. The great dooer and incourager of which voiage was Sebaſtian Gabato an Engliſhman, borne at Briſtow, but was the ſonne of a Genowaie. Theſe ſhips at the laſt arriued in the countrie of Moſcouia, not without great loſſe and danger, and namelie of their capteine, who was a worthie and aduenturous gentleman, called ſir Hugh Willoughbie knight, who being toſſed and driuen by tempeſt, was at the laſt found in his ſhip frozen to death and all his people. But now the ſaid voiage and trade is greatlie aduanced, and the merchants aduenturing that waie, are newlie by act of parlement incorporated and indued with ſundrie priuileges and liberties.

Sebaſtian Gabato.

Thrée mariages betwéene great eſtates.

About the beginning of the moneth of Maie next following, there were thrée notable mariages concluded, & ſhortlie after ſolemnized at Durham place. The firſt was betwéene the lord Gilford Dudleie, the fourth ſonne of the duke of Northumberland, and the ladie Jane, eldeſt daughter to Henrie duke of Suffolke, & the ladie Francis his wife, was the daughter of Marie ſecond ſiſter to king Henrie the eight, firſt maried to Lewes the French king, and after to Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke. The ſecond mariage was betwéene the lord Herbert, ſon and heire to William earle of Penbroke, and the ladie Katharine, ſecond daughter of the ſaid ladie Francis, by the ſaid Henrie duke of Suffolke. And the third was betwéene Henrie lord Haſtings, ſonne and heire to Francis earle of Huntington, and ladie Katharine yongeſt daughter to the forenamed duke of Northumberland.

The euill end wherto the knitting of theſe couples in mariage tended.

Theſe mariages were compaſſed & concluded chieflie vpon purpoſe to change & alter the order of ſucceſſion to the crowne, made in the time of king Henrie the eight, from the ſaid kings daughters, Marie and Elizabeth, and to conueie the ſame immediatlie after the death of king Edward to the houſe of Suffolke, in the right of the ſaid ladie Francis: wherein the ſaid yong king was an earneſt traueller in the time of his ſickeneſſe, & all for feare that if his ſiſter Marie, being next heire to the crowne, ſhould ſucceed, that ſhe would ſubuert all his lawes and ſtatutes made concerning religion, whereof he was moſt carefull: for the continuance whereof he ſought to eſtabliſh a meet order of ſucceſſion, by the aliance of great houſes by waie of marriage, which neuertheleſſe were of no force to ſerue his purpoſe. For tending to the diſheriting of the rightfull heirs, they proued nothing proſperous to the parties: for two of them were ſoone after made fruſtrate, the one by death, the other by diuorſe.

The kings feare fell out to be true.

The kings ſickeneſſe increaſeth.

In the meane while, the king became euerie daie more ſicke than other of a conſumption in his lungs, ſo as there was no hope of his recouerie. Whervpon thoſe that then bare chiefe authoritie in councell, with other prelats and nobles of the realme, called to them diuerſe notable perſons, learned as well in diuinitie as in the lawes of the land, namelie biſhops, iudges, & other, who fell to conſultation vpon this ſo weightie cauſe, and laſtly concluded vpon the deuiſe of king Edwards will, to declare the ſaid ladie Jane, eldeſt néece to king Henrie the eight, and wife to the ſaid lord Gilford, to be rightfull heire in ſucceſſion to the crowne of England, without reſpect had to the ſtatute made in the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight: the true meaning of which ſtatute they did impugne and ouerthrow by diuerſe ſubtill ſiniſter conſtructions of the ſame, to diſherit the ſaid kings daughters, to whome the ſucceſſion of the crowne of England of right apperteined, as well by the common lawes of this realme, as alſo by the ſaid ſtatute made in the ſaid fiue and thirtith yeare of king Henrie, as aforeſaid. To which new order of ſucceſſion, all the ſaid kings councell, with manie biſhops, lords, doctors and iudges of the realme ſubſcribed their names, without refuſall of anie, except ſir James Hales knight, one of the iuſtices of the common plées, who being called to this councell, would in no wiſe giue his aſſent, either by word or writing, as ye ſhall heare more in the hiſtorie of quéene Marie.

In euill minded conſultation of counſellors.

Sir James Hales the od man.

The death of king Edward the ſixt.

Now when theſe matters were thus concluded, and after confirmed by a number of hands, as aforeſaid, then the noble prince king Edward the ſixt, by long lingering ſickeneſſe and conſumption of his lungs aforeſaid, approched to his death, and departed out of this life the ſixt daie of Julie, in the ſeuenth yeare of his reigne, and ſeuentéenth of his age, after he had reigned and noblie gouerned this realme ſix yeares, fiue moneths, and eight daies. And a little before his departing, lifting vp his eies to God, he praied as followeth.

The

The praier of king Edward the *ſixt at his death.*

LOrd God, deliuer me out of this miſerable and wretched life, take me among thy choſen: howbeit not my will, but thy will be doone. Lord I commit my ſpirit to thée, oh Lord thou knoweſt how happie it were for mée to be with thée: yet for thy choſens ſake if it be thy will, ſend me life and helth, that I maie trulie ſerue thée. Oh my Lord bleſſe thy people, and ſaue thine inheritance. Oh Lord God, ſaue thy choſen people of England. Oh my Lord God defend this realme from papiſtrie, and mainteine thy true religion, that I and my people maie praiſe thy holie name. And therewithall he ſaid, I am faint, Lord haue mercie vpon me, and take my ſpirit.

Thus did this good yoong king yéeld vp to God his ghoſt the ſixt daie of Iulie (as before is mentioned) whome if it had pleaſed God to haue ſpared with longer life, not vnlike it was, but he ſhould haue ſo gouerned this Engliſh common-wealth, that he might haue béene comparable with any of his noble progenitors: ſo that the loſſe of ſo towardlie a yoong king, greatlie diſcomforted the whole Engliſh nation, that looked for ſuch a reformation in the ſtate of the common-wealth at his hands, as was to be wiſhed for of all good ſubiects: which bred ſuch a liking in them toward him, that euen among verie traitorous rebels his name yet was had in reuerence, although otherwiſe they neuer ſo much forgat their dutie both towards him and other, appointed to gouerne vnder him, through a malicious and moſt wilfull error; as if his tender yeares had not ſufficientlie warranted his roiall authoritie, but that the ſame had béene vſurped by others againſt his will and pleaſure.

The commendation of king Edward.

And as he was intierlie beloued of his ſubiects, ſo with the like affection of kindnes he loued them againe; of nature and diſpoſition méeke, much inclined to clemencie, euer hauing a regard to the ſparing of life. There wanted in him no promptnes of wit, grauitie of ſentence, ripeneſſe of iudgement, as his age might beare, fauour and loue of religion was in him from his childhood, his ſkill and knowledge in ſciences, beſides his other excellent vertues, were ſuch, that to them he ſéemed rather borne than brought vp. It maie ſéeme verie ſtrange, that in his yoong years (as maiſter Fox reporteth of him) he could tell and recite all the ports, hauens, and créekes, not within his owne realme onelie, but alſo in Scotland, and likewiſe in France, what comming in there was, how the tide ſerued in euerie of them; moreouer, what burthen, and what wind ſerued for the comming into each hauen: alſo of all his iuſtices, magiſtrates, & gentlemen that bare any authoritie within his realme, he knew their names, their houſkéeping, their religion and conuerſation what it was. He had a ſingular reſpect to iuſtice, a vertue moſt commendable in a prince, and chieflie to the diſpatch of poore mens ſutes. Hée perfectlie vnderſtood the Latine tong, the French, the Gréeke, Italian, and Spaniſh, neither was he ignorant (ſaith Cardanus) in Logike, in the principles of naturall philoſophie, or in muſicke.

Sée Iohn Fox in the Acts & Monuments vnder the title of Edward the ſixt.

The noble memorie of king Edward and his rare wit.

To conclude, his towardlineſſe was ſuch in all heroicall vertues, noble gifts, and markable qualities conuenient for his princelie eſtate, that ſo much was hoped for in his roiall perſon(if he had liued till triall might haue béene had of the proofe) as was to be looked for in anie one prince that euer had rule ouer this noble realme. ¶ The eight of Iulie, the lord maior of London was ſent for to the court, then at Gréenwich, and to bring with him ſix aldermen, as manie merchants of the Staple, and as manie merchant aduenturers, vnto whom by the councell was ſecretlie declared the death of king Edward, & alſo whom he had ordeined to the ſucceſſion of the crowne by his leters patents, to the which they were ſworne, and charged to kéepe it ſecret.] But now to procéed with the doings that followed. Immediatlie after the death of this ſo worthie a prince king Edward, the aforeſaid ladie Iane was proclamed quéene of this realme by the ſound of trumpet, that is to ſaie, the ninth daie of Iulie, at which proclamation were preſent the lords of the councell, the maior of London, with others.

I. Stow. 1058. K. Edwards death opened.

Ladie Iane proclamed quéene.

¶ The eleauenth of Iulie, Gilbert Pot, drawer to Ninion Sanders vintener, dwelling at S. Iohns head within Ludgate, who was accuſed by the ſaid Sanders his maiſter, was ſet vpon the pillorie in Cheape, with both his eares nailed, and cleane cut off, for words ſpeaking at time of the proclamation of ladie Iane. At the which execution was a trumpet blowne, and a herald read his offenſe, in preſence of one of the ſhiriffes, &c. About fiue of the clocke the ſame daie in the afternoone, Ninion Sanders, maſter to the ſaid Gilbert Pot, and Iohn Owen a gunner, comming from the tower of London, by water in a wherrie, and ſhooting London bridge, towards the blacke friers, were drowned at ſaint Marie Locke, and the wherriemen ſaued by their ores.]

I. Stow. 1059. Gilbert Pot puniſhed in Cheape.

Men drowned at London bridge.

The ladie Marie, a little before lieng at Honeſdon in Hartfordſhire, hauing intelligence of the ſtate of the king hir brother, and of the ſecret practiſe againſt hir: by the aduiſe of hir fréends, with all ſpéed tooke hir iorneie toward hir houſe of Keningall in Norfolke, intending there to remaine, vntill ſhe could make hir ſelfe more ſtrong of hir fréends and alies, and withall wrote vnto the lords of the councell in forme as followeth.

A letter of the ladie Marie ſent to the *lords of the councell, wherein ſhe claimeth the* crowne now after the deceaſe of hir *brother king Edward.*

MY lords we gréet you well, and haue receiued ſure aduertiſement, that our deareſt brother the king our late ſouereigne lord is departed to Gods mercie: which newes, how they be wofull to our heart, he onelie knoweth, to whoſe will and pleaſure we muſt and doo humblie ſubmit vs, and all our wils. But in this ſo lamentable a caſe, that is to wit, now after his maieſties departure and death, concerning the crowne & gouernance of this realme of England, with the title of France, and all things thereto belonging that hath béene prouided by act of parlement, and the teſtament and laſt will of our deareſt father, beſides other circumſtances aduancing our right: you know, the realme, and the whole world knoweth, the rolles and records appeare by the authoritie of the king our ſaid father, and the king our ſaid brother, and the ſubiects of this relme, ſo that we verelie truſt that there is no true ſubiect that is, can, or would pretend to be ignorant thereof: and of our part we haue our ſelues cauſed, and as God ſhall aid and ſtrength vs, ſhall cauſe our right and title in this behalfe to be publiſhed and proclamed accordinglie. And albeit this ſo weightie a matter ſéemeth ſtrange, that the dieng of our ſaid brother vpon thurſdaie at night laſt paſt, we hitherto had no knowledge from you thereof: yet we conſider your wiſedomes and prudence to be ſuch, that hauing eftſoones amongſt you debated, pondered, and well

The ladie Maries challenge to the crowne by right of ſucceſſion.

She certifieth the lords that ſhe knoweth what is intended againſt hir.

She chargeth the lords vpon their loialties to cauſe hir right to the regiment to be proclamed.

weighed this preſent caſe with our eſtate, with your owne eſtate, the commonwealth, and all our honors, we ſhall and may conceiue great hope and truſt, with much aſſurance in your loialtie and ſeruice, and therfore for the time interpret and take things not to the worſt, and that ye yet will like noblemen worke the beſt. Neuertheleſſe, we are not ignorant of your conſultations to vndoo the prouiſions made for our preferment, nor of the great bands and prouiſions forcible, wherevnto ye be aſſembled and prepared, by whome, and to what end, God and you know, and nature can feare ſome euill. But be it that ſome conſideration politike, or whatſoeuer thing elſe hath mooued you thereto, yet doubt you not my lords, but we can take all theſe your dooings in gratious part, being alſo right readie to remit and fullie pardon the ſame, with that fréelie to eſchew bloudſhed & vengeance againſt all thoſe that can or will intend the ſame, truſting alſo aſſuredlie you will take and accept this grace and vertue in good part, as apperteineth, and that we ſhall not be inforced to vſe this ſeruice of other our true ſubiects and fréends, which in this our iuſt and rightfull caſe, God (in whome our whole affiance is) ſhall ſend vs. Wherefore my lords, we require you, and charge you, and euerie of you, that euerie of you of your allegiance which you owe to God and vs, and to none other, for our honour, and the ſuertie of our realme, onelie imploie your ſelues and forthwith vpon receit hereof cauſe our right and title to the crowne and gouernment of this realme, to be proclamed in our citie of London, and ſuch other places as to your wiſedoms ſhall ſéeme good, and as to this caſe apperteineth, not failing hereof, as our verie truſt is in you: and thus our letter ſigned with our owne hand ſhall be your ſufficient warrant in this behalfe. Yeuen vnder our ſignet at our manor of Keningall the ninth of Iulie 1553.

To this letter of the ladie Marie, the *lords of the councell anſwered againe* as followeth.

The lords aduertiſe the ladie Marie that the ladie Iane is quéene.

A ſubtill ſhift to proue the ladie Marie illegitimate.

Madam, we haue receiued your letters the ninth of this inſtant, declaring your ſuppoſed title, which you iudge your ſelfe to haue to the imperiall crowne of this realme, and all the dominions thereto belonging. For anſwer wherof, this is to aduertiſe you, that forſomuch as our ſouereigne ladie quéene Iane is, after the death of our ſouereigne lord Edward the ſixt, a prince of moſt noble memorie, inueſted and poſſeſſed with the iuſt and right title of the imperiall crowne of this realme, not onelie by good order of old ancient good lawes of this realme; but alſo by our late ſouereigne lords letters patents, ſigned with his owne hand, and ſealed with the great ſeale of England, in preſence of the moſt part of the nobles, councellors, iudges, with diuers other graue and ſage perſonages, aſſenting and ſubſcribing to the ſame: we muſt therefore, as of moſt bound dutie and allegiance, aſſent vnto hir ſaid grace, and to none other, except we ſhould (which faithfull ſubiects cannot) fall into gréeuous and vnſpeakeable enormities. Wherefore we can no leſſe doo, but for the quiet both of the realme and you alſo, to aduertiſe you, that forſomuch as the diuorſe made betwéene the king of famous memorie king Henrie the eight, and the ladie Katharine your mother, was neceſſarie to be had, both by the euerlaſting lawes of God, and alſo by the eccleſiaſticall lawes, and by the moſt part of the noble and learned vniuerſities of chriſtendome, and confirmed alſo by the ſundrie acts of parlements, remaining yet in their force, and thereby you iuſtlie made illegitimate, and vnheritable to the crowne imperiall of this realme; and the rules, dominions, and poſſeſſions of the ſame: you will vpon iuſt conſideration hereof, and of diuers other cauſes lawfull to be alledged for the ſame, and for the iuſt inheritance of the right line, and godlie orders taken by the late king Edward the ſixt, and greateſt perſonages aforeſaid, ſurceaſe, by anie pretenſe to vex and moleſt anie of our ſouereigne ladie quéene Iane hir ſubiects, from the true faith and allegiance due vnto hir grace; aſſuring you, that if you will for reſpect ſhew your ſelfe quiet and obedient (as you ought) you ſhall find vs all, and ſeuerall, readie to doo you anie ſeruice that we with dutie may, and to be glad of your quietneſſe, to preſerue the common ſtate of this realme, wherein you may be otherwiſe gréeuous vnto vs, to your ſelfe, and to them. And thus we bid you moſt hartilie well to fare. From the tower of London this ninth of Iulie.

Your ladiſhips freends ſhewing
your ſelfe an obedient ſubiect,

Thomas Canturburie, the marqueſſe of Wincheſter, Iohn Bedford, William Northampton, Thomas Elie chancellor, Iohn Northumberland, Henrie Suffolke, Henrie Arundell, Francis Shrewesburie, William Penbroke, Cobham, R. Rich, Huntington, Darcie, Cheineie, R. Cotton, Iohn Gates, William Peter, William Cecill, Iohn Chéeke, Iohn Maſon, Edward North, Robert Bowes.

Ladie Marie remoueth frõ Keningall to Fremingham caſtell.

All theſe aforeſaid, except onelie the duke of Northumberland, and ſir Iohn Gates, were either by ſpeciall fauour, or ſpeciall or generall pardon, diſcharged for this offenſe againſt hir committed, after hir comming to be quéene. But now vpon the receit of this anſwer, vnderſtanding by hir fréends that ſhe could not lie in ſuertie at Keningall, being a place open & eaſie to be approched, ſhe remooued from thence vnto hir caſtell of Fremingham, ſtanding in a wood countrie, & not ſo eaſie to be inuaded by hir enimies. So ſoone as the councell heard of hir ſudden departure, and conſidering that all came not to paſſe as they ſuppoſed; they cauſed ſpéedilie a power of men to be gathered togither. And firſt they agréed that the duke of Suffolke father to the new made quéene, ſhould haue the conduct and leading of the armie.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. 1059.

The councell perſuade the duke to vndertake this enterpriſe.

¶But afterward it was deuiſed and decréed vpon further conſiderations, and by the ſpeciall means of the ladie Iane his daughter, who taking the matter heauilie, with wéeping teares, made requeſt to the whole councell, that hir father might tarrie at home in hir companie. Wherevpon the councell perſuaded with the duke of Northumberland, to take that voiage vpon him, ſaieng, that no man was ſo fit therefore: bicauſe that he had atchiued the victorie in Norffolke once alreadie, and was therefore ſo feared, that none durſt once lift vp their weapon againſt him: beſides that, he was the beſt man of warre in the realme, as well for the ordering of his campes and ſouldiers, both in battell and in their tents, as alſo by experience, knowlege and wiſdome; he could both animate his armie with wittie perſuaſions, and alſo pacifie and allaie his enimies pride with his ſtout courage, or elſe to diſſuade them (if néed were) from their enterpriſe. Finallie, ſaid they, this is the ſhort and the long, the quéene will in no wiſe grant, that hir father ſhall take it vpon him: wherefore (quoth they) we thinke it good, if it may pleaſe your grace, it lieth in you to remedie the matter. With theſe & the like perſuaſions the duke was allured to put himſelfe deſperatlie vpon hazzard;

Non morte horrenda non vllis territus armis.

Inſomuch that he reioined vpon their talke, and ſaid: Well then, ſith yée thinke it good, I and mine will go, not doubting of your fidelitie to the quéenes maieſtie, which now I leaue in your cuſtodie. So that night he ſent for both lords, knights, and other that ſhould go with him, and cauſed all things to be prepared accordinglie. Then went the councell in to the ladie Iane, and told hir of their concluſion, who humblie thanked the duke for reſeruing hir father at home, and beſéeched him to vſe his diligence: whereto he anſwered, that he would doo what in him laie. The morrow following, great preparation was made, the duke earlie in the morning called for his owne harneſſe, and ſaw it made readie at Durham place, where he appointed all his retinue to méet. The ſame daie carts were laden with munition and artillerie, and field péeces were ſet forward.

Carts laden with munitiõ.

The dukes words to the lords of the councell.

The ſame forenoone the duke mooued eftſoones the councell to ſend their powers after him, as it was before determined, the ſame to méet with him at Newmarket, and they promiſed they would. He ſaid further to ſome of them: My lords, I and theſe other noble perſonages, with the whole armie that now go forth, as well for the behalfe of you & yours, as for the eſtabliſhing of the quéenes highneſſe, ſhall not onelie aduenture our bodies and liues amongſt the bloudie ſtrokes and cruell aſſaults of our aduerſaries in the open fields: but alſo we doo leaue the conſeruation of our ſelues, children, and families at home here with you, as altogither committed to your truth and fidelities: whome, if we thought ye would through malice, conſpiracie, or diſſention leaue vs your fréends in the briers, and betraie vs; we could as well ſundrie waies foreſée and prouide for our owne ſafegards, as anie of you by betraieng vs can doo for yours. But now vpon the onelie truſt and faithfulneſſe of your honors, whereof we thinke our ſelues moſt aſſured, we doo hazzard our liues. Which truſt and promiſe if yée ſhall violate, hoping thereby of life and promotion: yet ſhall not God count you innocent of our blouds, neither acqaite you of the ſacred and holie oth of allegiance, made fréelie by you to this vertuous ladie the quéenes highneſſe, who by your and our intiſement is rather of force placed therein, than by hir owne ſéeking and requeſt. Conſider alſo, that Gods cauſe, which is the preferment of his word, & feare of papiſts entrance, hath béene (as ye haue here before alwaies ſaid) the originall ground whervpon ye euen at the firſt motion granted your goodwils and conſents therevnto, as by your handwritings appeareth; and thinke not the contrarie, but if ye meane deceit, though not forthwith, yet hereafter God will reuenge the ſame.

He meaneth the new quéen after depriued and executed.

I can ſaie no more, but in this troubleſome time wiſh you to vſe conſtant hearts, abandoning all malice, enuie, and priuat affections. And therewithall the firſt courſe for the lords came vp, wherefore the duke ſhut vp his talke with theſe words. I haue not ſpoken to you in this ſort vpon anie miſtruſt I haue of your truths, of which alwaies I haue euer hitherto conceiued a truſtie confidence, but I haue put you in remembrance thereof, what chance of variance ſo euer might grow amongſt you in mine abſence: and this I praie you, wiſh me not worſſe good ſpéed in this iorneie, than yée would haue to your ſelues. My lord, ſaith one of them, if yée miſtruſt anie of vs in this matter, your grace is farre deceiued, for which of vs can waſh his hands cleane thereof? And if we ſhould ſhrinke from you as from one that were culpable, which of vs can excuſe himſelfe to be giltleſſe? Therefore herein your doubt is too farre caſt. I praie God it be (quoth the duke) let vs go to dinner: and ſo they ſat downe. After dinner the duke went in to the quéene, where his commiſſion was by that time ſealed, for his lieutenantſhip of the armie, and then tooke his leaue of hir, and ſo did certeine other lords alſo.

The concluſion of the dukes talke to the lords.

The earle of Arundell profeſſeth himſelfe ſorie that he goeth not with the duke of Northamberland.

Then as the duke came through the councell chamber, he tooke his leaue of the earle of Arundell, who praied God be with his grace, ſaieng he was ſorie it was not his chance to go with him and beare him companie, in whoſe preſence he could find in his heart to ſpend his bloud euen at his féet. Then the earle of Arundell tooke Thomas Louell the dukes boie by the hand, and ſaid; Farewell gentle Thomas with all my heart. Then the duke, with the lord marqueſſe of Northampton, the lord Greie, and diuerſe other tooke their barge, and went to Durham place, and to White hall, where that night they muſtered their men: and the next daie in the morning the duke departed with the number of ſix hundred men, or thereabouts. And as they rode through Shordich, ſaid the duke to the lord Greie; The people preaſe to ſée vs, but not one ſaith God ſpéed vs. The ſame daie ſir Iohn Gates and other went out after the duke.]

Much a do on all ſides during this ſtir broched betwéene the duke and the ladie Marie.

Now as the duke went forward on his waie (with his commiſſion from the whole councell, and his warrant vnder the broad ſeale of England, without miſtruſt of that which after fortuned to his owne deſtruction, as in the hiſtorie of quéene Marie ſhall appeare, accompanied with no ſmall number of lords and gentlemen, hauing notwithſtanding his times preſcribed, and his iourneies appointed by the councell, to the intent he would not ſeeme to doo any thing but vpon warrant) what a doo there was, what ſtirring on euerie ſide, what ſending, what riding and poſting, what letters, meſſages, & inſtructions went to and fro, what talking among the ſouldiers, what hartburning among the people, what faire pretenſes outwardlie, inwardlie what priuie practiſes there were, what ſpéeding and ſending forth ordinance out of the tower, yea euen the ſame daie that quéene Marie at euen was proclaimed quéene, what rumors, and comming downe of ſouldiers as there was from all quarters, a world it was to ſée, and a proceſſe to declare, enough to make (as ſaith maſter Fox) a whole volume, euen as big as an Ilias.

The old prouerbe verefied Delaie bréedeth danger.

The greateſt helpe that made for the ladie Marie, was the ſhort iourneies of the duke, which by commiſſion were aſſigned vnto him before, as aboue is mentioned: and happilie not without the politike forecaſt of ſome in fauour of the ladie Marie: for the longer the duke lingered in his voiage, the ladie marie the more increaſed in puiſſance, the hearts of the people being mightilie bent vnto hir. Wher vpon ſhe in the meane time remaining at Fremingham, and hearing of this preparation againſt hir, gathered togither ſuch power of the noblemen & other hir fréends in that countrie, as ſhe could get. And firſt of all, the noblemen that came vnto hir aid, were the earles of Suſſex, Bath, and Oxford, the lord Wentworth, ſir Thomas Cornewallis, ſir Henrie Ierningham, ſir William Walgraue, with diuerſe other gentlemen and commons of the counties of Norffolke and Suffolke. Here (as maſter Fox noteth) the Suffolke men being the firſt that reſorted to hir, promiſed hir their aid and helpe to the vttermoſt of their powers, ſo that ſhe would not go about to alter the religion which hir brother had eſtabliſhed, and was now vſed and exerciſed through the realme. To this condition ſhe agréed, with ſuch promiſe, as no man would haue doubted that anie innouation of matters in religion ſhould haue followed, by hir ſufferance or procurement during hir reigne: but how ſoone ſhée forgat that promiſe, it ſhall ſhortlie after plainelie appeare.

Suffolke men the firſt that reſorted to the ladie Marie.

Aſſiſtants to the ladie Marie.

In this meane ſeaſon, the lord Windſor, ſir Edmund Peckham, ſir Robert Drurie, and ſir Edward Haſtings, raiſed the commoners of the ſhire of Buckingham; vnto whome ſir Iohn Williams, which afterward was lord Williams of Thame, and ſir Leonard Chamberleine, with the cheefe power of Oxfordſhire. And out of Northamptonſhire came ſir Thomas Treſham, and a great number of gentlemen out of diuerſe parts, whoſe names were too long to rehearſe. Theſe capteins with their companies being thus aſſembled in warlike manner, marched forward towards Norffolke to the aid of the ladie Marie, and the further they went, the more their power increaſed.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag.1062.

Aid by wind and wether for quéene Marie that was bent againſt hir.

¶About this time ſix ſhips well manned, that were appointed to lie before Yarmouth, and to haue taken the ladie Marie if ſhe had fled that waie, were by force of weather driuen into the hauen, where one maiſter Ierningham was raiſing power on the ladie Maries behalfe, who hearing therof, came thither. Wherupon the capteins tooke a bote and went to the ſhips, but the ſailers and ſouldiers aſked maſter Ierningham what he would haue, and whether he would haue their capteins or no, and he ſaid yea. Marrie ſaid they, ye ſhall haue them or we will throw them into the bottome of the ſea. But the capteins ſaid foorthwith, that they would ſerue quéene Marie willinglie, and ſo brought foorth their men, and conueied with them their great ordinance. Of the comming of theſe ſhips the ladie Marie was wonderfull ioious, & afterward doubted little the dukes puiſſance: but when newes thereof was brought to the tower, each man there began to draw backward: and ouer that, word of a greater miſcheefe was brought to the tower: that is to ſaie, that the noblemens tenants refuſed to ſerue their lords againſt quéene Marie.

The duke of Northumberland writeth for more ſuccours.

Doctor Ridleie perſuadeth the people in the title of quéene Iane, &c.

The duke thought long for his ſuccors, and wrote ſomewhat ſharpelie to the councell at the tower in that behalfe, as well for lacke of men as munition, but a ſlender anſwer had he againe. And from that time forward, certeine of the councell, to wit, the erle of Penbroke, and ſir Thomas Cheineie lord warden, and other, ſought to get out of the tower to conſult in London, but could not. On the ſixtéenth of Iulie, being ſundaie, doctor Ridleie biſhop of London, by commandement of the councell, preached at Paules croſſe, where he vehementlie perſuaded the people in the title of the ladie Iane, late proclamed quéene, and inueied earneſtlie againſt the title of ladie Marie, &c. The ſame ſixtéenth of Iulie, the lord treaſuror was gone out of the tower to his houſe in London at night, and foorthwith about ſeauen of the clocke the gates of the tower vpon a ſudden were ſhut vp, and the keies borne vp to the ladie Iane, which was for feare of ſome packing in the lord treaſuror: but he was fetched againe to the tower about twelue of the clocke in the night.]

The lords of the councell ſuſpecting that all would go againſt them, proclamed the ladie Marie quéen.

The lords of the councell, being in this meane while at London, after they vnderſtood how the better part of the realme were inclined, and hearing euerie daie newes of great aſſemblies, began to ſuſpect the ſequell of this enterpriſe. So that prouiding for their owne ſuertie, without reſpect of the duke (who now was at Burie) they fell to a new councell, and laſtlie by aſſent made proclamation at London in the name of the ladie Marie, by the name of Marie quéene of England, France, & Ireland, defender of the faith, & of the churches of England & Ireland ſupreme head. Of which proclamation, after the duke of Northumberland, being then at Burie, was aduertiſed by letters of diſcomfort from the councell, he incontinentlie, according to the new order receiued from them, returned with his power againe to Cambridge. Now ſo ſudden change of minds foorthwith appeared in his armie, that they which before ſéemed moſt forward in that quarrell, began firſt to flie from him, & ſo euerie man ſhifting for himſelfe, he that late before was furniſhed of ſuch multitude of ſouldiers, was ſuddenlie forſaken of all ſauing a few, whoſe perils were ioined with his.

Learned men that wrote in the reigne of king Edward.

But now before I procéed anie further in the hiſtorie of quéene Marie, who was now receiued and proclamed quéene, as then to ſuccéed hir brother, I will ſpeake ſomewhat of the learned men that wrote & publiſhed anie pamphlets or treatiſes in his daies, as in déed there were manie: but for that the more part of them died in quéene Maries time, or in the quéenes maieſties time that now is, or elſe are yet liuing, I doo omit thoſe here, meaning to ſpeake of them hereafter, if God ſhall permit, as occaſion maie ſerue. For the reſidue that ended their liues in this kings daies, theſe I find: Dauid Clapham a lawyer and well ſéene in the Latine toong, wrote ſundrie treatiſes; Robert Talbot a prebendarie of Norwich, verie ſkilfull in antiquities; Edward Hall a counſellor in the common law, but excellentlie ſéene in hiſtories, wrote a notable chronicle of the vnion of the two houſes of Yorke & Lancaſter.

Furthermore Richard Tracie of Todington in Gloceſterſhire, an eſquier, and verie well learned, ſonne to William Tracie; doctor Ioſeph an excellent preacher; George Ioie a Bedfordſhire man, that wrote diuerſe treatiſes concerning diuinitie, and died either in the laſt yeare of king Edward, or in the beginning of quéene Maries reigne, as appeareth by maſter Bale; Alexander Barkleie a Scot, a notable poet, and a good rhetorician, departed this life in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and two; William Hugh a Yorkeſhireman, wrote, beſides other things, a notable treatiſe called the troubled mans medicine, he deceaſſed by the burſting of a veine, in the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred fortie and nine; Thomas Sternehold borne in Southhampton, turned into Engliſh méeter ſeuen & thirtie pſalmes choſen foorth of Dauids pſalter. Of ſtrangers that liued and died here in this kings daies, excellentlie learned, and renowmed for ſuch treatiſes as they publiſhed to the world, Martine Bucer and Paulus Fagius are moſt famous. To end now with this part of the booke concerning king Edward, I haue thought good to ſet downe Ierom Cardans verſes, written as an epitaph of him (and recorded by maſter Fox in his hiſtorie) as here followeth:

Flete nefas magnum, ſed toto flebilis orbe
Mortales, veſter corruit omnis honor.
Nam regum decus, & iuuenum flos, ſpéſque bonorum,
Deliciæ ſecli, & gloria gentis erat.
Dignus Apollineis lachrymis, doctaque Minerua:
Floſculus heu miſerè concidit ante diem.
Te cumulo dabimus muſæ, ſupremáque flentes
Munera, Melpomene triſtia fata canet.

Carmen epitaphicum Cardani in obitum regis Edouardi.

Thus farre the good and vertuous yoong prince Edward the ſixt, ſucceſſor to Henrie the eight of moſt famous memorie.

Marie

Marie the eldeſt daughter of king Henrie the eight ſucceſſor *to Edward the ſixt.*

Marie eldeſt daughter of K. Henrie the eight, by the ladie Katharine of Spaine, his firſt wife, and ſiſter vnto king Edward the ſixt, by the fathers ſide, began hir reigne the ſixt daie of Iulie, which daie the king hir brother died, and ſhe was proclamed at London (as is before remembred in the end of the hiſtorie of king Edward the ſixt) the nineteenth daie of the ſame moneth, in the yeare of our Lord 1553: after the creation of the world 5520, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of Charles the fift, emperor of Almaine, in the ſeuenth yéere of Henrie the ſecond of that name K. of France, & in the eleuenth of Marie quéene of Scotland. The twentith of Iulie the duke of Northumberland being come backe to Cambridge, heard that the proclamation of quéene Marie was come thither, whereof he being aduertiſed, called for a trumpetter and an herald; but none could be found. Wherevpon he riding into the market place with the maior, and the lord marques of Northampton, made the proclamation himſelfe, and threw vp his cap in token of ioy. ¶ Within an houre after he had letters from the councell (as he ſaid) that he ſhould forthwith diſmiſſe his armie, and not come within ten miles of London: for if he did, they would fight with him, the rumor whereof was no ſooner abroad, but euerie man departed. And ſhortlie after, the duke was arreſted in the kings college by one maiſter Sleg ſargeant at arms.

1553

Quéene Marie proclamed.

Abr.Fl. ex I.S.pag.1064.

At the laſt, letters were brought from the councell at London, that all men ſhould go each his waie. Wherevpon the duke ſaid to them that kept him; Ye doo me wrong to withdraw my libertie, ſée you not the councels letters without exception, that all men ſhould go whither they would? At which words they that kept him and the other noblemen, ſet them at libertie, and ſo continued they for that night: inſomuch that the earle of Warwike was readie in the morning to haue rode awaie. But then came the erle of Arundell from the quéene to the duke into his chamber, who went out to méet him. Now as ſoone as he ſaw the earle of Arundell, he fell on his knées, and deſired him to be good to him for the loue of God: Conſider (ſaith he) I haue doone nothing but by the conſents of you and all the whole councell. My lord (quoth the earle of Arundell) I am ſent hither by the quéens maieſtie, and in hir name I doo arreſt you. And I obeie it my lord (quoth he) I beſéech you my lord of Arundell (quoth the duke) vſe mercie towards me, knowing the caſe as it is. My lord (quoth the earle) ye ſhould haue ſought for mercie ſooner, I muſt doo according to commandement: herwith he committed the charge of him and the others to the gard and gentlemen that ſtood by.] The lord marques after this went to quéene Marie. On the fiue & twentith daie of the ſaid moneth, the duke of Northumberland, with Francis earle of Huntington, Iohn earle of Warwike ſon and heire to the ſaid duke, and two other of his yoonger ſons, the lord Ambroſe and the lord Henrie Dudleie, ſir Andrew Dudleie, Sir Iohn Gates capteine of the gard to king Edward the ſixt, ſir Henrie Gates brethren, ſir Thomas Palmer knights, and doctor Sands were brought to the tower by the earle of Arundell. But as they entered within the tower gate, the earle of Arundell diſcharged the lord Haſtings, taking him out of the tower with him. On the ſix & twentith of Iulie, the lord marques of Northampton, the biſhop of London, the lord Robert Dudleie, and ſir Robert Corbet were brought from the quéenes campe vnto the tower. The eight and twentith of Iulie, the duke of Suffolke was committed to the tower, but the one and twentith of the ſame moneth he was ſet at libertie by the diligent ſute of the ladie Francis grace his wife.

The duke ſubmitteth himſelfe, and is arreſted by the earle of Arundell.

The lord Haſtings diſcharged out of the tower.

Duke of Suffolke committed to the tower.

After that quéene Marie was thus with full conſent of the nobles and commons of the realme proclamed quéene, ſhe being then in Northfolke, at hir caſtell of Framingham, repaired with all ſpeed to the citie of London: and the third daie of the ſaid moneth of Auguſt ſhe came to the ſaid citie, and ſo to the tower, where the ladie Iane of Suffolke (late afore proclamed quéene) with hir husband the lord Gilford, a little before hir comming, were committed to ward, & there remained almoſt after fiue moneths. And by the waie, as the quéene thus paſſed, ſhe was ioifullie ſaluted of all the people, without anie miſliking; ſauing that it was much feared of manie, that ſhe would alter the religion ſet foorth by king Edward hir brother, whereof then were giuen iuſt occaſions: becauſe (notwithſtanding diuerſe lawes made to the contrarie) ſhe had dailie maſſe and Latine ſeruice ſaid before hir in the tower. Yea it was doubted in like ſort, that ſhe would both adnull and innouat certeine lawes and decrées eſtabliſhed by the yoong prince hir predeceſſor: which ſhe did in déed, as one hath left teſtified in a memoriall of hir ſucceſſion (but little vnto hir commendation) saieng:

Quéene Marie commeth to London.

At Maria Eduardi regni ſuccedit habenis,
Confirmans iterùm regno papalia iura,
Conciliòque nouas leges ſancire vocato
Molitur, latas à fratre peroſa priores.

At hir entrie into the tower there were preſented to hir certeine priſoners; namelie, Thomas duke of Norffolke, who in the laſt yeare of king Henrie the eight (as you haue heard) was ſuppoſed to be attainted of treaſon: but in the parlement of this firſt

Priſoners diſcharged.

yeare of quéene Marie, the ſaid ſuppoſed attaindour was by the authoritie and act of parlement, for góod and apparant cauſes alleged in the ſaid act, declared to be vtterlie fruſtrat and void. Alſo Edward Courtneie ſon and heire to Henrie marques of Exceſter, cóoſine germane to king Henrie the eight, and Cutbert Tunſtall biſhop of Durham, with other perſons of great calling; but ſpeciallie Stephan Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, whom ſhe not onlie releaſed out of impriſonment, but alſo immediatlie aduanced and preferred to be lord chancellor of England, reſtoring him alſo to his former eſtate and biſhoprike, and remoued from the ſame one doctor Poinet, who a little before was placed therein by the gift of king Edward the ſixt.

Stephan Gardiner made lord chancellor.

Edward Courtneie created earle of Deuonſhire.

And touching Edward Courtneie, ſhe not onelie aduanced him to the earldome of Deuonſhire, but alſo to ſo much of his fathers poſſeſſions as there remained in hir hands; whereby it was then thought of manie, that ſhe bare affection to him by the waie of marriage: but it came not ſo to paſſe (for what cauſe I am not able to giue anie reaſon) but ſurelie the ſubiects of England were moſt deſirous thereof.

Biſhops reſtored, and others depriued.

Upon the receiuing of this new quéene, all the biſhops which had béene depriued in the time of king Edward the ſixt hir brother, for the cauſe of religion, were now againe reſtored to their biſhopriks; and ſuch other as were placed in king Edward his time, remoued from their ſées, and others of contrarie religion placed. Amongeſt whom, Edmund Bonner doctor of the lawes, late afore depriued from the ſée of London, and committed priſoner to the Marſhalſea by order of king Edwards councell, was with all fauour reſtored to his libertie and biſhoprike. Maiſter Nicholas Ridleie doctor in diuinitie, late before aduanced to the ſame ſée by the ſaid king, was haſtilie diſplaced, and committed priſoner to the tower of London.

Why Ridleie was more rigorouſlie handled than the reſt.
Abr. Fl. ex I.S.pag.1067.

The cauſe why ſuch extremitie was vſed towards the ſaid biſhop Ridleie, more than to the reſt, was for that in the time of ladie Iane, he preached a ſermon at Pauls croſſe by the commandement of king Edwards councell, wherein he diſſuaded the people, for ſundrie cauſes, from receiuing the ladie Marie as quéene. ¶ On the ninth of Auguſt in the afternoone, the quéene held an obſequie in the tower for king Edward, the dirge being ſong in Latine, and on the morrow a maſſe of *Requiem*, whereat the quéene with hir ladies offered.

The buriall of king Edward.

The ſame daie, the corps of king Edward was buried at Weſtminſter, the lord treaſuror, the earle of Penbroke, and the earle of Shrewſburie being chéefe mourners, with diuerſe other noble men and others. Doctor Daie biſhop of Chicheſter preached at the ſaid buriall, and all the ſeruice with a communion was in Engliſh. Thus was finiſhed the ſolemne funerall of that góod prince, at whoſe birth there were not ſo manie reioiſing hearts, but at his death there were by infinit ods manie more wéeping eies, & ſad ſpirits: whoſe tender bodie, though pined with ſickneſſe, & conſumed with rottenneſſe, maie perhaps leaue for ſuccéeding ages no relike to gaze vpon; yet the memorie of his name ſhall be euer gréene. For he was, as one trulie ſaith of him:

Ille erat Europæ Phœnix, quem funere acerbo
(Vt flos vere nouo viridanti carpitur horto)
Suſtulit ante diem mors immatura Britannis,
Inuidet hæc terris pietatem & iura colentes.]

Doctor Borne a chapleine of biſhop Bonner.

The thirteenth of Auguſt doctor Bonner reſtored now to his biſhoprike againe, appointed one late a chapleine of his called doctor Borne to preach at Paules croſſe, who was then promoted to the quéens ſeruice, & not long after was made biſhop of Bath. The ſaid doctor taking occaſion of the goſpell of that daie, ſpake ſomewhat largelie in the iuſtifieng of biſhop Bonner, being preſent at the ſermon, which biſhop (as the ſaid preacher then openlie ſaid) for a ſermon made vpon the ſame text, and in the ſame place the ſame daie foure yéeres afore paſſed, was moſt vniuſtlie caſt into the vile dungeon of the Marſhalſea among théeues, and there kept during the time of king Edwards reigne. This matter being ſet forth with great vehemencie, ſo much offended the eares of part of the audience, that they brake ſilence, and began to murmur and throng togither, in ſuch ſort as the maior and aldermen with other of the wiſer ſort then preſent feared much an vprore. During which muttering, one more feruent than his fellowes threw a dagger at the preacher: but who it was, came not to knowlege.

A dagger throwne at the preacher.

By reaſon of which outrage the preacher withdrew himſelfe from the pulpit, and one maiſter Bradford at the requeſt of the preachers brother and others ſtanding there, tooke the place, and ſpake ſo mildlie to the people, that with few words he appeaſed their furie: and after the ſaid maiſter Bradford and maiſter Rogers, although men of contrarie religion, conueied the ſaid preacher into Paules ſchoole, and there left him ſafelie.

The preacher at Pauls croſſe defended by the gard.

The next ſundaie following, for feare of a like tumult or worſe, order was taken that the quéens gard ſhould be preſent in place to defend the preacher with weapons. Whereupon the wiſer men perceiuing ſuch a number of weapons, and that great perill was not vnlike to inſue, by ſuch appéerance of late not accuſtomed, would not be preſent at the ſermon, by reaſon whereof there was left a ſmall auditorie. Wherefore afterward there was a commandement giuen by the lord maior, that the ancients of the companies ſhould be preſent at the next ſermon in their liueries, and ſo they were, whereby all became quiet.

The duke of Northumberlād arreigned.

The eightéenth of Auguſt next following, the duke of Northumberland, the lord marqueſſe of Northampton, and the earle of Warwike, ſon and heire to the ſaid duke, were brought into Weſtminſter hall, and there arreigned of high treaſon before Thomas duke of Norffolke high Steward of England.

The duke of Northumberland at his comming to the barre, vſed great reuerence towards the iudges: and proteſting his faith and allegiance to the quéens maieſtie, whome he confeſſed gréeuouſlie to haue offended, he ſaid that he meant not to ſpeake anie thing in defenſe of his fact, but would firſt vnderſtand th'opinion of the court in two points.

The dukes requeſt to vnderſtand the opinion of the court in two points.

Firſt whether a man dooing anie act by authoritie of the princes councell, & by warrant of the great ſeale of England, & dooing nothing without the ſame, maie be charged with treaſon for any thing which he might do by warrant thereof? Secondlie, whether anie ſuch perſons as were equally culpable in that crime, and thoſe by whoſe letters and commandements he was directed in all his dooings might be his iudges, or paſſe vpon his triall as his péeres? Whereunto was anſwered, that as concerning the firſt, the great ſeale which he laid for his warrant, was not the ſeale of the lawfull quéene of the realme, nor paſſed by authoritie: but the ſeale of an vſurper, and therefore could be no warrant to him. And to the ſecond it was alledged, that if anie were as déeplie to be touched in that caſe as himſelfe, yet ſo long as no atteindor were of record againſt them, they were neuertheleſſe perſons able in law to paſſe vpon anie triall, and not to be chalenged therefore, but at the princes pleaſure. After which anſwer the duke vſing few words, declared his earneſt repentance in the caſe (for he ſaw that to ſtand vpon vttering anie reaſonable matter, as might ſéeme, would little preuaile) and he mooued the duke of Norffolke to be a meane vnto the quéene for mercie, and without further anſwer confeſſed the indictment, by whoſe example the other priſoners arreigned with him, did likewiſe confeſſe the indictments produced againſt them, and therevpon had iudgement.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S.pag.1069. The duke of Northumberlands foure requeſts after his iudgment.

¶ Now when iudgement was giuen, the duke ſaid; I beſéech you my lords all to be humble ſuters to the quéenes maieſtie, and to grant me foure requeſts, which are theſe: firſt, that I maie haue that death which noble men haue had in times paſt, and not the other: ſecondarilie, that hir maieſtie will be gratious to my children which maie hereafter doo good ſeruice, conſidering that they went by my commandement who am their father, and not of their owne frée willes: thirdlie, that I may haue appointed to me ſome learned man for the inſtruction and quieting of my conſcience: and fourthlie, that ſhe will ſend two of the councell to commune with me, to whome I will declare ſuch matters as ſhall be expedient for hir and the common-weale: and thus I beſéech you all to praie for me.

The ninetéenth of Auguſt, ſir Andrew Dudleie, ſir John Gates, and ſir Henrie Gates brethren, and ſir Thomas Palmer knights, were arreigned at Weſtminſter; and confeſſing their indictments, had iudgement, which was pronounced by the marqueſſe of Wincheſter high treaſuror of England that ſate that daie as chiefe iuſtice.

Preacher at Pauls croſſe garded.

On the twentith of Auguſt doctor Watſon chapleine to the biſhop of Wincheſter preached at Pauls croſſe, by the quéenes appointment, & for feare of the like tumult as had béene not long before, certeine lords of the councell repaired to the ſermon, as the lord treaſuror, the lord priuie ſeale, the earle of Bedford, the earle of Penbroke, the lord Wentworth, the lord Rich, and ſir Henrie Gerningam capteine of the gard with two hundred of the gard, which ſtood about the preacher with halberts. Alſo the maior had warned the companies of the citie to be preſent in their liueries, which was well accepted of the quéenes councell: and the ſermon was quietlie ended.

On the two and twentith of Auguſt John duke of Northumberland was beheaded on the tower hill, whoſe bodie with the head was buried in the tower, by the bodie of Edward late duke of Sumerſet. So that there lieth before the high altar two dukes betwéene two quéenes, to wit, the duke of Summerſet & the duke of Northumberland betwéene quéene Anne and quéene Katharine, all foure beheaded.

Sir John Gates and ſir Thomas Palmer beheaded.

At the ſame time and place alſo was likewiſe beheaded ſir John Gates, and ſir Thomas Palmer, which ſir John Gates in that place vſed few words, but laid downe his head without anie kercher, and had the ſame ſtriken off at thrée blowes. Sir Thomas Palmer, as ſoone as he came to the ſcaffold, tooke euerie man by the hand, and deſired them to praie for him: then putting off his gowne, he leaned vpon the eaſt raile, and ſaid theſe words in effect.

The effect of ſuch words as ſir *Thomas Palmer vttered on the* ſcaffold at his death.

MY maiſters (quoth he) God ſaue you all. It is not vnknowne vnto you wherefore I come hither, which I haue worthilie well deſerued at Gods hands: for I know it to be his diuine ordinance, by this meanes to call me to his mercie, and to teach me to know my ſelfe, what I am, and wherevnto we are all ſubiect: I thanke his mercifull goodneſſe, for hée hath cauſed me to learne more in one little darke corner in yonder tower, than euer I learned by anie trauell in ſo manie places as I haue béene. For there (I ſaie) I haue ſéene God, what he is, & how vnſearchable his woonderous works are, & how infinit his mercies be: I haue ſéene there my ſelfe throughlie, and what I am, nothing but a lumpe of ſin, earth, duſt, and of all vileneſſe moſt vileſt: I haue ſéene there and know what the world is, how vaine, deceitfull, tranſitorie, and ſhort it is; how wicked and lothſome the works thereof are in the ſight of Gods maieſtie; how he neither regardeth the manaces of the proud men and mightie ones, neither deſpiſeth the humbleneſſe of the poore & lowlie which are in the ſame world: finallie, I haue ſéene there what death is, how nie hanging ouer all mens heds, and yet how vncerteine the time, and how vnknowne to all men, and how little it is to be feared. And ſhould I feare death or be ſad therefore? Haue I not ſéene two die before mine eies? Yea and within the hearing of mine eares? No, neither the ſprinkling of the bloud, nor the ſheading thereof, nor the bloudie ax it ſelfe ſhall make me afraid. And now taking my leaue of the ſame, I praie you all to praie for me. Come on good fellow (quoth he) art thou he that muſt doo the déed? I forgiue thée with all my hart; & then knéeling downe, & laieng his hed on the blocke, he ſaid; I will ſée how méet the blocke is for my necke, I praie thée ſtrike not yet, for I haue a few praiers to ſaie; and that doone, ſtrike on Gods name, good leaue haue thou.

His praiers ended, and deſiring ech man to praie for him, he laid downe his head againe, and ſo the executioner forthwith tooke it from him at one ſtroke.

New lord chancellor.

On the thrée and twentith of Auguſt the quéene deliuered the great ſeale to doctor Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, and made him lord chancellor.

Latine ſeruice.

The ſeauen and twentith of Auguſt, the ſeruice began in Latine to be ſoong in Pauls church in London.

Great Harrie a ſhip burnt.

The ſix and twentith of Auguſt in the euening the notableſt ſhip in England called the great Harrie was burnt at Woolwich by negligence of the mariners, ſhe was of burthen a thouſand tuns.

Preſt to the quéene.

The firſt of September the quéene demanded a preſt of the citie of London of twentie thouſand pounds, to be repaied againe within fouretéene daies after Michaelmaſſe next folowing, which ſum was leuied of the aldermen and one hundred & twentie commoners.

New coines.

The fourth of September was proclamed certeine new coins of gold and ſiluer, a ſouereigne of gold of thirtie ſhillings, the halfe ſoueraigne fiftéene ſhillings, an angell at ten ſhillings, the halfe angell fiue ſhillings. Of ſiluer, the grote, halfe grote and pennie: all baſe coines to be currant as before.

Subſidie pardoned.

Alſo the ſame daie by proclamation was pardoned the ſubſidie of foure ſhillings the pound of lands, and two ſhillings eight pence the pound of mouable goods, granted in the laſt parlement of king Edward the ſixt.]

The archbiſhop of Canturburie committed to the tower.

Soone after this Thomas Cranmer archbiſhop of Canturburie, and late before of king Edwards priuie councell, was committed to the tower of London, being charged of treaſon, not onelie for giuing aduiſe to the diſheriting of quéene Marie, but alſo for aiding the duke of Northumberland with certeine horſſe and men againſt the quéene, in the quarrell of the ladie Jane of Suffolke: wherein (if he were culpable) he

*Sée before pag.1030,1031

Abr.Fl.ex I.Stow 1067.

lacked the prouidence and foreſight of after-claps, which *doctor Parker in the inſurrection of Ket vſing ſaued both his life and eſtimation.

Coronation of quéene Marie, hir pompe and traine.

Who rode before and after hir.

The ladie Elizabeth and the ladie Anne of Cleue.

¶ On the ſeuen and twentith of September quéene Marie came to the tower by water, accompanied with the ladie Elizabeth hir ſiſter, and other ladies, before whoſe arriuall there was ſhot a great peale of guns. The laſt of September quéene Marie rode through the citie of London towards Weſtminſter, ſitting in a chariot of cloth of tiſſue, drawne with ſix horſſes all trapped with the like cloth of tiſſue. She ſate in a gowne of purple veluet, furred with powdered ermins, hauing on hir head a kall of cloth of tinſell, béeſet with pearle and ſtone, and aboue the ſame vpon hir head a round circlet of gold, béeſet ſo richlie with pretious ſtones, that the value thereof was ineſtimable, the ſame kall and circle being ſo maſſie and ponderous, that ſhe was faine to beare vp hir head with hir hand, and the canopie was borne ouer hir chariot. Before hir rode a number of gentlemen & knights, then iudges, then doctors, then biſhops, then lords, then the councell, after whome followed the knights of the Bath in their robes, the biſhop of Wincheſter lord chancellor, and the marques of Wincheſter lord high treaſuror, next came the duke of Norffolke, and after him the earle of Oxford, who bare the ſword before hir, the maior of London in a gown of crimſin veluet bare the ſcepter of gold, &c. After the quéenes chariot ſir Edward Haſtings led hir horſſe in his hand: then came another chariot hauing a couering of cloth of ſiluer all white, and ſix horſſes trapped with the like: therein ſate the ladie Elizabeth, and the ladie Anne of Cleue: then ladies and gentlewomen riding on horſſes trapped with red veluet, and their gownes and kirtles likewiſe of red veluet; after them folowed two other chariots couered with red ſattin, and the horſſes betrapped with the ſame, and certeine gentlewomen betwéene euerie of the ſaid chariots riding in crimſin ſattin, their horſſes betrapped with the ſame; the number of the gentlewomen ſo riding were ſix and fortie, beſides them in the chariots.

A pageant made by ſtrangers.

The condnit in Cornewall ran wine.

At Fanchurch was a coſtlie pageant made by the Genowaies: at Gracechurch corner there was an other pageant made by the Eaſterlings. At the vpper end of Graceſtréet there was an other pageant made by the Florentins verie high, on the top whereof there ſtood foure pictures, and in the middeſt of them and moſt higheſt, there ſtood an angell all in gréene, with a trumpet in his hand: and when the trumpetter (who ſtood ſecretlie in the pageant) did ſound his trumpet, the angell did put his trumpet to his mouth, as though it had béene the ſame that had ſounded, to the great maruelling of manie ignorant perſons: this pageant was made with thrée thorough faires or gates, &c. The conduit in Cornehill ran wine, and beneath the conduit a pageant made at the charges of the citie, and an other at the great conduit in Cheape, and a founteine by it running wine. The ſtandard in Cheape new painted, with the waits of the citie aloft theron plaieng. The croſſe in Cheape new waſhed and burniſhed.

The recorder of London maketh a ſhort ſpéech to the quéene paſſing by.

A Dutchman on the weathercocke of Paules.

An other pageant at the little conduit in Cheape next to Paules was made by the citie, where the aldermen ſtood, & when the quéene came againſt them, the recorder made a ſhort propoſition to hir, and then the chamberleine preſented to hir in the name of the maior and the citie, a purſe of cloth of gold, and a thouſand marks of gold in it: then ſhe rode forth, and in Paules church-yard againſt the ſchoole, one maſter Heiwood ſat in a pageant vnder a vine, and made to hir an oration in Latine & Engliſh. Then was there one Peter a Dutchman that ſtood on the weathercocke of Paules ſtéeple, holding a ſtreamer in his hand of fiue yards long, and wauing thereof, ſtood ſometimes on the one foot, and ſhooke the other, and then knéeled on his knees, to the great maruell of all people. He had made two ſcaffolds vnder him, one aboue the croſſe, hauing torches and ſtreamers ſet on it, and an other ouer the ball of the croſſe likewiſe ſet with ſtreamers & torches, which could not burne, the wind was ſo great: the ſaid Peter had ſixtéene pounds thirtéene ſhillings foure penſe giuen him by the citie for his coſts and paines, and for all his ſtuffe.

A pageant wherein the quériſters of Paules plaid on vials.

Quéene Marie crowned quéene by Stephan Gardiner.

Then was there a pageant made againſt the deane of Paules gate, where the quériſters of Paules plaied on vials and ſong. Ludgate was newlie repared, painted, and richlie hanged, with minſtrels plaieng and ſinging there. Then was there an other pageant at the conduit in Fléetſtréet, and the temple barre was newlie painted and hanged. And thus ſhe paſſed to Whitehall at Weſtminſter, where ſhe tooke hir leaue of the lord maior, giuing him great thanks for his pains, and the citie for their coſt. On the morrow, which was the firſt daie of October, the quéene went by water to the old palace, and there remained till about eleuen of the clocke, and then went on foot vpon blew cloth, being railed on either ſide, vnto ſaint Peters church, where ſhe was ſolemnlie crowned and annointed by Stephan Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter (for the archbiſhops of Canturburie and Yorke were then priſoners in the tower) which coronation and other ceremonies and ſolemnities then vſed according to the old cuſtome, was not fullie ended till it was nigh foure of the clocke at night that ſhe returned from the church, before whom was then borne thrée ſwords ſheathed, & one naked. The great ſeruice that daie done in Weſtminſter hall at dinner by diuerſe noblemen, would aſke long time to write. The lord maior of London & twelue citizens kept the high cupboord of plate as butlers: and the quéene gaue to the maior for his fée a cupboord of gold with a couer weieng ſeuentéene ounces.]

A pardon with exceptions.

At the time of this quéenes coronation, there was publiſhed a generall pardon in hir name, being interlaced with ſo manie exceptions, as they that néeded the ſame moſt, tooke ſmalleſt benefit thereby. In which were excepted by name no ſmall number, not onelie of biſhops and other of the cleargie, namelie the archbiſhops of Canturburie and Yorke, the biſhop of London, but alſo manie lords, knights, and gentlemen of the laitie, beſide the two chiefe iuſtices of England called ſir Edward Montacute, and ſir Roger Cholmeleie, with ſome other learned men in the law, for counſelling, or at the leaſt conſenting to the depriuation of quéene Marie, and aiding of the foreſaid duke of Northumberland, in the pretenſed right of the before named ladie Jane, the names of which perſons ſo being excepted, I haue omitted for ſhortneſſe ſake.

Commiſſioners.

A parlement.

As ſoone as this pardon was publiſhed, and the ſolemnitie of the feaſt of the coronation ended, there were certeine commiſſioners aſſigned to take order with all ſuch perſons as were excepted out of the pardon, and others, to compound with the quéene for their ſeuerall offenſes. Which commiſſioners ſat at the deane of Paules his houſe, at the weſt end of Paules church, and there called before them the ſaid perſons apart, and from ſome they tooke their fées and offices granted before by king Edward the ſixt, and yet neuertheleſſe putting them to their fines: and ſome they committed to ward, depriuing them of their ſtates and liuings: ſo that for the time, to thoſe that taſted thereof, it ſéemed verie grieuous. God deliuer vs from incurring the like danger of law againe. The fift daie of October next following, the quéene held hir hie court of parlement at Weſtminſter, which continued vntill the one and twentith daie of the ſaid moneth.

Treaſon. Fellonie. Premunire.

In the firſt ſeſſion of which parlement, there paſſed no more acts but one, and that was, to declare queene Marie lawfull heire in deſcent to the crowne of England by the common lawes, next after hir brother king Edward; and to repeale certeine cauſes of treaſon, fellonie, and premunire, conteined in diuers former ſtatutes: the which act of repeale was, for that cardinall Poole was eſpeciallie looked for (as after ye ſhall heare) for the reducing of the church of England to the popes obedience: and to the end that the ſaid cardinall now called into England from Rome, might hold his courts legantine without the danger of the ſtatutes of the premunire, made in that caſe, whereinto cardinall Wolſeie (when he was legat) had incurred to his no ſmall loſſe, and to the charge of all the clergie of England, for exerciſing the like power: the which act being once paſſed, forthwith the queene repaired to the parlement houſe, and gaue thereunto hir roiall aſſent, and then proroged the parlement vnto the foure and twentith date of the ſaid moneth. In which ſecond ſeſſion were confirmed and made diuerſe and ſundrie ſtatutes concerning religion, whereof ſome were reſtored, and other repealed.

The parlement proroged.

Abr.Fl.ex.I.S. pag 1075. Charitable déeds of ſir Thomas white.

¶Sir Thomas White for this yéere maior and merchant taillor, a worthie patrone and protector of poore ſcholers & lerning, renewed or rather erected a college in Oxenford, now called ſaint Iohns college, before Bernard college. He alſo erected ſchooles at Briſtow and Reading. Moreouer, this worſhipfull citizen in his life time gaue to the citie of Briſtow two thouſand pounds of readie monie to purchaſe lands, to the yearlie value of one hundred & twentie pounds, for the which it is decréed, that the maior, burgeſſes and communaltie of Briſtow, in the yeare of our Lord 1567, and ſo yearelie during the tearme of ten yeares then next inſuing, ſhould cauſe to be paid at Briſtow, one hundred pounds of lawfull monie. The firſt eight hundred pounds to be lent to ſixtéene poore yoongmen clothiers, & fréemen of the ſame towne, for the ſpace of ten yeares, fiftie pounds the péece of them, putting ſufficient ſuerties for the ſame, and at the end of ten yeares, to be lent to other ſixteene, at the diſcretion of the maior, aldermen, and foure of the common councell of the ſaid citie.

A preſident of monie well imploied after death.

Prouiſion of corne for the poore.

The other two hundred pounds to be imploied in the prouiſion of corne, for the reléefe of the poore of the ſame citie, for their readie monie, without gaine to be taken. And after the end of ten yeares on the feaſt daie of ſaint Bartholomew, which ſhall be in the yeare of our Lord 1577, at the merchant taillors hall in London, vnto the maior and communaltie of the citie of Yorke, or to their atturnie authoriſed, an hundred & foure pounds, to be lent vnto foure yoongmen of the ſaid citie of Yorke, fréemen and inhabitants (clothiers alwaie to be preferred) that is, to euerie of them fiue and twentie pounds, to haue and occupie the ſame for the tearme of ten yeares, without paieng anie thing for the loane, the foure pounds ouerplus of the hundred and foure pounds, at the pleaſure of the maior and communaltie for their paines to be taken about the receipts and paiments of the ſaid hundred pounds.

A perpetuall order of an hundred and foure pounds lent yearelie by courſe.

The like order in all points is taken for the deliuerie of an hundred and foure pounds in the yeare 1578, to the citie of Canturburie. In the yeare 1579 to Reading, 1580 to the companie of the merchant taillors, 1581 to Gloceſter, 1582 to Worceſter, 1583 to Exceſter, 1584 to Saliſburie, 1585 to Weſtcheſter, 1586 to Norwich, 1587 to Southhampton, 1588 to Lincolne, 1589 to Wincheſter, 1590 to Oxenford, 1591 to Herefordeaſt, 1592 to Cambridge, 1593 to Shrewesburie, 1594 to Lin, 1595 to Bath, 1596 to Derbie, 1597 to Ipſwich, 1598 to Colcheſter, 1599 to Newcaſtell. And then to begin againe at Briſtow an hundred and foure pounds, the next yeare to the citie of Yorke, and ſo forth to euerie of the ſaid cities and townes, in the like order as before: and thus to continue for euer, as in the indentures tripartite more plainelie maie appeare.]

Sir Iames Hales in trouble for religion.

Sée before pag.1083.

At this time manie were in trouble for religion, and among others, ſir Iames Hales knight, one of the iuſtices of the common plées, which iuſtice being called among other by the councell of king Edward to ſubſcribe to a deuiſe made for the diſheriting of quéene Marie, and the ladie Elizabeth hir ſiſter, would in no wiſe aſſent to the ſame, though moſt of the other did: yet that notwithſtanding, for that he at a quarter ſeſſions holden in Kent, gaue charge vpon the ſtatutes of king Henrie the eight, and king Edward the ſixt, in derogation of the primaſie of the church of Rome, aboliſhed by king Henrie the eight, he was firſt committed priſoner to the Kings bench, then to the Counter, & laſt to the Fléet, where, whether it were thorough extreame feare, or elſe by reaſon of ſuch talke as the warden of the Fléet vſed vnto him, of more trouble like to inſue, if he perſiſted in his opinion (or for what other cauſe, God knoweth) he was ſo moued, troubled, and vexed, that he ſought to rid himſelfe out of this life, which thing he firſt attempted in the Fléet, by wounding himſelfe with a penknife, well néere to death. Neuertheleſſe afterward being recouered of that hurt, he ſéemed to be verie conformable to all the quéenes procéedings, and was therevpon deliuered of his impriſonment, and brought to the quéenes preſence, who gaue him words of great comfort: neuertheleſſe his mind was not quiet (as afterward well appeared) for in the end he drowned himſelfe in a riuer not halfe a mile from his dwelling houſe in Kent, the riuer being ſo ſhalow, that he was faine to lie groueling before he could diſpatch himſelfe, whoſe death was much lamented. For beſide that he was a man wiſe, vertuous, and learned in the lawes of the realme, he was alſo a good and true miniſter of iuſtice, whereby he gat him great fauour and eſtimation among all degrées.

Sore temptations in afflictions, againſt which we are to praie for patience.

He drowneth himſelfe.

A publike diſputation about the reall preſence in the ſacrament.

During the aforeſaid parlement, about the eightéenth daie of October, there was kept at Paules church in London a publike diſputation, appointed by the quéenes commandement, about the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar, which diſputation continued ſix daies, doctor Weſton then being prolocutor of the conuocation, who vſed manie vnſéemelie checks & tawnts againſt the one part, to the preiudice of their cauſe. By reaſon whereof the diſputers neuer reſolued vpon the article proponed, but grew dailie more and more into contention, without anie fruit of their long conference, and ſo ended this diſputation, with theſe words ſpoken by doctor Weſton prolocutor: It is not the quéens pleaſure that we ſhould herein ſpend anie longer time, ” and ye are well inough, for you haue the word, and ” we haue the ſword. But of this matter ye maie read more in the booke of the monuments of the church. At this time was cardinall Poole ſent for to Rome by the quéene, who was verie deſirous of his comming, as well for the cauſes before declared, as alſo for the great affection that ſhe had to him, being hir néere kinſman, and conſenting with hir in religion.

Iohn Fox.

Cardinall Poole ſent for home.

This meſſage was moſt thankefullie receiued at Rome, and order taken to ſend the ſaid cardinall hither with great expedition: but before his comming, quéene Marie had married Philip prince of Spaine, The councell diuided about the receiuing of the cardinall.

as after ſhall appeare. But here to touch ſomwhat the comming of the ſaid cardinall. When he was arriued at Calis, there was conference had amongeſt the councellors of the queene for the maner of his receiuing: ſome would haue had him verie honourablie met and interteined, as he was in all places where he had before paſſed, not onelie for that he was a cardinall, and a legat from the pope; but alſo for that he was the queenes neere kinſman, of the houſe of Clarence. Neuertheleſſe, after much debating, it was thought meeteſt, firſt, for that by the lawes of the realme (which yet were not repealed) he ſtood attainted by parlement, and alſo for that it was doubtfull how he being ſent from Rome, ſhould be accepted of the people, who in fiue and twentie yeares before, had not beene much acquainted with the pope or his cardinals, that therefore (vntill all things might be put in order for that purpoſe) he ſhould come without anie great ſolemnitie vnto Lambeth, where (in the archbiſhops houſe) his lodging was prepared.

Cranmer archbiſhop of Canturburie arreigned of treaſon.

Ambaſſadors from the emperour.

The third of Nouember next following, Thomas Cranmer archbiſhop of Canturburie (notwithſtanding that he had once refuſed plainelie to ſubſcribe to king Edwards will, in the diſheriting of his ſiſter Marie, and alledging manie reaſons and arguments for the legitimation of both the kings ſiſters) was in the Guildhall in London arreigned and attainted of treaſon, namelie for aiding the duke of Northumberland with horſſe and men againſt the queene, as aforeſaid. At the ſame time alſo, the ladie Iane of Suffolke (who for a while was called queene Iane) and the lord Gilford hir huſband, the lord Ambroſe and lord Henrie Dudleie ſonnes to the duke of Northumberland, were likewiſe arreigned and attainted, and therevpon led backe againe to the tower. In the beginning of Ianuarie next following, Charles the fift emperor ſent into England an honorable ambaſſage, amongeſt whome was the Conte de Aiguemont admerall of the low countries, with Charles Conte de la Laing, Iohn de Montmorancie lord of Curriers, and the chancellor Nigre, with full commiſſion to conclude a mariage betweene Philip prince of Spaine his ſonne & heire, and queene Marie (as you haue heard) which ambaſſage tooke ſuch place, that ſhortlie after all things were finiſhed accordinglie.

Ab. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 1077.

Stephan Gardiner maketh an oration to the lords of the councell &c: touching the queenes marriage.

Gardiner cōmendeth the king of Spaine.

¶ On the fourteenth of Ianuarie, doctor Stephan Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter lord chancellour of England, in the chamber of preſence at Weſtminſter, made to the lords, nobilitie, and gentlemen, an oration verie eloquent, wherein he declared that the queenes maieſtie, partlie for amitie, and other weightie conſiderations had, after much ſute on the emperours and prince of Spaines behalfe made, determined by the conſent of the councell and nobilitie, to match hir ſelfe with the ſaid prince in moſt godlie and lawfull matrimonie; and declared further, that ſhe ſhould haue for hir iointer thirtie thouſand ducats by the yeare, with all the low countrie of Flanders, and that the iſſue (if there happened anie) betweene them two lawfullie begotten, ſhould be heire as well to the kingdome of Spaine, as alſo to the ſaid low countrie. He ſaid therefore that they were all bound to thanke God, that ſo noble, worthie, and famous a prince would vouchſafe ſo to humble himſelfe, as in this marriage to take vpon him rather as a ſubiect, than otherwiſe. For the queene & hir councell ſhould rule all things as ſhe did before, and that there ſhould be of the councell no ſtranger, neither to haue cuſtodie of any forts or caſtels, &c: nor to beare anie rule or office in the queenes houſe, or elſe-where in all England, with diuerſe other articles there by him rehearſed. Wherefore he ſaid the queenes pleaſure and requeſt was, that like good ſubiects for hir ſake, they would moſt louinglie receiue him with reuerence, ioie, and honour. On the next daie, the lord maior of London with his bretheren the aldermen, were ſent for to the court, and to bring with them fortie of the head commoners of the citie, vnto whome before the councell, the lord chancellor made the like oration, deſiring them to behaue themſelues like good ſubiects with all humbleneſſe and reioiſing.]

But this marriage was not well thought of by the commons, nor much better liked of manie of the nobilitie, who for this, and for the cauſe of religion, conſpired to raiſe war, rather than to ſee ſuch change of the ſtate. Of the which conſpiracie though there were manie confederats; yet the firſt that ſhewed force therein, was one ſir Thomas Wiat a knight in Kent, who in verie deed was driuen to preuent the time of the purpoſed enterpriſe by this hap. Diuerſe of the partakers in this conſpiracie, being withdrawne from London (where they had deuiſed their drift) home into their countries (amongſt whome the ſaid ſir Thomas Wiat was one) it fell out, that whileſt he was returned into Kent, where his lands and liuings chieflie laie, a gentleman of that ſhire, one to the ſaid ſir Thomas Wiat moſt deere, was by the councell for other matters committed to the Fleet. Wherevpon he verelie ſuſpecting his ſecrets were betraied, had no other ſhift (as he tooke it) but to put on armour, and to begin the attempt, before the time appointed with his complices. And herevpon giuing intelligence of his determination to his aſſociats, as well at London, as elſe-where, on the thurſdaie next following, being the fiue and twentith of Ianuarie at Maidſtone, being accompanied with maſter Thomas Iſleie and others, publiſhed a proclamation againſt the queenes marriage, deſiring all his neighbors, freends, and Engliſhmen to ioine with him and others, to defend the realme in danger to be brought in thraldome vnto ſtrangers: and herewith he gat him to Rocheſter, and met with ſir George Harper by the waie, that was one appointed afore to ioine with him in that quarrell. They brake vp the bridge at Rocheſter, and fortified the eaſt part of the towne, & ſtaid there abiding the comming of more ſtrength, and in the meane while ſuffered all paſſengers to paſſe quietlie thorough the towne to London, or to the ſea, taking nothing from them, but onelie their weapons.

Wiat publiſheth a proclamation at Maidſtone.

He commeth to Rocheſter.

Sir George Harper.

In the meane while, ſir Henrie Iſleie, Anthonie Kneuet eſquier, and his brother William Kneuet were buſie in weſt Kent to raiſe the people there; and likewiſe in eaſt Kent there were other that were of the ſame confederacie, which ſet forth the like proclamations at Milton, Aſhford, and other towns there in that part of the ſhire: and thus in each part of Kent in a maner was great ſtur. But yet ſuch was the diligence and warie circumſpection of Iohn Twine at that preſent maior of Canturburie, for that he miſliked their diſordered attempts, that there was not any of that citie knowne to ſtur, or go forth to ioine themſelues with the ſaid ſir Thomas Wiat, or with anie other of his confederats: and yet verelie the more part of the people in all other parts of that ſhire were maruellouſlie affected to the ſaid ſir Thomas Wiats quarrell, doubting that which might follow of the queenes matching hir ſelfe thus with a ſtranger. At Milton when a gentleman of thoſe parts named Chriſtopher Roper, went about to reſiſt them that ſet forth this proclamation, he was taken and conueied to Rocheſter vnto maſter Wiat. Likewiſe maiſter Tucke and maiſter Dorrell iuſtices of peace, were fetched out of their owne houſes, & likewiſe brought to Rocheſter, where they with the ſaid Roper were kept as priſoners.

Chriſtopher Roper taken.

Maiſter Dorrell & maiſter Tucke taken.

Sir Thomas Wiat writeth to ſir Robert Southwell.

Sir Thomas Wiat had written vnto ſir Robert Southwell ſhiriffe of Kent, to moue him in (reſpect of the preſeruation of the common-wealth now in danger to be ouerrun of ſtrangers, through the pretenſed marriage, if it ſhould go forward) to ioine with him and others, in ſo neceſſarie a cauſe for the diſappointing of the ſame marriage, and to worke ſo with the lord of Aburgauennie, with whom he might doo much, that it might pleaſe him alſo to ioine with them. But as well the ſaid ſir Robert Southwell, as the ſaid lord of Aburgauennie, and one George Clerke aſſembled themſelues with ſuch power as they might make againſt the ſaid ſir Thomas Wiat and his adherents; and comming to Malling on the ſaturdaie, being the market daie & ſeuen and twentith of Ianuarie, the ſaid ſir Robert Southwell hauing penned an exhortation to diſſuade the people, and to bring them from hauing anie liking to Wiats enterpriſe, did read the ſame openlie vnto all the people there aſſembled, in confuting, reprouing, and refelling the proclamations ſet forth by ſir Thomas Wiat and his adherents.

The ſhiriffe of Kent and the lord of Aburgauennie aſſemble a power againſt Wiat.

On the other part, ſir Henrie Iſleie, Anthonie Kneuet, and his brother William Kneuet being at Tunbridge, proclamed the ſhiriffe, the lord of Aburgauennie, & George Clerke gentleman, traitors to God, the crowne, and the common-welth, for raiſing the queenes ſubiects, to defend the moſt wicked & diuelliſh enterpriſe of certeine of the wicked & peruerſe councellors. And this they pronounced in their owne names & in the names of ſir Thomas Wiat, ſir George Harper, and of all the faithfull gentlemen of Kent, & truſtie commoners of the ſame. This doone, they marched to Seuennocke, mening from thence to paſſe to Rocheſter. But in the meane time the foreſaid 27 of Ianuarie, there came from the queene an herald & a trumpetter to ſir Thomas Wiat, but he was not ſuffered to paſſe the bridge, and ſo did his meſſage at the bridge end, in the hearing of ſir Thomas Wiat and diuerſe others. The effect of his meſſage was, to offer pardon to ſo manie as within foure and twentie houres would depart to their houſes, and become quiet ſubiects.

An herald ſent to Wiat.

The lord warden is ſent to Wiat.

Sir Thomas Cheineie lord warden ſent alſo vnto Wiat, with words of contempt and defiance, deſirous in deed to haue beene dooing with him, if hee had not miſtruſted his owne people, which he ſhould haue brought againſt him, as thoſe that fauoured ſo greatlie Wiats cauſe, that they would haue beene loth to haue ſeene him take anie foile. And that ſir Thomas Wiat knew well inough, and therefore deſired nothing more than to haue him come foorth, vnderſtanding that he wanted no friends, as well about him, as all other that would take in hand to repreſſe him with force gathered in that ſhire. The lord of Aburgauennie, the ſhiriffe Warram Sentleger, and diuerſe other gentlemen that were aſſembled at Malling, laie there within foure miles of Rocheſter on ſaturdaie at night, & hauing aduertiſement that ſir Henrie Iſleie, the two Kneuets, and certeine other, with fiue hundred Weldiſhmen, being at Seuennocke, meant earlie in the morning to march towards Rocheſter for the aid of Wiat againſt the duke of Norffolke, that was come to Grauesend with fiue hundred white cotes Londoners, and certeine of the gard: and further that the ſaid ſir Henrie Iſleie and the Kneuets meant in their waie to burne and ſpoile the houſe of George Clerke gentleman: they departing with fiue hundred gentlemen & likewiſe yeomen, verie earlie that ſundaie in the morning, marched out in order till they came to Wrotham heath, where they might eaſilie heare the ſound of their aduerſaries drums, and therevpon followed after them with all ſpeed, till they came to a place called Barrow greene, through which laie the right readie waie from Seuennocke towards maiſter Clerks houſe. Here the lord of Aburgauennie ſtaied for the comming of his enimies, and vnderſtanding they were at hand, placed his men in order, thinking to giue or take the ouerthrow. But they vpon their approch, miſliking (as it ſhould ſeeme) the match, ſhranke aſide as ſecretlie as they could, by a bywaie, and were ſo farre gone before the lord of Aburgauennie vnderſtood thereof by his eſpials, as for doubt of ouertaking them afore their comming to Rocheſter, he was driuen to make ſuch haſt for the ouertaking of them, as diuerſe of his footmen were farre behind at the onſet giuing.

Weldiſhmen, that is, ſuch as dwel in the Weld of Kent.

Wrotham heath.

Barrow greene.

The firſt ſight that the lord of Aburgauennie could haue of them, after they forſooke their purpoſed waie, was as they aſcended Wrotham hill, directlie vnder Yallam maiſter Pechams houſe, where they thinking to haue great aduantage by the winning of the hill, diſplaied their enſignes, thinking they had beene out of danger. But the Lord of Aburgauennie made ſuch haſt after them, that ouertaking them at a field in the pariſh of Wrotham, a mile diſtant from the verie top of the hill, called Blacke ſoll field, after ſome reſiſtance with ſhot and arrowes, and proffer of onſet made by their horſſemen, they were put to flight, and chaſed for the ſpace of foure miles, euen to Hartleie wood. Threeſcore of them were taken priſoners, and ſome on both ſides were wounded, as commonlie commeth to paſſe in an ordinarie and priuat fraie: how then is it poſſible, that a ſkirmiſh ſhould be vnſeaſoned with ſlaughter and bloudſhed, ſpeciallie in a ſedition or inſurrection, which is the plague of all common-wealths, as the poet ſaith:

Wrotham hill. Yallam.

Blacke ſoll field.

The ſkirmiſh.

———*regnorum peſſima peſtis Seditio.*

Sir Henrie Iſleie fled into Hampſhire, Anthonie Kneuet made ſuch ſhift, that he got that night vnto Rocheſter; and the ſame time ſir George Harper departing from ſir Thomas Wiat, and comming to the duke of Norffolke, ſubmitted himſelfe vnto his grace, & the duke receiued him. Which duke (as before ye haue partlie heard) being ſent with fiue hundred Londoners, and certeine of the gard for his better defenſe, to go againſt the Kentiſhmen thus aſſembled with ſir Thomas Wiat, was come downe to Grauesend, ſet foorth from thence on mondaie the nine and twentith daie of Ianuarie, about ten of the clocke in the forenoone, marching towards Stroud on this ſide of Rocheſter, & about foure of the clocke in the after noone of the ſame daie, he arriued at Stroud neare vnto Rocheſter, hauing with him ſir Henrie Iernigham capteine of the gard, ſir Edward Braie, ſir Iohn Fog, knights, Iohn Couert, Roger Appleton, eſquiers, Maurice Griffith the biſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas Swan gentleman, with certeine of the gard, and others, to the number of two hundred or thereabout, beſides Bret and other fiue capteins, who with their bands taried behind at ſpittle hill neere vnto Stroud, whileſt the duke went to Stroud to ſee the placing of the ordinance, which being readie charged & bent vnto the towne of Rocheſter, and perceiuing by ſir Thomas Wiat and his men by hanging out their enſignes, little to regard him, the duke commanded one of the peeces to be fired and ſhot off into Rocheſter, and as the gunner was firing the peece, ſir Edward Braies eldeſt ſon came in all haſt to the duke, and told him how the Londoners would betraie him.

The duke of Norffolke arriueth at Stroud.

Herewith turning backe, he might behold how Bret, and the other capteins of the white cotes with their bands being vpon the hill, and at his backe, made great and lowd ſhouts ſundrie times, crieng; We are all Engliſhmen, we are all Engliſhmen: faſhioning themſelues in araie, readie bent with their

The reuolting of the Londoners.

their weapons to ſet vpon the duke, if he had made anie reſiſtance: whervpon the duke willed the péeces that were bent againſt Rocheſter, to be turned vpon Bret and his fellowes. But vpon further conſideration the ſhot was ſpared, and the dukes grace, with the capteine of the gard, conſidering with wofull hearts their chiefe ſtrength thus turned againſt them; and being thus inuironed both behind and before with enimies, ſhifted themſelues awaie, as did alſo their companie. Sir Thomas Wiat accompanied with two or thrée, and not manie mo, came forth halfe a mile from Rocheſter, to méet Bret and the other capteins, amongſt whom was ſir George Harper, notwithſtanding his former ſubmiſſion to the duke. Their méeting verelie ſéemed right ioifull both in geſture and countenance, & therewith hauing ſaluted each other, they entered all togither into Rocheſter. The lord of Aburgauennie & the ſhiriffe were greatlie abaſhed when they vnderſtood of this miſhap, for they doubted that ſuch as were euill diſpoſed before, would not be greatlie amended thereby. The ſhiriffe being then at Maidſtone, haſted to come to Malling, where the lord of Aburgauennie laie, and vpon his comming thither, he tooke aduiſe to ride in poſt to the councell, to know their minds how they would direct them. Sir Thomas Wiat and his aſſociats were greatlie recomforted with this new ſupplie added to their ſtrength, by the reuolting thus of the Londoners: and verelie it bred no ſmall hope in all their hearts that wiſhed well to his enterpriſe, that he ſhould the better atteine vnto the hoped end of his purpoſe. But it pleaſed God otherwiſe, who neuer proſpereth anie that attempt ſuch exploits without publike and lawfull authoritie.

The duke with the capteine of the gard, &c: put to their ſhifts.

The ſhiriffe of Kent rideth to the councell.

In this meane while, the duke of Suffolke being perſuaded to ioine with other in this quarell, as he that doubted (as no ſmall number of true Engliſhmen then did) leaſt the pretended mariage with the Spaniſh king ſhould bring the whole nobilitie and people of this realme into bondage and thraldome of ſtrangers, after he was once aduertiſed that ſir Thomas Wiat had preuented the time of their purpoſed enterpriſe, he ſecretlie one euening departed from Shéene, and rode with all ſpéed into Leiceſterſhire, where in the towne of Leiceſter and other places, hée cauſed proclamation to be made in ſemblable wiſe, as ſir Thomas Wiat had doone, againſt the quéenes match which ſhe meant to make with the ſaid king of Spaine: but few there were that would willinglie hearken thereto. But now ye muſt vnderſtand, that before his comming downe, he was perſuaded that the citie of Couentrie would be opened vnto him, the more part of the citizens being throughlie bent in his fauour, in ſo neceſſarie a quarell, for defenſe of the realme againſt ſtrangers, as they were then perſuaded.

The duke of Suffolke goeth downe into Leiceſterſhire.

The citie of Couentrie.

But howſoeuer it chanced, this prooued not altogither true: for whether through the miſliking which the citizens had of the matter, or through negligence of ſome that were ſent to ſollicit them in the cauſe, or chieflie (as ſhould ſéeme to be moſt true) for that God would haue it ſo, when the duke came with ſix or ſeuen ſcore horſſemen well appointed for the purpoſe, preſenting himſelfe before the citie in hope to bée receiued, hée was kept out. For the citizens through comfort of the erle of Huntington that was then come downe, ſent by the quéene to ſtaie the countries from falling to the duke, and to raiſe a power to apprehend him, had put themſelues in armor, and made all the prouiſion they could to defend the citie againſt the ſaid duke. Whervpon perceiuing himſelfe deſtitute of all ſuch aid as he looked for among his friends in the two ſhires of Leiceſter and Warwike, he got him to his manour of Aſtleie, diſtant from Couentrie fiue miles, where appointing his companie to diſperſe themſelues, and to make the beſt ſhift each one for his owne ſafegard that he might, and diſtributing to euerie of them a portion of monie, according to their qualities, and his ſtore at that preſent, he and the lord Iohn Greie his brother beſtowed themſelues in ſecret places there within Aſtleie parke; but through the vntruſtineſſe of them, to whoſe truſt they did commit themſelues (as hath béene credible reported) they were bewraied to the earle of Huntington, that then was come to Couentrie, and ſo apprehended they were by the ſaid earle, and afterwards brought vp to London.

The duke of Suffolke kept out of Couentrie.

The duke of Suffolke apprehended.

The duke had meant at firſt to haue rid awaie (as I haue crediblie heard) if promiſe had béene kept by one of his ſeruants, appointed to come to him to be his guide; but when he either feining himſelfe ſicke, or being ſicke in déed, came not, the duke was conſtreined to remaine in the parke there at Aſtleie, hoping yet to get awaie after that the ſearch had béene paſſed ouer, and the countrie once in quiet. Howſoeuer it was, there he was taken, as is ſaid, togither with his brother the lord Iohn Greie; but his brother the lord Thomas got awaie in déed at that time, meaning to haue fled into Wales, & there to haue got to the ſea ſide, ſo to tranſport himſelfe ouer into France, or into ſome other forren part. But in the borders of Wales he was likewiſe apprehended through his great miſhap, and follie of his man that had forgot his capcaſe with monie behind him in his chamber one morning at his inne; and comming for it againe, vpon examination what he ſhould be, it was miſtruſted that his maiſter ſhould be ſome ſuch man, as he was in déed, and ſo was ſtaied, taken, and brought vp to London, where he ſuffered; as after ſhall appeare.

The lord Iohn Greie taken.

The lord Thomas Greie taken.

But now to returne vnto ſir Thomas Wiat. After that the Londoners were reuolted to him, as before ye haue heard; the next daie being tueſdaie the thirtith of Ianuarie, he marched forth with his bands, and ſix péeces of ordinance (which they had gotten of the quéenes) beſides their owne. And firſt they came to Cowling caſtell, an hold of the lord Cobhams, foure miles diſtant from Rocheſter, and not much out of the waie towards London, whither they were now fullie determined to go, in hope of friends which they truſted to find within and about the citie. At their comming to Cowling, knowing that the lord Cobham was within the caſtell, they bent their ordinance againſt the gate, breaking it with ſundrie ſhots, and burning it vp with fier, made a waie through it. The ſaid lord Cobham defended the place as ſtoutlie as he might, hauing but a few againſt ſo great a number, and ſo little ſtore of munition for his defenſe: he himſelfe yet diſcharged his gun at ſuch as approched the gate right hardilie, and in that aſſault two of his men were ſlaine. After this aſſault, and talke had with the lord Cobham, ſir Thomas Wiat marched to Graueſend, where he reſted that night.

Cowling caſtell.

The lord Cobham.

The next daie he came to Dartford with his bands, and laie there that night, whither came to him ſir Edward Haſtings maiſter of the quéenes horſſe, and ſir Thomas Cornwallis knights, both being of the quéenes priuie councell, and now ſent from hir vnto ſir Thomas Wiat, to vnderſtand the cauſe of his commotion. When he vnderſtood they were come, he tooke with him certeine of his band to the weſt end of the towne, where he had lodged his ordinance. And at the lighting downe of ſir Edward Haſtings and his aſſociat, ſir Thomas Wiat hauing a partiſan in his hand, aduancing himſelfe ſomewhat afore ſuch gentlemen as were with him, traced néere them:

to whome the maiſter of the horſſe ſpake in ſubſtance as followeth. The quéenes maieſtie requireth to vnderſtand the verie cauſe wherefore you haue thus gathered togither in armes hir liege people, which is the part of a traitor, and yet in your proclamations and perſuaſions, you call your ſelfe a true ſubiect, which can not ſtand togither I am no traitor quoth Wiat, and the cauſe wherefore I haue gathered the people, is to defend the realme from danger of being ouerrun with ſtrangers, which muſt follow, this mariage taking place.

Wiats requeſts.

Why, quoth the quéenes agents, there be no ſtrangers yet come, who either for power or number ye néed to ſuſpect. But if this be your onelie quarrell, becauſe ye miſlike the mariage; will ye come to communication touching that caſe, and the quéene of hir gratious goodneſſe is content ye ſhall be heard. I yéeld thereto, quoth ſir Thomas Wiat: but for my ſuertie I will rather be truſted than truſt, and therefore demanded, as ſome haue written, the cuſtodie of the tower, and hir grace within it; alſo the diſplacing of ſome councellors about hir, and to haue other placed in their roomes. There was long & ſtout conference betwéene them, in ſo much that the maiſter of the horſſe ſaid: Wiat, before thou ſhalt haue thy traitorous demand granted, thou ſhalt die, and twentie thouſand with thée. And ſo the ſaid maiſter of the horſſe, and ſir Thomas Cornewallis, perceiuing they could not bring him to that point they wiſhed, returned to the court, aduertiſing the quéene what they had heard of him. The ſame daie being the firſt of Februarie, proclamation was made in London by an herald, to ſignifie that the duke of Suffolkes companie of horſſemen were ſcattered, and that he himſelfe and his brethren were fled. Alſo that ſir Peter Carew, and ſir Gawen Carew knights, and William Gibs eſquire, which being parties to the conſpiracie of the ſaid duke, with ſir Thomas Wiat & others, were likewiſe fled. True it was that ſir Peter Carew, perceiuing himſelfe in danger to be apprehended, about the thrée and twentith of Ianuarie laſt paſt fled out of the realme, and eſcaped into France: but the other taried behind and were taken.

Proclamation that the duke of Suffolke and others were fled.

The emperors ambaſſadors flée from Wiat.

Moreouer, on this firſt daie of Februarie being Candlemas euen, the emperors ambaſſadors, of whome ye haue heard before, hearing of Wiats haſtie approching thus towards London, ſped themſelues awaie by water, and that with all haſt. The quéene then lieng at hir palace of White hall beſide Weſtminſter, and hearing of hir enimies ſo néere, was counſelled for hir ſafegard to take the tower of London, whereunto ſhe would by no meanes be perſuaded. Neuertheleſſe, to make hir ſelfe more ſtronger of friends in the citie, ſo ſoone as the ſaid ambaſſadors were departed, ſhe came to the Guildhall in London: againſt which time, order was taken by the lord maior, that the chiefe citizens in their liueries ſhould be there preſent. After that the quéene had taken hir place in the ſaid hall, and ſilence made, ſhe with verie good countenance vttered in effect this oration following.

Queene Maries oration in Guildhall *in a ſolemne aſſemblie.*

Quéene Maries oration to the Londoners.

I Am (quoth ſhée) come vnto you in mine owne perſon, to tell you that which alreadie you doo ſée and know, that is, how traitorouſlie & ſeditiouſlie a number of Kentiſh rebels haue aſſembled themſelues togither againſt both vs and you. Their pretenſe (as they ſaid at the firſt) was onelie to reſiſt a mariage determined betwéene vs and the prince of Spaine. To the which pretended quarrell, and to all the reſt of their euill contriued articles ye haue béene made priuie. Since which time, we haue cauſed diuerſe of our priuie councell to reſort eftſoones to the ſaid rebels, and to demand of them the cauſe of their continuance in their ſeditious enterpriſe. By whoſe anſwers made againe to our ſaid councell, it appeared that the mariage is found to be the leaſt of their quarrell. For they now ſwaruing from their former articles, haue bewraied the inward treaſon of their hearts, as moſt arrogantlie demanding the poſſeſſion of our perſon, the kéeping of our tower, and not onelie the placing & diſplacing of our councellors; but alſo to vſe them & vs at their pleaſures.

Demands are pretended to be ſent from M. Wiat and his companie to quéene Marie.

Now louing ſubiects, what I am, you right well know. I am your quéene, to whome at my coronation when I was wedded to the realme, and to the lawes of the ſame (the ſpouſall ring whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer hitherto was, nor hereafter ſhall be left off) ye promiſed your allegiance and obedience vnto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor to the crowne of this realme of England; I not onelie take all chriſtendoome to witneſſe, but alſo your acts of parlement confirming the ſame. My father (as ye all know) poſſeſſed the regall eſtate by right of inheritance, which now by the ſame right deſcended vnto me. And to him alwaies ye ſhewed your ſelues moſt faithfull and louing ſubiects, and him obeied and ſerued as your liege lord & king: and therefore I doubt not but you will ſhew your ſelues likewiſe to me his daughter. Which if you doo, then maie you not ſuffer anie rebell to vſurpe the gouernance of our perſon, or to occupie our eſtate, eſpeciallie being ſo preſumptuous a traitor as this Wiat hath ſhewed himſelfe to be; who muſt certeinlie, as he hath abuſed my ignorant ſubiects to be adherents to his traitorous quarrell: ſo doth he intend by colour of the ſame, to ſubdue the lawes to his will, and to giue ſcope to the raſcall and forlorne perſons, to make generall hauocke and ſpoile of your goods. And this further I ſay vnto you in the word of a prince, I cannot tell how naturallie a mother loueth hir children, for I was neuer the mother of anie; but certeinlie a prince and gouernor may as naturallie and as earneſtlie loue ſubiects, as the mother doth hir child. Then aſſure your ſelues, that I being your ſouereigne ladie & quéene, doo as earneſtlie and as tenderlie loue and fauour you. And I thus louing you, cannot but thinke that ye as hartilie and faithfullie loue me againe: and ſo louing togither in this knot of loue and concord, I doubt not, but we togither ſhall be able to giue theſe rebels a ſhort and ſpeedie ouerthrow.

How he pretended the ſpoile of their goods it appeareth in that he comming to Southworke, did hurt neither man, woman, nor child, neither in bodie nor in a pennie of their goods.

And as concerning the caſe of my intended marriage, againſt which they pretend their quarrell, ye ſhall vnderſtand that I entred not into the treatie thereof without aduiſe of all our priuie councell; yea, and by aſſent of thoſe to whome the king my father committed his truſt, who ſo conſidered & weighed the great commodities that might inſue thereof, that they not onlie thought it very honorable, but expedient, both for the wealth of our realme, and alſo of all our louing ſubiects. And as touching my ſelfe (I aſſure you) I am not ſo deſirous of wedding, neither ſo preciſe or wedded to my will, that either for mine owne pleaſure I will chooſe where I luſt, or elſe ſo amorous as néeds I muſt haue one. For God I thanke him (to whome be the praiſe thereof) I haue hitherto liued a virgine, and doubting nothing but with Gods grace ſhall as well be able ſo to liue ſtill. But if as my progenitors haue done before, it might pleaſe God that I might leaue ſome fruit of my bodie behind me to be your gouernour, I truſt you

Quéene Marie excuſeth hir mariage.

would not onelie reioiſe thereat, but alſo I know it would be to your great comfort. And certeinlie if I either did know or thinke, that this marriage ſhould either turne to the danger or loſſe of anie of you my louing ſubiects, or to the detriment or impairing of anie part or parcell of the roiall eſtate of this realme of England, I would neuer conſent therevnto, neither would I euer marrie while I liued. And in the word of a quéene I promiſe and aſſure you, that if it ſhall not probablie appéere before the nobilitie and commons in the high court of parlement, that this marriage ſhall be for the ſingular benefit and commoditie of all the whole realme; that then I will abſteine, not onelie from this marriage, but alſo from anie other, whereof perill maie inſue to this moſt noble realme. Wherefore now as good & faithfull ſubiects plucke vp your harts, and like true men ſtand faſt with your lawfull prince againſt theſe rebelles, both our enimies and yours, and feare them not: for aſſure you that I feare them nothing at all, & I will leaue with you my lord Howard, and my lord treaſuror to be your aſſiſtants, with my lord maior, for the defenſe and ſafegard of this citie from ſpoile and ſaccage, which is onelie the ſcope of this rebellious companie.

The promiſe of quéene Marie touching hir marriage.

After this oration ended, the citizens ſéeming well ſatiſfied therewith, the queene with the lords of the councell returned to White hall from whence ſhe came: and forthwith the lord William Howard was aſſociate with the lord maior of London, whoſe name was ſir Thomas White for the protection and defenſe of the citie. And for more ſuertie, as well of hir owne perſon, as alſo of hir councellors and other ſubiects, ſhe prepared a great armie to méet with the ſaid rebelles in the field, of which armie William Herbert earle of Penbroke was made generall, which earle with all ſpéed requiſite in ſuch a caſe, prepared all things neceſſarie to ſuch a ſeruice belonging. The ſame daie ſir Thomas Wiat hauing with him fouretéene enſignes, conteining about foure thouſand men, although they were accounted to be a farre greater number, marched to Detford ſtrand, eight miles from Detford, and within foure miles of London; where vpon ſuch aduertiſement as he receiued by ſpiall, of the quéens being in the Guildhall, & the order of the people to hir wards, he remained that night & the next whole daie; diuerſe of his owne companie doubting by his longer tarrieng there than in other places, and vpon other preſumptions which they gathered, that he would haue paſſed the water into Eſſex.

Wiat marched to Detford ſtrand.

His priſoners Chriſtopher Roper, George Dorrell, and John Tucke eſquiers, who were kept ſomewhat ſtrict, for that they ſeemed ſicklie, and finding within the towne no conuenient harborough or attendance, were licenced by ſir Thomas Wiat, vpon promiſe of their worſhips to be true priſoners, to prouide for themſelues out from the towne, where they beſt might. But they breaking promiſe with him, ſought waies to eſcape and come no more at him. On ſaturdaie following verie earlie Wiat marched to Southworke, where approching the gate at London bridge foot, he called to them within to haue it opened: which he found not ſo readie as he looked for. After he had beene a little while in Southworke, and began to trench at the bridge foot, and ſet two peeces of ordinance againſt the gate, diuerſe of his ſoldiors went to Wincheſter place, where one of them (being a gentleman) began to fall to rifling of things found in the houſe. Wherewith ſir Thomas Wiat ſeemed ſo much offended, that he threatned ſore to hang him euen preſentlie there vpon the wharfe, and ſo as he made others to beleeue he meant to haue doone, if capteine Bret and others had not intreated for him.

Wiat ſuffereth his priſoners to go abrode vpon their word.

Wiat cõmeth into Southworke.

The lord William Howard lord admerall of England, being appointed by the queens commiſſion capteine generall, with the lord maior ſir Thomas White, watched at the bridge that night with three hundred men; cauſed the draw bridge to be hewen downe into the Thames, made rampiers and fortifications there, fenſing the ſame with great ordinance. Wiat yet aduentured the breaking downe of a wall out of an houſe ioining to the gate at the bridge foot, whereby he might enter into the leads ouer the gate, & came downe into the lodge about eleuen of the clocke in the night, where he found the porter in a ſlumber, and his wife with other waking, and watching ouer a cole; but beholding Wiat, they began ſuddenlie to ſtart as greatlie amazed. Whiſt quoth Wiat, as you loue your liues ſit ſtill, you ſhall haue no hurt. Glad were they of that warrant, and ſo were quiet, and made no noiſe. Wiat and a few with him went forth as farre as the draw bridge: on the other ſide whereof he ſaw the lord admerall, the lord maior, ſir Andrew Jud, and one or two others in conſultation for ordering of the bridge, wherevnto he gaue diligent heed and eare a good while, and was not ſéene.

Sir Thomas Wiets deſperat attempt.

This doone, he returned and ſaid to ſome of his companie; This place ſirs is too hot for vs. And herevpon falling in counſell what was beſt to doo: ſome gaue aduiſe that it ſhould be good to returne to Gréenewich, and ſo to paſſe the water into Eſſex, whereby their companie (as they thought) ſhould increaſe, and then aſſaie to enter into London by Aldgate: and ſome were of opinion, that it were better to go to Kingſton vpon Thames, and ſo further weſt. Other there were, among which ſir Thomas Wiat himſelfe was chiefe, would haue returned into Kent to méet with the lord of Aburgauenie, the lord Warden, the ſhiriffe, ſir Thomas Moile, ſir Thomas Kempe, ſir Thomas Finch, and others that were at Rocheſter, comming on Wiats backe, with a great companie well appointed, perſuading himſelfe (whether truelie or not I know not) that he ſhould find among them more friends than enimies. But whether his deſire to returne into Kent grew vpon hope he had to find aid there, or rather to ſhift himſelfe awaie, it was doubted of his owne companie; and ſome of them that knew him well (except they were much deceiued) reported not long before their execution, that his deſire to returne into Kent, was onelie to ſhift himſelfe ouer the ſea.

Wiat and his complices fall into conſultation.

The lord Warden being at Rocheſter (as yée haue heard) well furniſhed both with horſſe and men, perfectlie appointed to no ſmall number, was willing to haue followed after Wiat, and to haue ſhewed his good will againſt him in the quéens quarrell: but yet vpon deliberation had, & aduiſe taken with others that were there with him, he thought good firſt to vnderſtand the quéenes pleaſure how to proceed in his dealings; and heervpon he rode poſt to the queene himſelfe, leauing the lord of Aburgauennie and the reſt of the gentlemen with his and their bands behind till his returne. On ſundaie the fourth of Februarie, the lord admerall cauſed a ſtrong ward of three hundred men to be kept on the bridge till eight of the clocke at night, and then (for their reléaſe) entred the watch of other thrée hundred: ſo that the bridge was thus garded both daie and night with thrée hundred men in armor. It troubled Wiat and all his companie verie ſore, to ſée that London did ſo ſtiffelie ſtand and hold out againſt them: for in the aſſiſtance which they looked to haue had of that citie, all their hope of proſperous ſpéed conſiſted. But now that they ſaw themſelues greatlie diſappointed

The lord warden of the cinque ports verie willing to followe after Wiat.

Wiat at his wits end.

therein, they meant yet to ſet all on a hazard. And ſo the ſixt of Februarie being Shrouetueſdaie, afore ſix of the clocke in the morning, they departed out of Southworke, marching directlie towards Kingſtone ten miles diſtant from London, ſtanding vpon the Thames, where they arriued about foure of the clocke in the after noone: and finding thirtie foot or thereabout of the bridge taken awaie, ſauing the poſts that were left ſtanding; Wiat practiſed with two mariners to ſwim ouer, and to conueie a barge to him, which the mariners through great promiſes of preferment accordinglie did, wherein Wiat and certeine with him were conueied ouer: who in the meane time that the number of ſoldiors baited in the towne, cauſed the bridge to be repared with ladders, planks and beames, the ſame being tied togither with ropes and boords, ſo as by ten of the clocke in the night it was in ſuch plight, that both his ordinance and companies of men might paſſe ouer without perill. And ſo about eleuen of the clocke in the ſame night, Wiat with his armie paſſing ouer the bridge without either reſiſtance or perill, & before it could be once knowne at the court, marched toward London, meaning (as ſome haue written) to haue bin at the court gate before daie that morning. Neuertheles, before he came within ſix miles of the citie ſtaieng for a péece of his great artillerie which was diſmounted by the waie, his comming was diſcouered before daie: wherby the erle of Penbroke generall of the quéenes armie was with his men in good order of battell in S. James field beſide Weſtminſter, two or thrée houres yer Wiat could rech thither.

Wiat marcheth to Kingſtone.

Wiat repareth the bridge at Kingſtone.

Rich. Grafton.

The earle of Penbroke ſetteth the armie in order.

The earle hauing vnderſtanding by his eſpials, what waie Wiat would march, placed his armie in this order. Firſt, in a field on the weſt ſide of ſaint James were all his men of armes, and demilances; ouer againſt whome in the lane next to the parke, were placed all the light horſſemen. All which bands of horſſemen were vnder the charge of the lord Clinton, being marſhall of the field. The great artillerie was planted in the middeſt and higheſt place of the cauſeie next to the houſe of ſaint James, with certeine field peeces lieng on the flanke of ech battell. After that both the armies were in ſight, and that the great artillerie began to thunder from either ſide without harme (as it happened to either of both) Wiat perceiuing that he could not come vp the fore right waie without great diſaduantage, when he was come to the parke corner, he leauing the cauſeie, ſwarued, and tooke the nether waie towards ſaint James. Which being perceiued by the quéenes horſſemen, who laie on either ſide of him, they gaue a ſudden charge, and diuided his battell aſunder hard behind Wiats enſignes, whereby ſo manie as were not paſſed before with Wiat, were forced to flie backe towards Brainford: and certeine of his companie which eſcaped the charge, paſſed by the backeſide of ſaint James towards Weſtminſter, and from thenſe to the court: and finding the gates ſhut againſt them, ſtaid there a while, and ſhot off manie arrowes into the windowes, and ouer into the garden, neuertheleſſe without anie hurt there that was knowne. Wherevpon the ſaid rebels, ouer whom one Kneuet was capteine, perceiuing themſelues to be too few to doo anie great feat there, departed from thenſe to follow Wiat, who was gone before toward London: and being on their waie at Charingcroſſe, were there incountered by ſir Henrie Jerningham capteine of the quéenes gard, ſir Edward Braie maſter of the ordinance, and ſir Philip Paris knights, which were ſent by the order of the earle of Penbroke with a band of archers, and certeine field péeces for the reſcue of the court, who incountered the ſaid rebels at Charingcroſſe aforeſaid, after they had diſchaged their field péeces vpon them, ioined with thoſe rebels, halfe armed, and halfe vnarmed, at the puſh of the pike, & verie ſoone diſperſed their power; whereof ſome fled into the lane toward ſaint Giles, & ſome on the other ſide by a brewhouſe towards the Thames. In this conflict, which was the chiefe triall of that daie, there was not found ſlaine to the number of twentie of thoſe rebels. Which happened by reaſon that vpon their ioining with the quéens ſoldiors, the one part could not be diſcerned from the other, but onelie by the mire and durt taken by the waie, which ſtacke vpon their garments comming in the night: wherefore the crie on the quéenes part that daie was; Downe with the daggle tailes.

Wiat commeth to the parke corner, &c.

A ſkirmiſh at Charingcroſſe betwéen Wiats powers and the quéenes forces.

But now to returne to Wiat, of whome ye heard before, who being come to the parke corner, and perceiuing the perill apparant, if he ſhould haue marched ſtraight vpon the earls battels, which were ranged on either ſide of the cauſeie, did therefore politikelie turne from the great cauſeie, marching along the wall of the houſe of ſaint James towards London: which could not haue béene without his no little loſſe of manie of his traine, if thoſe that had the charge on that ſide the field, had béene as forward in ſeruice as the earle with his battell, and the horſſemen before ſhewed themſelues to be. Neuertheleſſe Wiat following his purpoſed enterpriſe, which was to haue entered into London, where he hoped of great aid, marched on with the ſmall companie that was left him, as far as a common inne called the Bell ſauage, néere to Ludgate, beléeuing to haue found ſome readie there to haue receiued him; wherin his hope was much deceiued, finding the ſaid gate faſt ſhut, and ſtronglie garded with a number as well of moſt honeſt citizens, as alſo of other bands of the quéenes aſſured friends. Wherevpon Wiat, who comming towards the citie, made himſelfe ſure of his enterpriſe, now deſperat of the ſame, was faine to turne his face, retiring backe againe to Temple-barre, where he with the reſt of his retinue determined (as it ſéemed) to trie their laſt fortune.

Wiat marcheth alongſt the wall of ſaint James towards London.

The earle of Penbroke (who all this while kept his force togither in the field) hearing of Wiats approch to London, ſent to him an herald called Clarenceaux, with great communication to deſiſt from his rebellious enterpriſe. Which herald did his meſſage accordinglie, albeit that ſome ſaid he promiſed the ſaid Wiat his pardon: which ſhould not ſéeme to be true, as well for that the herald had no ſuch commiſſion, as alſo that it was not like, that the ſaid Wiat being then diſarmed of all his forces, would haue refuſed mercie in ſuch a caſe. For true it is, that he with a verie few of his forlorne fellowſhip, not manie aboue the number of one hundred perſons, ſtood ſtill as men amazed at the gate of the Temple-barre, till ſuch time as ſir Maurice Barkicie knight, by chance riding towards London vpon his horſſe, with footcloth, without anie armour, finding the ſaid Wiat there, perſuaded him to repaire to the court, and to yéeld himſelfe to the quéene. Whoſe aduiſe he followed, and incontinent mounted vp on the ſaid ſir Maurice horſſe behind him, and ſo road to the court voluntarilie to yéeld himſelfe priſoner.

An herald ſent to Wiat willing him to deſiſt from his enterpriſe.

Sir Thomas Wiat ſubmitteth himſelfe to the quéene.

This comming of Wiat to the court being ſo little looked for, was great cauſe of reioiſing to ſuch as of late before ſtood in great feare of him. But more than maruell it was to ſée that daie, the inuincible heart and conſtancie of the quéene hir ſelfe, who being by nature a woman, and therefore commonlie more fearefull than men be, ſhewed hir ſelfe in that caſe more ſtout than is credible. For ſhe, notwithſtanding all the fearefull newes that were brought to hir that daie, neuer abaſhed. Inſomuch that when one or two noblemen being hir capteins, The ſtout courage of quéene Marie.

came in all haſt to tell hir (though vntrulie) that hir battels were yéelded to Wiat. She nothing moued thereat, ſaid it was their fond opinion that durſt not come néere to ſée the triall, ſaieng further, that ſhe hir ſelfe would enter the field to trie the truth of hir quarrell, and to die with them that would ſerue hir, rather than to yéeld one iot vnto ſuch a traitor as Wiat was; and prepared hir ſelfe accordinglie.

Proclamation that none ſhould kéepe in his houſe anie of Wiats faction.

But by the apprehenſion of Wiat that voiage tooke none effect: for after his comming to the court he was immediatlie committed to the Tower. As ſoone as the taking of Wiat was knowne, the armie (whereof mention is made before that laie in ſaint Iames field) was diſcharged, and euerie man licenced to depart to his home. And forthwith proclamation was made, as well in the citie of London as in the ſuburbs of the ſame, that none vpon paine of death ſhould kéepe in his or their houſes anie of Wiats faction; but ſhould bring them forth immediatlie before the lord maior, and other the quéenes iuſtices. By reaſon of which proclamation a great multitude of their ſaid poore caitifs were brought forth, being ſo manie in number, that all the priſons in London ſufficed not to receiue them: ſo that for lacke of place they were faine to beſtow them in diuerſe churches of the ſaid citie. And ſhortlie after were ſet vp in London for a terrour to the common ſort (bicauſe the white cotes being ſent out of the citie, as before ye haue heard, reuolted from the quéens part to the aid of Wiat) twentie paire of gallowes, on the which were hanged in ſeuerall places to the number of fiftie perſons, which gallowes remained ſtanding there a great part of the ſummer following to the great griefe of good citizens, and for example to the commotioners.

Abr.Fl. ex I.S. pag.1087,1088 1089.

Wiat ſent to the tower.

Sir Thomas Bridges lieutenant of the tower.

The zeale of the lieutenant ſheweth it ſelf by his hot language.

¶As for the principals of this faction, namelie Thomas Wiat, William Kneuet, Thomas Cobham, two brethren named Mantels, and Alexander Bret were brought by ſir Henrie Ierningam by water to the tower priſoners, where ſir Philip Denie receiued them at the bulworke, & as Wiat paſſed by he ſaid; Go traitor, there was neuer ſuch a traitor in England. To whom ſir Thomas Wiat turned, and ſaid, I am no traitor, I would thou ſhouldſt well know thou art more traitor than I, it is not the point of an honeſt man to call me ſo, and ſo went forth. When he came to the tower gate, ſir Thomas Bridges lieutenant tooke in through the wicket, firſt Mantell, and ſaid: Ah thou traitor, what haſt thou and thy companie wrought? But he holding downe his head ſaid nothing. Then came Thomas Kneuet, whom maſter chamberleine gentleman porter of the tower tooke in. Then came Alexander Bret, whome ſir Thomas Pope tooke by the boſome, ſaieng: Oh traitor, how couldeſt thou find in thy heart to worke ſuch a villanie, as to take wages, and being truſted ouer a band of men, to fall to hir enimies, returning againſt hir in battell. Bret anſwered Yea; I haue offended in that caſe. Then came Thomas Cobham, whome ſir Thomas Poines tooke in, and ſaid, Alas maiſter Cobham, what wind headed you to worke ſuch treaſon? And he anſwered, Oh ſir I was ſeduced. Then came in ſir Thomas Wiat, whom ſir Iohn Bridges tooke by the collar and ſaid, Oh thou villen & vnhappie traitor, how couldeſt thou find in thy hart to worke ſuch deteſtable treaſon to the quéenes maieſtie, who gaue thée thy life and liuing once alreadie, although thou diddeſt before this time beare armes in the field againſt hir, and now to yéeld hir battell, &c. If it were not (ſaith he) but that the law muſt paſſe vpon thée, I would ſticke thée through with my dagger. To the which Wiat holding his arms vnder his ſide, and looking grieuouſlie with a grim looke vpon the lieutenant, ſaid; It is no maiſterie now: and ſo paſſed on. Thomas Wiat had on a ſhirt of maile, with ſléeues verie faire, theron a veluet caſſocke, and a yellow lace, with the windlace of his dag hanging thereon, and a paire of boots on his legs, and on his head a faire hat of veluet, with a broad bone-worke lace about it. William Kneuet, Thomas Cobham, and Bret, were the like apparelled.

The duke of Suffolke and the lord Greie brought to the tower.

Sir Henrie Iſleie.

On the morrow and the next daie following were brought into the tower priſoners, George Cobham, ſir William Cobham, Anthonie Kneuet, Hugh Booth, Thomas Vane, Robert Rudſtone, ſir George Harper, Edward Wiat, Edward Fog, George Moore, and Cutbert Vaughan. The tenth of Februarie, the earle of Huntington and other gentlemen, and to the number of thrée hundred horſſemen, brought to the tower as priſoners the duke of Suffolke, and the lord Iohn Greie his brother from Couentrie, where the duke had remained thrée daies after his taking in the houſe and cuſtodie of Chriſtopher Warren alderman there. The eleuenth daie ſir Henrie Iſleie who had fled, was brought into the tower in an old fréeſe cote, an old paire of hoſen, all his apparell not worth foure ſhillings. The ſame daie came in two of the Culpepers, one Cromar, & Thomas Rampton the duke of Suffolks ſecretarie.

The lord Gilford Dudleie executed on the tower.

The behauior of the ladie Iane lead to execution.

The twelfe of Februarie being mondaie, about ten of the clocke, there went out of the tower to the ſcaffold on the tower hill, the lord Gilford Dudleie, ſonne to the duke of Northumberland, huſband to the ladie Iane Greie daughter to the duke of Suffolke; and without the bulworke gate, maiſter Thomas Offleie one of the ſhiriffes of London receiued him and brought him to the ſcaffold, where after a ſmall declaration he knéeled downe and ſaid his praiers. Then holding vp his eies & hands to heauen with teares, at the laſt he deſired the people to praie for him, & after he was beheaded. His bodie being laid in a cart, and his head in a cloth, was brought into the chappell within the tower, where the ladie Iane, whoſe lodging was in maiſter Patridges houſe, did ſée his dead carcaſſe taken out of the cart, as well as ſhe did ſée him before aliue going to his death: a ſight (as might be ſuppoſed) to hir worſe than death. By this time was there a ſcaffold made vpon the gréene ouer againſt the white tower, for the ladie Iane to die vpon, who being nothing at all abaſhed neither with feare of hir owne death, which then approched, neither with the ſight of the dead carcaſſe of hir huſband when he was brought into the chapell, came forth, the lieutenant leading hir, with countenance nothing abaſhed, neither hir eies anie thing moiſtened with teares, with a booke in hir hand, wherein ſhe praied vntill ſhe came to the ſaid ſcaffold. Whereon when ſhe was mounted, this noble yoong ladie as ſhe was indued with ſingular gifts both of learning and knowledge, ſo was ſhe as patient and mild as anie lambe at hir execution: and a little before hir death vttered theſe words.]

The words of the ladie Iane at hir *death, on a ſcaffold vpon the greene* ouer againſt the white tower.

GOod people I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the ſame. My offenſe againſt the quéenes highnes was onelie in conſent to the deuice of other, which now is déemed treaſon; but it was neuer of my ſéeking, but by counſell of thoſe who ſhould ſéeme to haue further vnderſtanding of things than I, which knew little of the law, and much leſſe of the titles to the crowne. But touching the procurement and deſire therof by me, or on my behalfe, I doo waſh my hands in innocencie thereof before God, and the face of all you (good chriſtian people) this daie. And therwith ſhe wrong hir hands wherin ſhe had hir booke. Then (ſaid ſhe) I praie you all good chriſtian people, to beare me witneſſe that I die a true chriſtian woman, & that I looke to be ſaued by none other meanes, but onelie by the mercie of God, in the bloud of his onelie ſonne Ieſus Chriſt; & I confeſſe that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the ſame, & loued my ſelfe and the world, and therefore this plague and puniſhment is iuſtlie & worthilie happened vnto me for my ſins, & yet I thanke God of his goodneſſe, that he hath giuen me a time and reſpit to repent. And now good people while I am aliue, I praie you aſſiſt me with your praiers.

The executioner aſked the ladie Iane forgiueneſſe.

Then kneeling downe, ſhe ſaid the pſalme of *Miſerere mei Deus,* in Engliſh, and then ſtood vp and gaue hir maid (called miſtreſſe Ellin) hir gloues and handkercher, and hir booke ſhe alſo gaue to maiſter Bridges then lieutenant of the tower, and ſo vntied hir gowne; and the executioner preſſed to helpe hir off with it, but ſhe deſired him to let hir alone, and turned hir toward hir two gentlewomen, who helped hir off therewith, and with hir other attires, and they gaue hir a faire handkercher to put about hir eies. Then the executioner kneeled downe and aſked hir forgiueneſſe, whom ſhe forgaue moſt willinglie. Then he willed hir to ſtand vpon the ſtraw, which doone, ſhe ſaw the blocke, & then ſhe ſaid; I praie you diſpatch me quicklie. Then ſhe kneeled downe, ſaieng; Will you take it off before I laie me downe? Wherevnto the executioner anſwered, No madame. Then tied ſhe the handkercher about hir eies, and feeling for the blocke, ſhe ſaid; Where is it, where is it? One of the ſtanders by guided hir therevnto, and ſhe laid downe hir head vpon the blocke, and then ſtretched forth hir bodie, and ſaid; Lord into thy hands I commend my ſpirit, and ſo finiſhed hir life. ¶ This was the end of the lord Gilford and the ladie Iane, whoſe deaths were the more haſtened for feare of further troubles and ſturs for hir title, like as hir father had attempted.]

I. Stow.

Iohn Fox.

Thus (as ſaith maiſter Fox) were beheaded two innocents, in compariſon of them that ſat vpon them: for they did but ignorantlie accept that which the others had willinglie deuiſed, and by open proclamation conſented to take from others, and giue to them. And verelie how vnwilling ſhe was to take it vpon hir, there are yet liuing that can teſtifie. Iudge Morgan now that gaue the ſentence againſt hir, ſhortlie after fell mad, and in his rauing cried continuallie to haue the ladie Iane taken awaie from him, and ſo ended his life. ¶ Touching this ladie Iane in the high commendation of hir godlie mind, I find this report in maiſter Foxes appendix to his Acts and Monuments, namelie that being on a time when ſhe was verie yoong at Newhall in Eſſex at the ladie Maries, was by one ladie Anne Wharton deſired to walke, and they paſſing by the chapell, the ladie Wharton made low curtſie to the popiſh ſacrament hanging on the altar. Which when the ladie Iane ſaw maruelled why ſhe did ſo, and aſked hir whether the ladie Marie were there or not? Vnto whome the ladie Wharton anſwered no, but ſhe ſaid that ſhe made hir curtſie to him that made vs all. Why quoth the ladie Iane, how can he be there that made vs all, and the baker made him? This hir anſwer comming to the ladie Maries eare, ſhe did neuer loue hir after, as is crediblie reported, but eſteemed hir as the reſt of that chriſtian profeſſion. In further witneſſe of which good ladies diſpoſition (both to God and the world) beſides the verſes of certeine learned men extant to hir praiſe, theſe following were found written by hir owne hand with a pin:

Iudge Morgan fell mad.

Abr.Fl. ex I.F. Mart.

Non aliena putes homini, quæ obtingere poſſunt,
Sors hodierna mihi, tunc erit illa tibi.
Iane Dudley.

Deo iuuante, nil nocet liuor malus,
Et non iuuante, nil iuuat labor grauis.
Poſt tenebras ſpero videre lucem.

The duke of Suffolke.

Vpon ſaturdaie being the ſeuenteenth of Februarie the duke of Suffolke was arreigned at Weſtminſter, and there condemned to die by his peeres, the earle of Arundell being that daie chiefe iudge. Where ſome haue written that he ſhould at his laſt going downe into the countrie make proclamation in his daughters name, that is not ſo: for whereas he ſtood by in Leiceſter, when at his commandement the proclamation was there made againſt the queenes mariage with the prince of Spaine, &c: maſter Damport then maior of that towne ſaid to him: My lord I truſt your grace meaneth no hurt to the queenes maieſtie. No ſaith he maiſter maior (laieng his hand on his ſword) he that would hir anie hurt, I would this ſword were through his hart, for ſhe is the mercifulleſt prince, as I haue trulie found hir, that euer reigned, in whoſe defenſe I am & will be readie to die at hir foot. ¶ On mondaie the nineteenth of Februarie, the lord Cobhams three ſonnes, and foure other men were brought to Weſtminſter, the yoongeſt of the Cobhams, to wit maiſter Thomas Cobham was condemned with the other foure men, but the other two Cobhams came not to the barre. ¶ On the wedneſdaie the one and twentith of Februarie the lord Thomas Greie that had beene taken (as before ye haue heard) in Wales, was brought togither with ſir Iames Croft through London to the tower, by a number of horſſemen.

Iohn Fox.

The duke of Suffolke beheaded.

Vpon the fridaie the three and twentith of Februarie, about nine of the clocke, the duke of Suffolke was brought forth of the tower vnto the ſcaffold on the tower hill. And in his comming thither, there accompanied him doctor Weſton, as his ghoſtlie father: notwithſtanding (as it ſhould ſeeme) againſt the will of the ſaid duke. For when the duke went vp the ſcaffold, the ſaid Weſton being on his left hand, preſſed to go vp with him. The duke with his hand put him downe againe off the ſtaires, and Weſton taking hold of the duke forced him downe likewiſe. And as they aſcended the ſecond time, the duke againe put him downe. Then Weſton ſaid, that it was the queenes pleaſure he ſhould ſo doo: wherewith the duke caſting his hands abrode, aſcended vp the ſcaffold, and pauſed a prettie while after, and then he ſaid.

Doctor Weſton.

The duke of Suffolks words to the *people at the time of his death.*

MAiſters, I haue offended the queene and hir lawes, and thereby am iuſtlie condemned to die, and am willing to die, deſiring all men to be obedient; and I praie God that this my death maie be an example to all men: beſeeching you all to beare mee witneſſe that I die in the faith of Chriſt, truſting to be ſaued by his bloud onelie (and by none other trumperie) the which died for me, and for all them that doo trulie repent, & ſtedfaſtlie truſt in him. And I doo repent, deſiring you all to pray to God for me, that when ye ſee my breath depart from me, you will praie to God that he maie receiue my ſoule. And then hee deſired all men to forgiue him, ſaieng that the queene had forgiuen him.

Then maiſter Weſton declared with a lowd voice that the queenes maieſtie had forgiuen him. Then diuers of the ſtanders by ſaid with audible voice; Such forgiuenes God ſend thee, meaning doctor Weſton. Then the duke kneeled vpon his knees, and ſaid the pſalme *Miſerere mei Deus*, vnto the end, holding vp his hands, and looking vp to heauen. And when he had ended the pſalme, he ſaid; *In manus tuas Domine commendo ſpiritum meum*. Then he aroſe and ſtood vp, and deliuered his cap and ſcarffe to the executioner, and therewith the executioner kneeled downe: and aſked the duke forgiueneſſe, and the duke ſaid, God forgiue thee, and I doo: and when thou doſt thine office, I praie thee doo it quicklie, and God haue mercie to thee. Then ſtood there a man and ſaid, My lord, how ſhall I doo for the monie that you doo owe me? And the duke ſaid, Alas good fellow, I praie thee trouble me not now, but go thy waie to my officers. Then he knit a kercher about his face, and kneeled downe and ſaid, Our father which art in heauen, &c: vnto the end: and then he ſaid, Chriſt haue mercie vpon me, and laid downe his head on the blocke: and the executioner tooke the axe, and at the firſt chop ſtroke off his head, and held it vp to the people, according to the common cuſtome of execution.

The duke of Suffolke deſcribed.

Such was the end of this duke of Suffolke, a man of high nobilitie by birth, and of nature to his friend gentle and courteous, more eaſie in deed to be led than was thought expedient, of ſtomach neuertheleſſe ſtout and hardie, haſtie and ſoone kindled, but pacified ſtreight againe, and ſorie if in his heat ought had paſſed him otherwiſe than reaſon might ſeeme to beare, vpright and plaine in his priuat dealings, no diſſembler, nor well able to beare iniuries, but yet forgiuing & forgetting the ſame, if the partie would ſeeme but to acknowlege his fault, and ſeeke reconcilement. Bountifull he was and verie liberall, ſomwhat learned himſelfe, and a great fauourer of thoſe that were learned, ſo that to manie he ſhewed himſelfe a verie *Mecænas*: as free from couetouſneſſe, as void of pride and diſdainefull hautineſſe of mind, more regarding plaine meaning men, than clawbacke flatterers. And this vertue he had, he could patientlie heare his faults told him, by thoſe whome he had in credit for their wiſdome and faithfull meaning toward him, although ſometime he had the hap to reforme himſelfe thereafter. Concerning his laſt offenſe for the which he died, it is to be ſuppoſed, he rather tooke in hand that vnlawfull enterpriſe through others perſuaſions, than of his owne motion for any malicious ambition in himſelfe.

Great pitie that ſo manie good gifts concurring ſhould ſuffer diſgrace.

But now to let this duke reſt with God, we will proceed with the ſtorie. The ſame daie (or as ſome haue noted the day before) a number of priſoners had their pardon, and came through the citie with their halters about their necks. They were in * number aboue two hundred. Upon the ſaturdaie, the eight and twentith of Februarie, ſir William Sentlow was committed as priſoner to the maiſter of the horſſe to be kept. This ſir William was at this time one of the ladie Elizabeths gentlemen. Upon the ſundaie being the fiue and twentith of Februarie, ſir Iohn Rogers was committed to the tower. Upon the tueſdaie in the ſame weeke being the ſeuen & twentith of Februarie, certeine gentlemen of Kent were ſent into Kent to be executed there. Their names were theſe: the two Mantels, two Kneuets, and Bret: with theſe maiſter Rudſton alſo, and certeine other were condemned, and ſhould haue beene executed, but they had their pardon.

* The number of them that thus had their pardon were 240.

Gentlemen ſent into Kent to be executed.

Execution.

Sir Henrie Iſleie knight, Thomas Iſleie his brother, and Walter Mantell, ſuffered at Maidſton, where Wiat firſt diſplaied his banner. Anthonie Kneuet and his brother William Kneuet, with another of the Mantels, were executed at Seuenocke: Bret at Rocheſter was hanged in chains. On ſaturdaie the third of March, ſir Gawen Carew, and maiſter Gibs were brought thorough London to the tower, with a companie of horſſemen. The fifteenth daie of March next following, the ladie Elizabeth the queenes ſiſter, and next heire to the crowne, was aprehended at hir manour of Aſhridge, for ſuſpicion of Wiats conſpiracie. And from thence (being that time verie ſicke) with great rigour brought priſoner to London. On the ſundaie after being the ſeuenteenth of March, ſhe was commited to the tower, where alſo the lord Courtneie earle of Deuonſhire (of whome before is made mention) was for the like ſuſpicion committed priſoner.

Ladie Elizabeth and lord Courtneie priſoners in the tower.

Abr.Fl. ex Ioh.Foxi martyrologio.

¶ Touching the impriſonment of the foreſaid ladie Elizabeth, & the lord Courtneie, thou ſhalt note here for thy learning (good reader) a politike point of practiſe in Stephan Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, not vnworthie to be conſidered. This Gardiner being alwaies a capitall enimie to ladie Elizabeth, & thinking now by the occaſion of maiſter Wiat to picke out ſome matter againſt the lord Courtneie, and ſo in the end to intangle the ladie Elizabeth, deuiſed a peſtilent practiſe of conueiance, as in the ſtorie here following maie appeare. The ſtorie is this. The ſame daie that ſir Thomas died, he deſired the lieutenant to bring him to the preſence of the lord Courtneie, who there before the lieutenant and the ſhiriffes, kneeling downe vpon his knees, beſought the lord Courtneie to forgiue him, for that he had falſelie accuſed both the ladie Elizabeth and him: and ſo being brought from thence vnto the ſcaffold to ſuffer, there openlie in the hearing of all the people cleared the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, to be free and innocent from all ſuſpicion of that commotion. At which confeſſion, doctor Weſton there ſtanding by, cried to the people, ſaieng: Beleeue him not (good people) for he confeſſed otherwiſe before vnto the councell.

A point of practiſe of Stephā Gardiner againſt the ladie Elizabeth.

Doctor Weſtō againſt the ladie Elizabeth.

After the execution doone of ſir Thomas Wiat, which was the eleuenth daie of Aprill, word was brought immediatlie to the lord maior ſir Thomas White a little before dinner, how maiſter Wiat had cleared the ladie Elizabeth and lord Courtneie, and the words alſo which doctor Weſton ſpake vnto the people. Whereunto the lord maior anſwering; Is this true quoth he? Said Weſton ſo? In ſooth I neuer tooke him otherwiſe but for a knaue. Upon this the lord maior ſitting downe to dinner (who dined the ſame daie at the Bridgehouſe) commeth in ſir Martine Bowes with the recorder, newlie come from the parlement houſe, who hearing of the maior and ſhiriffes this report of Wiats confeſſion, both vpon the ſcaffold and alſo in the tower, marueiled thereat, declaring how there was another tale contrarie to this, told the ſame daie in the parlement houſe, which was, that ſir Thomas Wiat ſhould deſire the lord Courtneie to confeſſe the truth, ſo as he had doone before.

The lord maiors iudgment of D. Weſton.

Upon this it followed not long after, that a certeine prentiſe dwelling in ſaint Laurence lane, named Cut, as he was drinking with one Denham a plaiſterer being one of queene Maries ſeruants, amongſt other talke, made mention how ſir Thomas

Cut prentiſe in London brought before Stephan Gardiner.

Stephā Gardiners tale in the Starchamber againſt the ladie Elizabeth.

The Lord Shandois falſe report in the Starchamber, againſt the ladie Elizabeth and lord Courtneie.

Wiat had cleared the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, to be no conſenters to his riſing. Which words being brought to Gardiner (by what means I know not) incontinent vpon the ſame, ſir Andrew Iud was ſent by the ſaid biſhop to the lord maior, commanding him to bring the ſaid prentiſe to the Starchamber, which was accuſed of theſe words, that he ſhould ſaie that Wiat was conſtreined by the councell to accuſe the ladie Elizabeth, & the lord Courtneie. Which fellow when he was come to the Starchamber, the aforeſaid Gardiner letting paſſe other matters that were in hand, began to declare to the whole multitude, how miraculouſlie almightie God had brought the queens maieſtie to the crowne, the whole realme in a maner being againſt hir, and that he had brought this to paſſe for this ſingular intent & purpoſe, that this realme being ouerwhelmed with hereſies, ſhe might reduce the ſame againe to the true catholike faith. And where ſhe tooke the ladie Elizabeth into hir fauour, and loued hir ſo tenderlie, and alſo the lord Courtneie, who of long time had beene deteined in priſon, and by hir was ſet at libertie, and receiued great benefits at hir hands; and notwithſtanding all this, they had conſpired moſt vnnaturallie and traitorouſlie againſt hir with that heinous traitor Wiat, as by the confeſſion of Wiat (ſaid he) and the letters ſent to and fro maie plainlie appeare: yet there was ſome in the citie of London, which reported that Wiat was conſtreined by the councell to accuſe the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, & yet you my lord maior (quoth he) haue not ſeene the ſame puniſhed.

The partie is here, ſaid the lord maior. Take him with you (ſaid Gardiner) and puniſh him according to his deſert, and ſaid further: My lord, take heed to your charge, the citie of London is a whirlepoole and a ſinke of all euill rumors, there they be bred, and from thence ſpred into all parts of this realme. There ſtood by the ſame time the lord Shandois, who being then lieutenant of the tower, and now hearing the biſhop thus ſpeake, to ſooth his tale, came in with theſe words as followeth: My lords (quoth he) this is a truth that I ſhall tell you, I being lieutenant of the tower when Wiat ſuffered, he deſired me to bring him to the lord Courtneie; which when I had doone, he fell downe vpon his knees before him in my preſence, and deſired him to confeſſe the truth of himſelfe, as he had doone before, and to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the queenes mercie. And thus much of this matter I thought to declare, to the intent that the reader perceiuing the proceedings of the biſhop in the premiſſes, & comparing the ſame with the true teſtimonie of Wiat himſelfe, and with the teſtimonie of the ſhiriffes, the which were preſent the ſame time when ſir Thomas Wiat aſked the lord Courtneie forgiueneſſe, maie the better iudge of the whole caſe and matter for the which the ladie Elizabeth and the lord Courtneie were ſo long in trouble.]

On ſaturdaie next following being Eaſter euen, and the foure and twentith of March, the lord marques of Northampton, the lord Cobham, and ſir William Cobham his ſonne and heire, were deliuered out of the tower, where they had remained for a time, being committed thither vpon ſome ſuſpicion about Wiats rebellion: as diuerſe others were, wherof manie were put to death, as C.O. reporteth:

Nunc iſtos læſæ nunc illos quæſtio torquet
Maieſtatis, habet multos cuſtodia clauſos
Firma viros, atro pars plurima deditur Orco.

Not long after, queene Marie partlie offended with the Londoners, as fauorers of Wiats conſpiracie, and partlie perceiuing the more part of them nothing inclined towards hir proceedings in religion, which turned manie of them to loſſe, ſummoned a parlement to be holden at Oxford, as it were to gratifie that citie, which with the vniuerſitie, towne, and countrie, had ſhewed themſelues verie forward in hir ſeruice; but ſpeciallie in reſtoring of the religion called catholike: for which appointed parlement there to be holden, great prouiſion was made, as well by the queens officers, as by the townesmen & inhabitants of the countrie round about. But the queens mind in ſhort ſpace changed, and the ſame parlement was holden at Weſtminſter in Aprill next following, wherein the queene proponed two ſpeciall matters, the one for the mariage to be had betweene hir and the prince Philip of Spaine: the other, for the reſtoring againe of the popes power and iuriſdiction in England. As touching hir mariage, it was with no great difficultie agreed vpon; but the other requeſt could not be eaſilie obteined.

A parlement ſummoned at Oxford but not holden.

All nations in the world againſt the mariage of the ſun, and why.

Howbeit, it was to be wiſhed, euen to the diſappointing of that mariage (if God in counſell had ſo prouided) that the whole bodie of the parlement had beene ſemblablie affected, as it is ſaid, that all the nations of the world were, when the ſunne would needs be maried. Againſt which purpoſe of the ſun the people of all regions aſſembling, humblie beſought Iupiter to caſt in a blocke and impediment againſt that wedding. But Iupiter demanding of them why they would not haue the ſun maried; one ſtepping vp made anſwer for the reſt, and ſaid: Thou knoweſt well enough Iupiter that there is but one ſun, and yet he burneth vs all: who, if he be maried & haue children, as the number of ſuns muſt needs increaſe; ſo muſt their heat and feruentneſſe be multiplied, whereby a generall deſtruction of all things in their kind will inſue. Herevpon that match was ouerthrowne. But God aboue ruling by prouidence all things here beneath, had purpoſed this coniunction; ſo that it was not in the power of man to withſtand or interrupt it: howbeit it was his pleaſure (to what end himſelfe beſt knoweth) to curſſe it with barrenneſſe, as he did the queene hir ſelfe with a ſhort and vnpeaceable reigne (full of ſedition and bloudſhed) as our Engliſh poet noteth:

Quæ poſt Eduardi mortem conuerſio rerum,
Tranſtulit in varias alieno pectore partes
Brutigenas, fauet hic externis, ille peroſus
Myſtarum rabiem, tantis obſtacula quærit
Opportuna malis: cùm iam proh dedecus ingens,
Seditio exoritur, regnorum peſſima peſtis.

John Stow.
A cat hanged in cheape.

¶ On the eight of Aprill, then being ſundaie, a cat with hir head ſhorne, and the likeneſſe of a veſtment caſt ouer hir, with hir fore feet tied togither, and a round peece of paper like a ſinging cake betwixt them, was hanged on a gallows in Cheape, neere to the croſſe, in the pariſh of ſaint Matthew: which cat being taken downe, was caried to the biſhop of London, and he cauſed the ſame to be ſhewed at Pauls croſſe by the preacher doctor Pendleton.]

The biſhops Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridleie ſent to Oxford.

Commiſſioners.

On the tenth daie of Aprill following, Thomas Cranmer archbiſhop of Canturburie, Nicholas Ridleie biſhop of London, and Hugh Latimer once biſhop of Worceſter, who had beene long priſoners in the tower, were now conueied from thence, and caried to Windſore, and afterward to the vniuerſitie of Oxford, there to diſpute with the diuines and learned men of the contrarie opinion. Two daies after their comming to Oxford, which was the twelfe daie of the ſaid moneth, diuerſe learned men of both the vniuerſities were ſent in commiſſion from the conuocation (which during this parlement was kept in Pauls church in London) to diſpute with thoſe priſoners in certeine articles of religion. The names of them that were in commiſſion were theſe following. Of Oxford, doctor Weſton prolocutor, Cole, Chadſeie, Pie, Harpeſfield, Smith. Of

Cambridge, Yong, Seton, Watſon, Atkinſon, Pecknam, Sedgewike. The thirtéenth daie of Aprill theſe diſputers aſſembled themſelues in ſaint Maries church, to conuent the thrée perſons aboue named vpon certeine articles of religion, who being brought out of priſon before them, were ſeuerallie one after another examined of their opinions, vpon the articles propoſed vnto them, whereof ye maie read in the booke of monuments of the church more at large, and there find the whole procéeding in that matter.

Io. Fox in acts and monuments.

Sir Thomas Wiat arreigned.

Sir Thomas Wiat (of whome mention is made before) was about this time brought from the tower to Weſtminſter, and there arreigned of high treaſon: the earle of Suſſex, ſir Edward Haſtings, and ſir Thomas Cornwallis, with others being his iudges. The effect of whoſe indictment among other things ſpeciallie was; that he the fourtéenth daie of Februarie laſt before, with force of armed multitude and enſignes diſplaied, had at Brainford raiſed open warres againſt our ſouereigne ladie the quéene, traitorouſlie pretending and practiſing to depriue hir of hir crowne and dignitie; and the queſtion was demanded of him, whether he was guiltie or no? Whereat he ſtaied, and beſought the iudges that he might firſt aſke a queſtion, before he anſwered directlie to the point, and he was licenced ſo to doo. The queſtion was, that if he ſhould confeſſe himſelfe guiltie, whether the ſame ſhould not be preiudiciall vnto him, ſo as he by that confeſſion ſhould be barred from vttering ſuch things as he had more to ſay? Whereunto it was anſwered by the court; Maiſter Wiat (ſaid they) ye ſhall haue both leaue and leaſure to ſaie what you can.

The effect of Wiats indictment.

Wiat anſwereth not directlie to the queſtion guiltie or vnguiltie.

Then my lords (quoth he) I muſt confeſſe my ſelfe guiltie, and in the end the truth of my caſe muſt inforce me. I muſt acknowledge this to be a iuſt plague for my ſins, which moſt gréeuouſlie I therefore haue committed againſt God, who ſuffered me thus brutiſhlie & beaſtlie to fall into this horrible offenſe of the law. Wherefore all you lords & gentlemen, with other here preſent, note well my words, lo here & ſée in me the ſame end which all other commonlie had, which haue attempted the like enterpriſe from the beginning. For peruſe the chronicles through, & you ſhall ſée that neuer rebellion attempted by ſubiects againſt their prince and countrie, from the beginning did euer proſper, or had euer better ſucceſſe, except the caſe of king Henrie the fourth: who although he became a prince, yet in his act was but a rebell, for ſo muſt I call him: & though he preuailed for a time, yet was it not long but that his heires were depriued, and thoſe that had right againe reſtored to the kingdome and crowne, and the vſurpation ſo ſharplie reuenged afterward in his bloud, as it well appeared, that the long delaie of Gods vengéance was ſupplied with more gréeuous plagues in the third and fourth generation. For the loue of God all you gentlemen that be here preſent, remember and be taught as well by examples paſt, as alſo by this my preſent infelicitie and moſt wretched caſe. Oh moſt miſerable, miſchiefous, brutiſh & beſtlie furious imaginations of mine! I was perſuaded that by the mariage of the prince of Spaine, the ſecond perſon of this realme, and next heire to the crowne, ſhould haue béene in danger; and that I being a frée borne man, ſhould with my countrie haue béene brought into the bondage and ſeruitude of aliens and ſtrangers. Which brutiſh beaſtlie opinion then ſéemed to me reaſon, and wrought in me ſuch effects, that it led me headlong into the practiſe of this deteſtable crime of treaſon.

A rebels report touching rebellion.

Wiats exhortation to loialtie by his owne example.

Wiat altereth his mind touching the quéenes marriage.

But now being better perſuaded, and vnderſtanding the great commoditie & honor which the realme ſhould receiue by this marriage: I ſtand firme and faſt in this opinion, that if it ſhould pleaſe the quéene to be mercifull vnto me, there is no ſubiect in this land that ſhould more trulie and faithfullie ſerue hir highnes than I ſhall; nor no ſooner die at hir graces féet in defenſe of hir quarrell. I ſerued hir highneſſe againſt the duke of Northumberland, as my lord of Arundell can witneſſe. My grandfather ſerued moſt truelie hir graces grandfather, and for his ſake was ſet vpon the racke in the tower. My father alſo ſerued king Henrie the eight to his good contentation, and I alſo ſerued him, and king Edward his ſon. And in witneſſe of my bloud ſpent in his ſeruice, I carrie a name. I alledge not all this to ſet forth my ſeruice by waie of merit, which I confeſſe but dutie: but to declare to the whole world, that by abuſing my wits, in purſuing my miſaduiſed opinion, I haue not onelie ouerthrowne my houſe, and defaced all the well doings of me and my anceſtors (if euer there were anie) but alſo haue béene the cauſe of mine owne death and deſtruction. Neither doo I alledge this to iuſtifie my ſelfe in anie point, neither for an excuſe of mine offenſe: but moſt humblie ſubmit my ſelfe to the quéenes maieſties mercie and pitie, deſiring you my lord of Suſſex, and you maiſter Haſtings, with all the reſt of this honorable bench, to be meanes to the quéenes highneſſe for hir mercie, which is the greateſt treaſure that maie be giuen to anie prince from God, ſuch a vertue as God hath appropriate to himſelfe. Which if hir highneſſe vouchſafe to extend vnto me, ſhe ſhall beſtow it on him, who ſhall be moſt glad to ſerue truelie, and not refuſe to die in hir quarrell. For I proteſt before the iudge of all iudges, I neuer meant hurt againſt hir highneſſe perſon.

The fruits of rebellion by Wiats confeſſion.

The quéenes attornie ſpeaketh to Wiat.

Then ſaid the quéenes attorneie; Maiſter Wiat you haue great cauſe to be ſorie, and repent for your fault, whereby you haue not onelie vndoone your ſelfe and your houſe, but alſo a number of other gentlemen, who being true men might haue ſerued their prince and countrie: yet if you had gone no further, it might haue béene borne withall the better. But being not ſo contented to ſtaie your ſelfe, you haue ſo procured the duke of Suffolke (a man ſoone trained to your purpoſe) and his two brethren alſo: by meanes whereof without the quéenes greater mercie, you haue ouerthrowne that noble houſe. And yet not ſo ſtaied, your attempt hath reached as far as in you laie to the ſecond perſon of the realme, in whom next to the quéenes highneſſe reſteth all our hope and comfort, wherby hir honor is brought in queſtion, and what danger will folow, and to what end it will come God knoweth: of all this you are the author. Wiat anſwered; As I will not in anie thing iuſtifie my ſelfe, ſo I beſéech you, I being in this wretched eſtate, not to ouercharge me, nor to make me ſéeme to be that I am not. I am loth to touch anie perſon by name; but that I haue written I haue written. Then ſaid the iudge; Maiſter Wiat, maiſter attornie hath well mooued you to repent your offenſes, and we for our parts wiſh you the ſame.

Wiats anſwer to the quéenes attorneie.

The iudge ſpeaketh.

Sir Edward Haſtings ſpéech to Wiat.

Then ſaid ſir Edward Haſtings maiſter of the quéens horſſe; Maiſter Wiat, doo ye remember when I and maiſter Cornwallis were ſent vnto you from the quéenes highneſſe to demand the cauſe of your enterpriſe, and what you required? Were not theſe your demands, that the quéenes grace ſhould go to the tower, and there remaine; and you to haue the rule of the tower and hir perſon, with the treaſure in kéeping, and ſuch of hir councell as you would require to be deliuered into your hands, ſaieng that you would be truſted and not truſt? Which words when Wiat had confeſſed, then ſaid the quéenes ſolicitor; Your preſumption was ouer great, & your at-

tempt

Maiſter Cordall late maiſter of the rolles ſpeaketh.

tempt in this caſe hath purchaſed you perpetuall infamie, and ſhall be called Wiats rebellion, as Wat Tilers was called Wat Tilers rebellion. Then ſaid the attorneie; Maiſter Wiat, were you not priuie to a deuiſe whereby the quéene ſhould haue béene murthered in a place where ſhe ſhould walke? I doo not burthen you to confeſſe this, for thus much I muſt ſaie on your behalfe, that you miſliked that deuiſe? That deuiſe (ſaid Wiat) was the deuiſe of William Thomas, whome euer after I abhorred for that cauſe.

William Thomas meant to murther quéene Marie.

Then was a letter ſhewed, which Wiat being in Southworke had written to the duke of Suffolke, that he ſhould méet him at Kingſtone bridge, and from thenſe to accompanie him to London, although he came with the fewer number. Wiat at the firſt did not ſéeme to remember anie ſuch letter; but when it was ſhewed him, he confeſſed his hand. Then was it demanded of him among other things, whie he refuſed the quéenes pardon when it was offered him. My lords (quoth he) I confeſſe my fault and offenſe to be moſt vile and heinous, for the which firſt I aſke God mercie, without the which I cannot challenge anie thing, ſuch is my offenſe alreadie committed. And therefore I beſéech you to trouble me with no more queſtions, for I haue deliuered all things vnto hir grace in writing. And finallie here I muſt confeſſe, that of all the voiages wherein I haue ſerued, this was the moſt deſperat and painfull iorneie that euer I made. And where you aſked whie I receiued not the quéenes pardon when it was offered vnto me; Oh vnhappie man! What ſhall I ſaie? When I was entred into this diuelliſh & deſperat aduenture, there was no waie but wade through with that I had taken in hand: for I had thought that other had béene as farre forward as my ſelfe, which I found farre otherwiſe. So that being bent to kéepe promiſe with all my confederats, none kept promiſe with me; for I like a moile went through thicke and thin with this determination, that if I ſhould come to anie treatie, I ſhould ſéeme to bewraie all my friends.

Wiats confeſſion.

Wiat is ſorie that he refuſed the quéens pardon when it was offred.

But whereto ſhould I ſpend anie more words? I yéeld my ſelfe wholie vnto the quéenes mercie, knowing well that it is onelie in hir power to make me (as I haue deſerued) an open example to the world with Wat Tiler; or elſe to make me participant of that pitie which ſhe hath extended in as great crimes as mine; moſt humblie beſéeching you all to be means for me to hir highneſſe for mercie, which is my laſt and onelie refuge. The will of God be doone on me. Upon this confeſſion without further triall, he receiued the iudgement accuſtomed in caſes of treaſon, which was to be hanged, drawne and quartered. And the eleuenth of Aprill next folowing he was brought to the Tower hill, and there was pardoned of his drawing and hanging, but had his head ſtricken off, and his bodie cut in foure quarters, and ſet vp in diuerſe places about the citie, but his head was ſet vpon the gallowes at Haie hill beſide Hide parke.

The execution of ſir Thomas Wiat.

Now here by the waie is to be noted, that he being on the ſcaffold readie to ſuffer, declared that the ladie Elizabeth and ſir Edward Courtneie earle of Deuonſhire, whome he had accuſed before (as it ſéemed) were neuer priuie to his doings, as farre as he knew, or was able to charge them. And when doctor Weſton, being then his confeſſor told him that he had confeſſed the contrarie vnto the councell, he anſwered thus; That I ſaid then, I ſaid, but that which I ſaie now is true. This was the end of Wiat and his conſpiracie; as alſo the like hath béene of others attempting anie rebellion. For as their enterpriſe being, according to the proper qualitie thereof, conſidered, is flat againſt Gods ordinance, who hath ordeined magiſtracie to be reuerenced of inferiors: ſo it is vnlikelie to bring other than infortunatneſſe, and ſhamefull ouerthrowes vnto the attempters; in whome although will want not to compaſſe anie worke; yet force failing, they miſſe the marke, & all bicauſe raſhneſſe giueth them a falſe aime. Wherefore to conclude this tragicall diſcourſe of Wiat, it were to be wiſhed that the ſage and ſafe counſell of Cato were put in common practiſe of all men, which is, to vndertake & doo nothing aboue their ſtrength:

Quod potes, id tentes, operis ne pondere preſſus,
Succumbat labor, & fruſtra tentata relinquas.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton arreigned of high treaſon cléereth himſelfe.

The ſeuenth daie of Aprill next following, ſir Nicholas Throckmorton knight was brought from the tower to Guildhall in London, and there arreigned of high treaſon, as adherent and principall counſellor to the ſaid Wiat and the duke of Suffolke, and the reſt in the fore remembred conſpiracie againſt the quéene. But he ſo ſtoutlie, and therwithall ſo cunninglie anſwered for himſelfe, as well in cléering of his cauſe, as alſo in defending & auoiding ſuch points of the lawes of the realme, as were there alleaged againſt him, that the queſt which paſſed vpon his life & death found him not giltie. With which verdict the iudges and councellors there preſent were ſo much offended, that they bound the iurie in the ſumme of fiue hundred pounds a péece, to appeare before the councell in the Starchamber, at a daie appointed. And according to their bond, they appeared there before the ſaid councell vpon Wedneſdaie, being the one and twentith of Aprill, and ſaint Marks daie; from whenſe after certeine queſtioning, they were committed to priſon, Emanuell Lucar and maſter Whetſton to the tower, and the other to the Fléet.

But now forſomuch as a copie of the order of ſir Nicholas Throckmortons arreignement hath come to my hands, and that the ſame maie giue ſome light to the hiſtorie of that dangerous rebellion, I haue thought it not impertinent to inſert the ſame: not wiſhing that it ſhould be offenſiue to anie, ſith it is in euerie mans libertie to weie his words vttered in his owne defenſe, and likewiſe the doings of the queſt in acquitting him, as maie ſéeme good to their diſcretions, ſith I haue deliuered the ſame as I haue found it, without preiudicing anie mans opinion, to thinke thereof otherwiſe than as the cauſe maie mooue him.

The order of the arreignement of ſir *Nicholas Throckmorton knight, in the Guildhall* of London the ſeuenteenth daie of Aprill 1554, *expreſſed in a dialog for the better vnderſtanding* of euerie mans part.

The names of the commiſſioners.

Sir Thomas White knight lord maior of London, the earle of Shrewesburie, the earle of Derbie, ſir Thomas Bromleie knight lord chiefe iuſtice of England, ſir Nicholas Hare knight maſter of the rolles, ſir Francis Englefield knight maſter of the court of wards and liberties, ſir Richard Southwell knight one of the priuie councell, ſir Edward Walgraue knight one of the priuie councell, ſir Roger Cholmeleie knight, ſir William Portman knight one of the iuſtices of the Kings bench, ſir Edward Sanders knight one of the iuſtices of the common plées; maſter Stanford & maſter Dier ſergeants, maſter Edward Griffin attournie generall, maſter Sendall and Peter Tichbourne clearks of the crowne. Firſt, after proclamation made, and the commiſſion read, the lieutenant of the tower, maſter Thomas Bridges, brought the priſoner to the barre; then ſilence was commanded, and Sendall ſaid to the priſoner

The quéenes learned counſell gaue euidence againſt the priſoner.

ner as followeth.

Sendall. Nicholas Throckmorton knight hold vp thy hand, thou art before this time indicted of high treaſon, &c: that thou then and there didſt falſelie and traitorouſlie, &c: conſpire and imagine the death of the queenes maieſtie, &c: and falſelie and traitorouſlie diddeſt leuie warre againſt the queene within hir realme, &c: and alſo thou waſt adherent to the queenes enimies within hir realme, giuing to them aid and comfort, &c: and alſo falſelie and traitorouſlie diddeſt conſpire and intend to depoſe and depriue the queene of hir roiall eſtate, and ſo finallie deſtroie hir, &c: and alſo thou diddeſt falſelie and traitorouſlie deuiſe and conclude to take violentlie the tower of London, &c. Of all which treaſons and euerie of them in maner & forme, &c: art thou giltie or not giltie?

Throckmorton. Maie it pleaſe you my lords and maiſters, which be authoriſed by the queenes commiſſion to be iudges this daie, to giue me leaue to ſpeake a few words, which dooth both concerne you and me, before I anſwer to the indictement, and not altogither impertinent to the matter, and then plead to the indictment.

Bromleie. No, the order is not ſo, you muſt firſt plead whether you be giltie or no.

Throckmorton. If that be your order and law, iudge accordinglie to it.

Hare. You muſt firſt anſwer to the matter wherewith you are charged, and then you maie talke at your pleaſure.

Throckmorton. But things ſpoken out of place, were as good not ſpoken.

Bromleie. Theſe be but delaies to ſpend time, therefore anſwer as the law willeth you.

Throckmorton. My lords I praie you make not too much haſt with me, neither thinke not long for your dinner, for my caſe requireth leaſure, and you haue well dined when you haue doone iuſtice trulie. Chriſt ſaid, Bleſſed are they that hunger and thirſt for righteouſneſſe.

Bromleie. I can forbeare my dinner as well as you, and care as little as you peraduenture.

Shrewſburie. Come you hither to checke vs Throckmorton? We will not be ſo vſed, no no, I for mine owne part haue forborne my breakefaſt, dinner, and ſupper to ſerue the queene.

Throckmorton. Yea my good lord I know it right well, I meant not to touch your lordſhip, for your ſeruice and pains is euidentlie knowne to all men.

Southwell. Maſter Throckmorton, this talke needeth not, we know what we haue to doo, and you would teach vs our duties, you hurt your matter: go to, go to.

Throckmorton. Maſter Southwell, you miſtake me, I meant not to teach you, nor none of you, but to remember you of that I truſt you all be well inſtructed in; and ſo I ſatiſfie my ſelfe, ſith I ſhall not ſpeake, thinking you all know what you haue to doo, or ought to know: ſo I will anſwer to the indictement, and doo plead not giltie to the whole, and to euerie part thereof.

Sendall. How wilt thou be tried?

Throckmorton. Shall I be tried as I would, or as I ſhould?

Bromleie. You ſhall be tried as the law will, and therefore you muſt ſaie by God and by the countrie.

Throckmorton. Is that your law for me? It is not as I would, but ſith you will haue it ſo, I am pleaſed with it, and doo deſire to be tried by faithfull iuſt men, which more feare God than the world.

Then the iurie was called.

The names of the iurors.

Lucar.
Yong.
Martin.
Beſwike.
Barſcarfeld.
Kightleie.
Low.
Whetſton.
Painter.
Banks.
Calthrop.
Cater.

What time the atturnie went forthwith to maſter Cholmeleie, and ſhewed him the ſhiriffes returne, who being acquainted with the citizens, knowing the corruptions and dexterities of them in ſuch caſes, noted certeine to be challenged for the queene (a rare caſe) and the ſame men being knowne to be ſufficient and indifferent, that no exceptions were to be taken to them, but onelie for their vpright honeſties: notwithſtanding, the atturnie prompting ſergeant Dier, the ſaid ſergeant challenged one Bacon, and an other citizen peremptorilie for the queene. Then the priſoner demanded the cauſe of the chalenge? The ſergeant anſwered; We need not to ſhew you the cauſe of the chalenge for the queene. Then the inqueſt was furniſhed with other honeſt men, that is to ſaie, Whetſton & Lucar, ſo the priſoner vſed theſe words.

Throckmorton. I truſt you haue not prouided for me this daie, as in times paſt I knew an other gentleman occupieng this wofull place was prouided for. It chanced one of the iuſtices vpon gelouſie of the priſoners acquitall, for the goodneſſe of his cauſe, ſaid to an other of his companions a iuſtice, when the iurie did appeare: I like not this iurie for our purpoſe, they ſeeme to be too pitifull and too charitable to condemne the priſoner. No no, ſaid the other iudge (to wit Cholmeleie) I warrant you, they be picked fellowes for the nonce, he ſhall drinke of the ſame cup his fellowes haue doone. I was then a looker on of the pageant as others be now here: but now wo is me, I am a plaier in that wofull tragedie. Well, for theſe and ſuch other like the blacke oxe hath of late troden on ſome of their feet: but my truſt is, I ſhall not be ſo vſed. Whileſt this talke was, Cholmeleie conſulted with the atturnie about the iurie, which the priſoner eſpied, and then ſaid as here inſueth; Ah ah maſter Cholmeleie, will this foule packing neuer be left?

Cholmeleie. Whie what doo I, I praie you M. Throckmorton? I did nothing I am ſure, you doo picke quarrels to me.

Throckmorton. Well maiſter Cholmeleie if you doo well, it is better for you, God helpe you.

[The iurie then was ſworne, and proclamation made, that whoſoeuer would giue euidence againſt ſir Nicholas Throckmorton knight, ſhould come in and be heard, for the priſoner ſtood vpon his deliuerance, wherevpon ſergeant Stanford preſented himſelfe to ſpeake.]

Throckmorton. And it may pleaſe you maſter ſergeant and the others my maſters of the queenes learned councell, like as I was minded to haue ſaid a few words to the commiſſioners, if I might haue had leaue for their better remembrance of their duties in this place of iuſtice, and concerning direct indifferencie to be vſed towards me this daie: ſo by your patience I doo thinke good to ſaie ſomewhat to you, and to the reſt of the queenes learned councell, appointed to giue euidence againſt me. And albeit you and the reſt by order be appointed to giue euidence againſt me, and interteined to ſet forth the depoſitions and matter againſt me; yet I praie you remember I am not alienate from you, but that I am your chriſtian brother; neither you ſo charged, but you ought to conſider equitie; nor yet ſo priuileged, but that you haue a dutie of God appointed you how you ſhall doo your office; which if you exceed, will be greeuouſlie required at your hands. It is lawfull for you to vſe your gifts which I know God hath largelie giuen you, as your learning, art, and eloquence, ſo as thereby you doo not ſeduce the minds of the ſimple and vnlearned iurie, to credit matters otherwiſe than they be. For maſter ſergeant, I know how by perſuaſions, inforcements, preſumptions, applieng, implieng, inferring, coniecturing, deducing of arguments, wreſting and exceeding the law, the circumſtances, the depoſitions and confeſſions that vnlearned men may be inchanted to thinke and iudge thoſe that be things indifferent, or at the worſt but ouerſights to be great treaſons; ſuch power orators haue, & ſuch ignorance the vnlearned haue. Almightie God by the mouth of his prophet doth conclude ſuch aduocates be curſſed, ſpeaking theſe words: Curſſed be he that doth his office craftilie, corruptlie, and maliciouſlie. And conſider alſo, that my bloud ſhall be required at your hands, and puniſhed in you and yours, to the third and fourth generation. Notwithſtanding, you and the iuſtices excuſe alwaies ſuch erronious doings, when they be after called in queſtion by the verdict of the twelue men: but I aſſure you, the purgation ſerueth you as it did Pilat, and you waſh your hands of the bloudſhed, as Pilat did of Chriſts. And now to your matter.

Stanford. And it pleaſe you my lords, I doubt not to proue euidentlie and manifeſtlie, that Throckmorton is worthilie and rightlie indicted and arreigned of theſe treaſons, and that he was a principall deuiſer, procurer, and contriuer of the late rebellion; and that Wiat was but his miniſter. How ſaie you Throckmorton, did not you ſend Winter to Wiat into Kent, and did deuiſe that the tower of London ſhould be taken, with other inſtructions concerning Wiats ſturre and rebellion?

Throckmorton. Maie it pleaſe you that I ſhall anſwer particularlie to the matters obiected againſt me, in aſmuch as my memorie is not good, and the ſame much decaied ſince my greeuous impriſonment, with want of ſleepe, and other diſquietneſſe: I confeſſe I did ſaie to Winter that Wiat was deſirous to ſpeake with him, as I vnderſtood.

Stanford. Yea ſir, and you deuiſed togither of the taking of the tower of London, and of the other great treaſons.

Throckmorton. No, I did not ſo, proue it.

Stanford. Yes ſir, you met with Winter ſundrie times as ſhall appeare, and in ſundrie places.

Throckmorton. That granted, proueth no ſuch matter as is ſuppoſed in the indictment.

Winters confeſſion read by Stanford. Stanford read Winters confeſſion, which was of this effect, that Throckmorton met with Winter one daie in tower ſtreet, and told him, that ſir Thomas Wiat was deſirous to ſpeake with him, and Winter demanded where Wiat was, Throckmorton anſwered at his houſe in Kent, not farre from Gillingham, as I heard ſaie, where the ſhips lie. Then they parted at that time, and ſhortlie after, Throckmorton met with Winter, vnto whome Winter ſaid; Maſter Wiat doth much miſlike the comming of the Spaniards into this realme, and feareth their ſhort arriuall heere, in as much as dailie he heareth thereof, doth ſee dailie diuerſe of them arriue here, ſcattered like ſouldiors; and therefore he thinketh good the tower of London ſhould be taken by a ſleight, before the prince came, leaſt that peece be deliuered to the Spaniards. How ſaie you Throckmorton to it? Throckmorton anſwered; I miſlike it for diuerſe reſpects. Euen ſo doo I ſaid Winter. At another time Throckmorton met me the ſaid Winter in Paules, when he had ſent one to my houſe, to ſeeke me before, and he ſaid to me; You are admerall of the fleet that now goeth into Spaine. I anſwered Yea. Throckmorton ſaid, When will your ſhips be redie? I ſaid within ten daies. Throckmorton ſaid, I vnderſtand you are appointed to conduct and carrie the lord priuie ſeale into Spaine, and conſidering the danger of the Frenchmen, which you ſaie arme them to the ſea apace, me thinke it well doone, you put my ſaid lord and his traine on land in the weſt countrie to auoid all dangers. Throckmorton ſaid alſo, that Wiat changed his purpoſe for taking the tower of London. I ſaid I was glad of it, & as for the Frenchmen, I care not much for them, I will ſo handle the matter, that the queenes ſhips ſhall be (I warrant you) in ſafegard. Another time I met with maſter Throckmorton, when I came from the emperours ambaſſadors, vnto whome I declared, that the emperour had ſent me a faire chaine, and ſhewed it vnto Throckmorton, who ſaid; For this chaine you haue ſold your countrie. I ſaid it is neither French king nor emperour that can make me ſell my countrie, but I will be a true Engliſhman. Then they parted. This is the ſumme of the talke betwixt Throckmorton and Winter.

Stanford. Now my maſters of the iurie, you haue heard my ſaiengs confirmed with Winters confeſſion. How ſaie you Throckmorton, can you denie this, if you will, you ſhall haue Winter iuſtifie it to your face.

Throckmorton. My lords, ſhall it pleaſe you that I ſhall anſwer.

Bromleie. Yea, ſaie your mind.

Throckmorton. I may trulie denie ſome part of this confeſſion, but bicauſe there is nothing materiall greatlie, I ſuppoſe the whole be true, and what is herein depoſed, ſufficient to bring me within the compaſſe of the indictment?

Stanford. It appeareth that you were of counſell with Wiat, in as much as you ſent Winter downe to him, who vttered vnto him diuerſe traitorous deuiſes.

Throckmorton. This is but coniecturall, yet ſith you will conſtrue it ſo maliciouſlie, I will recompt how I ſent Winter to Wiat, and then I praie you of the iurie iudge better than maſter ſergeant doth. I met by chance a ſeruant of maſter Wiats, who demanded of me for Winter, and ſhewed me, that his maſter would gladlie ſpeake with him: and ſo without anie further declaration, deſired me if I met Winter to tell him maſter Wiats mind, and where he was. Thus much for the ſending downe of Winter.

Attourneie. Yea ſir, but how ſaie you to the taking of the tower of London, which is treaſon?

Throckmorton. I anſwer, though Wiat thought meet to attempt ſo dangerous an enterpriſe, and that Winter informed me of it, you cannot extend Wiats deuiſes to be mine, and to bring me within the compaſſe of treaſon. For what maner of reſoning or proofe is this, Wiat would haue taken the tower, *Ergo* Throckmorton is a traitor? Winter doth make my purgation in his owne confeſſion, euen now red as it was by maſter ſergeant, though I ſaie nothing: for Winter doth auow there, that I did much miſlike it. And bicauſe you ſhall the better vnderſtand that I did alwaies not alow theſe maſter Wiats deuiſes, I had theſe words to Winter, when he informed me of it; I thinke maſter Wiat would no Engliſhman hurt and this enterpriſe cannot be doone without the hurt and ſlaughter of both parties. For I know him that hath the charge of the peece, & his brother, both men of good ſeruice, the one had in charge a peece of great importance, Bullongne I meane, which was ſtoutlie aſſailed, & notwithſtanding he made a good accompt of it for his time: the like I am ſure he will doo by this his charge. Moreouer, to accompt the taking of the tower, is verie dangerous by the law. Theſe were my words to Winter. And beſides, it is verie vnlike that I of all men would confederate in ſuch a matter againſt the lieutenant of the tower, whoſe daughter my brother hath married, and his houſe and mine alied togither by mariage ſundrie times within theſe few yeares.

Hare. But how ſaie you to this, that Wiat and you had conference togither ſundrie times at Warners houſe, and in other places?

Throckmorton. This is a verie generall charge to haue conference, but whie was it not as lawfull for me to confer with

Wiat as with you,or anie other man? I then knew no more by Wiat, than by anie other. And to prooue to talke with Wiat was lawfull and indifferent, the laſt daie that I did talke with Wiat, I ſaw my lord of Arundell,with other noble men and gentlemen, talke with him familiarlie in the chamber of preſence.

Hare. But they did not conſpire nor talke of anie ſturre againſt the Spaniards as you did pretend, & meant it againſt the quéene, for you, Crofts, Rogers, and Warner did oftentimes deuiſe in Warners houſe about your traitorous purpoſes, or elſe what did you ſo often there?

Throckmorton. I confeſſe I did miſlike the quéenes mariage with Spaine,and alſo the comming of the Spaniards hither,and then me thought I had reaſon to doo ſo: for I did learne the reaſons of my miſliking of you maſter Hare,maſter Southwell, and others in the parlement houſe,there I did ſée the whole conſent of the realme againſt it; and I a hearer, but no ſpeaker,did learne my miſliking of thoſe matters, confirmed by manie ſundrie reaſons amongſt you: but as concerning anie ſturre or vprore againſt the Spaniards, I neuer made anie, neither procured anie to be made; and for my much reſort to maſter Warners houſe,it was not to conferre with maſter Wiat,but to ſhew my fréendſhip to my verie good lord the marqueſſe of Northampton, who was lodged there when he was inlarged.

Stanford. Did not you Throckmorton tell Winter that Wiat had changed his mind for the taking of the tower, wherby it appeared euidentlie that you knew of his dooings?

Throckmorton. Truelie I did not tell him ſo,but I care not greatlie to giue you that wepon to plaie you withall,now let vs ſée what you can make of it.

Stanford. Yea ſir,that prooueth that you were priuie to Wiats mind in all his deuiſes and treaſons,& that there was ſending betwixt you and Wiat from time to time.

Throckmorton. What maſter ſergeant? Dooth this prooue againſt me,that I knew Wiat did repent him of an euill deuiſed enterpriſe? Is it to know Wiats repentance ſinne? No,it is but a veniall ſinne,if it be anie it is not deadlie. But where is the meſſenger or meſſage that Wiat ſent to me touching his alteration,and yet it was lawfull inough for me to heare from Wiat at that time,as from anie other man,for anie act that I knew he had doone.

Dier. And it may pleaſe you my lords, and you my maſters of the iurie,to prooue that Throckmorton is a principall dooer in this rebellion, there is yet manie other things to be declared : among other,there is Crofts confeſſion, who ſaith, that he and you,and your complices, did manie times deuiſe about the whole matters,and he made you priuie to all his determinations,and you ſhewed him that you would go into the weſt countrie with the earle of Deuon,to ſir Peter Caroe,accompanied with others.

Throckmorton. Maſter Crofts is yet liuing,and is héere this daie, how happeneth it he is not brought face to face to iuſtifie this matter, neither hath béene of all this time? Will you know the truth? Either he ſaid not ſo,or he will not abide by it, but honeſtlie hath reformed himſelfe. And as for knowing his deuiſes, I was ſo well acquainted with them,that I can name none of them, nor you neither as matter knowne to me.

Attourneie. But whie did you aduiſe Winter to land my lord priuie ſeale in the weſt countrie?

Throckmorton. He that told you that my mind was to land him there,dooth partlie tell you a reaſon whie I ſaid ſo, if you would remember as well the one as the other: but bicauſe you are ſo forgetfull,I will recite therefore. In communication betwixt Winter and me, as he declared to me that the Spaniards prouided to bring their prince hither,ſo the Frenchmen prepared to interrupt his arriuall: for they began to arme to the ſea,and had alreadie certeine ſhips on the weſt coaſt(as he hard.) Vnto whom I ſaid, that peraduenture not onelie the quéenes ſhips vnder his charge might be in ieopardie, but alſo my lord priuie ſeale, and all his traine; the Frenchmen being well prepared to méet with them,and therefore for all euents it were good you ſhould put my ſaid lord in the weſt countrie in caſe you eſpie anie ieopardie. But what dooth this prooue to the treaſons,if I were not able to giue conuenient reaſons to my talke?

Stanford. Marie ſir now commeth the proofes of your treaſons,you ſhall heare what Cutbert Vaughan ſaith againſt you.

Vaughans confeſſion was read by Stanford.

Then ſergeant Stanford did read Vaughans confeſſion, tending to this effect. That Vaughan comming out of Kent, met with Throckmorton at maſter Warners houſe,who after he had doone commendations from Wiat to him, deſired to know where Crofts was. Throckmorton anſwered,either at Arundell houſe where he lodgeth, or in Paules. Then Vaughan deſired to know how things went at London, ſaieng; Maſter Wiat & we of Kent doo much miſlike the marriage with Spaine, and the comming of the Spaniards for diuerſe reſpects: howbeit, if other countries miſlike them as Kent dooth,they ſhall be but hardlie welcome,and ſo they parted. Shortlie after Throckmorton met with Vaughan in Paules, vnto whome Throckmorton declared with ſundrie circumſtances, that the Weſterne men were in a readineſſe to come forwards, and that ſir Peter Caroe had ſent vnto him euen now, and that he had in order a good band of horſſemen, and an other of footmen. Then Vaughan demanded what the earle of Deuonſhire would doo? Throckmorton anſwered he will mar all,for he will not go hence, and yet ſir Peter Caroe would méet him with a band,both of horſſemen and footmen, by the waie at Andeuer for his ſafegard, and alſo he ſhould haue béene well accompanied from hence with other gentlemen, yet all this will not mooue him to depart hence. Moreouer, the ſaid erle hath(as is ſaid)diſcouered all the whole matter to the chancellor,or elſe it is come out by his tailor,about the trimming of a ſhirt of male,and the making of a cloke. At another time, Vaughan ſaith, Throckmorton ſhewed him that he had ſent a poſt to ſir Peter Caroe,to come forward with as much ſpéed as might be,and to bring his force with him. And alſo Throckmorton aduiſed Vaughan to will maſter Wiat to come forward with his power: for now was the time,in as much as the Londoners would take his part if the matter were preſented to them. Vaughan ſaid alſo,that Throckmorton & Warner ſhould haue ridden with the ſaid earle weſtward. Moreouer the ſaid Vaughan depoſed, that Throckmorton ſhewed him in talke of the earle of Penbroke, that the ſaid earle would not fight againſt them, though he would not take their parts. Alſo Vaughan ſaid, that Throckmorton ſhewed him that he would ride downe into Barkeſhire to ſir Francis Englefields houſe,there to méet his eldeſt brother, to mooue him to take his part. And this was the ſum of Cutbert Vaughans confeſſion.

Stanford. How ſaie you? Dooth not here appeare euident matter to prooue you a principall, who not onelie gaue order to ſir Peter Caroe and his adherents,for their rebellious acts in the weſt countrie, but alſo procured Wiat to make his rebellion, appointing him and the others alſo, when they ſhould attempt their enterpriſe,and how they ſhould order their dooings from time to time. Beſides all this euident matter, you were ſpeciallie appointed to go awaie with the earle of Deuon as one that would direct all things, and giue order to all men. And therefore Throckmorton ſith this matter is ſo manifeſt, and the euidence ſo apparant, I would aduiſe you to confeſſe your fault, & ſubmit your ſelfe to the quéenes mercie.

Bromleie. How ſaie you, will you confeſſe the matter, and it will be beſt for you?

Throckmorton. No, I will neuer accuſe my ſelfe vniuſtlie, but in as much as I am come hither to be tried, I praie ye let me haue the law fauourablie.

Attourneie. It is apparant that you laie at London as a factor, to giue intelligence as well to them in the weſt, as to Wiat in Kent.

Throckmorton. How proue you that, or who doth accuſe me but this condemned man?

Attourneie. Whie will you denie this matter? You ſhall haue Vaughan iuſtifie his whole confeſſion here before your face.

Throckmorton. It ſhall not néed, I know his vnſhamfaſtneſſe, he hath aduowed ſome of this vntrue talke before this time to my face, and it is not otherwiſe like, conſidering the price, but he will doo the ſame againe.

Attourneie. My lord and maſters, you ſhall haue Vaughan to iuſtifie this héere before you all, and confirme it with a booke oth.

Throckmorton. He that hath ſaid and lied, will not being in this caſe ſticke to ſweare and lie.

¶Then was Cutbert Vaughan brought into the open court.]

Sendall. How ſaie you Cutbert Vaughan, is this your owne confeſſion, and will you abide by all that is here written?

Vaughan. Let me ſée it and I will tell you.

¶Then his confeſſion was ſhewed him.]

Attourneie. Bicauſe you of the iurie the better may credit him, I praie you my lords let Vaughan be ſworne.

¶Then was Vaughan ſworne on a booke to ſaie nothing but the truth.]

Vaughan. It may pleaſe you my lords and maſters, I could haue béene well content to haue choſe ſeauen yeares impriſonment, though I had béene a frée man in the law, rather than I would this daie haue giuen euidence againſt ſir Nicholas Throckmorton; againſt whome I beare no diſpleaſure: but ſith I muſt néeds confeſſe my knowledge, I muſt confeſſe all that is there written is true. How ſaie you maſter Throckmorton, was there anie diſpleaſure betwéene you and me, to moue me to ſaie aught againſt you?

Throckmorton. None that I know. How ſaie you Vaughan, what acquaintance was there betwéene you and me, and what leters of credit or token did you bring me from Wiat, or anie other, to moue me to truſt you?

Vaughan. As for acquaintance, I knew you as I did other gentlemen: and as for letters, I brought you none other but commendations from maſter Wiat, as I did to diuerſe other of his acquaintance at London.

Throckmorton. You might as well forge the commendations as the reſt: but if you haue doone with Vaughan my lords, I praie you giue me leaue to anſwer.

Bromleie. Speake and be ſhort.

Throckmorton. I ſpeake generallie to all that be here preſent, but ſpeciallie to you of my iurie, touching the credit of Vaughans depoſitions againſt me, a condemned man, and after to the matter: and note I praie you the circumſtances, as ſomewhat materiall to induce the better. Firſt I praie you remember the ſmall familiaritie betwixt Vaughan and me, as he hath aduowed before you, and moreouer, to procure credit at my hand, brought neither letter nor token from Wiat, nor from anie other to me, which he alſo hath confeſſed here: and I will ſuppoſe Vaughan to be in as good condition as anie other man here, that is to ſaie, an vncondemned man: yet I referre it to your good iudgement, whether it were like that I, knowing onelie Vaughans perſon from an other man, and hauing none other acquaintance with him, would ſo frankelie diſcouer my mind to him in ſo dangerous a matter. How like (I ſaie) is this, when diuerſe of theſe gentlemen now in captiuitie, being my verie familiars, could not depoſe anie ſuch matter againſt me, and neuertheleſſe vpon their examinations haue ſaid what they could? And though I be no wiſe man, I am not ſo raſh as to vtter to an vnknowne man (for ſo I may call him in compariſon) a matter ſo dangerous for me to ſpeake, and him to heare. But bicauſe my truth and his falſhood ſhall the better appeare vnto you, I will declare his inconſtancie in vttering this his euidence. And for my better credit, it may pleaſe you maſter Southwell, I take you to witneſſe, when Vaughan firſt iuſtified this his vniuſt accuſation againſt me before the lord Paget, the lord Chamberleine, you maſter Southwell, and others, he referred the confirmation of this his ſurmiſed matter, to a letter ſent from him to ſir Thomas Wiat, which letter doth neither appeare, nor anie teſtimonie of the ſaid maſter Wiat againſt me touching the matter: for I doubt not ſir Thomas Wiat hath béen examined of me, and hath ſaid what he could directlie or indirectlie. Alſo Vaughan ſaith, that yoong Edward Wiat could confirme this matter, as one that knew this pretended diſcourſe betwixt Vaughan and me, and there vpon I made ſute that Edward Wiat might either be brought face to face to me, or otherwiſe be examined.

Southwell. Maſter Throckmorton you miſtake your matter, for Vaughan ſaid, that Edward Wiat did know ſome part of the matter, and alſo was priuie of the letter that Vaughan ſent ſir Thomas Wiat.

Throckmorton. Yea ſir, that was Vaughans laſt ſhift, when I charged him before the maſter of the horſſe and you, with his former allegations touching his witneſſe, whome when he eſpied would not doo ſo lewdlie as he thought, then he vſed this alteration. But where be Edward Wiats depoſitions of anie thing againſt me? Now it appeareth neither his firſt nor his laſt tale to be true. For you know maſter Bridges, and ſo doth my lord your brother, that I deſired twice or thrice Edward Wiat ſhould be examined, and I am ſure, and moſt aſſured he hath béene willed to ſaie what he could, and here is nothing depoſed by him againſt me, either touching anie letter or other conference. Or where is Vaughans letter ſent by ſir Thomas Wiat concerning my talke?

But now I will ſpeake of Vaughans preſent eſtate in that he is a condemned man, whoſe teſtimonie is nothing worth by anie law. And bicauſe falſe witneſſe is mentioned in the goſpell, treating of accuſation, hearke I praie you what S. Ierome ſaith, expounding that place. It is demanded whie Chriſts accuſers be called falſe witneſſes, which did report Chriſts words not as he ſpake them. They be falſe witneſſes ſaith S. Ierome, which doo ad, alter, wreſt, double, or doo ſpeake for hope to auoid death, or for malice to procure another mans death: for all men maie eaſilie gather he cannot ſpeake truelie of me, or in the caſe of another mans life, where he hath hope of his owne by accuſation. Thus much ſpeaketh S. Ierome of falſe witneſſe. By the ciuill law there be manie exceptions to be taken againſt ſuch teſtimonies: but bicauſe we be not gouerned by that law, neither haue I my triall by it, it ſhall be ſoperfluous to trouble you therewith, & therefore you ſhall heare what your owne law doth ſaie. There was a ſtatute made in my late ſoueraigne lord & maſter his time, touching accuſation, and theſe be the words.

Be it enacted, that no perſon nor perſons, &c. ſhalbe indicted,arreigned,condemned,or conuicted for anie offenſe of treaſon, petit treaſon,miſpriſion of treſon, for which the ſame offendor ſhall ſuffer anie pains of death,impriſonment,loſſe or forfeiture of his goods, lands,&c: vnleſſe the ſame offendor be accuſed by two ſufficient & lawfull witneſſes,or ſhall willinglie without violence confeſſe the ſame. And alſo in the ſixt yeare of his reigne,it is thus ratified as inſueth.

That no perſon nor perſons ſhall be indicted,arreigned, condemned, conuicted or attainted of the treaſons or offenſes aforeſaid, or for anie other treaſons that now be, or hereafter ſhall be; vnleſſe the ſame offendor or offendors be therof accuſed by two lawfull and ſufficient accuſers, which at the time of the arreignement of the parties ſo accuſed (if they be then liuing)ſhall be brought in perſon before the ſaid partie accuſed, and auow and mainteine that they haue to ſaie againſt the ſaid partie,to proue him giltie of the treaſons or offenſe conteined in the bill of indictment laid againſt the partie arreigned,vnleſſe the ſaid partie arreigned ſhall be willing without violence to confeſſe the ſame. Here note (I praie you) that our law dooth require two lawfull and ſufficient accuſers to be brought face to face, and Vaughan is but one, and the ſame moſt vnlawfull and inſufficient. For who can be more vnlawfull and inſufficient, than a condemned man, and ſuch one as knoweth to accuſe me is the meane to ſaue his owne life? Remember(I praie you)how long & how manie times Vaughans execution hath béene reſpited, and how often he hath béene coniured to accuſe (which by Gods grace he withſtood vntill the laſt houre) what time perceiuing there was no waie to liue, but to ſpeake againſt me or ſome other (his former grace being taken awaie)did redéeme his life moſt vniuſtlie and ſhamefullie, as you ſée.

Hare. Why ſhould he accuſe you more than anie other, ſéeing there was no diſpleaſure betwixt you, if the matter had not béene true?

Throckmorton. Bicauſe he muſt either ſpeake of ſome man, or ſuffer death,and then he did rather chooſe to hurt him whom he leaſt knew,& ſo loued leaſt, than anie other well knowen to him,whome he loued moſt. But to you of my iurie I ſpeake ſpeciallie, and therefore I praie you note what I ſaie. In a matter of leſſe weight than triall of life and land,a man maie by the law take exceptions to ſuch as be impaneled,to trie the controuerſies betwixt the parties: as for example. A man maie chalenge that the ſhiriffe is his enimie, and therfore hath made a parciall returne;or bicauſe one of the iurie is the ſhiriffe my aduerſaries ſeruant: and alſo in caſe my aduerſaries villen or bondman be impaneled, I may lawfullie chalenge him,bicauſe the aduerſarie part hath power ouer his villens lands and goods, and hath the vſe of his bodie for ſeruile office: much more I may of right take exception to Vaughans teſtimonie,my life and all that I haue depending thervpon,and the ſame Vaughan being more bound to the quéenes highneſſe my aduerſarie(that wo is me therefore)but ſo the law dooth here ſo terme hir maieſtie, than anie villen is to his lord: for hir highneſſe hath not onlie power ouer his bodie,lands,and goods,but ouer his life alſo.

Stanford. Yea,the exception are to be taken againſt the iurie in that caſe, but not againſt the witneſſe or accuſer,& therefore your argument ſerueth litle for you.

Throckmorton. That is not ſo, for the vſe of the iurie, and the witneſſe and the effect of their doings dooth ſerue me to my purpoſe, as the law ſhall diſcuſſe. And thus I make my compariſon: By the ciuill law the iudge dooth giue ſentence vpon the depoſitions of the witneſſe, & by your law the iudge dooth giue iudgement vpon the verdict of the iurie;ſo as the effect is both one to finiſh the matter, triall in law, as well by the depoſitions of the witneſſe, as by the iuries verdict, though they varie in forme and circumſtance: and ſo Vaughans teſtimonie being credited, may be the materiall cauſe of my condemnation,as the iurie to be induced by his depoſitions to ſpeake their verdict, and ſo finallie therevpon the iudge to giue ſentence. Therefore I may vſe the ſame exceptions againſt the iurie, or anie of them, as the principall meane that ſhall occaſion my condemnation.

Bromleie. Why doo you denie,that euerie part of Vaughans tale is vntrue?

Attournie. You may ſée he will denie all, and ſaie there was no ſuch communication betwixt them.

Throckmorton. I confeſſe ſome part of Vaughans confeſſion to be true, as the name, the places, the time, and ſome part of the matter.

Attournie. So you of the iurie may perceiue the priſoner dooth confeſſe ſome thing to be true.

Throckmorton. As touching my ſending to ſir Peter Caroe, or his ſending to me, or concerning my aduiſe to maiſter Wiat to ſtur or to repaire hither,or touching the earle of Deuonſhire parting hence, and my going with him, and alſo concerning the matter of the erle of Penbroke, I doo aduow and ſaie that Vaughan hath ſaid vntrulie.

Southwell. As for my lord of Penbroke, you néed not excuſe the matter,for he hath ſhewed himſelfe cléere in theſe matters like a noble man,and that we all know.

Hare. Why what was the talke betwixt Vaughan and you ſo long in Paules, if theſe were not ſo,and what meant your oft méetings?

Throckmorton. As for our often méetings, they were of no ſet purpoſe, but by chance, & yet no oftener than twiſe. But ſithence you would know what communication paſſed betwixt vs in Paules church, I will declare. We talked of the incommodities of the marriage of the quéene with the prince of Spaine, and how grieuous the Spaniards would be to vs here. Vaughan ſaid, that it ſhould be verie dangerous for anie man, that trulie profeſſed the goſpell to liue here, ſuch was the Spaniards crueltie, and eſpeciallie againſt chriſtian men. Wherevnto I anſwered it was the plague of God iuſtlie come vpon vs; and now almightie God dealt with vs as he did with the Iſraelites, taking from them for their vnthankefulneſſe their godlie kings, & did ſend tyrants to reigne ouer them. Euen ſo he handled vs Engliſhmen, which had a moſt godlie & vertuous prince to reigne ouer vs, my late ſouereigne lord and maiſter king Edward, vnder whome we might both ſafelie and lawfullie profeſſe Gods word, which with our lewd doings,demeanor,and liuing, we handled ſo irreuerentlie,that to whip vs for our faults he would ſend vs ſtrangers, yea ſuch verie tyrants to exerciſe great tyrannie ouer vs, and did take awaie the vertuous and faithfull king from amongſt vs: for euerie man of euerie eſtate did colour his naughtie affections with a pretenſe of religion, and made the goſpell a ſtalking horſſe to bring their euill deſires to effect. This was the ſumme of our talke in Paules ſomewhat more dilated.

Stanford. That it may appéere yet more euidentlie how Throckmorton was a principall dooer and counſellor in this matter, you ſhall heare his owne confeſſion of his owne hand writing. ¶ The clearke began to read, Throckmorton deſired maiſter Stanford to read it,and the iurie well to marke it. Then maiſter Stanford did read the priſoners owne confeſſion to this effect: that Throckmorton had conference with Wiat, Caroe, Croftes, Rogers, and Warner, as well of the quéenes marriage with the prince of Spaine,as alſo of religion,and did particularlie conferre with euerie the forenamed, of the matters aforeſaid. Moreouer, with ſir Thomas Wiat the priſoner

ner talked of the brute that the Weſterne men ſhuld much miſlike the comming of the Spaniards into this realme, being reported alſo that they intended to interrupt their arriuall here. And alſo that it was ſaid, that they were in conſultation about the ſame at Exceſter. Wiat alſo did ſaie, that ſir Peter Caroe could not bring the ſame matter to good effect, nor that there was any man ſo meet to bring it to good effect, as the erle of Deuonſhire, & ſpeciallie in the weſt parts, inſomuch as they drew not all by one line.

Then Throckmorton aſked how the Kentiſhmen were affected to the Spaniards? Wiat ſaid; The people like them euill inough, and that appeered now at the comming of the countie of Egmount, for they were readie to ſtur againſt him and his traine, ſuppoſing it had bin the prince. But ſaid Wiat, ſir Robert Southwell, maiſter Baker, and maiſter Moile, and their affinitie, which be in good credit in ſome places of the ſhire, will for other malicious reſpects hinder the libertie of their countrie. Then Throckmorton ſhould ſaie; Though I know there hath beene an vnkindneſſe betwixt maiſter Southwell and you for a monie matter, wherein I trauelled to make you freends, I doubt not, but in ſo honeſt a matter as this is, he will for the ſafegard of his countrie ioine with you, and ſo you may be ſure of the lord Aburgauennie & his force. Then Wiat ſaid, It is for another matter than for monie that we diſagree, wherein he hath handled me and others verie doublie & vnneighborlie; howbeit, he can doo no other, neither to me, nor to anie other man, & therefore I forgiue him. Item, with ſir Peter Caroe, Throckmorton had conference touching the impeachment of the landing of the ſaid prince, and touching prouiſion of armour and munition as inſueth, that is to ſaie, that ſir Peter Caroe told Throckmorton that he truſted his countriemen would be true Engliſhmen, and would not agree to let the Spaniards to gouerne them. Item, the ſaid ſir Peter Caroe ſaid, the matter importing the French king, as it did, he thoght the French king would worke to hinder the Spaniards comming hither, with whome the ſaid ſir Peter did thinke good to practiſe for armour, munition, and monie.

Then Throckmorton did aduiſe him to beware that he brought anie Frenchmen into the realme forceablie, inaſmuch as he could as euill abide the Frenchmen after that ſort as the Spaniards. And alſo Throckmorton thought the French king vnable to giue aid to vs, by meanes of the great conſumption in their owne warres. Maiſter Caroe ſaid; As touching the bringing in of the Frenchmen, he meant it not, for he loued neither partie, but to ſerue his owne countrie, and to helpe his countrie from bondage: declaring further to Throckmorton, that he had a ſmall barke of his owne to worke his practiſe by, & ſo he ſaid, that ſhortlie he intended to depart to his owne countrie, to vnderſtand the deuotion of his countrimen. Item Throckmorton did ſaie, he would for his part hinder the cōming in of the Spaniards as much as he could by perſuaſion. Item to ſir Edward Warner, he had and did beemone his owne eſtate, and the tyrannie of the time extended vpon diuerſe honeſt perſons for religion, and wiſhed it were lawfull for all of ech religion to liue ſafelie acording to their conſcience; for the law (*Ex officio*) will be intollerable, & the clergies diſcipline now maie rather be reſembled to the Turks tyrannie, than to the teaching of chriſtian religion. ¶ This was the ſumme of the matter which was read in the foreſaid confeſſion, as maters moſt greeuous againſt the priſoner.] Then Throckmorton ſaid; Sithence maiſter ſergeant you haue read and gathered the place (as you thinke) that maketh moſt againſt me, I praie you take the pains, and read further, that hereafter whatſoeuer become of me, my words be not peruerted and abuſed to the hurt of ſome others, and eſpeciallie againſt the great perſonages, of whom I haue beene ſundrie times (as appeareth by my anſwers) examined, for I perceiue the net was not caſt onelie for little fiſhes, but for the great ones, *Iuxta adagium*.

Stanford.

It ſhall be but loſſe of time, and we haue other things to charge you withall, and this that you deſire dooth make nothing for you.

Dier.

And for the better confirmation of all the treaſons obiected againſt the priſoner, and therein to prooue him guiltie, you of the iurie ſhall heare the duke of Suffolks depoſitions againſt him, who was a principall, and hath ſuffered accordinglie. ¶ Then the ſaid ſergeant read the dukes confeſſion touching the priſoner, amounting to this effect, that the lord Thomas Greie did informe the ſaid duke, that ſir Nicholas Throckmorton was priuie to the whole deuiſes againſt the Spaniards, & was one that ſhould go into the weſt countrie with the earle of Deuonſhire.]

Throckmorton.

But what dooth the principall authour of this matter ſaie againſt me, I meane the lord Thomas Greie who is yet liuing? Why be not his depoſitions broght againſt me, for ſo it ought to be, if he can ſaie anie thing? Will you know the truth? Neither the lord Thomas Greie hath ſaid, can ſaie, or will ſaie anie thing againſt me, notwithſtanding the duke his brothers confeſſion and accuſation, who hath affirmed manie other things beſides the truth. I ſpeake not without certeine knowledge: for the lord Thomas Greie being my priſon-felow for a ſmall time, informed me, that the duke his brother had miſreported him in manie things, amongſt others in matters touching me, which he had declared to you maiſter Southwell, and other the examinors not long ago. I am ſure if the lord Thomas could, or would haue ſaid anie thing, it ſhould haue beene here now. And as to the dukes confeſſion, it is not materiall: for he dooth referre the matter to the lord Thomas report, who hath made my purgation.

The atturnie.

And it pleaſe you my lords, and you my maiſters of the iurie, beſides theſe matters touching Wiats rebellion, ſir Peter Caroes treaſons and confederating with the duke of Suffolke, and beſides the priſoners conſpiracie with the earle of Deuonſhire, with Crofts, Rogers, Warner, and ſundrie others in ſundrie places, it ſhall manifeſtlie appeare vnto you, that Throckmorton did conſpire the queenes maieſties death, with William Thomas, ſir Nicholas Arnold, and other traitors intending the ſame, which is the greateſt matter of all others, and moſt to be abhorred. And for proofe hereof, you ſhall heare what Arnold ſaith. ¶ Then was ſir Nicholas Arnolds confeſſion read, ſaieng that Throckmorton ſhewed to him, riding betwixt Hinam and Croſſe laund in Glouceſterſhire, that Iohn Fitz Williams was verie much diſpleaſed with William Thomas.

Attourneie.

William Thomas deuiſed, that Iohn Fitzwilliams ſhould kill the queene, and Throckmorton knew of it, as appeareth by Arnolds confeſſion.

Throckmorton.

Firſt I denie that I ſaid anie ſuch thing to maiſter Arnold, and though he be an honeſt man, he may either forget himſelfe, or deuiſe meanes how to vnburthen himſelfe of ſo weightie a matter as this is; for he is charged with the mater as principall. Which I did perceiue when he charged me with his tale, and therefore I doo blame him the leſſe, that he ſeeketh how to diſcharge himſelfe, vſing me as a witneſſe, if he could ſo transferre the deuiſe to William Thomas. But trulie I neuer ſpake anie ſuch words vnto him. And for my better declaration, I did ſee Iohn Fitzwilliams here euen now, who can teſtifie, that he neuer ſhewed me of any diſpleſure betwixt them, and as I know nothing of the diſpleaſure betwixt them, ſo I know nothing of the cauſe: I pray you my lords let him be called to depoſe in this matter what he can. Then Iohn Fitzwilliams drew to the barre, and preſented himſelfe to depoſe his knowledge in the matter in open court.

The atturnie. I praie you my lords ſuffer him not to be ſworne, neither to ſpeake, we haue nothing to doo with him.

Throckmorton. Why ſhould he not be ſuffered to tell truth? And why be ye not ſo well contented to heare truth for me as vntruth againſt me?

Hare. Who called you hither Fitzwilliams, or commanded you to ſpeake? You are a verie buſie officer.

Throckmorton. I called him, and doo humblie deſire that he maie ſpeake, and be heard as well as Vaughan; or elſe I am not indifferentlie vſed, eſpeciallie ſéeing maiſter attourneie dooth ſo preſſe this matter againſt me.

Southwell. Go your waies Fitzwilliams, the court hath nothing to doo with you: peraduenture you would not be ſo readie in a good cauſe. Then Iohn Fitzwilliams departed the court, and was not ſuffered to ſpeake.

Throckmorton. Sithence this gentlemans declaration may not be admitted, I truſt you of the iurie can perceiue, it was not for anie thing he had to ſaie againſt me, but contrariwiſe that it was feared he would ſpeake for me. And now to maiſter Arnolds depoſitions againſt me, I ſaie I did not tell him anie ſuch words, ſo as if it were materiall, there is but his yea and my naie. But bicauſe the words be not ſore ſtrained againſt me, I praie you maiſter atturneie why might not I haue told maiſter Arnold, that Iohn Fitzwilliams was angrie with William Thomas, and yet know no cauſe of the anger? It might be vnderſtand, to diſagrée oftentimes. Who dooth confeſſe that I know anie thing of William Thomas deuiſe touching the quéenes death? I will anſwer, No man. For maiſter Arnold dooth mention no word of that matter, but of the diſpleaſures betwixt them. And to ſpeake that, dooth neither proue treaſon, nor knowledge of treaſon. Is here all the euidence againſt me that you haue to bring me within the compaſſe of the indictment?

Stanford. We thinke the matters confeſſed by others againſt you, togither with your owne confeſſion, will weie ſhrewdlie. But how ſaie you to the riſing in Kent, and to Wiats attempt againſt the quéens roiall perſon at hir palace?

Bromleie. Why doo you not read Wiats accuſation to him, which dooth make him partener to his treaſons?

Southwell. Wiat hath gréeuouſlie accuſed you, and in manie things that others haue confirmed.

Throckmorton. Whatſoeuer Wiat hath ſaid of me in hope of his life, he vnſaid it at his death. For ſince I came into this hall, I heard one ſaie (but I know him not) that Wiat vpon the ſcaffold did not onelie purge my ladie Elizabeth hir grace, and the erle of Deuonſhire, but alſo all the gentlemen in the tower, ſaieng they were all ignorant of the ſturre and commotion. In which number I take my ſelfe.

Hare. Notwithſtanding he ſaid, all that he had written and confeſſed to the councell, was true.

Throckmorton. Naie ſir, by your patience, maiſter Wiat ſaid not ſo, that was maiſter doctors addition.

Southwell. It appeareth you haue had good intelligence.

Throckmorton. Almightie God prouided that reuelation for me this daie ſince I came hither: for I haue bin in cloſe priſon theſe eight and fiftie daies, where I heard nothing but what the birds told me, which did flie ouer my head. And now to you of my iurie I ſpeake ſpeciallie, whome I deſire to marke attentiuelie what ſhall be ſaid. I haue béene indicted, as it appeareth, and now am arreigned of compaſſing the quéenes maieſties death, of leuieng war againſt the quéene, of taking the tower of London, of depoſing and depriuing the quéene of hir roiall eſtate, and finallie to deſtroie hir, and of adherence to the quéenes enimies. Of all which treaſons, to proue me guiltie, the quéens learned councell hath giuen in euidence theſe points materiall; that is to ſaie: for the compaſſing or imagining the quéenes death, and the deſtruction of hir roiall perſon, ſir Nicholas Arnolds depoſitions, which is, that I ſhould ſaie to the ſaid ſir Nicholas in Gloceſterſhire, that maiſter Iohn Fitzwilliams was angrie with William Thomas.

Wherevnto I haue anſwered, as you haue heard, both denieng the matter: and for the proofe on my ſide, doo take exceptions, becauſe there is no witneſſe but one. And neuertheleſſe, though it were granted, the depoſitions proue nothing concerning the quéenes death. For leuieng of warre againſt the quéene, there is alleged my conference with ſir Thomas Wiat, ſir Iames Crofts, ſir Edward Rogers, ſir Edward Warner. Againſt the mariage with Spaine, and the comming of the Spaniards hither, which talke I doo not denie in ſort as I ſpake it, and ment it: and notwithſtanding the malicious gathering this daie of my conference, proueth yet no leuieng of warre. There is alſo alleged for proofe of the ſame article, ſir Iames Crofts confeſſion, which (as you remember) implieth no ſuch thing, but generall talke againſt the mariage with Spaine. And of my departing weſtward with the earle of Deuon, which the ſaid Iames dooth not auow, & therefore I praie you conſider it as not ſpoken. There is alſo for proofe of the ſaid article, the duke of Suffolks confeſſion, with whome I neuer had conference; and therefore he auouched the tale of his brothers mouth, who hath made my purgation in thoſe matters; and yet if the matter were proued, they be not greatlie materiall in law. There is alſo alleged for the further proofe of the ſame article, and for depoſing and depriuing the quéene of hir roiall eſtate, and for my adhering to the quéenes enimies, Cutbert Vaughans confeſſion, whoſe teſtimonie I haue ſufficientlie diſproued by ſundrie authorities and circumſtances, and principallie by your owne law, which dooth require two lawfull and ſufficient witneſſes to be brought face to face. Alſo for the taking of the tower of London, there is alleged Winters depoſitions, which vttereth my miſliking, when he vttered vnto me ſir Thomas Wiats reſolution and deuiſe for attempting of the ſaid péece. And laſt of all, to inforce theſe matters, mine owne confeſſion is ingréeued againſt me, wherein there dooth appeare neither treaſon, neither concelement of treaſon, neither whiſpering of treaſon, nor procurement of treaſon.

And forſomuch as I am come hither to be tried by the law, though my innocencie of all theſe points materiall obiected, be apparant to acquit me, whereto I doo principallie cleaue: yet I will for your better credit and ſatiſfactions, ſhew you euidentlie, that if you would beléeue all the depoſitions laid againſt me, which I truſt you will not doo, I ought not to be attainted of the treaſon compriſed within my indictment, conſidering the ſtatute of repeale the laſt parlement, of all treaſons, other than ſuch as be declared in the fiue and twentith yeare of king Edward the third, both which ſtatutes, I pray you my lords, maie be read here to the inqueſt.

Bromleie. No ſir, there ſhall be no bookes brought at your deſire, we doo all know the law ſufficientlie without booke.

Throckmorton. Doo you bring me hither to trie me by the law, & will not ſhew me the law? What is your knowlege of the law to theſe mens ſatiſfactions, which haue my triall in hand? I praie you my lords, and my lords all, let the ſtatutes be read, as well for the queene, as for me.

Stanford. My lord chiefe iuſtice can ſhew the law, and will, if the iurie doo doubt of anie point.

Throckmorton. You know it were indifferent that I ſhould know and heare the law whereby I am adiudged, and forasmuch as the ſtatute is in Engliſh, men of meaner learning than the iuſtices can vnderſtand it, or elſe how ſhould we know when we offend?

Hare. You know not what belongeth to your caſe, and therefore we muſt teach you: it apperteineth not to vs to prouide bookes for you, neither ſit we here to be taught of you, you ſhould haue taken better heed to the law before you had come hither.

Throckmorton. Becauſe I am ignorant, I would learne, and therefore I haue more need to ſee the law, and partlie as well for the inſtructions of the iurie, as for my own ſatiſfaction, which mee thinke were for the honor of this preſence. And now if it pleaſe you my lord chiefe iuſtice, I doo direct my ſpeech ſpeciallie to you. What time it pleaſed the queenes maieſtie, to call you to this honorable office, I did learne of a great perſonage of hir highneſſe priuie councell, that amongſt other good inſtructions, hir maieſtie charged and inioined you to miniſter the law and iuſtice indifferentlie without reſpect of perſons. And notwithſtanding the old error amongſt you, which did not admit anie witneſſe to ſpeake, or anie other matter to be heard in the fauor of the aduerſarie, hir maieſtie being partie; hir highneſſe pleaſure was, that whatſoeuer could be brought in the fauor of the ſubiect, ſhould be admitted to be heard. And moreouer, that you ſpeciallie, & likewiſe all other iuſtices, ſhould not perſuade themſelues to ſit in iudgement otherwiſe for hir highneſſe, than for hir ſubiect. Therefore this maner of indifferent proceeding being principallie inioined by Gods commandement, which I had thought partlie to haue remembred you & others here in commiſſion, in the beginning, if I might haue had leaue; and the ſame alſo being commanded you by the queens owne mouth: me thinke you ought of right to ſuffer me to haue the ſtatutes read openlie, and alſo to reiect nothing that could be ſpoken in my defenſe; and in thus dooing, you ſhall ſhew your ſelues worthie miniſters, and fit for ſo worthie a miſtreſſe.

Bromleie. You miſtake the matter, the queene ſpake thoſe words to maiſter Morgan chiefe iuſtice of the common plees: but you haue no cauſe to complaine, for you haue beene ſuffered to talke at your pleaſure.

Hare. What would you doo with the ſtatute booke? The iurie dooth not require it, they haue heard the euidence, and they muſt vpon their conſcience trie whether you be guiltie or no, ſo as the booke needeth not; if they will not credit the euidence ſo apparant, then they know not what they haue to doo.

Cholmleie. You ought not to haue anie bookes read here at your appointment, for where dooth ariſe anie doubt in the law, the iudges ſit here to informe the court, and now you doo but ſpend time.

The atturnie. I pray you my lord chiefe iuſtice repeat the euidence for the queene, and giue the iurie their charge, for the priſoner will keepe you here all daie.

Bromleie. How ſaie you? Haue you anie more to ſaie for your ſelfe?

Throckmorton. You ſeeme to giue and offer me the law, but in verie deed I haue onelie the forme and image of the law; neuertheleſſe, ſith I cannot be ſuffered to haue the ſtatutes red openlie in the booke, I will by your patience geſſe at them as I maie, and I praie you to helpe me if I miſtake, for it is long ſince I did ſee them. The ſtatute of repeale made the laſt parlement, hath theſe words: Be it enacted by the queene, that from henceforth none act, deed, or offenſe, being by act of parlement or ſtatute made treaſon, petit treaſon, or miſpriſion of treaſon, by words, writing, printing, ciphering, deeds, or otherwiſe whatſoeuer, ſhall be taken, had, deemed, or adiudged treaſon, petit treaſon: but onelie ſuch as be declared or expreſſed to be treaſon, in or by an act of parlement made in the fiue and twentith yeare of Edward the third, touching and concerning treaſons, and the declaration of treaſons, and none other. Here may you ſee, this ſtatute dooth referre all the offenſes aforeſaid, to the ſtatute of the fiue and twentith yeare of Edward the third, which ſtatute hath theſe words touching and concerning the treaſons that I am indicted and arreigned of, that is to ſaie: Whoſoeuer dooth compaſſe or imagine the death of the king, or leuie warre againſt the king in his realme, or being adherent to the kings enimies within this realme, or elſewhere, and be thereof probablie attainted by open deed by people of their condition; ſhall be adiudged a traitor. Now I praie you of my iurie which haue my life in triall, note well what things at this daie be treaſons, and how theſe treaſons muſt be tried and decerned; that is to ſay, by open deed, which the lawes dooth at ſome time terme (Ouert act.) And now I aske notwithſtanding my indictment, which is but matter alleged, where dooth appeare the open deed of anie compaſſing or imagining the queenes death? Or where dooth appeare anie open deed of being adherent to the queens enimies, giuing to them aid and comfort? Or where dooth appeare anie open deed of taking the tower of London?

Bromleie. Why doo not you of the queenes learned councell anſwer him? Me thinke, Throckmorton, you need not haue the ſtatutes, for you haue them meetlie perfectlie.

Stanford. You are deceiued to conclude all treaſons in the ſtatute of the fiue and twentith yeare of Edward the third; for that ſtatute is but a declaration of certeine treaſons, which were treaſons before at the common law. Euen ſo there dooth remaine diuerſe other treaſons at this daie at the common law, which be expreſſed by that ſtatute, as the iudges can declare. Neuertheleſſe, there is matter ſufficient alleged and proued againſt you, to bring you within the compaſſe of the ſame ſtatute.

Throckmorton. I praie you expreſſe thoſe matters that bring me within the compaſſe of the ſtatute of Edward the third. For the words be theſe: And be thereof attainted by open deed: By people of like condition.

Bromleie. Throckmorton you deceiue your ſelfe, and miſtake theſe words; By people of their condition. For thereby the law dooth vnderſtand the diſcouering of your treaſons. As for example: Wiat and the other rebels, attainted for their great treaſons, alreadie declare you to be his and their adherent, in as much as diuerſe & ſundrie times you had conference with him and them about the treaſon, ſo as Wiat is now one of your condition, who (as all the world knoweth) hath committed an open traitorous fact.

Throckmorton. By your leaue my lord, this is a verie ſtrange and ſingular vnderſtanding. For I ſuppoſe the meaning of the law-makers did vnderſtand theſe words: By people of their condition; of the ſtate and condition of thoſe perſons which ſhould be on the inqueſt to trie the partie arreigned, guiltie or not guiltie, and nothing to the bewraieng of the offenſe by another mans act, as you ſaie. For what haue I to doo with Wiats acts, that was not nigh him by one hundred miles?

The atturnie. Will you take vpon you to ſkill better of the law than the iudges? I doubt not but you of the iurie will credit as it becommeth you.

Cholmleie. Concerning the true vnderſtanding of theſe words: By people of their condition, my lord chiefe iuſtice here hath declared the truth, for Wiat was one of your condition, that is to ſaie, of your conſpiracie.

Hare. You doo not denie, Throckmorton, but that there hath béene conference and ſending betwéene Wiat and you: and he and Winter dooth confeſſe the ſame, with others, ſo as it is plaine; Wiat may be called one of your condition.

Throckmorton. Well, ſéeing you my iudges rule the vnderſtanding of theſe words in the ſtatute, by people of your condition, thus ſtrangelie againſt me: I will not ſtand longer vpon them. But where dooth appeare in me an open déed whereunto the treaſon is ſpeciallie referred?

Bromleie. If thrée or foure doo talke, deuiſe, and conſpire togither of a traitorous act to be doone, and afterwards one of them dooth commit treaſon, as Wiat did, then the law dooth repute them, and euerie of them as their acts, ſo as Wiats acts doo implie and argue of your open déed: and ſo the law dooth terme it and take it.

Throckmorton. Theſe be maruellous expoſitions and wonderfull implications, that another mans act whereof I was not priuie, ſhould be accounted mine: for Wiat did purge me that I knew nothing of his ſtirre.

Hare. Yea ſir, but you were a principall procurer and contriuer of Wiats rebellion, though you were not with him when he made the ſtirre. And as my lord here hath ſaid, the law alwaies dooth adiudge him a traitor, which was priuie, and dooth procure treaſon, or anie other man to commit treaſon, or a traitorous act, as you did Wiat and others: for ſo the *Ouert act* of thoſe which did it by your procurement, ſhall in this caſe be accounted your open déed. We haue a common caſe in the law, if one by procurement ſhould diſſeize you of your land, the law holdeth vs both wrong dooers, & giueth remedie as well againſt the one as the other.

Throckmorton. For Gods ſake applie not ſuch conſtructions againſt me, and though my preſent eſtate dooth not mooue you, yet it were well you ſhould conſider your office, and thinke what meaſure you giue to others, you your ſelues I ſaie ſhall aſſuredlie receiue the ſame againe. The ſtate of mortall life is ſuch, that men know full little what hangeth ouer them. I put on within theſe xij. moneths ſuch a mind, that I moſt wofull wight was as vnlike to ſtand here, as ſome of you that ſit there. As to your caſe laſt recited, wherby you would conclude; I haue remembred and learned of you maiſter Hare, and you maiſter Stanford in the parlement houſe, where you did ſit to make lawes, to expound and explane the ambiguities and doubts of law ſincerelie, and that without affections. There I ſaie I learned of you, and others my maiſters of the law, this difference betwixt ſuch caſes as you remembred one euen now, and the ſtatute whereby I am to be tried. There is a maxime or principle in the law, which ought not to be violated, that no penall ſtatute maie, ought, or ſhould be conſtrued, expounded, extended, or wreſted, otherwiſe than the ſimple words and nude letter of the ſame ſtatute dooth warrant and ſignifie. And amongeſt diuerſe good and notable reaſons by you there in the parlement houſe debated (maiſter ſergeant Stanford) I noted this one, whie the ſaid maxime ought to be inuiolable. You ſaid, conſidering the priuate affections manie times both of princes and miniſters within this realme, for that they were men, and would and could erre, it ſhould be no ſecuritie, but verie dangerous to the ſubiect, to refer the conſtruction and extending of penall ſtatutes to anie iudges equitie (as you termed it) which might either by feare of the higher powers be ſeduced, or by ignorance and follie abuſed: and that is an anſwer by procurement.

Bromleie. Notwithſtanding the principall (as you alledge it) and the preciſeneſſe of your ſticking to the bare words of the ſtatute, it dooth appéere and remaine of record in our learning, that diuerſe caſes haue béene adiudged treaſon, without the expreſſe words of the ſtatute, as the quéenes learned councell there can declare.

The attornie. It dooth appéere the priſoner did not onelie intiſe or procure Wiat, Caro, Rogers, and others, to commit their traitorous act, and there dooth his open facts appéere, which Vaughans confeſſion dooth witneſſe, but alſo he did mind ſhortlie after to aſſociat himſelfe with thoſe traitors; for he minded to haue departed with the earle of Deuonſhire weſtward.

Throckmorton. My innocencie concerning theſe matters I truſt ſufficientlie appéereth by my former anſwers, notwithſtanding the condemned mans vniuſt accuſation. But becauſe the true vnderſtanding of the ſtatute is in queſtion, I ſaie procurement, and ſpeciallie by words onelie, is without the compaſſe of it, and that I doo learne and prooue by the principle which I learned of maiſter Stanford.

Stanford. Maiſter Throckmorton, You and I maie not agrée this daie in the vnderſtanding of the law, for I am for the quéene, and you are for your ſelfe; the iudges muſt determine the matter.

Bromleie. He that dooth procure another man to commit a felonie or a murther, I am ſure you know well enough the law dooth adiudge the procurer there a felon or a murtherer; and in caſe of treaſon it hath béene alwaies ſo taken and reputed.

Throckmorton. I doo and muſt cleaue to my innocencie, for I procured no man to commit treſon: but yet for my learning I deſire to heare ſome caſe ſo ruled when the law was as it is now. I doo confeſſe it, that at ſuch time there were ſtatutes prouided for the procurer, counſellor, aider, abetter, and ſuch like, as there were in king Henrie the eights time; you might lawfullie make this cruell conſtruction, and bring the procurer within the compaſſe of the law. But theſe ſtatutes being repealed, you ought not now ſo to doo: and as to the principall procurer in felonie and murther, it is not like as in treaſon; for the principall and acceſſaries in felonie and murther be triable and puniſhable by the common law: and ſo in thoſe caſes the iudges maie vſe their equitie, extending the determination of the fault as they thinke good: but in treſon it is otherwiſe, the ſame being limited by ſtatute, which I ſaie and aduow is reſtreined from anie iudges conſtruction, by the maxime that I recited.

Happie for Throckmorton that thoſe ſtatutes ſtood then repealed.

Stanford. Your lordſhips doo know a caſe in Richard the thirds time, where the procurer, to counterfeit falſe monie, was iudged a traitor, and the law was as it is now.

Hare. Maiſter ſergeant dooth remember you Throckmorton of an experience before our time, that the law hath béene ſo taken: and yet the procurer was not expreſſed in the ſtatute, but the law hath béene alwaies ſo taken.

Throckmorton. I neuer ſtudied the law, whereof I doo much repent me: yet I remember, whileſt penall ſtatutes were talked of in the parlement houſe, you the learned men of the houſe remembred ſome caſes contrarie to this laſt ſpoken of. And if I miſreport them, I praie you helpe me. In the like caſe you ſpeake of concerning the procurer to counterfeit falſe monie; at one time the procurer was iudged a felon, and at another time neither felon nor traitor: ſo as ſome of your predeceſſors adiudged the procurer no traitor in the ſame caſe, but leaned to their principall, though ſome other extend their conſtructions too large. And here is two caſes with me, for one againſt me.

Bromleie. Becauſe you replie vpon the principall, I will remember where one taking the great ſeale of England from one writing, and putting it to another, was adiudged a traitor in Henrie the fourths time, and yet his act was not within the expreſſe words of the ſtatute of Edward the third. There be diuerſe other ſuch like caſes that maie be alledged and néed were.

Throckmorton. I praie you my lord chiefe iuſtice call to your good remembrance, that in the ſelfe ſame caſe of the ſeale, iuſtice Spilman, a graue & well learned man, ſince that time, would not condemne the offendor, but did reproue that former iudgement by you laſt remembred, as erronious.

Stanford. If I had thought you had béene ſo well furniſhed in booke caſes, I would haue béene better prouided for you.

Throckmorton. I haue nothing but I learned of you ſpeciallie maiſter ſergeant, and of others my maiſters of the law in the parlement houſe, & therefore I maie ſaie with the prophet (*Salutem ex inimicis noſtris.*)

Southwell. You haue a verie good memorie.

The attornie. If the priſoner maie auoid his treaſons after this maner, the quéenes ſuretie ſhall be in great ieopardie. For Iacke Cade the blacke ſmith, and diuerſe other traitors, ſometime alledging the law for them, ſometime they meant no harme to the king, but againſt his councell, as Wiat, the duke of Suffolke, and theſe did againſt the Spaniards, when there was no Spaniards within the realme. The duke and his brethren did miſtake the law, as you doo: yet at length did confeſſe their ignorance, and ſubmitted themſelues: and ſo were you beſt to doo.

Throckmorton. As to Cade and the blacke ſmith, I am not ſo well acquainted with their treaſons as you be: but I haue read in the chronicle, they were in the field with a force againſt the prince, whereby a manifeſt act did appéere. As to the duke of Suffolkes doings, they apperteine not to me. And though you would compare my ſpéech and talke againſt the Spaniards to the dukes acts, who aſſembled a force in armes, it is euident they differ much. I am ſorie to ingréeue anie other mans doings, but it ſerueth me for a péece of my defenſe, and therefore I wiſh that no man ſhould gather euill of it; God forbid that words and acts be thus confounded.

The attornie. Sir William Stanleie vſed this ſhift that the priſoner vſeth now; he ſaid he did not leuie warre againſt king Henrie the ſeauenth, but ſaid to the duke of Buckingham, that in a good quarrell he would aid him with fiue hundred men; and neuertheleſſe Stanleie was for thoſe words atteinted, who (as all the world knoweth) had before that time ſerued the king verie faithfullie and trulie.

Throckmorton. I praie you maiſter attorneie doo not conclude againſt me by blind contraries. Whether you alledge Stanlies caſe trulie or no, I know not. But admit it be as you ſaie, what doth this prooue againſt me? I promiſed no aid to maiſter Wiat nor to anie other. The duke of Buckingham leuied warre againſt the king, with whome Stanleie was confederat ſo to doo as you ſaie.

The attornie. I praie you my lords that be the quéens commiſſioners, ſuffer not the priſoner to vſe the quéenes learned councell thus, I was neuer interrupted thus in my life, nor I neuer knew anie thus ſuffered to talke, as this priſoner is ſuffered; ſome of vs will come no more at the barre & we be thus handled.

Bromleie. Throckmorton you muſt ſuffer the quéenes learned councell to ſpeake, or elſe we muſt take order with you, you haue had leaue to talke at your pleaſure.

Hare. It is prooued that you did talke with Wiat againſt the comming of the Spaniards, and deuiſed to interrupt their arriuall: and you promiſed to doo what you could againſt them: wherevpon Wiat being incoraged by you, did leuie a force, and attempted warre againſt the quéenes roiall perſon.

Throckmorton. It was no treaſon nor no procurement of treaſon, to talke againſt the comming hither of the Spaniards, neither was it treaſon for me to ſaie I would hinder their comming hither as much as I could (vnderſtanding me rightlie as I meane it) yea though you would extend it to the worſt, it was but words, it was not treaſon at this daie as the law ſtandeth. And as for Wiats doing, they touch me nothing; for at his death when, it was no time to report vntruelie, he purged me.

Bromleie. By ſundrie caſes remembred here by the quéenes learned councell (as you haue heard) that procurement which did appeare none otherwiſe but by words and thoſe you would make nothing, hath béene of long time, and by ſundrie well learned men in the lawes adiudged treaſon. And therefore, your procurement being ſo euident as it is, we maie lawfullie ſaie it was treaſon, bicauſe Wiat performed a traitorous act.

Throckmorton. As to the ſaid alleaged forepreſſedents againſt me, I haue recited as manie for me, and I would you my lord chiefe iuſtice ſhould incline your iudgments rather after the example of your honourable predeceſſors, iuſtice Markam, and others, which did eſchue corrupt iudgements, iudging directlie and ſincerelie, after the law & the principles in the ſame, than after ſuch men as ſwarning from the truth, the maxime, and the law, did iudge corruptlie, maliciouſlie, and affectionatlie.

Bromleie. Iuſtice Markam had reaſon to warrant his doings: for it did appeare, a merchant of London was arreigned and ſlanderouſlie accuſed of treaſon for compaſſing and imagining the kings death, he did ſaie he would make his ſonne heire of the crowne, and the merchant meant it of a houſe in Cheapſide at the ſigne of the crowne, but your caſe is not ſo.

Throckmorton. My caſe dooth differ I grant, but ſpeciallie bicauſe I haue not ſuch a iudge: yet there is an other cauſe to reſtreine theſe your ſtrange and extraordinarie conſtructions: that is to ſaie, a prouiſo in the latter end of the ſtatute of Edward the third, hauing theſe words: Prouided alwaies, if anie other caſe of ſuppoſed treaſon ſhall chance hereafter to come in queſtion or triall before anie iuſtice, other than is in the ſaid ſtatute expreſſed, that then the iuſtice ſhall forbeare to adiudge the ſaid caſe, vntill it be ſhewed to the parlement to trie whether it ſhould be treaſon or felonie. Here you are reſtreined by expreſſe words to adiudge anie caſe, that is not manifeſtlie mentioned before, and vntill it be ſhewed to the parlement.

Pirtman. That prouiſo is vnderſtood of caſes that maie come in triall which hath béene in vre, but the law hath alwaies taken the procurer to be a principall offendor.

Sanders. The law alwaies in caſes of treaſon dooth account all principals and no acceſſaries as in other offenſes, and therefore a man offending in treaſon, either by couert act or procurement, wherevpon an open déed hath inſued, as in this caſe, is adiudged by the law a principall traitor.

Throckmorton. You adiudge (me thinke) procurement verie hardlie, beſides the principall, and beſides the good prouiſo, and beſides the good example of your beſt and moſt godlie learned predeceſſors, the iudges of the realme, as I haue partlie declared, and notwithſtanding this grieuous racking & extending of this word procurement, I am not in the danger of it, for it dooth appeare by no depoſition that I procured neither one or other to attempt anie act.

Stanford. The iurie haue to trie whether it be ſo or no, let it weie as it will.

Hare. I know no meane ſo apparant to trie procurement as by words, & that meane is probable inough againſt you, as well by your owne confeſſion, as by other mens depoſitions.

Throckmorton. To talke of the quéenes marriage with the prince of Spaine, and alſo the comming hither of the Spaniards, is not to procure treſon to be doone: for then the whole parlement houſe, I meane the common houſe did procure treaſon. But ſith you will make no difference betwixt words and acts, I praie you remember a ſtatute made in my late ſouereigne lord and maſters time, king Edward the ſixt, which apparantlie expreſſed the difference. Theſe be the words: Whoſoeuer dooth compaſſe or imagine to depoſe the king of his roiall eſtate by open preaching, expreſſe words or ſaiengs, ſhall for the firſt offenſe looſe and forfet to the king all his and their goods and cattels, and alſo ſhall ſuffer impriſonment of their bodies at the kings will and pleaſure. Whoſoeuer, &c: for the ſecond offenſe ſhall looſe & forfet to the king the whole iſſues and profits of all his or their lands, tenements and other hereditaments, benefices, prebends, and other ſpirituall promotions. Whoſoeuer, &c: for the third offenſe, ſhall for tearme of life or liues of ſuch offendor or offendors, &c: and ſhall alſo forfet to the kings maieſtie, all his or their goods and cattels, and ſuffer during his or their liues perpetuall impriſonment of his or their bodies. But whoſoeuer, &c: by writing, ciphering, or act, &c: ſhall for the firſt offenſe be adiudged a traitor, and ſuffer the paines of death. Here you maie perceiue how the whole realme and all your iudgements hath before this vnderſtood words and acts diuerſelie and apparantlie. And therfore the iudgements of the parlement did aſſigne diuerſitie of puniſhments, bicauſe they would not confound the true vnderſtanding of words & déeds, appointing for compaſſing and imagining by word, impriſonment: and for compaſſing and imagining by open déed, paines of death.

Bromleie. It is agréed by the whole bench, that the procurer and the adherent be déemed alwaies traitors, when as a traitorous act was committed by anie one of the ſame conſpiracie: and there is apparant proofe of your adhering to Wiat, both by your owne confeſſion and other waies.

Throckmorton. Adhering and procuring be not all one, for the ſtatute of Edward the third dooth ſpeake of adhering, but not of procuring; & yet adhering ought not to be further extended, than to the quéenes enimies within hir realme, for ſo the ſtatute dooth limit the vnderſtanding. And Wiat was not the quéenes enimie, for he was not ſo reputed when I talked with him laſt, and our ſpéech implied no enimie, neither tended to anie treaſon, or procuring of treaſon: and therefore I praie you of the iurie note, though I argue the law, I alleage mine innocencie, as the beſt part of my defenſe.

Hare. Your adhering to the quéenes enimies within the realme, is euidentlie prooued: for Wiat was the quéenes enimie within the realme, as the whole realme knoweth it, and he hath confeſſed it both at his arreignement and at his death.

Throckmorton. By your leaue, neither Wiat at his arreignement nor at his death, did confeſſe that he was the quéenes enimie when I talked laſt with him; neither was he reputed nor taken in fouretéene daies after, vntill he aſſembled a force in armes, what time I was at your houſe maſter Englefield, where I learned the firſt intelligence of Wiats ſtirre. And I aſke you who dooth depoſe that there paſſed anie maner of aduertiſement betwixt Wiat and me, after he had diſcouered his doings, and ſhewed himſelfe an enimie? If I had béene ſo diſpoſed, who did let me that I did not repaire to Wiat, or to ſend to him, or to the duke of Suffolke either, who was in mine owne countrie, and thither I might haue gone and conueied my ſelfe with him, vnſuſpected for my departing homewards.

Englefield. It is true that you were there at my houſe, accompanied with others your brethren, and to my knowledge, ignorant of theſe matters.

Bromleie. Throckmorton, you confeſſed you talked with Wiat and others againſt the comming of the Spaniards, and of the taking of the tower of London, wherevpon Wiat leuied a force of men againſt the Spaniards he ſaid, and ſo you ſaie all: but in déed it was againſt the quéene, which he confeſſed at length: therefore Wiats acts doo prooue you counſellor and procurer, howſoeuer you would auoid ths matter.

Throckmorton. My thinke you would conclude againſt me with a miſhapen argument in logike, and you will giue me leaue, I will make an other.

Stanford. The iudges ſit not here to make diſputations, but to declare the law, which hath béene ſufficientlie doone, if you would conſider it.

Hare. You haue heard reaſon and the law, if you will conceiue it.

Throckmorton. Oh mercifull God, oh eternall father, which ſéeſt all things, what maner of procéedings are theſe? To what purpoſe ſerueth the ſtatute of repeale the laſt parlement, where I heard ſome of you here preſent, and diuerſe other of the quéenes learned councell, grieuouſlie inueie againſt the cruell & bloudie lawes of king Henrie the eight, and againſt ſome lawes made in my late ſouereigne lord and maſters time, king Edward the ſixt. Some termed them Dracos lawes, which were written in bloud: ſome ſaid they were more intollerable than anie laws that Dionyſius or anie other tyrant made. In concluſion, as manie men, ſo manie bitter tearmes and names thoſe lawes had. And moreouer, the preface of the ſame ſtatute dooth recite, that for words onelie, manie great perſonages, and others of good behauiour, haue béene moſt cruellie caſt awaie by theſe former ſanguinolent thirſtie lawes, with manie other ſuggeſtions for the repeale of the ſame. And now let vs put on indifferent eies, and throughlie conſider with our ſelues, as you the iudges handle the conſtructions of the ſtatute of Edward the third, with your equitie and extentions, whether we be not in much worſe caſe now than we were when thoſe cruell laws yoked vs. Theſe lawes albeit they were grieuous and captious, yet they had the verie propertie of a law after ſaint Paules deſcription. For thoſe lawes did admoniſh vs, and diſcouer our ſinnes plainelie vnto vs, & when a man is warned, he is halfe armed. Theſe lawes, as they be handled, be verie baits to catch vs, & onlie prepared for the ſame, and no laws: for at the firſt ſight they aſcerteine vs we be deliuered from our old bondage, and by the late repeale the laſt parlement, we liue in more ſecuritie. But when it pleaſeth the higher powers to call anie mans life and ſaiengs in queſtion, then there be conſtructions, interpretations, and extentions reſerued to the iuſtices and iudges equitie, that the partie triable, as I am now, ſhall find himſelfe in much worſe caſe than before when thoſe cruell lawes ſtood in force. Thus our amendment is from Gods bleſſing into the warme ſunne. But I require you honeſt men which are to trie my life, conſider theſe opinions of my life, iudges be rather agréeable to the time, than to the truth: for their iudgements be repugnant to their owne principle, repugnant to their godlie and beſt learned predeceſſors opinions, repugnant I ſaie to the prouiſo in the ſtatute of repeale made in the laſt parlement.

The atturnie. Maſter Throckmorton quiet your ſelfe, and it ſhall be the better for you.

Throckmorton. Maſter atturnie, I am not ſo vnquiet as you be, and yet our caſes are not alike: but bicauſe I am ſo tedious to you, and haue long troubled this preſence, it maie pleaſe my lord chiefe iuſtice to repeat the euidence wherewith I am charged, and my anſwers to all the obiections, if there be no other matter to laie againſt me.

¶ Then the chiefe iuſtice remembred particularlie all the depoſitions and euidences giuen againſt the priſoner, and either for want of good memorie, or good will, the priſoners anſwers were in part not recited: wherevpon the priſoner craued indifferencie, and did helpe the iudges old memorie with his owne recitall.]

Sendall. My maſters of the iurie, you haue to inquire whether ſir Nicholas Throckmorton knight, here priſoner at the barre, be giltie of theſe treaſons, or anie of them, whereof he hath beene indicted and this daie arreigned, yea or no. And if you find him giltie, you ſhall inquire what lands, tenements, goods, and cattels he had at the daie of his treaſons committed, or at anie time ſince: and whether he fled for the treaſons or no, if you find him not giltie.

Throckmorton. Haue you ſaid what is to be ſaid?

Sendall. Yea for this time.

Throckmorton. Then I praie you giue me leaue to ſpeake a few words to the iurie. The weight and grauitie of my cauſe hath greatlie occaſioned me to trouble you here long, and therfore I mind not to interteine you here long, with anie prolix oration: you perceiue notwithſtanding this daie great contention betwixt the iudges and the queenes learned councell on the one partie, and me the poore and wofull priſoner on the other partie. The triall of our whole controuerſie, the triall of my innocencie, the triall of my life, lands, and goods, and the deſtruction of my poſteritie for euer, dooth reſt in your good iudgements. And albeit manie this daie haue greatlie inueied againſt me, the finall determination thereof is transferred onelie to you. How grieuous & horrible the ſhedding of innocents bloud is in the ſight of almightie God, I truſt you doo remember. Therefore take heed (I ſaie) for Chriſts ſake, doo not defile your conſciences with ſuch heinous & notable crimes. They be grieuouſlie and terriblie puniſhed, as in this world and vale of miſerie vpon the childrens children to the third and fourth generation, and in the world to come with euerlaſting fire and damnation. Lift vp your minds to God, and care not too much for the world, looke not backe to the fleſhpots of Aegypt, which will allure you from heauenlie reſpects, to worldlie ſecuritie, and can thereof neither make you anie ſuertie. Beleeue I praie you, the queene and hir magiſtrats be more delighted with fauourable equitie, than with raſh crueltie. And in that you be all citizens, I will take my leaue of you with S. Paules farewell to the Epheſians, citizens alſo you be, whom he tooke to record that he was pure from ſheding anie bloud, a ſpeciall token & doctrine left for your inſtruction, that euerie of you maie waſh his hands of innocents bloud ſhed, when you ſhall take your leaue of this wretched world. The holie ghoſt be amongeſt you.

Sendall. Come hither ſergeant, take the iurie with you, and ſuffer no man to come at them, but to be ordered as the law appointeth, vntill they be agreed vpon their verdict.

Throckmorton. It may pleaſe you my lords and maiſters which be commiſſioners, to giue order that no perſon haue acceſſe or conference with the iurie, neither that any of the queenes learned councell be ſuffered to repaire to them, or to talke with anie of them, vntill they preſent themſelues here in open court, to publiſh their verdict.

¶ Vpon the priſoners ſute on this behalfe, the bench gaue order that two ſeargeants were ſworne to ſuffer no man to repaire to the iurie, vntill they were agreed according vnto order. Wherevpon then the priſoner was by commandement of the bench withdrawne from the barre, and the court adiourned vntill three of the clocke at afternoone, at which houre the cōmiſſioners returned to the Guildhall, and there did tarie vntill the iurie were agreed vpon the verdict. And about fiue of the clocke, their agreement being aduertiſed to the commiſſioners, the ſaid priſoner, ſir Nicholas Throckmorton was againe brought to the barre, where alſo the iurie did repaire; and being demanded whether they were agreed vpon their verdict, anſwered vniuerſallie with one voice, Yea. Then it was aſked who ſhould ſpeake for them: they anſwered, Whetſton the foreman.]

Sendall. Nicholas Throckmorton knight, hold vp thy hand.

Throckmorton. Then the priſoner did ſo vpon the ſummons.

Sendall. You that be of the iurie, looke vpon the priſoner.

Iurie. The iurie did as they were inioined.

Sendall. How ſaie you, is maiſter Throckmorton knight there priſoner at the bar, giltie of the treaſons whereof he hath bene indicted and arreigned in maner and forme, yea or no?

Whetſton. No.

Sendall. How ſaie you, did he flie vpon them?

Whetſton. No, we find no ſuch thing.

Throckmorton. I had forgotten to anſwer that queſtion before, but you haue found according to truth: and for the better warrantie of your doings, vnderſtand that I came to London, and ſo to the queenes councell vnbrought, when I vnderſtood they demanded for me: & yet I was almoſt an hundred miles hence, where if I had not preſumed vpon my truth, I could haue withdrawne my ſelfe from catching.

Bromleie. How ſaie you the reſt of you, is Whetſtons verdict all your verdicts?

Iurie. The whole inqueſt anſwered Yea.

Bromleie. Remember your ſelues better, haue you conſidered ſubſtantially the whole euidence in ſort as it was declared & recited; the matter dooth touch the queenes highneſſe, and your ſelues alſo, take good heed what you doo.

Whetſton. My lord, we haue throughlie conſidered the euidence laid againſt the priſoner, and his anſwers to all theſe matters, and accordinglie we haue found him not giltie agreeable to all our conſciences.

Bromleie. If you haue doone well, it is the better for you.

Throckmorton. It is better to be tried, than to liue ſuſpected. Bleſſed be the Lord God of Iſraell, for he hath viſited and redeemed his people, and hath raiſed vp a mightie ſaluation for vs in the houſe of his ſeruant Dauid. And it may pleaſe you my lord cheefe iuſtice, forſomuch as I haue bene indicted and arreigned of ſundrie treaſons, and haue according to the law put my triall to God and my countrie, that is to ſaie, to theſe honeſt men which haue found me not giltie, I humblie beſeech you to giue me ſuch benefit, acquitall and iudgement, as the law in this caſe dooth appoint.

¶ When the priſoner had ſaid theſe words the commiſſioners conſulted togither.]

Throckmorton. Maie it pleaſe you my lord cheefe iuſtice to pronounce ſentence for my diſcharge?

Bromleie. Whereas you doo aſke the benefit that the law in ſuch caſe dooth appoint, I will giue it you; to wit, that where you haue beene indicted of ſundrie high treaſons, & haue beene heere this daie before the queenes commiſſioners and iuſtices arreigned of the ſaid treaſons, wherevnto you haue pleaded not giltie, and haue for triall therein put your ſelfe on God & your countrie, and they haue found you not giltie, the court dooth award that you be cleerlie diſcharged, paieng your fees. Notwithſtanding maſter lieutenant take him with you againe, for there are other matters to charge him withall.

Throckmorton.

It maie pleaſe you my lords & maſters of the Q. highneſſe priuie councell, to be on my behalfe humble ſutors to hir maieſtie, that like as the law this daie (God be praiſed) hath purged me of the treaſons wherewith I was moſt dangerouſlie charged: ſo it might pleaſe hir excellent maieſtie to purge me in hir priuat iudgement, and both forgiue & forget my ouerraſh boldneſſe, that I vſed in talke of hir highnes marriage with the prince of Spaine, matters too far aboue my capacitie, and I verie vnable to conſider the grauitie thereof, a matter impertinent for me a priuat perſon to talke of, which did apperteine to hir highneſſe priuie councell to haue in deliberation. And if it ſhall pleaſe hir highneſſe of hir bountifull liberalitie, to remit my former ouerſights, I ſhall thinke my ſelfe happie for triall of the danger that I haue this daie eſcaped, and maie thereby admoniſh me to eſchue things aboue my reach, and alſo to inſtruct me to deale with matters agreeable to my vocation. And God ſaue the queens maieſtie, and grant the ſame long to reigne ouer vs. And the ſame Lord be praiſed for you the magiſtrats, before whome I haue had my triall this daie indifferentlie by the law, and you haue proceeded with me accordinglie; & the grace of God be amongſt you now and euer. ¶ There was no anſwer made by anie of the bench to the priſoners ſute, but the atturnie did ſpeake theſe words.]

The atturnie.

And it pleaſe you my lords, forſomuch as it ſeemeth theſe men of the iurie, which haue ſtrangelie acquited the priſoner of his treſons wherof he was indicted, will forthwith depart the court, I praie you for the queene, that they, and euerie of them maie bee bound in a recogniſance of fiue hundred pounds a peece, to anſwer to ſuch matters as they ſhall bee charged with in the queenes behalfe, whenſoeuer they ſhall be charged or called.

whetſton.

I praie you my lords be good to vs, and let vs not be moleſted for diſcharging our conſciences trulie. We be poore merchantmen, and haue great charge vpon our hands, & our liuings doo depend vpon our trauels, therefore it maie pleaſe you to appoint vs a certeine day for our appearance, for perhaps ſome of vs maie be in forren parties about our buſineſſe.

¶ Thus much for ſir Nicholas Throckmortons arreignement, wherein is to be conſidered, that the repealing of certeine ſtatutes in the laſt parlement, was the chiefe matter he had to alledge for his aduantage: whereas the repealing of the ſame ſtatutes was meant notwithſtanding for an other purpoſe (as before you haue partlie heard) which ſtatutes, or the effect of the chiefe branches of them haue beene ſince that time againe reuiued, as by the bookes of the ſtatutes it maie better appeare, to the which I referre the reader.] The eight and twentith of Aprill, the lord Thomas Greie, brother to the duke of Suffolke, was beheaded at the tower hill, a proper gentleman, and one that had ſerued right valiantlie both in France and Scotland, in the daies of the late kings Henrie and Edward.

The lord Tho. Greie beheaded.

Vpon ſaturdaie the eight and twentith of Aprill, ſir Iames Croſts and maiſter William Winter were brought from the tower to the Guildhall in London, where ſir Iames Croſts was arreigned: but bicauſe the daie was farre ſpent, maiſter Winter was not arreigned, but caried backe againe to the tower with the ſaid ſir Iames Croſts. William Thomas, of whome mention is made before in the hiſtorie of ſir Thomas Wiat, with certeine other, were arreigned and condemned for the conſpiring of the murther and killing of the queene vpon the ſudden: and for that offenſe, the ſaid William Thomas was the eighteenth daie of Maie, drawne, hanged, and quartered at Tiburne. The nineteenth daie of Maie next following, the ladie Eliſabeth ſiſter to queene Marie, was deliuered out of the tower, and committed to the cuſtodie of ſir Iohn Williams knight, afterward lord Williams of Tame, by whome hir grace was more courteouſlie intreated than ſome would haue wiſhed. Therefore ſhortlie after ſhe was committed to the manour of Woodſtocke, vnder the cuſtodie of ſir Henrie Beningfield of Oxenborough in the countie of Norffolke, knight, at whoſe hands ſhe found not the like courteſie, who (as it is well knowne) vſed his office more like a gailor than a gentleman, and with ſuch rigour as was not meet to be ſhewed to ſuch an eſtate, which extremitie of crueltie to a perſon of great dignitie notwithſtanding hir innocencie, is verie well noted by C. O. in *Eirenarchia ſiue Eliſabetha*, where he ſaith:

william Thomas arreigned & condemned.

The ladie Eliſabeth deliuered out of the tower.

Sir Henrie Beningfield knight.

———odio quoque tenditur acri
Suſpicio vehemens in te clariſſima princeps
Eliſabetha, capútq; tuum: quòd vixeris inſons,
Quódq; animi candor culpa noxáq; remotus
Hactenus inuidiæ renitens hebetârit ocellos,
Ah liuore tumens ſacer obliuiſcitur ordo.
Implacata cohors ſpumante exæſtuat ira
*Furfuris eiuſdem, donec cuſtodibus *agna*
(Arcebat Deus ipſe lupos) committitur arctis
Aſſeruanda locis, vi libertatis adempta.

* *Eliſabetha.*

But here is to be noted, not ſo much the vnciuill nature of the man, as the ſingular lenitie, and gratious clemencie of that gentle and vertuous princeſſe, who afterward (as ſhall appeare) comming to the poſſeſſion of the crowne as hir rightfull inheritance, was at that time ſo farre from reuenge of iniuries receiued, that whereas diuerſe princes haue requited much leſſe offenſes with loſſe of life, ſhe neuer touched him either with danger of life, or loſſe of lands or goods, nor neuer proceeded further than to diſcharge him of the court: which manie thought was the thing that pleaſed him beſt. At whoſe departing from hir preſence, ſhe vſed onelie theſe words, or the like in ſenſe: God forgiue you that is paſt, and we doo: and if we haue anie priſoner whome we would haue hardlie handled and ſtreictlie kept, then we will ſend for you.

Rich. Grafton.

Queene Eliſabeths words to Beningfield hir butcherlie keeper in the time of hir durance.

The fiue and twentith of Maie, the erle of Deuonſhire was brought out of the tower at three of the clocke in the morning, ſir Thomas Treſham knight, and maiſter Chamberlaine of Suffolke, with certeine of the gard, being appointed to attend on him to Fodringham caſtell in Northamptonſhire, where he was aſſigned to remaine vnder cuſtodie of the ſaid ſir Thomas Treſham and others. ¶ On the tenth of Iune, the foreſaid doctor Pendleton preached at Poules croſſe, at whome a gun was ſhot, the pellet wherof went verie neere him, and light on the church wall: but the ſhooter could not be found.] The eleuenth of Iune the lord Iohn Greie, brother to the late duke of Suffolke, was arreigned at Weſtminſter in the Kings bench, and there condemned: but yet through the painfull trauell and diligent ſute of the ladie Greie his wife, his pardon was obteined, and ſo he eſcaped with life, and was at length ſet at libertie, as after it ſhall appeare.

A gun ſhot at the preacher: See before pag. 1102.

Anno Reg. 2.

The lord Iohn Greie arreigned, pardoned, and releaſed.

¶ The two and twentith of Iune was proclamation made, forbidding the ſhooting in handguns, and bearing of weapons. The fifteenth of Iulie, Eliſabeth Croſt, a wench about eighteene yeares old, ſtood vpon a ſcaffold at Pauls croſſe all the ſermon time, where ſhe confeſſed, that ſhe being moued by diuerſe lewd perſons therevnto, had vpon the fourteenth of March laſt before paſſed, counterfeited certeine ſpeaches in an houſe without Aldreſgate of London,

Abr. Fl. ex I. Stow. 1091.

A ſpirit in a wall without Alderſgate doth penance at Paules croſſe for abuſing the people, &c.

through the which the people of the whole citie were wonderfullie moleſted, for that all men might heare the voice, but not ſée hir perſon. Some ſaid it was an angell, ſome a voice from heauen, ſome the Holie ghoſt, &c. This was called the ſpirit in the wall: ſhée had laine whiſtling in a ſtrange whiſtle made for that purpoſe, which was giuen hir by one Drakes: then were there diuerſe companions confederat with hir, which putting themſelues amongſt the preaſe, tooke vpon them to interpret what the ſpirit ſaid, expreſſing certeine ſeditious words againſt the quéene, the prince of Spaine, the maſſe, and confeſſion, &c.]

The prince of Spains preparation to come into England.

But now in this meane while that theſe things thus paſſed here in England, the prince of Spaine prepared for his hither comming, vnto whome had béene ſent the earle of Bedford lord priuie ſeale, and the lord Fitzwaters, accompanied with diuerſe noble men and gentlemen, who arriuing at the Corone in Galiſia, were receiued verie honorablie. And forſomuch as the prince was then at vale Dolido, diſtant from thence néere hand an hundred leagues, they were deſired to ſtaie there for their better eaſe, till he might haue conuenient oportunitie to repaire thither: which neuertheleſſe he could not doo ſo ſoone as he pretended to haue deſire thereto, as well by reaſon of the ſickeneſſe of his ſiſter, the princes Dowager of Portugall, as by other weightie affaires. But being at length rid of ſuch incumbers, & come into Galiſia, the Engliſh ambaſſadors met him at ſaint James de Compoſtella. And after he had in preſence of a great number of noble men and gentlemen there ratified the contract, and ſworne to obſerue the couenant, he departed towards Corone, where within a few daies after he imbarked, and accompanied with the number of an hundred and fiftie ſaile, directed his courſe toward England.

The Engliſh ambaſſadors met him at S. James of Cōpoſtella.

The lord admerall hauing continuallie béene abrode on the ſeas for the ſpace of thrée moneths or more, with a nauie of eight and twentie ſhips and other veſſels, accompanied alſo with the viceadmerall of the low countries, that had vnder his gouernance fourtéene ſhips of the emperours, met with the ſaid prince the ninetéenth of Julie, about the Néedles, and from thence accompanied him vnto Southampton, where he arriued the morrow after the twentith of Julie, the earle of Arundell lord ſteward of the quéens houſe being ſent from hir to preſent to him the George and the garter of the order (of the which fellowſhip he was at the laſt chapiter holden by the confréers choſen one of the companie) met him vpon the water, and at his comming to land, preſented the ſaid George and garter vnto him. At his landing he was receiued by the lord treaſuror, the biſhop of Lincolne, the lord Saint-John, and others, by whom he was firſt conueied to the church, and from thence to his lodging.

The arriuall of the prince of Spaine in Southamptō.

He is receiued of the nobilitie and lords.

After his landing, the lord chancellor accompanied with diuerſe gentlemen, was ſent from the quéene to bid him welcome on hir behalfe; & ſo was he viſited by diuerſe noble perſonages whileſt he remained at Southampton, ſent thither for that purpoſe. And he on the other part ſent diuerſe of his noble men to viſit hir maieſtie on his behalfe. Mondaie the thrée & twentith of Julie, he departed from Southampton towards Wincheſter, whither ſhée was the ſaturdaie before remoued from Biſhops Waltham. On the waie he was accompanied, beſide the noblemen & gentlemen of his owne traine, with the marques of Wincheſter, the earles of Arundell, Darbie, Worceter, Bedford, Rutland, Penbroke, Surrie: the lords Clinton, Cobham, Willoughbie, Darcie, Matrauers, Talbot, Strange, Fitzwaren, and North, with manie other noblemen and gentlemen, and their traines, to the number of two thouſand horſſes. At his comming to the church in Wincheſter, the lord chancellor accompanied with the biſhops of Durham, Elie, London, Lincolne, Chicheſter, and diuerſe other prelats, were readie to receiue him. After he had made his praiers, he was conueied to his lodging prepared for him in the deans houſe.

He commeth to Wincheſter where the quéene was reſident of purpoſe to interteine him.

The quéens lodging in the biſhops palace.

The quéene hir ſelfe was lodged in the biſhops palace, whither his highneſſe the next daie came, and was receiued by hir in the hall, in moſt courteous & louing maner. And after ſuch ſalutations & talke ended, as was thought conuenient for the time, he returned to his lodging, where he continued all that night: and the next daie being the fiue and twentith of Julie, the mariage was openlie ſolemnized. At the which were preſent, the ambaſſadors of the emperor, the king of Romans, the king of Bohem, of Venice, Florence, Ferrare, and Sauoie, with certeine agents of other ſtates in Italie. As for the ſhot of ordinance, the diuerſe kinds of muſicke, the ſumptuous and coſtlie apparell, trappers, and other furniture, readie prouided againſt the receiuing of him, with other ceremonies vſed aſwell about the mariage, as in other places where he was to be receiued, were ſuerlie ſuch, and euerie thing doone in ſuch good order, as better for ſuch a purpoſe might not lightlie be deuiſed. Nobles of Spaine were, the duke of Alua, the duke of Medina celi, the admerall of Caſtilla, the marques of Bergues, the marques of Piſcara, the marques of Saria, the marques of Valli, the marques of Aguillar, the earle of Egmund, the earle of Horne, the earle of Feria, the earle of Chinchon, the earle of Oliuares, the earle of Saldana, the earle of Modica, the earle of Fuenteſalida, the earle of Landriano, the earle of Caſtellar, Don Ruigomes, the biſhop of Cuenca, Don John de Benauides; and diuerſe others.

The mariage ſolemnized and what ſtates of Italie & Spaine were preſent at it.

The names of the noble men that came ouer from Spaine with the prince.

An abſtract of the conditions of this *mariage betweene both the princes.*

But now forſomuch as ſome would happilie be deſirous to know the conditions of this memorable mariage betwixt theſe two high princes, the conſequence wherof might haue proued of ſo great importance, although by the quéens deceaſe the effect was made void, I haue thought good to recite in briefe the chiefe articles thereof.

1 It was couenanted that he ſhould enioy the title and name of king, during the matrimonie, and ſhould aid hir highneſſe (being his wife) in the adminiſtration of hir realmes and dominions; but yet he ſhould permit and ſuffer hir to haue the whole diſpoſition of all benefices, offices, lands, reuenues, and fruits of the ſaid realmes and dominions, and that the ſame ſhould be beſtowed vpon ſuch as were hir naturall borne ſubiects, and that all matters of the ſaid realmes and dominions ſhould be treated and handled in the ſame tong, wherein of old they haue béene wont to be treated.

He to be intituled king during the matrimonie, &c.

2 That the quéene by vertue of the ſaid mariage ſhould be admitted into the ſocietie of the realmes and dominions of the ſaid prince of Spaine, as well ſuch as he now preſentlie hath, as ſuch other alſo as during the matrimonie may come to him.

She to be intituled to his dominions during the mariage.

3 And for hir dowrie, in caſe ſhe ouerliued him, ſhe was appointed to receiue yéerlie thrée ſcore thouſand pounds, after the value of fortie groats Flemmiſh monie the pound, to be allotted vpon all the realms, lands, and patrimoniall dominions of his father the emperor, that is to ſaie, fortie thouſand pounds to be aſſigned vpon the realms of Spaine, Caſtile, and Aragon,

Hir dowrie if ſhe ſuruiued him.

Aragon, according to the cuſtome of thoſe realms. The other twentie thouſand pounds were appointed vpon the dukedoms, earledoms, and dominions of Brabant, Flanders, Henalt, Holland, and other patrimoniall lands and inheritances of the ſaid emperor in the low countries of Germanie; in like maner as the ladie Margaret of England, ſometime wife and widow of the lord Charles, ſometime duke of Burgogne, had and receiued of the ſame. And if anie parcell or parcels thereof be alienated, then in lieu thereof, other lands ſhould be in due forme aſſigned forth for hir to enioy, lieng neere to the reſidue of hir dower.

Touching the iſſue of hir bodie male or female.

4 The iſſue that ſhould chance to come of this mariage, touching the right of the mothers inheritance in the realme of England, and the other realmes and dominions depending of the ſame, aſwell the males as females ſhould ſucceed in them, according to the laws, ſtatutes, and cuſtoms of the ſame.

Touching the prince of Spaines diſpoſing of his lands after his deceaſe.

5 And as touching the lands that the ſaid prince of Spaine ſhall leaue behind him, firſt there ſhould be reſerued vnto his eldeſt ſonne the lord Charles of Auſtrich, infant of Spaine, and to the children and heires of him deſcending, as well females as males all and ſingular their rights, which to the ſaid prince doo either then, or thereafter ſhould belong, or ſhould at anie time be deuolued to him in the realmes of Spaine, of both the Sicils, in the dukedome of Millaine, and other lands and dominions in Lumbardie and Italie, which neuertheleſſe ſhall be burdened and charged with the foreſaid dower of fortie thouſand pounds. And if it fortuned the ſaid lord Charles to die, and the iſſue of his bodie to faile, then the eldeſt ſon of this matrimonie ſhould ſucceed, and be admitted vnto the ſaid right, according to the nature, lawes, and cuſtoms of thoſe realmes and dominions. The ſame eldeſt ſon ſhould alſo ſucceed in all the dukedoms, earledoms, dominions, and patrimoniall lands belonging vnto the ſaid emperor father to the ſaid prince of Spaine, as well in Burgogne, as in the low countries, in the dukedoms of Brabant, Luxenburgh, Gelderland, Zutphane, Burgongne, Freeſeland, in the countries of Flanders, Arthois, Holland, Zeland, Namure, and the land beyond the Iſles, and all other whatſoeuer thereunto belonging.

Touching the lord Charles and his deſcendents if heire male came by this mariage.

6 But if the ſaid lord Charles, or they that ſhould come of him, remaine in life; and that there be anie male child by this matrimonie: the ſaid lord Charles and his deſcendents ſhould then be excluded from the ſaid lands and patrimoniall dominions of the low countries, and of Burgongne; and the ſame ſhould deſcend vnto the ſaid eldeſt ſon borne of this matrimonie. And to the other children borne thereof, as well males as females, a conuenient portion and dower ſhould be allotted in the realme of England, and dominions depending of the ſame, and in the ſaid lands & patrimoniall dominions of the low countries: and neither the eldeſt ſonne of this matrimonie, nor the ſons begotten in the ſame, ſhould pretend anie right in the realme of Spaine, or in the dominions of the ſame, and reſerued to the ſaid lord Charles the infant, otherwiſe than by their fathers and grandfathers diſpoſition.

What is to be doone if heire male faile, and there be none but iſſue female.

7 Moreouer, if it fortune no iſſue male to be borne of this matrimonie, but onelie females, in that caſe the eldeſt female ſhould with full right ſucceed in the ſaid lands and dominions of the low countries, ſo as neuertheleſſe ſhe being minded to chooſe to husband anie noble man not borne in England, or in the low countries, without the conſent of the ſaid lord Charles the infant, in that caſe the right of the ſucceſſion ſhould remaine to the ſaid lord Charles, in the ſaid dominions of the low countries, Burgongne, and their appurtenances. And yet neuertheleſſe in that caſe, both ſhe and the other daughters alſo deſcending of this matrimonie, ſhall be indowed of their fathers lands & poſſeſſions aſwell in Spaine, as in the low countries.

What for want of iſſue by the lord Charles.

8 And for want of the ſaid lord Charles, and iſſue of him, and none but daughters remaining of this mariage, the eldeſt daughter in that caſe ſhould ſucceed, not onelie in the lands of the low countries; but alſo in the realmes of Spaine, England, and the reſt, after the nature, the lawes, and cuſtoms of the ſame.

A prouiſo touching ſucceſſion.

9 Herewith was a prouiſo accorded, that whatſoeuer he or ſhe ſhould be that ſhould ſucceed in them, they ſhould leaue to euerie of the ſaid realms, lands, and dominions, whole and entire their priuileges, rites and cuſtoms, and gouerne the ſame by the naturall borne of the ſame realmes, dominions, and lands, &c.

Touching a perpetuall league or bond of fraternitie, &c.

10 Finallie, that betweene the ſaid emperor, the prince and his ſucceſſors, their realmes, and the ſaid queene, it was concluded, that from thenſeforth there ſhould be an entire & ſincere fraternitie, vnitie, and moſt ſtrict confederacie for euer, &c: ſo as they ſhuld mutuallie aid ech other in all things, according to the ſtrength, forme, & effect of the latter tretiſe of a ſtrict amitie, bearing date at Weſtminſter in the yeere 1542: the declaration of which treatie beareth date at Vtericht, the ſixteenth of Ianuarie, in the yeare 1546.

In another treatiſe were theſe articles *following compriſed.*

No ſtranger to be admitted to anie office, &c. in England.

FIrſt, that the prince of Spaine ſhould not promote, admit, or receiue vnto anie office, adminiſtration, or benefice in the realme of England, or dominions to the ſame belonging, anie ſtranger, or perſons not borne vnder the ſubiection of the ſaid queene.

Engliſhmen to attend at the court.

2 That he ſhould receiue into his houſhold and court, gentlemen and yeomen of the ſaid realme of England in a conuenient number, eſteeming, interteining, and nouriſhing them as his proper ſubiects, & bring none with him in his retinue that will doo anie wrong to the ſubiects of the ſaid realme; & if they doo, he to correct them with condigne puniſhment, and to ſee them expelled his court.

The ſtate in no point to be innouated.

3 That he ſhall doo nothing whereby anie thing be innouated in the ſtate and right either publike or priuat, or in the lawes and cuſtoms of the ſaid realme of England, or the dominions thereunto belonging; but ſhall keepe to all eſtates and orders their rights and priuileges.

The queene not to be conueied out of hir owne territories.

4 That he ſhall not leade awaie the queene out of the borders of hir graces realme, vnleſſe ſhe hir ſelfe deſire it; or carrie the children that may be borne of this matrimonie out of the ſame realme, vnleſſe it be otherwiſe thought good by the conſent and agreement of the nobilitie of England.

The prince of Spaines title to end with the queenes death.

5 And in caſe no children being left, the ſaid queene doo die before him, he ſhall not challenge anie right at all in the ſaid kingdome, but without impediment ſhall permit the ſucceſſion therof to come vnto them to whome it ſhall belong, by the right and lawes of the realme.

The iewels, &c. of the land not to be carried out, alienated, vſurped, &c.

6 Item that he ſhall not beare nor carrie ouer out of the ſaid realme, the iewels and pretious things of eſtimation. Neither ſhall he alienat or doo awaie anie whit of the appurtenances of the ſaid realme of England, or ſuffer anie part of them to be vſurped by his ſubiects, or anie other. But ſhall ſee that all and ſingular places of the realme, and ſpeciallie the forts and frontires of the ſame be faithfullie kept and

preſerued to the vſe and profit of the ſaid realme, and by the naturall borne of the ſame.

No ſhips, guns, ordinance, &c: to be remoued, conueied, &c: out of the land.

7 He ſhall not ſuffer anie ſhip, guns, ordinance whatſoeuer of warre or defenſe, to be remóued or conueied out of the ſame realme: but ſhall contrariwiſe cauſe them diligentlie to be kept and viewed when néed requireth; and ſhall ſo prouide that the ſame maie be alwaies readie in their ſtrength and force for defenſe of the realme.

Peace to be mainteined in this realme without medling in other forren nations warres.

8 Item the realme of England by occaſion of this matrimonie, ſhall not directlie nor indirectlie be intangled with the warre that is betwéene the emperor father to the ſaid prince of Spaine, and Henrie the French king; but he the ſaid prince (as much as in him maie lie) on the behalfe of the ſaid realme of England, ſhall ſée the peace betwéene the ſaid realmes of France and England obſerued, and ſhall giue no cauſe of anie breach, by which couenant the latter treatiſe of a ſtrict amitie ſhould not be in anie point derogated, but the ſame ſtill to remaine in the former force, &c.

The emperors gift to the prince his ſonne.

But now to returne where we left. At the time of the ſolemnization of the foreſaid marriage holden at Wincheſter (as before ye haue heard) the emperors ambaſſadors being preſent, openlie pronounced, that in conſideration of that marriage, the emperor had giuen and granted to the ſaid prince his ſonne the kingdome of Naples and Ieruſalem, with diuerſe other ſeats and ſegniories. The ſolemnitie of that marriage ended, the king of heralds called Garter, openlie in the church in the preſence of the king, the quéene, & the lords as well of England as Spaine, all the people being preſent, ſolemnelie proclamed the title and ſtile of thoſe two princes, as followeth: Philip and Marie by the grace of God king and quéene of England, France, Naples, Ieruſalem, and Ireland, defendors of the faith, princes of Spaine and Sicilie, archdukes of Auſtrich, dukes of Millaine, Burgundie, and Brabant, counties of Haſpurge, Flanders, and Tiroll. The proclamation being ended, the trumpets blew, and the king with the quéene came forth of the church hand in hand and two ſwords borne before them, and ſo returned to their palace.

The title of eſtate belonging both to Philip and Marie proclamed by the herald.

¶By this time report had ſufficientlie ſounded abrode all that happened, ſpeciallie the ſolemnities executed about this roiall marriage; whereby ſome ſuppoſed that this land would haue become a golden world, and that ſuch amitie would haue inſued betwéene both nations, as nothing ſhould diſſolue. But others were of a contrarie opinion, ſuppoſing (as it came to paſſe indéed) that the peoples minds would be alienated and eſtranged from the diſpoſition whereto they were addicted in king Edwards daies, and that manie would become heauie hearted vpon heare-ſaie of this coniunction; much more penſiſe & grieued at the meditation of the miſeries which were like immediatlie to follow; as C. O. noteth in diſcourſing on this matter, ſaieng as here followeth:

Succedit regi defuncto, ſceptra capeſcens
Fœmina, cui nomen Maria eſt, ſoror vna duarum
Ex ſtirpe Henrici: quæ paucis nupta diebus
Poſt homini externo conſanguineóque Philippo,
Coniugio tali ſubtriſtes reddidit Anglos,
Námque duas gentes raró coaleſcere cernas
Vnanimes patria plerunque & amore diremptas.

Iohn Fox in the Acts and Monuments.

Of this marriage (ſaith maiſter Fox) as the papiſts chieflie ſéemed to be verie glad, ſo diuerſe of them after diuerſe ſtudies, did ſhew forth their inward affections: ſome made interludes and pageants, and ſome drew forth genealogies, deriuing his pedegrée from Edward the third, and Iohn of Gant; ſome made verſes. Amongſt all other maiſter White then biſhop of Lincolne in his poeticall veine, being dronken with ioie of the marriage, ſpued out certeine verſes; the copie whereof we haue here inſerted, to impart vnto common knowlege.

Philippi & Mariæ genealogia, qua ambo *principes ex Iohanne de Gandauo Eduardi tertij*, Angliæ, Franciæque regis filio deſcendiſſe *oſtenduntur, Whito Lincolnienſe authore.*

Ille parens regum Gandaua ex vrbe Iohannes
Somerſetenſem comitem profert Iohannem.
Somerſetenſis venit hoc patre dux Iohannes,
Qui Margaretam Richemundi habuit comitiſſam.
Hæc dedit Henricum, qui regni ſeptimus huius
Henrico octauo ſolium regale reliquit.
Hoc patre propitio, & fauſto quaſi ſydere nata
Iure tenes ſacram, teneáſque Maria coronam.

These verſes are anſwered in maſter Fox by the lerned.

Verſes of maiſter White biſhop of Lincolne, *concerning the marriage of Philip* and Marie.

Nubat vt Angla Anglo, regina Maria Philippo,
Inque ſuum fontem regia ſtirps redeat,
Noluit humani generis dæmon vetus hoſtis,
Sed Deus Anglorum prouida ſpes voluit.
Nollet Scotus inops, timidúſque ad prælia Gallus,
Cæſar, & Italia, & Flandria tota volet.
Noluit Hæreticus (ſtirps Caiphæ) pontificum grex
Pontificum ſed grex Catholicus voluit.
Octo vxorati Patres in dæmone nollent:
Quinque Cathenati pro pietate volent.
Noluit Iohannes Dudley Northumbrius vrſus,
Sed fidum regni Concilium voluit.
Noluit ætatis noſtræ Catilina Viatus,
Sed proceres & plebs & pia turba volet.
Nollet Graius dux, & Cantia terra rebellans:
Nos quoniam Dominus ſic voluit, volumus.
Clarior effectus repetat ſua limina ſanguis,
Cùm ſit Philippo iuncta Maria viro.]

But to procéed. As ſóne as the feaſting & ſolemnitie of the ſaid marriage was ended, the king and quéene departed from Wincheſter, and by eaſie iournies came to Windſore caſtell, where the fift of Auguſt being ſundaie, he was ſtalled according to the order of the garter, and there kept S. Georges feaſt himſelfe in his roiall eſtate, and the earle of Suſſex was alſo the ſame time ſtalled in the order. At which time an herald tóke downe the armes of England at Windſore, and in the place of them would haue ſet the armes of Spaine, but he was commanded to ſet them vp againe by certeine lords. The ſeuenth of Auguſt was made a generall hunting with a toile raiſed of foure or fiue miles in length, ſo that manie a déere that day was brought to the quarrie. The eleuenth of Auguſt they remóued to Richmond, and from thence the 27 of the ſame moneth they came by water to London, landing at the biſhop of Wincheſters houſe, through which they paſſed both to Southworke parke, and ſo to Suffolke place, where they lodged that night: and the next daie being ſaturdaie and the ninetéenth of Auguſt, they being accompanied with a great number of nobles and gentlemen, rode from thence ouer the bridge, and paſſed through London vnto Weſtminſter.

King Philip ſtalled at windſor.

Iohn Fox.

A generall hunting.

The king and quéene come through London to Weſtminſter.

¶Now as the king came to London bridge, & as he entred at the drawbridge, was a vaine great ſpectacle ſet vp, two images repreſenting two giants, one named Corineus, and the other Gogmagog holding betwéene them certeine Latine verſes, which for the vaine oſtentation of flatterie I ouerpaſſe. And as they paſſed ouer the bridge, there was a number of

Abr. Fl. ex Ioh. Foxi martyrologio. Vaine pageants of London.

Wincheſter cannot abide the booke called Verbum Dei.

The painter ſent for to the biſhop of Wincheſter.

The painters anſwer.

ordinance ſhot at the tower, ſuch as by old mens report the like hath not béene heard or ſéene theſe hundred yéeres. From London bridge they paſſed to the conduit in Grations ſtréet, which was finelie painted, and among other things, the nine worthies, whereof king Henrie the eight was one. He was painted in harneſſe hauing in one hand a ſword, and in the other hand a booke, whereupon was written *Verbum Dei*, deliuering the ſame booke (as it were) to his ſonne king Edward, who was painted in a corner by him. But herevpon was no ſmall matter made, for the biſhop of Wincheſter lord chancellor, ſent for the painter, and not onelie called him knaue for painting a booke in king Henries hand, and ſpeciallie for writing therevpon *Verbum Dei*: but alſo ranke traitor & villen, ſaieng to him that he ſhould rather haue put the booke into the quéenes hand (who was alſo painted there) for that ſhe had reformed the church and religion, with other things according to the pure and ſincere word of God indéed. The painter anſwered and ſaid, that if he had knowne that that had béene the matter wherefore his lordſhip ſent for him, he could haue remedied it, and not haue troubled his lordſhip.

Fiue Philips

The biſhop anſwered and ſaid, that it was the quéenes maieſties will and commandement, that he ſhould ſend for him; and ſo commanding him to wipe out the booke and *Verbum Dei* too: he ſent him home. So the painter departed, but fearing leaſt he ſhould leaue ſome part either of the booke, or of *Verbum Dei*, in king Henries hand: he wiped awaie a péece of his fingers withall. Here I paſſe ouer and cut off other gauds and pageants of paſtime ſhewed vnto him in paſſing through London, with the flattering verſes ſet vp in Latine, wherin were blazed out in one place the fiue Philips, as the fiue worthies of the world, Philip of Macedonia, Philip the emperor, Philippus Audax, Philippus Bonus, Philip prince of Spaine and king of England. In another poetrie king Philip was reſembled by an image repreſenting Orpheus, and all Engliſh people reſembled to brute and ſauage beaſts following after Orpheus harpe, and danſing after king Philips pipe. Not that I reprehend the art of the Latine verſes, which was fine and cunning; but that I paſſe ouer the matter, hauing other grauer things in hand, and therefore paſſe ouer alſo the ſight at Paules church ſide, of him that came downe vpon a rope tied to the batlements with his head before, neither ſtaieng himſelfe with hand or foot: which ſhortlie after coſt him his life.

The erecting vp of the rood at Paules.

Biſhop Boners god the rood of Pauls ſet vp with Te Deum.

But one thing by the waie I cannot let paſſe, touching the yoong floriſhing rood newlie ſet vp againſt this preſent time, to welcome king Philip into Paules church. The ſetting vp of which rood was this, and may make as good a pageant as the beſt. *Anno 2. Mariæ* Boner in his roialtie, and all his prebendaries about him in Paules quéere, the rood laid along vpon the pauement, and alſo all the doores of Paules being ſhut, the biſhop with other ſaid and ſoong diuers praiers by the rood: that being doone they annointed the rood with oile in diuers places, and after the annointing crept vnto it and kiſſed it. After that they tooke the ſaid rood and weied him vp and ſet him in his old accuſtomed place, and all the while they were dooing thereof, the whole queere ſang *Te Deum*, and when that was ended, they rang the bels, not onlie for ioy, but alſo for the notable and great fact they had doone therein.

Salutation to the rood of Paules.

Not long after this, a merrie fellow came into Paules, and ſpied the rood with Marie and Iohn new ſet vp, wherto (among a great ſort of people) he made low curtſie & ſaid: Sir, your maiſterſhip is welcome to towne, I had thought to haue talked further with your maiſterſhip, but that ye be héere clothed in the quéenes colours. I hope ye be but a ſommers bird, for that ye be dreſſed in white & gréene, &c. The prince thus being in the church of Paules, after doctor Harpeſfield had finiſhed his oration in Latine, ſet forward through Fléetſtréet, & ſo came to White hall, where he with the quéene remained foure daies after, and from thence remooued vnto Richmond. After this, all the lords had leaue to depart into their countries, with ſtrict commandement to bring all their harneſſe and artillerie into the tower of London with all ſpéed. Now remained there no Engliſh lord at the court but the biſhop of Wincheſter.

A proclamation for the auoiding of maiſterleſſe men out of the citie of London.

From Richmond they remooued to Hampton court, where the hall doore within the court was continuallie ſhut, ſo that no man might enter, vnleſſe his errand were firſt knowne: which ſéemed ſtrange to Engliſhmen that had not béene vſed thereto. The ſeuentéenth daie of September, was a proclamation in London, that all vagabonds and maiſterleſſe men, as well ſtrangers as Engliſhmen, ſhould depart the citie within fiue daies: and ſtrictlie charging all inholders, vittelers, tauerners, and alehouſekéepers, with all other that ſold vittels, that they (after the ſaid fiue daies) ſhould not ſell anie meat, drinke, or anie kind of vittels or reléefe to anie ſeruingman whatſoeuer, vnleſſe he brought a teſtimoniall from his maiſter to declare whoſe ſeruant he was, & were in continuall houſhold with his ſaid maiſter, vpon paine to runne in danger of the law if they offend herein.]

Death of the Duke of Norfolke

A Spaniard hanged. Iohn Stow.

Eight of maiſter Throckmortons were appéere in the Starchamber.

In September, the duke of Norffolke departed this life at Fremingham caſtell in Norffolke, and there was honorablie buried among his anceſtors. ¶The 26 of October, a Spaniard was hangd at Charingcroſſe for killing an Engliſhman, there was offered for his life by other ſtrangers 500 crownes, but all that would not ſtaie iuſtice.] On fridaie the ſame 26 of October, thoſe honeſt men that had béene of Throckmortons queſt, being in number eight (for the other foure were deliuered out of priſon, for that they ſubmitted themſelues, and ſaid they had offended like weakelings, not conſidering truth to be truth, but of force for feare ſaid ſo) theſe eight men I ſaie (whereof maiſter Emanuell Lucar and maiſter Whetſton were chéefe) were called before the councell in the Starrechamber, where they affirmed that they had doone all things in that matter according to their knowledge, and with good conſciences, euen as they ſhould anſwer before GOD at the daie of iudgement. Where maiſter Lucar ſaid openlie before all the lords that they had doone in the matter like honeſt men, and true and faithfull ſubiects: and therefore they humblie beſought my lord chancellor and the other lords, to be meanes to the king and quéenes maieſties, that they might be diſcharged and ſet at libertie: and ſaid that they were all contented to ſubmit themſelues to their maieſties, ſauing and reſeruing their truth, conſciences, and honeſties.

The hard iudgement of the lords againſt thoſe eight honeſt men.

The L. Iohn Greie ſet at libertie. Further extremitie againſt Throckmortons queſt.

The lords taking their words in maruellous euill part, iudged them worthie to paie exceſſiue fines. Some ſaid they were worthie to paie 1000 pounds a péece. Other ſaid that Lucar and Whetſton were worthie to paie a thouſand marks a péece, and the reſt fiue hundred pounds a péece. In concluſion, ſentence was giuen by the lord chancellor that they ſhould paie a thouſand marks a péece, he that paid leaſt; and that they ſhould go to priſon againe, and there remain till further order were taken for their puniſhment. The thirtith of October being tueſdaie, the lord Iohn Greie was deliuered out of the tower, and ſet at libertie. Vpon ſaturdaie the tenth of Nouember, the ſhiriffes of London had commandement to take an inuentarie of each one of their goods, which were of maiſter Throckmortons queſt, & to ſeale vp their dores, which was doone the ſame daie.

John Fox.

A parlement wherein the king & quéene are preſent.

Cardinall Poole arriueth at Douer

An act for the reſtitution in bloud of cardinall Poole.

Maiſter Whetſton, and maiſter Lucar, and maiſter Kightlie, were adiudged to paie two thouſand pounds a péece, and the reſt a thouſand marks a péece, to be paid within one fortnight after. From this paiment were exempted thoſe foure which confeſſed a fault, & thereupon had ſubmitted themſelues, whoſe names are theſe: maiſter Loe, maiſter Pointer, maiſter Beſwicke, and maiſter Cater. The 12 of Nouember being mondaie, the parlement began at Weſtminſter, to the beginning whereof both the king and quéene rode in their parlement robes, hauing two ſwords borne before them. The earle of Penbroke bare his ſword, and the earle of Weſtmerland bare the quéenes. They had two caps of maintenance likewiſe borne before them: whereof the earle of Arundell bare the one, and the earle of Shrewesburie the other. During this parlement, cardinall Poole landed at Douer vpon wedneſdaie, being the 21 of Nouember, who being receiued with much honor in all other countries through which hee had paſſed, was receiued here at the firſt, with no great ſhew, for the cauſes aboue mentioned. The ſame daie on the which he arriued, an act paſſed in the parlement houſe, for his reſtitution in bloud, vtterlie repealing (as falſe and moſt ſlanderous) that act made againſt him in K. Henrie the eights time. And on the next daie being thurſdaie and the 22 of Nouember, the king and quéene both came to the parlement houſe to giue their roiall aſſent, and to eſtabliſh this act againſt his comming. On ſaturdaie the foure and twentith of Nouember, he came to the court, and after went to Lambeth where his lodging was prepared.

Cardinall Poole cõmeth into the parlement houſe.

The words of the biſhop of winchester then lord chancellor.

Rich. Grafton.

On wedneſdaie following in the after noone, he came into the parlement houſe, being at that preſent kept in the great chamber of the court of the White hall, for that the quéene by reaſon of ſickneſſe was not able to go abrode (where the king and quéene ſitting vnder the cloth of eſtate, and the cardinall ſitting on the right hand, with all the other eſtates of the realme being preſent) and the knights and burgeſſes of the common houſe being alſo called thither, the biſhop of Winchester being lord chancellor, ſpake in this maner. My lords of the vpper houſe, and you my maiſters of the nether houſe, here is preſent the right reuerend father in God, my lord cardinall Poole, legat *A Latere*, come from the apoſtolike ſée of “Rome, as ambaſſador to the king and quéenes maieſties, vpon one of the weightieſt cauſes that euer happened in this realme, and which apperteineth to the glorie of God, and your vniuerſall benefit; the which ambaſſage, their maieſties pleaſure is to bée ſignified vnto you all by his owne mouth, truſting that you will receiue and accept it in as beneuolent and thankefull wiſe, as their highneſſe haue doone, and that you will giue attentiue and inclinable eare vnto his grace, who is now readie to declare the ſame. So ſoone as the lord chancellor had ended his tale, the cardinall began and made a long & ſolemne oration, the which for ſhortneſſe ſake I haue collected into theſe few articles, remitting the reader to maiſter Foxes Acts and Monuments, where they ſhall find the ſame wholie and entierlie as by him it was vttered.

The effect of the cardinals oration in the aſſemblie of parlement.

1 Firſt, he yéelded moſt heartie thanks to the king and quéene, and next vnto the whole parlement; that of a man exiled & baniſhed from this common weale, they had reſtored him againe to be a member of the ſame, and to the honour of his houſe and familie, and of a man hauing no place, neither here nor elſewhere within the realme, to haue admitted him into a place where to ſpeake, and to be heard.

He ſheweth the ſpeciall cauſe of his comming into England.

2 Secondlie, that his eſpeciall comming was for the reſtitution of this realme to the ancient eſtate, and to declare that the ſée apoſtolike hath a ſpeciall care of this realme aboue all other: and chieflie for that this Iland firſt of all other prouinces of Europe, receiued the light of Chriſts religion from the ſée of Rome.

He exhorteth to a generall returne into the boſome of the church.

3 Thirdlie, he exhorted that though the realme had ſwarued from the catholike vnitie, that yet being better informed, we ought to returne into the boſome of the church, moſt open to receiue all penitents. For the perſuaſion whereof he brought a number of old examples, what perill and hurt hath happened vnto them that haue ſwarued and gone from the church of Rome, namelie Græce and Germanie.

He declareth how wonderfullie god had preſerued Q. Marie.

4 Fourthlie, how much we are bound to God for the king and quéens maieſties, and how miraculouſlie God had ſaued and defended our quéene from hir enimies in moſt dangerous times: and alſo that hée hath prouided to ioine with hir in mariage, ſuch a noble prince as king Philip was, & one of hir owne religion.

He exhorteth to obedience and treateth of reſtoring this realme to the vnitie of the church.

5 Fiftlie, he exhorted them all to obedience of theſe two princes, and to call vpon God for iſſue to be had betwéene them, adding that king Philips father the emperour, had amongſt other princes trauelled moſt for the reſtitution of the peace and vnitie of the church. But as almightie God ſaid vnto Dauid, though he had a mind and will to build his temple: yet bicauſe he had ſhed bloud, he ſhould not build it. And ſo bicauſe the emperour hath had ſo manie warres, and ſhed ſo much bloud: therefore hée could not atteine to bring perfect peace to the church. But trulie (ſaid he) this gratious prince king Philip his ſonne, as I conceiue, is appointed of God to it, conſidering now the calling of him to be ioined with ſo catholike a princeſſe, as is the quéene of this realme, one without all doubt ſent likewiſe of God, for the reſtoring of the ſaid realme to the vnitie of the church, from whence it hath erred and gone aſtraie, as it dooth and maie manifeſtlie appeare.

He proteſteth that he ment the preiudice of no man, &c.

6 Sixtlie, he proteſted that his commiſſion was not to preiudice anie perſon, for he came not to deſtroie, but to build; he came to reconcile, and not to condemne; he came not to compell, but to call againe; he came not to call anie thing in queſtion alreadie doone: but his commiſſion was of grace and clemencie to all ſuch as would receiue it. For touching all matters paſt, and doone, they ſhould be caſt into the ſea of forgetfulneſſe, and neuer more to bée thought vpon.

He ſheweth the meanes of procuring the foreſaid reconciliation.

7 Finallie (ſaid he) the meane whereby to receiue this high benefit, is firſt to reuoke and repeale all ſuch lawes as are impediments, blocks and barres to this moſt gratious reconciliation. For like as he himſelfe had no place to ſpeake there, before ſuch lawes were abrogated and remooued as ſtood in his waie: euen ſo they could not receiue the grace offered from the ſée apoſtolike, vntill theſe like impediments of lawes made againſt the ſée of Rome, were vtterlie aboliſhed and repealed. And ſo in concluſion aduertiſed them, firſt for the glorie of God, and next for the conſeruation and ſuertie of the wealth and quietneſſe of the whole realme, that they ſhould earneſtlie trauell therein, and that then he would make them participants of the benefit of his commiſſion.

The next daie the whole court of parlement drew out the forme of a ſupplication, and the next daie following, when the king, the quéene, and the cardinall, with all the nobles and commons were aſſembled againe in the great chamber of the White hall aforeſaid, the biſhop of Winchester there ſhewed what the parlement had determined concerning the cardinals requeſt, and then offered to the king and quéene the ſaid ſupplication, to be by them pꝛeſented to the cardinall. Wherein would be noted the readineſſe of the aſſemblie to ſubmit themſelues to antichꝛiſtian ſlauerie: but omitting to giue iudgement, marke their ſupplication, the copie whereof followeth.

A ſupplication exhibited to cardinall *Poole by the parlement.*

WE the loꝛds ſpirituall and tempoꝛall, and commons in this pꝛeſent parlement aſſembled, repꝛeſenting the whole bodie of the realme of England and dominions of the ſame, in the name of our ſelues particularlie, and alſo of the ſaid bodie vniuerſallie, offer this our moſt humble ſupplication to your maieſties, to this end and effect; that the ſame by your gratious interceſſion and meane maie be exhibited to the moſt reuerend father in God the loꝛd cardinall Poole legat, ſent ſpeciallie hither from our moſt holie father pope Julie the third, and the ſee apoſtolike of Rome. Wherin we doo declare our ſelues verie ſoꝛie and repentant of the long ſchiſme and diſobedience happening in this realme, and the dominions of the ſame, againſt the ſee apoſtolike, either by making, agreeing, oꝛ executing of anie lawes, oꝛdinances oꝛ commandements againſt the pꝛimaſie of the ſame ſee, oꝛ otherwiſe dooing oꝛ ſpeaking that might impugne oꝛ pꝛeiudice the ſame. Offering our ſelues, and pꝛomiſing by this our ſupplication, that foꝛ a token & knowledge of our ſaid repentance, we be and ſhall be euer readie, vnder and with the authoꝛities of your maieſties, to the vttermoſt of our power, to doo that ſhall lie in vs, foꝛ the abꝛogation and repealing of all the ſaid lawes and oꝛdinances, made and enacted to the pꝛeiudice of the ſee apoſtolike, as well foꝛ our ſelues as foꝛ the whole bodie whome we repꝛeſent. Wherevpon we humblie beſeech your maieſties, as perſons vndefiled in offenſe of his bodie towards the ſaid ſee, which neuertheleſſe God by his pꝛouidence hath made ſubiect to you, ſo to ſet foꝛth this our humble ſute, as we the rather by your interceſſion maie obteine from the ſee apoſtolike, by the ſaid moſt reuerend father, as well particularlie as generallie, abſolution, releaſe, and diſcharge from all dangers of ſuch cenſures and ſentences as by the lawes of the church we be fallen into. And that we maie as childꝛen repentant, be receiued into the boſome and vnitie of Chꝛiſts church: ſo as this noble realme, with all the members thereof, maie in this vnitie & perfect obedience to the ſee apoſtolike, and popes foꝛ the time being, ſerue God and your maieſties to the furtherance and aduancement of his honour and gloꝛie, Amen.

This ſupplication was exhibited to the king and queene.

Pꝛomiſe in ſigne of repentance to make full amends by being recōciled to the catholike church

This ſupplication being firſt openlie read, the ſame was by the chancelloꝛ deliuered to the king and queene, with petition to them, to exhibit the ſame to the loꝛd cardinall. And the king and queene riſing out of their ſeats, and dooing reuerence to the cardinall, did deliuer the ſame vnto him. The cardinall perceiuing the effect thereof to anſwer to his expectation, did receiue it moſt gladlie at their maieſties hands. And then, after that hee had in few woꝛds giuen thanks vnto God, and declared what great cauſe hee had to reioiſe aboue all others, that his comming from Rome into England had taken ſuch moſt happie ſucceſſe; then he cauſed his commiſſion to bee read (wherby it might appeare he had authoꝛitie from the pope to abſolue them) which commiſſion was verie long and large. And that being doone, and all the parlement on their knees, this cardinall, by the popes authoꝛitie, gaue them abſolution in maner following.

The king and queene exhibit the ſupplicatiō to Poole the pꝛoud pꝛelat.

An abſolution pronounced by cardinall *Poole to the parlement houſe.*

OUr loꝛd Jeſus Chꝛiſt, which with his moſt pꝛetious bloud hath redeemed and waſhed vs from all our ſins and iniquities, that he might purchaſe vnto himſelfe a gloꝛious ſpouſe without ſpot oꝛ wꝛinkle, and whom the father hath appointed head ouer all his church; he by his mercie abſolue you. And we by the apoſtolike authoꝛitie giuen vnto vs by the moſt holie loꝛd pope Julius the third (his vicegerent in earth) doo abſolue and deliuer you, and euerie of you, with the whole realme, and the dominions thereof, from all hereſie and ſchiſme, and from all and euerie iudgements, cenſures and paines foꝛ that cauſe incurred. And alſo wee doo reſtoꝛe you againe to the vnitie of our mother the holie church, as in our letters of commiſſion moꝛe plainelie ſhall appeare.

Pope Julie the third gaue cardinall Poole his authoꝛitie apoſtolike.

After this generall abſolution receiued, the king and the queene, and all the loꝛds with the reſt, went into the kings chappell, and there ſang *Te Deum* with great ioy and gladneſſe, foꝛ this new reconciliation. The repoꝛt whereof with great ſpeed flew to Rome, as well by the French kings letters, as alſo by the cardinals. Wherevpon the pope cauſed ſolemne pꝛoceſſions to be made in Rome, namelie one, wherein he himſelfe with all his cardinals were pꝛeſent, paſſing with as great ſolemnitie and pompe as might be, giuing thanks to God with great ioy, foꝛ the conuerſion of England to his church. At what time alſo he not a little commended the diligence of cardinall Poole, and the deuotion of the king and queene. And on Chꝛiſtmas euen next following, he ſet foꝛth by his buls a generall pardon to all ſuch as did reioiſe in the ſame reconciliation.

Solemne pꝛoceſſion at Rome foꝛ the new reconcilement of England to the catholike church.

The eight and twentith of Nouember next following, it was commonlie repoꝛted, that the queene was quicke with child, & therefoꝛe commandement was giuen by Edmund Bonner then biſhop of London (and as it was ſaid not without the commandement of the councell) that there ſhould be made in moſt ſolemne manner one generall pꝛoceſſion in London, wherein the maioꝛ, and all the companies of the citie were in their liueries, at whoſe returne to the church of Pauls, there was ſong verie ſolemnlie *Te Deum* foꝛ ioy therof. The ſame daie at this pꝛoceſſion was pꝛeſent ten biſhops with all the pꝛebendaries of Paules. The copie of the councels letter implieng the afoꝛeſaid commandement touching the generall pꝛoceſſion here followeth, *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

A repoꝛt that the queene was with child.

A copie of a letter ſent from the councell *vnto Edmund Bonner biſhop of London,* concerning queene Marie conceiued *with child.*

AFter our hartie commendations vnto your good loꝛdſhip. Whereas it hath pleaſed almightie God amongſt other his infinit benefits of late moſt gratiouſlie powꝛed vpon vs and this whole realme, to extend his benediction vpon the queens maieſtie in ſuch ſoꝛt, as ſhe is conceiued & quicke of child; wherby (hir maieſtie being our naturall liege ladie, queene and vndoubted inheritoꝛ of this imperiall crowne) good

hope

The councels letter to biſhop Bonner of the queenes conceiuing of child.

If Quéene Marie were quicke with child on the 28. of the moneth of Nouember and afterward did labour in the moneth of Iune, then ſeant ſhe almoſt ſeuen moneths quicke with child.

hope of certeine ſucceſſion in the crowne is giuen vnto vs, and conſequentlie, the great calamities, which (for want of ſuch ſucceſſion might otherwiſe haue fallen vpon vs & our poſteritie) ſhall by Gods grace be well auoided, if we thankefullie acknowledge this benefit of almightie God, indeuoring our ſelues with earneſt repentance to thanke, honor, & ſerue him as we be moſt bounden. Theſe be not onelie to aduertiſe you of theſe good news, to be by you publiſhed in all places within your dioces; but alſo to praie and require you, that both your ſelfe doo giue God thanks with vs for this his eſpeciall grace, and alſo giue order that thanks maie be openlie giuen by ſinging of *Te Deum* in all the churches within your ſaid dioces; and that likewiſe all prieſts and other eccleſiaſticall miniſters, in their maſſes and other diuine ſeruices, may continuallie praie to almightie God, ſo to extend his holie hand ouer his maieſtie, the kings highneſſe and this whole realme, as this thing being by his omnipotent power gratiouſlie thus begun, may by the ſame be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glorie of his name. Whereunto albeit we doubt not ye would of your ſelfe haue had ſpeciall regard without theſe our letters: yet for the earneſt deſire we haue to haue this thing doone out of hand, & diligentlie continued, we haue alſo written theſe our letters, to put you in remembrance: & ſo bid your lordſhip moſt hartilie well to fare. From Weſtminſter the 27 of Nouember. 1554.

Your aſſured and louing friends

S. Winton. Chancel.
Arundell.
F. Shrewesburie.
Edward Darbie,
Henrie Suſſex.

Iohn Bathon.
R.Rich.
Thomas Warthom.
Iohn Huddilſtone.
R. Southwell.

Upon this letter of the councels ſent to biſhop Bonner (ſignifieng the good news of quéene Marie to be not onelie conceiued, but alſo quicke with child, which was in the moneth of Nouember, the eight and twentith daie) it is out of count what great talke began at this time to riſe in euerie mans mouth, with buſie preparation and much adoo, eſpeciallie among ſuch as ſéemed in England to carrie Spaniſh hearts in Engliſh bodies. In number of whome here is not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his condigne commendation for his woorthie affection toward his prince and hir iſſue, one ſir Richard Southwell, who being the ſame time in the parlement houſe, when as the lords were occupied in other affaires and matters of importance, ſuddenlie ſtarting vp for fulneſſe of ioy, burſt out in theſe words following: Tuſh my maiſters (quoth he) what talke ye of theſe matters? I would haue you take ſome order for our yoong maiſter that is now comming into the world apace, leaſt he find vs vnprouided, &c. By the which words both of him, and alſo by the foreſaid letters of the councell, and the common talke abroad, it may appeare what an aſſured opinion was then conceiued in mens heads of quéene Marie, to be conceiued and quicke with child. In ſomuch that at the ſame time, and in the ſame parlement, there was eftſoones a bill exhibited, and an act made vpon the ſame, the words whereof for the more euidence, I thought here to exemplificat.

The words of ſir Richard Southwell in the parlement houſe for his yoong maiſter.

The words of the act.

Albeit we the lords ſpirituall & temporall, & the commons in this preſent parlement aſſembled, haue firme hope & confidence in the goodnes of almightie God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculouſlie preſerued the quéenes maieſtie from manie great imminent perils and dangers; euen ſo he will of his infinit goodneſſe giue hir highneſſe ſtrength, the rather by our continuall praiers to paſſe well the danger of deliuerance of child, wherewith it hath pleaſed him (to all our great comforts) to bleſſe hir: yet for ſo much as all things of this world be vncerteine, and hauing before our eies the dolorous experience of this inconſtant gouernment during the time of the reigne of the late king Edward the ſixt, doo plainlie ſée the manifold inconueniences, great dangers and perils that maie inſue to this whole realme, if foreſight be not vſed to preuent all euill chances, if they ſhould happen. For the eſchewing hereof, we the lords ſpirituall and temporall, & the commons in this preſent parlement aſſembled; for and in conſideration of a moſt ſpeciall truſt and confidence that we haue and repoſe in the kings maieſtie, for and concerning the politike gouernment, order, and adminiſtration of this realme in the time of the yoong yéeres of the iſſue or iſſues of hir maieſties bodie to be borne, if it ſhould pleaſe God to call the quéenes highneſſe out of this preſent life, during the tender yeares of ſuch iſſue or iſſues (which God forbid) according to ſuch order & maner as hereafter in this preſent act his highneſſe moſt gratious pleaſure is, ſhould be declared and ſet forth, haue made our humble ſute by the aſſent of the quéens highneſſe, that his maieſtie would vouchſafe to accept & take vpon him the rule, order, education & gouernment of the ſaid iſſue or iſſues to be borne as is aforeſaid, vpon which our ſute being of his ſaid maieſtie moſt gratiouſlie accepted, it hath pleaſed his highnes, not onlie to declare, that like as for the moſt part his maieſtie verely truſteth that almightie God (who hath hitherto preſerued the quéens maieſtie) to giue this realme ſo good an hope of certeine ſucceſſion in the blood roiall of the ſame realm, will aſſiſt hir highnes with his graces and benedictions to ſée the fruit of hir bodie well brought forth, liue and able to gouerne (whereof neither all this realme, ne all the world beſides, ſhould or could receiue more comfort than his maieſtie ſhould & would) yet if ſuch chance ſhould happen, his maieſtie at our humble deſires is pleaſed & contented not onlie to accept & take vpon him the cure and charge of the education, rule, order, and gouernment of ſuch iſſues, as of this moſt happie mariage ſhall be borne betwéene the quéenes highnes and him: but alſo during the time of ſuch gouernment, would by all waies & meanes ſtudie, trauell and imploie himſelfe to aduance the weale, both publike & priuat, of this realme & dominions thereto belonging, according to the ſaid truſt in his maieſtie repoſed, with no leſſe good will & affection than if his highnes had béene naturallie borne among vs. In conſideration whereof, be it enacted by the king & the quéens moſt excellent maieſties, by aſſent of the lords ſpirituall and temporall, & the commons in this preſent parlement aſſembled, and by the authoritie of the ſame, &c: as it is to be ſéene in the act more at large ratified and confirmed at the ſame parlement, to the ſame intent and purpoſe.

Order taken by parlement for quéene Maries child.

Truſt diſappointed.

Thus much out of the act and ſtatute I thought to rehearſe, to the intent the reader maie vnderſtand, not ſo much how parlements maie ſometimes be deceiued (as by this child of quéene Marie may appéere) as rather what cauſe we Engliſhmen haue to render moſt earneſt thanks vnto almightie God, who ſo mercifullie againſt the opinion, expectation, and working of our aduerſaries, hath helped and deliuered vs in this caſe: which otherwiſe might haue opened ſuch a window to the Spaniards, to haue entred and repleniſhed this land, that peraduenture by this time Engliſhmen ſhould haue inioied no great quiet in their owne countrie. The Lord therefore make vs

Parlements maie be deceiued.

perpetuallie mindfull of his benefits, Amen.

The praiers of the papiſts of what litle effect they are with God.

Thus we ſée then how man doth purpoſe, but God diſpoſeth as pleaſeth him. For all this great labor, prouiſion, and order taken in the parlement houſe for their yoong maiſter long looked for, comming ſo ſurelie into the world; in the end appéered neither yoong maiſter nor yoong maiſtreſſe that anie man yet to this daie can heare of. Furthermore as the labor of the laie ſort was herein deluded, ſo no leſſe ridiculous it was to behold what little effect the praiers of the popes churchmen had with almightie God, who trauelled no leſſe with their proceſſions, maſſes, and collects, for the happie deliuerance of this yoong maiſter to come, as here followeth to be ſéene.

A praier made by doctor Weſton *deane of Weſtminſter, dailie to be* ſaid for the queenes *deliuerance.*

A praier for quéene Marie and hir child, turned out of Latine into Engliſh.

O Moſt righteous Lord God, which for the offenſe of the firſt woman, haſt threatned vnto all women a common, ſharpe, and ineuitable malediction, and haſt inioined them that they ſhould conceiue in ſinne; and being conceiued, ſhould be ſubiect to manie and gréeuous torments, and finallie be deliuered with the danger and ieopardie of their life: we beſéech thée for thine excéeding great goodneſſe and botomleſſe mercie, to mitigate the ſtrictnes of that law. Aſſwage thine anger for a while, and cheriſh in the boſome of thy fauor and mercie our moſt gratious quéene Marie, being now at the point of hir deliuerance. So helpe hir, that without danger of hir life, ſhe maie ouercome the ſorow, and in due ſeaſon bring forth a child, in bodie beautifull and comelie, in mind noble and valiant. So that afterward ſhe forgetting the trouble, maie with ioie, laud and praiſe the bountifulneſſe of thy mercie; and togither with vs, praiſe and bleſſe both thée and thy holie name world without end. This (O Lord) we deſire thée, we beſéech thée, and moſt hartilie craue of thée. Heare vs (O Lord) and grant vs our petition. Let not the enimies of thy faith and of thy church ſaie; Where is their God?

A ſolemne praier made for king Philip *and queene Maries child, that it maie be* a male child, welfauored *and wittie, &c.*

A deuout praier made by the catholikes for quéene Marie being great and quicke with child.

O Moſt mightie Lord God, which regardeſt the praier of the humble, and deſpiſeſt not their requeſt, bow downe from thine high habitation of the heauens, the eies of thy mercie vnto vs wretched ſinners, bowing the knées of our harts, and with manie and déepe ſighs bewailing our ſinnes and offenſes humblie with eies intent, and hands diſplaied, praieng and beſéeching thée, with the ſhield of thy protection, to defend Marie thy ſeruant and our quéene, who hath none other helper but thée, and whome through thy grace thou haſt willed to be conceiued with child; and at the time of hir trauell gratiouſlie with the helpe of thy right hand deliuer hir, and from all danger with the child in hir conceiued, mercifullie preſerue. It hath ſéemed good in thy ſight (mercifull father) by thy ſeruant Marie to worke theſe woonders, that is to ſaie; in hir hands to vanquiſh and ouerthrow the ſtout enimie, and to deliuer vs thy people out of the hands of * heretikes, infidels, enimies to thée, and to the croſſe of thy beloued ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, that of thy ſeruant thou mighteſt ſpeake in farre countries. Therefore for theſe woonderfull workes which thou dooeſt to thy ſeruants, thou art magnified Lord God for euer, & we thy people bleſſe thée the God of heauen, which haſt wrought vpon vs this great mercie, and haſt excluded from vs the heretike, the enimie of truth, and the perſecutor of thy church. We know, we know that we haue grieuouſlie (Lord) ſinned, that we haue béene deceiued by vanitie, and that we haue forſaken thée our God. Our iniquities be multiplied on our head, and our ſinnes be increaſed vp to heauen, and we our ſelues haue offended, and our princes and our prieſts: for theſe our ſinnes haue deſerued an hypocrit to our prince, our ſinnes haue deſerued a tyrant to our gouernor that ſhould bring our life vnto bitterneſſe. We be not worthie to haue ſo gentle and mercifull a quéene, ſo godlie a ruler, and finallie ſo vertuous a prince. At the verie beginning of whoſe reigne, a new light, as it were of Gods religion, ſéemed to vs for to ſpring and ariſe. The Iews did bleſſe the widow Iudith with one voice; ſaieng: Thou art the glorie of Ieruſalem, thou art the ioie of Iſraell, thou art the honor of our people, for that thou haſt loued chaſtitie, and thou ſhalt be bleſſed for euer.

* The papiſts call the proteſtants heretikes and enimies to the croſſe of Chriſt, euen as Achab called Elias the diſturber of Iſraell, when he was onelie the diſturber himſelfe.

Quéene Marie compared of the papiſts to quéene Iudith.

And we the Engliſh people with one agréeable conſent doo crie: Thou Marie art the glorie of England, our ioie, the honour of thy people, for that thou haſt imbraced chaſtitie: thine hart is ſtrengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thée, and therefore thou ſhalt be bleſſed for euer. But bow downe, O moſt mercifull father thine eare, and open thine eies, and behold our affliction, and our humble confeſſion. Thou knoweſt Lord, that againſt Philip, not by humane, but by thy ordinance our king, and againſt thy ſeruant Marie by thy prouidence our quéene, the reſtorers and mainteiners of thy teſtament, and of the faith and moſt conſtant defenders of thy church; thou knoweſt (I ſaie) that againſt theſe our two gouernors (the enimies of thy holie teſtament, and of the church thy ſpouſe) be moſt ranke rebels, and ſpitefull murmurers, walking after their luſts, whoſe mouth ſpeaketh words of pride, to the end they maie ſet vp the kingdome of heretikes and ſchiſmatikes. By the power of their hands they would change thy promiſes, and deſtroie thine inheritance, and ſtop and ſhut vp the mouths of them that praiſe thée, and extinguiſh the glorie of thy catholike church and altar.

Marke how forgetting his praier he falleth to the praiſing of quéen Marie.

The teſtament ſetteth vp onelie the glorie of Chriſt.

It is manifeſt and plaine, how manie contentions, how manie conſpiracies & ſeditions, how great warres, what tumults, how manie and how great troubleſome vexations, how manie hereſies and ſchiſmes (for theſe be the moſt readie deuiſes and euident tokens of heretikes) for our ſinnes doo hang ouer vs, if thy ſeruant be taken from this life: for we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath pitched his dwelling place in the middeſt of his people, to the intent to deliuer vs out of the hands of our enimies. Turne therefore thy countenance vnto vs, ſhew vnto vs, O Lord, thy face. Puniſh vs for our ſinnes according to thy will and pleaſure, onelie now deliuer vs. We bowing the knées of our heart, beſéech thée that thou wilt not reſerue vnto vs puniſhment for euer, and we ſhall praiſe thée, all the daies of our life. Heare our crie, and the praier of thy people, and open to them the treaſure of thy mercie, thy gratious fauour, the ſpring of liuelie water. Thou that haſt begun, make in the hand of thy ſeruant a perfect worke. Suffer not, we praie thée, the faithleſſe rebels to ſaie of thy ſeruant and hir councellors, that they haue deuiſed matters which they can not performe. And grant vnto thy ſeruant an happie and an eaſie trauell. For it is not impoſſible to thy power, nor indecent to thy iuſtice, nor vnwoonted vnto thy mercie.

If the changing of Gods promiſes, deſtroieng his inheritance, ſtopping the mouths of Gods people if contentiõs, warres, and ſchiſmes be tokens of heretikes, who ſo great heretikes as the papiſts be?

Crie vp lowder you prieſts peraduenture your god is a ſléepe.

It is well knowne vnto vs, how maruellouſlie thou

The Lord gaue a promiſe to Sara and Eliſabeth: ſo did he not to queene Marie.

thou diddeſt worke in Sara of the age of foureſcore and ten yeares, and in Eliſabeth the barren, and alſo farre ſtriken in age: for thy counſell is not in the power of men. Thou Lord that art the ſearcher of hearts and thoughts, thou knoweſt that thy ſeruant neuer luſted after man, neuer gaue hir ſelfe to wanton companie, nor made hir ſelfe partaker with them that walke in lightneſſe: but ſhe conſented to take an huſband with thy feare, and not with hir luſt. Thou knoweſt that thy ſeruant tooke an huſband, not for carnall pleaſure, but onelie for the deſire and loue of poſteritie, wherein thy name might be bleſſed for euer and euer. Giue therefore vnto thy ſeruants Philip our king, & Marie our queene, a male iſſue, which maie ſit in the ſeat of thy kingdome. Giue vnto our queene thy ſeruant, a little infant in faſhion and bodie comelie and beautifull, in pregnant wit notable and excellent.

It is not beſt ſuch one to be granted vnto you, for being like Abraham Ioſeph, Moſes, and Salomon, he maie chance ſmell out your corrupt doctrine, and to deteſt your bloudie tyrannie, &c.

Grant the ſame to be in obedience like Abraham, in hoſpitalitie like Lot, in chaſtitie and brotherlie loue like Ioſeph, in meekeneſſe and mildneſſe like Moſes, in ſtrength and valiantneſſe like Samſon. Let him be found faithfull as Dauid after thy heart. Let him be wiſe among kings as the moſt wiſe Salomon. Let him be like Iob, a ſimple and an vpright man, fearing God and eſchewing euill. Let him finallie be garniſhed with the comelineſſe of all vertuous conditions, and in the ſame let him wax old and liue, that he maie ſee his childrens children to the third and fourth generation. And giue to our ſouereigne lord and ladie, king Philip and queene Marie, thy bleſſing and long life vpon earth. And grant that of them maie come kings and queenes which maie ſtedfaſtlie continue in faith, loue, and holineſſe. And bleſſed be their ſeed of our God, that all nations maie know thou art onelie God in all the earth, which art bleſſed for euer and euer, Amen.

An other praier for queene Marie, and *hir conceiued child.*

An other praier for the ſame.

O Almightie father, which diddeſt ſanctifie the bleſſed virgine and mother of Marie in hir conception, & in the birth of Chriſt our ſauiour, thy onelie ſonne; alſo by thy omnipotent power diddeſt ſafelie deliuer the prophet Ionas out of the whales bellie: defend O Lord we beſeech thee, thy ſeruant Marie our queene, with child conceiued, and ſo viſit hir in and with thy godlie gift of health, that not onelie the child thy creature within hir conteined, maie ioifullie come from hir into this world, and receiue the bleſſed ſacraments of baptiſme and confirmation, inioieng therewith dailie increaſe of all princelie and gratious gifts both of bodie and ſoule; but that alſo ſhe, the mother, through thy ſpeciall grace and mercie, maie in time of hir trauell auoid all exceſſiue dolour and paine, and abide perfect and ſure from all perill and danger of death, with long and proſperous life, through Chriſt our Lord, Amen. ¶ And thus much ſhall ſuffice touching this great adoo about queene Marie and hir babe.]

Cardinall Poole commeth to Pauls croſſe with great pompe.

Certeine points of Stephã Gardiners ſermon.

The ſecond daie of December being ſundaie, cardinall Poole came to Pauls church in London with great pompe, hauing before him a croſſe, two pillers and two pollaxes of ſiluer, and was there ſolemnlie receiued by the biſhop of Wincheſter, chancellor of England, who met him with proceſſion. And ſhortlie after, king Philip came from Weſtminſter by land, being accompanied with a great number of his nobles. And the ſame daie, the biſhop of Wincheſter preached at Pauls croſſe, in the which ſermon he decl[illegible], that the king and queene had reſtored the pope to his right of primaſie; & that the three eſtates aſſembled in parlement, repreſenting the whole bodie of the realme, had ſubmitted themſelues to his holineſſe, and to his ſucceſſors for euer. And in the ſame alſo, he greatlie praiſed the cardinall, and ſet forth the paſſing high authoritie that he had from the ſee of Rome, with much other glorious matter, in the commendation of the church of Rome, which he called the ſee apoſtolike. This ſermon being ended, the king and the cardinall riding togither, returned to White hall, and the king had his ſword borne before him, and the cardinall had onelie his croſſe, and no more.

The king and the cardinall ride togither.

Prince of Piemount commeth into England.

The ſeauen and twentith daie of the ſaid moneth, Emanuell Philibert earle of Sauoie and prince of Piemount came into England, accompanied with diuerſe other lords and gentlemen ſtrangers, who were receiued at Graueſend by the earle of Bedford lord priuie ſeale, and conueied by water through London bridge to White hall, where the king and queene then laie. ¶ On the ninth of Ianuarie next following, the prince of Orange was in like maner receiued at Graueſend, and from thence conueied to the court, being at White hall. The twelfth of Ianuarie, the ſaid prince of Orange, with other lords, was conducted by the lord chamberlein to the tower of London, where was ſhewed vnto him the ordinance, artillerie, munitions, and armorie, with the mint, &c: and ſo was brought into the white tower, from whence, as he returned through the long gallerie, all the priſoners ſaluted him: vnto whome the prince ſaid, he was ſorie for their captiuitie, and truſted the king and queene would be good vnto them. At his departing from the tower, he gaue the gunners ten peeces of Flemmiſh gold at fiue ſhillings the peece, and the warders other ten peeces, as a reward.]

I. Stow. 1053.
Prince of Orange.

Fine of Throckmortons iurie releaſed.

Vpon wedneſdaie the 12 of December, fiue of the eight men which laie in the Fleet, that had paſſed vpon ſir Nicholas Throckmortons triall, were diſcharged and ſet at libertie vpon their fines paid, which was two hundred and twentie pounds a peece. The other three put vp a ſupplication, therein declaring their goods did not amount to the ſumme of that which they were appointed to paie: and ſo vpon that declaration, paieng three ſcore pounds a peece, they were deliuered out of priſon on ſaint Thomas daie before Chriſtmas, being the one & twentith of December. The two and twentith of the ſame moneth, the parlement (which began the two and twentith of Nouember before) was diſſolued, wherein among other acts paſſed there, the ſtatute *Ex officio*, and other lawes made for puniſhment of hereſies were reuiued. But chiefelie, the popes moſt liberall bull of diſpenſation of abbeie land was there confirmed, much to the contentation of manie, who not without cauſe ſuſpected by this new vnion, to loſe ſome peece of their late purchaſe. ¶ On new yeares daie at night was a great tumult betweene Spaniards and Engliſhmen at Weſtminſter, whereof was like to haue inſued great miſchiefe, through a Spaniſh frier which got into the church and roong alarum. The occaſion was about two whores which were in the cloiſter of Weſtminſter with a ſort of Spaniards, whereof whileſt ſome plaied the knaues with them, other ſome did keepe the entrie of the cloiſter with dags and harneſſe. In the meane time certeine of the deanes men came into the cloiſter, and the Spaniards diſcharged their dags at them, and hurt ſome of them. By and by the noiſe of this dooing came into the ſtreets, ſo that the whole towne was vp almoſt, but neuer a ſtroke was ſtricken. Notwithſtanding, the noise of this dooing with the deans men, and alſo the ringing of the alarum made much

Parlement diſſolued.

Abr. Fl. ex Ioh. Foxi martyrologio.
A ſturre betweene the Spaniards and Engliſhmen at Weſtminſter.

adoo,

ado, and a great number alſo to be ſore afraid.]

1555
I.S.pag.1095.

Upon fridaie the eightéenth of Ianuarie, all the councell, by name, the lord chancellor, the biſhop of Elie, the lord treaſuror, the earle of Shrewesburie, the comptrollor of the quéenes houſe, ſecretarie Bourne, and ſir Richard Southwell maſter of the ordinance and armorie, went to the tower, and there the ſame daie diſcharged and ſet at libertie all the priſoners of the tower, or the more part of them, namelie the archbiſhop of Yorke, the late duke of Northumberlands ſonnes, the lords Ambroſe, Robert, and Henrie; alſo, ſir Andrew Dudleie, ſir Iames Croftes, ſir Nicholas Throckmorton, ſir Iohn Rogers, ſir Nicholas Arnold, ſir George Harper, ſir Edward Warner, ſir William Sentlow, ſir Gawen Carew, William Gibbes eſquier, Cutbert Uaughan, and diuerſe others.

Priſoners deliuered out of the tower.

Trouble and perſecution for religion.

Moreouer, about this ſeaſon diuerſe learned men being apprehended, and in priſon for matters of religion, were brought before the biſhops of Wincheſter and London, and other the biſhops and commiſſioners appointed therefore: who vpon the conſtant ſtanding of the ſaid learned men in their opinions, which they had taken vpon them to mainteine, as grounded vpon the true word of God, as they proteſted, procéeded in iudgement againſt them, and ſo diuerſe of them were burned at London in Smithfield, and in diuerſe other places. Naie not onelie by fire but by other torments were the good chriſtians perſecuted, whoſe zeale was hot in religion and defiance of the pope: inſomuch that then he was counted Gods enimie, which tooke not the pope for the friend of Chriſt (whome he hateth with hoſtilitie) as C.O. noteth verie trulie in his *Eliſabetha*, ſaieng:

——— nam creditur hoſtis
Eſſe Dei, papam ſi quis pius aſſerit hoſtem
Eſſe Dei, veros Chriſti qui tollit honores.

Ambaſſadors out of England to Rome.

William Fetherſtone, *alias* Conſtable a boie, nameth himſelfe king Edward the ſixt.

In Februarie next following, doctor Thirlebie biſhop of Elie, and Anthonie lord Montacute, with a verie honorable traine of gentlemen and others, rode foorth of the citie of London towards Rome as ambaſſadors ſent from the king and quéene, to confirme this new reconciliation to the pope. A yoong ſtripling, whoſe name was William Fetherſtone, a millers ſonne, about the age of eightéene yeares, named and bruted himſelfe to be king Edward the ſixt, whereof when the quéene and the councell heard, they cauſed with all diligence inquirie to be made for him, ſo that he was apprehended in Southworke, or (as other haue) at Eltham in Kent the tenth of Maie, and brought before the councell at Hampton court, and there examined. And it was demanded of him why he ſo named himſelfe? To which he counterfetting a maner of ſimplicitie, or rather frenſie, would make no direct anſwer, but praid pardon; for he wiſt not what he ſaid: affirming further, that he was counſelled ſo to ſaie, and to take vpon him the name, whereof he accuſed certeine perſons: but his talke was not found true, wherefore he was committed to the Marſhalſeie, as a lunatike foole.

On the eight and twentith daie of Maie next following, the aforeſaid counterfet prince was brought in a cart from the Marſhalſeie thorough the citie of London, with a paper ouer his head, wherein was written, that he named himſelfe king Edward. And from thenſe was conueied to Weſtminſter, being led round about the hall, and ſhewed to all the people there: and afterward he was taken out of the cart and ſtripped, and then whipped round about the palace at the ſame carts taile, and then thorough Weſtminſter into Smithfield, and then baniſhed into the north, in which countrie he was borne, and had béene ſometime lackie to ſir Peter Mewtas, and without more puniſhment was diſcharged, and ſet at libertie. But the next yeare following, for that he had ſpred abroad that king Edward was aliue, and that he had ſpoken with him, he was againe apprehended, and arreigned of high treaſon, whereof being condemned, he ſhortlie after was drawne vnto Tiburne, and there hanged and quartered the thirtéenth of March. ¶ Here, as in a fit and conuenient place, the obſeruation of the daie and moneth offering no leſſe, it is not amiſſe to ſet downe the ſpéech of quéene Marie vttered to ſundrie of hir lords, touching a motion which no doubt certeine popiſh prelats had put into hir mind; the effect whereof followeth as I find it in maſter Fox.

John Stow.

The counterfet king executed.

Abr.Fl.ex Ioh. Foxi martyrologio.

Before I paſſe this moneth of March (ſaith he) I cannot but leaue a little memorandum of the words or conſultation of quéene Marie, vſed to certeine of the councell, the eight & twentith daie of the ſaid moneth of March, touching the reſtoring againe of the abbeie lands. Who after ſhe had called vnto hir preſence foure of hir priuie councell, the daie and moneth aforeſaid: the names of which councellors were theſe; William lord marqueſſe of Wincheſter high treaſuror of England, ſir Robert Rocheſter knight, the quéenes comptrollor, ſir William Peter knight, ſecretarie, ſir Francis Inglefield knight, maſter of wards; the ſaid quéene Marie inferred theſe words: the principall effect & ſumme whereof here followeth.

The names of the councellors called before quéene Marie.

The effect of quéene Maries words touching abbeie lands to be reſtored.

The quéene taketh a conſcience in keeping abbeie lands.

The quéene ſurrendreth from hir ſelfe the poſſeſſiõ of abbeie lands.

You are here of our councell, and we haue willed you to be called to vs, to the intent yée might heare of me my conſcience, and the reſolution of my mind, concerning the lands and poſſeſſions as well of monaſteries, as other churches whatſoeuer being now preſentlie in my poſſeſſion. Firſt, I doo conſider, that the ſaid lands were taken awaie from the churches aforeſaid, in time of ſchiſme, and that by vnlawfull means, ſuch as are contrarie both to the law of God and of the church. For the which cauſe my conſcience dooth not ſuffer me to deteine them: and therefore I here expreſſelie refuſe either to claime or to reteine the ſaid lands for mine: but with all my heart fréelie and willinglie without all paction or condition, here and before God I doo ſurrender and relinquiſh the ſaid lands and poſſeſſions or inheritances whatſoeuer, & doo renounce the ſame with this mind and purpoſe, that order and diſpoſition thereof may be taken as ſhall ſéeme beſt liking to our moſt holie lord the pope, or elſe his legat the lord cardinall, to the honour of God and wealth of this our realme.

Premiſſe for reſtitution of abbeie lands.

And albeit you may obiect to me againe, that conſidering the ſtate of my kingdome, the dignitie thereof, and my crowne imperiall cannot be honorablie mainteined and furniſhed without the poſſeſſions aforeſaid: yet notwithſtanding I ſet more by the ſaluation of my ſoule, than by ten kingdoms: and therefore the ſaid poſſeſſions I vtterlie refuſe here to hold after that ſort and title, and giue moſt hartie thanks to almightie God, which hath giuen me an huſband likewiſe minded, with no leſſe good affection in this behalfe, than I am my ſelfe. Wherefore I charge and command, that my chancellor (with whom I haue conferred my mind in this matter before) and you foure, to morrow together doo reſort to the moſt reuerend lord legat, and doo ſignifie to him the premiſſes in my name, & giue your attendance vpon him for the more full declaration of the ſtate of my kingdome, and of the foreſaid poſſeſſions accordinglie, as you your ſelues doo vnderſtand the matter, and can informe him in the ſame. This charge (as the ſequele gaue proofe) was followed with no leſſe diligence of the lords, than it was impoſed with willingnes vpon them by the quéene: inſomuch that ſhortlie after (as anon you ſhall heare) ſhe performed hir promiſe to the pith.

But to let this matter paſſe, till due time & place require a declaration of the concluſion thereof; I am héere (ſaith maſter Fox, as occaſion ſerueth) to intreat of pope Iulius death, for ſo much as he made his end about the latter end of this foreſaid moneth of March. Concerning the déeds and acts of which pope, to make a full declaration, it were not ſo much tedious to the reader, as horrible to all good eares. Vnder this Iulius floriſhed the archbiſhop of Beneuentanus, a Florentine, named Iohannes a Caſa, deane of the popes chamber, and chéefe legat to the Venetians: who well declaring the fruit of that filthie ſée, ſo farre forgat both honeſtie and nature, that he ſhamed not onelie to plaie the filthie Sodomite himſelfe, and to boaſt openlie of the ſame: but alſo tooke vpon him moſt impudentlie in Italian metre, to all mens eares, to ſet forth the praiſe and commendation of that beaſtlie iniquitie, ſaieng that he himſelfe neuer vſed other: and this booke was printed at Venice, by one Troianus Nauus. And yet the pope could ſuffer this ſo great iniquitie and ſhameleſſe beaſtlineſſe, euen vnder his noſe in his owne chamber, which could not abide the true doctrine of Chriſt in chriſtian bookes.

Read more of this in a booke called a warning to England.

Abr. Fl. ex Ioh. Foxi martyrologio.

The death of pope Iulius the third.

Vide ſcriptum Pauli Vergerij contra hunc archiepiſcopum.

Note here what an holie catholike church this is

Amongſt other pranks and déeds of this foreſaid pope, in his Iubilée, and in the ſynod of Trent, and in confirming of the idoll of Lauretane, this is alſo reported of him in his life, that he delighted greatlie in porke fleſh and peacocks. Vpon a time when he was admoniſhed of his phyſician to abſteine from all ſwines fleſh, for that it was noiſome for his gout, and yet would not follow his counſell: the phyſician afterward gaue warning to his ſteward or orderer of his diet, that he ſhould ſet no more porke fleſh before him. Wherevpon when the pope perceiued the ſaid porke fleſh to be lacking in his accuſtomed ſeruice; Where (ſaid he) is my porke? And when his ſteward had anſwered that his phyſician had forbidden anie porke to be ſerued: then the pope burſting out in great rage, ſaid in theſe words; Bring me, ſaid he, my porke fleſh *Al diſpetto di Dio*: that is to ſaie in Engliſh, In the deſpight of God.

A porkiſh pope.

Monſtrous blaſphemie in the pope.

At an other time, he ſitting at dinner, pointing to a peacocke vpon his table, which he had not touched; Kéepe (ſaid he) this cold peacocke for me againſt ſupper, and let me ſup in the garden, for I ſhall haue gheſts. So when ſupper came, and amongſt other hot peacocks, he ſaw not his cold peacocke brought to his table: the pope after his wonted manner, moſt horriblie blaſpheming God, fell into an extreame rage, &c. Wherevpon one of his cardinals ſitting by, deſired him ſaieng: Let not your holineſſe, I praie you, be ſo moued with a matter of ſo ſmall weight. Then this Iulius the pope anſwering againe; What (ſaid he) if God was ſo angrie for one apple, that he caſt our firſt parents out of paradiſe for the ſame, whie maie not I being his vicar, be angrie then for a peacocke, ſithens a peacocke is a greater matter than an apple? Behold here good reader, by this pope, the holineſſe of that blaſphemous ſée: and yet thou ſhalt ſée here, what affection was borne vnto this pope here in England, by the diriges, hearſes, and funerals commanded to be had and celebrated in all churches by the quéene and hir councell, as may appeare by the copie of their letters here following.

Pope Iulius blaſphemeth God for a peacocke.

O vocem antichriſto dignam.

A letter from the biſhop of Wincheſter *(being lord chancellour) vnto Boner biſhop* of London, touching the celebrating of *the popes funerals.*

Aprill 10. Wincheſters letter to Boner for the popes funerall.

After my hartie commendations to your good lordſhip. The king and quéenes maieſties hauing certeine knowledge of the death of the popes holineſſe, thought good there ſhould be as well ſolemne obſequies ſaid for him throughout the realme, as alſo theſe praiers (which I ſend you herein incloſed) vſed at maſſe times in all places at this time of vacation; and therefore willed me to ſignifie their pleaſures vnto you in this behalfe, that therevpon ye might procéed to the full accompliſhment therof, by putting the ſame in due execution within your owne dioceſſe, and ſending word to the reſt of the biſhops to doo the like in theirs. Thus doubting not but that your lordſhip will vſe ſuch diligence in this matter at this time, as ſhall be neceſſarie, I bid your lordſhip hartilie well to fare. From my houſe at Aſher, the tenth of Aprill. 1555.

Your aſſured freend and brother,
Stephanus Winton. Cancel.

Praiers commanded to be vſed in the funerall maſſes for the pope, *Apoſtolica ſede vacante.*

Supplici te Domine humilitate depoſcimus, vt tua immenſa pietas ſacroſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ concedat pontificem illum, qui & pro in nos ſtudio ſemper tibi gratus, & tuo populo pro ſalubri regimine ſit aſſiduè ad gloriam tui nominis venerandus, per Dominum noſtrum.

A collect for the pope.

Secreta.

Tuæ nobis Domine pietatis abundantia indulgeat, vt gratum maieſtati tuæ pontificem ſanctæ matris eccleſiæ regimini præeſſe ſtudeamus per Dominum noſtrum.

Another praier for chuſing of the pope.

Poſt communionen.

Pretioſi corporis & ſanguinis tui Domine ſacramento refectos, mirifica tuæ maieſtatis gratia de illius ſummi pontificis aſſumptione lætificet, qui & plebem tuam virtutibus inſtruat, & fidelium mentes ſpiritualium aromatum odore perfundat, per Dominum noſtrum.

Vpon this commandement, on wedneſdaie in Eaſter wéeke there were hearſes ſet vp, & diriges ſoong for the ſaid Iulius in diuerſe places. At which time it chanced a woman to come into S. Magnus church at the bridgefoot in London, & there ſéeing an hearſe and other preparation, aſked what it meant: and other that ſtood by, ſaid, that it was for the pope, and that ſhe muſt praie for him. Naie (quoth ſhe) that will I not, for he néedeth not my praier: and ſéeing he could forgiue vs all our ſinnes, I am ſure he is clean himſelfe: therefore I néed not to praie for him. She was heard ſpeake theſe words of certeine that ſtood by: which by and by caried hir vnto the cage at London bridge, and bad hir coole hir ſelfe there.

A woman of S. Magnus pariſh impriſoned for not praieng for the pope.

And héere (ſaith maſter Fox) commeth to be remembred the notable working of Gods hand vpon a certeine prieſt in Kent named Nightingall, parſon of Crondall beſides Canturburie: who vpon Shroueſundaie, which was about the third daie of the ſaid moneth of March, and yeare of our Lord aforeſaid, reioiſing belike not a little at this alteration of religion, began to make a ſermon to his pariſhioners, taking his theame out of the words of ſaint Iohn: He that ſaith, he hath no ſinne, is a lier, and the trueth is not in him, &c. And ſo vpon the ſame, verie impertinentlie, declared to them all ſuch articles as were ſet forth by the popes authoritie, and by the commandement of the biſhops of this realme; ſaieng moreouer vnto the people in this wiſe: Now maſters and neighbors reioiſe and be merrie, for the prodigall ſonne is come home. For I know that the moſt part of you be as I am: for I know your

A terrible example of Gods ſeuere puniſhment vpon Nightingall parſon of Crondall in Kent.

hearts

Blaſphemie to Chriſts goſpell puniſhed.

hearts well enough. And I ſhall tell you what hath happened in this wéeke paſt. I was before my lord cardinall Pooles grace, and he hath made me as cleane from ſinne, as I was at the font ſtone: and on thurſdaie laſt being before him, he hath appointed me to notifie (I thanke him for it) the ſame vnto you. And I will tell you what it is. And ſo reading the popes bull of pardon that was ſent into England, he ſaid, he thanked God that euer he had liued to ſée that daie: adding moreouer that he beléeued, that by the vertue of that bull he was as cleane from ſinne, as that night that he was borne: and immediatlie vpon the ſame fell ſuddenlie downe out of the pulpit, and neuer ſtirred hand nor foot, and ſo laie he. Teſtified by Robert Auſten of Cartham, which both heard and ſaw the ſame, and is witneſſed alſo by the whole countrie round about.]

The lord Courtneie goeth ouer into Italie.

About this time, Edward Courtneie, earle of Deuonſhire, of whom before yée haue heard, how he was appointed to remaine at Fodringheie vnder ſafe cuſtodie, at length was ſet at libertie, came to the court, and got licence to paſſe the ſeas, went into Italie, where ſhortlie after he ſickened, and died within fouretéene daies after his ſickneſſe firſt tooke him: he was honorablie buried in Padwaie. This Courtneie was the onelie ſonne and heire of Henrie, marqueſſe of Exceſter, couſine germane to king Henrie the eight, as is ſaid before. For the ſaid king and he were deſcended of two ſiſters, Elizabeth and Katharine, two of the daughters of king Edward the fourth, which propinquitie of bloud notwithſtanding the ſaid marqueſſe, for points of treaſon laid againſt him, ſuffered at the tower hill, the thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, to the great dolour of the moſt of the ſubiects of this realme, who for his ſundrie vertues bare him great fauour and goodwill.

The lord Courtneie deſcended of the bloud roiall.

After whoſe death, this yoong gentleman his ſonne, being yet a child, was committed priſoner to the tower, where he remained vntill the beginning of the reigne of this quéene Marie (as before you haue heard.) This gentleman (as it appeared) was borne to be a priſoner, for from twelue yeares of age vnto thirtie, he had ſcarſe two yeares libertie, within the which time he died, and obteined quiet, which in his life he could neuer haue. In the moneth of Maie next following, cardinall Poole, who had bin a great labourer for peace betwéene the French king and the emperour, being accompanied with Stephan Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter and chancellor of England, the erle of Arundell lord ſteward, and the lord Paget, were ſent by the king and quéene ouer the ſea to Calis, & from thence went to the towne of Marke where they met with the ambaſſadors of the emperor and the French king. From the emperour were ſent the biſhop of Arras with others. From the French king was ſent the cardinall of Loraine, and the conſtable of France. In this treatie, cardinall Poole ſat as preſident and vmpier in the name of the quéene of England. This peace was greatlie laboured, where at the firſt, there was much hope, but in the end nothing was concluded: wherefore the ſeauentéenth daie of Iune, this aſſemblie was diſſolued, and the Engliſh ambaſſadours returned againe into England.

Ambaſſadors ſent to treat a peace betwéene the French king and the emperour.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. 1097.

¶ In this moneth of Auguſt, in Suffolke, at a place by the ſea ſide, all of hard ſtone and pibble, called in thoſe parts a ſhelfe, lieng betwéene the townes of Orford and Alborough, where neuer grew graſſe, nor any earth was euer ſéene, there chanced in this barren place ſuddenlie to ſpring vp without any tillage or ſowing, great abundance of peaſon, whereof the poore gathered (as men iudged) aboue an hundred quarters; yet remained ſome ripe, & ſome bloſſoming, as manie as euer there were before. To the which place rode the biſhop of Norwich, and the lord Willoughbie with others in great number, who found nothing but hard rockie ſtone for the ſpace of thrée yards vnder the roots of thoſe peaſon, which roots were great and long, and verie ſwéet in taſt to the mouth of the eater, &c.

The neceſſitie of the poore reléued by Gods prouidence.

On Bartholomew euen, after the Lord maior and aldermen of London had rid about Bartholomew faire, they came to Chriſtes hoſpitall within Newgate, where they heard a diſputation betwéene the ſcholers of Paules ſchoole, ſaint Anthonies ſchoole, and the ſcholers of the ſaid hoſpitall, for whome was prouided thrée games, which was thrée pennes: the beſt pen of ſiluer and gilt, valued at fiue ſhillings, woone by a ſcholer of ſaint Anthonies ſchoole, and the maiſter of that ſchoole had ſix ſhillings eight pence: the ſecond, a pen of ſiluer parcell gilt, valued at iiij. ſhillings, woone by a ſcholer of Paules ſchoole, & his maiſter had fiue ſhillings in monie: the third a pen of ſiluer, valued at thrée ſhillings, woone by a ſcholer of the ſaid hoſpitall, and his maiſter had foure ſhillings. And there were two préeſts maiſters of arts appointed for iudges, which had each of them a ſiluer rule for their paines, valued at ſix ſhillings eight pence the péece. The diſputation being ended, the maior and aldermen entred the hall, where the children of the hoſpitall vſe to dine, and had fruit & wine, and ſo departed.

Diſputation at Chriſts hoſpitall, as had béene accuſtomed at ſaint Bartholomewes in Smithfield, being an incouragement to yoong ſcholers.

King Philip went ouer ſeas, and landed at Calis on the fourth of September, where he was honorably receiued by the lord deputie, & the maior of the ſtaple of Calis, an alderman of London named ſir Andrew Iud, preſenting his maieſtie with a purſe & a thouſand marks of gold in it: that night the king was lodged in ſtaple inne: and on the morrow he departed from Calis towards Bruſſels in Brabant, to viſit the emperor his father: he gaue at his departing among the ſouldiors of the towne of Calis, a thouſand crownes of gold, and there accompanied him in his iournie of Engliſh lords, the earle of Arundell lord ſteward of the quéenes houſe, the earle of Penbroke, the earle of Huntington, and others. On Michaelmaſſe euen, the priſoners that laie in the counter in Bredſtréet, were remoued to a new counter made in Woodſtréet of the cities purchaſe & building, the which remoouing was confirmed by a common councell aſſembled at the Guildhall for that purpoſe.

King Philip went ouer into Flanders.

New counter in Woodſtréet.

On the laſt of September, by occaſion of great wind and raine that had fallen, was ſuch great floods, that that morning the kings palace at Weſtminſter, and Weſtminſter hall was ouerflowne with water, vnto the ſtaire foot, going to the chancerie and kings bench: ſo that when the lord maior of London ſhould come to preſent the ſhiriffes to the barons of the exchecker, all Weſtminſter hall was full of water. And by report there, that morning, a whirriman rowed with his bote ouer Weſtminſter bridge, into the palace court, and ſo through the ſtaple gate: and all the wooll ſtaple into the kings ſtréet, and all the marſhes on Lambeth ſide, were ſo ouerflowne, that the people from Newington church could not paſſe on foot, but were caried by bote from the ſaid church to the pinfold, néere to ſaint Georges in Southworke.]

Great land-waters whereby diuerſe frequented places were ouerflowne.

Anno Reg. 3.

About this time, the biſhop of Lincolne, Gloceſter, and Briſtow, were ſent in commiſſion to Oxford by the popes authoritie, to examine Ridleie and Latimer, vpon certeine articles by them preached, which if they would not recant, and conſent to the popes doctrine, then had they power to proceed in ſentence againſt them as heretikes, and to commit them ouer to the ſecular power. Thoſe two doctors neuer-

Commiſſioners ſent to Oxford, by the popes authoritie, & why.

theles ſtood conſtantlie to that which they had taught, and would not reuoke: for which cauſe, they were condemned, and after burned in the towne ditch at Oxford, the ſixtéenth daie of October. In the time of whoſe examination, bicauſe the biſhops aforeſaid declared themſelues to be the popes commiſſioners, neither Ridleie nor Latimer would doo them any reuerence, but kept their caps on their heads: wherefore they were ſharplie rebuked by the biſhop of Lincolne, and one of the officers was commanded for to take of their caps. Of theſe men, and the maner of their death, ye may read at large in the booke of the monuments of the church.

A parlement wherein the things of the church are reſtored.

The one and twentith of October, a parlement was holden at Weſtminſter, in the which amongſt other things the quéene being perſuaded by the cardinall (and other of hir clergie) that ſhe could not proſper, ſo long as ſhe kept in hir hands any poſſeſſions of the church, did frankelie and fréelie reſigne and render vnto them all thoſe reuenues eccleſiaſticall, which by the authoritie of parlement, in the time of king Henrie, had béene annexed to the crowne, called the firſt fruits and tenths of all biſhopricks, benefices, and eccleſiaſticall promotions. The reſignation whereof was a great diminution of the reuenues of the crowne. ¶ In this parlement was granted to the king & quéene a ſubſidie of the laitie from fiue pounds to ten pounds eight pence of the pound, from ten pounds to twentie pounds twelue pence of the pound, & from twentie pounds vpward ſixtéene pence of the pound, and all ſtrangers double, and the cleargie granted ſix ſhillings of the pound.

A ſubſidie. I. Stow.

This Storie was executed in quéene Elizabeths time.

The death of Stephan Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter.

Doctor Storie and other were appointed by the cardinall, to viſit euerie pariſh church in London and Middleſex, to ſée their relikes repared, and the images of the crucifix, with Marie and Iohn therevpon to be fixed.] During the time of this parlement, Stephan Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, and chancellor of England died at his houſe called Wincheſter place, beſide ſaint Marie Oueries in Southworke, the ninth daie of Nouember, whoſe corps was ſhortlie after ſolemnly from thence conueied to his church of Wincheſter, & there buried. The maner of whoſe death why ſhould I bluſh to blaze as I find it by report? ¶ One miſtreſſe Mondaie, being the wife of one maiſter Mondaie ſecretarie ſometime to the old lord Thomas duke of Norffolke, a preſent witnes of this that is teſtified, thus openlie reported in the houſe of a worſhipfull citizen, bearing office in this citie, in words and effect as followeth. The ſame daie, when as biſhop Ridleie and maiſter Latimer ſuffered at Oxford, being about the ninetéenth daie of October, there came to the houſe of Stephan Gardiner, the old duke of Norffolke with the foreſaid Mondaie his ſecretarie aboue named, reporter héereof. The old aged duke, there waiting and tarieng for his dinner, the biſhop being not yet diſpoſed to dine, deferred the time till thrée or foure of the clocke at afternoone.

Abr. Fl. ex I. F. martyrologio.

The reporter of this addition a perſon of credit.

At length, about foure of the clocke commeth his ſeruant poſting in all poſſible ſpéed from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the biſhop what he had heard and ſéene: of whom the ſaid biſhop diligentlie inquiring the truth of the matter, & hearing by his man, that fire moſt certeinlie was ſet vnto them, commeth out reioiſing to the duke: Now ſaith he, let vs go to dinner. Wherevpon, they being ſet downe, meat immediatlie was brought, and the biſhop began merilie to eate: but what followed? The bloudie tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the ſudden ſtroke of God his terrible hand fell vpon him in ſuch ſort, as immediatlie he was taken from the table, & ſo brought to his bed, where he continued the ſpace of fiftéene daies, in ſuch intollerable anguiſh and torments, that all that meane while, during thoſe fiftéene daies, he could not auoid by order of vrine, or otherwiſe, any thing that he receiued: whereby his bodie being miſerablie inflamed within (who had inflamed ſo manie good martyrs before) was brought to a wretched end. And thereof no doubt, as moſt like it is, came the thruſting out of his toong from his mouth ſo ſwolne & blacke, with the inflammation of his bodie. A ſpectacle worthie to be noted and beholden of all ſuch bloudie burning perſecutors.

Gardiner viſited with the ſudden ſtroke of God.

But whatſoeuer he was, ſéeing he is now gone, I referre him to his iudge, to whom he ſhall ſtand or fall. As concerning his death and maner thereof, I would they which were preſent thereat, would teſtifie to vs what they ſaw. This we haue all to thinke, that his death happened ſo opportunelie, that England hath a mightie cauſe to giue thanks to the Lord therefore: not ſo much for the great hurt he had doone in times paſt in peruerting his princeſſe, in bringing in the ſix articles, in murthering Gods ſaints, in defacing Chriſts ſincere religion, &c: as alſo eſpeciallie for that he had thought to haue brought to paſſe in murthering alſo our noble quéene that now is. For whatſoeuer danger it was of death that ſhe was in, it did (no doubt) procéed from that bloudie biſhop, who was the cauſe thereof. And if it be certeine which we haue heard, that hir highneſſe being in the tower, a writ came downe from certeine of the councell for hir execution, it is out of controuerſie, that wilie Wincheſter was the onelie Dedalus and framer of that engine. Who (no doubt) in that one daie had brought this whole realme into wofull ruine, had not the lords moſt gratious councell, through maiſter Bridges then the lieutenant, comming in haſt to the quéene, certified hir of the matter, and preuented Achitophels bloudie deuiſes. For the which, thanks be to the ſame our Lord and Sauiour, in the congregation of all Engliſh churches, Amen.]

Stephan Gardiner eſpeciallie hunteth for the life of ladie Elizabeth.

Q. Elizabeth preſerued.

M. Bridges lieutenant the Lords organ in ſauing the ladie Elizabeths life.

The archbiſhop of Yorke lord chancellor.

Iohn Stow.

After whoſe death, Nicholas heath archbiſhop of Yorke, was preferred by the quéene to the office of the chancellor. ¶ She likewiſe gaue the priuie ſeale to the lord Paget, and made him lord priuie ſeale, theſe were both Londoners borne. In this moneth of Februarie, the lord maior of London and the aldermen entered into Bridewell, and tooke poſſeſſion thereof, according to the gift of king Edward, now confirmed by quéene Marie.] In the moneth of March next following, there was in maner no other talke, but of the great preparation that was made for the quéens lieng in childbed, who had alredie taken vp hir chamber, and ſundrie ladies and gentlewomen were placed about hir in euerie office of the court.

Abr. Fl. ex I. F. martyrologio.

Rockers and nurſes prouided for quéene Maries child.

¶ And now forſomuch as in the beginning of the moneth of Iune about Whitſuntide, the time was thought to be nie, that this yoong maiſter ſhould come into the world, and that midwiues, rockers, nurſes, with the cradle and all, were prepared and in a readineſſe, ſuddenlie vpon what cauſe or occaſion it is vncerteine, a certeine vaine rumor was blowne in London of the proſperous deliuerance of the quéene, and the birth of the child: inſomuch that bels were roong, bonefiers and proceſſions made, not onelie in the citie of London, and in moſt other parts of the realme, but alſo in Antwerpe guns were ſhot off vpon the riuer by the Engliſh ſhips, and the mariners thereof were rewarded with an hundred piſtolets or Italian crownes by the ladie regent, who was the quéene of Hungarie. Such great reioiſing and triumph was for the quéenes deliuerie, and that there was a prince borne. Yea, diuerſe preachers, namelie one the perſon of ſaint Anne within Alderſgate, after proceſſion and *Te Deum* ſoong, tooke vpon him to deſcribe the proportion of the child, how faire, how beautifull, and great a prince it was, as the like

Proceſſions and bonefires in London for ioy of the yong prince.

Triumph at Antwerpe for the ſame.

had not beene ſeene.

Q. Maries child would not come.

What became of Q. Maries child no man can tell.

In the middeſt of this great adoo, there was a ſimple man (this I ſpeake but vpon information) dwelling within foure miles of Barwike, that neuer had beene before halfe waie to London, which ſaid concerning the bonefires made for queene Maries child; Here is a ioifull triumph, but at length all will not proue worth a meſſe of pottage, as in deed it came to paſſe: for in the end all proued cleane contrarie, and the ioy & expectations of men were much deceiued. For the people were certified, that the queene neither was as then deliuered, nor after was in hope to haue anie child. At this time manie talked diuerſlie. Some ſaid this rumour of the queenes conception was ſpread for a policie: ſome other affirmed that ſhe was deceiued by a timpanie or ſome other like diſeaſe, to thinke hirſelfe with child, and was not: ſome thought ſhee was with child, and that it did by ſome chance miſcarie, or elſe that ſhe was bewitched: but what was the truth therof, the Lord knoweth, to whome nothing is ſecret. One thing of mine owne hearing and ſeeing I cannot paſſe ouer vnwitneſſed.

There came to me, whome I did both heare and ſee, one Iſabell Malt, a woman dwelling in Alderſgate ſtreet in Horne allie, not farre from the houſe where this preſent booke was printed, who before witneſſe made this declaration vnto vs, that ſhe being deliuered of a man-child vpon Whitſundaie in the morning, which was the eleuenth daie of Iune Anno 1555, there came to hir the lord North, and another lord to hir vnknowne, dwelling then about old Fiſhſtreet, demanding of hir if ſhe would part with hir child, and would ſweare that ſhe neuer knew nor had no ſuch child. Which if ſhe would, hir ſonne (they ſaid) ſhould be well prouided for, ſhe ſhould take no care for it, with manie faire offers if ſhe would part with the child.

Ex teſtimonio eiuſdem puerperæ Londinenſis.

The yong princes cradle

After that came other women alſo, of whome one (ſhe ſaid) ſhould haue beene the rocker: but ſhe in no wiſe would let go hir ſonne, who at the writing hereof being aliue and called Timothie Malt, was of the age of thirteene yeares and vpward. Thus much (I ſaie) I heard of the woman hir ſelfe. What credit is to be giuen to hir relation, I deale not withall, but leaue it to the libertie of the reader, to beleeue it they that liſt: to them that liſt not, I haue no further warrant to aſſure them. Among manie other great preparations made for the queenes deliuerance of child, there was a cradle verie ſumptuouſlie and gorgeouſlie trimmed, on the which cradle for the child appointed, theſe verſes were written, both in Latine and in Engliſh, as they are ſet downe here in record:

Verſes vpon the cradle.

Quam Maria ſobolem Deus optime ſumme dediſti,
Anglis incolumem redde, tuere, rege.
The child which thou to Marie,
ô Lord of might haſt ſend,
To Englands ioie in health
preſerue, keepe and defend.

About this time there came ouer into England a certeine Engliſh booke, giuing warning to the Engliſhmen of the Spaniards, and diſcloſing certeine cloſe practiſes for recouerie of abbeie lands, which booke was called A warning for England. Whereof ye ſhall vnderſtand much more at large where* we ſpeake of the Spaniſh inquiſition. So that by the occaſion of this booke, vpon the thirteenth daie of this moneth came out a certeine proclamation, ſet forth in the name of the king and the queene, repealing and diſanulling all maner of bookes written or printed, whatſoeuer ſhould touch anie thing the impairing of the popes dignitie, wherby not onelie much godlie edification was hindered, but alſo great perill grew among the people. This proclamation is recorded at large with other appendents, in the Acts and Monuments, vnder the title of queene Marie.]

*I. Fox in mart. ſub tit. Hen. 8.

I. Stow. 1037. Free ſcole at Holt, with other charitable deeds of ſir Io. Greſham.

¶ In this yeare died ſir Iohn Greſham, who bare the office of lord maior of London 1547, a man of a mercifull nature, and good deuotion both to God and his countrie. He founded a free ſchoole at Holt, a market towne in Norffolke, & gaue to euerie ward in London ten pounds to be diſtributed to the poore; and to threeſcore poore men and women, euerie one of them three yeards of brode cloth of eight or nine ſhillings the yard, to be made in gownes readie to their backs. He gaue alſo to maids mariages, and to the hoſpitals in London, aboue two hundred pounds in readie monie. A blaſing ſtarre was ſeene at all times of the night, the ſixt, ſeuenth, eight, ninth, and tenth of March.]

A blaſing ſtarre.

Brookes biſhop of Gloceſter appointed to examine Cranmer.

About this time, Brookes biſhop of Gloceſter was by the cardinall ſent downe as commiſſioner from the pope to Oxford, there to ſit vpon the examination of Thomas Cranmer archbiſhop of Canturburie, in ſuch things as ſhould be laid to his charge by Iohn Storie and Thomas Martin, doctors in the lawes, ſent ſpeciallie in commiſſion from the queene. At which time the ſaid archbiſhop making low obeiſance to them that ſate in the queenes name, ſhewed no token of reuerence to the biſhop that was the popes commiſſioner: who neuertheleſſe proceeded againſt him as iudge, and conuicted him of hereſie. According to the which ſentence, the one and twentith daie of March next following, he was diſgraded by Edmund Boner, and Thomas Thirlebie, biſhops of London and Elie, ſent downe for that purpoſe, and he was burned in the ſame place where Ridleie and Latimer before had ſuffered.

Th. Cranmer archbiſhop of Canturburie condemned.

He is burnt.

Before his death by the perſuaſion of a Spaniſh frier, named frier Iohn, a reader of diuinitie in Oxford, and by the counſell of certeine other that put him in hope of life and pardon, he ſubſcribed to a recantation, wherein he ſubmitted himſelfe wholie to the church of Rome, and continued in the ſame mind to outward appearance, vntill he was brought out of priſon, to go to the fire. Afore whoſe execution, a ſermon was made by doctor Cole deane of Paules, in ſaint Martins church in Oxford. And in the end of his ſermon, the ſaid doctor Cole praied the people to incline their eares to ſuch things as the ſaid Cranmer would declare vnto them by his owne mouth. For (ſaith he) he is a man verie repentant, and will here before you all reuoke his errors. Neuertheleſſe he did cleane contrarie. For when he came to the place where the holie biſhops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Ridleie were burnt before him, for the confeſſion of the truth, kneeling downe hee praied to God, & not tarieng long in his praiers, putting off his garments to his ſhirt, he prepared himſelfe to death. His ſhirt was made long downe to his feet: his feet were bare. Likewiſe his head, when both his caps were off, was ſo bare, that one heare could not be ſeene vpon it. His beard was long and thicke, couering his face with maruellous grauitie. Such a countenance of grauitie mooued the hearts both of his friends and of his enimies.

The archbiſhop brought to the place of execution.

Iohn Fox.

The deſcription of his perſon.

And as for the recantation aforeſaid, with manie tears he proteſted, that he had ſubſcribed to the ſame againſt his conſcience, onelie for feare of death, and hope of life. Which ſeemed true: for when he came to the ſtake, & the fire kindled, he put his right hand into the fire, and held it there a good ſpace, saieng: that the ſame hand ſhould firſt burne, bicauſe it held the pen to ſubſcribe againſt his Lord God. Vpon the death of this Cranmer I find theſe reuerend verſes:

Infortunatè eſt fælix, qui numine læſo,
Cuiuſuis gaudet commoditate boni.

Infœlix

Infælix ille eſt verò fæliciter, orbi
Inuiſus quiſquis triſtia fata ſubit.
Hoc Cranmere probas, vitæ præſentis amore,
Dum quæris ſanctam diſsimulare fidem.
Et dum conſilijs tandem melioribus vſus,
Præponis vitæ funera ſæua tuæ.

Cardinall Poole made archbiſhop of Canturburie.

Immediatlie after the death of the ſaid biſhop Cranmer, cardinall Poole (a popiſh prelat, and a ſore enimie to the religion receiued & eſtabliſhed in king Henrie the eights time) was made archbiſhop of Canturburie, who (during the life of the other) would neuer be conſecrated archbiſhop. Who ſo deſireth to ſée more of this matter, maie ſée the ſame at large in the booke of the monuments of the church, where you ſhall alſo find, that about this time manie were in trouble for religion. The eight and twentith daie of the aforeſaid moneth of March, by the negligence of the kéepers maid of the gaile of Newgate in London, who had left a candle where a great deale of ſtraw was, the ſame was ſet on fire, and burnt all the timber worke on the northſide of the ſame gate.

Perſecution for religion.

Newgate ſet on fire.

A conſpiracie.

The Summer next following was a new conſpiracie brought to light, which was, to haue raiſed war in the realme againſt the quéene, for mainteinance whereof, their firſt enterpriſe was to haue robbed the treaſurie of the quéens excheker at Weſtminſter, called the receipt of the excheker, in the which there was of the quéens treaſure aboue fiftie thouſand pounds the ſame time, to the intent they might be able to mainteine warre againſt the quéene, as it fell out afterwards in proofe. The vtterer of which conſpiracie was one White, who at the beginning was made priuie to the ſame, whervpon diuerſe of the conſpiracie, namelie, Henrie Peckham, Daniell, Dethicke, Vdall, Throckmorton, and capteine Stanton, were apprehended, and diuerſe other fled into France. Moreouer, ſir Anthonie Kingſton knight was accuſed and apprehended for the ſame, and died in the waie comming to London. The eight and twentith of Aprill, Throckmorton and Richard Veale, were drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged & quartered. The ninetéenth of Maie Stanton was likewiſe executed. The eight of Iune, Roſſeie, Redike, and Bedell ſuffered at Tiborne for the ſame offenſe. The eightéenth of Iune, one Sands, yoonger ſon to the lord Sands, was executed at S. Thomas Waterings, for a robberie committed by him and others to the value of thrée thouſand pounds. The ſeuen and twentith of Iune, eleuen men & two women, were had out of Newgate, and in thrée carts conueied to Stratford the bow, where for religion they were burnt to aſhes.

I.Stow, pag. 1100.

The names of the conſpirators and their end.

Sir Anthonie Kingſton departeth this life.

Executions for treaſon fellonie, and religion.

Iohn Stow.

Anno Reg.4.

Execution.

The eight of Iulie, in the beginning of this fourth yeare of the quéens reigne, Henrie Peckham and Iohn Daniell were executed, and after they were dead, were headed on the tower hill: their bodies were buried in Barking church. ¶ About this time one Clober, which ſometime kept a ſchoole at Dis in Norffolke, with thrée brethren, whoſe names were Lincolne, pretended an inſurrection, and would haue gathered the people at a mariage, vnto the which the brethren promiſed either of them to bring an hundred horſſe with men. At which time by them appointed, the ſaid Clober gaue charge to a ſeruant of his, to watch in a lane nigh to the church where they ſhould méet, and as ſoone as he ſaw anie horſſeman comming thitherward, to giue him warning with all ſpéed. So it chanced (by the will of God) that certeine men riding through that lane, to ſome other place about their buſineſſe, came about ſuch an houre as Clober had appointed. Vpon ſight of which men, his ſaid ſeruant returned to his maiſter, and told him that his friends were come: and immediatlie the ſaid Clober ſtood vp in the pariſh church of Parſleie, and read a traitorous proclamation of purpoſe prepared: which being ended, and ſéeing his part was too weake, for that his mates were not come, began to flée. But one maiſter Shireman purſued and tooke him at a towne called Eie in Suffolke, and was kept in priſon vntill the next ſeſſions at ſaint Edmundſburie, and his thrée mates being brought to him, were there all togither drawne, hanged, and quartered.]

I.S.pag.1101.
Conſpiracie begun by one Clober and thrée brethren called Lincolne.

A traitorous proclamation read, and the reader apprehended.

Great death.

This yeare, the hot burning feuers and other ſtrange diſeaſes, which began the yeare before, conſumed much people in all parts of England; but namelie, of moſt ancient and graue men: ſo that in London, betwéene the twentith of October, and the laſt of December, there died ſeuen aldermen, whoſe names were Henrie Heardſon, ſir Richard Dobs late maior, ſir William Laxton late maior, ſir Henrie Hoblethorne late maior, ſir Iohn Champneis late maior, ſir Iohn Aileph late ſhiriffe, and ſir Iohn Greſham late maior. ¶ The one & twentith of Nouember, Iohn Fecknam late deane of Pauls in London, now made abbat of Weſtminſter, was ſtalled, and tooke poſſeſſion of the ſame: and fourtéene monks more receiued the habit with him that daie of the order of ſaint Benet. The ſaid one and twentith of Nouember, a man was brought from Weſtminſter hall riding with his face to the horſſe taile, and a paper on his head, to the ſtandard in Cheape, and there ſet on the pillorie, and then burned with an hot iron on both his chéekes, with two letters F. and A. for falſe accuſing one of the court of the common plées in Weſtminſter of treaſon.

Seuen aldermen of London dead in one yeare.

Ab.Fl. ex I.Stow.1103.
Fecknam abbat of weſtminſter.

False accuſer ſet on the pillorie & burnt in both chéeks; would to God all ſuch accuſers were ſo well marked.

A ſtranger would haue murdered the kéeper of Newgate.

The ſixtéenth of December, Gregorie Carpenter ſmith, and a Frenchman borne, was arreigned for making counterfeit keies, wherewith to haue opened the locks of Newgate, to haue ſlaine the kéeper, and let forth the priſoners. At which time of his arreignement, hauing conueied a knife into his ſléeue, he thruſt it into the ſide of William Whitrents his fellow priſoner, who had giuen witneſſe againſt him, ſo that he was in great perill of death thereby. For the which fact he was immediatlie taken from the barre into the ſtréet before the iuſtice hall, where his hand being firſt ſtricken off, he was hanged on a gibbet ſet vp for that purpoſe. The kéeper of Newgate was arreigned & indicted, for that the ſaid priſoner had a weapon about him, and his hands looſe, which ſhould haue béene bound. The fourth of Ianuarie, a ſhip before Gréenewich (the court being there) ſhot off hir ordinance, one péece being charged with a bullet of ſtone, which paſſed through the wals of the court, and did no more hurt.]

A gun ſhot into the court at Gréenewich.

1557

An ambaſſador out of Muſcouia.

About this time came to London an ambaſſador to the quéene from the emperor of Cathaie, Muſcouia, and Ruſſeland, who was honorablie receiued at Totenham by the merchants of London, hauing trade in thoſe countries, riding in veluet coates and chaines of gold, who bare all his coſts and charges from the time of his entrie into England out of Scotland: for thither by tempeſt of weather he was driuen, and there forced to land. ¶ The lord Montacute with the quéens penſioners met him at Iſlington townes end; and at Smithfield barres the lord maior and aldermen in ſcarlet receiued him, and conueied him through the citie vnto maiſter Dimmocks houſe in Fanchurch ſtréet, where he lodged vntill the twelfe of Maie, all which time he wanted no reſort.] And after his meſſage and ambaſſage doone to the quéene, he departed againe with thrée faire ſhips from Grauesend into his countrie, when he had remained here by the ſpace of two moneths and more.

John Stow.

The lord Sturton committeth a ſhamefull murther.

Alſo about this time, the lord Sturton, for a verie ſhamefull and wretched murther committed by him vpon two gentlemen, the father and the ſon, of the ſurnames of Hargill, being his neere neighbors, whom he cauſed to be ſmitten downe with clubs, then their throtes to be cut, and after to be buried in his owne houſe fifteene foot deepe; for the which heinous offenſe he was apprehended and committed to the tower of London. And although the queene ſeemed to fauour him much, as one profeſſing the catholike religion: yet when ſhe vnderſtood the truth of his vile deed, ſhe abhorred him, & commanded that he ſhould be vſed according to iuſtice; wherefore ſhortlie after, he was brought to Weſtminſter, & there arreigned & found guiltie, & had iudgement as a murtherer to be hanged. And for the ſame fact were likewiſe condemned foure of his ſeruants. And the ſecond daie of March next following, the ſaid lord with his foure ſeruants were conueied by the queens gard from the tower of London through the citie, he hauing his armes pinioned at his backe, & his legs bound vnder the horſſe bellie, and ſo caried to Saliſburie, where the ſixt daie of March next, he was hanged in the market place, and his foure ſeruants were hanged in the countrie neere vnto the place where the murther was committed.

The lord Sturton hanged.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. 1105.
Dearth and plentie.

Iohn Caius.

¶This yeare before harueſt, wheat was ſold for foure marks the quarter, malt at foure & fortie ſhillings the quarter, beans & rie at fortie ſhillings the quarter, & peaſe at ſix and fortie ſhillings and eight pence: but after harueſt wheat was ſold for fiue ſhillings the quarter, malt at ſix ſhillings eight pence, rie at three ſhillings foure pence, So that the penie wheat loafe, that weied in London the laſt yeere but eleuen ounces Troie, weied now ſix and fiftie ounces Troie. In the countrie, wheat was ſold for foure ſhillings the quarter, malt at foure ſhillings eight pence; and in ſome places a buſhell of rie for a pound of candles which was foure pence. The ſeauenth of September, at ſeauen of the clocke at night, in a blacke rainie cloud in the weſt was ſeene a rainbow, the moone in the eaſt riſen one houre before, and faire ſhining, and at the full the daie before.] This preſent moneth of March king Philip, who a long ſeaſon had beene in Flanders to take poſſeſſion & gouernment of the low countries (as is aforſaid) did now returne into England, and paſſed through London, being accompanied with the queene and diuerſe nobles of the realme.

The returne of king Philip into England.

The foure and twentith of Aprill Thomas Stafford, ſecond ſonne to the lord Stafford, with other to the number of two and thirtie perſons, comming forth of France by ſea, arriued at Scarborough in Yorkeſhire, where they tooke the caſtell, and held the ſame two daies, and then were taken without effuſion of bloud by the earle of Weſtmerland. The ſaid Stafford and Richard Sanders, otherwiſe called capteine Sanders, with three or foure others, of the which one was a Frenchman, were ſent vp to London, & there committed to priſon in the tower. The ſaid Stafford and foure others were arreigned and condemned. Where vpon the eight and twentith of Maie, being fridaie, the ſaid Stafford was beheaded on the tower hill; and on the morrow three of his companie, as Strellie, Bradford, and Proctor, were drawen from the tower to Tiborne, and there executed. Their heads were ſet ouer the bridge, and their quarters ouer the gates about the ſame citie. Capteine Sanders had his pardon, and ſo eſcaped. The firſt of Maie Thomas Perſie was made knight, and after lord, and on the next daie he was created earle of Northumberland. The queene gaue vnto him all the lands which had beene his anceſtors, remaining at that time in hir hands.

Stafford and others committed to the tower, and after executed.

Thomas Perſie created earle of Northumberland.

In this ſeaſon, although the French king (as was ſaid) was verie loth to haue warres with England, yet the queene tangling hir ſelfe contrarie to promiſe in hir huſbands quarrell, ſent a defiance to the French king by Clarenceaux king of armes; who comming to the citie of Remes, where the ſaid king then laie, declared the ſame vnto him the ſeuenth of Iune, being the mondaie in Whitſunweeke. On the which daie, Garter and Norreie king of armes, accompanied with other heralds, and alſo with the lord maior and certeine of the aldermen of the citie of London, by ſound of three trumpets that rode before them, proclamed open war againſt the ſaid French king, firſt in Cheape ſide, and after in other parts of the citie, where cuſtomarilie ſuch proclamations are made: the ſhiriffes ſtill riding with the heralds, till they had made an end, although the lord maior brake off in Cheape ſide, and went to ſaint Peters to heare ſeruice, and after to Paules, where (according to the vſage then) he went on proceſſion. King Philip bicauſe of the warres towards, betwixt him and the French king, the ſixt of Iulie paſſed ouer to Calis, and ſo into Flanders, where on that ſide the ſeas he made prouiſion for thoſe warres: at which time there was great talke among the common people, muttering that the king making ſmall account of the queene, ſought occaſions to be abſent from hir.

Queene Marie proclameth open warres againſt the French king.

King Philip paſſed ouer into Flanders.

Neuertheleſſe, ſhe ſhortlie after cauſed an armie of a thouſand horſſemen, and foure thouſand footmen, with two thouſand pioners to be tranſported ouer to his aid, vnder the leading of diuerſe of the nobilitie and other valiant capteins, whoſe names partlie follow: the earle of Penbroke capteine generall, ſir Anthonie Browne vicount Montacute lieutenant generall vnder the ſaid earle, the lord Greie of Wilton lord marſhall, the earle of Rutland generall of the horſſemen, the lord Clinton earle of Lincolne coronell of the footmen, the lord Ruſſell earle of Bedford, the lord Robert Dudleie earle of Leiceſter and maiſter of the ordinance, the lord Thomas Howard, ſir William Weſt lord de la Ware, ſir Edward Windſore after lord Windſore, the lord Braie, ſir Edmund Briges lord Shandois, the lord Ambroſe Dudleie earle of Warwike, the lord Henrie Dudleie, Edward Randall eſquier ſergeant maior, maiſter Whiteman treaſuror of the armie, Edward Chamberleine eſquier capteine of the pioners, ſir Richard Leigh trenchmaſter, Iohn Higate eſquier prouoſt marſhall, Thomas Haruie eſquier muſtermaſter, ſir Peter Carew, ſir William Courtneie, ſir Giles Stranguiſh, ſir Thomas Finch maſter of the campe, and other nobles, knights, and gentlemen of right approoued valiancie: although diuerſe of them were ſuſpected to be proteſtants. Furthermore, to make king Philips power the ſtronger, there came aid vnto him from ſundrie places; whereby as his armie increaſed in number, ſo likewiſe grew the ſame more puiſſant in ſtrength. The people that aſſiſted him are thus remembred by C. O. in his diſcourſe of this warre, as here followeth:

The names of the capteins ouer the queenes forces.

Miſit in auxilium Germania lecta virorum
Corpora ferratas acies peditúmque catervas.
Nec deerat miles Latia de gente cruentus,
Dalmata non deerat bello huic nec defuit Hunnus.
Attamen ante alios, fiducia ſumma locata eſt
In quibus armatus validè conuenerat Anglus.
Fœdus amicitiæ vetus id poſcebat, & vxor,
Cui cum rege fuit ſocio commune periclum.

Variæ gentes in exercitu Philippi.

The fifteenth of Iulie, the ladie Anne of Cleue departed this life at Chelſeie, and was honorablie buried at Weſtminſter the fift of Auguſt: a ladie of right commendable regard, courteous, gentle, a good houſekeeper, & verie bountifull to hir ſeruants.

The death of the ladie Anne of Cleue.

Obſequie for the king of Portingale.

The eightéenth of Auguſt was a ſolemne obſequie celebrated in the church of S. Paule in London, for Iohn king of Portingale, who departed this life in Iulie laſt paſt. The lord treaſuror was chéefe mourner. The quéenes armie being tranſported ouer to Calis (as before ye haue heard) marched to ioine with king Philips power: the which alreadie being aſſembled, had inuaded the French confines, and being come before ſaint Quintins, planted a ſtrong ſiege before that tower. To the reſcue thereof, the French king ſent a great armie both of horſſemen and footmen, vnder the leading of the coneſtable of France: which armie conſiſted of about nine hundred men at armes, with as manie light horſſemen, ſeuen or eight hundred Roiſters, two & twentie enſignes of lancequenets, and ſixtéene enſignes of French footmen. They had alſo with them fiftéene péeces of great artillerie, to wit, ſix double canons, foure long culuerings, the reſt baſtard culuerings, and other péeces of ſmaller mould. The coneſtable thus garded vpon ſaint Laurence daie, which is the tenth of Auguſt, approched the towne, meaning to put into the ſame ſuccours of more ſoldiors, with Dandelot the admerals brother, that was within the towne not furniſhed with ſuch a garriſon as was thought expedient for the defenſe therof, againſt ſuch a power as king Philip had prepared againſt it.

Fiftéene or ſixtéene thouſand footmen, and a thrée or foure thouſand horſſemen.

The coneſtable of France duke Montmorencie generall of the French forces.

The duke of Sauoie and other capteins of the armie that laie at ſiege before the towne, aduertiſed of the coneſtables comming towards them, aſſembled the moſt part of their horſſemen togither, and with all ſpéed made towards a paſſage diſtant from the place where the French armie ſtood houering about a two Engliſh miles: and being got ouer, they diuided themſelues into eight troopes of horſſemen, led by the earles of Egmond, Horne, Mauſfield, the dukes of Brunſwike and others, being in all to the number of fiue thouſand men of armes, beſide the ſwart Rutters and light horſſemen. Which gaue ſuch a furious & cruell charge vpon the Frenchmen, that they not able to reſiſt the ſame, were altogither defeated, and their battels as well horſſemen as footmen put to flight. Wherof king Philip hauing knowlege, purſued them with all his force, in which purſute there were ſlaine of the Frenchmen a great number, the chiefe whereof were theſe that follow. Iohn of Burbon duke of Anghien the vicount of Turraine & eldeſt ſonne of Roch du Maine, the lord of Chandenier, with a great number of other gentlemen that bare armes in the field. There were taken theſe priſoners following; the duke of Montmorencie conſtable of France hurt with an harquebuz ſhot in the hanch, the duke of Montpenſer hurt in the head, the duke of Longueuille, the marſhall of ſaint Andrews, the lord Lewes brother to the duke of Mantoa, monſieur de Vaſſe, the baron of Curton, monſieur de la Roch du Maine, the Reingraue coronell of the Almans: moreouer the counte de Roch Foucault, monſieur d'Obignie, monſient de Meru, monſieur de Montbrun, monſieur de Biron, ſonnes to the coneſtable, monſieur de la chapelle de Biron, monſieur de ſaint Heran; beſide manie other gentlemen and capteins of good account and eſtimation. Yet there eſcaped the more part of the French horſſemen, and manie of their footmen, with certeine of their capteins of honor; as the duke of Neuers, the prince of Conde brother to the king of Nauarre, the earle of Montmorencie eldeſt ſonne to the coneſtable, the earle of Sancerre, monſieur de Burdillon, and other of the barons of France.

Priſoners of name.

Theſe nine were knights of the order.

The ſiege before ſaint Quintins, and the ſame taken and ſacked.

Within two or thrée daies after this ouerthrow, king Philip with the Engliſh armie, vnder the gouernement of the earle of Penbroke, and others, came to the ſiege afore ſaint Quintins, & ſo was the ſiege greatlie reinforced; and on the ſeuen and twentith of Auguſt by the ſpeciall aid & helpe of the Engliſhmen, the towne of ſaint Quintins was taken. For when the other ſoldiours, after diuerſe aſſaults were repelled and gaue ouer, the Engliſhmen of a ſtout conrage gaue a new onſet, by reaſon whereof the towne was taken. And in reward of their well dooing, king Philip granted them the ſaccage of the ſaid towne. But then the ſwart Rutters, which kéepe no rule when they be ſtrongeſt, ſet vpon the Engliſhmen, in taking of the ſpoile, and killed a great number of them. This grudge was with much difficultie appeaſed, & men thought that if the Engliſhmen being much fewer in number had not béene oppreſſed with the multitude of the other, that it would haue growne to a great ſlaughter on both parts. At the aſſault the lord Henrie Dudleie, yoongeſt ſonne to the duke of Northumberland was ſlaine with the ſhot of a great péece, as he ſtooped vpon his approch vnto the wall, and ſtaid to rip his hoſe ouer the knée, thereby to haue béene the more apt and nimble to the aſſault. This was his end, of whome one ſaith thus:

The lord Henrie Dudleie ſlaine with the ſhot of a gun.

——— *Henricus Dudleius heros,*
Ille annis generoſam animam iuuenilibus efflat,
Quem referunt ſocij flentes in caſtra peremptum,
Vt mos chriſticolæ eſt, velatum ſindone, gentu.

After the winning of this towne, newes in poſt were brought into England to the quéene, who cauſed generall proceſſions to be made, and *Te Deum* to be ſoong, giuing all laud and praiſe to almightie God for this great victorie. And in the ſtréets of euerie citie and towne of the realme were made bonefires with great reioiſing: which ſudden ſhort gladneſſe turned verie ſhortlie after to great & long ſorow. For if ought were woone by hauing of ſaint Quintins, England got nothing at all, for the gaine thereof came onelie to king Philip. But the loſſe of Calis, Hammes and Guiſnes, with all the countrie on that ſide the ſea (which followed ſoone after) was ſuch a buffet to England, as happened not in more than an hundred yeares before; and a diſhonor wherwith this realme ſhall be blotted, vntill God ſhall giue power to redub it with ſome like requitall to the French.

Doctor Weſton reſigneth the deanrie of Weſtminſter by compulſion and is recompenſed.

Doctor Weſton being (as you haue heard before) prolocutor of the conuocation houſe, was at this time in diſpleaſure with cardinall Poole, and other biſhops: bicauſe he was vnwilling to reſigne his deanrie of Weſtminſter vnto the quéene, whoſe purpoſe was to place there (as in old time before) the religion of moonks, whome in déed he fauoured not, although in all other things he ſtood with the church of Rome. Neuertheleſſe, by verie importunate ſute, or rather compulſion, he with his collegues reſigned the deanrie of Weſtminſter. In recompenſe wherof he was made deane of Windſor, where not long after he was taken in adulterie, and for that fact was by the cardinall depriued of all his ſpirituall liuings, from whoſe ſentence he appealed vnto the court of Rome. For the following of which appeale he ſought ſecretlie to depart the realme: but he was apprehended by the waie, and committed to the tower of London, where he remained priſoner, vntill (by the death of quéene Marie) quéene Elizabeth came vnto the crowne, by whome he was ſet at libertie, and forthwith fell ſicke and died.

The malice of cardinall Poole againſt king Henrie the eight.

The common talke was, that if he had not ſo ſuddenlie died, he would haue diſcloſed the purpoſe of the chiefe of the clergie, meaning the cardinall, which was to haue taken vp K. Henries bodie at Windſor, and to haue burned it, as manie thought. The thirtith of Nouember, being ſaint Andrews daie, in the forenoone, the quéene came from ſaint Iames to hir palace at Weſtminſter, where ſhe heard maſſe: at the which, ſir Thomas Treſham knight receiued

Sir Thomas Treſham made lord of ſaint Iohns of Ieruſalem.

Calis not furniſhed with a ſufficient number of men.

the order of the croſſe, & was inſtituted lord of ſaint Johns of Jeruſalem in England. At this time, although there was open hoſtilitie and warre betwéen England & France: yet contrarie to the common cuſtome before vſed, the towne of Calis and the forts thereabouts were not ſupplied with anie new accrewes of ſoldiors, but rather withdrawne from thenſe, and diſcharged. Which negligence was not vnknowne to the enimie, who long before had practiſed the winning of the ſaid towne and countrie.

The loſſe of ſaint Quintins nettleth the French king.

The duke of Guiſe with a great armie commeth toward Calis.

The French king therefore being ſharplie nettled with the late loſſe of ſaint Quintins, and a great péece of his countrie adioining, and deſirous of reuenge, thought it not méet to let ſlip this occaſion, but rather to aduance the ſame with all expedition, according vnto the plot laied by the coneſtable before hand. The king yet neuertheleſſe hauing an armie in a readineſſe (although the coneſtable were now priſoner, and therefore could not be preſent himſelfe) to imploie where moſt aduantage ſhould appeare, determined with all ſpéed to put in proofe the enterpriſe of Calis, which long and manie times before was purpoſed vpon, as it was well knowne. This practiſe was not ſecret, but that the deputies of Calis and Guiſnes had ſome intelligence thereof, and informed the quéene and hir councell accordinglie, as well by letters, as by ſufficient meſſengers: for not onelie John Hieſield maſter of the ordinance was ſent from thenſe to giue due aduertiſement of the French kings purpoſe, & to haue a ſupplie of things neceſſarie for mounting of the great artillerie wherof he had charge; but alſo ſir Raſe Chamberleine, capteine of the caſtell, was likewiſe ſent to giue the like aduertiſement, who returned not paſt two or thrée daies before the duke of Guiſe came thither with the armie. And ſo either by wilfull negligence, or lacke of credit by the quéenes councell here, this great caſe was ſo ſlenderlie regarded, that no prouiſion of defenſe was made, vntill it was ſomewhat too late.

Guiſe entreth the Engliſh frontier.

The duke of Guiſe being generall of the French armie, procéeded in this enterpriſe with maruellous ſpéed and no leſſe policie. For approching the Engliſh frontier vnder colour to vittell Bullongne and Ard, he entered the ſame vpon a ſudden on Newyeares daie, a ſorie little plot of ground, intrenched at Sandgate, and then diuided his armie into two parts, ſending one part with certeine péeces of great artillerie along the downes by the ſea ſide towards Ricebanke: and the other part furniſhed alſo with batterie péeces, marched ſtreight forth to Newnambridge, meaning to batter theſe two forts both at one time. Which thing he did with ſuch readie diſpatch, that comming thither verie late in the euening, he was maſter of both by the next morning: where at the firſt ſhot diſcharged at Newnambridge, the head of the maſter gunner of that péece, whoſe name was Horſlie was ſtriken off.

1558.
Anno Reg. 5.

Newnambridge taken by the French.

The maſter gunners head ſmitten cleane off with a gun.

The capteine hauing ſent vnto the lord deputie of Calis for ſome ſupplie of men, was anſwered that if he perceiued the enimies force to be ſuch, whereby his péece ſhould grow to be in anie danger: that then he ſhould choke vp the artillerie, and retire with his men vnto Calis for defenſe of the towne, where they ſtood in great want of men alſo, euen to the perill of loſing the whole, if the enimies came forwards to beſiege it. Herevpon the capteine within Newnambridge perceiuing he might haue no ſuccors, retired with his ſoldiors vnto Calis, in ſuch ſecret wiſe, that the Frenchmen perceiued it not of a pretie while; inſomuch that they ſhot ſtill at the fort, when there was not a man within it to make reſiſtance: and by that time that they were come to Calis, the other part of the French armie that went by the ſea ſide with their batterie, had wonne Ricebanke, being abandoned to their hands. The next daie the Frenchmen with fiue double canons and thrée culuerings began a batterie, from the Sandhils next Ricebanke againſt the curteine betwixt the watergate and the ſoldiors priſon on the wall, and continued the ſame by the ſpace of two or thrée daies, vntill they had made a little breach next vnto the watergate, which neuertheleſſe was not yet aſſaultable: for that which was broken in the daie, was by them within the towne made vp againe in the night ſtronger than before. But the batterie was not begun there by the French, for that they intended to enter in that place, but rather to abuſe the Engliſh, to haue the leſſe regard vnto the defenſe of the caſtell, which was the weakeſt part of the towne, and the place where they were aſcerteined by their eſpials to win eaſie entrie. So that while our people trauelled fondlie to defend that counterfet breach of the towne wall, the duke had in the meane ſeaſon planted fiftéene double canons againſt the caſtell. Which caſtell being conſidered by the rulers of the towne, to be of no ſuch force as might reſiſt the batterie of the canon (by reaſon it was old and without anie rampiers) it was deuiſed to make a traine with certeine barrels of powder to this pupoſe, that when the Frenchmen ſhould enter (as they well knew that there they would) to haue fired the ſaid traine, and blowne vp the kéepe, and for that purpoſe left neuer a man within to defend it.

Ricebanke taken by the French.

The duke of Guiſe his policie.

The Engliſhmens fond defenſe.

But the French hauing paſſed through the dich full of water, & thereby with their cloths wringing wet as they paſſed ouer the traine, they moiſted ſo the powder, that it would not take fire when it was giuen. Herevpon the Frenchmen eſpieng the traine, auoided the ſame; ſo as that deuiſe came to no purpoſe, and without anie reſiſtance they entered the caſtell, and thought to haue entered the towne by that waie. But by the proweſſe and hardie courage of ſir Anthonie Ager knight, & marſhall of the towne, with his ſoldiors they were repelled, and driuen backe againe into the caſtell, and ſo hard followed, that our men forced them to cloſe and ſhut the caſtell gate for their ſuertie, leaſt it ſhould haue béene recouered againſt them, as it was once attempted by ſir Anthonie Ager; who there with his ſonne and heire, and a purſeuant at armes called Calis, with diuerſe others to the number of thrée or foure ſcore Engliſhmen loſt their liues.

The Frenchmen diſappoint the Engliſhmens deuiſe.

Sir Anthonie Ager and his ſonne ſlaine.

The ſame night after the recule of the Frenchmen, whoſe number ſo increaſed in the caſtell, that the towne was not able to reſiſt their force, the lord Wentworth being deputie of the towne, appointed Nicholas Fellow, *aliàs* Guiſnes, and Richard Turpine, *aliàs* Hammes, to go to the French within the caſtell, to demand parlée: wherevnto they aſſented, put forth of the poſterne two French gentlemen, and in pledge for them receiued into the caſtell John Hieſield maſter of the ordinance, and Edmund Hall one of the coneſtables of the ſtaple. Herevpon they falling in talke about a compoſition: at length after ſome long debating of the matter, they concluded in this ſort. Firſt that the towne, with all the great artillerie, vittels, and munitions, ſhould be fréelie yéelded to the French king, the liues of the inhabitants onelie ſaued, to whome ſafe conduct ſhould be granted to paſſe where they liſted: ſauing the lord deputie, with fiftie ſuch other as the duke ſhould appoint, to remaine priſoners, and be put to their ranſome. The next morning, the Frenchmen entered and poſſeſſed the towne: and forthwith all the men, women, and children, were commanded to leaue their houſes, and to go to certeine places appointed for them to remaine in, till order might be taken for their ſending awaie.

The lord Wentworth.

A parlée demanded of the French.

Calis deliuered to the French.

The places thus appointed for them to remaine in, were chieflie foure, the two churches of our ladie, and ſaint Nicholas, the deputies houſe, and the ſtaple, where they reſted a great part of that daie, and one whole night, and the next daie till thrée of the clocke at afternoone, without either meat or drinke. And while they were thus in the churches, and thoſe other places, the duke of Guiſe in the name of the French king, in their hearings made a proclamation, ſtrictlie charging all and euerie perſon that were inhabitants of the towne of Calis, hauing about them anie monie, plate, or iewels, to the value of one groat to bring the ſame forthwith, and laie it downe vpon the high altars of the ſaid churches vpon paine of death; bearing them in hand alſo, that they ſhould be ſearched. By reaſon of which proclamation, there was made a great & ſorowfull offertorie. And while they were at this offering within the churches, the Frenchmen entered into their houſes, and rifled the ſame, where was found ineſtimable riches and treaſure: but ſpeciallie of ordinance, armor, and other munitions.

The duke of Guiſes proclamation to bring in monie and plate, &c.

The French fall to ſpoiling and rifling.

¶ Thus dealt the French with the Engliſh in lieu and recompenſe of the like vſage to the French when the forces of king Philip preuailed at S. Quintins: where not content with the honour of victorie, the Engliſh in ſacking the towne ſought nothing more than the ſatiſfieng of their gréedie veine of couetouſneſſe, with an extreame neglect of all moderation. So likewiſe did the Spaniſh ſoldiors, and the reſt that could come to finger anie thing of value: inſomuch that neither monie nor plate, either of ſiluer or gold, rich hangings, bedding nor houſhold ſtuffe was ſpared: but what they could not carie awaie for cumberſomneſſe, they ſold dogcheape; were the ſame neceſſarie furniture ſeruiceable for the chamber, the kitchin, or anie other roome in a mans houſe. Pearls and pretious ſtones, iewels and owches, the rich ornaments of the French dames were then bought and ſold at a low price, which a long time had béene kept ſhut vp vnder locke and keie: all laie open now to the gréedie eie of the ſoldiors, who like landlords kept poſſeſſion of houſes, as C.O. noteth, of whom I haue borrowed the report of this reuell rowt, ſaieng:

Armatis muros firmiſſimáque occupat vrbis
Militibus victor, dominantur in ædibus altis
Iam vacuis veterum dominorum Marce phalanges
Conſpicuæ.]

About two of the clocke the next daie at after noone, being the ſeuenth of Ianuarie, a great number of the meaneſt ſort were ſuffered to paſſe out of the towne in ſafetie, being garded through the armie with a number of Scotiſh light horſſemen, who vſed the Engliſhmen verie well and friendlie: and after this euerie daie for the ſpace of thrée or foure daies togither, there were ſent awaie diuerſe companies of them till all were auoided, thoſe only excepted that were appointed to be reſerued for priſoners, as the lord Wentworth, & others. There were in the towne of Calis fiue hundred Engliſh ſouldiors ordinarie, and no more: and of the townesmen not fullie two hundred fighting men (a ſmall garriſon for the defenſe of ſuch a towne) and there were in the whole number of men, women, and children (as they were accounted when they went out of the gate) foure thouſand and two hundred perſons. But the Lord Wentworth deputie of Calis, ſir Raſe Chamberleine capteine of the caſtell, Iohn Harlſton capteine of Ricebanke, Nicholas Alexander capteine of Newnambridge, Edward Grimſtone the comptrollor, Iohn Rogers ſuruejor, with others, to the number of fiftie (as aforeſaid) ſuch as it pleaſed the duke of Guiſe to appoint, were ſent priſoners into France.

The poreſt & meaneſt ſort voided out of Calis.

Gariſon of ſoldiors that were in Calis

Thus haue ye heard the diſcourſe of the ouerthrow and loſſe of the towne of Calis, the which enterpriſe was begun and ended in leſſe than eight daies, to the great maruell of the world, that a towne of ſuch ſtrength, and ſo well furniſhed of all things as that was (ſufficient numbers of men of warre onlie excepted) ſhould ſo ſuddenlie be taken and conquered, but moſt ſpeciallie in the winter ſeaſon, what time all the countrie about (being mariſh ground) is commonly ouerflowne with water. The ſaid towne was woon from the French king by K. Edward the third, in the time of Philip de Valois then French king: and being in poſſeſſion of the kings of England two hundred and eleuen yeares, was in the time of Philip and Marie king & quéene of England loſt within leſſe than eight daies: being the moſt notable fort that England had. For the winning whereof, king Edward aforeſaid, in the 21 yeare of his reigne, was faine to continue a ſiege eleuen moneths and more. Wherefore it was iudged of all men, that it could not haue come ſo to paſſe, without ſome ſecret trecherie.

Calis conquered and loſt in leſſe than eight daies.

How long Calis was in poſſeſſion of the kings of England.

Here is alſo to be noted, that when quéene Marie and hir councell heard crediblie of the Frenchmens ſudden approch to that towne, ſhe with all ſpéed poſſible (but ſomewhat too late) raiſed a great power for the reſcue thereof; the which comming to Douer, ſtaied thereabouts till the towne was woone, either for that their whole number was not come togither, or for that there were not ſhips readie ſufficient to paſſe them ouer, although the wind and weather ſerued verie well to haue tranſported them thither, till the ſundaie at night after the towne was deliuered: for then began a maruellous ſore and rigorous tempeſt, continuing the ſpace of foure or fiue daies togither, that the like had not béene ſéene in the remembrance of man. Wherefore ſome ſaid that the ſame came to paſſe through necromancie, and that the diuell was raiſed vp and become French, the truth whereof is knowne (ſaith maiſter Grafton) to God. True it is that after the ſaid tempeſt began, for the time it laſted, no ſhip could well broke the ſeas, by reaſon of the outragious ſtorms. And ſuch of the quéenes ſhips as did then aduenture the paſſage, were ſo ſhaken and torne with the violence of the weather, that they were forced to returne in great danger, & not without loſſe of all their tackle and furniture: ſo that if this tempeſtuous weather had not chanced, it was thought that the armie ſhould haue paſſed to haue giuen ſome ſuccors to Guiſnes, and to haue attempted the recouerie of Calis.

As good neuer as too late.

A terrible tempeſt.

Rich. Grafton.

The quéenes ſhips ſore ſhaken with ſtorme and tempeſt.

But if the ſame armie might haue béene readie to haue tranſported ouer in time, before the loſſe of Calis, and whileſt the weather was moſt calme and ſwéet, as was poſſible for that time of the yeare, the towne might haue béene preſerued; and the other péeces which through want of timelie ſuccours came into the enimies poſſeſſion. And thus by negligence of the councell at home, conſpiracie of traitors elſewhere, force and falſe practiſe of enimies, holpen by the rage of moſt terrible tempeſts of contrarie winds and weather, this famous fort of Calis was brought againe and left in the hands and poſſeſſion of the French. ¶ Now were he worthie of a kingdome, that could ſenſiblie and ſignificantlie ſet forth the inſolent triumphs and immoderate reioiſing of the French for the recouerie of Calis ſo long poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, and now in forren tenure. In deſcribing whereof a man had néed of manie heads fraught with extraordinarie inuention, and of many hands readilie to deliuer in writing his rare conceipts in this caſe. For as they are a people depending wholie vpon extremities in their actions: ſo in this they vſed no meaſure, inſomuch that euen the learneder ſort among them, namelie Turnebus, Au-

Abr. Fl. *ex opere hiſtorico Schardij collectio* ratus, Bellaius, and others did both pen and publiſh pamphlets in Latine verſe, repleniſhed with ſcoffs and vnreuerend termes againſt the Engliſh, calling them *Perfidos*, and in flowting ſort *Diuiſos orbe Britannos*; but aduancing to the ſkies their Henrie, their Guiſe, and the reſt of the rowt that were actors in this conqueſt. A ſight of which verſes in ſome part I may not omit (for it requireth a booke to tranſcribe all) leaſt I might be thought to impoſe vpon them a falſe charge. This therefore in the forme of a dialog betweene a poſt and the people writeth Auratus the French kings publike reader in the Greeke tong:

Ex tomo tertio hiſtoriarum Schardij de capto Caleto pag. 1973 &c.

N. *Clamate Galli nunc ter io io.*
V. *Quæ læta Gallis inſtat oatio?*
N. *Capti Caletes.* V. *Multa paucis*
Digna nouo memoras triumpho.
N. *Vicère Galli, ſed duce Guiſio.*
V. *Io triumphe, nunc ter io io.*
N. *Vicère victores Britannos.*
V. *Nunc ter io, ter io triumphe.*
N. *Annos ducentos ſerua Britanniæ*
Vrbs liberata eſt. V. *Nunc ter io io.*
N. *Migrate iam priſci coloni.*
V. *Nunc ter io, ter io triumphe, &c.*

And thus proceedeth he in his od veine of inuention, concluding with a queſtion, whether the king of France or the duke of Guiſe are the more happie and bleſſed perſon? The anſwer is made that they are both bleſſed, the king for the duke ſake, and the duke for the kings; and therefore his poſie muſt of force ſing and ſound to them both thriſe, that is, oftentimes *Ter io triumphe, ter io triumphe*. But I would to God the Engliſh had not beene ſo ſoon and ſo ſuddenlie turned out of their old poſſeſſion, nor the French fondlings obteined ſuch a iuſt cauſe of immoderate ioy and outragious triumph.]

The duke of Guiſe marcheth to the fort and town of Guiſnes.

The L. Greie capteine of Guiſnes.

But to leaue Calis in the preſent ſtate, you ſhall vnderſtand, that ſo ſoone as this duke of Guiſe (contrarie to all expectation) had in ſo few daies gained this ſtrong towne of Calis (afore thought impregnable) and had put the ſame in ſuch order as beſt ſeemed for his aduantage, proud of the ſpoile, and preſſing forward vpon his good fortune, without giuing anie long time to the reſidue of the guides or capteines of the forts there, to breath vpon their buſineſſe, the 13 daie of the ſaid moneth being thurſdaie, with all prouiſion requiſite for a ſiege, marched with his armie from Calis, vnto the towne and fort of Guiſnes, fiue miles diſtant from thence. Of which towne and caſtell at the ſame time there was capteine a valiant baron of England, called William lord Greie of Wilton, who not without cauſe ſuſpecting a ſiege at hand, and knowing the towne of Guiſnes to be of ſmall force, as being large in compaſſe, without walles or bulworks, cloſed onlie with a trench, before the Frenchmens arriuall had cauſed all the inhabitants of the towne to auoid, and ſo manie of them as were able to beare armes he cauſed to retire into the caſtell, which was a place well fortified with ſtrong and maſſie bulworks of bricke, hauing alſo an high and mightie tower, of great force and ſtrength, called the Keepe.

The L. Greie taketh the French at a ſleepie aduantage.

The towne being thus abandoned, the Frenchmen had the more eaſie approch to the caſtell, who thinking to find quiet lodging in thoſe vacant houſes, entred the ſame without any feare. And being that night at their reſt (as they thought) a choſen band of ſouldiors appointed by the lord Greie, iſſued out by a poſterne of the ſaid caſtell, and ſlue no ſmall number of their ſleepie gheſts, & the reſt they put out of their new lodgings, and maugre the duke and all the French power, conſumed all the houſes of the towne with fire. That notwithſtanding, the ſaid duke with all diligence began his trenches. And albeit the ſhot of the great artillerie from the caſtell was terrible, & gaue him great impeachment: yet did he continue his worke without intermiſſion, and for examples ſake wrought in his owne perſon as a common pioner or labourer. So that within leſſe than three daies, he brought to the number of fiue & thirtie batterie peeces, hard to the brim of the caſtell ditch, to batter the ſame on all ſides, as well forthright as acroſſe. But his principall batterie he planted againſt the ſtrongeſt bulworke of all, called Marie bulworke, thinking by gaining of the ſtronger to come more eaſilie by the weaker.

Rabutine.

Batteries laid to the Marie bulworke.

On mondaie morning therefore by breake of the daie, they had laid two batteries to the ſaid bulworke, thirteene canons in the one, and nine in the other, with which they plied it ſo well, as that by noone they had not onelie diſmounted their counter batterie within, but alſo cleane cut awaie the hope of bricke off the whole forefront of their bulworks, whereof the filling being but of late digged earth, did crimble awaie. Which the enimie finding about two of the clocke in the ſame afternoone, ſent fortie or fiftie forlorne boies with ſwords and targets to view and aſſaie the breach. The ditch at that place before the batterie was not foure and twentie foot broad, now aſſuredlie not a dozzen, nor in deapth aboue a mans knees, wherefore with ſmall adoo they came to the breach, and with as little paine came vp the ſame, the clime was ſo eaſie; from whence hauing diſcharged certeine piſtols vpon the Engliſhmen, and receiued a few puſhes of the pike, they retired. And making report of the eaſineſſe of the breach, ſtrait a band or two of Gaſcoigns (as it was thought) threw themſelues into the ditch, and vp they came. Then a little more earneſtly the Engliſhmen leaned to their tackling, their flankers walked, their pikes, their culuers, their pots of wild fire were lent them, the harquebuſh ſaluted them, ſo as iollie maiſter Gaſcoigne was ſet downe with more haſt than he came vp with good ſpeed: and ſo ended mondaies worke, ſauing that vpon the retire from the aſſalt, they gaue ſeuen or eight ſuch terrible tires of batterie, as tooke cleane away from them within the top of their vaumure and maunds, leauing them all open to the canons mouth. Wherby ſurelie but for night that came on, the Engliſhmen had beene forced to haue abandoned the place.

The Gaſcoignes put backe with more haſt than they came vp with good ſpeed.

The number ſlaine at this aſſault.

The lord Greie commendeth his ſouldiours.

At this aſſault was ſlaine of gentlemen, one capteine Bourne an Engliſhman, verie valiant, alſo a Spaniſh gentleman, and common ſouldiours to the number of fortie or fiftie. There was alſo ſore hurt at the ſame aſſault, one other Spaniſh capteine, with diuerſe others, whom for the auoiding of tediouſneſſe I let paſſe. At night the lord Greie came to the bulworke, and hauing rendred thanks to God for that daies good ſucceſſe, did greatlie commend them all for their manfull defenſe and valiant behauiour, exhorting them to continue therein, as the onelie thing wherein their ſafetie and good name did reſt. The batterie (as before is told) hauing laid the bulworks open, they within were inforced for winning of a new vaumure, to intrench within the bulworke ſix foot deepe, and nine in thickneſſe, which maruellouſlie did ſtrengthen the peece, the ſame being of no great largeneſſe before. By the next daie being tueſdaie, they had planted two batteries more; the one in the market place of the towne, to beate a curteine of the bodie of the caſtell, of ſix canons; the other vpon the rampire of the towne of three peeces, to beat the Cat and a flanker of the Barbican, which two garded one ſide of the Marie bulworke.

Battering at the flankers.

This morning they beſtowed moſt in battering at the flankers, which the daie before they had felt, and in deed wonne euerie one from them within, ſa-

uing

Certeine Swiſſes and French approch the dich as if they would offer aſſault.

The danger which my lord Greie eſcaped ſitting vpon a forme with two gentlemen.

The Swiſſes & Gaſcoigns giue the aſſault.

The manhood of the Spaniards againſt the French.

uing that of the Cat, which laie high and ſomwhat ſecret, and an other at the end of a braie by the gate on the other ſide of the bulworke; all the reſt, as thoſe of the Garden bulworke which chéeflie beheld the maine breach of the Barbican, and of the Kéepe, were quite béreued them. And beſides the enimie continuallie interteined the breach, with eight or nine tires the houre. In the afternoone, about the ſame houre that they made their attempt the daie afore, a regiment of Swiſſes, with certeine bands of Frenchmen approched the dich, as if preſentlie they would haue giuen the aſſault; but there they did ſtaie, ſending to the breach onelie a capteine or two, ſéeking thereby to haue diſcouered what flankers yet were left to them within: wherein they were preuented, the lord Graie hauing before warned the gunners not to diſcloſe them, but vpon extremitie. And thus after an houres plaie with the harquebuſh onelie, and a light offer or two of approach, this people retired them, and gaue the canon place againe, which by night had driuen them within anew to become moldwarps, and to intrench themſelues with all ſpéed poſſible.

Certeine Swiſſes and French approch the dich as if they would offer aſſault.

The morrow being wedneſdaie, by the péepe of daie, all the batteries began, and without intermiſſion held on till one of the clocke in the afternoone, and eſpeciallie that in the market place ſo preuailed, as hauing cleane ruined the old wall, did driue through the rampire, and a new countermure of earth raiſed vpon the ſame, where the lord Greie himſelfe ſitting vpon a forme, with ſir Henrie Palmer, and maſter Lewes Diue his lordſhips couſin and deputie, made a faire eſcape, the forme being ſtricken aſunder vnder them, without anie further harme to anie of them: though ſundrie other that daie and the next following loſt their liues on the ſame curteine by the foreſaid battrie, which full in flanke did beat it, wherein yet was his lordſhips onelie abode as his chéefeſt place, to view and regard the behauiour and néed of all the other lims, from which alſo a quoit might be throwne into Marie bulworke. The enimies canon (as is ſaid) hauing plaid thus all the morning, and well ſearched (as they thought) euerie corner that flankers might lurke in, about the foreſaid houre of one of the clocke, the Engliſhmen might deſcrie the trench before the breach to be ſtuffed with enſignes. The L. Greie ſtreight expecting that which followed, gaue word incontinentlie to euerie place to ſtand on their gard, incouraging euerie man to continue in their well begun endeuor. A tower that was called Webs tower, and yet ſtanding, which flanked one ſide of the beaten bulworke, he ſtuffed with twentie of the beſt ſhot with curriers. Theſe things no ſooner thus ordered, but that eight or nine enſignes of Swiſſes, and thrée of Gaſcoigns, did preſent themſelues vpon the counterſcarfe; and without ſtaie the Gaſcoignes flue into the ditch, run vp the breach, whome they within receiue with harquebuſh ſhot, but they requite the Engliſhmen againe with two for one. The top of the vaumure or rather trench, the enimie boldlie approcheth, the pike is offered, to handblowes it commeth. Then the Swiſſe with a ſtatelie leaſure ſteppeth into the dich, and cloſe togither marcheth vp the breach, the fight increaſeth, wareth verie hot, & the breach all couered with the enimies. The ſmall ſhot in Webs tower began now their parts, no bullet that went in vaine. On the other ſide againe 20 of the Spaniards on the inſide of the braies had laid themſelues cloſe till the heat of the aſſault: and then ſhewing themſelues, did no leſſe gall the enimies than the tower. Thus was it no luſtilier aſſailed than brauelie defended. At laſt after an houres fight and more, the gouernors without, finding the great ſlaughter that theirs went to, and ſmall auaile, and perceiuing the two little caſemates of the tower and braies to be the chéefeſt annoiances, did cauſe a retire to be ſounded: and withall thrée or foure of the canons in the market place, to be turned vpon Webs tower, the which at two tires brought cleane downe the ſame vpon the ſoldiors heads, wherein two or thrée were ſlaine outright, others hurt to death, and who eſcaped beſt, ſo maimed or bruſed, as they were no more able to ſerue.

The danger which my lord Greie eſcaped ſitting vpon a forme with two gentlmen.

The Swiſſes & Gaſcoigns giue the aſſault.

The manhood of the Spaniards againſt the French.

The enimie this while hauing breathed, and a brace of an hundred ſhots put foorth onelie to attend on the few Spaniards that kept the corners of the braies the aſſault afreſh is begun, and their beaten bands with new companies relieued. The lord Greie alſo ſent into the bulworke two hundred freſh men. Now grew the fight heauie vpon the Engliſhmen, all their defenſe reſting in the pike and bill, their chéefeſt flankers being gone, their places to beſtow ſhot in taken from them, their fier-works in manner ſpent, the Spaniſh ſhot on the other ſide ſo ouerlaid, as not one of them but was either ſlaine or marred, yer a quarter of the aſſault was paſt. The eaſineſſe of the fight thus alluring the enimie, vnappointed companies flue to the breach, and courage was on euerie ſide with them, what hauocke they made it is not hard to geſſe. My lord Greie perceiuing the extremitie, ſent to the two forenamed flankers, that they ſhould no longer ſpare. They ſtreight went off, the diches and breach being couered with men. Theſe vnlooked for ghesſts made the enimie that was comming to pauſe, and the other alreadie come to repent their haſt. Thrée or foure bowts of theſe ſalutations began to cleare well the breach, though the dich grew the fuller at night. At laſt parted with no great triumph of others winnings (for as the Engliſhmen within went not ſcotfrée) ſo ſuerlie no ſmall number of their enimies carcaſſes tooke vp their lodgings in the ditch that night.

A freſh aſſault begun and the fight hot and heauie againſt the Engliſh.

Enimies ſlaine.

My lord Greie this night came into the bulworke, where after praiſe firſt to God, he gaue thanks and commendations to them all. The ſlaine men he cauſed to be buried, the hurt to be remooued and looked vnto, ſaw the breach repared, inquired of their lacks, and (as he might) ſupplied the ſame. They that were great could not be helped, as cornpowder, fierworks, yea and pikes began to faile vs. The moſt part of the night he here beſtowed, and longer as was thought had taried, had not a ſcaberdles ſword about one of the ſouldiors as he went in the throng & darke amongſt them, thruſt him almoſt through the foot: wherevpon he withdrew him to be dreſſed, vſing firſt vnto his ſouldiors an exhortation to acquite themſelues no leſſe valiantlie the next daie, aſſuring them that one or two more ſuch bankets as this laſt, giuen to the enimie, would coole their courages for anie more aſſaults.

My lord Greies worke after the skirmiſh ended.

My L. Greie hurt by miſchance.

This night now, great noiſe & working was heard in the dich, wherevpon the bulworke was once or twice on alarum. At the laſt with creſſets it was eſpied that they were making a bridge. The morning came, and then the ſame was ſéene to be finiſhed, emptie caſks with ropes faſtened togither, & ſawed boords laid thereon. This yet did but put them within, in a certeintie of that which before they accounted of, and ſtood prepared for. To be ſhort, the enimies ſpent all the daie till it was full two of the clocke in batterie, & beating at the two laſt flankers, which at length they woone from them within, & the gunners of either ſlaine. Wherevpon the lord Greie taking counſell of ſir Henrie Palmer, maſter Lewes Diue and Montdragon the leader of the Spaniards: it was reſolued, that there might be order to make a fucaſie within the bulworke, and preſentlie to withdraw all from thence, ſauing a certeine for a face and ſtale to toll in the enimie, and then to haue blowne it

The French make bridges.

Conſultation betweene the lord Greie and the Engliſh gentlemen.

vp whole to the deſtruction of them all.

Rich. Grafton.

The duke of Guiſe and mõſieur Dandelot with their powers.

In the meane time, the duke of Guiſe hauing giuen order to monſieur Dandelot coronell of the French footmen, that he with his bands ſhould be in a readineſſe to giue the aſſault when ſigne ſhould be giuen, did withdraw him to an higher ground, from whence he might plainlie diſcouer the behauiour as well of his ſouldiors in the aſſault giuing, as alſo of the defendants in anſwering the ſame. And perceiuing not ſo manie of the Engliſh part appearing for defenſe (as he douted there would) gaue order forthwith, that a regiment of his moſt forward lanceknights ſhould mount the brech, to open the firſt paſſage: and that monſieur Dandelot with his French footbands ſhould backe them, which order was followed, with ſuch haſt & deſperat hardines, that entring a deepe ditch full of water, from the bottome whereof to the top of the breach, in ſome places, was well neare fortie foot, without feare either of the water beneath, or the fire aboue, they mounted the breach.

Rabutine.

And whereas the duke had prepared (as ye haue heard) bridges made of planke bords, borne vp with caſks and emptie pipes, tied one to another, for his men to paſſe the ſaid ditch: manie of them now at this aſſault, without care of thoſe bridges, plunged into the water, and tooke the next waie to come to the aſſault. Which hot haſt notwithſtanding, the aſſailants were at the firſt ſo ſtoutlie repelled and put backe by the defendants, being furniſhed with great ſtore of wildfire, and other fucaſies for the purpoſe, that they were turned headlong one vpon another, much faſter than they came vp, not without great waſt and ſlaughter of their beſt and moſt forward ſouldiors, to the ſmall comfort of the ſtout duke, who (as is ſaid before) ſtood all this while vpon a little hill to behold this buſineſſe. Wherefore he not induring this ſight any longer, as a man inraged, ran among his men, ſo reprouing ſome, and incouraging other, that the aſſault was hot renewed, with much more vehemencie and furie than before, and with no leſſe ſturdie obſtinacie and deſperation receiued by the defendants, whereby all the breach beneath was filled with French carcaſes.

The deſperat aduenture of the French.

The duke of Guiſe in a rage with his ſoldiers.

This notwithſtanding, the duke ſtill redoubled his forces with freſh companies, and continued ſo manie aſſaults one vpon another, that at the laſt charge, being moſt vehement of all the other, the Engliſhmen being tired, and greatlie miniſhed in their numbers, by ſlaughter and bloudie wounds, were of fine force driuen to auoid, & ſo after halfe an hours fight, the enimie entered. Which when the lord Greie beheld, he leaped to the top of the rampire, wiſhing of God that ſome ſhot would take him. When one that ſtood next him, by the ſcarffe ſuddenlie pulled him downe, otherwiſe the effects had well declared the earneſtnes of the praier: for he was not yet vp againe, when a canon ſhot grated vpon the ſame place from whence he fell. And thus verie narrowlie hée ſcaped the danger of that ſhot, which if it had hit him would (no doubt) haue wrought his diſpatch. For what is the weake frame of a mans bodie to mightie forts and ſtrong caſtels, builded of tim[illegible]r and ſtone, beſide the iron worke therewith com[illegible]ct, oftentimes redoubling the ſtrength of the ſa[illegible] And yet theſe (we ſee by experience) ruinated, batte[illegible], and laid leuell manie times with the thundering ſhot of this dreadfull artillerie: an engine of no great antiquitie, and not vſed among ancient warriours in former ages, but a late deuiſe of a Franciſcan frier; pitie it is that euer he was borne to ſet abroch ſuch a peſtilent inuention, as the poet noteth, ſhewing alſo the vſe and the miſchéefous effect therof as followeth:

The Engliſh forced to auoid & the enimie entereth.

Tormenti genus eſt ex ferro aut ære coactum,
Quod Franciſcanus frater reperiſſe refertur,
Vt capias paucis validiſsima caſtra diebus,
Quæ vix cepiſſes armis toto prius anno, &c.

But to proceed. The fight within the bulworke yet laſted, to the great ſlaughter of them that defended it. Herevpon my lord Greie preſentlie called to maiſter Lewes Diue, and others that were about him, to follow him to the gate. The maze was ſuch, that beſides his ſonne maiſter Arthur Greie, and now lord Greie, maiſter Lewes Diue, capteine Bricke well, and halfe a dozen of armed corſlets, not a man elſe did follow him. By this means the Engliſhmen were cleane driuen out of the bulworke, the enimie yet not daring to paſſe the braies, gaue them that eſcaped good leiſure to recouer the gate, where my lord Greie holding the wicket himſelfe, receiued them in. Vpon the taking of this bulworke, the ſouldiors of Whiteleies bulworke and the baſe court in diſcomfiture abandoned their charges, flieng to the caſtell: ſo that more than the Kéepe and the bodie of the caſtell no part was frée from the enimie. My lord Greie hauing receiued all his, cauſed the gates to be rammed vp.

Arthur Greie now lord Greie.

The enimie is daſtardlie, all his victories notwithſtanding.

Thus were the chéefe bulworks and vtter lims of the caſtell of Guiſnes obteined by the French, on ſaint Sebaſtians daie, being the twentith of Ianuarie, but yet not without great expenſe of bloud on both ſides: for of the French part there were ſlaine in thoſe aſſaults aboue the number of eight or nine hundred, and of the Engliſh not manie fewer: amongſt whom the greateſt loſſe lighted vpon thoſe few Spaniards and Wallons that were come to aſſiſt the Engliſh at that preſent. It was now night: when a trumpetter came to the ditches ſide in the baſe court, & ſounded a ſummons: who being called vnto, & aſked what he would, told that he was ſent to my lord Greie by the duke of Guiſe, with offer of a parlée if it would be harkened vnto. The ſouldiors no ſooner heard theſe newes, but forſaking the walles came all in rowt togither, & confuſedlie ſpeaking to their chiefteine the ſaid lord Greie, praied him to harken to the meſſage, & to haue conſideration of their liues, which ſo long as anie hope remained, they willinglie had ventured. The lord Greies anſwer was, that he maruelled, either what cauſeleſſe miſtruſt of his caring for them was now come vpon them, or what ſudden vnwonted faintneſſe of mind had ſo aſſailed them, as to cauſe them in ſuch diſorder to forſake their places, and leaue the walles naked, and he willed them to returne to the ſame.

Ric. Grafton.

A trumpetter from the duke of Guiſe to the lord Greie.

My lord Greie hereof tooke counſell, and it was thought good not to reiect the offer, the extremitie on euerie ſide weied. The trumpetter receiuing anſwer, accordinglie departed, & without long abode returned againe, requiring in the dukes behalfe hoſtages for a truce during the parlée from vs, he minding to deliuer the like into the caſtell. From him in fine monſieur Deſtrées, and a gentleman of the kings chamber were ſent in: and maiſter Arthur Greie my lords ſonne, and maiſter Lewes Diue, were put out. Monſieur Dandelot in the braies receiued them, and caried them ouer the vnfortunate bulworke, being come vpon naked and new ſlaine carcaſes, ſome of them ſpralling yet and groning vnder their féet, were onelie the earth they trod on. So paſſing downe the breach ſomewhat to the eaſe of the former heauie ſight, they ſaw it, and the ditch little leſſe fraught with the enimies corpſes. Then to the campe they came, and were lodged in the ſaid Dandelots tent.

Hoſtages required on the dukes part from the lord Greie during the time of the parlée, &c.

The next daie in the morning, the lord Greie was to méet the duke abrode: betwéene them willinglie one houre was ſpent in talking without agréement, onelie vpon this point, that the lord Greie would haue his bands depart with their enſignes diſplaied,

The duke and the lord Greie haue communication an whole houre.

which would not be yeelded vnto: ſo he returned, & the hoſtages alſo thervpon were ſent in. Monſieur Deſtrees not being yet come foorth, my lord was no ſooner entered againe, but that the ſouldiers eftſoones forſaking the walles, willinglie & to the preſent cutting of all their owne throtes (if monſieur Deſtrees himſelfe had not beene, with a few capteins & gentlemen of the lord Greies owne retinue) came and met him, crieng vpon him to haue pitie vpon them. The lord Greie herewith ſtaied, and pauſing a while, had this ſpeach.

The lord Greis words to his ſoldiers being aſhamed of their timerouſneſſe, and yet pitieng their preſent diſtreſſe.

The onelie pitie (if fond I cannot ſaie) that I haue of you, hath cauſed me this daie to make ſuch offers of compoſition, as neither your honeſties, nor my honour, nor either of our duties in my thought maie well beare, which refuſed to take harder to the vtter defacing of our credits, ſith the beſt would blot it. If I would, ſouldiers, your ſelues (me thinketh) in vengeance thereof ſhould turne your weapons vpon me, and ſacrifice ſo hartleſſe a capteine, rather than to take it as a token of a pitifull capteine ouer you, and to yeeld thanks for the ſame. We haue begun, as becommed vs: we haue yet held on as dutie doth bind vs: let vs end then as honeſt dutie and fame doth will vs. Neither is there anie ſuch extremitie of deſpaire in our caſe, but that we maie yet dearelie inough ſell our skins yer we loſe them. Let vs then either march out vnder our enſignes diſplaied, or elſe herewith die vnder them diſplaied.

Ric. Grafton.

The ſoldiers herewith in a mutinie flatlie anſwered, that they for his vainglorie would not ſell their liues. The deſperatneſſe of their caſe was not vnknowne vnto them (ſaid they) and that their liues in other ſeruice might yet auaile their prince and countrie. In this now further to venture, was but like oxen to be thruſt to the butcher. That his lordſhip was not to expect anie one blow at their hands.

The lord Greies ſouldiers in a mutinie doo murmur againſt him, &c.

Herewith in haſt came one from monſieur Deſtrees that ſtood at the rampire, aduiſing him to ſend his ſouldiors to the wals, otherwiſe that the Swiſſes would aſſuredlie enter. So conſtreined, his lordſhip promiſed them to compound, and ſo he got them to the wals. Then my lord going to councell, at length agreed vpon theſe conditions. Firſt, that the caſtell with all the furniture therin as well vittels as great artillerie, powder, and all other munitions of warre, ſhould be wholie rendred without waſting, hiding, or miniſhment thereof. Secondarilie, that the lord Greie with all the capteins, officers and others, hauing charge there, ſhould remaine priſoners at the dukes pleaſure, to be ranſomed after the maner of warre. Thirdlie, that all the reſt, as well ſouldiors as others, ſhould depart with their armors, and baggage to what parties it ſeemed them beſt: neuertheleſſe to paſſe without ſound of drum or trumpet, or enſigne, and to leaue them behind. Theſe articles ſent by monſieur Deſtrees to the duke were accepted, & ſo in the after noone, the duke himſelfe came & receiued the keies of my lord Greie, who preſentlie went out, and was giuen to the marſhall Strozzie, and from him ſold to monſieur de Randan, by whom he came into his brother the counte de Rochefoucalt his hands, and there reſted, till he was redeemed for foure and twentie thouſand crownes.

Articles of agreement betweene the lord Greie and the enimie.

The daie following, that is ſaie the two and twentith of Ianuarie, all the ſouldiors of the ſaid fortreſſe of Guiſnes, as well Engliſh as ſtrangers, with all the reſt of the inhabitants, and other (excepted the lord Greie himſelfe, maiſter Arthur Greie his ſon, ſir Henrie Palmer knight, Montdragon capteine of the Spaniards, and other men of charge reſerued by the compoſition) departed with their bag and baggage from thenſe towards Flanders. At whoſe iſſuing foorth, there were eſteemed to the number of eight or nine hundred able men for the warre, part Engliſh & part Burgognians. Of Spaniards ſo few were left, as no account is to be made of them, in maner the whole number of them being ſlaine, and ſelling their liues right deerelie, according to the order of good & hardie ſouldiors. Thus endeth this ſiege, wherein for breuities ſake we haue left to ſaie anie thing of the prouiſions that the lord Greie made againſt the ſame, of the aduertiſements that from time to time he ſent to king Philip and queene Marie, and of their anſwers, of the ſundrie aduentures which they of Guiſnes had with the enimie during their being about Calis, and of the great and manie booties that were there taken. Onelie in a word or two will I ad what bands of ſtrangers were within the peece, becauſe thereof as in an other thing or two, I doo find maiſter Grafton in his chronicle ſpeake at rouers. Firſt came in Montdragon, with two Spaniards more, verie valiant men, whome did follow within a daie or two, about foure or fiue and thirtie other Spaniards, all ſhot, of which (as I haue heard) there went not fiue out of the caſtell.

The ſoldiors of Guiſnes depart thenſe with bag and baggage.

What bands of ſtrangers were within the fort.

There came one capteine Deſquie a Burgognian, with two hundred ſouldiors, pikes moſt. This band was appointed to the Marie bulworke, whoſe capteine being full of the gout, and an impotent man, would not yet be from his charge, but in his bed ended his life in the bulworke. And ſo of this enough. But now after the winning of this towne and caſtell, the duke aduiſing well vpon the place, and conſidering that if it ſhould happen to be regained by Engliſhmen, what a noiſome neighbor the ſame might be to Calis, now being French; and ſpeciallie what impeachment ſhould come thereby for the paſſage thither from France, conſidering alſo the neere ſtanding thereof to the French kings fortreſſe of Ard: ſo that to keepe two garriſons ſo nigh togither ſhould be but a double charge, and not onlie needleſſe, but alſo dangerous for the cauſe afore rehearſed. Vpon theſe conſiderations (as the Frenchmen write) he tooke order for all the great artillerie, vittels and other munition, to be taken foorth, and the caſtell with all the bulworkes and other fortifications there, with all ſpeed to be razed and throwne downe, and the ſtuffe to be caried awaie, and emploied in other more neceſſarie places.

Rich. Graſon.

Then reſted nothing within all the Engliſh pale on that ſide vnconquered, but the little caſtell or pile called Hammes, which though it were but of ſmall force, made by art and induſtrie of mans hand, and being altogither of old workemanſhip without rampiers or bulworks: yet neuertheleſſe, by the naturall ſituation thereof, being on all ſides inuironed with fens and mariſh grounds, it could not eaſilie be approched vnto, either with great ordinance for the batterie, or elſe with anie armie to incampe there for a ſiege: but hauing one ſtreict paſſage thereto by a narrow cauſeie, trauerſed and cut through in diuerſe places, with deepe ditches, alwaies full of water. Which thing being well foreſeene by Edward lord Dudleie then capteine there, hauing as good cauſe to ſuſpect a ſiege there, as his neighbors had afore the Frenchmens comming to Guiſnes, cauſed all the brigges of the ſaid cauſeie being of wood to be broken, to giue thereby the more impeachment to the French, if they ſhould attempt to approch the ſame, as ſhortlie after they did, and kept diuerſe of the paſſages.

Hammes caſtell could not be eaſilie approched vnto, and why.

The lord Edward Dudleie.

But to deliuer the duke and his ſouldiors from that care, there came to him glad newes from thoſe that had charge to watch the ſaid cauſeie, how the capteine hauing intelligence of the rendering of Guiſnes, ſecretlie the ſame night had conueied him-

ſelfe,

A prouiſo of aduantage for the duke.

ſelfe, with his ſmall garriſon by a ſecret paſſage ouer the mariſh into Flanders. Wherby the duke being now paſt care of anie further ſiege to be laid in all the frontier, tooke order foorthwith to ſeize the ſaid little fort into his own hands, as it was eaſie to doo, when there was no reſiſtance. When this peece was once ſeized by the French, then remained there none other place of defenſe nor ſtrength of the Engliſh on all that ſide the ſea, for the ſafegard of the reſt of the countrie. Whereby the French king became wholie and throughlie lord & maiſter of all the Engliſh pale: for now (as ye haue heard) there was neither towne, caſtell, or other fortreſſe, more or leſſe on that ſide (ſauing Boots bulworke neere to Graueling, which after king Philip kept as his) but that it was either taken awaie by force, or elſe abandoned, and left open to the enimie. And (as the Frenchmen write) beſides the great riches of gold and ſiluer, coine, iewels, plate, wools, and other merchandize (which was ineſtimable) there were found thrée hundred peeces of braſſe mounted on wheeles, and as manie of iron, with ſuch furniture of powder, pellets, armour, vittels, and other munitions of war ſcarſelie credible.

This was a maruellous rich bootie for the enimie, and a great loſſe to the partie contrarie.

Thus haue you heard the whole diſcourſe of the conqueſt of the noble towne of Calis, with all the Engliſh fortreſſes and countrie adioining made by the duke of Guiſe. The news whereof when they came to the French king, no need to aſke how ioifullie they were receiued, not onelie of him and all his court, but alſo vniuerſallie through the whole realme of France. For the which victorie, there was (as the maner is) *Te Deum* ſung, and bonefiers made euerie where, as it is wont to be in caſes of common ioy and gladneſſe, for ſome rare benefit of God. In ſo much that ſhortlie vpon the conqueſt, there was a publike aſſemblie at Paris of all the eſtates of France, who franklie in recompenſe of the kings charges emploied in the winning of Calis, and the places aforeſaid, and for maintenance of his wars to be continued afterwards, granted vnto him thrée millians of French crowns: whereof the clergie of France contributed one millian, beſides their diſmes. And no maruell though the French did highlie reioiſe at the recouerie of Calis out of the Engliſhmens hands: for it is conſtantlie affirmed of manie, that be acquainted with the affaires of France, that euer ſince the ſame towne was firſt woone by Engliſhmen, in all ſolemne councels aſſembled to treat vpon the ſtate of France, there was a ſpeciall perſon appointed to put them in remembrance from time to time of Calis: as it were to be wiſhed that the like were vſed in England, vntill it were regained from the French.

Triumphs in France for the getting againe of Calis.

A. Fl. *ex opere hiſtorico Schardi collectio. pag.* 1970.

¶ And here becauſe thus much is ſaid of the French by waie of diſcourſe concerning their exulting, and immoderat ioyfulneſſe manie waies teſtified, ſomewhat being alredie written thereof before: it is noteworthie, either for the increaſe of wit in vs, if it were the fault of our follie; or the aggrauating of their impudencie, if they bluſh not to publiſh a moſt lowd and lewd lie; to remember what I haue read in verſes ſet forth by a Frenchman; wherein among manie words & terms vſed touching this conqueſt of Calis & Guiſnes (wherein alſo a propheſie of Merline (of which name there were two, and both prophets) is introduced, foretelling the reuolution of the ſame to be rather fatall to that nation, than recouerable by prowesse martiall (for thus he ſaith:)

D. Powell *in hiſt. Camb. pag.* 4, 5.

Namque erat in fatis redditurum haud antè Caletum
Ad veteres dominos, quàm ſe regina marito
Traderet externo, veterúmque propagine regum
Poſthabita, nouus hic ſuccederet aduena regnis:
Ipſe Valeſina venturum à ſtirpe nepotem
Merlinus vates multò prædixerat antè,
Sanguinis vltorem noſtri cladíſque futurum.)

But this is not the matter that I meant (though it conteine ſomewhat whereat men may muſe) but a further reach to the rebuke of raſhneſſe in ſome, if it were their deed; and to the ſhame of others, if the report be falſe. For thus ſaith the ſame author, whoſe verſes euen now I rehearſed, ſpeaking of the Engliſhmen, whome former victories (ſaith he) made verie venterous, confident, and full of heart; and beſides that, ſo diſdainfull and ſcornefull towards the French, that they cauſed to be grauen in hard marbell aloft at the entrie of the caſtell or fortreſſe in legible letters (but he telleth not in what language, no more than which of the Merlins propheſie it was; howbeit (ſaith he) thus much in effect in Latine:

Tùm demùm Francus premet obſidione Caletum,
Cùm ferrum plumbúmue natabit ſuberis inſtar.
Then ſhall the Frenchmen Calis win,
When iron and lead like corke ſhall ſwim.

Thus report the French, but how trulie, let them ſaie that are able (vpon their owne knowledge) to iudge: and thus much ſhall ſuffice for that matter.]

Now ſeemed euerie daie a yeare to the French king vntill he perſonallie had viſited Calis, and his new conquered countrie. Wherefore about the end of Ianuarie he tooke his viage thither, accompanied with no ſmall number of his nobilitie: and immediatlie vpon his arriuall there, he peruſed the whole towne and euerie part thereof from place to place, deuiſing with the duke of Guiſe for the better fortification thereof, what ſhould be added vnto the old, and what ſhould be made new, and what ſhould be taken awaie. And after order taken for that buſineſſe, he placed there a noble man, & no leſſe valiant knight of the order, called monſieur de Thermes to be capteine of the towne, and ſo departed he againe into France.

The French king goeth to viſit and ſee Calis.

Monſieur de Thermes made capteine of Calis.

After the French kings departure from Calis, he made great haſt for the accompliſhment of the marriage, moued betweene Francis his eldeſt ſonne, called the Dolphin, and Marie Steward daughter & ſole heire of Iames the fift late king of Scotland: which princeſſe, if the Scots had bin faithfull of promiſe, as they ſeldome be) ſhould haue married king Edward the ſixt. For the breach of which promiſe began all the warre betweene England & Scotland, as you heard in the latter end of the life of king Henrie the eight, and in the beginning of king Edward the ſixt. This mariage (ſaith Grafton) though it be not of my matter, I thought not to omit, for that manie things were meant thereby, which thanks be to God neuer came to effect. But one ſpeciall point was not hidden to the world, that by meanes of the ſame, the realme of Scotland ſhould for euermore haue remained as vnited and incorporat to the crowne of France: and that as the ſonne and heire of euerie French king doth ſucceed to the inheritance and poſſeſſion of a countrie called the Dolphin, & is therfore called Dolphin; & like as the principalitie of Wales apperteineth to the eldeſt ſon of the king of England, who therefore is called the prince of Wales: euen ſo the Dolphin heire of France ſhould thereby haue béene king of Scotland for euermore: which name and title vpon this mariage was accordinglie giuen to Francis Dolphin and heire apparant of France, to be called king Dolphin. The meaning whereof was vtterlie to exclude for euermore anie to be king of Scotland, but onelie the eldeſt ſonne of France.

The mariage betweene the Dolphin and the princeſſe of Scots.

Why the ſon and heire of euerie French king is called the Dolphin.

This memorable marriage was ſolemnized in the citie of Paris the foure and twentith daie of Aprill, in the yeere of Chriſt 1558, with moſt magnificall pompe and triumph, and honored with the preſence of the moſt part of the princes, prelats, lords

and

The mariage of the quéene of Scots with the Dolphin.

The quéene Dowager of Scotland doth what ſhe can to procure war againſt England.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S pag. 1106.
A preſt to the quéene.

A woonderfull tempeſt of thunder woonderfull indéed.

A great death of old people through vehement quartane agues.

Ex Ioh. Foxi martyrologio.
The old hatred of Stephan Gardiner biſhop of wincheſter againſt the dutcheſſe of Suffolke.

and barons of both the realmes, as it were for a confirmation of this new aliance. Which as it was much to the aduantage and benefit of France: ſo nothing could be more preiudice & derogation to the crowne of Scotland, as a deuiſe tending to the perpetuall aboliſhing and extinguiſhment of the name & ſtate of kings in that realme. In this meane time alſo the quéene Dowager of Scotland had doone what in hir laie, to procure the Scotiſh nobilitie to make warres againſt England: but they being not willing thereto, monſieur Doiſell coronell of certeine bands of Frenchmen came to Aimouth within ſix miles of Berwike, and fortified that place, making ſundrie rodes and inuaſions into England. In reuenge whereof the Engliſhmen made the like inrodes into Scotland, wherevpon the Scotiſhmen in their defenſe (as ſome pretend) were driuen to haue warres: and therevpon the earle of Huntleie was made lieutenant of the Scots borders, who remaining there by the helpe of the Frenchmen did manie diſpleaſures to the Engliſhmen. This warre was begun in the yéere laſt paſt, and ſo continued: during the which manie ſkirmiſhes and diuerſe proper feats of armes were put in practiſe betwixt the parties (as in the hiſtorie of Scotland more at large it doth appéeare) where we ſpeake of the doings in the yeares 1557 and 1558.

The quéene Dowager of Scotland doth what ſhe can to procure war againſt England.

¶A preſt was granted to the quéene by the citizens of London, of twentie thouſand pounds, which was leuied of the companies: for the which ſumme to be paied againe, the quéene bound certeine lands, & alſo allowed for intereſt of the monie twelue pounds of euerie hundred for a yeare. Alſo this yeare within a mile of Notingham, was a maruellous tempeſt of thunder, which as it came through two townes, beat downe all the houſes and churches, the bels were caſt to the ont ſide of the churchyards, and ſome webs of lead foure hundred foot into the field, writhen like a paire of gloues. The riuer of Trent running betwéene the two townes, the water with the mud in the botome was carried a quarter of a mile, and caſt againſt the trées, the trées were pulled vp by the roots and caſt twelue ſcore off. Alſo a child was taken forth of a mans hands two ſpeares length hie, and carried a hundred foot off, and then let fall, wherewith his arme was broken, & ſo he died. Fiue or ſix men thereabout were ſlaine, and neither fleſh nor ſkinne periſhed; there fell ſome haileſtones that were fiftéene inches about, &c. This yeare in harueſt time the quartane agues continued in like maner, or more vebementlie, than they had doone the laſt yeare paſt, where through died manie old people, and ſpeciallie prieſts, ſo that a great number of pariſhes were vnſerued, and no curats to be gotten: and much corne was loſt in the field for lacke of workemen & laborers. Wherevpon inſued a great ſcarſitie; ſo that in the beginning of ſir Thomas Leighs maioraltie, corne roſe to fourtéene ſhillings the quarter, and wood waxed ſcant in London, and was ſold for thirtéene and fouretéene ſhillings the thouſand of billets, and coles at ten pence the ſacke, by reaſon of the great death and ſickneſſe the laſt ſummer for lacke of helpe and carriage.] ¶And here before we paſſe the yeare 1558, it were a fowle ouerſight, not to make mention of a memorable diſcourſe touching the ladie Katharine late dutcheſſe of Suffolke, a perſonage of honor, and worthie of commemoration in chronicles for hir godlineſſe to hir high praiſe: where manie a maleſactor is recorded for their outragious wickedneſſe to their immortall ſhame. Concerning the ſaid ladie therefore thus writeth maſter Fox.

Abr.Fl. ex I.S pag. 1106. A preſt to the quéene.

A wonderfull tempeſt of thunder wonderfull indéed.

A great death of old people through vehement quartane agues.

Ex Ioh. Foxi martyrologio. The old hatred of Stephan Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter againſt the dutcheſſe of Suffolke.

Stephan Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, ſurmiſing the ladie Katharine baroneſſe of Willoughbie and Creſbie, and ducheſſe Dowager of Suffolke, to be one of his ancient enimies, becauſe he knew he had deſerued no better of hir, deuiſed in the holie time of the firſt Lent in quéen Maries reigne, a holie practiſe of reuenge, firſt by touching hir in the perſon of hir huſband maiſter Richard Bertie eſquier, for whome he ſent an attachment (hauing the great ſeale at his deuotion) to the ſhiriffe of Lincolnſhire, with a ſpeciall letter, commanding moſt ſtrictlie the ſame ſhiriffe to attach the ſaid Richard immediatlie, and without baile to bring him vp to London to his great lordſhip. Maiſter Bertie hir huſband being cleare in conſcience, and frée from offenſe towards the quéene, could not coniecture anie cauſe of this ſtrange proceſſe, vnleſſe it were ſome quarrell for religion, which he thought could not be ſo ſore as the proceſſe pretended.

Maiſter Richard Bertie huſband to the dutcheſſe, attached by the biſhop of Wincheſter.

The ſhiriffe, notwithſtanding the commandement, aduentured onelie to take the bond of maiſter Bertie, with two ſuerties in a thouſand pounds for his appéerance, to be made before the biſhop on good fridaie following: at which daie maiſter Bertie appéered, the biſhop then lieng at his houſe by ſaint Marie Oueries. Of whoſe preſence when the biſhop vnderſtood by a gentleman of his chamber, in a great rage he came out of his gallerie into his dining chamber, where he found a preaſe of ſuters, ſaieng he would not that daie heare anie: but came forth onelie to know of maiſter Bertie, how he being a ſubiect durſt ſo arrogantlie ſet at light two former proceſſes of the quéenes. Maiſter Bertie anſwered, that albeit my lords words might ſéeme to the reſt ſomewhat ſharpe towards him, yet he conceiued great comfort of them. For whereas he before thought it extremitie to be attached, hauing vſed no obſtinacie or contumacie: now he gathered of thoſe words, that my lord ment not otherwiſe but to haue vſed ſome ordinarie proceſſe; albeit indéed none came to his hands. Yea Marie, quoth the biſhop, I haue ſent you two *Subpœnas*, to appéere immediatlie, and I am ſure you receiued them: for I committed the truſt of them to no worſſe man but to maiſter ſolicitor, and I ſhall make you an example to all Lincolnſhire for your obſtinacie. Maiſter Bertie denieng the receipt of anie, humblie praied his lordſhip to ſuſpend his diſpleſure and the puniſhment, till he had good triall thereof: and then (if it pleaſed him) to double the paine for the fault, if anie were. Well (quoth the biſhop) I haue appointed my ſelfe this daie (according to the holineſſe of the ſame) for deuotion, and I will not further trouble me with you: but I inioine you in a thouſand pounds, not to depart without leaue, and to be here againe to morrow at ſeauen of the clocke.

Maſter Bertie appeareth before biſhop Gardiner.

Talke betwéene biſhop Gardiner and maiſter Bertie.

The deuotion of biſhop Gardiner to good fridaie.

Maiſter Bertie attached for debt of foure thouſand pounds due to the quéene.

Maiſter Bertie well obſerued the houre, and no tot failed. At the which time the biſhop had with him maiſter ſergeant Stamford, to whome he moued certeine queſtions of the ſaid maſter Bertie, bicauſe maſter ſergeant was towards the lord Wriotheſleie late earle of Southampton, & chancellor of England, with whom the ſaid maſter Bertie was brought vp. Maſter ſergeant made verie friendlie report of maſter Bertie of his owne knowledge for the time of their conuerſation togither. Wherevpon the biſhop cauſed maiſter Bertie to be brought in; and firſt making a falſe traine (as God would, without fire) before he would deſcend to the quarrell of religion, he aſſaulted him in this maner. The quéenes pleaſure is (quoth the biſhop) that you ſhall make preſent paiment of foure thouſand pounds due to hir father by duke Charles, late huſband to the dutcheſſe your wife, whoſe executor ſhe was. Pleaſeth it your lordſhip (quoth maiſter Bertie) that debt is eſtalled, and is according to that eſtallment trulie anſwered. Tuſh (quoth the biſhop) the quéene will not be bound

to

Ket capteine of the rebels in Norffolke in king Edwards time.

to eſtallments, in the time of Kets gouernment, for ſo I eſteeme the late gouernment. The eſtallment (quoth maiſter Bertie) was appointed by king Henrie the eight; beſides, the ſame was by ſpeciall commiſſioners confirmed in king Edwards time, and the lord treaſuror being an executor alſo to the duke Charles ſolie and wholie, tooke vpon him before the ſaid commiſſioners to diſcharge the ſame.

A dog clothed in a rochet vnder the name of biſhop Gardiner.

It is merie with lambs when wolues be tied.

If it be true that you ſaie (quoth the biſhop) I will ſhew you fauor. But of an other thing maiſter Bertie, I will admoniſh you as mening you well. I heare euill of your religion; yet I hardlie can think euill of you, whoſe mother I know to be as godlie and catholike, as anie within this land, your ſelfe brought vp with a maiſter, whoſe education if I ſhould diſallow, I might be charged as author of his error. Beſides partlie I know you my ſelfe, and vnderſtand of my friends inough to make me your friend: wherefore I will not doubt of you, but I praie you if I maie aſke the queſtion of my ladie your wife; is ſhe now as readie to ſet vp the maſſe, as ſhe was latelie to pull it downe, when ſhe cauſed in hir progreſſe, a dog in a rochet to be caried & called by my name? Or doth ſhe thinke hir lambs now ſafe inough, which ſaid to me when I vailed my bonnet to hir out of my chamber window in the tower, that it was merie with the lambs now the wolfe was ſhut vp? Another time my lord hir huſband hauing inuited me and diuerſe ladies to dinner, deſired euerie ladie to choſe him whome ſhe loued beſt, and ſo place themſelues. My ladie your wife taking me by the hand, for that my lord would not haue hir to take himſelfe, ſaid, that for ſo much as ſhe could not ſit downe with my lord whome ſhe loued beſt, ſhe had choſen me whome ſhe loued worſt.

Purgation of the ladie ducheſſe for not comming to maſſe.

Of the deuiſe of the dog, quoth maſter Bertie, ſhe was neither the author nor the allower. The words, though in that ſeaſon they ſounded bitter to your lordſhip: yet if it ſhould pleaſe you without offenſe to know the cauſe, I am ſure the one will purge the other. As touching ſetting vp of maſſe, which ſhe learned not onelie by ſtrong perſuaſions of diuerſe excellent learned men, but by vniuerſall conſent and order whole ſix yeares paſt inwardlie to abhorre; if ſhe ſhould outwardlie allow, ſhe ſhould both to Chriſt ſhew hir ſelfe a falſe chriſtian, and vnto hir prince a maſking ſubiect. You know my lord, one by iudgement reformed, is more worth than a thouſand tranſformed temporizors. To force a confeſſion of religion by mouth, contrarie to that in the heart, worketh damnation where ſaluation is pretended. Yea marie (quoth the biſhop) that deliberation would doo well if ſhe neuer required to come from an old religion to a new. But now ſhe is to returne from a new to an ancient religion: wherein when ſhe made me hir goſſip, ſhe was as earneſt as anie.

Religion goeth not by age, but by truth.

Maſter Bertie releaſed from his band of appearing.

For that, my lord (ſaid M. Bertie) not long ſince, ſhe anſwered a friend of hirs vſing your lordſhips ſpeech, that religion went not by age but by truth: and therefore ſhe was to be turned by perſuaſion and not by commandement. I praie you (quoth the biſhop) thinke you it poſſible to perſuade hir? Yea verelie (ſaid maſter Bertie) with the truth: for ſhe is reaſonable inough. The biſhop thereunto replieng, ſaid: It will be a maruellous griefe to the prince of Spaine, and to all the nobilitie that ſhall come with him, when they ſhall find but two noble perſonages of the Spaniſh race within this land, the queene, and my ladie your wife, and one of them gone from the faith. Maſter Bertie anſwered, that he truſted they ſhould find no fruits of infidelitie in hir. So the biſhop perſuading maſter Bertie to trauell earneſtlie for the reformation of hir opinion, and offering large friendſhip, releaſed him of his band from further appearance.

Waies practiſed how to conueie the ducheſſe ouer the ſeas with the queenes licence.

Maſter Bertie deuiſeth cauſes to paſſe ouer into Flanders.

The ducheſſe and hir huſband, daſlie more and more, by their friends vnderſtanding that the biſhop meant to call hir to an account of hir faith, whereby extreamitie might follow, deuiſed waies how by the queenes licence they might paſſe the ſeas. Maſter Bertie had a redie meane: for there reſted great ſummes of monie due to the old duke of Suffolke (one of whoſe executors the ducheſſe was) beyond the ſeas, the emperour himſelfe being one of thoſe debtors. Maſter Bertie communicated this his purpoſed ſute for licence to paſſe the ſeas, and the cauſe, to the biſhop; adding, that he tooke this time moſt meet to deale with the emperour, by reaſon of likelihood of marriage betweene the queene and his ſonne. I like your deuiſe well (quoth the biſhop) but I thinke it better, that you tarrie the princes comming, and I will procure you his letters alſo to his father. Naie (quoth maſter Bertie) vnder your lordſhips correction & pardon of ſo liberall ſpeech, I ſuppoſe the time will then be leſſe conuenient: for when the marriage is conſummate, the emperour hath his deſire: but till then he will refuſe nothing to win credit with vs.

Maſter Bertie licenced by the queene to paſſe the ſeas.

Preparation made how to conueie the ducheſſe ouer the ſeas.

M. Cranwell a truſtie friend to maſter Bertie.

By ſaint Marie (quoth the biſhop, ſmiling) you geſſe ſhrewdlie. Well, proceed in your ſute vnto the queene, and it ſhall not lacke my helping hand. Maſter Bertie found ſo good ſucceſſe, that he in few daies obteined the queenes licence, not onlie to paſſe the ſeas, but to paſſe and repaſſe them ſo often as to him ſeemed good, till he had finiſhed all his buſineſſe and cauſes beyond the ſeas. So he paſſed the ſeas at Douer about the beginning of Iune in the firſt yeare of hir reigne, leauing the ducheſſe behind, who by agreement and conſent betwixt hir and hir huſband, followed, taking barge at Lion keie, verie earlie in the morning, on the firſt daie of Ianuarie next inſuing, not without ſome perill. There was none of thoſe that went with hir, made priuie to hir going till the inſtant, but an old gentleman called maſter Robert Cranwell, whome maſter Bertie had ſpeciallie prouided for that purpoſe. She tooke with hir hir daughter an infant of one yeare, and the meaneſt of hir ſeruants: for ſhe doubted the beſt would not aduenture that fortune with hir. They were in number foure men, one a Greeke borne, which was a rider of horſſes, an other a ioiner, the third a brewer, the fourth a foole one of the kitchin, one gentlewoman, and a landreſſe.

The ducheſſe with hir companie departed the realme.

The maner of the ducheſſe fleeng out of hir houſe.

As ſhe departed hir houſe called the Barbican, betwixt foure and fiue of the clocke in the morning, with hir companie and baggage, one Atkinſon an herald, keeper of hir houſe, hearing noiſe about the houſe, roſe and came forth with a torch in his hand as ſhe was yet iſſuing out of the gate: wherewith being amazed, ſhe was forced to leaue a male with neceſſaries for hir yong daughter, & a milkepot with milke in the ſame gatehouſe, commanding all hir ſeruants to ſpeed them before awaie to Lion keie: and taking with hir onelie the two women and hir child, ſo ſoone as ſhe was out of hir owne houſe, perceiuing the herald to follow, ſhe ſtept in at Garterhouſe hard by. The herald comming out of the ducheſſe houſe, and ſeeing no bodie ſtirring, not aſſured (though by the male ſuſpecting) that ſhe was departed, returned in: and while he ſtaied ranſacking parcels left in the male, the ducheſſe iſſued into the ſtreet, and proceeded in hir iournie, he knowing the place onelie by name where ſhe ſhould take hir boat, but not the waie thither, nor none with hir. Likewiſe hir ſeruants hauing diuided themſelues, none but one knew the waie to the ſaid keie.

So ſhe apparelled like a meane merchants wife, and the reſt like meane ſeruants, walking in the ſtreets vnknowne, ſhe tooke the way that led to Finſburie field, and the others walked the citie ſtréets as they laie open before them, till by chance more than diſcretion, they met all ſuddenlie together a litle within More gate, from whence they paſſed directlie to Lion keie, and there tooke barge in a morning ſo miſtie, that the ſteareſman was loth to lanch out, but that they vrged him. So ſoone as the daie permitted, the councell was informed of hir departure, and ſome of them came foorthwith to hir houſe to inquire of the maner thereof, and tooke an inuentarie of hir goods, beſides further order deuiſed for ſearch and watch to apprehend and ſtaie hir. The fame of hir departure reached to Leigh, a towne at the lands end, before hir approching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Goſling a merchant of London, an old acquaintance of Cranwels, whither the ſaid Cranwell brought the ducheſſe, naming hir miſtreſſe White, the daughter of maſter Goſling, for ſuch a daughter he had which neuer was in that countrie. There ſhe repoſed hir, and made new garments for hir daughter, hauing loſt hir owne in the male at Barbican.

The ducheſſe with hir companie taketh barge.

Purſute after the ducheſſe.

The ducheſſe reteined in M. Goſlings houſe by Leigh, vnder the name of his daughter.

When the time came that ſhe ſhould take ſhip, being conſtreind that night to lie at an inne in Leigh (where ſhe was againe almoſt bewraied) yet notwithſtanding by Gods good working ſhe eſcaping that hazzard, at length as the tide and wind did ſerue, they went abord, and being carried twiſe into the ſeas, almoſt into the coaſt of Zeland, by contrarie wind were driuen to the place from whence they came. And at the laſt recuile, certeine perſons came to the ſhore, ſuſpecting ſhe was within that ſhip: yet hauing examined one of hir companie that was one land for freſh Achates, and finding by the ſimplicitie of his tale, onelie the appearance of a meane merchants wife to be a ſhipbord, he ceaſed anie further ſearch. To be ſhort, ſo ſoone as the ducheſſe had landed in Brabant, ſhe and hir women were apparelled like the women of Netherland with hukes, and ſo ſhe and hir huſband tooke their iournie towards Cleueland, and being arriued at a towne therin called Santon, tooke a houſe there, vntill they might further deuiſe of ſome ſure place where to ſettle themſelues.

The hard aduenture of the ducheſſe vpon the ſeas.

The ducheſſe landed in Brabant. M. Bertie with the ducheſſe his wife arriued at Santon.

About fiue miles from Santon is a frée towne called Weſell, vnder the ſaid duke of Cleues dominion, and one of the Hauns townes, priuileged with the companie of the Stilliard in London, whither diuerſe Wallons were fled for religion, and had for their miniſter one Francis Peruſell, then called Francis de Riuers, who had receiued ſome courteſie in England at the ducheſſe hands. Maſter Bertie being yet at Santon, practiſed with him to obteine a protection from the magiſtrats for his abode and his wiues at Weſell: which was the ſooner procured bicauſe the ſtate of the ducheſſe was not diſcouered but onelie to the chéefe magiſtrate, earneſtlie bent to ſhew them pleaſure, whileſt this protection was in ſéeking.

The frée towne of Weſell in Cleueland.

A protection procured for the ducheſſe, of the magiſtrates of Weſell.

In the meane while, at the towne of Santon was a muttering, that the ducheſſe and hir huſband were greater perſonages than they gaue themſelues foorth, and the magiſtrats not verie well inclined to religion; the biſhop of Arras alſo being deane of the great minſter, order was taken, that the duches and hir huſband ſhould be examined of their condition and religion vpon the ſudden. Which practiſe diſcouered by a gentleman of that countrie to maſter Bertie, he without delaie taking no more than the duches hir daughter, and two other with them, as though he meant no more but to take the aire, about thrée of the clocke in the afternoone in Februarie, on foot, without hiering of horſſe or wagon for feare of diſcloſing his purpoſe, meant priuilie that night to get to Weſell, leauing his other familie ſtill at Santon.

M. Bertie & the ducheſſe in danger of taking by the biſhop of Arras at Santõ.

Another eſcape of the ducheſſe and hir huſband.

After the duches and he were one Engliſh mile from the towne, there fell a mightie raine of continuance, whereby a long froſt and iſe before congealed was thawed, which doubled more the wearineſſe of thoſe new lackies. But being now on the waie, and ouertaken with the night, they ſent their two ſeruants (which onelie went with them) to villages, as they paſſed, to hire ſome car for their eaſe: but none could be hired. In the mene time maſter Bertie was forced to carrie the child, and the duches his cloke and rapier. At laſt betwixt ſix and ſeauen of the clocke in the darke night, they came to Weſell, and repairing to their innes for lodging and ſome repoſe after ſuch a painfull iourneie, found hard interteinment: for going from inne to inne, offering large monie for ſmall lodging, they were refuſed of all the inholders, ſuſpecting maſter Bertie to be a lanceknight, and the duches to be his woman. The child for cold and ſuſtenance cried pittifullie, the mother wept as faſt, and the heauens rained as faſt as the clouds could powre.

The hard diſtreſſe of the ducheſſe by euill wether.

The hard interteinment of M. Bertie & the ducheſſe at their entring into Weſell.

Maſter Bertie deſtitute of all other ſuccor of hoſpitalitie, reſolued to bring the ducheſſe to the porch of the great church in the towne, and ſo to buie coles, victuals and ſtraw for their miſerable repoſe there that night, or at leaſt till by Gods helpe he might prouide hir better lodging. Maſter Bertie at that time vnderſtood not much Dutch, and by reaſon of euill weather and late ſeaſon of the night, he could not happen vpon anie that could ſpeake Engliſh, French, Italian, or Latine; till at laſt going towards the church porch, he heard two ſtriplings talking Latine, to whome he approched and offered them two ſtiuers to bring him to ſome Wallons houſe. By theſe boies, and Gods good conduct, he chanced at the firſt vpon the houſe where maſter Peruſell ſupped that night, who had procured them the protection of the magiſtrats of that towne. At the firſt knocke, the goodman of the houſe himſelfe came to the doore, and opening it, aſked maſter Bertie what he was. Maſter Bertie ſaid, an Engliſhman, that ſought for one maſter Peruſels houſe. The Wallon willed maſter Bertie to ſtaie a while, who went backe and told maſter Peruſell that the ſame Engliſh gentleman, of whome they had talked the ſame ſupper, had ſent, by likelihood his ſeruant to ſpeake with him. Whervpon maſter Peruſell came to the doore, and beholding maſter Bertie, the ducheſſe, & their child, their faces, apparels, and bodies ſo farre from their old forme, deformed with durt, weather, and heauineſſe, could not ſpeake to them, nor they to him for teares. At length recouering themſelues, they ſaluted one another, & ſo togither entered the houſe, God knoweth full ioifullie: maſter Bertie changing of his apparell with the goodman, the ducheſſe with the good wife, and their child with the child of the houſe.

Gods prouidence in time of diſtreſſe.

The méeting of W. Peruſel & the ducheſſe at Weſell.

Within few daies after, by maſter Peruſels means, they hired a verie faire houſe in the towne, and did not let to ſhew themſelues what they were, in ſuch good ſort as their preſent condition permitted. It was by this time through the whole towne what diſcourteſie the inholders had ſhewed vnto them at their entrie, in ſo much as on the ſundaie following, a preacher in the pulpit openlie in ſharpe termes rebuked that great inciuilitie towards ſtrangers; by allegation of ſundrie places out of holie ſcriptures, diſcourſing how not onelie princes ſometime are receiued in the image of priuat perſons, but angels in the ſhape of men, and that God of his iuſtice would make the ſtrangers one day in an other land, to haue more ſenſe of the afflicted heart of a ſtranger. The time was paſſing foorth, as they thought themſelues thus happilie ſetled, ſuddenlie a watchword came from ſir John Maſon, then quéene Maries ambaſſadour in Netherland, that my lord Paget had fained

The citizens of Weſell admoniſhed by their preacher of their hardneſſe toward ſtrangers.

A fréendlie part of ſir John Maſon towards the ducheſſe.

A traine laid for yͤ dutches by the lord Paget and the duke of Brunſwicke.

M Bertie & the dutcheſſe remoue to Winheim vnder the Palſgraue.

an errant to the baths that waies: and whereas the duke of Brunſwicke was ſhortlie with ten enſignes to paſſe by Weſell for the ſeruice of the houſe of Auſtricke againſt the French king, the ſaid ducheſſe, and hir huſband ſhould be with the ſame charge and companie intercepted. Wherefore to preuent the crueltie of theſe enimies, maſter Bertie with his wife and child departed to a place called Winheim in high Dutchland vnder the Palſgraues dominion, where vnder his protection they continued till their neceſſaries began to faile them, and they almoſt fainting vnder ſo heauie a burthen, began to faile of hope.

The helping hand of the Lord againe in their neceſſitie.

Ioan. Alaſco a meanes to the king of Pole for the ducheſſe of Suffolke.

The dutcheſſe inuited into Poleland by the kings letters.

M. Barlow a meſſenger from the dutcheſſe to the king of Pole.

At what time, in the middeſt of their deſpaire, there came ſuddenlie letters to them from the Palatine of Vilna and the king of Pole, being inſtructed of their hard eſtate by a baron named Ioannes Alaſco, that was ſomtime in England, offring them large curteſie. This puruiſon vnlooked for greatlie reuiued their heauie ſpirits. Yet conſidering they ſhould remoue from manie their countriemen and acquaintance, to a place ſo farre diſtant, a countrie not haunted with the Engliſh, and perhaps vpon their arriuall not finding as they looked for, the end of their iornie ſhould be worſe than the beginning: they deuiſed therevpon with one maiſter Barlow, late biſhop of Chicheſter, that if he would vouchſafe to take ſome paines therin, they would make him a fellow of that iournie. So finding him prone, they ſent with him letters of great thanks to the king & Palatine, and alſo with a few principall iewels (which onlie they had left of manie) to ſolicit for them, that the king would vouchſafe vnder his ſeale, to aſſure them of the thing which he ſo honourablie by letters offered.

The Palatine of Vilna a great friend of the dutches.

The dutches taketh hir iournie toward Pole.

The troubles happening to the dutches in hir iournie to Poleland.

That ſute by the forwardnes of the Palatine was as ſoone granted as vttered. Vpon which aſſurance the ſaid dutcheſſe and hir huſband, with their familie, entred the iournie in Aprill 1557, from the caſtell of Winheim, where they before laie, towards Francford. In the which their iournie, it were long here to deſcribe what dangers fell by the waie vpon them, & their whole companie, by reaſon of the Lantgraues capteines, who vnder a quarrell pretenſed for a ſpaniell of maiſter Berties, ſet vpon them in the high waie, with his horſſemen, thruſting their boreſpears through the wagon where the children and women were, maiſter Bertie hauing but foure horſſemen with him. In the which brabble it happened the capteins horſſe to be ſlaine vnder him.

M. Bertie in great danger of his life.

Wherevpon a rumor was ſparſed immediatlie through townes and villages about, that the Lantgraues capteine ſhould be ſlaine by ſome Wallons, which incenſed the ire of the countriemen there more fiercelie againſt maiſter Bertie, as afterwards it prooued. For as he was motioned by his wife to ſaue himſelfe by the ſwiftnes of his horſſe, and to recouer ſome towne thereby for his reſcue, he ſo dooing was in worſe caſe than before: for the towneſmen and the capteines brother ſuppoſing no leſſe but that the capteine had béene ſlaine, preſſed ſo egerlie vpon him, that he had béene there taken and murthered among them, had not he (as God would) ſpieng a ladder leaning to a window, by the ſame got vp into the houſe, and ſo gone vp in to a garret in the top of the houſe, where he with his dag and rapier defended himſelfe for a ſpace: but at length the Burghmaiſter comming thither with another magiſtrate, which could ſpeake Latine, he was counſelled to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the order of the law. Maiſter Bertie knowing himſelfe cléere, and the capteine to be aliue, was the more bolder to ſubmit himſelfe to the iudgement of the law, vpon condition that the magiſtrate would receiue him vnder ſafe conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promiſed, maiſter Bertie putteth himſelfe and his weapon in the magiſtrates hand, and ſo was committed to ſafe cuſtodie, while the truth of his cauſe ſhould be tried. Then maſter Bertie writing his letters to the Lantgraue and to the earle of Erbagh, the next daie erlie in the morning the earle of Erbagh dwelling within eight miles, came to the towne whither the dutcheſſe was brought with hir wagon, maiſter Bertie alſo being in the ſame towne vnder cuſtodie.

The earle, who had ſome intelligence of the dutches before, after he was come, & had ſhewed ſuch courteſie as he thought to hir eſtate was ſéemelie, the towneſmen perceiuing the earle to behaue himſelfe ſo humblie vnto hir, began to conſider more of the matter: and further vnderſtanding the capteine to be aliue, both they, and eſpecallie the authors of the ſtir ſhrunke awaie, and made all the friends they could to maiſter Bertie and his wife, not to report their dooings after the worſt ſort. And thus maiſter Bertie and his wife eſcaping that danger, procéeded in their iournie toward Poleland, where in concluſion they were quietlie interteined of the king, and placed honorablie in the earledome of the ſaid king of Poles in Sanogelia, called Crozan, where maiſter Bertie with the dutcheſſe hauing the kings abſolute power of gouernment ouer the ſaid earldome, continued both in great quietneſſe and honor, till the death of quéene Marie.] Whoſe troubleſome time (ſauoring altogither of bloudſhed & mercileſſe murthering of Gods ſaints, whereof the poet ſaith full trulie,

M. Bertie with the dutcheſſe honorablie interteined of the k. of Pole.

——— tellus madefacta cruore
Chriſticolûm regerit decurſus ſanguinis atros,
Heu carnem mollem puerorum deuorat ignis,
Fœmina máſque perit, nulla ratione virilis
Fœminei aut ſexus habita)

being expired, and the peaceable reigne of gratious quéene Elizabeth eſtabliſhed, the ſaid dutcheſſe and hir huſband returned into England, where they liued in libertie both of bodie and mind; in which good ſtate we will leaue them. And bicauſe we are entred into a diſcourſe of troubles happening to perſonages of good account and name; it is neceſſarie that wée adde another narration of like argument vnto the former, concerning the troubles and happie deliuerance of the reuerend father in God doctor Sands, firſt biſhop of Worceſter, next of London, and now archbiſhop of Yorke, as I find it word for word in maiſter Fox, who beginneth and continueth the ſaid diſcourſe as followeth.

Abr.Fl. ex I.F. martyrologio.

D. Sands vicechancellor when the duke of Northumberland came down to Cambridge to proclame the ladie Jene quéene.

¶ King Edward died, the world being vnworthie of him, the duke of Northumberland came downe to Cambridge with an armie of men, hauing commiſſion to proclame ladie Iane quéene, and by power to ſuppreſſe ladie Marie, who tooke vpon hir that dignitie, and was proclamed quéene in Norffolke. The duke ſent for doctor Sands being vicechancellor, for doctor Parker, for doctor Bill, and maiſter Leauer, to ſup with him. Amongſt other ſpéeches he ſaid; Maiſters, praie for vs that we ſpéed well: if not, you ſhall be made biſhops, and we deacons. And euen ſo it came to paſſe: doctor Parker, and doctor Sands were made biſhops, and he and ſir Iohn Gates, who was then at the table, were made deacons yer it was long after on the tower hill. Doctor Sands being vicechancellor, was required to preach on the morrow. The warning was ſhort for ſuch an auditorie, and to ſpeake of ſuch a matter: yet he refuſed not the thing, but went to his chamber, and ſo to bed. He roſe at thrée of the clocke in the morning, tooke his bible in his hand, and after that he had praied a good ſpace, he ſhut his eies, and holding his bible before him, earneſtlie praied to God that it might fall open where a moſt fit text ſhould be for him to intreat of. The bible (as God would haue it) fell open vpon the firſt chapter of Ioſua, where he found ſo conuenient a péece of ſcripture for that time, that the like he could not haue choſen in all the bible. His text was thus: *Reſponderúntque ad Ioſue, atque dixerunt, Omnia quæ præcepiſti nobis faciemus, & quocunque miſeris ibimus: ſicut obediuimus in cunctis Moſi ita obediemus & tibi, tantùm ſit Dominus Deus tuus tecum ſicut fuit cum Moſe, qui contradixerit ori tuo, & non obedierit cunctis ſermonibus quos præceperis ei, moriatur: tu tantùm confortare & viriliter age.* Who ſhall conſider what was concluded by ſuch as named themſelues by the ſtate, and withall, the auditorie, the time, and other circumſtances, he ſhall eaſilie ſée that this text moſt fitlie ſerued for the purpoſe. And as God gaue the text, ſo gaue he him ſuch order and vtterance, as pulled manie teares out of the eies of the biggeſt of them.

The text of D. Sands wherevpon he made his ſermon.

In the time of his ſermon one of the gard lift vp to him into the pulpit a maſſe booke and a graile, which ſir George Howard with certeine of the gard had taken that night in maſter Hurleſtons houſe, where ladie Marie had béene a little before, & there had maſſe. The duke with the reſt of the nobilitie required doctor Sands to put his ſermon in writing; and appointed maiſter Leauer to go to London with it, and to put it in print. Doctor Sands required one daie and a halfe for writing of it. At the time appointed he had made it readie, and maiſter Leauer was readie booted to receiue it at his hands, & carie it to London. As he was deliuering of it, one of the bedels named maiſter Adams, came wéeping to him, & praied him to ſhift for himſelfe, for the duke was retired, and quéene Marie proclamed.

The duke & nobles deſire D. Sands to write his ſermon that it might be printed.

Doctor Sands was not troubled herewithall, but gaue the ſermon written to maſter Leifield; maſter Leauer departed home, and he went to dinner to one maſter Mores a bedell, his great friend. At the dinner, miſtreſſe More ſéeing him merrie and pleaſant (for he had euer a mans courage, and could not be terrified) dranke vnto him, ſaieng: Maſter vicechancellor, I drinke vnto you, for this is the laſt time that euer I ſhall ſée you. And ſo it was, for ſhée was dead before doctor Sands returned out of Germanie. The duke that night retired to Cambridge, and ſent for doctor Sands to go with him to the market place to proclame quéene Marie. The duke caſt vp his cap with others, and ſo laughed, that the tears ran downe his chéekes for gréefe. He told doctor Sands that quéene Marie was a mercifull woman, and that he doubted not thereof: declaring, that hée had ſent vnto hir to know hir pleaſure, and looked for a generall pardon. Doctor Sands anſwered; My life is not deare vnto me, neither haue I done or ſaid anie thing that vrgeth my conſcience. For that which I ſpake of the ſtate, I haue inſtructions warranted by the ſubſcription of ſixtéene councellors. Neither can ſpeach be treaſon, neither yet haue I ſpoken further than the word of God, and lawes of this realme doth warrant me, come of me what God will. But be you aſſured, you ſhall neuer eſcape death: for if ſhée would ſaue you, thoſe that now ſhall rule will kill you.

Miſtreſſe More ſpake truer than peraduenture ſhe thought.

D. Sands words to the duke touching his owne ſermon and the dukes action.

That night the gard apprehended the duke, and certeine groomes of the ſtable were as buſie with doctor Sands, as if they would take a priſoner. But ſir Iohn Gates who laie then in doctor Sands his houſe, ſharplie rebuked them, and draue them awaie. Doctor Sands, by the aduiſe of ſir Iohn Gates, walked into the fields. In the meane time the vniuerſitie (contrarie to all order) had met togither in conſultation, and ordered that doctor Mouſe and doctor Hatcher ſhould repaire to doctor Sands lodging, and fet awaie the ſtatute booke of the vniuerſitie, the keies, and ſuch other things that were in his kéeping, and ſo they did. For doctor Mouſe being an earneſt proteſtant the daie before, and one whome doctor Sands had doone much for, now was he become a papiſt, and his great enimie.

Euill intended againſt doctor Sands.

Certeine of the vniuerſitie had appointed a congregation at afternoone. As the bell rang to it, doctor Sands commeth out of the fields, and ſending for the bedels, asketh what the matter meaneth, and requireth them to wait vpon him to the ſchooles, according to their dutie. So they did. And ſo ſoone as doctor Sands, the bedels going before him, came into the regent houſe and tooke his chaire; one maſter Mitch with a rabble of vnlearned papiſts went into a byſchoole, and conſpired togither to pull him out of his chaire, and to vſe violence vnto him. Doctor Sands began his oration, expoſtulating with the vniuerſitie, charging them with great ingratitude, declaring that he had ſaid nothing in his ſermon, but that hée was readie to iuſtifie, and that there caſe was all one with his: for they had not onelie concealed, but conſented to that which he had ſpoken.

A conſpiracie of papiſts againſt doctor Sands, and their behauior towards him.

And thus while he remembred vnto them how beneficiall he had béene to the vniuerſitie, and their vnthankfulneſſe to him againe, in commeth maiſter Mitch with his conſpirators about twentie in number. One laieth hand vpon the chaire to pull it from him, another told him that that was not his place, and another called him traitor. Whereat he perceiuing how they vſed violence, and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had diſpatched ſome of them as Gods enimies; if doctor Bill and doctor Blith had not fallen vpon him, and praied him for Gods ſake to hold his hands and be quiet, and patientlie to beare that great offered wrong. He was perſuaded by them, and after that tumult was ceaſed, he ended his oration, and hauing ſome monie of the vniuerſities in his hands, he there deliuered the ſame euerie farthing. He gaue vp the books, reckonings & keies perteining to the vniuerſitie, & withall yéelded vp his office, praieng God to giue to the vniuerſitie a better officer, and to giue them better and more thankfull hearts, and ſo repaired home to his owne college.

D. Sands couragious heart and manhood.

D. Sands reſigneth vp his office of vicechancellorſhip

On the morrow after, there came vnto him one maſter Gerningham, and one maſter Thomas Mildmaie. Gerningham told him, that it was the quéens pleaſure that two of the gard ſhould attend on him, and that he muſt be caried priſoner to the tower of London with the duke. Maiſter Mildmaie ſaid he marueled that a learned man would ſpeake ſo vnaduiſedlie againſt ſo good a prince, and wilfullie run into ſuch danger. Doctor Sands anſwered, I ſhall not be aſhamed of bonds. But if I could doo as maſter Mildmaie can, I néeded not feare bonds: for he came downe in paiment againſt quéene Marie, and armed in the field, and now he returneth in paiment for quéene Marie: before a traitor and now a great friend. I can not with one mouth blow hot and cold after this ſort.

Maſter Mildmaies trecherie noted by doctor Sands to his obloquie

Vpon this, his ſtable was robbed of foure notable good geldings, the beſt of them maſter Hurleſtone tooke for his owne ſaddle, and rode on him to London in his ſight. An inuentarie was taken of all his goods by maſter More bedell for the vniuerſitie. Hée was ſet vpon a lame horſe that halted to the ground, which thing a friend of his perceiuing, praied that he might lend him a nag. The yeoman of the gard were content. As he departed out of the townes end, ſome papiſts reſorted thither to géere at him, ſome of his friends to mourne for him. He came into the ranke to London, the people being full of outcries. And as he came in at Biſhops gate, one like a milkewife hurled a ſtone at him, and hit him on the breaſt with ſuch a blow, that he was like to fall off his horſſe. To whome he mildlie ſaid: Woman, God forgiue it thée. Truth it is, that iourneieng & euill intreating

The miſuſage of certeine drabs againſt doctor Sands as he was brought priſoner to the tower.

ſo mortified him, that he was more readie to die than to liue.

As he came through tower hill ſtréet, one woman ſtanding in hir doore, cried: Fie on thée thou knaue, thou knaue, thou traitor, thou heretike. Whereat hée ſmiled. Looke; the deſperat heretike (ſaith ſhe) laugheth at this geare. A woman on the other ſide of the ſtréet anſwered, ſaieng: Fie on thée neighbour, thou art not worthie to be called a woman, railing vpon this gentleman whom thou knoweſt not, neither yet the cauſe whie he is thus intreated. Then ſhée ſaid, Good gentleman, God be thy comfort, and giue thée ſtrength to ſtand in Gods cauſe euen to the end. And thus he paſſed through fire and water into the tower, the firſt priſoner that entered in that daie, which was ſaint James daie. The yeoman of the gard tooke from him his borowed nag, and what elſe ſoeuer hée had. His man one Quintin Swainton brought after him a bible, and ſome ſhirts, and ſuch like things. The bible was ſent in to him, but the ſhirts and ſuch like ſerued the yeoman of the gard.

The gard offer him fowle wrong.

After he had béene in the tower thrée wéekes in a bad priſon, he was lift vp into Nunnes bower, a better priſon, where was put to him maſter John Bradford. At the daie of quéene Maries coronation, their priſon doore was ſet open, euer ſhut before. One maſter Michell his old acquaintance, who had béene priſoner before in the ſame place, came in to him and ſaid: Maſter Sands, there is ſuch a ſtur in the tower, that neither gates, doores, nor priſoners are looked to this daie. Take my cloake, my hat and my rapier, and get you gone; you maie go out of the gates without queſtioning; ſaue your ſelfe, and let me doo as I maie. A rare friendſhip: but he refuſed the offer, ſaieng: I know no iuſt cauſe why I ſhould be in priſon. And thus to doo were to make my ſelfe guiltie, I will expect Gods good will, yet muſt I thinke my ſelfe moſt bound vnto you: and ſo maſter Michell departed.

Maſter Michels counſell to D. Sands to make an eſcape.

While doctor Sands and maſter Bradford were thus in cloſe priſon togither nine and twentie wéeks, one John Bowler was their kéeper, a verie peruerſe papiſt, yet by often perſuading of him, for he would giue eare, and by the gentle vſing of him, at length he began to miſlike poperie, and to fauour the goſpell, and ſo perſuaded in true religion, that on a ſundaie when they had maſſe in the chappell, he bringeth vp a ſeruice booke, a manchet and a glaſſe of wine, and there doctor Sands miniſtred the communion to Bradford and to Bowler. Thus Bowler was their ſonne begotten in bonds when Wiat was in armes, & the old duke of Norffolke ſent forth with a power of men to apprehend him, that roome might be made in the tower for him and other his complices. Doctor Cranmer, doctor Ridleie, and maſter Bradford were caſt into one priſon, & doctor Sands with nine other preachers were ſent into the Marſhalſea.

Bowler of a peruerſe papiſt becommeth reformed in true religion.

D. Sands remoued to the Marſhalſea.

The kéeper of the Marſhalſea appointed to euerie preacher a man to lead him in the ſtréet, he cauſed them go farre before, and he and doctor Sands came behind, whome he would not lead, but walked familiarlie with him. Yet doctor Sands was knowne, and the people euerie where praied to God to comfort him, & to ſtrengthen him in the truth. By that time the peoples minds were altered, poperie began to be vnſauerie. After they paſſed the bridge, the kéeper Thomas Waie ſaid to doctor Sands: I perceiue the vaine people would ſet you forward to the fire, you are as vaine as they, if you being a yoong man will ſtand in your own conceit, & prefer your own knowledge before the iudgement of ſo manie worthie prelats, ancient, learned, and graue men, as be in this relme. If you ſo doo, you ſhal find me as ſtrict a kéeper as one that vtterlie miſliketh your religion. Doctor Sands anſwered; I know my yeares yoong, and my learning ſmall, it is inough to know Chriſt crucified, and he hath learned nothing that ſéeth not the great blaſphemie that is in poperie, I will yéeld vnto God and not vnto man: I haue read in the ſcriptures of manie godlie and courteous kéepers, God may make you one; if not, I truſt he will giue me ſtrength and patience to beare your hard dealing with me. Saith Thomas Waie; Doo you then mind to ſtand to your religion? Yea ſaith doctor Sands, by Gods grace. Trulie ſaith the kéeper, I loue you the better, I did but tempt you. What fauor I can ſhew you, you ſhall be ſure of, and I ſhall thinke my ſelfe happie if I may die at the ſtake with you. The ſaid kéeper ſhewed doctor Sands euer after all friendſhip: he truſted him to go into the fields alone, and there met with maiſter Bradford, who then was remoued into the Bench, and there found like fauor of his kéeper. He laid him in the beſt chamber in the houſe: he would not ſuffer the knight marſhals men to laie fetters on him, as others had. And at his requeſt, he put maiſter Sands in to him, to be his bedfellow, and ſundrie times ſuffered his wife, who was maiſter Sands daughter of Eſſex, a gentlewoman, beautifull both in bodie & ſoule to reſort to him. There was great reſort vnto doctor Sands, and maiſter Sanders: they had much monie offered them, but they would receiue none. They had the communion there thrée or foure times, and a great ſort of communicants. Doctor Sands gaue ſuch exhortation to the people, for at that time being yoong, he was thought verie eloquent, that he mooued manie tears and made the people abhorre the maſſe, and defie all poperie.

Thomas waie the kéeper pretendeth to perſuade doctor Sands to poperie.

The frendſhip that doctor Sands found at his kéepers hands.

When Wiat with his armie came into Southworke, he ſent two gentlemen into the Marſhalſea to doctor Sands: ſaieng, that maiſter Wiat would be glad of his companie and aduiſe, & that the gates ſhould be ſet open for all the priſoners. He anſwered: Tell maiſter Wiat, if this his riſing be of God it will take place: if not, it will fall. For my part I was committed hither by order, I will be diſcharged by like order, or I will neuer depart hence. So anſwered maiſter Sanders, and the reſt of the preachers being there priſoners. After that doctor Sands had béene nine wéekes priſoner in the Marſhalſea, by the mediation of ſir Thomas Holcroft then knight marſhall he was ſet at libertie. Sir Thomas ſued earneſtlie to the biſhop of Wincheſter, doctor Gardiner for his deliuerance after manie repulſes, except doctor Sands would be one of their ſect, and then he could want nothing. He wrong out of him, that if the quéene could like of his deliuerance, he would not be againſt it: for that was ſir Thomas his laſt requeſt. In the meane time he had procured two ladies of the priuie chamber to mooue the quéene in it: who was contented, if the biſhop of Wincheſter could like of it. The next time that the biſhop went into the priuie chamber to ſpeake with the quéene, maiſter Holcroft followed, and had his warrant for doctor Sands remiſſion readie, and praied the two ladies, when as the biſhop ſhould take his leaue, to put the quéene in mind of doctor Sands. So they did. And the quéene ſaid: Wincheſter, what thinke you by doctor Sands, is he not ſufficientlie puniſhed? As it pleaſe your maieſtie, ſaith Wincheſter. That he ſpake, remembring his former promiſe to maiſter Holcroft, that he would not be againſt Sands, if the quéene ſhould like to diſcharge him. Saith the quéene: Then trulie, we would that he were ſet at libertie. Immediatlie maiſter Holcroft offered the quéene the warrant, who ſubſcribed the ſame, and called Wincheſter to put to his hand, and ſo he did. The warrant was giuen to the knight

Wiats meſſage to doctor Sands, and his anſwer returned.

Doctor Sands ſet at libertie by the meanes of ſir Thomas Holcroft.

How quéene Marie is diſpoſed to ſet doctor Sands at large, and ſealeth hir warrant for his libertie.

knight marſhall againe, ſir Thomas Holcroft. As the biſhop went foorth of the priuie chamber doore, he called maiſter Holcroft to him: commanding him not to ſet doctor Sands at libertie, vntill he had taken ſuerties of two gentlemen of his countrie with him, euerie one bound in fiue hundred pounds, that doctor Sands ſhould not depart out of the realme without licence. Maiſter Holcroft immediatlie after met with two gentlemen of the north, friends & conſins to doctor Sands, who offered to be bound in bodie, goods and lands for him.

Communication betweene ſir Thomas Holcroft and doctor Sands about his departing out of England.

At after dinner the ſame daie, maiſter Holcroft ſent for doctor Sands to his lodging at Weſtminſter, requiring the keeper to accompanie with him. He came accordinglie, finding maiſter Holcroft alone, walking in his garden: maiſter Holcroft imparted his long ſute, with the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken to doctor Sands: much reioiſing that it was his good hap to doo him good, & to procure his libertie, and that nothing remained, but that he would enter into bonds with his two ſuerties, for not departing out of the realme. Doctor Sands anſwered: I giue God thanks, who hath mooued your hart to mind me ſo well, & I thinke my ſelfe moſt bound vnto you, God ſhall requite, and I ſhall neuer be found vnthankfull. But as you haue dealt friendlie with me, I will alſo deale plainlie with you. I came a free man into priſon, I will not go foorth a bondman. As I cannot benefit my friends ſo will I not hurt them: and if I be ſet at libertie, I will not tarie ſix daies in this realme if I may get out. If therefore I may not go free foorth, ſend me to the Marſhalſea againe, and there you ſhall be ſure of me.

Sir Thomas Holcroft cannot perſuade doctor Sands to tarie in England, and therefore ſetteth him at large.

This anſwer much miſliked maiſter Holcroft, who told doctor Sands that the time would not long continue, a change would ſhortlie come: the ſtate was but a cloud, and would ſoone ſhake awaie; and that his couſine ſir Edward Braie would gladlie receiue him and his wife into his houſe, where he ſhould neuer need to come at church, and how the ladie Braie was a zealous gentlewoman, who hated poperie: adding that he would not ſo deale with him to looſe all his labor. When doctor Sands could not be remoued from his former ſaieng, maiſter Holcroft ſaid: Seeing you can not be altered, I will change my purpoſe, and yeeld vnto you, come of it what will, I will ſet you at libertie: and ſeeing you mind ouer ſea, get you gone ſo quicklie as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there, you write nothing to come hither, for ſo ye may vndoo me. He freendlie kiſſed doctor Sands, bad him farewell, and commanded the keeper to take no fees of him: ſaieng; Let me anſwer Wincheſter as I may. Doctor Sands returned with the keeper to the Marſhalſea and taried all night. There on the morrow gaue a dinner to all the priſoners, bad his bedfellow and ſworne ſtakefellow, if it had ſo pleaſed God, maiſter Saunders farewell, with manie teares and kiſſings, the one falling on the others necke, and ſo departed, clearelie deliuered without examination or bond. From thence he went to the Bench, and there talked with maiſter Bradford, and maiſter Farrar biſhop of S. Dauids, then priſoners. Then he comforted them, & they praiſed God for his happie deliuerance. He went by Wincheſters houſe, and there tooke boate, and came to a freends houſe in London called William Banks, and taried there one night. On the morrow at night he ſhifted to an other freends houſe, and there he learned that ſearch was made for him.

Search made for doctor Sands after his inlargement.

Doctor Watſon and maiſter Chriſtopherſon, comming to the biſhop of Wincheſter, told him that he had ſet at libertie the greateſt heretike in England, and one that had of all other moſt corrupted the vniuerſitie of Cambridge, doctor Sands. Whervpon the biſhop of Wincheſter, being chancellor of England, ſent for all the coneſtables of London, commanding them to watch for doctor Sands, who was then within the citie, and to apprehend him; and who ſo euer of them ſhould take him and bring him to him, he ſhould haue fiue pounds for his labor. Doctor Sands ſuſpecting the matter, conueied himſelfe by night to one maiſter Barties houſe a ſtranger, who was in the Marſhalſea with him priſoner a while, he was a good proteſtant and dwelt in Marke lane. There he was ſix daies, and had one or two of his freends that repaired to him. Then he repaired to an acquaintance of his, one Hurleſtone a ſkinner, dwelling in Cornehill, he cauſed his man Quintin to prouide two geldings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into Eſſex to maiſter Sands his father in law, where his wife was.

Gardiners commandement to watch and ward for doctor Sands and to apprehend him, with a reward promiſed to the taker of him.

Note Gods prouidence in giuing a way to doctor Sands for his ſafe eſcaping out of danger.

At his going to bed in Hurleſtons houſe, he had a paire of hoſe newlie made that were too long for him. For while he was in the tower, a tailor was admitted him to make him a paire of hoſe. One came vnto him whoſe name was Beniamin, a good proteſtant, dwelling in Birchin lane: he might not ſpeake to him, or come vnto him, to take meaſure of him, but onelie looke vpon his leg, he made the hoſe, and they were two inches too long. Theſe hoſe he praied the good wife of the houſe to ſend to ſome tailor to cut his hoſe two inches ſhorter. The wife required the boy of the houſe to carie them to the next tailor to cut. The boy chanced (or rather God ſo prouided) to go to the next tailor, which was Beniamin that made them, which alſo was a coneſtable, and acquainted with the lord chancellors commandement. The boy required him to cut the hoſe. He ſaid I am not thy maiſters tailor. Saith the boy, Becauſe ye are our next neighbor, and my maiſters tailor dwelleth far off, I come to you, for it is far nights, and he muſt occupie them timelie in the morning. Beniamin tooke the hoſe and looked vpon them, he tooke his handie worke in hand, and ſaid: Theſe are not thy maiſters hoſe, but doctor Sands, them I made in the tower. The boy yeelded, and ſaid it was ſo. Saith he, Go to thy miſtreſſe, praie hir to ſit vp till twelue of the clocke, then I will bring the hoſe and ſpeake with doctor Sands to his good.

All the miſchiefes intended againſt doctor Sands diſcloſed by a conſtable, who telleth him how to eſcape.

At midnight the goodwife of the houſe, and Beniamin the tailor, commeth into doctor Sands chamber. The wife praieth him not to be afraid of their comming. He anſwereth: Nothing can be amiſſe, what God will, that ſhall be doone. Then Beniamin telleth him that he made his hoſe, and by what good chance they now came to his hands, God vſed the meane that he might foretell him of his perill, & aduiſe him how to eſcape it, telling him that all the conſtables of London, whereof he was one, watched for him, & ſome were ſo greedilie ſet, that they praied him (if he tooke him) to let them haue the carriage of him to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and he ſhould haue the fiue pounds. Saith Beniamin, It is knowen that your man hath prouided two geldings, and that you mind to ride out at Algate to morrow, and there then yee are ſure to be taken. Follow mine aduiſe, and by Gods grace yee ſhall eſcape their hands. Let your man walke all the daie to morrow in the ſtreet where your horſſes ſtand, booted and readie to ride. The goodmans ſeruant of the houſe ſhall take the horſſes and carrie them to Bednoll greene. The goodman ſhall be booted, and follow after as if he would ride. I will be here with you to morrow about eight of the clocke; it is both terme and parlement time, here we will breake our faſt, and when the ſtreet is full we will go foorth. Looke wildlie, and